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**Title:** “She should support me, she’s my doctor:” Patient perceptions of agency in contraceptive decision-making in the clinical encounter in Northern California

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2 **Abstract**

3

4 **Introduction:** Agency in contraceptive decision-making is an essential aspect of  
5 reproductive autonomy. We conducted qualitative research to investigate what  
6 agency means to patients seeking contraceptive care to inform the development of  
7 a validated measure of this construct.

8 **Methodology:** We held four focus group discussions and seven interviews with  
9 sexually-active individuals assigned female at birth, ages 16-29 years, recruited  
10 from reproductive health clinics in Northern California. We explored experiences in  
11 contraceptive decision-making during the clinic visit. We coded data in ATLAS.ti and  
12 by hand, compared codes across three coders, and used thematic analysis to  
13 identify salient themes.

14 **Results:** The sample mean age was 21 years, with 17% of participants identifying  
15 as Asian, 23% as Black, 27% as Latinx, 17% as Multiracial/other, and 27% as white.  
16 Overall, participants reported active and engaged decision-making in their recent  
17 contraceptive visit but noted experiences that had undermined their agency in the  
18 past. They described how non-judgmental care allowed them to communicate  
19 openly, affirming their ability to make their own decisions. However, several  
20 mentioned how unexpected contraceptive side effects after the visit had reduced  
21 their sense of agency over their decision in retrospect. Several participants,  
22 including those who identified as Black, Latinx, and/or Asian, described prior  
23 experiences where pressure to use a contraceptive method had undermined their  
24 agency and where they had switched providers to regain agency over their  
25 contraceptive decisions.

26 **Discussion:** Most participants were aware of their agency during contraceptive  
27 visits and how it varied in different experiences with providers and the healthcare

28 system. Patient perspectives can help to inform measurement development and  
29 ultimately the delivery of care that supports contraceptive agency.

30

31 **Key words:** Contraceptive agency, contraceptive decision-making, reproductive

32 autonomy

33 **INTRODUCTION**

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Agency in contraceptive decision-making is a key component of reproductive autonomy or a person's ability to decide about pregnancy and childbearing.<sup>1,2</sup> While agency in contraceptive decision-making is most often investigated in the context of sexual partners,<sup>3-7</sup> it is also essential in a clinical visit for contraceptive care, especially for contraceptive methods that require provider interaction. However, agency has been understudied in the context of contraceptive clinical care. In this study, we conducted formative qualitative research to explore patients' perceptions of their agency in contraceptive decision-making during the clinic visit. We defined contraceptive agency within the clinic visit as an individual's ability to make choices about contraception, including whether or not to use contraception and, if so, which method to use. Kabeer describes the concept of agency as a woman's ability to make strategic life choices and takes into account communication, decision-making, and freedom from coercion, among other factors.<sup>8</sup> How patient agency manifests in reproductive health decisions is important to study given hierarchies between the provider and patient and ways in which institutionalized racism, reproductive inequities, and bias in the healthcare setting are expressed.<sup>9-11</sup> Research has shown that when healthcare providers treat patients differently based on their race/ethnicity, these differences can undermine agency and contribute to inequities in health outcomes.<sup>10</sup>

Research on contraceptive care has identified key features of the provider-patient interaction characterizing high quality care. A recently-developed measure of the quality of interpersonal care during family planning counseling (IQFP) shows that respect, care, eliciting personal preferences, and giving sufficient information to patients are salient components of quality care.<sup>12-14</sup> However, the related concept

59 of agency is an important missing piece that has not yet been characterized for  
60 contraceptive care. An in-depth exploration of agency and what it means in patient  
61 care is essential to achieve overall reproductive autonomy, particularly for  
62 marginalized patients.

63 In the United States (US), contraceptive agency has been especially  
64 constricted in certain patient populations, both historically and in the present day.<sup>16-</sup>  
65 <sup>18</sup> Immigrants, people of color, Indigenous people, members of the lesbian, gay,  
66 bisexual, transgender, and queer+ (LGBTQ+) community, those living in poverty  
67 and/or with disabilities, and individuals who are incarcerated, among others, have  
68 often experienced mistreatment and abuse in healthcare settings, including forced  
69 or coerced sterilization.<sup>16,19-21</sup> Individuals living on low incomes have reported feeling  
70 pressured to use contraception to limit their family size,<sup>22</sup> while Black and Latinx  
71 women and those with lower education levels have rated reproductive health visits  
72 less positively.<sup>17</sup> In addition, Black and Latinx women have reported receiving more  
73 contraceptive counseling than white women, with Latinx women receiving more  
74 counseling on sterilization, which may be due to provider bias.<sup>23</sup> Given these  
75 experiences, there is a need for increased focus on patients' rights to agency in  
76 contraceptive decision-making and a provider's responsibility to uphold those  
77 rights, with an emphasis on experiences of people of color and marginalized  
78 communities. Systems changes are integral to reinforcing patient agency.

79 The field of sexual and reproductive health has begun to recognize the  
80 importance of measuring concepts of reproductive bodily autonomy and agency as  
81 essential elements of reproductive health, and metrics have been shifting towards  
82 the patient perspective.<sup>24-26</sup> Patient voices are paramount in describing the elements  
83 of care that enhance or undermine agency over contraception. However, we have

84 limited data on the operationalization of the concept of agency among patients  
85 seeking contraceptive care and how provider bias about certain methods or types of  
86 patients has affected their agency. Active decision-making with the provider is  
87 important in contraceptive care, especially when patients are considering new or  
88 unfamiliar contraceptives.<sup>27</sup> This study explores how patient agency, and conversely  
89 provider bias or coercion, manifest during a clinical encounter, and how  
90 contraceptive agency increases or diminishes, with the goal of informing the  
91 development of a psychometric scale to measure patient contraceptive agency.<sup>28</sup>  
92 Describing agency from the patient perspective and having a robust scale can help  
93 us to move beyond a focus on contraceptive uptake and continuation, measures  
94 that fall short of capturing whether patients are not being coerced and are making  
95 their own contraceptive decisions.

96

## 97 **METHODS**

98

99 In 2017-2019, we conducted this qualitative study, including both focus group  
100 discussions and in-depth interviews, as the formative research for the development  
101 of a psychometric measure of contraceptive agency.<sup>28</sup> We conducted focus group  
102 discussions to capture perspectives and viewpoints that might uniquely emerge  
103 from interpersonal exchange. We then conducted interviews to ensure  
104 confidentiality and capture depth of experiences in a one-on-one setting. The  
105 community advisory board of the University of California, San Francisco Preterm  
106 Birth Initiative - with community members from the San Francisco Bay Area,  
107 including San Francisco, Oakland, and Fresno, California - reviewed the study  
108 design and instruments prior to data collection. Community members provided

109 feedback and advice on the study design, important content areas to explore in the  
110 study, and draft topic guides.

111 We recruited participants from three reproductive health facilities in Northern  
112 California at the time of their visit. To be eligible for the study, participants had to  
113 be aged 15-29 years, be biologically capable of becoming pregnant, have had sex  
114 that could result in pregnancy in the past 6 months, have had prior experience with  
115 clinic-based contraceptive services, and be able to speak English or Spanish. While  
116 we offered to conduct interviews in Spanish, in the end all participants chose to  
117 speak in English. At check-in, front desk staff informed patients that a focus group  
118 discussion or interviews were going to be conducted at the clinic. A Research  
119 Assistant approached patients in the clinic waiting room to describe the study and,  
120 if they were interested, screened them for eligibility. At the start of each focus  
121 group discussion or interview, the Research Assistant confirmed eligibility,  
122 answered questions, and obtained written informed consent. The eligibility criteria  
123 were the same for the two modes of data collection and participants did not  
124 overlap.

125 We divided focus group discussion participants by age and held separate  
126 discussions with adolescents (15-19 years) and young adults (20-29 years). Trained  
127 facilitators used a semi-structured focus group discussion/interview guide informed  
128 by the literature to explore broad issues related to agency in contraceptive care,  
129 including communication, freedom from coercion, and active decision-making.<sup>8,29</sup>  
130 Topic guides with open-ended questions covered participants' experiences making  
131 contraceptive choices and interactions in their most recent clinic visit, as well as in  
132 their prior experiences with other providers, in order to explore how experiences  
133 might evolve over time. Participants filled out a brief demographic survey with



134 information including age, gender, self-identified race/ethnicity, health insurance  
135 status, education, marital status, number of children, current contraceptive method  
136 use, and external (male) condom use at last sex. Focus group discussions lasted  
137 approximately one hour and 15 minutes, and participants received USD100 in  
138 remuneration. Interviews lasted about 45 minutes and participants received USD50  
139 in remuneration. We provided childcare free of charge. We audio-recorded focus  
140 group discussions and interviews and used an independent transcription service;  
141 members of the team reviewed the transcripts for accuracy. The University of  
142 California, San Francisco, Institutional Review Board approved this study.

143

#### 144 **Data analysis**

145 We used a thematic analysis approach with the focus group discussion and  
146 interview data to examine experiences, social interaction, and decision-making  
147 processes.<sup>30,31</sup> We collected and analyzed data concurrently, first for focus group  
148 discussions and then for individual interviews, and we completed data collection  
149 once we achieved thematic saturation. Two researchers (CH, IM) independently  
150 coded the transcripts by hand while one researcher (LR) coded the transcripts in  
151 ATLAS.ti. All used deductive codes informed by the literature, as well as inductive  
152 codes based on emergent content and ideas.<sup>32</sup> Members of the research team (LR,  
153 IM, CH) met several times, using an iterative process to discuss the initial codes,  
154 make decisions for different coding, and identify overall themes. This analysis  
155 explores common and divergent themes essential to patient agency in  
156 contraceptive decision-making during the clinical encounter, specifically focusing on  
157 the patient-provider interaction. We present results from the focus group  
158 discussions and interviews together.

159

160 **RESULTS**

161 Overall, 30 individuals participated in the qualitative study. We conducted  
162 four focus groups discussions, two with adolescents (for a total of 10 participants)  
163 and two with adults (for a total of 13 participants). We then conducted seven in-  
164 depth interviews with adolescents (n=3) and adults (n=4). The average age of  
165 participants was 21 years and the sample included individuals who identified as  
166 Latinx, white, Black, Asian, and multiracial. Most participants were uninsured or  
167 publicly insured, with one-fifth privately insured. Most participants were single and  
168 the majority did not have children. Most participants, but not all, reported currently  
169 using contraception. However, in a different question, half of those who did not  
170 report a current contraceptive method did report using an external condom *at last*  
171 *sex* (see Table).

172 Participants described important aspects of their contraceptive decision-  
173 making processes in relation to agency in the three overarching domains, including  
174 communication and realistic expectation-setting, freedom from coercion or  
175 pressure, and a non-judgmental approach that allowed the space for patients to  
176 exercise agency over their decisions. Themes identified under communication  
177 included accessible language used in the clinic visit, realistic expectations about  
178 side effects, and the ability to connect with the provider over time as needs  
179 changed. Under freedom from coercion, participants expressed the importance of  
180 leading their own decision-making and how they at times switched providers when  
181 they needed to realize greater agency. Participants also discussed how it felt when  
182 they had experienced coercion and how that stayed with them over time or  
183 dissipated, depending on new experiences. Finally, they relayed how their agency  
184 felt stronger in non-judgmental care.

185

186 **Patient agency and communication**

187           Participants universally cited the importance of clear and comprehensive  
188 information about contraceptive methods in order to have agency over their  
189 contraceptive decisions. When communication was rushed or language too  
190 specialized, participants became confused. One participant, describing an  
191 experience where her provider used medical jargon said, “I was kind of lost,  
192 because she was using vocabulary I’m not familiar with. And she repeated it three  
193 times, but I was like, “I don’t get what you’re talking about” (*Age 22, Latinx, using*  
194 *oral contraceptive pills (OCPs), focus group discussion*). Speaking too quickly also  
195 limited the patient’s ability to digest information, as one participant said, “They talk  
196 really fast, that could be overwhelming, like, okay hold on.” (*Age 21, Latinx/Black,*  
197 *injectable, interview*). A non-native English speaker described that having her  
198 provider make sure she understood, even reiterating key points, was helpful for her  
199 to actively participate in contraceptive decision-making: “She repeated herself a  
200 few times so I could be sure to understand...Because sometimes, I don't, you know,  
201 understand everything....so, it was nice.” (*Age 26, white, external condoms,*  
202 *interview*).

203

204 **Expectations about side effects and changes in patient agency**

205           Several participants were distressed about the times when method side  
206 effects had not been adequately described at their visit. In these cases, participants  
207 ended up with a diminished sense of agency after the visit, as they realized that  
208 their method experiences differed from what they had anticipated from the  
209 information they had received during contraceptive counseling. Many of these cases

210 were related to having different experiences with bleeding than expected. A  
211 participant selected a copper intra-uterine device (IUD) because she did not want  
212 hormones, but after bleeding for months when she first got it, she described the  
213 decision-making process as not focused on her needs: “We probably talked about,  
214 just the different options but not necessarily what would be easier for me or what  
215 would benefit me in the long run or you know, that type of thing.” (Age 22, Black,  
216 *copper IUD, focus group discussion*).

217           One participant had been previously told by a clinician that her periods would  
218 be “irregular” with the injectable but ended up having her period for the entire time  
219 that she was using it. The next time she saw a provider, she was distrustful about  
220 the information conveyed: “I’ve talked to my doctors about it and they’re like, ‘No,  
221 for most people, the Mirena [IUD], you don’t even have a period.’ Well, that’s what  
222 they told me about the Depo shot [injectable]...” (Age 18, Black/white, *no*  
223 *contraceptive method, interview*). After this experience, she decided to stop using  
224 contraception entirely, mistrusting her doctors about other method options  
225 because she felt initially misled.

226           Many participants emphasized that understanding different methods and side  
227 effects played an essential role in agency over their decisions. Agency was dynamic  
228 and often required sustained engagement over time. Many wanted to learn about  
229 the multiple options available to them in case one method did not work out:

230           I’m starting a new form of birth control [contraception] which I hope works out  
231 for me, because oral contraceptives after a few months, it just wasn’t working  
232 for me. Actually, we discussed a lot of options, and I really liked my visit with my  
233 doctor, because I hear a lot of people complain that their doctors don’t seem to  
234 be as informative. But I felt like mine was really informative of all the  
235 possibilities of each type of form of birth control [contraception], and what to  
236 expect and not to expect. (Age 21, Asian, *OCPs, focus group discussion*)  
237

238 Participants described a sense of agency over their method choice when their  
239 side effects were acknowledged and normalized by their providers and they were  
240 given latitude to make a switch if they wanted. One adolescent using OCPs  
241 experienced mood changes but ended up feeling in charge of her ultimate decision  
242 to continue with the method because her provider understood her concerns, offered  
243 her alternatives, and left it in her hands. Her provider had explained to her: “It’s up  
244 to what you want to do. You could change the pill and switch to a different method,  
245 but it’s completely up to you.” (Age 19, white/Pacific Islander, OCPs, external  
246 condom at last sex, interview).

247

#### 248 **Leading decision-making: patient versus the provider**

249 Most participants preferred to be given information and advice and to be the  
250 one to have the final say. As one participant stated: “It was my decision, but the  
251 doctor helped me” (Age 26, white, external condoms, interview). Several others  
252 reflected on positive experiences where they appreciated the provider’s expertise  
253 and were allowed to make the decision themselves: “They of course gave their  
254 advice but they left it up to me...so that’s what I liked about it, it was not forced on  
255 me” (Age 21, Latinx/Black, injectable, interview). An adolescent described how it  
256 felt to have made her decision herself: “It was like the first time I ever did anything  
257 for myself like that, so I felt kind of independent in a way” (Age 17, white,  
258 contraceptive patch, focus group discussion). Some adolescent participants  
259 mentioned feeling uncomfortable asking questions or opening up with their provider  
260 and some adults likewise described how they had asked fewer questions when they  
261 were younger, due to embarrassment or concerns about confidentiality. Notably,  
262 participants did not report that their reluctance to ask questions when younger

263 made them feel any less a part of the decision-making, as long as their providers  
264 presented information and then supported their decision. Several mentioned having  
265 a woman provider helped them to feel less guarded in a contraceptive visit.

266         A few participants had decided prior to the visit which method they wanted  
267 and, in some instances, felt their agency over their contraceptive decision was  
268 undermined by questioning at the visit about their choice. In one instance a  
269 participant described how she felt strongly about her preferences and would prevail  
270 against push-back from providers, but worried that they might encroach on the  
271 agency of other patients:

272         I already know what I came for...I already know the questions they're going to  
273 ask, for the most part generally, so I already know like what I'm going to  
274 say...And when they question me, I think wait...should I? No I'm just going to  
275 do what I wanted to do...I just feel like for me I already know what I want.  
276 Other people might be a little more difficult, they might mess with their head  
277 maybe. (*Age 25, Black, no contraceptive method, external condom at last*  
278 *sex, interview*).  
279

280         In the interviews, it became apparent that negative experiences with  
281 healthcare providers could have residual impacts over time with patients, leading  
282 them to feel that they had to be extra vigilant to have agency over what occurs in a  
283 clinic visit. The same participant described an experience with reproductive health  
284 care when it felt like the provider was not listening to her about her own body:

285         I remember I went to a doctor and I was concerned about something that was  
286 going on down there and they were just trying to tell me like, no it's not that,  
287 it's not that. But I'm like...I'm telling you what I feel, and I felt this before, and  
288 it feels the exact same way and you're telling me that it's not it. Like I had to  
289 beg for some medicine. (*Age 25, Black, no contraceptive method, external*  
290 *condom at last sex, interview*)

291         This participant, wary of what can transpire in a clinic visit, explained that if  
292 she cannot trust what a provider is telling her, she takes matters into her own  
293 hands by going to see another doctor.  
294

295

296 **Contraceptive coercion**

297 A few participants said that they had felt pressure from their providers to use  
298 contraception in general, and others that their providers favored certain  
299 contraceptive methods. Most of these participants then chose to go to different  
300 providers in order to find support and regain agency. In one occurrence, a participant  
301 who had been using OCPs for five years and wanted to stop was told by her  
302 provider, ““You have to have something; you can’t just go off of it.”” The participant  
303 then switched providers. Aware of her agency, she reflected:

304 It was kind of discouraging for her to tell me that, because she should  
305 support me since she’s my doctor, and it’s my body, it’s my choice. But then I  
306 came here, and everyone was really nice and supportive. I felt like there I had  
307 no options really. *(Age 19, Asian, diaphragm, focus group discussion)*  
308

309 A different participant described an experience where she wanted to have  
310 her implant removed because she thought the hormones might be affecting her  
311 depression, but faced pressure from her provider to keep it in:

312 My health is getting affected by all these side effects, so at the moment I feel  
313 pressured by her because she kept pushing the option about not removing it.  
314 She still didn’t make my appointment for taking it off, but I’m in the point  
315 where I’m just tired. I just want my body to get back to normal or just give a  
316 break from birth control [contraception]...I changed my provider and I will go  
317 in and talk to another person. *(Age 23, Latinx, implant, focus group*  
318 *discussion)*  
319

320 A few participants felt that their providers were pushing specific  
321 contraceptive methods on them or were just giving them “default” methods. They  
322 described being given OCPs in their initial clinic visits and only being informed about  
323 other methods later. “When I first started, I didn’t have any clue what to say or talk  
324 about. So they just ask questions, and I just got oral contraceptives.” *(Age 21,*  
325 *Asian, OCPs, external condom at last sex, focus group discussion)*. An adolescent

326 participant experienced little to no agency in her contraceptive method choice at a  
327 visit in the past with a different provider:

328 I feel like my provider, she didn't really read or explain to me about the birth  
329 control [implant]. The one she put in my arm, and it was like, she didn't  
330 explain, she basically, I don't know how you say it. It's somebody's like  
331 forcing... *(Age 17, Black & Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, injectable,*  
332 *focus group discussion)*  
333

334 Another participant stated that she felt that doctors had a bias toward their patients  
335 using the IUD:

336 I felt really pushed for a while for the IUD...I have nothing against it, like  
337 different things work for different people, and it's just the way that it is with  
338 any medication that you take. But I just really had this feeling that it would be  
339 not right for me...I went to three different doctors, and they were all 'You  
340 should do this'. *(Age 26, white, vaginal ring, focus group discussion)*  
341

#### 342 **Non-judgmental care and patient agency**

343 In contrast, freedom from coercion or pressure was apparent in participants'  
344 descriptions of non-judgmental care. Many participants stated that they valued non-  
345 judgmental interactions with their provider, which allowed them to communicate  
346 openly, affirming their ability to make their own contraceptive decisions:

347 My doctor was very nonjudgmental...I don't know if it's because she kept a  
348 straight face, but she was very not judgy about anything that I had brought  
349 up in the conversation. So, definitely her being welcoming and nice made me  
350 feel way more comfortable to open up" *(Age 19, white, copper IUD, interview)*  
351

352 Similarly, another participant stated, "I think every time that I share  
353 information, they listen. Yeah because here, I don't feel judged. So, I think that's  
354 why I'm more open" *(Age 26, white, external condoms, interview)*. Participants  
355 discussed how a comfortable and welcoming atmosphere helped them to not feel  
356 judged at a clinic visit. An adolescent noted: "I've always felt comfortable every  
357 time I've had an appointment here" *(Age 19, Latinx, no contraceptive method, focus*



358 *group discussion*). The emotional tenor of the patient-provider interaction many  
359 times helped the participants to be able to navigate their health concerns and  
360 contraceptive choices. A few patients felt comforted when their providers  
361 normalized their concerns with contraception:

362 I was very emotional and worried last week, and then [my provider] talked to  
363 me and explained to me it's actually a very common thing and then it calmed  
364 me down. It's really helpful which is calming because I was emotional and  
365 crying...actually it took a lot of courage to come here. The doctor there is  
366 really friendly, they are really helpful, supportive so I was like okay I trust  
367 you...I feel comfortable. (*Age 24, Asian, no contraceptive method, external*  
368 *condom at last sex, interview*)

369  
370 Several participants mentioned that talking about contraception can feel vulnerable  
371 and that providers can often help to steady them so they can make their decisions.  
372 As one participant said: "I was going through a moment and it really helped me.  
373 And they were like, 'If you need to talk more about it you can always come back and  
374 talk to us.' So it was comforting." (*Age 24, Black, implant, external condom at last*  
375 *sex, focus group discussion*).

376 A few participants described feeling judged by their provider, which was off-  
377 putting and led to them being less engaged or second-guessing their decisions. A  
378 participant, when thinking over her treatment over the years, explained:

379 I do feel a little bit judged when they keep asking...like I just wonder... if  
380 they're judging, you're too young, what if you get pregnant? Then what are  
381 you going to do?... You better take this. Almost something like that. Like if I  
382 were you I would take this. Are you sure? You sure you don't want that? (*Age*  
383 *25, Black, no contraceptive method, external condom at last sex, interview*)  
384

## 385 **DISCUSSION**

386 In this study exploring how contraceptive agency is experienced in the  
387 clinical setting, participants generally described active decision-making and agency  
388 about their contraception during their recent visit. Most participants said that they  
389 made their decision with their provider's help. At the same time, when thinking

390 about prior care throughout their reproductive-aged years, they reflected upon  
391 some common experiences that enhanced or limited their agency. Agency  
392 increased when providers communicated with clear and simple language, free from  
393 medical jargon, and conveyed specific information about contraceptive methods,  
394 especially side effects. Participants also emphasized that it was important for them  
395 to have the latitude to choose among different methods and to decide whether to  
396 use a method at all. Many participants noted how a non-judgmental approach from  
397 providers helped them to experience more agency in contraceptive decisions. Other  
398 participants, including Black and Latinx patients, felt pressure to use contraception  
399 or a specific method.

400         Our research also found that some participants did not want their decisions to  
401 be repeatedly questioned. However, these participants did not necessarily lack  
402 agency and often advocated for their contraceptive choices in spite of frustrations  
403 with provider interactions. Participants expressed frustration when providers  
404 overlooked their past experiences and tried to influence their choices. Research has  
405 found that in many contraceptive visits, providers are not actively engaged in  
406 shared decision-making,<sup>33</sup> but use a foreclosed approach where they only discuss  
407 options the patient brings up, or the informed choice approach where information is  
408 given without patient participation in decision-making.<sup>25</sup> Our findings align with  
409 research indicating that patients prefer to make the final decision about their  
410 method, but many want active involvement from their provider in the form of  
411 collaborative decision-making.<sup>26,34</sup> Participants did not wish for providers to question  
412 their ultimate decisions, which they interpreted as bias for or against different  
413 methods.

414 We found that past experiences, not surprisingly, can continue to have an  
415 impact over time. Several participants had been pushed to continue using  
416 contraception when they were unsure whether they desired to do so. Others felt  
417 exhorted to use a particular method; some “succumbed,” while others felt relieved  
418 that they were strong enough to advocate for themselves, or able to seek out  
419 another provider with whom they could make decisions that stemmed from their  
420 individual preferences. Other research has revealed that providers may be biased  
421 toward certain methods or may desire for their patients to keep using a method,  
422 and do not necessarily perceive their practices as coercive.<sup>35</sup> Many participants  
423 described how they gained agency over their contraceptive decisions at a later  
424 clinic visit by switching providers. When presenting for a clinic visit, many  
425 participants had already had instances in which they were not able to enact their  
426 contraceptive method choices or had heard of others for whom this was the case. In  
427 this study, data from participants including adolescents and women of color  
428 revealed how important each clinic visit is as an opportunity to restore and support  
429 their patient agency.

430 Notably, our results showed how agency is dynamic and changes after the  
431 clinic visit as well, depending on expectations and experiences with methods.  
432 Participants had diminished agency when realizing they were not fully informed of  
433 side effects or tried to switch methods but could not. Participants wished that they  
434 heard frankly about side effects associated with different methods prior to starting a  
435 method, which is in line with recommendations for providers to have candid  
436 discussions about side effects.<sup>15,36</sup> One study found that only 38% of patients who  
437 chose the levonorgestrel IUD were told about associated side effects,<sup>37</sup> while a  
438 qualitative study found that patients question their providers’ inclination to convey

439 the negative aspects of contraception.<sup>26</sup> Patients' expectations that providers will  
440 share what they know with them has been shown to be important for patient trust in  
441 other areas, including with elderly and primary care patients, and here was also  
442 seen as necessary for participants to feel agency in their contraceptive  
443 decisions.<sup>14,38,39</sup>

444 In our study, some participants who identified as Black, Latinx, and/or Asian  
445 described experiences where providers did not listen to their preferences, ignored  
446 expressions of discomfort, questioned their contraceptive choices, and tried to  
447 convince them to use different methods. These findings are consistent with prior  
448 research suggesting that Black individuals may feel more pressured to use  
449 contraception or specific methods,<sup>17,40,41</sup> and are often undertreated for pain.<sup>42</sup> A  
450 collective history in the US of reproductive health traumas, including lack of bodily  
451 autonomy for Black women<sup>29</sup> and forced sterilizations among Latinx women,<sup>20,43</sup>  
452 means that contraceptive agency may be all the more important for these patients.  
453 Allowing for patient agency over contraceptive decisions is an essential step in  
454 addressing racism and structural inequities in healthcare.<sup>44</sup> These results highlight  
455 the importance of understanding, and counteracting, the impact of racism on  
456 patient agency in the clinic visit.

457 This study has limitations. We recruited participants from three clinics in  
458 California, a state with higher reproductive access compared to many states.<sup>45</sup> The  
459 quality of care received and perceptions of agency may differ among individuals  
460 living in different regions; thus the transferability of our findings may be limited.  
461 Additionally, although our inclusion criteria allowed for gender diversity if the  
462 participant had the biological capacity to become pregnant, the sample did not  
463 have transgender men or gender non-conforming participants, whose intersecting

464 identities may affect the care they receive and their perceived agency. The two  
465 Research Assistants leading data collection were native Spanish speakers and  
466 offered to conduct focus group discussions and interviews in Spanish, but everyone  
467 in our study sample chose to participate in English. Therefore, we did not capture  
468 the experiences of people who do not speak English and who may experience  
469 greater provider bias in the clinic visit, as seen in studies of contraceptive and  
470 pregnancy care.<sup>46,47</sup>

## 471 **Conclusions**

472         Participants generally described their most recent contraceptive decisions as  
473 “their own”, appreciating support from providers. However, they also described past  
474 experiences that stayed with them and that either propelled them to find new  
475 providers or left them with a contraceptive method they did not want. Pressure to  
476 use a specific contraceptive method or to continue using contraception in general  
477 and unexpected side effects undermined patient agency. Attention to contraceptive  
478 agency, especially for patients facing racism and socioeconomic inequities, may  
479 help to contribute to health equity. A greater understanding of how different  
480 patients exercise their agency in contraceptive decisions can inform measure  
481 development for this important aspect of care. Our findings also highlight the  
482 unique role and opportunities of the provider in making space for patient agency in  
483 contraceptive decision-making as a standard of care.

484  
485

**Table. Focus group discussion (n=23) and interview (n=7) participant characteristics\* (N=30)**

	<b>n</b>	<b>(%)</b>
<b>Gender, n (%)</b>		
Female	30	(100)
<b>Age (mean ± SD)</b>		21 +- 3.5
<b>Race/Ethnicity, n (%)</b>		
Asian	5	(17)
Black	7	(23)
Latinx	8	(27)
Multiracial	5	(17)
White	8	(27)
<b>Currently in school</b>	21	(70)
<b>Completed education, n (%)</b>		
Less than high school	6	(21)
High school	16	(55)
Technical/vocational school	3	(10)
2-year college	2	(7)
4-year college	1	(3)
Graduate/professional	1	(3)
No response	1	(3)
<b>Health insurance, n (%)</b>		
Private/employer	6	(20)
Medicare	9	(30)
None	10	(33)
Don't know	10	(17)
<b>Partner in last 3 months, n (%)</b>	25	(85)
No response	1	(3)
<b>Married, n (%)</b>	2	(7)
<b>Living with partner, n (%)</b>	3	(10)
<b>Children, n (%)</b>	3	(10)
<b>Current contraceptive method*, n</b>		
Diaphragm	1	(3)
External condom (sole method)	2	(7)
Implant	4	(13)
Injectable	3	(10)
Intra-uterine device (IUD)	5	(17)
Oral contraceptive pills (OCPs)	6	(20)
Patch	1	(3)
Vaginal ring	2	(7)
None	6	(20)
<b>External condom used at last sex,</b>	9	(30)

486 \*This question did not capture information about dual use

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