

FAMILY PLANNING, NOW AND LATER: INFERTILITY FEARS AND CONTRACEPTIVE TAKE-UP

Natalie Bau* David Henning† Corinne Low‡ Bryce Millett Steinberg§

November 18, 2025

Abstract

Early fertility is thought to be one of the key barriers to female human capital attainment in sub-Saharan Africa, yet contraceptive take-up remains puzzlingly low among women in critical periods for human capital investment. We study a barrier to hormonal contraceptive uptake among young, nulliparous women that, while recognized in the qualitative literature, has not been causally tested: the persistent (incorrect) belief — grounded in medical mistrust and an adverse history of population control policies — that these contraceptives cause later infertility. This belief creates a perceived tradeoff between current and future reproductive control. We use a randomized controlled trial with female undergraduates at the flagship university in Zambia to test two interventions to increase contraceptive use. Despite high rates of sexual activity, low rates of condom-use, and near zero desire for current pregnancy, only 5% of this population uses hormonal contraceptives at baseline. Providing a voucher to visit a local clinic — greatly reducing access costs — only temporarily increases contraceptive use. However, pairing this transfer with a carefully-designed treatment to change persistent incorrect beliefs that contraceptives cause infertility doubles the initial effect, persistently increases contraceptive take-up over 6 months, and reduces reported pregnancies by as much as 71%. This treatment reduces self-reports that contraceptives cause infertility, and compliers are more likely to cite fear of infertility as the reason for not using contraceptives at baseline. IV estimates indicate that eliminating the belief that contraceptives cause infertility would more than triple contraceptive use.

We gratefully acknowledge Professors Jacob Malungo and Simona Simona at the University of Zambia for facilitating the project and data access. We thank IPA Zambia for their collaboration. We are grateful to Anna Aizer, Nava Ashraf, Prashant Bharadwaj, Pascaline Dupas, Anne Karing, Adriana Lleras-Muney, Sara Lowes, Elisa Macchi, Pauline Rossi, Manisha Shah, and seminar and conference participants at UCSD, UCLA, UChicago, Rice, Princeton, Zurich, Stockholm School of Economics, SOCCAM, IIES, Dartmouth, the North American Winter Meetings of the Econometric Society, and the NBER Children's Meetings for helpful feedback. Alex Zhou, Anna Sander, Stephanie Dodd, and Yohan Wang provided excellent research assistance. The study is registered in the AEA RCT Registry (AEARCTR-0013733). This study was approved by two internal review boards: the University of Pennsylvania, and UNZABREC, in Zambia. Bau, Low, and Steinberg gratefully acknowledge funding from NSF grant SES2343873.

*UCLA, NBER, & BREAD. Contact: nbau@ucla.edu

†Oxford. Contact: djhenning@ucla.edu

‡Wharton (UPenn) & NBER. Contact: corlow@wharton.upenn.edu

§Brown & NBER. Contact: bryce.steinberg@brown.edu

1 Introduction

In the United States and Latin America, the introduction of hormonal contraceptives was instrumental in allowing women to delay their first birth, complete their education, and join the labor force (Goldin and Katz, 2002; Bailey, 2006; Miller, 2010). Importantly for this revolution, unlike pre-existing methods, hormonal contraceptives are relatively reliable and give young women full reproductive control. With dramatic growth in female education in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), where female primary enrollment is nearly universal, and tertiary and secondary enrollment have roughly doubled over the last two decades (World Bank, 2025), we might expect these contraceptives to offer women the same freedom to complete education and plan careers. Yet, early fertility remains extremely common in SSA. Across the continent, 60% of women give birth before age 20 (Ahinkorah et al., 2021), and despite high rates of sexual activity, contraceptive use remains low even among young women in critical periods for human capital investment. Early pregnancies in sub-Saharan Africa during these periods have been shown to reduce educational attainment and labor market outcomes, increase the likelihood of HIV, and even have negative intergenerational consequences (Branson and Byker, 2018; Ardington et al., 2015). In line with the potential costs of early pregnancy, even though 80 women enroll in tertiary education for every 100 men in SSA, only 65 for every 100 men graduate (Yeboua and Cilliers, 2025).

In this paper, we examine whether the incorrect belief that hormonal contraceptives make women permanently infertile could play a role in stalling a sub-Saharan African “contraceptive revolution” among young women. We implement a randomized controlled trial in Zambia with female college students — an increasingly important but understudied population — designed to directly address the fear that hormonal contraceptives cause later-life infertility. Our key treatment combines an informational intervention to dispel myths that contraceptives cause infertility with a voucher that pays women a small sum to visit a local, partner clinic that provides family planning services. The informational treatment, which includes both a presentation on how hormonal contraceptives work and personal stories by facilitators about fertility returning after using hormonal contraceptives, was specially designed to change beliefs in a setting where incorrect beliefs are persistent and statistical information alone is unlikely to be enough. The information was transmitted by facilitators — who also ran the other treatment arms — of a similar age and demographic profile as the participant using a combination of personal narratives and scientific information (Graeber et al., 2024; Malmendier and Veldkamp, 2022). We compare this treatment to an arm that only received the voucher, which solely reduces access costs, as well as an active control. We evaluate the effect of the two treatments on the take-up of hormonal contraceptives¹ and other family planning services, as well as beliefs, using both administrative data from our partner clinic and data on self-reported usage over six months from a high-frequency mobile survey.

While both treatments successfully get women “in the door” of the clinic, the treatment addressing fear of infertility caused lasting increases in the use of hormonal contraceptives and reductions in pregnancies. In contrast to recent literature showing contraceptive behavior can be hard to move, our results demonstrate that a population who wishes to *delay* births, rather than change overall fertility, may be more elastic in their take-up, and that fear of infertility, rather than only financial or logistical barriers, may be a key determinant

¹Throughout this paper, we will use the short-hand of “hormonal contraceptives” for modern, preventative contraceptive methods that include the pill, injection, and implant, as well as the copper IUD, which is not actually a hormonal contraceptive, but is also associated with fear of infertility. In practice, there is very little IUD use in our study population, so its inclusion as a hormonal contraceptive does not affect our results. We do not include emergency contraceptives in this group, as we are focused on the use of preventative methods and an increase in the take-up of preventative methods could reduce the use of emergency contraceptives.

of currently low usage for this group.

Although modern hormonal contraceptives do not cause infertility (Mansour et al., 2011; Barnhart and Schreiber, 2009; Girum and Wasie, 2018), qualitative studies document widespread fear of infertility in SSA and suggest that it may hinder the take-up of hormonal contraceptives (Boivin et al., 2020; Engelbert Bain et al., 2021). Mistrust of Western medicine is common in many low-income countries and can derive from both day-to-day experiences and harmful historical episodes (Lowes and Montero, 2021; Sievert, 2024). Traditional beliefs often conflict with modern medical advice (Ashraf et al., 2017),² and fear of contraceptives may be particularly salient, as SSA was subject to forced sterilization campaigns and the distribution of harmful early contraceptive devices such as the Dalkon Shield, which *did* cause infertility, miscarriages, and even death (Connelly, 2010). Indeed, Western medicine and a perceived desire to sterilize or control population have become deeply intertwined (Kaler, 2009).³ Myths about contraception's deleterious effects could also be fueled by the fact that infertility is common in SSA due to maternal morbidity and untreated sexually transmitted infections (Cates et al., 1985; Abebe et al., 2020). If unprotected sex is correlated with both contraceptive use and STI infections, there could be a misattribution of later fertility problems to contraceptives when, in reality, untreated STIs are to blame.

Believing that contraceptives cause infertility translates into meaningful perceived costs of take-up. A large literature outside of economics shows that infertility can be particularly costly in SSA. In addition to well-documented psychological costs,⁴ infertility can disrupt marriages through divorce, extramarital affairs, or polygyny (Dierickx et al., 2018; Araoye, 2003). If women rely on husbands for economic support, and men value having children, then limited future fertility could harm women not just personally, but also economically.⁵ Thus, young Zambian women may believe that there is a tradeoff between controlling their fertility now (by reducing unwanted pregnancies) and the ability to control their fertility in the future (to achieve a desired pregnancy).

Evaluating whether fear of infertility hampers contraceptive use among young women contributes to an important ongoing debate about the drivers of low contraceptive use in SSA, which has mainly focused on either demand- or supply-side explanations and their interaction with total desired family size. Proponents of the supply-side support interventions to improve financial or physical access. However, there is compelling evidence of diminishing returns in this area (see, for example, Dupas et al. (2024)). In contrast, demand-side proponents argue that low contraception usage is due to deep-seated preferences for large families (Pritchett, 1994), and thus that interventions are unlikely to yield results. But, focusing on preferences over number of children ignores contraceptives' role in timing first births. As seen in the "pill revolution" in the U.S., there can be high returns to delaying fertility in the critical period of human capital investment even if women do not want to reduce overall childbearing (Bailey, 2006). High demand for children would only interfere with using contraceptives to delay first births if women incorrectly believe contraceptive use now may limit births later. In other words, there may be a wedge between observed demand for contraceptives and true underlying demand to prevent pregnancy. Thus, it is crucial to test if low demand among young women is based on fear of contraceptive-induced infertility, potentially instigated by ill-fated Western interventions. If so, carefully-designed interventions may indeed have high economic returns and enhance welfare, by bringing

²Ashraf et al. (2022) addresses another traditional belief around childbearing in Zambia — that maternal mortality is caused by promiscuity — and finds that targeted informational treatments impact fertility.

³The perception that contraception is one of the possible weapons of the West, led to, for example, the banning of Depo Provera in Zimbabwe in 1981 (Kaler, 1998).

⁴See, e.g., Alhassan et al. (2014), Olarinoye and Ajiboye (2019), Naab et al. (2019), and Donkor et al. (2017).

⁵This is in line with a body of literature in developed countries treating fertility as "reproductive capital" (Low, 2024b; Low, 2024a) and looking at the economic effects of infertility and IVF (Bögl et al., 2024; Gershoni and Low, 2021a; Buckles, 2007; Abramowitz, 2017; Gershoni and Low, 2021b).

usage in line with true underlying demand to delay pregnancy.

The study sample consists of undergraduates at the University of Zambia (UNZA), Zambia's largest and oldest university, based in the capital city of Lusaka. While there is comparatively little work on college students in sub-Saharan Africa, 9% of college-aged women enrolled in college in SSA in 2022, and this number is rising rapidly ([World Bank, 2022](#)). This population presents an excellent opportunity to examine why young women forgo contraception to delay first births during critical periods, since even a brief postponement could help them complete college. At baseline, only 5% of women in our sample are using a hormonal contraceptive, even though 60% are sexually active, 18% have had sex in the previous two weeks, and *no* women report not using contraceptives because they would be ok with becoming pregnant right now. We estimate a hazard rate of pregnancy for our sample of 14-35% over a typical 4-year undergraduate career, suggesting that pregnancy is a serious challenge for female students in this context. Indeed, linking self-reported pregnancies to administrative educational data shows that two years after a pregnancy, a woman is 27 percentage points less likely to be on track to graduate. For comparison, between 40-50% of college-aged women in the US report using hormonal contraceptives, and pregnancy rates are around 1% per year ([Health Statistics \(CDC\), 2019](#); [Kavanaugh and Pliskin, 2020](#)).

Our experiment aims to shed light on the contraceptive behavior of a much larger (and growing) population: young, unmarried women in SSA. Historically, both studies of contraceptive use in SSA and interventions by policymakers have focused on married women with children. This is because women married young, and most childbearing happened within marriage. However, in the most recent (2018) Zambian DHS, we estimate that 53% of first births were conceived before marriage. Given the importance of the timing of first birth for women's outcomes (e.g., because it conflicts with human capital investment), and the large share of first births that are conceived before marriage, the contraceptive behavior of childless young women should be of particular interest to policymakers. The low usage rate of modern contraception in our sample is consistent with that among sexually-active nulliparous secondary school (3.4%) and college-aged (3.1%) women in the DHS, suggesting that our sample's behavior may be more broadly representative of young, childless women. Fear that contraceptives cause infertility is also widespread in our sample. In our control group, 64% of respondents believe at least one form of hormonal birth control causes infertility. Because of these women's high levels of education and the greater availability of quality medical care in the capital, these beliefs are likely even more prevalent in the general population.

We collect two complementary data sets. The first was collected in collaboration with our partner clinic and provides us with administrative information on the first time a participant visited the clinic and what services she took up during that visit. The second is a mobile phone survey that was sent to participants every two weeks for up to 6 months following the intervention. These data allow us to measure contraceptive usage over time, as well as sexual activity, condom usage, partner characteristics, and pregnancies. While the clinic data ensure that we can measure take-up during the first clinic visit without attrition, the survey allows us to check whether effects in the clinic data are driven by substitution, identify persistent effects, and evaluate effects on a wider range of outcomes, including sexual behavior.

We find that both the voucher and combined treatment were successful at encouraging participants to visit the clinic. However, students' behavior at the clinic and afterwards differs dramatically between the two groups. In the administrative data collected during students' initial visits, the combined group is statistically significantly more likely to take-up at least one hormonal contraceptive method relative to the voucher group, unconditional on visiting the clinic (+5.4 p.p. vs. +2.6 p.p. relative to the control mean of 1.6%). In the survey data, in the voucher treatment, use of hormonal contraceptives increases in the initial survey rounds,

but the effect begins to fade out one month after treatment, and usage levels converge with the control group's by the end of the study. In the combined group, the effects are remarkably persistent, with a 3.5 p.p. (40%) increase in hormonal contraceptive usage on average during the 6 months after the intervention and no significant fadeout. Over time, the effect of the combined voucher and infertility information treatment is largely driven by the take-up of hormonal injections and implants. But, the persistence of the effect cannot be explained by participants simply taking up a hormonal injection once initially; for effects to persist, participants would have to receive another shot.⁶ While it is thought to be particularly hard to change nulliparous women's contraceptive behavior (Chandra-Mouli et al., 2014), our effect sizes are in line with other successful interventions in percentage point terms and much larger in percent terms given the low rates of usage in the control group (Ashraf et al., 2014; Glennerster et al., 2022). Though the study was not designed to be powered to detect pregnancy effects — given our focus on barriers to take-up, our key outcome of interest is take-up — when we maximize power by comparing our treatment of interest to the pooled control and voucher arms, we detect meaningful and statistically significant reductions in pregnancy, with the likelihood of reporting a pregnancy at endline falling by 71%. There is no evidence of unintended negative consequences for condom usage, number of sexual partners, or likelihood of having sex. Risky sexual behavior appears to be unaffected.

Several additional pieces of evidence further suggest that the effect of the combined voucher and infertility information treatment is driven by changing the perceived threat of infertility. First, in our survey data, women in this group are substantially less likely to believe contraceptives cause infertility after the intervention, both initially and after six months, indicating that the intervention did successfully change beliefs. Second, compliers with this treatment are significantly more likely to cite fear of infertility or side effects as a reason for not using contraceptives at baseline. Heterogeneity in treatment effects detected by causal forests is also consistent with this analysis. Third, a complementary follow-up randomized experiment provides suggestive evidence that informing participants that STIs cause infertility also increases the take-up of STI testing, further underscoring the importance of fear of infertility for healthcare decision-making.

Finally, to quantify the importance of fear of infertility as a barrier to contraceptive use among nulliparous women, we use the combined treatment as an instrument for the belief that contraceptives cause infertility and estimate the effect of this belief on take-up, controlling for being in either the voucher or voucher + infertility info treatment. Even in the population of women at UNZA, who are likely more informed about contraceptives and have better access to information than the general population, fear of infertility is a very significant barrier. Eliminating the belief that hormonal contraceptives cause infertility entirely would increase contraceptive use by 20 percentage points, more than tripling usage in the control group. This is all the more striking given that nearly half our study population is not sexually active at baseline. We conclude that — in line with the qualitative literature — fear of infertility is an important barrier to delaying first births in SSA.

This paper contributes to three areas. First, it contributes to the literature exploring drivers of low contraceptive usage in SSA. Most studies on contraceptive take-up in low-income countries focus on married women who already have children (Phiri et al., 2015; Scott et al., 2015; Barham et al., 2021; Ashraf et al., 2014; Glennerster et al., 2022; Ashraf et al., 2022; Dupas et al., 2024; Athey et al., 2023), often contrasting the role of preferences for large families (Pritchett, 1994) versus barriers like physical access and intrahousehold disagreements. We depart from much of this literature by focusing on the role of contraceptives in delaying first births during a critical period for human capital investment. While a smaller literature has focused

⁶The contraceptive injection administered at our partner clinic lasts for 3 months.

on young women, it has mainly examined barriers related to access and cost and often finds little effect of removing these barriers (Rivera et al., 2001; Bankole and Malarcher, 2010; Shah et al., 2024). In contrast, this paper builds on a wide body of qualitative and descriptive work suggesting that fear of infertility is an important barrier to take-up (Boivin et al., 2020; Engelbert Bain et al., 2021; Nalwadda et al., 2010; Otoide et al., 2001; Ochako et al., 2015; Munakampe et al., 2018; S. Castle, 2004; Sedlander et al., 2018; Adongo et al., 2014; Hindin et al., 2014; Bell et al., 2023). It provides the first causal evidence that fear of infertility hinders take-up and that it is a quantitatively important barrier.

Second, this paper adds to the literature on the importance of medical distrust for healthcare take-up. In SSA, quantitative research has identified deep repercussions of colonialism for trust, both in general (Nunn and Wantchekon, 2011) and specifically in medicine (Lowes and Montero, 2021), which can lead to healthcare under-utilization (Blair et al., 2017). Kaler (2009) links medical mistrust with forced sterility in Africa, relating colonial medical campaigns and political and ethnic tensions in more recent history to the fear that medication carries contraceptive agents designed to inhibit local population growth. Sociological case studies of medical distrust related to fears of forced sterilization in SSA include tetanus vaccines in Cameroon (Feldman-Savelsberg et al., 2000), polio vaccines in Niger (Masquelier et al., 2012) and Nigeria (Yahya, 2007), condoms and AIDS in Malawi (Kaler, 2004), and family planning in Zimbabwe (Kaler, 1998; West, 1994) and South Africa (Brown, 1987). Given the qualitative literature documenting a strong focus on sterility in SSA as a driver of medical mistrust, even for unrelated medical care such as vaccination, quantifying and causally testing the role of fear of infertility is of particular importance.

Finally, this paper contributes by developing an intervention that persistently changes incorrect beliefs in a setting where merely providing information is unlikely to be enough given that these beliefs are grounded in historical experiences and further reinforced by and transmitted across peers. Indeed, from an extensive review of the literature, Dupas and Miguel (2017) conclude that information alone often does not change health behaviors or the take-up of health products. Our intervention is carefully designed to induce changes in beliefs. The use of personal stories in our treatment operationalizes research showing that stories, soap operas, and television can persistently affect attitudes and beliefs even when statistical information fails (Graeber et al., 2024; Ferrara et al., 2012; Banerjee et al., 2019a; Banerjee et al., 2019b). Similarly, our use of individuals from a similar background to deliver information capitalizes on “information resonance” (Malmendier and Veldkamp, 2022), where information delivered by a source the participant identifies with is more likely to imprint itself on memory and affect decisionmaking. Despite the difficulty of changing beliefs, the effects of our treatment on beliefs (and contraceptive usage) persist 6 months afterwards with virtually no fadeout.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 describes the context of the study, including the socioeconomic status, degree of under-utilization, available contraceptive options, and infertility fears in our study population. Section 3 discusses the experimental design, while Section 4 describes the data. Section 5 presents our empirical strategy, Section 6 describes the results, Section 7 discusses threats to the validity or interpretation of the results, Section 8 provides evidence on mechanisms, Section 9 quantifies the importance of fear of infertility as a barrier to contraceptive take-up, and Section 10 concludes.

2 Context

2.1 Contraceptive Types and Efficacy

In this section, we describe the different methods Zambian women use to prevent pregnancy. Preventative methods, which are used regularly to prevent ovulation or implantation, consist of oral contraceptive pills, shots, implants, and the copper interuterine device (IUD).⁷ Encounter-specific methods, which prevent pregnancy for a given instance of intercourse, include male condoms, emergency contraceptives, and withdrawal.⁸ In addition, women use the rhythm method (tracking which days ovulation should occur and avoiding sex on those days), which does not fit neatly into these categories. These different methods vary greatly in their reliability (see Appendix Figure A1 for details on the efficacy of each method), the degree of maintenance they require, and the woman's level of control, as we describe below. We summarize their different features in Appendix Table A1. Because our study takes place in the capital city, all of the methods described are broadly accessible and nominally free in public clinics (though there are anecdotal reports of stockouts), as well as available for purchase at private pharmacies.

As we highlight below, hormonal methods have features that made them particularly effective in allowing women to delay first birth, finish their education, and enter the workforce in the U.S. (Goldin and Katz, 2002; Bailey, 2006), even though other methods existed prior to their introduction. Hormonal methods are both quite reliable *and* the only methods that are fully female-controlled. Before hormonal methods, nearly all methods of avoiding pregnancy — condoms, withdrawal, and even the rhythm method and abstinence — required the knowledge, consent, and cooperation of the male partner. This distinction is critical for young, unmarried women as coordination and communication with partners is likely to be much lower than in marriage. Many of the participants in our sample have partners who are older and provide financial assistance, which can decrease women's bargaining power to advocate for contraceptives that require both partners' consent, particularly in the moment of sexual intercourse. Even in the extreme case where sex is coercive, hormonal contraceptives provide protection.⁹

Medium Efficacy, High Maintenance, & High Female Control: Pills. Contraceptive pills contain progesterone, typically in combination with estrogen, and need to be taken every day (ideally at the same time) to prevent pregnancy. Pills are typically distributed in packs monthly and need to be refilled in time to avoid gaps in coverage. Birth control pills have a low failure rate with perfect use, but because they require fairly rigid compliance, the failure rate for typical use is 7% (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2024). Oral contraceptive pills have the advantage of being the preventative method that is the least invasive. In addition, women using them maintain regular periods because they are taken in 4-week cycles, and the last week of pills contains no hormones, bringing on a period. Whether a woman is taking the pill is not readily visible to her partner, and this method is female-controlled.

High Efficacy, Low Maintenance, & High Female Control: Implants, Injections, and IUDs. Contraceptive implants, such as Jadelle in Zambia, are inserted into the arm using a large needle and typically a small amount of local anesthetic by a trained clinician. They work by continuously excreting a small amount of progesterone in the bloodstream, and can prevent pregnancy for 3-5 years. A copper IUD is placed inside the uterus through the cervix, and prevents implantation for up to 10 years. Both IUDs

⁷Hormonal IUDs are not readily available in our context.

⁸Female condoms, sponges, and diaphragms have become less popular, and are very seldom used in this context.

⁹14% of Zambian women 15–49 have experienced sexual violence (Zambia Statistics Agency (ZSA) et al., 2020).

and implants can be removed by a provider before the end of their efficacy if a woman wishes to become pregnant, and return to fecundity with these methods is typically very fast. Both are also extremely effective and importantly, do not require any additional action once they are in place. The failure rate for typical use in both cases is below 1% ([Centers for Disease Control and Prevention \(CDC\), 2024](#)).

The contraceptive shot is administered at a clinic by a healthcare provider and lasts 3-5 months. The failure rate for the contraceptive shot with typical use is 4% ([Centers for Disease Control and Prevention \(CDC\), 2024](#)). In terms of ease of use, the shot requires relatively little action by the recipient beyond getting a new shot approximately every 3 months.

Like the pill, these three methods do not require any cooperation from a male partner. In addition, even more than the pill, these methods are easy to hide from partners ([Ashraf et al., 2014](#)), peers, and parents in a context where pre-marital sex is stigmatized, since the woman does not need to have medicine on-hand. At the same time, fear of infertility may be a particularly important barrier to taking-up these methods for two reasons. First, they can cause irregular menstrual cycles, due to constant hormone exposure, which may in turn stoke fears of permanent infertility.¹⁰ Second, they are longer-lasting, and focus groups suggest that students believe that the infertility effects of contraceptives may increase with the duration of use (see Appendix A).

Medium Efficacy, High Maintenance, & Low Female Control: Condoms. Condoms have received particular attention as a contraception method in SSA because they prevent HIV. As a primary method of pregnancy prevention, however, they have three significant downsides. First, they need to be used with every incidence of sexual intercourse. There is well-documented evidence of an “intention-behavior gap” in which individuals or couples *plan* to use condoms but often fail to do so in the moment ([Sheeran and T. L. Webb, 2016](#)). Second, as described above, they require the consent and cooperation of the male partner who may have different preferences over condom use (either because they get less benefit, bear less risk of pregnancy, or both). This gap in preferences may be especially important in this context, where many women receive financial support from partners; condomless sex has been shown to command a premium in the market for sex ([Gertler et al., 2005](#)). Consistent with this, in our sample, we find that many participants who do use condoms do so inconsistently. In Appendix Figure A2, we show a histogram of the fraction of encounters using a condom, by participant. While 42% use a condom with every encounter, most women who report having sex over the study period have at least one condomless encounter, and 21% always engage in condomless sex. This is similar to the rate of condom use among sexually active, unmarried women 18-25 in the 2018 Zambia DHS, which is 35% ([Zambia Statistics Agency \(ZSA\) et al., 2020](#)). This indicates that, even for women who are not opposed to condom use, adherence is typically not perfect, leaving residual pregnancy risk. Third, even when condoms are used regularly, they can be unreliable; the failure rate for male condoms in developing countries is 5.4% per year.¹¹

Low Efficacy, High Maintenance, & Low Female Control: Withdrawal and Rhythm. Withdrawal and rhythm are considerably less effective than the methods described above, with annual failure rates of 13.4% and 13.9% respectively. These methods are difficult to use in practice; rhythm requires a couple to accurately keep track of periods and infer when ovulation occurs. In addition, both methods

¹⁰In focus groups with our population, several women brought up the worry that hormonal contraception can change women’s menstrual cycles, and that this furthered their worries about future infertility.

¹¹The CDC sites a considerably higher failure rate with “typical use” of 13% ([Centers for Disease Control and Prevention \(CDC\), 2024](#)).

require at least some cooperation from the male partner and may be subject to the same bargaining power issues as condoms.

Low Efficacy, High Maintenance, & High Female Control: Emergency Contraceptives. Lastly, the emergency contraceptive can be taken after unprotected sexual intercourse (up to 72 hours) to prevent ovulation and/or implantation. This requires a woman to quickly obtain the emergency contraceptive. This can be done without the consent or knowledge of the male partner and also does not require action in the heat of the moment, as other encounter-specific methods do. However, the emergency contraceptive has a much lower efficacy than preventative methods (~5-9% annual pregnancy rate) and is known to have particularly unpleasant side effects ([Kraus and Hooper-Lane, 2017](#)). It is typically not recommended for regular use.

2.2 Sample Characteristics

University students are an increasingly important population throughout SSA, where the share of women enrolled in college has almost doubled from 5% in 2007 to 9% in 2020 ([World Bank, 2023](#)). Our survey data¹² provide key details about the lives of this population (see Table 1 for summary statistics). While college students in SSA are often viewed as elites, our survey suggests that financial disadvantage is common, consistent with growing rates of attendance. Sixty-seven percent of students receive financial aid from the government, and 60% come from outside the relatively wealthy capital of Lusaka. Thirty-two percent are first generation college students, and 14% would have to take out a loan if they needed 1,000 Zambian kwacha (52 USD) rather than relying on family help, employment income, or savings. Altogether, while some college students are from an urban, highly-educated background, many are socioeconomically vulnerable.

Rates of sexual activity are high, but few women use hormonal contraceptives. Table 1 shows that, at baseline, 60% of women have had sex, and 18% had sex in the past two weeks. For a subsample that we follow for 6 months, 58% report having sex at least once during the survey period.¹³ Figure 1, in which we report the percent using each type of hormonal contraceptive for both all and sexually active women, shows that overall 2.7% of women are using the pill and 1.5% are using the injection. Very few participants report using the implant or IUD (0.6% and 0.4%, respectively). The percent of sexually active women using hormonal contraceptives is higher (9%) but still relatively low given their risk of pregnancy.

¹²See Section 4 for more details on the data collection.

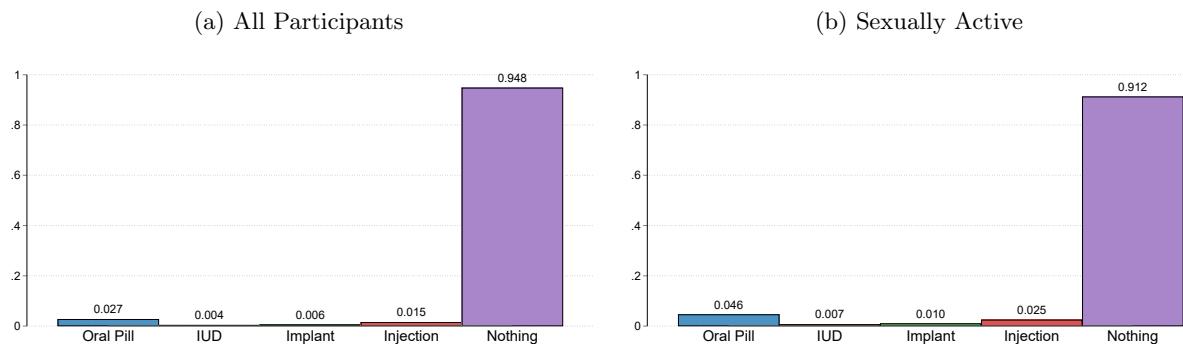
¹³This number differs from Panel B of Table 1 because Panel B includes the full sample, some of whom we observe for a shorter period. We discuss the study design in more detail in Section 3.

Table 1
Summary Statistics From the Survey Data

	Mean (1)	Std. dev. (2)	N (3)
<i>Panel A- At Baseline</i>			
First generation college student	0.319	0.466	1493
Desired level of education: Undergraduate degree	0.167	0.373	1507
Desired level of education: Postgraduate degree	0.831	0.375	1507
From Lusaka	0.396	0.489	1469
Has family in Lusaka	0.940	0.238	1491
On government bursary	0.666	0.472	1499
Would take out a loan if they needed 1,000 kwacha	0.141	0.348	1491
Ever had sex	0.596	0.491	1495
Does not use any contraception (if ever had sex)	0.562	0.496	891
Had sex in the last two weeks	0.177	0.382	1505
Number of partners in the last two weeks (if had sex)	1.034	0.201	266
Ever been pregnant	0.061	0.240	1505
Does not use a hormonal contraceptive	0.948	0.223	1508
Does not use hormonal contraceptives because respondent...			
Is afraid of infertility/side effects	0.246	0.431	1408
Is not having sex	0.489	0.500	1408
Uses condoms	0.180	0.385	1408
Uses the withdrawal method	0.064	0.245	1408
Cannot access them	0.018	0.132	1408
Is worried about disapproval	0.014	0.118	1408
Does not have time to go and get them	0.012	0.109	1408
Cannot afford them	0.011	0.103	1408
Is okay with being pregnant	0.001	0.038	1408
Any other reasons	0.236	0.425	1408
Knows about the oral pill	0.802	0.398	1503
Believes the oral pill causes infertility	0.548	0.498	1201
Knows about the injection	0.480	0.500	1503
Believes the injection causes infertility	0.463	0.499	713
Knows about the IUD	0.359	0.480	1503
Believes the IUD causes infertility	0.339	0.474	534
Knows about the implant	0.443	0.497	1503
Believes the implant causes infertility	0.421	0.494	655
<i>Panel B- Over Study Period</i>			
Had sex	0.538	0.499	1495
Age gap between partner and student	4.071	3.091	793
Had condomless sex at least once	0.575	0.495	803
Had sex without any contraception at least once	0.487	0.500	803
Number of unique partners	0.765	0.984	1494
Share of sexual encounters that were condomless	0.414	0.493	3204

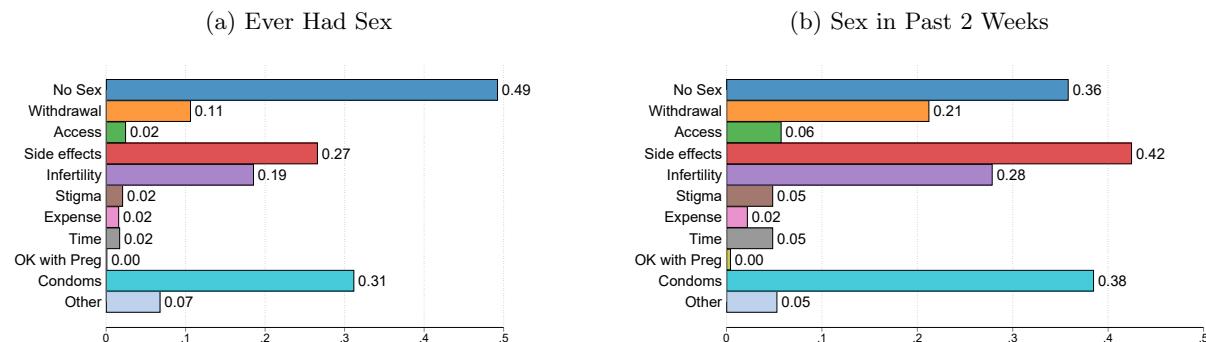
Notes: This table reports summary statistics from mobile surveys of participants. Panel A reports statistics from the baseline survey, and Panel B reports statistics from all the subsequent surveys, which occurred every two weeks. “Had sex,” “Had condomless sex at least once”, and “Had sex without any contraception at least once” are individual-level indicator variables that equal 1 if a participant reported engaging in these behaviors at least once across the surveys. “Age gap between partner and student”, “Had condomless sex at least once”, and “Had sex without any contraception at least once” are all conditional on reporting having had sex at least once over the study period. “Age gap between partner and student” are the individual-level averages over data collected on all sexual encounters during the study period. “Number of unique partners” counts the total number of unique partners a woman reports across the surveys. “Share of sexual encounters that were condomless” is the share of all sexual encounters in our survey period where the student reported not using a condom.

Figure 1
Baseline Hormonal Contraceptive Use



Notes: This figure shows the percent of students using a hormonal contraceptive (IUD, shot, oral pill, or implant) in the baseline survey data. Panel A reports results for all participants ($N = 1,508$), and Panel B reports results for all participants who have ever had sex at baseline ($N = 891$).

Figure 2
Self-Reported Reasons for the Non-Use of Hormonal Contraceptives at Baseline



Notes: This figure shows reported reasons given by participants for not using hormonal contraceptives in the baseline survey data. This question was asked of all participants who did not report currently using a hormonal contraceptive (IUD, shot, oral pill, or implant) at baseline. Reasons were not mutually exclusive; participants could choose more than one option. Panel A reports results for participants who have ever had sex at baseline ($N = 813$), and Panel B reports results for all participants who have had sex in the past two weeks at baseline ($N = 227$). “No sex” indicates that participants self-report that they do not use hormonal contraceptives because they do not have sex frequently enough, “Withdrawal” indicates that a student uses withdrawal or timing to avoid pregnancy, “Time” indicates that the respondent did not have time to access hormonal contraceptives, and “Condoms” indicates participants report that they don’t use hormonal contraceptives because they use condoms.

One possibility is that women do not use hormonal contraceptives because they are using barrier methods, which have the advantage of also protecting against HIV and other STIs.¹⁴ In the baseline survey, we asked all participants who were not currently using a hormonal birth control method to report why not; participants could choose more than one option. In Figure 2, we display the reported reasons for women who report having ever had sex at baseline (panel a) and having had sex in the past two weeks at baseline (panel b). Only 31% of sexually active women report using male or female condoms as a reason for non-use (38% of those who have had sex in the last two weeks). Of women who cite condoms as their reason for not using preventative contraceptives, only 55% actually consistently use condoms in all of the sexual encounters reported in our survey. One reason for the relatively low rate of condom use in this population may be that women have limited bargaining power with partners who are often older and provide financial support.¹⁵

¹⁴This may be particularly relevant in Zambia, where HIV prevalence among women 15–49 is 13% (CDC, 2022).

¹⁵On average, partners are 4 years older than respondents, and 65% of partners have provided cash or paid school or housing

In Appendix Figure A3, we show that condom use is indeed lower with older partners, consistent with the literature (Dupas, 2011).

Finally, while delaying first births does not preclude having a large family, it may be easier to have a large family if women start earlier, potentially contributing to the low take-up of contraceptives. We therefore report descriptive information on whether women desire children, both now and in the future. Consistent with a high desire for children in the future, when asked out of 100 how important it is to have children, more than a quarter of respondents inputted 100, and the 50th percentile was 78. Only 7% of women report not being sure if they want children at all. However, across a variety of questions, almost no women report a desire to get pregnant now. In Figure 2, 0% of women report that they are not currently using contraceptives because they are OK with becoming pregnant right now. In response to questions about the “ideal timing of motherhood,” 91% of women that want children say that they want to wait until graduation (or later) to have children. Taken together, these questions demonstrate that women in our sample *do* desire children, but they are not interested in becoming pregnant during their studies.

2.3 Pregnancy & its Consequences

The descriptive statistics above suggest that women would like to delay pregnancy, even though take-up of hormonal contraceptives (and even condoms) is low. Perhaps the strongest evidence that women are not adequately preventing pregnancies is that many pregnancies occur. At baseline, 10% of sexually active women report ever having been pregnant. This is likely to underestimate the overall hazard rate of pregnancy in this population for a few reasons. First, our sample is recruited from women who are currently full-time undergraduates at UNZA. If pregnancy often leads to dropout, then we would expect that very few women who are still enrolled would have experienced a pregnancy in the past, even if they face a very high ongoing hazard rate of pregnancy. Second, pregnancies that do not end in a birth, and particularly abortions, are very likely to be underreported in retrospective surveys (Desai et al., 2021). This is consistent with Duflo et al. (2024), who find that even infant and child mortality is underreported in retrospective data.

We collected data about pregnancies in two ways during the study. First, on every biweekly survey, we asked participants whether they had been pregnant or had a positive pregnancy test over the previous two weeks. If they answered yes, we asked about the outcome of that pregnancy/pregnancy test: false positive, miscarriage, abortion, still pregnant, or gave birth. Second, at endline, we asked participants whether they had ever been pregnant during the previous 6 months. Fewer pregnancies were reported at endline than contemporaneously, while almost every pregnancy at endline was also reported at some point previously on the survey. The discrepancy in number of pregnancies may reflect both underreporting at endline (e.g., choosing not to report a pregnancy that ended in abortion or miscarriage) and overreporting in the contemporaneous survey (false positive tests due to poor test quality or concerns about pregnancy due to missed periods). We therefore view the endline as giving us a lower bound measure of the rate of pregnancy prevalence, while the contemporaneous surveys provide something closer to an upper bound, and present estimates for both.

Among the women we follow for 6 months, 61 (5.3%) report they are pregnant or tested positive for pregnancy during at least one survey. This is a (very high) hazard rate of becoming pregnant at least once of about 10.6% per year, or 35% over a typical 4-year undergraduate career, unconditional on sexual activity.¹⁶

fees.

¹⁶For reference, college students in the United States have a pregnancy rate that is less than one tenth this amount (Reynolds et al., 2021).

Of the reported pregnancies, 23.0% of women report having abortions. A further 47.5% report having a miscarriage or a “false positive” pregnancy test. In focus groups, students reported that these likely reflect a combination of early biochemical miscarriages (a woman has a positive pregnancy test but gets a period soon after), true false positives (possibly due to lower quality tests), or abortions not described as such, for example those induced using traditional abortifacients.¹⁷ The remainder of the women report ongoing pregnancies or giving birth over the course of the study.

In the retrospective question, asked at endline, reported pregnancies are much lower: in the control group, 1.7% of women report having experienced a pregnancy over the past 6 months. While we think this is likely a lower bound due to reporting issues listed above,¹⁸ this would still indicate a hazard rate of pregnancy of 13% over a typical undergraduate career, unconditional on sexual activity, which is an astonishingly high rate of pregnancy for women who report a strong desire not to become pregnant before graduating. This is especially true given the cost of unplanned pregnancies in this setting; they either result in early births, which are likely to derail young women’s educational trajectories, or abortions, which are psychologically costly and expose young women to medical complications, particularly in this low-resource environment (Qureshi et al., 2021).¹⁹ Leone et al. (2016) estimate that 70% of abortions in Zambia are unsafe, and this may be higher for adolescents. The Zambian government estimates that 30% of maternal mortality, which in 2014 was 398 deaths per 100,000 live births, is due to unsafe abortions (Health, 2009; Ashraf et al., 2017). This is consistent with recent evidence from Colombia showing that women denied access to wanted abortions are 2.5 percentage points more likely to die within the next nine months (Londoño-Vélez and Saravia, 2025). Furthermore, even among abortions performed at hospitals, the rate of complications as measured by abortion-related near-misses and mortality in Zambian hospitals is high, even relative to other restrictive contexts (Owolabi et al., 2017).

In addition to the heightened risk of medically unsafe abortions, qualitative evidence from our setting suggests that pregnancy is costly for education. In interviews with students, most women have stories of classmates who have become pregnant and left school, and students report fearing the consequences of becoming pregnant for their ability to finish university. This is in line with the fact that pregnancy is consistently cited as a primary reason for secondary dropout among young women in SSA (Zuilkowski et al., 2019). To more quantitatively assess the educational costs of pregnancy for tertiary students specifically, we link the self-reported pregnancies in our endline to administrative data from UNZA on whether women are progressing through their programs on-track. In Appendix Figure A4, we exploit the panel of administrative data and graph the coefficients from a regression of an indicator variable for a participant progressing through her program on-track on year of observation fixed effects interacted with indicators for whether a participant reported a new pregnancy in our endline survey, controlling for year of observation and baseline academic year fixed effects.²⁰ We focus on participants we observed for 6 months to allow time for a new pregnancy to occur. The report of a pregnancy occurred midway through the 2023 academic year. In line with the timing of the reported pregnancy, we find that in the 2022 academic year, there is no difference in being on track for participants who were pregnant in 2023. However, beginning in 2023, there is a negative coefficient, and by 2024 (by which time, births can have taken place), those who report pregnancies are statistically

¹⁷There is considerable qualitative evidence of women in Zambia using self-induced methods for abortion, including overdosing on chloroquine, traditional roots and herbs, and ingesting washing powder (D. Webb, 2000).

¹⁸Indeed, of the women who report abortions or miscarriages contemporaneously, less than 60% report having been pregnant at endline.

¹⁹While abortion is nominally legal in Zambia, the interpretation of the law is ambiguous (Haaland et al., 2019), some providers will not provide abortions, and historically, there have been hurdles and costs (such as buying one’s own anesthesia) to acquiring a legal abortion in a hospital (M. A. Castle et al., 1990).

²⁰Controls for baseline academic year fixed effects account for the fact that first years are mechanically on track.

significant 27 p.p. less likely to be on track to graduate. While we caution that this evidence is not causal, this difference in educational progression, and the fact that it only opens up after the pregnancies occur, is consistent with pregnancies disrupting education.

2.4 Fear of Infertility

Having established the costly underutilization of contraceptives at UNZA, we provide motivating evidence that fear of infertility plays an important role in explaining this puzzle. In Figure 2, 28% of women who have had sex in the last two weeks at baseline and are not using modern contraceptives report fear of infertility as their reason for not doing so (19% of those who have ever had sex). Among these same women, 50% report “side effects” or fear of infertility as a reason for non-use (35% of those who have ever had sex).²¹ In our qualitative work, we found that when women say that they fear side effects, they are primarily referring to damage to their reproductive system.²² Hence, we also interpret these responses as indicative of non-use due to fear of infertility. Table 1 reports the baseline probabilities that women believe that various contraceptive methods cause infertility (conditional on knowing about these methods). The percentages are similar across methods and range from 34% for the IUD to 55% for the oral pill.²³

To understand drivers of fear of infertility, in Appendix Table A2, we attempt to predict which participants (in the control group) believe that at least one type of contraceptive causes infertility.²⁴ Basic demographic characteristics do not predict this belief (column 1). Being sexually active marginally significantly positively predicts it, while having heard about contraceptives at an older age and approving of unmarried women using contraceptives decrease it (column 2). However, the adjusted-R² is close to 0. In column 3, when we use a lasso estimator to select predictors from the pool of variables in columns 1–2 and fixed effects for province of birth and program of study, the lasso does not choose a single variable. Though fear of infertility is widespread, it varies little with demographic characteristics, suggesting that the behavior of the college-going sample may be representative of other groups.

The widespread belief that contraceptives cause infertility will only matter for take-up if infertility is costly. In addition to its personal costs, infertility has economic costs for women if it interferes with economic security via marriage (Baudin et al., 2020; F. E. Okonofua et al., 1997; F. Okonofua, 1999; Dyer et al., 2002; Rouchou, 2013; Dhont et al., 2011). To capture whether participants believe infertility will lead to other negative consequences, at onboarding, we randomly asked half the participants how many married couples out of 10 would still be married in 2 years and the other half of the participants how many couples who could not conceive would still be together. We asked these questions to distinct samples to avoid priming respondents to think fertility matters. On average, respondents believed that 61% of couples would be together when no information was provided on fertility outcomes but that a highly statistically significantly different 48% would be together when the couple could not conceive. Appendix Table A3 shows that, among those that were asked about the number of couples staying together if no child was conceived, reporting 1 more couple stays together is associated with a statistically significant 1.5 percentage point (6%) reduction in the likelihood of reporting not using contraceptives due to fear of infertility/side effects (column 1). When there was no information on conceiving, there is no relationship between these two variables (column 2). This

²¹Because we allowed women to choose more than one option, this number is less than the sum of the two options separately.

²²In Appendix A, we include quotes from focus groups that illustrate this point.

²³The smaller share for the IUD may reflect the fact that a smaller percent of our sample knew about the IUD, so respondents to this question are particularly well-informed.

²⁴We focus on the control group because we use a question that was asked post-treatment in week 2 (“Do you believe any of the following cause infertility? (check all that apply).” We prefer this question because the question asked at baseline conditioned on a respondent reporting that she had heard of a specific method.

is consistent with students who expect infertility to have more negative consequences later in life choosing not to take up contraceptives, which they believe cause infertility, today.

Observational evidence suggests these students' fears that infertility causes marital discord, which would in turn have substantial economic consequences, are indeed reasonable. Based on focus groups showing that women who became infertile often received lower support from their spouses, we fielded a survey between 2014 and 2016 to measure the connection between infertility and marital outcomes with a sample of married women in Lusaka between the ages of 17 and 44.²⁵ The survey measured whether women had been diagnosed with infertility or experienced medical events tied to infertility, such as hysterectomy, and then measured the quality of their relationships with their husbands, as well as how they paid for daily living expenditures. Appendix Table A4 reports the results. All regressions control for age and age-squared, since infertility increases with age, as well as own overall health, to avoid confounding from negative factors associated with poor health generally, as opposed to reproductive health specifically. With the caveat that these regressions are descriptive, infertility is associated with worse marital outcomes and less economic support from spouses across the board.

3 Experimental Design

In this section, we discuss the design and timing of the workshops, as well as our subsequent data collection and key outcome variables.

3.1 Partner Clinic

We partnered with a public health facility, Kalingalinga Clinic, which is located close to the UNZA campus and provides a full complement of family planning services, including family planning counseling, pregnancy tests, contraception (including condoms, pills, shots, and long-acting methods), as well as other medical services, such as vaccination, sick visits, and prenatal care. We chose to work with an off-campus clinic because in focus groups women reported embarrassment about accessing family planning services at the on-campus clinic. We did not augment the services offered to the general public at the clinic for our participants, but we did purchase some supplies and pay for an additional nurse for the duration of our study, so that demand from our intervention would not create congestion.

3.2 Recruitment, Randomization, and Timeline

We contacted 2,701 potential participants at UNZA between August 2022 and April 2023 and invited them to participate in the study. Invitees were recruited using a variety of different strategies, ranging from e-mails to in-person recruitment.²⁶ During recruitment, students were asked whether they were interested in attending a workshop (all study arms attended on-campus workshops) to learn about women's health. Students were informed that the workshop was part of an academic study on women's health and that they would receive airtime for their participation in the workshop and subsequent data collection.²⁷

²⁵The survey questions were added to the baseline survey for [Ashraf et al. \(2022\)](#).

²⁶From August to September, participants were recruited via e-mail, text message, and calls. Afterwards, we switched to an in-person recruitment strategy on UNZA campus. From late February onwards, we also recruited participants by visiting on-campus dormitories.

²⁷Airtime can be used to conduct phone calls, send text messages, and buy mobile data.

If students expressed interest and passed our inclusion criteria (they were enrolled at UNZA and between 18–25 years old), they were provided with a link to sign up for an on-campus workshop. Workshops took place for all treatment arms, but the content of the workshop depended on the treatment. The link randomly assigned them — using Qualtrics internal randomization — to one of three groups: control, voucher, or voucher + infertility information. Once students clicked the link and entered their information, they could not sign up again. They also could not see what workshop times were available before entering their information, making it impossible to coordinate workshop attendance with friends. Upon randomization, the workshop times for a student’s treatment group were displayed, and students were free to pick any available workshop.²⁸ If none of the times worked for the participant, she received a text message when new workshops were available. Similarly, if a student signed up but missed her workshop, she was invited to sign up for other workshops via text message and follow-up phone calls. Students’ identities were verified with student IDs when they arrived at workshops, so students could not attend a different treatment than they had been assigned to or attend multiple workshops.

To be included in the study, invitees had to attend their assigned workshop, during which students provided informed consent and baseline data were collected. Out of the 2,701 invitees, 1,508 ultimately attended a workshop and consented to participate in the study: 508 control (55.6% of those recruited), 486 voucher (54.3%), and 514 voucher + infertility information (57.6%).²⁹ While students were informed that different workshops might have different content and that workshop assignment was completely random, they did not know their assignment until they arrived at the workshop. Therefore, attendance decisions could not depend on treatment assignment, and indeed, differences in attendance rates are not statistically significant. The experimental design and timeline of the study are shown in Figure 3.

There were two recruitment drives whose dates align with two terms of the academic calendar. The first was from July to November 2022, and the second was from February to April 2023. Two drives were necessary to achieve the desired sample size of ~1,500, which was based on initial power calculations. During the first term (July to November 2022), we recruited 1,170 participants. For this first wave sample, we have six months of follow-up survey data (details below). During the second term (February to April 2023), we recruited an additional 338 women for a total of 1,508. For budgetary reasons, data collection ended for this group at the same time as in the initial sample. Hence, while we have complete clinic data (described below) for the the second wave sample, we only have survey data for these 338 students for 1.5 months after the workshop.

3.3 Balance

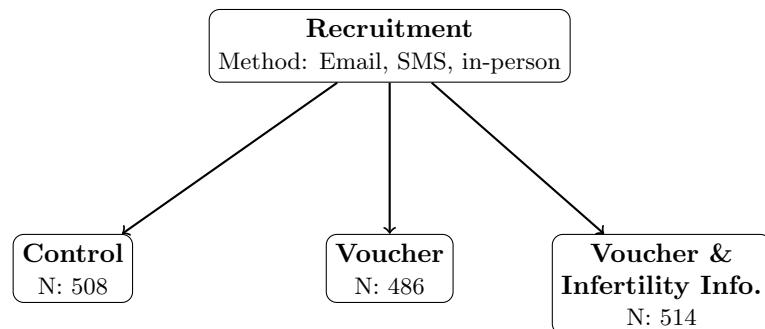
Appendix Table A5 reports average values of baseline observable characteristics for the control group, as well as the coefficients from regressions of those characteristics on the treatment variables (relative to the control). The majority of the baseline variables are balanced, but two characteristics are significantly different at the 5 percent level. First, students in the voucher group are 2 percentage points less likely to be married than students in the control group. This difference is small in magnitude and also reflects a small number of observations since marriage is extremely rare in this sample. Second, students in the voucher + infertility information treatment are 6.7 percentage points less likely to have had sex at baseline. Given that we are running 24 regressions — 12 for each treatment arm — these statistically significant differences are likely to

²⁸We limited each workshop to 40 sign-ups, but this was not binding in practice.

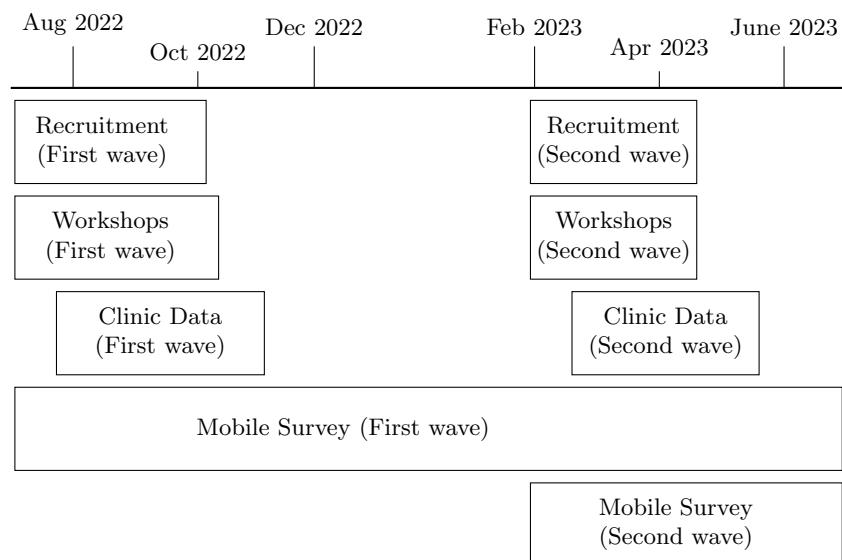
²⁹Because we did not collect data on students who were not consented into the survey, we do not have data on the predictors of participation in the study. We did, however, have a large percentage of first-year students, possibly because they were more likely to stop and talk to our recruiters.

Figure 3
Experimental Design and Timeline

Panel A: Experimental design



Panel B: Timeline



Notes: This figure provides details on the number of participants in each treatment group (Panel A) and the timeline of the study (Panel B).

occur by chance. Consistent with this, the p-value for a joint test of whether the covariates predict whether a student is in the voucher group relative to the control is 0.130, and the same F-test for the voucher + infertility information group has a p-value of 0.556. To ensure that the lack of statistically significant differences is not due to sample size, we also report the normalized difference in baseline characteristics between each of the treatment arms and the control group, following [Imbens and Wooldridge \(2009\)](#). As a general rule of thumb, one should be concerned that the estimates are sensitive to specification if the normalized difference exceeds one quarter ([Imbens and Rubin, 2015](#)); the largest normalized difference in magnitude is -0.12. While this reassures us that imbalance is unlikely to be an issue, to the extent that any imbalance exists and students who are sexually active are more likely to be interested in contraceptives, this is likely to bias the voucher + infertility information effect downwards. Nonetheless, we will also ensure our main results are robust to different methods of accounting for potential imbalances.

3.4 Treatment Arms

We describe each of the treatment arms below. Every treatment group attended an on-campus workshop during which participants consented and baseline data were collected. All workshops were run by the same team of facilitators, who were employees of our program. *After* baseline data were collected, the facilitators delivered one of the three intervention workshops. We capped workshop size at 40, though in practice this was never binding, and a typical workshop had around 7 participants. The full protocol for all three workshops can be found in Appendix B.

Control Group. All workshops included standardized messaging at the beginning listing contraceptive options and highlighting that condoms are needed to protect against HIV. Workshop facilitators also informed participants that they could access free contraceptives at our off-campus partner clinic, Kalingalinga clinic, which is a 25 minute walk from UNZA.³⁰ During the workshop, participants were given a small cardboard card that included the opening hours of the clinic, a map with directions, and their study ID. The card is shown in Figure C1 of Appendix C. Students were also told that if they brought the card to the clinic, they would be seen first by a dedicated nurse, skipping the usually long waiting times at public clinics in Zambia. Students were given a four week deadline to use their card at the clinic.³¹ This workshop typically lasted 30 minutes.

Skipping the line is valuable in and of itself, and along with information about the clinic, may have led to contraceptive take-up on its own. Importantly for our study, these aspects (which are also held constant in the other two interventions) provided even control students with an incentive to visit and bring their study card to Kalingalinga clinic specifically, which aided in collecting administrative data on take-up, as we describe below. Therefore, the treatment effects we estimate are the differential effect of the interventions above and beyond any positive effects of providing information on the partner clinic and allowing students to skip the line.

Voucher. Students in the voucher treatment received the same workshop and information card, allowing them to skip the line just like the control students, but were also offered a 80 ZMW (about \$4.30) voucher (labeled as being for “transportation”) for visiting the partner clinic. Despite the labelling (which is common

³⁰While there is also a university-run clinic on campus where students can access free contraceptives, we partnered with an off-campus location to allow students to access contraceptives more privately.

³¹This was not enforced, apart from for the students who attended the last workshops.

in our setting), most students walked to the clinic and did not have any transportation costs. To redeem the voucher, participants had to go to the clinic and have their voucher stamped by the nurse, who they would see one at a time. Requiring (and providing a cover story for) a one-to-one interaction allowed students to privately ask questions and request services. Once the student saw the nurse, she could decide whether to get family planning information, take-up contraceptives, or simply get her voucher stamped and leave immediately. A stamped voucher could be redeemed for payment from an employee of our program stationed at the clinic. Thus, the marginal costs from time, transportation, and even stigma are reduced by this treatment, while the costs of the services themselves are zero in all groups. Figure C2 of Appendix C shows the voucher.

Voucher + Infertility Information. Students in the voucher + infertility information treatment also received the same information card and voucher as the voucher group, but in addition, we provided them with information intended to counter the incorrect belief that hormonal contraceptives cause permanent infertility. The informational portion of the workshop was based on extensive piloting. Given evidence that dry statistical information is often insufficient to change health behavior (Dupas and Miguel, 2017), it was designed to make information salient and relatable and to provide direct evidence that women could bear children after using contraceptives. This portion of the workshop was divided into two parts. In the first part, the trained facilitators explained how hormonal contraceptives work, emphasizing that while hormonal contraceptives stop ovulation, it is temporary. To illustrate this, the facilitator would ask for a volunteer and blindfold her at the front of the room. The facilitator would then take out an orange and ask the volunteer what she smelled. After the volunteer identified the orange, the facilitator held up mint oil between the volunteer's nose and the orange. Asked what she smelled, the volunteer would say "mint," though the audience could see that the orange was still there. Finally, the facilitator removed the mint oil and asked the woman what she could smell, which again was the orange. The facilitators then removed the blindfold and explained that similarly to how the mint oil blocked the orange's smell, hormonal contraceptives block fertility for a short time, but it is always there in the background and returns after removal.

During the second part, the two facilitators told their personal stories. This approach is in line with research showing that information conveyed via stories is more memorable than information conveyed via statistics (Graeber et al., 2024). Both facilitators were selected because they were young women who had used hormonal contraceptives and became pregnant afterwards. In addition, the facilitators were from a similar educational background to the UNZA students to increase information resonance (Malmendier and Veldkamp, 2022). The facilitators emphasized how the use of contraceptives did not prevent them from getting pregnant once they stopped using them. To make their stories salient, they also showed pictures of the children they had following cessation of contraceptive use, and one of the facilitators showed the small scar in her arm where she had the contraceptive implant inserted. Outside of this treatment, since contraceptive use is very uncommon among young women (and is stigmatized so that even women who use contraceptives are unlikely to publicly admit to using them), women rarely witness direct evidence that contraceptives do not hamper fertility. These workshops typically lasted around an hour.

4 Data

In this section, we describe our two data sources. The first data set was collected in partnership with Kalingalinga clinic by an enumerator based at the clinic. The second data set comes from smartphone

surveys completed by participants every two weeks after the intervention. Table 2 outlines the different data sources and their relationship with our key outcome variables.

4.1 Clinic Data

The clinic data were collected at the partner clinic during a students' first visit to the clinic and contain information on the services received at that clinic. As can be seen in Panel B of Appendix Figure C1, the back of the clinic card that guaranteed no wait services to students included codes for the services that were provided to the students. Appendix Figure C3 reports the translations for the different codes used on the back of the card. We collected information not only on whether students requested any contraceptive services but also the type, as well as information on whether they took up any other healthcare related services, such as sexually transmitted infection (STI) tests and pregnancy tests. When seeing the nurse, students in all treatment arms brought their clinic card with them, gave it to the nurse to receive "no wait" services, and the nurse used it to indicate which services had been provided once the student left the room.³² The codes on the clinic card were not known to students. Throughout the day, a study employee collected all the clinic cards and recorded the information electronically.

The clinic data were used to measure two main outcomes: 1) whether students visited the clinic, and 2) take-up of different types of contraceptives during the clinic visit. These data provide an objective measure of take-up of contraception at our partner clinics that is free from both reporting bias and attrition concerns.

However, there are a few caveats to these data that are important to note. First, participants' outcomes were only recorded during the visit at which they used the card, since this is how we linked participants to their health care utilization. This means that the outcomes recorded at the clinic are necessarily short-run; students could only redeem the voucher within four weeks of the workshop. In addition, we will not see the outcomes of any follow-up visits to the clinic. If, for instance, a participant consulted the nurse about family planning methods, and then returned later to actually receive the contraceptive, our data will not capture take up during the second visit. This may be particularly important for implants and IUDs because they need to be inserted by a trained clinician and are only available on certain days. This also means that we will not be able to measure important downstream outcomes, such as pregnancy, in the clinic data.

Second, the data come only from Kalingalinga clinic, which is one of many clinics in the local area where students could potentially access family planning services.³³ Our experiment was designed to incentivize participants to get family planning services at Kalingalinga specifically so we could measure the impact of our treatments on take up there. However, if the voucher incentivized participants to switch from using another clinic to Kalingalinga, we could measure effects of take up without any underlying change in contraceptive usage. By contrast, if students were pushed to increase their contraceptive usage by our treatments but did not obtain them at Kalingalinga clinic, this could lead us to underestimate the total effects on usage.

Lastly, take up at the clinic does not necessarily translate into usage for all contraceptive methods. Condoms, contraceptive pills, and emergency contraceptives could be obtained at the clinic and subsequently sold, given away, or discarded. For all these reasons, we complement the clinic data with high frequency survey data on contraceptive usage.

³²If a student forgot to bring her clinic card, we provided her with a spare one at the clinic and recorded her study ID on it before seeing the nurse. This helps address the concern that students in the control group may be less incentivized to bring the clinic cards.

³³UNZA is located in a dense neighborhood in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia, and is within easy walking or driving distance of several off-campus clinics, in addition to the on-campus clinic which also provides contraceptives.

4.2 Mobile Survey

We collected survey data using mobile phone surveys for up to six months, starting at the intervention workshop. All students at UNZA have smartphones, as they are required for schoolwork. The first of these mobile surveys, which served as a baseline, was conducted at the workshop for all participants. Participants were sent the survey link to their mobile phones and asked to complete the survey upon receipt. This allowed the facilitators to ensure that all participants were receiving the links, solve any technical issues, and answer any questions about the survey. In addition, having all participants fill out the survey at the first workshop prior to other workshop activities meant that all participants had to spend some time in a workshop in order to participate, helping to avoid any differential attrition across treatment groups.

Following the workshop, participants were sent a new survey link on their mobile phone every two weeks on Friday evenings.³⁴ Each survey had a maximum length of fifteen minutes. Participants who did not fill out the survey by Monday evening received a follow-up SMS from the field team, which reminded them to complete the survey. If the survey was still not filled out by Wednesday, students received a phone call from the field team reminding them again and helping to troubleshoot any technical issues. Upon completion of each survey, participants received 10 ZMW (about \$0.5) of additional airtime as compensation for their time.

The survey has several key advantages. First, it allows us to trace out the dynamic response to the workshop over 6 months for our main outcomes of interest. Second, it allows us to test for unintended consequences (such as reduced condom use or increased sexual activity). Third, it allows us to account for contraceptives taken up through other providers than the partner clinic. Fourth, it allows us to explore effects on pregnancy. Finally, the fact that the survey was administered online via Qualtrics and could be completed using a smartphone helped ensure that data collection was confidential and that young women could answer sensitive questions freely, in the privacy of their home, without interacting with an enumerator. In scoping work, we found that participants reported being the most honest in mobile surveys, as opposed to traditional surveys or interviews with in-person surveyors. This is consistent with work on sensitive topics in the U.S. (Kranzler et al., 2004; Kiene et al., 2008; Gibbs et al., 2019). While mobile surveys often have high levels of non-response and attrition, the response rate to our survey was very high. We discuss non-response and attrition in Section 7.2.

As shown in Table 2, our key outcome measures from the survey can be divided into three categories: (1) *Recurring Questions* that were asked every two weeks (in every survey), (2) *Encounter-Specific Questions* that are only relevant (and hence, only asked) conditional on a sexual encounter occurring, and (3) *One-time Questions* that appeared in a particular survey.

Recurring Questions. Every survey asked about contraceptive use, sexual encounters in the last two weeks, pregnancy, and clinic visits, forming a panel of data on these outcomes. For preventative contraceptive methods, which are used even if an encounter doesn't occur, we asked whether a participant was using a method in each survey, regardless of whether she reported having sex during the relevant time period. Importantly, unlike the clinic data, which measures contraception take up, the survey data measures actual *usage*. For some contraceptives, such as the oral pill, these measures may differ since a young woman can take-up the pill at the clinic but then fail to use it or delay using it until she starts having sex.

³⁴Piloting had shown that many women respond quickly when they are not in class or engaged in other activities.

Table 2
Data Sources

Data Source	Sample	Time Frame	Outcome Variables
Clinic Data	All	~0-4 Weeks (first clinic visit)	<i>Take Up:</i> condoms, emergency contraceptives, pills, shot, implant, IUD
Survey Data			
Biweekly Recurring Questions	All	Past 2 Weeks	<i>Usage:</i> pills, shot, implant, IUD; Any sex; Current pregnancy
Encounter-Level Data	Sexually Active in Past 2 Weeks	Past 2 Weeks	<i>Usage:</i> condoms, emergency contraceptives, partner characteristics
Endline Retrospective Questions	All	Past 6 Months	Pregnant in past 6 months; Beliefs

Notes: This table describes the different data sources and the frequency with which different outcomes are collected.

Encounter-Specific Questions. In each survey, we asked participants whether they had had sex in the previous two weeks and with how many partners. If they had had sex, we asked them to separately identify partners (using nicknames). The first time a partner was mentioned, we collected information on the partner (e.g., age, financial transfers). In addition, for *each* report of an encounter with a partner, we asked about use of encounter-specific contraceptive methods, including condoms and emergency contraceptives, regardless of whether the participant had already reported using preventative contraceptive methods.

One-time Questions. Different survey rounds also included rotating questions on beliefs, attitudes and fears around contraceptives, child-bearing, and marriage, enabling us to explore additional outcomes and the mechanisms underlying the responses we observe. At endline (the last biweekly survey), we also asked participants whether they had ever been pregnant in the past six months, and if so, about the outcome of the pregnancy.

5 Empirical Strategy

Using the clinic and survey data, we test whether the voucher and voucher + infertility information treatments affected young women's take-up/usage of contraceptives. We report standard regression equations for outcomes we observe once (e.g., take-up in the clinic data) and graph dynamic estimates for outcomes we observe over time (e.g., contraceptive use in the survey data). Our main estimating equation for outcomes that were only observed once per individual takes the following form:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta^V V_i + \beta^{VI} VI_i + \Gamma \mathbf{X}_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

where y_i is the outcome of interest, V_i is an indicator variable for whether student i is part of the voucher group, and VI_i is an indicator variable for the voucher + infertility information group. In our preferred specifications, the vector of controls \mathbf{X}_i only includes indicator variables for use of each type of hormonal contraceptive at baseline (IUD, implant, oral pill, shot, or none) and an indicator variable for the students' recruitment wave. We include controls for baseline use of hormonal contraceptives in all regressions because in our primary specification, it is the outcome of interest, and thus including baseline usage can improve statistical power (Duflo et al., 2007). We keep this control in specifications with other outcomes so that our

specifications are consistent across outcomes. To ensure that our results are not driven by our specific choice of controls, for our main outcomes of contraceptive take-up and usage, we also report specifications where we only control for the recruitment wave and where we select controls from the pool of baseline variables using double-lasso.³⁵

For cases where we observe participants' outcomes over multiple survey rounds, we investigate how treatment effects evolve over time. Our dynamic estimating equation takes the form

$$y_{it} = \lambda_0 + \sum_{k=1}^{12} \tau_k^V V_i \times \mathbb{1}\{k = t\} + \sum_{k=1}^{12} \tau_k^{VI} VI_i \times \mathbb{1}\{k = t\} + \delta_t + \Gamma \mathbf{X}_i + \varepsilon_{it}, \quad (2)$$

where t denotes a survey round, $\mathbb{1}\{k = t\}$ is an indicator variable for when $k = t$, and δ_t is a vector of survey round fixed effects. In addition to the dynamic equation, we also estimate an aggregate version of equation (2) in order to estimate average treatment effects throughout the data collection period:

$$y_{it} = \lambda_0 + \phi^V V_i + \phi^{VI} VI_i + \delta_t + \Gamma \mathbf{X}_i + \varepsilon_{it}. \quad (3)$$

Following standard practice, our standard errors are heteroskedasticity robust when we observe students once in a regression and clustered at the student-level when we observe students multiple times. As before, for the main outcomes, we report specifications with and without controls for baseline usage and that select controls using double-lasso.

6 Results

6.1 Clinic Data: Visits and Take-Up

Panel A of Table 3 reports the effects of the treatments on clinic attendance and the take-up of contraceptives in the clinic data. Both the voucher and combined voucher and infertility information treatments were extremely effective at encouraging students to visit the clinic; students in the voucher and voucher + infertility information groups are 53.3 p.p. (285%) and 50.1 p.p. (268%) more likely to visit the clinic than students in the control group (column 1). In Appendix Figure A5, we report treatment effects on participants' reported visits to Kalingalinga clinic in the survey data by survey round. The overall pattern is similar. In survey rounds 1 and 2 (the first month after onboarding), participants report visiting the clinic more than in the control group, but this difference disappears after survey 2.³⁶ Appendix Table A6 reports the results with parsimonious controls (only recruitment wave) and double-lasso selected controls. In both cases, they are almost identical to the estimates in Table 3.

In column 2, we report the treatment effects on the take-up of preventative hormonal contraceptives, defined as the injection/shot, jadelle/implant, IUD, and oral contraceptive pills. These are the contraceptives that students typically fear cause infertility, and we include the copper IUD in this group, even though it is

³⁵Double-lasso is a machine learning technique that allows for the selection of controls to improve power (best predictors of the outcome variable) and improve balance (best predictors of the treatment variables) in a principled way (Belloni et al., 2014).

³⁶The magnitudes of the treatment effects in this figure are smaller than the effect on visiting the clinic in the administrative clinic data shown in Table 3 (column 1). Adding up surveys 1 and 2, since most participants went to the clinic only once, yields 12 and 11 percentage point increases in the voucher + infertility information and voucher treatments. We attribute the difference in magnitudes to the wording of the question on the survey. It asked, "Have you gone to Kalingalinga clinic for family planning services in the past 2 weeks?" Participants who did not actually take up any services, but only went to collect their reimbursement, would likely have answered "no" to this question.

not hormonal, because it is long-acting and associated with fears of infertility.³⁷ We do not include emergency contraception (EC) in our preferred measure because we expect that the take-up of preventative methods may reduce the take-up of emergency contraceptives. Like all columns in this table, column 2 includes the full sample and does not condition on visiting the clinic. Students in the voucher group are 2.6 p.p. (163%) more likely to take up hormonal contraceptives at the partner clinic than students in the control group. These are already substantial treatment effects, more than doubling the share of girls taking up hormonal contraceptives at the clinic. However, the effects are twice as large in the voucher + infertility information group. Students in this group are 5.4 p.p. (338%) more likely to take-up hormonal contraceptives (a doubling relative to self-reported baseline rates of hormonal contraceptive usage). We reject that $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$ at the 5% significance level. The last column of Panel A reports the effect on take-up of any contraceptive (condoms, EC, hormonal). This results in higher rates of take-up in both groups, though the size of the gap in take-up is stable. Panel B shows that the change in coefficients is mainly driven by the take-up of condoms, which we do not expect to vary between the two treatments (and in fact, does not) since participants do not fear that condoms cause infertility.

Panel B of Table 3 reports the treatment effects on the take-up of different types of contraceptives. We omit a column for the IUD since there is zero take-up in the clinic data. We find that the difference in the take-up of hormonal contraceptives between the voucher and voucher + infertility information groups is driven by injections and oral pills (columns 1 and 2). This is consistent with the fact that take-up of the implant in the clinic data is very low, perhaps in part because the implant could only be administered at certain times on certain days, and the clinic data only capture take-up during the first visit. Reassuringly, hormonal contraceptive take-up did not crowd out condom demand; the treatment effects are positive and identical for the voucher and voucher + infertility information groups (column 4 of Panel B). Finally, column 5 of Panel B reports the effect of the treatments on the take-up of emergency contraceptives. This is also similar across treatments, consistent with the idea that the effects of the voucher + infertility information treatment on EC take-up are ex-ante theoretically ambiguous. This treatment may make students perceive EC as less costly but also may lead to substitution away from EC to preventative hormonal contraceptives.

To summarize, both treatments encourage students to visit the clinic and take-up contraceptives while there. However, the voucher + infertility information treatment has twice as large an effect on students taking up hormonal contraceptives compared to the voucher. One caveat of these results is that these are clinic-level take-up measures. For some methods, such as the implant or the contraceptive shot, this is equivalent to usage. However, for condoms, emergency contraceptives, or oral birth control pills, these data only tell us whether participants in the two treatment arms were more likely to get these methods from the clinic, not whether they were more likely to use them. To examine usage, we turn to the survey data in the next subsection.

6.2 Recurring Survey Questions: Contraceptive Usage Over Time

We next investigate the dynamic effects of the interventions on contraceptive usage. We focus here on preventative methods, both because these were the focus of our intervention, and because participants were asked in every survey whether they were using a preventative method regardless of whether they reported having sex in the previous two weeks. We will turn to encounter-level outcomes, such as condom use, in Section 6.3.

³⁷In practice its inclusion in the measure of the take-up of hormonal contraceptives is irrelevant since no students take up IUDs at the clinic.

Table 3
Effect on Clinic Attendance and Contraceptive Take-Up (Clinic Data)

Panel A—Effect on Clinic Attendance and Contraceptive Take-Up

	Visits Clinic (1)	Takes up Hormonal Contraceptives (2)	Takes up Condoms, EC or Hormonal (3)
Voucher	0.533*** (0.027)	0.026** (0.010)	0.074*** (0.018)
Voucher & Infertility Info	0.501*** (0.027)	0.054*** (0.012)	0.100*** (0.019)
N	1508	1508	1508
Adjusted R-squared	0.238	0.021	0.016
Control mean	0.187	0.016	0.053
P-value of $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$	0.279	0.042	0.226

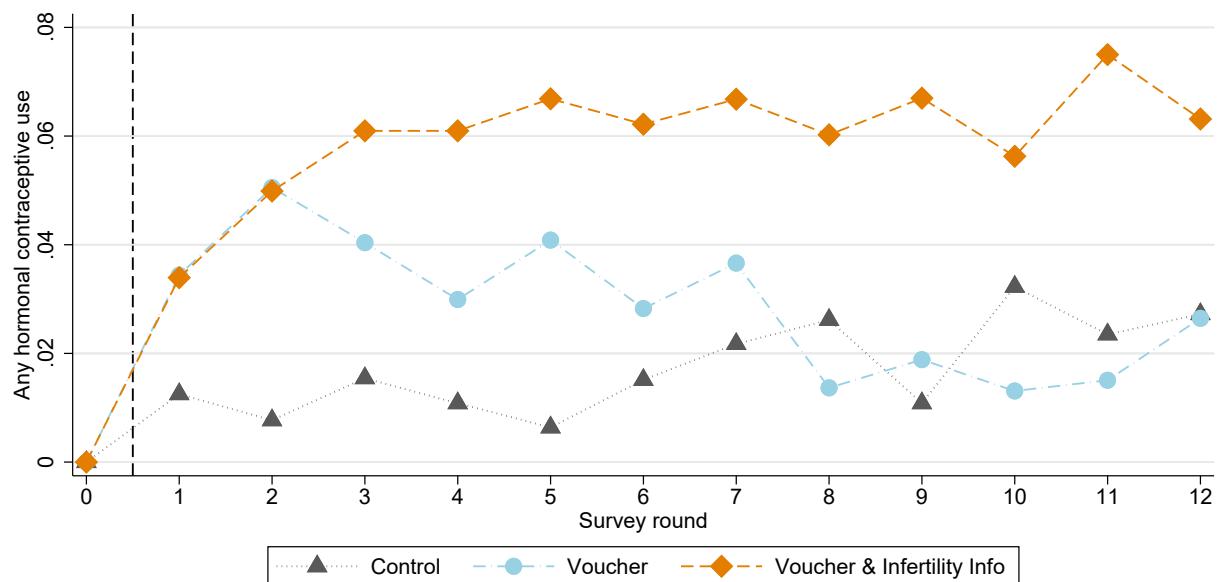
Panel B—Effect on Contraceptive Take-Up, by Type

	Hormonal Methods				
	Oral Pills (1)	Injection (2)	Implant (3)	Condoms (4)	Emergency Contraceptives (5)
Voucher	0.019** (0.008)	0.003 (0.004)	0.003 (0.005)	0.044*** (0.013)	0.012 (0.010)
Voucher & Infertility Info	0.038*** (0.010)	0.016** (0.006)	0.003 (0.005)	0.044*** (0.013)	0.012 (0.010)
N	1508	1508	1508	1508	1508
Adjusted R-squared	0.012	0.015	0.009	0.010	0.002
Control mean	0.006	0.004	0.006	0.024	0.018
P-value of $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$	0.105	0.069	0.970	0.993	0.964

Notes: Panel A reports the effect of each of the treatments on visiting the partner clinic and contraceptive uptake. The estimates are from running equation (1) on the clinic data. All regressions include fixed effects for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage, as well as an indicator for whether a student was in the second recruitment wave. “Takes up Hormonal Contraceptives” is an indicator variable for whether a student requested any of the following: injection, implant, IUD, or oral contraceptive pills. While emergency contraception is hormonal, it is not a preventative method, and the effects of the treatment on it are theoretically ambiguous, so we do not count it as being part of this category. “Takes up Condoms, EC or Hormonal” is defined similarly to “Takes up hormonal contraceptives” but also includes condoms and emergency contraceptives. Panel B reports the effect of each treatment on contraceptive uptake, broken down by type. It is estimated with equation (1) in the clinic data and includes the same set of controls as Panel A. Standard errors are heteroskedasticity robust in all specifications.

Using the group we follow for 6 months, Figure 4 shows the percent of participants in each treatment group who report using a hormonal birth control method, normalized to the baseline level of usage in each group.³⁸ In the first two surveys after the workshop (at two and four weeks), both the voucher and voucher + infertility information group increase usage by around 3 percentage points (in week 2) and 5 percentage points (in week 4).³⁹ After this point, the usage rates begin to diverge. In the voucher group, usage declines, and by the second half of the survey period, usage is only 2-3 percentage points higher than baseline and indistinguishable from the control. For the voucher + infertility information group, however, usage rates increase and remain about 6 percentage points higher than baseline for the remainder of the survey period. Usage in the control group increases slightly over time as well. This may be because our active control protocol, which informed participants of the services at Kalingalinga clinic and gave them a no-wait card, had an effect, or because there were some spillovers across groups over time. These results confirm that the increases in take-up we see in the clinic data do translate into increases in usage and do not just capture substitution across providers. Indeed, in Appendix Table A7, we show that while participants reported increased visits to our partner clinic, Kalingalinga, they did not reduce visits to other clinics.

Figure 4
Hormonal Contraceptive Use by Survey Round and Treatment Group



Notes: This figure plots the average use of hormonal contraceptives reported in the mobile survey by treatment group and survey round. Usage rates are normalized so that baseline usage is zero in each group. Hormonal contraceptives include the oral pill, shot, implant, and IUD. Survey rounds occur every two weeks. To explore the effect over time, we restrict to the first recruitment wave, which was followed for 6 months.

To complement Figure 4, in Appendix Figure A7, we report estimates of equation (2) with an indicator

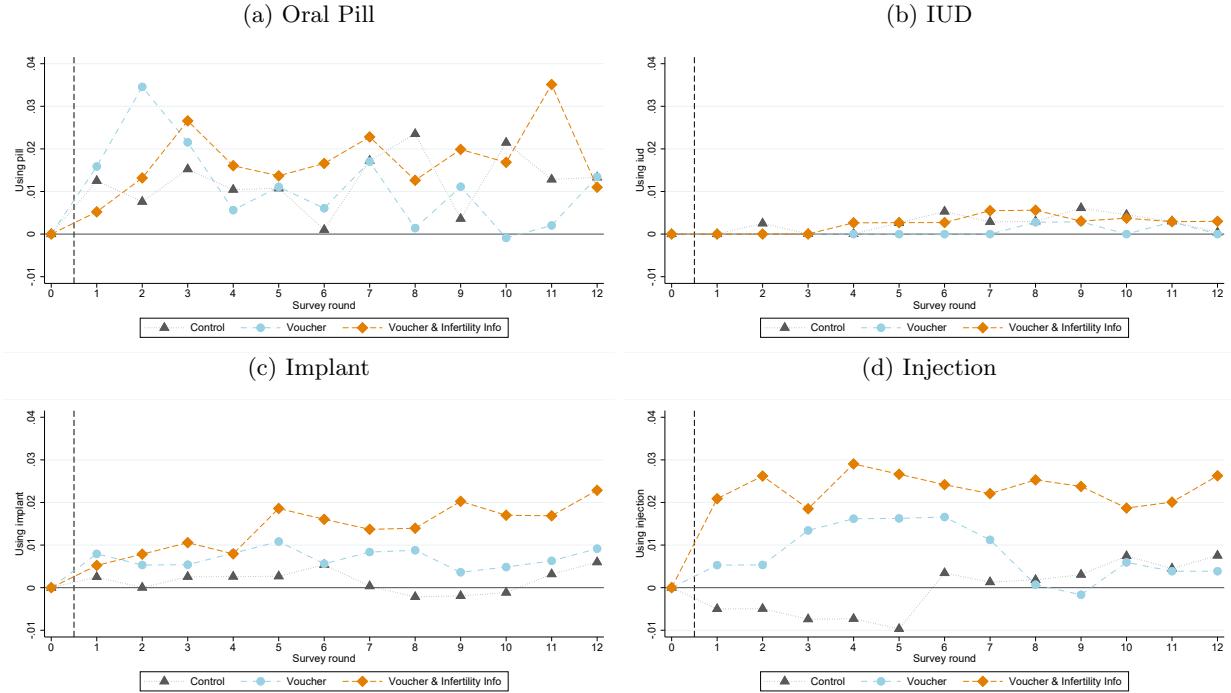
³⁸The non-normalized version of the figure, shown in Appendix Figure A6, is similar.

³⁹While highly correlated, measures of initial take-up at the clinic and usage in the survey data need not be mechanically the same for several reasons apart from measurement error. First, as discussed above, take-up and usage measure different things and may differ for the oral pill, one of the main contraceptives that women take-up. Second, while women were told they had four weeks to visit the clinic, in practice, for most of the sample, vouchers were still redeemed and data were still collected if they visited later. Thus, while the clinic data were usually collected during the same period as the first two rounds of surveys, this is not always the case. Third, clinic data only captures take-up that occurs at the partner clinic, as opposed to usage, which includes contraceptives from other sources. Finally, the data in Figure 4 are restricted to the first recruitment round to show the evolution of usage for the same sample over 6 months, while the clinic estimates include both rounds.

variable for using any hormonal contraceptive as the outcome variable and report confidence intervals around the estimates of the treatment effects. The voucher group is only statistically different from the control in the second survey (week 4), while the voucher + infertility information group is statistically distinguishable from the control in the majority of the twelve surveys.

In Figure 5, we show usage over time separately by type of contraceptive. While the study is not powered to distinguish between different types of contraceptives in each week, these figures suggest that the differences in long-run usage between the voucher + infertility information group and the other two arms are primarily driven by injections and implants. Appendix Figure A8 shows the coefficients of equation (2) separately by type. Coefficients for the voucher + infertility information group are consistently positive, particularly for the implant and injection, though not consistently statistically significant. Movement toward the implant/injection is consistent with the idea that fears of infertility may have been particularly important for these highly-effective, lower maintenance methods because they are long-acting and affect periods. Focus groups suggest that students believe that longer usage is more likely to lead to infertility (see Appendix A).

Figure 5
Use of Hormonal Contraceptives by Type and Survey Round



Notes: This figure plots the average use of hormonal contraceptives reported in the mobile survey by treatment group and survey round, separately for each type of hormonal contraceptives. To explore the effect over time we restrict to the first recruitment wave. Usage rates are normalized to baseline usage in each group. Survey rounds occur every two weeks.

In Table 4, we use equation (3) to estimate the average difference in usage over the course of the survey. These estimates paint a very similar picture. Column 1 shows that students in the voucher group are not more likely to have used contraceptives than students in the control group on average over the entire data collection period. The coefficient is small (0.4 p.p.) and not statistically significant. However, students in the voucher + infertility information group are 3.5 p.p. (40%) more likely to be using hormonal contraceptives. This is statistically significant and statistically distinguishable from the voucher effect at the 5% level. The

smaller effect in percent terms than the clinic data reflects the fact that average contraceptive usage in the control group is substantially higher than take-up at the clinic in the clinic data (8.8% vs 1.6%), consistent both with the fact that young women may access contraceptives in other ways than visiting the partner clinic and that women may have taken up contraceptives after the four week period for visiting the clinic.

Table 4
Effect on Average Contraceptive Use Over the Survey Data Collection Period

	Any Hormonal (1)	Pills (2)	IUD (3)	Implant (4)	Injection (5)
Voucher	0.004 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.008 (0.005)	0.004 (0.006)
Voucher & Infertility Info	0.035** (0.014)	0.005 (0.010)	0.000 (0.003)	0.011* (0.006)	0.018** (0.007)
N	14240	14240	14240	14240	14240
Adjusted R-squared	0.179	0.053	0.348	0.279	0.206
Control mean	0.088	0.044	0.007	0.009	0.026
P-value of $\phi^V = \phi^{VI}$	0.022	0.235	0.179	0.591	0.068

Notes: This table reports the effect of each of the treatments on contraceptive usage throughout the survey period. For the first wave, this is up to 6 months after the workshop, and for the second wave, this is 1.5 months after the workshop. The outcomes are indicator variables for whether a student used any hormonal contraceptives or any of each type of contraceptive in each biweekly survey round. Estimates are produced by running equation (3) with the survey data. All regressions include fixed effects for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage, an indicator for whether a student was in the second recruitment wave, and survey round fixed effects as controls. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered at the student level.

Columns 2 – 5 report treatment effects separately for each contraceptive type. An increase in injections (column 5) plays an important role in driving the increase in the take-up of hormonal contraceptives for the voucher + infertility information group. Students in this group are 1.8 p.p. (69%) more likely to use injections than students in the control group. These estimates highlight an interesting difference from the clinic data, where the take-up of the oral pill is relatively more important. The clinic data only tells us about initial take-up, while these estimates report average usage up to 6 months after the intervention and may reflect the fact that some pill users desisted using the pill while others switched to other, lower-maintenance and longer-acting forms of contraceptives. Appendix Table A8 reports the estimates for the alternative specifications. The point estimates with no controls are similar, albeit more imprecise, and the difference between the voucher and voucher + infertility information treatment remains statistically significant for using any hormonal contraceptive. The estimates selecting controls with the double-lasso are almost identical to Table 4.

The results from the survey data highlight the importance of pairing the clinic data with a longer-term survey. The voucher treatment did not significantly change the longer-term behavior of students, though the shorter-term clinic data would have led us to conclude it increased take-up. While voucher participants visit our partner clinic and pick up contraceptives there more than the control group, these effects are short-lived, and their contraceptive usage throughout the post-workshop period is not significantly different from the control group. On the other hand, the voucher + infertility information treatment *did* have persistent effects, and these students are more likely to take up more effective and longer-lasting contraceptives.

6.3 Encounter-Level Questions: Sexual Behavior and Encounter-Level Contraception

We next focus on encounter-level measures, which allow us to explore whether increased usage of hormonal contraceptives had negative unintended consequences. For example, hormonal contraceptive use could have crowded out condom usage, even though condoms also protect against STIs. Alternatively, by reducing the expected cost of sex, the treatments might encourage students to have more sex or to have sex with more partners. In Table 5, we test for the presence of unintended consequences using the survey data on sexual activity. An observation is again at the individual-by-survey level. In column 1 of Table 5, we show that neither treatment has a positive effect on the likelihood a participant had sex in a given survey round.⁴⁰ In the next two columns, we evaluate whether the treatments crowded-out encounter-level birth control methods. The effects on indicator variables for condomless sex (column 2) or using emergency contraceptives (column 3) are close to zero. Turning to measures of risky sex, the point estimates for number of sexual partners are negative and close to zero (column 4). Another form of “risky” sex is sex with older partners. Older partners are statistically more likely to have HIV and might also be more likely to exert pressure for students to have sex without condoms (Dupas, 2011). In column 5 of Table 5, we show that, if anything, partner age is marginally lower in the voucher treatment and is not different in the voucher + infertility information treatment.

Table 5
Unintended Consequences: Sexual Behavior, Condoms, and Partners

	Any Sex (1)	Any Condom-less Sex (2)	Any Emergency Contraception (3)	Number of Partners (4)	Average Partner Age (5)
Voucher	-0.000 (0.017)	0.001 (0.011)	0.001 (0.008)	-0.013 (0.024)	-0.531* (0.316)
Voucher & Infertility Info	-0.005 (0.018)	0.011 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.024)	-0.000 (0.354)
N	14190	14169	14169	14190	2971
Adjusted R-squared	0.029	0.023	0.005	0.016	0.053
Control mean	0.220	0.089	0.050	0.249	25.855
P-value of $\phi^V = \phi^{VI}$	0.758	0.380	0.378	0.739	0.097

Notes: This table reports the effect of each of the treatments on sexual behavior throughout the survey period. For the first wave, this is up to 6 months after the workshop; for the second wave, this is 1.5 months after the workshop. The outcome used here is different from the statistics in Table 1. In Table 1 we show the probability of having had sex (and having condomless sex conditional on at least one sexual encounter) at least once during the survey period, while here we use the probability of having had sex (and having condomless sex) in each bi-weekly period. The estimates are produced by running equation (3) on the survey data. All regressions include fixed effects for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage and an indicator for whether a student is part of the second wave as controls. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered at the student level.

6.4 Pregnancy

For our main research question — whether fear of infertility hinders contraceptive take-up among women who would benefit from delaying first births — the relevant outcome is contraceptive take-up. However, given that the voucher + infertility information treatment increased the take-up of preventative contraceptives, it is natural to examine whether it also affected pregnancy. Thus, in this subsection, we estimate effects on pregnancy with the caveat that our study was not designed to be powered to identify these effects. Recall,

⁴⁰The outcome in column 1 is whether a participant had sex in a given two-week recall period, which is different from the number reported in Table 1, which reports whether a participant had sex in at least one of the surveys over the course of the study.

we followed 1,170 women for six months and another 338 women for 6 weeks after intervention, roughly half of whom were not sexually active at baseline. Not only is pregnancy a relatively rare outcome; for the treatment to have observable effects, a woman must take-up a contraceptive method, which usually occurs with at least a couple of weeks lag after treatment, engage in sex, and then observe whether she is pregnant or not from a missed period or positive test (at least another two weeks after having sex). This limits the scope for observing changes in pregnancies over 1.5 or even 6 months.

Given limited statistical power — only 1.7% of control women report a pregnancy in the last 6 months at endline who were not already pregnant at baseline — and the fact that the voucher program did not persistently affect contraceptive use, we compare the voucher + infertility information treatment to the pooled voucher and control treatments. To improve statistical power, in our preferred specifications, we also control for whether a woman was pregnant at baseline. To estimate the effects in the endline, we regress an indicator variable for reporting a new pregnancy at endline on an indicator variable for being in the voucher + infertility information treatment, controlling for initial contraceptive use (as in all our preferred specifications), baseline pregnancy status, and survey wave. Column 1 of Table 6 reports the results. Relative to the pooled control and voucher arms, the combined treatment reduces the likelihood of a new pregnancy by a statistically significant 1.2 percentage points (71%).

The remaining columns of Table 6 analyze the survey-level data. Analyzing these data is more complicated because we do not expect to see effects on pregnancy in the initial rounds (before women have taken up contraceptives or before enough time has passed since take-up for a pregnancy to be detected). We therefore report three different estimates for these data. In column 2, we pool all surveys and estimate the average effect on the likelihood of reporting a non-false positive pregnancy in any given survey. The point estimate (-0.003) is not significant at conventional levels ($p = 0.15$), but is consistent with a reduction of the survey-round rate of pregnancy of 47%. Column 3 allows the treatment to have larger effects in surveys that took place after the first 2 months (allowing 4 weeks for take-up and 4 weeks for a late period to be detected). The treatment has close to 0 effect in the first 2 months but adding the point estimates in the table shows that it reduces pregnancy by a marginally significant 0.5 percentage points (71%) thereafter. Column 4 instead allows the treatment effect to depend linearly on the survey round. Reassuringly, it predicts no effect in the first round, but by the last survey round (round 12), it predicts a reduction of 0.7 p.p. in the likelihood of reporting a pregnancy, or close to 100%. Appendix Table A9 reports the results for the alternative specifications (parsimonious and double-lasso selected controls). The point estimates are almost identical. Moreover, the magnitude of the effects in terms of percent reductions is similar regardless of which pregnancy measure we use. Using the estimates in column 1 of Table 6, we can also calculate the cost of averting 1 pregnancy per year with the treatment.⁴¹ Using the voucher + infertility information intervention's cost of 9.44 USD per participant, we calculate an annual cost per pregnancy averted of 393 USD.

While we caution that this analysis is underpowered, taking the estimates in Table 6 seriously, the voucher + infertility information treatment almost eliminated the occurrence of unplanned pregnancies among the treatment group by the end of 6 months. This may seem initially surprising given that take-up of contraceptives only increased by 3.5 percentage points over the study period. However, this could occur if the intervention specifically increased take-up among the group that was most at risk of pregnancy, which is what we would expect in a standard model of take-up. Reducing over-estimation of the cost of take-up should exactly increase take-up among women for whom take-up was efficient (and likely to have large returns). We

⁴¹To be conservative, this calculation assumes women do not get pregnant more than once.

further explore if this is consistent with the data in our compliers analysis in Section 8.

While the estimates suggest there may have been meaningful effects on pregnancy, in combination with Appendix Figure A4, they show that we will be extremely underpowered to detect educational effects with only 2 years of administrative data. Even if Figure A4 captures the causal effects of pregnancy on education, with two years of administrative data, we would only observe the effects of pregnancies that occurred in 2022 during our initial data collection because educational effects appear with a two-year lag. Even eliminating these pregnancies would only increase being on track to graduate by 0.5 ppt ($= 0.27 \times 0.017$). Note that this does not imply that the educational effects of preventing pregnancies are negligible. Rather it means that if data is only available up to 2024, it will be too early to observe changes in education from pregnancies that were prevented after 2022. As a back-of-the-envelope calculation, combining the lowerbound hazard rate of pregnancy we calculate in our data with the point estimate in Figure A4, we would expect eliminating pregnancy to increase being on track to graduate college by at least 4 percentage points.

Table 6
Effects on Pregnancy

	New Pregnancy at Endline	Reported Pregnancy		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Voucher & Infertility Info	-0.012** (0.0053)	-0.0033 (0.0023)	-0.00036 (0.0021)	0.00034 (0.0024)
Voucher & Infertility Info × After 2 Months			-0.0049* (0.0029)	
Voucher & Infertility Info × Survey				-0.00061* (0.0003)
N	1367	14228	14228	14228
Adjusted R-squared	-0.001	0.043	0.043	0.043
Control mean	0.017	0.007	0.007	0.007

Notes: Column 1 estimates the effect of the voucher + infertility information treatment on an indicator variable for a new pregnancy in the last 6 months in the endline data. Columns 2–4 estimate the effects on an indicator variable for reporting a pregnancy that is not listed as a false positive in the survey data. All columns control for fixed effects for baseline hormonal contraceptive use, an indicator variable for survey wave, and an indicator variable for being pregnant at baseline. Columns 2–4 also include controls for survey round fixed effects. Standard errors are robust in Column 1 and robust and clustered at the individual-level in Columns 2–4.

6.5 Discussion of Magnitudes

It is natural to ask how this intervention compares with other efforts to increase contraceptive use in similar settings. The voucher + infertility information treatment increased contraceptive take-up at the clinic by 5.4 pp (338%), and average usage by 3.5 pp (39.7%). We also find a reduction in pregnancies of 1.2 percentage points (71%), over a six month period. This is in a population of young women without children, whose contraceptive take-up is thought to be particularly hard to move (Chandra-Mouli et al., 2014). Nonetheless, the effects are similar to highly successful demand-side contraceptive interventions in SSA in absolute terms and much larger in relative terms, since this population has such low usage at baseline. For instance, Ashraf et al. (2014) finds that offering married women contraceptives alone (without their husbands present) increases use of injectable contraceptives by 6.0 percentage points (25%) and reduces births by 1.8 percentage points (27%) 9–13 months later. Glennerster et al. (2022) find that a media campaign aimed at dispelling

myths around contraception in Burkina Faso increases usage by 5.9 percentage points (20%) and reduces births by 1.5 pp (10%) in a one-year period.⁴² Dupas et al. (2024) found that several intensive demand-focused interventions, including community engagement and information on child mortality, failed to increase contraceptive use at all over three years in Burkina Faso, even when combined with free contraceptives. A study by Athey et al. (2023) estimates much larger effects: an information treatment increases take up of long-acting reversible contraceptives in Cameroon by 24 percentage points. However, the study population consists of women who have already come into a clinic seeking contraception, so presumably their underlying demand is much higher than the overall population. In contrast to the voucher+infertility information arm, we find negligible effects of the voucher treatment alone on contraceptive usage over time. These findings are in line with several recent papers showing that decreases in the cost of contraception do little to increase usage in sub-Saharan Africa (Shah et al., 2024; Dupas et al., 2024; Ashraf et al., 2014).

7 Threats to Identification

Before turning to mechanisms and quantifying the importance of fear of infertility, in this section, we consider threats to the validity of our study.

7.1 Accuracy of Self-Reported Data

The survey data are self-reported without a surveyor present. It is possible that at least some women either answer questions randomly to get through the survey quickly or answer falsely due to self-stigma or social desirability bias. Because we can link the clinic take-up data to the survey data, we can use this linkage to validate some of the survey answers. Some responses need not line up: if a participant took up condoms or the oral pill at the clinic, it is possible that she then decided not to use them, so that the clinic take-up and usage data may not agree. However, for injections and implants, take-up at the clinic should imply usage. Once a woman has gotten a single shot (administered at the clinic), she will be covered by that contraceptive for 3 months. Of the women who were coded as receiving the injection at the clinic, 93% reported using the injection in the survey. Similarly, of the women who received the implant at the clinic, 91% reported using this method in the survey (the only one who did not report implant use instead reported using an IUD, which is likely a simple terminology error). Hence, the survey data appears to accurately measure contraceptive usage.

7.2 Attrition

While attrition is a natural concern for phone surveys over an extended period, attrition from the surveys was low. Appendix Figure A9 reports the attrition rate separately for students recruited in the first and second recruitment drive by treatment arm. Non-completion of a given survey monotonically increases over time because individuals could not move on to the next survey until they had completed the previous survey. That is, students could not skip surveys but could complete surveys late. Nonetheless, 87% of surveys were completed during the correct two week period. For students in our first recruitment drive, 94% of the sample completed at least 75% of the surveys, and typically non-completion is associated with randomly missing a few surveys (and becoming behind) due to technical issues or being busy rather than permanently dropping

⁴²It is worth noting that Ashraf et al. (2014) and Glennerster et al. (2022) both measure births, whereas our study measures pregnancies.

out of the sample. In the first wave sample, only 1% of participants stopped filling out any surveys after the first month. Similarly, in our second recruitment drive, 96% of the sample completed two out of three surveys. Additionally, attrition rates were extremely similar across the three groups. In the first recruitment drive, on average, the voucher and voucher + infertility information groups completed 11.4 surveys, and the control group completed 11.2; there are no significant differences in the completion rates. For the second recruitment drive, the average completion rate is 2.8 for the voucher and control groups, and 2.9 for the voucher + infertility information group. Again, there is no significant difference in the completion rates.

8 Mechanisms

Having established that the voucher + infertility information treatment increased the take-up of contraceptives, in Subsection 8.1, we provide evidence that it did so specifically by reducing fear of infertility. We first test whether the treatment did in fact persistently change beliefs. We then show that complier characteristics are consistent with the treatment increasing take-up by reducing fear of infertility. Finally, we report results from a complementary experiment on fear of infertility and STI testing. In Subsection 8.2, we provide evidence on two alternative mechanisms, role models and stigma.

8.1 Fear of Infertility

Changes in Beliefs and Self-Reported Preferences. Table 7 uses post-treatment survey data on beliefs about the infertility effects of different contraceptives to test whether the voucher + infertility information intervention changed beliefs both immediately after the treatment (week 4) and over the long-term (week 22). So that we can see how beliefs evolve over time for a stable sample, we report results for the first recruitment wave in this table.⁴³ In week 4, the voucher + infertility information treatment reduced the likelihood that respondents believed any hormonal contraceptives cause infertility by 11.5 p.p. or 19% (Table 7, Panel A, column 1). Columns 2 – 5 break this result down by contraceptive type. We find the largest reduction in infertility fears for implants (column 4) and injections (column 5). Recall that injections and implants are the two types of contraceptives for which there appear to be more persistent effects on take-up, in line with the change in fertility fears driving take-up.

In contrast, the voucher has no effect on the belief that any contraceptive causes infertility, though it did significantly affect fear that the implant caused infertility. This may be because the voucher treatment caused students to visit our partner clinic and meet the nurse, who could have provided them with additional information about different contraceptives. This may in turn have been particularly relevant for the implant since women were less familiar with this method. However, we caution against over-interpreting a single significant result when there is no aggregate effect for the voucher group.

In the latter 5 columns (Panel A, Block 2) of Table 7, we test whether the voucher + infertility information treatment also changed the (correct) belief that contraceptives can cause weight gain. This placebo would capture cases where the students became more positive about contraceptives in general or reported fewer side effects due to social desirability bias. Reassuringly, we do not see any changes in beliefs about whether contraceptives cause weight gain.⁴⁴ All the coefficients in Block 2 are small and statistically insignificant.

⁴³ Appendix Table A10 reports the results for the full sample in week 4 (the second wave does not have a week 22 survey) and shows they are almost identical.

⁴⁴This was the only other question asked in the survey about specific side effects other than infertility.

Panel B of Table 7 shows that the voucher + infertility information treatment's effect on beliefs was persistent. In week 22, those in the voucher + infertility information treatment were 12.7 p.p. (19%) less likely to report that at least one of the hormonal contraceptives caused infertility.⁴⁵ There is *no* fadeout of the treatment effect. As before, the voucher has no effect on the belief that at least one of the contraceptives causes infertility, and beliefs about weight gain remain unaffected.

Table 7
Effects on Beliefs About Infertility & Contraceptives (Survey Data —Weeks 4 & 22)

Panel A —Week 4

	Block 1: Cause Infertility					Block 2: Cause Weight Gain				
	(1) Any	(2) Pill	(3) IUD	(4) Implant	(5) Injection	(6) Any	(7) Pill	(8) IUD	(9) Implant	(10) Injection
Voucher	-0.023 (0.035)	0.001 (0.034)	0.007 (0.026)	-0.065** (0.031)	-0.024 (0.033)	-0.024 (0.023)	-0.004 (0.035)	0.010 (0.022)	0.009 (0.033)	-0.002 (0.036)
Voucher & Infertility Info	-0.115*** (0.035)	-0.033 (0.033)	-0.007 (0.025)	-0.121*** (0.030)	-0.088*** (0.031)	-0.016 (0.023)	-0.011 (0.035)	-0.002 (0.021)	0.023 (0.034)	0.001 (0.036)
N	1158	1158	1158	1158	1158	1158	1158	1158	1158	1158
Adjusted R-squared	0.010	0.001	-0.002	0.011	0.004	0.000	0.002	-0.003	-0.002	-0.000
Control mean	0.614	0.328	0.145	0.286	0.296	0.892	0.607	0.098	0.311	0.454
P-value of $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$	0.011	0.318	0.580	0.051	0.040	0.725	0.847	0.573	0.666	0.944

Panel B —Week 22

	Block 1: Cause Infertility					Block 2: Cause Weight Gain				
	(1) Any	(2) Pill	(3) IUD	(4) Implant	(5) Injection	(6) Any	(7) Pill	(8) IUD	(9) Implant	(10) Injection
Voucher	0.001 (0.035)	-0.008 (0.036)	-0.049 (0.030)	-0.075** (0.036)	-0.007 (0.035)	-0.028 (0.020)	-0.042 (0.035)	0.026 (0.024)	-0.012 (0.036)	0.002 (0.037)
Voucher & Infertility Info	-0.127*** (0.036)	-0.049 (0.035)	-0.050* (0.030)	-0.116*** (0.035)	-0.085** (0.033)	-0.031 (0.020)	-0.028 (0.034)	0.006 (0.023)	-0.022 (0.036)	-0.016 (0.037)
N	1087	1087	1087	1087	1087	1087	1087	1087	1087	1087
Adjusted R-squared	0.025	0.002	0.001	0.015	0.004	0.012	0.015	-0.000	-0.004	0.002
Control mean	0.664	0.373	0.229	0.395	0.320	0.933	0.680	0.112	0.384	0.483
P-value of $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$	0.000	0.247	0.978	0.223	0.019	0.872	0.698	0.420	0.771	0.641

Notes: This table reports the effect of each of the treatments on whether the student believes each type of contraceptive causes infertility – in Block 1 – or weight gain – in Block 2. Panel A shows the Week 4 survey results, and Panel B the Week 22 results. It is estimated with equation (1) in the survey data. Column 1 is an indicator for whether the student believed one or more of the hormonal contraceptives shown here cause infertility. In Columns 2 – 5, the outcomes are indicator variables for each contraceptive separately. Block 2 repeats the analysis for weight gain. All regressions include indicator variables for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage. To maintain a consistent sample across surveys, we restrict to the first recruitment wave. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

In Appendix Table A11, we further explore whether the voucher + infertility information treatment had persistent effects on stated preferences over contraceptives near the end of the survey period. As in Table 7, we limit our analysis to the first wave so that we can test whether stated preferences were different a substantial period (22 weeks) after the intervention. The voucher + infertility information treatment more than doubled interest in the implant, increasing it by 15.0 p.p., and marginally significantly reduced interest in the oral pill. Thus, not only did beliefs change, but this appears to have led stated preferences for longer-lasting, lower-maintenance methods, about which girls may have more concerns but which are ultimately more effective, to increase. This is also consistent with Appendix Figure A8, which provides suggestive evidence that, by the end of the sample period, the voucher + infertility information group had started

⁴⁵Within the first recruitment wave, the belief that contraceptives cause infertility is about 5 percentage points more prevalent in the control group at 22 weeks than at 4 weeks. However, note that the (correct) belief that contraceptives cause weight gain also increases by 4 percentage points. In the data, this increase appears to be explained by the beliefs of new first year students catching up with other students. This may be because these students both become sexually active and exposed to new ideas.

switching to the implant.

Evidence on Compliers. To explore which students were most affected by the treatments, we estimate the average characteristics of the compliers (where taking up a hormonal contraceptive at the clinic is the outcome of interest) separately for the voucher and voucher + infertility information groups using the methodology in Pinotti (2017). To estimate the characteristics of the compliers for the voucher + infertility information treatment, we run a two-stage least squares regression whose first and second stage are given by

$$h_i = \lambda^{VI} VI_i + \lambda^V V_i + \gamma X_i + \epsilon_i,$$

and

$$h_i \times k_i = \theta^{VI} h_i + \theta^V V_i + \zeta X_i + \nu_i,$$

where h_i is an indicator variable equal to 1 if student i took up any hormonal contraceptives at the clinic, X_i is a control for belonging to the second wave, k_i is the characteristic of interest, VI_i instruments for h_i , and V_i is included as a control. The characteristics of the compliers with the voucher + infertility information treatment are given by θ^{VI} . To estimate the characteristics of the compliers with the voucher treatment, we simply switch V_i and VI_i in the estimating equations. We use the clinic data to measure h_i since the voucher has no effect on take-up in the survey data.

Table 8 reports the average characteristics of the compliers with each treatment, as well as the average characteristics of the sample and p-values for tests of the differences between the complier and sample averages. Consistent with the fact that the voucher + infertility information treatment addressed fears of infertility, compliers with that treatment are much more likely to report that they do not use contraceptives due to fear of infertility/side effects (43% vs. 25% for both voucher compliers and the sample average). Interestingly, voucher + infertility information compliers are also much more likely to be sexually active at baseline (81% vs. 65% for voucher compliers and 60% overall). Consistent with the pregnancy results, the voucher + infertility information treatment seems to target individuals with particularly high returns to using contraceptives.

Table 8
Characteristics of Compliers

	Voucher & Infertility Info	P-value	Voucher	P-value	Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Fear of Infertility/Side Effects	0.425	0.092	0.252	0.968	0.246
Sexually Active	0.812	0.007	0.650	0.763	0.596
Use Hormonal Contraception	0.002	0.669	-0.415	0.134	0.052
Use Condoms	0.230	0.593	0.312	0.326	0.180
SES Index	-0.013	0.959	-0.325	0.555	-0.000
Father Years Education	12.748	0.582	11.943	0.883	12.248
Mother Years Education	11.068	0.601	10.697	0.957	10.590
Age	21.435	0.503	20.976	0.847	21.149
Year	2.317	0.590	1.724	0.282	2.183

Notes: This table reports the average characteristics of compliers (for taking up any hormonal contraceptive at the clinic) for the voucher + infertility information (column 1) and voucher (column 3) treatments, as well as the average characteristics of the sample (column 5). The even columns report the p-values for tests of whether the characteristics of the voucher + infertility information compliers (column 2) or voucher compliers (column 4) are statistically significantly different from the sample average. All variables are measured at baseline. The SES Index is the first predicted component from a pca of indicator variables for being from Lusaka (the capital), sharing a bedroom growing up, being on government bursary, growing up in a place where the clinic was more than 30 minutes walking distance away, and having undergone an initiation ritual. “Fear of Infertility/Side Effects” indicates the respondent does not use hormonal contraceptives for these reasons, while “Use Condoms” indicates that she reports not using hormonal contraceptives at baseline because she uses condoms. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

In contrast to the voucher + infertility information treatment, none of the voucher compliers’ characteristics differ statistically significantly from the sample average. Unlike the voucher + infertility information treatment, the voucher treatment does not seem to specifically target the sexually active, a population with higher returns to take-up. This difference between the treatments may help to explain the persistent effects of the voucher + infertility information treatment: it permanently changes the perceived costs of take-up for a group that also had larger benefits from take-up.

To supplement these results, in Appendix D, we use a causal forest machine learning technique to identify heterogeneous treatment effects (Athey et al., 2019; Wager and Athey, 2018). The results are in line with our findings in Table 8. Students that were sexually active at baseline and report not using contraceptives due to fear of infertility are predicted to respond more to the voucher + infertility information treatment (an 8.4 p.p. increase in take-up) but not the voucher (see Figure D1) when the outcome is take-up at the clinic. Similarly, students with the largest predicted treatment effect for the voucher + infertility information treatment are much more likely to be sexually active and to report not using contraceptives due to fear of infertility (see Table D1).

Extension: STI Experiment. To complement our main findings, we further test whether fear of infertility motivates health-seeking behavior in a follow-up experiment. Our sample consists of the 1,015 ever sexually active participants in the original experiment (those who were sexually active at baseline and those who became active during the study). All these students were contacted by text message and offered another 40 kwacha (\sim 2 USD) voucher to visit the partner clinic, where they could also receive STI testing. Half (the treatment group) also received messaging highlighting that untreated STIs are a leading cause of infertility. As before, the cash transfer conditions on visiting the clinic rather than taking up healthcare. The exact wording of each message can be found in Appendix E. We note that this is a very light touch informational treatment relative to the design and delivery of the voucher + infertility information treatment, so we may not expect as sizable effects.

Table 9 reports the estimated effect of this new treatment, controlling for the voucher + infertility information and voucher treatments (which are independent). We first observe that the text message treatment had no effect on visiting the clinic (column 1). Unconditional on visiting the clinic, the coefficient for treatment on taking up a STI test is positive (a 2.5 p.p. or 15% increase), but we do not have the precision to reject a zero effect (column 2). Conditional on visiting the clinic, as seen in column 3, the information had a marginally statistically significant and sizable effect on taking up a STI test (a 9.5 p.p. or 13% effect). Thus, the point estimates are consistent with this very light-touch text message informational treatment having meaningful effects. We take this as suggestive evidence that fear of infertility also affects other health-seeking behavior.

Table 9
Follow-up Experiment: Fear of Infertility & Testing for Sexually Transmitted Diseases

	Clinic Visit (1)	Any STI Test (2)	Any STI Test Clinic Visit (3)
STI Information Treatment	0.003 (0.027)	0.025 (0.024)	0.095* (0.055)
N	1015	1015	242
Adjusted R-squared	0.020	0.006	0.004
Control mean	0.238	0.169	0.711

Notes: This table reports the effect of the STI information treatment, which gave information on the infertility effects of STIs, on visiting the clinic and STI testing, controlling for treatment status in the original contraceptives experiment. The outcomes are an indicator variable for visiting the clinic (Column 1) and an indicator variable for taking an STI test (Columns 2–3). Column 3 conditions the sample on visiting the clinic. All regressions include indicator variables for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage, an indicator for whether a student is part of the second wave, and indicator variables for the voucher and voucher + infertility information treatments as controls. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

8.2 Alternative Explanations: Role Models & Stigma

One possible alternative explanation for the lasting impact of the voucher + infertility information treatment on hormonal contraceptive take-up and usage is that it provided participants with older role models who had used contraceptives in the past. While the same two facilitators ran all of the workshops (control, voucher, and voucher + infertility information), they only shared personal stories about using contraceptives themselves in the voucher + infertility information workshop. These stories were intended to help convey to the participants that it is common for women to become pregnant after stopping contraceptive use in a particularly salient way, but it is possible that sharing them also helped destigmatize the use of hormonal contraceptives.

We evaluate the scope for this mechanism in a few ways. First, it is worth noting at baseline that stigma was not an important driver of contraceptive non-use in self reports. In Figure 2, we report the reasons women give for not using hormonal contraceptives at baseline. One option was, “I am afraid of stigma from my partner or family.” This option was only selected by 2% of the women who had ever had sex and 5% of those who had had sex in the past 2 weeks (as opposed to fear of infertility, which was reported by 19% and 28%, respectively, and fear of side effects, which was even higher).

Second, we directly test whether the voucher + infertility information treatment affected proxies for stigma related to contraceptive use in our data. Appendix Table A12 reports the results. In the second and eleventh surveys (weeks 4 and 22), we asked participants how frequently they had conversations with

their friends about contraceptives. To examine the effect in a consistent sample over time, we restrict to the first recruitment wave. If the voucher + infertility information treatment destigmatized contraceptive use, we might expect open discussion of contraceptive use to increase. Column 1 shows that, if anything, conversations about contraceptive use declined right after the workshops in both treatment arms, perhaps because the participants substituted to accessing information via the clinic. Column 2 shows that there were no differences in frequency of conversations about contraceptives by the end of the study for the voucher + infertility information vs. control group. Interestingly, there is an increase in the voucher group — perhaps mechanically due to the group talking about the voucher treatment with friends or spuriously — but since this group did not persistently increase take-up, it does not support a link between reduced stigma and take-up. The remaining columns examine the effect of the treatments on whether respondents report that they approve of unmarried women using modern contraceptives to prevent pregnancy during premarital sex (column 3) or whether their mother would approve (column 4).⁴⁶ In either case, the voucher + infertility information treatment has no significant effect on approval. Interestingly, the voucher statistically significantly increases the probability a young woman approves but reduces the probability she reports her mother would approve. But given that the voucher did not have any long-run effects, these changes in perceived stigma do not appear to persistently affect contraceptive take-up. Overall, the results are inconsistent with the voucher + infertility information treatment increasing take-up by differentially reducing stigma.

9 Quantifying Fear of Infertility as a Barrier

Our results suggest that fear of infertility is a barrier to contraceptive take-up in SSA. In this section, we aim to shed light on the importance of this barrier. Table 7 shows that the voucher + infertility information treatment reduced participants' belief that hormonal contraceptives cause infertility, and Tables 3 and 4 show that the treatment also led to an increase in the take-up and usage of hormonal contraceptives. However, even in the voucher + infertility information treatment, nearly 50% of women still believed that hormonal contraceptives can cause infertility (consistent with the fact that these are widespread and potentially deeply-held beliefs). To capture the importance of fear of infertility as a barrier, we exploit our RCT variation to estimate the effect of fully eliminating the belief that contraceptives cause infertility.

We use a two-stage least squares approach, where we instrument for the belief that at least one contraceptive causes infertility using assignment to the voucher + infertility information treatment. Because this group also got information about the clinic and a voucher, we control separately for these components using assignment to *either* of the two treatment groups (relative to control). This results in a Wald estimator, where the numerator is the change in contraceptive use from the voucher + infertility information treatment relative to voucher alone, and the denominator is the change in beliefs from this treatment relative to the voucher alone.

We estimate that going from 100% of the population having the belief that at least one contraceptive causes infertility to 0% would lead to a 31.3 p.p. ($se=0.188$, $p = 0.096$) increase in the take-up of hormonal contraceptives in the clinic data. The average estimate across surveys is an almost identical 31.4 ppt ($se=0.168$, $p = 0.062$). Since 64% of control participants believe that at least one contraceptive causes infertility, these estimates imply that eliminating these beliefs entirely from the study population would increase take-up and usage by 20 percentage points. This would more than half the gap in usage between U.S. and

⁴⁶These questions were asked in the week 2 survey of the original sample (first wave) but were only asked in the baseline (pre-treatment) survey during the second wave. Since we are interested in the effect of the treatment on stigma, we restrict the sample to the first wave for these regressions.

Zambian female college students. These are very large effects, especially given that (a) the sample of college students is likely to be better-informed than most women in sub-Saharan Africa, and (b) only 60% of the sample were sexually active at baseline. Fear of infertility appears to be a significant barrier to the take-up of contraceptives among young women in sub-Saharan Africa, and addressing it could substantially increase usage.

We present these estimates with the caveat that interpreting the Wald estimator as the causal effect of fear of infertility on take-up requires a few potentially strong assumptions. First, it requires the reasonable assumption that the effect of treatment on contraceptive take-up is monotonic. That is, there are no participants who would have used contraceptives in the control group but are pushed out of doing so by being assigned to either of the two treatment groups (and similarly, that no one who would not have used contraceptives in the fertility information treatment would do so in the voucher-only treatment). Second, it requires that the two treatments are additively separable. That is, it assumes there is no complementarity between the infertility information component of the treatment and the voucher component. If this is not true, our estimates measure the effect of changing beliefs when a voucher is in place (e.g., in contexts where access is not likely to be a barrier). Lastly, it assumes that the exclusion restriction holds: the only difference between the voucher + infertility information treatment and the voucher treatment is the former's effect on the belief that contraceptives cause infertility. While some of these assumptions are strong, the results in Section 8 suggest that the change in beliefs is the primary cause of the change in behavior that we see, and thus, the Wald estimate is a useful scaling exercise for quantifying fear of infertility as a barrier to contraceptive take-up in this population.

10 Conclusion

This study uses a randomized controlled trial to test whether fear of infertility causes young women in sub-Saharan Africa to avoid using hormonal contraception, risking unwanted pregnancies during a critical period. We focus on college students in Zambia. This is a population where baseline contraceptive take-up is low, and take-up is likely to have especially high returns: 60% are sexually active at baseline, 91% of those that want children want to delay child-bearing until they complete their studies, and 58% of those who have sex during the study period have condomless sex at least once. We find that, while increasing access to available contraception is not enough, targeted information about contraception and infertility is able to increase the use of hormonal contraception over the course of the study.

Our results suggest that the literature's focus on increasing contraceptive use among older, married women to reduce total fertility rates in sub-Saharan Africa may have missed one of the key populations who could benefit from access to contraceptives: young women who want to delay fertility in order to finish their education. The demographic transitions in the U.S. and Europe happened before the advent of modern contraceptives ([Bhattacharya and Chakraborty, 2017](#)); reducing total fertility does not require methods with 99% accuracy. An important benefit of these highly effective preventative methods is that they allow women (without the consent or even the knowledge of their male partners) to almost completely prevent pregnancy during a critical period in which it might be extremely costly. This was the essence of the “pill revolution” in developed countries: in most cases, women did not reduce total fertility, but rather used highly effective contraception to time their pregnancies ([Goldin and Katz, 2002](#); [Bailey, 2006](#)), allowing them to finish their education and join the labor force. Unmarried women in unstable or unequal partnerships may particularly benefit from options outside barrier or traditional methods (timing, withdrawal) that require agreement and

participation from the male partner. Young, nulliparous women are often difficult to target with access treatments alone (see, e.g. [Shah et al., 2024](#)), but they may also have particularly high benefits from even a short duration of contraceptive use to optimally time their first birth and avoid pregnancies while in school.

Our RCT is designed to measure the effect of one important barrier to contraception adoption that may be particularly relevant to young women: medical distrust and the fear that contraceptives cause infertility. These fears are known to be widespread in sub-Saharan Africa ([Boivin et al., 2020](#)) and are built on generations of negative experiences with colonial medicine and population control. Given that informational interventions are often ineffective at changing health behavior ([Dupas and Miguel, 2017](#)), even in cases where beliefs are less likely to be sticky, we carefully design an intervention to change long-held beliefs using a combination of narratives, facts, and facilitators with whom students identify. Unusually, this allows us to achieve a strong and persistent effect on beliefs with zero fadeout over 6 months. Moreover, this change in beliefs translates into a 40% increase in the use of hormonal contraceptives, and more suggestively, a reduction in pregnancy rates of 71%.

Our results establish that fear of infertility causally reduces the take-up of contraceptives among young college-going women, and our quantification exercise suggests this effect may be large. This population is important in its own right. First, 9% of women now enroll in college in sub-Saharan Africa, and as lower levels of education become increasingly universal, this rate is rapidly growing. Second, these women likely play an out-sized role in productivity and the allocation of talent ([Hsieh et al., 2019](#)). Indeed, using Mincerian regressions, [Montenegro and Patrinos \(2014\)](#) estimate that globally, the returns to college education and to educating women are highest. Nonetheless, two pieces of evidence suggest that our results are likely to be externally valid for other nulliparous women. First, baseline rates of contraceptive usage are also very low among nulliparous women of secondary and high school age in the Zambian DHS. Second, while the belief that contraceptives cause infertility is widespread in our sample, it is not predicted by any demographic characteristics (see Appendix Table [A2](#)), suggesting that it is not specific to a given socioeconomic class or educational group. This is consistent with the qualitative literature, which documents these beliefs across a wide array of women from different ages and socioeconomic groups across SSA ([Boivin et al., 2020](#); [Engelbert Bain et al., 2021](#)).

The belief that contraceptives cause infertility is not unique to sub-Saharan Africa. However, a colonial legacy of coercive medical campaigns and population control policies have likely made these beliefs especially widespread and persistent. Moreover, the importance of fear of infertility is likely compounded by the fact that considerable importance is placed on having children in SSA, where individuals may desire large families ([Pritchett, 1994](#); [Dupas et al., 2024](#)). Several studies have suggested that infertility may result in divorce, husbands' infidelity, and poverty (see [van Balen and Bos \(2009\)](#) for a review). Indeed, our participants who believe that couples that cannot have children will be more likely to divorce are also more likely to not use contraceptives due to fear of infertility. Thus, interventions focused on reducing early births need to consider both the now (desire to prevent children) and the later (desire to have children in the future) of family planning.

References

- Abebe, Melese Shenkut, Mekbeb Afework, and Yeshiwash Abaynew (2020). "Primary and secondary infertility in Africa: systematic review with meta-analysis". In: *Fertility research and Practice* 6, pp. 1–11.
- Abramowitz, Joelle (2017). "Assisted Reproductive Technology and Women's Timing of Marriage and Child-bearing". In: *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 38.1, pp. 100–117.
- Adongo, Philip B, Philip T-N Tabong, Thomas B Azongo, James F Phillips, Mallory C Sheff, Allison E Stone, and Placide Tapsoba (2014). "A comparative qualitative study of misconceptions associated with contraceptive use in southern and northern Ghana". In: *Frontiers in public health* 2, p. 137.
- Ahinkorah, Bright Opoku, Eugene Budu, Richard Gyan Aboagye, Ebenezer Agbaglo, Francis Arthur-Holmes, Collins Adu, Anita Gracious Archer, Yaa Boahemaa Gyasi Aderoju, and Abdul-Aziz Seidu (2021). "Factors associated with modern contraceptive use among women with no fertility intention in sub-Saharan Africa: evidence from cross-sectional surveys of 29 countries". In: *Contraception and Reproductive Medicine* 6.1, p. 22. DOI: [10.1186/s40834-021-00165-6](https://doi.org/10.1186/s40834-021-00165-6). URL: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40834-021-00165-6>.
- Alhassan, Abass, Abdul Razak Ziblim, and Sirina Muntaka (2014). "A survey on depression among infertile women in Ghana". In: *BMC women's health* 14, pp. 1–6.
- Araoye, Margaret O (2003). "Epidemiology of infertility: social problems of the infertile couples". In: *West African journal of medicine* 22.2, pp. 190–196.
- Ardington, Cally, Alicia Menendez, and Tinofa Mutevedzi (2015). "Early childbearing, human capital attainment, and mortality risk: Evidence from a longitudinal demographic surveillance area in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa". In: *Economic development and cultural change* 63.2, pp. 281–317.
- Ashraf, Nava, Erica Field, and Jean Lee (2014). "Household bargaining and excess fertility: an experimental study in Zambia". In: *American Economic Review* 104.7, pp. 2210–2237.
- Ashraf, Nava, Erica Field, Giuditta Rusconi, Alessandra Voena, and Roberta Ziparo (2017). "Traditional beliefs and learning about maternal risk in Zambia". In: *American Economic Review* 107.5, pp. 511–515.
- Ashraf, Nava, Erica Field, Alessandra Voena, and Roberta Ziparo (2022). *Gendered Spheres of Learning and Household Decision Making over Fertility*. Tech. rep. Working Paper, 28220.
- Athey, Susan, Katy Bergstrom, Vitor Hadad, Julian C Jamison, Berk Özler, Luca Parisotto, and Julius Dohbit Sama (2023). "Can personalized digital counseling improve consumer search for modern contraceptive methods?" In: *Science Advances* 9.40, eadg4420.
- Athey, Susan, Julie Tibshirani, and Stefan Wager (2019). "Generalized Random Forests". In: *The Annals of Statistics* 47.2, pp. 1148–1178. ISSN: 0090-5364, 2168-8966. DOI: [10.1214/18-AOS1709](https://doi.org/10.1214/18-AOS1709). (Visited on 10/09/2023).
- Bailey, Martha J. (2006). "More Power to the Pill: The Impact of Contraceptive Freedom on Women's Life Cycle Labor Supply*". In: *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 121.1, pp. 289–320. ISSN: 0033-5533. DOI: [10.1093/qje/121.1.289](https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/121.1.289). (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- Banerjee, Abhijit, Eliana La Ferrara, and Victor Orazco (2019a). "Entertainment, education, and attitudes toward domestic violence". In: *AEA Papers and Proceedings*. Vol. 109. American Economic Association 2014 Broadway, Suite 305, Nashville, TN 37203, pp. 133–137.
- Banerjee, Abhijit, Eliana La Ferrara, and Victor H Orazco-Olvera (2019b). *The entertaining way to behavioral change: Fighting HIV with MTV*. Tech. rep. National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Bankole, Akinrinola and Shawn Malarcher (2010). "Removing Barriers to Adolescents' Access to Contraceptive Information and Services". In: *Studies in Family Planning* 41.2, pp. 117–124. ISSN: 1728-4465. DOI: [10.1111/j.1728-4465.2010.00232.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4465.2010.00232.x). (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- Barham, Tania, Brachel Champion, Andrew D Foster, Jena D Hamadani, Warren C Jochem, Gisella Kagy, Randall Kuhn, Jane Menken, Abdur Razzaque, Elisabeth Dowling Root, et al. (2021). "Thirty-five years later: Long-term effects of the Matlab maternal and child health/family planning program on older women's well-being". In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118.28, e2101160118.

- Barnhart, Kurt T and Courtney A Schreiber (2009). "Return to fertility following discontinuation of oral contraceptives". In: *Fertility and sterility* 91.3, pp. 659–663.
- Baudin, Thomas, David De la Croix, and Paula Gobbi (2020). "Endogenous childlessness and stages of development". In: *Journal of the European Economic Association* 18.1, pp. 83–133.
- Bell, Suzanne O, Celia Karp, Caroline Moreau, Alison Gemmill, PMA Principal Investigators Group, et al. (2023). "“If I use family planning, I may have trouble getting pregnant next time I want to”: A multicountry survey-based exploration of perceived contraceptive-induced fertility impairment and its relationship to contraceptive behaviors". In: *Contraception: X* 5, p. 100093.
- Belloni, Alexandre, Victor Chernozhukov, and Christian Hansen (2014). "High-dimensional methods and inference on structural and treatment effects". In: *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 28.2, pp. 29–50.
- Bhattacharya, Joydeep and Shankha Chakraborty (2017). "Contraception and the Demographic Transition". In: *The Economic Journal* 127.606, pp. 2263–2301.
- Blair, Robert A, Benjamin S Morse, and Lily L Tsai (2017). "Public health and public trust: Survey evidence from the Ebola Virus Disease epidemic in Liberia". In: *Social science & medicine* 172, pp. 89–97.
- Bögl, Sarah, Jasmin Moshfegh, Petra Persson, and Maria Polyakova (2024). *The Economics of Infertility: Evidence from Reproductive Medicine*. Tech. rep. National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Boivin, Jacky, Judith Carrier, Joseph Mumba Zulu, and Deborah Edwards (2020). "A Rapid Scoping Review of Fear of Infertility in Africa". In: *Reproductive Health* 17.1, p. 142. ISSN: 1742-4755. DOI: [10.1186/s12978-020-00973-0](https://doi.org/10.1186/s12978-020-00973-0). (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- Branson, Nicola and Tanya Byker (2018). "Causes and consequences of teen childbearing: Evidence from a reproductive health intervention in South Africa". In: *Journal of health economics* 57, pp. 221–235.
- Brown, Barbara B (1987). "Facing the ‘Black Peril’: The politics of population control in South Africa". In: *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13.2, pp. 256–273.
- Buckles, Kasey (2007). "Stopping the Biological Clock: Infertility Treatments and the Career-Family Trade-off". Mimeo, Boston University.
- Castle, Mary Ann, Rosemary Likwa, and Maxine Whittaker (1990). "Observations on abortion in Zambia". In: *Studies in Family Planning* 21.4, pp. 231–235.
- Castle, Sarah (2004). "Factors influencing young Malians’ reluctance to use hormonal contraceptives". In: *Studies in Family Planning* 34, pp. 186–199.
- Cates, W, Timothy MM Farley, and Patrick J Rowe (1985). "Worldwide patterns of infertility: is Africa different?" In: *The Lancet* 326.8455, pp. 596–598.
- CDC (2022). *Zambia: Population-based HIV/AIDS Impact Assessment: Summary Sheet*. <https://www.cdc.gov/globalhivtb/what-we-do/phia/ZAMPHIA-2021-Summary-Sheet-December-2022.pdf>.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2024). *Contraception and Birth Control Methods*. <https://www.cdc.gov/contraception/about/index.html>. Accessed on September 3, 2025.
- Chandra-Mouli, Venkatraman, Donna R McCarraher, Sharon J Phillips, Nancy E Williamson, and Gwyn Hainsworth (2014). "Contraception for adolescents in low and middle income countries: needs, barriers, and access". In: *Reproductive health* 11, pp. 1–8.
- Chernozhukov, Victor, Denis Chetverikov, Mert Demirer, Esther Duflo, Christian Hansen, Whitney Newey, and James Robins (2018a). "Double/Debiased Machine Learning for Treatment and Structural Parameters". In: *The Econometrics Journal* 21.1, pp. C1–C68. ISSN: 1368-4221. DOI: [10.1111/ectj.12097](https://doi.org/10.1111/ectj.12097). (Visited on 10/09/2023).
- Chernozhukov, Victor, Mert Demirer, Esther Duflo, and Ivan Fernandez-Val (2018b). "Generic machine learning inference on heterogeneous treatment effects in randomized experiments, with an application to immunization in India". In: *National Bureau of Economic Research*.
- Connelly, M. (2010). *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population*. Harvard University Press. ISBN: 9780674262768. URL: <https://books.google.com/books?id=P5svEAAQBAJ>.

- Desai, Sheila, Laura D Lindberg, Isaac Maddow-Zimet, and Kathryn Kost (2021). "The impact of abortion underreporting on pregnancy data and related research". In: *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 25.8, pp. 1187–1192.
- Dhont, Nathalie, J Van de Wijgert, Gily Coene, A Gasarabwe, and Marleen Temmerman (2011). "Mama and papa nothing": living with infertility among an urban population in Kigali, Rwanda". In: *Human Reproduction* 26.3, pp. 623–629.
- Dierickx, Susan, Ladan Rahbari, Chia Longman, Fatou Jaiteh, and Gily Coene (2018). "I am always crying on the inside": a qualitative study on the implications of infertility on women's lives in urban Gambia". In: *Reproductive health* 15, pp. 1–11.
- Donkor, Ernestina S, Florence Naab, and Deborah Y Kussiwaah (2017). "I am anxious and desperate": psychological experiences of women with infertility in The Greater Accra Region, Ghana". In: *Fertility research and practice* 3, pp. 1–6.
- Duflo, Esther, Pascaline Dupas, Elizabeth Spelke, and Mark P Walsh (2024). *Intergenerational impacts of secondary education: Experimental evidence from ghana*. Tech. rep. National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Duflo, Esther, Rachel Glennerster, and Michael Kremer (2007). "Using randomization in development economics research: A toolkit". In: *Handbook of development economics* 4, pp. 3895–3962.
- Dupas, Pascaline (2011). "Do teenagers respond to HIV risk information? Evidence from a field experiment in Kenya". In: *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3.1, pp. 1–34.
- Dupas, Pascaline, Seema Jayachandran, Adriana Lleras-Muney, and Pauline Rossi (2024). "The Negligible Effect of Free Contraception on Fertility: Experimental Evidence From Burkina Faso". In: *NBER Working Paper*.
- Dupas, Pascaline and Edward Miguel (2017). "Impacts and determinants of health levels in low-income countries". In: *Handbook of economic field experiments*. Vol. 2. Elsevier, pp. 3–93.
- Dyer, Silke J, Naeemah Abrahams, Margaret Hoffman, and Zephne M van der Spuy (2002). "Men leave me as I cannot have children": women's experiences with involuntary childlessness". In: *Human reproduction* 17.6, pp. 1663–1668.
- Engelbert Bain, Luchuo, Hubert Amu, and Elvis Enowbeyang Tarkang (2021). "Barriers and motivators of contraceptive use among young people in Sub-Saharan Africa: A systematic review of qualitative studies". In: *PloS one* 16.6, e0252745.
- Feldman-Savelsberg, Pamela, Flavien T Ndonko, and Bergis Schmidt-Ehry (2000). "Sterilizing vaccines or the politics of the womb: retrospective study of a rumor in Cameroon". In: *Medical anthropology quarterly* 14.2, pp. 159–179.
- Ferrara, Eliana La, Alberto Chong, and Suzanne Duryea (2012). "Soap operas and fertility: Evidence from Brazil". In: *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 4.4, pp. 1–31.
- Gershoni, Naomi and Corinne Low (2021a). "Older Yet Fairer: How Extended Reproductive Time Horizons Reshaped Marriage Patterns in Israel". In: *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 13.1, pp. 198–234.
- (2021b). "The power of time: The impact of free IVF on women's human capital investments". In: *European Economic Review* 133, p. 103645.
- Gertler, Paul, Manisha Shah, and Stefano M Bertozzi (2005). "Risky business: the market for unprotected commercial sex". In: *Journal of political Economy* 113.3, pp. 518–550.
- Gibbs, Susannah E., Yasamin Kusonoki, Elizabeth Colantuoni, and Caroline Moreau (2019). "Sexual activity and weekly contraceptive use among young adult women in Michigan". In: *Population Studies* 73.2, pp. 233–245. ISSN: 1054-139X, 1879-1972. DOI: [10.1080/00324728.2018.1552985](https://doi.org/10.1080/00324728.2018.1552985). (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- Girum, Tadele and Abebew Wasie (2018). "Return of fertility after discontinuation of contraception: a systematic review and meta-analysis". In: *Contraception and reproductive medicine* 3, pp. 1–9.

- Glennerster, Rachel, Joanna Murray, and Victor Pouliquen (2022). *The Media or the Message? Experimental Evidence on Mass Media and Contraception in Burkina Faso*.
- Goldin, Claudia and Lawrence F Katz (2002). "The power of the pill: Oral contraceptives and women's career and marriage decisions". In: *Journal of political Economy* 110.4, pp. 730–770.
- Graeber, Thomas, Christopher Roth, and Florian Zimmermann (2024). "Stories, statistics, and memory". In: *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, qjae020.
- Haaland, Marte ES, Haldis Haukanes, Joseph Mumba Zulu, Karen Marie Moland, Charles Michelo, Margarate Nzala Munakampe, and Astrid Blystad (2019). "Shaping the abortion policy—competing discourses on the Zambian termination of pregnancy act". In: *international Journal for Equity in Health* 18.1, pp. 1–11.
- Health, Ministry of (2009). *Standards and guidelines for reducing unsafe abortion morbidity and mortality in Zambia*.
- Health Statistics (CDC), National Center for (2019). *National Survey of Family Growth, 2017–2019*.
- Hindin, Michelle J, Laura J McGough, and Richard M Adanu (2014). "Misperceptions, misinformation and myths about modern contraceptive use in Ghana". In: *Journal of Family Planning and Reproductive Health Care* 40.1, pp. 30–35.
- Hsieh, Chang-Tai, Erik Hurst, Charles I. Jones, and Peter J. Klenow (2019). "The Allocation of Talent and U.S. Economic Growth". In: *Econometrica* 87.5, pp. 1439–1474. ISSN: 1468-0262. DOI: [10.3982/ECTA11427](https://doi.org/10.3982/ECTA11427). (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- Imbens, Guido W. and Donald B. Rubin (2015). *Causal Inference for Statistics, Social, and Biomedical Sciences: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-0-521-88588-1. DOI: [10.1017/CBO9781139025751](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139025751). (Visited on 09/17/2025).
- Imbens, Guido W. and Jeffrey M. Wooldridge (2009). "Recent Developments in the Econometrics of Program Evaluation". In: *Journal of Economic Literature* 47.1, pp. 5–86. ISSN: 0022-0515. DOI: [10.1257/jel.47.1.5](https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.47.1.5). (Visited on 09/17/2025).
- Kaler, Amy (1998). "A threat to the nation and a threat to the men: the banning of Depo-Provera in Zimbabwe, 1981". In: *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24.2, pp. 347–376.
- (2004). "The moral lens of population control: condoms and controversies in southern Malawi". In: *Studies in family planning* 35.2, pp. 105–115.
- (2009). "Health interventions and the persistence of rumour: the circulation of sterility stories in African public health campaigns". In: *Social science & medicine* 68.9, pp. 1711–1719.
- Kavanaugh, Megan L and Emma Pliskin (2020). "Use of contraception among reproductive-aged women in the United States, 2014 and 2016". In: *F&S Reports* 1.2, pp. 83–93.
- Kiene, Susan M., Leickness C. Simbayi, Amber Abrams, Allanise Cloete, Howard Tennen, and Jeffrey D. Fisher (2008). "High Rates of Unprotected Sex Occurring Among HIV-Positive Individuals in a Daily Diary Study in South Africa: The Role of Alcohol Use". In: *JAIDS Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes* 49.2, p. 219. ISSN: 1525-4135. DOI: [10.1097/QAI.0b013e318184559f](https://doi.org/10.1097/QAI.0b013e318184559f). (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- Kranzler, Henry R., Khamis Abu-Hasaballah, Howard Tennen, Richard Feinn, and Kevin Young (2004). "Using Daily Interactive Voice Response Technology to Measure Drinking and Related Behaviors in a Pharmacotherapy Study". In: *Alcohol: Clinical and Experimental Research* 28.7, pp. 1060–1064. ISSN: 1530-0277. DOI: [10.1097/01.ALC.0000130806.12066.9C](https://doi.org/10.1097/01.ALC.0000130806.12066.9C). (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- Kraus, Connie and Christopher Hooper-Lane (2017). "Are oral emergency contraceptives a safe & effective form of long-term birth control?" In.
- Leone, Tiziana, Ernestina Coast, Divya Parmar, and Bellington Vwalika (2016). "The individual level cost of pregnancy termination in Zambia: a comparison of safe and unsafe abortion". In: *Health policy and planning* 31.7, pp. 825–833.
- Londoño-Vélez, Juliana and Estefania Saravia (2025). "The impact of being denied a wanted abortion on women and their children". In: *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 140.2, pp. 1061–1110.

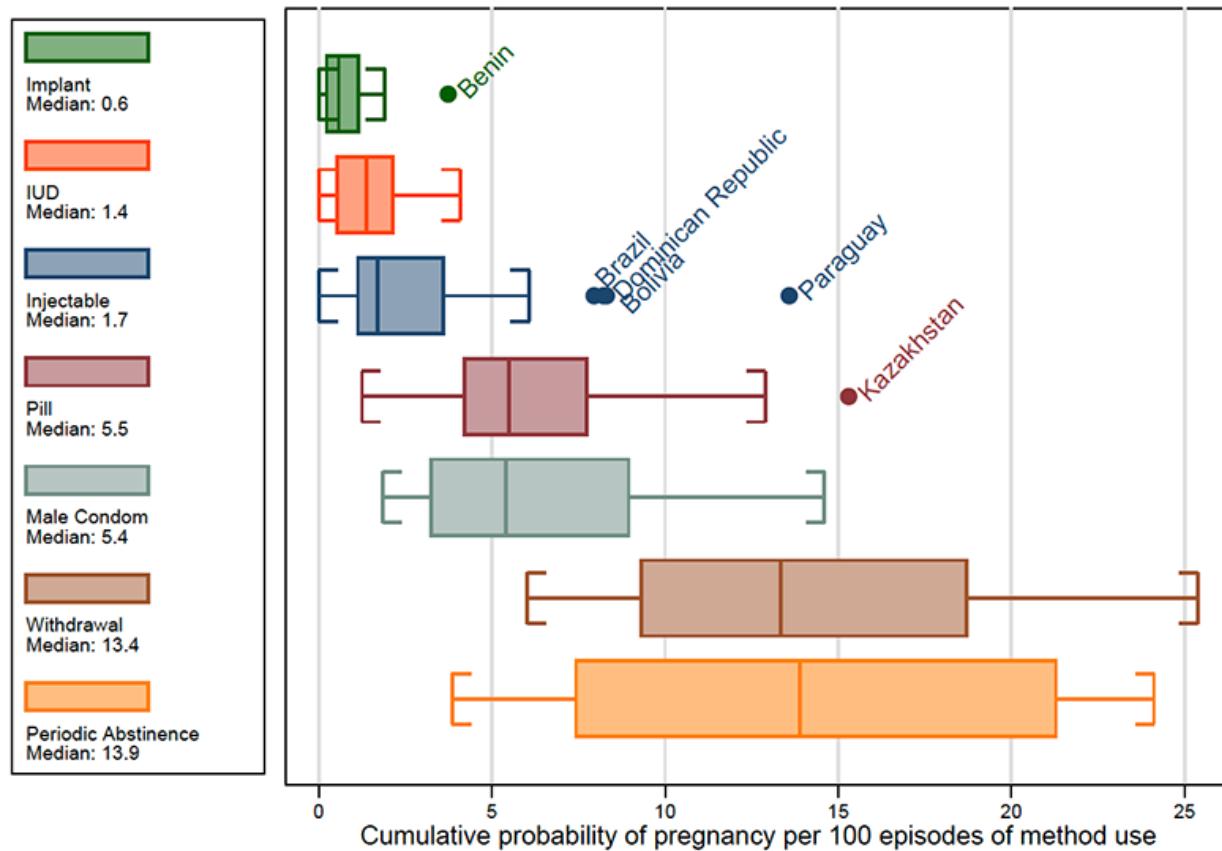
- Low, Corinne (2024a). "Pricing the biological clock: The marriage market costs of aging to women". In: *Journal of Labor Economics* 42.2, pp. 395–426.
- (2024b). "The human capital-reproductive capital trade-off in marriage market matching". In: *Journal of Political Economy* 132.2, pp. 552–576.
- Lowes, Sara and Eduardo Montero (2021). "The legacy of colonial medicine in Central Africa". In: *American Economic Review* 111.4, pp. 1284–1314.
- Malmendier, Ulrike and Laura Veldkamp (2022). "Information resonance". In: *University of California, Berkeley Working Paper*.
- Mansour, Diana, Kristina Gemzell-Danielsson, Pirjo Inki, and Jeffrey T. Jensen (2011). "Fertility after Discontinuation of Contraception: A Comprehensive Review of the Literature". In: *Contraception* 84.5, pp. 465–477. ISSN: 0010-7824. DOI: [10.1016/j.contraception.2011.04.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.contraception.2011.04.002). (Visited on 04/18/2025).
- Masquelier, Adeline, H Dilger, A Kane, and S Langwick (2012). "Public health or public threat? Polio eradication campaigns, Islamic revival, and the materialization of state power in Niger". In: *Medicine, Mobility, and Power in Global Africa*, pp. 213–40.
- Miller, Grant (2010). "Contraception as Development? New Evidence from Family Planning in Colombia*". In: *The Economic Journal* 120.545, pp. 709–736. ISSN: 1468-0297. DOI: [10.1111/j.1468-0297.2009.02306.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0297.2009.02306.x). (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- Montenegro, Claudio E and Harry A Patrinos (2014). "Comparable estimates of returns to schooling around the world". In: *World Bank policy research working paper* 7020.
- Munakampe, Margarate Nzala, Joseph Mumba Zulu, and Charles Michelo (2018). "Contraception and abortion knowledge, attitudes and practices among adolescents from low and middle-income countries: a systematic review". In: *BMC health services research* 18, pp. 1–13.
- Naab, Florence, Yakubu Lawali, and Ernestina S Donkor (2019). "“My mother in-law forced my husband to divorce me”: Experiences of women with infertility in Zamfara State of Nigeria". In: *PloS one* 14.12, e0225149.
- Nalwadda, Gorrette, Florence Mirembe, Josaphat Byamugisha, and Elisabeth Faxelid (2010). "Persistent high fertility in Uganda: young people recount obstacles and enabling factors to use of contraceptives". In: *BMC public health* 10.1, p. 530.
- Nunn, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon (2011). "The slave trade and the origins of mistrust in Africa". In: *American economic review* 101.7, pp. 3221–3252.
- Ochako, Rhoune, Mwende Mbondo, Stephen Aloo, Susan Kaimenyi, Rachel Thompson, Marleen Temmerman, and Megan Kays (2015). "Barriers to modern contraceptive methods uptake among young women in Kenya: a qualitative study". In: *BMC public health* 15, pp. 1–9.
- Okonofua, Friday (1999). "Infertility and women's reproductive health in Africa". In: *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 3.1, pp. 7–12.
- Okonofua, Friday E, Diana Harris, Adetanwa Odebiyi, Thomas Kane, and Rachel C Snow (1997). "The social meaning of infertility in Southwest Nigeria". In: *Health transition review*, pp. 205–220.
- Olarinoye, AO and PO Ajiboye (2019). "Psychosocial characteristics of infertile women in a Nigerian tertiary hospital". In: *Tropical Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology* 36.2, pp. 252–257.
- Otoide, Valentine O, Frank Oronsaye, and Friday E Okonofua (2001). "Why Nigerian adolescents seek abortion rather than contraception: evidence from focus-group discussions". In: *International family planning perspectives*, pp. 77–81.
- Owolabi, Onikepe O, Jenny A Cresswell, Bellington Vwalika, David Osrin, and Veronique Filippi (2017). "Incidence of abortion-related near-miss complications in Zambia: cross-sectional study in Central, Copperbelt and Lusaka Provinces". In: *Contraception* 95.2, pp. 167–174.
- Phiri, Mwelwa, R King, and JN Newell (2015). "Behaviour change techniques and contraceptive use in low and middle income countries: a review". In: *Reproductive health* 12.1, p. 100.

- Pinotti, Paolo (2017). "Clicking on heaven's door: The effect of immigrant legalization on crime". In: *American Economic Review* 107.1, pp. 138–168.
- Polis, Chelsea, Sarah E. K. Bradley, Akinrinola Bankole, Tsuyoshi Onda, Trevor N. Croft, and Susheela Singh (2016). *Contraceptive Failure Rates in the Developing World: An Analysis of Demographic and Health Survey Data in 43 Countries*. Accessed: 2025-11-02. Guttmacher Institute. URL: <https://www.guttmacher.org/report/contraceptive-failure-rates-in-developing-world>.
- Pritchett, Lance (1994). "Desired Fertility and the Impact of Population Policies". In: *Population and Development Review* 20.1, pp. 1–55.
- Qureshi, Zahida, Hediah Mehrtash, Seni Kouanda, Sally Griffin, Veronique Filippi, Philip Govule, Soe Soe Thwin, Folasade Adenike Bello, Luis Gadama, Ausbert Thoko Msusa, et al. (2021). "Understanding abortion-related complications in health facilities: results from WHO multicountry survey on abortion (MCS-A) across 11 sub-Saharan African countries". In: *BMJ global health* 6.1, e003702.
- Reynolds, Colleen A, Brittany M Charlton, and Christopher Fairley (2021). "Pregnancy prevention and unintended pregnancy across gender identity: a cross-sectional study of college students". In: *Sexual Health* 18.5, pp. 441–443.
- Rivera, Roberto, Meeno Cabral de Mello, S. L. Johnson, and Venkatraman Chandra-Mouli (2001). "Contraception for adolescents: social, clinical and service-delivery considerations". In: *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics* 75.2, pp. 149–163. ISSN: 0020-7292. DOI: [10.1016/S0020-7292\(01\)00371-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0020-7292(01)00371-X). (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- Rouchou, Brittany (2013). "Consequences of infertility in developing countries". In: *Perspectives in public health* 133.3, pp. 174–179.
- Scott, Valerie K, Lindsey B Gottschalk, Kelsey Q Wright, Claire Twose, Meghan A Bohren, Megan E Schmitt, and Nuriye Ortayli (2015). "Community health workers' provision of family planning services in low-and middle-income countries: A systematic review of effectiveness". In: *Studies in family planning* 46.3, pp. 241–261.
- Sedlander, Erica, Jeffrey B Bingenheimer, Mary Thiongo, Peter Gichangi, Rajiv N Rimal, Mark Edberg, and Wolfgang Munar (2018). "They destroy the reproductive system": exploring the belief that modern contraceptive use causes infertility". In: *Studies in family planning* 49.4, pp. 345–365.
- Shah, Manisha, Jennifer Seager, and Gabriela Rubio (2024). "When Pure Access Does not Breed Use". In: *Working Paper*.
- Sheeran, Paschal and Thomas L Webb (2016). "The intention-behavior gap". In: *Social and personality psychology compass* 10.9, pp. 503–518.
- Sievert, Clara (2024). "Supernatural Beliefs about Illness and Modern Medicine Use: Evidence from the DRC". In: *Working Paper*.
- van Balen, F. and H. M. W. Bos (2009). "The Social and Cultural Consequences of Being Childless in Poor-Resource Areas". In: *Facts, Views & Vision in ObGyn* 1.2, pp. 106–121. ISSN: 2032-0418.
- Wager, Stefan and Susan Athey (2018). "Estimation and Inference of Heterogeneous Treatment Effects Using Random Forests". In: *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 113.523, pp. 1228–1242. ISSN: 0162-1459. DOI: [10.1080/01621459.2017.1319839](https://doi.org/10.1080/01621459.2017.1319839). (Visited on 10/09/2023).
- Webb, Douglas (2000). "Attitudes to 'Kaponya Mafumo': the terminators of pregnancy in urban Zambia". In: *Health policy and planning* 15.2, pp. 186–193.
- West, Michael O (1994). "Nationalism, race, and gender: the politics of family planning in Zimbabwe, 1957–1990". In: *Social History of Medicine* 7.3, pp. 447–471.
- World Bank (2022). *School Enrollment, tertiary, female (% Gross) - Sub-Saharan Africa*. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.TER.ENRR.FE?end=2022&locations=ZG&start=1970&view=chart>. (Visited on 08/03/2023).
- (2023). *School Enrollment, Tertiary, Female (% Gross) - Sub-Saharan Africa*. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.TER.ENRR.FE?locations=ZF>. Accessed: 2024-02-25.

- World Bank (2025). *School enrollment, secondary, female (% gross)*. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.SEC.ENRR.FE>. Accessed: 2025-04-11.
- Yahya, Maryam (2007). “Polio vaccines—“no thank you!” barriers to polio eradication in Northern Nigeria”. In: *African Affairs* 106.423, pp. 185–204.
- Yeboua, Kouassi and Jakkie Cilliers (2025). *Gender*. Online resource. Updated 07 October 2025. URL: <https://futures.issafrica.org/thematic/16-gender/>.
- Zambia Statistics Agency (ZSA), Ministry of Health (MOH), University Teaching Hospital Virology Laboratory (UTH-VL), and ICF (2020). *Zambia Demographic and Health Survey 2018 [Dataset]*. ZMIR71FL.DTA. Lusaka, Zambia: ZSA, MOH, UTH-VL and ICF [Producers]. ICF [Distributor]. 2020.
- Zuilkowski, Stephanie Simmons, Margaret Henning, Joseph Zulu, and Beatrice Matafwali (2019). “Zambia’s school re-entry policy for adolescent mothers: Examining impacts beyond re-enrollment”. In: *International Journal of Educational Development* 64, pp. 1–7.

Appendix Figures

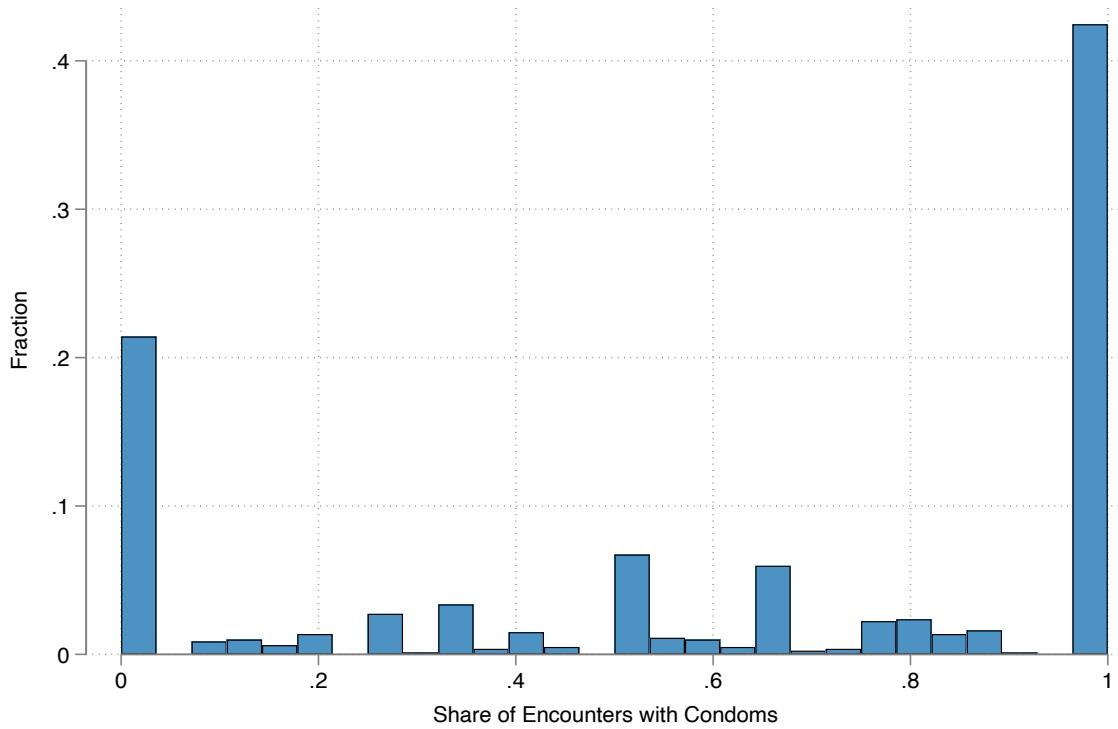
Figure A1
Twelve Month Failure Rate (Median) by Contraceptive Type Used



Notes: Median failure rates across all countries contributing data for a given method were calculated by including estimates from countries with 125 or more unweighted episodes of contraceptive use at life table month 1. Width of box is the inter-quartile range (IQR); whiskers are drawn to the lowest and highest values inside the area defined by $Q1 - 1.5(IQR)$ and $Q3 + 1.5(IQR)$; outliers beyond these ranges are depicted as individual dots.

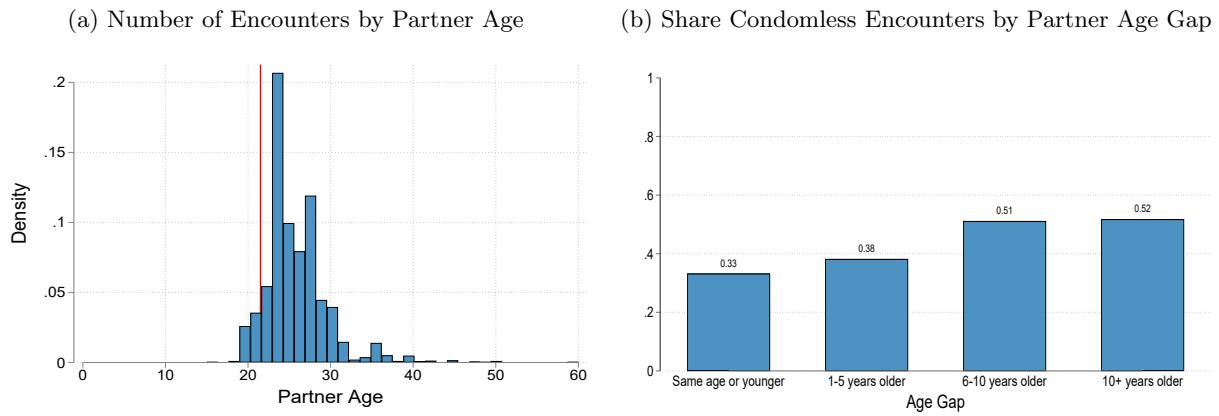
Source: Guttmacher Institute ([Polis et al., 2016](#)). Accessed September 15, 2025.

Figure A2
Share of Encounters Where a Condom is Used



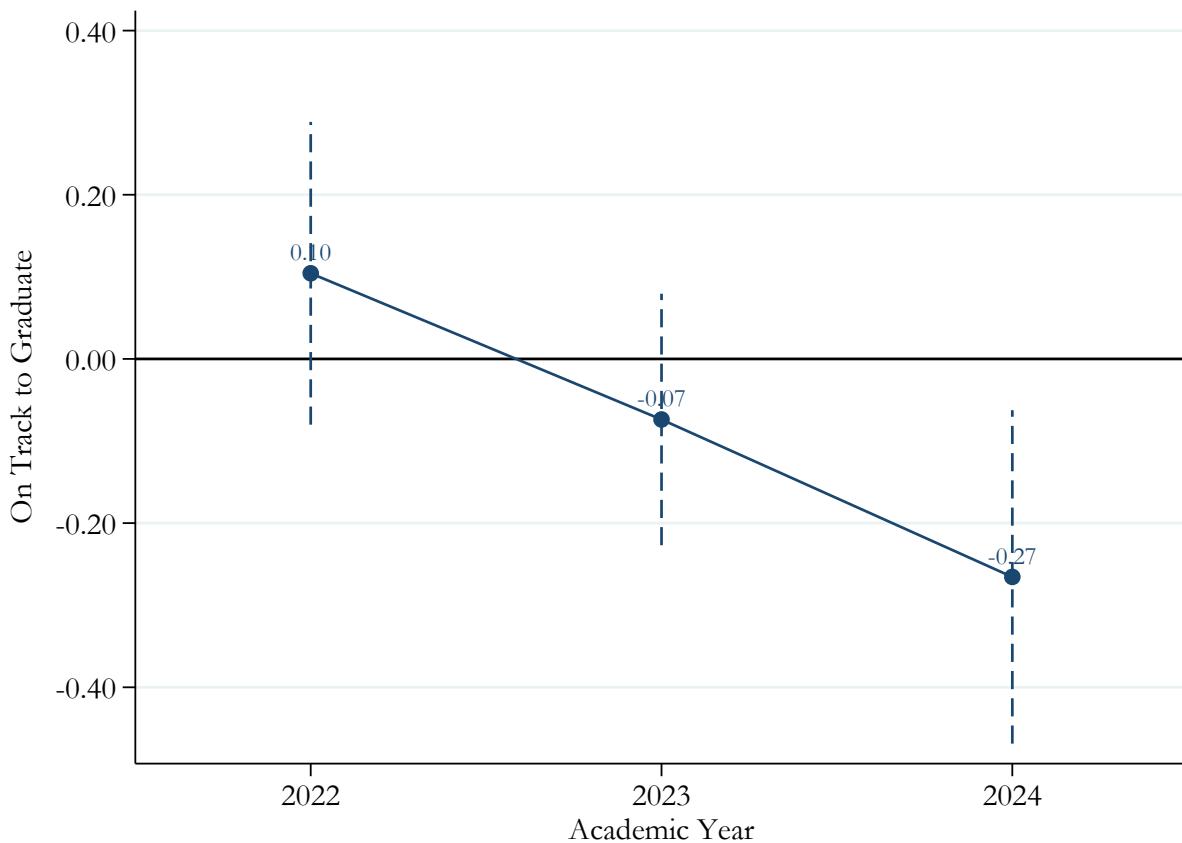
Notes: This figure reports the share of encounters in which a participant reports using a condom for all participants who reported at least one sexual encounter.

Figure A3
Partner Age and Condom Use



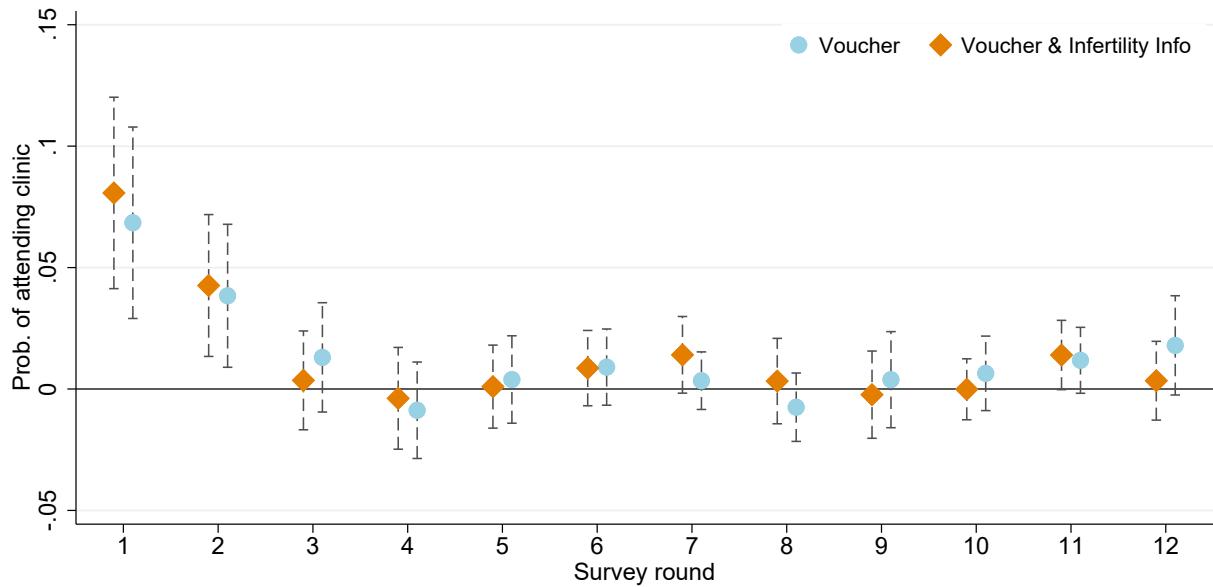
Notes: This figure reports summary statistics on women's sexual encounters. Panel (a) plots a histogram of number of encounters by partner age, and Panel (b) plots the share of encounters that are condomless by the age gap between participants and partners. Encounter-level data on condomless sex and partner age were collected every two weeks through the mobile phone survey. The red line in Panel (a), shown for reference, indicates the average age of a student that reported having at least one sexual partner in at least one survey: 22.

Figure A4
Probability of Being on Track to Graduate for Participants who Report Pregnancies



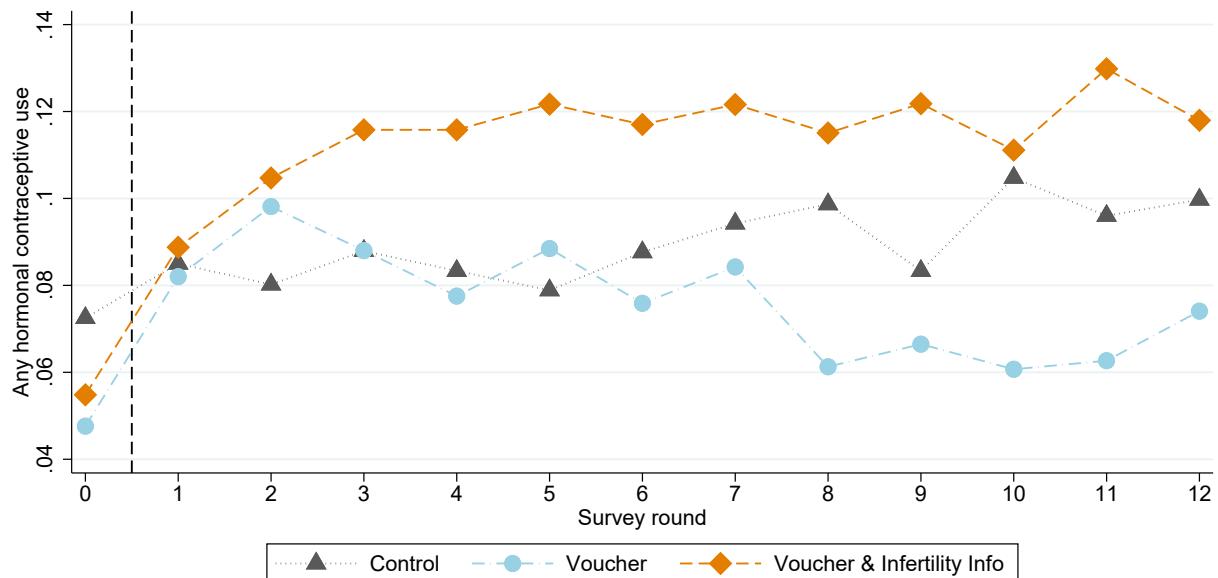
Notes: This figure shows the coefficients of a regression of whether a participant is on track to graduate on whether they reported a pregnancy at endline, by academic year. “On track” comes from administrative university data, and is coded as 1 if a student has graduated, or if she is progressing through her program on-track (e.g. if she was a 2nd year in 2022, she is a 4th year in 2024) based on her administrative year in the program at the start of the academic year, and 0 if she has fallen behind or left the university. The academic year runs from February to October, and the endline survey where students were asked if they had been pregnant in the previous six months was conducted between March and May 2023. Hence, in 2022, they were not pregnant yet at the start of the year, when year of study was recorded, and they reported having been pregnant near the start of the 2023 academic year. The plotted coefficients are from a single regression of being on-track on whether a student reported a new pregnancy at endline (i.e. was not already pregnant in the baseline survey) interacted with the academic year. The regression controls for year fixed effects and academic year at baseline. Standard errors are clustered at the student level, and 95% confidence intervals are shown as dashed vertical lines.

Figure A5
Self-Reported Visits to Partner Clinic for Family Planning Services by Survey Round



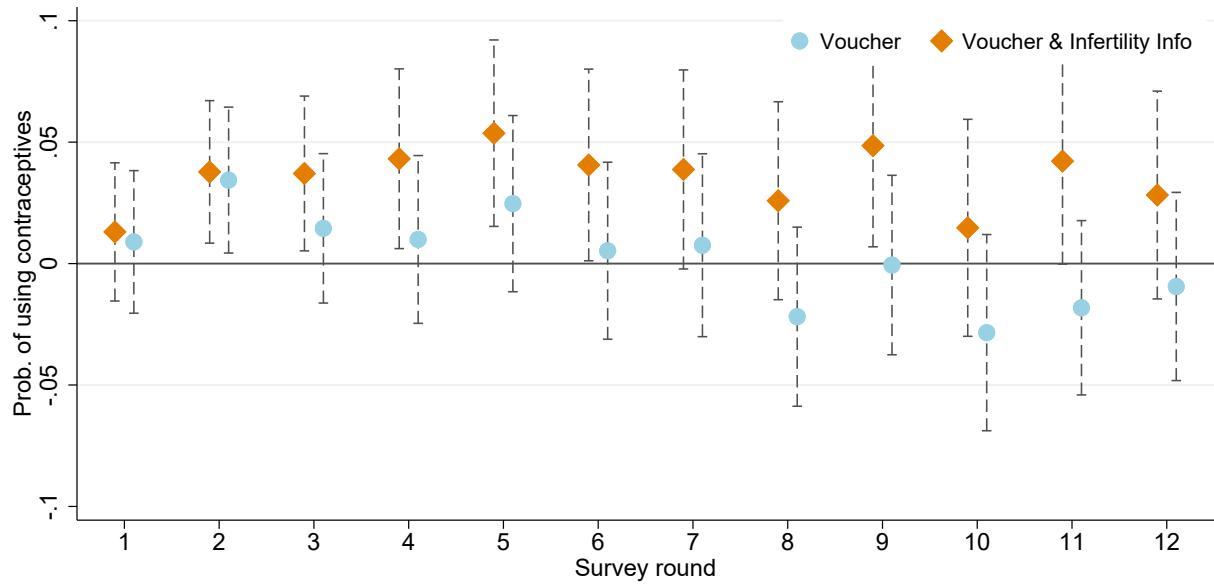
Notes: This figure plots the coefficients in equation (2), where the outcome is an indicator variable for whether a student reported visiting the partner clinic for family planning or contraceptives in the two weeks preceding the survey in question. Survey rounds occur every two weeks. The regressions include controls for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage and whether a student was part of the second recruitment wave. Standard errors are robust and clustered at the student level.

Figure A6
Hormonal Contraceptive Use by Survey Round and Treatment Group Without Normalization



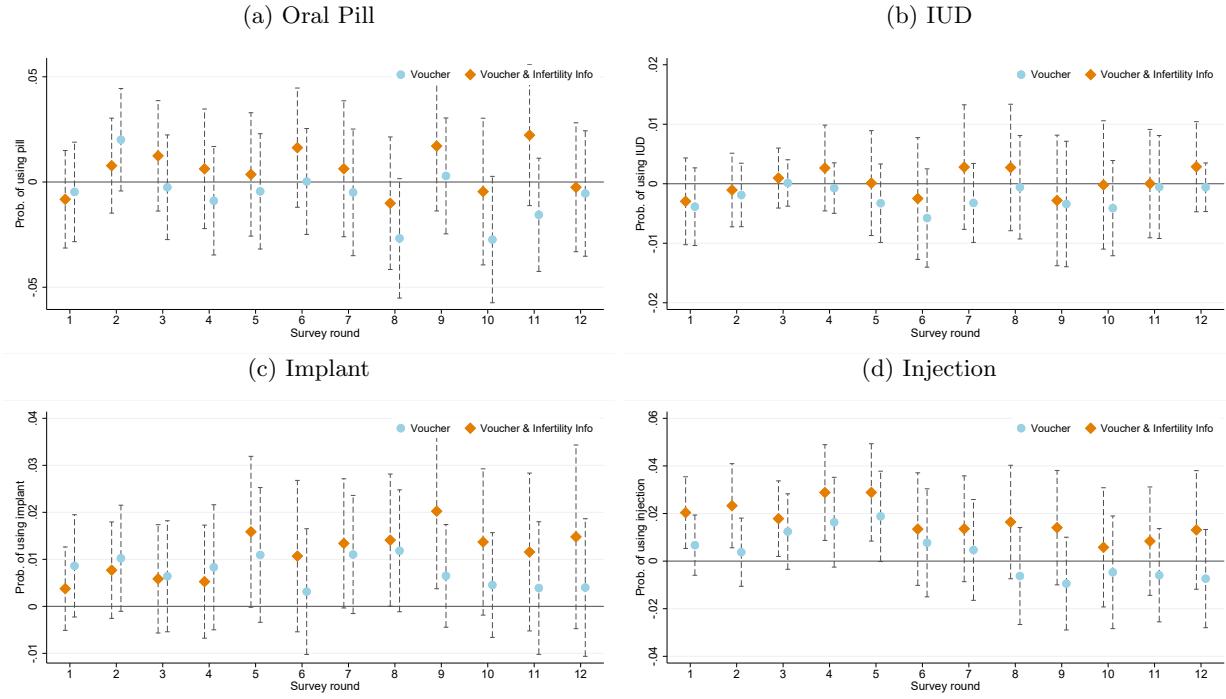
Notes: This figure plots the non-normalized average use of hormonal contraceptives reported in the mobile survey by treatment group and survey round. Hormonal contraceptives include the oral pill, shot, implant, and IUD. Survey rounds occur every two weeks. To explore the effect over time in a fixed sample, we restrict to the first recruitment wave, which was followed for 6 months.

Figure A7
Use of Hormonal Contraceptives by Survey Round



Notes: This figure plots the coefficients in equation (2), where the outcome is whether a student reported using hormonal contraceptives in the two weeks preceding each survey. Hormonal contraceptives include the pill, shot, implant, and IUD. Survey rounds occur every two weeks. The regressions include controls for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage. Standard errors are robust and clustered at the student level.

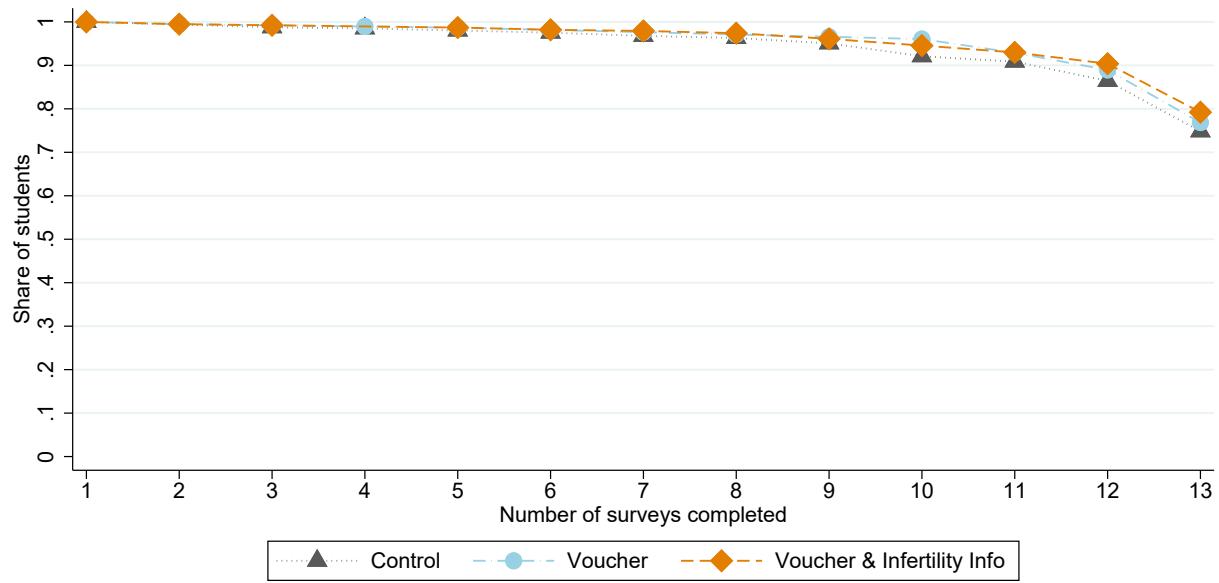
Figure A8
Use of Hormonal Contraceptives by Type and Survey Round



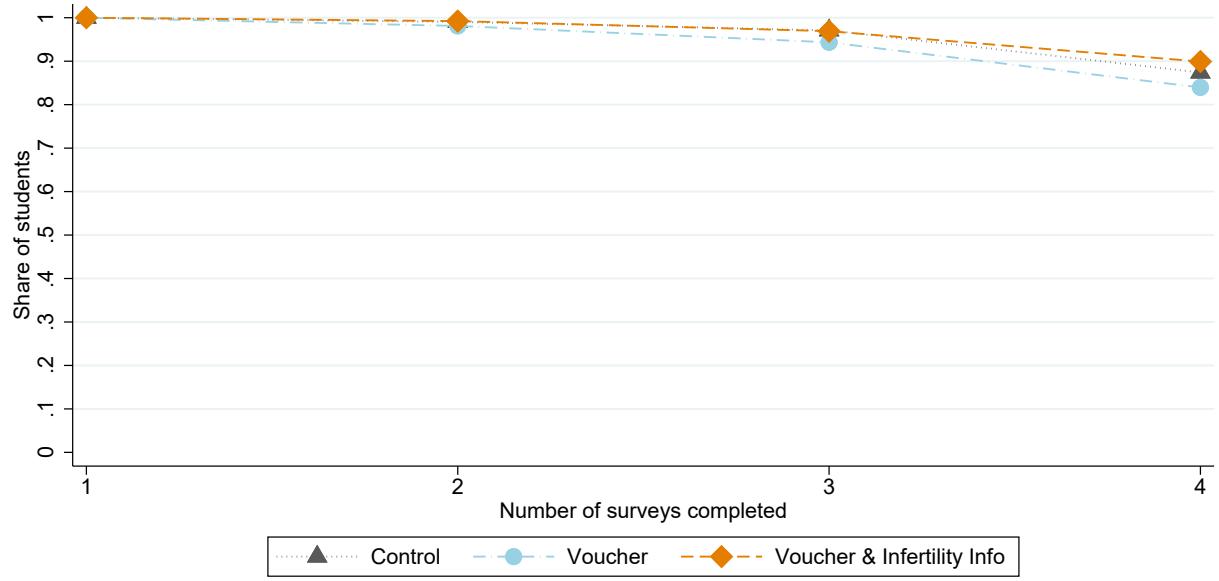
Notes: This figure plots the coefficients in equation (2), where the outcome is whether a student reported using a specific type of hormonal contraceptive in the two weeks preceding the survey. Survey rounds occur every two weeks. The regressions include controls for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage and whether a student was part of the second recruitment wave. Standard errors are robust and clustered at the student level.

Figure A9
Attrition in the Survey Data by Workshop Type

(a) First Wave



(b) Second Wave



Notes: This figure shows the attrition rate from the survey data for students in the first (a) and second (b) waves, separately by workshop type. Each graph reports the share of students in the sample who completed at least the indicated number of surveys.

Appendix Tables

Table A1
Methods to Prevent Pregnancy

Method	Mode of Use	Maintenance Level	Efficacy	Female-Controlled
Shot	Preventative	Low	High	Yes
Implant	Preventative	Low	High	Yes
IUD	Preventative	Low	High	Yes
Oral contraceptive pill	Preventative	High	Medium	Yes
Male condom	Encounter-Specific	High	Medium	No
Emergency contraceptive	Encounter-Specific	High	Low	Yes
Withdrawal	Encounter-Specific	High	Low	No
Rhythm method	N.A.	High	Low	No

Notes: The classifications reproduce the qualitative categories described in Section 2.1.

Table A2
Predictors of the Belief that Contraceptives Cause Infertility (Control Only)

	Believes Contraceptives Cause Infertility		
	OLS (1)	OLS (2)	LASSO (3)
Age	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.016 (0.018)	
Year	0.032 (0.027)	0.027 (0.027)	
SES Index	0.033 (0.025)	0.025 (0.024)	
Father Years Education	0.006 (0.007)	0.006 (0.007)	
Mother Years Education	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.008 (0.006)	
On Government Scholarship	-0.057 (0.058)	-0.061 (0.058)	
Sexually Active		0.090* (0.051)	
Sex in Past 2 Weeks		-0.014 (0.060)	
Medical Student		0.089 (0.071)	
Age First Heard About Contraceptives		-0.054** (0.022)	
Approve of Unmarried Woman Taking Contraceptives		-0.037** (0.018)	
N	495	492	491
Adjusted R-squared	-0.002	0.017	
Control mean	0.645	0.645	0.645

Notes: This table reports the effect of baseline characteristics on reporting that any of the hormonal contraceptives cause infertility as measured in week 2. The analysis is restricted to the control group. Column 1 includes demographic characteristics and measures of socioeconomic status. Column 2 further includes measures of sexual activity, attitudes, and knowledge of contraceptives. Column 3 uses lasso to select the set of predictive controls from column 2, as well as program, province of origin, and native (tribal) language fixed effects. No controls are selected.

Table A3
Beliefs About Costs of Infertility & Non-use due to Fear of Infertility

	Does not Take up due to Fear of Infertility/Side Effects	
	(1)	(2)
Together, Cannot Conceive	-0.015** (0.007)	
Together		0.004 (0.007)
N	695	695
Adjusted R-squared	0.004	-0.001
Mean Dep. Var	0.255	0.240

Notes: This table reports the association between the number of couples a respondent expects to stay together out of 10, with and without being informed that the couples cannot conceive, and reporting not taking up hormonal contraceptives due to fear of infertility/side effects. “Together” is the number of couples out of 10 the respondent expects to be together in 2 years. “Together, Cannot Conceive” is the number of couples who cannot conceive that a respondent expects to be together in 10 years. These two questions were asked to distinct, randomly chosen subsamples on the baseline survey. Standard errors are robust.

Table A4
Marital Outcomes & Infertility

	Worries Husband will Divorce	Husband Threatens Violence	Husband uses Violence	Marital Unhappiness	Husband does not Pay Expenses (Index, SDs)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Infertility	0.095** (0.044)	0.096* (0.050)	0.079 (0.049)	0.070** (0.035)	0.156 (0.101)
N	875	892	891	888	892
Adjusted R-squared	0.010	0.001	-0.001	0.007	0.026
Mean non-infertile	0.147	0.312	0.292	0.071	0.000

Notes: This table reports the association between a woman being infertile and different measures of the quality of their relationship with their husbands. All columns include controls for age; the square of age; and a four-valued self-health variable ranging from 1 (“Poor”) to 4 (“Excellent”). The sample consists of married women between the ages of 17 and 44 from the surrounding areas of Lusaka, Zambia. Data were collected between 2014 and 2016. For more information on data collection, see [Ashraf et al. \(2022\)](#). The infertility indicator is constructed from medical variables correlated with infertility which include early menopause, hysterectomy, sterilization, obstetric fistula, or being told by a healthcare worker that you are infertile. Women who report any of the medical signs of infertility are given “treatment value” of 1, which applies to 12% of the sample. “Control” women report no medical signs of infertility and receive value 0. Marital unhappiness is measured from the question, “How happy are you with your marriage?” Responses are on a five-point scale ranging from being very happy and content to very unhappy and discontent in one’s marriage, which we use to create a binary measure valued 1 if the respondent answers “somewhat unhappy” or “very unhappy or discontent.” “Husband does not pay expenses” is an index for whether a woman does not receive spousal support across seven different categories of spending. In these questions, women are asked where they get money for various expenditures. Options include their own money, asking their family for money, borrowing, or using their husband’s, husband’s family’s, or housekeeping money, with the latter three categories indicating financial support from spouses. The individual spending categories include healthcare, child healthcare, child education, child food, child clothes, shelter, and parental support. This index is the average of the z-scores (normalized to the non-infertile distribution) for the seven money provider variables. For observations with at least one response to the set of money provider variables, missing responses for other variables in the set are replaced with the group (infertile or non-infertile) mean. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

Table A5
Balance

	Control		Voucher vs Control			Voucher & Infertility Info vs Control		
	Mean (1)	Std. dev. (2)	Coeff (3)	Std. err. (4)	Norm. diff. (5)	Coeff (6)	Std. err. (7)	Norm. diff. (8)
<i>General</i>								
Age	21.097	(1.667)	-0.127	(0.109)	-0.052	-0.141	(0.106)	-0.059
Year at UNZA	2.187	(1.017)	-0.077	(0.065)	-0.053	-0.032	(0.065)	-0.022
Are you married?	0.023	(0.151)	-0.020***	(0.007)	-0.118	-0.000	(0.009)	-0.001
<i>Sex and Pregnancy</i>								
Number of pregnancies	0.070	(0.352)	-0.037*	(0.022)	-0.076	-0.031	(0.024)	-0.057
Number of children	0.037	(0.251)	-0.016	(0.013)	-0.056	-0.008	(0.015)	-0.024
Ever had sex	0.553	(0.498)	-0.003	(0.031)	-0.004	-0.067**	(0.031)	-0.096
Sex in past two weeks	0.163	(0.370)	0.003	(0.025)	0.006	-0.020	(0.024)	-0.037
<i>Contraceptive usage</i>								
Using any modern contraceptive	0.051	(0.219)	-0.024*	(0.014)	-0.075	-0.014	(0.015)	-0.044
Using the pill	0.029	(0.168)	-0.007	(0.010)	-0.031	-0.000	(0.011)	-0.001
Using IUD	0.006	(0.076)	-0.002	(0.003)	-0.024	0.002	(0.004)	0.019
Using an implant	0.004	(0.062)	-0.002	(0.005)	-0.014	-0.004	(0.005)	-0.037
Using an injection	0.012	(0.108)	-0.013	(0.008)	-0.073	-0.012	(0.008)	-0.064
Not using because of fear of infertility or side effects	0.222	(0.416)	0.024	(0.027)	0.041	-0.001	(0.026)	-0.001
P-value (joint F-test)					0.130			0.556

Notes: This table reports summary statistics for students in the control group, in addition to both the estimated difference and the normalized differences between each of the treatment arms and the control group. To arrive at the values in columns 3–4 and 6–7, the row name characteristic (collected in the baseline survey) is regressed on an indicator for whether the student is in the relevant treatment group using a sample that only includes the relevant treatment group and the control. The normalized difference, displayed in columns 5 and 8, is calculated as the difference in averages by treatment status, scaled by the square root of the sum of the variances. Unlike the standard error, the normalized difference is not sensitive to sample size (Imbens and Wooldridge, 2009). The final row regresses an indicator variable for whether the student is part of the indicated treatment arm on all the baseline characteristics displayed here and reports the p-value of a joint test of significance on all the covariates. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

Table A6
Effect on Clinic Attendance and Contraceptive Take-Up in Clinic Data, Alternative Specifications

	Visits Clinic		Takes up Hormonal Contraceptives		Takes up Condoms, EC or Hormonal	
	OLS (1)	LASSO (2)	OLS (3)	LASSO (4)	OLS (5)	LASSO (6)
Voucher	0.532*** (0.027)	0.535*** (0.027)	0.024** (0.010)	0.025** (0.010)	0.073*** (0.018)	0.072*** (0.018)
Voucher & Infertility Info	0.500*** (0.027)	0.496*** (0.027)	0.053*** (0.012)	0.057*** (0.013)	0.099*** (0.019)	0.105*** (0.019)
N	1508	1437	1508	1437	1508	1437
Adjusted R-squared	0.238		0.011		0.016	
Control mean	0.187	0.190	0.016	0.016	0.053	0.054
P-value of $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$	0.274	0.180	0.038	0.029	0.222	0.131

Notes: This table reports the effect of each of the treatments on visiting the partner clinic and contraceptive uptake. The OLS regressions are from running equation (1) on the clinic data and only include an indicator for whether the student was in the second recruitment wave as control. All lasso specifications include fixed effects for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage and an indicator for whether a student was in the second recruitment wave as controls. In addition, they include any controls selected by the lasso algorithm from the set of baseline variables that were asked to all students. This includes the following set of variables: Whether the student had ever had sex, whether the student had sex in the two weeks prior to the workshop, number of sexual partners the student had in the two weeks prior to the workshop, number of times student has been pregnant, whether student is pregnant at the time of the workshop, number of children of the student, fathers' and mothers' years of education, age of the student, indicators for year at UNZA, whether the student is married, indicators for the students' study programme at UNZA, indicators for the province the student is from, indicators for the native (tribal) language of the student, whether the student shared a bedroom growing up, whether the student is on a government bursary, distance to a clinic from where the student grew up, whether student underwent an initiation ritual, indicators for whether student has heard of each of the hormonal contraceptives, and indicators for whether the student is interested in each of the hormonal contraceptives. "Takes up hormonal contraceptives" is an indicator variable for whether a student requested any of the following: injection, implant, IUD, or oral contraceptive pills. While emergency contraceptive is hormonal, it is not a preventative method, so we do not count it as being part of this category. "Takes up Condoms, EC or Hormonal" is defined similarly to "Takes up hormonal contraceptives" but also includes condoms and emergency contraceptives. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

Table A7
Effect on Visiting Clinics for Family Planning Services in the Survey Data

	Any Clinic (1)	Kalingalinga (2)	UNZA (3)	Other (4)
Voucher	0.072*** (0.028)	0.089*** (0.024)	0.020 (0.018)	-0.023 (0.015)
Voucher & Infertility Info	0.075*** (0.027)	0.095*** (0.024)	0.003 (0.016)	0.000 (0.016)
N	1495	1495	1495	1495
Adjusted R-squared	0.051	0.026	0.022	0.048
Control mean	0.233	0.137	0.076	0.078
P-value of $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$	0.918	0.808	0.335	0.104

Notes: This table reports the effect of each of the treatments on indicator variables for ever visiting a clinic (any or different types) in the survey data by the end of the data collection period. It is estimated with equation (1) using the survey data. All regressions include indicator variables for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage and an indicator for whether a student is part of the second recruitment wave as controls. “Any Clinic” is an indicator variable for whether a student visited any clinic. “Kalingalinga” is an indicator variable for whether a student visited our partner clinic, “UNZA” is an indicator variable for whether the student visited the clinic on UNZA campus, and “Other” is an indicator variable for whether the student visited any other clinic. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

Table A8
Effect on Average Contraceptive Use Over the Survey Data Collection Period With Alternative Specifications

	Any Hormonal		Pills		IUD		Implant		Injection	
	OLS (1)	LASSO (2)	OLS (3)	LASSO (4)	OLS (5)	LASSO (6)	OLS (7)	LASSO (8)	OLS (9)	LASSO (10)
Voucher	-0.011 (0.015)	0.005 (0.012)	-0.007 (0.009)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.006 (0.007)	0.005 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.008)	0.005 (0.007)
Voucher & Infertility Info	0.025 (0.016)	0.038*** (0.014)	0.006 (0.011)	0.007 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.005)	0.000 (0.003)	0.009 (0.007)	0.011* (0.006)	0.010 (0.009)	0.018** (0.007)
N	14240	13688	14240	13688	14240	13688	14240	13688	14240	13688
Adjusted R-squared	0.002		0.000		0.001		0.001		0.001	
Control mean	0.088	0.086	0.044	0.042	0.007	0.007	0.009	0.009	0.026	0.026
P-value of $\phi^V = \phi^{VI}$	0.022	0.011	0.187	0.259	0.135	0.176	0.680	0.279	0.093	0.078

Notes: This table reports the effect of each of the treatments on contraceptive usage throughout the survey period. For the first wave, this is up to 6 months after the workshop, and for the second wave, this is 1.5 months after the workshop. The outcomes are indicator variables for whether a student used any hormonal contraceptives or any of each type of contraceptive during the survey period. OLS estimates are produced by running equation (3) with the survey data, and only include indicator variables for whether a student was in the second wave and survey fixed effects as controls. All lasso specifications include indicator variables for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage, survey fixed effects, and an indicator for whether a student was in the second wave as controls. In addition, they include any controls selected by the lasso algorithm from the set of baseline variables that were asked to all students. This includes the following set of variables: whether the student had ever had sex, whether the student had sex in the two weeks prior to the workshop, number of sexual partners the student had in the two weeks prior to the workshop, number of times student has been pregnant, whether the student is pregnant at the time of the workshop, number of children of the student, fathers' and mothers' years of education, age of the student, indicators for year at UNZA, whether the student is married, indicators for the students' study programme at UNZA, indicators for the province the student is from, indicators for the native (tribal) language of the student, whether the student shared a bedroom growing up, whether the student is on a government bursary, distance to a clinic from where the student grew up, whether student underwent an initiation ritual, indicators for whether student has heard of each of the hormonal contraceptives, and indicators for whether student is interested in each of the hormonal contraceptives. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered at the student level.

Table A9
Effects on Pregnancy With Alternative Specifications

	New Pregnancy at Endline		Reported Pregnancy					
	OLS (1)	LASSO (2)	OLS (3)	LASSO (4)	OLS (5)	LASSO (6)	OLS (7)	LASSO (8)
Voucher & Infertility Info	-0.012** (0.0052)	-0.013** (0.0054)	-0.003 (0.0022)	-0.003 (0.0022)	0.000 (0.0021)	0.001 (0.0020)	0.001 (0.0025)	0.001 (0.0022)
Voucher & Infertility Info × After 2 Months					-0.005* (0.0028)	-0.005* (0.0030)		
Voucher & Infertility Info × Survey							-0.001* (0.0003)	-0.001* (0.0004)
N	1367	1315	14240	13688	14240	13688	14240	13688
Adjusted R-squared	0.002		0.000		0.001		0.001	
Control mean	0.017	0.017	0.007	0.007	0.007	0.007	0.007	0.007

Notes: Columns 1–2 estimate the effect of the voucher + infertility information treatment on an indicator variable for a new pregnancy in the last 6 months in the endline data. Columns 3–8 estimate the effects on an indicator variable for reporting a pregnancy that is not listed as a false positive in the survey data. Column 1 only includes a control for the second recruitment wave. The remaining odd columns also include survey round fixed effects. Column 2 includes fixed effects for baseline hormonal contraceptive use, an indicator variable for being pregnant at baseline, and double-lasso selected controls. The remaining even columns also include survey round fixed effects. The pool of controls for the lasso includes the following set of variables: whether the student had ever had sex, whether the student had sex in the two weeks prior to the workshop, number of sexual partners the student had in the two weeks prior to the workshop, number of times student has been pregnant, whether the student is pregnant at the time of the workshop, number of children of the student, fathers' and mothers' years of education, age of the student, indicators for year at UNZA, whether the student is married, indicators for the students' study programme at UNZA, indicators for the province the student is from, indicators for the native (tribal) language of the student, whether the student shared a bedroom growing up, whether the student is on a government bursary, distance to a clinic from where the student grew up, whether the student underwent an initiation ritual, indicators for whether the student has heard of each of the hormonal contraceptives, and indicators for whether the student is interested in each of the hormonal contraceptives. Standard errors are robust in columns 1–2 and robust and clustered at the individual-level in columns 3–8.

Table A10
Effects on Beliefs About Infertility & Contraceptives in Week 4 for Full Sample

	Block 1: Cause Infertility					Block 2: Cause Weight Gain				
	(1) Any	(2) Pill	(3) IUD	(4) Implant	(5) Injection	(6) Any	(7) Pill	(8) IUD	(9) Implant	(10) Injection
Voucher	-0.045 (0.031)	-0.021 (0.030)	-0.000 (0.024)	-0.068** (0.028)	-0.041 (0.029)	-0.018 (0.020)	-0.002 (0.031)	0.001 (0.020)	0.011 (0.030)	-0.026 (0.032)
Voucher & Infertility Info	-0.138*** (0.031)	-0.052* (0.030)	-0.009 (0.023)	-0.129*** (0.027)	-0.095*** (0.028)	-0.016 (0.019)	-0.008 (0.031)	-0.005 (0.019)	0.032 (0.030)	-0.014 (0.032)
N	1481	1481	1481	1481	1481	1481	1481	1481	1481	1481
Adjusted R-squared	0.015	0.004	0.003	0.020	0.014	0.005	0.005	-0.003	-0.000	0.003
Control mean	0.645	0.351	0.161	0.307	0.325	0.900	0.616	0.106	0.317	0.474
P-value of $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$	0.003	0.294	0.710	0.018	0.054	0.919	0.832	0.778	0.478	0.712

Notes: This table reports the effect of each of the treatments on whether the student believes each type of contraceptive causes infertility – in Block 1 – or weight gain – in Block 2. It reports effects at 4 weeks with the full sample, including the second recruitment wave. It is estimated with equation (1) in the survey data. Column 1 is an indicator for whether the student believed one or more of the hormonal contraceptives shown here cause infertility. In Columns 2 – 5, the outcomes are indicator variables for each contraceptive separately. Block 2 repeats the analysis for weight gain. All regressions include fixed effects for baseline hormonal contraceptive usage. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

Table A11
Preferences Over Contraceptives at End of the Study Period

	Interested in Taking Up After 6 Months (First Wave Only)			
	Pill (1)	IUD (2)	Implant (3)	Injection (4)
Voucher	-0.007 (0.037)	0.022 (0.025)	0.028 (0.027)	-0.006 (0.033)
Voucher & Infertility Info	-0.067* (0.036)	-0.003 (0.024)	0.150*** (0.030)	-0.001 (0.033)
N	1087	1087	1087	1087
Adjusted R-squared	0.017	0.017	0.028	0.012
Control mean	0.419	0.125	0.139	0.285
P-value of $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$	0.101	0.326	0.000	0.884

Notes: This table uses the first wave sample to analyze whether the treatments persistently affected stated preferences over contraceptives at the end of the data collection period. The outcome variables are indicator variables for whether participants expressed an interest in taking up each type of contraceptive on their 11th round survey (approximately 6 months after baseline). All regressions include baseline hormonal contraceptive usage as controls. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

Table A12
Evidence on Alternative Explanations: Role Models & Stigma

	Conversations ≥ 1 Week 4 (Survey 2) (1)	Conversations ≥ 1 Week 22 (Survey 11) (2)	Approve (3)	Mother Approve (4)
Voucher	-0.042 (0.035)	0.069** (0.033)	0.074** (0.034)	-0.067** (0.034)
Voucher & Infertility Info	-0.069** (0.035)	0.015 (0.032)	0.044 (0.034)	-0.003 (0.034)
N	1157	1087	1158	1157
Adjusted R-squared	-0.000	0.003	0.011	0.004
Control mean	0.412	0.243	0.614	0.368
P-value of $\beta^V = \beta^{VI}$	0.441	0.106	0.376	0.061

Notes: This table uses the first wave to estimate the effect of the treatments on proxies for stigma. The dependent variables are an indicator variable for talking to friends about contraceptives at least once a week in the last month in survey 2 (column 1) and survey 11 (column 2) and an indicator variable for whether the girl reports she approves of an unmarried woman using modern contraceptives to prevent pregnancy (column 3) or believes her mother would approve (column 4). The dependent variable in columns 3 and 4 is measured in survey 2. In columns 1 and 2, we restrict to the first wave to observe the effect in a consistent sample over time. Columns 3 and 4 restrict to the first wave since the approval questions were asked in the baseline survey for the second wave. All regression include baseline hormonal contraceptive usage as controls. Standard errors are robust.

A Quotes on Side Effects and Infertility from Focus Groups

In this section, we report several illustrative quotes from focus groups with UNZA students conducted prior to the experiment. These focus groups motivated our focus on fear of infertility as a barrier to contraceptive use. The quotations below are from students' answers to a question about why sexually active students do not use contraceptives. In addition, emphasis has been added to demonstrate the perceived dosage effect of contraceptives on fertility (i.e., the idea that if a woman uses hormonal contraceptives for a longer period of time, she is more likely to become infertile).

"So even the same contraceptives, some of them, most of them in fact have side effects, they are not safe and they can affect your fertility, yah. Like maybe you might not be able to have children when you want to."

*"Because maybe the reason they may not be having those children is as a result of the effects she has gotten from the contraceptives. I think the more you use these contraceptives, they definitely have side effects, so the **more you use them, the higher the effects**. So might end up maybe getting barren or something like that just because of the constant use of contraceptives."*

"Afraid of not becoming pregnant because of a contraceptives. And also, they mess up with your menstrual cycle."

*"They prevent from pregnancy and also the effects are that you will not have your normal periods, the period cycle will be changed... **If someone continues for too much of that, then again it causes infertility.** I think that is the picture that most of the people put in."*

B Intervention Protocol

[Baseline Message]

Thank you for joining us today. Welcome to Empower Women's Health. This is a pilot program where we test different ways to empower women. We will start by reading some information about the program, and ask for your consent to join.

[Read the consent form and ask everyone to sign.]

Now, you will take your first survey, so we can see how much you already know about women's health. Please scan the QR code or type in the link to access the survey. Please fill in the information and begin the survey, we will come around to help you if you face any difficulties.

[Let everyone finish]

[instructor self-introductions, both Facilitator 1 and Facilitator 2]

Facilitator 1 Intro: Hi my name is [Facilitator 1], and I'm with the Empower Women's Health project, based in Lusaka. I am here to share some information on women's health with you, but I am not a nurse or a health worker, so if you have any questions I cannot answer, at the end of the session I will tell you how you can get more information from the Clinic. My partner will also introduce herself.

Facilitator 2 Intro: My name is [Facilitator 2] and, like [Facilitator 1], I work with Empower Women's Health.

Great! Now we are going to talk a bit as a group about how to access family planning.

Can someone define family planning for me?

Can you tell me what family planning options are there?

The commonly used contraceptive methods include condoms, morning after pills, oral pills, injectables, implants and IUD.

I would also like to talk a little about HIV. HIV is spread through exchange of particular body fluids with a person who has HIV. These fluids are blood, semen, pre-seminal fluids, rectal fluids, vaginal fluids, and breast milk. Having unprotected sex is one main way that HIV gets spread. I would like to emphasise that condoms are highly effective in preventing HIV if used correctly. They are also effective at preventing sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) that are transmitted through bodily fluids, such as gonorrhea and chlamydia. Non-condom contraceptives protect against pregnancy, but do not protect against the transmission of HIV or STDs.

[Fertility group only]

We will now share some information about how different modern family planning methods work. Different methods lasts for a different lengths of time. However, whenever you stop using the family planning, after a period of time, you will be able to get pregnant again. To understand why, we need to understand some biology. Your body releases an egg each month, which is called ovulation. If you have sex and the sperm meets the egg, that is when you can

become pregnant. Methods such as the pill, implant, and injectable are called “hormonal contraception.” The hormones in these methods stop your body from ovulating, so there is no egg released, and thus you cannot become pregnant. When you stop the method, after some time, the hormones will leave your body, you will begin ovulating, and as a result, can become pregnant again. That is why if someone misses their dose of the pill, they can become pregnant—the hormones leave their body. Similarly, if you stop the shot or remove the implant, the hormones will leave your body, and you will begin to ovulate and be able to become pregnant again.

To make this more clear, let's play a game together. Anyone want to volunteer? [pick an audience member]

In this game, we are going to use an example to show how contraceptives can stop you from becoming pregnant.

[hold a strong mint underneath their nose, and hold an orange nearby, ask them if they could smell the orange]

[then have them take a few deep cleansing breaths without the mint smell and smell the orange]

The hormones in the pill, shot, or implant work like this. They block your body from releasing eggs for a little while, but after you stop using them, your body will naturally return to normal.

The longer the contraceptive works for, it's like holding the mint smell under your nose for longer. But, no matter how long, once it wears off or is removed, you will be able to smell the orange again.

Different forms of family planning last different amounts of time. A condom or female condom only works if you use it every time. The pill needs to be taken every day, but then wears off quickly when you stop taking it. Injections can last for months, and then may take some time to leave your system, but, and this is important, then you will be fertile again. Implants and IUDs last until you take them out, but you can always have them removed early if you decide you want to become pregnant, and your body will return to normal.

And finally, [name] will share her experience on using [method of long term contraceptive].

[Facilitator who has used either injectables or implants and subsequently become pregnant shares her experience, including what method she used, how long she used it, and how long it took for her to become pregnant after]

Facilitator 1 personal story:

I would like to share my personal story. I have two handsome sons, one is 8 years and my second is 5 years. Before I had my first kid, I first used condoms and later tried birth control pills. I could not keep up with taking them daily. Then I had my first born. I guess as a result of not being consistent. So, after my first kid, I started using depo-provera (an injection). It was easier for me to be consistent with this because I did not need to take it as often. Then, when I decided to have my second child, I stopped. In a few months, I conceived my second child. After my second child I decided that I should concentrate on my career and my business, so I went on a long term method, which is the implant. I have had this for 4 years

now, with no complications. The insertion was very small and left me with a very small scar.
[show the arm] When I just had it, I only had some spotting, small bleeding for only two weeks, and everything went back to normal. And it hasn't moved. It's just there. And whenever I want to have the next baby, I will just remove it, any time. Thank you for listening to my story.

Facilitator 2 personal story:

I have three beautiful kids, two girls and a boy. They are aged 13, 9 and 4 years. So, between my first and my second, I used Depo Provera, the shot. I didn't think it was the right method for me because I had to make a fresh arrangement to see the doctor every three months for a shot. So, after my second child, I asked myself what am I going to use that will be long-lasting and not require me to visit a health care provider every three months. So, I settled with Jadelle, the implant. After I put in the Jadelle, I had minor headaches. I only needed paracetamol, and they went away over time. My periods were also not as heavy as before. My periods were actually reduced to only 3 or 4 days. I had it implanted when my daughter was 4 months old, and I had it taken out when she was five years. Within 6 months, I conceived my son. And that's my story.

There are many ways to access family planning. For example, there is a clinic here on UNZA's campus that has family planning. Today, I want to tell you about another option to access family planning that might be especially convenient for students. At Kalingalinga clinic, you can get all types of family planning methods for free.

[Voucher/Fertility group]

In your packet you have a voucher that you can redeem for an 80 Kwacha transport refund if you decide to go to Kalingalinga clinic. To receive the refund, you only need to go to the clinic, bring your id, and have your voucher stamped by a nurse.

Does everyone know where Kalingalinga clinic is? In your packet you have a card that has a map and walking instructions. You can easily walk to the clinic following these directions. If you visit the clinic, make sure to bring this card with you—you will be guaranteed fast and completely free service with this card within the next 4 weeks. [Instructions: show the card to participant]. This card is only for you, so make sure to bring it with you, and do not give it to someone else.

The Kalingalinga clinic operates from Monday to Friday, 9 – 15 hours and on Saturday, 9 – 12 hours. The family planning consultation and family planning options including condoms, oral pills, the morning after pill and injectables are offered every day. You can also access implants (also known as Jadelle), but these are only offered on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. We want to emphasize that if you bring this card, you will not be charged for *any* contraception method.

[Voucher/Fertility group]

To claim your refund, make sure to hand your voucher to the nurse at the beginning of your appointment, and give it to the "Empower Women's Health" representative afterwards. The representative will be sitting in the waiting area. The voucher can only be redeemed by you. To verify that it is you who is coming to the clinic, you must bring your student id, or another

form of id. Without it, you will not be allowed to claim the voucher. Because this is a pilot program, women at some workshops may not get a voucher.

Over the next 6 months, as part of this program, we will ask you to complete a short mobile survey every two weeks. For every survey you complete we will send you 10K of airtime. In addition, to ensure you do not incur any costs for completing the surveys, we will send you 50K of airtime every month until the end of the program. If you stop filling out the surveys, we will stop sending the monthly bundle. The first 50K bundle of airtime will be in your accounts within the next 1-2 days. If you change your phone numbers, please let us know! You can either email us, through the email address we sent you the invitation from, or text us, using the number quoted in the reminder message.

Thank you for coming through, we hope we'll see you at Kalingalinga clinic within the next 4 weeks.

C Intervention Documents

Figure C1
Clinic Information Card

(a) Front

Kalingalinga Clinic

Alick Nichata Road
Kalingalinga, Lusaka

Clinic Hours:

Monday-Friday: 10:00-17:00
Saturday: 10:00-14:00

Guaranteed **free service** and
no waiting if used by _____
WITH THIS CARD



**Walking directions
from UNZA:**

Use the small exit from UNZA grounds through Kalingalinga tarmac that takes you to Total filling station, then turn left heading to Kalingalinga ground and turn right on the tarmac going to Alick Nkanta. It's on the right side.

(b) Back



For clinic use only

- 1. FPC
- 2.
 - C S
 - J E
 - I O
- 3.
 - ST PT
 - PC
- Other: _____

Notes: This figure shows the front and back of the clinic information card given to participants in all experimental arms during the workshop.

Figure C2
Voucher & Voucher + Infertility Information Treatments: Travel Voucher



Notes: This figure shows the travel voucher given to participants in the voucher and voucher + infertility info arms of the experiment. Participants could have the voucher stamped by a nurse at the clinic and then redeem it for 80 Kwacha from a study employee stationed at the clinic.

Figure C3
Explanation of Codes on the Back of the Information Card



For clinic use only

- 1. FPC Family planning counseling
- 2. Any dispensed contraception
 - C Condoms S Shot
 - J Jadelle E Emergency contraception
 - I IUD O Oral pills
- 3. Additional care
 - ST STI test PT Pregnancy test
 - PC Prenatal care
- Other: _____

Notes: This figure explains the codes used by the nurses to record what treatments participants received on the back of the clinic card.

D Machine Learning for Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

In this section, we use the double machine learning causal forest estimator to investigate what baseline variables lead to heterogeneity in the treatments' effects on hormonal contraceptive take-up. The goal of this exercise is to assess whether machine learning delivers similar lessons to the compliers analysis about which individuals benefited the most from the treatments.

[Athey et al. \(2019\)](#) and [Wager and Athey \(2018\)](#) develop a non-parametric causal forest methodology for identifying heterogeneous treatment effects using machine learning. A causal forest is composed of causal trees. The causal tree methodology randomly splits the sample into a training and validation sample and chooses partitions of the training sample (e.g., young women with and without a fear of infertility) for whom the treatment of interest (voucher + infertility information or voucher) is allowed to have different effects. These partitions are chosen to maximize the out-of-sample predictive power in the validation sample. Since the sub-samples are randomly selected for each causal tree, causal trees may choose different (though potentially highly correlated) covariates as sources of heterogeneity. Hence, to arrive at individual-level estimates of treatment effects that are not driven by a specific random draw of the data, a causal forest “grows” a large number of causal trees and estimates the individual-level treatment effects by averaging across the predicted effect for an individual in each causal tree. In this method, for each causal tree, a new training and validation sample are drawn. To calculate valid point estimates, we create each causal tree by drawing samples from the same randomly chosen, distinct subsample b of our main sample N , where $b = 0.5N$. The remainder of the observations are never used for estimating causal trees and are instead used to estimate the treatment effects based on the heterogeneity identified in the random forest. To ensure that we have enough participants in each arm to estimate valid treatment effects, we stratify by treatment status when drawing b .

When we implement this methodology, we apply a correction for regularization bias and overfitting developed by [Chernozhukov et al. \(2018a\)](#). We implement the algorithm using the `econML` package developed for python by the ALICE project at Microsoft research. We conduct the analysis for each intervention — voucher or voucher + infertility information — separately against the control. We take most of the parameters from the default settings in the `econML` package but impose a 5-fold cross-validation strategy and set the minimum number of observations per leaf (subsample size resulting from splits along covariate values) to 10. To compute our final estimates, we average over 100,000 trees and predict the treatment effects in the distinct sample that was withheld from training and validation. For our outcome, we use take-up of hormonal contraceptives in the clinic data, consistent with the compliers analysis.

Since any specific causal tree may arrive at different partitions for the treatment effects, to characterize patterns in the heterogeneity of the effects, instead of reporting specific partitions, we (a) report the estimated average treatment effects for different subgroups, where our choice of subgroups is motivated by the compliers analysis, and (b) report the average values of our baseline covariates from the compliers analysis for the individuals estimated to have the 20% largest and smallest treatment effects for the voucher and voucher + infertility information treatments.⁴⁷

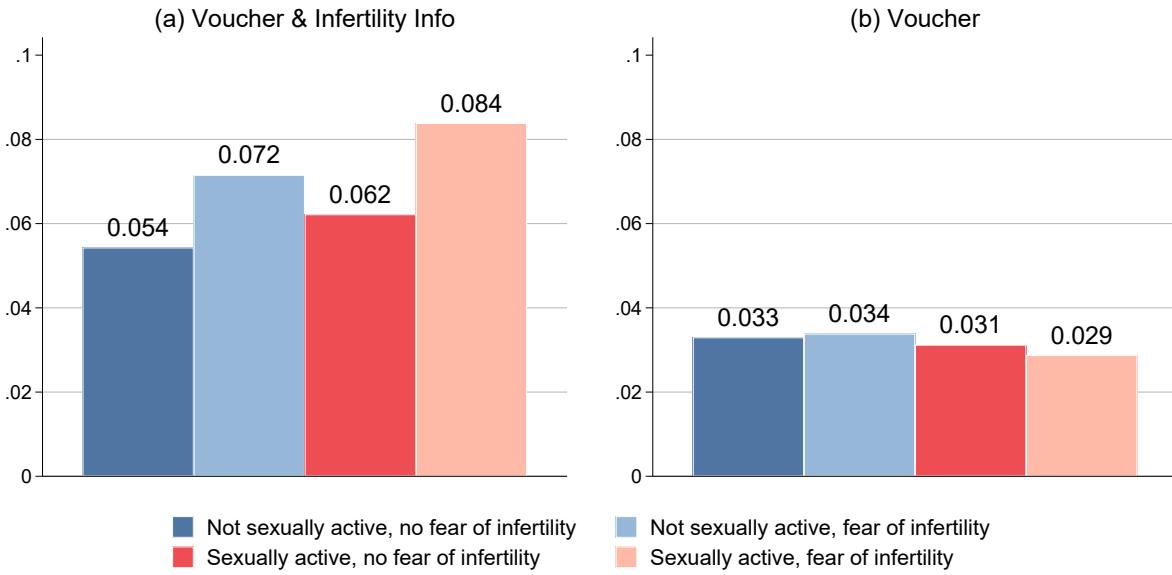
Figure D1 reports the predicted treatment effects for the voucher + infertility information (Panel (a)) and voucher (Panel (b)) treatments by whether participants had had sex at baseline and whether they reported not using contraceptives due to fear of infertility at baseline. Consistent with the compliers analysis, we see the largest effects (+8 percentage points) among women who were sexually active at baseline and did not use contraceptives due to fear of infertility. This is more than 50% larger than the effect for those who were not sexually active and did not fear infertility. In contrast, the magnitudes for the voucher intervention are similar across these subgroups.

Table D1 follows [Chernozhukov et al. \(2018b\)](#) and reports the average values of participants' characteristics for those in the top and bottom 20% of treatment effects for both the voucher + infertility information and voucher interventions. The results again echo the compliers analysis. Among those with the largest treatment effects for voucher + infertility information, 66% reported fear of infertility/side effects at baseline (0% among those with the lowest predicted effects) and 87% were sexually active at baseline (28% among those with the lowest predicted effects). We note that characteristics that show up as significantly different between those with the largest and smallest treatment effects need not be the actual partitions selected by

⁴⁷We exclude “Use hormonal contraception” because “Fear of Infertility/Side Effects” is only defined for students who do not use a hormonal contraception at baseline, and we cannot have missing values when running the causal forest algorithm.

the machine learning procedure; they could also be highly correlated with the characteristics which the treatment effects are partitioned on. For example, using condoms is likely to be strongly related to being sexually active, and parental education is related to SES. For the voucher treatment, the patterns are completely different. Consistent with the fact that the voucher did not affect beliefs about infertility, the directionality is flipped. Among those with the smallest treatment effects for the voucher group, 33% reported fear of infertility/side effects at baseline (16% among those with the highest effects). Interestingly, it was also most effective for the financially constrained. Altogether, we conclude that the machine learning approach delivers qualitatively similar findings to the compliers analysis and supports our interpretation that the voucher + infertility information treatment's larger effect relative to the voucher is due to reducing the perception that contraceptives cause permanent infertility.

Figure D1
Predicted Treatment Effect by Subgroup



Notes: This figure displays the average predicted treatment effects in the test sample for four different subgroups separately for the voucher + infertility information (Panel (a)) and voucher (Panel (b)) groups. The subgroups chosen are motivated by what we found in the compliers analysis (Table 8). The predicted treatment effects are calculated by training a causal forest on half of the sample and then predicting the treatment effects in the remaining half. We restrict to students that did not report missing observations for any of the baseline covariates reported in table D1.

Table D1
Characteristics of Participants with High and Low Predicted Treatment Effects

	Voucher & Infertility Info			Voucher		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	20% Highest β	20% Lowest β	P-value	20% Highest β	20% Lowest β	P-value
Fear of Infertility/Side Effects	0.656	0.000	0.000	0.156	0.330	0.006
Sexually Active	0.871	0.277	0.000	0.556	0.780	0.001
Use Condoms	0.237	0.032	0.000	0.356	0.000	0.000
SES Index	-0.435	0.970	0.000	-0.351	0.024	0.012
Father Years Education	12.581	12.255	0.502	9.878	12.923	0.000
Mother Years Education	9.570	11.234	0.009	8.911	10.341	0.031
Age	22.419	19.851	0.000	21.444	21.681	0.313
Year	2.828	1.745	0.000	2.422	2.077	0.021

Notes: This table reports the baseline characteristics of students who are in the top and bottom quintile of the treatment effect distribution for the voucher + infertility information intervention (Columns 1 and 2) and voucher intervention (Columns 4 and 5). Column 3 (for voucher + infertility information) and 6 (for voucher) report the p-value for tests of whether the characteristics of students in the top quintile of the treatment effect distribution are significantly different from students in the bottom quintile. All variables are measured at baseline. The SES Index is the first predicted component from a pca of indicator variables for being from Lusaka (the capital), sharing a bedroom growing up, being on government bursary, growing up in a place where the clinic was more than 30 minutes walking distance away, and having undergone an initiation ritual. “Fear of Infertility/Side Effects” indicates the respondent does not use hormonal contraceptives for these reasons, while “Use Condoms” indicates that she reports not using hormonal contraceptives at baseline because she uses condoms.

E Extension Experiment on STI-Testing: Text Messages for Treatment & Control

This section presents the text messages to the control and treatment groups for the extension experiment on the take-up of STI testing. Additional text in the treatment messages that did not appear in the control messages is in bold.

Control:

1. *Empower Women's Health is sponsoring Free STI testing at Kalingalinga Clinic from 23 May to 6 June, Monday to Friday, 9am to 3pm.*
2. *Many women in your age group have STIs but show no symptoms.*
3. *Show your student ID and this text message at the clinic to receive a 40 K transport refund. You do not need to take up any health care to receive this refund.*

Treatment:

1. *Empower Women's Health is sponsoring Free STI testing at Kalingalinga Clinic from 23 May to 6 June, Monday to Friday, 9am to 3pm. A simple test can protect your ability to have children in the future!*
2. *Many women in your age group have STIs but show no symptoms. Untreated STIs can lead to scarring that prevents pregnancy, which causes 85% of infertility in Sub-Saharan Africa.*
3. *Show your student ID and this text message at the clinic to receive a 40 K transport refund. You do not need to take up any health care to receive this refund.*