



Loss of Schooling from Tropical Cyclones: Evidence from 13 Low- and Middle-income Countries

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Increasing educational attainment is one of the most important and effective tools for health and economic improvements. The extent to which extreme climate events disrupt education, resulting in fewer years of schooling and reduced educational attainment, remains under-studied. Children in low- and middle-income countries may be uniquely vulnerable to loss of schooling after such disasters due to the poor physical condition of schools and the lack of resources to rebuild and mitigate unexpected household shocks. Our analysis assesses this overlooked social cost of tropical cyclones on schooling attainment.

We study the education records of nearly 5.1 million people living in 13 low- and middle-income countries that were exposed to tropical cyclones between 1954-2010. We find that exposure to tropical cyclones during preschool age is associated with a 2.7 percentage point decrease in primary school enrollment on average (14.2% decrease), with larger effects from more intense storms (up to 28% decrease for the most intense storms). These effects are more pronounced among school-age girls compared to boys and are greater in areas less accustomed to experiencing tropical cyclones. We estimate that, across all LMICs, tropical cyclone exposure has resulted in more than 410,000 children not attending primary school in the last 20 years, leading to a reduction of more than 4.1 million total years of schooling. These impacts, identified among some of the world's poorest populations, may grow in importance as exposure to severe tropical cyclones is projected to increase with climate change.

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2 **health and economic improvements. The extent to which extreme climate events disrupt**
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4 **mains under-studied. Children in low- and middle-income countries may be uniquely**
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18 **total years of schooling. These impacts, identified among some of the world's poorest pop-**
19 **ulations, may grow in importance as exposure to severe tropical cyclones is projected to**
20 **increase with climate change.**

21 **Introduction**

22 Schooling and education are among the most important tools for improving health and reducing poverty in
23 low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) (1–5). Children in LMICs typically attend fewer years of school
24 compared to children in wealthier nations, and reducing the gap is considered an important development goal
25 (6–8). While substantial progress has been made in recent decades in improving education and schooling
26 in LMICs, natural disasters, such as tropical cyclones, can hinder such progress and compound existing
27 challenges to educational attainment (9–11). Tropical cyclones are destructive natural disasters that have
28 substantial economic and health consequences (12–16), and their impacts are projected to increase in a
29 warmer climate due to changes in intensity and population growth. (17–19) However, the extent to which
30 tropical cyclones pose barriers to educational attainment across LMICs remains under-studied (20).

31 Tropical cyclones can plausibly affect several stages of a child’s schooling, including school enrollment
32 and attendance, completion of grade levels, and learning (20). The high winds and heavy rainfall that come
33 with tropical cyclones can cause physical destruction and school closures (21). At the household level,
34 storms can cause economic shocks that drive families to prioritize school-age children for domestic work
35 over school attendance (22, 23). These impacts could even result in long-term educational consequences,
36 especially in communities with limited resources to mitigate economic shocks and where school attendance
37 rates are lower.

38 The literature on this topic is commonly localized (20). In particular, existing research has typically
39 focused on single countries – often developed countries – and/or examined the impacts of individual severe
40 tropical cyclones (24–26). Those papers that do focus on LMICs suggest that large effects. For example,
41 a study in India found that exposure to tropical cyclones during school years was associated with a 2.4-
42 percentage-point increase in educational delays and a 2-percentage-point decline in post-secondary attain-
43 ment (27). Similar impacts were observed in the Philippines, where extreme exposure to tropical cyclones
44 at age 6 led to slower grade progression and lower test performance (10). However, the localized nature
45 of existing research means that there is still uncertainty regarding the overall effect of tropical cyclones on
46 education attainment in LMICs, as well as the specific characteristics of individuals and locations that are
47 particularly vulnerable.

48 In this study, we contribute to the existing literature by examining the effects of tropical cyclones on
49 schooling outcomes in 13 LMICs that have experienced tropical cyclones, focusing on all tropical cyclone
50 events dating back to the 1950s. To achieve this, we combine child-level schooling attainment data from
51 nationally representative household surveys with gridded tropical cyclone wind exposure data, and estimate
52 the effects using causal inference methods. Our sample covers approximately 73% of the population living
53 in LMICs that were exposed to tropical cyclones (28), which span over 5 decades and cover a full range
54 of storm intensity and locations with varying return period. The breadth of this analysis allows for a broad
55 understanding of how tropical cyclones impact human capital development in LMICs, and how this impact
56 varies by child sex, urban/rural, storm intensity, storm return period as a proxy of adaptation, and baseline
57 level of education, which provides new insights into the possible mechanistic pathways linking tropical
58 cyclone exposure and loss of schooling.

59 **Results**

60 **Sample characterization**

61 Our data contains the schooling records of 5.1 million individuals obtained from 32 nationally representa-
62 tive household surveys in 13 LMICs, including information on primary school enrollment, primary school
63 completion, secondary school enrollment, and total years of schooling for each household member. The
64 global distribution of tropical cyclone exposure and variation in exposure for each study country are shown

65 in Figure 1a and Figure S1, respectively. Figure 1b shows the spatial distribution of the primary school en-
66 rollment rate for each survey location in our sample. Figures 1c and Figure S2 show the average total years
67 of schooling for each survey location and the distribution within each survey country. Figure S3 shows
68 the trends in the primary school enrollment rate among boys and girls obtained from enrollment records
69 between 1954 and 2010. In all study countries, the majority of school-bound children enrolled between the
70 ages of 5 and 7 (Figure S4).

71 **Reduced school enrollment following tropical cyclones**

72 We find that exposure to tropical cyclones at age 5 or 6 reduced primary school enrollment. On average,
73 exposure to any tropical cyclone at the age of 5 to 6 was followed by a 2.7 percentage point (pp) lower
74 primary school enrollment compared to if they had not been exposed to tropical cyclones (95% CI 1.4-
75 4.0 pp). This reduction in school enrollment was monotonically more pronounced with increased storm
76 intensity: 0.8 pp (95% CI -0.1-1.9 pp), 1.5 pp (0.4-2.7 pp), 3.6 pp (1.4-5.8 pp), 4.9 pp (2.5-7.3 pp) and
77 5.4 pp (3.5-7.4 pp) for exposure to Tropical Storm, Category 1, Category 2, Category 3, and Category 4 or
78 more intense tropical cyclones, respectively (Figure 2a). Against a baseline rate of school non-enrollment of
79 19.1% in our sample, this represents enrollment reductions of 4.2% (not significant, $p = 0.08$), 7.9%, 18.9%,
80 25.7% and 28.3%, respectively.

81 **Heterogeneity in child sex, education priority and adaptation levels**

82 Figures 2b-f demonstrate heterogeneity in school enrollment after exposure to tropical cyclones by child sex
83 (b), urban/rural (c), average recurrence interval between storms (return period) (d), average baseline school
84 enrollment rate (e), and distance from the edge of exposure (f). We observe a more pronounced loss of school
85 enrollment among girls, with an average effect of 3.8 pp (1.9-5.8 pp) compared to 1.3 pp (0.2-2.8 pp) for
86 boys ($p = 0.05$ for the difference between the effect for boys and girls). We found no statistically significant
87 differences in the effects observed in rural areas (2.5 pp, CI: 1.1-4.0 pp) compared to urban areas (1.3 pp, CI:
88 -0.9-3.4 pp). We observe smaller effects in communities with higher baseline enrollment, consistent with
89 the notion that children are more likely to stay out of school after a tropical cyclone in areas where school
90 attendance norms are lower ($p = 0.015$ between the lowest and highest enrollment groups). Finally, we also
91 show that the impacts decrease with distance from the storm, with effects no longer statistically significant
92 among children beyond 150 kilometers from the storm edge.

93 Tropical cyclones exhibit a periodic nature that may facilitate adaptation to storms from repeated expe-
94 riences. We use the return period of tropical cyclones (average recurrence interval, see Methods) to examine
95 the extent to which areas experiencing more frequent exposure to tropical cyclones adapt, as observed in
96 changes in school non-enrollment. Our analyses indicate that the loss of school enrollment is meaningfully
97 greater in communities less frequently exposed to tropical cyclones compared to communities frequently
98 exposed (Figure 2d). For example, we estimate that tropical cyclones can reduce primary education by 3.3
99 pp in regions that are rarely exposed to TC, while such effects are much smaller in regions with more fre-
100 quent exposure. The differences are statistically significant (p -value < 0.001), consistent with the idea that
101 adaptation to tropical cyclones reduces storm impacts for communities living in regions prone to tropical
102 cyclones.

103 We do not observe trends in effects, but temporal trends in exposure (Figure S1) and patterns in effect
104 size after excluding years (Figure S8) suggest that our effects are not dependent on any specific year during
105 our study period, but that we identify long-term effects given the role of return periods and the low frequency
106 of storm events in some countries.

107 We perform multiple robustness analyses and demonstrate that our results are consistent with the alter-
108 native model specification (Supplementary Figure S5, Figure S6 and Figure S7) and we show that effect

109 sizes are not driven by a single country or a single year (Figure S8). We also examine the effects on school
110 enrollment following exposure at ages older than 6. Given the mechanisms linking tropical cyclones and
111 schooling, we expected to see minimal or no effect at older ages. The results of exposure at ages other than
112 5-6 are shown in Figure S9.

113 Longer-term impacts of tropical cyclone exposure at pre-school age can be detected in later school
114 outcomes, including primary school completion (Figure S10), secondary school enrollment (Figure S11),
115 and total years of schooling (Figure S12). As with school enrollment, we observe greater impacts with higher
116 wind speeds, for girls compared to boys, in rural compared to urban areas, and in communities exposed to
117 tropical cyclones less frequently.

118 **Years of education lost due to tropical cyclone exposure**

119 We use our findings to estimate the total number of children who would have enrolled in primary school had
120 there been no tropical cyclones. Our calculations reveal that if the impacts of tropical cyclones on schooling
121 had been fully mitigated, a total of 280,000 children would have received at least some schooling in the
122 13 study countries between 2000 and 2019 (Figure 3a), averaging 14,000 additional children enrolling in
123 primary school per year. This would have resulted in a total of 2.8 million additional years of schooling,
124 largely driven by primary school enrollment. The top 3 countries in our sample with the most children losing
125 out on enrollment and years of schooling due to tropical cyclones are India, Bangladesh and Madagascar
126 (Figure 3), reflecting their large population and exposure patterns. The estimated loss of enrollment and the
127 loss of total years of schooling in other LMICs, assuming uniform effects, are also shown in the figure. In
128 all countries, more school-age girls are affected than boys by up to 3.0 (0.6-5.4) times.

129 Extending to all LMICs exposed to tropical cyclones (including countries for which we did not have
130 outcome data), we estimate that 410,000 students did not enroll in primary school as a result of tropical
131 cyclones, with the most notable losses observed in regions with less frequent exposure to tropical cyclones.
132 Consequently, the overall loss of schooling in LMICs attributable to tropical cyclones has exceeded 4.1
133 million years in the past 20 years.

134 **Discussion and Conclusion**

135 Using more than 50 years of school attendance records collected from nationally representative surveys in
136 13 LMICs, we provide evidence to suggest that exposure to tropical cyclones is robustly related to losses of
137 schooling. Our primary estimates of a 7.9% reduction in school enrollment following exposure to Category
138 1 storms and up to a 28.3% reduction following Category 4+ storms are meaningful obstacles to educational
139 goals (6). In our primary analyses, the largest reductions in school enrollment are among groups that typ-
140 ically face higher susceptibility to schooling loss. These include girls, children in rural areas, and children
141 living in places with initially low baseline schooling rates. Consistent with the mechanisms of schooling loss
142 relative to the severity of storm's physical destruction and economic shocks, we find larger impacts when
143 storms are closer, wind speeds are higher, and efforts to mitigate storm impacts are less common. We also
144 observe lasting effects of tropical cyclone exposure as reductions in primary school completion, secondary
145 school enrollment, and years of schooling among exposed children.

146 We find that countries with more frequent exposure to tropical cyclones suffer smaller effects, possibly
147 driven by adaptation measures. Adaptation to frequent tropical cyclones, such as increased population
148 preparedness and construction resistant to storm winds and surges, would be consistent with this pattern,
149 as would lack of adaptation in regions with infrequent exposure, where storm-resistant construction can be
150 viewed as a lesser priority (29, 30). We find more pronounced effects in communities that are less frequently
151 exposed to tropical cyclones, and this pattern is sustained for primary school completion, secondary school
152 enrollment, and total years of schooling.

153 Our study suggests several mechanisms that may be at play in schooling disruptions following exposure
154 to tropical cyclones. Physical damage to schools or school access (e.g. roads) is a plausible consequence
155 of severe storms, and, in the absence of adequate recovery, could lead to reduced enrollment in the 1-
156 2 years following exposure, as we observe. Physical damage to the child's household that results in an
157 increased need for children to participate in household labor is also consistent with our findings, including
158 the finding of greater schooling losses among girls.(31, 32) This mechanism also aligns with our findings
159 that schooling losses are more pronounced in communities where keeping children out of school can be
160 more common. Beyond physical damages, short-term displacements after disasters could also lead to non-
161 enrollment. Furthermore, loss of education may result from the long-term economic impacts of tropical
162 cyclones, although this is beyond the scope of this study (13).

163 Our findings highlight an important feature about schooling in LMICs: shocks (tropical cyclones in
164 this study) that disrupt school enrollment reduce schooling attainment through secondary school. We esti-
165 mate downstream reductions in primary school completion, secondary school enrollment, and total years of
166 schooling, all of which can be linked to disruptions in primary school enrollment. The lingering effects also
167 indicate that the exposed group of students does not catch up even with successful enrollment. Catching up
168 that could result from improved school retention or completion (for example, by long-term economic growth
169 following the exposure (13)) is not apparent in the data. These findings suggest a path to respond to tropical
170 cyclones and mitigate their effects on schooling: support families and boost school enrollment, especially
171 among the most vulnerable children - girls, those living in rural areas, and those exposed to intense storms.

172 The limitations of the study warrant special consideration. An important limitation is the measurement
173 error in identifying the child's place of residence during his or her school years. The location of the house-
174 hold members at the time of the interview may be different from their location during their school-age years.
175 Some children we identify as exposed may have lived away from the exposed area at the time of the storm,
176 while others we identify as unexposed may have been exposed while they were 5-6 years old if they moved
177 out of the exposed area after disaster. This could introduce bias into our estimates, especially if displace-
178 ment into or away from exposed areas was induced by storms. In the DHS household survey, the migration
179 history of household members is not available, making it challenging to thoroughly examine possible biases
180 related to displacement. However, previous studies have indicated that, unlike slow-onset climate change,
181 which often results in permanent and widespread displacement, disasters often trigger large but short-term
182 displacement, typically to nearby regions, followed by relatively rapid return (33-35). The small-scale of
183 permanent displacements from affected areas following sudden-onset disasters, such as tropical cyclones in
184 our case, should make this bias small.

185 Second, while we use the best available wind data, the wind fields are modeled and hence there is
186 measurement error in our treatment assignment. As shown in the Supplementary Methods and Figure S13,
187 insufficient storm size information for severe storms can lead to underestimated wind speeds in their outer
188 regions, potentially causing misidentification of affected areas as unaffected. We interpret this uncertainty
189 from two perspectives. First, we show that large uncertainties are present only in storms with atypical
190 structures (Figure S13). For most storms, the uncertainty is minimal. Second, even if exposed areas are
191 mislabeled as unexposed due to measurement errors in the wind modeling approach, correcting this could
192 exacerbate the observed effects, particularly given that educational outcomes tend to be worse in affected
193 areas, as indicated in our primary analysis.

194 Third, some LMICs affected by tropical cyclones, such as Cuba and Vietnam, do not have Demographic
195 and Health Surveys (DHS). However, the 13 countries included in our analysis cover 73% of all population
196 exposure in LMICs, including countries from three continents - Asia, South America, and Africa, making
197 our sample representative of the globally affected population in LMICs. Lastly, when estimating the total
198 number of children affected by tropical cyclones worldwide, we assume that the average effects observed
199 in our sample apply to all LMICs. However, it is important to acknowledge that tropical cyclones can have
200 different effects in exposed countries for which we do not have data. Furthermore, we only provide the

201 number of affected students for the period from 2000 to 2019 due to the absence of age-gender population
202 data before 2000.

203 In this study, we investigate the impacts of tropical cyclones on education in 13 LMICs with education
204 records of more than 5.1 million people obtained from survey data. Our analysis spans a broad range
205 of geographical locations and storm events with a wide variety of intensities, enabling a comprehensive
206 understanding of the heterogeneity of the effects and the generalization of the effects across LMICs. We find
207 that exposure to tropical cyclones during preschool years is associated with decreased primary enrollment,
208 primary completion, and secondary enrollment. The effects are particularly more pronounced in vulnerable
209 communities, such as school-aged girls and people less frequently exposed to strong storms. Our analysis
210 sheds light on a plausible pathway through which climate extremes impact human capital development, an
211 area that has received less attention in previous studies.

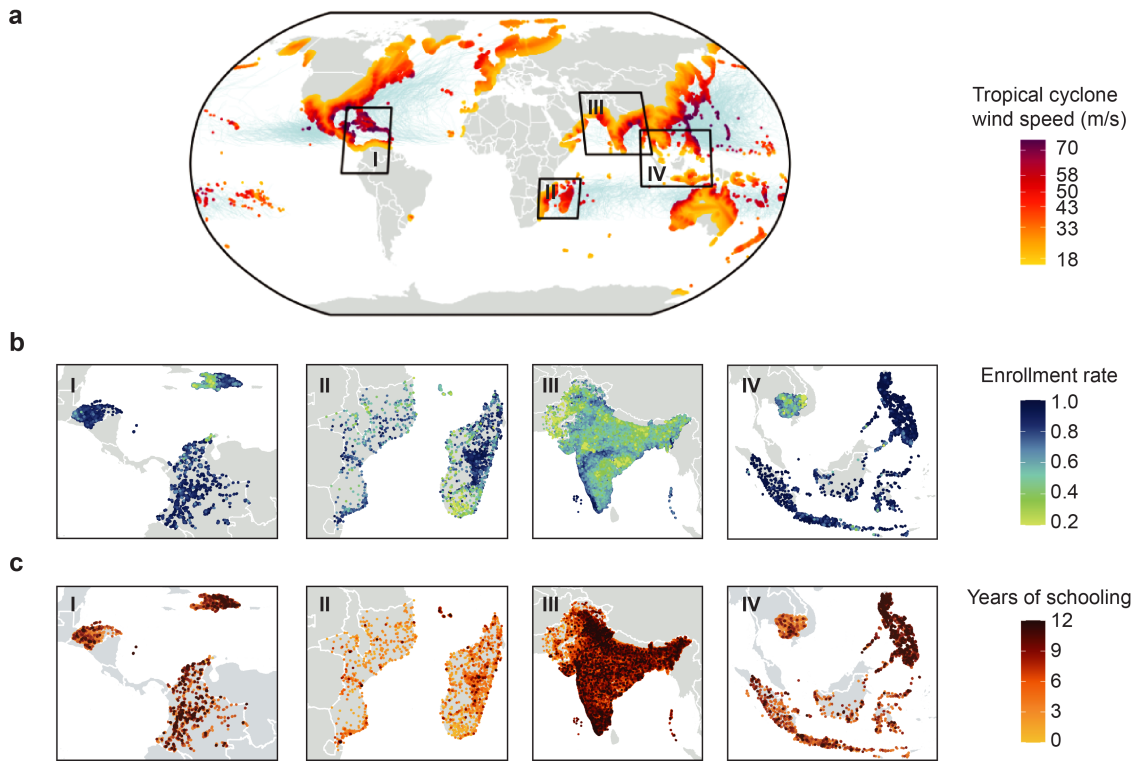


Figure 1: **Description of data.** Subplot (a) shows global distribution of maximum wind speeds (in unit of m/s) of tropical cyclones in 2000- 2019. Storm tracks are shown in light blue curves. Four subregions that include 13 LMICs in our sample are enlarged: (I) Madagascar, Mozambique and Comoros (II) India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (III) Philippines, Indonesia and Cambodia (IV) Dominican Republic, Honduras, Haiti and Colombia. Subplot (b) shows the average primary school enrollment rate, and subplot (c) shows the average total years of schooling for each DHS cluster. The country outlines were obtained from Global Administrative Areas, version 4.1. (36)

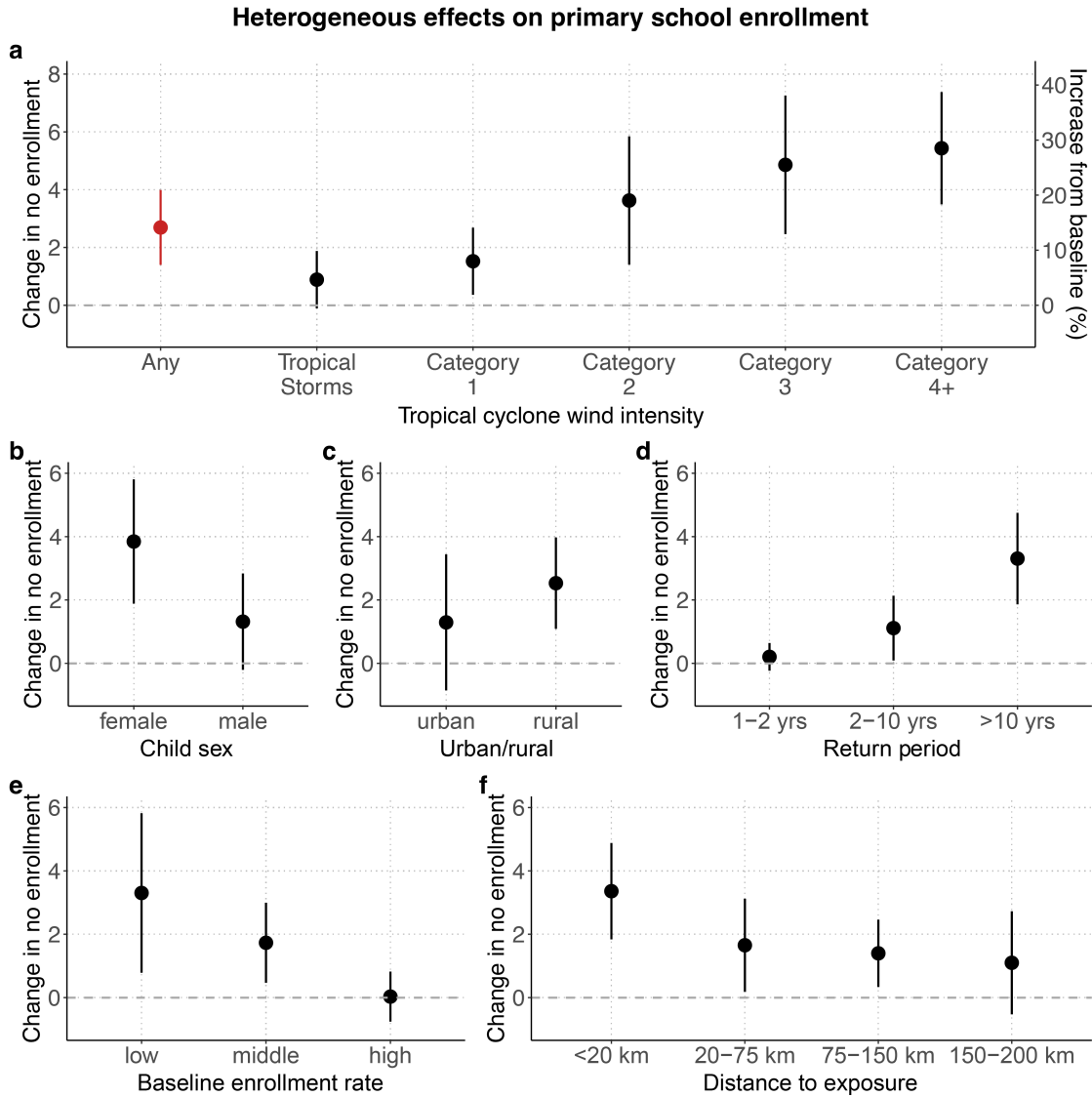


Figure 2: **Heterogeneous effects of tropical cyclone exposure on primary school enrollment by wind intensity, gender, urban/rural, return period, baseline enrollment rate, and distance to exposure.** (a) The impacts of tropical cyclone exposure on primary school enrollment increase monotonically with intensity. The main y-axis shows effects in percentage points, and the secondary y-axis represents the relative increase from baseline non-enrollment rate. The intensities of tropical cyclones are classified into Tropical Storms (<33 m/s), Category 1 (33-43 m/s), Category 2 (43-50 m/s), Category 3 (50-58 m/s) and Category 4+ (>58 m/s), based on the Saffir-Simpson Hurricane Wind Scale. (b) Effects on enrollment by child sex. More pronounced effects are observed among school-age girls. (c) Effects on enrollment by urban/rural. (d) Effects on enrollment in regions with frequent exposure versus those with infrequent exposure, measured by the average return period of tropical cyclones at the Category 1 wind level. More pronounced effects are observed in regions that are less frequently exposed to tropical cyclones. (e) Effects on enrollment by average enrollment rate. More pronounced effects are observed in communities with lower baseline enrollment rate. (f) Effects on enrollment gradually decrease with increasing distance from tropical cyclone exposure.

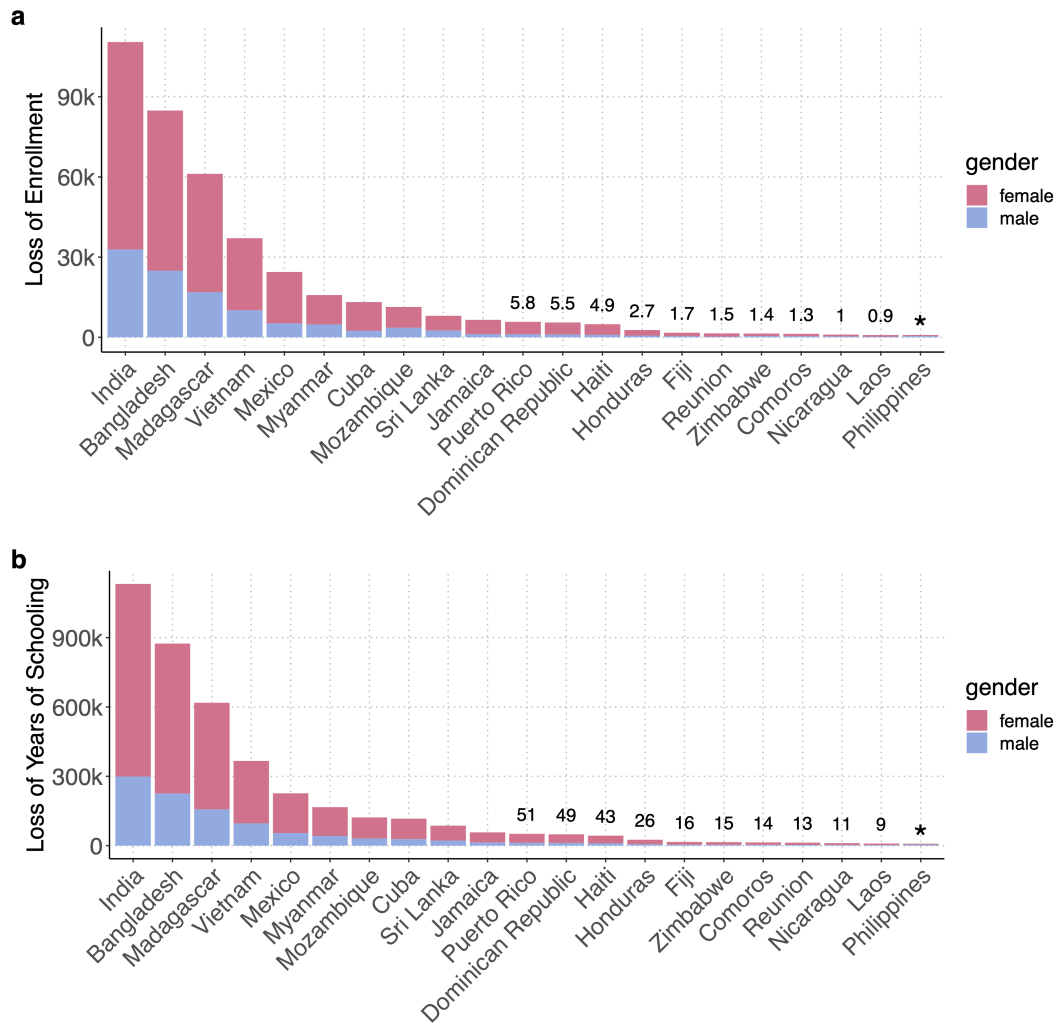


Figure 3: **Estimated losses of enrollment and losses of years of schooling attributable to tropical cyclone exposure.** (a) Estimated number of individuals in LMICs that would have enrolled in primary school had they not been affected by tropical cyclones between 2000-2019, broken down by child sex. This estimate takes into account the heterogeneous effects caused by variations in sex and adaptation levels. The top 20 countries with the most children affected are shown, and the top three countries affected are India (110k), Bangladesh (85k), and Madagascar (61k). (b) Estimated losses in years of schooling associated with tropical cyclone exposure between 2000-2019, broken down by child sex. Similarly, the 20 countries with the most children affected are shown, and the top three countries affected are India (1.1 mi), Bangladesh (0.8 mi), and Madagascar (0.6 mi). On a special note, we denote the Philippines with an asterisk '**' in both panels. Despite its large population and the high probability of exposure, the Philippines experiences a relatively small number of children not enrolled in primary school due to tropical cyclones, as its baseline enrollment rate has been consistently high over the years.

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288 **Author contributions**

289 R.J. and E.B. conceived the idea. R.J. generated tropical cyclone wind data and processed education data.
290 R.J. led the study design with inputs from all authors. R.J., E.B., S.H.-N, Z. Wang, Z. Wagner, M.Q., I.O.
291 led the causal analysis. R.J. and J.C. led the measurement error analysis. R.J., E.B., Z. Wagner, S.H.-N led
292 the writing of the manuscript. All authors contributed to the interpretation of the results and the revision of
293 the manuscript.

294 **Competing interests**

295 The authors declare no competing interests.

296 **Data and materials availability**

297 Data and code to replicate all results in the main text and supplementary materials will be made available in
298 a public repository.

299 **Materials and Methods**

300 **Children schooling records**

301 We obtain data on children’s schooling attainment and grade completion records from the Demographic and
302 Health Surveys (DHS), a series of nationally representative household surveys conducted in LMICs (1). The
303 DHS follows a two-stage design, where clusters (approximately villages or neighborhoods) are first selected
304 from a list of enumeration areas created in a recent population census, and then households are randomly
305 chosen from each of the DHS clusters. A household census that includes information on schooling history is
306 conducted for all household members in every selected household. Schooling information includes current
307 year schooling status (still in school or not), schooling attainment, and total years of schooling completed.
308 School attainment is incomplete primary education, complete primary education, incomplete secondary
309 education, and complete secondary education (Table S1). Household characteristics such as urban/rural are
310 also documented. Since the late 1990s, DHS surveys have been georeferenced, where longitude and latitude
311 are provided for each cluster’s centroid.

312 We use data from 32 georeferenced surveys carried out between 1997 and 2022 from 13 LMICs that
313 were exposed to tropical cyclones. We restrict our sample to participants over 10 years old at the time of the
314 survey to exclude children that may still enroll in school (and we vary this assumption below). Our sample
315 includes 82,233 DHS clusters with more than 5.1 million individuals born between 1954 and 2010. For
316 each individual, we create a binary indicator to reflect their primary school enrollment based on the person’s
317 educational attainment. The baseline enrollment rates for each calendar year are shown over time for both
318 boys and girls, separately for each country, in Figure S3.

319 In addition to primary school enrollment, we also examine three secondary outcomes. We define pri-
320 mary education completion as a binary variable marked as true if an individual’s schooling attainment is
321 not classified as either ‘no education’ or ‘incomplete primary education’. Similarly, we define secondary
322 school enrollment as true if an individual is classified as either ‘secondary education’ or ‘higher education’.
323 Furthermore, the survey data directly provide the total years of schooling completed for each individual at
324 the time of the survey, which we use as a continuous outcome. We limit our samples to individuals aged
325 22 and above for the secondary outcomes analyses to allow respondents to complete school. We choose
326 thresholds to balance the size and generalizability of our sample with the plausibility of inclusion criteria.

327 **Tropical cyclone affected areas**

328 We use tropical cyclone tracks sourced from the International Best Track Archive for Climate Stewardship
329 (IBTrACS, version v04r00) (2, 3), which provides 6-hourly latitude and longitude of tropical cyclone posi-
330 tions and the maximum sustained wind speed at 10-m height above level ground. To construct the affected
331 area associated with each storm, we use parametric wind models to estimate the complete wind field of each
332 storm. The family of parametric wind models is capable of generating complete wind speed profiles with
333 few inputs, which is particularly suitable for global studies like ours. We opt for the model introduced by
334 Chavas et al. (4), which mathematically merges an inner-wind model (5) and an outer-wind field model (6)
335 to produce the complete azimuthal wind associated with a storm. Although the original wind model was
336 developed based on the structure of mature storms over the ocean, recent studies have also demonstrated its
337 effectiveness over land (7). The parametric wind model has proven to be successful in studies examining
338 tropical cyclone population exposure (8), tropical cyclone induced flood risks (9) and power damage (10).

339 The tropical cyclone parametric model requires the following storm parameters as input: maximum
340 wind speed of the storm V_m , radius of maximum wind speed R_{max} for the inner region or radius of a specific
341 intensity R_{fit} (e.g., R_{34} , which represents the distance from the center of the storm where the wind speed
342 decreases to 34 knots).

343 In IBTrACS, R_{34} has been available since 2002 and R_{\max} has been available throughout the study period,
 344 while R_{\max} has greater uncertainties compared to R_{34} (11). Based on this data availability, we adopt two
 345 different approaches to account for wind asymmetries over land. For storms where the outer radius R_{34} is
 346 available, we explicitly consider the asymmetry by simulating wind fields in each earth-relative quadrant,
 347 using quadrant-specific storm and surface parameters as model inputs. In cases where the outer radius R_{34}
 348 is not available, we use R_{\max} as model input to compute the axis-symmetric component of the storm’s wind
 349 field. Additionally, we incorporate an asymmetric component to account for the asymmetry induced by the
 350 combined effects of storm movement and ambient wind shear (12). We simulate the full wind profile of
 351 tropical cyclones for each storm and then integrate the wind fields of all historical storms spanning from
 352 1950 to 2020. We then calculate the annual maximum wind speed for each location and generate a tropical
 353 cyclone grid wind data set with a resolution of approximately 10 km.

354 **Tropical cyclone exposure**

355 We assess tropical cyclone exposure by spatially merging the location of each DHS cluster with the maxi-
 356 mum nearby tropical cyclone wind speed in each year from 1950 to 2020. We assign the maximum wind
 357 speed within a 20 km buffer zone, which reflects both uncertainty in the exact location of the DHS clusters
 358 and the spatial extent of tropical cyclones. We thus obtain an annual panel of maximum wind speeds from
 359 tropical cyclones for each cluster. Using these data, we then calculate the maximum wind speed for each
 360 year from birth until the age of 14 for each individual in the survey, covering a span of 15 years.

361 For assessing schooling outcomes, we consider children exposed to a tropical cyclone if their cluster
 362 of residence was in the wind field of a tropical cyclone with a maximum wind speed equal to or greater
 363 than 33 m/s (Category 1 or higher) when they were 5 or 6 years old. We chose this age of exposure to
 364 correspond to the age of enrollment among the children in our sample (Figure S4) and the mechanisms
 365 that link tropical cyclones and loss of schooling: physical destruction and household financial shocks. We
 366 also generate a categorical variable to denote the intensity of maximum tropical cyclone winds encountered
 367 during preschool age, with the following wind thresholds: no exposure (maximum wind speed less than 25
 368 m/s), Tropical Storm (greater than or equal to 25 and less than 33 m/s), Category 1 (greater than or equal
 369 to 33 and less than 43 m/s), Category 2 (greater than or equal to 43 and less than 50 m/s), Category 3
 370 (greater than or equal to 50 and less than 58 m/s), and Category 4 and above (greater than or equal to 58
 371 m/s). Following Emanuel and Rotunno (13), we set the no-exposure wind cut-off at 25 m/s, assuming that
 372 exposure to wind speeds below this threshold is considered to pose no damage.

373 Finally, we create variables that capture exposures at greater distances from the cluster, 75, 150 and
 374 200 km away. We identify exposure within each region (<20 km, 20-75 km, 75-150 km, 150-200 km)
 375 analogously to the primary analyses. We limit the largest radius to 200 km, since this is the typical size of
 376 the major circulation of a tropical cyclone over the ocean. Tropical cyclone exposure is classified into these
 377 four regions according to their distance from the center of the storm. If the exposure occurs in multiple
 378 regions, it is classified according to the closest distance to the storm center. For example, if for a cluster
 379 the maximum tropical cyclone wind exceeds 33 m/s in both 20-75 km and 75-150 km regions, and without
 380 exposure in other distances, then the exposure is classified as occurring at a distance of 20-75 km.

381 **Empirical approach**

382 For our main schooling outcome, we model the relationship between the probability of enrollment in primary
 383 school and tropical cyclone exposure using the following fixed-effects model with a linear link function.

$$Y_{ict} = \alpha + \beta D_i + \lambda \mathbf{X}_{ct} + \delta_c + \gamma_{co,t} + \epsilon_{ict}$$

384 where Y_{ict} is an indicator of whether child i in the DHS cluster c enrolled in primary school, where t
385 indexes the year of age 6. D_i is a binary variable equal to 1 if the child i was exposed to tropical cyclones
386 at the age of 5 or 6, and equal to 0 if not; X_{ct} is a vector of additional controls potentially correlated with
387 both tropical cyclone exposures and school enrollments, including household and individual characteristics,
388 such as child sex, urban/rural and wealth quantile, and climate variables that vary over time, such as local
389 temperature at 2 meters (14). δ_c and $\gamma_{co,y}$ are DHS cluster and country-year effects, respectively. ϵ_{ict}
390 denotes the error terms. The cluster effects control for time-invariant cross-village differences (for example,
391 higher or lower average school enrollment rates) and country-year effects control for trends or abrupt shocks
392 common to all locations (for example, macroeconomic shocks or increases in enrollment over time). To
393 ensure that our estimates can reflect the entire 13-country sample, we adjust observations using combined
394 values of country-specific household survey weights (provided by DHS) and the weights of the country's
395 population, following the previous study (15). We clustered standard errors at the DHS cluster level as this
396 is the level at which TC exposure varies in our data (16).

397 **Heterogeneity analyses**

398 We assess heterogeneity across a variety of child and household characteristics, including urban/rural, child
399 sex, baseline enrollment rate, and distance to exposure. Additionally, we introduce the return period of TCs
400 for each cluster to assess whether areas that are exposed more frequently, and thus might have taken more
401 adaptive measures, experience smaller education consequences compared to areas exposed less often.

402 The return period of a cluster refers to the average time interval between the occurrences of a tropical
403 cyclone at a specific wind level. We calculate the return period of each cluster using 70 years of data (from
404 1950 to 2019) to estimate the average time interval in years that each cluster is exposed to tropical cyclone
405 winds of a certain intensity. For example, if a cluster was exposed to Category 1 or more intense storms
406 7 times during the 70-year period 1950 - 2019, then the annual exceedance probability is 10%, which is
407 associated with a return period of 10 years. In this way, we label each DHS cluster by return period, and
408 classify all clusters into three mutually exclusive bins: the ">10 Years" subgroup includes clusters that have
409 a return period larger than 10 years or clusters that have never been exposed before, which represent regions
410 that are rarely affected by tropical cyclones. Similarly, the "2-10 Years" group includes clusters that have a
411 return period larger than 2 years and smaller than 10 years, and the "1-2 Years" subgroup includes clusters
412 that have experienced frequent exposure annually or biennially. Moving from ">10 Years" to "1-2 Years",
413 the clusters are more and more frequently exposed to tropical cyclones, and we estimate the heterogeneity
414 in effect size across these different locations. In addition to the main analysis, we also perform a robustness
415 analysis using different choices of return period bins: "1-5 Years," "5-20 Years," and ">20 Years," utilizing
416 the same methodology.

417 We use the average baseline enrollment rate as an indicator of the degree to which education is pri-
418 oritized. For each DHS cluster, we calculate the average enrollment rate throughout the study period and
419 categorize it as 'low', 'middle', or 'high' based on whether it falls within the lower, middle or upper third,
420 which corresponds to an average enrollment rate lower than 0.77, between 0.77 and 0.92, or higher than
421 0.92.

422 To identify the disparities in effects, we categorize tropical cyclone exposure according to the intensity
423 of exposure or the distance from exposure to examine how effects vary. We also examine heterogeneity
424 in child sex, urban/rural, baseline education rate, and return period by interacting these variables with the
425 binary variable of tropical cyclone exposure to estimate the effects for each subgroup. Taking child sex as an
426 example, we introduce an interacting term that combines binary tropical cyclone exposure D_i with dummy
427 variables representing child sex, as shown in the following formula.

$$Y_{ict} = \sum_s \beta_s(I_s D_i) + \delta_c + \gamma_{co,t} + \epsilon_{ict}$$

428 In this equation, I_s is a dummy variable to determine whether the child i falls into the bin s (female or
 429 male). The coefficients β_s provide the marginal effect of the tropical cyclone separately for each gender.
 430 For sex heterogeneity, we control fixed effects at both the cluster-sex level and country-year-sex level, con-
 431 sidering that the baseline trends among boys and girls can be very different S3. For urban/rural, baseline
 432 education rate, and return period, we use the same fixed effects that control at both the cluster level and the
 433 country-year level, consistent with the main model specification.

434 **Calculating no schooling attributable to tropical cyclones**

435 We use the estimated effect size for primary school enrollment (by sex and return period) to calculate the
 436 total count of children who did not enroll in primary school due to tropical cyclones. We assume the same
 437 effect size across all LMICs that have encountered tropical cyclones (not limited to DHS survey sites), ac-
 438 counting for the different return periods. To estimate the total number of affected children, we first compute
 439 the return period of tropical cyclones with a wind speed of 33 m/s for each grid cell, which we then use to
 440 assign an effect size. Next, we calculate the total number of children who did not enroll in primary school
 441 in each year y for each location i using the following equation:

$$N_{i,t,s} = C_{i,t,s} \times \mathbf{1}_{TC_{i,t}} \times E_{i,s}$$

442 Here, $C_{i,t,s}$ represents the count of preschool-age children (boys or girls, represented by s) on the grid i
 443 during the year t . We calculate the number of children affected between 2000 and 2019, covering a 20-year
 444 period that is limited by the availability of population age and gender data from Worldpop (17). The dummy
 445 variable $\mathbf{1}_{TC}$ indicates whether the grid i was exposed to tropical cyclone winds of 33 m/s or greater in year
 446 t , and $E_{i,s}$ represents the estimated effect size for each grid based on its return period and child sex. The
 447 total number of children affected by tropical cyclones between 2000 and 2019 is therefore the sum of $N_{i,t,s}$
 448 in all locations and over the 20-year period.

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484 **Supplementary Methods**

485 **Measurement errors in tropical cyclone exposure**

486 Measurement errors in tropical cyclone exposure come from several sources. First, data on the outer radius
487 of tropical cyclones (R_{34}) are only accessible from 2002 onward. For earlier storms lacking documented
488 R_{34} in IBTrACS, we estimate the complete wind profile based on R_{\max} , despite the higher uncertainties
489 associated with R_{\max} . To quantify this uncertainty, we analyze recent storms where both R_{34} and R_{\max}
490 are available. We show that in cases where tropical cyclone size data are of high quality, the wind profiles
491 estimated from R_{\max} closely match those estimated from R_{34} across a spectrum of storms, from Tropical
492 Storm to intense Category 4 storms (Figure S13a-e). Only in cases where the storms have atypical structures,
493 such as a strong storm with a compact inner region but also spreading out with a large outer circulation
494 (characterized by a relatively larger R_{34} but smaller R_{\max}), there is a noticeable deviation between the two
495 profiles (Figure S13f). In such cases, the wind profiles generated based on R_{\max} can underestimate the
496 extent of the strong wind region, leading to an underestimate of areas experiencing wind speeds of 33 m/s
497 or above, which we identify as exposed regions.

498 Second, for privacy concerns, the central point of the populated area of each cluster has been displaced
499 by up to 2 km in urban clusters, 5 km in 99% of rural clusters, and 10 km in a random sample of 1% of
500 rural clusters, according to the DHS official. We analyze the magnitude of uncertainties and note that this
501 displacement would result in a measurement error ranging between 2-5 m/s, and at no more than 10 m/s
502 even during extremely high wind conditions (not shown).

Table S1: Basic statistics of exposed and unexposed sample

Characteristic	Exposed		Unexposed	
	N	N = 325,006	N	N = 4,689,631
sex	325,006		4,689,631	
male		158,230 (49%)		2,293,675 (49%)
female		166,776 (51%)		2,395,956 (51%)
total years of schooling	325,006	7.75(4.83)	4,689,631	7.00(4.90)
education attainment	325,006		4,689,631	
no education		37,488 (12%)		918,106 (20%)
incomplete primary		61,535 (19%)		604,596 (13%)
complete primary		28,826 (8.9%)		384,520 (8.2%)
incomplete secondary		100,113 (31%)		1,768,334 (38%)
complete secondary		38,916 (12%)		439,277 (9.4%)
higher		58,128 (18%)		574,798 (12%)
wealth index	312,318		4,595,974	
poorest		53,876 (17%)		944,153 (21%)
poorer		62,629 (20%)		982,747 (21%)
middle		66,806 (21%)		933,990 (20%)
richer		67,366 (22%)		874,202 (19%)
richest		61,641 (20%)		860,882 (19%)
place of residence	325,006		4,689,631	
rural		197,000 (61%)		3,247,500 (69%)
urban		128,006 (39%)		1,442,131 (31%)

* n (%); Mean(SD)

504 **Supplementary figures**

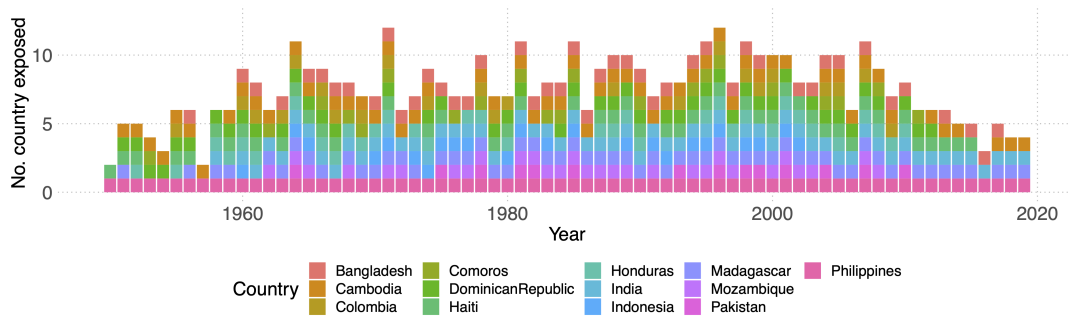


Figure S1: **Variation in TC exposure by country and year.** The bar plot shows the number of countries exposed to tropical cyclones each year. Each country is represented by a color block. We observe substantial variations in the tropical cyclone exposure, with some years seeing only half of the study countries being affected, and some countries exposed yearly while others are exposed only a handful of times during the study period.



Figure S2: **Distribution of total years of schooling by country.** The distribution of each country is estimated based on the population of individuals aged 22 or above at the time of the survey. For all countries except the Philippines, a significant number of people did not enroll in primary school and did not have a formal education. The distribution of total years of schooling in each country is highly determined by the length of each stage within the education system, where a significant portion of the population does not pursue secondary education following the completion of primary education, especially seen in countries such as Colombia, Honduras, Indonesia, Pakistan, etc.

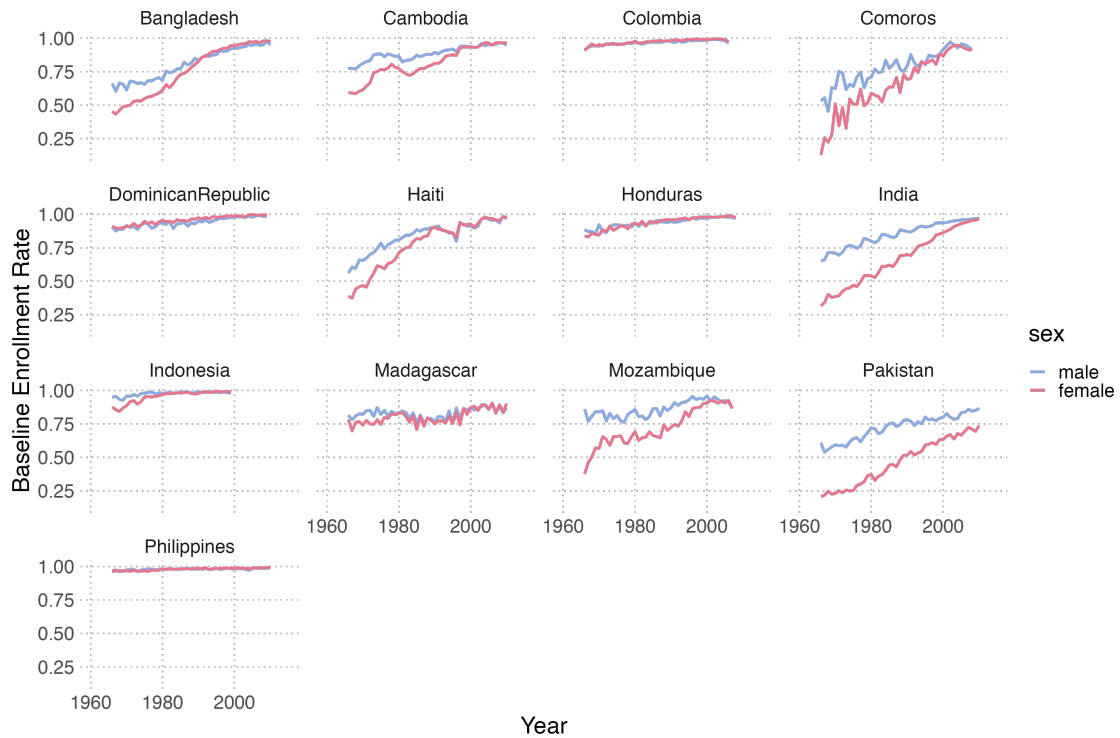


Figure S3: **Baseline primary school enrollment rate for both genders over the years by country.** The enrollment rate is calculated for each calendar year based on the population who were aged 6 in that specific year. For all countries, we observe a steady improvement in enrollment rate for both boys and girls. However, there exists a huge gap between boys and girls, in countries such as India, Mozambique and Pakistan. The Philippines stands out as unique, with a primary school enrollment rate as high as 0.96 even as early as the 1960s.

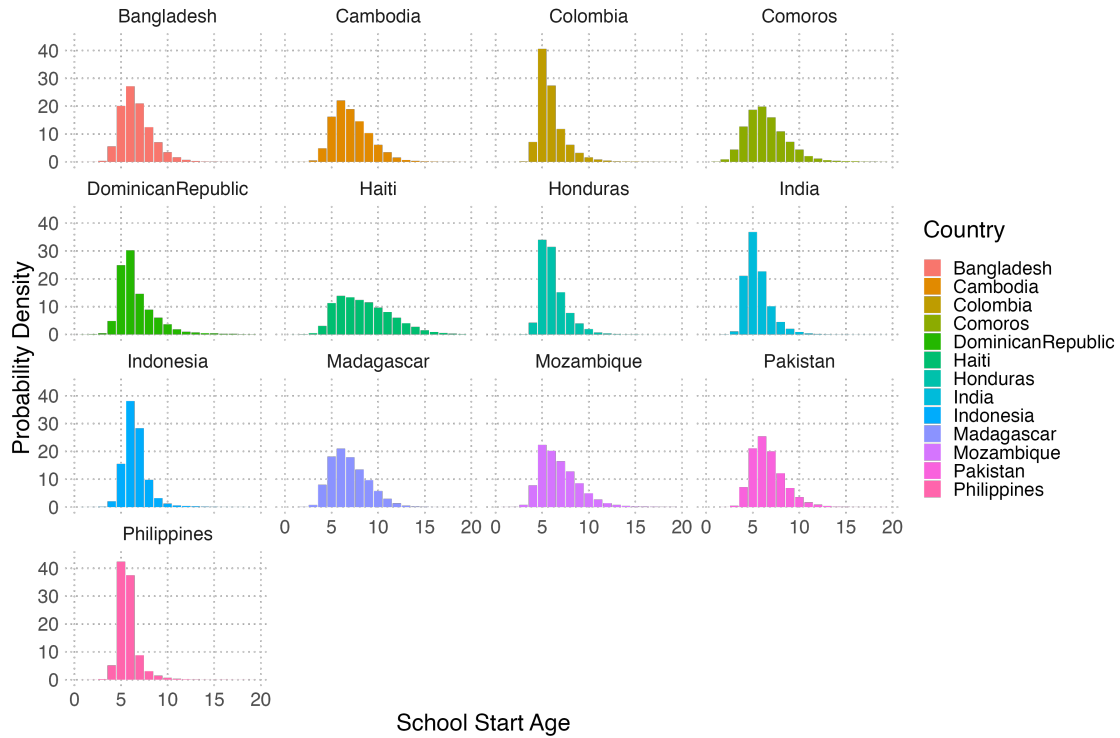


Figure S4: **Distribution of primary school start age by country.** The distribution of school start age in each country is estimated based on the population of individuals who were still attending school at the time of the survey. We determine the age at which these children began their education by subtracting their years of schooling from their age, which represents the distribution for the entire population. Children typically start school at the age of 5 or 6, with the majority enrollment occurring between age 5-7, however we also observe a much broader range of starting ages extending to the age of 15. In some countries, pre-primary education is considered the initial stage of primary education, and as a result the earliest observed age for starting education can be 3 years old in our samples.

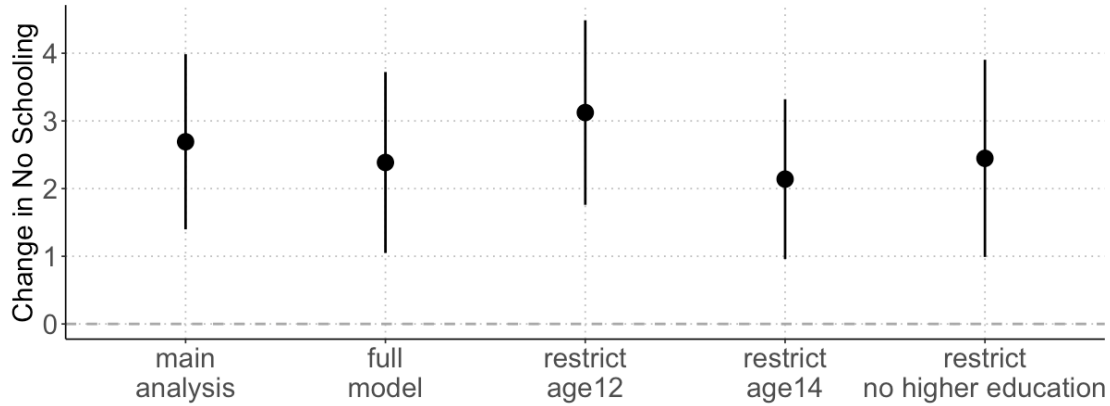


Figure S5: **Robustness of main estimates.** The effects of tropical cyclones on primary school enrollment in the main text is shown with label 'main analysis'. The binary estimate of effects, derived from samples restrict to individuals aged 12 or 14 and older at the time of survey (as opposed to age 10 for the main analysis), is labeled as "restrict age 12" and "restrict age 14", respectively. The model that includes a large set of additional covariates is referred to as the 'full model', which controls child sex, urban/rural, household wealth index (represented as quantile), and annual ambient air temperature at 2m. Binary estimates derived from samples limited to individuals whose highest educational attainment is primary or secondary are labeled as "restrict no higher education". We show that the main estimates are robust to these sensitivity analyses.

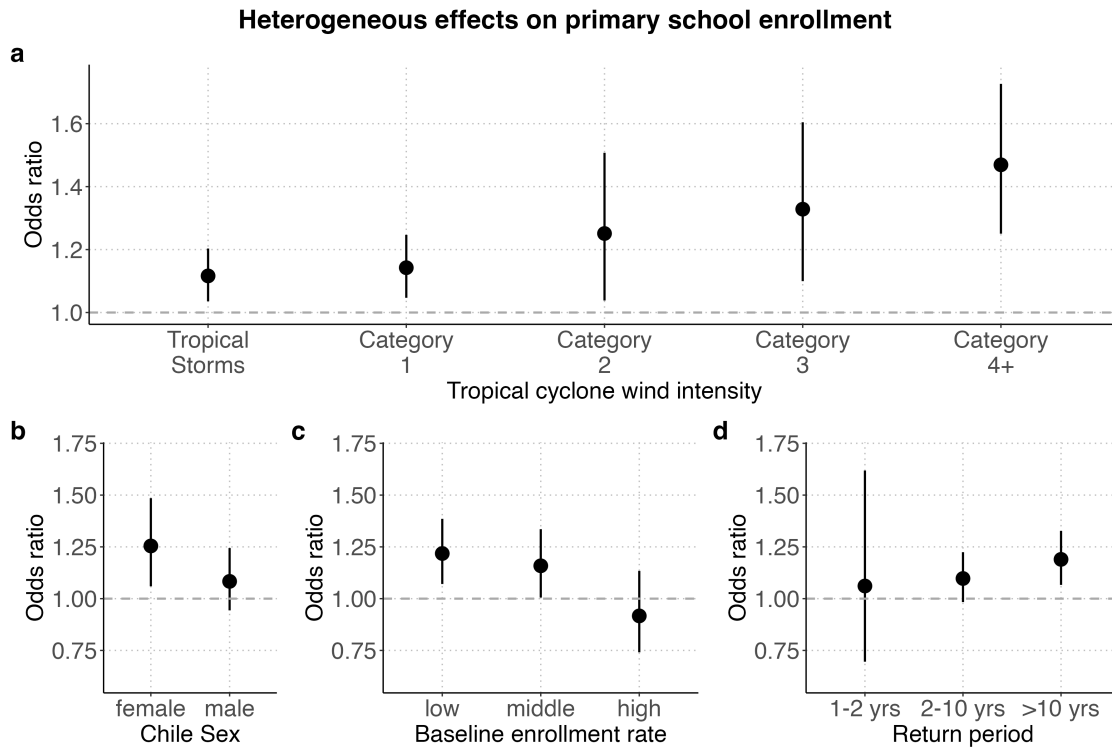


Figure S6: Effects of tropical cyclone exposure on primary school enrollment estimated using logistic regression. We estimate the effects of tropical cyclone exposure on primary school enrollment using fixed effect generalized linear model with logit link function. The model controls for cluster fixed effects and country-year fixed effect, same with main model specification. The effects are expressed in odds ratio, where a negative odds ratio represents a lower likelihood of primary school enrollment, compared with no exposure. We observe similar estimates and relationships as in the main analysis, where the effects attenuate with stronger wind intensity, and are more pronounced among school-age girls, in areas with less frequent exposure, and in communities where education is less prioritized.

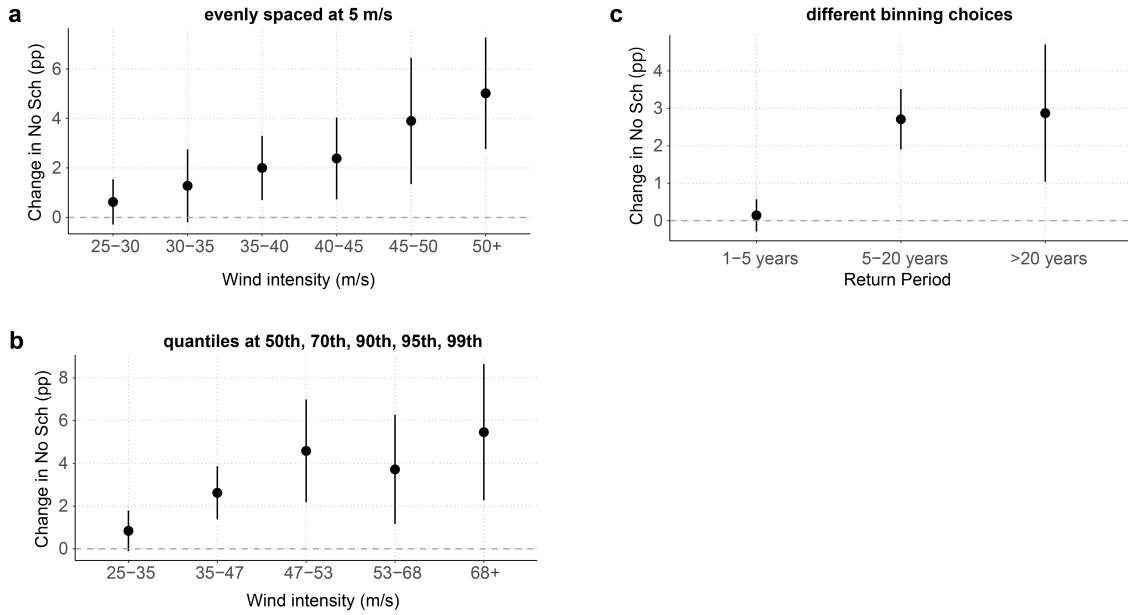


Figure S7: The heterogeneous effects observed in exposure intensity and level of adaptation are robust to binning choices. In panel (a-b), we show that the overall shape of the estimated response remains consistent across different choices of tropical cyclone wind binning, when (a) the wind is evenly spaced at 5 m/s or (b) binned to selected quantile cutoffs. In panel (c), we show that the heterogeneity analysis of the return period is robust to the binning choice of 1-5 years, 5-20 years, and >20 years.

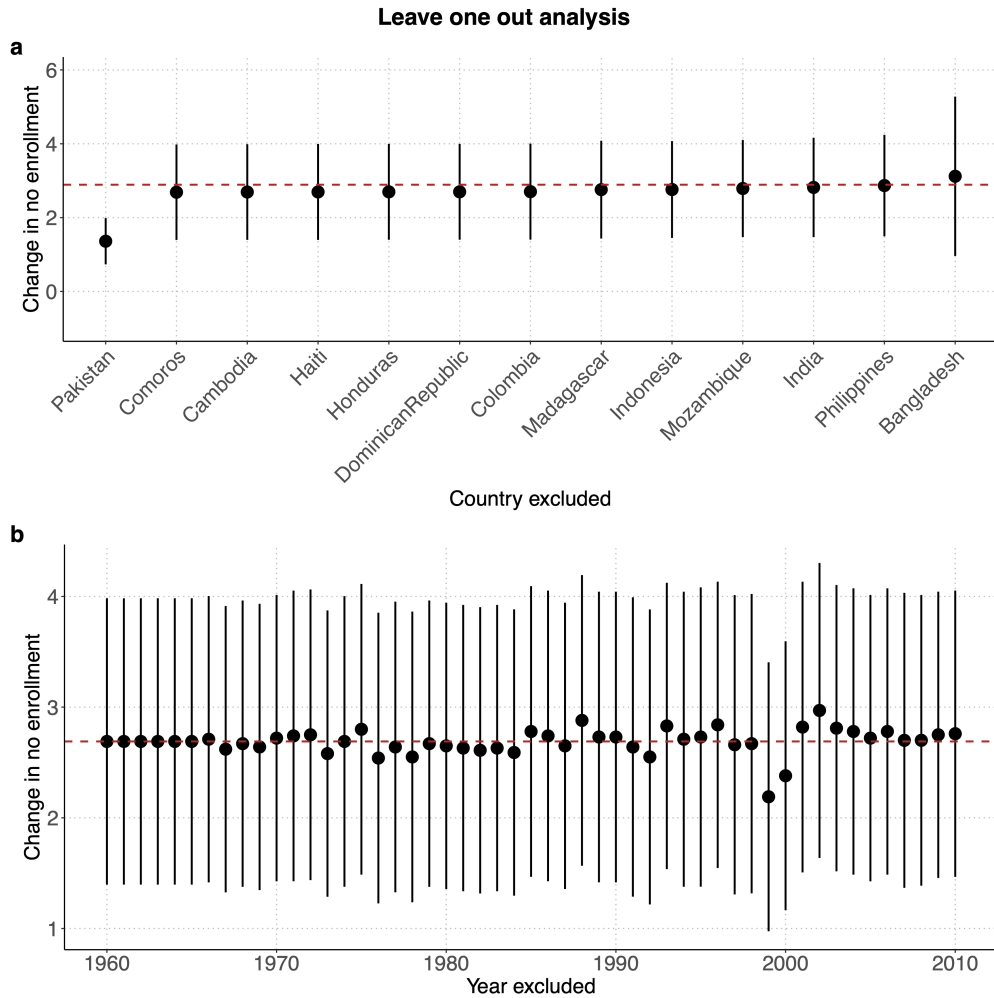


Figure S8: **Binary estimates after exclusion of each country or each year individually.** We show the sensitivity of our binary estimate by running the primary specification while excluding observations for (a) each country individually and (b) each year individually. By removing each country, we observe a variation in the main effect ranging from 1.4 to 3.1 pp. By removing each year, we observe a variation in the main effect ranging from 2.2 to 3.0 pp. The results indicate that our findings are consistent regardless of the country included and are not dominated by a single year. The red dashed line in each panel represents the binary estimate reported in the main text (2.7 pp).

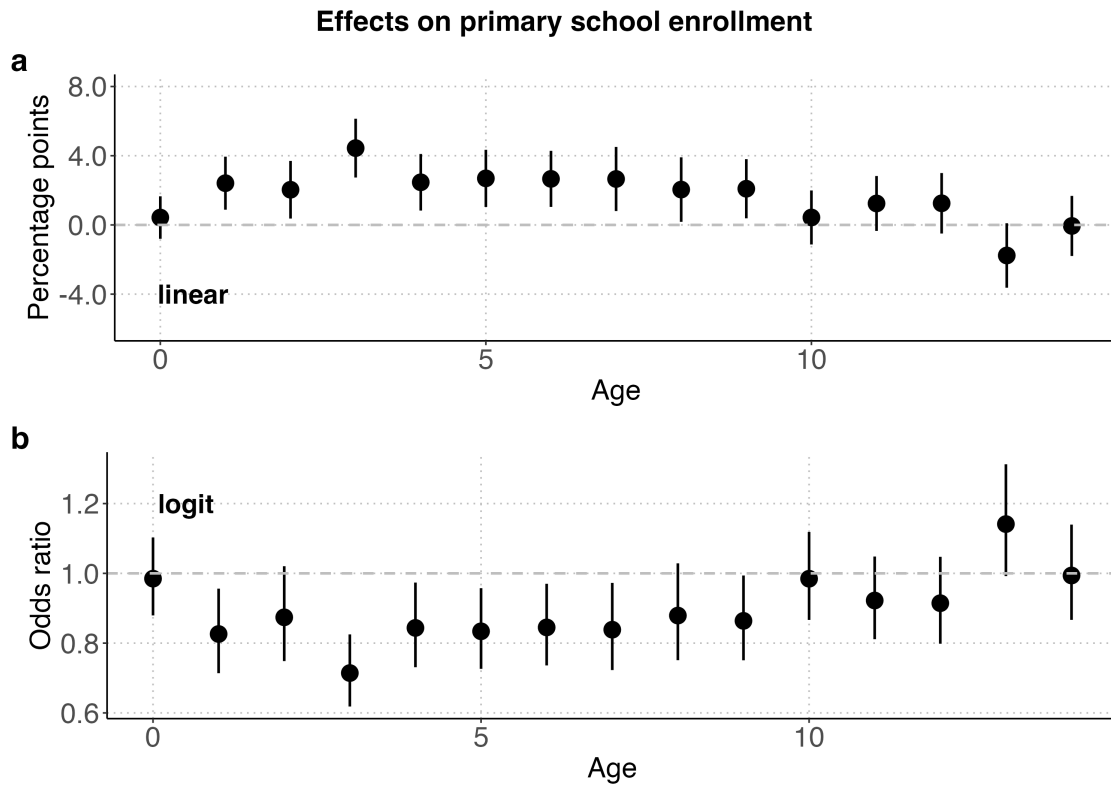


Figure S9: **Effects of tropical cyclone exposure at age 0-14 on primary school enrollment.** Coefficients were generated from fixed effect models which regress whether the child enrolled using a series of binary variables indicating any tropical cyclone exposure from age 0 to age 14, with (a) linear link function and (b) logit link function. These analyses control for fixed effects at cluster and country-year levels, the same as the main model specification. We observe significant effects of tropical cyclone exposure for the early life period of 3 to 9, suggesting that exposure before school start could have an impact on school enrollment. Children who live in LMICs have a wider range of starting ages S4, which partially explains why significant effects can still be observed at the age of 9. We did not observe significant effects of tropical cyclone exposure after the age of 9, which is consistent with the evidence that most enrollments occur before the age of 10.

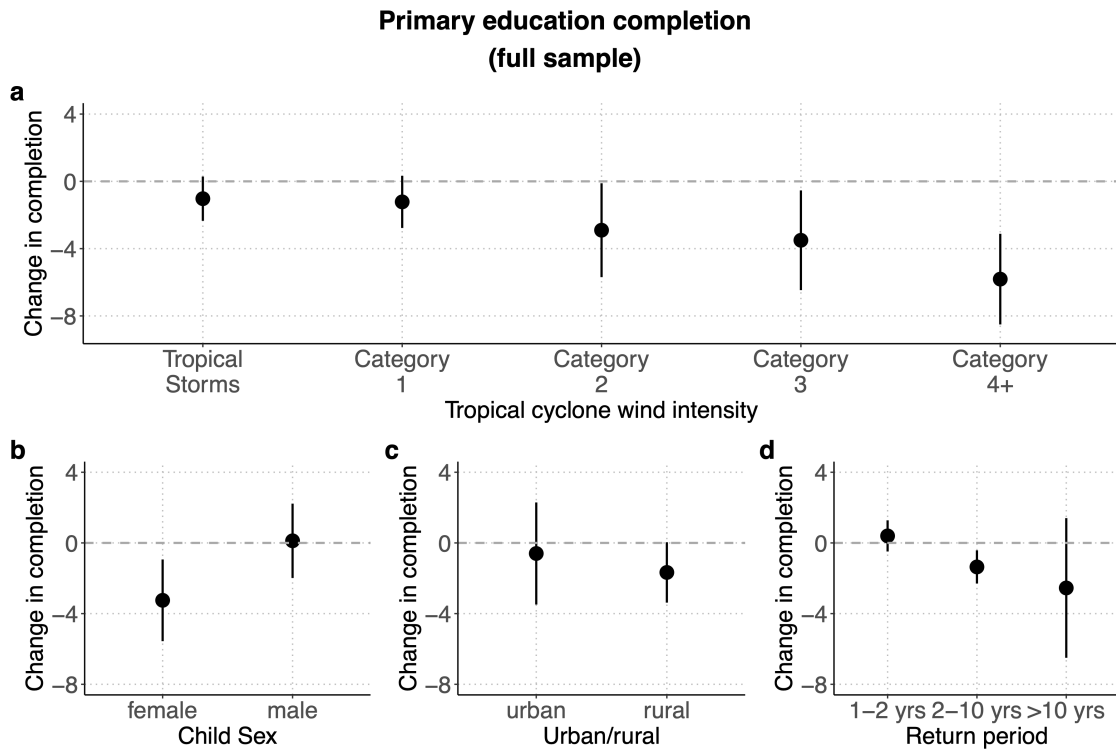


Figure S10: **Results for primary school completion with full sample.** Similar to 2, we show the heterogeneous effects of tropical cyclone exposure on primary school completion by (a) wind intensity, (b) gender, (c) urban/rural, and (4) return period as a measurement of the level of adaptation. We show that the tropical cyclone exposure is negatively related to primary school completion, and the effects are more pronounced when storms are stronger, among school-age girls and in areas that were less frequently exposed.

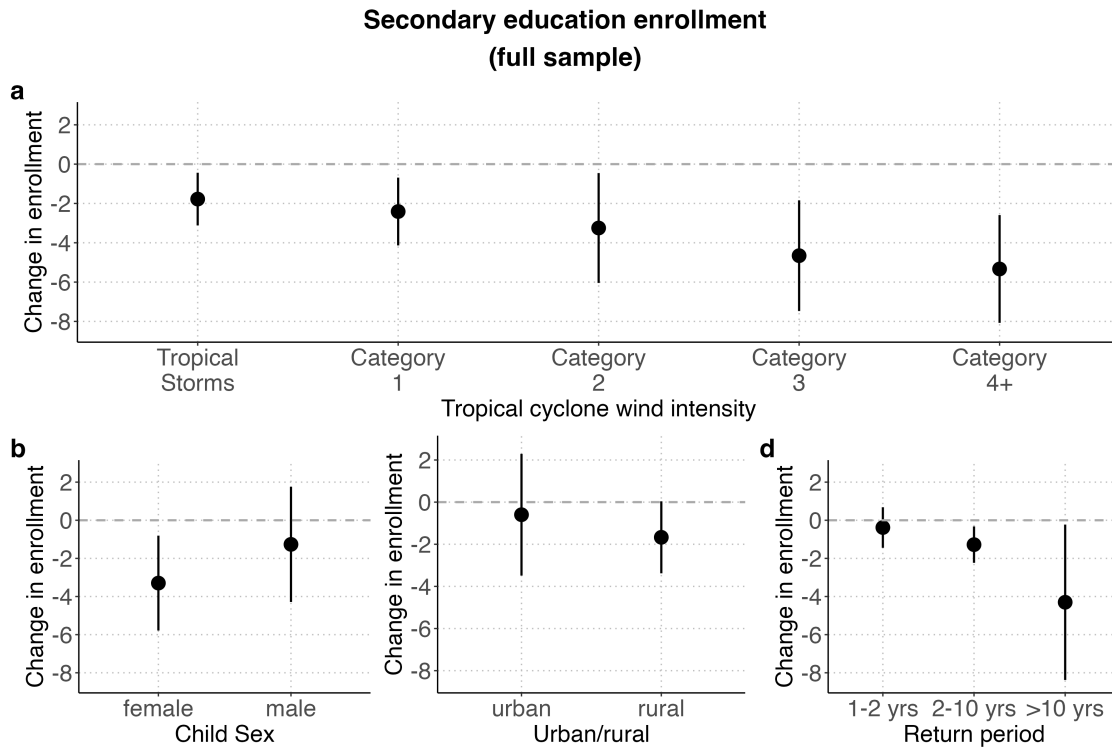


Figure S11: **Results for secondary education enrollment with full sample.** Similar to 2 and S10, we show the heterogeneous effects of tropical cyclone exposure on secondary school enrollment by (a) wind intensity, (b) gender, (c) urban/rural, and (4) return period as a measurement of the level of adaptation. Exposure to tropical cyclones is associated with a decrease in secondary school enrollment, particularly when storms are stronger, among school-age girls, and in areas with less frequent exposure.

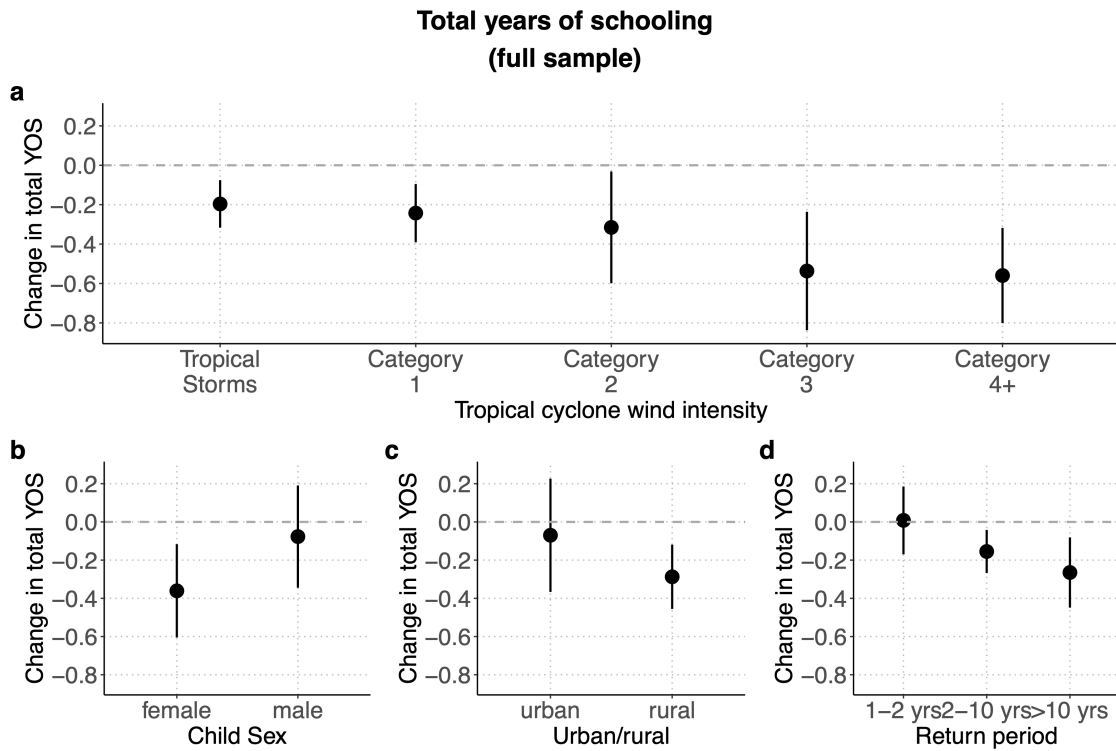


Figure S12: **Results for total years of schooling with full sample.** Similar to Fig. 2, we show the heterogeneous effects of tropical cyclone exposure on total years of schooling by (a) wind intensity, (b) gender, (c) urbanity, and (4) return period as a measurement of the level of adaptation. Exposure to tropical cyclones of Tropical Storm level is associated with a decrease in total years of schooling of 0.2 years. This effect triples to 0.6 years if exposed to Category 4 or more intense storms. The effects are more pronounced among girls compared to boys, particularly in rural areas and in regions that experience less frequent exposure to tropical cyclones.

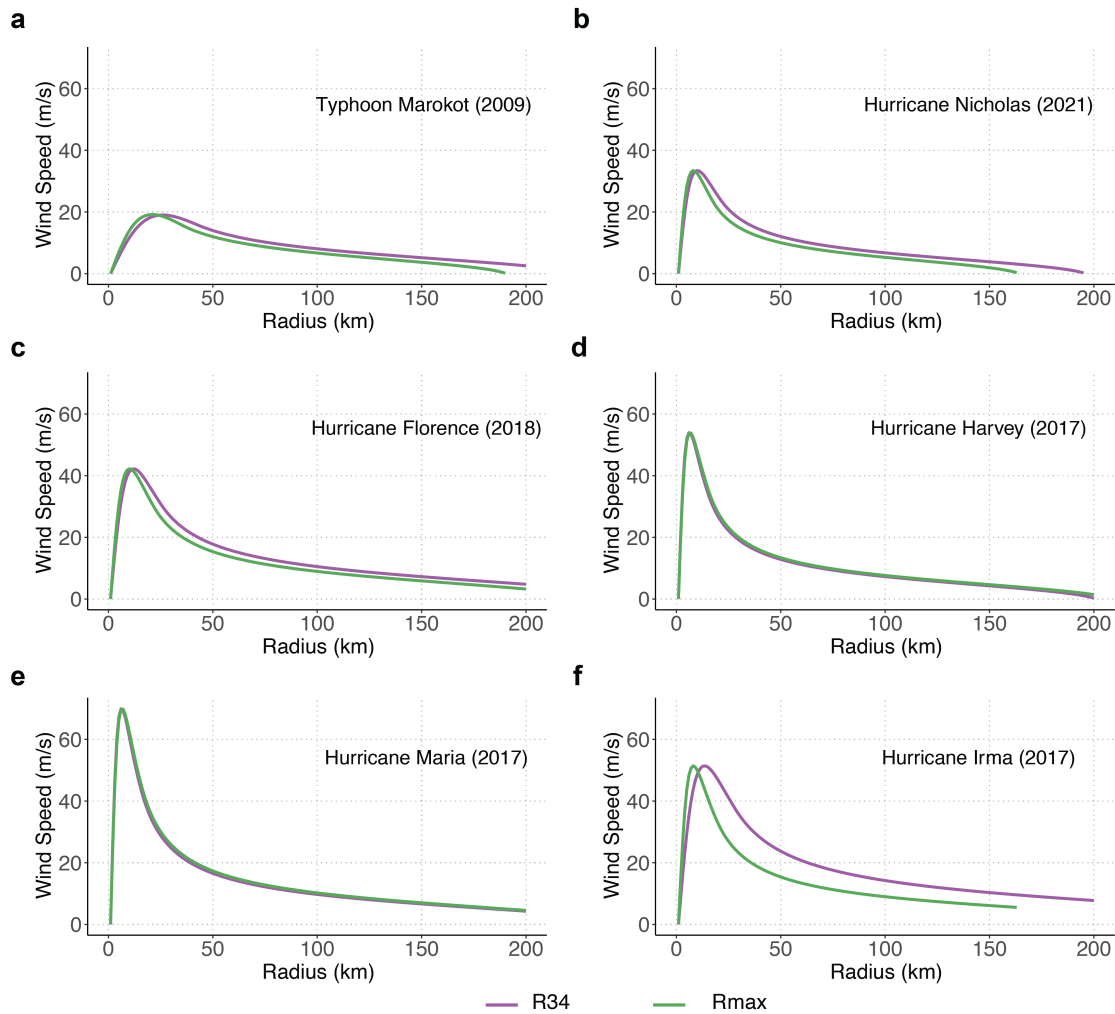


Figure S13: **Measurement errors in tropical cyclone exposure.** We quantify uncertainties in the identification of tropical cyclone exposure by comparing the azimuthally averaged wind profile estimated from R_{34} and R_{max} , using recent storms as case studies. We show that the wind profiles estimated from R_{max} closely match those estimated from R_{34} in a broad spectrum of storms with varying intensities (subplots a-e). Only in cases where storms exhibit atypical structures, such as Hurricane Irma (2017) which has a compact inner region but also expands with a broad outer circulation, is there a noticeable deviation between the two profiles (f).