

**Do Information Technologies Improve Teenagers' Sexual Education?
Evidence from a Randomized Evaluation in Colombia ***

Alberto Chong[♦], *Georgia State University*

Marco Gonzalez-Navarro[§], *University of Toronto and J-PAL*

Dean Karlan[†], *Yale University, IPA and J-PAL*

Martín Valdivia[‡], *Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo*

Abstract

Across public junior high schools in 21 Colombian cities, we conducted a randomized evaluation of a mandatory six-month internet-based sexual education course. Six months after finishing the course, we find a 0.4 standard deviation improvement in knowledge, a 0.2 standard deviation improvement in attitudes, and a 55% increase in the likelihood of redeeming vouchers for condoms as a result of taking the course. We find no evidence of spillovers to control classrooms within treatment schools, and we find treatment effects are enhanced when a larger share of a student's friends also takes the course. The low cost of the online course along with the effectiveness we document suggests this technology is a viable alternative for improving sexual education in middle income countries.

JEL Classification Codes: O12, I2, I1.

Keywords: Information Technologies, Internet, Sex Education, Teenagers, Field Experiment

* This research would not have been possible without the sustained support of the Profamilia staff in charge of implementing and monitoring the intervention, especially German López and Lyda Díaz. The authors also recognize the valuable research assistance from Angela García, César Mora, Juan Pablo Ocampo, Martin Sweeney, and project leadership by Beniamino Savonitto and Rachel Strohm. All errors and omissions are ours. The authors thank the Interamerican Development Bank for funding. All opinions are those of the authors, and not of the participating organizations or donors. The authors retained full intellectual freedom to report the results throughout the study. The study received IRB approval from IPA under protocol 117.09June-003.

♦ 14 Marietta Street, Atlanta, GA 30303. achong6@gsu.edu. Tel: 404-413-0201.

§ 121 St. George Street Toronto, ON M5S2E8. marco.gonzalez.navarro@utoronto.ca. Tel: 416-9785-692.

† P.O. Box 208269, New Haven, CT 06520-8269. dean.karlan@yale.edu. Tel: 203-432-4479.

‡ Av. Almirante Grau 915. Barranco, Lima 4 – Perú. jvaldivi@grade.org.pe. Tel: 511-247-9988.

1. Introduction

Providing effective sexual education to teenagers is a pervasive world-wide policy challenge. In many countries, conservative norms lead to restricted sexual education curricula. Deficient sexual education partially explains the high levels of sexually transmitted diseases and teenage pregnancies we observe in many of the world's developing countries (WHO 2004). Making matters more consequential for youth, in poor countries there is an acute lack of resources, health system capabilities, and best practices to treat sexually-transmitted diseases (Fortson 2009).

We test whether, in a predominantly Catholic, middle income country, information technologies in a school setting can help overcome sexual education related informational barriers faced by teenagers. Naturally, evaluations of sexual health curricula have been done before. Review papers by Kirby, Laris and Roller (2007), Chin et al. (2012), Fonner et al. (2014), and Goesling et al. (2014) conclude that most comprehensive sexual education programs that have been evaluated rigorously are effective at improving knowledge, attitudes, and self-reported behaviors. Fonner et al. (2014) in particular focus on poor and middle income country studies and reach the same conclusion. However, this large literature focuses on facilitator-led interventions, which implies that it is difficult to ensure consistent delivery in face to face interventions when scaling up. Furthermore, many teachers block this type of education because of discomfort discussing sex-related decisions with teens. As a result of these factors, elaborate interventions struggle to translate encouraging results from controlled trials into larger settings (Collins et al. 2002). ICT for sexual education hence holds promise to improve school-based sexual education along three dimensions: loss of effectiveness when scaling up, reducing costs of implementation and overcoming educator reluctance to present sexual education material.

We shed light on this issue by implementing a large randomized evaluation of a comprehensive internet-based sexual health education course geared to adolescents in Colombian public schools. We randomize assignment to treatment both across 69 schools as well as within schools at the classroom level (in order to measure information spillovers within school). The course covers topics that range from sexual rights to the use of contraceptives. It was implemented during a full academic semester in close collaboration with public schools as part of the students' obligatory curricula.

The sample consisted of 4,599 students enrolled in 138 ninth-grade classrooms from 69 public schools spread across 21 major Colombian cities. The control group received the status quo:

brief biology class coverage or sporadic visits by health personnel.¹ To measure differences in outcomes after treatment, we use three sources of data: a follow-up survey one week after course completion to measure short term changes in knowledge and attitudes, a second follow-up survey six months after the course to measure the same outcomes in the longer term; and redemption from local health clinics of a voucher for condoms.

The condom voucher allows us to avoid obvious problems with self-reported sexual behavior data, and follows O'Donnell et al. (1995) and Thornton (2008). Increased condom demand and distribution is a common policy target and tool as part of efforts to reduce sexually transmitted infections and teenage pregnancy. We view this as a key part of the design of the study given the concern in this literature regarding the relationship between knowledge and attitude outcomes and actual behavior (Ross et al. 2007), and the challenge of gathering accurate responses to sensitive questions on sexual practices.

We find a 0.38 standard deviation improvement in an index of sexual knowledge. The effects are practically identical at completion of the course and six months later, suggesting little decay in knowledge. We also find a 0.24 improvement in an index of sexual attitudes at course completion, and a 0.17 standard deviation improvement after six months. These aggregate improvements in sexual knowledge and attitudes suggest strong effects over time and across almost all of the underlying sub-indices.²

The sexual knowledge and attitude results are corroborated by the redemption rate of condom vouchers. We find that 28 percent of treatment students redeem condom vouchers, compared to 18 percent of control students, representing a 55 percent increase in redemption. We do not find that the online course increased sexual activity, which together with the increased condom demand result suggests that the course results in improved sexual practice or at least safe-sex preparedness.

Our results do not provide any indication of classroom-level spillovers within the same school, which suggests for policy purposes that programs should target entire cohorts, not a subset of classrooms with expectations of spillovers leading indirectly to treatment. We do however find evidence of a reinforcement effect through social networks. Treatment effects are greatest when a large proportion of one's friends were also treated (as discussed in Manski (2011)).³

¹ Control schools were asked not to modify their current sexual education because of their participation in the study.

² The sexual knowledge index is composed of the following sub-indices: symptoms and causes of STIs, sexual violence, prevention of STIs, pregnancy prevention, and condom use. The sexual attitudes index is composed of the following sub-indices: Condom use, sexual conservativeness and sexual abuse reporting.

³ These results complement recent literature such as Fletcher (2007), Richards-Shubick (2011), and Card and Giuliano (2012) who find that peer group norms have a first-order effect in explaining sexual health outcomes.

From a policy perspective, an internet based course has the major advantage of being very low cost compared to human led interventions. In this intervention \$1,000 is sufficient to provide a course to 68 students for a whole semester.⁴ We can then use the estimate of change in demand for condoms due to the course to forecast that \$1,000 would generate a reduction of 2.2 STIs among the treated students. Given that averting a sexually transmitted disease is estimated in the literature to be valued at \$785 this implies a benefit-to-cost ratio of 1.72. Thus, our results point toward substantial social benefits from this course as a method to improve sexual knowledge, attitudes, and future sexual behavior at a relatively low cost.

There is an emerging literature studying the efficacy of computer-based educations in developed countries. Noar et al (2009) reviews 12 published and unpublished studies using ICT in sexual education among young adults (average age 22) in the United States (and one study in the Netherlands) and finds a positive average effect, albeit with more null results than positive in the individual studies. We extend these results by implementing a large-scale program through the public high school system in Colombia, including analysis of knowledge and attitude spillovers through social networks, and administrative (through redemption of condom vouchers) rather than self-reported data on condom use.

This research also relates to recent evidence suggesting that computers on their own do not change academic outcomes in a discernible manner (Angrist and Lavy 2002; Krueger and Rouse 2004; Barrera-Osorio and Linden 2009; Fairlie and Robinson 2013). It complements this literature by showing that, once computers have been installed in schools, structured internet courses – at least for sexual education - can have significant effects.

2. Profamilia's Internet-Based Sex Education Course

The online sexual education course was designed by the local NGO Profamilia.⁵ Profamilia is Colombia's largest organization focused on sexual health and reproductive health. With more than 40 years of presence and over 1,800 employees nationwide, Profamilia is well known and used by the local population for sexual health products and services such as contraceptives, HIV testing and pregnancy tests.⁶

⁴ All figures in 2012 U.S. dollars.

⁵ www.profamilia.org.co.

⁶ See Miller (2010) for a study of long-term effects of Profamilia family planning services in Colombia.

Motivated by the stubbornly high level of some important adolescent sexual health indicators nationwide, such as teenage pregnancy rates (DHS 2005), as well as legal changes, which mandated the introduction of a sexual health curriculum in Colombian public schools, Profamilia embarked on the design of a comprehensive online sexual education course designed for adolescents.

The curriculum aims to shape adolescents' understanding and perceptions of sexuality, risks, reproductive health, sexual rights, and dating violence. The overarching theme is a human rights approach to pregnancy and teen sexuality. The course focuses on helping the students recognize themselves as endowed with rights, such as the right to say no to sex, to access basic health services, to access family planning services, and to live without sexual violence.⁷ Profamilia's course takes full advantage of internet connectivity to provide an interactive experience and responsive, anonymous counseling. The modules can be potentially accessed any time of day using a password protected account, and there is a remote tutor available to answer questions via messages and support the learning process. These features aim to create a safe social environment for adolescents to discuss sensitive topics.

Treatment consisted of five modules. Students worked on the course for a total of 11 weeks. Each group of treated students was initially given three weeks to become acquainted with the platform and complete activities in the first module. After the first three weeks, each group was given two weeks per module to complete activities in the remaining four modules. Each school dedicated one session of 1.5 hours per week to allow the students to complete the course in the school's computer labs.

In school, each group taking the course worked with the presence of a teacher, who was tasked with helping the students resolve questions about use of and access to the platform but not questions related to the content of the course. Students were assisted and monitored by an online tutor, who was a trained Profamilia counselor that dedicated part of his or her day to overseeing students during their completion of the course. The tutors had two main roles: answering students' questions about the course contents and monitoring the students' performance.⁸

At the end of every module, the tutor provided the teacher responsible for the group with a grade for each student, based on the results of a test. To incentivize course completion, each school participating in the course included these grades as a component of the grade of one school subject, typically computer education. Each student had to complete module evaluations individually, which

⁷ Examples from the course modules can be accessed at www.profamiliaeduca.com/profamilia/index.php.

⁸ Records of the interactions between tutors and students are not preserved and hence were not available for analysis.

were the basis for his or her individual performance report. Participation in the course was mandatory for students.

3. Experimental Design and Estimation Strategies

Sample selection

In Colombia, 13.5 percent of adolescents become sexually active by age 15, and 60 percent have sex before age 18.⁹ Profamilia's course targets 14-15 year olds precisely because they are close to becoming sexually active. The sample frame for the study consists of ninth-grade students in Colombian urban public secondary schools. Given our interest in cross-classroom spillovers, we required enrolled schools to have at least two ninth-grade classes. Schools were also required to have at least one computer room with internet access.¹⁰ All participating administrators of the schools had to consent for their school to participate in the field experiment before knowing the results of the randomization. Schools agreed to facilitate data collection and coordination, to make a computer lab available for the prescribed time every week (if selected to implement the course), and to not substantially modify their sexual and reproductive health education for ninth-graders during the study. A short questionnaire for school principals at baseline revealed that sexual education in our sample was either non-existent, a topic covered in biology class, or consisted of one or two visits per year by a health professional. Schools in the control group received a sports equipment package as compensation at the end of the study.

The sample consists of 69 public secondary schools recruited in 21 cities across Colombia.¹¹ From each school, two classrooms of ninth-graders were selected to participate in the study. If the school had more than two classrooms of ninth-graders, a pair was randomly selected by us to partake in the study.

⁹ Sexual education courses must ideally be targeted at children of the appropriate age to benefit from them. Very young children may not yet be interested in sexuality issues, which points towards the benefits of targeting an older age range. On the other hand, sexual education should in principle be provided before sexual initiation to convey its full benefits. In the United States 15 percent of adolescents have sex before age 15 (Flanigan et al. 2006).

¹⁰ We selected schools with a functioning computer lab connected to the internet with at least one computer for every three students. On average schools had 38 computers with a ratio of approximately one participating student per computer.

¹¹ The sample excludes rural public schools. In urban settings, it is common for schools in Colombia to have two shifts per day (morning and afternoon). A student is offered a place at a certain shift before the beginning of the school year and once a school is selected, he/she cannot take classes in other shifts or switch shifts. Given the lack of interaction among children of different shifts, we treat different shifts in our sample as different schools. We use both shifts for 13 schools in our sample.

Data collection strategy

We completed three rounds of a self-administered in-school pencil and paper survey. These surveys were administered unannounced during class time, so as to minimize data collection costs and attrition. The pencil and paper survey strategy was chosen instead of a computer survey because treatment students would have more familiarity with computers at endline, hence unnecessarily biasing results. The baseline survey was fielded at the beginning of the academic year, the second one at the end of the semester (after taking the course), and the last survey was taken at the end of the academic year, i.e. six months after the end of the course. The academic year bracketed the timeline for our final survey data collection since beyond that point there is substantial student attrition due to students switching schools, and more fundamentally, groups get reshuffled going into the 10th grade. This meant that to interview our participants during the 10th grade we would have had to either locate the students in their new groups for re-interviews or survey the whole cohort to locate the participants' responses ex-post. The first was deemed unfeasible by school administrators while the latter option was beyond the budget for the study.

Six months after the end of the course, we offered students a voucher for six condoms with a total market value of about \$5 dollars. The offer was made via an email for all students and additionally via an SMS message for those who provided us with a cell phone number (86 percent of the sample). We then recorded which students redeemed their vouchers at the local health clinic by matching the voucher number to the student the voucher was sent to. A timeline of the intervention and data collection strategy is presented in Figure 1.

We focus on knowledge and attitudes indicators because these are the main outcomes of interest in the literature studying young adolescents who for the most part have not had sex. Furthermore, these two factors have been shown to be the strongest protective factors in preventing STIs, HIV and pregnancy among teens (Kirby, Lepore, and Ryan 2005). Recent research has also documented the important role that social norms play in responsible sexual behavior (Munshi and Myaux 2005; Ashraf, Field, and Lee 2009). By changing knowledge and attitudes in youth attending school, sexual education can ultimately play a fundamental role in achieving desirable aggregate changes in sexual behavior.

Randomization Procedure

Because the sexual education course was part of the curriculum of a computer education (or similar) course, treatment was at the classroom level. Hence our randomization unit is the classroom (interchangeably referred to as group here). There are three types of classrooms: treatment, spillover

and control. The randomization is done in two stages. First, schools are randomly assigned to either treatment or control. Then, within treatment schools, classrooms are randomly assigned to either the treatment or spillover condition. A spillover classroom does not receive the treatment, but is in the same school as one which does.

Table 1 shows the partition of schools and groups in the study. We study 138 groups spread over 69 schools. Our total sample size is 4,599 students, with an average of 33 students per group. 46 groups were assigned to control (across 23 schools), 46 groups (across 46 schools) were assigned to treatment, and 46 groups (across the same 46 schools) were assigned to the spillover condition. Randomization of treatment was performed before the baseline survey. We obtained some basic information about participating school characteristics, reported in Panel A of Table 2. After randomly assigning groups to different conditions, we verified that assignment to treatment was not correlated with any of the available variables.¹²

Implementation

The sexual education course was implemented from August through November 2009 in schools that began their school year in January¹³ and from November 2009 through March 2010 in schools that began their school year in September. As expected for a middle-income country, it was not difficult to recruit schools with computer labs. However, it proved more difficult to recruit schools with workable internet connections. In fact, in three of the 46 groups assigned to treatment, lack of internet access prevented implementation of the internet-based course.¹⁴ In some treatment groups, students were unable to complete all five modules due to unforeseen events such as teacher strikes. Grades on the tests at the end of each module were on average 4 out of 10, with a large mass at zero (48 percent). Excluding those students with a score of zero, the average was 8 out of 10, suggesting an acceptable degree of understanding for those actually taking the course and the tests. The high proportion of scores equal to zero highlights the challenges of student compliance associated with internet-based education. Panel B in Table 2 shows summary statistics by treatment

¹² Specifically, we drew randomizations with different starting seed values, testing each one for orthogonality on the set of covariates listed in Panel A, and then stopping when a randomization yielded no t-stat larger than 2.0. As discussed in Bruhn and McKenzie (2009), a better approach, rather than what we did, defines a set number of randomizations (e.g., 10,000) and then chooses the one with the most orthogonal assignment.

¹³ The school year in some regions of Colombia begins in January (Calendario A), whereas in other regions it begins in September (Calendario B).

¹⁴ For the statistical analysis, these classrooms are still in the intent-to-treat group.

condition. The average age is 15 years, 43 percent of the sample is male, and 32 percent have a computer at home.¹⁵

Baseline Balance

Panels A and B of Table 2 show there are no statistically significant differences across treatment, spillover and control groups except for gender: the control group has 7.6 percentage points and 8.8 percentage points more males than the treatment and spillover groups, respectively. Furthermore, an F-test from a regression of treatment assignment on a full set of baseline characteristics does not reject the null hypothesis that all baseline coefficients are jointly equal to zero (reported in the final row of each panel).

Attrition

Attrition was 13 percent between baseline and first follow-up, and 10 percent between baseline and second follow-up. Appendix Table A2 shows there is no differential attrition between control and treatment, and control and spillover students. We also analyze attrition for the condom voucher offer. Because students had to provide a valid cell phone number and/or email in order to be offered the condom voucher, the offer could not be made to every student in the study. 31 percent of students were missing both pieces of information due to non-response, misspelled email addresses, or invalid phone numbers, and could not be offered the vouchers. The table shows there was no difference in condom voucher offers between control and treatment groups or between control and spillover groups. When we interact treatment group with socioeconomic status of the family¹⁶ or with mother's and father's education, we find there was no differential attrition by socioeconomic status for any of the comparisons.

¹⁵ Summary statistics for every question used in the survey are reported in Appendix Table 1.

¹⁶ A score from 1-6 used by the Colombian government for targeting social programs, and self-reported by the student in the baseline survey.

Econometric Specification

Randomization allows for identification of reduced form intent-to-treat effects. Let Y_{ijt} denote an outcome of interest at follow-up ($t=1$ or 2) for individual i in classroom j . Treatment and spillover classroom assignment dummies are denoted by T_j and S_j respectively. Treatment classrooms were selected for internet-based sexual health training whereas spillover classrooms were not selected for the training but are in a school that has a treated classroom. Whenever available, we include the baseline dependent variable as control for precision. We estimate the following regression model via ordinary least squares as our main specification:

$$Y_{ijt} = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 T_j + \beta_2 S_j + \beta_3 Y_{ij0} + \varepsilon_{ijt}, \quad (1)$$

where the error term ε_{ijt} is assumed to be uncorrelated across schools but not necessarily within them. Hence, we cluster standard errors at the school level. Because T_j and S_j were randomly assigned, the estimated coefficients are unbiased estimators of the intent-to-treat effects of the course, which we argue are the policy coefficients of interest. We have multiple measures of sexual health knowledge and attitudes in the survey. However, testing multiple outcomes using (1) for each measure independently increases the probability of rejecting a true null hypothesis for at least one outcome above the significance level used for each test (Duflo, Glennerster, and Kremer 2008). Hence, we follow Kling, Liebman and Katz (2007) and define a summary measure Y^* as the unweighted average of all standardized outcomes in a family. That is, we obtain:

$$Y^* = \frac{\sum_k Y_k^*}{k}, \text{ where } Y_k^* = \frac{Y_k - \mu_k}{\sigma_k}.$$

For standardization of each variable Y_k we use the mean (μ) and variance (σ^2) at baseline. This allows the estimates β_1 and β_2 to be interpreted as the effects of the course in terms of standard deviations of the outcome at baseline.

4. Results

We present our main results in Tables 3-5, reporting effects on knowledge (Table 3), attitudes (Table 4), and individual indicators of sexual behavior and condom redemption in Table 5. For each indicator, whenever available we include the results from both follow-ups, the first taken one week after the end of the intervention and the second one taken six months after the end of the intervention.

While we focus more on the results of the second follow-up, the comparisons of effects between the short- and medium-run give us an indication of the durability of the effects.

Knowledge

Table 3 presents the impacts on five different standardized knowledge indices measuring: a) STI symptoms and causes, b) recognition of instances of sexual violence, c) STI prevention, d) pregnancy prevention methods, and e) proper condom use. Columns (11) and (12) in the table show results for an overall index using all the variables used in the partial indices.¹⁷ The table notes report the definition of the individual variables used in the construction of each index.

The aggregate knowledge index shows a 0.37 SD increase in overall knowledge one week after the intervention and a 0.38 SD increase in overall knowledge six months after the intervention compared to students not assigned to the course, and both coefficients are statistically significant at the 1 percent level. Furthermore, we find a robust pattern of positive coefficients in all components of the general index as well as statistical significance at least at the 5 percent level six months after the intervention.

The table also shows there is no clear pattern of decay in knowledge outcomes, since some improve while others decrease over time. The second row in the table also shows that we do not find clear evidence for cross-classroom spillover effects in terms of sexual knowledge.

Attitudes

Table 4 presents results on attitude indicators. Columns (1) and (2) present results on attitudes towards the use of condoms, (3) and (4) on conservatism with respect to age of initiation of sexual activities, (5) and (6) on attitudes toward denouncing and seeking help in the event of sexual abuse, and columns (7) and (8) show results for an overall index of attitudes, containing all variables used in columns (1-6).

For the general attitudes index we find significant effects of 0.24 SD in terms of attitudes one week after the intervention and 0.17 SD six months after. Significant effects were again found for each sub-index six months after the intervention and the pattern of positive effects on all partial indices is again apparent.

¹⁷ For space reasons, we do not report results on every individual outcome but they are available upon request. The general indices calculate the average for all non-missing outcomes at the individual level. For the partial sub-indices, which are composed of few variables, we drop observations which have missing values for any component of the sub-index. This gives the reader information about item non-response.

The training was successful in generating more positive attitudes towards the use of condoms at the first follow-up (0.17 SD) and at the second follow-up (0.10 SD). In the sexually conservative attitudes sub-index composed of the following variables: a) indicates that individuals their age should not have multiple sexual partners in the same month; b) thinks it is too early for individuals of their age to engage in sexual activities; and c) feels confident he/she will be able to wait to have sex until emotionally prepared to do so, teens scored 0.13 SD higher six months after the intervention. Column (6) shows that treated teens are 0.11 SD more likely to agree with the need to report cases of sexual abuse to the authorities and the need to seek medical attention in such situations. For attitude indicators, we again find no consistent evidence of spillovers across classrooms.¹⁸

¹⁸ We also looked for spillover effects using a dose response model but also failed to detect classroom level spillover effects. Specifically, we created a regressor which is the spillover indicator divided by the number of classrooms in grade 9 in the school. Spillover coefficients followed the same pattern of no significant effects.

Sexual Activity and Condom Demand

Table 5 reports results on sexual activity and condom voucher redemptions. Specifically, columns 1-3 report effects of the course on self-reported sexual activity six months after the end of the course.¹⁹ Columns 1-3 uniformly show that the course did not increase or decrease self-reported sexual activity among adolescents. Column 1 shows that students were not more likely to be sexually active in the past six months compared to the control group. Similarly, the frequency of sex did not change in the previous six months compared to the control group (column 2) nor in terms of number of partners (column 3). The finding that sexual education does not result in increases in sexual activity is a robust finding in this literature (*c.f.* Kirby Laris and Roller 2007).

Of course, the validity of studies using self-reported sexual behavior among adolescents has long been a criticism in this literature (Brener, Billy, and Grady 2003). We addressed this challenge by measuring the percentage of students who redeem vouchers for condoms.²⁰ This strategy allows us to address the possible lack of reliability in self-reported outcomes via an objective safe-sex behavior metric. Condom availability is important for adolescent health given the sporadic nature of adolescent sexual activity. Column 4 in Table 5 reports the results of the voucher experiment.

The administrative data from voucher redemption shows statistically significant and important effects. We find that 28 percent of treatment students redeem them, compared to 18 percent of control students, a 55 percent increase in redemption ($p=0.05$). We put substantial weight on this result as it provides objective evidence of an increase in condom demand. In unreported results, we find that the coefficient is basically unchanged when controlling for distance to the health clinic.

We conducted bounding exercises with differing assumptions on attrition, as in Karlan and Valdivia (2011), and find that the positive effect on condom voucher in Table 5 (0.099** (0.055)) still holds after imputing the mean minus 0.10 standard deviations of the observed treatment distribution to the non-respondents in the treatment group, and after imputing the mean plus 0.10 standard deviations of the observed control distribution to non-respondents in the control group.²¹

¹⁹ Note that for this table the dependent variables are not an index but a single variable, so we do not standardize them. This has the benefit of allowing for comparability with other studies. Furthermore, in this table there is no control for baseline value of the dependent variable because it was not available at baseline (except for column 3).

²⁰ Given that the objective population is teens at high risk of sexual initiation, the setting is not designed to capture other sexual behavior outcomes such as pregnancy and STIs, given their extremely low prevalence. We nevertheless asked about some of these outcomes in the survey (self-reported) and found no statistically significant changes for the overall treatment effect on these self-reported outcomes, as expected.

²¹ Results of these simulations are not presented here but are available upon request.

Friendship network spillovers and reinforcing interactions

Next we take advantage of the fact that in the surveys we asked students to identify their closest friends by name, and indicate if they were in the same school and/or classroom. We use this information to match each student's social network to the list of students in the treatment and spillover groups. This allows us to analyze treatment and spillover effects differentiating between students for whom a small or a large percentage of friends was also treated.

Table 6 presents summary statistics about the network treatment distribution. The table shows substantial variation in the number of friends that are located in the same classroom as a treatment student. However, for students in a spillover classroom, there are few links to students taking the course (in the treatment classroom). Indeed, 89 percent of spillover students have no best friends in the treatment classroom - this will affect the precision of the spillover estimates.

With this information, we obtain the proportion of the student's network of closest friends who were treated (friends in a treatment classroom / total listed friends).²² If a student and his or her entire network of close friends were all in the same treatment classroom, then the proportion is equal to one, but if the network of friends includes students from other classrooms or from outside the school, then the proportion is lower. We use variation in the proportion of close friends that are in the student's classroom to estimate a heterogeneous treatment effects regression in which the main effects are now interacted with the proportion of friends in the network who were treated (F_{ij}). The specification becomes:

$$Y_{ijt} = \alpha_3 + \beta_{16}T_j + \beta_{17}(F_{ij} \times T_j) + \beta_{18}S_j + \beta_{19}(F_{ij} \times S_j) + \beta_{20}N_{ij} + \beta_{21}Y_{ij0} + \varepsilon''_{ijt}, \quad (3)$$

where N_{ij} is a control for the number of friends the individual has,²³ and as before, standard errors are clustered at the school level. In Tables 7, 8, and 9 the interpretation of the main effect (T_j) now becomes the effect of assignment to treatment for someone who has zero friends also treated, whereas the coefficient on $(F_{ij} \times T_j)$ is the additional effect of the course for someone whose full set of friends are also treated (analogously for S_j).

In interpreting these results, the reader should be cognizant that the distribution of a student's network of friends is not a randomly assigned variable. The identifying variation is coming from

²² One shortcoming of our network analysis is that the questionnaire did not clearly differentiate between friendship and romantic relationships.

²³ This is calculated as the number of people who mentioned individual i as a best friend.

whether the student's friends are in his or her classroom or are rather in another classroom in the school or from outside of the school. This may lead to bias if, for example, more extroverted students have a larger proportion of their best friends in the classroom and this extrovertedness is related to the outcome beyond the effect stemming from social reinforcement. For this reason, we condition on N_{ij} , the number of individuals that mention a student as a best friend.²⁴ The necessary assumption hence becomes that the proportion of friends in the classroom is related to the treatment response only through the network effects (conditional on the number of friends).

With this assumption in mind, we present the results for network interactions in Tables 7, 8, and 9 which report effects six months after finishing the course. Table 7 provides clear evidence of a significant reinforcing interaction effect for students in the treatment group in terms of the overall knowledge index (Column 6). We are able to identify an effect of 0.46 SD in knowledge for wholly treated networks, as opposed to a 0.28 SD effect if the student's network is not treated. In contrast, we do not find significant effects for spillover students, even if their network was fully treated. As noted before, we obtain large standard errors for the spillover estimates due to the small number of spillover students with treated networks. At the bottom of each column we report the p-value from a test of equality of the friendship interaction effects for treatment and spillover students. The reinforcing interaction effect is positive, large and significant for all five sub-indices except for the sexual violence knowledge and condom use knowledge ones (Columns 2 and 5).

Table 8, on attitude indicators, shows an even starker reinforcing interaction effect. In this case, the effects are significant *only* if the student's friendship network also took the course. For example, if a student's full network was treated, the student is predicted to have a 0.24 SD higher attitude index score, whereas the estimated effect is only 0.04 SD if no one in his or her friendship network was treated. Similar outcomes are observed in each of the subcomponents of the index. As in Table 7, there is no significant network spillover effect for a student that did not take the course. This provides evidence that the relevant group for a reinforcement effect is the network of friends, as suggested in Sacerdote (2011).

Table 9 presents evidence of reinforcing interaction effects for self-reported sexual behavior: students with more friends taking the course report significantly lower sexual activity than those with fewer friends taking the course for two out of three indicators.

Column 4 reports results for condom redemption. In contrast to the network interaction results in knowledge and attitudes, the condom redemption results are not significant, although the

²⁴ When looking at determinants of being more popular in school, we find that kids that are more popular are less likely to smoke, drink and consume drugs at baseline.

signs of the coefficients are consistent with Tables 8 and 9 in the sense that they point to an improvement the larger the share of friends that is treated. Indeed, treatment students are 8 percentage points more likely to redeem their vouchers than the control group even if none of their close friends were treated (not statistically significant). The coefficient estimate on the reinforcing interaction suggests a 4.3 percentage point higher condom demand for those with all friends being treated but again the coefficient is not statistically different from zero.

Column 4 also shows a puzzling result in which spillover students whose entire friend networks were treated are 14 percentage points less likely to redeem their condom vouchers than the control group. Note there is a small number of observations in the spillover group with friendship links to treated students and the results in all the other indicators do not show a pattern of significant spillovers from classroom to classroom, so we do not attach much importance to this coefficient.

We interpret the heterogeneous effects findings by share of friends being treated as providing evidence that peer effects occur through friendship networks, but that very few network links occur across classrooms in the same grade for us to be able to identify them in the data.

Cost-Effectiveness and Cost-Benefit Analysis

The marginal cost of the Profamilia course is approximately \$14.60 per student. The bulk of this cost (\$10) is accounted for by the remote tutor, and the remainder comes from internet platform costs and computer depreciation. In our calculations, we do not include opportunity costs of the time of the students (e.g., some alternative educational activity, or leisure or work outside of school).²⁵ Compared to non-computer-based sexual health interventions in the U.S., which range from \$69 to more than \$10,000 per student,²⁶ the Profamilia course is extremely low cost. It is also low cost compared to instructor-led programs in developing countries. Kivela, Ketting and Baltussen (2013) report costs per student of teacher-led school based sexual education programs of \$27 in Kenya and \$85 in Indonesia.²⁷

We present our cost effectiveness and cost-benefit calculations in Table 10. These estimates obviously rest on many assumptions, but they provide much value for policy makers by allowing for comparisons across different interventions.

²⁵ In our calculations, we also exclude the wage cost of the person supervising students in the computer lab because it is unlikely that a school would hire personnel exclusively for the course. This is in line with guidelines by Dhaliwal et al. (2011), who argue that cost-effectiveness should use marginal costs of adding the program, assuming fixed costs are incurred with or without the program.

²⁶ Chin et al. (2012), pp. 280, with inflated estimates to 2012 dollars.

²⁷ Costs refer to one semester of the course and are expressed in 2012 dollars.

Our key result is that students who take the course are 9.9 percentage points more likely to redeem the condom voucher. For the purposes of Table 10, we interpret this to indicate a consistent condom user. This allows us to link our coefficient to the literature documenting the effect of consistent condom use on STIs. (i.e. Gallo et al. 2007). In support of making this assumption, Shaffi, Stovel and Holmes (2007) show that adolescents who use a condom at sexual debut are significantly more likely to have used a condom in their most recent intercourse (on average 6.8 years after sexual debut) and are 50% less likely to test positive for chlamydia or gonorrhea.

Gallo et al. (2007) estimate that consistent condom use leads to a 60% reduction in likelihood of having an STI. Using their baseline STI rate and multiplying by our 9.9 percentage point increase in condom user result, our estimate would imply a 3.2 percentage point reduction in STI prevalence. This in turn means that \$1,000 spent on the course generates 2.2 averted STIs, with a 90% confidence interval of [0.19, 4.20].

To link the reduction in STIs to disability adjusted life years (DALYs), we use the gender-specific distribution of STIs and the implied DALYs lost per STI incident from Ebrahim et al. (2005). In particular, the latter finds that for every STI episode, 0.11 DALYs are lost.²⁸ Using the estimate of value per DALY of \$7,142 in Brent (2011)²⁹ suggests that the benefit of averting an STI is \$785. We obtain a similar estimate (\$634) if we use the lifetime costs of an STI presented in Ruger et al. (2012). The lower panel of Table 10 summarizes our cost-benefit calculation. We estimate that the course averts one STI at a cost of \$455, indicating a benefit to cost ratio of 1.72, well above one. This implies that the course is socially desirable even with typical deadweight loss factors due to taxation (Auriol and Wartlers 2012).

5. Conclusions

We provide evidence that information technologies can be a powerful tool to provide effective sex education in contexts in which informational barriers may pose a challenge to policymakers. In contexts in which teachers may be unwilling or unable to provide sexual education, internet-based courses may prove a useful substitute for in-person instruction, and are also more scalable due to the lower marginal cost of delivering the curricula to students.

The results presented here show that a six-month web-based sexual education course in Colombian public schools was effective in improving broad measures of knowledge and attitudes

²⁸ $E(\Delta DALY | STD = 1) = \sum_{i=1}^k DALY_i \cdot \Pr(STD = i | STD = 1)$, where i represents {Chlamydia, gonorrhea, trichomoniasis, syphilis, other curable STDs, PID, genital herpes, cervical cancer, hepatitis B, hepatitis C, HIV}.

²⁹ Implied by his estimate of \$6,300 (2005 dollars) and an inflation rate of 13.3 percent between 2005 and 2011.

among teenagers, and that the course also led to a substantial increase in the rate of condom voucher redemption. This last measure provides plausible evidence that the course was effective in changing safe sex practices, where the novelty of this approach is that it provides strong evidence that anonymity and confidentiality of information technologies may be of great use in segments of the society in which keeping such anonymity is difficult to overcome.³⁰

Our results on knowledge and attitudes are important because these two factors have been shown to be the strongest protective factors in preventing STIs, HIV and pregnancy among teens (Kirby, Lepore, and Ryan 2005). Furthermore, recent research has documented the important role that social norms play in responsible sexual behavior (Munshi and Myaux 2005; Ashraf, Field, and Lee 2009). By changing knowledge and attitudes in youth attending school, sexual education can ultimately play a fundamental role in achieving desirable aggregate changes in sexual behavior.

A second contribution to the sexual health education literature is the focus on spillovers, through a two-stage experimental design. The results indicate that spillovers from treated to untreated classrooms in the same school are negligible. We find strong indications that effects of the course were reinforced when treated individuals had larger percentages of their friend networks in treatment classrooms. The evidence is robust across a large set of sexual health attitude and knowledge indicators. In particular, we found that students whose networks were more intensely treated had significant improvements in knowledge and attitudes, which we interpret as social reinforcement effects or complementarities. These results demonstrate the positive externalities of the public provision of sex education: when an individual takes a sex education course, this decision has positive effects on sexual health outcomes among his or her close friends. This suggests that without collective action, there is an under provision of sex education.

Our results provide an optimistic assessment of the use of information technologies to generate improved sexual health outcomes among the youth. The cost-benefit analysis suggests that because internet-based sexual health education programs are extremely low cost, their benefits in terms of STI reductions actually justify the costs.

³⁰ This approach provides an alternative to social marketing campaigns that attempt to increase the use of condoms in developing countries, and may be better suited than the latter for the segments of the population described in this paper. Among others, in Tanzania, a campaign to promote condom use among women was entitled “Talk to Him” and included posters and depicting a variety of confident, empowered, young women (AIDSCAP 1997).

References

- AIDSCAP. 1997. Making Prevention Work: Global Lessons Learned from the AIDS Control and Preventional Project 1991-1997.
- Angrist, J, and V. Lavy. 2002. “New Evidence on Classroom Computers and Pupil Learning.” *The Economic Journal* 112 (October): 735–65.
- Ashraf, N., E Field, and J Lee. 2009. “Household Bargaining and Excess Fertility: An Experimental Study in Zambia.” BREAD Working Paper.
- Auriol, E, and M Wartlers. 2012. “The Marginal Cost of Public Funds and Tax Reform in Africa.” *Journal of Development Economics* 97 (1): 58–72.
- Barrera-Osorio, F, and L Linden. 2009. “The Use and Misuse of Computers in Education: Evidence from a Randomized Controlled Trial of a Language Arts Program.” Working Paper.
- Brener, N, J Billy, and W Grady. 2003. “Assessment of Factors Affecting the Validity of Self-Reported Health-Risk Behavior Among Adolescents: Evidence from the Scientific Literature.” *Journal of Adolescent Health* 33 (6): 436–57.
- Brent, R. 2011. “An Implicit Price of a DALY for Use in Cost Benefit Analysis of ARVs.” *Applied Economics* 43 (11): 1413–21.
- Bruhn, Miriam, and David McKenzie. 2009. “In Pursuit of Balance: Randomization in Practice in Development Field Experiments.” *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1 (4): 200–232.
- Chin, Helen B., Theresa Ann Sipe, Randy Elder, Shawna L. Mercer, Sajal K. Chattopadhyay, Verughese Jacob, Holly R. Wethington, et al. 2012. “The Effectiveness of Group-Based Comprehensive Risk-Reduction and Abstinence Education Interventions to Prevent or Reduce the Risk of Adolescent Pregnancy, Human Immunodeficiency Virus, and Sexually Transmitted Infections.” *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 42 (3): 272–94. doi:10.1016/j.amepre.2011.11.006.
- Collins, J., L. Robin, S. Wooley, D. Fenley, P. Hunt, J. Taylor, D. Harber, and L. Kolbe. 2002. “Programs-That-Word: CDC’s Guide to Effective Programs That Reduce Health-Risk Behavior of Youth.” *Journal of School Health* 72 (3): 93–99.
- Dhaliwal, I, E Duflo, R Glennerster, and C Tulloch. 2011. “Comparative Cost-Effectiveness to Inform Policy in Developing Countries.” Working Paper.
- DHS. 2005. Encuesta Nacional de Demografía Y Salud - ENDS Colombia 2005.
- Duflo, Esther, Rachel Glennerster, and Michael Kremer. 2008. “Using Randomization in Development Economics Research: A Toolkit.” *Handbook of Development Economics* 4 (5).
- Ebrahim, S. H., M. T. McKenna, and J. S. Marks. 2005. “Sexual Behavior: Related Adverse Health Burden in the United States.” *Sexually Transmitted Infections* 81: 38–40.

- Fairlie, Robert, and J. Robinson. 2013. "Experimental Evidence on the Effects of Home Computers on Academic Achievement among Schoolchildren." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 5 (3): 211–40.
- Flanigan, C, K Suellentrop, M Whitehead, and J Smith. 2006. "Teens' Sexual Experience 1995-2002." *Science Says* 22.
- Fletcher, J. 2007. "Social Multipliers in Sexual Initiation Decisions Among U.S. High School Students." *Demograph* 44 (2): 373–88.
- Fonner, V., K. Armstrong, C. Kennedy, K. O'Reilly, and M. Sweat. 2014. "School Based Sex Education and HIV Prevention in Low and Middle-Income Countries: A Systematic Review and Met-Analysis." *PlosOne* 9 (3).
- Fortson, J. 2009. "HIV/AIDS and Fertility." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1 (3): 170–94.
- Gallo, M, M Steiner, L Warner, T Hylton-Kong, J Figueroa, M Hobbs, and F Behets. 2007. "Self-Reported Condom Use Is Associated with Reduced Risk of Chlamydia, Gonorrhea, and Trichomoniasis." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 34 (10): 829–33.
- Goesling, B., S. Colman, C. Trenholm, M. Terzian, and K. Moore. 2014. "Programs to Reduce Teen Pregnancy, Sexually Transmitted Infections, and Associated Sexual Risk Behaviors: A Systematic Review." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 54: 499–507.
- Karlan, Dean, and Martin Valdivia. 2011. "Teaching Entrepreneurship: Impact of Business Training on Microfinance Clients and Institutions." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 93 (2): 510–27. doi:10.1162/REST_a_00074.
- Kivela, J., E. Ketting, and R. Baltussen (2013). "Cost Analysis of School-Based Sexuality Education Programs in Six Countries" *Cost Effectiveness and Resource Allocation*, Vol. 11, Num. 17.
- Kirby, D, B Laris, and L Rolleri. 2007. "Sex and HIV Education Programs for Youth: Their Impact and Important Characteristics." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 40 (3): 206–17.
- Kirby, D, G Lepore, and J Ryan. 2005. "Sexual Risk and Protective Factors: Factors Affecting Teen Sexual Behavior, Pregnancy, Childbearing and Sexually Transmitted Disease: Which Are Important? Which Can You Change?" In *National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy*. Washington, DC.
- Kling, Jeffrey R, Jeffrey B Liebman, and Lawrence F Katz. 2007. "Experimental Analysis of Neighborhood Effects." *Econometrica* 75 (1): 83–119.
- Krueger, A., and C Rouse. 2004. "Putting Computerized Instruction to the Test: A Randomized Evaluation of a Scientifically Based Reading Program." *Economics of Education Review* 23: 323–38.
- Manski, C. 2011. "Identification of Treatment Response with Social Interactions." *Econometrics Journal* (forthcoming).
- Miller, G. 2010. "Contraception as Development? New Evidence from Family Planning in Colombia." *Economic Journal* 120 (545): 709–36.

- Munshi, K, and J Myaux. 2005. "Social Norms and the Fertility Transition." *Journal of Development Economics* 70 (1): 1–38.
- Noar, Seth M, Hulda G Black, and Larson B Pierce. 2009. "Efficacy of Computer Technology-Based HIV Prevention Interventions: A Meta-Analysis." *AIDS* 23 (1): 107–15. doi:10.1097/QAD.0b013e32831c5500.
- O'Donnell, L N, A S Doval, R Duran, and C O'Donnell. 1995. "Video-Based Sexually Transmitted Disease Patient Education: Its Impact on Condom Acquisition." *American Journal of Public Health* 85 (6): 817–22.
- Richards-Shubik, S. 2011. "Peer Effects in Sexual Initiation: Separating Demand and Supply Mechanisms." Working Paper.
- Ross, D., J. Changalucha, A. Obasi, J. Todd, M. Plummer, B. Cleophas-Mazige, A. Anemona, et al. 2007. "Biological and Behavioural Impact of an Adolescent Sexual Health Intervention in Tanzania: A Community Randomized Trial." *AIDS* 21: 1943–55.
- Ruger, J, A Abdallah, N Ng, C Luekens, and L Cottler. 2012. "Cost-Effectiveness of Interventions to Prevent HIV and STDs Among Injection Drug-Using Women: A Randomized Controlled Trial." Working Paper.
- Sacerdote, B. 2011. "Peer Effects in Education: How Might They Work, How Big Are They and How Much Do We Know Thus Far?" In *Handbook of Economics of Education*, edited by E. Hanushek, S Machin, and L Woessmann. Vol. 3. North-Holland.
- Shaffi, T., K. Stovel, and K. Holmes. 2007. "Association Between Condom Use at Sexual Debut and Subsequent Sexual Trajectories: A Longitudinal Study Using Biomarkers." *American Journal of Public Health* 97 (6): 1090–95.
- Thornton, Rebecca L. 2008. "The Demand For, and Impact Of, Learning HIV Status." *American Economic Review* 98 (5): 1829–63. doi:10.1257/aer.98.5.1829.
- World Health Organization. 2004. *The World Health Report 2004*. Geneva.

Figure 1. Timeline

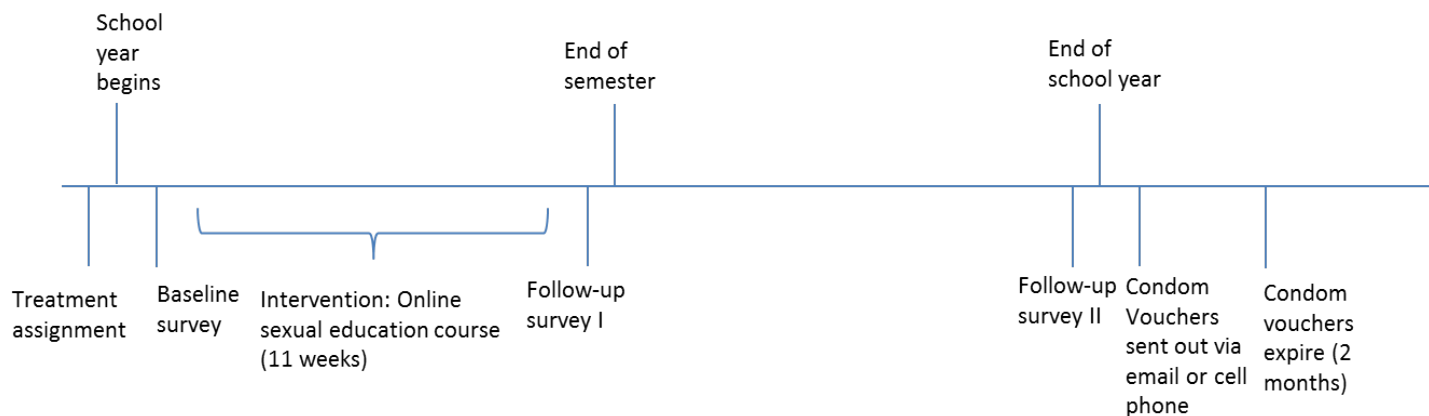


Table 1. Experimental Design

		Schools	Classrooms	Students
Treatment Schools	Treatment Classrooms		46	1522
	Spillover Classrooms	46	46	1600
Control schools	Control Classrooms	23	46	1477
Total		69	138	4599

First, schools were randomly assigned to treatment and control, then two classrooms from each school were randomly selected to participate in the study. In treatment schools one of the classrooms was assigned to treatment and the other one to no treatment (referred to as a *spillover classrooms*). In control schools both (untreated) classrooms are referred to as *control classrooms*.

Table 2. Baseline Summary Statistics and Balance

PANEL A: Variables available at random assignment	Treatment students	Spillover students	Control students	Difference (1-3)	Difference (2-3)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1-3)	(2-3)
School year begins in January (=1)	0.720 (0.01)	0.731 (0.01)	0.699 (0.01)	0.020 (0.12)	0.032 (0.12)
Single shift school (=1)	0.606 (0.01)	0.623 (0.01)	0.577 (0.01)	0.028 (0.13)	0.046 (0.13)
Morning shift (=1)	0.637 (0.01)	0.658 (0.01)	0.652 (0.01)	-0.016 (0.12)	0.006 (0.12)
City with more than 600,000 people (=1)	0.260 (0.01)	0.239 (0.01)	0.251 (0.01)	0.009 (0.11)	-0.011 (0.11)
9th grade classrooms in school	3.226 (0.03)	3.258 (0.03)	3.081 (0.03)	0.145 (0.32)	0.177 (0.32)
Average number of students in each classroom	37.257 (0.28)	37.330 (0.29)	38.296 (0.22)	-1.039 (2.42)	-0.965 (2.47)
Number of computers in school	37.669 (0.44)	38.246 (0.45)	35.909 (0.52)	1.761 (5.17)	2.337 (5.19)
School does not teach sexual education (=1)	0.168 (0.01)	0.167 (0.01)	0.135 (0.01)	0.033 (0.09)	0.032 (0.09)
p-value from F-test of joint significance on all above variables				0.94	0.89
PANEL B: Baseline variables not available at random assignment					
Male (=1)	0.414 (0.01)	0.402 (0.01)	0.490 (0.01)	-0.076 (0.05)	-0.088* (0.05)
Not sexually active (=1)	0.617 (0.01)	0.587 (0.01)	0.590 (0.01)	0.026 (0.04)	-0.003 (0.04)
Age	14.935 (0.03)	15.020 (0.03)	14.977 (0.03)	-0.042 (0.11)	0.043 (0.12)
Mother's years of education	12.706 (0.07)	12.641 (0.07)	12.584 (0.07)	0.121 (0.11)	0.056 (0.10)
Father's years of education	12.672 (0.08)	12.579 (0.08)	12.503 (0.08)	0.169 (0.13)	0.076 (0.13)
Socioeconomic level	2.175 (0.03)	2.170 (0.03)	2.162 (0.03)	0.013 (0.13)	0.008 (0.13)
PC at home (=1)	0.323 (0.01)	0.305 (0.01)	0.326 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.04)	-0.021 (0.04)
Cellphone (=1)	0.742 (0.01)	0.737 (0.01)	0.716 (0.01)	0.026 (0.03)	0.022 (0.03)
Does not use internet in school (=1)	0.447 (0.01)	0.512 (0.01)	0.482 (0.01)	-0.035 (0.09)	0.031 (0.09)
Does not use internet (=1)	0.238 (0.01)	0.252 (0.01)	0.252 (0.01)	-0.014 (0.03)	0.000 (0.03)
Religion is important (=1)	0.619 (0.01)	0.601 (0.01)	0.618 (0.01)	0.001 (0.03)	-0.017 (0.03)
p-value from F-test of joint significance on all above variables				0.79	0.62

Columns 1-3 report means, with standard errors in parentheses. For Columns 4 and 5, each row is one regression of the characteristic on treatment and spillover indicator variables, with the coefficient (standard error, clustered at the school level) on treatment and spillover reported. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Panel A variables were provided by the schools before the baseline survey took place. We randomized treatment assignment repeatedly until no t-test comparing treatment to control for any covariate was larger than 2.0. Variables in Panel B became available only after assignment to treatment. The last rows in Panel A and B report the p-value on an F-test of joint significance for all variables in the panel from a regression where the dependent variable is a treatment dummy (Column 4) or spillover dummy (Column 5). Column 4 excludes the spillover group from the analysis, while Column 5 excludes the treatment group from the analysis.

Table 3. Knowledge Indicators

	Knowledge of Symptoms and Causes of STIs Subindex		Sexual Violence Knowledge Subindex		Prevention of STIs Knowledge Subindex		Pregnancy Prevention Knowledge Subindex		Condom Use Knowledge Subindex		General Knowledge Index	
	One week post intervention	Six months post intervention	One week post intervention	Six months post intervention	One week post intervention	Six months post intervention	One week post intervention	Six months post intervention	One week post intervention	Six months post intervention	One week post intervention	Six months post intervention
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Treatment students	0.282*** (0.048)	0.202*** (0.056)	0.254*** (0.057)	0.109** (0.054)	0.067 (0.041)	0.519*** (0.139)	0.299*** (0.049)	0.335*** (0.078)	0.262*** (0.046)	0.166** (0.064)	0.372*** (0.049)	0.378*** (0.080)
Spillover students	0.022 (0.044)	0.064 (0.053)	0.034 (0.054)	-0.025 (0.059)	0.024 (0.044)	0.139 (0.147)	0.043 (0.050)	0.061 (0.082)	0.051 (0.054)	0.031 (0.064)	0.015 (0.050)	0.011 (0.085)
Control for baseline value of dep. var. Observations	Yes 4,373	Yes 3,867	Yes 4,354	Yes 3,859	Yes 4,353	Yes 3,836	Yes 4,388	Yes 3,874	Yes 4,384	Yes 3,867	Yes 4,388	Yes 3,903

Dependent variable is an index of related questions. All components of the indices are standardized to mean 0 and standard deviation 1, based on the sample frame at baseline. Standard errors clustered at the school level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Knowledge of symptoms and causes of STI subindex: Respondent knows STI symptoms include: (a) Abnormal discharges from the penis/vagina; (b) Lesions/sores in genitals; and (c) Painful urination; Respondent knows: (d) Vomiting and headache are not STI symptoms; (e) HIV can be transmitted by having sexual intercourse without a condom; (f) HIV can be transmitted by a contaminated blood transfusion; (g) HIV transmission does not depend on hygiene; (h) HIV cannot be transmitted via food sharing; (i) clothes sharing; or (j) being in a pool with an HIV-positive person. Respondent knows that (k) HIV is not transmitted if a condom is used while having sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive individual. Sexual violence knowledge subindex: Respondent identifies (a) Nonconsensual touching of genitalia, buttocks, breasts, inner thigh as abusive sexual contact; (b) Forcible sex by husband on his wife as a form of sexual abuse; (c) Having sex with a person who is impaired due to alcohol as a form of rape; (d) If an individual changes his/her mind about sex even at the last minute, sex is nonconsensual and hence a form of sexual abuse; (e) The use of threats to obtain sex is a form of sexual abuse; Respondent knows: (f) sexual abuse is more often than not perpetrated by a known person not a stranger. Prevention of STI knowledge subindex: Respondent knows one of the safest methods to prevent an STI is the use of condom whereas the calendar-based methods, hormone injections and penis withdrawal are not. Pregnancy prevention knowledge subindex: Respondent disagrees with: (a) Penis withdrawal is a safe method to avoid pregnancy; Respondent knows: (b) Women can become pregnant in their first sexual relationship; (c) Safe methods to prevent a pregnancy include injections and condom; (d) unsafe methods to prevent a pregnancy include calendar-based methods and penis withdrawal; Respondent knows that (e) emergency post-coital contraception pills have secondary effects. Condom use knowledge subindex: Respondent knows (a) One of the safest methods to prevent an STI is the use of a condom; (b) Condoms can be used only one time; (c) HIV can be transmitted by having sex without a condom; (d) HIV is not transmitted if a condom is used even if the person is HIV positive; (e) One of the safest methods to prevent a pregnancy is by using a condom. General knowledge index: an index of all the variables used in the subindices of the table.

Table 4: Attitude Indicators

	Condom Use Attitudes Subindex		Sexually Conservative Attitudes Subindex		Sexual Abuse Reporting Attitudes Subindex		General Attitudes Index	
	<i>One week post intervention</i>	<i>Six months post intervention</i>	<i>One week post intervention</i>	<i>Six months post intervention</i>	<i>One week post intervention</i>	<i>Six months post intervention</i>	<i>One week post intervention</i>	<i>Six months post intervention</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treatment students	0.170*** (0.051)	0.100* (0.051)	0.072 (0.046)	0.133** (0.058)	0.260*** (0.048)	0.112** (0.054)	0.240*** (0.053)	0.172*** (0.056)
Spillover students	0.028 (0.052)	-0.024 (0.051)	0.003 (0.044)	0.075 (0.058)	0.035 (0.048)	0.015 (0.051)	0.026 (0.052)	0.022 (0.052)
Control for baseline value of dep. var.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,390	3,864	4,389	3,896	4,344	3,854	4,391	3,906

Dependent variable is an index of related questions. All components of the indices are standardized to mean 0 and standard deviation 1, based on the sample frame at baseline. Standard errors clustered at the school level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Condom use attitudes subindex: Respondent disagrees with statements: (a) "It's not right to carry a condom because people may think that I planned to have sex"; (b) "If a woman wants to have sex without a condom, the man must not refuse"; (c) "Only women are responsible for unwanted pregnancies"; Respondent is: (d) Confident if requesting that a condom be used; (e) Willing to delay sex if condoms are unavailable; Respondent thinks (f) he/she will use a condom in his/her next sexual relationship. Sexually conservative attitude subindex: Respondent thinks that: (a) It is not right when people of their age have sex with several partners in the same month; (b) People of their age should wait to have sex; Respondent's answer to (c) Age at which men and women should start having sex. Respondent is: (d) Confident he/she will have sex only when emotionally ready. Sexual abuse reporting attitudes subindex: Respondent thinks that when a teenager is suffering from sexual violence: (a) He/she must tell his/her family; (b) He/she must tell the authorities; (c) In case of rape, the afflicted individual must seek medical help; Respondent disagrees with the idea that in case of rape the person: (d) Must not tell anyone. General attitudes index: contains all variables used in the other columns of the table.

Table 5: Sexual Activity and Condom Demand

	Sexually active last six months	Frequency of sex last six months	Number of partners last six months	Redeemed Voucher for Free Condoms[§]
	<i>Six months post intervention</i>	<i>Six months post intervention</i>	<i>Six months post intervention</i>	<i>Six months post intervention</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment students	-0.003 (0.029)	0.212 (0.259)	-0.009 (0.031)	0.099* (0.055)
Spillover students	0.023 (0.031)	0.278 (0.270)	0.043 (0.031)	0.048 (0.048)
Control for baseline value of dep. var.	No	No	Yes	No
Mean of dep. var. control group	0.26	1.57	0.37	0.18
Observations	4,364	3,857	3,881	3,358

Dependent variables not standardized. All outcome variables are assessed six months after treatment. Standard errors clustered at the school level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Column 1 includes students attrited for written survey but later tracked over the phone. Table does not control for baseline value of the dependent variable, because outcome was not measured at baseline (except for column 3). [§] 3,358 students of the full sample agreed to be contacted for this part of the study. Specification controls for whether individual had a cellphone.

Table 6. Friendship Networks Summary Statistics

		Cases	Percent
Treatment students with:	No friends treated	366	21.2%
	1 friend treated	277	16.0%
	2 friends treated	266	15.4%
	3 friends treated	227	13.1%
	4 friends treated	286	16.6%
	5 friends treated	183	10.6%
	6 friends treated	123	7.1%
Spillover students with:	No friends treated	1482	88.8%
	1 friend treated	133	8.0%
	2 friends treated	11	0.7%
	3 friends treated	7	0.4%
	4 friends treated	7	0.4%
	5 friends treated	13	0.8%
	6 friends treated	15	0.9%

Friendship link treatment status is established by matching self reported list of friends with list of names of students answering the survey at (either) follow-up survey. The number of friends treated for students in control schools is equal to zero.

Table 7. Knowledge: Network Spillover & Reinforcing Interaction Effects

	Knowledge of Symptoms and Causes of STIs Subindex	Sexual Violence Knowledge Subindex	Prevention of STI Knowledge Subindex	Pregnancy Prevention Knowledge Subindex	Condom Use Knowledge Subindex	General Knowledge Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment student	0.132* (0.067)	0.083 (0.062)	0.377** (0.153)	0.201** (0.090)	0.135* (0.075)	0.278*** (0.081)
Spillover student	0.082 (0.055)	-0.023 (0.058)	0.137 (0.147)	0.065 (0.082)	0.035 (0.062)	0.022 (0.082)
Treatment student * % of friends treated	0.136* (0.081)	0.038 (0.080)	0.258* (0.155)	0.248** (0.106)	0.056 (0.079)	0.179* (0.100)
Spillover student * % of friends treated	-0.280* (0.159)	0.170 (0.177)	0.185 (0.380)	-0.154 (0.213)	-0.034 (0.196)	-0.050 (0.217)
Number of friends	0.034* (0.018)	0.074*** (0.017)	0.151*** (0.043)	0.080*** (0.019)	0.036* (0.019)	0.104*** (0.020)
Control for baseline value of dep. var.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
P-value treatment*(% of friends)=spillover*(% of friends)	0.0387	0.492	0.859	0.0788	0.669	0.334
Observations	3,853	3,845	3,828	3,866	3,853	3,888

Dependent variable is an index of related questions. All components of the indices are standardized to mean 0 and standard deviation 1, based on the sample frame at baseline. Standard errors clustered at the school level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Knowledge of symptoms and causes of STI subindex: Respondent knows STI symptoms include: (a) Abnormal discharges from the penis/vagina; (b) Lesions/sores in genitals; and (c) Painful urination; Respondent knows: (d) Vomiting and headache are not STI symptoms; (e) HIV can be transmitted by having sexual intercourse without a condom; (f) HIV can be transmitted by a contaminated blood transfusion; (g) HIV transmission does not depend on hygiene; (h) HIV cannot be transmitted via food sharing; (i) clothes sharing; or (j) being in a pool with an HIV-positive person. Respondent knows that (k) HIV is not transmitted if a condom is used while having sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive individual. Sexual violence knowledge subindex: Respondent identifies (a) Nonconsensual touching of genitalia, buttocks, breasts, inner thigh as abusive sexual contact; (b) Forcible sex by husband on his wife as a form of sexual abuse; (c) Having sex with a person who is impaired due to alcohol as a form of rape; (d) If an individual changes his/her mind about sex even at the last minute, sex is nonconsensual and hence a form of sexual abuse; (e) The use of threats to obtain sex is a form of sexual abuse; Respondent knows: (f) sexual abuse is more often than not perpetrated by a known person not a stranger. Prevention of STI knowledge subindex: Respondent knows one of the safest methods to prevent an STI is the use of condom whereas the calendar-based methods, hormone injections and penis withdrawal are not. Pregnancy prevention knowledge subindex: Respondent disagrees with: (a) Penis withdrawal is a safe method to avoid pregnancy; Respondent knows: (b) Women can become pregnant in their first sexual relationship; (c) Safe methods to prevent a pregnancy include injections and condom; (d) unsafe methods to prevent a pregnancy include calendar-based methods and penis withdrawal; Respondent knows that (e) emergency post-coital contraception pills have secondary effects. Condom use knowledge subindex: Respondent knows (a) One of the safest methods to prevent an STI is the use of a condom; (b) Condoms can be used only one time; (c) HIV can be transmitted by having sex without a condom; (d) HIV is not transmitted if a condom is used even if the person is HIV positive; (e) One of the safest methods to prevent a pregnancy is by using a condom. General knowledge index: an index of all the variables used in the subindices of the table.

Table 8. Attitudes: Network Spillover & Reinforcing Interaction Effects

	Condom Use Attitudes Subindex	Sexually Conservative Attitudes Subindex	Sexual Abuse Reporting Attitudes Subindex	General Attitudes Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment student	-0.020 (0.064)	0.072 (0.074)	0.024 (0.070)	0.043 (0.073)
Spillover student	-0.021 (0.049)	0.082 (0.058)	0.021 (0.051)	0.032 (0.051)
Treatment student * % of friends treated	0.213*** (0.075)	0.114 (0.071)	0.166* (0.093)	0.236*** (0.078)
Spillover student * % of friends treated	-0.098 (0.170)	-0.059 (0.143)	-0.003 (0.131)	-0.072 (0.147)
Number of friends	0.068*** (0.017)	0.006 (0.015)	0.044*** (0.016)	0.052*** (0.016)
Control for baseline value of dep. var.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
P-value: treatment*(% of friends)=spillover*(% of friends)	0.129	0.279	0.270	0.061
Observations	3,856	3,882	3,840	3,891

Dependent variable is an index of related questions. All components of the indices are standardized to mean 0 and standard deviation 1, based on the sample frame at baseline. Standard errors clustered at the school level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. *Condom use attitudes subindex*: Respondent disagrees with statements: (a) "It's not right to carry a condom because people may think that I planned to have sex"; (b) "If a woman wants to have sex without a condom, the man must not refuse"; (c) "Only women are responsible for unwanted pregnancies"; Respondent is: (d) Confident if requesting that a condom be used; (e) Willing to delay sex if condoms are unavailable; Respondent thinks (f) he/she will use a condom in his/her next sexual relationship. *Sexually conservative attitude subindex*: Respondent thinks that: (a) It is not right when people of their age have sex with several partners in the same month; (b) People of their age should wait to have sex; Respondent's answer to (c) Age at which men and women should start having sex. Respondent is: (d) Confident he/she will have sex only when emotionally ready. *Sexual abuse reporting attitudes subindex*: Respondent thinks that when a teenager is suffering from sexual violence: (a) He/she must tell his/her family; (b) He/she must tell the authorities; (c) In case of rape, the afflicted individual must seek medical help; Respondent disagrees with the idea that in case of rape the person: (d) Must not tell anyone. *General attitudes index*: contains all variables used in the other columns of the table.

Table 9. Sexual Activity and Condom Demand: Network Spillover & Reinforcing Interaction Effects

	Sexually active last six months	Frequency of sex last six months	Number of partners last six months	Redeemed Voucher for Free Condoms [§]
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment student	0.042 (0.036)	0.340 (0.313)	0.049 (0.039)	0.076 (0.058)
Spillover student	0.016 (0.032)	0.174 (0.264)	0.032 (0.031)	0.056 (0.046)
Treatment student * % of friends treated	-0.097** (0.038)	-0.257 (0.440)	-0.115*** (0.042)	0.043 (0.040)
Spillover student * % of friends treated	0.110 (0.085)	1.850* (0.986)	0.186 (0.114)	-0.138* (0.069)
Number of friends	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.018 (0.081)	0.008 (0.010)	0.009 (0.011)
Control for baseline value of dep. var.	No	No	Yes	No
Mean of dep. var. control group	0.26	1.58	0.37	0.18
P-value: treatment*(% of friends)=spillover*(% of friends)	0.0195	0.0662	0.0170	0.0335
Observations	4,246	3,843	3,868	3,334

Dependent variables not standardized. All outcome variables are assessed six months after treatment. Standard errors clustered at the school level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Column 1 includes students attrited for written survey but later tracked over the phone. Table does not control for baseline value of the dependent variable, because outcome was not measured at baseline (except for column 3). § 3,358 students of the full sample agreed to be contacted for this part of the study. Specification controls for whether individual had a cellphone.

Table 10. Cost-Effectiveness and Cost-Benefit Analysis

Cost Effectiveness	
Marginal cost of course per student ^a	\$14.60
Averted STIs per \$1,000 spent ^b	2.20
90% Confidence Interval	[0.19, 4.20]
Cost Benefit	
Cost per averted STI ^c	\$455
Benefit per averted STI ^d	\$785

^a All figures in 2012 U.S. dollars. Marginal costs correspond to remote tutor wage per student (\$10), Internet platform costs (\$2.10), and depreciation cost of computers (\$2.50).

^b Averted STIs per \$1,000 = (Estimated STI reduction per student*1000/MgCost per

^c Cost per averted STI=(MgCost per student/Estimated STI reduction per student).

^d Benefit obtained from STI distribution and DALYs per incident in Ebrhaim et al. (2005), and value of DALY from Brent (2005). Estimate assumes the increase in condom demand from Table 5 reflects consistent condom use by the adolescent, and a reduction in STIs from condom use from Gallo et al. (2005) of 60%, along with the objectively measured STI prevalence from Gallo's data of 54%.

Table A1. Summary Statistics at Baseline

INDEX	INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES	MEAN	SD	MIN	MAX	Q25	Q75	N
Knowledge of Symptoms and Causes of STI Index Variables	Respondent knows: Vomiting is not an STI symptom	0.101	0.301	0	1	0	0	4305
	Headache is not an STI symptom	0.105	0.307	0	1	0	0	4211
	Respondent knows STI symptoms include: Abnormal discharges from the penis/vagina	0.307	0.461	0	1	0	1	4331
	Lesions/sores in genitals	0.185	0.388	0	1	0	0	4221
	Painful urination	0.320	0.467	0	1	0	1	4334
	HIV transmission does not depend on: Hygiene	0.665	0.472	0	1	0	1	4512
	Food sharing	0.907	0.291	0	1	1	1	4512
	HIV cannot be transmitted: Being in a pool with an HIV-positive person	0.924	0.265	0	1	1	1	4512
	If a condom is used while having sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive individual	0.628	0.483	0	1	0	1	4512
	HIV can be transmitted by: Having sexual intercourse without a condom	0.791	0.407	0	1	1	1	4512
A contaminated blood transfusion	0.684	0.465	0	1	0	1	4512	
Sexual Violence Knowledge Index Variables	Respondent identifies as abusive sexual contact or abuse: Nonconsensual touching of genitalia, buttocks, breasts, and inner thigh	0.845	0.362	0	1	1	1	4490
	Forcible sex by husband on his wife	0.758	0.429	0	1	1	1	4490
	Having sex with a person who is impaired due to alcohol	0.759	0.427	0	1	1	1	4490
	If an individual changes his/her mind about sex even at the last minute	0.569	0.495	0	1	0	1	4490
	The use of threats to obtain sex	0.670	0.470	0	1	0	1	4490
	Respondent knows sexual abuse is more often than not perpetrated by a known person, not a stranger	0.181	0.385	0	1	0	0	4343
Prevention of STI Knowledge Index Variables	Respondent knows one of the safest methods to prevent an STI is not: Calendar-based methods	0.929	0.256	0	1	1	1	4504
	Hormone injections	0.795	0.404	0	1	1	1	4504
	Penis withdrawal	0.905	0.293	0	1	1	1	4504
	Respondent knows one of the safest methods to prevent an STI is the use of condoms	0.737	0.440	0	1	0	1	4504
Pregnancy Prevention Knowledge Index Variables	Respondent disagrees that penis withdrawal is a safe method to avoid pregnancy	0.562	0.496	0	1	0	1	4477
	Respondent knows women can become pregnant in their first sexual relationship	0.723	0.448	0	1	0	1	4506
	Respondent knows unsafe methods to prevent a pregnancy include: Calendar-based methods	0.875	0.330	0	1	1	1	4516
	Penis withdrawal	0.791	0.407	0	1	1	1	4516
	Respondent knows safe methods to prevent a pregnancy include: Injections	0.471	0.499	0	1	0	1	4516
	Condoms	0.759	0.428	0	1	1	1	4516
Respondent knows that emergency post-coital contraception pills have secondary effects	0.143	0.351	0	1	0	0	4477	
Condom Use Knowledge Index Variables	Respondent knows condoms can be used only one time	0.608	0.488	0	1	0	1	4485
	Respondent knows one of the safest methods to prevent an STI is the use of a condom	0.737	0.440	0	1	0	1	4504
	Respondent knows HIV can be transmitted by having sex without a condom	0.791	0.407	0	1	1	1	4512
	Respondent knows HIV is not transmitted if a condom is used even if the person is HIV	0.628	0.483	0	1	0	1	4512
	Respondent knows one of the safest methods to prevent a pregnancy is by using a condom	0.759	0.428	0	1	1	1	4516
Condom Use Attitudes Index Variables	Respondent disagrees with statements: It's not right to carry a condom because people may think that I planned to have sex	2.894	1.168	1	4	2	4	4500
	If a woman wants to have sex without condom, the man must not refuse	2.835	1.176	1	4	2	4	4525
	Only women are responsible for unwanted pregnancies	3.516	0.931	1	4	3	4	4514
	Respondent is confident of requesting that a condom be used	1.552	0.716	0	2	1	2	4533
	Respondent is willing to delay sex if condoms are unavailable	0.678	0.467	0	1	0	1	4518
	Respondent thinks he/she will use a condom in his/her next sexual relationship.	0.805	0.396	0	1	1	1	4438
Sexually Conservative Attitudes Index Variables	Respondent thinks that: It is not right when people of their age have sex with several partners in the same month	3.683	0.729	1	4	4	4	4520
	People of their age should wait to have sex	3.395	0.904	1	4	3	4	4544
	Respondent's answer to: Age at which women should start having sex	19.577	3.296	10	30	18	20	4501
	Age at which men should start having sex	18.449	3.248	10	30	16	20	4509
	Respondent is confident he/she will have sex only when emotionally ready	1.411	0.776	0	2	1	2	4525
Sexual Abuse Reporting Attitudes Index Variables	Respondent disagrees with the idea that in case of sexual violence the person must not tell Must tell his/her family	0.983	0.131	0	1	1	1	4481
	Must tell the authorities	0.713	0.452	0	1	0	1	4502
	Respondent thinks that when a teenager is suffering from sexual violence he/she: Must tell the authorities	0.741	0.438	0	1	0	1	4502
	In case of rape, must seek medical help	0.596	0.491	0	1	0	1	4502
	Must tell someone such as teachers, friends, etc.	0.021	0.144	0	1	0	0	4502

+ Not available at baseline. Refers to second follow-up data statistics which correspond to the values used to standardize variables for the index.

++ Question at baseline asked for last month instead of last six months

Table A2. Attrition

Dep. Var.: Attrited=1	<i>One week</i>	<i>Six months</i>	<i>Condom</i>	<i>One week</i>	<i>Six months</i>	<i>Condom</i>	<i>One week</i>	<i>Six months</i>	<i>Condom</i>	<i>One week</i>	<i>Six months</i>	<i>Condom</i>
	<i>post</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>Voucher</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>Voucher</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>Voucher</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>Voucher</i>
	<i>intervention</i>	<i>intervention</i>		<i>intervention</i>	<i>intervention</i>		<i>intervention</i>	<i>intervention</i>		<i>intervention</i>	<i>intervention</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Treatment students	0.009	0.012	-0.008									
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.040)									
Spillover students	0.013	0.024	0.045									
	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.046)									
Treatment students * socioeconomic status				0.004	0.005	-0.001						
				(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.016)						
Spillover students * socioeconomic status				0.008	0.008	0.015						
				(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.019)						
Treatment students * father's education							0.001	0.001	-0.000			
							(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)			
Spillover students * father's education							0.001	0.001	0.003			
							(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)			
Treatment students * mother's education										0.001	0.001	-0.001
										(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Spillover students* mother's education										0.001	0.001	0.003
										(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Constant	0.126***	0.100***	0.313***	0.115***	0.098***	0.304***	0.117***	0.150***	0.333***	0.134***	0.143***	0.393***
	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.030)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.035)	(0.019)	(0.029)	(0.040)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.047)

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Attrition=1 for students observed at baseline but not at first follow-up (Column 1), second follow-up (Column 2), or without working cellphone or email for voucher offer 6 months after intervention (Column 3). Columns 4-6 include socioeconomic status variable, Columns 7-9 include father's education variable, and Columns 10-12 include mother's education variable as controls.