Gender and Goals Matter for Youth Employment: Returns to Socio-Emotional Skills Training in Tanzania*

Rachel Cassidy Smita Das Clara Delavallade Elijah Kipchumba
Munshi Sulaiman

February 10, 2026

Abstract

This paper evaluates a socio-emotional skills (SES) training programme for 4,728 urban Tanzanian youth who were not in full time employment, education, or training (NEET). A randomized design compared *awareness* (e.g., self-awareness, empathy, active listening), *management* (e.g., self-control, personal initiative, negotiation), and combined curricula. SES were measured using self-reported and behavioral indicators. Training increased self-reported SES in the short run across both domains, but had limited effects on behavioral measures, and all SES gains faded after one year. Modest but sustained employment gains were observed among men who were job seekers at baseline. Training did not improve labour market outcomes for women. We find no differential effects across training types, and each training affected skills in the alternative domain, suggesting that SES domains are interrelated. These findings indicate that SES training may improve labor market outcomes only for specific subgroups, particularly in the absence of complementary interventions tackling barriers to employment.

Keywords: youth employment, socio-emotional skills, training, gender, randomised experiments, field experiments
JEL Codes: C93, J24, J46, O12

*Cassidy: World Bank Africa Gender Innovation Lab (GIL), rcassidy@ifc.org; Das: Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA) and World Bank GIL, sdas@poverty-action.org; Delavallade: World Bank GIL, cdelavallade@worldbank.org; Kipchumba: Trinity College Dublin, kipchume@tcd.ie; Sulaiman: Brac Institute of Governance and Development (BIGD), munshi.sulaiman@bracu.ac.bd. This paper is a product of the World Bank Africa GIL within the office of the Africa Region Chief Economist. We thank IPA and BRAC Tanzania, especially Julietha Komba, for their collaboration in project design and implementation. We also appreciate the excellent research assistance provided by Ariel Gruver, Alev Gurbuz Cuneo, and Josephine Tassy. We are grateful to the participants of the Trinity College Dublin PhD Working Group, the World Bank GIL Brown Bag, the IPA GPRL researcher gathering, and the CSAE Conference for their insightful comments and suggestions, especially Estelle Koussoube. This work was funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the Wellspring Philanthropic Fund and the World Bank Umbrella Fund for Gender Equality (UFGE). The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the World Bank and its affiliated organisations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent. AEA RCT Registry ID: AEARCTR-0005548. This research project was approved by the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). Research Permit Number - 2019-381-NA-2019-270.

1 Introduction

There is growing recognition of the importance of socio-emotional skills (SES) – also known as soft skills, life skills, or non-cognitive skills. These skills complement technical skills and are transferable across contexts, yielding substantial returns in the labour market (Heckman et al., 2006; Heckman and Kautz, 2012; Deming, 2017). As a result, many upskilling programs are increasingly incorporating SES, and policymakers now recognise them as foundational skills, alongside literacy and numeracy (Cunningham and Villaseñor, 2016; Morsy and Mukasa, 2020). This growing demand raises key policy questions, especially *which of these skills* should be prioritised for training? Existing empirical studies have typically focused on a single skill or narrow set of skills such as negotiation (Ashraf et al., 2020) or personal initiative (Campos et al., 2017; Ubfal et al., 2022) – or embedded more holistic SES training within labour market interventions that include other components, making it difficult to estimate the contributions of trainings on whole sets of SES (Groh et al., 2016; Prada et al., 2019; Acevedo et al., 2020; Chioda et al., 2021; Barrera-Osorio et al., 2023; Brudevold-Newman and Ubfal, 2023; Dammert and Nansamba, 2023). Given the high cost of training and the wide array of potentially relevant skills, it is essential to identify those sets of skills that are both malleable and likely to generate labour market improvements.

SES may influence labor market outcomes through distinct pathways. *Awareness skills* — e.g., self-reflection, empathy, and active listening — enable individuals to assess their strengths and limitations, identify opportunities and preferences, calibrate aspirations and goals, and adapt to others' preferences, potentially improving decision quality and opportunity alignment (Tamir and Ford, 2009; Kreemers et al., 2022). By contrast, *management skills* — e.g., such as self-control, personal initiative, and negotiation — help them develop plans, proactively pursue their goals, overcome obstacles, develop networks, and obtain support in low-opportunity environments marked by rejection and coordination challenges (Berger et al., 2022; Alan et al., 2019; Campos et al., 2017; Borghans et al., 2008; Ashraf et al., 2020). These domains can be further disaggregated into *intrapersonal skills* which govern inward reflection and regulation, and *interpersonal* skills, which facilitate social awareness and relationship management. While these domains are conceptually complementary, most training programs bundle variying combinations of SES without clear justification. A review of existing interventions demonstrated that most curricula focus on *self-management skills* with limited inclusion of *relationship management*

skills or *awareness skills*. Yet, consultations with psychologists and implementers revealed a widespread belief that awareness skills are foundational for the development of other SES. In practice, implementers must prioritise content within fixed training durations. However, little evidence exists on which skills are more malleable or more predictive of economic engagement — especially among NEET youth in low-income settings.

To unpack SES, this study employs the ESTEEM framework, which spans 14 skills across two domains: four awareness-related and ten management-related skills.[1] We test the effects of training on awareness skills, management skills, or both, on SES, labour market outcomes, and well-being of young men and women in three-month and one-year post-intervention. SES are measured using both self-reports and behavioral measures. For this purpose, we implemented a randomised controlled trial involving 4,728 NEET (not in education, employment, or training) youth across three peri-urban regions of Tanzania. Each curriculum targeted a specific skill domain and comprised 14 sessions, each lasting 1–2 hours, for a total of 27 hours. Both curricula were developed by the same experienced consultants, with similar formats to ensure they were comparable and overlap was limited. Participants were randomly assigned to receive awareness training, management training, or both. Training was delivered over one week in community venues by trained, gender-matched facilitators with tertiary education. Uptake was considerable, with over three-quarters of the participants attending at least 80% of the sessions.

We find that socio-emotional skills (SES) training leads to significant short-term improvements in self-reported SES, but less so in behavioral measures of SES. Specifically, most of the 14 self-reported skills improved in the three months post-intervention, whereas only three interpersonal skills showed behavioral gains. Despite short-term gains in these measures, impacts are not sustained one year after training, regardless of the SES measure. Additionally, combining awareness and management modules — which doubles training time — does not yield stronger effects than offering either alone. This suggests that SES domains may be interconnected, with spillovers from targeted skills into non-targeted areas, and that focusing on a few key skills might be sufficient.

SES training modestly increases income-generating activity among individuals who reported being job seekers at baseline. Specifically, among male participants actively seeking jobs at

[1]The Effective Socio-emotional Skills To Gain Economic Empowerment (ESTEEM) framework identifies 14 SES considered malleable and likely to influence labour market outcomes, available here: https://poverty-action.org/socio-emotional-skills. The design of this framework was based on existing SES frameworks, consultations with psychologists, focus groups, empirical literature on SES returns, and gender-based theoretical considerations (Marsh et al., 2025; Delavallade et al., 2025, 2020).

baseline, SES training increases participation in income-generating activities by six percentage points. These effects are sustained one year post training. However, we do not observe such labour market gains among the average NEET youth or among women.

One possible explanation of our findings is that SES training may induce elevated self-assessments of one's SES, which appear to generate labour market returns for men but not for women — consistent with evidence on gendered rewards to overconfidence (see Exley and Kessler, 2022; Ozen et al., 2020). Limited impact on behavioral measures may indicate that the training had no impact on skills, or that these measures were more difficult to move than self-reports. Importantly, when examining just the baseline and control group for this sample, measures such as personal initiative often have a null or negative correlation with labor outcomes(Delavallade et al., 2025). This highlights a key feature of the NEET sample, that those who have high SES are not actively pursuing work, or that those pursuing work are doing so out of necessity rather than desire. Here, the training was not bundled with other components, and did not address external constraints such as limited job networks, transportation challenges, or employer bias — all of which may limit the effectiveness of SES training.[2]

This study contributes to the growing body of literature on the development of soft skills among youth. These skills are thought to complement technical skills and thus potentially yield substantial returns in the labour market (Heckman et al., 2006; Heckman and Kautz, 2012; Deming, 2017). While prior studies have shown that SES are malleable during adolescence and early adulthood (e.g., Groh et al., 2016; Campos et al., 2017; Prada et al., 2019; Ashraf et al., 2020; Chioda et al., 2021; Ubfal et al., 2022; Adhvaryu et al., 2023; Barrera-Osorio et al., 2023; Brudevold-Newman and Ubfal, 2023), most focus on a single skill or narrow skill set, or embed SES in broader interventions. We advance this literature by isolating the effect of SES training and experimentally varying the specific SES directly included in curricula. Like Brudevold-Newman and Ubfal (2023), our combined arm addresses the same skill set, but we also test awareness and management curricula separately. Our management arm overlaps with the skills studied in Ubfal et al. (2022). In line with these studies, SES levels improve in the three months after the intervention, but the effects are short-lived, fading away within one year. Our findings further suggest that training in either domain yields similar benefits. This highlights the importance of awareness skills, though they are often excluded from curricula. It

[2]Youth-targeted training programs often combine SES with technical skills or other labour market interventions (Groh et al., 2016; Chioda et al., 2021; Acevedo et al., 2020; Barrera-Osorio et al., 2023; Brudevold-Newman and Ubfal, 2023; Dammert and Nansamba, 2023).

also suggests that categories of SES are interrelated.

Our study also expands the literature on SES measurement, which remains a challenge in evaluating the impact of SES training. Many studies examine the impact of SES training, but only measure self-efficacy or the Big Five Inventory, rather than the specific skills included in the curriculum. Here, we include measures of all 14 skills that make up the curriculum and the ESTEEM framework. Researchers often rely on self-report scales, which are seldom validated in low-income settings. This has led to observations of a male advantage in self-reported SES (Ajayi et al., 2022; Hossain and Jukes, 2024). Baseline data from this study reveal that self-reported SES find this gender gap while behavioral tasks find no gender gap (Cassidy et al., 2024). Our dual-measurement approach —utilising both self-reports and behavioral tasks — enables us to assess whether training impacts skills as measured via different methods and whether these changes translate into labour market gains. We find that self-reports are more responsive to training, though their effects are transitory and gender-neutral in the short term.

Our study focuses on a policy-relevant segment of the population — youth who are not in education, employment, or training (NEET). High rates of youth unemployment, especially among individuals with some formal education, remain a persistent challenge across Sub-Saharan Africa. In Tanzania, 23% of young women and 14% of young men aged 15-24 fall into the NEET category (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, 2021). While we observe limited average impacts on labour market outcomes, SES training yields positive effects among the subset of men who were actively seeking work at baseline. One possible explanation is that SES are important for goal pursuit and labour market engagement, but many NEET youth may not prioritize immediate employment — whether due to discouragement, competing obligations, or other constraints. These findings highlight the importance of aligning training content not only with labour market demands but also with the aspirations and search status of target participants, while simultaneously addressing the specific barriers that constrain young women's entry into the labour market.

Despite the significant presence of NEET individuals, employers often report difficulties in finding workers with the appropriate skills, especially soft skills (Cunningham and Villaseñor, 2016; Munishi, 2016; Tan et al., 2016; Morsy and Mukasa, 2020; Bassi and Nansamba, 2021). Information frictions may partially explain this skill mismatch—firms struggle to observe the soft skill levels of youth, often holding miscalibrated beliefs about their potential. Previous studies have documented this phenomenon, where such misperceptions hinder job formation

(Bassi and Nansamba, 2021; Abebe et al., 2023). Holding elevated self-assessments, although inefficient, has been associated with labour market returns. First, individuals with positively biased self-assessments are more successful at convincing others of their abilities, particularly when their competence is uncertain (Burks et al., 2013; Schwardmann and van der Weele, 2019; Soldà et al., 2021; Demiral and Mollerstrom, 2024). Secondly, this confidence can serve as intrinsic motivation, driving persistence and goal pursuit (Reuben et al., 2017; Hoffman and Burks, 2020; Barron and Gravert, 2022). Our findings generally align with these two mechanisms. SES training enhances participants' self-assessment of their skills, which could reflect genuine improvements, increased confidence, greater valuation of those skills, or strategic responding. However, given the minimal changes observed in behavioral measures, these shifts may indicate a self-assessment gap — between perceived and demonstrated skills — or alternatively, suggest that behavioral indicators are less sensitive to short-term change. If we assume that the difference in the two measures of the same skill estimates this potential self-assessment gap, we find that this increase in the self-assessment gap is particularly pronounced among individuals with higher initial gaps in their self-assessment. In addition, consistent with the literature (e.g. Reuben et al., 2017; Bordalo et al., 2019; Adamecz-Völgyi and Shure, 2022; Exley and Kessler, 2022), we observe that the self-assessment gap is disproportionately prevalent among men. Finally, the larger self-assurance improves labour market outcomes among male job seekers who exhibited larger self-assessment at the onset. However, such labour market returns are not observed for women, who likely face additional barriers or constraints that limit the efficacy of the SES training for them[3]. Thus, while SES training may help male job seekers signal their skills more effectively, it may not sufficiently mitigate the gendered disadvantages women experience in the labour market.

2 Conceptual Framework

Socio-emotional skills (SES) enhance labour productivity by shaping how individuals convert effort and aspirations into economic activity. They influence the behavioral technology of labour supply — affecting entry into income-generating work, persistence in job search, and coordination in informal production. SES complements cognitive and technical skills by reducing

[3]Returns to overconfidence are unlikely to be a gender-neutral phenomenon. For example, literature documents that men benefit more from higher skill signals (see extant literature on men's hubris Burks et al., 2013; Hoffman and Burks, 2020; Adamecz-Völgyi and Shure, 2022), while women could even face penalties for signalling skills that are perceived as counterstereotypical (Ozen et al., 2020; Exley and Nielsen, 2024).

behavioral frictions, improving reliability, and strengthening cooperation, especially where supervision is limited and contracts are incomplete (Borghans et al., 2008; Heckman and Kautz, 2012). Subsequently, they raise productivity on both the extensive and the intensive margin. Yet SES are broad and multidimensional, spanning behavioral, emotional, and social competencies. Existing classifications—such as intrapersonal versus interpersonal—describe where skills operate rather than how they shape decisions. To identify the mechanisms through which SES affect productivity, this study adopts a functional framing that distinguishes SES into Awareness and Management as summarised in Figure A1.[4] These two complementary capacities jointly influence activation, execution, and coordination in the labour market.

Awareness—encompassing self- and social-awareness—enhances choice quality and activation by aligning aspirations with realistic opportunities (Ray, 2006; Lybbert and Wydick, 2018) and by building the relational capital necessary for productive engagement. Management — covering self- and relationship-management — improves execution and coordination by sustaining effort, punctuality, and teamwork (see Alan et al., 2019; Ashraf et al., 2020; Campos et al., 2017; Borghans et al., 2008; Heckman and Kautz, 2012). These two competencies may be complementary since activation without execution risks aspirational drift, while execution without activation risks disciplined misallocation (Genicot and Ray, 2020). Their complementarity implies that improved orientation (from Awareness) translates into stronger and more reliable enactment (from Management). In the labour market, Awareness may primarily affect entry margins. At the same time, Management may deepen hours and income. Thus, their joint exposure is likely to produce larger gains across both margins as summarised in Figure A2. This motivates our 2×2 factorial design, which enables us to test for synergistic effects, as predicted by dynamic-complementarity models (Cunha and Heckman, 2007).

Beyond improving actual behavior, SES training can also shape how individuals perceive their capabilities. Exposure to training often prompts participants to revise self-assessments upward, creating a gap between perceived and measured competence. This overestimation arises broadly from increased self-reflection, new behavioral vocabulary, and motivational framing. Such effects may operate differently across domains: Awareness may elevate perceived orientation and self-efficacy, while Management may boost perceived reliability and agency.

[4]Several established frameworks in Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) and Emotional Intelligence (EI) make a similar functional distinction. These include the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) five-competency model, Mayer and Salovey's four-branch Emotional Intelligence framework, and the OECD/Heckman–Kautz socio-emotional skill taxonomy.

From a behavioral standpoint, this mechanism aligns with Bénabou and Tirole (2002) theory of self-confidence, which argues that optimistically biased self-beliefs sustain motivation and persistence. Within the logic of signalling theory (Spence, 1973), overestimation can be privately beneficial: stronger self-beliefs encourage assertive job search, bolder negotiation, and improved self-presentation. These expressive behaviors may alter employer perceptions, especially in low-information markets where confidence serves as a credible proxy for ability.

However, the returns to overestimation could differ by gender. While both men and women may experience similar perceived gains, the labour market rewards assertiveness asymmetrically. Men are typically rewarded for confidence and ambition, which align with prevailing masculine norms, whereas women often face penalties for comparable self-assertion (Bassi and Nansamba, 2021; Exley and Kessler, 2022). Consequently, the same confidence that propels men's job search and income gains may yield muted or even adverse effects for women, whose assertiveness can be viewed as norm deviation rather than competence. Thus, while SES training enhances perceived empowerment for all, it may reproduce gendered inequities in how that empowerment is recognised and rewarded in the labour market.

3 Context, Intervention and Study Design

3.1 Tanzanian Context

Tanzania, like many Sub-Saharan African countries, is characterized by a large and growing youth population. Tanzania's youth aged 15–24 account for nearly one-fifth of the population and about one-third of the working-age population. Yet their transition into stable employment remains low, with many entering the informal economy[5], as they enter the labour market with low academic qualifications.[6] According to the 2020/21 Integrated Labour Force Survey (ILFS), youth unemployment among youth (15–24) stands at around 15% (women 18%, men 12%), while 19% (women 23%, men 14%) of youth are not in employment, education or training (NEET)[7]. The slack in labour demand, alongside low educational levels, implies that these youths face a protracted school-to-work transition, taking nearly 20 months. These youths mostly search for jobs through informal networks, reflecting both limited access to formal job-matching systems

[5]Agriculture is the dominant economic activity in Tanzania, employing about 60% of the total workforce. Besides agriculture, about 90% of employed persons are in informal employment.

[6]A significant proportion of labour market entrants drop out of the formal education system at the primary (58%) or O-level secondary education (38%) levels.

[7]The NEET rate increased from 14% likely due to the economic downturn in 2020 caused by the Covid-19 pandemic

and low returns to online or institutional search. The COVID-19 pandemic further constrained labour demand, pushing many youth into informal work.

Despite the recent expansion of secondary and tertiary education, many young Tanzanians, especially those with higher levels of education, struggle to find jobs that match their qualifications (ILO, 2018). Employers frequently report difficulty finding suitably skilled candidates—especially soft skills such as work ethic, teamwork, problem-solving, and communication (Munishi, 2016; Tan et al., 2016). For example, in a recent nationwide survey of technicians' employers, more than 60% of the employers rated almost all soft skills as inadequate among technician graduates (NACTE, 2020). Subsequently, employers are forced to retrain employees due to weak soft skills at entry (Juma, 2025). In the absence of these re-training efforts, better-educated youth are forced to settle for low-skill jobs, even as firms face skill shortages.

The Tanzanian government recognises this mismatch and has launched various initiatives to upskill its workforce. First, the National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS 2016–2026) seeks to align training with labour-market demand. Secondly, the Five-Year Development Plan III (2021/22–2025/26) prioritises youth employment, private-sector job creation, and modernisation of the technical and vocational education and training (TVET) institutions. Third is the establishment of the Tanzania Employment Services Agency (TaESA), which provides placement, counselling, and internship facilitation, while youth enterprise funds support self-employment. Yet these efforts primarily emphasise technical and entrepreneurial skills. Systematic investment in the development of socio-emotional skills remains limited, leaving a key lever of youth employability underdeveloped.

3.2 Intervention

The intervention took place from September to December 2021 and was implemented by BRAC Tanzania. The research team supervised the implementation. Depending on their treatment assignment, study participants were invited to participate in one of three training programs: a five-day training on "awareness" skills, a five-day training on "management" skills, or a five-day training on awareness skills followed by a five-day training on management skills (i.e., ten days of training in total). The curricula for the interventions were developed by Alkimia Consulting in collaboration with the research team, building on recent advances in psychology and behavioral economics as well as the curriculum of the BRAC's Empowerment and Livelihood

for Adolescents (ELA)[8].

The skills included in the curriculum were derived from the ESTEEM framework of 14 SES (Delavallade et al., 2020, 2025; Marsh et al., 2025). The list of skills was designed to be as exhaustive and mutually exclusive as possible and includes four sub-categories: self-awareness skills (emotional awareness, self-awareness); social awareness skills (listening, empathy); self-management skills (emotional regulation, self-control, perseverance, personal initiative, problem-solving, and decision making); and relationship management skills (expressiveness, interpersonal relatedness, influence, negotiation, and collaboration). The Awareness training focused on the four awareness skills, and the Management training focused on the 10 management skills as shown in Figure A1.

Both training sets consisted of 14 one- to two-hour sessions, totalling 27 hours of content. The training sets were based on an experiential learning approach, involving self-reflection and continuous engagement through open-ended questions, case studies, role-plays, and powerful visuals. For example, to develop self-awareness, participants are asked to use a tree as a metaphor for their life to understand their history, values, and goals. During the last three Awareness training sessions, individuals practised channelling their knowledge of strengths and desires into creating small businesses and into job searches. During the management training, exercises were more closely linked to employment and entrepreneurship. For example, to learn about problem-solving, groups were given business scenarios and practised creating creative solutions, listing the advantages and disadvantages of each solution, and developing an action plan.

A team of 18 facilitators led the two curriculum sets, with an equal number assigned to each, split by gender. The competitively recruited facilitators were a mix of tertiary college and university graduates. Facilitators first received the training themselves, which also served as a training pilot. They were then trained for five days in facilitation skills, including instruction on using the materials, managing groups, challenging participants, and conducting teach-back and feedback sessions. The extended training of facilitators also served as an avenue to pilot curricula. Subsequently, the curriculum development consultant made relevant context adjustments during this facilitator training. Due to COVID-related travel restrictions, the facilitators'

[8]Empowerment and Livelihoods in Action (ELA) is a BRAC flagship program, which aims to enhance young women's economic, health & social outcomes. BRAC initiated efforts to revamp the ELA curriculum; hence, the curriculum evaluated in this study is part of a broader effort to adjust the life skills curriculum to suit changing economic and social contexts. Although substantial portions of the curriculum under this study were incorporated into the new ELA curriculum being implemented in multiple countries, the content covered only a subset of that curriculum, which extends beyond SES. The curricula developed are available here

training was conducted in a hybrid format, with some trainers of trainers facilitating remotely. At the same time, all facilitators attended in person at a single venue. The participants' training sessions were held in person, divided by gender, and facilitated by facilitators of their gender.

3.3 Sample and randomisation

Our study targeted young men and women from 40 communities across three urban areas in Tanzania: Dodoma, Dar es Salaam, and Iringa. We conducted a census in January and February 2021 across these three areas. Communities were included in our sampling frame if the listing exercise identified them as having at least 120 eligible young men and 120 eligible young women within a one-mile radius, community leaders who confirmed interest in the program, and an existing venue suitable for hosting a training. We randomly selected 40 communities from the list of communities meeting these criteria. Within selected communities, the same listing exercise provided an individual sampling frame of all eligible young men and women: aged 16-26 who were not in full-time education, training, or employment. We drew a random sample of 60 young women and 60 young men from each community in this sampling frame for the baseline survey conducted in May and June 2021.

Our study sample consisted of 2,358 young men and 2,370 young women who were neither in education, training, nor in full-time employment[9]. Only half of these participants were actively seeking jobs during the baseline survey. Despite similar ages (average = 21 years) and educational levels (average = 9 years) between men and women, we observe gender differences in labour outcomes at baseline. For example, compared to young women, we find young men were 10 percentage points (pp) more likely to be engaged in part-time income-generating activities and 10 pp more likely to be actively searching for a job at the time of the survey. Another marker of gender inequality was the disproportionate allocation of household chores to women, where they spent an average of two extra hours on these chores per day relative to young men. Both men and women were equally drawn from households with low socioeconomic status. For example, an average participant had guardians who had barely completed primary education, and approximately one-third of the participants came from female-headed households, which is typically correlated with poverty in this context.

We then randomised the respondents to one of four groups. Randomisation was conducted at the individual level, stratified by community, gender, and age (classified into below median

[9]Nearly a third of them were engaged in part-time jobs, mostly informal jobs, and were own-account workers.

age or not). Individuals within each stratum were randomly allocated with equal probability to one of three treatment arms – 27 hours Awareness (A), 27 hours Management (M), 54 hours A+M – or to the control arm (no training). As shown in Table A1, participants allocated to the three treatment arms were, on average, similar to those in the control arm. The training, which took place from September to December 2021, had a high level of participation. For example, 89% of participants allocated to receive the training attended at least one of their sessions, and training completion was also high: 70% (A), 71% (M), and 61% (A+M). Due to the shorter duration, single-arm participants were more likely to miss any of their allocated sessions (Column 1 of Table A2). As expected, training completion was slightly lower among those in the combined arm (Column 3 of Table A2). However, after accounting for the difference in training length, the results in Column 4 of Table A2 show no significant difference in the proportion of sessions attended. We also find no significant difference in treatment uptake by gender. Further exploratory analysis does not show any other systemic differences between those who take up and complete allocated treatment and those who do not take up but do not complete it.

We conducted the first follow-up survey between February and March 2022 (N=4,683, attrition 1%). This was approximately three months after the last batch of participants had completed their assigned training. We also conducted a second follow-up survey in October/November 2022 (N=4,645, attrition 2%), or approximately one year after training completion. We adopted similar survey instruments in each of our three survey rounds. We had very low attrition: only 3% of our study participants were not observed across all three survey rounds.

3.4 Measuring SES

For each of the 14 skills, we included one self-report scale and one behavioral measure in each survey round. Among the self-report scales, five skills are measured using original items grounded in theory. Nine are adapted from existing scales with selected original items[10]. For each skill, the self-report scale included 6 to 12 items and utilised a five-point Likert scale. To guard against zeroed-out scores, we aggregated skills within each category via a modified geometric mean. Final scores for individuals' skills and aggregated skills were standardised

[10]The sources for these items can be found in Marsh et al. (2025); Delavallade et al. (2025), but include scales from seminal papers such as Schutte et al. (1998); Schwarzer and Jerusalem (1995); Duckworth and Quinn (2009); Frese et al. (1997).

relative to the control group's mean and standard deviation.

These SES measures were developed and validated in three Sub-Saharan African countries (Marsh et al., 2025; Delavallade et al., 2025). The behavioral measures were either a situational judgment test (SJT) for nine skills or a task-based measure for five skills. Three out of the five task-based measures are original items, while two were adapted from existing measures, including negotiation (Selman et al., 1986) and perseverance (Alan et al., 2019). The other three task-based measures included a simulated SMS conversation with responses encoded by enumerators to measure collaboration and an enumerator post-survey assessment to measure self-control. The SJTs, on the other hand, involved presenting respondents with two to three scenarios and asking about their likelihood of taking a specified action. Actions mirrored the self-reported scales and included a list of "good" actions associated with successful skill use and "poor" actions associated with poor skill use. The final scores for SJTs were a net count of "good" actions. The scores for task-based measures were based on simple averages, except for perseverance, which used a weighted average of the difficulty of the puzzle attempted by the respondent. We adopted a similar approach to self-reported scores in aggregating and standardising the final scores from behavioral measures.

3.5 Estimation Strategy

We estimate ITT effects for each follow-up survey, using the following ANCOVA specification for our main estimation:

$$\begin{aligned} Y_{is,t_{=1,2}} = \alpha + \beta_1 A_{is} + \beta_2 M_{is} + \beta_3 (A+M)_{is} + \delta_1 Y_{is,t_{=0}} \\ + \delta_2 Z_{is,t_{=0}} + \delta_3 X'_{is,t_{=0}} + \mu_s + \epsilon_{ist} \end{aligned} \tag{1}$$

$Y_{is,t}$ is the outcome of individual i in stratum s at time t and $Y_{is,t_{=0}}$ its baseline. A_{is}, M_{is}, and $(A+M)_{is}$ is the treatment assignment of individual i in stratum s into either awareness only, management only and both training, respectively. $Z_{is,t_{=0}}$ whether baseline value was missing. $X'_{is,t_{=0}}$ vector of unbalanced baseline covariates. β_1, β_2, and β_3 coefficients of interest.

Our heterogeneity analysis examines the differences in treatment effects by the participants' gender. We interact with each treatment dummy in Equation 1 and fit the regression separately for our men and women sub-samples. In addition to the participant's gender, our pre-specified heterogeneity covariates, as measured at baseline, include socioeconomic status (SES), educational level, cognitive level, and age. We expand this list of heterogeneity covariates to include

baseline labour market attachment, that is, participants' job-seeking status. Our study involves drawing inferences from multiple hypotheses; thus, we correct for the false discovery rate and report adjusted q-values, following Benjamini and Hochberg (1995). We report the pre-specified outcomes and follow the sequence outlined in our pre-analysis plan when discussing our findings.

4 Results

4.1 Impacts on Socio-Emotional Skills

SES training has a positive impact on men's and women's self-reported SES three months after completion. Column 1 in Panel A of Table 1 shows that training in awareness-related SES, management-related SES or their combinations increase aggregate SES by approximately 0.10 standard deviations ($p < 0.05$). We find similar positive gains in the SES sub-aggregates (Table 1, Columns 2 and 3, Panel A). Turning to comparability between self-reported SES versus behaviorally-elicited SES, our results indicate that SES improvements are more pronounced when SES is elicited via self-reported measures relative to behavioral measures. For example, the pairwise comparison between Columns 1–3 versus 4–6 in Table 1 shows that while the effects by self-reported measures are about 0.10 standard deviations, those noted based on behavioral measures are generally smaller, less than 0.05 standard deviations. Further, when we examine SES at more disaggregated levels, we find significant improvements ($p < 0.05$) in self-reported SES in 13 out of the 14 disaggregated SES, compared to only three (active listening, interpersonal relatedness and influence) that show significant improvements ($p < 0.05$) in behaviorally elicited SES (Figure A5). Among these disaggregated skills, those that showed improved behavioral measures yielded effect sizes comparable to those elicited by self-reported measures.

The short-term improvements in SES attributable to the SES training fade away within one year after training completion. Our estimates in Table 1 (Columns 1–6, Panel B) indicate that SES training has no significant effects at the endline, regardless of the measures adopted or the type of SES training received. The fade-out is pronounced when SES is elicited via self-report measures. Specifically, we can rule out equivalence ($p < 0.10$) between three-month and one-year SES training effects on self-reported SES (Table 1, Columns 1–3, Panel B). While we cannot rule out equivalence between the three-month and one-year effects on behaviorally elicited SES ($p > 0.10$), the sign of the differences in point estimates nonetheless suggests a

fade-out effect (Table 1, Columns 4–6, Panel B), albeit a smaller starting point.

Both types of SES training—awareness-related and management-related—lead to comparable overall improvements in SES. For instance, Column 3 of Table 1 shows that participants trained in awareness-related SES improve their awareness-specific and overall SES. Similarly, Column 2 of Table 1 shows that those trained in management-related SES experience gains beyond the targeted domain. Over time, the fade-out of SES effects is comparable across participants trained in either curriculum or their combination. Moreover, Table A4 indicates no statistically significant difference in the effects on men's and women's SES in both three months (Columns 1-3) and one year post-intervention (Columns 4-6). That said, the awareness-related SES training yields marginally significant results among men. In contrast, when combined with management-related SES training, the effects observed in women are nearly half those observed in men. These findings suggest that management-related SES training consistently improves self-reported SES for both men and women, particularly within the three-month post-intervention.

The divergence of effect sizes in SES between self-reported and behavioral measures of SES potentially increases the skill self-assessment gap[11]. Following Anderson et al. (2012); Adamecz-Völgyi and Shure (2022), we define the skill self-assessment gap[12] as the differences in the percentile rank between self-assessed and behaviorally-measured skills. First, we express each skill measure as a within-sample percentile rank. We then obtain the self-assessment gap as the residual from regressing self-assessed percentiles on behavioral measure percentiles. Consistent with the literature (e.g. Reuben et al., 2017; Bordalo et al., 2019; Adamecz-Völgyi and Shure, 2022; Exley and Kessler, 2022), the results in Column 1 of Table A3 indicate that men exhibit a larger skills self-assessment gap than women. Additionally, consistent with the Dunning–Kruger effect (Feld et al., 2017), the gap is larger among individuals with lower skills when assessed via behavioral measures. Further exploration also shows a strong positive correlation ($\rho = 0.68$) in the skills self-assessment gap in various domains of SES. Turning to the impact estimates, we find that SES training initially increased the self-assessment gap among both men and women; however, this effect fades over time (Figure 1). Examining the conditional average treatment

[11]While we did not pre-specify this outcome, we build on the findings from our descriptive baseline paper (Cassidy et al., 2024). In that paper, we argued that the gap between self-reported skills and behaviorally-measured skills among men partly reflects men's overestimation of their skills

[12]The skills self-assessment gap in our study can alternatively be framed as skills overestimation, one of the three forms of overconfidence. Our study cannot adduce the other two forms of overconfidence, that is, the overplacement of one's skills compared to others and overprecision beliefs (or overcertainty) about one's skill levels.

effects also indicates that the transient increases in self-assessment gap induced by the SES training are higher among men who already had higher gaps (Figure A4a). The fade-out of the self-assessment gap within one year plausibly indicates that individuals tend to recalibrate their self-beliefs in the absence of reinforcement or further skill acquisition.

One key concern is whether the gains in self-reported SES and the attendant self-assessment gap are artefacts of experimenter demand. As a sub-genre of the experimenter demand effects, we would expect participants with a higher propensity for social desirability bias to not only show elevated judgments of their skills but also be motivated to respond with choices they deem to be in line with the researcher's hypothesis (de Quidt et al., 2018). In the latter case, the ITT estimates will be upwardly biased, as participants in treatment groups may believe the researcher's goal is to enhance their skills through SES training. We adopted two approaches to address this concern. First, the intervention delivery team was separated from the interviewing team to reduce the researcher's salience. Secondly, we elicit participants' propensity to give socially desirable answers as part of our baseline survey[13], and explore whether participants with high propensity to give socially desirable answers have different treatment effects. Reassuringly, we do not find consistent evidence of heterogeneity of treatment effects by participants' propensity to provide socially desirable answers. Specifically, the results in Table A9 (Panel A) show that men with high social desirability biases experienced minimal gains in SES following the training, whereas women showed the opposite trend. These findings suggest that the elevation in participants' self-evaluation is a real change in self-assessment induced by the SES training rather than an artefact of experimenter demand.

We additionally explore whether awareness-related SES is foundational to the development of management-related SES. This hypothesis, grounded in psychological theory (e.g. Bandura, 1997; Dweck, 2006), posits that self-awareness and social awareness underpin the development of self-regulation and interpersonal management skills. If true, we would expect (i) stronger effects in the combined training arm and (ii) greater management skill gains among participants with higher baseline awareness SES. Our results do not support either of these predictions. First, we find no significant difference in SES gains across the three treatment arms (Table 1), suggesting that combining awareness and management training does not yield additional benefits.

Next, we turn to the second prediction: baseline awareness of SES significantly moderates the

[13]While analysing this baseline data Cassidy et al. (2024) found that self-reported measures of SES are positively correlated with social desirability bias, especially among men.

development of SES, especially management-related SES. Here, we examine the heterogeneity of SES effects by baseline SES levels, separately for awareness-related and management-related SES. We split our baseline sample into two groups based on whether their baseline SES was above or below the median of their respective community. We then examined whether treatment effects varied by baseline SES. Focusing on the conditional average treatment effects of the management SES training (Column 3 of Table A5, Panel A), we find that SES effects are equally null even among those with higher baseline awareness-related SES. Thus, we cannot rule out the equivalence of management SES training alone among those with higher baseline awareness SES relative to those with lower baseline awareness SES who also received the single management SES training. Further exploratory analysis, however, reveals larger improvements in behaviorally elicited SES among participants with higher levels of education and cognitive abilities (Columns 1 - 3 of Table A7). These findings suggest that SES training could enhance skills at the top of the distribution, rather than awareness-related SES being foundational for the development of management-related SES.

4.2 Impacts on Economic Participation

On average, no meaningful changes in labour market outcomes are attributable to the SES training. Results in Table 2 show that SES training does not change the likelihood of labour force participation at three months and one year post-intervention (Column 2). Characteristically, SES training effect sizes on extensive margin labour force participation are tightly estimated around zero. Despite the null effects at the extensive margin, Column 3 (Panel A) results indicate that SES training increases labour force participation at the intensive margin, particularly in management-related areas. Relative to those in the control group, men and women trained in management-related SES increase the hours they dedicate to income-generating activities by an average of 0.10 standard deviations (Figure A3). These average intensive margin effects fade within one year, especially for women. The significant increase in hours spent on income-generating activities is not accompanied by increases in earnings (Column 4 of Table 2, Panel A), three months and one year post-intervention. Similarly, while point estimates indicate increased monthly earnings, the changes in earnings are not sufficiently large to achieve statistical significance at conventional levels.

An alternative explanation for the limited effects on labour force participation is that respondents devoted more time to job searching or pursuing further education. The results, however,

do not, on average, support these arguments. The results in Table 2 show that SES training does not increase the likelihood that men or women seek wage employment. Similarly, SES training does not alter men's and women's aspirations to start a business. We next turn to educational outcomes. We note from the onset that education pursuit[14], and future education aspirations are low. The proportion of participants in our study sample who were pursuing or aspiring to pursue education dropped further in subsequent survey rounds. For example, in the control group, the number of youths who aspired to further education decreased by 58% between the two follow-up rounds. Examining causal estimates in Column 6 indicates that SES training does change the likelihood of pursuing further education and training. However, we observe a temporary decline in aspirations to pursue further education due to SES training. Specifically, the results in Table 2 (Column 7) show that SES training reduces the aspiration to pursue further education by up to three percentage points three months post-intervention (Panel A). Still, this decline is precisely null one year later (Panel B). Our results thus suggest SES may accelerate the revision of education pursuit aspirations among young men and women, at least in the three-month post-intervention period.

4.3 Returns to Self-Assessment Gap in the Labour Market

An elevated self-evaluation can shape labour market outcomes via two mechanisms. On the one hand, under asymmetric information, it can serve as a persuasive signal that convinces others of one's competence, thereby improving one's employment prospects—even if their actual skills remain unchanged (Burks et al., 2013; Schwardmann and van der Weele, 2019; Soldà et al., 2021; Demiral and Mollerstrom, 2024). Overconfident individuals may project competence more convincingly during interviews or networking interactions. On the other hand, overconfidence may also serve as an intrinsic motivator, increasing job search intensity and persistence in the face of setbacks (Reuben et al., 2017; Hoffman and Burks, 2020). However, the returns to elevated self-evaluations are unlikely to be gender-neutral. For example, studies (such as Exley and Kessler, 2022; Ozen et al., 2020) show that labour markets often reward men—but penalise women—for assertive self-promotion. Subsequently, labour market returns to elevated self-evaluations could be mediated by gender and baseline labour market engagement–yielding positive returns for men but lower effects for women. We thus explore the gender-differentiated

[14]Youths in full-time education were screened out of our baseline sample. We only included youths who were either not pursuing education or, at most, pursuing education on a part-time basis.

response to SES training among active job seekers and those not actively seeking jobs.

We find significant gender-differentiated effects of SES training on labour market outcomes depending on whether they sought a job at baseline. One year post-intervention, we observe increased participation in income-generating activities due to SES training at both extensive and intensive margins, but only among men seeking jobs at baseline (Table 4, Panel B). Specifically, the results in Column 2 indicate that SES training increased the probability of engaging in income-generating activities by six percentage points among men seeking jobs at baseline. Furthermore, we observed an increase in hours worked of approximately half an hour (or 6 to 10% relative to the control group) due to SES training among men seeking jobs at baseline. Although not significant at conventional levels, the results also suggest that these participants registered income increases of 6–15%. These effects were driven by men seeking to enter the labour market. We, however, do not find a similar heterogeneity in the impact of SES training in the women's sample.

Suggestive evidence supports the positive correlation between elevated self-evaluations and labour market outcomes. First, at baseline, we find significant positive correlations between skill self-assessment gap and the likelihood of seeking employment, particularly among men (Column 3 of Table A3). The positive correlation between men's skill self-assessment gap and job-seeking likelihood persisted even after adjusting for the actual skill levels. Secondly, since conditional average treatment effects indicate that the increases in the self-assessment gap induced by the SES training are larger among men who already had higher gaps, it follows that the impact of the SES training on the skill self-assessment gap is concentrated among those who were already seeking jobs at baseline. Finally, this is the cadre of participants - men who (i) were active job-seekers at baseline and (ii) had larger increases in self-assessment gap after training - who registered improvements in labour market outcomes in the one-year post-intervention follow-up (Table 4, Panel B).

4.4 Impacts on Broader Well-being

Our final family of prespecified outcomes concerned psychological well-being. We examine participants' subjective well-being on a Cantril ladder, levels of depression and anxiety. Estimates in Column 1–3 of Table 3 show that the effects of SES training on participants' psychological well-being are mixed. On the one hand, we find that SES training marginally improves an individual's subjective well-being; on the other hand, it increases the likelihood of reporting mild

depressive and mild anxiety symptoms in the three months after the intervention. All these effects on participants' psychological well-being also fade away within one year after the intervention. Our extensive heterogeneity analysis of the SES training effects on the psychological well-being of men and women yields no meaningful patterns.

Regarding downstream outcomes, we also prespecified three indicators of women's empowerment: disagreement with gender-regressive attitudes, participation in decision-making, and the ability to make one's own decisions. We restrict our analysis in Columns 4–6 of Table 3 to the women participants only. Results in Table 3 indicate that SES training does not shift women's views towards gender-egalitarian ideals, both in the three-month post-intervention and after one year. The SES training does not change women's decision-making power in either study horizon. We also examine the effects of SES training on women's time use and find no significant changes in their time-use patterns. This latter result could indicate a greater demand on women's time, as they, at least in the three-month post-intervention period, dedicate more time to income-generating activities as a result of the SES training; yet there was no corresponding change in the time they devote to household chores.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

We evaluate the impact of socio-emotional skills (SES) training on 4,728 youth not in full-time employment, education, or training (NEET), using a randomised controlled trial. We find that SES training leads to short-term improvements in self-reported SES with limited gains on behavioral SES measures, across both awareness-focused and management-focused training types. Although these improvements fade after one year, the results demonstrate the potential for SES training to shift short-term skill perceptions.

Notably, SES training yields modest but significant labour market improvements among a subgroup of men actively seeking employment at baseline, who experience increased participation in income-generating activities at both extensive and intensive margins. These effects appear to be associated with elevated self-assessments, which may act as signals of competence in the absence of formal qualifications. Although women report similar increases in self-assessment, these do not translate into improved labour outcomes, suggesting the presence of deeper structural barriers, such as restrictive gender norms or employer discrimination. The causal relationship between SES and labor outcomes, observed primarily among men seeking

employment at baseline, suggests that SES training effectiveness may depend on participants' goals and readiness for labour market engagement.

While combining awareness and management training doubles training time, it does not yield additional benefits beyond offering either module alone, suggesting strong interconnections between SES domains. Exploratory analyses suggest slightly higher returns to management-related skills, though both domains contribute meaningfully. this suggests that training may be made more efficient by focusing on the most malleable subset of skills, which future research should help identify.

By targeting NEET youth, we shed light on two plausible SES-related drivers of their labour market exclusion. On the one hand, these youth may lack the SES employers demand, which justifies investments in psychosocial upskilling programs. On the other hand, informational frictions or employer biases may prevent accurate observation of such skills, even when youth possess them (Bassi and Nansamba, 2021; Abebe et al., 2023).[15]

Our results highlight a complementary mechanism: even modest changes in self-assessed SES — absent measurable improvements in behaviorally measured skill levels — can positively affect job search outcomes, particularly for young men. SES training appears to enhance perceived skills more than observable behavioral competencies. One possible explanation is that in low-information labour markets, these self-assessments may function as credible signals, especially for men, whose confidence is often more rewarded (Exley and Kessler, 2022). For women, by contrast, similar gains in self-perception may be less effective, either because assertiveness is penalized or because they are insufficient to overcome external constraints, such as caregiving burdens or discrimination. This aligns with evidence on the labour market returns to male overconfidence (Burks et al., 2013; Ozen et al., 2020; Hoffman and Burks, 2020; Adamecz-Völgyi and Shure, 2022), and contrasts with studies that find negative effects of job-seeker overoptimism (Kiss et al., 2023; Abebe et al., 2023). One explanation lies in sample selection: unlike studies of more educated job seekers, our sample includes youth who exited school early. In such contexts, greater self-belief and expressive signalling may serve as substitutes for formal certification, particularly among men.

While elevated self-assessments could partly reflect social desirability bias, several patterns suggest the observed effects are not purely artefactual. First, we note improvements in a few

[15] Recent evidence from certification programs in South Africa (Abel et al., 2020; Carranza et al., 2022), Ethiopia (Abebe et al., 2020), and Uganda (Bassi and Nansamba, 2021) confirms the potential of such interventions to mitigate informational frictions and improve employment outcomes.

behaviorally elicited SES. Second, the notable improvements in labour market outcomes among a subgroup long after training completion suggest internalisation of some competencies and perceptions rather than transient response bias. Thirdly, consistent with evidence from other randomised control trials, soft-skills training frequently elevates self-perceptions, such as optimism and self-efficacy, even when employment effects are modest (such as Acevedo et al., 2020; Groh et al., 2016).

The programme's cost and delivery model compare favourably with other SES interventions (See Appendix Table A11). Implementation during the COVID-19 pandemic may have attenuated effect sizes, due to virtual training of trainers and limited oversight. Our findings suggest that internal constraints — such as low confidence and heterogeneous goals — can limit the returns to upskilling programs. However, internal transformation alone cannot overcome weak labour demand or persistent gender-based barriers. Sustained youth empowerment requires addressing both psychosocial and structural constraints to employment.

References

Abebe, G., Caria, A. S., Fafchamps, M., Falco, P., Franklin, S., and Quinn, S. (2020). Anonymity or Distance? Job Search and Labour Market Exclusion in a Growing African City. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 88(3):1279–1310.

Abebe, G., Caria, S. A., Fafchamps, M., Falco, P., Franklin, S., Quinn, S., and Shilpi, F. J. (2023). Matching frictions and distorted beliefs: Evidence from a job fair experiment. Working Paper 958, Queen Mary University of London, School of Economics and Finance.

Abel, M., Burger, R., and Piraino, P. (2020). The Value of Reference Letters: Experimental Evidence from South Africa. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 12(3):40–71.

Acevedo, P., Cruces, G., Gertler, P., and Martinez, S. (2020). How vocational education made women better off but left men behind. *Labour Economics*, 65:101824.

Adamecz-Völgyi, A. and Shure, N. (2022). The gender gap in top jobs – the role of overconfidence. *Labour Economics*, 79:102283.

Adhvaryu, A., Kala, N., and Nyshadham, A. (2023). Returns to On-the-Job Soft Skills Training. *Journal of Political Economy*, 131(8):2165–2208.

Ajayi, K., Das, S., Delavallade, C., Ketema, T., and Rouanet, L. (2022). Gender Differences in Socio-Emotional Skills and Economic Outcomes: New Evidence from 17 African Countries. Policy research working paper 10197, World Bank.

Alan, S., Boneva, T., and Ertac, S. (2019). Ever failed, try again, succeed better: Results from a randomized educational intervention on grit. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(3):1121–1162.

Anderson, C., Brion, S., Moore, D. A., and Kennedy, J. A. (2012). A status-enhancement account of overconfidence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 103:718–735.

Ashraf, N., Bau, N., Low, C., and McGinn, K. (2020). Negotiating a better future: How interpersonal skills facilitate intergenerational investment. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 135(2):1095–1151.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control*. W. H. Freeman, New York.

Barrera-Osorio, F., Kugler, A., and Silliman, M. (2023). Hard and Soft Skills in Vocational Training: Experimental Evidence from Colombia. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 37(3):409–436.

Barron, K. and Gravert, C. (2022). Confidence and career choices: an experiment. *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 124:35–68.

Bassi, V. and Nansamba, A. (2021). Screening and Signalling Non-Cognitive Skills: Experimental Evidence from Uganda. *The Economic Journal*, 132(642):471–511.

Bénabou, R. and Tirole, J. (2002). Self-confidence and personal motivation. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 117(3):871–915.

Benjamini, Y. and Hochberg, Y. (1995). Controlling the false discovery rate: A practical and powerful approach to multiple testing. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series B (Methodological)*, 57(1):289–300.

Berger, E. M., Hermes, H., Koenig, G., Schmidt, F., and Schunk, D. (2022). Self-regulation training and job search input: A natural field experiment within an active labor market program. *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics*, 98:101858.

Bordalo, P., Coffman, K., Gennaioli, N., and Shleifer, A. (2019). Beliefs about gender. *American Economic Review*, 109(3):739–773.

Borghans, L., Duckworth, A. L., Heckman, J. J., and Weel, B. t. (2008). The economics and psychology of personality traits. *Journal of Human Resources*, 43(4):972–1059.

Brudevold-Newman, A. and Ubfal, D. J. (2023). Returns to Soft Skills Training in Rwanda. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*.

Burks, S. V., Carpenter, J. P., Goette, L., and Rustichini, A. (2013). Overconfidence and Social Signalling. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 80(3):949–983.

Campos, F., Frese, M., Goldstein, M., Iacovone, L., Johnson, H. C., McKenzie, D., and Mensmann, M. (2017). Teaching personal initiative beats traditional training in boosting small business in West Africa. *Science*, 357(6357):1287–1290.

Campos, F., Frese, M., Iacovone, L., Johnson, H. C., McKenzie, D., and Mensmann, M. (2024). Long-term and lasting impacts of personal initiative training on entrepreneurial success. Policy research working paper no 10938, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Carranza, E., Garlick, R., Orkin, K., and Rankin, N. (2022). Job Search and Hiring with Limited Information about Workseekers' Skills. *American Economic Review*, 112(11):3547–83.

Cassidy, R., Das, S., Delavallade, C., Kipchumba, E., and Komba, J. (2024). Do Men Really Have Greater Socio-emotional Skills than Women? Evidence from Tanzanian Youth. Policy research working paper 10873, World Bank.

Chioda, L., Contreras-Loya, D., Gertler, P., and Carney, D. (2021). Making Entrepreneurs: Returns to Training Youth in Hard Versus Soft Business Skills. Nber working paper 28845, NBER.

Cunha, F. and Heckman, J. J. (2007). The technology of skill formation. *American Economic Review*, 97(2):31–47.

Cunningham, W. V. and Villaseñor, P. (2016). Employer Voices, Employer Demands, and Implications for Public Skills Development Policy Connecting the Labor and Education Sectors. *World Bank Research Observer*, 31(1):102–134.

Dammert, A. C. and Nansamba, A. (2023). Skills training and business outcomes: Experimental evidence from liberia. *World Development*, 162:106120.

de Quidt, J., Haushofer, J., and Roth, C. (2018). Measuring and bounding experimenter demand. *American Economic Review*, 108(11):3266–3302.

Delavallade, C., Das, S., Rouanet, L., Clerkin, A., Gonzales, C., and Jamison, J. (2025). Socio-emotional Skills in Sub-Saharan Africa: Validating and Comparing Self-reported and Behavioral Measures. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, Number 11201.*

Delavallade, C., Rouanet, L., and Das, S. (2020). Unpacking Socio-Emotional Skills for Women's Economic Empowerment. Technical report, World Bank.

Deming, D. J. (2017). The Growing Importance of Social Skills in the Labor Market. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 132(4):1593–1640.

Demiral, E. E. and Mollerstrom, J. (2024). Signaling confidence. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 226:106691.

Duckworth, A. and Quinn, P. (2009). Development and validation of the short grit scale (grit–s). *Journal of personality assessment*, 91(2):166–174.

Dweck, C. S. (2006). *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success*. Random House, New York.

Exley, C. L. and Kessler, J. B. (2022). The gender gap in self-promotion. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 137(3):1345–1381.

Exley, C. L. and Nielsen, K. (2024). The gender gap in confidence: Expected but not accounted for. *American Economic Review*, 114:851–85.

Feld, J., Sauermann, J., and de Grip, A. (2017). Estimating the relationship between skill and overconfidence. *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics*, 68:18–24.

Frese, M., Fay, D., Hilburger, T., Leng, K., and Tag, A. (1997). The concept of personal initiative: Operationalization, reliability and validity in two german samples. *Journal of occupational and organizational psychology*, 70(2):139–161.

Genicot, G. and Ray, D. (2020). Aspirations and economic behavior. *Annual Review of Economics*, 12(2020):715–746.

Groh, M., Krishnan, N., McKenzie, D., and Vishwanath, T. (2016). The impact of soft skills training on female youth employment: evidence from a randomized experiment in Jordan. *IZA Journal of Labor & Development*, 5(1):9.

Heckman, J. J. and Kautz, T. (2012). Hard evidence on soft skills. *Labour Economics*, 19(4):451–464.

Heckman, J. J., Stixrud, J., and Urzua, S. (2006). The Effects of Cognitive and Noncognitive Abilities on Labor Market Outcomes and Social Behavior. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 24(3):411–482.

Hoffman, M. and Burks, S. V. (2020). Worker overconfidence: Field evidence and implications for employee turnover and firm profits. *Quantitative Economics*, 11(1):315–348.

Hossain, M. and Jukes, M. C. H. (2024). Gender differences in socioemotional skills among adolescents and young adults in ethiopia, india, peru and vietnam. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 60(10):1–19.

ILO (2018). Child labour and the youth decent work deficit in tanzania. Technical report, International Labour Office (ILO), Geneva.

Juma, A. A. (2025). Bridging skills gaps: evaluating vet reskilling and curriculum reforms for enhancing graduate employability in tanzania. *International Journal of Training Research*, 0(0):1–14.

Kiss, A., Garlick, R., Orkin, K., and Hensel, L. (2023). Jobseekers' Beliefs About Comparative Advantage and (Mis)Directed Search. *IZA Discussion Paper Series*, 16522.

Kreemers, L. M., van Hooft, E. A. J., and van Vianen, A. E. M. (2022). If you want a job, don't just search hard, search systematically: A field study with career starters. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 31(3):317–330.

Lybbert, T. J. and Wydick, B. (2018). Poverty, aspirations, and the economics of hope. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 66(4):709–753.

Marsh, V., Delavallade, C., Das, S., Rouanet, L., Koroknay-Palicz, T., and McDaniel, D. (2025). Assessing Workplace Social, Emotional, and Behavioral Skills in Africa: The ESTEEM Framework. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, Number 11128*.

Morsy, H. and Mukasa, A. N. (2020). 'Mind the mismatch?' Incidence, drivers, and persistence of African youths' skill and educational mismatches. *African Development Review*, 32(S1):S5–S19.

Munishi, E. J. (2016). Factors contributing to lack of employable skills among technical and vocational education (TVET) graduates in Tanzania. *Business Education Journal*, I(2).

NACTE (2020). Mapping skills gap and skills needs for technician graduates in the selected economic sectors for industrial growth in tanzania. Technical report, National Council for Technical Education (NACTE), Dar es Salam.

Ozen, E. N., Hut, S., Levin, V., and Boudet, A. M. M. (2020). A field experiment on the role of socioemotional skills and gender for hiring in turkey. Policy research working paper 9154, World Bank.

Prada, M. F., Rucci, G., and Urzúa, S. (2019). Training, soft skills and productivity: evidence from a Field Experiment in Retail. Technical report, IDB Working Paper Series.

Ray, D. (2006). Aspirations, poverty, and economic change. In Banerjee, A. V., Benabou, R., and Mookherjee, D., editors, *Understanding Poverty*, pages 409–421. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Reuben, E., Wiswall, M., and Zafar, B. (2017). Preferences and biases in educational choices and labour market expectations: Shrinking the black box of gender. *The Economic Journal*, 127(604):2153–2186.

Schutte, N. S., Malouff, J. M., Hall, L. E., Haggerty, D. J., Cooper, J. T., Golden, C. J., and Dornheim, L. (1998). Development and validation of a measure of emotional intelligence. *Personality and individual differences*, 25(2):167–177.

Schwardmann, P. and van der Weele, J. (2019). Deception and self-deception. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 3:1055–1061.

Schwarzer, R. and Jerusalem, M. (1995). Generalized self-efficacy scale. *Measures in health psychology: A user's portfolio. Causal and control beliefs*, pages 35–37.

Selman, R. L., Beardslee, W., Schultz, L. H., Krupa, M., and Podorefsky, D. (1986). Assessing adolescent interpersonal negotiation strategies: Toward the integration of structural and

functional models. *Developmental Psychology*, 22(4):450.
Soldà, A., Ke, C., von Hippel, W., and Page, L. (2021). Absolute versus relative success: Why overconfidence creates an inefficient equilibrium. *Psychological Science*, 32:1662–1674.
Spence, M. (1973). Job market signaling. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 87(3):355–374.
Tamir, M. and Ford, B. Q. (2009). Choosing to be afraid: preferences for fear as a function of goal pursuit. *Emotion*, 9(4):488–497.
Tan, H., Bashir, S., and Tanaka, N. (2016). Skill Use, Skill Deficits, and Firm Performance in Formal Sector Enterprises: Evidence from the Tanzania Enterprise Skills Survey, 2015. Policy research working paper, The World Bank.
Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics (2021). Integrated Labour Force Survey 2020/21. Key labour market indicators, Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, Dar es Salam.
Ubfal, D., Arráiz, I., Beuermann, D. W., Frese, M., Maffioli, A., and Verch, D. (2022). The impact of soft-skills training for entrepreneurs in Jamaica. *World Development*, 152:105787.

6 Tables

Table 1: Effect of SES Training on Aggregate SES

	Self-reported SES			**Behavioural SES**		
	(1) All SES	(2) Awareness	(3) Management	(4) All SES	(5) Awareness	(6) Management
Panel A: Midline: Pooled Sample						
Awareness (A)	0.097 (0.037)***	0.088 (0.037)**	0.095 (0.037)**	0.022 (0.028)	0.029 (0.028)	0.011 (0.029)
	[0.027]	[0.041]	[0.027]	[0.488]	[0.424]	[0.692]
Management (M)	0.135 (0.037)***	0.127 (0.037)***	0.131 (0.038)***	0.028 (0.029)	0.024 (0.028)	0.017 (0.029)
	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.424]	[0.488]	[0.602]
A + M	0.097 (0.037)***	0.088 (0.039)**	0.095 (0.037)**	0.042 (0.028)	0.048 (0.029)*	0.028 (0.029)
	[0.027]	[0.045]	[0.027]	[0.228]	[0.167]	[0.424]
P-value (A=M=A+M)	0.510	0.497	0.556	0.764	0.661	0.831
Control mean	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.005	-0.009	-0.001
Observations	4,607	4,607	4,607	4,323	4,590	4,331
Panel B: Endline: Pooled Sample						
Awareness (A)	0.023 (0.032)	0.012 (0.033)	0.028 (0.032)	-0.005 (0.028)	0.020 (0.026)	-0.019 (0.028)
	[0.873]	[0.873]	[0.873]	[0.900]	[0.873]	[0.873]
Management (M)	0.042 (0.031)	0.021 (0.033)	0.052 (0.032)	-0.009 (0.027)	0.008 (0.026)	-0.015 (0.027)
	[0.873]	[0.873]	[0.873]	[0.873]	[0.873]	[0.873]
A + M	0.016 (0.032)	0.009 (0.033)	0.018 (0.033)	0.013 (0.028)	-0.003 (0.027)	0.021 (0.028)
	[0.873]	[0.873]	[0.873]	[0.873]	[0.900]	[0.873]
P-value (A=M=A+M)	0.679	0.930	0.531	0.725	0.679	0.316
Control mean	0.000	-0.000	0.001	-0.000	-0.001	-0.000
Observations	4,607	4,607	4,607	4,350	4,594	4,352
Awareness (A) (Endline - Midline)	-0.073 (0.048)	-0.076 (0.049)	-0.067 (0.049)	-0.031 (0.039)	-0.009 (0.038)	-0.039 (0.040)
Management (M) (Endline - Midline)	-0.093 (0.049) *	-0.106 (0.050) **	-0.080 (0.049)	-0.042 (0.039)	-0.016 (0.038)	-0.040 (0.040)
A + M (Endline - Midline)	-0.081 (0.049) *	-0.079 (0.051)	-0.077 (0.049)	-0.034 (0.040)	-0.052 (0.039)	-0.016 (0.040)

Dependent variables in each column are standardised values of the corresponding SES (sub)aggregates. Each SES score is standardised relative to the values of the control group, separately for each survey wave. For each survey wave, we test the equality of treatment effects reported under our three treatment arms and report the p-value associated with this Wald test. Differences (Endline - Midline) in Panel B test differences between endline and midline coefficients. These coefficient differences are extracted from a pooled regression that includes a full interaction between treatment and survey wave dummies, while also adjusting for a full interaction between baseline value and the survey wave. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 2: Effect of SES Training on Labour Market Outcomes

	(1) Engaged any IGA	(2) Hours IGA	(3) Monthly income	(4) Searched for job	(5) Planning IGA	(6) Attending school	(7) Aspire education
Panel A: Midline: Pooled Sample							
Awareness (A)	0.005 (0.019)	0.106 (0.154)	4.311 (7.553)	0.004 (0.018)	-0.003 (0.014)	0.005 (0.011)	-0.033 (0.015)**
	[0.896]	[0.825]	[0.825]	[0.896]	[0.896]	[0.825]	[0.241]
Management (M)	0.009 (0.018)	0.428 (0.155)***	9.372 (7.665)	0.013 (0.018)	0.009 (0.014)	0.003 (0.011)	-0.023 (0.015)
	[0.825]	[0.078]	[0.825]	[0.825]	[0.825]	[0.896]	[0.825]
A + M	-0.008 (0.018)	0.129 (0.155)	-0.001 (7.431)	0.014 (0.018)	0.012 (0.014)	0.006 (0.011)	-0.014 (0.015)
	[0.873]	[0.825]	[1.000]	[0.825]	[0.825]	[0.825]	[0.825]
P-value (A=M=A+M)	0.632	0.064	0.467	0.827	0.496	0.969	0.407
Control mean	0.507	4.735	143.795	0.671	0.747	0.074	0.186
Observations	4,609	4,609	4,609	4,609	4,606	4,609	4,609
Panel B: Endline: Pooled Sample							
Awareness (A)	-0.002 (0.018)	-0.008 (0.142)	-4.765 (6.115)	0.007 (0.016)	0.005 (0.013)	-0.004 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.012)
	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]
Management (M)	0.019 (0.018)	0.019 (0.144)	2.064 (6.205)	-0.004 (0.016)	0.002 (0.013)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.013)
	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]
A + M	0.006 (0.018)	-0.010 (0.144)	-0.623 (6.101)	-0.017 (0.016)	0.004 (0.013)	-0.002 (0.009)	-0.006 (0.012)
	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]	[0.962]
P-value (A=M=A+M)	0.485	0.975	0.522	0.286	0.970	0.977	0.869
Control mean	0.480	4.836	136.269	0.761	0.722	0.049	0.108
Observations	4,607	4,607	4,605	4,607	4,604	4,607	4,607
Awareness (A) (Endline - Midline)	-0.007 (0.026)	-0.114 (0.209)	-9.075 (9.718)	0.003 (0.024)	0.008 (0.019)	-0.009 (0.014)	0.032 (0.019) *
Management (M) (Endline - Midline)	0.009 (0.025)	-0.409 (0.211) *	-7.308 (9.862)	-0.017 (0.024)	-0.007 (0.019)	-0.006 (0.014)	0.022 (0.020)
A + M (Endline - Midline)	0.014 (0.026)	-0.139 (0.212)	-0.622 (9.614)	-0.031 (0.024)	-0.008 (0.019)	-0.008 (0.014)	0.007 (0.020)

Dependent variables in each column are dummy variables except Columns 2 and 3. Column 1 indicates whether a respondent was engaged in any income-generating activity at the time of the survey, which was derived from the seven-day recall preceding the survey. Column 2 indicates participation in income-generating activities at the intensive margin and records the number of hours respondents spent on these activities on a typical day in the week preceding the survey. Column 3 represents the average monthly income earned by the respondent, expressed in constant 2017 USD, adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity at the time of the survey. Column 4 reports whether the respondent searched for a job in the three months preceding the survey and was derived from an aggregate of various job search activities, including submitting applications, inquiring about potential vacancies, and networking with others. Column 5 indicates whether a respondent was planning to start an income-generating activity at the time of the survey. The last two columns report whether the respondent is enrolled in school or training and whether the respondent aspires to pursue further education, respectively. For each survey wave, we test the equality of treatment effects reported under our three treatment arms and report the p-value associated with this Wald test. Differences (Endline - Midline) in Panel B test differences between endline and midline coefficients. These coefficient differences are extracted from a pooled regression that includes a full interaction between treatment dummies and survey wave dummies, while adjusting for a full interaction between baseline values and the survey wave. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 3: Effect of SES Training on Gender Outcomes and Psychological Wellbeing

	Psychological Wellbeing			**Gender Outcomes**		
	(1) Life ladder	(2) Depression score	(3) Anxiety score	(4) Gender equitable index	(5) Influences some decisions	(6) Can make own decisions
Panel A: Midline						
Awareness (A)	0.090 (0.047)*	0.095 (0.121)	0.058 (0.116)	0.009 (0.017)	0.003 (0.009)	-0.005 (0.009)
	[0.358]	[0.650]	[0.790]	[0.674]	[0.744]	[0.674]
Management (M)	0.039 (0.047)	0.214 (0.122)*	0.104 (0.116)	0.028 (0.017)*	0.009 (0.008)	0.007 (0.008)
	[0.650]	[0.358]	[0.650]	[0.674]	[0.674]	[0.674]
A + M	0.060 (0.048)	0.041 (0.125)	-0.003 (0.114)	0.009 (0.016)	0.006 (0.008)	0.005 (0.009)
	[0.634]	[0.834]	[0.981]	[0.674]	[0.674]	[0.674]
Control mean	3.617	3.797	3.256	0.312	0.767	0.773
Observations	4,609	4,609	4,608	2,323	2,312	2,235
Panel B: Endline						
Awareness (A)	0.054 (0.041)	0.069 (0.122)	0.020 (0.117)	-0.019 (0.017)	0.000 (0.008)	0.006 (0.009)
	[0.551]	[0.850]	[0.865]	[0.959]	[0.959]	[0.959]
Management (M)	-0.018 (0.041)	0.062 (0.122)	-0.035 (0.117)	-0.005 (0.017)	-0.015 (0.009)*	0.002 (0.010)
	[0.850]	[0.850]	[0.858]	[0.959]	[0.692]	[0.959]
A + M	0.058 (0.042)	-0.137 (0.119)	-0.156 (0.113)	-0.002 (0.016)	-0.001 (0.008)	0.006 (0.009)
	[0.551]	[0.563]	[0.551]	[0.959]	[0.959]	[0.959]
Control mean	3.820	4.618	4.142	0.284	0.770	0.762
Observations	4,607	4,607	4,607	2,322	2,311	2,222
Awareness (A) (Endline - Midline)	-0.036 (0.062)	-0.025 (0.172)	-0.038 (0.165)	-0.028 (0.024)	-0.003 (0.012)	0.007 (0.013)
Management (M) (Endline - Midline)	-0.057 (0.063)	-0.152 (0.173)	-0.140 (0.165)	-0.033 (0.024)	-0.025 (0.012) **	-0.009 (0.013)
A + M (Endline - Midline)	-0.002 (0.064)	-0.178 (0.172)	-0.153 (0.161)	-0.011 (0.023)	-0.007 (0.012)	-0.003 (0.013)

Dependent variables in this table are continuous variables. The first column is based on the respondents' subjective evaluation of their overall life at the time of the survey, using a 10-point Cantril ladder, where 0 represents the worst possible life and 10 represents the best possible life. Column 2 is an aggregate of how frequently a respondent experienced symptoms of depression in the two weeks preceding the survey; questions are based on the Patient Health Questionnaire. Similarly, Column 3 is an aggregate from the Generalised Anxiety Disorder 7-item (GAD-7) scale in the last two weeks. Column 4 is also an aggregate of how often the respondent disagrees with four gender-regressive statements. Column 5 averages how frequently the respondent's opinions are considered in a series of 7 decisions concerning her. The last column represents the proportion of 7 decisions that respondents can make independently. The estimation of the effects of SES training on psychological outcomes in this table is based on the full sample; however, the estimation of effects on gender outcomes is restricted to the women's sub-sample. Differences (Endline - Midline) in Panel B test differences between endline and midline coefficients. These coefficient differences are extracted from a pooled regression that includes a full interaction between treatment and survey wave dummies, while also adjusting for a full interaction between baseline value and the survey wave. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

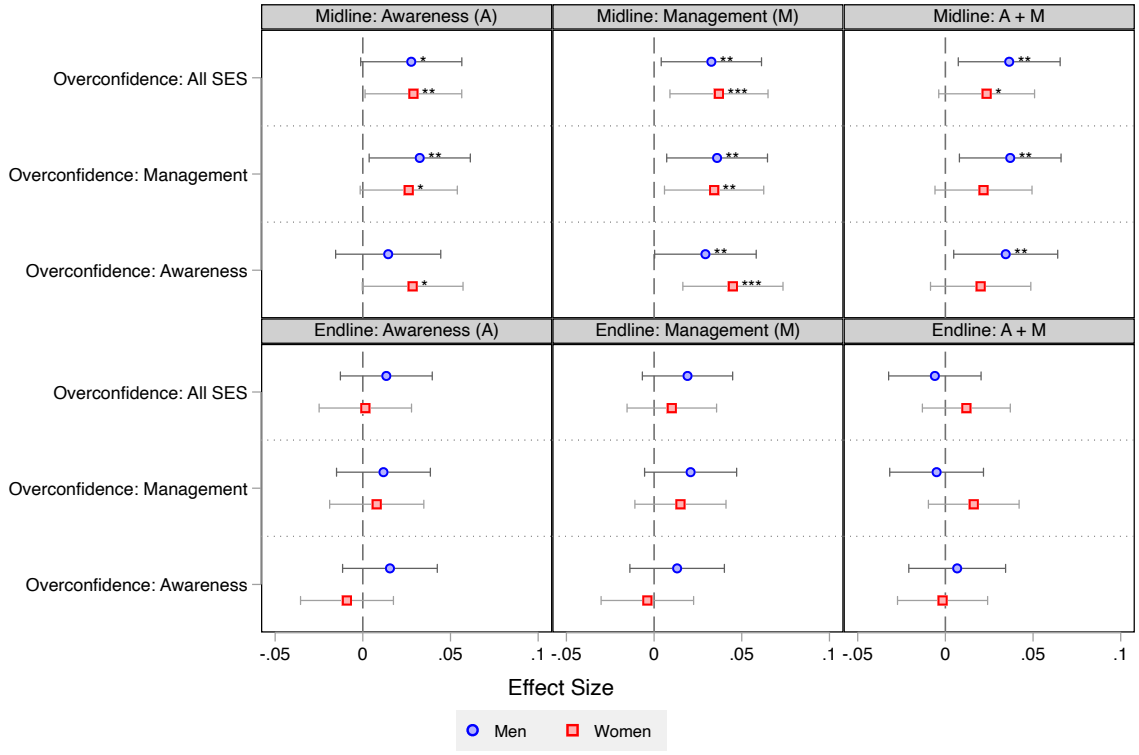
Table 4: Labour Market Outcomes Heterogeneity by Searching for a job

	Men			Women		
	(1) Engaged any IGA	(2) Hours IGA	(3) Monthly income	(4) Engaged any IGA	(5) Hours IGA	(6) Monthly income
Panel A: Midline						
SES treat	0.001 (0.033)	0.017 (0.067)	0.039 (0.075)	0.009 (0.029)	0.058 (0.052)	0.089 (0.049)*
	[0.964]	[0.964]	[0.964]	[0.750]	[0.399]	[0.217]
Searching for a job × SES treat	0.021 (0.044)	0.046 (0.089)	-0.044 (0.102)	-0.031 (0.043)	0.004 (0.076)	-0.112 (0.076)
	[0.665]	[0.665]	[0.665]	[0.701]	[0.962]	[0.415]
Searching for a job	0.009 (0.039)	0.003 (0.079)	0.106 (0.090)	0.009 (0.037)	-0.001 (0.067)	0.081 (0.068)
SES treat + Searching for a job × SES treat	0.022 (0.028)	0.062 (0.057)	-0.005 (0.070)	-0.022 (0.031)	0.062 (0.054)	-0.023 (0.056)
	[0.653]	[0.653]	[0.946]	[0.678]	[0.678]	[0.678]
Control mean: Not searching for a job	0.580	0.278	0.201	0.450	-0.269	-0.257
Panel B: Endline						
SES treat	-0.037 (0.030)	-0.102 (0.065)	-0.097 (0.072)	-0.047 (0.028)	-0.095 (0.053)*	-0.029 (0.047)
	[0.230]	[0.230]	[0.230]	[0.151]	[0.151]	[0.531]
Searching for a job × SES treat	0.096 (0.041)**	0.233 (0.085)***	0.180 (0.093)*	0.074 (0.042)*	0.094 (0.079)	0.005 (0.077)
	[0.030]	[0.019]	[0.053]	[0.233]	[0.352]	[0.951]
Searching for a job	-0.036 (0.036)	-0.089 (0.074)	-0.074 (0.082)	-0.050 (0.037)	-0.038 (0.070)	0.012 (0.069)
SES treat + Searching for a job × SES treat	0.059 (0.027)**	0.130 (0.054)**	0.083 (0.062)	0.027 (0.031)	-0.000 (0.059)	-0.025 (0.062)
	[0.043]	[0.043]	[0.180]	[0.997]	[0.997]	[0.997]
Control mean: Not searching for a job	0.535	0.261	0.183	0.480	-0.183	-0.140

Columns 1 and 4 indicate whether a respondent was engaged in any income-generating activity at the time of the survey, and were derived from the seven-day recall preceding the survey. Columns 2 and 5 indicate participation in income-generating activities at an intensive margin and record the number of hours respondents spent on these activities on a typical day in the week preceding the survey. Columns 3 and 6 represent the average monthly income earned by the respondent, expressed in constant 2017 USD, adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity at the time of the survey. Income and hours spent on income-generating activities are standardised relative to the control values in a survey wave. Panel A refers to estimates midline, while Panel B refers to estimates at the endline. For each survey wave, we interact with the treatment dummy with the baseline value of the specified covariate. We fit our regressions separately for the men and women sub-samples. This allows us to test the presence of treatment effects heterogeneity at various levels of the baseline covariate for both men and women. Regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

7 Figures

Figure 1: Effects of SES Training on Overconfidence



Note: Each row, in the top and bottom panels, is an extract from a single regression as specified in Equation 1. Within each survey wave, we interact the treatment dummy with the gender dummy and extract appropriate linear combinations for each specified outcome in a row. Each dependent variable, overconfidence, is a continuous variable indicating the residuals obtained by regressing percentile ranks from self-reported measures against percentile ranks from behavioral measures for each SES (sub)aggregate, following Anderson et al. (2012); Adamecz-Völgyi and Shure (2022). Regressions also include fixed effects for enumerator and randomisation strata. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

A Appendix

A.1 Appendix Figures

Figure A1: Skills definitions with levels of skills aggregation

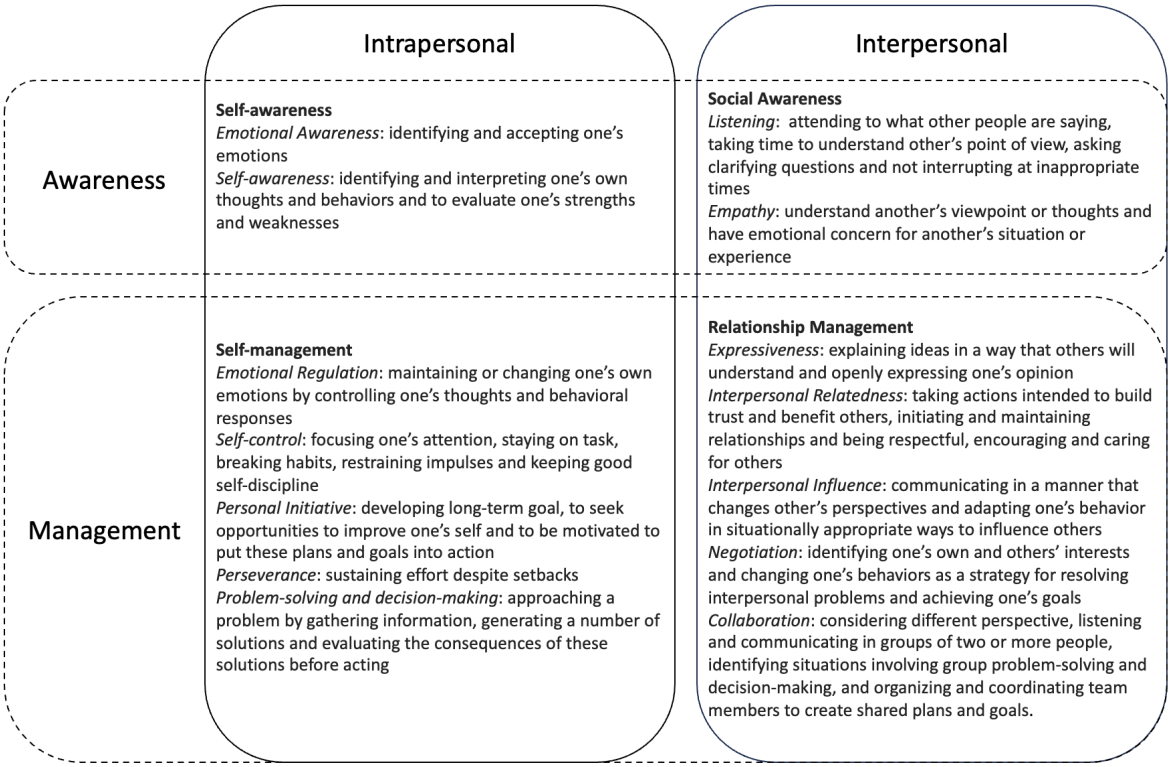


Figure A2: Summary of the Conceptual Framework

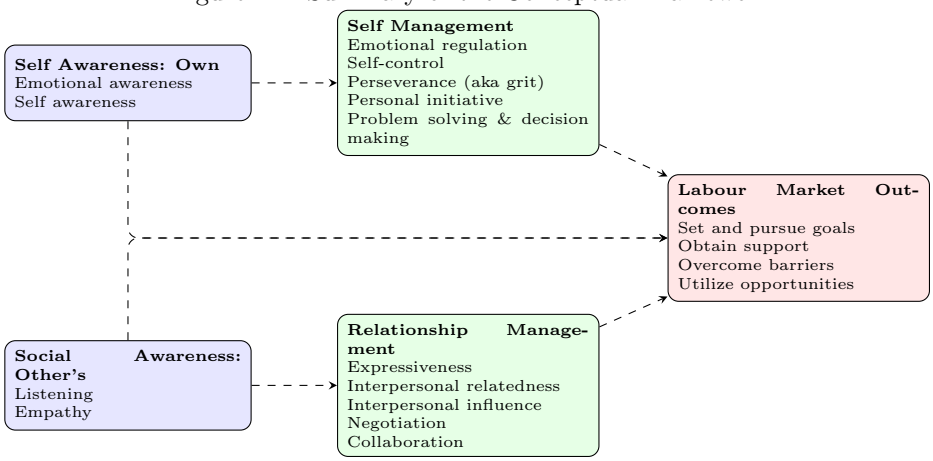
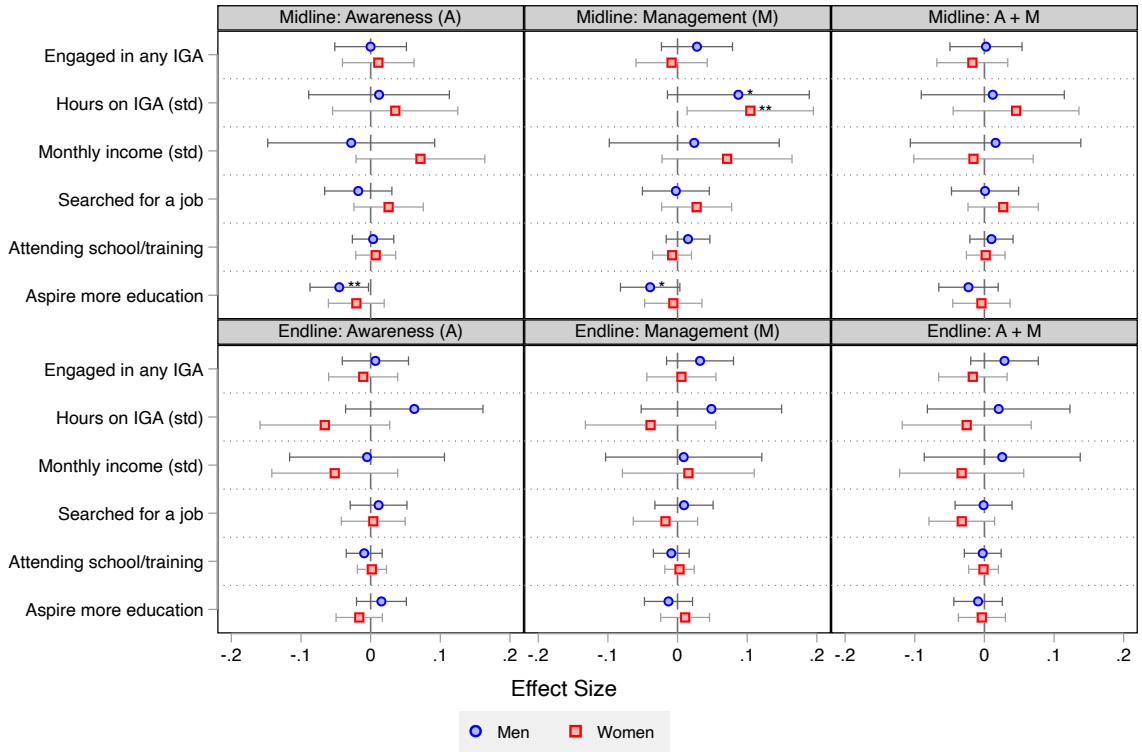


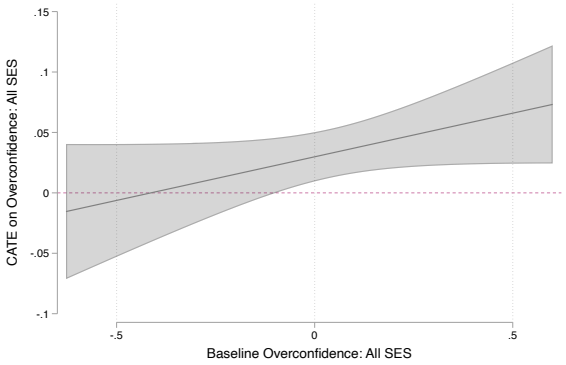
Figure A3: Effect of SES Training on Labour Market Outcomes by Sex



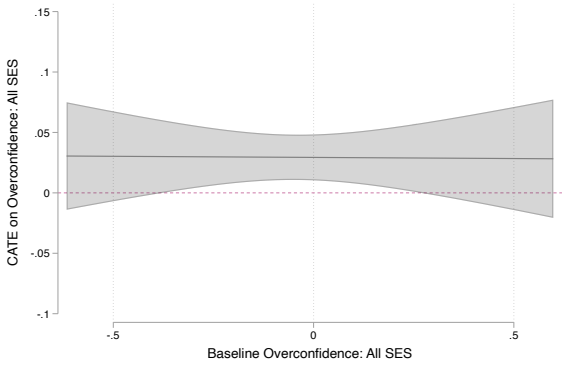
Note: Each row, in the top and bottom panels, is an extract from a single regression as specified in Equation 1. Within each survey wave, we interact the treatment dummy with the gender dummy and extract appropriate linear combinations for each specified outcome in a row. Engaged in IGA indicates whether a respondent was engaged in any income-generating activity at the time of the survey, as reported through a seven-day recall preceding the survey. IGA hours records the number of hours respondents spent on these activities on a typical day in the week preceding the survey, while income is the average monthly income earned by the respondent. Both hours and income are standardised relative to the control group for each survey wave. Job search is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent searched for a job in the three months preceding the survey, derived from an aggregate of various job search activities, including submitting applications, inquiring about potential vacancies, and networking with others. IGA plan indicates whether a respondent was planning to start an income-generating activity at the time of the survey. The last two rows report whether the respondent is enrolled in school or training and whether the respondent aspires to pursue further education, respectively. Each regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Figure A4: Conditional Average Treatment Effects (CATE) on Overconfidence

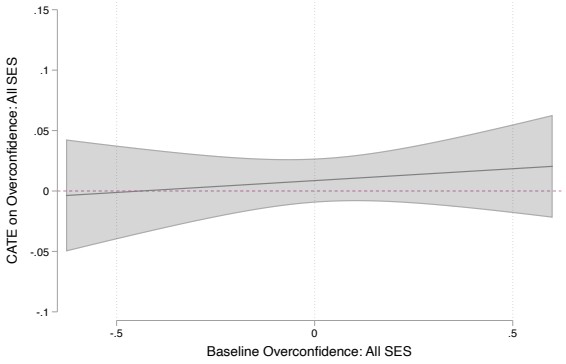
(a) CATE at Midline (Men)



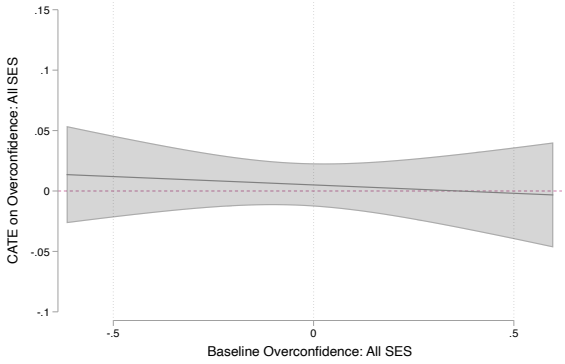
(b) CATE at Midline (Women)



(c) CATE at Endline (Men)



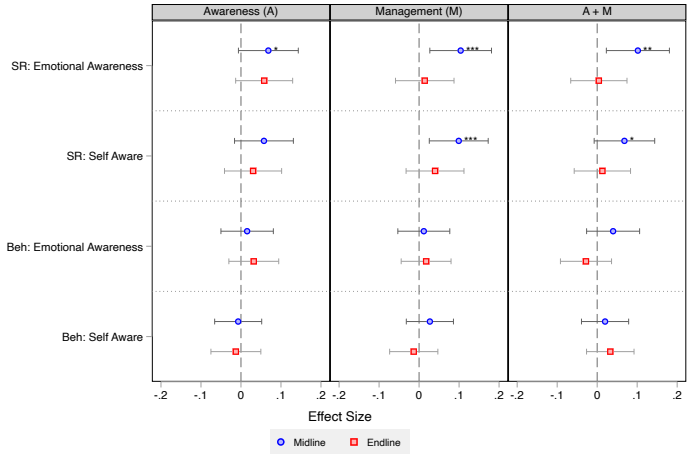
(d) CATE at Endline (Women)



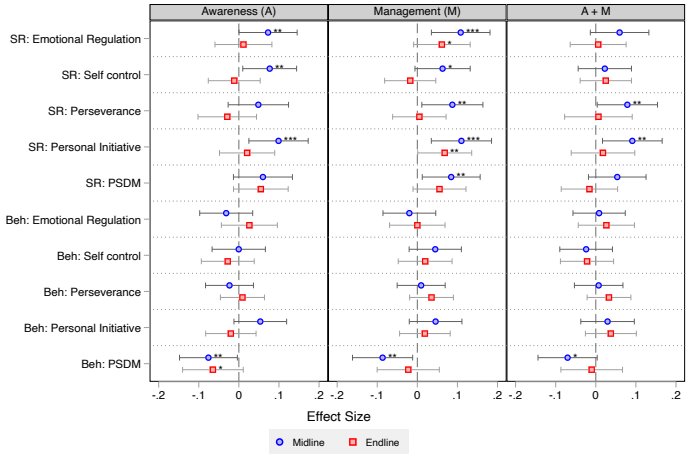
Note: Each panel shows the conditional average treatment effects (CATE) of SES training on levels of overconfidence at various levels of baseline overconfidence. Each panel correspond to a follow-up survey wave, separately for men and women. For each survey wave, we fully interact a participant's baseline overconfidence levels with the treatment dummy. We do not distinguish between our three treatment arms. Instead, we pool our treatments into a single dummy variable to increase power. For each panel, the dependent variable, overconfidence, is a continuous variable indicating the residuals obtained by regressing percentile ranks from self-reported measures against percentile ranks from behavioral measures, following Anderson et al. (2012); Adamecz-Völgyi and Shure (2022). Regressions also include fixed effects for the enumerator and randomisation strata. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. The shaded region represents the 95% confidence interval for the CATE.

Figure A5: Effects on SES Training on Disaggregated SES

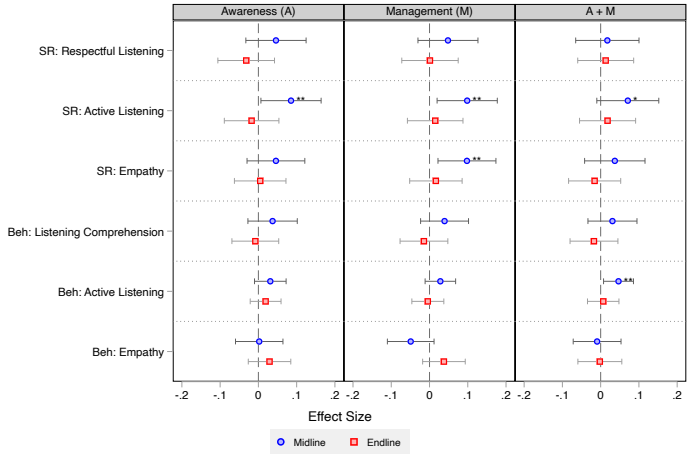
(a) Self Awareness



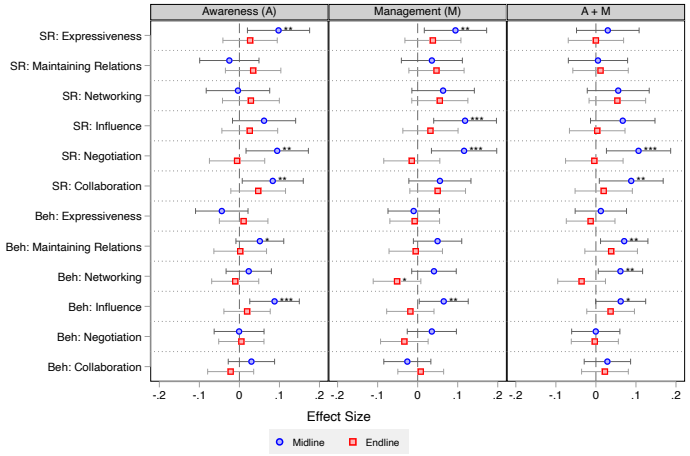
(b) Self Management



(c) Social Awareness



(d) Relationship Management



Note: Each row in the top and bottom panels is an extract from a single regression as specified in Equation 1. Within each survey wave, we interact the treatment dummy with the gender dummy and extract appropriate linear combinations for each specified outcome in a row. Each dependent variable is a continuous variable indicating the scores described in Section 3.4. Regressions also include fixed effects for the enumerator and randomisation strata. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

A.2 Appendix Tables

Table A1: Baseline Characteristics Balance

	Awareness (A)	Management (M)	A + M	Joint P-value (A=M=A+M=0)	Men Control	Women Control
Age in years	-0.016(0.065)	0.073(0.064)	-0.026(0.064)	0.397	21.086	21.122
Married/Cohabitating	-0.025(0.012)**	-0.006(0.012)	-0.006(0.012)	0.154	0.059	0.168
Years of education	-0.227(0.127)*	-0.083(0.129)	-0.110(0.130)	0.354	9.168	8.959
Cognitive ability index	-0.019(0.010)**	-0.006(0.009)	0.016(0.009)*	0.002	0.709	0.685
Respondent is household head	0.001(0.013)	0.014(0.013)	-0.002(0.013)	0.607	0.194	0.062
Has a bank account	-0.002(0.010)	0.020(0.011)*	0.007(0.010)	0.183	0.088	0.046
Total savings (USD 2017/18 PPP)	0.186(5.242)	4.227(5.219)	3.948(5.175)	0.764	47.203	37.259
Female-headed household	0.003(0.019)	0.003(0.019)	0.014(0.019)	0.893	0.241	0.430
Household size	0.140(0.100)	-0.034(0.096)	0.103(0.098)	0.252	4.884	5.358
Household owns smart phone	-0.024(0.020)	0.015(0.020)	-0.007(0.020)	0.264	0.569	0.554
Major construction of walls is cement	0.004(0.011)	-0.008(0.011)	0.005(0.011)	0.640	0.888	0.889
Type of toilet is flush toilet	0.011(0.015)	-0.004(0.015)	0.009(0.015)	0.713	0.747	0.765
Mother's years of education	-0.174(0.099)*	-0.075(0.097)	-0.190(0.100)*	0.182	7.667	7.478
Father's years of education	-0.160(0.104)	-0.035(0.104)	-0.088(0.106)	0.444	8.087	7.616
SR: All SES	-0.044(0.039)	0.005(0.039)	-0.054(0.039)	0.323	0.111	-0.107
SR: Awareness	-0.032(0.038)	0.027(0.039)	-0.048(0.038)	0.214	0.088	-0.094
SR: Management	-0.047(0.039)	-0.005(0.040)	-0.053(0.039)	0.406	0.115	-0.106
Beh: All SES	-0.044(0.033)	-0.014(0.032)	0.006(0.031)	0.427	0.029	-0.017
Beh: Awareness	-0.006(0.030)	-0.030(0.030)	0.005(0.029)	0.636	-0.009	0.019
Beh: Management	-0.052(0.033)	-0.007(0.033)	0.002(0.033)	0.337	0.041	-0.035
Engaged in any IGA	0.010(0.018)	0.017(0.018)	0.016(0.018)	0.772	0.376	0.263
Time spent on IGA (Hours)	-0.231(0.126)*	0.063(0.129)	-0.069(0.129)	0.110	3.738	1.760
Hours on IGA (std)	-0.065(0.035)*	0.018(0.036)	-0.019(0.036)	0.110	0.283	-0.272
Monthly income (USD 2017/18 PPP)	-2.934(5.458)	0.877(5.581)	-3.565(5.478)	0.798	91.008	48.736
Monthly income (std)	-0.020(0.037)	0.006(0.038)	-0.024(0.038)	0.798	0.150	-0.140
Searched for a job	0.007(0.019)	-0.020(0.019)	0.003(0.019)	0.484	0.565	0.467
Planning new IGA	-0.001(0.016)	-0.005(0.016)	0.014(0.016)	0.622	0.594	0.614
Attending school/training	-0.003(0.007)	0.004(0.008)	0.007(0.008)	0.638	0.048	0.025
Aspire more education	0.010(0.016)	-0.001(0.016)	0.013(0.016)	0.779	0.212	0.228
Life ladder now	-0.125(0.054)**	-0.042(0.054)	-0.088(0.053)*	0.099	3.471	3.448
Depression scale (PHQ-8)	0.088(0.129)	0.115(0.127)	0.065(0.128)	0.829	3.882	4.340
GAD-7 Anxiety	-0.000(0.123)	0.058(0.125)	-0.056(0.125)	0.826	3.307	3.536
Gender equitable index	-0.018(0.012)	-0.016(0.012)	-0.004(0.012)	0.367	0.248	0.364
Influences at least some decisions	-0.006(0.007)	0.005(0.007)	0.000(0.007)	0.513	0.757	0.746
Can moderately make own decisions	-0.009(0.008)	-0.000(0.008)	-0.012(0.008)	0.275	0.781	0.756

Each row represents a separate regression, where the variable listed is regressed against treatment dummies. Regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. The first three columns display the coefficients associated with these treatment dummies, illustrating the difference between a specific treatment and the control arm. We additionally test that these coefficients are jointly zero, or in other words, the three treatment arms are jointly similar to the control group. The last two columns are mean values for the control group, separately for men and women. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A2: SES Training Uptake

	(1) Attended any session	(2) Attended atleast 80% of sessions	(3) Attended all sessions	(4) Proportion of sessions attended
Awareness (A)	-0.052 (0.018)***	0.061 (0.022)***	0.110 (0.027)***	-0.004 (0.018)
Women × Awareness (A)	0.006 (0.024)	-0.018 (0.030)	-0.038 (0.037)	0.009 (0.025)
Management (M)	-0.034 (0.017)*	0.074 (0.023)***	0.129 (0.027)***	0.011 (0.018)
Women × Management (M)	-0.014 (0.024)	-0.015 (0.030)	-0.068 (0.037)*	-0.004 (0.025)
A + Women × A	-0.046 (0.016)***	0.043 (0.021)**	0.073 (0.025)***	0.005 (0.017)
M + Women × M	-0.048 (0.016)***	0.058 (0.020)***	0.062 (0.025)**	0.007 (0.017)
Men: P-value (A=M)	0.327	0.564	0.470	0.408
Women: P-value (A=M)	0.904	0.438	0.653	0.888
Women A+M Mean	0.929	0.802	0.669	0.839
Men A+M Mean	0.905	0.748	0.553	0.803
Observations	3,549	3,549	3,549	3,549

Data in this table are derived from training attendance administrative records. Dependent variables in this table are dummies, except Column 4. Column 1 indicates whether a participant attended any allocated sessions. Column 2 indicates whether a participant attended at least four days out of the five anticipated days in each single arm or at least eight out of the ten anticipated days in the combined arm. Column 3 indicates whether a participant attended all five days in the single arm or all ten days in the combined arm. In Column 4, we express the number of sessions attended by each participant as a fraction of the training duration, that is, five days for each of the single arms and ten days for the combined arm. Each dependent variable listed in a corresponding column is regressed against treatment dummies. Since there was no uptake among the control group, we restricted the analysis to participants who were randomised to receive SES training. Therefore, the omitted category is those receiving the combined treatment. The coefficients therefore show the difference in training uptake among those randomised to receive the single arms relative to those who were randomised to receive the combined arm. We additionally interact the regressors with the gender dummy to explore the differential uptake between men and women. Each regression also includes enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A3: Overconfidence and Job Seeking Behaviour at Baseline

	(1) Overconfidence All SES	(2) Overconfidence All SES	(3) Searched for job	(4) Searched for job
Overconfidence: All SES			0.092 (0.024)***	0.102 (0.038)***
Beh: All SES	-0.024 (0.005)***	-0.020 (0.007)***	0.014 (0.010)	0.020 (0.009)**
Cognitive ability index	0.107 (0.018)***	0.065 (0.025)**	-0.012 (0.032)	0.000 (0.041)
Years of education	0.009 (0.002)***	0.007 (0.002)***	0.004 (0.002)*	0.000 (0.004)
Social desirability	0.125 (0.011)***	0.138 (0.013)***	-0.029 (0.019)	-0.007 (0.029)
Age	0.009 (0.001)***	0.012 (0.002)***	0.016 (0.002)***	0.017 (0.004)***
Women	-0.047 (0.008)***	0.018 (0.087)	-0.091 (0.016)***	0.039 (0.154)
Women × Overconfidence: All SES				-0.024 (0.055)
Women × Beh: All SES		-0.010 (0.009)		-0.012 (0.013)
Women × Cognitive ability index		0.086 (0.033)**		-0.025 (0.056)
Women × Social desirability		-0.023 (0.017)		-0.045 (0.033)
Women × Years of education		0.004 (0.003)		0.007 (0.005)
Women × Age		-0.004 (0.003)		-0.001 (0.005)
Observations	4,431	4,431	4,431	4,431

Estimates in this table correspond to correlations at baseline. Each column is an extract from a single regression, where the variable listed is regressed against the independent variables listed in rows. Overconfidence is a continuous variable indicating the residuals obtained by regressing percentile ranks from self-reported measures against percentile ranks from behavioural measures following Anderson et al. (2012); Adamecz-Völgyi and Shure (2022). Job search, on the other hand, is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent searched for a job in the three months preceding the survey, derived from an aggregate of various job search activities, including submitting applications, inquiring about potential vacancies, and networking with others. Cognitive ability is the proportion of correct responses from the Raven's Progressive Matrices test, while social desirability is an index aggregating the eight-item Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding scale. In odd-numbered columns, we pool the correlations for the entire sample, while in even-numbered columns, we allow the correlates to have differential slopes by respondent gender. Each regression additionally controls for enumerator fixed effects. Standard errors shown in parentheses are clustered at the street level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A4: Effect of SES Training on Aggregate SES by Sex

	Midline			**Endline**		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	All SES	Awareness	Management	All SES	Awareness	Management
Awareness (A)	0.083 (0.052)	0.058 (0.053)	0.091 (0.052)*	0.046 (0.046)	0.034 (0.047)	0.050 (0.046)
	[0.265]	[0.501]	[0.233]	[0.887]	[0.924]	[0.887]
Women × Awareness (A)	0.027 (0.074)	0.060 (0.075)	0.009 (0.075)	-0.045 (0.063)	-0.044 (0.065)	-0.042 (0.064)
Management (M)	0.117 (0.052)**	0.102 (0.052)*	0.117 (0.052)**	0.058 (0.045)	0.050 (0.047)	0.060 (0.045)
	[0.100]	[0.168]	[0.100]	[0.887]	[0.887]	[0.887]
Women × Management (M)	0.037 (0.075)	0.051 (0.074)	0.028 (0.075)	-0.031 (0.063)	-0.057 (0.066)	-0.016 (0.063)
A + M	0.134 (0.053)**	0.127 (0.056)**	0.129 (0.053)**	0.002 (0.047)	0.009 (0.049)	-0.002 (0.047)
	[0.100]	[0.100]	[0.100]	[0.978]	[0.978]	[0.978]
Women × A + M	-0.074 (0.074)	-0.077 (0.077)	-0.067 (0.074)	0.026 (0.064)	0.001 (0.066)	0.039 (0.065)
A + Women × A	0.110 (0.052)**	0.118 (0.052)**	0.099 (0.053)*	0.001 (0.044)	-0.010 (0.045)	0.007 (0.044)
	[0.126]	[0.100]	[0.181]	[0.978]	[0.978]	[0.978]
M + Women × M	0.153 (0.054)***	0.152 (0.053)***	0.145 (0.054)***	0.027 (0.043)	-0.007 (0.045)	0.044 (0.044)
	[0.076]	[0.076]	[0.090]	[0.924]	[0.978]	[0.887]
A + M + Women × A + M	0.060 (0.052)	0.050 (0.053)	0.062 (0.052)	0.029 (0.044)	0.009 (0.044)	0.037 (0.045)
	[0.461]	[0.567]	[0.461]	[0.924]	[0.978]	[0.887]
Men: P-value (A=M=A+M)	0.628	0.453	0.763	0.443	0.692	0.350
Women: P-value (A=M=A+M)	0.232	0.176	0.311	0.785	0.896	0.669
Women Control Mean	-0.024	-0.018	-0.025	-0.077	-0.066	-0.079
Men Control Mean	0.022	0.016	0.023	0.079	0.067	0.081
Observations	4,607	4,607	4,607	4,607	4,607	4,607

Dependent variables in each column are standardised values of corresponding SES (sub) aggregates derived from self-reported measures at a corresponding survey wave. Each self-reported SES score is standardised relative to the values of the control group, separately for each survey wave. Columns 1-3 refer to midline estimates while 4–6 refer to estimates at endline. For each survey wave, we interact with the treatment dummy with the gender dummy. This enables us to assess the equality of treatment effects reported across our three treatment arms for both men and women. Subsequently, we report the p-value associated with this Wald test. Regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A5: Aggregate Behavioural SES Skills Heterogeneity by Awareness SES (Beh) above median

	Men			Women		
	(1) Beh: All SES	(2) Beh: Awareness	(3) Beh: Management	(4) Beh: All SES	(5) Beh: Awareness	(6) Beh: Management
Panel A: Midline						
Awareness (A)	-0.027 (0.057)	0.037 (0.055)	-0.049 (0.059)	0.039 (0.058)	0.068 (0.059)	-0.001 (0.058)
	[0.713]	[0.642]	[0.609]	[0.886]	[0.886]	[0.981]
Awareness SES (Beh) above median × A	0.090 (0.079)	0.023 (0.081)	0.110 (0.080)	-0.024 (0.083)	-0.126 (0.082)	0.045 (0.084)
	[0.912]	[0.408]	[0.452]	[0.939]	[0.939]	[0.939]
Management (M)	0.007 (0.059)	0.060 (0.058)	-0.031 (0.060)	0.006 (0.058)	-0.002 (0.058)	-0.016 (0.058)
	[0.529]	[0.529]	[0.529]	[0.898]	[0.886]	[0.886]
Awareness SES (Beh) above median × M	0.053 (0.083)	-0.022 (0.081)	0.094 (0.085)	0.024 (0.080)	-0.009 (0.081)	0.061 (0.081)
	[0.071]	[0.166]	[0.071]	[0.949]	[0.939]	[0.939]
A + M	-0.006 (0.057)	0.064 (0.059)	-0.055 (0.059)	0.051 (0.061)	0.066 (0.059)	0.027 (0.062)
	[0.529]	[0.779]	[0.529]	[0.898]	[0.886]	[0.886]
Awareness SES (Beh) above median × A + M	0.141 (0.081)*	0.029 (0.082)	0.188 (0.083)**	-0.040 (0.082)	-0.086 (0.084)	-0.004 (0.084)
	[0.166]	[0.810]	[0.071]	[0.939]	[0.939]	[0.965]
Awareness SES (Beh) above median	-0.066 (0.059)	-0.000 (0.067)	-0.097 (0.059)*	0.038 (0.062)	0.097 (0.070)	0.011 (0.062)
A + Awareness SES (Beh) above median × A	0.063 (0.054)	0.060 (0.057)	0.061 (0.054)	0.015 (0.059)	-0.058 (0.057)	0.044 (0.060)
	[0.911]	[0.683]	[0.780]	[0.977]	[0.977]	[0.977]
M + Awareness SES (Beh) above median × M	0.060 (0.058)	0.038 (0.056)	0.063 (0.061)	0.030 (0.056)	-0.011 (0.055)	0.045 (0.057)
	[0.683]	[0.780]	[0.683]	[0.977]	[0.977]	[0.977]
A + M + Awareness SES (Beh) above median × A + M	0.135 (0.055)**	0.094 (0.056)*	0.133 (0.057)**	0.011 (0.054)	-0.020 (0.058)	0.024 (0.055)
	[0.780]	[0.881]	[0.683]	[0.977]	[0.977]	[0.977]
Control mean:Awareness SES (Beh) below median	-0.046	-0.136	0.026	-0.014	-0.001	-0.019
Panel B: Endline						
Awareness (A)	-0.023 (0.053)	0.035 (0.053)	-0.052 (0.053)	-0.079 (0.053)	0.034 (0.049)	-0.126 (0.055)**
	[0.830]	[0.773]	[0.698]	[0.420]	[0.694]	[0.187]
Awareness SES (Beh) above median × A	0.072 (0.078)	-0.016 (0.077)	0.103 (0.079)	0.096 (0.079)	-0.059 (0.070)	0.160 (0.081)**
	[0.970]	[0.970]	[0.970]	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.965]
Management (M)	-0.034 (0.054)	0.050 (0.052)	-0.071 (0.056)	-0.035 (0.054)	-0.004 (0.051)	-0.046 (0.055)
	[0.698]	[0.830]	[0.698]	[0.770]	[0.694]	[0.694]
Awareness SES (Beh) above median × M	0.032 (0.077)	-0.031 (0.075)	0.058 (0.079)	0.077 (0.076)	-0.024 (0.072)	0.123 (0.078)
	[0.970]	[0.970]	[0.970]	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.965]
A + M	0.028 (0.054)	0.030 (0.055)	0.015 (0.055)	-0.015 (0.059)	-0.008 (0.053)	-0.006 (0.059)
	[0.698]	[0.831]	[0.698]	[0.503]	[0.694]	[0.222]
Awareness SES (Beh) above median × A + M	0.002 (0.078)	-0.014 (0.078)	0.016 (0.079)	0.012 (0.083)	-0.045 (0.077)	0.035 (0.083)
	[0.981]	[0.970]	[0.970]	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.965]
Awareness SES (Beh) above median	0.038 (0.056)	0.037 (0.065)	0.021 (0.054)	-0.058 (0.057)	-0.008 (0.062)	-0.078 (0.055)
A + Awareness SES (Beh) above median × A	0.049 (0.057)	0.018 (0.055)	0.051 (0.057)	0.017 (0.057)	-0.025 (0.050)	0.034 (0.060)
	[0.916]	[0.916]	[0.916]	[0.731]	[0.934]	[0.731]
M + Awareness SES (Beh) above median × M	-0.002 (0.054)	0.019 (0.053)	-0.013 (0.055)	0.042 (0.054)	-0.029 (0.050)	0.077 (0.055)
	[0.969]	[0.916]	[0.916]	[0.731]	[0.731]	[0.728]
A + M + Awareness SES (Beh) above median × A + M	0.030 (0.055)	0.016 (0.054)	0.031 (0.056)	-0.003 (0.058)	-0.053 (0.053)	0.030 (0.058)
	[0.916]	[0.916]	[0.916]	[0.731]	[0.826]	[0.728]
Control mean:Awareness SES (Beh) below median	-0.029	-0.051	-0.011	0.001	0.012	-0.000

Dependent variables in each column are standardised values of corresponding SES (sub)aggregates derived from behavioural measures at a corresponding survey wave. Each behavioural SES score is standardised relative to the values of the control group, separately for each survey wave. Panel A refers to estimates midline, while Panel B refers to estimates at the endline. For each survey wave, we interact with the treatment dummy with the baseline value of the specified covariate. We fit our regressions separately for the men and women sub-samples. This allows us to test the presence of treatment effects heterogeneity at various levels of the baseline covariate for both men and women. Regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A6: Aggregate Behavioural SES Skills Heterogeneity by Management SES (Beh) above median

	Men			Women		
	(1) Beh: All SES	(2) Beh: Awareness	(3) Beh: Management	(4) Beh: All SES	(5) Beh: Awareness	(6) Beh: Management
Panel A: Midline						
Awareness (A)	-0.009 (0.054)	0.039 (0.056)	-0.016 (0.056)	0.014 (0.056)	0.025 (0.058)	-0.004 (0.058)
	[0.861]	[0.810]	[0.861]	[0.906]	[0.906]	[0.945]
Management SES (Beh) above median × A	0.058 (0.077)	0.020 (0.080)	0.051 (0.079)	0.024 (0.085)	-0.044 (0.083)	0.049 (0.086)
	[0.634]	[0.368]	[0.822]	[0.644]	[0.699]	[0.699]
Management (M)	0.039 (0.060)	0.059 (0.056)	0.031 (0.061)	-0.030 (0.059)	-0.067 (0.058)	-0.016 (0.061)
	[0.810]	[0.810]	[0.810]	[0.906]	[0.906]	[0.906]
Management SES (Beh) above median × M	-0.005 (0.083)	-0.018 (0.081)	-0.020 (0.086)	0.091 (0.082)	0.112 (0.081)	0.060 (0.084)
	[0.634]	[0.634]	[0.634]	[0.431]	[0.431]	[0.431]
A + M	0.058 (0.057)	0.113 (0.055)**	0.019 (0.060)	-0.039 (0.057)	-0.023 (0.059)	-0.025 (0.058)
	[0.810]	[0.861]	[0.810]	[0.906]	[0.906]	[0.906]
Management SES (Beh) above median × A + M	0.018 (0.078)	-0.065 (0.081)	0.050 (0.081)	0.134 (0.083)	0.089 (0.084)	0.099 (0.084)
	[0.822]	[0.634]	[0.695]	[0.431]	[0.431]	[0.431]
Management SES (Beh) above median	-0.080 (0.062)	-0.004 (0.059)	-0.080 (0.068)	-0.042 (0.068)	-0.026 (0.058)	-0.014 (0.073)
A + Management SES (Beh) above median × A	0.049 (0.055)	0.059 (0.056)	0.035 (0.056)	0.038 (0.062)	-0.019 (0.059)	0.045 (0.062)
	[0.948]	[0.948]	[0.948]	[0.688]	[0.611]	[0.790]
M + Management SES (Beh) above median × M	0.034 (0.057)	0.041 (0.057)	0.011 (0.060)	0.061 (0.056)	0.045 (0.056)	0.044 (0.056)
	[0.948]	[0.948]	[0.948]	[0.611]	[0.611]	[0.611]
A + M + Management SES (Beh) above median × A + M	0.076 (0.053)	0.048 (0.058)	0.068 (0.055)	0.095 (0.058)	0.066 (0.058)	0.073 (0.060)
	[0.948]	[0.948]	[0.948]	[0.611]	[0.611]	[0.611]
Control mean:Management SES (Beh) below median	-0.007	-0.053	0.024	-0.038	0.024	-0.062
Panel B: Endline						
Awareness (A)	-0.000 (0.055)	0.007 (0.054)	-0.005 (0.053)	-0.095 (0.053)*	-0.024 (0.048)	-0.111 (0.054)**
	[0.995]	[0.995]	[0.995]	[0.218]	[0.696]	[0.218]
Management SES (Beh) above median × A	0.025 (0.078)	0.033 (0.078)	0.013 (0.079)	0.132 (0.078)*	0.062 (0.071)	0.134 (0.081)*
	[0.981]	[0.981]	[0.981]	[0.910]	[0.910]	[0.910]
Management (M)	-0.036 (0.055)	0.012 (0.054)	-0.057 (0.056)	-0.017 (0.055)	-0.036 (0.052)	0.007 (0.056)
	[0.995]	[0.995]	[0.995]	[0.667]	[0.667]	[0.697]
Management SES (Beh) above median × M	0.034 (0.076)	0.040 (0.075)	0.027 (0.078)	0.044 (0.077)	0.038 (0.073)	0.022 (0.079)
	[0.981]	[0.981]	[0.981]	[0.910]	[0.910]	[0.910]
A + M	0.038 (0.056)	0.043 (0.058)	0.021 (0.056)	-0.023 (0.057)	-0.068 (0.053)	0.022 (0.058)
	[0.995]	[0.995]	[0.995]	[0.218]	[0.667]	[0.218]
Management SES (Beh) above median × A + M	-0.021 (0.078)	-0.042 (0.078)	0.004 (0.080)	0.031 (0.083)	0.074 (0.075)	-0.015 (0.085)
	[0.981]	[0.981]	[0.981]	[0.910]	[0.910]	[0.910]
Management SES (Beh) above median	-0.075 (0.062)	-0.051 (0.056)	-0.018 (0.068)	-0.051 (0.062)	-0.021 (0.050)	-0.024 (0.067)
A + Management SES (Beh) above median × A	0.025 (0.056)	0.040 (0.056)	0.008 (0.058)	0.037 (0.057)	0.038 (0.050)	0.023 (0.060)
	[0.928]	[0.928]	[0.928]	[0.959]	[0.959]	[0.959]
M + Management SES (Beh) above median × M	-0.002 (0.052)	0.052 (0.051)	-0.029 (0.054)	0.026 (0.054)	0.003 (0.050)	0.029 (0.055)
	[0.974]	[0.928]	[0.928]	[0.959]	[0.959]	[0.959]
A + M + Management SES (Beh) above median × A + M	0.017 (0.054)	0.001 (0.051)	0.024 (0.055)	0.009 (0.059)	0.006 (0.052)	0.007 (0.060)
	[0.928]	[0.928]	[0.928]	[0.959]	[0.959]	[0.959]
Control mean:Management SES (Beh) below median	-0.025	-0.070	0.005	0.031	0.074	0.004

Dependent variables in each column are standardised values of corresponding SES (sub)aggregates derived from behavioural measures at a corresponding survey wave. Each behavioural SES score is standardised relative to the values of the control group, separately for each survey wave. Panel A refers to estimates midline, while Panel B refers to estimates at the endline. For each survey wave, we interact with the treatment dummy with the baseline value of the specified covariate. We fit our regressions separately for the men and women sub-samples. This allows us to test the presence of treatment effects heterogeneity at various levels of the baseline covariate for both men and women. Regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A7: Aggregate Behavioural SES Skills Heterogeneity by Cognition above median

	Men			Women		
	(1) Beh: All SES	(2) Beh: Awareness	(3) Beh: Management	(4) Beh: All SES	(5) Beh: Awareness	(6) Beh: Management
Panel A: Midline						
Awareness (A)	-0.022 (0.065)	0.089 (0.067)	-0.057 (0.065)	-0.026 (0.065)	-0.022 (0.061)	-0.046 (0.067)
	[0.738]	[0.582]	[0.582]	[0.719]	[0.719]	[0.719]
Cognition above median × A	0.067 (0.082)	-0.064 (0.085)	0.105 (0.083)	0.090 (0.085)	0.046 (0.083)	0.113 (0.086)
	[0.288]	[0.833]	[0.281]	[0.586]	[0.641]	[0.523]
Management (M)	0.009 (0.068)	0.026 (0.065)	0.010 (0.067)	-0.077 (0.066)	-0.107 (0.063)*	-0.064 (0.067)
	[0.582]	[0.693]	[0.582]	[0.651]	[0.719]	[0.651]
Cognition above median × M	0.042 (0.085)	0.038 (0.083)	0.016 (0.085)	0.153 (0.086)*	0.162 (0.083)*	0.128 (0.087)
	[0.031]	[0.037]	[0.066]	[0.365]	[0.470]	[0.365]
A + M	-0.085 (0.075)	-0.015 (0.073)	-0.091 (0.074)	-0.042 (0.066)	-0.029 (0.061)	-0.057 (0.069)
	[0.582]	[0.582]	[0.582]	[0.651]	[0.719]	[0.651]
Cognition above median × A + M	0.219 (0.088)**	0.137 (0.088)	0.193 (0.088)**	0.120 (0.086)	0.084 (0.083)	0.136 (0.088)
	[0.037]	[0.183]	[0.065]	[0.365]	[0.470]	[0.365]
Cognition above median	-0.042 (0.060)	-0.028 (0.062)	-0.026 (0.060)	-0.061 (0.063)	-0.031 (0.058)	-0.060 (0.065)
A + Cognition above median × A	0.045 (0.049)	0.025 (0.050)	0.048 (0.051)	0.064 (0.053)	0.024 (0.056)	0.067 (0.053)
	[0.891]	[0.891]	[0.891]	[0.308]	[0.269]	[0.339]
M + Cognition above median × M	0.051 (0.051)	0.064 (0.050)	0.026 (0.054)	0.075 (0.053)	0.055 (0.053)	0.063 (0.053)
	[0.891]	[0.891]	[0.891]	[0.274]	[0.337]	[0.308]
A + M + Cognition above median × A + M	0.134 (0.046)***	0.121 (0.048)**	0.102 (0.049)**	0.077 (0.052)	0.056 (0.055)	0.079 (0.053)
	[0.891]	[0.891]	[0.891]	[0.269]	[0.269]	[0.274]
Control mean:Cognition below median	-0.054	-0.075	-0.026	0.089	0.106	0.050
Panel B: Endline						
Awareness (A)	-0.055 (0.062)	-0.069 (0.065)	-0.049 (0.062)	-0.052 (0.059)	-0.011 (0.053)	-0.059 (0.059)
	[0.478]	[0.466]	[0.480]	[0.842]	[0.842]	[0.842]
Cognition above median × A	0.111 (0.080)	0.152 (0.081)*	0.082 (0.080)	0.038 (0.078)	0.029 (0.070)	0.022 (0.080)
	[0.996]	[0.996]	[0.996]	[0.613]	[0.686]	[0.530]
Management (M)	0.086 (0.063)	0.063 (0.062)	0.073 (0.063)	0.046 (0.060)	-0.052 (0.053)	0.076 (0.063)
	[0.466]	[0.355]	[0.523]	[0.842]	[0.842]	[0.842]
Cognition above median × M	-0.163 (0.080)**	-0.046 (0.078)	-0.182 (0.081)**	-0.070 (0.078)	0.059 (0.072)	-0.099 (0.081)
	[0.996]	[0.996]	[0.996]	[0.613]	[0.642]	[0.642]
A + M	0.063 (0.066)	-0.000 (0.069)	0.075 (0.066)	0.059 (0.062)	-0.030 (0.060)	0.090 (0.061)
	[0.466]	[0.355]	[0.466]	[0.842]	[0.842]	[0.842]
Cognition above median × A + M	-0.054 (0.082)	0.027 (0.084)	-0.078 (0.083)	-0.111 (0.082)	-0.001 (0.076)	-0.128 (0.082)
	[0.996]	[0.996]	[0.996]	[0.530]	[0.985]	[0.530]
Cognition above median	0.066 (0.055)	0.049 (0.059)	0.055 (0.056)	0.066 (0.054)	0.016 (0.050)	0.078 (0.055)
A + Cognition above median × A	0.056 (0.050)	0.083 (0.047)*	0.033 (0.051)	-0.014 (0.051)	0.018 (0.046)	-0.036 (0.054)
	[0.312]	[0.404]	[0.369]	[0.670]	[0.670]	[0.670]
M + Cognition above median × M	-0.078 (0.048)	0.016 (0.046)	-0.108 (0.050)**	-0.024 (0.050)	0.007 (0.048)	-0.023 (0.051)
	[0.242]	[0.723]	[0.124]	[0.737]	[0.885]	[0.737]
A + M + Cognition above median × A + M	0.008 (0.048)	0.027 (0.046)	-0.003 (0.049)	-0.052 (0.054)	-0.032 (0.047)	-0.037 (0.055)
	[0.124]	[0.622]	[0.124]	[0.670]	[0.670]	[0.670]
Control mean:Cognition below median	-0.030	-0.093	0.013	-0.003	0.058	-0.032

Dependent variables in each column are standardised values of corresponding SES (sub)aggregates derived from behavioural measures at a corresponding survey wave. Each behavioural SES score is standardised relative to the values of the control group, separately for each survey wave. Panel A refers to estimates midline, while Panel B refers to estimates at the endline. For each survey wave, we interact with the treatment dummy with the baseline value of the specified covariate. We fit our regressions separately for the men and women sub-samples. This allows us to test the presence of treatment effects heterogeneity at various levels of the baseline covariate for both men and women. Regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A8: Aggregate Behavioural SES Skills Heterogeneity by Searching for a job

	Men			Women		
	(1) Beh: All SES	(2) Beh: Awareness	(3) Beh: Management	(4) Beh: All SES	(5) Beh: Awareness	(6) Beh: Management
Panel A: Midline						
Awareness (A)	0.048 (0.058)	0.103 (0.058)*	0.019 (0.058)	0.069 (0.057)	0.126 (0.057)**	0.011 (0.057)
	[0.965]	[0.687]	[0.965]	[0.504]	[0.087]	[0.848]
Searching for a job × A	-0.046 (0.077)	-0.098 (0.080)	-0.013 (0.080)	-0.089 (0.083)	-0.251 (0.081)***	0.018 (0.085)
	[0.604]	[0.532]	[0.821]	[0.945]	[0.945]	[0.945]
Management (M)	0.066 (0.059)	0.042 (0.058)	0.066 (0.062)	0.046 (0.057)	0.030 (0.055)	0.040 (0.058)
	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.848]	[0.087]	[0.848]
Searching for a job × M	-0.051 (0.080)	0.016 (0.081)	-0.081 (0.082)	-0.065 (0.082)	-0.083 (0.081)	-0.057 (0.083)
	[0.532]	[0.532]	[0.604]	[0.945]	[0.945]	[0.945]
A + M	0.063 (0.061)	0.084 (0.062)	0.038 (0.064)	0.053 (0.058)	0.031 (0.058)	0.036 (0.060)
	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.511]	[0.018]	[0.848]
Searching for a job × A + M	0.011 (0.080)	-0.008 (0.084)	0.013 (0.083)	-0.049 (0.082)	-0.021 (0.084)	-0.024 (0.083)
	[0.921]	[0.921]	[0.921]	[0.945]	[0.945]	[0.945]
Searching for a job	0.056 (0.057)	0.056 (0.060)	0.046 (0.058)	0.038 (0.061)	0.084 (0.058)	-0.006 (0.062)
A + Searching for a job × A	0.002 (0.052)	0.006 (0.053)	0.006 (0.054)	-0.020 (0.060)	-0.125 (0.057)**	0.029 (0.062)
	[0.735]	[0.789]	[0.735]	[0.745]	[0.751]	[0.745]
M + Searching for a job × M	0.015 (0.056)	0.058 (0.055)	-0.014 (0.057)	-0.018 (0.058)	-0.053 (0.059)	-0.017 (0.058)
	[0.848]	[0.735]	[0.848]	[0.767]	[0.745]	[0.767]
A + M + Searching for a job × A + M	0.074 (0.051)	0.075 (0.054)	0.051 (0.053)	0.004 (0.057)	0.010 (0.059)	0.013 (0.057)
	[0.789]	[0.848]	[0.735]	[0.745]	[0.745]	[0.745]
Control mean: Not searching for a job	-0.139	-0.145	-0.087	0.007	0.051	-0.025
Panel B: Endline						
Awareness (A)	-0.009 (0.058)	-0.031 (0.057)	0.010 (0.059)	-0.030 (0.052)	-0.001 (0.048)	-0.041 (0.054)
	[0.991]	[0.991]	[0.991]	[0.991]	[0.991]	[0.991]
Searching for a job × A	0.044 (0.080)	0.103 (0.079)	-0.011 (0.081)	-0.002 (0.079)	0.014 (0.071)	-0.012 (0.081)
	[0.867]	[0.867]	[0.867]	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.965]
Management (M)	0.050 (0.060)	0.024 (0.056)	0.058 (0.061)	-0.050 (0.053)	-0.058 (0.049)	-0.034 (0.055)
	[0.991]	[0.867]	[0.991]	[0.991]	[0.991]	[0.991]
Searching for a job × M	-0.120 (0.078)	0.017 (0.076)	-0.177 (0.080)**	0.116 (0.077)	0.090 (0.073)	0.109 (0.079)
	[0.867]	[0.867]	[0.988]	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.965]
A + M	0.025 (0.059)	-0.033 (0.060)	0.053 (0.058)	-0.023 (0.058)	-0.055 (0.053)	0.012 (0.058)
	[0.991]	[0.867]	[0.991]	[0.991]	[0.991]	[0.991]
Searching for a job × A + M	0.007 (0.080)	0.097 (0.081)	-0.052 (0.080)	0.033 (0.080)	0.052 (0.074)	0.004 (0.081)
	[0.988]	[0.867]	[0.867]	[0.965]	[0.965]	[0.965]
Searching for a job	0.035 (0.055)	-0.027 (0.057)	0.069 (0.056)	-0.035 (0.055)	-0.046 (0.051)	-0.018 (0.056)
A + Searching for a job × A	0.036 (0.054)	0.071 (0.053)	-0.001 (0.054)	-0.032 (0.058)	0.013 (0.051)	-0.054 (0.060)
	[0.531]	[0.759]	[0.531]	[0.440]	[0.366]	[0.556]
M + Searching for a job × M	-0.070 (0.049)	0.041 (0.050)	-0.118 (0.051)**	0.065 (0.056)	0.031 (0.054)	0.075 (0.056)
	[0.347]	[0.531]	[0.120]	[0.366]	[0.556]	[0.366]
A + M + Searching for a job × A + M	0.032 (0.052)	0.064 (0.051)	0.001 (0.053)	0.010 (0.056)	-0.003 (0.051)	0.016 (0.057)
	[0.347]	[0.819]	[0.120]	[0.366]	[0.366]	[0.366]
Control mean: Not searching for a job	-0.029	-0.042	-0.021	0.004	0.056	-0.026

Dependent variables in each column are standardised values of corresponding SES (sub)aggregates derived from behavioural measures at a corresponding survey wave. Each behavioural SES score is standardised relative to the values of the control group, separately for each survey wave. Panel A refers to estimates midline, while Panel B refers to estimates at the endline. For each survey wave, we interact with the treatment dummy with the baseline value of the specified covariate. We fit our regressions separately for the men and women sub-samples. This allows us to test the presence of treatment effects heterogeneity at various levels of the baseline covariate for both men and women. Regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A9: Aggregate Self-reported SES Skills Heterogeneity by Social desirability above median

	Men			Women		
	(1) SR: All SES	(2) SR: Awareness	(3) SR: Management	(4) SR: All SES	(5) SR: Awareness	(6) SR: Management
Panel A: Midline						
Awareness (A)	0.187 (0.077)**	0.134 (0.079)*	0.203 (0.078)***	-0.026 (0.080)	0.023 (0.082)	-0.049 (0.080)
	[0.070]	[0.162]	[0.070]	[0.781]	[0.781]	[0.697]
Social desirability above median × A	-0.186 (0.105)*	-0.146 (0.108)	-0.195 (0.106)*	0.204 (0.108)*	0.135 (0.108)	0.227 (0.109)**
	[0.059]	[0.059]	[0.059]	[0.875]	[0.875]	[0.875]
Management (M)	0.145 (0.081)*	0.133 (0.079)*	0.142 (0.081)*	0.099 (0.085)	0.087 (0.085)	0.099 (0.084)
	[0.980]	[0.980]	[0.980]	[0.057]	[0.064]	[0.057]
Social desirability above median × M	-0.046 (0.110)	-0.069 (0.110)	-0.032 (0.111)	0.087 (0.111)	0.101 (0.112)	0.076 (0.111)
	[0.361]	[0.381]	[0.361]	[0.805]	[0.805]	[0.805]
A + M	0.203 (0.082)**	0.197 (0.084)**	0.193 (0.081)**	0.012 (0.077)	-0.022 (0.080)	0.028 (0.076)
	[0.162]	[0.266]	[0.162]	[0.105]	[0.317]	[0.083]
Social desirability above median × A + M	-0.111 (0.110)	-0.126 (0.115)	-0.096 (0.110)	0.062 (0.107)	0.103 (0.111)	0.038 (0.106)
	[0.381]	[0.381]	[0.381]	[0.875]	[0.805]	[0.875]
Social desirability above median	0.082 (0.076)	0.075 (0.078)	0.084 (0.076)	-0.068 (0.073)	-0.093 (0.074)	-0.050 (0.074)
A + Social desirability above median × A	0.002 (0.071)	-0.012 (0.074)	0.008 (0.071)	0.178 (0.070)**	0.158 (0.069)**	0.178 (0.071)**
	[0.278]	[0.278]	[0.278]	[0.435]	[0.461]	[0.435]
M + Social desirability above median × M	0.099 (0.071)	0.064 (0.074)	0.110 (0.071)	0.186 (0.071)***	0.188 (0.070)***	0.175 (0.072)**
	[0.298]	[0.578]	[0.281]	[0.037]	[0.037]	[0.044]
A + M + Social desirability above median × A + M	0.093 (0.072)	0.071 (0.076)	0.097 (0.072)	0.074 (0.071)	0.081 (0.073)	0.066 (0.072)
	[0.760]	[0.681]	[0.773]	[0.487]	[0.471]	[0.495]
Control mean:Social desirability below median	-0.052	-0.053	-0.049	-0.009	0.021	-0.023
Panel B: Endline						
Awareness (A)	0.061 (0.074)	0.039 (0.077)	0.070 (0.074)	-0.045 (0.067)	-0.059 (0.068)	-0.037 (0.068)
	[0.906]	[0.906]	[0.906]	[0.589]	[0.589]	[0.589]
Social desirability above median × A	-0.024 (0.096)	-0.008 (0.100)	-0.032 (0.096)	0.084 (0.089)	0.092 (0.091)	0.078 (0.090)
	[0.914]	[0.914]	[0.914]	[0.640]	[0.659]	[0.640]
Management (M)	0.095 (0.072)	0.087 (0.075)	0.095 (0.071)	-0.017 (0.067)	-0.054 (0.072)	0.003 (0.067)
	[0.906]	[0.906]	[0.906]	[0.589]	[0.589]	[0.589]
Social desirability above median × M	-0.080 (0.095)	-0.083 (0.100)	-0.074 (0.095)	0.070 (0.089)	0.074 (0.094)	0.066 (0.089)
	[0.914]	[0.930]	[0.914]	[0.365]	[0.659]	[0.365]
A + M	0.023 (0.075)	0.019 (0.078)	0.023 (0.074)	-0.047 (0.068)	-0.029 (0.067)	-0.056 (0.071)
	[0.906]	[0.933]	[0.906]	[0.589]	[0.589]	[0.589]
Social desirability above median × A + M	-0.044 (0.096)	-0.024 (0.101)	-0.052 (0.096)	0.129 (0.090)	0.061 (0.091)	0.160 (0.093)*
	[0.914]	[0.914]	[0.914]	[0.365]	[0.640]	[0.365]
Social desirability above median	0.088 (0.070)	0.080 (0.073)	0.091 (0.069)	0.003 (0.062)	0.009 (0.062)	0.001 (0.065)
A + Social desirability above median × A	0.037 (0.059)	0.030 (0.061)	0.038 (0.059)	0.039 (0.058)	0.033 (0.061)	0.041 (0.059)
	[0.647]	[0.647]	[0.647]	[0.902]	[0.693]	[0.960]
M + Social desirability above median × M	0.015 (0.061)	0.004 (0.064)	0.020 (0.061)	0.053 (0.058)	0.020 (0.060)	0.069 (0.059)
	[0.903]	[0.949]	[0.903]	[0.693]	[0.902]	[0.693]
A + M + Social desirability above median × A + M	-0.021 (0.060)	-0.005 (0.062)	-0.029 (0.060)	0.082 (0.058)	0.032 (0.060)	0.104 (0.059)*
	[0.647]	[0.647]	[0.647]	[0.693]	[0.693]	[0.693]
Control mean:Social desirability below median	0.034	0.041	0.029	-0.084	-0.073	-0.087

Dependent variables in each column are standardised values of corresponding SES (sub)aggregates derived from self-reported measures at a corresponding survey wave. Each self-reported SES score is standardised relative to the values of the control group, separately for each survey wave. Panel A refers to estimates midline, while Panel B refers to estimates at the endline. For each survey wave, we interact with the treatment dummy with the baseline value of the specified covariate. We fit our regressions separately for the men and women sub-samples. This allows us to test the presence of treatment effects heterogeneity at various levels of the baseline covariate for both men and women. Regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A10: Aggregate Self-reported SES Skills Heterogeneity by Searching for a job

	Men			Women		
	(1) SR: All SES	(2) SR: Awareness	(3) SR: Management	(4) SR: All SES	(5) SR: Awareness	(6) SR: Management
Panel A: Midline						
Awareness (A)	-0.078 (0.079)	-0.055 (0.080)	-0.086 (0.080)	0.090 (0.074)	0.088 (0.076)	0.084 (0.074)
	[0.362]	[0.493]	[0.360]	[0.453]	[0.453]	[0.453]
Searching for a job × A	0.293 (0.105)***	0.194 (0.108)*	0.325 (0.106)***	0.002 (0.104)	0.021 (0.103)	-0.007 (0.106)
	[0.649]	[0.350]	[0.746]	[0.981]	[0.981]	[0.981]
Management (M)	-0.000 (0.075)	0.037 (0.078)	-0.019 (0.074)	0.197 (0.073)***	0.157 (0.074)**	0.205 (0.073)***
	[0.006]	[0.098]	[0.005]	[0.453]	[0.453]	[0.453]
Searching for a job × M	0.216 (0.107)**	0.102 (0.109)	0.260 (0.107)**	-0.103 (0.108)	-0.028 (0.107)	-0.134 (0.110)
	[0.016]	[0.134]	[0.014]	[0.981]	[0.981]	[0.981]
A + M	0.054 (0.081)	0.103 (0.086)	0.026 (0.079)	0.047 (0.073)	0.043 (0.075)	0.046 (0.073)
	[0.012]	[0.107]	[0.006]	[0.984]	[0.984]	[0.984]
Searching for a job × A + M	0.158 (0.110)	0.045 (0.114)	0.205 (0.109)*	-0.002 (0.106)	-0.017 (0.109)	0.005 (0.106)
	[0.272]	[0.746]	[0.134]	[0.981]	[0.981]	[0.981]
Searching for a job	-0.187 (0.076)**	-0.153 (0.078)**	-0.192 (0.076)**	0.053 (0.072)	0.046 (0.071)	0.053 (0.074)
A + Searching for a job × A	0.215 (0.069)***	0.139 (0.072)*	0.240 (0.070)***	0.092 (0.073)	0.110 (0.070)	0.077 (0.075)
	[0.996]	[0.814]	[0.895]	[0.033]	[0.101]	[0.033]
M + Searching for a job × M	0.216 (0.074)***	0.139 (0.074)*	0.241 (0.075)***	0.094 (0.080)	0.129 (0.077)*	0.071 (0.081)
	[0.016]	[0.107]	[0.012]	[0.357]	[0.213]	[0.430]
A + M + Searching for a job × A + M	0.212 (0.073)***	0.148 (0.074)**	0.230 (0.073)***	0.045 (0.075)	0.026 (0.077)	0.051 (0.074)
	[0.096]	[0.523]	[0.045]	[0.430]	[0.793]	[0.357]
Control mean: Not searching for a job	0.075	0.061	0.078	-0.015	-0.008	-0.017
Panel B: Endline						
Awareness (A)	0.107 (0.069)	0.126 (0.072)*	0.090 (0.068)	0.022 (0.062)	0.011 (0.064)	0.026 (0.064)
	[0.365]	[0.365]	[0.419]	[0.858]	[0.858]	[0.858]
Searching for a job × A	-0.102 (0.096)	-0.162 (0.100)	-0.065 (0.096)	-0.039 (0.089)	-0.036 (0.091)	-0.038 (0.090)
	[0.803]	[0.803]	[0.803]	[0.959]	[0.967]	[0.959]
Management (M)	0.058 (0.070)	0.060 (0.075)	0.054 (0.069)	0.020 (0.062)	-0.012 (0.062)	0.037 (0.063)
	[0.941]	[0.757]	[0.776]	[0.858]	[0.858]	[0.858]
Searching for a job × M	-0.006 (0.093)	-0.028 (0.098)	0.005 (0.092)	0.007 (0.090)	0.000 (0.095)	0.010 (0.091)
	[0.803]	[0.803]	[0.803]	[0.959]	[0.959]	[0.959]
A + M	0.030 (0.074)	0.049 (0.078)	0.018 (0.073)	0.013 (0.064)	-0.003 (0.063)	0.021 (0.066)
	[0.516]	[0.365]	[0.746]	[0.858]	[0.858]	[0.858]
Searching for a job × A + M	-0.052 (0.098)	-0.074 (0.102)	-0.038 (0.097)	0.027 (0.090)	0.017 (0.090)	0.031 (0.092)
	[0.803]	[0.803]	[0.803]	[0.959]	[0.959]	[0.959]
Searching for a job	0.071 (0.069)	0.104 (0.072)	0.051 (0.068)	-0.011 (0.064)	-0.005 (0.064)	-0.013 (0.067)
A + Searching for a job × A	0.005 (0.064)	-0.036 (0.066)	0.026 (0.064)	-0.017 (0.062)	-0.025 (0.064)	-0.012 (0.063)
	[0.776]	[0.776]	[0.776]	[0.996]	[0.996]	[0.996]
M + Searching for a job × M	0.051 (0.060)	0.032 (0.063)	0.059 (0.061)	0.027 (0.064)	-0.012 (0.069)	0.047 (0.064)
	[0.776]	[0.915]	[0.776]	[0.996]	[0.996]	[0.996]
A + M + Searching for a job × A + M	-0.022 (0.062)	-0.025 (0.064)	-0.020 (0.062)	0.040 (0.062)	0.014 (0.063)	0.052 (0.064)
	[0.958]	[0.958]	[0.958]	[0.996]	[0.996]	[0.996]
Control mean: Not searching for a job	0.128	0.100	0.137	-0.076	-0.057	-0.082

Dependent variables in each column are standardised values of corresponding SES (sub)aggregates derived from self-reported measures at a corresponding survey wave. Each self-reported SES score is standardised relative to the values of the control group, separately for each survey wave. Panel A refers to estimates midline, while Panel B refers to estimates at the endline. For each survey wave, we interact with the treatment dummy with the baseline value of the specified covariate. We fit our regressions separately for the men and women sub-samples. This allows us to test the presence of treatment effects heterogeneity at various levels of the baseline covariate for both men and women. Regressions also include enumerator and randomisation strata fixed effects. Randomisation strata fixed effects included street, gender, and whether the respondent was older than the street-level median age. Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses. Q-values adjusted for multiple hypotheses are shown in square brackets. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A11: Review of Selected SES Interventions

Program (Country)	**Targetted SES**	**Length & Delivery**	**Study Design**	**Major Findings**
Soft vs Hard Skills (Uganda) — Chioda et al. (2021)	Persuasion, negotiation, teamwork, grit, self-efficacy	Year-long school modules; class + practice (hrs n/r)	3-arm RCT HS students: (T1) Soft-heavy; (T2) Hard-heavy; (C) Control	Both ↑ earnings; soft-skills ↑ self-efficacy/persuasion
Negotiation for Girls (Zambia) — Ashraf et al. (2020)	Negotiation, perspective-taking, self-advocacy	6×2-hr sessions (12h); in-school workshops	2-arm RCT Grade-8 girls: Negotiation vs Control	↑ school continuation; improved bargaining
Grit/Patience Curriculum (Turkey) — Alan et al. (2019)	Grit, perseverance, patience	Full academic year; teacher-led	2-arm RCT Primary pupils: Grit–patience vs standard curriculum	↑ perseverance, task choice; ↑ test scores
Soft-skills Training (Jordan) — Groh et al. (2016)	Communication, teamwork, reliability, presentation	45 hrs; classroom, group	2-arm RCT Female graduates: Soft-skills vs no training	No employment impact; modest attitudinal gains
Soft-skills for Entrepreneurs (Jamaica) — Ubfal et al. (2022)	Personal initiative, perseverance, communication	Multi-week intensive course; hrs n/r	3-arm RCT micro-entrepreneurs: (T1) Soft; (T2) Soft + business; (C) Control	Short-run ↑ profits (men); fade by 12m; durable perseverance
On-the-job Soft Skills (India) — Adhvaryu et al. (2023)	Communication, problem-solving, stress/time mgmt	80 hrs total; 2h/week × 12m; factory-based	2-arm RCT Female garment workers: training vs business-as-usual	↑ productivity 13–20%; spillovers; modest wage gains
VET: Hard vs Soft (Colombia) — Barrera-Osorio et al. (2023)	Communication, teamwork, self-efficacy	≈4m; class + practicum	3-arm RCT disadvantaged VET youth: (T1) Soft-heavy; (T2) Technical; (C) None	↑ formal jobs; soft-heavy arm more durable
Personal Initiative (Togo) — Campos et al. (2017, 2024)	Proactivity, opportunity recognition, planning	Multi-week class + feedback; hrs n/r	3-arm RCT Microentrepreneurs: (T1) PI; (T2) Business; (C) Control	↑ profits (30%) at 2y; durable 7y gains
Soft-skills, Networking & Workforce Entry (Rwanda) — Brudevold-Newman and Ubfal (2023)	Communication, networking, teamwork, empathy, initiative	13d; 160h (102h lectures + 58h practice); in-person	2-arm RCT Tertiary graduates: soft-skills training vs control	↑ job entry speed; mechanism: network use; improved SES scores
Skills Training & Business Outcomes (Liberia) — Dammert and Nansamba (2023)	Customer service, interpersonal, client focus, comm. (+)	(G1) 1d management; (G2) +1d interpersonal; local center	3-arm RCT: (T1) Biz mgmt; (T2) Biz mgmt + interpersonal; (C) Control	↑ customer focus & revenues; ↓ attrition; combined arm not stronger on profits

Notes: Arrows (↑/↓) denote increases/decreases. Hours = total training contact time. n/r = Not reported