

Bachelorette's Degree: Financial Shocks and the Gender Performance Gap^{*}

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Abstract

Research shows that labor disruptions cause female professionals to exhibit greater productivity losses relative to their male peers, due in part to demands of children or other familial obligations. We document a reversal in this gender gap – where females on average outperform males in their resilience to financial shocks – in a setting with matched peers that is free from the confounding effects of childcare or household obligations. Using college transcript data from the Department of Education and a triple-differences empirical design, we find that female students are less disrupted by financial shocks than males in human capital investment.

JEL classification: D14, G51, H52, H81, I22, I28, J16

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1. Introduction

Finance and economics literature documents gender-based gaps in preferences, performance, and financial outcomes in a variety of settings. In particular, recent papers examine gendered differences in productivity responses to the COVID-19 pandemic; e.g., Barber, Jiang, Morse, Puri, Tookes, and Werner (2021), Cui, Ding, and Zhu (2021), Kruger, Maturana, and Nickerson (2022), and Du (2023). Collectively, these papers indicate that (i) female professionals exhibit productivity losses relative to their male peers and (ii) part of this gender gap results from women performing more childcare, domestic labor and household responsibilities (e.g., Kimmel, 1998; Bertrand, Goldin, and Katz, 2010; Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie, Robinson, 2012; Adams, Barber, and Odean, 2016; Kleven, Landais, and Søgaaard; 2019; Adams and Lowry, 2022). Our contribution to this literature, reviewed in the next section, is evidence of a reversal in this gender performance gap – in a setting with matched peers in college education (same classes, in the same institution, at the same time, from the same originating area) and without confounding effects of marriage or children. We document that females outperform males, on average, in their resilience to financial shocks and refer to this result as a “reverse gender gap”.

Existing literature establishes natural disasters as plausibly exogenous shocks to family financial conditions, as they affect college students who rely on their families for education expenses in multiple ways (e.g., Cornaggia, Cornaggia, and Xia, 2024).¹ Family shocks create near-term financial constraints and inhibit the ability to afford tuition, room and board. These constraints negatively impact students’ mental health and, in turn, productivity (Engelberg and Parsons, 2016; Maturana and Nickerson, 2019; Bernstein, McQuade, and Townsend, 2021).

¹ Other papers identify financial and productivity shocks to firms based on natural disasters and resulting power outages (e.g., Barrot and Sauvagnat, 2016; Canayaz, et al. 2024; Ersahin, Giannetti, and Huang, 2024). We focus on the most disruptive disasters declared by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which cause damage exceeding the resources of state and local governments and require federal assistance. Damage to homes, businesses, public roads, facilities, and transportation materially affect the human capital investment and student loan outcomes of affect students; see Billings, Gallagher, and Ricketts (2023) and Cornaggia et al. (2024) for effects of disasters on college students.

Family shocks can also distract students from human capital acquisition, by requiring them to seek alternative measures to compensate for the financial shortfalls or spend time assisting families to recover from the damage. Using detailed college transcript data licensed from the Department of Education (DOE), we examine gender differences in students' productivity and human capital investment following these financial shocks – at a stage where both males and females are free from the demands of children and dependent spouses.

To illustrate our empirical design, consider a female student A who is enrolled in a course X at a university in California. During the course, there is a natural disaster in Harris County, Texas, where student A 's family lives. Student A is a treated student because we expect (and empirically verify) that her family's financial resources are disrupted by the disaster. Consider another female student B who is contemporaneously enrolled in the same course X as student A at the same university. Student B 's family also lives in Texas, but in Dallas County, which does not experience a disaster during course X . Student B is the control peer of A . We examine these two female students' performance in course X through the shock and trace their outcomes (including course grades and college enrollment status) surrounding the shock. This approach yields a difference-in-differences analysis for the matched treated-control female students over time. Performing the same analysis for male students yields another difference-in-differences, and contrasting these two patterns yields a difference-in-differences-in-differences.

This triple-difference setting presents several advantages. Because we benchmark treated female students against control female students as the first layer of comparison – rather than comparing female with male students – we control for general differences between male and female students in terms of physicality, academic subject matter preferences, emotional maturity, and cognitive differences. For examples, males are more likely to select science- and engineering-related subjects while females earn higher GPAs and are more likely to graduate (Conger and Long, 2008; Reves and Smith, 2021). These factors may introduce selection biases – e.g., females

selecting STEM courses typically preferred by males could be inherently more resilient to shocks. Because we contrast students enrolled in the same courses of the same university at the same time, we control for confounding differences resulting from heterogeneous class or institution characteristics (e.g., course difficulty or grading policies). Because we additionally fix students' originating location (state), we mitigate cross-state variation (such as education quality prior to college) among students. Taken together, this design allows us to identify gender differences in the effects of the financial shock to treated students.

With the triple-differences approach, we test whether students' academic performance, reflected in course grades, suffers after their families experience financial shocks, and whether this difference is more pronounced among male or female students. We analyze the consequences of financial shocks in students' college continuation and any gender differences in this human capital investment decision. We investigate whether the impact of financial shocks manifests over the longer-term and differentially affects males' and females' academic standing throughout college and degree attainment. We explore whether these shocks influence the career paths of male and female students, particularly in finance, business and management occupations. In all these analyses, we control for a host of observable factors including students' demographic characteristics and their fields of study, parents' background, how confident the students are (and thus how they estimate the consequence of financial shocks), and their intellectual capability prior to college (SAT scores) – which may vary by gender and affect college outcomes.

Following financial shocks, we show that treated male students' grades decline by more than two notches relative to control male peers contemporaneously enrolled in the same course at the same university (e.g., from B+ to below B-). In contrast, treated female students continue to perform similarly as their control peers. In triple-differences regressions, female students earn course grades that are about a half letter grade higher than treated male students after the treatment effect. This gender difference contrasts with prior evidence that females suffer greater performance

losses during productivity shocks.

Such a reverse gender gap varies with parental financial resources *ex ante*. Female students' greater resilience to financial shocks (compared to males) is more prominent when they come from families with low income. Among students from wealthier families, financial shocks do not cause as much disruption in performance to begin with, and females' relative resilience manifests to a lesser extent. The reverse gender gap presents for both white and non-white students.

We next test whether the reverse gender gap reflects strategic behavior. Following financial shocks, females may be more likely than males to discontinue college enrollment, thus avoiding the adverse effects of shocks on grades (and transcripts). We find no such evidence. In fact, not only do males earn relatively lower grades in the matched courses, they are also more likely to discontinue college enrollment in the months following the shocks.

Our results on course grades and enrollment continuation highlight the consequences of financial shocks in the short term. We extend the analysis and examine the long term. We find that males who experience financial shocks take longer to finish their degrees and have lower GPAs when they eventually exit college. Treated females do not exhibit these negative long-term outcomes. In terms of field of study and career paths, we find suggestive evidence that females facing financial shocks are more likely to remain enrolled in finance, business, or management majors than their female peers, while treated males tend to leave these fields. Ultimately, treated females studying these majors are more likely to pursue business-related careers.

Together, these findings indicate that the gender gap reversal is not merely transient and likely reflects gender differences in non-cognitive characteristics in responses to adverse circumstances. Inspired by Kuhnen and Melzer (2018), we examine one such characteristic – self-efficacy – in explaining our results. Self-efficacy is the belief that one's effort can influence future outcomes. Kuhnen and Melzer (2018) show that individuals with higher self-efficacy navigate financial shocks better, leading to healthier financial standing and lower financial distress. This

effect reflects individuals' perception of benefits from effort. In our context, financial shocks create obstacles – such as mental distress and distraction – in students' academic progress. Individuals with high self-efficacy perceive their effort and sacrifice (such as studying longer hours) to be effective in conquering these obstacles and overcoming adversity. Therefore, they exert more effort to persevere. Those with low self-efficacy perceive their sacrifices to be inadequate to improve their circumstances, and this limited marginal benefit prevents them from spending effort.

This intuition motivates a few testable predictions. First, prior evidence finds that the academic self-efficacy of males and females varies by subject. Females exhibit higher self-efficacy in language arts or writing but are found to lack self-efficacy relative to males in mathematics, engineering, and computer science (STEM fields); e.g. Burger et al. (2010) and Huang (2013). If the observed female outperformance is partly attributable to self-efficacy, then it should concentrate in non-STEM fields and attenuate among STEM courses. Second, if female students generally exhibit higher self-efficacy than males – resulting in their superior performance in the overall sample – then they should be more likely to maintain a positive perception about the future when facing adversity, as they believe they are capable of shaping outcomes. Similarly, females should exert greater effort encountering challenges, as they perceive effort to be effective and beneficial. We find empirical support for all three predictions.

Thus, in a setting without children or family burdens, we show that females (i) achieve better outcomes compared to males facing similar adversity in non-STEM fields and (ii) achieve similar outcomes as males in STEM fields. Removing domestic obligations nullifies males' performance advantages in STEM fields and results in significantly stronger performance among females in non-STEM fields. It also unveils females' greater persistence in maintaining a positive perception and sustained effort in the face of adversity. These results complement those from Simintzi, Xu, and Xu (2024), who find that government subsidized childcare improves females' career progression. Earlier access to childcare not only increases new mothers' employment – an

extensive margin effect consistent with prior literature – but on the intensive margin, it increases mothers’ earnings and encourages them to pursue demanding careers.² We add to the literature by documenting a reversal in the performance gender gap in an environment without children: facing an adverse financial shock during college, women perform as well as men or better.

We consider alternative explanations for the results. First, our data include students’ responses to survey questions about their mental status, allowing us to track changes in students’ mental health around financial shocks. With this information, we test whether differences in mental resilience play a role in the observed gender gap reversal. We find that treated male and female students show equal deterioration in mental health following financial shocks. Both groups exhibit a reduction in mental health of more than ten percent of the range of potential responses. This result verifies that financial shocks induce mental stress (Engelberg and Parsons, 2016). However, the similarity of the effect across male and female students indicates that our main findings are unlikely driven by gender differences in mental responses to financial shocks.

We next test whether males and females compensate for the financial shocks differently – in particular, whether they have different tendencies to take up part-time employment following the shocks. We find that males mitigate financial shocks by taking more part-time jobs and working more hours during college than females. However, this difference in behavior is not large enough to explain our primary results. The gender gap in course performance remains robust after controlling for time-varying take-up of part-time jobs and hours worked. Similarly, we show that our results are unlikely driven by gender differences in “home duties” – whereby male students are more likely to return home than females to assist rebuilding damaged properties, thus causing disruption to their coursework. We use the distance between students’ universities and homes as a proxy for the cost of returning home. The results do not weaken with distance, indicating they do

² The extensive margin effect of access to childcare is documented in Baker, Gruber, and Milligan (2008), Goux and Maurin (2010), and Bauernschuster and Schlotter (2015).

not simply reflect different demands to return home experienced by male and female students.³

We also consider the possibility that, post financial shocks, females strategically select less-challenging courses to mask their negative impact on course grades (while males continue to select difficult courses despite the challenges). We do not find such evidence. We also find no evidence that males' families are impacted more by natural disasters; thus, our results are unlikely to reflect variation in disasters rather than variation in gender.

Finally, this paper does not exclude or horse race the host of gendered differences in personality traits that may contribute to females' greater resilience to financial shocks. Rather, its main contribution is evidence of a gender gap in the absence of children and household responsibilities, which is very different from the conventional gender gaps established in prior literature. We do note two points regarding gendered differences in Big-Five personality traits. First, prior literature indicates that females are more conscientious, agreeable, neurotic, extraverted, and less open than males (Soto et al., 2010). Soto et al. (2010) further show that these differences emerge in adolescence and persist into late adulthood (age 65). Therefore, we cannot predict that the gender gap we observe will attenuate with maturity in personality traits. Second, our empirical design compares treated females to control females with treated males to control males. This triple-differences design isolates gender as the driver of our results while allowing the possibility that personality traits (or other characteristics that vary by gender) serve as channels.

2. Contribution to prior literature

Prior finance and economics literature establishes gender differences in financial investment strategy (Sunden and Surette, 1998), financial risk aversion, and career choices (Sapienza, Zingales, and Maestripieri, 2009), and overconfidence and competition (e.g., Barber and Odean, 2001; Gneezy, Niederle, and Rustichini, 2003; Niederle and Vesterlund, 2007; Huang

³ Relatedly, we show that our results are not driven by the increased demand for construction workers post disaster – diverting males from coursework more than females.

and Kisgen, 2013; Reuben, Sapienza, and Zingales, 2024). Much of the gender-focused literature characterizes gender differences as a gender gap whereby women face economically worse options and financially worse outcomes particularly in terms of compensation for work (e.g., Goldin, 2014; Tate and Yang, 2015; Blau and Kahn 2017; Guvenen, Kaplan, and Song, 2021; Bennedsen, Simintzi, Tsoutsoura, and Wolfenzon, 2022; Biasi and Sarsons, 2022), career opportunities in finance and management positions (e.g., Sherman and Tookes, 2022; Huang, Mayer, and Miller, 2023; Benson, Li and Shue, 2024; Bian, Li, and Li, 2024; Ceccarelli, Herpfer, and Ongena, 2024; Du and Zhang, 2024; Li, et al, 2024; Cziraki and Robertson, 2025), financing opportunities (Duchin, Simutin, and Sosyura, 2021; Hebert, Tookes, Yimfor, 2024), technological innovation (Gu, Lewellen, Mao, and Qin, 2024), and labor outcomes (Egan, Matvos, and Seru, 2022).⁴ Lagaras, Marchica, Simintzi, and Tsoutsoura (2022) find that the gender pay gap is more prominent in the finance sector than others, but the second difference is shrinking over time: The difference in gender pay gap between finance and non-finance sectors was 40% in 1997 and is 23% in 2019.

One U.S. arena in which the gender achievement gap closed early is degree attainment. Prior to the passage of Title IX in 1972, in the 1969-1970 academic year, women earned 43.1% of Bachelor's degrees, 38.8% of Master's degrees, and 9.6% of Doctor's degrees.⁵ By 1982, women closed the gap in Bachelor's degrees (50.3%) and Master's degrees (50%) and reached parity in Doctorates by 2006. Since then, this education gap favoring women widened nearly every year. By 2022, women earned 58.5% of Bachelor's degrees, 62.6% of Master's degrees, and 57% of Doctorates. Similar trends play out in U.S. high schools; e.g., Fortin, Oreopoulos, and Phipps (2013), Reeves and Smith (2021).

⁴ Pharmacists are a noteworthy exception among college graduates; technological advancement increases substitutability among pharmacists and reduces the penalty to part-time work in this industry, thus narrowing the gender earnings gap; Goldin and Katz (2016). Bertrand and Schoar (2003), Matsa and Miller (2011), Cullen and Perez-Truglia (2019), Azmat et al (2024), Giorcelli (2024), and Haegle (2024) study the broader gender promotion gap.

⁵ The Digest of Education Statistics from NCES (Table 318.10) documents degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions, by level of degree and sex of student for selected year from 1869 – 2022. Updated data are available here: https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d23/tables/dt23_318.10.asp

Analogous to gender differences in human capital investment are gender differences in housing investment, where women earn lower financial returns; Goldsmith-Pinkham and Shue (2023). These authors conclude that the gender gap reflects differences in execution prices more than gender-based differences in upgrades, maintenance, or property types. However, the gender gap in housing investment performance varies with market cycles. As housing supply tightens – increasing the value of housing investment – the gap shrinks.

Closely related to our study are the recent papers documenting a gender gap in the impact of COVID-19 on worker productivity. Du (2023) finds that female analysts with children are less likely to issue timely forecasts after school closures compared to male analysts with children. Mother analysts' forecasts also become less accurate. Cui et al. (2021) find productivity gains in academic research in the two years spanning the lockdowns across 18 disciplines covered by the Social Science Research Network (SSRN); but these gains accrue disproportionately to male researchers. The gender gap is pronounced for assistant professors and attributed, at least in part, to women's responsibilities at home. Kruger et al. (2022) focus on research in finance and economics and find productivity gains to men and women – with the exception of women between the age of 35 and 49 (i.e., those most likely responsible for childcare during school closures).

Barber et al. (2021) also focus on finance research productivity following COVID-19 with a survey of American Finance Association (AFA) members. They find that productivity falls more for women, faculty with young children, faculty with greater teaching responsibilities, and faculty more concerned about the financial viability of their employers. An important insight from this study is that while the presence of young children adversely affects the productivity of men as well as women, women are more negatively impacted by the shock, holding family structure constant – due in part to women allocating more time to childcare given the same family structure. In a setting absent of productivity shocks, Adams and Lowry (2022) survey AFA members and find that women's job satisfaction is significantly worse than men's in finance academic occupations,

potentially due in part to childcare responsibilities. Ginzinger, et al. (2024) document a “child penalty” – a decline in women’s productivity around childbirth among fund managers.

Given potentially confounding effects of gender-based variation in teaching burdens, characteristics of employing institutions, and childcare responsibilities (controlling for number of children), our laboratory offers a unique opportunity to examine any gender-based differences in a less confounded environment. In a triple-difference setting with matched educational preferences, intellectual aptitude, and workload – but free from confounding effects of marriage or children – we document less performance loss from females relative to males, on average, following an adverse financial shock.

3. Data sources and sample selection

3.1. Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS)

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), part of the DOE’s Institute of Education Sciences (IES), is responsible for collecting and analyzing education data. We use the NCES Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS), which surveys a representative sample of students who are starting their postsecondary education for the first time at eligible U.S. institutions.⁶ This database provides information on a range of topics, including student demographics (such as gender, race, and age), educational and work experiences, academic transcripts, and family financial information. Eligible institutions for the BPS are those that meet all the criteria for distributing federal aid under Title IV of the Higher Education Act. For our analysis, we use data from the most recent cohort of students who entered college in the 2011-2012 academic year, referred to as BPS12, which contains information on the geographic locations of student families. In the following, we describe the detailed datasets of BPS.

⁶ To be eligible for the BPS, students must be enrolled in an academic program, at least one for-credit course that counts toward an academic degree, or an occupational or vocational program that requires a minimum of three months or 300 clock hours of instruction to obtain a degree, certificate, or other formal award. Students who are also enrolled in high school or high school completion programs are not eligible.

BPS12 includes transcript information, including students' coursework, grades, credits, and course characteristics such as the classification of a course field. Additionally, BPS12 tracks monthly college enrollment status, allowing for the examination of student persistence in human capital investment. BPS12 also provides students' permanent addresses at the beginning of their college enrollments indicating dependent students' parent residence locations. Using these data, we can differentiate between shocks experienced by students' parents versus those experienced directly on campus (or in neighborhoods adjacent to campus) by students while they are enrolled in school. This distinction is valuable, as institutional responses to natural disasters (such as budget adjustments) may impact male and female students differently.

Lastly, the BPS12 interviews students at three points in time to collect college experience data: at the end of their first year of enrollment (academic year 2012), and then in 2014 and 2017 as follow-up surveys. The BPS collects information including academic standing, degree attainment, and post-college occupations. We use this information to study long-term differential effects of family shocks on male and female students.

3.2. Family financial information from Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA)

We focus our empirical analyses on dependent students who rely on their parents' income to finance their college expenses. The DOE determines dependency status each year using the FAFSA.⁷ This filter ensures that all students in our sample are unmarried and have no children or dependents. The annual FAFSA, included in the BPS12 data, collects key parental financial information from tax filings in order to calculate the Expected Family Contribution (EFC); it includes parental gross income (earnings), savings, and federal income taxes paid (proxying for total income). We use these data to validate that disasters significantly deteriorate families' financial conditions, generating a meaningful shock to college students. We also test whether the

⁷ Details on how the DOE determines dependency status are available here: <https://studentaid.gov/apply-for-aid/fafsa/filling-out/dependency>

differential effects of financial shocks on male and female students vary with family wealth.

3.3. National Student Loan Data System (NSLDS)

The BPS12 data are supplemented with Federal Student Aid (FSA) administrative records from the National Student Loan Data System (NSLDS). This dataset includes histories of federal loan receipts and repayments from the distribution of each loan up to December 2017. We investigate whether male and female students borrow differently in response to family financial shocks, and whether the borrowing behavior contributes to the reverse gender gap.

Our license to use the BPS12 data requires that we round all sample sizes to the nearest 10. The BPS provides survey weights to ensure that the sample accurately represents the population of first-time students. These weights account for sampling procedures, nonresponse adjustments, and poststratification adjustments. Our analyses use these weighted data, and estimates are based on these weights for panel analysis.

3.4. Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)

Major natural disasters are declared by the U.S. federal government, following the determination that effective response is beyond the capabilities of state and local authorities.⁸ The federal government offers two assistance programs: *Public Assistance* (PA) and *Individuals and Households Program* (IHP); the scale of granted assistance gauges the extent of impact and severity of damage; Cornaggia et al. (2024). We use three FEMA datasets.

Details about *Public Assistance* (PA) projects (e.g., repairing or replacing public facilities, removing debris from public areas, conducting emergency protective measures like search, rescue, and evacuation) are from the FEMA *Public Assistance Funded Projects Details* dataset. Sanstad, et al. (2020) show that the impact of public damage on households largely comes through industrial employers. When firms close facilities households suffer wage losses. Section 5.1 shows that

⁸ https://www.fema.gov/pdf/media/factsheets/dad_disaster_declaration.pdf

disruptive disasters lower household income, savings, and earnings. The total cost of public damage is the sum of federal grants for all PA projects related to a specific disaster.

The FEMA *Individuals and Households Program - Valid Registrations* dataset provides applicant-level personal damage (e.g., real property, including floors, walls, electrical systems, plumbing, HVAC systems, appliances, and furniture) under the *Individuals and Households Program* (IHP). The total cost of personal damage is the sum of FEMA assessed damages to real and personal property for all registered applicants affected by a disaster.

Lastly, the *FEMA Disaster Declarations Summaries* dataset provides information on disaster types, start and end dates, and the affected states and counties.

4. Sample and descriptive statics

Our sample period spans academic years 2012 through 2018. The DOE defines an academic year as running from July to June (e.g., academic year 2013 runs from July 2012 to June 2013). The BPS12 cohort first enrolls in college in 2012 and most students graduate (or leave school for other reasons) by the conclusion of the academic year 2018. Online Appendix Figure A1 presents the total number of federally declared natural disasters experienced by each county over the sample period. The range is zero to nine. The geographic dispersion of disasters across counties within states is important because our identification strategy compares students originating from the same state.

We expect, and verify in Section 5.1, that a disaster is financially disruptive if it causes extensive losses and requires a lengthy recovery process. To capture these two aspects, we use (i) the cost of total damage and (ii) the disasters' duration. We select disasters with total damage (public plus personal) above the median of all federally declared disasters and those with above-median duration.⁹ We show that disasters satisfying the two criteria lead to significant deterioration

⁹ In our sample, disasters with above-median duration last for about 28 days on average, whereas those with below-median duration last for only 2 days. This difference likely correlates with the impact and expected recovery time.

in family financial conditions. In contrast, disasters with smaller (below the sample median) losses or shorter durations generate less significant and shorter-lived financial impact; these alternative disasters are therefore unlikely to warrant the treatment effect of family finances on student outcomes. Accordingly, we focus on disasters with above-median damage and duration for our identification.

We define treated students as those who are classified as dependent by the DOE and come from a county affected by a financially disruptive disaster during a semester in our sample period.¹⁰ Each treated student is matched with control students of the same gender, who are also dependent, also enrolled in the same courses at the same institution, but whose families do not experience any FEMA-designated disasters during that semester. We exclude treated students (i) for whom there are no control students who meet these criteria, and (ii) those at institutions directly affected by disasters to avoid confounding effects (e.g., affected schools may cut resources that would have benefited student achievement).¹¹ These criteria lead to about 1,860 treated students.

Our identification of treated students is in line with prior literature that examines financial shocks to firms based on natural disasters affecting the counties of their headquarters (e.g., Barrot and Sauvagnat, 2016; Ersahin, Giannetti, and Huang, 2024). However, one limitation is that our data do not allow us to observe the impact of disasters on specific families in a given county. Therefore, the following estimations capture the intent-to-treat effects.

Table 1 Panel A provides summary statistics for the disasters in the sample. There are about 60 disruptive disasters in the sample. Hurricanes are the costliest, with an average (median) total cost of about \$1.5 billion (\$141 million) though severe storms are the most common disaster. (We omit the number of disasters by type per IES requirements.) The sample also includes less common

¹⁰ Overall, about 6,600 out of 25,910 students in the BPS12 database have families affected by disruptive disasters between 2012 and 2018.

¹¹ Among in-state students, criterion (ii) requires that they attend colleges located in counties other than their home counties. About 64% of our sample students are in-state students, and 36% are out-of-state students.

disasters such as fires, earthquakes, snowstorms, mudslides, and landslides.

[Insert Table 1 here.]

Table 1 Panel B provides summary statistics at the disaster-county level. The first three columns summarize damages in millions of U.S. dollars (in total, as well as disaggregated by public and personal damages), and disaster durations measured in days. For context, the next three columns replicate these statistics for Hurricane Harvey, the recent and second-most costly storm in U.S. history. At the median, total damages in our sample are \$9 million and personal damages are \$1.4 million. The bottom rows of Panel B show that conditional on experiencing a disaster, the number experienced by an average student is 1.2 disasters during the sample period. The unconditional average is 0.48, indicating that most students do not face disasters during this time. We use these clean controls to estimate the Sun and Abraham (2021) estimator in a robustness test.

Table 2 describes characteristics for the students and families in our sample for each gender. Treated and control students have similar characteristics, supporting the assumption that family shocks due to natural disasters are plausibly exogenous. Among the sample of female students, both treated and control groups are predominantly white (67.7% vs. 62.9%), with no significant economic or statistical differences. Treated female students are older by 0.089 years, or about 32 days, a difference that is marginally statistically significant at the 10% level though economically trivial. For treated versus control male students, there are no significant differences in the percentage of white students or in their ages. Students in all groups (treated females, control females, treated males, control males) have SAT scores around 1,100. Parents of students in all groups have similar rates of college degree completion (ranging from 34.7% for control females to 39.5% for treated males), taxes paid, earnings, savings, and number of children in college. These similarities suggest that family shocks from natural disasters do not disproportionately affect disadvantaged students. We also observe no differences in treated versus control students' confidence that they can succeed as a student, or in the likelihood that treated versus control

students are non-traditional students.

[Insert Table 2 here.]

5. Analysis

5.1. Natural disasters as financial shocks

As a first step, we verify that natural disasters create financial shocks for the parents of treated students. For each treated student A and control students B we examine family financial conditions around the shock, including parents' income taxes paid (as a proxy for total income), savings, and earnings.¹² We estimate an OLS regression model as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Family financials}_{i,t} = & \alpha + \sum_{t=-2}^2 \beta_{1t} \times \text{Treated}_i \times I_t + \beta_2 \times \text{Treated}_i \\ & + \sum_{t=-2}^2 \beta_{3t} \times I_t + \beta_4 \times \text{Student and Family Characteristics}_i + \text{Fixed effects} + e_{i,t}. \quad (1) \end{aligned}$$

Dependent variables are students' family financial variables in a given year. To capture family financials relative to the price of education, we scale these variables by the 2012 academic year tuition, which equals the average of each school's in-state and out-of-state tuition collected by NCES.¹³ The independent variables of interest are the interactions between *Treated* and event time indicators (denoted as I_t) before and after *Year 0* – the year end when the treated student family experiences the financial shock. *Year -1* (or *Year 1*) includes the year before (or after) *Year 0*. *Year -2* (or *Year 2*) includes the second year before (or after) *Year 0*. We omit the pre-shock year (*Year -1*) interaction as the baseline.¹⁴

The coefficient of each interaction (β_t) indicates whether treated and control students (regardless of gender) exhibit different family financials in a year, relative to the pre-shock year.

¹² A student's expected family contribution to college expenses is set to zero when the parents' annual income falls below a threshold (\$31,000 in the 2012 academic year). In such a case, family financial variables may be assigned to a value of zero (or are not collected in the FAFSA). As a result, a drop in these variables across this threshold could exaggerate the actual deterioration in family financials. We acknowledge this caveat when interpreting our results.

¹³ The average sample tuition is approximately \$24,600 per year.

¹⁴ We line up event time with information in the corresponding tax year for ease of interpretation, based on FASFA's "prior year" rule (before 2017) and "prior-prior year" rule (since 2017). In this way, the years can be directly interpreted as the event year relative to the occurrence of disasters. For more details about the prior-prior year rule, see <https://fsapartners.ed.gov/sites/default/files/2021-03/1718AVG.pdf>.

We include *Course-semester* $\times$ *Fam. State* $\times$ *Event time* fixed effects. *Course-semester* ensures that treated and control students are enrolled in the same course of the same university during the same semester; *Fam. State* ensures that these students are from the same home state; *Event time* forces comparison of outcomes in a given event year. These fixed effects absorb the event year indicators (and their coefficients β_3). Controls include *Female*, *White*, *Age*, *Parents' college degree*, *Number in college*, *Non-traditional index*, and student field of studies.¹⁵ Figure 1 plots the regression coefficients of the interaction terms β_1 .

[Insert Figure 1 here.]

Panel A of Figure 1 shows that the parents of treated students experience a statistically significant decrease in taxes paid (proxying for total income) in the year of the natural disaster (*Year 0*). Panels B and C show this effect is accompanied by significant decreases in savings and earnings, respectively. Across all three measures, the effect is most prominent in the year of the disaster, consistent with Deryugina et al. (2018).

To interpret the economic magnitudes, consider Panel C as an example. The negative coefficient of -1.4 in *Year 0* suggests that relative to the controls, parental earnings of treated students decrease by about 1.4 times the college tuition during the disaster year. This effect becomes marginally insignificant in the following year (*Year 1*), and the point estimate reduces to -1. Panel A depicts similar magnitudes (assuming an average tax rate of 10%-20%). In Panel B, declines in parental savings of treated students amount to about 50% of the tuition in *Year 0*, and 100% in *Year 1*.

The effect of disasters loses statistical significance two years after the disaster for all three measures. However, point estimates for all three measures remain lower than their benchmark values in the year prior to natural disasters. Overall, these results in Figure 1 validate that natural

¹⁵ Following Cornaggia et al. (2024), we exclude students if their EFC is zero. These students typically rely on external financing, such as federal loans and grants, thus making financial shocks to parents less relevant.

disasters have negative and significant financial consequences for students' families.

As described in Section 4, we focus on disasters with above-median total damage and above-median duration. In Online Appendix Figure A2, we repeat our analyses using disasters with above-median damage but *below*-median duration, or disasters with above-median duration but *below*-median damage. We find that these alternative disasters have economically weaker and shorter-lived effects on family finances. As such, they are unlikely to warrant an adequate treatment effect for studying the effect of family financial shocks on students.

5.2. Do financial shocks affect males and females equally?

In this section, we examine whether financial shocks due to natural disasters differentially affect female and male students, as captured by their course grades. Specifically, for each female treated student A who experiences a family shock when enrolled in course X , we look for courses Y taken by student A before and after the shock, and compare the performance of A with the performance of other female students contemporaneously enrolled in Y .¹⁶ We estimate the following equation, separately for female and male students:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Course grades}_{i,t} = & \alpha + \sum_{t=-2}^2 \beta_{1t} \times \text{Treated}_i \times I_t + \beta_2 \times \text{Treated}_i \\ & + \sum_{t=-2}^2 \beta_{3t} \times I_t + \beta_4 \times \text{Student and Family Characteristics}_i + \text{Fixed effects} + \varepsilon_{i,t}. \quad (2) \end{aligned}$$

The dependent variables are course grades translated and normalized by DOE to a four-point GPA scale for comparable basis. A grade is normalized to 4.0 if it is “A+”, “A”, or between 93 and 100, and to 3.7 if it is “A-” or between 90 and 93, and so forth. The independent variables of interest are the interactions between *Treated* and event time indicators. If a course occurs in a semester within one year before (or after) the semester when the treated student experiences a family shock

¹⁶ Here the control students are not necessarily student B (simultaneously enrolled in course X with student A during the shock); instead, it can be any female students that do not experience family shocks at the time of common courses Y . We do not trace the course performance of the students A - B pair here because that requires the two students to enroll in multiple courses together simultaneously over time. This synchronicity is rare and reduces our sample by over 60%. This limitation, only pertains to analysis of grades. For other outcomes (e.g., family financials and enrollment status), we perform the A - B pair tracing without losing observations.

(time 0), then it is included in *Year -1* (or *Year 1*). If a course occurs in a semester between one and two years before (or after) time 0, then it is included in *Year -2* (or *Year 2*). The coefficients β_l capture how treated and control students perform in common courses, relative to the pre-shock period. Similar to Equation (1), we include *Course-semester* $\times$ *Fam. State* $\times$ *Event time FE*.¹⁷

Figure 2 plots the coefficients of β_l separately for female and male students. The dashed line presents a difference-in-differences estimation among female students, and the solid line presents a difference-in-differences estimation among male students.

[Insert Figure 2 here.]

The dashed line shows that treated and control female students have no significant difference in grades prior to treatment students experiencing financial shocks – again confirming that the family shocks from natural disasters are likely random. Importantly, differences in their grades remain negligible after natural disasters, with some evidence that treated female students earn slightly higher grades in the year after disasters relative to control female students. For male students, a different pattern emerges. Treated and control male students have similar grades in the years prior to financial shocks. However, treated male students experience significantly worse academic performance in the year of the shock relative to control male students. The effect is large – approximately 0.7 grade points on a 4.0 scale – which amounts to a two-notch difference, e.g., B+ versus B-. It is statistically significant and persists through the following two years.

We replicate Figure 2 using the Sun and Abraham (2021) estimator to account for the potential heterogeneous treatment effect (e.g., Callaway and Sant’Anna, 2021; Goodman-Bacon, 2021). Control students under this approach consist of those whose families never experience natural disasters over the sample period (i.e., the “clean” controls). See Figure A3 in the Online Appendix. There we observe that the patterns for female students are nearly unchanged. However,

¹⁷ Control variables in Table 3 column (3). Standard errors are clustered at the student origin county and student level.

for male students, the negative effect of financial shocks is somewhat stronger. Two years after natural disasters, treated male students experience academic performance that is worse by a full letter grade (e.g., B versus C) relative to control male students.

These patterns indicate that male students react differently to financial shocks than female students. Whereas treated female students continue to perform similarly in their coursework following financial shocks relative to control female students (the dashed line), treated male students' performance suffers significantly relative to control males (the solid line). The contrast of these two patterns yields a triple-differences (DDD) analysis, and we formalize this analysis in Table 3. Specifically, we estimate the following OLS regression:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Course grades}_{i,t} = & \alpha + \beta_1 \times \text{Treated}_i \times \text{Post}_t \times \text{Female}_i + \\ & \text{Interaction terms and standalone indicators}_{i,t} + \beta_4 \times \text{Student and Family Characteristics}_i + \\ & \text{Fixed effects} + \varepsilon_{i,t} . \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

where i indexes student and t indexes time. Unlike Equation (2) and Figure 2 that report separate estimates for each year in event time, here we construct an indicator variable *Post* that equals one in the year of the financial shock and the two years following, and zero in the two years prior to the disaster. (This approach avoids a cumbersome regression output with seven triple-interaction terms, one for each event year.) As before, we cluster standard errors at the student-origin county and student level. If, following financial shocks, treated female students earn similar grades (relative to the control female), whereas treated male students perform worse as suggested by Figure 2, then β_1 should be positive and significant. Table 3 reports the results.

[Insert Table 3 here.]

Column (1) in Table 3 shows that, after males and females experience financial shocks, females respond by earning course grades that are 0.397 points higher than males (on a 4.0 scale), benchmarked against their respective control peers. This estimate is statistically significant at 5%. Column (2) replicates this analysis after controlling for student characteristics beyond gender,

including age, whether the student is non-traditional, confident in their abilities as a student, SAT score, field of study fixed effects, as well as students' family characteristics, including whether their parents have college degrees and how many children they have in college. The differential effect of financial shocks on grades grows to 0.430 points. Column (3) replicates the analysis after controlling for economic and demographic characteristics of the location where students' families reside, including the median family income, percentage of unemployed population, and percentage of white population in the area. The effect grows further, to 0.465 points. This magnitude translates to a 1.5-notches difference, or over a half letter grade difference.

Columns (4) and (5) repeat the analyses in columns (1) to (3) using the subsample of white versus non-white, respectively. This split significantly reduces the non-white subsample because of our restrictive identification strategy: for a non-white treated student A enrolled in course X , if we cannot identify any control students who are also non-white, simultaneously enrolled in X , and originate from the same state as A , then the entire course X (and its students) will be excluded from the regressions.

We find robust results across races: after experiencing financial shocks, both white and non-white females earn higher course grades than males who also experience financial shocks. The magnitude of the effect is larger in the non-white subsample, although the coefficient is marginally statistically significant at the 10% level, likely due to the limited sample.

5.3. The role of family finances

The results so far indicate that females respond to financial shocks with greater resilience than males. We next examine whether this effect varies with family financial resources. We perform this test in Table 4 by splitting the sample into above- and below-median subsamples based on family financial resources (parental earnings) prior to the shock (*Year -1*). To conserve space, we only present the results based on earnings. Conclusions are similar using parental taxes.

[Insert Table 4 here.]

Columns (1) and (2) include the subsample of students whose parental earnings are below the sample median, and columns (3) and (4) include those with high-earning parents. Columns (2) and (4) include additional controls for the demographics and characteristics of students' originating locations. We find that the reverse gender gap is more prominent in the low-earnings group, as indicated by the positive and significant coefficients of $Treated \times Post \times Female$ in columns (1) and (2). Specifically, in column (2), treated male students from lower earning families underperform their male peers by 0.883 grade points out of 4 points (as shown by the coefficients of $Treated \times Post$). Female students eliminate this performance drop (i.e., the summation of $Treated \times Post$ and $Treated \times Post \times Female$: $-0.883 + 1.251$). Put differently, relative to their respective peers, treated female students outperform treated male students by 1.251 grade points.

In column (4), males' grades do not change significantly to begin with ($Treated \times Post = 0.040$) and female resilience disappears accordingly ($Treated \times Post \times Female = -0.002$). Family income mitigates the consequences of the shock itself, dimming females' relative resilience.

5.4. Is there a gender performance gap on the extensive margin?

The results show a gender gap in course performance among students who remain enrolled in college following financial shocks. This finding could reflect strategic behavior, whereby females discontinue college enrollment at higher rates than males following shocks. If that is the case, then the apparent resilience of females in response to shocks would reflect their "dodging" poor performance. To investigate, we examine the extensive margin: Are treated female students more likely to discontinue enrollment than treated male students? We find the opposite.

For each treated student A and control students B (in the same course of a university at the time of the shocks), we trace their college enrollment surrounding the shock. We estimate a similar regression as in Equation (1) and Equation (2) in monthly panel data, in which the dependent variable is an indicator, *Enrollment*, for whether a student remains enrolled in college as of each month end prior to earning the college degree. Non-enrollment indicates disruption to college

education. *Month 0* denotes the month when the shock occurs. The coefficients of the interactions between *Treated* and event time indicators test whether treated and control students exhibit different enrollment status in a month, relative to the pre-shock month (i.e., *Month -1*). Panel A of Figure 3 plots these coefficients estimated for female students.

Relative to the pre-shock month, we observe no significant changes in females' enrollment status following the shocks: Treated female students are equally likely to remain enrolled after the shocks as control females. Panel B of Figure 3 shows a different pattern for males. Treated male students are less likely than control males to remain enrolled following the shocks. The effect attains statistical significance two months after the disaster and reaches its largest (negative) magnitude seven months after the disaster. At this point, treated males are about 14% less likely to be enrolled in college. This effect is economically significant given that on average, the mean of *Enrollment* is about 71% for the sample male students. A mean of 71% of *Enrollment* indicates that in a typical month in the sample, about 29% of male students are not enrolled in classes, either because they take a temporary break from college or drop out entirely.¹⁸ The effect dissipates and treated male students regain the same rate of enrollment as control males beginning eight months after the shocks – approximately one academic year later. This figure suggests that female students exhibit greater resilience on both the intensive and extensive margins.

[Insert Figure 3 here.]

As in Figure 2, the contrast between Panels A and B yields a DDD analysis, which we formalize in Table 5. Given the evidence in Table 4, we split the sample based on parental earnings prior to the shocks.¹⁹ The specification and control variables follow Equation (3). *Post* equals one for observations from *Month 0* to *Month 9*, and zero for observations from *Month -3* to *Month -1*.

[Insert Table 5 here.]

¹⁸ The mean of *Enrollment* for females is about 73%.

¹⁹ Results are again similar using taxes paid, proxying for total parental income.

Columns (1) and (2) feature students with parental earnings below the sample median and columns (3) and (4) feature those with high parental earnings. Column (2) shows that male students with low-earning parents are 11.2% more likely to discontinue enrollment following the shock, relative to male peers (i.e., the coefficient of $Treated \times Post$: -0.112). Treated female students with low-income parents, however, are equally likely to remain in enrolled as female peers (the summation of the coefficients of $Treated \times Post$ and $Treated \times Post \times Female$: -0.112+0.169). In other words, treated male students are 17% more likely to experience enrollment disruption in the months following natural disasters than female students. In contrast, column (4) shows an insignificant coefficient of $Treated \times Post \times Female$, suggesting that there is no statistical difference in enrollment when male and female students have high-earning parents.²⁰

5.5. Do financial shocks lead to gender gaps in academic standing and career paths?

This section tests whether gender performance gaps extend to longer-run outcomes. We test whether treated female students are more likely than treated male students to earn higher overall GPAs during college, earn college degrees in a timely manner, and land jobs in finance, business, or management. Different from the previous DDD analyses, these outcomes variables are snapshots at the conclusion of college. We therefore estimate the following modified model:

$$Long-term Outcome_i = \alpha + \beta_1 \times Treated_i \times Female_i + Standalone indicators + \beta_2 \times Student and Family Characteristics_i + Fixed Effects + \varepsilon_i. \quad (4)$$

This approach is a multivariate difference-in-differences (DD) analysis, and the key coefficient is β_1 . This coefficient captures whether treated female students experience different outcomes after the conclusion of college than control female students (enrolled in the same course at the same time during the shock) – and contrasts this difference with that between treated and control male students. Because there is no event time variation in this analysis, we only include *Course-semester*

²⁰ The coefficient of $Treated \times Post$ in column (4) is positive and marginally significant at the 10% level. However, this observation is not robust. In untabulated tests, we alternatively use parental income to capture students' family conditions, and there we observe an insignificant coefficient of the $Treated \times Post$.

× *Fam. state* fixed effects, which force comparison between treated and control students enrolled in the same course at the same time during the shock and originating from the same home state. We cluster standard errors as in the previous tests. Table 6 presents the results.

[Insert Table 6 here.]

Column (1) of Table 6 shows that relative to their respective peers, treated female students leave college with overall grade point averages that are 0.268 points higher than treated male students. This effect is nearly a “+” or “-” difference in overall GPA (e.g., a “B+” average of 3.3 versus a “B” average of 3.0).²¹ Column (2) adds control variables that capture the demographics and characteristics of students’ originating locations. The results are nearly unchanged. Columns (3) and (4) examine *Timely degree* as the dependent variable, which is an indicator taking a value of one if the student receives a degree by 2017 (the second follow-up survey by BPS12), and zero otherwise. Results show that treated female students first enrolled in 2012 are about 16% more likely than treated males to graduate as of 2017. This magnitude is economically sizable given that the sample mean of *Timely degree* is 81.6%.

In Table 7, we explore whether financial shocks differentially affect students’ choice of major and career paths post college – particularly in the fields of finance, business, or management (hereafter, FBM). Existing studies show that females remain underrepresented in FBM-related fields; e.g., Adams, Barber, and Odean (2016), Adams and Kirchmaier (2016), Hoff et al. (2024), McKinsey & Company (2024). A recent study by Hampole, Truffa, and Wong (2024) finds that this gender gap is reduced by women’s exposure to female peers in MBA programs. Specifically, a larger share of female peers during their MBA program significantly increases women’s advancement into senior management positions.²²

²¹ The average college GPA of our sample students is 3.04.

²² Relatedly, Bostwick and Weinberg (2018) find that female peers help women persist and excel in doctoral STEM programs. Adams, Barber, and Odean (2018) find that having a STEM mother increases females’ probability of becoming CFA Institute members, indicating the influence of female role models in career choice.

A student's decision to pursue FBM fields may likewise be shaped by early life exposure to financial circumstances. The experience of family financial shocks may heighten the importance of financial literacy, thereby encouraging students to pursue FBM majors and careers as a path toward financial security and sophistication. We analyze whether students are more likely to switch into FBM majors from non-FBM fields after experiencing a financial shock, and whether those already enrolled in FBM majors are more likely to remain, rather than switch to another field. We further examine whether these patterns differ between male and female students, and whether the effects vary with family financial resources.

[Insert Table 7 here.]

Table 7 columns (1) and (2) report the results for the sample of students already enrolled in FBM majors as of the 2014 academic year (approximately sophomore year).²³ The dependent variable, *Remain FBM*, equals one if these students remain in the FBM field as of the 2017 academic year (toward the end of college enrollment), and zero if they switch to other fields. Column (1) focuses on students from low-earning families. Here, the coefficient of *Treated* is negative, suggesting that treated male students who experience financial shocks are more likely to leave FBM majors than their control peers.²⁴ The coefficient of *Treated* $\times$ *Female* is 0.432 and is statistically significant. The summation of *Treated* and *Treated* $\times$ *Female* ($-0.327 + 0.432$) is marginally positive, suggesting that treated female students remain in FBM majors at the same rate as control females. Compared to males, female students are more likely to persist in FBM fields after financial shocks.

Column (2) focuses on students with high-earning parents. Consistent with Section 5.3, we observe that financial shocks do not significantly affect students' likelihood of remaining in FBM

²³ These students account for approximately 13.5% of our sample. The BPS12 surveys each student's field of study in both 2014 and 2017. An FBM-related field corresponds to the two-digit category number 10.

²⁴ This observation is similar to the findings in Section 5.4 that males are more likely to experience disruption in enrollment following the shocks.

majors, and there are no notable differences in these patterns between male and female students. Given the small sample size of students pursuing FBM majors, however, we interpret these results as suggestive.²⁵

We report analysis of students switching into FBM majors from non-FBM fields after experiencing a financial shock in Online Appendix, Table A1 columns (1) and (2). The dependent variable, *Into FBM*, equals one if a student's major is non-FBM as of 2014 and changes to FBM as of 2017. Table A1 shows that financial shocks do not have a significant impact on students' propensity to switch into FBM majors, regardless of gender or income level.

We also examine career paths. Columns (3) and (4) of Table 7 report results for FBM majors as of 2014. The dependent variable, *FBM career*, takes the value of one if a student takes an FBM job and zero if a student takes a job in another industry. BPS12 provides the six-digit code of a student's occupation category as of 2017, based on the classification of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). Occupation information is available for about 76% of our sample students.

An FBM occupation is in the categories of 13-0000 or 11-0000, and accounts for approximately 14.6% of our sample observations. We observe that female treated students enrolled in FBM majors are more likely to enter the FBM industry than males (relative to their respective control peers) – especially when parental earnings are lower. This can be seen from the positive and significant coefficient of *Treated* $\times$ *Female* in column (3). The summation of the coefficients of *Treated* and *Treated* $\times$ *Female* is 0.334 (-0.456 + 0.790). After experiencing financial shocks, treated female students become more likely than control females to enter FBM careers.

We tabulate analysis of non-FBM majors in Online Appendix, Table A1 columns (3) and (4). We do not find significant effects among these students regardless of parental income.

6. Channels for the “reverse gender gap”

²⁵ This sample matches treated students with controls enrolled in the same course at the time of the shock, all of whom pursue FBM majors. Constrained by sample size, we cannot include *Course-semester* $\times$ *Fam. state* fixed effects.

6.1. Self-efficacy

Kuhnen and Melzer (2018) show that individuals with high self-efficacy – belief that effort influences outcomes – navigate financial shocks better than those with low self-efficacy. This effect is prominent for individuals from poorer families. We hypothesize that this noncognitive attribute plays a role in our documented reverse gender gap in human capital investment.²⁶

Financial shocks pose additional obstacles to coursework including heightened mental stress and distraction. Students decide whether to increase effort in response to these obstacles. Students with self-efficacy perceive effort to be effective and make required sacrifice. Students with low self-efficacy see limited potential to overcome adversity and accept a worse outcome.

We examine whether self-efficacy explains the reverse gender gap with three tests. First, we utilize prior evidence that the academic self-efficacy of males and females varies by subject. Females exhibit higher self-efficacy in language arts or writing, but lack self-efficacy in mathematics, engineering, and computer science (STEM fields); e.g. Huang (2013) and Burger et al. (2010).²⁷ If females' outperformance relative to males reflects self-efficacy, then it should concentrate in non-STEM fields. This is our Prediction 1. We also test whether females generally exhibit higher self-efficacy than males – resulting in their outperformance in the overall sample. If so, females should be more likely to maintain a positive perception about the future in the face of adversity as they believe they are capable of shaping outcomes (Prediction 2), and females should spend more effort tackling challenges as they perceive effort to be effective (Prediction 3).

6.1.1 STEM vs. non-STEM courses

To test Prediction 1, Table 8 performs the DDD analysis in Table 3 for STEM courses and non-STEM courses separately. BPS12 identifies STEM courses based on three sources: the

²⁶ Prior studies document a positive relation between self-efficacy and academic performance, education attainment, and labor market outcomes (e.g., Lindqvist and Vestman, 2011; Heckman, Pinto, and Savelyev, 2013).

²⁷ Brenøe and Zölitz (2020) find that female peers lower women's probability of selecting and graduating from STEM programs, reducing females' STEM occupation take-up and earnings in the long run.

Science, Mathematics and Research for Transformation (SMART) Scholarship, the National Science Foundation (NSF), and the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Columns (1) and (2) present the results using STEM courses identified by SMART. Among STEM courses, treated male students see lower, but insignificant, grades than male controls following the shock, as captured by the coefficient of $Treated \times Post$ (-0.249). This observation contrasts with treated males' significant underperformance as shown in Figure 2 and Table 3, likely reflecting relatively greater self-efficacy in STEM fields. The summation of the coefficients of $Treated \times Post$ and $Treated \times Post \times Female$ is -0.087 ($= -0.249 + 0.162$), suggesting that in STEM courses, female students likewise experience lower grades than female controls, albeit insignificantly. As such, females neither outperform nor underperform males in STEM courses. In STEM fields, the absence of children and family obligations nullifies the gender-based performance gap documented in the motivating literature.

[Insert Table 8 here.]

Females' significant outperformance is observed in non-STEM courses, as seen in column (2). There, treated male students significantly underperform their male peers (i.e., $Treated \times Post = -0.552$, significant at the 1% level), whereas treated female students continue to perform similarly as female controls following the shocks. As such, females outperform males by 0.6 points (out of 4 points) in non-STEM fields. This magnitude translates to about two grade notches. Columns (3) and (4) use a more stringent definition for STEM, in which all three sources identify a course as STEM. The results are similar.

Next, we test Prediction 2 and Prediction 3 to address the alternative explanation that the two subsamples of courses capture gendered differences in students' *abilities* to handle STEM. If females, by chance, are less proficient in mastering STEM materials, then their outperformance over males would similarly diminish in these courses – confounding the hypothesis of self-efficacy.

6.1.2 Perception about future outcomes

Prediction 2 states that with higher-self efficacy, females are more likely than males to maintain a positive perception about future outcomes in the face of challenges. To test this prediction, we explore the BPS12 survey question regarding a student's highest degree that he/she expects to earn. This question is asked three times in the survey period – at the end of academic years 2012 (i.e., June 2012), 2014 and 2017. It allows us to identify whether a student's perception about the future deteriorates after the financial shock. Specifically, if the shock happens between the end of academic year 2012 and 2014, then the dummy variable, *Deterioration*, equals one when a student revises down the degree expectation in the 2014 survey compared to 2012, and equals zero otherwise. If the shock happens between the end of 2014 and 2017, then *Deterioration* is defined based on expectations in 2017 and 2014. We estimate the following OLS regression:

$$Deterioration_i = \alpha + \beta_1 \times Treated_i \times Female_i + Standalone\ indicators + \beta_2 \times Student\ and\ Family\ Characteristics_i + Fixed\ Effects + \varepsilon_i. \quad (5)$$

Because the dependent variable captures changes in a student's degree expectations over time, Equation (5) essentially performs a DDD analysis. With the inclusion of *Course-semester* $\times$ *Fam. state* fixed effects the coefficient β_1 captures whether treated female students exhibit perception deterioration after the shock, relative to control females and contrasts whether this pattern differs from that between the treated and control males.²⁸

Table 9 presents the results. Column (1) presents a specification with *Treated* as the independent variable of interest. The coefficient is positive and significant, suggesting that relative to control peers, treated students (regardless of gender) are more likely to revise down degree expectations following the shock. However, column (2) suggests that such deterioration is largely muted among female students. In fact, the summation of *Treated* $\times$ *Female* and *Treated* is close to zero, suggesting that after the shock, treated females maintain their expectations comparable to controls – a manifestation of self-efficacy.

²⁸ We do not employ triple-interaction terms because this dependent variable is not surveyed continuously.

[Insert Table 9 here.]

6.1.3 Effort in coursework

Prediction 3 states that with high self-efficacy, females should exert greater effort in coursework upon encountering shocks. To test this prediction, we gauge how much effort a student spends on coursework, as measured by *Attempted credits* $\times$ *Grades*. *Attempted credits* is the number of course credits that a student selects in a semester. *Grades* is the average course grade obtained by the student in the semester. The multiplication of these components follows the premise that a student who enrolls in more courses in a semester – and eventually obtains higher grades in these courses – exerts more effort compared to performing poorly with a similar amount of coursework or performing well in fewer courses.²⁹ We measure *Attempted credits* $\times$ *Grades* for each student in each semester.

To address the concern that *Attempted credits* $\times$ *Grade* may reflect heterogeneity in student ability aside from effort, we convert this measure to capture within-student variation (essentially controlling for student FE). We do so in two ways. For each student, we form a distribution of *Attempted credits* $\times$ *Grades* in our sample period, and define a categorical variable *Effort* $\in [1, 2, 3, 4, 5]$, corresponding to the five quintiles of the distribution. *Effort*=5 indicates that the student's effort in a semester is in the top quintile, and so forth. Alternatively, we define a continuous version of the *Effort* variable, calculated as the de-meaned value of *Attempted credits* $\times$ *Grades* (i.e., *Attempted credits* $\times$ *Grades* minus its mean for a given student). We measure *Effort* for each student in each semester.

In Table 10, we estimate the DDD model in Equation (3), replacing the dependent variable with *Effort*. Column (1) uses the categorical *Effort*, and column (2) uses the continuous *Effort*. The goal here is to examine whether treated female students spend more effort following the shock

²⁹ If a student withdraws from a course, then the grade for that course is assigned to zero.

than treated males (relative to their respective control peers). This is indeed what we find, as captured by the DDD estimator $Treated \times Post \times Female$.³⁰ Based on column (1), the coefficient of $Treated \times Post$ suggests that treated males reduce their effort by almost 0.3 categories after the shock, relative to control males. The coefficient of $Treated \times Post \times Female$, on the other hand, suggests that females' effort increases by almost 0.8 categories over males. This contrast is economically meaningful. We obtain a similar interpretation from column (2).

[Insert Table 10 here.]

Overall, results in Section 6.1 support our hypothesis that the reverse gender gap observed in Table 3 reflects variation in students' self-efficacy.

6.2. Mental health changes

We investigate if males and females have different responses to financial shocks in terms of mental health. If males become particularly distressed, then this could explain why they underperform. We measure changes in mental health around financial shocks with the five-point scale classified by the BPS12. Five indicates excellent mental health and one indicates poor mental health. *Mental status change* is the within-student change in this value around financial shocks.³¹ A lower value of the dependent variable indicates deterioration in mental health. We estimate the following OLS regression:

$$\begin{aligned} Mental\ Status\ change_i = & \alpha + \beta_1 \times Treated_i \times Female_i + Standalone\ indicators + \beta_2 \times \\ & Student\ and\ Family\ Characteristics_i + Fixed\ Effects + \varepsilon_i. \end{aligned} \quad (6)$$

This regression compares the mental status change of treated females with that of treated males (relative to their respective control peers) following the shock. As before, we include *Course-*

³⁰ We obtain similar results when alternatively defining *Effort* based on the terciles or deciles of the *Attempted credits* $\times$ *Grades* distribution.

³¹ Mental health is measured three times in the sample – at the end of academic year 2012, 2014 and 2017. We follow the same approach as for change in degree expectations in Section 6.1.2. If the shock happens between academic years 2012 and 2014, mental health change is the difference between mental health status in 2014 and 2012; if the shock happens between the end of 2014 and 2017, then it is the difference between mental status in 2014 and 2017.

$semester \times Fam. state$ fixed effects, which force comparison between treated and control students enrolled in the same course at the same time and originating from the same home state.

Column (1) in Table 11 includes *Treated* as the independent variable of interest. Its coefficient is statistically significant with a point estimate of -0.577. This result indicates that treated students (regardless of gender) experience an average reduction in mental health of more than ten percent of the range of mental health responses following financial shocks.

[Insert Table 11 here.]

Column (2) includes $Treated \times Female$ as the independent variable of interest. Its coefficient tests whether the deterioration in mental health following financial shocks established in column (1) varies by gender. It does not. Males and females exhibit equal deterioration in mental health following financial shocks. Changes in mental health are unlikely to explain the gender gap in performance due to financial shocks.

6.3. Labor reallocation

We next consider whether males and females differ in their approaches to addressing the unexpected financial constraints, e.g., by taking part-time jobs. Figure A4 in the Online Appendix presents part-time job take up for male and female students. This figure presents a similar analysis as in Figure 1, with part-time employment as the outcome variable (i.e., the logarithm of one plus the number of weekly employment hours at part-time jobs). That is, we trace how treated student *A* and control students *B* change their part-time job employment surrounding the shock. Because part-time job information is available annually, this analysis is performed in an annual panel.

Figure A4 shows that treated and control female students have no significant difference in part-time job hours prior to or following financial shocks. We observe a different response for males. Treated and control male students work similar hours in the pre-shock years. However, treated male students work significantly more hours in the year of the shock relative to control male students, and the effect persists through the following two years.

These observations indicate that male students compensate differently in response to financial shocks than female students by working more hours. The largest point estimate for treated male students relative to control male students in Figure A4 is about 1.6. This magnitude translates to approximately five additional hours of part-time work per week. This effect is nontrivial. However, working five additional hours per week may not be sufficiently disruptive to generate the performance gender gaps in Figure 2 and Tables 3 and 6. We formally test in Table 12 whether part-time job take-up explains the reverse gender performance gap.

We augment Equation (2) by including an additional triple-interaction term in the regression: $Treated \times Post \times Job\ take-up$ (along with other pair-wise interactions and the standalone indicators). If treated male students' part-time jobs explain why they earn lower course grades after financial shocks relative to treated female students, then the coefficient of $Treated \times Post \times Job\ take-up$ should be negative and statistically significant, and it should subsume the original coefficient of $Treated \times Post \times Female$. We use two proxies for part-time job take-up. *Job dummy* is an indicator taking a value of one if the student works any part-time hours during the academic year. *Job hours* is the logarithm of one plus the average weekly number of hours the student works in part-time jobs in the academic year (hours equal zero if a student is not employed).

[Insert Table 12 here.]

Columns (1) and (2) of Table 12 show that part-time jobs do not explain the gender gap generated by financial shocks. The coefficients of $Treated \times Post \times Female$ remain economically large and statistically significant while the coefficients of $Treated \times Post \times Job$ are insignificant. Columns (3) and (4) likewise show that part-time job hours do not explain the gender performance gap. Overall, we conclude that although males compensate more for financial shocks by working part time than females, this behavior unlikely explains the reverse gender gap.

6.4. Student debt

Relatedly, we examine whether male and female students differ in borrowing behavior after

financial shocks. The existing literature documents that student loan indebtedness causes significant negative impact on borrowers' personal and professional lives.³² The anticipation of such negative impact may create a psychological burden and adversely affect students' academic performance. If males borrow more than females following the shocks, then this difference may give rise to the gender gap reversal.

Figure A5 in the Online Appendix traces how treated student *A* and control students *B* change student debt around the shock; the outcome variable is the logarithm of one plus the total amount of a student's federal loans in each year. We find that borrowing behavior is similar, suggesting that it is unlikely to drive the gender gap reversal observed in our baseline results.

6.5. Home duties

Male students may be more likely to return home than females to assist rebuilding damaged properties. In this case, treated males become more distracted from coursework. We examine whether such a difference could explain the reverse gender gap. Ideally, we would track students' movements between college and home and elsewhere each semester, and control for abnormal activity to filter out the effect of home duties. Such information, however, is not available in our data. Instead, we explore variation in the likelihood of traveling home.

Our main analyses are based on students who complete their coursework and obtain valid grades (excluding withdrawals). To maintain such attendance, any students who return home to assist the families must make at least one round trip. This itinerary becomes increasingly expensive – in terms of transportation costs and time spent on the road – as a student's home is farther away from the college. Put differently, the longer the distance between home and college, the less likely

³² The impact includes reduced business formation and entrepreneurship (Amromin and McGranahan 2015; Krishnan and Wang 2019), delayed homeownership and family formation (Gicheva 2011; Cooper and Wang 2014; Mezza, Ringo, Sherlund, and Sommer 2016; Yannelis and Tracey 2022), lower graduate school enrollment (Chakrabarti, Fos, Liberman, and Yannelis 2023), reduced stock investment (Batkeyev, Krishnan, and Nandy 2017), consumption (Dinerstein, Yannelis, and Chen 2024) and suboptimal labor outcomes or human capital decisions (Minicozzi 2005; Rothstein and Rouse 2011; Weidner 2016; Lou and Mongey 2019; Mueller and Yannelis 2019; Ji 2021; Hampole 2023; Looney and Yannelis 2024).

a student can afford to return home. If males' underperformance relative to females is due to being called home, then a longer distance would mitigate this chance and weaken the observed gender gap. However, this is not what we observe.

We use Vincenty's (1975) formula based on the centroids of students' origin and college counties and find the sample average distance between home and college is about 380 miles. In Table 13, we repeat the main analyses in Table 3 using three subsamples, requiring the distance between home and college for students experiencing financial shocks to be greater than 180 miles, 300 miles, and 480 miles, respectively. By nature, the sample size reduces significantly with distance, but our findings remain regardless of the distance. In all three columns we observe that treated males experience significantly worse performance than control males (negative coefficients of *Treated* $\times$ *Post*) but treated females do not exhibit such performance deterioration relative to control females, resulting in female outperformance (the positive coefficients of *Treated* $\times$ *Post* $\times$ *Female*). In Online Appendix Figure A6, we plot the performance patterns for males and females separately for students with distance greater than 300 miles. We confirm the regressions results.³³

[Insert Table 13 here.]

Relatedly, we consider whether male students are more likely than females to return home and take advantage of the increased demand for construction workers post natural disasters – a possibility that could divert males from their coursework. Such a possibility is unlikely to affect our analyses of students' course grades (Figure 2 and Table 3) because our analyses only include students who remain enrolled. Section 6.3 shows that part-time jobs (construction or otherwise) cannot explain the reverse gender gap. However, it is possible that construction jobs prompt male students to discontinue their enrollment.

³³ As a supplementary test to examine whether home duties explain the reverse gender gap, we repeat our baseline analysis in a subsample of students who never withdraw from any courses. To the extent that these students are least likely to have returned home during the coursework, this approach helps us better isolate the potential confounding effect of home duties. Online Appendix Figure A7 shows that our baseline results continue to hold in this subsample.

To investigate this possibility, we identify students whose enrollment is disrupted after the disaster and examine whether they subsequently enter construction occupations as of 2017 (when this information is surveyed by BPS12). Among approximately 1,680 such students, fewer than 1% end up working in a construction jobs – primarily as electricians, with the remainder in plumbing or general construction labor.³⁴ Given this small representation, we conclude that post-disaster construction employment is unlikely to drive the enrollment results in Figure 3.

6.6. Course selection

It is possible that females select less-challenging courses after the financial shock. If treated male students continue to select difficult courses despite the challenges, then they are more likely to receive lower grades relative to the control males. If treated female students avoid difficult courses following the shock, then they mask the impact of the shock on course grades. Such variation in course selection may in turn lead to the reverse gender gap in performance.

Our previous results suggest the opposite. Figure 3 and Table 5 show that females remain enrolled in college after the shock, whereas males disrupt their education. Females also spend more effort in coursework after the shock, relative to males, as shown in Table 10. We further rule out this possibility by explicitly testing whether females avoid difficult courses following the shock.

We measure the difficulty level of each course at each school by calculating the average grades received by students taking this course in our sample period. To preclude confounding effects of the shock, we measure course difficulty with the grades of students that are never treated. High average grades suggest that a course is likely less challenging for students in general.³⁵ We define *Difficulty* as the average difficulty level of the courses taken by a student each semester.

Table 14 reports the results. We estimate the DDD specification in Equation (3), replacing

³⁴ Construction occupations are defined by the BLS as those with a two-digit occupation code of 47.

³⁵ To ensure that average grades are indicative, we require a minimum of nine students from the BPS12 data to earn grades in each university-course (representing the 75th percentile of the distribution on the number of grades per university-course). Results are similar when the requirement is based on three students (the median), five students, or ten students earning grades.

the dependent variable with *Difficulty*. The DDD estimator is insignificant, both statistically and economically, suggesting that treated female students do not more aggressively avoid difficult courses than males following the financial shock (relative to their respective control peers).

[Insert Table 14 here.]

6.7. *Spurious results*

The reverse gender gap could arise spuriously if the family financial resources of male students are, by chance, hit harder by natural disasters. We examine this possibility by investigating the changes in family financial conditions for female and male students around natural disasters. Figure 4 plots results for Figure 1 analyses separately among female and male students.

[Insert Figure 4 here.]

The results show that treated and control female students have no significant differences in family income (proxied by taxes paid) or earnings prior to the disasters. Reductions in family income and earnings affect both treated males and females in a similar magnitude, although the timing of the effect varies. For females, the effect is significant in the year of the disaster. For males it is significant in the year after. Comparing the reductions in resources across panels, the magnitudes of the effects are similar between males and females. We thus conclude that our results do not reflect a spurious relation driven by male students' greater exposure to treatment effects.

7. Conclusion

Recent studies document that female professionals exhibit greater productivity losses relative to their male peers in the face of productivity shocks. In a setting without confounding effects of children or family responsibilities, we document a reversal in that gender performance gap following financial shocks. Using colleges as a laboratory and natural disasters as plausibly exogenous shocks to family finances, we find that males whose families experience deteriorating financial conditions underperform their male peers who do not experience such shocks. In contrast, affected female students continue to perform similarly as their peers. This gender gap reversal is

present for white and non-white students. It is more prominent when students' families are poorer *ex ante*. The reverse gender gap is not the result of a selection effect, whereby females discontinue college enrollment at higher rates than males. Not only do males earn lower grades, they also respond to financial shocks by discontinuing college enrollment at higher rates. The effect also manifests in the long run, as males who experience financial shocks are more likely to exit college with lower GPAs and take longer to finish their degrees. Females become more likely to pursue majors and careers in finance, business, or management following the shock.

We provide evidence that self-efficacy plays a role in the reverse gender gap. We bifurcate analyses based on STEM fields (where males exhibit greater self-efficacy) and non-STEM fields (where women exhibit greater self-efficacy). We find that the reverse gender gap nullifies male overperformance in STEM fields; female students perform neither better nor worse than males in STEM courses following the financial shock. Among non-STEM fields, females outperform males, on average. Furthermore, we find that females are more likely to maintain positive perception about the future in the face of adversity, and they exert greater effort encountering challenges – consistent with the predictions of high self-efficacy.

Although males mitigate financial shocks by taking more part-time jobs and working more hours during college than females, this difference in job take-up does not explain the reverse gender gap. The results are also unlikely driven by male students travelling home to help with relief efforts following natural disasters or female students strategically avoiding challenging coursework. In addition, we find that treated male and female students show similar deteriorations in mental health following financial shocks, and their families experience similar financial shocks from natural disasters on average, indicating our results are not attributable to differences in mental responses to shocks, or spuriously driven by males' families receiving stronger treatment effects. Overall, we conclude that females exhibit greater resilience in their human capital investment following adverse financial shocks.

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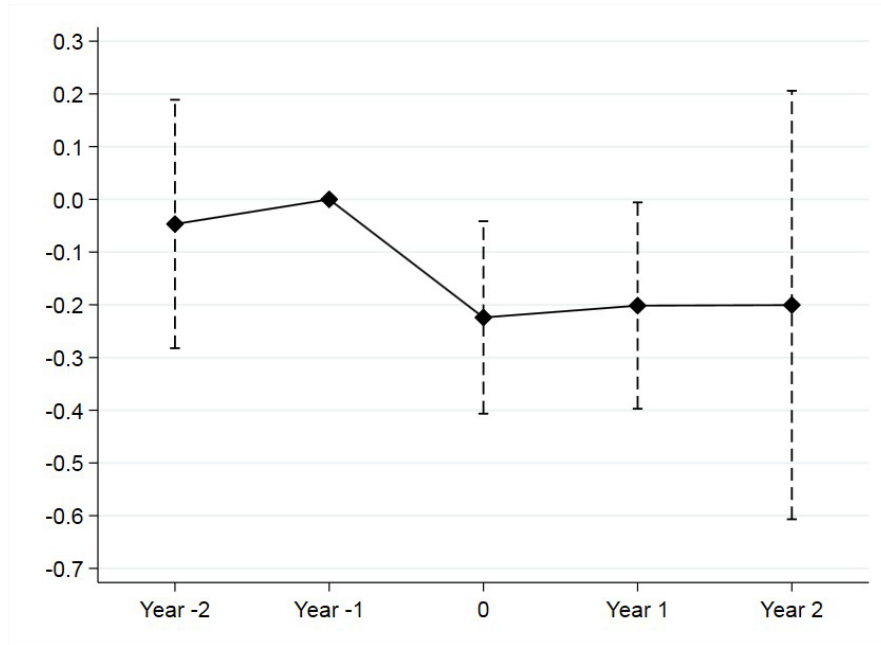
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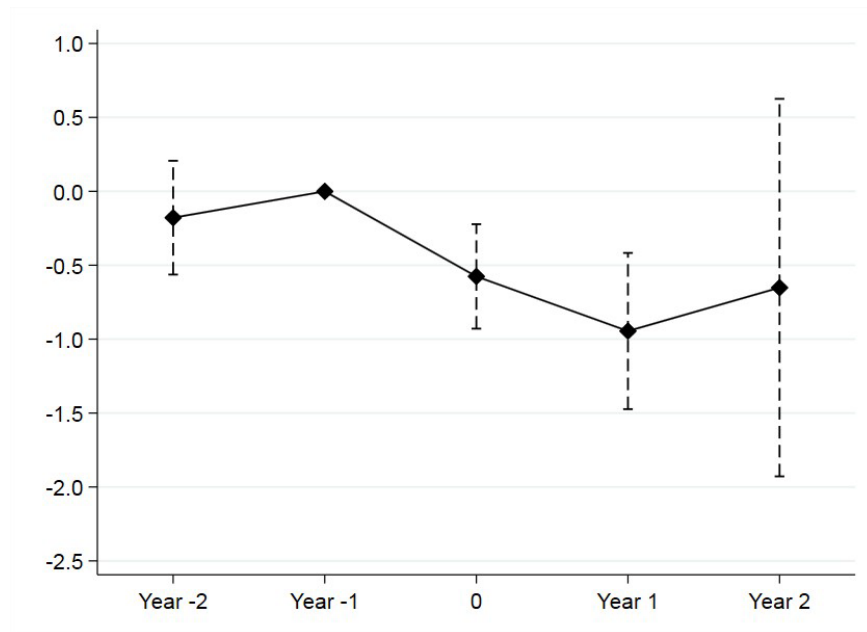
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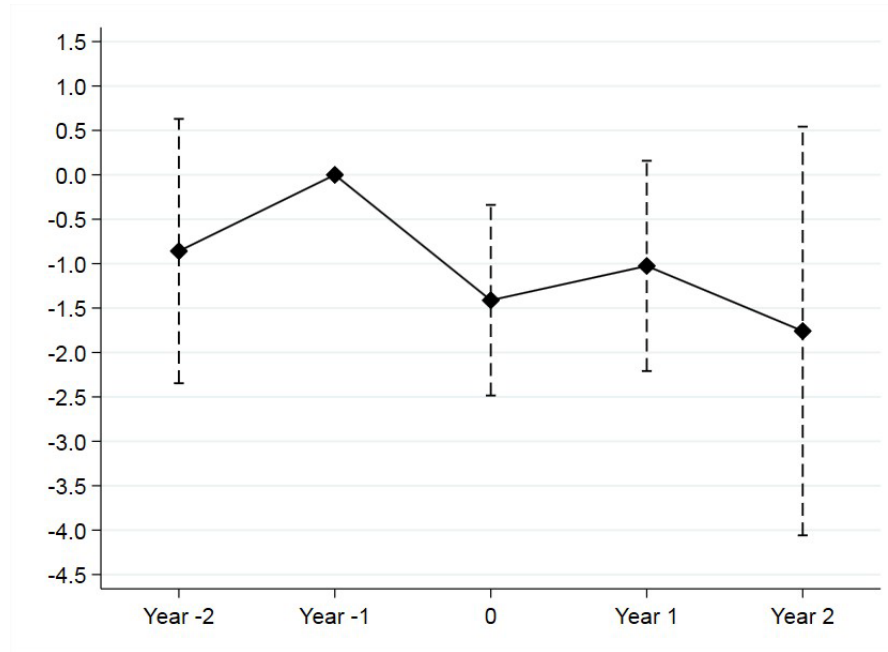
Panel A. Taxes paid (proxy for total income)



Panel B. Savings



Panel C. Earnings

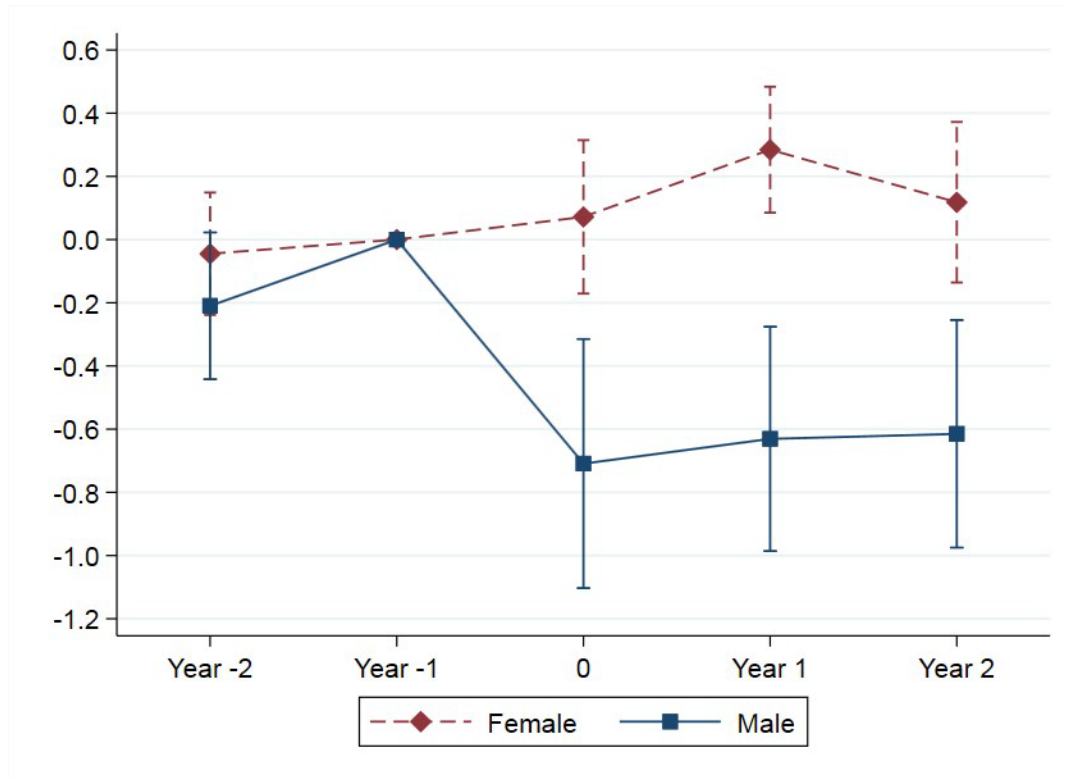


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. 1. Validation of the effect of disruptive disasters on family financial conditions.

This figure validates that, on average, disruptive disasters create financial shocks to students' parents, as reflected in parental total income (proxied by federal tax paid), savings, and earnings. Financially disruptive disasters are identified following the procedure described in Section 4. For each student A who experiences a family shock when enrolled in course during a semester, we assign control students who are enrolled in the same course at the same university during the same semester but do not experience the shocks at that time. Then we track these treated and control students' parental financial conditions over event time. This figure plots the coefficients of the interaction between *Treated* and event time indicators, estimated from the difference-in-differences model in Section 5.1, Equation (1). Time 0 denotes the year-end when the disaster happens. Year -1 (or Year 1) denotes the year end before (or after) the disaster year, and Year -2 (or Year 2) denotes the second year end before (or after) time 0. Year -1 is omitted as the baseline. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.

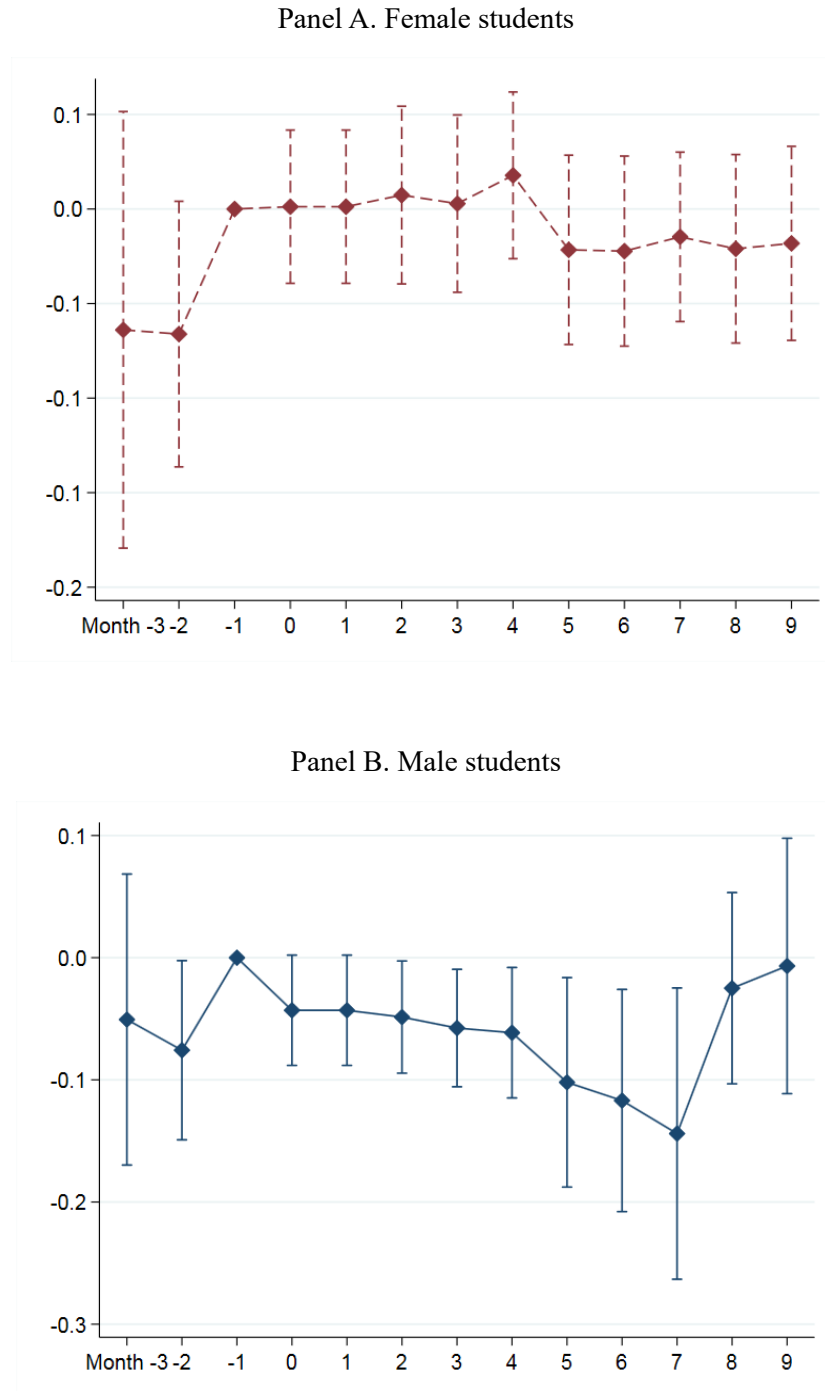


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. 2. Dynamics of course grades over event time for female and male students.

This figure plots the coefficients of the interaction between *Treated* and event time to analyze students' course performances over event time relative to the control students, separately for female (the dashed line) and male students (the solid line). Time 0 denotes the semester when a student experiences the family financial shock. To plot the dashed line, for each female treated student A who experiences a family shock when enrolled in course X during a semester (i.e., time 0), we assign female control students who are enrolled in the same course X at the same university during the same semester but do not experience the shocks at that time. Then we look for courses Y that treated student A is enrolled in before and after time 0, and assign student A with female control students contemporaneously enrolled in Y. We compare the grades of these female treated and control students in each course. If course Y occurs in a semester within one year before (or after) the semester when student A experiences a family shock (time 0), then it is included in the sample of Year -1 (or Year 1). If course Y occurs in a semester between one year and two years before (or after) time 0, then it is included in the sample of Year -2 (or Year 2). The year prior to the shock (i.e., -1 year) is omitted as the baseline. To plot the solid line, we perform the same analyses among male students. The detailed regression specification is discussed in Section 5.2, Equation (2). The dashed line presents a difference-in-difference estimation among female students, and the solid line presents a difference-in-difference estimation among male students. The contrast between the two lines presents a triple-difference estimation. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

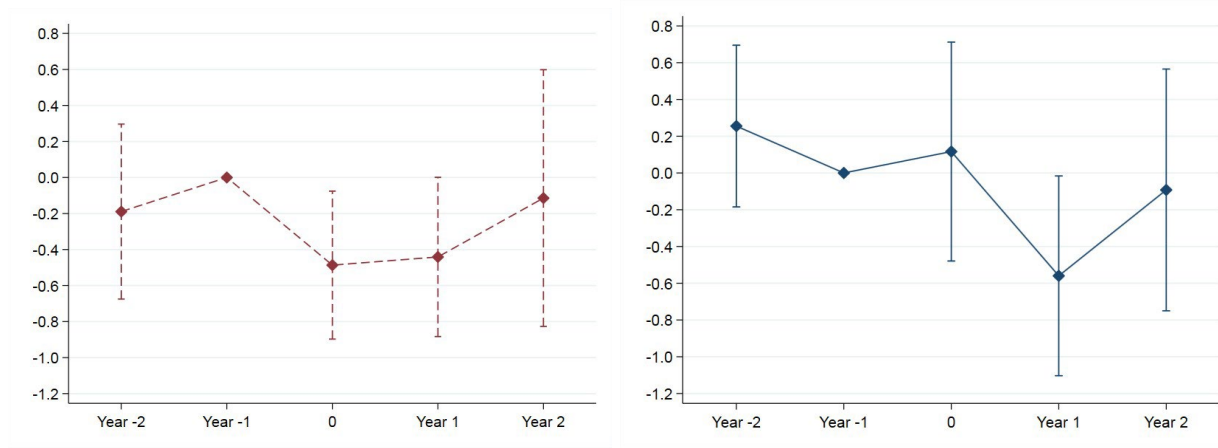
NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. 3. Dynamics of enrollment continuation over event time for female and male students.

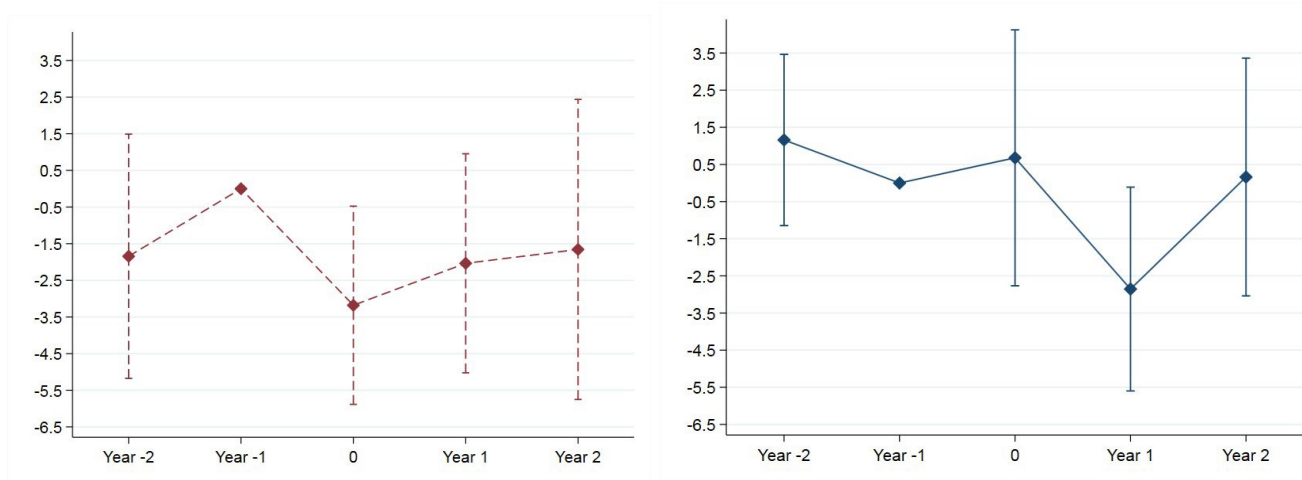
This figure plots the coefficients of the interaction between *Treated* and event time to analyze students' monthly enrollment over event time relative to the control students, separately for female (the dashed line) and male students (the solid line). Time 0 denotes the month when a student experiences the family financial

shock. To plot the dashed line, for each female treated student A who experiences a family shock when enrolled in course X during a semester, we assign female control students who are contemporaneously enrolled in the same course X at the same university but do not experience the shocks at that time. Then we track the monthly enrollment of these female treated and control students over time from three months before the month of shock (denoted as month -3) to nine months after (denoted as month 9). Enrollment is captured by an indicator that equals one if a student is enrolled in college in a month and zero otherwise. The month prior to the month of shock (i.e., month -1) is omitted as the baseline. To plot the solid line, we perform the same analyses among male students. The detailed regression specification is discussed in Section 5.4. The dashed line presents a difference-in-difference estimation among female students, and the solid line presents a difference-in-difference estimation among male students. The contrast between the two lines presents a triple-difference estimation. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.

Panel A. Taxes paid (proxy for total income)



Panel B. Earnings



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. 4. Changes in family financial conditions for female and male students.

This figure repeats analyses in Figure 2 to examine how disruptive disasters affect family financial conditions, separately for female and male students. Financial conditions are captured by parental total income (tax paid) in Panel A and earnings in Panel B. The dashed lines include the families of female students, and the solid lines include the families of male students. Sample and regression specifications are the same as in Figure 2. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.

Table 1. Summary statistics of disasters.

This table provides summary statistics of financially disruptive natural disasters included in the subsequent analyses. Disaster information is from the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Panel A provides summary statistics about the total cost of damage and the duration of disasters by type. Damage cost consists of public and personal damage cost. Public damage cost is from the dataset Public Assistance Funded Projects Details, which includes information on the amount of federal grant for Public Assistance (PA) projects. The cost of public damage caused by a disaster is the sum of the federal grants for all PA projects associated with this disaster. Personal damage cost is from the dataset Individuals and Households Program - Valid Registrations from FEMA, which contains applicant-level data for the Individuals and Households Program (IHP). For each applicant of the IHP assistance, the dataset includes information on the FEMA-determined value of disaster-caused damage to the applicant's real property and personal property. The cost of personal damage caused by a disaster is the sum of the real property and personal property damage for all registered applicants associated with this disaster. The duration of a disaster is the number of days from the starting date to the ending date of the federal declaration. Panel B provides summary statistics for treated students at the disaster-county level. The first three columns of Panel B report disasters' total damage cost, public damage cost, personal damage cost, and the duration for our sample disasters. In comparison, the last three columns of Panel B provide statistics for Hurricane Harvey in 2017. The last two rows of Panel B report the number of disasters experienced by the overall sample students and by the treated students, respectively.

Panel A: Summary statistics of disasters for analyses

	Damage cost (\$M)			Duration (Days)		
	Mean	Median	S.D	Mean	Median	S.D
Hurricane	1,524.032	141.468	4,444.972	10.938	11.500	3.435
Flood	195.349	89.507	254.135	19.412	19.000	10.477
Severe Storm	87.278	39.994	118.073	11.318	9.000	10.467
Others (Fire, Earthquake, Snow, Ice storm, Mud/Landslide)	48.475	43.275	33.691	33.875	12.500	41.028

Panel B: Summary statistics at the disaster-county level

	Sample disasters			Recent major disaster (Hurricane Harvey)		
	Mean	Median	S.D.	Mean	Median	S.D.
Damage cost (\$M)	173.718	8.990	865.477	110.927	22.489	347.795
Public damage cost (\$M)	143.413	5.199	825.070	62.945	20.205	179.400
Personal damage cost (\$M)	30.305	1.370	100.619	47.982	2.543	170.362
Duration (Days)	24.160	13.000	30.080	24.000	24.000	0.000
Number of disasters (conditional on being treated)	1.209	1.000	0.407			
Number of disasters (unconditional)	0.470	0.000	0.641			

SOURCE: U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA).

Table 2. Comparison of characteristics between treated and control students.

This table compares key characteristics between treated and control students and their families. The sample is based on financially dependent students with available college transcript information from the BPS12 database. For each student who experiences a family financial shock during a semester between academic years 2012 and 2018, we assign control students who are enrolled in the same course at the same university during the same semester but do not experience family shocks at that time. Family shocks are based on whether a student's parents are located in a county that experiences a disruptive natural disaster during the semester. Disruptive disasters are identified as described in Section 4. *Female*, *White*, and *Age* indicate students' gender, ethnicity, and age at the time of college enrollment. *SAT* indicates students' SAT composite scores. *Parents' college degree* is an indicator variable that equals one if a student's parents have earned a bachelor's degree or higher, and zero otherwise. *Parents' total tax paid* is the natural logarithm of one plus the amount of federal taxes a student's parents paid. *Parents' earnings* is the natural logarithm of one plus the amount of a student's parental gross income. *Parents' saving* is the natural logarithm of one plus the amount of a student's parental savings. *Number in college* is the number of children in the family currently enrolled in college. Parental and family financial information is from the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) forms that students file immediately prior to the academic year of a family shock. *Overconfidence* is a dummy variable that equals one if a student agrees or strongly agrees the BPS12 survey question at the end of the first year of enrollment: "I am confident I have the ability to succeed as a student", and the student's average college GPA is or below 2.24 (i.e., grade C or below for most classes). *Non-traditional index* is the total number of non-traditional factors of a student categorized by the BPS12, such as delayed enrollment, absence of high school diploma, part-time enrollment, and working full time while enrolled. The table reports the characteristics for *Treated*=0 and *Treated*=1, among female and male students. Differences in means between the subsamples are also reported. Standard errors clustered at the student origin county and student level are in parentheses. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

	Female					Male				
	Treated=0		Treated=1		Diff in Mean	Treated=0		Treated=1		Diff in Mean
	N	Mean	N	Mean		N	Mean	N	Mean	
White (0, 1)	2,210	0.677	1,100	0.629	-0.047 (0.042)	1,540	0.710	750	0.675	-0.035 (0.052)
Age	2,210	18.244	1,100	18.333	0.089* (0.046)	1,540	18.390	750	18.345	-0.045 (0.065)
SAT	2,160	1,085.024	1,080	1,077.684	-7.340 (15.938)	1,480	1,110.721	740	1,111.809	1.088 (22.695)
Parents' college degree (0, 1)	2,190	0.347	1,100	0.360	0.013 (0.042)	1,530	0.368	750	0.395	0.027 (0.050)
Parents' total tax paid (log \$) (Proxy for total income)	1,730	6.885	790	7.123	0.238 (0.352)	1,140	6.927	560	6.836	-0.091 (0.535)
Parents' earnings (log \$)	1,780	11.094	800	11.086	-0.008 (0.091)	1,170	11.082	590	11.094	0.011 (0.118)
Parents' savings (log \$)	1,130	7.050	560	6.740	-0.311 (0.504)	720	7.470	360	7.108	-0.362 (0.635)
Number in college	1,820	1.413	830	1.502	0.088 (0.074)	1,200	1.420	590	1.376	-0.044 (0.061)
Overconfidence (0, 1)	2,170	0.064	1,090	0.052	-0.013 (0.019)	1,470	0.085	730	0.092	0.007 (0.029)
Non-traditional index	2,210	0.134	1,100	0.180	0.047 (0.045)	1,540	0.182	750	0.144	-0.039 (0.043)

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 3. Family financial shocks and academic performance of female and male students.

This table reports triple-difference regression analyses of the effect of family financial shocks on the course performance of female and male students. The dependent variable is a student's normalized transcript grade for the course. The sample is based on financially dependent students with college transcript information from the BPS12 database. Students are excluded from the sample if their expected family contribution (EFC) is zero for the semester when disasters happen. For each treated student A who experiences a family financial shock when enrolled in course X during a semester between academic years 2012 and 2018, we assign control students who are enrolled in the same course X at the same university during the same semester but do not experience family shocks at that time. Then we look for courses Y that treated student A is enrolled in before and after the semester of shock, and assign student A with control students that are contemporaneously enrolled in Y. We compare the grades of these treated and control students in each course. Family shocks are based on whether a student's parents are located in a county that experiences a disruptive natural disaster during the semester. *Treated* indicates whether a student experiences family shocks. *Post* is an indicator that equals one if a course occurs during the semester of shock or in the two years after the semester of shock; it equals zero if a course occurs in the two years before the semester of shock. *Female* is an indicator for female students. *Median fam. income* is the logarithm of one plus median family income of the census tract where a student's parents are located. *Pct. unemployed* is the percentage of unemployment in the census tract where a student's parents are located. *Pct. white* is the percentage of white population in the census tract where a student's parents are located. *Median fam. income*, *Pct. unemployed*, and *Pct. white* are measured as of the year end prior to the shock. *Field of study FE* are indicators for each field of study classified by the two-digit Classification of Instructional Programs codes. All other variables are defined in Table 2. The detailed regression specification is discussed in Section 5.2, Equation (3). Interactions between event time indicators and control variables are included but not reported. Columns (4) and (5) repeat the analyses for white and non-white students separately. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at the student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variable: Course grades

	Overall			White	Non-white
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treated $\times$ Post $\times$ Female	0.397** (0.196)	0.430** (0.218)	0.465** (0.220)	0.603** (0.286)	0.872* (0.488)
Treated $\times$ Post	-0.427*** (0.144)	-0.444** (0.185)	-0.466** (0.188)	-0.554** (0.234)	-0.898** (0.392)
Treated $\times$ Female	-0.159 (0.157)	-0.133 (0.185)	-0.169 (0.187)	-0.308 (0.253)	-0.607 (0.371)
Post $\times$ Female	-0.127 (0.100)	-0.095 (0.104)	-0.081 (0.105)	-0.074 (0.126)	-0.109 (0.227)
Treated (0, 1)	0.185 (0.118)	0.030 (0.153)	0.052 (0.156)	0.203 (0.207)	0.339 (0.232)
Female (0, 1)	0.195** (0.086)	0.151* (0.083)	0.132 (0.083)	0.013 (0.108)	0.595** (0.230)
White (0, 1)		0.221* (0.118)	0.138 (0.125)	- -	- -
Age		0.797 (1.297)	0.781 (1.301)	-0.399 (1.425)	1.557 (2.842)
Parents' college degree		0.194** (0.079)	0.194** (0.077)	0.137 (0.094)	0.036 (0.287)
Numcollege		0.030 (0.065)	0.034 (0.063)	0.017 (0.059)	-0.212 (0.148)
Non-traditional index		-0.098 (0.159)	-0.096 (0.161)	-0.119 (0.142)	0.187 (0.205)
Overconfidence (0, 1)		-0.523** (0.235)	-0.532** (0.236)	-0.499 (0.328)	-0.344 (0.403)
SAT		1.202*** (0.248)	1.166*** (0.257)	1.355*** (0.337)	0.201 (0.984)
Median fam. income			-0.094 (0.114)	-0.040 (0.136)	-0.577** (0.281)
Pct. unemployed			0.004 (0.014)	0.006 (0.017)	-0.034 (0.048)
Pct. white			0.006*** (0.002)	0.004 (0.003)	0.011 (0.008)
Field of study FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Course-semester $\times$ Fam. state $\times$ Event time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	21,890	18,700	18,700	14,970	2,370
R-squared	0.471	0.530	0.533	0.523	0.719

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 4. Heterogeneity by family financial conditions.

This table reports triple-difference regression analyses as in Table 3, separately for students from high- and low-income families. The dependent variable is a student's normalized transcript grade for the course. Family income is from the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) forms that students file immediately prior to the academic year of a family shock. Columns (1) and (2) include students with low parental earnings, and columns (3) and (4) include students with high parental earnings. High- (low-) parental earnings are those above (below) the medium of the sample distribution. The regression specification is the same as in column (3) of Table 3. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at the student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variable: Course grades

	Low parental earnings		High parental earnings	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated $\times$ Post $\times$ Female	1.249*** (0.396)	1.251*** (0.383)	0.024 (0.233)	-0.002 (0.217)
Treated $\times$ Post	-0.897*** (0.319)	-0.883*** (0.314)	-0.012 (0.168)	0.040 (0.159)
Other interaction and standalone indicators	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Student controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Course-semester $\times$ Fam. state $\times$ Event time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	7,440	7,440	7,350	7,350
R-squared	0.550	0.564	0.692	0.696

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 5. Family financial shocks and enrollment continuation of female and male students.

This table reports triple-difference regression analyses of the effect of family financial shocks on the continuation of college enrollment of female and male students. The dependent variable is an indicator for a student's monthly enrollment, which equals one if the student is enrolled in college and zero otherwise in a month. The sample is based on financially dependent students with college transcript information from the BPS12 database. Students are excluded from the sample if their expected family contribution (EFC) is zero for the semester when disasters happen. For each treated student A who experiences a family financial shock when enrolled in course X during a semester between academic years 2012 and 2018, we assign control students who are contemporaneously enrolled in the same course X at the same university but do not experience family shocks at that time. Then we track the monthly enrollment of these treated and control students over time from three months before the month of shock (denoted as month -3) to nine months after (denoted as month 9). The month of shock is denoted as time 0. The analyses are performed separately for students from high- and low-income families. Family income is from the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) forms that students file immediately prior to the academic year of a family shock. Columns (1) and (2) include students with low parental earnings, and columns (3) and (4) include students with high parental earnings. High- (low-) parental earnings are those above (below) the medium of the sample distribution. The detailed regression specification is discussed in Section 5.4. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at the student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variable: Enrollment

	Low parental earnings		High parental earnings	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated × Post × Female	0.172*** (0.056)	0.169*** (0.056)	-0.070 (0.057)	-0.087 (0.059)
Treated × Post	-0.119** (0.049)	-0.112** (0.051)	0.094 (0.062)	0.110* (0.060)
Other interaction and standalone indicators	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Student controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Course-semester × Fam. state × Event time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	20,310	20,220	21,020	21,010
R-squared	0.400	0.400	0.363	0.362

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 6. Students' long-term academic standing.

This table presents regression analyses of the effect of family financial shocks on students' academic standing at the conclusion of college. In columns (1) and (2), the dependent variable is student GPA throughout college. In columns (3) and (4), the dependent variable is an indicator for whether a student enrolled in 2012 earns a degree as of 2017. For each treated student A who experiences a family financial shock when enrolled in course X during a semester between academic years 2012 and 2018, we assign control students who are contemporaneously enrolled in the same course X at the same university but do not experience family shocks at that time. Then we examine the college outcomes of these treated and control students. The detailed regression specification is discussed in Section 5.5, Equation (4). Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variables:	Overall GPA		Timely degree	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated × Female	0.268** (0.119)	0.277** (0.118)	0.157** (0.078)	0.151* (0.078)
Female	0.195** (0.089)	0.195** (0.091)	0.002 (0.050)	0.003 (0.050)
Treated	-0.350*** (0.112)	-0.331*** (0.113)	-0.186*** (0.065)	-0.192*** (0.067)
Student controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Course-semester × Fam. state FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,010	2,010	2,000	2,000
R-squared	0.663	0.672	0.577	0.580

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 7. Students' major choice and career paths.

This table presents regression analyses of the effect of family financial shocks on students' major choice and career paths. The sample consists of students who are enrolled in finance, business, or management (FBM) majors as of the 2014 academic year, as identified by the two-digit field of study category number 10 of BPS12. In columns (1) to (2), the dependent variable is an indicator, *Remain FBM*, that equals one if these students remain in the FBM field as of the 2017 academic year, and zero if they switch to other fields. In columns (3) and (4), the dependent variable is an indicator, *FBM career*, which takes the value of one if the student takes a job in an FBM industry as of the 2017 academic year. An FBM occupation is in the categories of 13-0000 or 11-0000 classified by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). For each treated student A who experiences a family financial shock when enrolled in course X during a semester between academic years 2012 and 2018, we assign control students who are contemporaneously enrolled in the same course X at the same university but do not experience family shocks at that time. Then we examine the major and career outcomes of these treated-control students. We separately examine students from high- and low- parental earnings families, as classified in Table 4 and Table 5. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variables:	Remain FBM		FBM career	
	Low parental earnings	High parental earnings	Low parental earnings	High parental earnings
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated × Female	0.432** (0.210)	0.145 (0.222)	0.790*** (0.209)	-0.365 (0.274)
Female	-0.088 (0.115)	0.147 (0.146)	-0.067 (0.131)	0.073 (0.127)
Treated	-0.327** (0.163)	0.083 (0.125)	-0.456*** (0.162)	-0.067 (0.136)
Student controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	210	200	200	180
R-squared	0.234	0.217	0.357	0.440

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 8. The role of self-efficacy: STEM versus non-STEM courses.

This table reports triple-difference regression analyses as in Table 3, separately for STEM and non-STEM courses for students from low-income families. The dependent variable is a student's normalized transcript grade for the course. In columns (1) and (2), STEM courses are classified based on the Science, Mathematics and Research for Transformation (SMART) Scholarship. In columns (3) and (4), STEM courses are the ones unanimously classified by three sources, SMART, the National Science Foundation (NSF), and the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). The regression specification is the same as in column (3) of Table 3. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at the student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variable: Course grades

	SMART Grant		SMART Grant & NSF & NCES	
	Non-STEM courses	STEM courses	Non-STEM courses	STEM courses
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated $\times$ Post $\times$ Female	0.600*** (0.190)	0.162 (0.338)	0.600*** (0.190)	0.164 (0.338)
Treated $\times$ Post	-0.552*** (0.150)	-0.249 (0.248)	-0.552*** (0.150)	-0.250 (0.248)
Other interaction and standalone indicators	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Course-semester $\times$ Fam. state $\times$ Event time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	16,260	2,430	16,260	2,430
R-squared	0.535	0.595	0.535	0.595

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 9. The role of self-efficacy: Degree expectations.

This table reports regression analyses on the effects of family financial shocks on students' degree expectations. The dependent variable is *Deterioration*, indicating whether the student revises down the degree expectation following financial shocks. If the shock happens between the end of academic year 2012 and 2014, then *Deterioration* equals one when a student revises down his/her degree expectation in the 2014 survey from that in 2012, and equals zero otherwise. If the shock happens between the end of 2014 and 2017, then *Deterioration* is defined accordingly based on expectations in 2017 and 2014. Control variables are defined in Table 3. The detailed regression specification is discussed in Section 6.1.2, Equation (5). Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variable: Deterioration in degree expectations		
	(1)	(2)
Treated × Female		-0.335** (0.164)
Treated	0.176** (0.081)	0.371*** (0.117)
Student controls	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. Controls	Yes	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes
Course-semester × Fam. state FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	590	590
R-squared	0.621	0.632

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 10. The role of self-efficacy: Effort.

This table reports regression analyses on the effects of family financial shocks on students' effort spent in coursework. Column (1) uses the categorical dependent variable $Effort \in [1, 2, 3, 4, 5]$, corresponding to the five quintiles of the distribution for the product $Attempted\ credits \times Grades$ of each student. Column (2) uses the continuous dependent variable $Effort\ variable$, calculated as the de-meaned value of $Attempted\ credits \times Grades$ (i.e., $Attempted\ credits \times Grades$ minus its mean of a given student). The detailed variable construction and regression specification is discussed in Section 6.1.3. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variable: Effort		
	Categorical	Continuous
	(1)	(2)
Treated $\times$ Post $\times$ Female	0.793*** (0.276)	6.554*** (2.019)
Treated $\times$ Post	-0.290 (0.243)	-1.783 (2.091)
Other interaction and standalone indicators	Yes	Yes
Student controls	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. controls	Yes	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes
Course-semester $\times$ Fam. state $\times$ Event time FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	14,740	14,740
R-squared	0.121	0.083

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 11. Alternative explanation: Mental health changes.

This table reports regression analyses on the effect of family financial shock on students' mental health. The dependent variable is the change in students' mental health status surrounding family shocks, based on the five categories of mental status classified by the BPS survey. A lower value indicates greater deterioration in a student's mental health. The detailed variable construction and regression specification is discussed in Section 6.2. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variable: Mental status change		
	(1)	(2)
Treated × Female		0.277 (0.335)
Treated	-0.577*** (0.144)	-0.738*** (0.225)
Student controls	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. Controls	Yes	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes
Course-semester × Fam. state FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	590	590
R-squared	0.709	0.710

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 12. Alternative explanation: Part-time job take-up.

This table examines whether the differential effects of family financial shocks on the course performance of female and male students are driven by part-time jobs. The dependent variable is a student's normalized transcript grade for the course. The sample construction follows Table 3. The regression specification is similar to that in Section 5.2, Equation (3), in which we additionally include a triple interaction term as the independent variable that captures students' part-time job take-up. In columns (1) and (2), part-time job take-up is captured by *Job dummy*, an indicator for whether a student takes any part-time job in a given academic year. In columns (3) and (4), part-time job take-up is captured by *Job hours*, the logarithm of one plus the number of weekly employment hours at part-time jobs. Part-time jobs require fewer than 40 hours per week on average in an academic year. All other variables are defined as in Table 3. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at the student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variable: Course grades

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated $\times$ Post $\times$ Female	0.547** (0.228)	0.581** (0.229)	0.536** (0.230)	0.570** (0.230)
Treated $\times$ Post $\times$ Job dummy	0.186 (0.156)	0.181 (0.148)		
Treated $\times$ Post $\times$ Job hours			0.072 (0.078)	0.069 (0.074)
Treated $\times$ Post	-0.434** (0.218)	-0.463** (0.219)	-0.469** (0.219)	-0.493** (0.220)
Other interaction and standalone indicators	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Student controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Course-semester $\times$ Fam. state FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	16,770	16,770	16,770	16,770
R-squared	0.525	0.528	0.526	0.529

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 13. Alternative explanation: Home duties.

This table reports triple-difference regression analyses of the effect of family financial shocks on the course performance of female and male students, in the subsample where the distance between treated students' origin county and the county of the enrolled college (i.e., home-college distance) is 180 (column (1)), 300 (column (2)), and 480 (column (3)) miles or longer, respectively. The dependent variable is a student's normalized transcript grade for the course. The sample construction follows Table 3. In column (1) for each treated student A who experiences a family financial shock when enrolled in course X during a semester between academic years 2012 and 2018 and whose home-college distance is 180 miles or longer, we assign control students who are enrolled in the same course X at the same university during the same semester but do not experience family shocks at that time. Then we look for courses Y that treated student A is enrolled in before and after the semester of shock and assign student A with control students that are contemporaneously enrolled in Y. Columns (2) and (3) follow a similar procedure with different home-college distances. The distance is calculated using Vincenty's (1975) formula based on the centroid of the student's origin and college counties. All other variables are defined in Table 2. The detailed variable regression specification is discussed in Section 5.2, Equation (3). Interactions between event time indicators and control variables are included but not reported. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at the student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variable: Course grades			
	180 miles	300 miles	480 miles
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treated $\times$ Post $\times$ Female	0.730*** (0.257)	1.853*** (0.492)	1.271*** (0.449)
Treated $\times$ Post	-0.496** (0.223)	-1.006*** (0.327)	-0.622* (0.317)
Other interaction and standalone indicators	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Course-semester $\times$ Fam. state FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,670	2,110	1,600
R-squared	0.514	0.674	0.693

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Table 14. Alternative explanation: Course selection.

This table reports regression analyses of the effect of family financial shocks on the course selection of female and male students. The dependent variable is *Difficulty*, the average level of difficulty of courses taken by a student each semester. We measure course difficulty with average grades earned by never-treated students in the courses selected by treated students. The detailed variable construction and regression specification is discussed in Section 6.6. Control variables are defined in Table 3. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

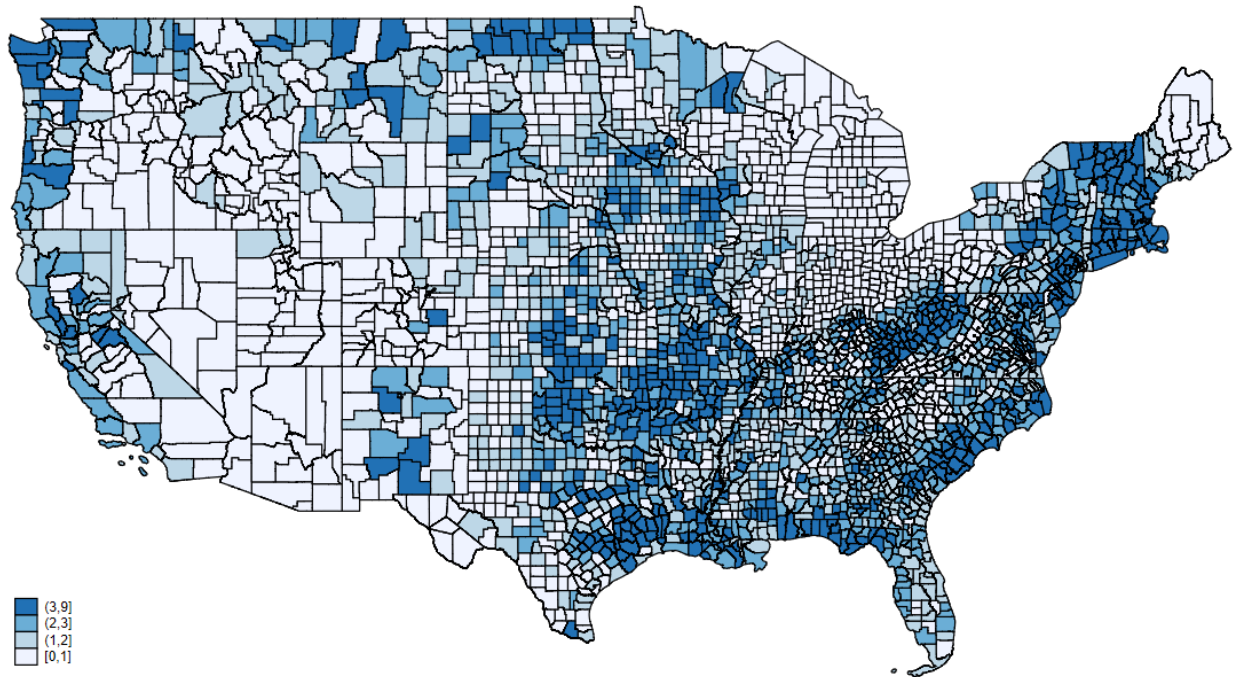
Dependent variable: Difficulty		
	(1)	(2)
Treated $\times$ Post $\times$ Female	-0.050 (0.065)	-0.039 (0.065)
Treated $\times$ Post	0.065 (0.054)	0.068 (0.055)
Other interaction and standalone indicators	Yes	Yes
Student controls	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. controls	No	Yes
Field of study FE	Yes	Yes
Course-semester $\times$ Fam. state $\times$ Event time FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	8,330	8,320
R-squared	0.733	0.733

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Bachelorette's Degree: Financial Shocks and the Gender Performance Gap

Online Appendix

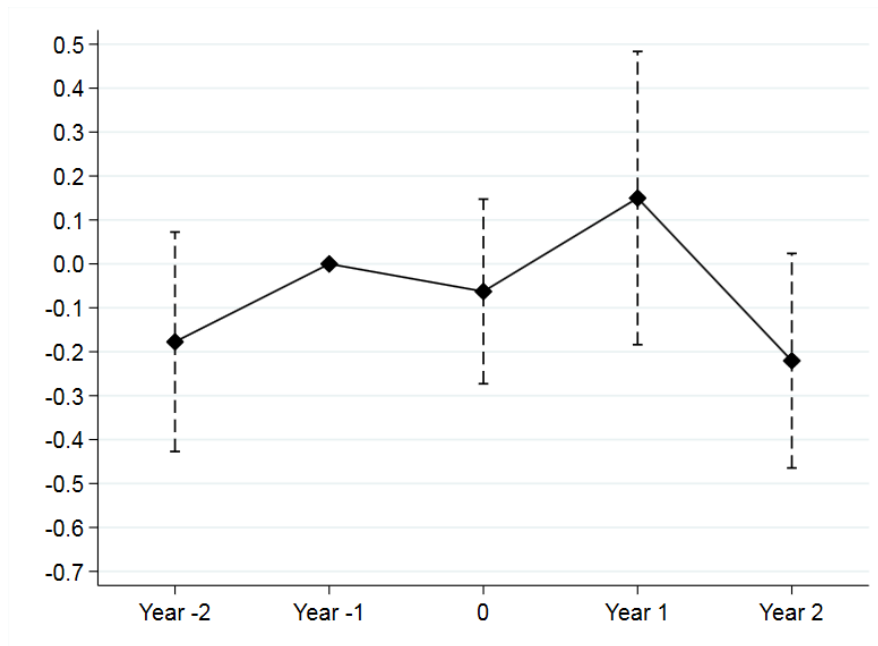


SOURCE: U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA).

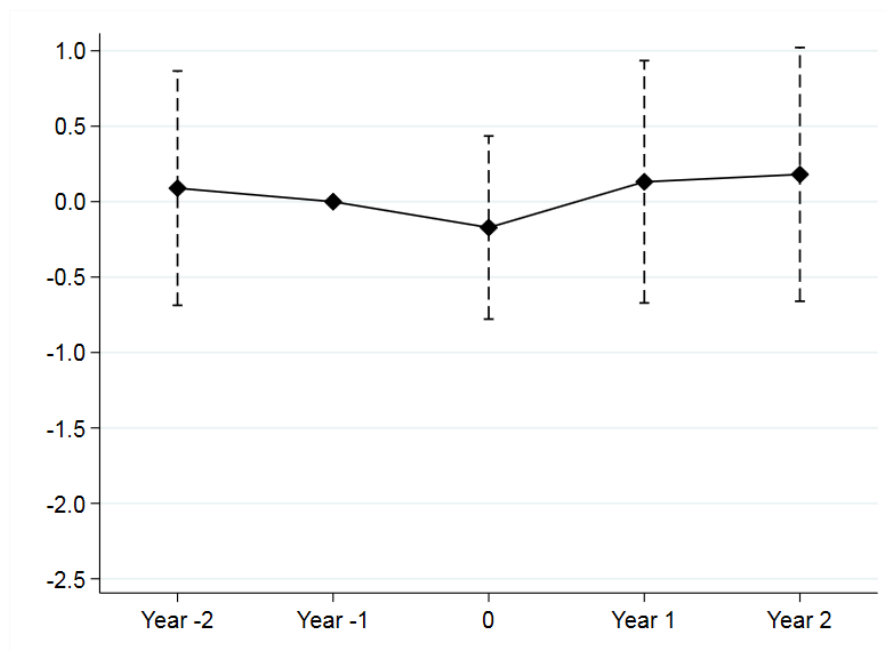
Fig. A1. Distribution of natural disasters by counties.

This figure displays the distribution of major natural disasters across U.S. counties between 2011 and 2018. Natural disasters are obtained from the Major Disaster Declarations of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. This figure displays the total number of disasters experienced by each county. Darker counties experience greater number of disasters than lighter counties.

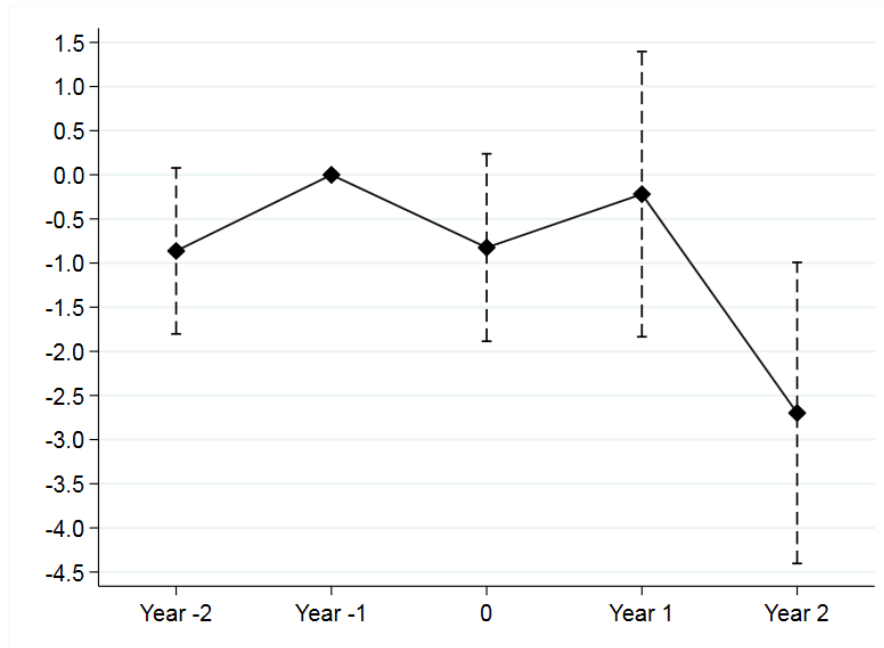
Panel A. Taxes paid (proxy for total income)



Panel B. Savings



Panel C. Earnings

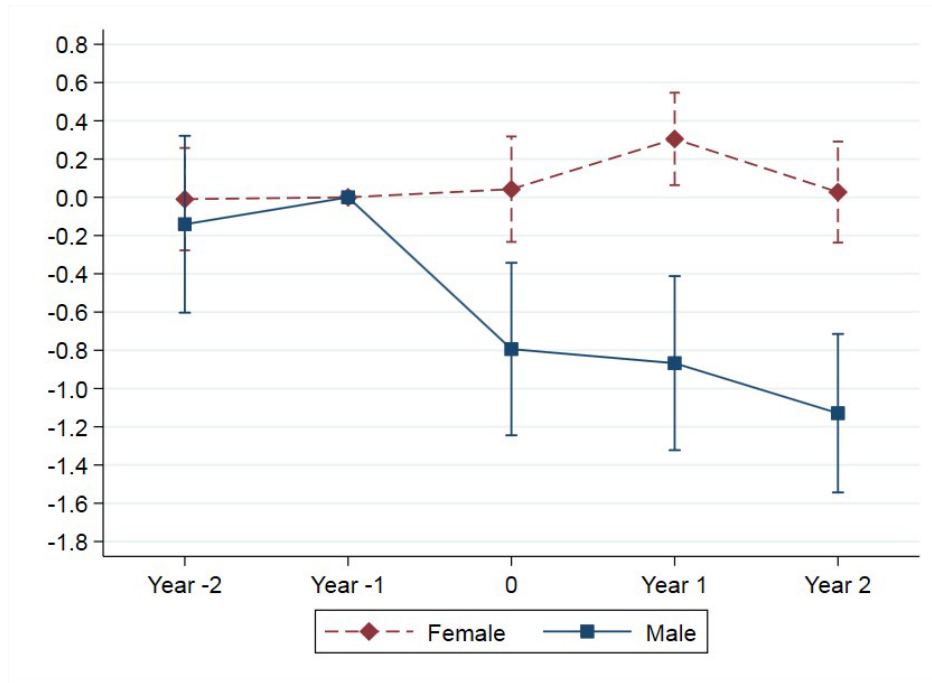


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. A2. Changes in family financial conditions around disasters with smaller losses or shorter durations.

This figure presents a similar analysis as in Figure 1, using instead disasters with above-median damage but below-median duration, or disasters with above-median duration but below-median damage. It plots the coefficients of the interaction between *Treated* and event time, separately for female (the dashed line) and male students (the solid line). Time 0 denotes the academic year end when a student experiences the disaster. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.

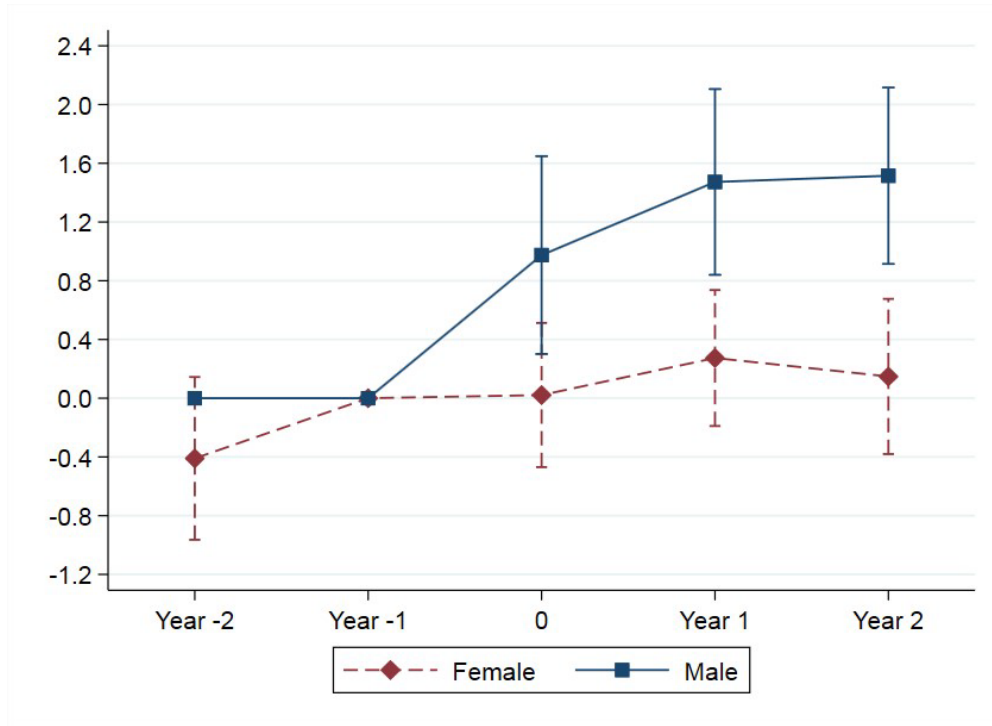


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. A3. Sun and Abraham (2021) estimator.

This figure performs similar analyses as in Figure 2 using the Sun and Abraham (2021) estimator. The control students consist of those whose families never experience natural disasters over the sample period, and the figure plots the coefficients of the interaction between *Treated* and event time obtained from the Sun and Abraham (2021) interaction-weighted (IW) estimators, in which each cohort is defined at the semi-academic year level. The dashed line pertains to female students, and the solid line pertains to male students. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.

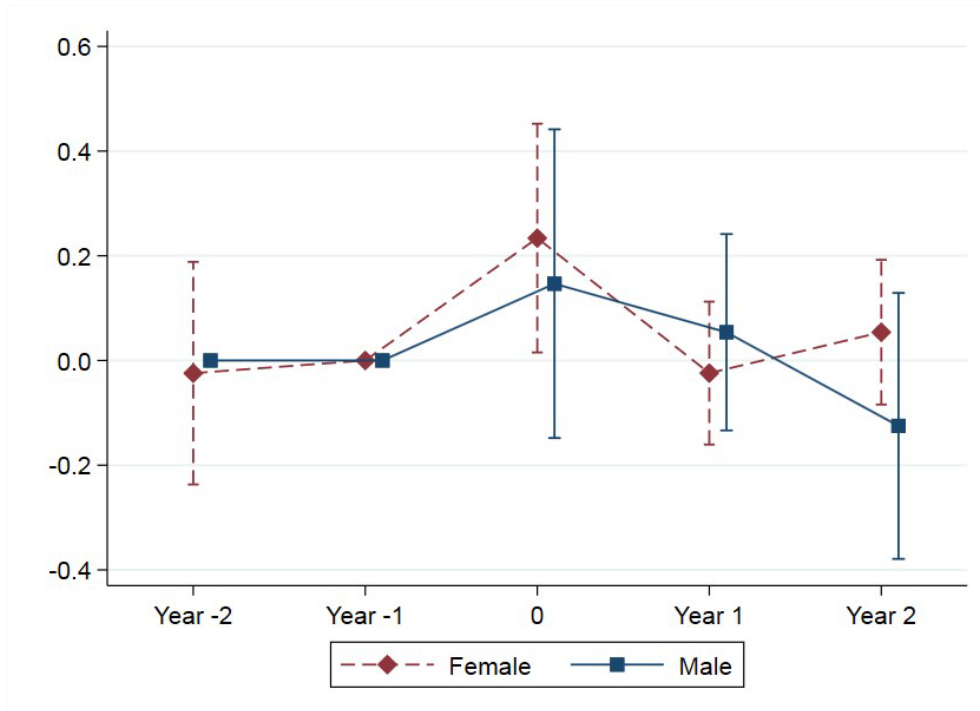


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. A4. Dynamics of part-time job take-up over event time among female and male students.

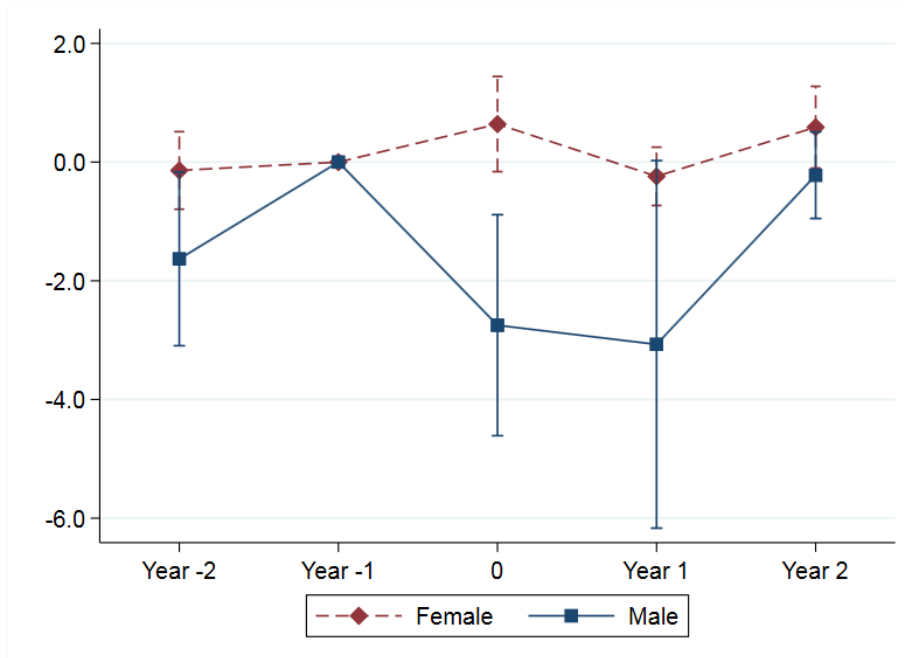
This figure plots the coefficients of the interaction between *Treated* and event time to analyze students' part-time job take-up over event time relative to the control students, separately for female (the dashed line) and male students (the solid line). Time 0 denotes the academic year end when a student experiences the family financial shock. To plot the dashed line, for each female treated student A who experiences a family shock when enrolled in course X during a semester, we assign female control students who are contemporaneously enrolled in the same course X at the same university but do not experience the shocks at that time. Then we track the part-time job take-up of these female treated and control students over time from two academic years before the year of shock to two years after. Part-time job take-up is captured by the logarithm of one plus the number of weekly employment hours at part-time jobs. Part-time jobs require fewer than 40 hours per week on average in an academic year. The year prior to the year of shock (i.e., Year -1) is omitted as the baseline. To plot the solid line, we perform the same analyses among male students. The dashed line presents a difference-in-difference estimation among female students, and the solid line presents a difference-in-difference estimation among male students. The contrast between the two lines presents a triple-difference estimation. The estimation at Year -2 for male students is missing (and therefore assigned to zero) due to insufficient number of observations. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).
 NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. A5. Dynamics of student debt borrowing over event time among female and male students.

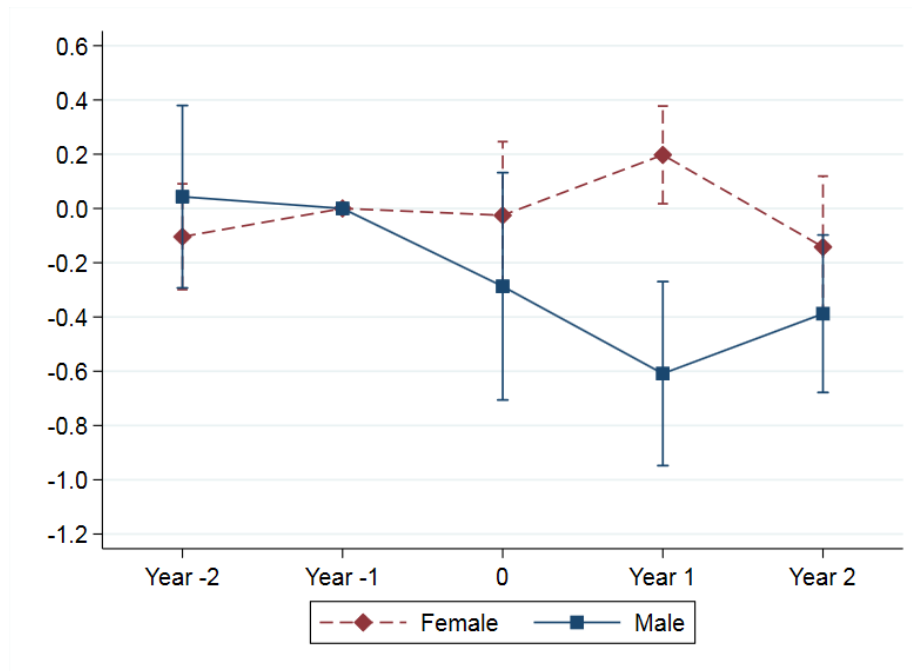
This figure plots the coefficients of the interaction between *Treated* and event time to analyze students' federal student loan borrowing over event time relative to the control students, separately for female (the dashed line) and male students (the solid line). Time 0 denotes the academic year end when a student experiences the family financial shock. To plot the dashed line, for each female treated student A who experiences a family shock when enrolled in course X during a semester, we assign female control students who are contemporaneously enrolled in the same course X at the same university but do not experience the shocks at that time. Then we track the student debt borrowing of these female treated and control students over time from two academic years before the year of shock to two years after. Student debt borrowing is captured by the logarithm of one plus the total amount of federal student loans. The year prior to the year of shock (i.e., Year -1) is omitted as the baseline. To plot the solid line, we perform the same analyses among male students. The dashed line presents a difference-in-difference estimation among female students, and the solid line presents a difference-in-difference estimation among male students. The contrast between the two lines presents a triple-difference estimation. The estimation at Year -2 for male students is missing (and therefore assigned to zero) due to insufficient number of observations. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).
 NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. A6. Course grades over event time for female and male students: Subsample of students with long distance.

This figure performs similar analyses as in Figure 2 in the subsample where the distance between treated students' origin county and the county of the enrolled college (i.e., home-college distance) is 300 miles or longer. This figure plots the coefficients of the interaction between *Treated* and event time to analyze students' course performances over event time relative to the control students, separately for female (the dashed line) and male students (the solid line). Time 0 denotes the semester when a student experiences the family financial shock. To plot the dashed line, for each female treated student A who experiences a family shock when enrolled in course X during a semester (i.e., time 0) and whose home-college distance is 300 miles or longer, we assign female control students who are enrolled in the same course X at the same university during the same semester but do not experience the shocks at that time. Then we look for courses Y that treated student A is enrolled in before and after time 0, and assign student A with female control students contemporaneously enrolled in Y. To plot the solid line, we perform the same analyses among male students. The distance is calculated using Vincenty's (1975) formula based on the centroid of the student's origin and college counties. Other procedures follow those of Figure 2. The contrast between the two lines presents a triple-difference estimation. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.

Fig. A7. Course grades over event time for female and male students: Subsample of students never withdrawing courses.

This figure performs similar analyses as in Figure 2 in the subsample of students who never withdraw from any courses in the sample period. This figure plots the coefficients of the interaction between *Treated* and event time to analyze students' course performances over event time relative to the control students, separately for female (the dashed line) and male students (the solid line). The procedures follow those of Figure 2. The contrast between the two lines presents a triple-difference estimation. The bars surrounding each coefficient represent the two-sided 90% confidence intervals.

Table A1. Students' major choice and career paths – non-FBM major students.

This table presents regression analyses of the effect of family financial shocks on students' major choice and career paths. The sample consists of students whose majors are not in the finance, business, or management fields (non-FBM) as of the 2014 academic year, as identified by the two-digit field of study category number 10 of BPS12. In columns (1) to (2), the dependent variable is an indicator, *Into FBM*, equals one if a student's major is non-FBM as of 2014 and changes to FBM as of 2017, and zero if they do not switch to FBM fields. In columns (3) and (4), the dependent variable is an indicator, *FBM career*, which takes the value of one if the student takes a job in an FBM industry as of the 2017 academic year. An FBM occupation is in the categories of 13-0000 or 11-0000 classified by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). For each treated student A who experiences a family financial shock when enrolled in course X during a semester between academic years 2012 and 2018, we assign control students who are contemporaneously enrolled in the same course X at the same university but do not experience family shocks at that time. Then we examine the major and career outcomes of these treated-control students. We separately examine students from high- and low- parental earnings families, as classified in Table 4 and Table 5. Robust standard errors (Taylor-series linearization) clustered at student origin county and student level are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate coefficients significantly different from 0 at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Per IES restricted-use guidelines, all sample sizes are rounded to the nearest 10.

Dependent variables:	Into FBM		FBM career	
	Low parental earnings	High parental earnings	Low parental earnings	High parental earnings
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated × Female	-0.059 (0.085)	-0.050 (0.069)	-0.005 (0.202)	0.091 (0.098)
Female	0.051 (0.050)	-0.055* (0.028)	0.097 (0.082)	-0.042 (0.065)
Treated	0.031 (0.061)	0.024 (0.027)	0.032 (0.199)	-0.005 (0.077)
Student controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geo. demo. controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Course-semester × Fam. state FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	600	490	450	440
R-squared	0.537	0.483	0.518	0.596

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012/17 Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS:12/17).

NOTE: Estimates are weighted based on survey weights for panel analysis.