Stay-at-Home Peer Mothers and Gender Norms: Short-run Effects on Educational Outcomes

Liwen Chen
East China Normal University

Bobby W. Chung
St. Bonaventure University

Guanghua Wang
Nanjing Audit University

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Liwen Chen[†]

Bobby W. Chung[‡]

Guanghua Wang[§]

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Abstract

Increased exposure to gender-role information affects a girl's educational performance. Utilizing the classroom randomization in Chinese middle schools, we find that the increased presence of stay-at-home peer mothers significantly reduces a girl's performance in mathematics. This exposure also cultivates gendered attitudes towards mathematics and STEM professions. The influence of peer mothers increases with network density and when the girl has a distant relationship with her parents. As falsification tests against unobserved confounding factors, we find that the exposure to stay-at-home peer mothers does not affect boys' performance, nor do we find that stay-at-home peer fathers affect girls' outcomes.

Keywords: Cultural transmission, Gender identity, Gender norms, Role models
JEL Classification: I24, J16, Z13

[†]Faculty of Economics and Management, East China Normal University, 3663 North Zhongshan Road., Shanghai, China. lwchen@fem.ecnu.edu.cn

[‡]School of Business, St.Bonaventure University, NY 14778. bchung@sbu.edu.

[§]Corresponding author. School of Economics, Nanjing Audit University, 86 Yushan W. Road, Pukou District, Nanjing, Jiangsu, China. wangguanghua@nau.edu.cn

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1 Introduction

Individuals acquire cultural values through interaction with social members, both within and outside the family, as preferences and norms diffuse via social ties (Bisin and Verdier, 2011). This socialization process transmits distinct cultural traits and beliefs that affect the decisions and behaviors of succeeding generations, for example, through information spillover or social imitation. This paper focuses on the inter-generational consequences of gender norms. When girls prescribe to traditional gender roles, gender culture influences their educational outcomes and occupational aspirations.

The way that gender culture affects a girl's decision is two-fold. On the one hand, the model of gender conformity suggests that a girl faces a psychological (utility) cost when she deviates from the average behavior of surrounding females (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000). Gender identity, thus, conveys "ideal behaviors" that create the pressure to conform. On the other hand, role-modeling information can be valuable when a girl encounters uncertainty about an action. She may learn about the corresponding benefits and costs by observing individuals who belong to the same social group (e.g., gender), helping her make decisions (Manski, 1993; Chung, 2000). In our educational setting, when the stereotypical perceptions about whether a girl should and can succeed in certain areas prevail in a community, the gendered attitudes could affect a girl's expectation and effort, ultimately manifesting as achievement and representation gaps between males and females.

Building on the insights that social ties outside a family aid cultural transmission and gender culture plays a critical role in shaping a girl's decisions, we probe the effects of social network, as a source of gender norms, on a girl's academic performance. We offer evidence that the increased presence of stay-at-home (SAH) peer mothers (referred to as SAH peer mothers hereafter) reduces a girl's math performance. By observing whether working females are common in a community, knowledge about the expected behaviors of her social group (women in this context) influences a girl's beliefs about and investment in schoolwork, impacting her math score. The role of non-family members in transmitting a society's cultural

traits to a child is a crucial but understudied component of the socialization process (Borjas, 1992; Bisin and Verdier, 2001, 2011; Sáez-Martı and Zenou, 2012). This socialization process speaks to the importance of early-life exposure in shaping lifetime outcomes (Chetty and Hendren, 2018; Chung, 2020; Eble and Hu, 2022; Olivetti, Patacchini and Zenou, 2020).[1]

The primary difficulty in obtaining causal estimates for such a study is addressing the endogenous group selection issue, i.e., individual choices determine network formations. For example, a girl from a low socioeconomic family tends to attend less-selective schools, which is correlated with the socioeconomic status of her classmates' mothers. Within a school, a girl also chooses the friends and their parents she prefers to interact with. We leverage the unique feature in the Chinese educational system that most middle schools implement random classroom assignments and analyze the test score data documented in the China Educational Panel Survey (CEPS, 2013-2014). The CEPS contains a rich set of data about school administration, enabling us to construct a sample of students that were randomly assigned to classes.[2] The survey not only comprises a nationally representative sample of middle school students but also solicits detailed information from their parents, including parents' labor market status. We then exploit the unique identifiers to match students and parents to establish a quasi-network consisting of students, their classmates, and the parents of classmates. Conditional on school-by-grade fixed effects that effectively eliminate school and neighborhood sorting, we take advantage of the idiosyncratic variation in the proportion of classmates' SAH mothers in the empirical models.

We find that increased exposure to SAH peer mothers significantly lowers girls' math performance. Having one more classmate with a SAH mother decreases a girl's math score by an average of 3.37% of a standard deviation.[3] The own mother's SAH status, by contrast,

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[1]Other studies also that parents of peers generate social effects through information spillover (Chung and Zou, 2020; Chen et al., 2021).

[2]The Ministry of Education in China has actively been promoting random assignment over tracking since 2006 to ensure equal learning opportunities. As CEPS is a general student survey not designed for experimental studies, we utilize the school administration survey to ensure student assignments are random. We also cross-check the random nature by balancing tests. We explain the details in the empirical strategy.

[3]Our estimate of the external influence of SAH peer mothers on girls, in absolute value, is similar to the spillover effect of other peer/peer-parental characteristics found in studies using the same data (Chung and

does not have a negative impact on the girl's mathematics score. This finding is consistent with the findings in Bernal (2008) and Del Boca, Flinn and Wiswall (2014), which suggest that a mother's employment hurts the child's development. In our case, time investment from SAH mothers may induce a positive impact on girls' performance, offsetting the negative effect of role modeling.[4]

In attributing the negative spillover of SAH peer mothers on girls to gender norms, there remains one concern: our variable of interest – the percent of classmates' mothers who stay at home – may pick up confounding factors. While the randomization background rules out endogenous group formation, we offer three additional empirical patterns to address the concern of unmeasured confounding influences. First, in the fully saturated model, we exhaust the peer effect channels identified by studies using the same data set.[5] Therefore, our interpretation of gender norm influence is based on the residual influence of SAH peer mothers on girls after controlling for significant peer characteristics. Moreover, we do not observe significant influences of SAH peer mothers on boys' performance, suggesting that our variable of interest is less likely to represent unobserved peer ability. We also do not find negative spillover on girls from SAH peer fathers, further ruling out the possibility that the SAH status of peer mothers picks up the family resource of peers.

In addition to the mathematics score, exposure to SAH peer mothers also influences girls in STEM-related outcomes. The increased presence of SAH peer mothers affects girls' attitudes towards STEM subjects, including the stereotypical belief that girls generally perform worse than boys in mathematics, reducing the perceived usefulness of mathematics, and lowering their expectation of working in STEM professions. In contrast, we do not find any effects of SAH peer mothers on girls in either Chinese or English. The STEM-related patterns are

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Zou, 2020; Gong, Lu and Song, 2019; Xu, Zhang and Zhou, 2020).

[4]In our data, we also observe that SAH mothers spend more time on their child than working mothers do. In Section 2, we discuss in details the possible mechanisms.

[5]The peer variables include peer students' gender, ability measures, personality measure, migration status, as well as peer parents' education and income. (Chung and Zou, 2020; Hu, 2018; Gong, Lu and Song, 2019; Xu, Zhang and Zhou, 2020; Zou, 2019). We also check the sensitivity of our results by including the gender beliefs of peer parents in appendix (Eble and Hu, 2022).

consistent with the theory of occupational stereotype in the psychology literature (Papalia and Tennent, 1975; O'Keefe and Hyde, 1983), which states that traditional gender roles constrain a girl's aspiration and confidence in gender-role non-conforming professions.[6]

We also explore several heterogeneity patterns to understand why SAH peer mothers may generate external influences on girls. We proxy for the network density and the propensity for interaction using the parents' knowledge of their children's friends. We find negative spillovers of SAH peer mothers are primarily in school grades where many parents know their children's friends. This suggests that information diffusion is one possible mechanism driving the negative spillover (Beaman et al., 2012; Chong and Ferrara, 2009; Riley, 2022). Second, the negative spillover of SAH peer mothers concentrates on girls who have a distant relationship with their parents, demonstrating the significance of socialization outside the family when one lacks role models within the family(Bisin and Verdier, 2001).

Our gender-specific finding about SAH peer mothers echoes two recent studies on gender norms. In their paper, Olivetti, Patacchini and Zenou (2020) find that exposure to more working peer (grade-mate) mothers during adolescence increases the likelihood of labor force participation for a girl when she grows up.[7] We provide supportive evidence for why there exists a long-lasting effect, that we find the strengthened stereotype and occupational aspirations. Moreover, our randomization background further controls for selection into class, allowing us to leverage random variation at a finer level.[8] Using classmates instead of grade mates to identify social effects also better justifies social interaction (e.g., norms and information) as the underlying force that generates the spillover. Another closely related study is by Eble and Hu (2022), who find that peer parents exert spillover of gender norms onto students. We offer complementary evidence by investigating non-parental role models as an alternative source of norms and beliefs.

Our paper relates broadly to the importance of culture and norms in shaping economic

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[6]We explain in detail the concept of occupational stereotype in Section 2.

[7]Chung (2020) also finds the education of peer mothers affects the future college attainment of girls.

[8]The identification strategy in Olivetti, Patacchini and Zenou (2020) exploits cohort variation in grade-mate composition.

decisions. Economics studies have found that cultural traits and social norms affect a wide range of economic outcomes, from such individual behaviors as labor force participation (Clark, 2003), altruism (Ljunge, 2012), and voting (Williams, 2022) to broader aspects of an economy such as corruption (Hauk and Saez-Marti, 2002), technology adoption (Bezin, 2019; Bénabou, Ticchi and Vindigni, 2015), and growth (Gorodnichenko and Roland, 2011). We demonstrate that a social network is crucial in transmitting culture and norms. Gendered beliefs and attitudes about education are centered around social ties and determine the educational outcomes of the next generation in their early life. We provide important causal evidence helping us understand the influence of gender culture across the spectrum of a woman's life (Giuliano, 2020; Jayachandran, 2015; Kandpal and Baylis, 2019; Ke, 2021; Rodríguez-Planas, Sanz-de Galdeano and Terskaya, 2022). We also show the way in which norms could be formed and be resilient across generations.

Our results also speak to the significance of indirect social connections on information diffusion. Early social science research regarding indirect social ties examines their influence on enriching the information set in job search (Calvo-Armengol and Jackson, 2004; Granovetter, 1973; Montgomery, 1992; Gee, Jones and Burke, 2017; Zenou, 2015). Later, such research extends to other areas, such as crime (Patacchini and Zenou, 2008), politics (Carpenter, Esterling and Lazer, 1998), cross-state spillover of economic activities (Bailey et al., 2018), and migration (Giulietti, Wahba and Zenou, 2018). We show that indirect social ties have a far broader role in the formation of norms than previously thought because of their impact on the social learning process (Manski, 1993; Fogli and Veldkamp, 2011).

Finally, our discussion relates to the stereotype being an important origin of gender inequality in the labor market.[9] Since STEM occupations, on average, result in higher labor market returns than non-STEM occupations, the under-achievement and under-representation of females in STEM fields have been a major concern in addressing gender disparity in

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[9]Empirical studies have documented that gender culture adversely affects a wide range of outcomes for females (Alesina, Giuliano and Nunn, 2013; Gneezy, Leonard and List, 2009; Fogli and Veldkamp, 2011; Jayachandran, 2015; Giuliano, 2020; Ke, 2021; Jayachandran, 2021).

economic status. One strand of research has identified that gender stereotype severely constrains the development of girls in STEM fields (Alan, Ertac and Mumcu, 2018; Carlana, 2019; Dossi et al., 2021; Lavy and Sand, 2018; Guiso et al., 2008; Iriberri and Rey-Biel, 2019; Nollenberger, Rodríguez-Planas and Sevilla, 2016; Pope and Sydnor, 2010). Our results concerning the significance of non-parental adults suggest that role models can be a viable policy solution helping to address these stereotypical beliefs by correcting the perception of the benefits and costs of certain decisions (Manski, 1993; Chung, 2000). In this spectrum, we offer complementary discussions to identify types of role models that positively affect girls, including peers (Kofoed et al., 2019; Mouganie and Wang, 2020), teachers (Carrell, Page and West, 2010; Eble and Hu, 2020; Hoffmann and Oreopoulos, 2009; Lim and Meer, 2017), and peer parents (Chung, 2020; Olivetti, Patacchini and Zenou, 2020). While peer parents may not involve frequent daily interaction, their presence speaks to the influence of neighborhood/school exposure when information spillover affects the child.

2 Conceptual Framework

The SAH status of a mother may affect her child or her child's classmates through multiple channels. In this section, we lay out a conceptual framework that aids the interpretations of our empirical results in later analysis.

First, the SAH status is related to parental endowment. Mothers may influence their children's academic performance through human capital, time, and money investments, which have been well-documented in the economics literature (Becker, 1960; Behrman and Rosenzweig, 2002; Black, Devereux and Salvanes, 2005; Lam and Schoeni, 1993; Plug, 2004; Shea, 2000). In our framework, we denote the aggregate impacts of these components as the "endowment channel". SAH mothers may affect their children's performance through this channel. By contrast, without frequent interactions, SAH peer mothers are unlikely to impose such impacts on a student's achievement via the "endowment channel".

Second, the SAH status of a mother may make a difference via information spillover. Through the social learning process, a girl learns about the outcomes realized by role models and updates the expected benefits and costs of corresponding actions (Manski, 1993). The impact on the expectation is stronger when the information comes from the same social group, such as gender and race (Akerlof and Kranton, 2002; Chung, 2000). We denote the learning process through role modeling and group identity as the "information channel", which is the main focus of our empirical analysis.

Our theoretical framework starts with a utility maximization problem based on the endowment channel, where a student chooses his/her study effort x_i to maximize the utility. The utility of student i is:

$$U_i(x_i) = bf(x_i)g(\mathbf{e_i}) - \frac{1}{2}x_i^2, \tag{1}$$

where the scalar b measures the perceived market reward of study effort, and the vector $\mathbf{e_i}$ is student i's family endowment, including human capital (h_i), time (t_i), and money (m_i). The function $bf(\cdot)g(\cdot)$ represents the returns to academic performance. More effort ($f_i' > 0$) and more endowment ($g_i' > 0$) result in better performance with diminishing marginal return ($f_i'' < 0, g_i'' < 0$). Student's effort and the endowment share a complementary relationship. The second term, $\frac{1}{2}x_i^2$, captures the cost of study effort (e.g., time).

We then augment the setting in Equation (1) by adding the information channel. In the augmented version, the utility of student i in social group g with family endowment (h_i, t_i, m_i) is:

$$U_{ig}(x_i) = b_g f(x_i)g(h_i, m_i, t_i) - \frac{1}{2}[x_i^2 + c(x_i - S_g)^2], \tag{2}$$

where b_g is the perceived market reward of study effort and S_g is the effort standard imposed by social norm. Both are influenced by the behaviors of people in the same social group g. In addition, the cost part now has an additional term $c(x_i - S_g)^2$, capturing the conformity pressure imposed by the group norm (Akerlof and Kranton, 2002). In this new cost function, the scalar c refers to the utility cost per unit when one deviates from the social standard,

and $(x_i - s_g)^2$ measures how far one deviates from the social standard. Solving for the first order condition, the optimal x_i^* is found where the marginal utility equals the marginal cost of effort:

$$b_g f'(x_i^*) g(h_i, m_i, t_i) = x_i^* + c(x_i^* - S_g) \tag{3}$$

We now assess the comparative statics by changing the labor market status of mothers/peer-mothers (L). When we discuss the effect of SAH mother on x_i^*, varying L implies a change in a categorical variable where $L = 0$ for a stay-at-home mother and $L = 1$ for a working mother. When we discuss the spillover of SAH peer mother on x_i^*, a higher L implies exposure to fewer SAH peer mothers.[10] Assuming the general case that academic performance is monotonically increasing with effort, we can infer the change in performance, which we observe in the CEPS and can empirically be tested, from the comparative statics of x_i^*.

Rewriting the FOC in Equation 3 as a function of L, we get:

$$b_g(L) f'(x_i^*(L)) g(h_i(L), m_i(L), t_i(L)) = x_i^*(L)(1 + c) - cS_g(L)$$

Taking the derivative and rearranging terms, we get:

$$\frac{\partial x_i^*}{\partial L} = \frac{(c\frac{\partial S_g}{\partial L} + f'g\frac{\partial b_g}{\partial L}) + f'g'[\frac{\partial h_i}{\partial L} + \frac{\partial m_i}{\partial L} + \frac{\partial t_i}{\partial L}]}{1 + c - f''g} \tag{4}$$

$$\frac{\partial x_i^*}{\partial L} = \frac{(+) + [?]}{(+)}. \tag{5}$$

The overall sign of $\frac{\partial x_i^*}{\partial L}$ is unknown, depending on the relative strength between the information and the endowment channel. The first bracket of the numerator reflects the impact of the information channel. Its sign depends on the change in perceived benefits $\frac{\partial b_g}{\partial L}$ and group norm $\frac{\partial S_g}{\partial L}$ as c and f' are both positive. According to the role model and identity theory, $\frac{\partial b_g}{\partial L} > 0$ and $\frac{\partial S_g}{\partial L} > 0$, respectively. Thus, a lower L (having a SAH mother or exposing to more SAH peer mothers) reduces perceived returns and the group standard, leading to a

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[10]When we discuss the spillover of peer mothers, we do not model the endogenous parental responses (Agostinelli, 2018; Agostinelli et al., 2020; Chung and Zou, 2020).

negative effect on study efforts through information spillover.

The influence of own mother and peer mothers on the child differs in the endowment channel - the second bracket of the numerator. When L refers to the labor force status of own mother, the sign of $\frac{\partial x_i^*}{\partial L}$ cannot be determined because the overall effect of the endowment channel is unknown. Compared to a SAH mother, a working mother generally has more money ($\frac{\partial m_i}{\partial L} > 0$) but less time investment ($\frac{\partial t_i}{\partial L} < 0$) (Bernal, 2008; Del Boca, Flinn and Wiswall, 2014). Our data support the general pattern of time spent by the employment status. On average, SAH mothers in our sample spend 4.2 hours per day on their children, while working mothers spend 3.5 hours per day (t=3.47, $p < 0.001$). We also observe that families with working mothers are more likely to be high-income families, though the difference is insignificant.

The change in the human capital component ($\frac{\partial h_i}{\partial L}$) is also less obvious, depending on the relationship between education and the labor supply decision. Whereas education positively correlates with the market wage (and thus the opportunity cost of staying home), positive sorting in the marriage market could imply better financial supports from the spouse and more capacity for a mother to withdraw from the labor market for child care. In our data, 3% of SAH mothers hold a bachelor's degree or above, while 12% of working mothers have a bachelor's degree (t=12.16, $p < 0.001$). This descriptive pattern leans toward a negative correlation between the SAH status and the human capital endowment of a mother.

By contrast, as discussed, the direct endowment influences (either time or money) from peer mothers are likely negligible unless with frequent interaction. Therefore, the information channel dominates in usual cases. Nevertheless, the SAH status of peer mothers may still have an indirect human capital spillover on their children's classmates through their children. To address this possibility, in our empirical analysis, we will control for all significant peer (and peer parental) characteristics and focus on the residual influence of SAH peer mothers.

The conceptual model generates several comparable predictions with our empirical findings. First, $\frac{\partial S_g}{\partial L} > 0$ and $\frac{\partial b}{\partial L} > 0$ are essential assumptions for the information channel. These

components imply that the exposure to more SAH (fewer working) peer mothers generates stereotypical beliefs and lowers the perceived return. Second, the effect of own SAH mother is not necessarily the same as the spillover of SAH peer mothers because of the undetermined endowment effect. Lastly, as the information channel dominates the influence of SAH peer mothers on a girl, we do not expect any cross-gender effect in our empirical analysis. This prediction also speaks to the findings by Olivetti, Patacchini and Zenou (2020) and Chung (2020), who find the same-gender influence of peer parents in the long-term.

Based on the last prediction, we propose the gender norm hypothesis that the SAH status of peer mothers has a particular impact on a girl's perception of gender norms, which will be revealed in STEM-related attitudes and performance. From the insight in educational and social psychology literature, gender norms implied by labor force non-participation of females have two broad consequences on a girl's perception of educational and occupational choices. First, traditional gender roles affect girls' confidence in their ability to perform non-gender conforming tasks and careers (Bales and Parsons, 2014; Barth et al., 2015; Heilman, 2001; Marini and Brinton, 1984; Thébaud and Charles, 2018). Second, gender norms complement occupational traditionality. Whereas STEM is mainly perceived as masculine and arts/language as feminine, students who prescribe to the traditional masculinity-femininity dichotomy will put more effort into gender-appropriate subjects (Barak, Feldman and Noy, 1991; O'Keefe and Hyde, 1983; Whitehead, 1996). The perceptions of own ability and appropriateness reinforce occupational stereotypes about men versus women, which, in turn, affects the sorting of labor in the future and the related investment at present.

An alternative explanation is the perceived work-family conflict. The presence of stay-at-home mothers reinforces the traditional belief that men are the breadwinners and women are the family caretakers. Compared to non-STEM occupations, STEM jobs have a less family-friendly career, such as long working hours and high opportunity costs of family leave (Cech and Blair-Loy, 2014; Minnotte, 2017; Weisgram and Diekman, 2017). Whereas traditional gender roles for females emphasize domestic work and child-caring, investments in STEM

subjects could cause a conflict in the future to fulfill the division of labor within a family.

3 Data and Balancing Test

3.1 Data

We use the first wave of the China Education Panel Survey (CEPS, 2013-2014), which comprises a large-scale, nationally representative sample of Chinese middle school students and is comparable to the Adolescent Health Longitudinal Studies (AddHealth) in the US. The CEPS applies a stratified, multistage sampling design with probability proportional to size (PPS). Initially, 28 counties (districts) from a total of 2870 were selected, from which four schools serving Grades 7 and 9 were selected in each county. Next, from each of these sample schools, two classrooms were selected from Grade 7 and two from Grade 9. Then, all students in the selected classrooms were interviewed on the survey date. In the first wave, approximately 20,000 Grades 7 and 9 students were randomly selected from 438 classrooms in 112 middle schools in 28 county-level units in mainland China. The survey not only solicited student information but also collected data from students' parents, teachers, and school administrators. Based on this information, we construct a sample of students randomly assigned to classes. Compared to other data sets (e.g., AddHealth), this data set allows us to leverage random variation at a finer level and estimate the causal effect of SAH peer mothers on students' math performance relying on the idiosyncratic within school-grade variation in the share of SAH peer mothers. This identification strategy has been adopted in the China-based peer-effect literature (Hu, 2018; Gong, Lu and Song, 2018, 2019; Xu, Zhang and Zhou, 2020; Chung and Zou, 2020; Zou, 2019; Chen et al., 2021).

3.2 Measurements

This section explains the details of the major explanatory and outcome variables used in this study, including how we construct these variables. The key exploratory variable is the

leave-me-out share of classmates whose mothers stay at home. The CEPS solicits parents' occupational information in the student survey based on which we classify a mother as a SAH mother if the student reported that his/her mother had no job, was unemployed, or laid off. For each student, we calculate the number of his/her classmates whose mothers are SAH mothers and divide this leave-me-out total by the class size minus one.

(a) Raw

(b) Demeaned within school grades
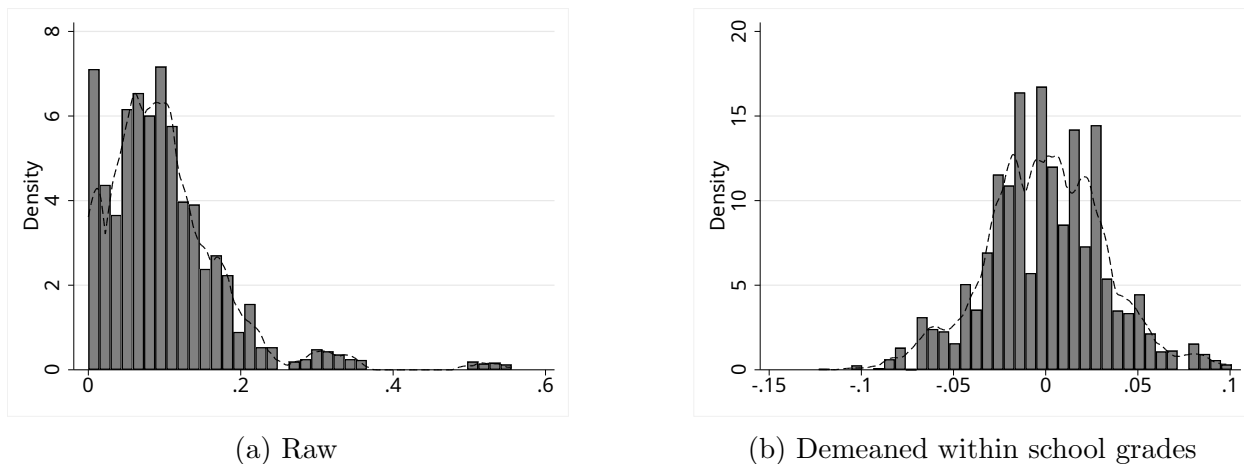
Figure 1: Variation of the share of SAH peer mothers in a homeroom class

Note: "Share of SAH peer mothers" refers to the leave-one-out proportion of peers whose mothers are stay-at-home mothers in a homeroom class.

Figure 1 shows the variation in the share of peer mothers who stay at home. In Sub-figure (a), the raw share is right-skewed with a minimum of 0 and a maximum of 55%. This range will be important later when we interpret the magnitude in the regressions since the coefficient represents the change in test scores when the share increases from 0 to 100%. As such an increase is drastic in reality and is not covered by the raw statistics, a more appropriate way to interpret the effect size is using the normalized coefficient by the class size. In Sub-figure (b), after controlling for the school-by-grade fixed effects (where the level of randomization occurs), the density function approximates a normal distribution, providing enough variation for identification. In Figure A1 in the Appendix, we also present the density graph for SAH peer fathers. We will use it in our falsification tests later. Its variation is smaller compared to SAH peer mothers, potentially explaining the imprecise estimates for peer fathers shown

later.

The primary outcome is students' midterm math scores. The CEPS obtained administrative information on students' midterm scores in three compulsory courses: Chinese, math, and English, the scores of which are re-scaled to a mean of 70 and a standard deviation of 10 at the school level. As the midterm examinations are administered at the school level, students of the same grade answer the same exam questions. Thus, their test scores are comparable at the school-grade level. In this study, we exploit this information and construct a measure of student math performance by standardizing students' math scores at the school-grade level to a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.

In addition to students' math scores, this study also explores whether increased exposure to SAH peer mothers impacts the attitudes and expectations of students and their parents, all of which serve as mechanisms leading to the academic effect of SAH peer mothers.

From students' perspective, we measure their attitudes towards three compulsory courses: Chinese, math, and English, their perceived relative gender performance in math, and their occupational expectations. Students' attitudes towards different subjects are measured by the perceived importance of a subject to their future development. Specifically, in the CEPS, students were asked to respond to a set of statements, "Chinese/English/Mathematics helps a lot with my future," using a 4-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree; 4=strongly agree). A higher value indicates more perceived importance of the subject. Similarly, students' perceived relative gender performance in math is solicited by asking students whether they agreed with the statement, "Boys are better than girls in math." We create a dummy that equals one if students' reported that they agreed. As the CEPS survey also asked students whether their parents agreed with this statement, we create another dummy for their parents. The CEPS also asked students what jobs they most expect to do in the future. Based on this question, we create a dummy to measure students' job expectations, which equals one if the student reported that they most expect to be scientists and engineers in the future and zero otherwise.

3.3 Randomized Classroom Assignment and Balancing Tests

The primary challenge to causal inference in this study is students' non-random classroom sorting, which may result from ability sorting. A unique feature of our study is that students in most middle schools in China are randomly assigned into classes. According to Article 22 of the 2006 Law of Compulsory Education, schools shall not divide the classes into key and non-key classes, thus legally prohibiting ability tracking in Chinese middle schools.

The CEPS provides information that enables researchers to check whether students are randomly assigned to classrooms, which has been used in recent CEPS-based studies. We cross-check the school-administrator survey and the homeroom-teacher survey and use a set of criteria to ensure our sample is appropriately randomized: (1) The school principal reports that a randomization process is used for placing new students into classrooms; (2) The school principal confirms that students will not be reassigned to a different classroom in Grades 8 and 9; (3) All homeroom teachers of the same grade report that students are not assigned by test scores; (4) The entire grade is dropped if it has only one class.

Our final sample includes 7022 students from 194 classrooms in 64 schools. Appendix Table A1 presents the process of the sample construction, while Table 1 illustrates the summary statistics of our sample for all students, female students, and male students, respectively. Approximately 10% of students in our sample have SAH mothers, and only 3% have SAH fathers. Male and female students do not differ significantly in the probability of having a SAH mother and the share of SAH peer mothers. Moreover, some interesting gendered patterns are revealed with respect to students' performance and attitudes. We observe that female students on average perform better than male students in math. In contrast, fewer female students agree that math is helpful, and even fewer female students expect to be scientists or engineers. These patterns suggest that compared to male students, female students generally have a lower perceived return to math and lower aspirations for STEM-related occupations despite their better math performance.

Table 2 presents the balancing test for the randomization classroom assignment based on

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Table 1: Summary statistics

	All students (1)	Female students (2)	Male students (3)	Diff. (4)	P-value (5)
Outcome variables					
Raw math score	70.48	71.01	69.93	1.086	0.00
Interest variables					
SAH mother	0.102	0.103	0.101	0.00200	0.782
SAH father	0.0288	0.0270	0.0307	-0.00372	0.351
Share of peers' SAH mothers	0.0996	0.101	0.0982	0.00287	0.136
Share of peers' SAH fathers	0.0279	0.0287	0.0271	0.00158	0.0499
Attitudes and expectations					
Strongly agree that math is helpful	0.446	0.423	0.470	-0.0469	0.00
Strongly agree that Chinese is helpful	0.547	0.566	0.526	0.0396	0.00
Strongly agree that English is helpful	0.517	0.574	0.456	0.118	0.00
Students' belief of boys' advantage in math	0.528	0.472	0.588	-0.116	0.00
Perceived parents' belief of boys' advantage in math	0.462	0.380	0.548	-0.168	0.00
Expect to be scientists or engineers	0.0838	0.0246	0.146	-0.122	0.00
Individual characteristics					
Standardized persistence score	0.0691	0.166	-0.0325	0.198	0.00
Age	13.41	13.38	13.44	-0.0632	0.0313
Ethnicity - Han	0.899	0.893	0.905	-0.0118	0.102
Only-child	0.536	0.498	0.577	-0.0790	0.00
Migrant	0.186	0.179	0.193	-0.0133	0.152
Agricultural Hukou	0.441	0.427	0.456	-0.0290	0.0145
Repeated grade in primary school	0.0937	0.0803	0.108	-0.0275	0.00
Skipped grade in primary school	0.0121	0.00945	0.0149	-0.00545	0.0368
Attended kindergarten	0.828	0.830	0.825	0.00465	0.606
College mother	0.114	0.116	0.112	0.00367	0.629
College father	0.144	0.154	0.134	0.0198	0.0180
High-income family	0.0723	0.0656	0.0795	-0.0139	0.0247
Observations	7022	3599	3423	-	-

Note:

[1] Column (1) to Column (3) report the mean or proportion of variables for all students, male students, and female students respectively.

[2] Column (4) shows the mean differences between female and male students.

[3] Column (5) reports the P-value of the difference in Column (4). If the value is less than 0.001, we report it as 0.00 in the table.

Table 2: Balancing test

Individual characteristics	SAH peer mothers (%)	
	(1)	(2)
Age	-0.00454	-0.000472
	(0.00415)	(0.000501)
Female	0.00261	0.000717
	(0.00206)	(0.000489)
Ethnicity - Han	0.0245*	0.000143
	(0.0132)	(0.00160)
Migrant	0.0118**	-0.00169
	(0.00581)	(0.00185)
Agricultural Hukou	-0.0223***	0.000375
	(0.00715)	(0.00149)
Only child	-0.00158	0.000704
	(0.00556)	(0.000772)
Repeated grade in primary school	-0.0104	0.000399
	(0.00688)	(0.00158)
Skipped grade in primary school	-0.0155**	0.00402*
	(0.00750)	(0.00239)
Standardized persistence score at grade 6	-0.00209	-0.000637
	(0.00138)	(0.000472)
Attended kindergarten	0.00395	-0.000615
	(0.00333)	(0.00116)
College mother	-0.0102**	0.00140
	(0.00489)	(0.000897)
College father	-0.00861*	0.00161
	(0.00468)	(0.00101)
High-income family	0.00927**	0.00110
	(0.00449)	(0.00137)
Constant	0.145**	0.0836***
	(0.0578)	(0.0117)
Observations	7,022	7,022
R^2	0.044	0.839
School-grade fixed effects	No	Yes

Notes:
[1] Column (1) and Column (2) represent two separate regressions. The dependent variable, "SAH peer mothers (%)", is the leave-me-out proportion of peers whose mothers are stay-at-home mothers in a homeroom class.
[2] The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

the sample constructed using these criteria. Each column represents a separate regression that regresses the leave-me-out share of SAH peer mothers on students' pre-determined characteristics. The first column, which does not include school-by-grade fixed effects, shows that students' individual (e.g., ethnicity and Hukou status) and family characteristics (e.g., parental education) are highly correlated with the share of SAH peer mothers. The correlations imply non-random sorting into different schools and neighborhoods. When school-by-grade fixed effects are included in Column 2, most of the correlations become both economically small and statistically insignificant. Although whether the student has "skipped a grade" in primary school is seemingly correlated with the share of peers' SAH mothers, the effect size is extremely small and only marginally significant after controlling for the school-by-grade fixed effects. In Section 5.2, we will discuss additional tests to show the robustness of our results against potential non-randomness.

4   Empirical Model

We use the following linear-in-mean model to explore both the spillover effects of SAH peer mothers on students' academic performance and the underlying mechanisms.

$$
\begin{aligned}
Y_{i,j,k} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 PeerSAHM_{-i,j,k} + \beta_2 SAHM_{i,j,k} \\
+ \boldsymbol{S}'_{i,j,k}\boldsymbol{\gamma} + \boldsymbol{T}'_{j,k}\boldsymbol{\phi} + \boldsymbol{P}'_{-i,j,k}\boldsymbol{\lambda} + \delta_k + \epsilon_{i,j,k},
\end{aligned}
\tag{6}
$$

where $Y_{i,j,k}$ refers to the outcome of student i in class j in a school-grade k, including math performance measured by the students' midterm math scores, as well as expectations and beliefs of students and their parents. $PeerSAHM_{-i,j,k}$ represents the *leave-me-out* share of peers with SAH mothers for student i in class j in a school-grade k. $SAHM_{i,j,k}$ equals one if the student's mother is a SAH mother. $\boldsymbol{S}_{i,j,k}$ is a vector of variables controlling for students' characteristics, consisting of three parts. The first part includes a student's demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, ethnicity, migrant status, agricultural Hukou status, and

whether the student is an only child. The second part measures a student's abilities before middle school, such as indicators of repeating a grade in primary school, skipping a grade in primary school, and attending a kindergarten, as well as a student's persistence score in Grade 6. The last part is family characteristics, such as parental education and family financial conditions. $\boldsymbol{T}_{j,k}$ is a vector of the characteristics of homeroom teachers, including gender, experience, subject taught, education, and whether graduated from a pedagogical university or with a pedagogical major. $\boldsymbol{P}_{-i,j,k}$ are variables controlling for influential peer backgrounds documented in the extant research, including the leave-me-out within-class share (or mean) of female students, migrant students, repeaters in primary school, skippers in primary school, persistence score at Grade 6, parental education, and high-income families (Hu, 2018; Gong, Lu and Song, 2019; Xu, Zhang and Zhou, 2020; Chung and Zou, 2020; Zou, 2019). These peer controls are essential to separate the information channel from the endowment channel discussed in Section 2.

In addition, we add a school-grade fixed effect (δ_k), which enables us to examine the spillover effects of SAH peer mothers at the classroom level. Specifically, within the same school-grade level, we compare students' academic performance among classrooms with different shares of peers with SAH mothers. This design addresses the bias from potential confounding variables due to self-selected regional or school sorting. We cluster standard errors at the class level to account for correlations in outcomes for students in the same class.

5   Results

5.1   Main Pattern

Our theoretical model predicts that SAH peer mothers in a homeroom class impose a greater impact on girls' math performance than on boys'. Figure 2 provides support for this pattern. Conditional on school-by-grade fixed effects, there is a negative relationship between the share of SAH peer mothers and a girl's math score. By contrast, the slope for boys on the
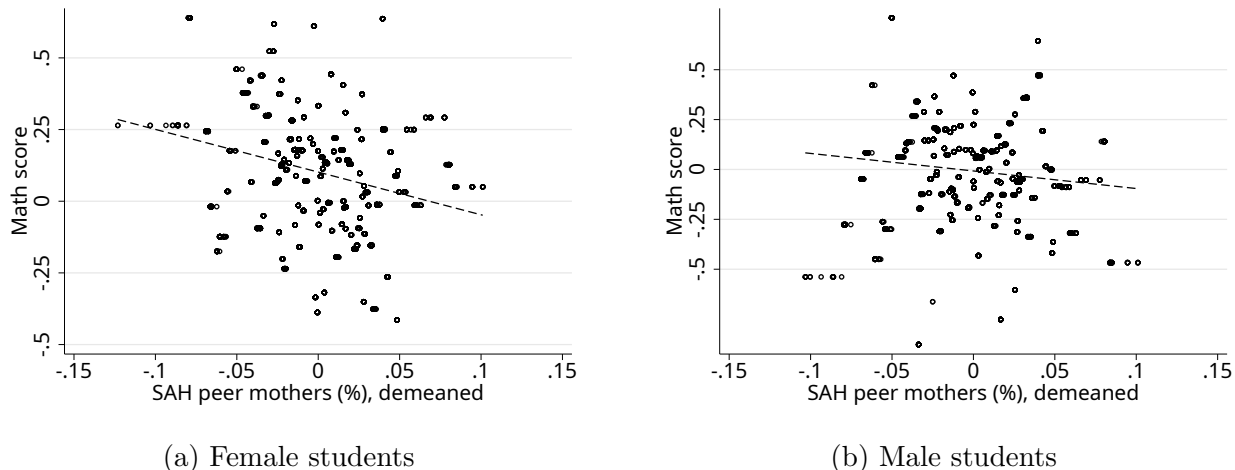
left is much flatter.

(a) Female students   (b) Male students

Figure 2: Correlations between the midterm math score and share of SAH peer mothers

Note: "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-one-out proportion of peers whose mothers are stay-at-home mothers.

We next present the regression results for girls in Table 3 by gradually adding the control variables. On the one hand, we observe that students' own SAH mothers exert little impact on their math performance. Column 1 shows that without control variables and only conditional on school-by-grade fixed effects, the stay-at-home status of a student's own mother has essentially zero impact, both statistically and economically. This null effect is consistent across various specifications, which appears counter-intuitive. As explained in the conceptual model in Section 2, the null effect of having a SAH mother is possible. SAH mothers may invest more time in their children, potentially compensating for the negative effect of their human capital, financial resources, and role modeling. Nevertheless, it may still be concerned that this null effect is due to the poor measurement quality of the SAH status. We show that the mismeasurement is of little concern in Table A3 of the Appendix. Specifically, we find a strong association between a mother's occupation as a professional (teacher, engineer, doctor, or lawyer) and her child's test scores, either girl or boy. Besides, a mother with a college degree also has a strong impact. Therefore, the survey question concerning a mother's occupation decently reflects parental backgrounds, enabling the statistical models to show

human capital spillover within a household.

On the other hand, the (leave-me-out) percent of classmates' stay-at-home mothers has a negative effect on a girl's math score. Comparing Column 1 and Column 2 of Table 3, after adding student controls increased the explanatory power of the statistical model, the coefficient of "SAH peer mothers (%)" drops only slightly and remains significant at the 5% level. This finding gives credence to the random nature of classroom assignments. The effect size remains stable in Column 3 when we further add teacher controls.

Table 3: SAH peer mothers' effect on girls' midterm math score

	Midterm Math Scores		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-1.526**	-1.428**	-1.517***
	(0.626)	(0.577)	(0.530)
Stay-at-home mother	0.00331	0.0267	0.0257
	(0.0545)	(0.0526)	(0.0529)
Observations	3,599	3,599	3,599
R-squared	0.032	0.069	0.074
Student controls		X	X
Teacher controls			X

Notes:
[1] The dependent variables are midterm math scores standardized at the school-by-grade level with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.
[2] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-one-out proportion of peers whose mothers are stay-at-home.
[3] All regressions include school-by-grade fixed effects. Student controls include students' gender, age, ethnicity, migrant status, agricultural Hukou status, students' persistence at Grade 6, whether the students is the only child, whether the student has ever repeated or skipped a grade in the primary school, whether the student has ever attended a kindergarten, parental education and the family financial condition. Teachers' characteristics include a homeroom teacher's gender, experience, subject taught, and dummy variables indicating college degree and graduation from a pedagogical university or with a pedagogical major.
[4] The coefficients are estimated using OLS regressions, and the standard errors in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

The SAH peer mother spillover estimated in Table 3 does not rule out the possible influence of unmeasured peer quality. In Table 4, we further test the sensitivity of SAH peer mother spillover by gradually adding peer characteristics. In Columns (2) to (4), we gradually add a set of leave-me-out class shares of female students, migrant students, repeaters in primary

school, skippers in primary school, as well as the class average of peers' persistence scores at grade 6. Incorporating these characteristics is important to isolate alternative channels of peer influence documented in the extant research (Hu, 2018; Gong, Lu and Song, 2018, 2019; Xu, Zhang and Zhou, 2020; Chung and Zou, 2020; Zou, 2019). Compared with the results in Column (1), Columns (2) to (4) show that the SAH peer mother spillover remains robust after adding various peer characteristics.[11] The last column in Table 4 presents the results further controlling for peer parents' characteristics (i.e., the leave-me-out share of college parents and the leave-me-out share of high-income families). The SAH peer mother spillover remains negative and statistically significant in this most saturated model.[12] The normalized magnitude of SAH peer mothers indicates that in a class of 43 students, the average class size in our sample, exposure to one additional SAH mother decreases a girl's math score by 3.37% of a standard deviation. This magnitude is comparable to peer effects generated by other peer characteristics in studies that analyze the same data set. (Gong, Lu and Song, 2019; Xu, Zhang and Zhou, 2020; Chung and Zou, 2020; Chen et al., 2021).

To further test the gender norm hypothesis, we run falsification tests to probe the effects of SAH peer mothers on girls' other test scores and boys' test scores in Table 5. As shown in the left panel, we do not observe any significant effects on girls' Chinese or English scores. The negative spillover on math but not on other subjects is consistent with the past research that has also found gender beliefs constraint girls' performance in STEM fields (Alan, Ertac and Mumcu, 2018; Brenøe, 2021; Eble and Hu, 2020; Guiso et al., 2008). The right panel reports that SAH peer mothers have no significant impacts on boys' achievement regardless of the subject. In Appendix Table A5, we also show that the null effects for boys are insensitive

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[11]As the share of migrant peers has a negative impact on students' performance (Xu, Zhang and Zhou, 2020) and it is negatively correlated with the share of SAH mothers in our sample, controlling for the share of migrant peers will lead to an increase in the magnitude of SAH peer mothers' negative spillover effect (Column 3 of Table 4).

[12]In Appendix Table A4, we further control for the share of peer parents who believe boys are better at math than girls, a key variable of interest in Eble and Hu (2020). We test whether our results are driven by the spillover of peer parents' beliefs as suggested in Eble and Hu (2020). The result shows that the SAH peer mother spillover remains salient after controlling for peer parents' gender beliefs. As peer parents' gender beliefs may be another channel through which SAH peer mothers affect girls' math scores, we decide not to include this variable in our main model.

Table 4: SAH peer mothers' effect on girls' midterm math score, controlling for peers' characteristics

	Midterm Math Scores				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-1.517***	-1.522***	-1.785***	-1.696***	-1.665***
	(0.530)	(0.526)	(0.530)	(0.519)	(0.528)
Stay-at-home mother	0.0257	0.0256	0.00931	0.00907	0.00889
	(0.0529)	(0.0528)	(0.0529)	(0.0522)	(0.0523)
Observations	0.0739	0.0739	0.0799	0.0830	0.0834
R^2	3599	3599	3599	3599	3599
Student controls	X	X	X	X	X
Teacher controls	X	X	X	X	X
% female classmates		X	X	X	X
% migrant classmates			X	X	X
Peers' ability				X	X
Peer parents' characteristics					X
Normalized magnitude of SAH peer mothers (%)					-0.0337

Notes:

[1] The dependent variables are midterm math scores standardized at the school-by-grade level with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.

[2] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-one-out proportion of peers whose mothers are stay-at-home.

[3] All regressions include school-by-grade fixed effects, student controls, and teacher controls as in Table 3

[4] Peers' ability is measured by a set of leave-me-out class shares or averages: repeaters in primary school, skippers in primary school, persistence scores.

[5] Peer parents' characteristics include the leave-me-out share of college parents, and the leave-me-out share of high-income families.

[6] We refer % female classmates, peers' ability and peer parents' characteristics as peer background in our following analysis.

[7] The coefficients are estimated using OLS regressions, and the standard errors in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

[9] To obtain the effect of one classmate's stay-at-home mother, we normalize the coefficient of "Peers' stay-at-home mothers (%)" by the average class size of 43.

to different specifications, with or without control variables. These patterns support our hypothesis that SAH peer mothers are a source of gender norms.

Table 5: SAH peer mothers' effects on midterm scores by subjects and gender

	Female students			Male students		
	Math (1)	Chinese (2)	English (3)	Math (4)	Chinese (5)	English (6)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-1.665***	-0.631	-0.519	-0.589	0.415	0.568
	(0.528)	(0.500)	(0.367)	(0.565)	(0.626)	(0.517)
Stay-at-home mother	0.00889	0.0627	0.0212	-0.0510	-0.0706	-0.0305
	(0.0523)	(0.0432)	(0.0466)	(0.0617)	(0.0611)	(0.0651)
Observations	3599	3599	3599	3423	3423	3423
R^2	0.0834	0.0772	0.0877	0.0937	0.0752	0.0885

Notes:
[1] The dependent variables are midterm test scores in math, Chinese, and English, which are standardized at the school-grade level to a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.
[2] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-one-out proportion of peers whose mothers are stay-at-home.
[3] All regressions include the school-by-grade fixed effects and the full set of control variables as in Column (5) of Table 4.
[4] The coefficients are estimated using OLS regressions. The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

Table 6 shows the results of our alternative falsification test probing the effect of SAH peer fathers. We do not find strong evidence that SAH peer fathers have significant impacts on students' math scores, regardless of students' gender. We observe positive effects of a stay-at-home own father for both female and male students, though the effect is not statistically significant. This pattern is consistent with previous findings that paternal job loss has a short-term positive effect on the psychological well-being of children because of more time spent at home (Powdthavee and Vernoit, 2013; Nikolova and Nikolaev, 2021).

In general, we have identified an important gendered pattern here: the negative spillover of SAH peer mothers on a girl's mathematics score is salient across specifications. Together with its null effect on boys and the null impact of SAH peer fathers on girls, all the results consistently support the hypothesis that the presence of SAH peer mothers significantly affects gender norms and, thus, girls' performance in mathematics.

Table 6: The effect of SAH peer mothers and peer fathers on girls' midterm math score

	Midterm math score	
	Female students (1)	Male students (2)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-1.640***	-0.555
	(0.536)	(0.569)
Stay-at-home mother	0.00584	-0.0601
	(0.0525)	(0.0625)
SAH peer fathers (%)	-0.718	-0.414
	(0.685)	(0.971)
Stay-at-home father	0.0343	0.111
	(0.0936)	(0.100)
Observations	3599	3423
R^2	0.0837	0.0941

Notes:

[1] The dependent variables are midterm math scores, standardized at the school-grade level to a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.

[2] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-one-out proportion of classmates whose mothers are stay-at-home. "SAH peer fathers (%)" refers to the leave-one-out proportion of classmates whose fathers are stay-at-home.

[3] All regressions include school-by-grade fixed effects and the full set of control variables as in the last column of Table 4.

[4] The coefficients are estimated using OLS regressions. The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

5.2 Threats to Identification

There are three challenges in identifying causal impacts in our context. First, non-random sorting biases causal inference because any statistical relationship between own outcome and peer backgrounds is likely to be driven by common factors that determine both the outcome and peer selection process. Our research design has an advantage of a randomization background, in which we check its validity carefully through balancing tests. One might still worry that some of our sampled schools do not adhere to the random assignment in practice even though they report randomization in the survey. We, therefore, perform a sensitivity check following Gong, Lu and Song (2019). We randomly drop two school grades each time and run a total of 4753 (C_{98}^2) regressions for girls' math scores, using the most saturated specification in the last column of Table 4. The distribution of estimates from this exercise is shown in Appendix Figure A2. These estimates are all negative and center around the baseline estimate. The test indicates that the possible inclusion of non-randomized classrooms does not severely bias our estimate of SAH peer mother spillover.

Second, individuals in the same group may be exposed to "common shocks". Our school-by-grade fixed effects effectively isolate common factors such as neighborhood and school quality; incorporating additional teacher characteristics further control for classroom-specific confounding variables.

Another concern is the reverse causality problem. In contrast to other pre-existing backgrounds such as education, the labor force status of a parent could change with the surrounding environment. For example, a mother chooses to stay at home after knowing the ability of her child and the child's classmates. Although being theoretically possible, we believe spontaneous labor force withdrawal is unlikely to drive the gender-specific results. The null effect on boys' test scores and the null impact of the labor force status of peer fathers on girls are strong placebo pattern against possible reverse causality.

To further give credence to our research design, we provide two tests to show that the SAH status of the mother is not responsive to the academic performance of either her child

Table 7: Probability of a mother staying at home as a function of her child's midterm test score

Subject	All students	Female students	Male students
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Math	-0.000178	0.00320	-0.00385
	(0.00375)	(0.00529)	(0.00552)
Observations	7022	3599	3423
	(4)	(5)	(6)
Chinese	0.00000125	0.00987*	-0.00683
	(0.00401)	(0.00594)	(0.00534)
Observations	7022	3599	3423
R-squared	0.0832	0.106	0.0961
	(7)	(8)	(9)
English	-0.000122	0.00377	-0.00331
	(0.00419)	(0.00621)	(0.00551)
Observations	7022	3599	3423
R-squared	0.0832	0.105	0.0958

Notes:

[1] The dependent variables are dummies that equal one if a student's mother stays at home.

[2] All regressions include school-by-grade fixed effects and the same set of control variables as in Column (5) of Table 4.

[3] The coefficients are estimated using the linear probability models. The standard errors in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

or the child's peers. In Table 7, we regress a mother's stay-at-home status on the test score of her child both by subject and by the student's gender. We find no significant, essentially zero, correlation between a girl's mathematics score and the stay-at-home status of a mother. Table 8 provides another perspective, showing that there is no significant relationship between the labor force status of a mother and the average scores of her child's class. Therefore, although, in theory, the labor force status is fluid, we do not find evidence that the labor force withdrawal of mothers leads to the reverse causality problem.

Table 8: Probability of a mother staying at home as a function of her child's classmates' average test scores

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Average math scores	-0.0323		
	(0.0212)		
Average Chinese scores		-0.00176	
		(0.0175)	
Average English scores			0.0154
			(0.0197)
Observations	3599	3599	3599
R^2	0.106	0.105	0.105

Notes:

[1] The dependent variables are dummies that equal one if a student's mother stays at home.

[2] All regressions include school-by-grade fixed effects and the full set of control variables as in Column (5) of Table 4.

[3] The sample is restricted to female students.

[4] The coefficients are estimated using linear probability models. The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

6 Gender Beliefs of Students and Parents

Past research has found that gender attitude is crucial in explaining girls' under-achievement (Dhar, Jain and Jayachandran, 2022). We explore this issue using questions in the CEPS asking about a student's attitudes toward specific subjects, which are useful for understanding the gendered pattern found in our main results. We first focus on how increased exposure to SAH peer mothers influences a girl's attitude toward mathematics.

The upper panel of Table 9 reports the results from the questions of whether the students perceive a particular subject helpful for their future. Using ordered logit models, in Column 1, we find that girls are less likely to find mathematics helpful for their future development if they experience greater exposure to SAH peer mothers. The low perceived return of STEM for girls connects well with the negative spillover of SAH peer mothers on mathematics and the prediction of the information channel in our theoretical framework. Again, we find essentially zero impact on their attitudes toward Chinese and English (Column 2 and 3),

echoing the main pattern in Table 5. Overall, we find that increased exposure to SAH peer mothers reduces the perceived importance of mathematics.

Table 9: SAH peer mothers' effects on a girl's attitude towards math

Panel A: The subject helps a lot with my future development

	Math (1)	Chinese (2)	English (3)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-4.426***	-0.976	0.206
	(1.007)	(0.803)	(0.869)
Stay-at-home mother	-0.151	-0.0697	-0.176
	(0.114)	(0.128)	(0.118)
Observations	3591	3592	3588
Pseudo R^2	0.101	0.083	0.073

Panel B: Boys are better than girls in math

	Student (4)	Parent (5)
SAH peer mothers (%)	0.925***	0.475***
	(0.219)	(0.179)
Stay-at-home mother	0.0415*	0.0419
	(0.0250)	(0.0315)
Observations	3562	3553
R^2	0.110	0.0864

Notes:
[1] The dependent variables in Panel A measures a student's perceived importance of a subject.
[2] Panel B utilizes a set of questions in the student survey asking whether the student or her parents agree that boys are better at mathematics than girls.
[3] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-me-out proportion of classmates whose mothers are stay-at-home.
[4] The regressions only include female students.
[5] All regressions include school-by-grade fixed effects and the full set of control variables as in Column (5) of Table 4.
[6] The coefficients in Panel A are estimated using the ordered logit models, and the ones in Panel B are estimated using the linear probability models. The standard errors in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

The marginal effect at the mean for each choice is presented in Figure 3. The increased exposure to SAH peer mothers monotonically increases the likelihood of answering "strongly disagree," shown by the dotted points, and "somewhat disagree," the star points. The increased exposure also monotonically decreases the likelihood of answering "strongly agree,"
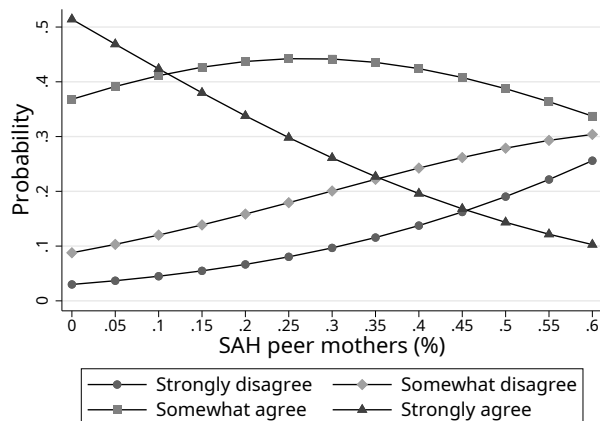
shown by the triangular points.

Figure 3: Predicted margins of SAH peer mothers' (%) influence on girls' perceived usefulness of math

Note: "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-me-out proportion of classmates with stay-at-home mothers.

Next, we look at the perception of gender differences in mathematics. In Column (4) of Table 9, we investigate a binary choice question asking students if they agree that "boys are better at mathematics than girls." We find that girls are more likely to answer "yes" if they are exposed to more SAH peer mothers. According to the normalized magnitude, exposure to one SAH peer mother increases the likelihood of having a gendered perception by 2.1 (class-size-adjusted coefficient) percentage points, which is approximately half of the effect size of own mother's stay-at-home status. The next column focuses on the binary choice question asking students if they think their parents agree with the statement. Again, we find that increased exposure to SAH peer mothers leads girls to answer "yes." All the attitude questions consistently suggest that exposure to SAH peer mothers strengthens the gender stereotype of girls.[13] In Table A6 of the Appendix, we again find SAH peer mothers do not affect boys' attitudes, echoing the gendered pattern in mathematics.

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[13]In addition to students' responses, we find a similar pattern using parents' responses. Appendix Table A7 shows the results from a question asking students' parents directly if they agree "boys are better than girls in math." As shown in Column (1), the more SAH mothers in their network, the more likely girls' parents express a gender stereotype for mathematics. As a falsification test against the gender norm hypothesis, SAH mothers again have no effects on the gender attitudes of boys' parents, as shown in Column (2).

Table 10: SAH peer mothers' effect on students' most expected occupations: scientists and engineers

	Female students (1)	Male students (2)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-0.124**	-0.108
	(0.0577)	(0.127)
Stay-at-home mother	-0.0115*	-0.00315
	(0.00640)	(0.0204)
Observations	3578	3400
R^2	0.0414	0.0500

Notes:
[1] The dependent variables in Columns (1) and (2) are dummies that equal one if the students reported that their most expected careers are scientists or engineers.
[2] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-one-out share of classmates' stay-at-home mothers.
[3] All regressions include the school-grade fixed effect and the full set of control variables as in Column (5) of Table 4.
[4] The coefficients are estimated using linear probability models.
[5] The standard errors in the parentheses are clustered at the class level.
[6] ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

The exposure to SAH peer mothers affects not only a girl's attitude toward mathematics but also their expectations about future occupations. In the CEPS, one question asks the students their most expected occupation in the future. With this information, we construct a dummy variable indicating whether a student's most expected occupations are scientists and engineers. We run linear probability models on this occupational expectation variable using the full specification. We find that increased exposure to SAH peer mothers significantly reduces the girls' expectations for becoming scientists and engineers, as shown in Column (1) of Table 10.[14] Again, as a placebo exercise on the gender norm hypothesis, we find that increased exposure to SAH peer mothers does not significantly change a boy's expectation.

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[14]For results not presented, we also run the test on other high-skilled occupations, such as teachers, doctors, and lawyers. We do not find a significant impact.

7 Further Evidence

This section discusses two aspects of heterogeneity to further support the hypothesis that the increased presence of SAH mothers in a network strengthens gender norms. The first dimension explores why the information about the characteristics of peer mothers prevail in a network and how gender norms are strengthened through interaction. The second investigates why a girl may be influenced by the mothers of her classmates.
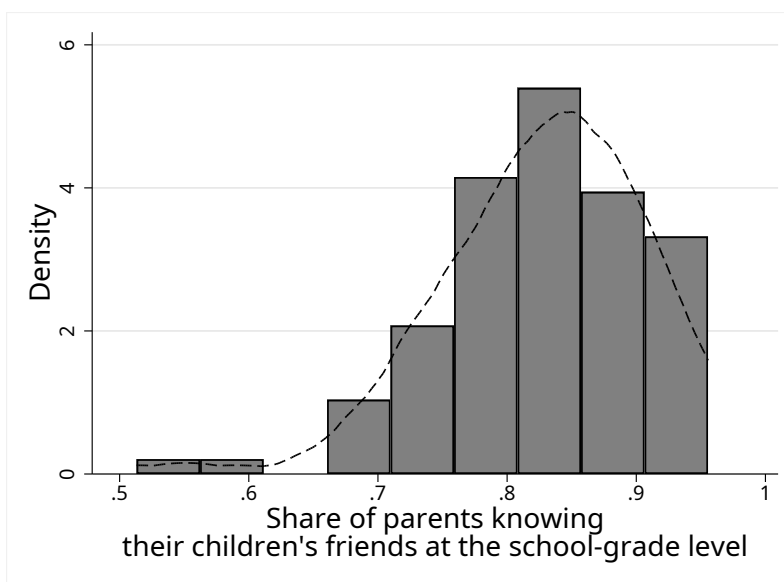
7.1 Network Density

Figure 4: Parent-student network at the school-grade level

Information flows via social ties, with the intensity of the interaction aiding in the diffusion. We utilize the information about the children's friend networks in the CEPS parent survey to proxy for the propensity of interaction. If the presence of SAH peer mothers is related to the strengthening of gender norms, the effect size of the spillover should increase with the interaction intensity. We construct a measure of network density using the school-by-grade share of parents who know their children's friends (i.e., the parent-student network). Although this share does not directly reflect whether students interact with classmates' parents, we

believe it appropriately captures the propensity of interaction since approximately 80% of the students sampled report their friends are schoolmates.

Table 11: Heterogeneous impacts of SAH peer mothers by parent-student network intensity

	Midterm math score	
	High network density (1)	Low network density (2)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-1.994***	-1.108
	(0.606)	(0.777)
Observation	1944	1655
R^2	0.0914	0.0950

Notes:

[1] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-me-out proportion of stay-at-home mothers in a class. "Share of parents know their children's friends" is the class-level share of parents who know their children's friends. We demean "share of parents know their children's friends" in the regressions.

[2] All regressions include a school-grade fixed effect and the full set of control variables as in Column (5) of Table 4.

[3] The regressions include only female students.

[4] The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level.

[5] ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

Figure 4 reports the raw distribution of the network measure and shows that the variable has sufficient variation. To test the heterogeneity based on the propensity of interaction, we split the sample into two groups: school grades with an above-mean (high network density group) and ones with a below-mean share (low network density group). The results in Column (1) of Table 11 are generated from the high-network-density group in which students and peer parents are more likely to know one another. This sample replicates the main patterns discussed earlier, suggesting that increased exposure to SAH peer mothers reduces a girl's math score. In contrast, in Column (2) where we focus on the low-network-density group, we observe no significant relationship between the exposure to SAH peer mothers and a girl's math score. In short, the heterogeneity based on the propensity of interaction supports our hypothesis that the presence of SAH peer mothers is related to the spread of gender information and the interactions between social ties.

7.2 The quality of the relationship between parents and children

A close parent-child relationship has been found to moderate the social influences outside a family (Bisin and Verdier, 2001). We follow the approach of Olivetti, Patacchini and Zenou (2020) to explore if the spillover of SAH peer mothers varies with the quality of the parent-child relationship. If the effect identified is driven by the socialization of gender norms, we should observe a stronger spillover if a girl does not have a close relationship with her parents.

Table 12: Heterogeneous impacts of SAH peer mothers by parent-children relationship

	Midterm math scores	
Panel A When the student wants to talk with someone:		
	Turn to parents (1)	Turn to other people (2)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-0.338 (1.485)	-1.641*** (0.577)
Observations	402	3195
Panel B When the student needs help:		
	Turn to parents (3)	Turn to other people (4)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-1.294* (0.726)	-1.786*** (0.573)
Observations	1908	1682
Panel C When the student is in trouble:		
	Turn to parents (5)	Turn to other people (6)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-0.615 (0.667)	-2.063*** (0.606)
Observations	1441	2148

Notes:

[1] "Peers' stay-at-home mothers (%)" refers to the leave-me-out proportion of classmates with stay-at-home mothers.

[2] All regressions include a school-grade fixed effect and the full set of control variables as in Column (5) of Table 4.

[3] The regressions include only female students.

[4] The standard errors in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

To check how the effect of peers' SAH mother varies with the quality of the parent-child relationship, we exploit a set of questions in the student survey asking whom (parents or other people) the student turns to first in three scenarios.[15] These questions reflect the trust between students and parents, implying the quality of parent-child relationship.

In Panel A of Table 12, we divide the sample by whether the students turn to their parents if they want to talk to someone. Exposure to SAH peer mothers has significant negative impacts on a girl's math score only if she turns to other people. In Panels B and C, we see a similar pattern when we divide the sample by whether the students turn to their parents if they need help or are in trouble. In all scenarios, the negative influence of SAH peer mothers is prominent only on girls who prefer "other people" over "parents".

In summary, all the three scenarios support our hypothesis that social influence outside a family can be a substitute for a girl's parents in cultural transmission.

8 Conclusion

When deep-rooted cultural values cross demographic lines, norms become an important origin of inequality between social groups. This paper investigates the inter-generational consequences of gender norms. We deviate from the well-documented influence of social members who have many direct contacts (e.g., parents, teachers, or friends) and investigate the role of the social network – a broader social institution – in spreading gender-role information.

We find that the labor force status of peer mothers in the network conveys gender-role information that disproportionately affects girls. Leveraging the classroom randomization background in most China middle schools, we find that increased exposure to SAH classmates' mothers reduces a girl's mathematics performance and leads to more gendered beliefs toward the STEM disciplines. The influence of SAH peer mothers increases with the strength of the network density of a school grade, suggesting information spillover as a potential explanation.

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[15]'Other people' in the question include friends, relatives, teachers, or no one.

The spillover also increases with the distrust between the children and their parents, further speaking to the significance of non-family adult figures in the socialization process.

We identified the social influence by peer mother. By controlling for possible peer effect channels, we focus on the residual effect of the "SAH peer mothers" variable. The null residual impacts on non-STEM subjects, on boys, and from SAH peer fathers support that the "SAH peer mother" variable does not capture unmeasured confounding factors. We also show that there is no reverse causality that the labor force status of mothers changes with the school performance of their children or children's peers.

Our emphasise on social network and the idea of information diffusion speaks to the formation of norm and how norm can be resilient across generations. Although this paper focuses on the influence of peer parents, our findings apply generally to , the role of non-family social members in the socialization process.

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A   Additional Tables and Figures

Table A1: Sample construction process

Criteria	Remaining number of				
				Students	
	Schools	Grades	Classes	All	Female
Initial	112	222	438	19487	9341
Principal reports a randomized classroom assignment	93	184	362	15900	7595
Principal confirms no reassignment between Grades 8 and 9	78	154	302	13046	6213
Homeroom teacher reports no score-based assignment	67	108	210	9029	4357
Dropping entire grades with only one classroom	64	102	204	8760	4252
No missing parents' unemployment status	64	102	204	8453	4130
No missing midterm scores	64	102	204	8218	4039
No missing students' characteristics	64	102	204	7293	3743
No missing headroom teachers' characteristics	64	102	200	7179	3686
Dropping entire grades with only one classroom	64	98	196	7022	3599

Table A2: Balancing test for the assignment of homeroom teacher

Homeroom teacher's characteristics	Proportion of SAH mothers	
	(1)	(2)
Female	0.0120	0.00671
	(0.0144)	(0.0132)
Years of experience	-0.000850	-0.000640
	(0.000845)	(0.000910)
Subject taught: Math	-0.0178	-0.00652
	(0.0162)	(0.0126)
Subject taught: English	0.000925	-0.0123
	(0.0162)	(0.0143)
Subject taught: Other	0.0157	-0.0188
	(0.0194)	(0.0155)
Graduated from a pedagogical	0.00919	0.00812
university or with a pedagogical major	(0.0251)	(0.0207)
Bachelor degree attained	0.0627***	-0.000693
through adult higher education	(0.0225)	(0.0208)
Bachelor degree attained	0.0426*	-0.0223
through regular higher education	(0.0228)	(0.0222)
Master degree or higher	0.0742*	-0.0144
	(0.0413)	(0.0358)
Constant	0.0534	0.0893*
	(0.0325)	(0.0463)
Observations	196	196
R-squared	0.095	0.852
School-grade fixed effects	No	Yes

Notes:

[1] Each column represents a separate regression. The dependent variable, the proportion of SAH mothers, is the proportion of stay-at-home mothers in the homeroom teacher's class.

[2] The category of education levels omitted is "junior college degree", and the category of subjects taught omitted is "Chinese".

[2] The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

Table A3: Association between a mother's occupation or education level and her child's math score

	Female students			Male students		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mother's occ.: manager	-0.0145			0.0516		
	(0.0723)			(0.0633)		
Mother's occ.: teacher, engineer, doctor, and lawyer		0.305***			0.296***	
		(0.0522)			(0.0631)	
College mother			0.277***			0.254***
			(0.0465)			(0.0539)
Observations	3,599	3,599	3,599	3,423	3,423	3,423
R-squared	0.029	0.036	0.037	0.030	0.035	0.035

Notes:
[1] All regressions include the school-by-grade fixed effects.
[2] The coefficients are estimated using OLS regressions. The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

Table A4: SAH peer mothers' effect on girls' midterm math score, controlling for peer parents' gender belief

Panel A: Midterm math scores

| | Midterm math score | |
	(1)	(2)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-1.665***	-1.752***
	(0.528)	(0.544)
Stay-at-home mother	0.00889	0.00837
	(0.0523)	(0.0526)
Peer parents' belief of boys' advantage in math		X
Observations	3599	3578
R^2	0.0834	0.0846

Notes:

[1] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-me-out proportion of classmates whose mothers are stay-at-home.

[2] The dependent variable, peer parents' belief of boys' advantage in math, is the leave-me-out share of classmates' parents who believe boys are better than girls in math. Eble and Hu (2022) highlight its impact on female students' math scores in their paper.

[3] The regressions only include female students.

[4] All regressions include the school-by-grade fixed effects and the full set of control variables as in the last column of Table 4.

[5] The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

Table A5: SAH peer mothers' effect on boys' midterm math score

	Midterm Math Scores			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
SAH peer mothers (%)	-0.949	-1.005	-1.050	-0.589
	(0.753)	(0.683)	(0.642)	(0.565)
Stay-at-home mother	-0.0770	-0.0499	-0.0579	-0.0510
	(0.0656)	(0.0618)	(0.0620)	(0.0617)
Observations	3423	3423	3423	3423
R-squared	0.0308	0.0730	0.0808	0.0937
Student controls		X	X	X
Teacher controls			X	X
Peer background				X

Notes:

[1] The dependent variables are midterm math scores standardized at the school-by-grade level with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.

[2] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-one-out proportion of peers whose mothers are stay-at-home.

[3] All regressions include the school-by-grade fixed effects and the full set of control variables as in Column (5) of Table 4.

[4] The coefficients are estimated using OLS regressions, and the standard errors in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

Table A6: SAH peer mothers' effects on boys' attitudes towards math

	Math is helpful	Boys are better than girls in math	
		Student	Parent
SAH peer mothers (%)	0.192	0.0940	0.00615
	(0.959)	(0.264)	(0.209)
Stay-at-home mother	0.0615	0.0287	0.0413
	(0.128)	(0.0267)	(0.0287)
Observations	3409	3350	3345

Notes:

[1] The dependent variables are measurements of a student's perceived difficulties of learning a subject, the perceived importance of a subject, and the perceived relative ability of learning math for a student, their parents, and people around them.

[2] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-me-out proportion of classmates whose mothers are stay-at-home.

[3] The regressions include only male students.

[4] All regressions include the school-by-grade fixed effects and the full set of control variables as in Column (5) of Table 4.

[5] The first column is estimated using the ordered-logit models, and the remaining two are estimated using the linear probability models. The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.

Table A7: SAH peer mothers' effect on gender stereotypical belief in math: parents' survey

|	(1)	(2)
SAH peer mothers (%)	0.551***	0.0353
	(0.190)	(0.226)
Stay-at-home mother	-0.00854	0.00556
	(0.0287)	(0.0298)
Observation	3557	3378
R^2	0.0769	0.0577
Sample	Female Students	Male students

Notes:

[1] The dependent variable equals to 1 if a parent reports that he/she believes that boys are better than girls in math in the parents' survey and otherwise equals to 0.
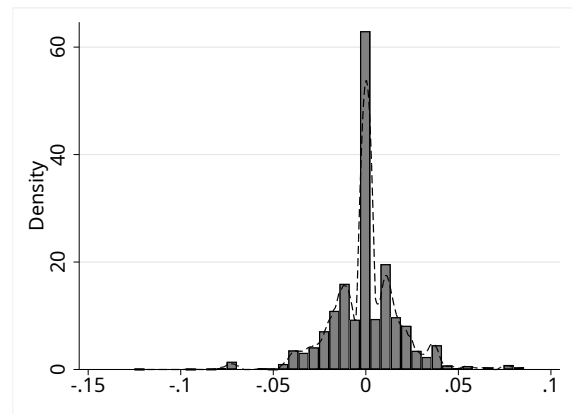
[2] "SAH peer mothers (%)" refers to the leave-me-out proportion of classmates whose mothers are stay-at-home.

[3] All regressions include the school-by-grade fixed effects and the full set of control variables as in the last column of Table 4. We also control for the relationship between the correspondent and the child because relatives may have different beliefs about boys' advantage in math.

[4] The standard errors reported in the parentheses are clustered at the class level. ***, **, and * represent significance levels at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively.
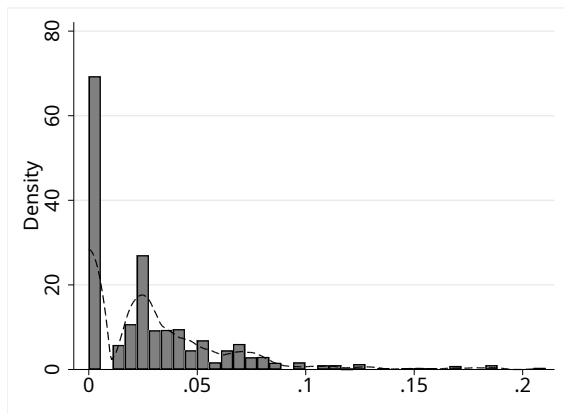
(a) Raw   (b) Demeaned within school grades

Figure A1: Variation of share of SAH peer fathers in a homeroom class

Note: "Share of SAH peer fathers" refers to the leave-one-out proportion of peers whose fathers are stay-at-home fathers in a homeroom class.
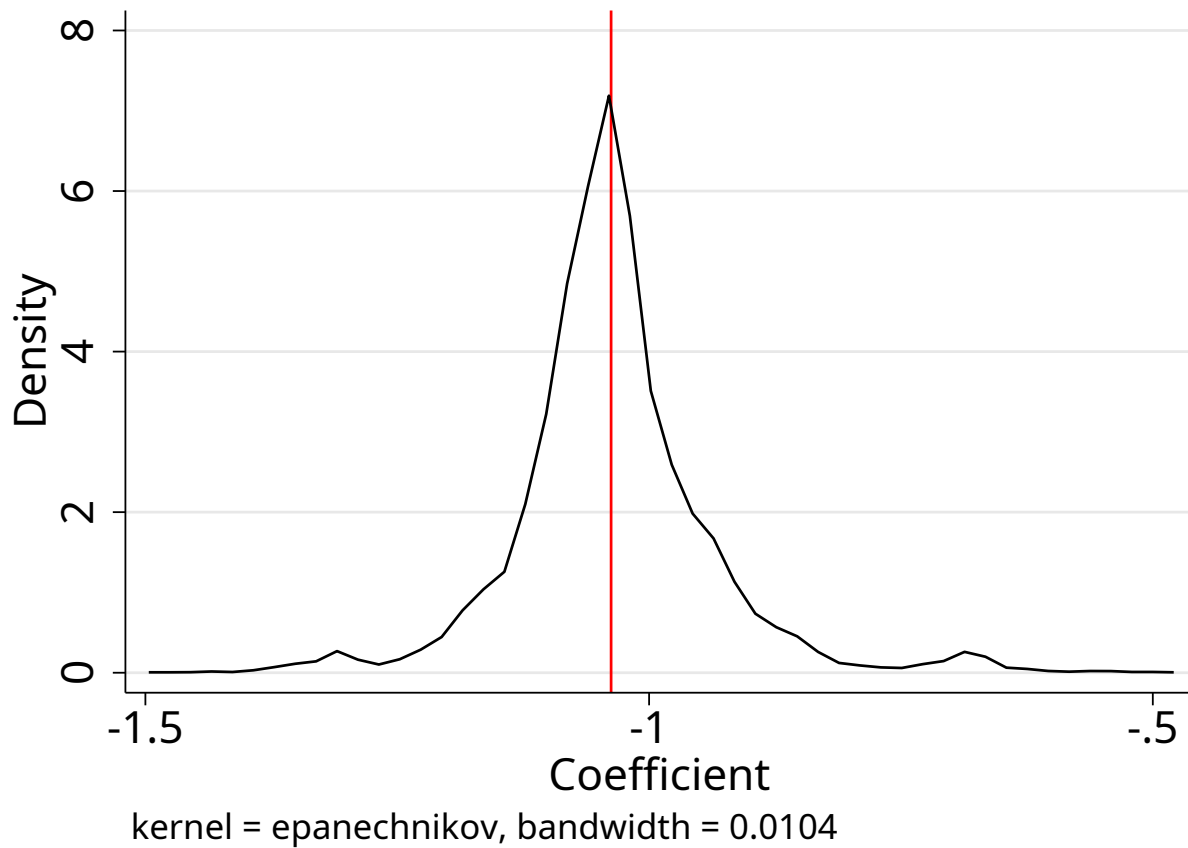
Figure A2: Distribution of Coefficients after Randomly Dropping Two School Grades

Note: The figure plots the distributions of the coefficients of SAH peer mothers (%) from 4753 regressions that each time randomly drop two school grades from the sample. Vertical lines indicate our estimate in the last column of Table 4.