



DOMESTIC WORKERS RISING

**An Evaluation of the
We Rise Peer Training Program**

**Zoë West
Ketchel Carey
Anne Marie Brady**

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Zoë West, PhD

Senior Researcher, Worker Rights and Equity, ILR Worker Institute, Cornell University

Ketchel Carey

Research Technician, Appalachian State University

Anne Marie Brady, PhD

Research Director, Worker Rights and Equity, ILR Worker Institute, Cornell University

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Domestic workers have long faced challenging conditions for organizing to lift standards in the industry—they are a highly atomized workforce, with individual workers laboring within private households; their work has been devalued and diminished on the basis of the gender and race of those performing this labor, and due to its location in the home. Yet domestic workers—who are disproportionately women of color and immigrants—have long organized to lift standards and bring recognition to their work. Through a recent wave of organizing and advocacy in the 21st century, domestic workers have won expanded legal rights and protections by passing Domestic Workers Bill of Rights legislation at the state and local levels. Yet, as in other industries of precarious workers who have secured new legal rights, it has become clear that these rights are only meaningful if workers themselves are empowered to enforce them. Worker training and education have been critical tools for domestic worker organizations seeking to inform workers of their rights and to strengthen workers' capacity to advocate for themselves on the job and as a collective movement.

This report is based on an in-depth evaluation of the impact of the We Rise Nanny Training, a peer education program in New York that integrates workers' rights education with professional development, using popular education

pedagogy. The We Rise Nanny Training aims to lift standards in the domestic work industry by training nannies in workers' rights and negotiation skills; providing professional development that increases their employability; and building their confidence and leadership within the workplace and within the movement for domestic workers' rights. The design and implementation of the We Rise Nanny Training is carried out through a collaboration between the Worker Institute at Cornell University's ILR School; the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) and the NDWA/We Dream in Black—NYC Chapters; Carroll Gardens Association (CGA); Adhikaar; Beyond Care Cooperative; and the Community Resource Center (CRC).

The **"Background"** section of this report outlines the historical, social, and legal context that shapes domestic work, and summarizes organizing and advocacy efforts to raise standards in the domestic work industry. The We Rise Nanny Training is then introduced through a history of its development and a description of the program, followed by a brief discussion of the literature evaluating peer and popular education programs that aim to support workers in making change.

The **"Methods"** section describes the research design of our 18-month evaluation of the We Rise Nanny Training. The study was designed as

a mixed-methods, longitudinal study that was shaped by the principles of community-based participatory research. The research included a longitudinal survey comprised of a baseline, midline, and endline survey; qualitative interviews with training participants; focus groups with peer trainers; and qualitative interviews with training coordinators and organization staff. The evaluation was carried out by researchers at the Worker Institute at Cornell University ILR School, in partnership with Adhikaar, Beyond Care, Carroll Gardens Association (CGA), Community Resource Center (CRC), and the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA).

The [“Findings: Impact on Participants”](#) and [“Findings: The We Rise Model”](#) sections detail our analysis of the survey, interview, and focus group data. The [“Discussion”](#) section brings together important threads of the survey, interview, and focus group findings to analyze and interpret the full picture of the evaluation. The key findings of this study include the following:

Negotiation, wages, and working conditions

- » Our research suggests that the We Rise Nanny Training strengthens participants’ ability and drive to negotiate with their employers for increased wages and better working conditions.
- » The survey and interview findings suggest that We Rise supports participants in being able to increase their wages and to secure measures such as written contracts and overtime pay, which help to formalize their terms of employment and increase employers’ compliance with employment law.
- » Interview findings revealed a broad spectrum of ways that participants asserted themselves to secure better wages and working conditions, including explicitly initiating negotiations with their employers; having employers offer

Comparing Average Hourly Wages Across Surveys for Respondents Currently Employed as Nannies

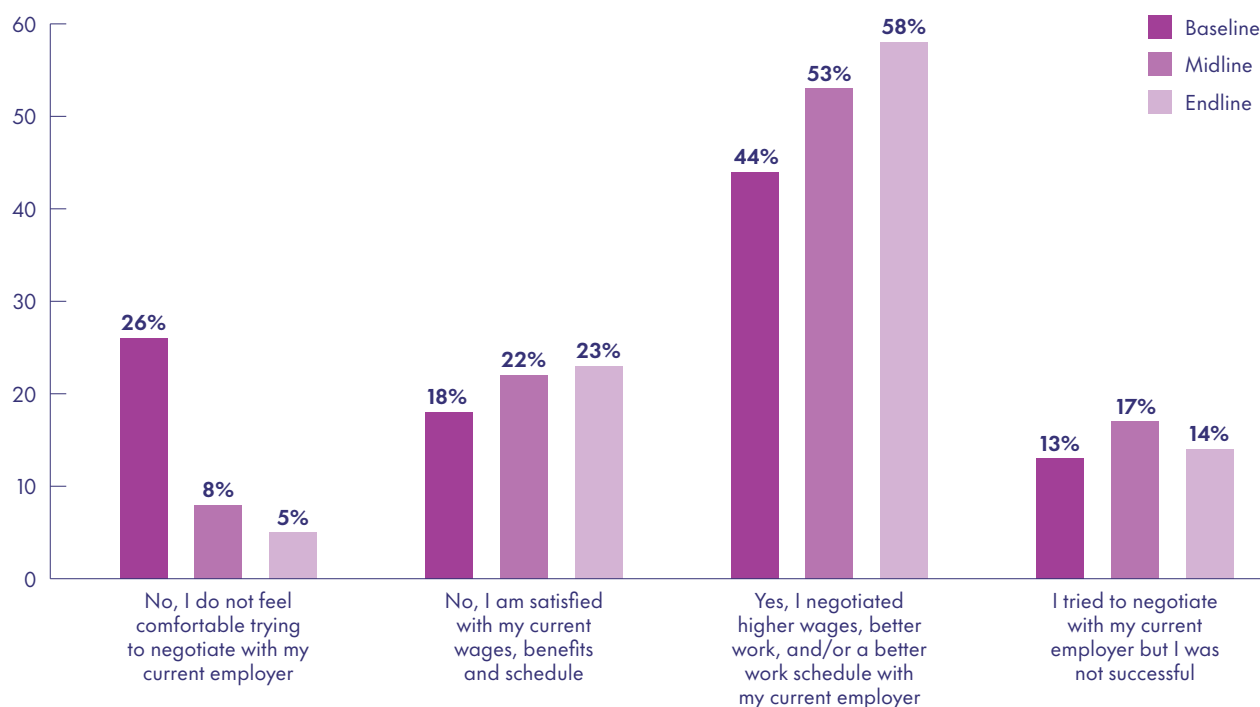


improved job terms after learning about the We Rise training; adjusting the job responsibilities they took on outside of childcare; or turning down jobs that did not meet their higher standards. Broadly, many interviewees said that the training had made them more confident in not automatically accepting the requests and terms of employment given by their employers—they felt more secure in their ability to say “no” or to negotiate conditions.

Sources of confidence and motivation

- » Our interview and focus group data revealed multiple ways that the We Rise Nanny Training motivates participants to speak up and to negotiate better wages and working conditions with their employers. Participants, lead trainers, and staff and captains all widely emphasized how learning about rights and fair standards bolstered nannies’ confidence and sense of validation in speaking up and negotiating. Our research also suggests that We Rise training participants were likely to retain and share information about a more expansive vision of

Ability to Negotiate Better Wages and Benefits



fair working standards that often exceed the legal rights to which they are entitled.

- » Participants and lead trainers also highlighted the impact of the We Rise training's emphasis on valuing domestic workers' labor—valuing themselves as workers and human beings. Their descriptions depicted an internal shift in how participants regarded themselves leading to an external shift in their actions on the job and in organizing spaces.
- » Participants, trainers, and organization staff and captains also all emphasized the impact of the certificates of participation that We Rise training graduates receive from the Worker Institute at Cornell University's ILR School. This was widely recognized as strengthening nannies' "employability" and providing an important source of leverage in their negotiations with employers, with many interviewees saying that it enabled them to command higher wages and more respectful treatment. It was also viewed as a means of

formalizing and professionalizing the industry, and was described as a source of confidence, pride, and validation for many participants.

Cultivating solidarity

- » Based on our interview and focus group data, the We Rise training appears to instill in participants the sense that they are part of a greater movement of domestic workers pushing for industry-wide change, thus bolstering their confidence and drive to make change in their own workplaces and across the industry. This orientation toward the collective was linked with the peer and popular education design of the We Rise training.
- » The confidence and strength that participants drew from feeling that they were part of a broader movement or collective in turn appears to fuel a deeper sense of commitment to the collective—as evidenced by the significant increase in information sharing, organizing, and outreach to other nannies.

Building the base for domestic worker organizing

- » Our interviews and focus groups with participants, peer trainers, and organization staff and captains suggest that the specific design of the We Rise Nanny Training—integrating workforce development with training in workers’ rights and negotiation, delivered through a peer and popular education approach—has been a potent strategy for supporting base-building—for bringing nannies into the movement for domestic workers’ rights. This suggests that specialized peer education programs like the We Rise Nanny Training—by virtue of combining workforce development with workers’ rights and a popular education approach—can create an effective pathway for precarious workers to become involved in organizing and collective action.

Organizing and leadership development to raise standards

- » Overall, our findings suggest that organizations use the We Rise Nanny Training to support their broader strategies to lift standards across the industry: as a base-building channel; a vehicle for leadership development that builds workers’ sense of confidence and agency in making changes in their own workplace and in getting involved in organizing, outreach, and information sharing; and as a “leadership ladder” where nannies can become peer trainers and We Rise “captains.”
- » Surveys and interviews suggest that the We Rise training influences participants to become more involved in activities that are central to lifting standards in the industry and expanding the movement for domestic workers’ rights—sharing information with other nannies, doing outreach and recruitment with other nannies, and engaging in organizing and advocacy activities with the organization that hosted their

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training. Interviewees’ commitment to sharing rights information and doing outreach seemed to be rooted in their own experience of feeling empowered by this knowledge to advocate for themselves—their drive to speak up for themselves seemed to also translate into a drive to enable other nannies to do the same.

- » The survey findings showed an immediate increase in the percentage of respondents participating in one or two activities with their organization after the training. Afterwards, levels of participation diverged, with an increase in the percentage of respondents in the high end of engagement and an increase

in the percentage of respondents engaging in zero activities.

- » The We Rise training itself is considered a key leadership development channel by organization staff and captains, as they describe how it builds nannies' ability to show leadership both in the workplace and in the organizations. The other important pathways that organizations use for leadership development are within the We Rise "leadership ladder"—the opportunity for We Rise graduates to become peer trainers and/or "captains."
- » Many peer trainers recounted how their own experience of learning in the We Rise training that they had rights fueled a drive to bring that knowledge and sense of empowerment to other nannies. Their descriptions revealed a strong link between their experience of personal growth and learning and their commitment to making change at a collective, industry-wide level.

Barriers to negotiation

- » While most interviewees were able to successfully negotiate a raise and/or other improvements in their working conditions, some described challenges they faced in securing some of the job terms they sought. Similarly, the majority of survey respondents reported having successfully negotiated with their employer within a year after taking the We Rise training; however, some reported unsuccessful attempts at negotiation or not feeling comfortable enough to try.
- » These challenges helped to illuminate some of the barriers to negotiation that nannies may face, pointing toward the limits of individual negotiations in changing the unequal power relations that domestic workers navigate. These unequal power relations were visible when individual workers' ability to improve conditions was constrained by the employment standards

that were prevalent in the area where they worked, or when employers simply refused interviewees' attempts to negotiate specific terms.

- » The relational nature of nannies' work also emerged as a potential barrier to negotiation, as some interviewees described how it complicated their ability or will to negotiate. Relatedly, while the informality of domestic work is at the root of many problems in these jobs, there were some situations where interviewees described informality as yielding what they perceived as beneficial conditions. Within the unequal power dynamics of their employment relationship, such arrangements can seem acceptable to workers who may not feel able to secure all of the formal job terms they seek.

"Looking Ahead" shares recommendations that build on the strengths of the We Rise Nanny Training and proposes pathways for boosting the ability of such programs to make change at scale.

Recognize popular education and peer training as a critical part of enforcing and lifting standards for domestic workers and other precarious workers.

Amid active experimentation with strategies for confronting widespread labor violations in low-paid work, training has been an important part of the toolbox in empowering workers to enforce standards. The popular and peer education design of We Rise seems to help create a space in which workers can cultivate solidarity, recognize and assert the value of their labor, and link their individual efforts to speak up to collective efforts for industry change. For a precarious workforce that is predominantly made up of women of color and immigrants who are isolated across private households, this can be critical to supporting workers in actually speaking up and asserting their rights.

Expand access to training programs that ground professional/workforce development firmly within a framework for building workers' power.

It appears that many nannies are drawn to sign up for the We Rise Nanny Training because of the professional development and the certificate, yet the experience of the training then seems to orient participants toward advocating for domestic workers' rights and taking action at the individual and collective levels. While traditional workforce development programs often serve to strengthen employers' power in the labor market, the design of the We Rise Nanny Training—rooted in worker organizations and with explicit pathways for workers to participate in those organizations—can help to make professional/workforce development a tool for building the power of precarious workers.

Integrate training programs into broader strategies to institutionalize precarious workers' collective power.

Peer and popular education can be most effective in lifting industry standards when they are one part of a larger strategy to build and institutionalize workers' collective power. The emerging neighborhood standards board that the Carroll Gardens Association and the We Rise coalition are preparing to pilot in a Brooklyn neighborhood—building on existing tripartite sectoral initiatives such as the Domestic Workers Standards Board in Seattle, Washington—is one example of a promising approach for formalizing workers' role in collectively setting and enforcing industry standards at the local level.

Support the sustainable expansion of the We Rise Nanny Training for domestic worker organizations.

Several organizations are seeking to scale up the We Rise program to meet increasing demand and reach more nannies across the industry, while other organizations are seeking to implement We Rise for the first time. Given that the program depends on substantial labor on the part of organizers, trainers, captains, staff, and coalition coordinators, our research pointed to key ways that increased resources for the coalition and the individual organizations could support sustainable expansion of the program and stronger coordination across the coalition—by expanding the corps of (paid) peer trainers; creating dedicated, fully funded coalition coordination positions to strengthen effective coordination and support workers taking on increasing leadership; and building out the structures of support for graduates of the We Rise Nanny Training.

INTRODUCTION

In a new wave of organizing and advocacy in the 21st century, domestic worker organizations have fought to lift standards in the industry and to bring recognition to this labor performed disproportionately by women of color and immigrants. Domestic workers face distinct workplace conditions that shape their possible pathways to organizing and lifting standards—they are a highly atomized workforce, with individual workers laboring within private households; the longstanding gendered and racialized devaluation of domestic work and its location in the home has left workers excluded from some core labor protections and from collective bargaining rights. Yet the forces that shape domestic workers' conditions are echoed across low-pay industries, as large numbers of precarious workers in the U.S. face limited protection from labor and employment law, decentralized work, and informal work structures.

Domestic workers have won expanded legal rights and protections through organizing to pass Domestic Workers Bill of Rights legislation at the state and local levels. Yet, as in other industries of precarious workers who have secured new legal rights, it has become clear that these rights are only meaningful if workers themselves are empowered to enforce them. Worker training and education have been critical tools for domestic worker organizations seeking to inform workers

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of their rights and to strengthen workers' capacity to advocate for themselves on the job and as a collective movement.

This report is an in-depth case study evaluating the impact of one such training program—the We Rise Nanny Training, a peer education program in New York that integrates workers' rights education with professional development, using popular education pedagogy. The We Rise Nanny Training aims to lift standards in the domestic work industry by training nannies in workers' rights and negotiation skills; providing professional development that increases their employability; and building their confidence and leadership within the workplace and within the movement for domestic workers' rights. The design and implementation of the We Rise Nanny Training is carried out through a collaboration between the Worker Institute at Cornell University's ILR School; the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) and the NDWA/We Dream in Black—NYC Chapters; Carroll Gardens Association (CGA);

Adhikaar; Beyond Care Cooperative; and the Community Resource Center (CRC).

This report is based on a mixed-methods, 18-month evaluation of the We Rise Nanny Training program that included a longitudinal survey of training participants; qualitative interviews with training participants; qualitative interviews with training coordinators and organization staff; and focus groups with peer trainers. Our research examines the impact of the We Rise Nanny Training program at the different levels where it aims to strengthen nannies' capacity to raise standards—how it affects individual nannies' ability to advocate for themselves and negotiate improved workplace standards, and how it affects their participation in organizing and collective action. The research also examines the impact of We Rise on organizations, exploring how the program connects to broader base-building, education, and organizing efforts within the movement for domestic workers' rights.

BACKGROUND

To understand the context in which the We Rise Nanny Training program operates, this section will begin by briefly tracing the historical, social, and legal context that shapes domestic work, and summarizing efforts to raise standards in the domestic work industry. This is followed by an account of the development of the We Rise Nanny Training and an introduction to the program. Finally, there is a brief discussion of the literature examining the use of popular and peer education programs for supporting workers in making change.

THE DEVALUATION OF DOMESTIC WORK

Domestic work and the labor of caring—for children, elders, and those with illness or disability—has long been devalued. Care work has been devalued on the basis of who performs that labor—their gender, racial/ethnic background, class, and immigration status—and on the basis of where that labor is performed—in the home. As the rise of capitalist industrialization imposed a shift from farming and production in the household to waged work in factories outside the home, the division between the waged labor of production (“men’s work”) and the unpaid labor of social reproduction (“women’s work”) became increasingly fixed and gendered. This contributed to the social and economic devaluing

of reproductive labor, justified by the notion that labor done in the home was “natural” for women and was not “real work.”¹

This devaluing was further cemented by the racialized history of domestic work being performed in white families’ households by enslaved Black women, indentured servants, and workers who were often Black, immigrants, and/or women of color. As industrial capitalism expanded in the second half of the 19th century, there was an attendant and rapid increase in the number of women hired as servants in mostly white, middle-class households to clean and care for children. The workforce of domestic workers in the South was composed almost entirely of Black women, whereas in the Southwest it was predominantly Mexican-American women, and in California and Hawaii it was initially Chinese men and later Japanese and Japanese-American women. In the Northeast, domestic workers were mostly single, young European immigrants until World War I, when Black women migrating from the South during the Great Migration became the largest group of domestic workers

1. Glenn, E.N. (2002). *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Harvard University Press.

in the Northeast.² In the mid-20th century, Black women made up the largest proportion of paid domestic workers nationwide, and it was the most significant source of employment for them until the 1970s. This marked a turning point, as Black women and Mexican-American women increasingly left domestic work and entered public sector employment (which had been opened to them through the Civil Rights Act of 1964) and the expanding sector of low-paid service work. As immigration increased during this period, immigrant women from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia increasingly took on domestic work jobs.³

Today, women of color and immigrants continue to be strongly overrepresented in domestic work in the U.S. An Economic Policy Institute (EPI) analysis of 2021 government data showed that just over half of domestic workers in the U.S. are Black, Hispanic/Latine, or Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI), with Hispanic/Latine women making up 26.6% and Black women making up 19.3%.⁴ This data is highly likely to undercount domestic workers, as many domestic workers are paid “off the books” which may make them less likely to report these jobs in surveys; further, government surveys tend to systematically undercount immigrants and members of other marginalized communities.⁵ Immigrants are disproportionately represented among domestic

workers, with just over one-third (34.8%) of domestic workers being born outside of the U.S.; half of the workforce of house cleaners are foreign-born. These figures include nannies, house cleaners, home care aides, and in-home childcare providers under the umbrella of “domestic workers.” The growth of the home care workforce (including home health aides and personal care aides) has been the primary force driving the rapid expansion of the home-based paid care industry, as home care has been among the fastest-growing occupations since the end of the 20th century.⁶

The proportions of immigrants and women of color increase sharply once we look at certain regional data. For example, 78% of domestic workers in New York City were born outside the U.S., and over 80% are Hispanic/Latine, Black, or Asian.⁷ A 2018 report found that there were 202,483 domestic workers in New York City, of which 17.6% were nannies and house cleaners, while the remaining 82.4% were home care aides.⁸

The devaluing of domestic work has also been legally entrenched, with domestic workers excluded from core labor protections at the federal and state levels—thus perpetuating the notion that work performed in the home is not “real work.”⁹ Domestic workers and agricultural workers were explicitly excluded from the foundational labor rights and protections

2. Glenn, E. N. (1992). From servitude to service work: Historical continuities in the racial division of paid reproductive labor. *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society*, 18(1), 1-43; Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2007). *Doméstica: Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence*. Univ of California Press.; Romero, M. (1992). *Maid in the U.S.A.* United Kingdom: Routledge.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Economic Policy Institute. (November 22, 2022). Domestic Workers Chartbook 2002: A comprehensive look at the demographics, wages, benefits, and poverty rates of the professionals who care for our family members and clean our homes. Retrieved from: <https://www.epi.org/publication/domestic-workers-chartbook-2022/>
5. Berry-James, R. M., Gooden, S. T., & Johnson III, R. G. (2020). Civil rights, social equity, and Census 2020. *Public Administration Review*, 80(6), 1100-1108.

6. Boris, E. & Klein, J. (2012). *Caring for America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State*. Oxford University Press.
7. “NYC Care Campaign factsheet.” Retrieved from: https://domesticemployers.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/NYC_CareCampaign_Factsheet.pdf
8. New York City Department of Consumer Affairs. (2018). *Lifting Up Paid Care Work: Year One of New York City’s Paid Care Division*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nyc.gov/assets/dca/downloads/pdf/workers/Lifting-up-Paid-Care-Work.pdf>
9. Smith, P. R. (2007). Aging and Caring in the Home: Regulating Paid Domesticity in the Twenty-First Century. *Iowa Law Review*, 38(8); Smith, P. R. (2011). Work like any other, work like no other: Establishing decent work for domestic workers. *Emp. Rts. & Emp. Pol’y J.*, 15, 159; Zhang, Y. (2024). Home as non-workplace. Unpublished manuscript.

created during the New Deal in the 1930s. The National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) of 1935 established workers' rights to organize unions and engage in collective action tactics such as strikes in the workplace, and created the system for collective bargaining; the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938 established the first federal minimum wage and overtime protections for workers. At the time, the FLSA built on the federal government's recently expanded mandate allowing it to regulate not only the *transport* of goods through interstate commerce, but also the production, manufacturing, and mining of goods that would be sold through interstate commerce. This enabled the passage of federal minimum wage and overtime protections for workers in these industries, but these protections were not extended by the FLSA (as originally enacted) to service work, domestic work, or production/manufacturing that would not be sold across state lines—thus disproportionately excluding sectors where the workforce was predominantly women.¹⁰ The explicit exclusion of domestic workers and agricultural workers was also racialized, stemming from Southern legislators' resistance to federal legislation that would provide higher standards and protections to these workforces that were predominantly made up of Black workers.¹¹ Domestic workers were thus excluded from these worker protections on the basis of their race, their gender, and the location of their work in the home. The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (OSHA) also excluded most domestic workers, by excluding employers who hired domestic workers from its scope—it therefore did cover domestic workers hired through agencies

but excluded those hired privately by households. Domestic workers have also largely been excluded from other federal work law, including the Family and Medical Leave Act, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Americans with Disabilities Act. At the level of state legislation, inclusion of domestic workers varies, as some states have included domestic workers in certain state-level protections over time.¹²

Through organizing and advocacy that was fueled by the civil rights movement and the feminist movement, the wage and hour protections of the FLSA were expanded in 1974 to include domestic workers. A coalition of mostly Black domestic worker organizations came together under the umbrella of the Household Technicians of America (HTA) and advocated for the inclusion of domestic workers in the FLSA.¹³ They joined in coalition with labor feminists and feminist organizations made up of professional middle-class women and housewives, and were supported by some labor movement representatives as well, including from the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). Other groups of women workers and workers of color had also paved the way in successfully advocating for their inclusion in the FLSA in this period, including teachers, nurses, retail workers, public sector employees, and farmworkers.¹⁴ The expansion of the FLSA to include domestic workers was, however, marked by several exemptions, including the exclusion of live-in domestic workers from overtime protections and the exclusion of "casual" babysitters and those providing "companionship services"; the latter exemption was interpreted by the U.S. Department of Labor to exclude virtually all home care workers for many

10. Goldberg H. (2015). The Long Journey Home: The Contested Exclusion and Inclusion of Domestic Workers from Federal Wage and Hour Protections in the United States. International Labour Office. Retrieved from: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_396235.pdf

11. Perea, J. F. (2011) The Echoes of Slavery: Recognizing the Racist Origins of the Agricultural and Domestic Worker Exclusion from the National Labor Relations Act. *Ohio St. LJ*, 72-95.

12. Smith, 2007; Zhang, 2024

13. Nadasen, P. (2012). Citizenship rights, domestic work, and the Fair Labor Standards Act. *Journal of Policy History*, 24(1), 74-94; Palmer, P. (1995) Outside the Law: Agricultural and Domestic Workers Under the Fair Labor Standards Act. *Journal of Policy History*, 7(4), 416-440.

14. Note that farmworkers were only partially included, as they remained excluded from overtime protections.

years, until worker advocacy groups successfully lobbied for a new interpretation in 2013.¹⁵

RAISING STANDARDS IN DOMESTIC WORK

Nannies, house cleaners, and home care aides confront a range of workplace issues, some of which are common to low-paid work more broadly and some of which emerge from the particular circumstances of being employed in private homes. Recent research on domestic workers' experiences, both nationally and in New York City, specifically has revealed the following prevalent issues.¹⁶ Low pay is a persistent problem across the industry, as is wage theft—workers not being paid overtime wages or not being paid for all the hours they work, for example. Domestic workers thus often struggle with economic insecurity and challenges covering their living expenses. Other violations of workers' rights and protections are common, such as a lack of paid sick leave or violations of minimum wage laws (particularly for live-in domestic workers). The jobs are also precarious, with little job security and hours that are often unpredictable or overly limited. Amid the informality of the industry, many workers do not have contracts, and the job duties that workers are responsible for are often vaguely defined. Very few domestic workers have access to retirement benefits or health insurance through their employers. Domestic workers also widely describe disrespect and abuse on the job, as well as a broader concern with the way their work is socially devalued and made invisible.

Other violations of workers' rights and protections are common, such as a lack of paid sick leave or violations of minimum wage legislation (particularly for live-in domestic workers). The jobs are also precarious, with little job security and hours that are often unpredictable or overly limited.

The section above traced the devaluing of domestic workers' labor and their historical exclusion from labor protections, which has enabled many of these issues to go unchecked. As a workforce that is fully decentralized, employed within private homes, and disproportionately made up of immigrants and women of color, domestic workers are also vulnerable to the risks of speaking out about labor violations or unfair

15. Zhang, 2024

16. Milkman, R. (2018). Making paid care work visible. Report for the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs; Burnham, L., & Theodore, N. (2012). *Home economics: The invisible and unregulated world of domestic work*. National Domestic Workers Alliance; Center for Urban Economic Development, University of Illinois at Chicago; and DataCenter.

working conditions—many cannot afford to risk losing work and may have limited options for alternative employment. Further, the enforcement of the legal protections domestic workers *do* have is fraught—generally, the enforcement of labor protections in the U.S. is severely under-resourced and understaffed, leaving the burden on workers to come forward with complaints;¹⁷ this burden becomes even heavier given the location of the worksite in a private home and the intimate relational nature of domestic workers’ labor.

While unions have traditionally used collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) to institutionalize workers’ power to set and enforce standards and to cement their place as labor market institutions, domestic workers do not currently have access to the collective bargaining system given their exclusion from the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA); further, the prospect of collective bargaining is complicated by the current lack of employer associations with which domestic workers could bargain.

In light of this, the drive to raise standards for domestic workers across the U.S. has entailed strategies of organizing collectively to lift standards, strengthening their formal rights through legislative campaigns, and bolstering their capacity to enforce those rights through organizing and education. The section above outlined an example of domestic worker organizing in the 1960s and 1970s that successfully expanded legal protections in the industry by remedying domestic workers’ exclusion from wage and hour protections in the FLSA. This was one significant milestone in a long history of domestic workers collectively organizing to improve their working conditions, with the Atlanta

washerwomen’s strike in 1881 being an early visible example.¹⁸

Since the early 2000s, a new wave of domestic worker organizing has fought for policy changes that continue to address domestic workers’ exclusion from core labor protections. Here we will focus on nannies, house cleaners, and caregivers hired privately by households; significant strides have been won in both policy and unionization of home care aides, but the use of public funds such as Medicaid and Medicare to pay much of this workforce has opened up distinct avenues of strategy than those available to privately hired domestic workers.

This new wave of organizing and advocacy among domestic workers has emerged primarily from the growing number of worker centers, which are organizations that support low-wage, primarily immigrant workers through organizing, advocacy, and service provision. Many worker centers focus on sectors where workers face precarity and/or exclusions from labor protections, and where workers have less access to traditional unionization; while these challenges have produced some constraints for worker center strategies, they have also fueled their ability to experiment with new strategies of activism for low-wage immigrant workers.¹⁹

Recent efforts to expand domestic workers’ inclusion in standard labor protections have centered largely on campaigns to pass a “Domestic Workers Bill of Rights” at the state and local levels. The first Domestic Workers Bill of Rights was passed in New York in 2010 after a

17. Weil, D. (2018). Creating a strategic enforcement approach to address wage theft: One academic’s journey in organizational change. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 60(3), 437-460.

18. Hunter, T. W. (1998). *To ‘Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women’s Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press.

19. Fine, J. (2015). “Alternative Labour Protection Movements in the United States: Reshaping Industrial Relations?” *International Labour Review* 154(1):15–26; Fine, J. (2011). “New Forms to Settle Old Scores: Updating the Worker Centre Story in the United States.” *Relations Industrielles / Industrial Relations* 66(4):604–30.

years-long campaign by a coalition of domestic worker organizations led by Domestic Workers United. In the years since, similar versions of this legislation have passed in 10 additional states, two major cities, and Washington D.C., with the backing of the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) and many local domestic worker organizations in each locale. The Domestic Workers Bill of Rights legislation extends core labor rights to domestic workers, such as the right to minimum wage, overtime pay, paid sick days and leave, and protection from harassment; the specific protections included vary by state.²⁰

Yet amid the overall weakness of the labor law enforcement regime and the particular conditions confronting domestic workers, securing new laws and regulations is only one step toward actually lifting standards in the industry—workers must be empowered to actually enforce those standards. Despite the particularities of domestic work, this is true for precarious workers across many sectors. Since the passage of the New York Domestic Workers Bill of Rights, the organizations that advocated for its passage were well aware that these new rights would only be meaningful if there were substantial efforts to inform domestic workers about their rights and organize them into collective worker organizations.²¹

While worker organizations have been experimenting with many strategies for lifting standards for precarious workers and enforcing their rights—ranging from workplace organizing to “co-enforcement” approaches to sectoral approaches—training is a key element of many

of these strategies.²² Our research here focuses on understanding the role that training may play in lifting standards for precarious workers, through a case study evaluating one such training program. Strategies that support workers in collective organizing, unionization, and other forms of collective representation are particularly important, given that regulatory enforcement strategies are unlikely on their own to change the unequal power relations in the workplace and within an industry;²³ and also given what is often the heavy toll of the claims-making process.²⁴ The following section introduces the subject of our evaluation, the We Rise Nanny Training program.

THE WE RISE NANNY TRAINING PROGRAM

This report is based on an evaluation of the We Rise Nanny Training, a peer education program in which nannies become trainers who teach a series of workshops to their peers (other nannies), aiming to raise standards in the domestic work industry, support professional development, and develop leadership among nannies. The training program is a partnership between the Worker Institute at Cornell University’s ILR School; the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) and the NDWA/We Dream in Black—NYC Chapters; Carroll Gardens Association (CGA); Adhikaar; Beyond Care Cooperative; and

20. See “Domestic Workers Bill of Rights,” National Domestic Workers Alliance. Retrieved from: <https://www.domesticworkers.org/programs-and-campaigns/developing-policy-solutions/domestic-workers-bill-of-rights/>
21. Goldberg, H. (2014). *Our day has finally come: Domestic worker organizing in New York City*. City University of New York; Hobden, C. (2010). Winning fair labour standards for domestic workers: Lessons learned from the campaign for a domestic worker bill of rights in New York State. GURN, International Labour Office (ILO).

22. See, for example: Fine, J. (2017) Enforcing Labor Standards in Partnership with Civil Society: Can Co-enforcement Succeed Where the State Alone Has Failed? *Politics & Society*, 45 (3), 359-388.; Fine, J., and Bartley, T. (2019). Raising the floor: New directions in public and private enforcement of labor standards in the United States. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 61 (2), 252-276; Patel, S., and Fisk, C. (2017). California Co-Enforcement Initiatives that Facilitate Worker Organization. *Harvard Law and Policy Review*, 12, 1-21.
23. Delp, L. & Riley, K. (2015). Worker Engagement in the Health and Safety Regulatory Arena under Changing Models of Worker Representation. *Labor Studies Journal*, 40(1), 54-83.
24. Lesniewski, J. & Gleeson, S. (2022). Mobilizing Worker Rights: The Challenges of Claims-Driven Processes for Re-Regulating the Labor Market. *Labor Studies Journal*, 47(3), 241-261.



the Community Resource Center (CRC). The program uses popular education and methods of adult learning, and workshop modules include workers' rights and negotiation skills (e.g., "Workers' Rights" and "Home as a Workplace"), professional development (e.g., "Child Socio-Emotional Development" and "Child Nutrition"), and other skill-building relevant to their work and their leadership development.

Before describing the We Rise Nanny Training in more detail, it is worth briefly tracing its roots in the longstanding collaboration between the New York City campus of Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations (ILR School) and domestic worker organizations in New York. We Rise was developed as a peer education program in 2017, as a new iteration of a previous continuing education program for nannies that had been developed over years of collaboration between the ILR School (including the Worker

Institute, which was founded within the ILR School in 2012) and domestic worker organizations. This working partnership emerged during the years-long campaign to pass the New York Domestic Workers Bill of Rights, which was won in 2010.

In the early 2000s, the organization Domestic Workers United (DWU) was at the forefront of a coalition advocating for the passage of the New York Domestic Workers Bill of Rights, alongside organizations such as Adhikaar and Damayan. DWU was coordinating a series of professional development classes for nannies in collaboration with other organizations such as the New York Committee for Occupational Safety and Health (NYCOSH). In 2009, Ai-Jen Poo of DWU (and subsequently the Executive Director of the National Domestic Workers Alliance) asked Gene Carroll, who was then co-director of the NYS AFL-CIO/Cornell Union Leadership Institute at the Cornell ILR School, to create a public speaking

class for domestic workers, to strengthen their advocacy efforts in the campaign to pass the New York Domestic Workers Bill of Rights.

In subsequent years, KC Wagner, director of Equity at Work at the Worker Institute took on the coordination of this collaboration and saw an opportunity to work with these organizations to expand the program into a full continuing education program. This eventually led to the creation of a 35-hour continuing education program that built in collaboration with a broader range of Cornell programs involved in worker education, as well as collaboration with a labor union in order to strengthen the bridge between the traditional organized labor movement and the domestic worker movement. The Worker Institute and the Cornell Cooperative Extension in New York City provided certificates of participation to nannies who completed the program, but the creation of the curricula for the modules reflected this expanded web of collaboration: for example, a local officer in the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) affiliate of family child care providers created the module on children's social-emotional learning; Cornell Cooperative Extension created the modules on nutrition and communication with families; staff and members of the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) created a module on domestic workers' rights; labor educators from NYCOSH created the workplace safety and health module; a pediatrician from Weill Cornell Medicine created the module on basic pediatric health; and KC Wagner created the module on workplace sexual harassment, in collaboration with the domestic worker organization partners. The cadre of trainers for these modules consciously reflected diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds, genders, and languages.

This continuing education program for nannies continued from 2011 to 2015. In its wake, the

Worker Institute and NDWA began brainstorming the creation of a new version of the program—one that would build on the strengths of the original program and would also be able to sustainably expand its reach to more domestic workers across different organizations and different languages. Irene Jor, who was then the New York director for NDWA, and Allison Julien, the organizing director of the We Dream in Black initiative at NDWA, collaborated closely with KC Wagner and Arianna Schindle, director of training and curriculum design for the Worker Rights and Equity initiative at the Worker Institute, in designing the model for this new program—the We Rise Nanny Training. The We Rise program built on the existing modules of the previous nanny training program, but adapted them to a peer education design as a significant new element of the model. The peer education model was envisioned as a way to invite nannies into leadership roles, make the program able to expand more flexibly across organizations and languages, and better support nannies in building their sense of agency in making change. The Worker Institute and NDWA designed the program in consultation with partner organizations in New York City, including: Adhikaar, the Hopewell Care Childcare Cooperative (affiliated with the Carroll Gardens Association), the NannyBee Cooperative (affiliated with the Center for Family Life's Cooperative Development Program and the Northern Manhattan Improvement Corporation), and the Beyond Care Childcare Cooperative (also affiliated with the Center for Family Life). Through this collaborative design process, the We Rise Nanny Training program emerged as a peer education model that was designed to be integrated into organizations' outreach, organizing, and education strategies. Each of the organizations listed above sent members to the inaugural "training of trainers" in 2017 to become the first cohort of We Rise peer trainers.

The We Rise Nanny Training program aims to strengthen domestic workers' capacity to raise standards in several ways: training them in workers' rights and negotiation skills; providing them with certificates for specific skills that increase their employability; and building their confidence and their leadership within the workplace and within the movement for domestic workers' rights. The design of We Rise blends workforce development with workers' rights and negotiation training; this blend is evident in both the *content* of the modules (including modules such as "Workers' Rights" alongside "Child Nutrition") as well as in the *pedagogical approach* of the program, which includes a peer training, popular education approach infused with leadership development throughout the curriculum design. The peer trainer model also supports a language justice approach, where nannies can take the training in the language they prefer, with trainers who may share their cultural background. The training program is delivered at the above-mentioned worker organizations within the We Rise coalition, and is currently offered in Spanish, English, and Nepali. The training modules are tailored to the specific context of domestic workers' rights in New York, where the Domestic Workers Bill of Rights was passed in 2010 and the New York City Human Rights Law's employment protections were extended to apply to all domestic workers in 2022.²⁵

Since launching in 2017, over 75 nannies have completed the We Rise "training of trainers," receiving a certificate of participation from the Worker Institute at Cornell that designates them as We Rise trainers for specific modules. Peer trainers are evaluated by Worker Institute staff

25. See "Domestic Workers' Bill of Rights," New York Department of Labor. Retrieved from: <https://dol.ny.gov/domestic-workers-bill-rights>. See also Flores, M. (March 10, 2022). Domestic Workers Gain New Protections From New York City Human Rights Law. *NY City Lens*. Retrieved from: <https://nycitylens.com/domestic-workers-gain-new-protections-new-york-city-human-rights-law/>.

and designated evaluators within the We Rise coalition; the full "training of trainers" process is described in more detail in "Findings: The We Rise Model." Each organization that hosts the We Rise Nanny Training has its own set of peer trainers trained to facilitate specific modules, and they can draw on the cadre of trainers throughout the coalition as needed. Across the organizations in the coalition, these peer trainers have trained over 1,200 nannies in the series of We Rise modules. Nannies who take the We Rise Nanny Training at one of the organizations in the coalition receive a certificate of participation from the Worker Institute at Cornell that indicates the modules they have completed. The design of the training and the modules included have evolved over the years, growing from six original core modules to the 11 modules currently included in the program (with new modules currently in development). Each organization determines the exact structure of the We Rise training they host based on the scheduling needs of their membership; during the period of our evaluation, the trainings offered by organizations covered between 6 to 10 modules, for a total of 18 to 33 hours delivered over the course of four to seven weeks.

We Rise Nanny Training Modules

- Workers' Rights
- Negotiation
- Communication with Families
- Home as a Workplace
- Sexual Harassment at the Workplace
- We are Organizers
- Pediatric Health for Children
- Child Nutrition
- Child Socio-Emotional Development
- CPR & First Aid
- Newborn Care (*added in 2023*)

Given the goals of the We Rise Nanny Training, our evaluation in this report examines the impact of this training program at the different levels where it aims to bolster nannies' capacity to raise standards—how it affects individual nannies' ability to speak up and negotiate their workplace standards, and how it affects their participation in organizing and collective action.

PEER TRAINING PROGRAMS AND POPULAR EDUCATION FOR WORKERS

The popular education pedagogy used in the We Rise Nanny Training (and in other training programs at domestic worker organizations) has a long history in worker education. While forms of popular education have long existed in many parts of the world, the modern understanding of popular education has deep roots in Paulo Freire's popular education movement in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s.²⁶ Popular education seeks to challenge hierarchical forms of pedagogy with a more dialogic and democratic approach, and to use education as a means for people to critically understand the issues they face in order to collectively change them. As a form of worker education, popular education is grounded in the lived experience of workers, seeks to empower workers to challenge unequal power relations, and explicitly links theory and practice.²⁷ Within the U.S., the movement establishing labor colleges throughout the 1920s and 1930s was an important early example of a similar pedagogical approach. Popular education then gained a strong foothold in social movements through the Highlander Center in Tennessee, which played

a vital role in the civil rights movement—and importantly, with connecting organized labor to the civil rights movement.²⁸

As the number of worker centers and other worker organizations outside of conventional labor unions has rapidly grown in the 21st century, many of these organizations have widely employed popular education approaches in their training and leadership development. Many domestic worker organizations offer training programs for members, including trainings about workers' rights, workplace safety and health issues, and professional development; these trainings often integrate popular education pedagogy into their approach to varying degrees.

Alongside the rise of popular education, there has also been an increase in peer education models, which train people from a particular community or workforce to become peer trainers, *promotoras*, or community health workers. In the U.S., *promotora* and community health workers have largely worked in public health programs within Latine and immigrant communities, sharing knowledge and skills within their community for people who often face barriers to accessing mainstream institutional channels of support.²⁹ Research suggests that *promotora* and community health worker models have been effective in helping to reduce disparities in health care access, health outcomes, and learning.³⁰ In the realm of worker education, the *promotora* model has been used by janitorial workers in California to confront

26. Freire, P. (2018). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 50th Anniversary Edition*. United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing.

27. Delp, L., Outman-Kramer, M., Schurman, S. J., & Wong, K. (2002). *Teaching for Change: Popular Education and the Labor Movement*. UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education.

28. Ibid.

29. Ayala, G.X. et al. (2010). Outcome effectiveness of the lay health advisor model among Latinos in the United States: an examination by role. *Health Education Research*, 25(5), 816.

30. Viswanathan, M., Kraschnewski, J. L., Nishikawa, B., Morgan, L. C., Honeycutt, A. A., Thieda, P., ... & Jonas, D. E. (2010). Outcomes and costs of community health worker interventions: a systematic review. *Medical care*, 792-808

workplace sexual violence and harassment.³¹ More broadly, the peer education approach has gained a strong foothold in the realm of occupational safety and health training programs for workers.

There is a relatively substantial body of literature evaluating peer-to-peer worker trainings on occupational safety and health, which exist within the field of “empowerment-based approaches”—the term for a Freirean popular education approach that is used in the literature on health and safety education for workers.³² While workplace health and safety is just one part of the We Rise Nanny Training curriculum, the goals of these empowerment-based approaches to workplace health and safety training share certain important similarities with We Rise—the trainings have a central goal of building workers’ capacity to advocate for change in their workplace, and the trainings all use a peer education or “train the trainer” model through which workers become trainers.

Peer-to-peer training programs on occupational health and safety have been developed for unionized workers as well as for precarious workers outside of unions. In an evaluation of two union-led health and safety training programs that used an empowerment-based approach and worker trainers (peer trainers), Lippin et al. (2000) found that training program participants reported increased awareness about hazardous materials and increased information sharing with co-workers, as well as being more likely to actually advocate for workplace health and safety changes at their jobs and successfully win those changes; participants worked in the blue-collar public

sector, nuclear facilities, hospitals, and chemical processing plants.³³ Other evaluations of union-run workplace safety and health training programs with peer trainers have suggested similarly positive results regarding changes in how participants addressed actual problems at their worksites and their efficacy in doing so, and sharing newly gained knowledge with other workers.³⁴

Evaluations of health and safety training programs run by worker centers have centered on day laborers, who are primarily immigrant workers doing construction work in highly precarious conditions; day laborers generally have more limited access to safety and health protections in the workplace than unionized construction workers. Ahonen et al. (2014) assessed a two-day peer education health and safety training program for day laborers that was developed and delivered through a partnership between worker centers, university researchers, and authorized Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) trainers, finding that it showed some improvements in participants’ knowledge acquisition and positive evidence that participants had been able to use this new knowledge at their worksites.³⁵ An evaluation of a

31. West, Z., Pinto, S., and Wagner, K.C. (2020). *Sweeping Change: Building Survivor and Worker Leadership to Confront Sexual Harassment in the Janitorial Industry*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, ILR School, The Worker Institute.

32. Wallerstein, N., & Weinger, M. (1992). Empowerment approaches to worker health and safety education. *American Journal of Industrial Medicine*, 22(5).

33. Lippin, T. M., Eckman, A., Calkin, K. R., & McQuiston, T. H. (2000). Empowerment-based health and safety training: Evidence of workplace change from four industrial sectors. *American Journal of industrial medicine*, 38(6), 697-706.

34. See Fernandez, J. A., Daltuva, J. A., & Robins, T. G. (2000). Industrial emergency response training: An assessment of long-term impact of a union-based program. *American journal of industrial medicine*, 38(5), 598-605; Becker, P. & Morawetz, J. (2004). Impacts of Health and Safety Training: Comparison of Worker Activities Before and After Training. *American Journal of Industrial Medicine*; Kurtz, J. R., Robins, T. G., & Schork, M. A. (1997). An evaluation of peer and professional trainers in a union-based occupational health and safety training program. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 39(7), 661-671; Slatin, C. (2002). Health and safety organizing: OCAW's worker-to-worker health and safety training program. *New Solutions: A Journal of Environmental and Occupational Health Policy*, 11(4), 349-374.

35. Ahonen, E. Q., Zanon, J., Forst, L., Ochsner, M., Kimmel, L., Martino, C., Ringholdm, E., Rodríguez, E., Kader, A. & Sokas, R. (2014). Evaluating goals in worker health protection using a participatory design and an evaluation checklist. *New solutions: a journal of environmental and occupational health policy*, 23(4), 537-560.



one-day training for day laborers found significant increases in the use of certain types of personal protective equipment (PPE) and in workers engaging in self-protective work practices, as well as a majority of respondents reporting sharing information from the training with other workers; given existing power dynamics in the industry, researchers also cited the limitations on workers' ability to make major changes without employer engagement as part of the program.³⁶ In an evaluation of a four-hour peer education health and safety training program for day laborers that was developed and delivered through a worker center and evaluated through a partnership with university researchers, De Souza et al. (2012) found modest gains in knowledge but suggested that more long-term impacts on participants' attitudes, behaviors, and involvement in collective action would require a longer-term project.³⁷

Peer education programs for workers can also have a significant impact on the empowerment of the trainers themselves. An evaluation of a *promotora* program developed by a janitors' union and community organization to confront workplace sexual violence found that janitors who became *promotoras* said the role and the program bolstered their personal leadership development, their commitment to building collective power, their capacity to speak up and participate in collective action about the issue, and their ability to heal from trauma.³⁸ In evaluating a community health worker program for migrant and seasonal farmworkers, Booker et al. (2010) found that most of the peer educators (called "camp health aides") described experiencing increases in their sense of empowerment, including self-efficacy, having applicable knowledge and critical analysis about the issues at hand, and their sense of being part of a greater collective of farmworkers with shared problems and interests.³⁹

36. Williams Jr, Q., Ochsner, M., Marshall, E., Kimmel, L., & Martino, C. (2010). The impact of a peer-led participatory health and safety training program for Latino day laborers in construction. *Journal of safety research*, 41(3), 253-261.

37. De Souza, R. A., Hecker, S., De Castro, A. B., Stern, H., Hernandez, A., & Seixas, N. (2012). Novel approaches to development, delivery and evaluation of a peer-led occupational safety training for Latino day laborers. *New solutions: a journal of environmental and occupational health policy*, 22(3), 387-405.

38. West et al., 2020; Pinto, S., West, Z., & Wagner, K. C. (2021). Healing into Power: An Approach for Confronting Workplace Sexual Violence. *New Labor Forum*, 30(2), 42-52.

39. Booker, V. K., Robinson, J. G., Kay, B. J., Najera, L. G., & Stewart, G. (1997). Changes in empowerment: Effects of participation in a lay health promotion program. *Health Education & Behavior*, 24(4), 452-464.

Outside of these workplace safety and health training programs, the literature on peer training programs designed to disseminate workers' rights information or to spur worker organizing describes important case studies, but is limited and mostly does not include formal evaluations of the programs. For example, Margolies (2008) and Grabelsky (1996) both describe union-run peer education programs that were seen as highly effective in increasing activism and organizing within the unions; both programs were developed through partnerships between unions and Cornell University's ILR School.⁴⁰ Asbed and Hitov (2017) describe the peer education portion of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW)'s Fair Food Program, which has reached tens of thousands of workers with education about their rights and which they suggest leads to significant usage of the program's complaint resolution process and supports workers in preventing abuses.⁴¹ Takasaki et al. (2022) find that workers' rights education increased the likelihood that day laborers in Austin, Texas would report wage theft through formal and informal channels.⁴²

Traditional workforce development programs are quite distinct from the We Rise Nanny Training in design, scope, and aims, particularly given that most workforce development programs prioritize serving employers' needs rather than the needs of trainees; this often has the effect of strengthening employers' position in the labor market instead of

building workers' power.⁴³ However, Naidu and Sojourner (2020) point to a promising new model of sectoral workforce development programs, some of which are designed in partnership with labor unions and nonprofit organizations, arguing that such programs can help to shift power toward workers. These programs go beyond training, also including extensive prescreening of participants, established relationships with prospective employers, a referral system for job placement, and retention coaching for participants. Evaluations of such programs carried out by Maguire et al. (2010) using randomized control trials showed strong outcomes for workers in earnings and employment.⁴⁴ It is not clear to what extent these strong outcomes derive from the training versus the wraparound services (such as job placement and retention coaching);⁴⁵ the We Rise Nanny Training program is not comparable in that it does not have systems for job placement and retention coaching (although the Beyond Care Cooperative does connect its members with job interviews). Despite the distinct design of the We Rise Nanny Training, this brief scan of evaluations of peer education programs for workers and sectoral workforce development programs has highlighted different design elements and outcomes we will be evaluating in assessing the impact of We Rise.

40. Margolies, K. (2008). Invisible No More: The Role of Training and Education in Increasing Union Activism of Chinese Home Care Workers in Local 1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East (UHE). *Labor Studies Journal*, 33(1), 81-92; Grabelsky, J. (1995). Lighting the Spark: COMET Program Mobilizes the Ranks for Construction Organizing. *Labor Studies Journal*, 20(4).

41. Asbed, G., & Hitov, S. (2017). Preventing forced labor in corporate supply chains: The fair food program and worker-driven social responsibility. *Wake forest l. rev.*, 52, 497.

42. Takasaki, K., Kammer-Kerwick, M., Yundt-Pacheco, M., & Torres, M. I. (2022). Wage Theft and Work Safety: Immigrant Day Labor Jobs and the Potential for Worker Rights Training at Worker Centers. *Journal of Labor and Society*, 25(2), 237-276.

43. Naidu, S., & Sojourner, A. (2020). Employer power and employee skills: Understanding workforce training programs in the context of labor market power. Roosevelt Institute.

44. Maguire, Sheila, et al. 2010. *Tuning In to Local Labor Markets: Findings from the Sectoral Employment Impact Study*. Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures Research. Retrieved from: <https://ppv.issuelab.org/resources/5101/5101.pdf>

45. Naidu & Sojourner, 2020

METHODS

The objectives of this evaluation of the We Rise Nanny Training program were (1) to understand the degree to which the We Rise program had a meaningful impact on domestic workers' workplace conditions and their leadership development, and (2) to better understand how the design of the We Rise program enabled its success or pointed toward challenges. To answer these research questions, the Worker Institute research team implemented a longitudinal mixed-methods research design that included baseline, midline, and endline surveys with training participants; semi-structured qualitative interviews conducted at two points in time with a subsample of training participants; focus groups with peer trainers; and semi-structured qualitative interviews with We Rise coordinators and staff of the partner organizations. The research was conducted by the Worker Institute at Cornell University ILR School, in partnership with Adhikaar, Beyond Care, Carroll Gardens Association (CGA), Community Resource Center (CRC), and the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA).

Table 1 summarizes the timeline and methods used for data collection in this study. The training participants included in the study were nannies who completed the We Rise Nanny Training Program at four different organizations in the summer of 2022: Carroll Gardens Association

(CGA); Adhikaar; Beyond Care; and the Community Resource Center (CRC).

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design incorporated community-based participatory research (CBPR) methods as a framework for engaging in collaborative research with those who are directly affected by the subject of study.⁴⁶ Collaborative and participatory research methods aim to challenge the conventional power dynamics of knowledge creation, amplify the experience and insights of those with limited sociopolitical power, and use research as a tool for social change. The community-based participatory research approach was well suited to our study, given that the framework of CBPR emerges from the same principles as popular education and peer education—the very subject of our evaluation. Within the coalition of organizations involved in We Rise, the partner organizations helped to inform research design, were deeply involved in the data collection process, and provided critical context for interpreting the data. Because of the “leadership ladder” that is built into the

46. See Wallerstein, N. & Bonnie, D. (2018). “The theoretical, historical and practice roots of CBPR.” In Wallerstein, N., Duran, B., Oetzel, J.G. & Minkler, M. (Eds). *Community-based participatory research for health: Advancing social and health equity*. (Third edition.) San Francisco, CA.

Table 1. Methods Used for Data Gathering

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Baseline survey | Distributed to We Rise Nanny Training participants at the start of the training (June to August 2022) |
| Midline survey | Distributed to same group of participants 6 months after initial training (early 2023) |
| Endline survey | Distributed to same group of participants 1 year after initial training (June to August 2023) |
| Qualitative interviews | Select participants from different partner organizations were interviewed twice; the first round of interviews was conducted during the 8-month period after the training, and the second round of interviews was conducted 12 to 18 months after the training. |
| Qualitative interviews | We Rise captains and staff coordinators were interviewed to explore how the We Rise program supports their organizing and advocacy strategies, and to understand successes and challenges of the We Rise infrastructure. |
| Focus groups | Focus groups were conducted with lead peer trainers to understand how becoming a We Rise trainer has affected their leadership development. |

We Rise Training Program (described in more detail in this report), the individuals responsible for coordinating We Rise at each partner organization—the We Rise “captains”—include full-time nannies, former nannies who have become staff, and other staff. In addition to supporting the research process, a number of these captains and staff also participated in the research as interviewees or focus group participants. The participatory research methods were therefore necessary to effectively carry out our evaluation study while also reflecting the principles that define the program under study.

It is also worth noting that the Worker Institute has played a central role in incubating the We Rise Nanny Training program—designing curricula, coordinating the coalition of organizations participating in We Rise, and providing certificates both to nannies who complete the We Rise Nanny Training at a partner organization and to nannies who complete the “training of trainers”

to become We Rise peer trainers. Given this long history with the program, the Worker Institute sought to evaluate the impact of We Rise in order to more effectively adapt the training program as it expands within existing partner organizations and to new partner organizations and states. The Worker Institute research team leading this evaluation study is not involved in the design and coordination of the We Rise Nanny Training program. However, the Worker Institute staff who *are* involved in the design and coordination of We Rise were consulted by the evaluation research team about research design, data collection, and analysis, and the research team conducted informational interviews with them as well.

To address our evaluation objectives and answer our questions, the research team adopted a “one group before and after” design. The underlying logic of this kind of evaluation design for outcome studies such as this is to compare training participants before they receive the

training with their situation afterward, in order to see if participants have made gains on key outcomes. The challenge with the one-group-before-and-after evaluation design is ruling out rival explanations (other than the training) for any changes in outcomes that are observed. In the absence of a randomized experimental design, conditions other than the program can be responsible for observed outcomes; maturation or outside events can contribute toward whatever changes were observed. An experimental design was not deemed feasible for our study; however, triangulation of the data enabled us to be more confident in attributing observed outcomes to the training program.

Triangulation is the use of two or more different measures of the same variable(s) to ensure accurate measurement,⁴⁷ with the objective of ensuring similar results across these different measures. The mixed-methods research design enabled us to triangulate the data while also adding depth to our understanding of the research questions. When the measures are based on different methods of survey questions, qualitative interviews, and focus groups, we can be more confident in the validity of each measure. Our research also triangulated data from different vantage points, including data from training participants, peer trainers, and captains, staff, and coordinators of the We Rise program, to enable robust understanding of the data and ensure validity of the findings.

The longitudinal design of the study was important in allowing the research team to evaluate key measures and outcomes that may take time to be realized. For example, a nanny might not be able to initiate negotiations for a salary raise immediately after the training; similarly, increasing participation in organizing activities may happen at an irregular pace over

We Rise captains and staff at partner organizations played a critical role in data collection, as they strategized with the research team around best practices for recruitment and carried out extensive outreach to training participants.

the course of a year. Further, the inclusion of a midline survey also enabled researchers to understand how soon key outcomes materialized as well as whether certain measures began to wane during the period of study.

PARTICIPANT SURVEYS

Based on insights from the 2016 Cornell Employability Survey,⁴⁸ a review of the literature, and input from We Rise stakeholders, a 36-question online survey was developed to provide a baseline profile of the training participants. The survey asked respondents to

47. Brewer, J. and Hunter, A. (2005). *Foundations of Multimethod Research: Synthesizing Styles*. London: Sage.

48. See “Appendix A: Methods” for more details on the 2016 Cornell Employability Survey.

provide information about their wages, benefits, and other working conditions; their engagement in information sharing and activities with worker organizations; and basic demographic information. The baseline survey was administered using Qualtrics to all training participants prior to or in the initial days of starting the training. Of the 152 participants across the four organizations who participated in the training during this period, 119 volunteered to take the baseline survey. The survey was administered in English, Spanish, and Nepali. Participants were sent a Qualtrics link to their phones and email addresses. Participants who had trouble reading or understanding how to fill out the survey questions received assistance from researchers and organization staff. The survey was voluntary, and participants were made aware of their right to anonymity and confidentiality; respondents provided the last four digits of their phone number as an identifier but did not provide names or other contact information.

The midline and endline survey instruments were identical to the baseline, barring minor changes to wording to reflect the timing of the survey (present tense versus past tense) and in certain cases, the addition of a “none” response option.⁴⁹ The midline survey was administered six months after the baseline was administered, and the endline survey was administered six months after the midline was administered.

Table 2.
Participant Surveys: Sample size

| | Baseline | Midline | Endline |
|------------------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| Number of respondents | 119 | 87 | 76 |

49. These changes are discussed in the analysis; see “Findings: Impact on Participants.”

As described above, the We Rise captains and staff at partner organizations played a critical role in data collection, as they strategized with the research team around best practices for recruitment and carried out extensive outreach to training participants inviting them to take the baseline, midline, and endline surveys. These captains and staff were essential in obtaining our sample and maintaining a high response rate by sending out reminders and making telephone calls to ask if nannies would take (or retake) the survey; the trust they had established with training participants was important in facilitating this data collection. Staff and captains were also instrumental in administering the survey to nannies who faced literacy challenges or challenges in filling out the survey online, as they administered the survey to these participants verbally. In one case, to support a higher response rate and to address some of these challenges efficiently, Adhikaar hosted a survey event at their office with the Worker Institute lead researcher. At the event, the lead researcher gave a presentation explaining the research project further and worked with Adhikaar captains and staff to support respondents in filling out the midline survey.

QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION

PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted in Spanish, English, and Nepali with a subsample of those nannies who participated in the baseline survey.⁵⁰ These interviews explored participants’ workplace experience and job terms, their experience with negotiation and speaking up at work, their views on the We Rise Nanny Training, and their engagement with worker organizations. Specifically, interview questions explored whether and

50. Adhikaar staff provided interpretation from Nepali to English for three participant interviewees.

how the We Rise Nanny Training affected participants' experience in these areas. Interviews were conducted at two points in time, in line with the longitudinal design of the study; the first round of interviews was conducted during the eight-month period after the training, and the second round of interviews was conducted 12 to 18 months after the training. Interviews ranged in length from 20 minutes to 90 minutes, with most interviews being around 45 minutes. The 14 participant interviewees were selected to ensure representation of all participating organizations' training cohorts in the summer of 2022: five interviewees completed the training at the Carroll Gardens Association (CGA), representing two English-speaking cohorts and two Spanish-speaking cohorts; four interviewees completed the training at Adhikaar in Nepali; three interviewees completed the training at the Community Resource Center (CRC) in Spanish; and two interviewees completed the training at Beyond Care in Spanish. The interviews allowed researchers to explore the subject matter in greater depth, providing rich detail and context that deepened our understanding of the survey findings.

Table 3.
Qualitative Data: Sample Size

| | Number of respondents | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Participant interviews | 14 (midline) | 12 (endline) |
| Peer trainer focus group | 10 | |
| Interviews with coordinators, captains, and staff | 8 | |

PEER TRAINER FOCUS GROUPS

Given the centrality of the peer education design of the We Rise Nanny Training, focus groups were conducted with peer trainers in order to understand their perspectives on We Rise and the impact of being a peer trainer on their own leadership development. The focus groups included 10 lead peer trainers, drawn from CGA, Adhikaar, Beyond Care, and CRC. One focus group was conducted in English with Nepali interpretation, and one focus group was conducted in Spanish.

INTERVIEWS WITH WE RISE COORDINATORS, CAPTAINS & STAFF

Semi-structured qualitative interviews were also conducted with We Rise coordinators, captains, and staff from partner organizations. These interviews explored how the We Rise program operates at their organization, how it integrates with the organizations' broader organizing and advocacy strategies, and what they viewed as the benefits and challenges of implementing the We Rise program.

For further details on the research design and administration, delivery of the training, sampling, statistical methods, and qualitative data analysis, please see "Appendix A: Methods."

FINDINGS: IMPACT ON PARTICIPANTS

DEMOGRAPHICS⁵¹

The We Rise Nanny Training participants in our survey sample were overwhelmingly immigrant women of color, with 100% identifying as female and 91% as foreign-born. The predominant racial/ethnic backgrounds of respondents included Latina/x (55%), Asian (15.4%), Black or African American (12.1%), and Afro-Caribbean (11.4%).⁵² Respondents' tenure in the industry represents a wide range—from less than a year to over 10 years working as a nanny—with 35.6% having a tenure of over 10 years working as nannies and 30.3% with a tenure of

less than two years. There was also a wide range of ages among respondents (see Figure 1).

Respondents had completed varying amounts of formal education, with 67.2% indicating that their highest level of formal education was a high school diploma/GED or less than 12 years of formal education; 20.9% having completed some college or university; 8.2% with a bachelor's degree; and 3.7% with a master's degree or higher.

All respondents completed the We Rise Nanny Training at one of four worker organizations:

51. 283 responses were received from 147 respondents. Unless there was strong reason to believe otherwise, such as completely incompatible answers, responses attached to the same last four digits of their phone number (the identifier used in the survey) were assumed to be from the same individual. These demographics are reported out of the 147 respondents. Not all demographic measures are stable over time, such as education. When a respondent's responses changed across surveys, the earlier survey was kept in order to better reflect the response closer to the target collection window. If the respondent answered different questions on different surveys, these were combined to create one profile for the respondent. The exception in some cases was tenure in industry, as non-response could indicate that they had not begun work as a nanny, and then a following response of "less than a year" indicating they gained employment as a nanny. Outside of the demographic data reported here, subsequent references to survey "respondents" reference the 283 responses.
52. Respondents were able to select multiple categories. Several respondents varied their responses to questions about race/ethnicity across surveys; this was particularly common with varying selection of Afro-Caribbean vs. Black vs. a combination of the two. Because this question was posed as a "check all that apply," all responses from respondents at any time are included to better reflect the full range of identity that person may have.

Figure 1. Respondent Ages



72 respondents did the training at the Carroll Gardens Association (CGA); 23 did the training at Adhikaar; 22 did the training at the Community Resource Center (CRC); and 18 did the training at the Beyond Care Childcare Cooperative.

As described in the “Methods” section, the 14 participant interviewees were selected to ensure representation of all participating organizations’ training cohorts in the summer of 2022: five interviewees completed the training at CGA, representing two English-speaking cohorts and two Spanish-speaking cohorts; four interviewees completed the training at Adhikaar in Nepali; three interviewees completed the training at CRC in Spanish; and two interviewees completed the training at Beyond Care in Spanish. Among these interviewees, nine were Latina, four were Asian, and one was Black. Interviewees were not asked to report their immigration status, age, or level of formal education.

NEGOTIATION & SPEAKING UP

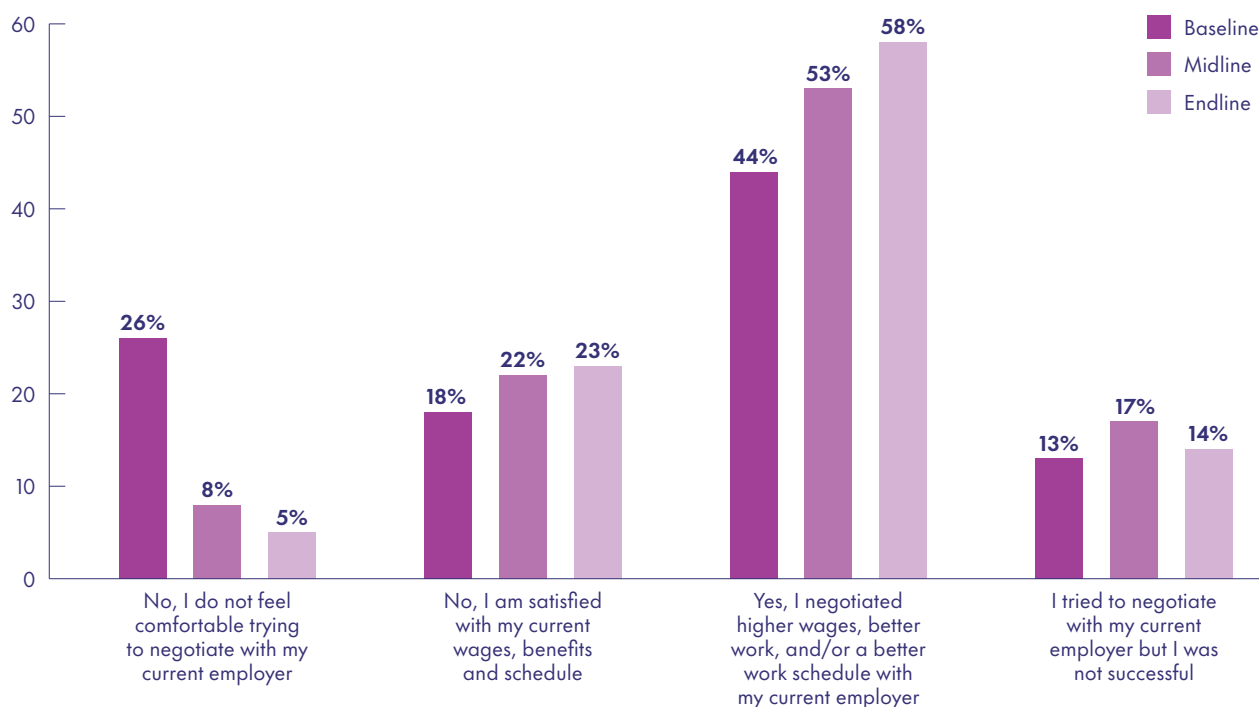
Without access to collective bargaining within existing structures, negotiation with individual employers is a key tool for domestic workers to lift their workplace standards. Like many workers in the low-wage economy, domestic workers face sharp power inequities in the workplace; to address this, We Rise has modules specifically focused on negotiation skills and workers’ rights. Our study thus examined how participation in the We Rise Nanny Training affected nannies’ confidence and willingness to negotiate and their success in doing so.

SURVEY FINDINGS

At the endline survey, one year after completing the We Rise Nanny Training, **there was a significant increase in the percentage of respondents who reported that they had successfully negotiated with their current employer for higher wages, better work benefits, and/or a better work schedule** (see Figure 2). In the baseline survey, 44% of respondents indicated that they had successfully negotiated with their current employer *at any point in the past*; by the midline survey, 53% of respondents indicated they had successfully negotiated with their current employer *in the past six months alone*—since taking the We Rise training.⁵³ By the endline, this percentage increased to **58% who indicated they had successfully negotiated in the 12 months since taking the We Rise training**. At the baseline, 26% of respondents

53. At the baseline, respondents were asked, “Have you previously negotiated higher wages, better work benefits, and/or a better work schedule with your current employer?” At the midline and endline, the question was framed as, “Since taking the We Rise training, have you negotiated higher wages, better work benefits, and/or a better work schedule with your current employer?” Therefore, any changes in negotiation in the year after the training are compared to the respondents’ negotiation during their entire tenure with their employer at the baseline. At the baseline, respondents had worked for their current employer for an average of 2.4 years.

Figure 2. Ability to Negotiate Better Wages and Benefits



reported that they were *not* comfortable negotiating with their current employer; **by the endline, only 5% of respondents indicated they were not comfortable negotiating with their current employer.**⁵⁴

The increase in negotiation was statistically significant between the baseline and the midline ($P=.035$, $V=.227$), as well as between the baseline and endline ($P=.005$, $V=.274$). **The significant increase in negotiation at the midline suggests that many participants apply the negotiation skills gained in the We Rise training shortly after the training is completed.** Although the percentage who reported successfully negotiating did increase further by the endline, the increase between the midline and the endline alone was not statistically significant ($P=.828$, $V=.078$). As negotiation did not continue to significantly increase in the second six months after the training,

54. Because the number of respondents who were uncomfortable negotiating was so low at the midline and endline, exact tests were used for statistical analysis.

this may indicate that some participants encounter barriers to negotiation and/or may require additional support.⁵⁵

The survey also asked respondents to rate their level of confidence⁵⁶ in negotiating with

55. Our findings here focus on all respondents (rather than only those who indicated they were currently working as nannies at the time of the survey), because our analysis shows that, among the respondents who indicated that they had negotiated in the past 6 to 12 months since the training but were not currently working as a nanny at the time of the survey, many stopped working because the position was temporary or their services were no longer required, or for personal medical reasons or pregnancy. This suggests that although they were no longer actively working as nannies for reasons beyond their control, they had been able to negotiate job improvements before their last nanny job ended at some point in the previous 6 to 12 months since taking the We Rise training. That said, the increase in the percentage of respondents who reported successfully negotiating with their current employer is still significant from 51% at the baseline to 65% at the endline for the sample that only includes respondents currently working as nannies ($P=.032$, $V=.271$).

56. For this analysis, some baseline responses were excluded because these surveys were administered after the training had begun; see the “Methods” appendix for a detailed explanation of the excluded sample.

employers.⁵⁷ While we observed a modest increase in the percentage of respondents who said they “definitely” had the “confidence and the necessary skills to negotiate higher wages, better work benefits, and/or a better work schedule,” from 35% at the baseline to 45% at the endline, the increase was not statistically significant (basemid: $P=.329$, $V=.112$; midend: $P=.985$, $V=.014$; baseend: $P=.430$, $V=.098$). Similarly, we observed an increase in the percentage of respondents who reported they were “definitely” confident in “speaking up at work when a problem arises with your working conditions, pay, etc.,” from 40% at the baseline to 49% at the endline, but the increase was not statistically significant (basemid: $P=.474$, $V=.104$; midend: $P=.927$, $V=.035$; baseend: $P=.688$, $V=.085$).⁵⁸

When analyzing the association between negotiation confidence and actual (successful) negotiation, confidence was significantly associated with actual negotiation at all points. Overall, respondents who had successfully negotiated with their employer or were satisfied with their current wages and benefits were more likely to report that they had the confidence and necessary skills to negotiate. However, it is noteworthy that at the endline, 44% of respondents who had successfully negotiated with their employer reported that they only had “a little bit” or “somewhat” of the confidence and necessary skills to negotiate. It is therefore clear from our findings that **many respondents took the initiative to actually negotiate with their**

employer despite not feeling “definitely” confident about their ability to do so. This may stem from a question wording effect, wherein respondents did not feel comfortable rating themselves as “definitely” confident in negotiating even if they did actually negotiate.

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

This increase in negotiation activity is also reflected in our interview data, with **over two-thirds of the interviewees reporting that they had successfully negotiated with their employers within the one-year period after taking the We Rise training.** An additional three interviewees successfully negotiated with new employers within 18 months of completing the We Rise training; **in total, all but one interviewee successfully negotiated with their employers within the 18-month period after completing the We Rise training.**⁵⁹

Interviewees who successfully negotiated with their employers for the first time after taking the We Rise training described a range of standards won: salary raises, paid vacation days, written contracts, additional holidays, commuting costs (in the form of a MetroCard for the New York City subway), and reduced job responsibilities (such as no housework). **For most of the interviewees who reported that they had successfully negotiated after taking the We Rise training, it was their first time successfully negotiating with an employer.** One interviewee who had negotiated a raise and better benefits with her employer for the first time after the training described how the training boosted her capacity to speak up at work:

59. Note that one of these interviewees who negotiated was working part-time as a home care worker, rather than as a nanny.

57. The survey initially presented respondents with the options: (1) not at all, (2) a little bit, (3) somewhat, and (4) definitely, to respond to questions about confidence negotiating and speaking up at work. The middle two categories (“a little bit” and “somewhat”) were pooled for analysis because the research team was not confident that a meaningful difference between those two categories could be inferred. The expected frequency of respondents who were “not at all” confident negotiating and the expected frequency of respondents who were “not at all” confident speaking up at work was less than five across several comparisons. As a result, exact tests were used for statistical analysis.

58. See Table 9a in Appendix B.

“... after taking this training program... I am more communicative, like I could communicate more with my boss regarding anything, like small things. Or, before, I used to just keep it to myself and be unhappy about it like, ‘Well, I couldn’t tell her this, I couldn’t do this.’ But now I just go up to her and tell her what is right. And [...] if we don’t agree on something that both of us do, we come up with a different solution. So, I think this has done me a good thing—made me more vocal on what I need and what I should be getting as a nanny.”

The couple of interviewees who had previously negotiated in some form before taking the We Rise training described how they had negotiated after the training with substantially more confidence.

Many interviewees pointed to the We Rise training as a key source of confidence for negotiating with their employers. One interviewee who hadn’t successfully negotiated with an employer before taking the training described at the second interview how she had recently negotiated with her new employer (a little over a year after the training):

“I was so proud—I was so proud [that I negotiated]. If it wasn’t for that [We Rise] class that I took, I wasn’t gonna be able to do it. I think I [would have been] a bit shy, afraid to ask for what I want. And I wasn’t afraid at all. And especially too with certain stuff they asked—I told them, ‘This I won’t be able to do, that I won’t be able to do.’ And then they said, ‘We can work together on it,’ and I said ‘Fine.’ And we understood each other.”

Sources of motivation and confidence

In describing how their participation in We Rise motivated them to negotiate with their employers, interviewees pointed to **four main sources of motivation and confidence**: the knowledge of rights and fair standards, the emphasis on valuing their labor, the experience of being part of a collective of domestic workers, and the Cornell University certificate they earned upon completing We Rise.

“It was so helpful to be a part of We Rise. They reassured me of the little that I knew, and they clarified things that were wrong. Those trainers passed along their strength to me. The fact that you can complain, and you can’t keep quiet. [...] That also helped me to be braver...”

Many interviewees described how **learning about the legal rights they had as workers—as well as learning about fair standards that went beyond basic legal rights—made them feel more confident and validated** in speaking up and negotiating for these standards in their own jobs. One interviewee described the confidence she felt knowing “that there are laws that respect you” and that she had support. For some nannies, learning that they had the legal right to protections such as minimum wage and sick leave bolstered their confidence that it was fair for them to ask for these standards from employers. One interviewee described her personal transformation from interpreting benefits as “favors” from employers to understanding them as rights or fair standards:

“But I finally learned that it wasn’t a favor. It just wasn’t. It wasn’t kindness. It was actually my right. They were paying less than I deserved...”

Nannies' knowledge of rights and standards did not only come from the formal content of the We Rise training, but also from the experiences shared by other nannies—both those who were trainers and those who were fellow participants. For example, one interviewee explained that she was motivated to negotiate with her employer for the first time after hearing about the benefits that other nannies in the training had successfully obtained by speaking up and negotiating with their employers. Similarly, many interviewees who negotiated with their employers noted how the discussions in the training expanded their sense of what nannies could ask for. This experience of learning from trainers and participants alike stems from the peer/popular education pedagogical approach of We Rise, where peer trainers aim to create a learning space that challenges traditional hierarchies in education and encourages training participants to share their knowledge and expertise. One interviewee pointed to the way the peer education structure of the training avoided the traditional teacher-student dynamic and instead created a space where both participants and trainers could openly share their feelings and their experiences.

The practical negotiation skills taught in We Rise—for example, understanding how the right timing could make a negotiation more successful—and the chance to actually practice negotiation skills during the training sessions (given the participatory nature of the training) were also described as a source of confidence by some interviewees.

Many interviewees also described how the training encouraged them to value themselves and their work more fully, and thus feel more able to “ask for what you deserve.” They described this as “knowing your worth,” “feeling value as a human being,” and asserting “the value of our work”—this valuing of oneself and one's

work was thus also connected to the collective ethos and the desire for all nannies to value their work more. Many interviewees described how the We Rise training experience expanded their sense of what nannies deserve, viewing higher wages as one indication of their labor being valued and recognized; further examples of this are explored below, in the “Pay & Benefits” findings.

Another source of confidence and courage that emerged in interviews was the experience of being part of a collective of nannies through the We Rise training. Interviewees pointed to the value of being in a collective space where nannies could share openly about their experiences, offering both valuable information and mutual support for each other. One interviewee described how being part of this collective experience helped her overcome fear and feel strengthened:

“...to be able to speak in front of others and you leave behind the fear, the intimidation, the nerves. You leave all that behind. And when you are with your group, being a support to them is a beautiful feeling. You feel excited and useful. We feel strong, you know?”

A couple of interviewees described how their commitment also derived from hearing about the difficult situations other nannies were going through. One described hearing distressing stories about other participants' workplace experiences, explaining that those who shared were able to “get it off [their] chest and come out more empowered,” while it instilled in her as a listener a drive to learn and share more about rights with other nannies, as well as a sense of courage to more fully value herself and refuse to be belittled.

Interviewees described **the value of knowing they were “not alone”**—and linked that to the

knowledge that they were part of a broader group of nannies who were lifting standards by refusing to accept low standards. Here, several interviewees described the confidence and sense of empowerment they felt knowing that their own negotiations with employers were bolstered by being part of a larger group of nannies committed to negotiating higher standards, and the knowledge that this was not just about improving their own job:

“[The training] gave me a lot of strength, a lot more confidence. [...] I know I’m not alone, I know we have a voice. I know we have leaders. [...] At least now we have some rules now as a nanny—before, we just walked into work, working in a house. We didn’t know what our chores to do in the house, in the family were. Now we speak [to each other] about a lot of things—‘If you are the nanny, these are your responsibilities in the house.’”

Interviewees viewed the collective nature of this effort as necessary to raising standards within the industry, **highlighting how the We Rise training and other related domestic worker organizing had the effect of helping to formalize an industry** where workers often encountered murky job terms and a lack of clear industry standards. Two interviewees described a concrete example of this, where they noted that employers in the Carroll Gardens and Park Slope neighborhoods of Brooklyn were now offering standard job terms that were substantially better than in other neighborhoods; they attributed this to the years of local domestic worker organizing carried out by organizations such as the Carroll Gardens Association and other allied organizations. This interviewee and another also extended this insight further to describe the sense that **they were not alone in pushing for their rights because they were part of a long history of domestic**

workers raising their voices; here, they pointed to the part of the We Rise curriculum that relates this history.

For many interviewees, ongoing communication with their We Rise cohort was another reminder that they were part of a collective. Many of them were in a WhatsApp group chat with the cohort,⁶⁰ with varying levels of engagement. Several interviewees described being actively engaged in the WhatsApp group chat, with nannies sharing resources, seeking job advice, and offering encouragement to each other, while another interviewee said she was still in the group chat but participated infrequently. Several also described remaining in touch directly with certain nannies they had befriended from their cohort.

Another source of confidence many interviewees mentioned was the fact that they earned a certificate from Cornell University through completing the We Rise Nanny Training. Many interviewees described how this was often a highly useful point of leverage in negotiations with employers, as the certificates were valued by both current and prospective employers. A number of them told their employers that they were enrolling in the We Rise program, and the employers generally responded quite positively, seeing it as beneficial to their families to have a nanny who had obtained certificates. Only one interviewee said that sometimes prospective employers were only interested in seeing a resumé. Two interviewees said that their employers ended up paying for their enrollment in the program, because they viewed it as valuable for their families. One of these interviewees described how attaining the We Rise certificate changed how employers treated her:

“You know, I’ve noticed that when you have a certification, [employers]

60. WhatsApp is a messaging application for mobile phones that is popular for managing group chats, among other uses.

value you more, they listen to you, and sometimes there is no need for us to ask for things, but since they're already aware of it, they'll just approach you and offer it to you. Sometimes with this employer, I'll go over and take care of their newborn and they'll say, 'Can you come on Saturday from 6:00 p.m. until 1:00 a.m., please? I'll pay for your Uber.' And since she is a friend of my other employer, [my main employer] commented to her that I was taking a course. She then asked me, 'What sort of class are you taking?' I sent her a message with all the certificates and the CPR, and she was very happy. When I got there, she said, 'You can sit while the baby sleeps. I don't think she will wake up and if she does, just give her a bottle.' That's all. And they leave quietly, they don't text me, they don't bother me. If I want to text them or ask them something, I do it.

Otherwise, I won't disturb them at all. And they pay me the amount and the Uber without me asking for it."

Many of these interviewees also described how **the Cornell certificate also gave them increased confidence and a sense of pride and validation of their professional skills and experience.** One interviewee described the pride she felt in telling her employer that she was getting a certificate from an Ivy League university:

"Having a certificate from Cornell is big. [...] At my next interview, I'm gonna put [the certificate] very proudly in the front of my folder."

Indeed, at our subsequent research interview, this same interviewee had secured a new job and successfully negotiated a contract, and she mentioned that she had made photocopies of her Cornell certificate to give each prospective employer she interviewed with. Another interviewee described the confidence and security



she derived from having earned this certificate:

“Of course, having a diploma gives you more confidence [...] If there is something that is not right, then I can complain—it makes me feel good, having obtained the diploma. [...] You know that if something happens, well, I have the tools to defend myself always.”

Another interviewee described the deep pride and confidence she felt in earning the certificate and having a formal graduation ceremony, but she also emphasized that this derived from the content of what they had learned as well—not just the proof of having completed the training:

“It’s meant a lot. When we were graduating, we wore our gowns. It’s amazing—to have this certificate. It’s like [...] you see somebody [...] graduate as a doctor, and we feel just the same as them. We have that power. It’s like with that certificate we can get anywhere—but not just with the paper, with what we learned.”

Spectrum of negotiation

In the realm of nannies’ negotiations with employers, **there was a spectrum of ways that interviewees asserted themselves to secure better wages and working conditions.**

Many interviewees described explicitly initiating negotiations with their employers over terms including raises, hours, benefits, job duties, overtime pay, and commuting costs. Yet many interviewees also described different modes of negotiating their terms—including independently adjusting the job responsibilities they took on outside of childcare, or turning down work that did not meet their higher standards, or telling their employer about what they learned in the We Rise training regarding rights and standards.

Among the many interviewees who described **negotiating around their job responsibilities**, some had explicitly negotiated this with their employers whereas others had simply stopped doing certain additional tasks upon learning through We Rise that nannies did not have to accept doing all household tasks during work hours—and that duties beyond childcare could warrant higher pay rates:

“I say this because at the beginning the salary I was making was for cleaning, dressing the girls, doing their laundry... But after joining We Rise—We Rise is to blame, by the way—I stopped doing these things. No, I didn’t ask for more money, but then I stopped doing things in order to make up for the salary I was making. [...] I no longer did the wash. In the past, I would make dinner [for the whole family] because [the employer] asked me to, but I stopped doing that eventually. I used to do the laundry, fold all of the clothes, make dinner for everyone. [...] I would run errands if they needed any groceries. I stopped doing all of that. I said no.”

In this case, this interviewee took this approach when she didn’t yet feel able to negotiate higher wages.

Another interviewee, who was working as a house cleaner at the time of the first interview and actively looking for a nanny job, described how an employer at her cleaning job asked if she would do cleaning *and* childcare for the same rate; this interviewee remained firm in demanding that she would need to be paid for both jobs and would require \$25 per hour for childcare alone. More broadly, a change that emerged in many interviews with nannies was that **they no longer automatically said “yes” to all terms**

and conditions their employers presented. Many interviewees described how their attitude and behavior changed after taking the We Rise training, highlighting how they no longer felt they had to stay silent and accept whatever wages and working conditions their employers offered—they emphasized the importance of “speaking up” and “not settling for less,” and noted that there were “consequences” for not speaking up (namely, not getting fair wages and working conditions). For those who described negotiating with their employer for the first time after taking the We Rise training, their confidence to do so was often linked to this new attitude that they should not feel obligated to automatically say “yes”:

“Because if [my employers] had told me, ‘Look, we are going to reduce your salary because you are going to work fewer hours,’ maybe the old [me] would have said, ‘Yes, that’s fair. No problem.’ But now I see it as compensation for all the work I did in the past. Back then, I worked 50 hours, and they didn’t pay me for 10 of them. So, now I am working fewer hours, and they pay me the same for less time. And I see it as a reward, not a favor. [...] Before I was more like...I said “yes” to everything—that ‘yes’ was just for them, for their benefit. I was just too nice, let’s say. [...] and I feel uncomfortable knowing that before, it shouldn’t have been like that, but I didn’t feel bad about it, I didn’t feel bad at all—I mean, it was something I saw as normal, since I didn’t know any better.”

As briefly noted above, some interviewees said they had **told their employer about the rights and standards they learned about** in the We Rise training. In certain cases, this led to the employer offering a higher wage or better

benefits without the nanny explicitly attempting to negotiate; in other cases, nannies described recounting what they had learned to their employer as an entry point for explicitly negotiating for better wages and working conditions.

Barriers to negotiation

The interviews also revealed challenges and barriers to negotiation that can arise for nannies. Some barriers described were external, such as **when employers refused or pushed back on the terms an interviewee asked for**. In a few such cases, employers had told the interviewees that the benefit they were asking for did not “apply” to them, either because it was for other types of workers or because it was for nannies who work “on the books.” One interviewee described attempting to negotiate two weeks of paid vacation. She told her employer that in the We Rise nanny training she had learned that other nannies were getting two weeks of paid vacation and asked why she didn’t have this benefit; although she initially pushed back on the employer’s refusal, she felt there was a limit to how much she could insist:

“Then the employer just manipulated me. She said that the nannies who are getting that vacation are working on the books, but those who are working for cash, like me, were not getting [paid] vacation. I told them, ‘No, my friends who are working for cash are also getting vacation.’ But my employer insisted again, ‘No, we don’t give it to those who are working for cash.’ So, then I just had to say, ‘Okay.’ Because you don’t have other options to keep on arguing.”

Another interviewee, who worked 55+ hours per week as a live-in nanny, described how most of her attempts to negotiate with her employers were

repeatedly rebuffed or ignored. This interviewee was ultimately able to successfully negotiate a modest raise after the We Rise training, as well as a small modification of her job duties, but the raise was smaller than she hoped for and they refused her other requests, including for a contract, for reduced hours, and for (legally required) overtime pay. **Her descriptions of the barriers to negotiation she confronted provide a useful view into the challenges nannies can face in negotiating amid unequal power dynamics.**

With the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, this interviewee's new job had changed suddenly from a live-out, part-time nanny position caring for one baby into a 55+ hours per week live-in position caring for three children. She found it very difficult to negotiate with her employers, as they were "always very busy" and rarely made time to speak with her, even in the evenings. When she did manage to raise issues with them, they would either say no or they would stall in responding and not follow up with her. At various points, her request for a contract was dismissed, the employer said her request for overtime was irrelevant because she was paid a weekly flat rate, and the employers resisted her attempt to reduce her weekly hours so she could be a live-out nanny again. Her request for a raise was at one time refused, and later she succeeded in getting a small raise.

This interviewee's description of her repeated attempts to negotiate despite the discouraging ways her employer consistently responded may shed some light on the quantitative survey findings above, which showed increased negotiation activity without a significant increase in reported confidence negotiating. This interviewee explained why she repeatedly attempted to negotiate, despite not feeling confident about it:

"I don't feel confident [about negotiating] because when you say something like that, you feel like,

'Oh, what are they going to say?' [...]. So, the times I have said it, they listen to it, but they never respond [at that] time—I know the answer only later when they make the payment. Well, I guess I have to wait a little bit more, right? The good thing is that here we have a group of nannies. So, sometimes we comment on certain things, we talk about certain things, and everything is like a learning experience for us. So, someone will say, 'I work from such and such an hour to such and such an hour. The salary is this much. You don't have to do this, or you have to do that.' So, you learn from that. I mean, I did expect a little bit more [than the \$75 raise the employers gave me]. I have three children to look after, and I feel [the raise] should be at least \$200 dollars [per week]. So, I said, 'Okay. Well, it beats getting nothing. At least it's something.'

"[...] The [We Rise] training that we had was quite extensive. And it was very good, it helped me a lot. In fact, thanks to that, I felt brave enough to be able to talk, although one is always intimidated when they're right in front of you with that look of, 'Are you going to talk to me about that, again?'—and when they make that face, you can't help but feel intimidated. Sometimes you don't want to talk, or sometimes they say, 'I just don't understand you.'"

This interviewee was also one of several who mentioned how language barriers can factor into negotiation, as she noted that she could only communicate well with one parent who spoke Spanish. Two other interviewees also said that

negotiation was more difficult because they did not speak English well.

The intimate, relational nature of nannies' work also emerged as both an external barrier and an internalized barrier to negotiation for some interviewees. In one case, an interviewee described how the employer resisted providing a contract by wielding the relationality of the nanny-employer relationship as a barrier and saying "You don't trust me?" Another interviewee described how, before eventually winning new job terms, she and her employer had a "good understanding like friends"—but that there was also a tacit understanding where they both knew that she wasn't paid the proper rate for the number of children she cared for. Another interviewee's case is instructive: she described her attachment to the family she had been working with for many years and how it felt too uncomfortable to negotiate new terms after so much time in this job. In addition to having a good relationship with the employer, she also described specific ways she felt her employer was kind to her, including giving her a holiday bonus, giving her handed-down clothing, and reducing her hours (when the children joined an afterschool program) without reducing her pay. Finally, she also noted that many of the job terms were good, and she did not want to risk losing those good aspects. She said that the family "stole [her] heart, they were so nice" from the beginning—but she added:

"Of course, we need money to live. We don't live with thanks. But they were so nice with me [...] I didn't care, even if they [didn't] pay overtime."

Here we see how the relational nature of this work can play an important role in nannies' assessments of whether and how to negotiate. In this case, the nanny's calculation not to negotiate was informed by the relationship she had with

her employer, issues of timing, and the desire to maintain the positive aspects of the job.

This nanny's experience with receiving the bonus and the reduction of hours (without a reduction of pay) also reflects a broader pattern that emerged in other interviews as well, where **certain informal job arrangements sometimes offered benefits that nannies felt "made up for" a lack of certain formal benefits**. In that case, she felt that the bonus as well as the reduction of hours without reducing pay made up for at least some of the overtime wages she did not receive at that job. Another interviewee described successfully negotiating various terms but choosing not to ask for overtime pay, despite working 50 hours per week. She explained that she didn't ask for overtime pay because the employer would sometimes show her appreciation by giving her more money than she was technically owed; she saw this as a favorable informal arrangement. **These examples outline how informality in nanny work can create challenges for negotiation, but can also be perceived by nannies as providing informal benefits that they don't necessarily want to lose.**

Among the nannies who hadn't negotiated with their current employers in the first six months after taking the We Rise training, most of them emphasized the importance of negotiation and stated their clear intention to negotiate at the start of their next job. **While relationality and timing were one challenge (as described above), other interviewees said "everything [was] good" at their current jobs and felt no need to negotiate new terms.** A few others were in the process of searching for a full-time nanny job at the time of the first interview, and said they intended to negotiate when they secured a job. Indeed, four of those interviewees had started a new job by the time of their second interview and had successfully negotiated at the start of those new jobs.

PAY & BENEFITS

SURVEY FINDINGS

To assess the extent to which the We Rise Nanny Training affected participating nannies' ability to attain higher wages and better working conditions, respondents were asked to share information about their wages and benefits.

Pay

One year after completing the We Rise Nanny Training, **there was a significant increase in the average hourly wages of respondents who were currently working as nannies,⁶¹ increasing from \$20.24 per hour at the baseline to \$23.06 per hour at the endline**

Figure 3. Comparing Average Hourly Wages Across Surveys for Respondents Currently Employed as Nannies



61. The survey asked whether the respondent is currently working as a nanny. At the baseline, 66.7% of respondents were currently working as nannies and 33.3% were not. At the midline, 65.5% of respondents were currently working as nannies and 34.5% were not. At the endline, 74% of respondents were currently working as nannies and 26% were not.

($t(87) = 3.181$, $p < .001$, $d = .680$).⁶² The increase in the average wage was statistically significant from the baseline to midline, while the increase from midline to endline was not significant (basemid: $T(95) = 2.132$, $P = .018$, $d = .433$; midend: $T(84) = 1.136$, $P = .130$, $d = .246$); **this suggests that respondents were most likely to get a raise within the first six months of completing the We Rise training.**⁶³

Respondents' hourly wages at the baseline varied widely, from \$8 per hour to \$33 per hour, with 9% of them earning below the minimum wage (\$15 per hour).⁶⁴ Among those respondents currently employed as nannies at the baseline survey, reported hourly wages ranged from \$12.50 per hour to \$33 per hour, with 8% of them earning below the minimum wage.⁶⁵

Nannies' ability to receive overtime pay is also a key part of the drive to lift standards across the domestic work industry in New York, as nannies are legally required to be paid at overtime pay rates

62. In order to compute hourly wage comparisons, two outliers (of \$3.50 per hour and \$3.53 per hour) were removed from the data. The study was not designed to be a paired study, so comparisons between surveys treat the respondents at each survey as independent groups. However, there was some overlap in participants between the three surveys. The research team is confident these are true outliers that represent mistakes in the data because there are baseline, midline, and endline responses from these individuals. Their midline wages are much lower than their baseline and endline wages. Respondents indicated that they had not changed jobs, making large changes in wages unlikely. If these outliers remain in the data, the results from baseline to midline near significance ($T(128) = 1.608$, $p = .055$, $d = .282$). The result of a significant baseline-endline increase in wages was not affected.

63. Our analysis here is focused on respondents currently working as nannies, given our interest in understanding the impact on terms and conditions of employment in this sector. Yet, it's also worth noting that the average hourly wage for the full sample of all respondents also significantly increased from the baseline to the endline, from \$19.40 per hour to \$22.00 per hour.

64. Respondents reported wages as either hourly rates or flat weekly or monthly rates. For those reporting flat rates, hourly rates were computed by dividing reported flat rates by reported hours.

65. This analysis excludes 42 respondents who are not currently working as nannies and reported wages, out of 180 respondents (23%).

(1.5 times their regular pay rate) after 40 hours of work in a week (or after 44 hours for live-in domestic workers).⁶⁶ Respondents were asked, “Do you receive overtime pay if you work over 40 hours per week? Overtime pay is 1.5 times your regular pay—so if your regular pay is \$25 per hour, your overtime pay would be \$37.50 per hour.”⁶⁷

By the endline, **there was a statistically significant increase in the percentage of respondents who reported legally compliant overtime pay**—both for the full sample ($\chi^2(1, 160)=7.910, P=.005, V=.222$) and for the portion of the sample currently working as nannies ($\chi^2(1, 113)=10.606, p=.001$). Given that 58% of currently employed nannies reported working more than 40 hours per week at the baseline,⁶⁸ it is noteworthy that 67% of respondents currently working as nannies indicated at the baseline that they did not receive overtime or did not know if they received overtime. This decreased significantly to 45% of respondents at the midline, and further decreased at the endline to 37% who did not receive overtime pay or did not know (basemid: $\chi^2(1, 115)=6.042, P=.014, V=.229$; midend: $\chi^2(1, 106)=.687, P=.407$,

$V=.080$; baseend: $\chi^2(1, 113)=10.606, p=.001$).

Correspondingly, **the percentage of respondents currently working as nannies who reported legally compliant overtime pay—that is, they did receive overtime pay or never worked more than 40 hours per week—increased from 33% at the baseline to 56% at the midline to 64% at the endline**. Interestingly, the percentage of nannies who reported never working more than 40 hours per week increased from 8% at the baseline to 24% at the midline to 31% at the endline. After winning improved wages and/or legally compliant overtime pay, some employers may have reduced their nannies’ working hours to minimize their own costs. See Table 11a in Appendix B for the full breakdown of responses.⁶⁹

The survey also asked participants to select the rights to which most nannies in New York State are entitled; these findings are reported below in the “Organizing & Information Sharing” findings. However, it is relevant to note here that the percentage of respondents who selected that nannies have the right to overtime increased significantly from 73% at the baseline to 90% at the endline ($p=.007$).

Benefits

Respondents were asked, “Which of the following benefits does your employer offer you? Please check any that apply.” Options for benefits are

66. See “Facts for Employers of Domestic Workers” by the New York State Department of Labor. Retrieved from: https://dol.ny.gov/system/files/documents/2021/12/facts-for-employers-of-domestic-workers_1.pdf

67. The choices for response were: (1) yes, (2) no, (3) I don’t know, and (4) I never work more than 40 hours per week. For analysis, the “Yes” and “I never work more than 40 hours per week” options were combined, as were the “No” and “I don’t know” options. These categories were combined because the four discrete categories did not capture tradeoffs that workers might make when they access new rights at work. For example, a participant could secure overtime pay at their job, and as a result have their hours reduced; these tradeoffs were observed in our qualitative interviews and have been documented in other research. Or a participant could have overtime pay in their contract, but never actually work overtime; thus, they too could accurately select response 1 or 4. Further, these categories were combined because compliance with existing employment law is an important objective of standards-raising campaigns. As such, changes in whether respondents’ employment arrangements are compliant with legal standards is of interest, whether that compliance is brought about by reduction in hours or payment of overtime wages.

68. This analysis excludes 35 respondents who are not currently working as nannies and reported working hours, out of 177 respondents (20%).

69. There can be a concern that collapsing $i \times j$ tables into 2×2 tables can artificially increase significance. While the research team is confident that the 2×2 analysis is the appropriate categorization, it is encouraging that there was also a significant change in overtime between the baseline and the endline when an exact test is used ($P=.009, V=.264$). A chi square test could not be used because of cell size.

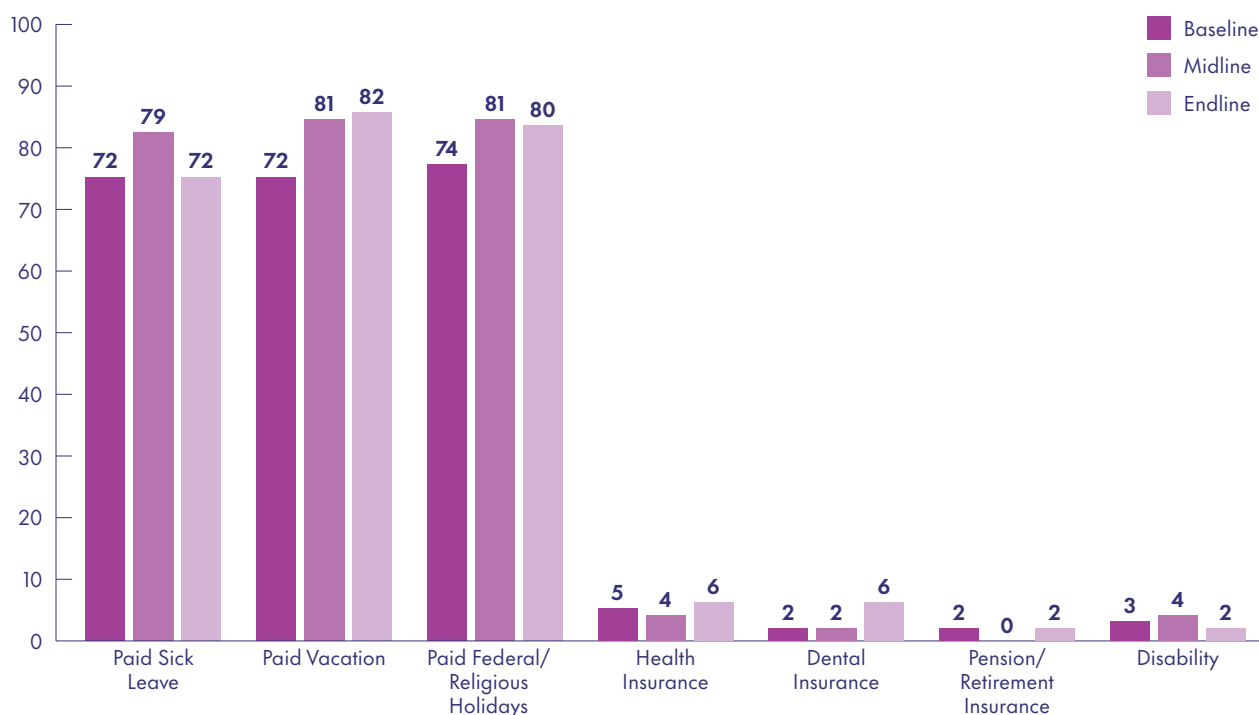
shown in Figure 4.⁷⁰

Among respondents who are currently employed as nannies, the most common benefits respondents reported receiving were paid sick time, paid federal/religious holidays, and paid vacation time. From the baseline to the endline, there were observed increases in the percentage of nannies receiving paid vacation time and paid federal/religious

70. At the baseline and the midline, there was no option for respondents to indicate that they did not receive any benefits. Complete non-receipt of benefits was imputed when the respondents answered the questions preceding and proceeding the questions about benefits, but no questions in between. While imputation can introduce error, this method of imputation was rather conservative, controlling the risk of type one error; it is thus more likely that the analysis underestimates increases in received benefits rather than overestimating any changes. The endline included an added option for "NONE: I do not receive any of these benefits from my employer" to better estimate respondents' benefits. In order to make valid comparisons over time, non-receipt was also imputed at the endline using the same strategy as was used for the baseline and midline. The imputation made a minimal difference, removing five cases where individuals did not receive any benefits. Because the imputed data was more consistent across surveys, the imputed data was used for statistical tests and is shown in Figure 4.

holidays, but these increases were not statistically significant. At baseline, 74% of currently employed nannies received federal/religious holidays, which increased to 80% by endline, though this change was not statistically significant (basemid: $Z=-.937$, $P=.174$; midend: $Z=.145$, $P=.558$; baseend: $Z=-.772$, $P=.220$). The percentage of nannies receiving paid sick leave fluctuated somewhat during the course of the study, going from 72% at baseline to 79% at midline and then ending again at 72% at endline, but these changes were not statistically significant (basemid: $Z=-.871$, $P=.192$; midend: $Z=.857$, $P=.804$; baseend: $Z=.037$, $P=.515$). The percentage receiving paid vacation did increase from 72% to 82%, but again, this increase was not statistically significant (basemid: $Z=-1.121$, $P=.131$; midend: $Z=.114$, $P=.455$; baseend: $Z=-1.216$, $P=.112$). It is possible that the changes made to the endline survey response options (described in footnote 20) increased our ability to count respondents who did not receive any benefits. While imputation provided estimates at baseline and midline, these changes may have

Figure 4. Benefits Received by Respondents Currently Employed as Nannies



caused a decrease in percentages given our conservative approach to analysis.

Very few respondents received health insurance, dental insurance, disability, or retirement/pension from their employers. Statistical tests were not conducted with regard to these benefits due to small sample size and small observed changes.

Responses regarding amount of paid time off showed a substantial lack of clarity around these benefits. For example, respondents were asked, “How many PAID sick days do you receive a year? (0, 1, 2, 3, etc.).” Write-in responses included “I don’t know,” “I don’t take them yet,” “the ones that I need,” and “it depends.” Responses to “How many PAID vacation days do you receive a year? (0, 1, 2, 3, etc.)” were similarly unclear. They included “at least ten days,” “I don’t take them yet,” and “4 weeks and paid half.” While the questions prompted respondents to respond with “0” if they did not receive sick or vacation days, there was a pattern of respondents skipping all questions about benefits and then continuing to respond on other topics.

Among currently employed nannies across all surveys, the number of reported sick days ranged from 0 to 14, with the most common responses being 0, 3, and 5 days; the median reported was 5 days. The number of paid vacation days reported by currently employed nannies ranged from 0 to 21, with a median of 10 days. There was no significant change in the number of paid sick days that respondents currently employed as nannies received at any point ($H(2)=.785$, $P=.675$), nor in the number of paid vacation days that respondents received at any point

($H(2)=.212$, $P=.899$).⁷¹

Overall, it is important to read these survey findings in conversation with the interview findings below, as the survey findings do not adequately capture the complications and ambiguity of how nannies’ benefits were understood and accessed. For example, the survey does not capture the complications of how respondents accessed paid vacation—whether paid vacation time was paid at their full pay rate or less, or whether they were able to choose when to take paid time off.

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

Pay

Of the interviewees who were motivated to negotiate with their employers after taking the We Rise training, **many of them reported that they successfully negotiated salary raises within the year after taking the training.** All of these interviewees secured raises with their existing employer, while one of them also subsequently negotiated a second salary increase 18 months after the training upon starting a new job; while the prospective employer initially resisted her request for \$20 per hour (instead of \$18 per hour), this nanny secured the raise after being firm and pointing to her We Rise training and CPR certificates as justifying the higher wage.

Interestingly, the two interviewees who started new jobs by the second interview round did not increase their salaries, although they secured other terms they previously did not have, such as overtime pay and a contract. One of them

71. At baseline and midline, respondents were asked to indicate how many sick and vacation days they received. However, some respondents skipped the question instead of clearly indicating that they received 0 days. To address this, the endline survey was edited to offer “NONE: I do not receive PAID [sick or vacation] days” as a response option. At the endline, there was an increase in the percentage of respondents who reported receiving 0 sick days and 0 vacation days. Due to these changes, we are unfortunately unable to determine to what extent this new response option changed the overall result of our analysis.

stayed at the same salary of \$26 per hour, while the other negotiated a salary of \$26 per hour that was higher than what the employer initially offered, but lower than her previous salary of \$27 per hour; however, her previous job was caring for two children while the new job was caring for one, which points to the complicated nature of comparing wages for nannies. She described the negotiation experience when she was interviewing with families, noting that sometimes prospective employers would open their eyes wide when she told them her rate was \$27 per hour. She said this was a little bit difficult, but she remained committed to negotiating a rate that felt fair. She ultimately found herself with two job offers, and she skillfully leveraged the situation to negotiate a salary of \$26 per hour to care for one child (when the employer had initially offered a lower wage); she also negotiated overtime pay for the first time.

The pattern of salary raises described by interviewees also suggests that it may be easier for nannies to secure raises when they are starting at the lower end of the wage spectrum, while those who are starting at a wage above \$25 per hour may find it more difficult to raise their salary much higher. For example, the interviewee whose employer raised her salary after hearing about what she learned in the We Rise training went from earning \$17 per hour to \$25 per hour, which was the largest raise reported in interviews.

Interviews also revealed how hourly wages are not always straightforward to calculate, given the informal work conditions many nannies experience. For example, several interviewees described arrangements with their employers where a reduction in their working hours while staying at the same weekly salary effectively meant their hourly wage was increased; in all cases, the interviewees saw this as helping to informally make up for previous overtime hours they worked

without overtime pay. One interviewee's situation was a particularly complex example of salary and hour changes over the course of several years. For the first three years at her nanny job, she was earning a flat weekly rate equivalent to \$16 per hour (without the proper overtime pay rate for the overtime hours she worked). After three years (and after the family had a third child), she was able to negotiate a raise; during that time, her hours were also reduced from 50 hours per week to 44 hours per week, eventually bringing her effective hourly pay to \$25 per hour. In the year after taking the We Rise training, the family no longer needed her to work mornings, and she was able to arrange with them to stay at the same weekly salary despite reducing her weekly hours by more than half. In this case, the interviewee had previously indicated to the employer that she would only be able to continue working with them if she were employed full-time, and the employer then offered this arrangement. Describing the process of attaining this arrangement, this nanny noted that she had intentionally had discussions with the employer to ensure they recognized how important her childcare and relationships with their children were; but she also viewed this arrangement as helping to "make up for" the years of labor she provided this family at a low wage, without receiving the overtime pay she was owed. Although she did not technically negotiate a raise in her weekly pay after taking the We Rise training, she was able to win changes in job terms that effectively raised her hourly wage substantially.

In describing their motivation to demand higher wages, **many interviewees described how the We Rise training experience expanded their sense of what nannies deserve—they spoke of higher wages as a way to have their labor recognized and valued.** One interviewee who was in the process of looking for a full-time nanny job at the time of the first interview (which she secured by the second interview)

said, “Another thing, about your price—if you are going to charge \$25 per hour, you have to tell the employer that this is your price and that if they can’t afford it, then [you will say] no—because our work is worth it, our knowledge is worth it. That’s what we’re studying for [in the training].” Other nannies who spoke of valuing their labor connected it with refusing to do multiple jobs for the price of one—that is, pushing employers to recognize that wages for childcare do not include house cleaning. In speaking about her effective wage increase described above, that interviewee said, “The truth is, I don’t see it as them doing me any favors, but rather as valuing the work that I do.” Some nannies also connected this drive to value nannies’ labor with the collective, industry-wide benefits, noting that the more nannies refused low wages, the more the floor would be lifted for all nannies in the industry.

Overtime Pay

Only one interviewee reported that she received overtime pay before taking the We Rise training; she had overtime pay in her contract and was committed to informing both nannies and prospective employers that nannies have the right to overtime pay. She was deeply frustrated that many nannies do not receive overtime pay, viewing this as a widespread form of wage theft that many nannies accepted and were not comfortable contesting. She viewed the We Rise training as a means of helping nannies improve their standards more quickly than they would otherwise.

Many interviewees reported that they had learned about the right to overtime pay in the We Rise training. **A number of interviewees said they were able to negotiate for overtime pay after taking the We Rise training,** with four of them doing so upon starting a new job and one securing overtime pay within her current job. Several of them had learned about overtime pay

for the first time in the We Rise training, while another had previously tried to negotiate overtime pay unsuccessfully. This latter interviewee said that securing overtime pay in her new job was “tremendous...what I can say, it is tremendous because nobody in my 27 years of work has paid me one hour of overtime.” Two of the interviewees who secured overtime pay with a new job did so through the standard contract template used for worker-owners of the Beyond Care cooperative. Two of the interviewees who had newly acquired overtime pay commented that they had only worked 40 hours per week so far, so they hadn’t yet actually received overtime pay; one had just started the job a week before, while the other noted that her employers were avoiding having her work overtime hours because she had secured the proper rate of overtime pay in her contract.

Several interviewees said they had **tried to negotiate for overtime but the employer refused.** Before she had taken the We Rise training, one interviewee was told by her employer that they couldn’t afford to pay overtime wages; she subsequently secured overtime pay by the time of our second interview, which she negotiated for when beginning a new job. The other two interviewees tried to negotiate overtime pay after taking the We Rise training and were (falsely) told by their employers that they weren’t eligible for overtime pay; one employer said it was because the nanny was paid a weekly flat rate instead of an hourly rate, and the other employer said it was because this nanny was working “off the books.” This latter employer agreed to pay her for the extra hours she worked, but not at the overtime rate of 1.5 times the regular wage.

This interviewee also noted that it was **difficult to get overtime pay because none of the nannies working in that neighborhood received overtime pay;** this was echoed by another interviewee who worked in the same

neighborhood (in New Jersey).⁷² This nanny named a few reasons why it felt too difficult to ask for overtime pay—because “none of the nannies” in that neighborhood got overtime pay, because she hadn’t known about overtime pay before taking the We Rise training at the start of this job, and because the employer sometimes let her leave early on Fridays or when there was bad weather. As noted above, several other interviewees echoed this last point, **describing informal arrangements with their employers that they felt somewhat made up for not receiving overtime pay.** For two of them, these informal arrangements included having their weekly hours reduced while staying at the same weekly salary, after an extended period working overtime hours without overtime pay; for the other, her employer sometimes gave her a tip or bonus on top of her regular weekly pay.

Benefits

A number of interviewees said they **first learned about certain benefits that nannies could receive in the We Rise training;** paid sick days were most commonly named, with a couple of nannies also learning about nannies’ ability to get paid vacation for the first time. **Most of the interviewees who had learned about those benefits for the first time in the training were able to successfully negotiate for paid time off after the We Rise training,** either with existing employers or, for one, upon starting a job with a new employer. Among all the interviewees who negotiated with their employers after taking the We Rise training, they were able to negotiate increases in paid vacation days and additional paid holidays, and at least one negotiated paid sick days.

72. The New Jersey Domestic Workers Bill of Rights was signed into law shortly before publication of this report, in January 2024. However, domestic workers in New Jersey were already legally required to be paid overtime pay of 1.5 times their regular pay; in New York, domestic workers had been excluded from overtime pay requirements until the passage of the New York Domestic Workers Bill of Rights in 2010.

While the survey findings show that, even at the baseline, a majority of respondents reported that they had paid vacation, paid sick time, and paid federal/religious holidays at their job, the qualitative interviews highlight the variation in what those benefits actually look like for nannies. For example, nine interviewees reported having paid vacation time, but the configurations of how they accessed this benefit varied. Most of them had paid vacation days tied to the employer’s vacation schedule, while some had access to paid vacation days of their choosing, or a combination of both. In most cases, interviewees were paid their full wages for those paid vacation days, but one interviewee who had approximately five weeks of paid vacation (tied to her employer’s family travel schedule) said she was only paid half of her normal wages on her paid vacation time.

The qualitative interviews also help to reveal the challenges of quantifying nannies’ benefits; this underlines the challenges of analyzing respondents’ benefits through our survey data. The number of paid vacation days reported by interviewees ranged from one week to five weeks, with two weeks being the most commonly reported amount. Yet several interviewees also described paid vacation arrangements that were more informal and not based on a predetermined number of vacation days. The interviewee above with approximately five weeks of vacation, for example, said that her employers usually went on a one-week vacation every three months, though that schedule sometimes changed; although she only had paid vacation on her employer’s schedule and was only paid half her normal wages, she said she was satisfied with the arrangement. Another interviewee noted that although she had in theory a fixed number of paid vacation days and sick days at her previous job, she and her employer hadn’t kept track and the family traveled often.

Most interviewees who had full-time nanny jobs described having both paid vacation and paid holidays (federal/religious holidays). One interviewee started her first full-time nanny position—secured through the Beyond Care cooperative—and said it was the first time in her life that she had paid time off. While she successfully negotiated additional terms of the contract, the paid time off was included in the standard contract template used by Beyond Care worker-owners.

One specific benefit that a number of interviewees discussed was having their commuting costs covered by their employer, in the form of a MetroCard for the New York City subway system. **Several interviewees successfully negotiated for a MetroCard—or a raise to cover commuting costs—after learning about this benefit in the We Rise training.** One of them was working as a part-time home care attendant at the time of the interview, and she negotiated a raise in her hourly wage, with the justification that her current wages were not enough to cover her commuting costs. Another interviewee pointed to this as one of the benefits that had become standard in the neighborhoods where she worked, through the years of domestic worker organizing happening locally; when she recently interviewed for a new job, potential employers she interviewed with included a MetroCard as a standard benefit.

In line with the survey results, **no interviewees reported having employer-provided healthcare.** One interviewee described the challenges nannies face in accessing affordable healthcare, and said that many nannies receive a portion of their pay “on the books” and the other portion “off the books” to enable them to qualify for subsidized healthcare; she noted that if her full pay was on the books, she would not be able to afford the less-subsidized monthly payment for

“[Nannies are] working from family to family, [but] no family wants to be in charge of our elderly... Imagine if I had to cut half of my paycheck—what kind of Social Security am I gonna get? It’s minimal. And I mean that. You know, that day when we finished our [We Rise] class, there was another lady, [...] we were crying about that. She was in the same position, like me. [...] And I would like to work a lot on that specific topic—I will be working on that because I am at that point [of wanting to retire].”

health insurance. No interviewees reported having employer-provided pension or retirement plans either. One interviewee spoke at length about the challenges nannies face in being able to afford retirement. She described how low wages often prevent nannies from being able to save enough money for retirement; at the same time, since many nannies work partially or fully off the books, this also prevents them from drawing a more substantial Social Security payment. Yet the work of being a nanny is a physically demanding job that can take a toll on the body, and that becomes more difficult with older age.

CONTRACTS

SURVEY FINDINGS

Respondents were asked whether they had a written contract, an oral agreement, or neither with their employer.⁷³ There was a statistically significant change in contract status among respondents currently working as nannies (baseend: $P=.034$, $V=.236$).⁷⁴ **The percentage who indicated that they had a written contract increased significantly from 35% of respondents at the baseline to 52% of respondents at the endline.** The percentage of nannies with an oral agreement did not change significantly, with a slight increase from 32% to 35%. The percentage of nannies without a written contract or spoken agreement, or who were unsure, decreased from 32% at the baseline to 13% at the endline.

It is worth noting that the baseline rates of respondents having written contracts varied widely among the different partner organizations that host the We Rise training; each organization serves different communities and nannies who work in different geographic areas. Of the 13 currently employed nannies who took the training at Adhikaar and responded to this question at the

73. Respondents were asked if they “have a written contract or a spoken agreement with your current employer?” In the survey, “No, I do not have a written contract or an oral agreement” and “I don’t know” were separate categories. These categories were combined for analysis because of the small number of respondents in the “I don’t know” category, and the assumption that respondents who did not know whether they had a written contract or oral agreement were unlikely to have a written contract or oral agreement.

74. The survey asked whether the respondent is currently working as a nanny. At the baseline, 66.7% of respondents were currently working as nannies and 33.3% were not. At the midline, 65.5% of respondents were currently working as nannies and 34.5% were not. At the endline, 74% of respondents were currently working as nannies and 26% were not. Because nannies’ ability to change the terms and conditions of their employment within their own sector is of interest to this project, some variables were additionally analyzed for only the portion of the sample that was currently working as a nanny at the baseline, midline, and endline.

baseline, two (15%) had a written contract. Of the five currently employed nannies who took the training at Beyond Care and responded to this question at baseline, only one (20%) had a written contract. Of the eight currently employed nannies who took the training at the Community Resource Center and responded to this question at the baseline, one (12.5%) had a written contract. In contrast, out of the 44 currently employed nannies who took the training at the Carroll Gardens Association and responded to this question at baseline, 19 (43%) had a written contract.

All respondents⁷⁵ who reported that they had a written contract, oral agreement, or did not know were then asked how often those contracts/

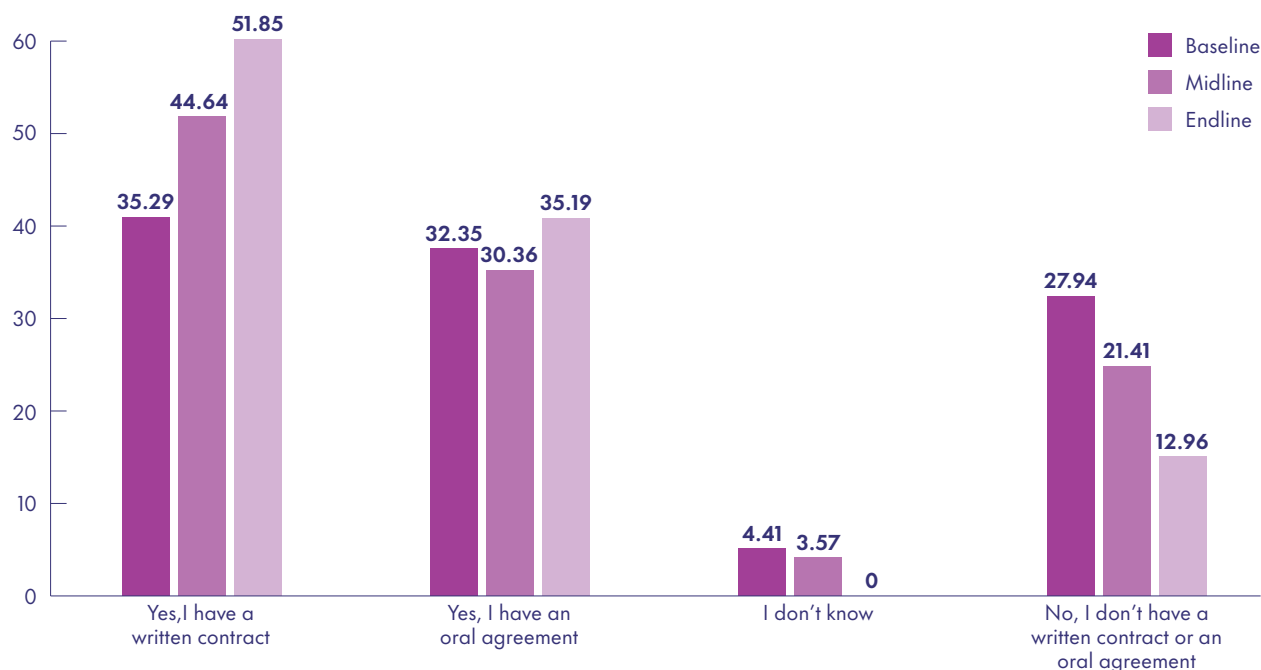
agreements were updated.⁷⁶ At the baseline, 66% of respondents indicated that their contracts/agreements had not been updated since they began their job; this decreased to 60% of respondents by the endline. At the baseline, 27% of respondents said they updated their contract/agreement every year (or more often) with their employer; by the endline, this had increased to 35%. Only 4% of respondents indicated that their employer unilaterally changed their contracts/agreements at baseline; no respondents reported unilateral changes to contracts/agreements in subsequent surveys.⁷⁷ These observed changes in contract updating were not statistically significant (basemid: $P=.661$, $V=.143$; midend: $P=.895$, $V=.053$; baseend: $P=.498$, $V=.161$).

75. This analysis focuses on all respondents, rather than those currently working as nannies, because some respondents had had their contracts/agreements updated in the past, even though they were not currently working as nannies at the time of the survey due to personal reasons or other reasons their jobs ended.

76. Options included: (1) the contract/agreement had not been updated since respondent began the job; (2) the employer and respondent check in at least annually and update the contract/agreement; (3) the employer changes the contract/agreement without consulting the respondent; and (4) that respondent was not sure.

77. Because such a small percentage of respondents responded that their employers unilaterally changed their contracts/agreements, or that they were not sure whether their contracts/agreements had been updated, analysis was conducted using Fisher's exact tests.

Figure 5. Contract Status for Currently Employed Nannies



Our findings thus reveal a significant increase in the percentage of respondents who secure a written contract in the year after taking the We Rise training; however, the increase in the percentage of respondents who had yearly (or more frequent) updates to their contracts/agreements was not statistically significant. While many nannies engaged in contract negotiations, they may not have asked their employers for contract reviews and negotiations to occur regularly in the future.

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

The qualitative interviews help to illuminate some of the nuances of how respondents view contracts, the circumstances under which they are able to get contracts, and the barriers they may face in getting contracts. In the qualitative interviews, our data is focused primarily on identifying nannies' experiences with written contracts, rather than spoken agreements, given that efforts to raise industry standards are focused on securing written contracts for nannies.

Many interviewees described learning about the importance of contracts during the We Rise training, with some of them noting that it was through the training that they were first introduced to the idea of contracts for nannies. One interviewee who had already learned about contracts through a different organization described how taking the We Rise training deepened her understanding of how to execute a contract and gave her more confidence to design contracts according to her needs.

A number of interviewees were able to secure written contracts after taking the We Rise training. At the time of the first interview, at least four respondents had a written contract; two of them had secured contracts after learning about them in the We Rise training. One of them

successfully negotiated for a contract, a raise, and improved benefits with her existing employer after taking the training, while for the other nanny, her employer offered her a contract after she told her the standards she was learning about in the We Rise training; the employer subsequently provided this nanny with a contract that included improved benefits, a raise, and overtime pay. By the second round of interviews, four additional respondents reported having new contracts; in two cases, they secured their new jobs through the Beyond Care cooperative where a standard contract template is used by worker-owners. The other two interviewees had been offered contracts by their employers when starting a new job. One of them explicitly noted that since she had last interviewed for a nanny job over 10 years prior, she noticed a significant improvement in the baseline standards that employers were offering nannies in the Park Slope and Carroll Gardens neighborhoods of Brooklyn; she attributed this to the years of local domestic worker organizing that had been carried out by nannies through the Carroll Gardens Association and other allied groups. **These examples suggest that contracts may be easier for nannies to secure in areas or circumstances where they have been established as a norm among employers of domestic workers.**

For most of the interviewees who reported having contracts, the securing of that contract was in itself viewed as an important improvement; only one interviewee did not seem to place much importance on her contract, noting that she had been working with the family long enough that it no longer felt like the contract was particularly significant.

Barriers to getting contracts

Of the interviewees who did *not* attempt to secure a contract with their existing employers, two described having good relationships with their

employers and trusting them to stick to their word; one of them said she didn't need a contract with her current employer because they had a "mutual understanding" between them (although she said she would "definitely" want a contract if starting a new job with a family), and the other said she would like a contract with her existing employer in the future, but she hadn't yet asked for one. Both had negotiated around improved job terms with their employers, even though they had not asked for contracts. This reflects the dynamic described in the "Negotiation & Speaking Up" findings, wherein the relational nature of nannies' jobs can influence what they are willing to ask for in negotiations.

Other barriers included employer resistance and the challenges of timing. One interviewee requested a contract but her employer refused, saying that the nanny didn't trust them. Another said it had been difficult to find time to ask her employer about the contract, as she was a live-in nanny who never had time with the parents without the children around; when she did finally manage to ask for a contract, the employer dismissed her request, saying they would need her as a nanny for a long time so it wasn't necessary to have a contract. Several interviewees also said they weren't comfortable asking their employer for a contract when they had been working for the family for some time already; they all also described their relationship with their employer as good, while also naming certain challenging job terms. Here, too, we see the relational nature of the work emerging as a barrier to negotiating contracts.

The meaning of contracts

The understanding of what constituted a contract varied somewhat among interviewees. All interviewees who spoke about contracts described them as written documents. Some explicitly stated that it was not a contract unless it was signed

These examples suggest that contracts may be easier for nannies to secure in areas or circumstances where they have been established as a norm among employers of domestic workers.

by both parties, while one interviewee said her contract was simply a list of benefits. Another interviewee who also simply had a list of benefits did *not* view this as a contract, and in fact, her employer had resisted making a contract when she asked for one after taking the We Rise training. One interviewee who was particularly passionate about the importance of contracts also insisted that it was important to use the term "contract" with employers—she had heard many nannies say it was better to use the term "agreement," and she disagreed "because our employers are Harvard graduates, Yale graduates, Princeton graduates, overwhelmingly, they all went to college. And they all know that word. In other words, we are not going to scare them off."

In an industry heavily characterized by informal job structures, a number of interviewees viewed contracts as a form of protection from the risks of informality. These nannies felt that having a written record of the terms agreed upon was important because it provided clarity and helped prevent employers from taking advantage of nannies.

One of the risks of informality that interviewees described was that **employers would forget or deliberately not uphold the terms they agreed to.** One interviewee described an example from when she had recently started her job (before she negotiated a contract with her employer, which happened after taking the We Rise training). Her employer had promised paid vacation days while the family was traveling, but when the family took a trip, she did not pay this interviewee for those days. When the nanny pointed out the error, the employer justified it by saying that it was not relevant because she had only been working for them for a short time. After taking the We Rise training, this nanny successfully negotiated a contract (and other improved standards) with this employer. Another interviewee described uncertainty as to whether she would actually receive the sick leave and paid vacation she had been promised, while another noted that nannies without contracts often encounter confusion and miscommunication with employers around which federal/religious holidays they have off.

Several interviewees also described contracts as **providing a measure of job security in an industry where nannies' tenure is often uncertain and they can be fired with little warning or protection.** For example, one interviewee described how in a previous job, her employers refused to give her pay for any paid sick or vacation days when she got sick and required surgery and rehabilitation; during her rehabilitation, they eventually dismissed her casually and without

any notice. This interviewee (who had subsequently secured a contract in her new job) felt that contracts could protect nannies from sudden dismissals or vague employer statements that they would call when they needed the nanny again. In her new contract at the time of the interview, the employer committed to providing one month's notice if her work was no longer required.

Interviewees also described contracts as a means of providing clarity about nannies' job responsibilities. As noted in the "Negotiation & Speaking Up" section above, many interviewees discussed issues regarding employers' common expectation that they do childcare as well as housework. For a number of interviewees, contracts were seen as an important means of creating clear expectations about nannies' specific responsibilities on the job; several of them noted that this was beneficial to both the employer and the nanny. One interviewee described learning in the We Rise training about the importance of using contracts to create clear job expectations and ensure that nannies weren't doing multiple jobs for the price of one—that is, doing childcare, cleaning, and household cooking while only being paid for childcare; the issue of job responsibilities is one that many interviewees raised.

SCHEDULES

The survey asked respondents about their work schedules in order to understand the number of hours nannies were working on a weekly basis, the consistency of their schedules, and whether participating in the We Rise training may have affected these conditions.

SURVEY FINDINGS

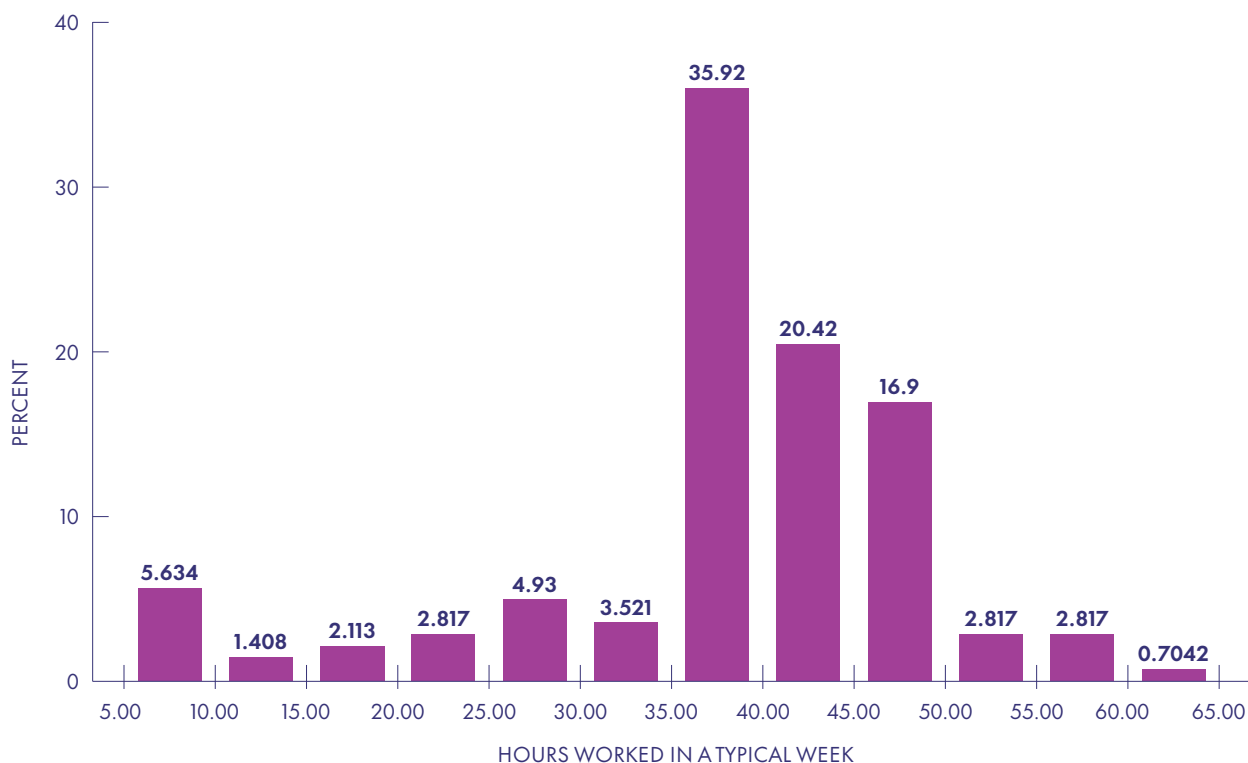
Respondents were asked, “How many hours do you usually work per week in your job as a nanny?” There was wide variation in the hours reported by respondents currently working as nannies, ranging from 8 to 65 hours per week. **The overall average hours worked in a usual week was 39.68**, with a standard deviation of 11.3 hours. Among these currently employed nannies, 44% of respondents reported working more than 40 hours per week. There were no significant changes in the average weekly hours worked between

the baseline, midline, and endline (basemid: $T(94)=1.868$, $P=.968$; midend: $T(90)=-.663$, $P=.254$; baseend: $T(94)=1.403$, $P=.918$).

The survey also asked respondents how many hours they would like to work per week. This was subtracted from the actual weekly hours worked to create a measure of the degree of over- or under-work. The mean of this variable was -1.09 hours, with a standard deviation of 10.38 and a minimum of -40 (indicating respondent works 40 hours fewer than they would like) to a maximum of 36 (indicating the respondent works 36 more hours than they would like). There were no significant changes in this variable (basemid: $T(85)=1.068$, $P=.856$; midend: $T(82)=.210$, $P=.523$; baseend: $T(83)=-1.244$, $P=.892$). Only 43% of respondents were working the number of hours they would prefer per week.

While there is a wide variation in the number of hours that respondents reported working in an

Figure 6. Hours Worked in a Typical Week for Respondents Currently Employed as Nannies



average week, the schedules of these hours were surprisingly consistent. **At the baseline, 85% of respondents currently employed as nannies reported that they had a regular schedule for the daily hours that they worked; 15% reported that their employers regularly changed their daily schedule such that their daily schedule was not predictable.** The scheduling consistency of currently employed nannies did not significantly change over the course of the study (baseline: $P=.334$, $V=-0.089$; midend: $P=.846$, $V=-0.019$; baseend: $P=.261$, $V=-0.106$).

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

Most interviewees reported working between 40 to 50 hours per week. Among these interviewees, the ones who worked 40 to 45 hours either said they were satisfied with their schedules or that they would like to work an additional 5 to 10 hours per week for extra income; one said that she did additional babysitting gigs on evenings and weekends with families that were friends with her employer, to supplement her income.

One interviewee who worked 50 hours per week described the challenges of this schedule:

“I think for me the most challenging [thing] is the working hours, because... most of the time I work 10 hours, and with my commute and all, I’m out of my house for like 14 hours most of the time, because I’m always outside working Monday to Friday. So, I think time is the most challenging thing for me...”

She later extended this personal experience to a general observation about domestic workers’ schedules and their need to work long hours to earn sufficient income:

“I think most domestic workers are always the ones [working] a lot of hours because they get paid less. So, they’re always outside of their home, and we all hardly come home—only to sleep and have dinner.”

Another interviewee who described a schedule of working over 55 hours per week (11 to 11.5 hours per day) as a live-in nanny strongly wished she could work fewer hours, yet she described repeated resistance from her employer when she tried to negotiate better hours. She sought to reduce her hours so that she could safely and comfortably commute from her home instead of staying at the family’s home for most of the week, but the employers resisted and continued to return home from work too late for her to commute, telling her that she had a comfortable room in their home where she could stay.

The majority of interviewees described weekly schedules that were generally consistent.

The few interviewees who described more unpredictable work schedules were also those who worked 50+ hours per week. On a broader time scale, **interviewees described other factors that led to changes in their weekly hours, including most commonly children starting school or new additions to the family.**

When the children in their care started going to school, interviewees had varying changes to their job schedules and terms. One interviewee described having the same hours throughout the year despite the children’s changing schedules, because she was responsible for doing laundry and housekeeping in the hours when the children weren’t home. Other interviewees described jobs ending when the children came of school age, as they were unable to do only part-time work. As described in the sections above, one interviewee was able to negotiate with her employers to

continue being paid at the same weekly flat rate after her hours were significantly reduced when the youngest child started going to school; yet she viewed this as “making up for” the years when she was paid inadequate wages and not paid any overtime wages.

In addition to the examples above of interviewees negotiating (or attempting to negotiate) different hours after taking the We Rise training, a couple of other interviewees described doing so. One interviewee who was working as a part-time home care worker was able to negotiate for more hours in her weekly schedule after taking the We Rise training. Another interviewee started a new job in the year after doing the We Rise training, and she described successfully negotiating with the employers when they tried to put in her contract that she would sometimes work nights. She told them she could occasionally work overtime for a couple of hours, but that she could not work nights because of her daughters; the employers accepted the terms.

ORGANIZING & INFORMATION SHARING

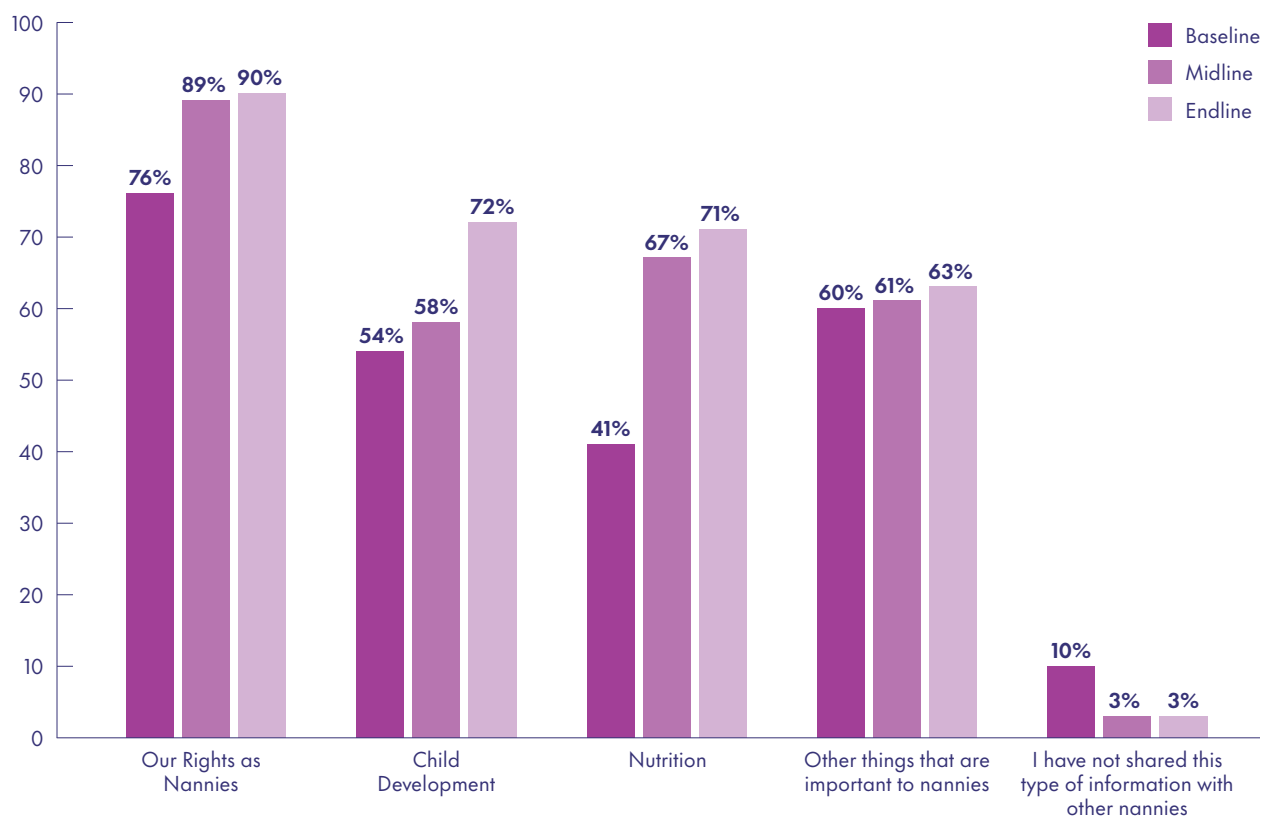
In order to measure the possible impact of the We Rise training on participants’ engagement in organizing activities and other activities associated with membership and leadership, we included questions in the survey that asked respondents about their involvement in outreach to other nannies and other types of activities with the worker center or worker cooperative that hosted their training, as well as their feelings about their own leadership; we also explored these themes in qualitative interviews.

SURVEY FINDINGS

Membership

While the survey did ask questions about respondents’ membership in a worker center or worker cooperative, the research team identified a number of factors that greatly complicated the data collection and interpretation; in light of this, the report does not focus on these specific findings. One main complicating factor was that two of the four organizations do not actually have a formal membership structure, therefore the question of whether someone was a member would be potentially confusing. Another organization was experimenting with its approach to connecting training participants and membership during the period of our study. Finally, the wording of one question’s response options about “becoming a member” appeared to confuse respondents with different timelines of membership. Because of these complicating factors and the diverse understandings of membership among organizations, this report will focus on the activities that have been identified with membership and leadership rather than the reported membership rate.

Figure 7. Comparing Types of Information Respondents Had Shared Over Time



Information sharing

Since outreach to other nannies is an important element of base-building and of enforcing and raising standards across the industry, the survey measured what topics of information respondents shared with other nannies, including: rights as nannies, child development, nutrition, and “other things that are important to nannies”; respondents also had the option to respond that they had not shared this type of information with other nannies. The response options are all related to We Rise training modules on these topics.⁷⁸

From the baseline to the endline, **there was a significant increase in the percentage**

of respondents who said they had shared information with other nannies about their rights as nannies ($P=.031$, $OR=2.705$), **child development** ($P=.034$, $OR=2.262$), and **nutrition** ($P<.001$, $OR=3.477$). The percentage of respondents who had shared information about their rights as nannies increased from 76% at the baseline to 89% at the midline, and to 90% by the endline. This increase was significant from the baseline to the midline ($P=.041$, $OR=2.475$), but the increase from midline to endline was not significant ($P=.534$, $OR=1.093$), suggesting that participants who newly started sharing information about their rights did so within the first six months of taking the We Rise training. Similarly, there was a significant increase in sharing information about nutrition from 41% at baseline to 67% at midline ($P=.002$, $OR=2.888$), but there were no further significant changes between the midline and the endline ($P=.360$, $OR=1.204$).

78. Respondents from Adhikaar took the baseline survey after the first session of training, in which they covered child development. Because of this, Adhikaar is excluded from baseline measures of sharing about child development and of not having shared information, because of the possibility that participants might quickly share the information after the training.

This suggests that participants who newly started sharing information about nutrition also did so within the first six months of taking the training. For information about child development, on the other hand, the increase in information sharing was not significant between the baseline and the midline ($P=.387$, $OR=1.204$), but there was a significant increase between the midline and endline ($P=.046$, $OR=1.879$); overall, sharing on child development significantly increased from 54% of respondents at the baseline to 72% at the endline. Thus, it seems that respondents who were newly sharing information about child development took more time after the training before they began sharing this information with other nannies. This is possibly due to the more technical nature of the child development curriculum, which may make it more difficult to share information on the topic or reduce the number of opportunities respondents have to share information on this topic.

There were no significant changes in the percentage of respondents who reported sharing about “other things that are important to nannies” (basemid: $P=.550$, $OR=1.018$; midend: $P=.444$, $OR=1.107$; baseend: $P=.439$, $OR=1.127$). The observed percentage of respondents who had not shared information on any of these topics decreased from 10% at the baseline to 3% at the endline; however, this decrease was not statistically significant (basemid: $P=.103$, $OR=.240$; midend: $P=.675$, $OR=1.041$; baseend: $P=.112$, $OR=.250$). Most respondents had shared some kind of information with other nannies, including in the broad “other types” category.

The low rate of not sharing information at all, combined with increases in sharing information related to specific training modules, suggests that participants actively carry out the framework of community organizing conveyed in the We Rise training, which relies on nannies sharing the information they learn with other nannies.

Knowledge of Rights

To evaluate whether the We Rise training improves participants’ knowledge of their rights as workers, the survey quizzed respondents on the legal rights nannies have.⁷⁹ Respondents were asked, “Most nannies in New York have legal rights to: [Please select ALL the rights that are relevant].” The options for response are presented in Figure 8. The following responses were considered correct, as they are all rights to which nannies are legally entitled in New York: the right to three paid days of vacation once the nanny has worked for the employer for at least a year; the right to be paid at least the minimum wage; the right to overtime pay once a nanny works 40 hours in a week; the right to a 30-minute break; and the right to protection from discrimination based on race, gender, sex, and religion. The following response options were considered incorrect: “Your employer must pay for your health insurance,” because this is not a legal right nannies have in New York; and the statement “undocumented immigrants do not have access to worker rights,” because undocumented workers are protected by the Domestic Workers Bill of Rights and all New York State labor laws.

Our analysis suggests that the training does improve respondents’ knowledge of their rights directly after the training and that this knowledge is retained at least over the course of the year. The quiz was scored to create a global measure of knowledge of rights; one point was added to the score for each correct item that was selected, and one point was subtracted for each incorrect item that was selected. **The average rights knowledge score increased significantly from 2.50 to 3.04 from the baseline to the midline** ($T(129)=2.145$, $P=.017$),

79. The excluded sample was used to generate all statistics about knowledge of rights, on the basis that knowledge of rights might quickly improve after the training begins. See the “Methods” appendix for more details on the excluded sample.

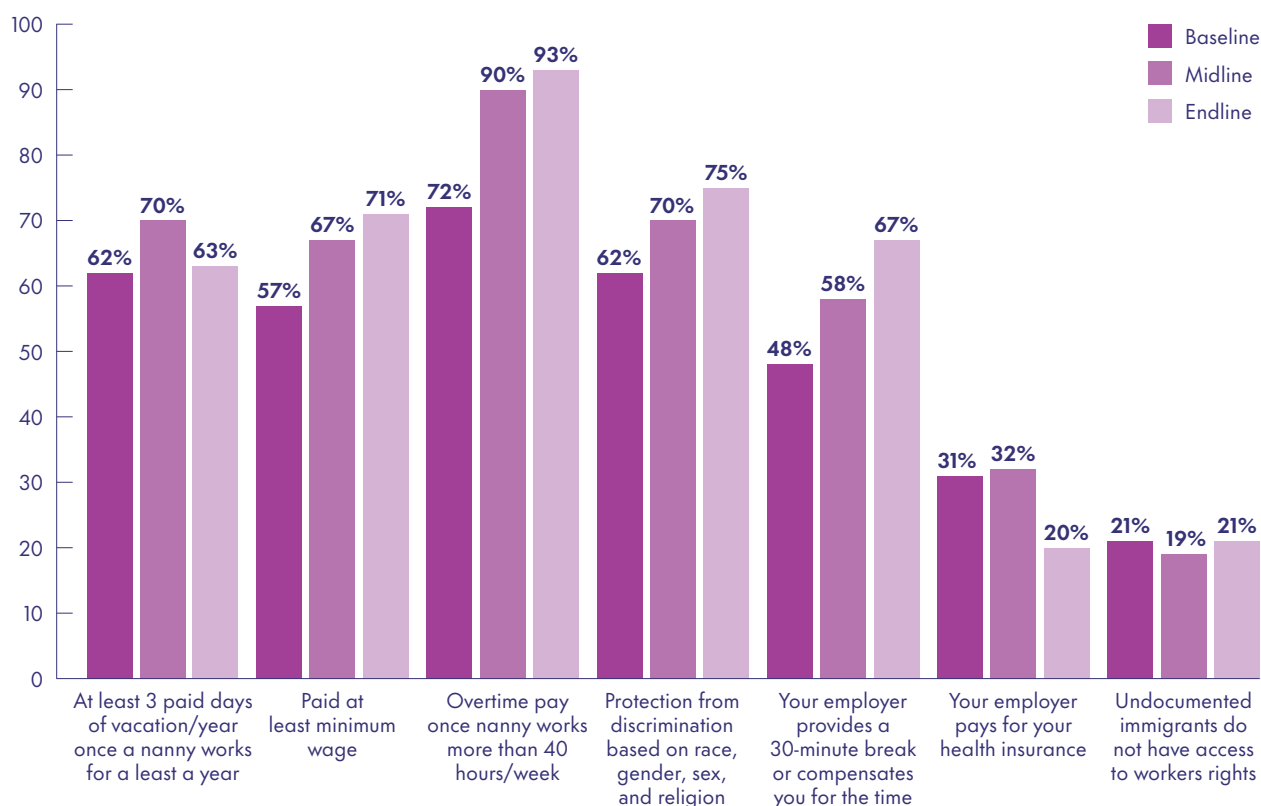
and the increase remained significant at the endline ($T(131)=2.993$, $P=.002$), with a mean score of 2.67. There was no evidence of decay from the midline to the endline ($T(146)=.961$, $P=.169$).

Regarding knowledge of specific rights, the We Rise training appears to significantly improve participants' knowledge of their rights to overtime and a 30-minute break, but does not improve their knowledge of other legal rights as successfully (see Figure 8). From the baseline to the endline, there was a significant increase in participants correctly identifying the right to overtime pay ($P=.001$, $OR=5.333$) and the right to a 30-minute break ($P=.025$, $OR=2.143$). Identification of the right to overtime pay increased significantly from 72% at baseline to 90% at midline ($P=.007$, $OR=3.592$), and then increased further (though not significantly) to 93% at the endline.

at the endline ($P=.364$, $OR=1.485$). Identification of the right to a 30-minute break increased from 48% at the baseline to 58% at the midline, and then to 67% by the endline; while this increase was significant from the baseline to the endline, the increases at other points were not significant (basemid: $P=.190$, $OR=1.452$; midend: $P=.165$, $OR=1.476$).

There was an observed increase in participants' identification of the right to be paid at least the minimum wage, from 57% at the baseline to 71% at the endline; this change neared significance at the endline, but the increases did not reach significance at any point (basemid: $P=.154$, $OR=1.547$; midend: $P=.387$, $OR=1.180$; baseend: $P=.072$, $OR=1.825$). Identification of the right to protection from discrimination increased from 62% at the baseline to 75% at the endline, but this increase was not significant at any points.

Figure 8. Respondent Identification of Nannies' Rights as Workers



of comparison (basemid: $P=.226$, $OR=1.417$; midend: $P=.320$, $OR=1.271$; baseend: $P=.085$, $OR=1.801$). There were no significant changes in selection of the right to healthcare (basemid: $P=.553$, $OR=1.022$; midend: $P=.079$, $OR=.543$, baseend: $P=.104$, $OR=.556$) and the statement that “undocumented immigrants do not have access to worker rights” (basemid: $P=.500$, $OR=.910$; midend: $P=.452$, $OR=1.143$; baseend: $P=.551$, $OR=1.040$). There was also no significant increase in the selection of the right to three days of paid vacation per year, which is a legal right for nannies in New York State (basemid $P=.226$, $OR=1.417$; midend $P=.226$, $OR=.724$; baseend $P=.543$, $OR=1.026$).

In order to evaluate how the training may affect participants’ confidence about their rights knowledge, the survey also presented respondents with the statement, “I am able to clearly identify when any of my rights as a worker are being violated.” The survey initially presented respondents with the options: (1) not at all, (2) a little bit, (3) somewhat, and (4) definitely, to respond to questions about confidence in negotiating and speaking up at work. The middle two categories (“a little bit” and “somewhat”) were pooled for analysis because the research team was not confident that a meaningful difference between those two categories could be inferred.⁸⁰ While there was an observed increase in the percentage of respondents who selected “definitely,” from 47% at the baseline to 61% at the endline, this change was not statistically significant; there were no statistically significant changes in this variable (basemid: $P=.158$, $V=.175$; midend: $P=1.000$, $V=.038$; baseend: $P=.271$, $V=.1420$). As with the previously reported question on confidence in negotiating, it is possible that the strength of the wording affected responses to the

question. For example, respondents may envision needing a particularly high level of confidence to “definitely” be able to “clearly” identify when any of their rights are being violated. This follows a greater pattern emerging in the data wherein respondents’ actual behavior changes more than their reported confidence about that behavior. In this case, **respondents on the whole were more able to identify their rights, but did not feel significantly more confident about their ability to “definitely” do so.**

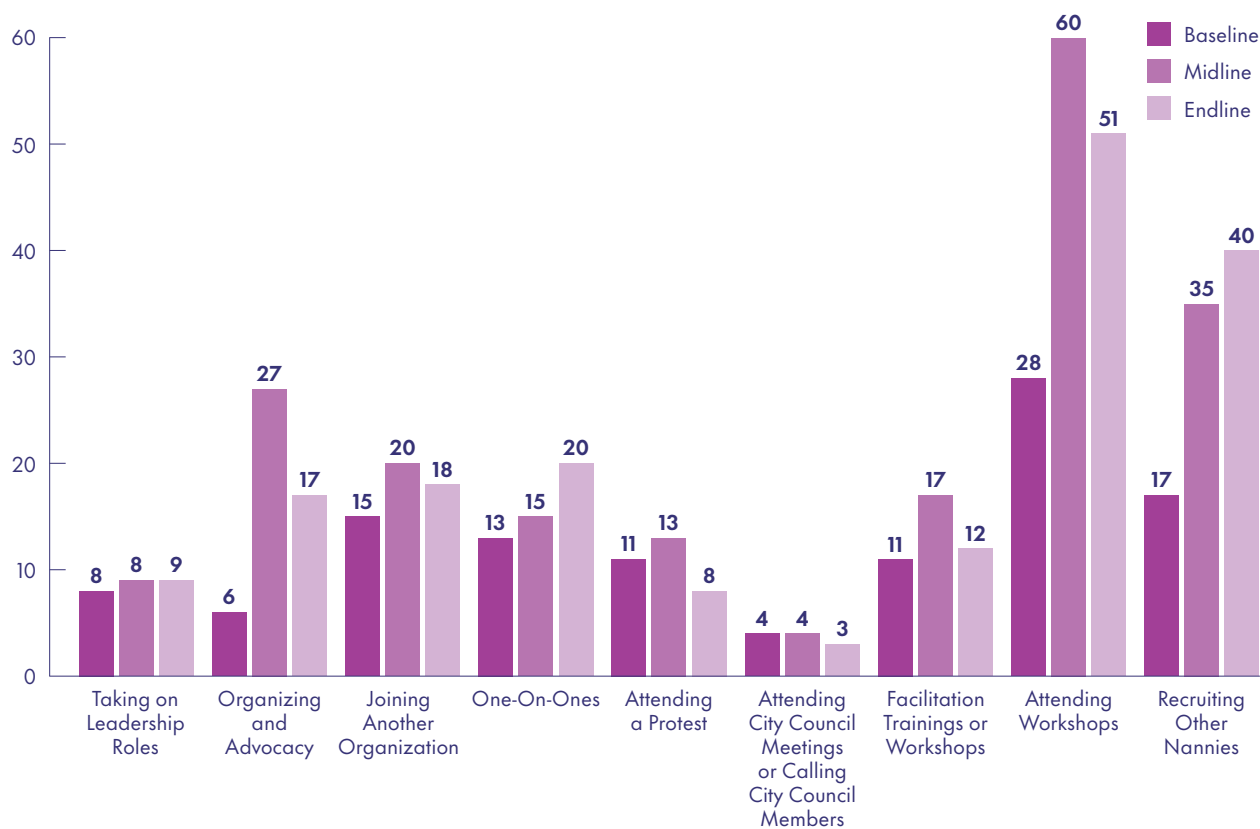
Engagement with Organizations

Respondents were also asked about what types of activities they had been involved in with their worker organization or cooperative; the response options are represented in Figure 9.⁸¹

81. Participants were asked, “What types of activities have you been involved in with your worker organization or cooperative? [please check ALL that apply].” The options for activities are listed in Figure 9. At the baseline and the midline, there was no option to indicate that the participants had not participated in any activities. Non-participation was imputed if the respondent answered the previous question and the next question but did not select any items on the membership activities question. This question had a response rate of 83% at the baseline, 86% at the midline, and 99% at the endline. While imputation can introduce error, this method of imputation was rather conservative, as only two cases where the respondent did not participate in any activities were imputed at the baseline and at the midline. Because imputation was conservative, we suspect that percentages of respondents participating in certain categories are more likely to be biased upwards. At the endline, an option for “NONE: I have not participated in any of these activities” was added to the survey to better estimate participation. However, to better report change over time and separate the effects of time and question wording, responses of “NONE” were ignored, and data was imputed in order to generate the percentages in Figure 9 and those used for statistical tests. The impact of imputation at the endline was minimal, introducing only one additional case of non-participation. Because of concerns that respondents might quickly increase their involvement in organizations directly after the training, responses taken after the beginning of the training were excluded from the baseline (see “Appendix A: Methods”).

80. The expected frequency of respondents who were “not at all” able to identify their rights was less than five across several comparisons. As a result, exact tests are used for statistical analysis.

Figure 9. Respondent Participation in Activities Related to Membership and Leadership⁸²



82. Activity options are abbreviated in the figure for clarity of the figure. "Taking on leadership" was phrased as "Taking on leadership roles in organizations." "Organizing and advocacy" was phrased as "Participating in organizing and advocacy." "Joining another organization" was phrased as "Joining another organization for domestic workers." "One-on-ones" was phrased as "Holding one on one meetings with other nannies." "City council" was phrased as "Attending city council hearings or calling City Council members." "Attending workshops" was phrased as "attending workshops to gain knowledge." "Recruiting other nannies" was phrased as "Recruiting other nannies to attend meetings or join the organization." "Becoming a member," which was an item on the list, is not included in the figure. It was excluded from analysis because the question was confusing.

From the baseline to the endline, **there was a statistically significant increase in the percentage of respondents who reported participating in "organizing and advocacy," "recruiting other nannies, etc.," and "attending workshops to gain knowledge."**

From the baseline to the midline, there was a significant increase in participation in "organizing and advocacy" activities, from 6% of respondents to 27% ($P=.002$, $OR=6.061$), and then it dipped to 17% at the endline; this decrease was not significant ($P=.110$, $OR=.567$). The percentage of respondents who reported participating in "recruiting other nannies" increased significantly from 17% at the baseline to 35% at the midline

($P=.021$, $OR=2.594$), and then to 40% at the endline; this last increase from the midline to the endline was not significant ($P=.329$, $OR=1.229$).

There was also a significant increase in "attending workshops to gain knowledge" from 28% at the baseline to 60% at the midline ($P<.001$, $OR=3.800$) that was sustained to 51% at the endline ($P=.007$, $OR=2.670$), although there was no significant change between the midline and the endline ($P=.181$, $OR=.703$). It is worth noting that the phrasing of this response option may have been confusing to respondents, as they all participated in the We Rise training program, and it is possible some respondents selected this

option with this in mind. As described below in the qualitative interview findings, some interviewees did describe attending additional workshops at their worker organization, including negotiation workshops, workforce development workshops, and English classes. However, the analysis of this variable should be interpreted with this potential confusion in mind.

Across the activities that had a significant increase in participation, there was a pattern of a significant increase from the baseline to the midline, followed by a plateau or a (non-significant) decrease to the endline. **This suggests that respondents were likely to increase their involvement with the organizations immediately after the We Rise training, but may face barriers that prevent them from further increasing their involvement in other activities.** The qualitative interview findings below delve into some of these potential barriers.

There were no significant changes in other activity categories; it is possible that these changes take longer to manifest than this study was able to observe. The opportunities to participate in activities such as speaking at city council meetings, attending protests, or becoming a trainer depend on conditions that may include the timing of existing campaigns and planned actions as well as organizational capacity to support members in stepping into these roles.

In addition to increased participation in certain activities, **there was a statistically significant increase in the number of activities that respondents participated in from the baseline to the midline** (base-mid: $H(1)=-28.471$, $P=.008$). At the baseline, 29% of respondents participated in zero activities, 38% participated in one activity, and 19% participated in two activities; only 15% of respondents participated in more than two activities. At the midline, 11% of respondents did

not participate in any activities, 41% participated in one activity, 23% participated in two activities, and 11% participated in three activities. There was not a significant increase between the midline and endline ($H(1)=7.634$, adjusted $P=.504$); overall, the increase between the baseline and endline neared significance (base-end: $H(1)=-20.836$, $P=.051$). At the endline, 20% of participants participated in zero activities, 34% participated in one activity, 16% participated in two activities, and 20% participated in three activities. These results point to an immediate increase in the percentage of respondents participating in one or two activities after the training. Afterwards, levels of participation diverge where there is a dip in those participating in one or two activities, alongside an increase in the percentage of respondents in the high end of engagement (three or more activities) and an increase in the percentage of respondents engaging in zero activities.

SENSE OF LEADERSHIP

As another way to assess whether the training had an impact on participants' sense of leadership, respondents were asked to respond to the statement, "I feel that I am a leader within the domestic worker movement that advocates for domestic worker rights." The response options were (1) not at all, (2) a little bit, (3) somewhat, and (4) definitely; the research team later pooled the middle two categories ("a little bit" and "somewhat") for analysis because we were not confident that a meaningful difference between those two categories could be inferred.

Overall, the percentage of respondents who did "not at all" feel that they were a leader decreased, and the percentage of respondents who felt "a little bit" or "somewhat" like a leader increased.

Interestingly, the percentage of respondents who "definitely" felt that they were a leader decreased over time. There was a significant change in this variable between the baseline and the midline ($\chi^2 (2, 130)=6.126, P=.047, V=.217$). However, this change was not significant between the baseline and the endline ($\chi^2 (2, 128)=5.154, P=.076, V=.201$), although the observed responses were similar between the midline and the endline. There were no significant changes between the midline and the endline ($\chi^2 (2, 152)=.246, P=.884, V=.040$).

It thus appears that after the training, respondents do increase their participation in organizing activities and their information sharing with other nannies, even if they do not "definitely" feel that they are leaders. The qualitative interview findings reflect this pattern, with interviewees describing increased engagement in activities that the research team identified as leadership activities, yet mostly rejecting the idea that they themselves were leaders.

Table 3.
Respondent Feelings of Leadership

I feel that I am a leader within the domestic worker movement that advocates for domestic worker rights.

| | Baseline | Midline | Endline |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Not at all | 13 (25) | 13 (17) | 15 (20) |
| A little bit or somewhat | 20 (38) | 46 (60) | 43 (57) |
| Definitely | 20 (38) | 18 (23) | 17 (23) |
| Total | 53 | 77 | 75 |

Numbers may not add to 100% due to rounding. Parentheses contain percents.

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

Membership

As noted above, there are substantial differences in how the participating organizations conceive of organizational membership. Adhikaar and Community Resource Center do not have formal membership structures; Beyond Care offers the We Rise training to new worker-owners of the cooperative, so all nannies taking the training there are worker-owners; and Carroll Gardens Association does have a formal membership structure, and was in the midst of experimenting with different approaches to tying training enrollment to membership. Given these circumstances, we chose to focus our analysis primarily on how the We Rise training affected participants' engagement with the organization, as a more meaningful indicator. This is explored in the "Engagement with organizations" section below.

Information Sharing

The interviews echoed the quantitative findings on increased information sharing, as **interviewees widely described their vigorous commitment to sharing with other nannies the information they had learned in the We Rise training**—with

a particular emphasis on sharing information about workers' rights and standards. Many of them linked the confidence they gained through the training with a drive to not only speak up for themselves, but to also share resources with other nannies. In addition to the knowledge gained from the training, a couple of interviewees also described how the training had given them stronger skills in doing outreach with other nannies. Even those interviewees who said they had talked to other nannies about rights and standards before taking the We Rise training also noted that the training made them more confident in doing so, and more confident about the accuracy of the information they were sharing.

Many of the interviewees described sharing information about rights alongside informal outreach/recruitment, inviting other nannies to either take the We Rise training or to go to the organization that hosted their training. A number of them also explicitly said that teaching other nannies about their rights was an important part of taking leadership within the movement for domestic workers' rights. Indeed, **many interviewees described a strong sense of purpose in the act of sharing information about rights and standards with other nannies, viewing it as part of a broader strategy to lift standards across the industry.**

Interviewees described various challenges nannies face in advocating for their rights and for better working conditions—challenges that motivated these interviewees to ensure other nannies were informed about rights and standards. A number of them noted that many nannies don't know what their rights as workers are, believe that they don't have rights, or don't have knowledge about the kinds of job terms they can ask for. Two interviewees said they sought to ensure that "others don't have to go through what I went through." A number of others also described

helping other nannies overcome their fear of speaking up and fear of losing their jobs. Some also described being particularly committed to helping other nannies overcome specific barriers that certain communities face due to immigration status or limited English proficiency.

Knowledge of rights

The qualitative interviews provide some useful context to the survey findings on respondents' knowledge of specific rights domestic workers have. **Interviewees widely named knowing their rights as one of the most important learnings from the We Rise training.** As noted in the "Negotiation & Speaking Up" findings, many interviewees said that learning about their rights boosted their confidence in speaking up and negotiating, and feeling validated in doing so. In emphasizing the importance of speaking up and not staying silent, many interviewees spoke not only about knowing their rights, but also said that nannies must "fight for [their] rights," "enforce [their] rights," and "defend [themselves]" by speaking up about their rights.

Beyond speaking about the general importance of knowing their rights, interviewees generally referred to a few specific rights. **Many interviewees spoke about the right to overtime pay,** with a number of them noting that they had first learned about the right to overtime pay in the We Rise training. A few interviewees spoke about the minimum wage. **A number of them spoke about the right to paid sick days and paid vacation days, although most didn't specify how many days of paid time off domestic workers are legally entitled to.** One interviewee specifically mentioned that employers cannot discriminate against domestic workers based on their immigration status (nor ask about it). While many interviewees spoke about the importance of speaking up about rights and standards, one interviewee spoke about that itself as a right—that

is, the right that workers have to speak up about their working conditions:

“[Before the training I knew] a little bit [about workers’ rights], but not really what was necessary, not what you have the right to—that is, you have the right to everything—to speak, to express yourself... And sometimes, out of fear, you remain silent and do not say anything, and that is when there are consequences.”

Yet there was often a blurred line between what interviewees described as “rights” and as fair working conditions or standards. For example, in speaking about the importance of knowing your rights so employers don’t abuse you, one interviewee gave the example of a cleaning client who tried to convince her to do childcare and cleaning for the same rate, instead of just cleaning. In refusing, this nanny was upholding an important standard that a number of interviewees mentioned after the We Rise training; yet being paid more to do both childcare and house cleaning is a fair standard, not a legal right. Some interviewees swirled together “rights” and standards they “were supposed to get” in speaking about paid time off, fair wages, and employers paying for MetroCards. For example, while domestic workers in New York are legally entitled to three paid vacation days after they’ve been working for their employer for a year, interviewees who spoke about paid vacation more often referred to two weeks of paid vacation as a standard. One interviewee implicitly highlighted the inadequacy of the legal minimum:

“I will tell you, [some] other nannies, they get [paid] vacation for only three days. I say, ‘No, this is nuts. You have to ask for two weeks of vacation, minimum.’”

The interviews thus suggest that participants in the We Rise training are likely to retain and share information about a broader scope of fair working standards that often exceed the legal rights to which they are entitled, even while sometimes referring to these standards under the general umbrella of “rights.”

Engagement with Organizations

Our interviews also explored nannies’ engagement in organizing and leadership activities with the organizations that hosted their We Rise trainings. As noted above, there was often no clear line between sharing information about rights and standards with other nannies and informally recruiting them to attend a training or a meeting at the organization that hosted their training, as interviewees often described doing both simultaneously. In line with the quantitative findings from the survey, **the organizing activity that interviewees described doing most frequently was outreach and recruitment for other nannies to attend meetings or trainings** at their organization. Most interviewees described doing informal outreach to other nannies, recruiting them to attend a We Rise training or to attend other workshops or meetings at their organization.

In line with the commitment they expressed to sharing information about rights and standards with other nannies, **interviewees were similarly enthusiastic about connecting other nannies with the organizations and with the We Rise training.** One interviewee described how she took this recruitment role seriously, following up with staff organizers about registering friends for trainings and to see how many people she recruited ultimately attended. **Even interviewees who found it challenging to become more involved with other activities at their organization described actively**

recruiting other nannies to attend the We Rise training or meetings at the organization.

Another interviewee said that after doing the We Rise training, she took on a formal role with the organization doing outreach with other nannies in parks; she described how the We Rise training made her “way more comfortable” doing outreach, building her confidence to speak with people she didn’t know and sparking a desire to share what she had learned with other nannies.

For around half of the interviewees, the We Rise training was their entry point to becoming involved with their worker organization—they had not been engaged in activities with the organization before signing up for the We Rise training. Other interviewees had attended meetings, events, and/or rallies with the organizations before signing up for We Rise; one had been taking “English for Empowerment” classes at her organization (Adhikaar) prior to joining We Rise.

Regarding other organizing activities, many interviewees said they attended regular meetings for domestic workers at their organization. Around half of them had started attending the meetings before doing the We Rise training, while the others started attending meetings after doing the We Rise training, even if they weren’t always able to attend regularly.

A number of interviewees also described attending organizing or educational events at their organization, as well as attending rallies and protests. One interviewee had never participated in organizing activities like these before she did the We Rise training and became a member of the host worker organization; then in the year after taking the training, she joined various rallies and marches with the organization. She described her motivation to participate as stemming from both the happiness she

derived from collective action and her sense of commitment to the organization:

“Yes, they are really helping me out a lot and I am very grateful. I have gained more knowledge. And I always tell them, if they ever need anything that I can help with, I am available. [...]

[When I participate in marches and campaigns] I feel very excited, yes. I feel happy when [new laws we’re campaigning for] are approved. I feel better, you know? This way, things are not in vain, right? These marches, these talks...so that others hear our voice, and we can be heard by those in power.”

Several interviewees expressed an interest in becoming a We Rise peer trainer, and one interviewee took the significant step of doing so after she completed the We Rise training. This interviewee described overcoming her insecurity when she was invited to become a trainer:

“I never imagined [I could become a trainer]—I never thought about it because I didn’t know about any of this. I always imagined that what I could do was to gather children and read them stories in Spanish, sing to them, things like they do in the parks, but I never imagined being a trainer—even sitting there taking the [We Rise] classes, I never imagined that. And when I got the call from Doris [Tapia, a trainer at CGA and a We Rise coordinator] the first time, I couldn’t [do it...]. And this time she called me again and I said, ‘I’m not going to say no—even if I can’t [imagine doing it], I’m going to say yes.’”



She then described how hard she worked to prepare for the training, and said that actually delivering the training for the first time gave her a strong boost of confidence and made her feel like she was meant to train people. She made a point of telling the training participants that she wanted to see them become trainers too, emphasizing that sometimes people don't see that power within themselves (as she hadn't) even when they have the capacity to do it.

Several interviewees also described challenges in becoming more involved in their organization, most of which centered on scheduling and logistics challenges. A few interviewees said that it was difficult to attend in-person meetings at their organization because of the long distance they had to travel and/or their work schedules. Two other interviewees found it difficult to attend in-person meetings because of their care obligations with their own children. One

of them described her teenage daughter going through a difficult time and how she had been carving out more time to spend with her daughter; interestingly, she drew a connection between her capacity to navigate that difficult period and the We Rise training, saying that everything she learned through the training had also changed her as a person outside of work. The other interviewee was one of several who mentioned that it was easier to attend Zoom meetings (or training sessions). Even with her more limited participation, she described how the experience of doing the We Rise training and attending organizing meetings (on Zoom) was helping her "learn how not to be afraid"—she became less shy, and more comfortable speaking in front of groups of people.

One interviewee expressed her desire multiple times to become more involved with the organization, but did not ultimately become more engaged with the organization in the year after the training. She described several reasons, including a significant medical issue she was dealing with, her busy schedule with work and taking care of her family, and also feeling insufficiently prepared to take on certain leadership roles. For example, she declined to join a formal outreach committee about overtime pay because she felt it wasn't appropriate for her to do that outreach if she herself wasn't receiving overtime pay (although by the second interview, she had won overtime pay at her new job); yet she continued to do informal outreach to nannies about rights and standards on her own, and recruiting them to the organization.

Several interviewees described a dip in their regular engagement with the organization between the first and second interview, attributing it to time spent searching for a new job, working longer hours at their current job, or being unavailable because of travel. Despite the dip in formal engagement with the organizations, all of

them described continuing to recruit other nannies to attend the We Rise training or otherwise connect with the organization. Another interviewee had stopped attending the regular meetings because they conflicted with an English class she was taking several times a week; however, she had increased her engagement sharply in another way, by becoming a We Rise trainer.

One interviewee was interested in taking on a leadership role as a We Rise trainer, but felt that her limited English and her inability to read and write was a barrier. Another also cited her limited English as a barrier, alongside living far from the organization; yet she also mentioned that seeing that the We Rise trainers were nannies themselves made her think that she might be capable of being a trainer too.

Sense of Leadership

The qualitative interviews provide helpful context for understanding how survey respondents conceived of their own leadership. **Almost all of the interviewees said they would not describe themselves as a leader in the movement for domestic workers' rights, even as many of them said they saw themselves as being part of that movement and described being engaged in organizing and outreach activities.** Many of them described themselves as being at an earlier stage in their leadership development, saying they were “not yet” a leader—they said they needed to learn more and gain more experience before they could consider themselves leaders. Many also said they did not consider themselves leaders but pointed to the ways they were taking action within the movement. For example, one described how she is very active in recruiting nannies to attend trainings at her organization, but she said that being a leader was a more “complicated” and “serious” undertaking. Another interviewee who had been attending meetings, rallies, and events at her organization as well as

sharing information with other nannies since taking the We Rise training said:

“I don’t think I’m a leader—but I’m trained/informed, and I know how to apply the things I’ve learned. And as I told you, if [CGA] calls me and says ‘Come support us, we’re going to do this thing’—well, of course, I’m happy to go, I’m available to them 24 hours a day. I say this because it has been something that changed my life. It has helped me a lot and these classes have been very important for me.”

This interviewee said that **being a leader within the movement for domestic workers' rights meant being very prepared and having a lot of knowledge to share with others so that the knowledge spreads**; a number of interviewees described leadership in similar ways. As an example, she said that many nannies she knew working on Long Island (where she used to live) were being paid below minimum wage, and so she informed them about minimum wage laws and advised them on how to negotiate with their employers; she said those nannies now want to learn more, and that this is how you can make change across the industry. Interestingly, despite describing her own organizing activities in ways that aligned with her definition of leadership, this nanny said she didn’t consider herself a leader.

Another interviewee who was attending meetings, English classes, and other events at her organization, said she did not consider herself a “full leader,” but that she was an active supporter and supported the movement “with her full heart” and intended to keep getting more involved. The aforementioned interviewee who had become a We Rise trainer seemed unsure whether she would actually describe herself as a leader; instead, she noted that it made her feel like she was helping others and it felt really good—and she

emphasized that she deeply believed many of the nannies who were students at her training were just as capable (if not more) of becoming trainers.

Only one interviewee seemed fully comfortable describing herself as a leader in the movement for domestic workers' rights, linking leadership to supporting other nannies through information sharing and outreach work:

"To me it's really great. I feel like I bring something to the community—my sisters out there... especially with those [nannies] that don't have any papers and if they have fear. They don't know what to do. [...] So it's really good for me to go out there to reach them, and to talk to them. And to tell them, I will look for them when the [We Rise training] starts so they can go and learn instead of just taking what I say. [...] It makes me proud of myself and gives me sort of a power, like a big, powerful Black woman. I'm like, 'Yes, I did it... I can do this. I can help others.'"

This interviewee defined leadership in a way that encompassed organizing activities that many other interviewees also described doing with a similarly strong sense of commitment to the broader collective of domestic workers. Despite not necessarily defining themselves as leaders within the movement for domestic workers' rights, **many interviewees said they felt they were part of the movement**, often pointing to **their commitment to sharing their new knowledge on rights and standards with other nannies, their desire to continue learning and building their skills, and the importance of nannies supporting each other and working collectively to lift standards.**

One interviewee described her pathway from feeling insecure about being a student in the We Rise training to coming to feel that she was part of the movement for domestic workers' rights:

"At first I was very afraid, I won't lie to you. I was afraid. I felt embarrassed. I would say to myself, 'Maybe the others are more prepared than me. Maybe I don't really know a lot.' But actually, when they started teaching, that makes you feel comfortable, you feel calm—we feel [there are] people who support us."

These insights underscore the findings described in the "Negotiation & Speaking Up" section above on how interviewees drew confidence and value from the experience of becoming part of a collective of nannies.

Relatedly, several interviewees said that they were drawn to continue participating in organizing and training activities because they found it valuable to meet new people, discuss issues and hear different points of view and feedback, and change their views.

JOB SEARCH PREPARATION

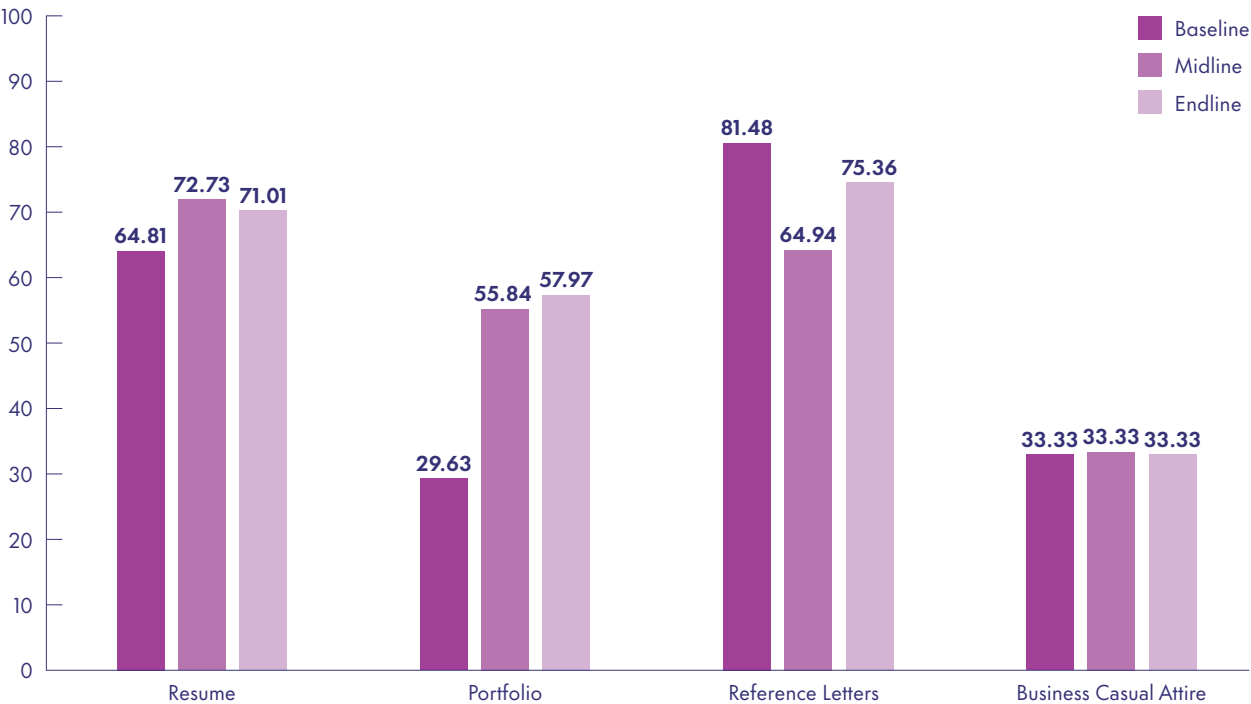
SURVEY FINDINGS

One of the objectives of the We Rise training is to enable participants to access better terms and conditions of employment by preparing them for job interviews. The training curriculum includes a section on preparation for interviews, such as creation of a portfolio and wearing business casual attire. To follow these objectives, the survey asked respondents, “If you were looking for a new job right now, what things do you currently have prepared to bring to a job interview? Please

select ALL that apply.” Options for response were: (1) Resume, (2) Portfolio, (3) Referral letters, and (4) Business casual clothing.⁸³

83. At the baseline and the midline, there was no option to indicate that the participants did not have any of these items prepared. Cases where respondents did not have any of these items prepared were imputed if the respondent answered the previous question and the next question but did not select any items on this question. While imputation can introduce error, this method of imputation was rather conservative, as only five cases at the baseline and two cases at the midline were imputed where the respondent did not have any activities prepared. Because imputation was conservative, we suspect that percentages of respondents participating in certain categories are more likely to be biased upwards. The response rate to this question was 78% at the baseline and 86% at the midline. At the endline, an option for “NONE: I do not have any of these things prepared” was added to the survey to better estimate preparation. However, to better report change over time and separate the effects of time and question wording, responses of “NONE” were ignored, and data was imputed in order to generate the percentages in Figure 10 and those used for statistical tests. The impact of imputation at the endline was minimal, removing one case where the respondent did not have any items prepared, for a total of 10 cases where the respondent did not select any items. Because of concerns that respondents might quickly put together materials after receiving training on how to do so, responses taken after the beginning of the training were excluded from the baseline (see “Methods”). The response rate to this question was 92% at the endline.

Figure 10: Items Respondents Have Prepared for Job Interviews



There was a significant increase in the percentage of respondents who reported having a portfolio, between the baseline percentage of 29% and the midline percentage of 56% (basemid: $P=.002$, $OR=3.004$). This increase was still significant at the endline at 58% of respondents ($P=.001$, $OR=3.276$), but there was not significant additional growth between the midline and endline ($P=.464$, $OR=1.091$). This suggests that many respondents are able to create portfolios within the first six months after the training, but that others may require more support to create portfolios.

There was no significant change in the percentage of respondents who had a resume (basemid: $P=.219$, $OR=1.448$; midend: $P=.481$, $OR=.919$; baseend: $P=.295$, $OR=1.330$). However, the baseline percentage of respondents who had a resume was already relatively high at 64%, increasing to 71% at the endline. **Respondents who do not have a resume may require more support to create one.** There was also no significant change in the percentage of respondents who had business casual clothing prepared, which was 33% at both baseline and endline (basemid: $P=.556$, $OR=1.020$; midend: $P=.548$, $OR=.981$; baseend: $P=.575$, $OR=1.000$). The percentage of respondents who had referral letters was high at the baseline, at 80%. There was no significant change between the percentage at the baseline and at the endline, which was 75% (baseend: $P=.278$, $OR=.695$). However, there was a significant dip between the baseline and the midline down to 65% (basemid: $P=.029$, $OR=.421$), which we are unable to explain; there was no significant change between the midline and the endline (midend: $P=.117$, $OR=1.652$).

Overall, it appears that the We Rise training supports participants' ability to create portfolios, but that additional support may

be required to support those participants who don't already have resumes and referral letters.

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

The qualitative interviews did not focus substantially on preparation for job interviews.

The most common way that interviewees referenced the job interview process was in describing how the We Rise certificate of participation from Cornell University was highly useful to show prospective (and current) employers. As described in more detail in the "Negotiation & Speaking Up" section above, many interviewees described the value of the certificate in bolstering their job prospects. Several interviewees described putting photocopies of the We Rise certificates in their portfolios. Among the interviewees that spoke about having a portfolio for job interviews, two of them mentioned that the portfolio included resumés and We Rise certificates.

FINDINGS: THE WE RISE MODEL

The findings in this section are primarily based on interviews with We Rise “captains” and staff coordinators from organizations in the We Rise coalition. Our evaluation focused on the organizations that held We Rise Nanny Training sessions in the summer of 2022: Adhikaar, Carroll Gardens Association (CGA), Community Resource Center (CRC), and Beyond Care Cooperative. The findings in this section also draw on interviews and discussions with staff at the Worker Institute at Cornell University’s ILR School and the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) and NDWA/We Dream in Black—NYC Chapter. Although NDWA did not run any We Rise training sessions during the period of our evaluation, the organization has been a partner in incubating and developing the We Rise Nanny Training program from its inception.

THE WE RISE COALITION

The We Rise Nanny Training is rooted in a coalition structure, wherein the creation of the training curricula and the ongoing development of the We Rise model is highly iterative, collaborative, and participatory. Allison Julien of NDWA emphasized that openness to experimenting, learning, and adapting has been critical to the development of the We Rise program and coalition, as it works across multiple organizations and multiple languages (Spanish, English, and Nepali) and cultural contexts.

“...this program, it’s not detached from organizing. It’s not detached from trust building and community—all of these are components to what I believe makes the program as rich as it is. Because every step along the way, it takes trust, it takes community, it takes organizing.”

—ALLISON JULIEN

When We Rise was created in 2017 as a peer education program, the Worker Institute at Cornell held a central role in designing and incubating the program with the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) and collaborating closely with partner organizations in coordination and implementation (see “Background” for more detail). A central part of the Worker Institute’s ongoing role in coordinating the coalition was convening the Training of Trainers (ToT) programs in which nannies from different partner organizations went through an intensive training process to become peer trainers of We Rise Nanny Training modules at their organization. These partner organizations then host We Rise Nanny Training sessions for nannies within their membership and community to take the full series of modules. Arianna Schindle of the Worker Institute, who led the design of the Training of Trainers, said the peer education model is central to We Rise because it can create a container for profound leadership development relatively quickly:

“Peer education builds deep roots—it requires that those becoming trainers not only internalize the information they’re going to share, but internalize it through their own lens, highlighting their own expertise, their own power, their own experience, and the value that brings to the industry and the dignity that brings to the work itself. And when that is present in a trainer, then not only is the information communicated, but the power of the workers and the power of collectively coming together in the industry is really felt. And so we can see that the kind of transformation the trainer begins to experience then expands to all the people they teach.”

WE RISE AS A BASE-BUILDING TOOL

The organizations in the We Rise coalition have found the We Rise Nanny Training to be a highly effective channel for base-building—for bringing new members into the organizations to participate in organizing and advocacy for domestic workers’ rights.⁸⁴ Arianna Schindle highlighted how the peer education model creates the basis for a grassroots, worker-to-worker organizing strategy to ripple outward through both informal information sharing and formal peer training. Ben Fuller-Googins, deputy director of the Carroll Gardens Association (CGA), who supports coordination of We Rise there, described how CGA came to see the We Rise training as a powerful tool for connecting workers to the organization:

“Well, we quickly realized that the We Rise training was one of our best base-building and leadership development tools out there. And so we decided strategically that it makes a lot of sense to really invest in this program because it is developing really powerful leaders who are the peer educators, it creates a pathway for leadership, [for] graduates to become trainers. Now, when we first started the training, people would make flyers, go to parks, get rejected. People were like, ‘What is this thing?’ But now that we’ve had a bunch of graduating classes, basically, the word gets out on its own and we’re constantly fielding calls—‘Okay, where’s the next training, I have a bunch of friends who want to take

84. While not all these organizations have a formal membership system, the term “member” in this section reflects their general usage of the term to refer to workers who are involved in activities at their organizations.

it.’ Which is awesome, right? We basically have to do zero outreach—the most beautiful thing ever.”

Other organizations echoed this point, describing how the enthusiastic outreach done by graduates of the program and by the peer trainers fueled a steady stream of nannies interested in signing up. This resonates strongly with the findings from our participant interviews, where participants widely described their strong commitment to recruiting other nannies to sign up for the We Rise training and/or connect with the organization. Several organizations noted that they were now confronting a new challenge—the challenge of scaling up the organizational capacity to host more training sessions to accommodate this demand; this is described further below.

While the We Rise training is the initial entry point to these organizations for many nannies, the organizations also recruit training participants among nannies who are already engaged with the organization. In the case of Adhikaar, Senior Organizer Namrata Pradhan noted that in addition to the nannies being drawn to Adhikaar by word-of-mouth referrals for the We Rise training, the organization also recruited many training participants from their “English for Empowerment” classes, which was another initial entry point to the organization for nannies.

Staff and captains attribute the popularity of the We Rise training program to several features: the opportunity for nannies to get certificates; the fact that the program is based on material that is immediately applicable to nannies’ work—both the workers’ rights skills and the workforce development skills; and the sense of empowerment it fosters in participants through the peer education and popular education pedagogy.

Among the We Rise participants we interviewed, most said they were initially motivated to sign up for the training program because of the certificate and/or the workforce development material. Graduates of the We Rise Nanny Training program receive a Certificate of Participation from Cornell University. Many of these interviewees saw this certificate and/or the skill-building as strengthening their job prospects, both by obtaining a certificate that would validate their experience for employers, and by learning specific skills they could apply at work. Some of them also pointed to it as a way to continue their education or to professionalize their career as a nanny—to become a “professional nanny.” Only a few interviewees said they had been initially drawn to the opportunity to learn about workers’ rights or negotiation skills.

In an industry where nannies’ work is often devalued and considered “unskilled,” staff and captains believe that **the opportunity to secure a certificate is a strong draw for workers as it can boost their job prospects**; this view was confirmed by many participant interviewees, who said the We Rise certificate from Cornell was often a highly useful point of leverage in job negotiations, as the certificates were valued by both current and prospective employers (see “Negotiation and Speaking Up” in the Participant Findings section). Rosemary Martinez, the domestic worker organizer at CGA, also said that employers of domestic workers are increasingly seeking nannies with training and certification, making many nannies feel that they are almost obligated to complete certain kinds of training. Speaking from her experience both as an organizer and as a former domestic worker who took the We Rise training, Martinez noted that **many nannies initially signed up for the We Rise training seeking this certificate, but quickly realized that the training encompassed far more—that**

it was about lifting standards for nannies across the industry:

“And how do they realize this? When they realize that they have rights. That is when they understand that they can make changes in their workplace, and that this will affect the other *compañeras* [working] in that area. So, a *compañera* may say, ‘I didn’t have a contract’ [or] ‘I didn’t get paid overtime’ [...] and at the end of the program she says, ‘You know what? Now I’m earning my overtime,’ or ‘[Now] I’m getting a contract.’ So those may seem like small changes to many, but for us they are big changes that affect the industry.”

Captains and staff also said that **the certificates and graduation were sources of pride and validation** for many training participants—this, too, echoes the findings of the participant interviews. Janet Fry, deputy director of Community Resource Center (CRC), described how education is highly valued by this workforce of predominantly immigrant workers, and thus the opportunity to obtain formal certificates can validate nannies’ sense of the value of the work they do:

“...having this kind of professional way of doing a training is also empowering for them and for their families. You know, sometimes parents—and this is what we heard also in the trainings—is that mothers who are domestic workers don’t see themselves as role models for their kids because of the work they do. And this training has really made domestic work a profession [...] and also created respect within the family—that when they get their [We

Rise] diploma, I see the kids coming in with their flowers like in a graduation. And for them it’s just a way to also respect themselves and continue growing professionally as well. So, I think this program, in so many ways, impacts a person’s life, not just at the workplace, but also educationally, educationally, financially. And you know, and then that creates role models within the family. Just by one thinking that ‘Okay, what I’m doing is also a profession. And it’s part of this economy, and it helps this economy continue growing, etc.’”

Staff and captains also see the direct applicability of the We Rise training content as key to its popularity. Indeed, many participant interviewees said they found the workforce development modules such as “Child Nutrition” or “Child Socio-Emotional Development” interesting and useful, and described how they applied the learnings at their jobs. The training content on workers’ rights and negotiation skills was highly valued by participant interviewees, with our participant survey and interview findings suggesting that many training participants apply these learnings soon after the training by negotiating better wages and working conditions (see “Participant Findings” section).

Captains and staff also described the workers’ rights and negotiation skills as a source of confidence for training participants, **part of the overall sense of empowerment that workers derived from the peer education and popular education pedagogical approach.** Allison Julien of NDWA described how We Rise training participants’ experience is shaped by the horizontal mode of peer education, as it deepens their investment in the training experience:

“...so it’s literally experts teaching

experts [...] That is something so beautiful about it, is that the trainers are not necessarily teaching brand new domestic workers—they're teaching their peers. And there's a level of respect that comes with that. Like we know this and we're sharing this with you, so that we could know this collectively. And to see that intangible connection or thread, to see how they lean in to learn with each other—it is not learning from but learning with, because there are things that the audience share that also makes the trainer go, 'Whoa, I did not think about it in that way. And I can add this now to my training.' So, there's a lot of learning together."

Janet Fry of CRC noted that, as the program grew at CRC, they began to see how it empowered domestic workers to understand worker exploitation and to have difficult conversations with their employers in order to change the issues affecting them. She described how **the peer education approach goes beyond skill-building to support nannies in understanding their role in making change:**

"I think one thing that is really powerful about the We Rise Nanny Training is that it's a peer-to-peer training. [...] It brings in a different approach in...training individuals around, not just learning a skill, but also realizing the kind of world that they live in and the kind of power that they have—but they don't know yet that they have it. So, I think that, when we compare this training with other trainings that tend to be much more top-[down], there are a lot of barriers that the We Rise Nanny Training

breaks just in how this is structured."

These descriptions evoke the Freirean notion of **popular education, wherein the traditional teacher-student hierarchy is challenged and education is seen as a way for participants to understand the conditions they face in order to change them.**⁸⁵ This increased confidence and sense of empowerment is strongly reflected in the findings of our participant interviews, and leads into our discussion of the We Rise training as a leadership development tool.

WE RISE AS A LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT TOOL

Organizations view the We Rise training as a key leadership development channel, as staff and captains described how **the training strengthened nannies' ability to build leadership both in the workplace and in the organization.** They described changes that resonate strongly with the changes depicted above and in the quantitative and qualitative findings with participants—strengthening participants' capacity to successfully negotiate with their employers, and increasing their engagement in organizing/advocacy activities and recruitment of other nannies.

As described above, the way that the training is seen to enhance workers' sense of agency and power is key to this leadership development. Importantly, staff and captains also described how the peer and popular education approach of the training fosters a culture of mutual support and solidarity, instilling in participants the feeling that they are engaged in a collective effort to make change in the domestic work industry. Rosemary Martinez of CGA described nannies arriving at the

85. Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. (30th anniversary ed.). New York, NY: Continuum.

We Rise training with the expectation that they will be taught by faculty from Cornell University, and how **the experience of being taught by other nannies changes their sense of agency and of being part of a collective:**

“When they realize [the trainers] are also workers, they immediately change their perspective. In what sense? In that both [the participant] and the trainer are partners [...] so they have the same opportunities and can go much further than they ever thought they could. So, what is one of the reasons this happens? It’s because we try to make them feel that they have value within the industry—it’s not only about the program, it’s not only about the knowledge of each module, but we really reinforce the part that we are all workers and we know the experience that you are going through or that you have gone through or that another colleague has gone through. So, we are trying to support each other in order to raise the standards in the neighborhood where she’s working, or at least in the [home] where the participant is working.”

The culture of mutual support is also nurtured by a training approach that takes seriously the need to build a space of trust where workers can speak openly about difficult experiences they have navigated at work and in their lives more broadly. Janet Fry of CRC spoke about how the We Rise trainers were intentional about creating a training environment where participants could feel safe in sharing openly and would be supported if they opened up about particularly difficult or traumatic experiences. In fact, during the peak of the Covid-19 pandemic, We Rise trainers from multiple organizations in the coalition worked closely with Arianna Schindle of the

Worker Institute to implement a peer support practice of “regeneration circles” to support nannies’ wellbeing and healing during an acutely challenging period. The peer trainers generally facilitated the circles on a biweekly basis for members during this period, and then additional circles were convened for the trainers themselves.

Captains and staff also described how the We Rise Nanny Training program helped develop specific leadership skills relevant to organizing and advocacy activities, such as increasing participants’ confidence in speaking in front of groups and building their skills and confidence in doing outreach to other nannies. Ben Fuller-Googins of CGA emphasized that the We Rise training had become a critical avenue for building nannies’ capacity to become more engaged in various activities and leadership roles throughout the organization:

“I would really convey just on personal and organizational experience that it really is the most powerful leadership development program even though it’s not explicitly a leadership program. That so many of our [We Rise] graduates are now part of different campaigns, different parts of the organization.”

Each organization has various channels for engaging workers in organizing, advocacy, and training. **Common channels of engagement for nannies who graduate from the We Rise training include attending regular organizing meetings for domestic workers, attending other workshops or classes, and becoming involved in active organizing or legislative campaigns.** For example, Adhikaar, CGA, CRC, and NDWA all have a specific domestic workers group or association that has regular meetings; Beyond Care has regular meetings for the worker-owners of its cooperative. Regarding campaigns,

Adhikaar recently recruited We Rise graduates who worked in New Jersey to become involved in a successful coalition campaign to pass the New Jersey Domestic Workers Bill of Rights, which was signed into law in January 2024.⁸⁶ CGA previously engaged We Rise graduates very actively in the campaign to pass Intro 339-B, signed into law in August 2021, which extended New York City Human Rights Law protections to domestic workers.⁸⁷

THE LEADERSHIP LADDER

In addition to organizations' existing channels for engaging nannies in organizing and advocacy activities, **the We Rise model itself is designed to include a "leadership ladder" that allows workers at each partner organization to take on roles with increasing responsibility.**

This approach expands organizations' ability to channel the expanded leadership capacities of nannies who complete the training. The most central piece of this leadership ladder is inherent in the peer education model—nannies who complete the training can be trained to become We Rise trainers. As they gain more experience, trainers can then progress from trainer to lead trainer to master trainer. The development of peer trainers is described in more detail below, including our findings on the impact of becoming a peer trainer.

The role of "captains" is another channel for nannies to take on leadership within the We Rise model. Each organization that runs We Rise training programs has one or two captains who are responsible for much of the planning and coordination of We Rise training sessions at that organization. All of the organizations

86. See <https://www.domesticworkers.org/programs-and-campaigns/developing-policy-solutions/domestic-workers-bill-of-rights/new-jersey-domestic-workers-rights-protections/>.

87. See <https://www.carrollgardensassociation.com/blog/we-made-history-domestic-worker-rights-are-human-rights> and <https://www.nyc.gov/site/cchr/media/intro-339.page>.

The We Rise model itself is designed to include a "leadership ladder" that allows workers at each partner organization to take on roles with increasing responsibility

have at least one captain who is a nanny who completed the training previously, most of whom are compensated through some form of fellowship or part-time consulting position to fulfill this role. At most organizations, a staff person works with the captain on this coordination, sometimes in the role of "co-captain." As a worker-owned cooperative, Beyond Care's We Rise captains are always worker-owners in the cooperative.

Arianna Schindle of the Worker Institute noted that the leadership ladder was consciously built into the We Rise model because it is an essential component of all organizing, and We Rise sought to directly integrate into and support organizing strategies. As the program expands to new organizations and locations, Schindle sees the leadership ladder as an essential component to the replication of the training, as lead trainers, captains, and the acting We Rise coordinator take

on central roles in bringing the We Rise Nanny Training to new organizations.

Several captains and organizers embody the We Rise leadership ladder.

Sarita Gurung of Adhikaar is a full-time nanny who first became involved in Adhikaar in 2016, took the We Rise Nanny Training there, eventually became a We Rise trainer, and is now a fellow at Adhikaar serving as a We Rise co-captain (alongside the senior organizer, Namrata Pradhan) while she continues working as a We Rise trainer. Gurung described her pathway up the leadership ladder:

“[Adhikaar] sees the ability in a person and also the interest. [...] For those who are interested, they don’t want to just give a person a chance to get knowledge... They want to give us the opportunity to utilize the knowledge and give it to all domestic workers, [so] we can train them also. So, I joined Adhikaar as a volunteer [in 2016], and slowly, slowly Namrata didi saw my capacity or capability [...]”⁸⁸ First they asked me to volunteer to teach domestic workers English. So, I did that, and after a while, one year, they asked me to do [the We Rise] training. Then I did this training, and then I [later trained to] become a trainer. Then after that, they made me co-captain.”

Martha Carballo of CRC also ascended the leadership ladder, moving from training participant to trainer, to being hired as a part-time consultant at CRC, where she is a We Rise co-captain and supports domestic worker organizing with Rocio Lopez, the CRC staff person who leads the worker center (and is also a We Rise co-

captain). She described how her initial experience taking the We Rise training motivated her to become more involved:

“...I really had no idea of the impact it was going to have in the future, right? That we are these little seeds that are growing, blossoming, and creating more people to believe in themselves and that we start valuing ourselves. There are people who don’t understand or don’t grasp how valuable our work is, you know? So, then I realized that this is to educate us and to empower us and to make us visible, and to make more people—more workers—really value their work. It has motivated me a lot.”

At CGA, the We Rise leadership ladder is embodied by the domestic worker organizer, Rosemary Martinez. Martinez was a teacher in El Salvador but worked as a domestic worker for nine years after immigrating to the U.S. When she heard about the We Rise Nanny Training, she was initially interested in the opportunity to continue studying—and then she emerged from the program with a strong commitment to the movement for domestic workers’ rights:

“At the beginning, I wasn’t sure what [We Rise] was about, because in my head, as an immigrant [...] I thought that as domestic workers, you don’t have rights, you don’t have dignity... So, I came to take the We Rise program and that was when I realized the value of our work as domestic workers. And I saw that many felt the way I did—and that’s when I started volunteering with Carroll Gardens [Association].”

88. “Didi” means “older sister” in Nepali, and is used as a respectful, affectionate honorific for referring to women who are older or of a similar age to the speaker.

Martinez was later invited to become a We Rise trainer, and then was eventually hired as the domestic worker organizer for CGA. Her motivation to become steadily more involved in CGA and domestic worker organizing began with the realization that many domestic workers carried the same notion she had, that immigrant workers don't have rights. She wanted to support other workers in fighting against labor abuses, because she too had personally experienced such abuses and had watched her mother endure them for 30 years when she worked as a domestic worker in the U.S.

The We Rise leadership ladder is also embodied by Doris Tapia, a nanny who became a We Rise trainer in the first cohort of trainers, steadily expanded the number of modules she is responsible for facilitating at CGA, and is now in the role of acting coordinator for the We Rise coalition. As the program strives to become increasingly worker-led, Tapia's new role (described in more depth below, in "Scaling up and the evolution of We Rise") entails taking leadership not only within her organization, but in supporting implementation of the We Rise Nanny Training across the coalition and as it expands to new organizations.

Overall, the concept of a leadership ladder is not new for these organizations, as they all have such ladders in place in various forms. For example, in addition to the captains who are nannies, many of the staff members who are responsible for or involved in supporting We Rise are former nannies themselves. Allison Julien of NDWA, Namrata Pradhan of Adhikaar, and Janet Fry of CRC are all former domestic workers.

LIFTING INDUSTRY STANDARDS

Building on the findings described above, most of the staff and captains we interviewed described **the We Rise Nanny Training program as part of a broader organizing strategy for growing the movement of domestic workers and lifting standards across the industry.** Their reflections paint the picture of the We Rise training supporting all the key nodes of an organizing cycle: recruitment and base-building to bring workers into the organization; developing workers' leadership and their confidence in asserting their rights; and empowering workers to negotiate better standards in their own workplaces, share information on rights and standards with other nannies, and become involved in outreach and organizing. Allison Julien of NDWA described We Rise as part of a broader movement-building strategy:

"And [graduates of We Rise] are talking, right? Again, across languages, in the playgrounds, in the train stations, wherever they are having the conversations. And that is exactly what we want them to do. And I know for us a part of it is we've actively also given them outreach cards to go talk to other domestic workers. So you're not only going to come to a training, you're also going to learn how to do outreach while you're at it, because *this is tied into how we are building a larger movement.* [...] A lot of it [is] really [...] putting the power back into the hands of the domestic workers for them to see that, 'Yes, you are coming in for a training, but you are also transforming this domestic worker industry.' And all it takes is one little drop. We're not asking for a whole

bucket, we're just asking for one drop of water."

Namrata Pradhan of Adhikaar described **the importance of using training to ensure domestic workers can actually access the rights they have on paper**. She highlighted the importance of the New York Domestic Workers Bill of Rights and said that Adhikaar had been very involved in the campaign to pass the bill, which was signed into law in 2010—but she pointed out that now there is a need to educate nannies about those hard-won rights and support their ability to advocate for themselves on the job. Chris Fox, who was a consultant for the We Rise coalition, spoke about the role of the We Rise Nanny Training in helping to establish and raise awareness about collectively agreed-upon standards in the domestic work industry. They described the role of training in enforcement of workers' rights:

"And so, the trainings function as an awareness-building and power-building tool where people gain clarity on standards and [on] the organizing piece that's still necessary. [...] That organizing piece is the enforcement, realistically. Because enforcement isn't real unless you act it out, right? [...] Enforcement doesn't just magically happen if somebody's violating your rights. So, [We Rise] is very much an active standards awareness tool..."

They noted that not every training participant needs to become actively involved in organizations' "leadership ladders" in order for this standards-raising to work:

"It's just as useful if people are out here living out the standards [...] because if I've got 200 people in

this labor market holding these standards, that is working—that is achieving our objective. So, it's kind of like this mass standards-raising and normalizing of this standard at large, whether or not people then take the next step to get involved in the organization."

SCALING UP AND THE EVOLUTION OF WE RISE

As noted above, several organizations described how **the demand for the We Rise training had grown so significantly that they did not yet have the capacity to fully meet that demand**.

Training more peer trainers was one key ingredient in expanding that capacity, alongside accessing funding that would support coordination and payment of trainers. In describing their efforts to expand that capacity, they were all sensitive to the need to grow sustainably. Growing sustainably required training new trainers so as not to make excessive demands on their existing cohort of peer trainers; determining systems of payment that adequately compensated trainers and coordinators; and maintaining the culture of trust.

Janet Fry described how it was important to expand the training in a way that supported organizing and growing the movement of domestic workers:

"We have to think about how this is not just a training—this is something much more. So we try to be mindful that this is more for organizing, making sure that the movement grows..."

Organizations navigate challenges in training enough peer trainers to meet the growing demand for We Rise. As the We Rise model has shifted the Training of Trainers (ToTs) away from

the Worker Institute (except for new modules) and toward the organizations, new systems are actively being developed for training trainers, compensating the labor of training trainers, and evaluating new trainers rigorously—all of which require capacity and resources.

Increasing the number of We Rise trainings offered each year can also present organizations with another challenge of scaling up—creating enough opportunities to fully channel the energy of We Rise graduates who are excited to become involved with the organization. Ben Fuller-Googins of CGA described how the organization was committed to building more pathways for these nannies to become involved in organizing, while recognizing the intention, time, and capacity required to support new members in taking on new roles and opportunities.

In addition to expanding the We Rise training, the program is actively evolving in other ways as well. As the We Rise program has become more established, the Worker Institute has aimed to increasingly move toward a model where the coalition is more fully rooted in worker organizations and worker leadership. This has entailed progressively striving to shift the Worker Institute’s role to one primarily of technical assistance, and creating an independent role for a We Rise coalition coordinator who can carry out the ongoing work of supporting coalition members in running the We Rise Nanny Training. Once secure funding for this coordinator position is established, this will become a fellowship that We Rise trainers and captains can apply for; currently, there is an acting We Rise coalition coordinator (who is a We Rise peer trainer). The work of supporting the We Rise coalition involves supporting captains in the ongoing coordination of the We Rise training at their organizations; holding monthly captains’ meetings that include a capacity-building workshop;

supporting organizations with strategic planning; coordinating the replication of We Rise in other locations; and supporting the We Rise coalition’s participation in various standards-raising campaigns for domestic workers.

This transition to increased worker leadership is a work in progress, requiring coordinators, staff, and captains to strengthen systems for capacity-building, formalize existing informal systems, and identify the resources to continue expanding this capacity.

PEER TRAINERS

The peer education model of the We Rise Nanny Training is critical to the program design in several ways.

As described above, captains and staff viewed the peer education model of We Rise as a key ingredient in making workers feel empowered to speak up and take action—both in their own workplaces and in the broader movement for domestic worker organizing. The peer education design of the training also creates an important channel for nannies’ leadership development for those who choose to become We Rise trainers, as described in more detail below. The peer education model can also be seen as a way to sustainably scale up a program while catering to domestic workers’ needs and schedules and offering the training in different languages they speak and across different communities. Allison Julien of NDWA explained how this was an important rationale for designing We Rise as a peer education program, with the goal of sustainably building power within the domestic workers’ movement. She described the success of having “trainer tiers”—a model that evolved as the program grew:

“Because we do have folks who’ve been here from the very beginning, who are still training. And that is so exciting to see now that there are lead trainers that are training new trainers

that are coming in, supporting other trainers. That is the kind of trajectory and growth that we—I don't know if we imagined that in the beginning, but as we continued to design the model and see that the model was shifting and shaping, we were like, 'Okay, we're onto something.'"

As the peer trainers are critical to the entire We Rise program, **organizations recognize the importance of investing seriously in the trainers; they see this as an investment that "pays off" in multiple areas—in the trainer's own leadership development, in the We Rise program's implementation and expansion, and in the organization gaining new worker leaders who often become engaged in other areas of the organization.**

Ben Fuller-Googins of CGA spoke about how the We Rise trainers became an integral part not only of We Rise but of CGA, creating a bridge for participants from the training program to the organization:

"One key ingredient is having a really amazing core group of trainers, because that really makes possible the actual implementation of the trainings. And you know, they're very invested in the program—so it's not like they just come in for training and then leave. Since they're part of the organization, they have relationships with the participants, they're recruiting them to become members, they talk in between classes and support them with various issues that come up, which I think really helps generate and sustain this culture in the program that really builds into the organization. So, it really kind of creates this nice, seamless

relationship for the participants from being in the training to the organization, which is great. So, I would definitely name that as a key ingredient—without our trainers, who are phenomenal and just get rave reviews every time, [...] I don't think we'd be able to pull this thing off."

Most training participant interviewees also spoke about the value of learning from peer trainers who were also nannies. A number of interviewees said they felt **it was particularly helpful to have trainers who were experienced nannies—**"people who have already gone through it, people who have already lived it"—because they could learn from how these nannies had coped with different situations and challenges and from their different experiences and approaches.

A number of interviewees also specifically said that they **appreciated feeling that the trainers and participants had shared experience**, making it easier to feel that they weren't alone and to open up about their own experiences and feelings. A couple of them described the dynamic in which both trainers and participants were sharing their feelings and ideas, **overcoming the traditional teacher-student dynamic.** The interviewee who had recently become a We Rise trainer (for the recently developed "Newborn Care" module) illustrated this by describing her surprise when one of the nannies who had been her trainer previously showed up as a student in her class. She said, "It's nice because you can be a student and you can be a teacher—so is it real, the opportunity that each one is given..."

One interviewee spoke about her initial skepticism when she realized that the trainer was a nanny. She said that normally she prefers to learn from someone who has studied the subject matter in higher education; yet she was reassured when

she learned that the peer trainers had obtained a training certificate, and she found that their training combined with their experience as nannies ended up making for a very interesting course. Ultimately, she said the We Rise training was much better than courses she had previously taken when she considered opening an in-home daycare. She reflected on the value of the peer education model:

“We learned a lot with experienced nannies—everyone gives their opinion, you know, it’s beautiful. Because you think you know so much, but boy, you combine [that] with the others’ experience and the other ladies. Oh wow. You said, ‘Yeah, I’m not alone.’ Sometimes you think you were alone in experiencing that, but you’re not.”

THE TRAINING OF TRAINERS (TOT)

The Training of Trainers (ToT) is an intensive training process through which nannies from the We Rise coalition organizations are trained to become peer trainers for one or more modules of the We Rise Nanny Training. Originally, all We Rise ToTs were hosted by the Worker Institute for peer trainers from all the organizations in the coalition. As of 2023, as part of the above-mentioned process of moving the We Rise program to be increasingly rooted in worker organizations and worker leadership, the coalition organizations are now in the process of developing their own “in-house” ToTs for the core We Rise modules with technical assistance from the Worker Institute. The Worker Institute continues to run ToTs for new We Rise modules that are added to the training program, including “Community Organizing” and “Newborn Care.” The description below reflects the general pedagogical approach for developing We Rise

peer trainers, even as details about the format and logistics of the ToTs continue to evolve.

Staff and captains described their ongoing process for identifying prospective trainers, recruiting mainly from We Rise training participants and looking to nannies involved in other areas of the organization. They described how trainers and captains keep track of training participants who show a particularly high level of interest and engagement—asking more questions, offering extra support and guidance to other nannies, or showing particularly strong enthusiasm for the training content and experience. Ben Fuller-Googins of CGA noted that while most training participants were very happy about the training, there was another level of passion among certain participants who made it clear that “they want more”—he said this passion was an important quality when recruiting peer trainers. Namrata Pradhan of Adhikaar said that diversity was also an important consideration when they recruit trainers, noting that they tried to recruit trainers from different class and ethnic/caste backgrounds in order to challenge the traditional hierarchies of the class and caste system.⁸⁹ She pointed out that a number of the nannies who showed interest in becoming peer trainers had a professional background working in education, NGOs, or law in their home country before immigrating to the U.S. and beginning to work as nannies; as noted below, several peer trainers in our focus groups mentioned having a background in education in their home countries.

Arianna Schindle of the Worker Institute emphasized **the importance of prospective peer trainers being willing to commit to an intense training process that is fast-paced and requires substantial independent practice;**

89. Adhikaar serves the Nepali-speaking community, which includes descendants of Nepal, Bhutan, India, Burma, and Tibet who speak Nepali (although some are not fluent in Nepali).

she said that they also need to be willing to step outside of their comfort zone in positive, productive ways.

Prospective trainers sign up to become a trainer for a specific module of the We Rise Nanny Training, with organizations usually sending teams of at least two nannies for each module. The ToT usually entails four or five training sessions, with the expectation of substantial independent practice in between. The first training session is a four-hour facilitation training (in some iterations, this has been a full-day facilitation training),⁹⁰ which is important for all prospective trainers but especially important for those without facilitation experience. In the second session, prospective trainers spend the first part of the day receiving the specific training module as participants; the facilitation training has primed them to observe the training with a facilitator's eye. After lunch, they immediately move into trying out the trainer role: they are oriented to the curriculum, reflect on the training experience of the morning, and split up into groups to practice training different short sections of the module and then each presenting those parts; they then rotate and practice other parts of the module. At this point, the main goals are for them to familiarize themselves with the curriculum of the module and practice stepping into the role of trainer. They are assigned parts of the module to present at the third session, where they get feedback in a "mock evaluation." The final training session is a formal evaluation where each organization's team facilitates the full training module and is evaluated; this takes place after the prospective trainers have practiced delivering the module independently and with organizers and trainers from their organization.

Arianna Schindle of the Worker Institute explained that **this rapid transition from seeing the**

90. With ToTs for new modules such as "Newborn Care," the facilitation training has been provided by the prospective trainers' "home" organization before the ToT.

material for the first time to taking on the training role is intentionally designed to be challenging, creating a container for prospective trainers to push their own boundaries and challenge what they believed they were capable of:

"[Trainers] want to give [their] community the most transformational experience possible. And what does that look like? How prepared do you need to be? Sharing your own stories, having your own examples prepared, having your materials ready, making sure there's flow, making sure the space feels safe and loving and supportive and risk taking—all that stuff. We're talking about people's rights—this is no joke. We're talking about people's power. [...] So, I mean, it should be fun, but it's not a joke."

THE PEER TRAINER "LEADERSHIP LADDER"

Assistant Trainers:

Support trainers; don't facilitate trainings on their own.

Trainers:

Facilitate trainings (usually with a co-trainer).

Lead Trainers:

Facilitate trainings; coach and support new trainers; evaluate trainers; develop assistant trainers.

Master Trainers:

Facilitate Training of Trainers (ToTs) to train new trainers.

Captains/Training Coordinators:

Lead the administration and coordination of the training sessions and training teams at their organization.

Yet she emphasizes that this challenging experience with high expectations must be matched with **“a culture of high love and deep support”** that allows participants to have a transformative experience as they work to meet these expectations. She notes the importance of creating a training environment that is supportive and caring and celebrates successes, to remove any prospective trainers’ fears that they aren’t cut out for being a trainer. This culture of care and support is nurtured throughout prospective trainers’ trajectory to becoming a trainer; for example, the evaluation session opens by asking prospective trainers to share what they are most proud of and what has built their confidence and motivation. The whole ToT culminates with a graduation ceremony—complete with caps and gowns—to celebrate the new trainers, who are awarded a certificate from the Worker Institute at Cornell designating them as We Rise trainers for the specific module(s).

THE IMPACT OF BECOMING A PEER TRAINER

The findings in this section are based primarily on data from focus groups that were conducted with 10 lead trainers from the We Rise Nanny Training program. The focus groups were conducted in Spanish and English, with a Nepali language interpreter present in the English focus group. The lead trainers represented Adhikaar, Carroll Gardens Association (CGA), Community Resource Center (CRC), and Beyond Care.

Motivation to Become We Rise Trainers

In describing their motivation to be We Rise trainers, the **lead trainers widely described being driven by a deep commitment to empower domestic workers—by sharing knowledge about their rights and bolstering their capacity to advocate for themselves on**

the job and as a broader movement. Many of the lead trainers described how their personal experience of realizing domestic workers have rights (through taking the We Rise training) was transformative, and fueled their drive to ensure that knowledge and sense of empowerment would be passed on to more domestic workers.

Many of the trainers described the experience of facilitating training sessions where participants were surprised to learn that they had rights as domestic workers and as immigrants. One trainer described how this reinforced her commitment to the work:

“And the fact that, for example, when you give a training, now there are things that seem normal to you—about how to negotiate, about your rights—[but] when you are giving these trainings to different people, people are shocked to know that they have rights to so many things. And you say to yourself, ‘My God! You can’t stop educating our community, OK?’ So, there have been so many rewarding moments in my life after I trained to be a trainer.”

Alongside this drive to ensure nannies know that they have rights, the lead trainers widely expressed that **a core part of their work was about helping nannies understand the value of their labor—to value their work and themselves more, and thus feel validated in asserting their rights and demanding higher wages and standards.** Drawing on both their personal experience as nannies and what they observed among other nannies and training participants, lead trainers remarked that many nannies do not see the value of their work, given that society largely devalues domestic work and treats it as “unskilled” labor or as not being “real work.”

A number of trainers spoke to this devaluing, describing the importance of recognizing the significance of domestic work. After learning about her rights in the We Rise training, one trainer described why she accepted the invitation to become a peer trainer:

“... I wanted to bring the knowledge that I gained at that time, that I [had been] completely unaware of, to more women in the Latino community. Most of them don’t know their rights and don’t value their work. They think it’s not enough, but domestic work is very valuable. Our employers give us the keys to their homes. They leave us with their homes and if we take care of an elderly person, they leave that person in our care, or leave us with their children, those who take care of children. And that’s their most valuable thing. So, the same way they leave us with their most valuable things, why not value [us]? And that’s what we have, the message that we must share with other women, that they need to value their work to begin with and then seek to know their rights and make progress to fill themselves with knowledge and value themselves more. This way, we can achieve what we deserve as domestic workers. [...] And sometimes at the end of the training, one person will come up and tell us her story about getting a raise at work. That’s phenomenal. It makes us feel so happy and fills us with pride in taking the training, yes.”

Another trainer also spoke to this devaluing and countered it with a reframing of domestic work that shows its significance.

“Unfortunately, domestic work is minimized. They minimize it by saying that you come to work just to take care of their children and keep them safe and turn them over to them at the end of the day. But understanding that we are part of the most important years in a child’s development, and that they know that we know this and that we work towards that goal, changes their vision. In other words, it is no longer just about the girl who stops by and takes care of their children and turns them over to them at the end of the day. But rather, it’s about a person who is taking care of their child’s development.”

Another peer trainer described her own path, beginning with the challenges she faced finding employment as a nanny in the U.S. without experience or training, and the devaluing of domestic workers:

I was a teacher back home, but when I came here, I was a zero. Nothing. So, I was so depressed. And in our society, nobody is gonna respect us, the nannies. [...]

She described people speaking to her about domestic work as though it were not a “real” job, and seeing nannies as lower status. She then encountered Adhikaar and became involved in the organization, and eventually took the We Rise Nanny Training:

“Oh, my God! That day changed my life, and I felt so good from inside. And then after that, slowly, slowly, I changed [at] work. And then my confidence level was higher, and I had motivation. And I [was] so happy...”

She was later invited to become a We Rise peer trainer, and she saw it as an opportunity to move from making changes in her own life and work to helping to make changes in her community and across the domestic work industry. She described how it has felt over the years to become a trainer, and then eventually a lead trainer:

“And then finally, I felt so good—I am a trainer now. I’m a babysitter still, but I’m [also] a trainer and a lead trainer. I’m not the only person, I stand with other nannies also. [...] We have power. We have confidence. We have dignity, unity, power [...] At first, I felt so bad I was a babysitter. [...] But now I am laughing. [...] I’m a nanny. I’m a babysitter. But I’m a trainer and a lead trainer, and what I’m doing now, we are making history [...] It’s totally changed my life, my community, my home, also. My family also respects me, my friends also respect me. And this is a lot for me. I don’t have [words to explain].”

Another lead trainer also mentioned having worked as an educator in their home country before immigrating to the U.S., while yet another said she was from a family of educators and had dreamed of becoming one herself. She described how becoming a We Rise trainer enabled her to fulfill that dream:

“...the funny thing is, growing up, I had educators in my family, right? And so, I’ve always wanted to be a teacher—I always wanted to be a teacher. But then I’m like, I am not teaching in this country. No, no, no. [...] So, when I got the opportunity to become a facilitator, I realized that [...] there are different roles that an educator can take. It’s not just

teaching in a school. Or it’s not just teaching in a college. There are adult educators in these organizations that teach. So, it made me sort of realize the dream that [I had]. [...] I never thought I would be a facilitator—I never thought I would be in a space where I’m actually teaching other people stuff. So, it definitely changed [me], it creates confidence in myself.”

Some also spoke about the specific importance of being peer educators who were domestic workers—like the training participants—and who were working within their own communities. They described the importance of trainers having gone through similar struggles, and the way it enabled participants to openly share their experiences and build a sense of empathy and solidarity among participants and trainers alike. One trainer said she hoped that as a peer trainer she could embody for training participants a means of imagining their own role in making change:

“I would say that my role at this moment and in this big project that is being put together, is that more domestic workers see in us, or see in me, an example to make progress—so that we can raise the standards that we really want and need for this industry.”

Gaining Confidence as a Trainer

“There is a big difference between the way we were when we started and the way we are now. Like [others] already said, [...] a lot of nerves... And fear, right? [...] But as you get to know your subject area and you put that love into it, things just start to flow, don’t they? And this gives you the advantage that you can also invite

more people, more workers to be leaders like us. This way, we can make this program grow and not remain where we are, but see it grow.”

In speaking about how they gained confidence in their role as trainers, a number of trainers described how **they overcame their initial shyness because they felt a strong motivation to support other nannies in understanding their rights and how to advocate themselves.** Some also pointed to the value of being part of a community of trainers, and how the mutual support and knowledge exchange involved in that fueled their confidence and sense of purpose:

For me it’s, it’s the camaraderie—the camaraderie between the [...] trainers. And it’s needing to see that we’re all trying to achieve the same thing when we’re doing trainings. [...] [T]here’s a sense of accomplishment, you know—there’s a sense [that] what I’m doing makes a difference.”

In addition to drawing confidence from the support of fellow trainers, a number of lead trainers also spoke about how feedback from training participants was a strong source of motivation and gratification, describing how participants responded enthusiastically to the training and also shared their successes in advocating for themselves on the job.

It was also evident in the focus group that the **lead trainers take their role seriously, dedicating significant time and attention to preparing for facilitation.** One trainer described her rigorous, ongoing preparation for facilitating We Rise sessions:

“You have to get things in order and learn as much as you can. [...] I am still making progress with the help

of my [training] manuals. Every time I offer a training, I always go over them. I always go over my notes and look for new information—has anything new shown up regarding the socio-emotional development module or has anything new shown up in the law? Is everything up to date? I’m always looking for information and I carry my manual everywhere with me. And my manual is really colorful. I’ve highlighted a lot of information in my manual and it’s full of stickers to point out new things that I’ve found. [...] So, when I’m teaching the class, I’m speaking with the confidence of a professional. I think we are all at that level because we’ve all been doing this about the same number of years. And yes, I create the stickers, so I don’t forget what I want to tell participants, as well as what I want to share. To tell you the truth, it is very satisfying. It is beautiful to be in front of these ladies who then send you little text messages and say, ‘Thank you for that courage! Thank you for that drive! Thank you for having motivated me! I spoke to my employer and told him I’m entitled to a raise and a MetroCard.’ Those are wonderful things because you know your voice is making a difference—what you’re saying is making a difference in women workers’ lives. And to tell you the truth, I feel so happy. It’s amazing to see how we’ve grown. I feel like I have grown. Because to manage 12 modules—and I never thought we’d offer so many modules—there were more and more. I used to say, ‘No, I can’t do it anymore.’ But it was that thirst for

knowledge, to know more, to learn more. [...] Sometimes I wanted to throw in the towel because there was so much pressure. Maybe because you have so much work and you also have to attend your meetings, and then study and review. But you find a way and learn how to organize yourself. We have learned so many skills with these trainings and, to tell you the truth, I am very grateful to the program. I love the program. I love every module and I have completed them with so much love.”

Other trainers echoed having had similar moments of doubt—of wanting to “throw in the towel”—given the challenges of managing their full-time jobs as nannies alongside working as peer trainers and caring for their own families. Yet their sense of commitment to continuing to work as a We Rise peer trainer remained steadfast, fueled by a strong desire to empower other domestic workers and build the movement, as well as by a desire to continue their own personal growth and leadership development.

Impact of Being a Trainer in the Workplace

Many of the lead trainers described how becoming a peer trainer had both boosted their confidence in the workplace and shifted how employers treated them:

“The truth is, I also feel like I am very confident and not only when I am offering the training, but also when I am negotiating. I am incredibly confident now. I mean, I am in a position where I’ll say, ‘If they hire me, they hire me, but under my conditions,’ you know? Those are my rights, this is what I want. And I say,

‘Wow!’ I myself am amazed that I have reached this level of feeling like I am so confident and professional. In fact, I just went for an interview this week when I wasn’t looking for a job and they offered me the job at a pay rate that I won’t even mention, and they took me up on my offer.”

Several trainers described how employers and prospective employers related to them differently now that they had participant and trainer certificates, asking advice and being more automatically accepting of their approaches and views. For example, one lead trainer shared her experience regarding the transformative impact of completing the We Rise course and receiving her certificate, highlighting that after completing the course and becoming a “professional nanny,” there was a noticeable change in how her employers perceived her. They showed more respect and sought her advice on childcare-related matters, treating her as an equal and acknowledging her expertise:

“There’s still the mentality in the domestic industry [that] you’re just the *chacha* [“the help”]. But when you say, ‘I’m a professional nanny, I’m a professional home cleaner, certified by such-and-such party’ and you start demanding and negotiating—well not demanding, but claiming what you truly deserve—things change. And yes, I always say something when I motivate people to take trainings—I throw around the name Cornell a lot. Because yes, you could have gone to school back home, but as an immigrant you need something that certifies it. And what more than the recognition that the university offers, you know?”



A number of the trainers spoke specifically about the distinct impact of getting We Rise peer trainer certificates and how it built on the initial impact of taking the We Rise Nanny Training; they **described a significant further increase in their confidence and assertiveness both in the workplace and in organizing and training activities:**

“Well, the way I handle myself at work is very different now that I am both a facilitator and because I’ve taken so many courses, you know? Starting with the parents, I always bring [the certificates] with me, and I’ll tell them, ‘Look, here’s the certificate for the classes I’ve taught and the classes I’ve taken.’ And that makes a big difference in how the parents see you.”

Another trainer elaborated on the change in how she engaged with employers:

“... in the past I had a [We Rise] nanny certificate, you know? But [...] when I became a trainer, the change was complete. Before [my employers] would say to me, ‘Can you do this and this and this?’ And I would say, ‘Yes!’ But not now. After you become a trainer and take the courses seriously, you’ll say to them, ‘Hold on! I mean, I can do this, but...’ There’s always a but! Or I’ll say, ‘No, I can’t.’ Because I already have the courage to say that, you know? And they respect that. And actually, we understand what the certificate says—it says that we are professionals at what we do. We actually knew how to do our work; we just didn’t have a certificate. So, it is

not only that they didn't value us, but we didn't value ourselves either, you know? And I think that now that we have certificates and they say, 'Wow, it's a Cornell certificate.' I mean, it's like someone is telling them, 'She knows what she's doing. What they're saying is true.' They now accept any suggestion that we make. Something that they probably wouldn't have done before [...] Whereas now with the certificate they'll say, 'Hey, yes.' Then sometimes they'll say, 'Oh, you're right. I hadn't looked at it that way.' So, my contract expired recently, and I like working with a contract. I learned that from the trainings: you need a contract. So, I renew it year after year. And when it came to renew the contract, [my employer] said, 'You were such a good negotiator in your job interview that we don't know what else to give you.' So, that's very gratifying because I said, 'Well, this means I asked for everything I deserved, right?'"

Involvement with Organizations

The lead trainers are actively involved in many aspects of their organizations, on top of their involvement in the We Rise training program. They spoke about being engaged in facilitating organizing meetings, doing outreach, and participating actively in organizing and legislative campaigns through rallies, canvassing, and meeting with legislators. Some described how becoming We Rise peer trainers enabled them to overcome their initial hesitation to participate more actively, empowering them to take on leadership roles within their organizations.

Many of them described their path from becoming initially engaged through taking the

We Rise training, to now being lead trainers who participated actively in the organizations:

"...initially, when I took the We Rise course, I was part of the organization, but I was not very involved. So, when I had that opportunity, it really changed my mentality, because you feel like you have more responsibility. And you feel it is your duty to educate, empower, and convey a message. And it changes the meaning, doesn't it? So, it wasn't just saying, 'I'm going to learn about my rights, but rather we're going to do it for everyone.' So, yes, I started to get more involved. And yes, it's been a very different and beautiful experience on a personal and professional level. And it's been rewarding. Obviously, you get more involved because you want to help and generate ideas, and I know that happens to all of us. You want to make more progress; you want to keep learning more and more each time. So, yes. You get to that point where you meet different people from different organizations, and you start sharing out. 'And you, how do you do this? How do you do that?' There is always that desire to have more knowledge..."

Many trainers shared similar reflections, describing **their motivation to be actively involved as being driven by both a commitment to lifting standards for all domestic workers as well as a strong drive to continue their own learning and growth.** They linked this personal growth and learning to being part of the greater collective, finding meaning and inspiration in the mutual learning within the We Rise coalition.

DISCUSSION

Our evaluation of the We Rise Nanny Training program suggests that it has a significant impact on participants' ability to negotiate with their employers and secure higher standards such as wage increases and written contracts. The impact of the training also appears to extend beyond participants' individual workplaces, expanding the number of participants who engage in base-building, information sharing, and organizing activities within the movement for domestic workers' rights. It is thus not surprising that organizations in the We Rise coalition view the training program as a critical piece of their broader organizing strategy to lift standards across the domestic work industry. While campaigns to expand legal rights and protections for domestic workers have been an important tool in the efforts to lift industry standards, organizers have widely recognized that these rights are only made real when workers are aware of them and feel empowered to enforce them. This evaluation suggests that the We Rise Nanny Training is an effective program for supporting that strategy.

While evaluations of empowerment-based training often focus primarily on evaluating knowledge acquisition,⁹¹ our study has focused mainly on evaluating whether the We Rise Nanny Training supports domestic workers in taking

action and successfully enacting changes. The findings are promising in this regard, pointing to training participants increasingly taking action at multiple levels, from the workplace, to the worker organization, to the movement for domestic workers' rights. In a system where low-wage and precarious workers face sharp power inequities in the workplace, training programs such as the We Rise Nanny Training can play an important role in cultivating workers' leadership and confidence to challenge the unjust conditions they face.⁹²

This section brings together the key threads of our survey, interview, and focus group findings with training participants, peer trainers, and organization staff, captains, and coordinators from the We Rise coalition.

NEGOTIATION, WAGES & WORKING CONDITIONS

Taken together, the survey and interview findings suggest that the We Rise Nanny Training strengthens participants' ability and drive to negotiate increased wages and better working conditions with their employers.

The survey results show a significant increase in

91. See Lippin et al. 2000 for discussion of this, regarding empowerment-based trainings in the area of occupational health and safety.

92. Pinto, West & Wagner, 2021; Delp & Riley, 2015

the percentage of respondents who reported that they had successfully negotiated with their current employer for higher wages, better work benefits, and/or a better work schedule. Before taking the We Rise training, 44% of respondents said they had successfully negotiated with their current employer *at any point in the past*; six months after taking the We Rise training, 53% of respondents said they had successfully negotiated with their current employer *in the past six months alone*. One year after taking the training, this percentage had increased to 58%. The interviews with participants reinforced this finding, with over two-thirds of the interviewees reporting that they had successfully negotiated with their employers within the one-year period after taking the We Rise training; within 18 months of completing the We Rise training, all but one interviewee had successfully negotiated with their employers. For most of these interviewees, it was the first time they had successfully negotiated with an employer. Importantly, many interviewees explicitly named the We Rise training as a crucial source of confidence and motivation to negotiate with their employers; the specific sources of confidence and motivation are described in more detail below.

The survey and interview findings suggest that We Rise supports participants in being able to increase their wages.

In the year after taking the We Rise training, there was a significant increase in the average wage of respondents currently working as nannies, rising from \$20.24 per hour to \$23.06 per hour. As with the increase in rates of negotiation, the wage increase was significant at the midline, suggesting that many participants secured raises within the first six months of completing the We Rise training. While it's not possible to entirely isolate the effect of the training on these wage increases, the coinciding increase in respondents successfully negotiating with

their employers and the experiences described by interviewees point toward the influence of the We Rise training in spurring participants to negotiate wage increases. Many participant interviewees reported that they successfully negotiated wage increases within a year after taking the training. As noted above, for most, it was their first time successfully negotiating, and they highlighted how the We Rise training had expanded their notion of the wages nannies deserved.

The We Rise training also appears to support participants in securing measures that help to formalize the terms of employment and increase employers' compliance with employment law.

Among respondents currently working as nannies, there was a significant increase in the percentage who had written contracts in the year after the training, rising from 35% to 52%. The importance of contracts for domestic workers was a key takeaway from the training, according to many interviewees, and a number of them said they had secured written contracts after taking the We Rise training. Many interviewees described contracts as a form of protection against the risks of informality in their industry, providing clarity about their job responsibilities, potentially providing a measure of job security, and creating documentation of the terms that employers had promised. Among survey respondents currently working as nannies, there was also a significant increase in the percentage who reported legally compliant overtime pay in the year after taking the training, rising from 33% to 64%. A number of interviewees also reported successfully negotiating for overtime pay after taking the We Rise training; only one interviewee had reported receiving overtime pay before taking the training.

The participant interviews also revealed the barriers some nannies encountered in attaining contracts and overtime pay.

While barriers to negotiation in general are discussed in more depth below, it is worth noting here that the neighborhood in which nannies work emerged as a potential contributing factor—it may be more difficult for nannies to secure contracts or overtime pay in areas where those are not established norms among domestic worker employers. A couple of interviewees noted that employers in the Brooklyn neighborhoods they worked in now provided contracts to nannies as a relatively standard practice; these were neighborhoods in which domestic worker organizations had been organizing for years to lift standards. Perhaps relatedly, the baseline survey findings revealed significant differences among the organizations in the percentages of nannies who had contracts; while various factors may contribute to this, it is notable that these organizations serve communities working in different geographic areas. Two interviewees who worked in New Jersey said that it wasn't possible for them to secure overtime pay because no nannies working in that area received overtime pay. The implications of these barriers to negotiation are explored below.

The survey findings showed that a majority of respondents currently working as nannies received paid vacation time, paid sick time, and paid federal/religious holidays at the baseline, while the participant interviews revealed the variation in how those benefits were actually accessed.

Survey responses and interview findings reflected the challenges of quantifying nannies' benefits, with some responses indicating a substantial lack of clarity and others indicating a lack of formally

specified benefits. While there were observed increases in the percentage of survey respondents receiving paid vacation time and paid holidays in the year after the training, these increases were not statistically significant; we also did not find significant increases in the number of days of paid time off respondents had. On the other hand, a number of interviewees reported that they had learned about certain benefits for the first time in the We Rise training; most of these interviewees were subsequently able to successfully negotiate for additional paid time off.

Overall, interview findings suggest that there is a broad spectrum of ways that participants asserted themselves to secure better wages and working conditions.

While many interviewees described explicitly initiating negotiations with their employers, others had employers offer improved job terms after hearing about what they were learning in the We Rise training. While some reported negotiating substantial improvements in wages and benefits, others reported more modest negotiation successes and had been unable to secure other improvements they sought (this is explored further in "Barriers to negotiation" below). Some interviewees described independently adjusting the job responsibilities they took on outside of childcare or turning down work that did not meet their higher standards, as other modes of securing better wages and working conditions. Many interviewees said they no longer automatically accepted the terms of employment or requests made by their employers, feeling more secure in their ability to say "no" or to negotiate conditions. Overall, these experiences point to the ways that participants' ability to successfully negotiate is dependent not only on their confidence and will to negotiate but also on external and structural factors that are examined further below.

SOURCES OF CONFIDENCE AND MOTIVATION

In exploring how the We Rise Nanny Training motivates participants to negotiate better wages and working conditions with their employers, several key sources of motivation and confidence emerged consistently throughout interviews and focus groups with participants, peer trainers, and organization staff and captains.

Participants, lead trainers, and staff and captains all emphasized how learning about rights and fair standards bolstered nannies' confidence and sense of validation in speaking up and negotiating.

Participants highlighted the importance of learning that they had legal rights as workers—and as described in more depth below, they often included a more expansive notion of fair standards for nannies under the broader category of “rights,” describing what they learned from both the peer trainers and other training participants. Based on their previous experience as training participants and their current experience as peer trainers, a number of lead trainers said that many nannies entered the We Rise training with the assumption that they did not have rights or protections as domestic workers and immigrants, and that the experience of learning they had rights was often transformative in fueling their drive to negotiate better standards and to share this knowledge with other nannies. Interviewees emphasized the need for domestic workers to speak up in order to both enforce their rights and to “fight for [their] rights.”

Yet when describing what they learned, **interviewees' notion of “rights” often encompassed an array of fair working standards that were generally more expansive than the legal rights to which they are entitled.**

For example, in speaking about the right to paid time off, interviewees did not mention their legal right to three days of paid vacation or to a specific number of paid sick days;⁹³ instead, they were more likely to speak about fair standards that were discussed by participants in the training, such as two weeks of paid vacation. Other benefits that interviewees spoke about as “rights” included not doing two jobs for the price of one (that is, not being responsible for housekeeping duties on top of their childcare responsibilities), having employers pay for commuting costs, and the right to fair pay.

The survey data suggests that the We Rise training does improve respondents' knowledge of their legal rights, with the average score on the rights “quiz” increasing significantly from the baseline to the endline. When drilling down to their knowledge of specific legal rights, the We Rise training appears to improve participants' knowledge of their rights to overtime pay and a 30-minute break; however, the increases in knowledge about other legal rights were not statistically significant. The emphasis on the right to overtime pay was borne out in the participant interviews, where many interviewees cited this as an important learning in the training. Taken together, the survey and interview data suggest that We Rise training participants **are likely to retain and share information about a more expansive vision of fair working standards that often exceed the legal rights to which they are entitled, even while sometimes referring to these standards generally as “rights.”** Although legislative campaigns to include domestic workers in core worker protections have been a critical tool in the struggle to lift standards across the industry, there has also been recognition that some of the standards encoded in law for domestic workers are minimal or inadequate. In light of this, **positioning**

93. See “Domestic Workers’ Bill of Rights,” New York Department of Labor. Retrieved from: <https://dol.ny.gov/domestic-workers-bill-rights>.

higher standards as “rights” allows workers and organizers to advocate for a more expansive vision of just standards that go beyond domestic workers’ basic and relatively minimal legal rights.

Participants and lead trainers also highlighted the impact of the We Rise training’s emphasis on valuing domestic workers’ labor—the need for nannies to recognize the value of the work they do and their own value as workers and human beings.

Lead trainers widely described this as a central part of their work as We Rise trainers, and this was named by a number of participant interviewees who said that the experience of the We Rise training made them feel more motivated to “ask for what [they] deserve” and assert their rights as a means of valuing themselves and their work. The way that participants and trainers spoke about this emphasis pointed to **an internal shift in how they regarded themselves leading to an external shift in their actions on the job and in organizing spaces.**

Participants, trainers, and organization staff and captains also all emphasized the impact of the certificates of participation that We Rise training graduates receive from the Worker Institute at Cornell University’s ILR School.

This was widely recognized as strengthening nannies’ “employability” and providing an important source of leverage in their negotiations with employers, with many interviewees saying that it enabled them to command higher wages and more respectful treatment. Some viewed it as a means of formalizing and professionalizing the industry of domestic work. In addition to

Participants highlighted the importance of learning that they had legal rights as workers . . . they often included a more expansive notion of fair standards for nannies under the broader category of “rights,” describing what they learned from both the peer trainers and other training participants.

strengthening nannies’ negotiating position, the certificates were also a source of confidence, pride, and validation for many participants. Here, the certificates represented an internal sense of pride and validation in their experience and knowledge as nannies, a sense of accomplishment in having completed the course of study, as well as an external validation of the value of domestic work, underscoring it both as skilled labor and as a profession. Many

highlighted the sense of pride participants feel at the We Rise graduation ceremonies, where participants wear caps and gowns to receive their certificates and many have family in attendance celebrating their achievement.

CULTIVATING SOLIDARITY

The We Rise training also seems to instill in participants the sense that they are part of a greater collective of domestic workers—part of a movement pushing for industry-wide change—thus bolstering their confidence and drive to make change in their own workplaces and across the industry.

Some participants described how the design of the training created a space of trust and openness, where nannies could speak about difficult experiences and provide support for each other, participants and trainers alike. This training experience seemed to cultivate a sense of solidarity among participants, a point that was echoed by some organization staff and peer trainers. In interviews with participants, they described how they emerged from the We Rise training with the sense that they were “not alone” in the conditions they faced nor in speaking up to make changes—they felt bolstered by the knowledge that they were part of a collective force of nannies who were aiming to improve conditions in their own workplaces and therefore have a collective impact across the industry. Indeed, a couple of participants explicitly linked this sense of solidarity to the history of domestic worker organizing that they had learned about in the training. Here, participants, trainers, and organization staff and captains understood the We Rise training as part of broader efforts to lift standards across the industry—and participants understood themselves as being part of that broader movement. **For a precarious workforce that is highly atomized**

The We Rise training influences participants to become more involved in activities that are central to lifting standards in the industry and expanding the movement for domestic workers’ rights

across private households, this experience of solidarity can help to transform individual experiences of exploitation and injustice into a shared experience that they can collectively stand up against.

Organization staff and captains linked this orientation toward the collective with the peer and popular education design of the We Rise training.

They note that this approach went beyond skill-building to boost nannies’ sense of agency and their feeling that they had a role to play in making change at the level of both the workplace and the industry. Here they evoked Freirean notions of popular education as they described how

We Rise trainers created a horizontal mode of peer education that heightened participants' engagement in the training process and supported them in viewing education as a tool for making change.

The confidence and strength that participants drew from feeling that they were part of a broader movement or collective in turn appears to fuel a deeper sense of commitment to the collective—this is evidenced by the significant increase in information sharing, organizing, and outreach to other nannies reflected in both the survey and interview findings (which is explored below). The experience of collectivity and solidarity seems to infuse workers with a drive to continue building links among workers.⁹⁴ Even interviewees who found it difficult to become more active with a worker organization still seemed to understand themselves and their individual actions on the job as a part of a broader push to raise standards across the industry, and were still engaged in sharing information with other nannies and recruiting them to the We Rise training and/or to their worker organizations.

Taken together, these findings suggest that the popular and peer education design of the We Rise Nanny Training helps to create **a participatory, democratic space that can support workers in redefining the value of their work, nurturing solidarity, and linking their individual efforts to make changes in their workplaces to collective efforts toward higher standards across the industry.**

BUILDING THE BASE FOR DOMESTIC WORKER ORGANIZING

Our interviews and focus groups with participants, peer trainers, and organization staff and captains

suggest that **the specific design of the We Rise Nanny Training—integrating workforce development with training in workers' rights and negotiation, delivered through a peer and popular education approach—has been a potent strategy for supporting base-building**, bringing nannies into the movement for domestic workers' rights. Most participants we interviewed said they were initially motivated to sign up for the We Rise training because they wanted a certificate and/or to deepen their knowledge and skills in childcare; staff and captains also made this observation, noting that the We Rise training was highly popular among nannies seeking to enhance their employability and their skills, with the opportunity to receive a certificate from Cornell University being an important draw. For around half of the participant interviewees, the We Rise training was their first engagement with the organization. **Yet through the experience of the training itself, participants seem to emerge with a strong orientation toward workers' rights and an emphasis on the importance both of nannies speaking up to improve conditions in their individual workplace as well as of collective action to lift standards across the industry.** This change, described by participants and staff in interviews, is also reflected in the participant survey and interview findings described above, which showed significant increases in participants successfully negotiating with employers and significant increases in sharing information about rights and engaging in outreach and organizing activities.

Given that precarious workers in an informal industry often face significant barriers to speaking out or taking action on workplace violations, it is not surprising that they may be more likely to sign up for a training that may bolster their job security and prospects, before becoming involved in worker organizing and collective action. This suggests that **specialized peer education**

94. West, Pinto & Wagner, 2020



programs like the We Rise Nanny Training—by virtue of combining workforce development with workers’ rights and a popular education approach—can create an effective pathway for precarious workers to become involved in organizing and collective action.

ORGANIZING & LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT TO RAISE STANDARDS

Building on the findings above about how the We Rise training cultivates solidarity and commitment to the collective, our research also points to the concrete manifestations of this. Surveys and interviews with participants suggest that the **We Rise training influences participants to become more involved in activities that are central to lifting standards in the industry and expanding the movement for domestic workers’ rights**—sharing information with other nannies, doing outreach and recruitment with other nannies, and engaging in organizing and advocacy activities with the organization that hosted their training. The configuration of the domestic work industry—including the absence

of a centralized workplace and the workforce being disproportionately made up of women of color and immigrants—requires any efforts to raise standards to place a heavy emphasis on worker-to-worker rights education and base-building. The information sharing, outreach, and organizing activities that We Rise participants engage in directly contribute to rights education and base-building. These activities are also ones that worker organizations often view as forms of leadership development, given that they entail workers taking responsibility for empowering other workers and recruiting those workers to become involved in the movement for domestic workers’ rights.

Sharing information with other nannies and recruiting other nannies to get involved with the organization seemed to be the most accessible organizing activities for We Rise training graduates, with relatively high percentages of respondents engaging in these as compared with other organizing and leadership activities.

The survey findings demonstrated a significant

increase in the percentage of training participants who said they had shared information with other nannies about their rights as domestic workers, child development, and nutrition; there was also a significant increase in the percentage of respondents who participated in recruiting other nannies, organizing and advocacy activities, and attending workshops. These increases were underscored by the interview findings, where interviewees widely voiced a strong commitment to sharing information about rights and standards with other nannies, and were also enthusiastic about recruiting other nannies to take the We Rise training or otherwise become involved with their organization. This was true even among the few interviewees who described challenges in becoming more involved with activities at worker organizations—they still described actively sharing rights information and recruiting other nannies to sign up for the training or to attend organizing meetings. **Interviewees’ commitment to sharing rights information and doing outreach seemed to be rooted in their own experience of feeling empowered by this knowledge to advocate for themselves—their drive to speak up for themselves seemed to also translate into a drive to enable other nannies to do the same.** This was not only true among training participants we interviewed—peer trainers widely expressed a similar dynamic when describing their motivation to become We Rise trainers.

Looking more closely at the timeline of survey respondents’ involvement in organizing and leadership activities, the findings suggest that **the We Rise training sparks an immediate increase in participation within the first six months of the We Rise training**—both increased participation in specific activities such as organizing and recruitment, as well as an increase in the average overall number of activities respondents were involved in. This plateaued in the subsequent six months from the

midline to the endline, with no further significant increase in the percentage of respondents engaging in specific activities; the average number of activities respondents were involved in diverged, with a dip in those participating in one or two activities, alongside an increase in the percentage of respondents in the high end of engagement (three or more activities) and an increase in the percentage of respondents engaging in zero activities. It’s worth noting that this trajectory potentially points to what is likely a common trajectory within the membership base of many organizations—some members become increasingly committed and engaged over time, whereas the majority either plateau in their level of engagement or become somewhat less active over time. **Yet it also speaks to one of the challenges of scaling up the program that emerged in interviews with organization staff and captains—the need to further expand the entry points into organization activities and leadership development,** to enable a wider swathe of We Rise graduates to be channeled into sustained participation and opportunities to take on more leadership. As organizations continue to see increased demand for the We Rise training, this was seen as an important way to more effectively harness the high enthusiasm of nannies who had recently completed the training; yet it also requires increased organizational capacity and resources to meaningfully support more members in new forms of engagement.

That said, organizations in the We Rise coalition already have an array of entry points for We Rise graduates to become involved and develop their leadership, including most commonly joining organizing meetings for domestic workers, attending other workshops and courses, joining outreach committees, and participating in campaign activities ranging from rallies to meetings with policymakers. For around half of the participant interviewees, the We Rise training

was their entry point to becoming involved with the worker organization; other interviewees had previously been engaged through attending meetings, workshops, or participating in organizing activities. **The We Rise training itself is considered a key leadership development channel by organization staff and captains, as they describe how it builds nannies' ability to show leadership both in the workplace and in the organizations.**

Our findings suggest that training participants are more likely to see themselves as part of the movement for domestic workers' rights but to not identify fully as leaders within that movement, even as they were engaged in activities that organizers often considered forms of leadership development.

The percentage of respondents who did “not at all” feel that they were a leader decreased, as did the percentage who “definitely” felt they were a leader; the percentage who felt they were “a little bit” or “somewhat” of a leader increased. Similarly, participant interviewees largely rejected the label of “leader” for themselves, either portraying themselves as being at an earlier stage in their leadership development journey or as actively engaged but not quite “leaders.” Yet, in both the survey and interview findings, training participants increased their participation in organizing activities and information sharing and outreach with other nannies. While interviewees declined to label themselves as leaders in the movement for domestic workers' rights, many described themselves as being *part* of that movement, and pointed to their active engagement in organizing and outreach activities. It is perhaps not surprising that many recent training participants would not define themselves as “leaders” within the movement, even as they

Overall, our findings suggest that organizations use the We Rise Nanny Training to support the critical parts of a broader organizing strategy to lift standards across the industry

are taking on “leadership development activities,” as they seem to understand leadership as a longer pathway and may associate movement “leaders” with the roles they see peer trainers or organizers taking on.

The other important pathways that organizations use for leadership development are within the We Rise “leadership ladder”—the opportunity for We Rise graduates to become peer trainers and/or captains.

Several participant interviewees expressed an interest in becoming We Rise peer trainers, and one interviewee did become a peer trainer in the period of our evaluation. These opportunities require a high level of commitment from the nannies and a high level of support from the organizations. **As the We Rise program strives**

to move toward becoming progressively more worker-led, this leadership ladder is the engine for moving toward that goal.

Each organization has a set of peer trainers who have completed a training-of-trainers that qualifies them to teach specific We Rise modules; each organization also has “captains” who take responsibility for much of the coordination of We Rise sessions at that organization. Many of the captains and others involved in coordinating We Rise embody this leadership ladder, having progressed through the rungs of taking the We Rise training, becoming We Rise peer trainers, and then becoming We Rise captains who hold part-time fellowships or consulting positions with the organizations. This approach is aligned with the ethos of the organizations in the We Rise coalition, as they all have staff who are former domestic workers; as a worker-owned cooperative, Beyond Care’s leadership is always comprised of current domestic workers.

Given the importance described above of the peer education design of the We Rise Nanny Training, organization staff and captains see the peer trainers as playing a critical role in shaping participants’ experience and making the program possible. Our focus group findings revealed a high level of dedication among the lead trainers, who speak passionately about the importance of the program in building power, agency, and solidarity among domestic workers. As briefly mentioned above, **in describing their motivations to become peer trainers, many recounted how their own experience of learning in the We Rise training that they had rights fueled a drive to bring that knowledge and sense of empowerment to other nannies.**

This reflects a similar dynamic among training participants feeling driven to share rights information and do outreach with other nannies. Despite the challenges of managing a full-time nanny job, their own care responsibilities, and

working as a We Rise peer trainer, the lead trainers express a high level of commitment to the program and to their organizations. Many described their motivation to be actively involved—both as peer trainers and in other forms of advocacy and organizing for domestic workers’ rights—as stemming from both a commitment to lifting standards across the industry as well as a hunger to continue learning and growing. Their descriptions revealed **a strong link between their experience of personal growth and learning and their commitment to making change at a collective, industry-wide level.**

Overall, our findings suggest that organizations use the We Rise Nanny Training to support the critical parts of a broader organizing strategy to lift standards across the industry—as a base-building channel that helps bring workers into the organization; as a vehicle for leadership development that builds workers’ sense of confidence and agency in making changes in their own workplace and in getting involved in organizing, outreach, and sharing information on rights and standards with other nannies; and as a “leadership ladder” where nannies can become peer trainers and captains and take on more leadership within their organizations. As the We Rise coalition has grown and organizations have seen increasing demand for the trainings, the cycle gains momentum and fuels itself. Yet this cycle does not run without an immense amount of labor and dedication on the part of organizers, captains, trainers, and coalition coordinators—pointing to some of the challenges they confront in scaling up the program to meet rising demand and to expand its impact.

BARRIERS TO NEGOTIATION

While most interviewees were able to successfully negotiate a raise and/or other improvements in their working conditions, some described challenges they faced in securing some of the

job terms they sought. Similarly, the majority of survey respondents reported having successfully negotiated with their employer within a year after taking the We Rise training; however, some reported unsuccessful attempts at negotiation or not feeling comfortable enough to try. **These challenges can help illuminate some of the barriers to negotiation that nannies may face, pointing toward some of the limits of individual negotiations as a strategy for raising standards industry-wide.** While empowering workers to speak up and negotiate changes in their job terms can have a tangible impact on raising standards in a particular area, this alone does not always change the unequal power relations that domestic workers navigate. This limitation became visible when individual workers' ability to improve conditions was constrained by the employment standards that were prevalent in the area where they worked, as with the interviewees who said they couldn't secure overtime pay because it wasn't a norm in the area where they worked. These unequal power relations also became clear when employers refused interviewees' attempts to negotiate specific terms, whether by simply saying no, stating that the benefit did not apply to the worker, or repeatedly putting off the conversation. Even for interviewees who tried to persist in negotiating after a refusal, they felt there were limits to how much they could push back when an employer said no. In such circumstances, leaving the job in search of a better one is an option; however, this is not an easy choice for workers who experience economic insecurity, may have limited options for other work, and feel they cannot afford to be out of work.

The relational nature of nannies' work can also complicate workers' ability or will to negotiate.

On one hand, some interviewees described how having a good relationship with their employer was a strong reason to hold onto a job, as it

positively shaped their daily experience of work and could also mean employers were more likely to be accommodating or provide unexpected benefits; they also described their attachment to the children in their care or the families they worked for. On the other hand, the intimate relational dynamic between nannies and their employers sometimes prompted interviewees to accept unfair job terms, out of a desire to maintain the good aspects of the job and/or a discomfort with unsettling the amicable relationship dynamic. Interviewees recognized the complexity of these circumstances and spoke openly about the difficult calculations involved in decisions around what makes a job worth keeping and what compromises to accept.

Relatedly, while the informality of domestic work is at the root of many problems in these jobs, there were some situations where interviewees described informality as yielding what they perceived as beneficial conditions.

In several instances, interviewees described informal arrangements where they either received extra pay or received the same pay for reduced hours—yet they viewed these informal arrangements as potentially “making up for” overtime hours they had not been properly compensated for, sometimes over the course of years. Within the unequal power dynamics of their employment relationship, such arrangements can seem acceptable to workers who may not feel able to secure all of the formal job terms they seek. Informality also sometimes provided a measure of flexibility for nannies in having employers accommodate their schedules on certain occasions; in one case, an employer's informal approach to paid time off meant that the interviewee often received more paid time off than the employer had initially promised. Again, these circumstances highlight difficult calculations nannies

may confront as they weigh their job's benefits and downsides and assess how much leverage they have to command better working conditions.

These barriers to negotiation point to ways that additional, ongoing support from worker organizations could potentially strengthen domestic workers' will to negotiate, or support workers who don't yet feel comfortable negotiating or have not been successful in doing so. Yet these challenges also point to the possible limits of individual workers' capacity to change their conditions of employment through negotiation alone, as training and empowering workers does not transform the power relations workers confront in the workplace and within the industry—a finding bolstered by Ochsner et al. (2012).⁹⁵ In an industry where traditional unionization is not currently a viable pathway toward institutionalizing workers' collective power, alternative strategies for doing so are necessary. In recognition of the need for alternative strategies, there is an emergent initiative in the We Rise coalition, piloting at the Carroll Gardens Association, to link local domestic worker organizing to the creation of a *neighborhood standards board* that would include workers, employers, and local government agencies and officials in setting local employment standards for domestic workers and formalizing outreach and education to employers and workers. The initiative builds on an existing campaign, "Care Forward," that has sought to raise standards in these neighborhoods through organizing and outreach to both domestic workers and employers of domestic workers, in collaboration with local groups organizing employers of domestic workers. This new initiative proposes a neighborhood-level version of municipal- and state-level sectoral

standards boards that have been established elsewhere, such as the Domestic Workers Standards Board in Seattle, Washington.⁹⁶ Labor standards boards can be a useful strategy for lifting standards for workers with limited structural bargaining power, by institutionalizing workers' role in setting industry wages and standards; yet scholars and labor organizers caution that such sectoral approaches are only effective when there are actively organized workers and strong worker organizations involved.⁹⁷ Here, the We Rise Nanny Training could function as a key part of this comprehensive strategy for enforcing and lifting industry standards locally, given its apparently effective role in base-building, leadership development, and fueling organizing and outreach among participants.

95. Ochsner, M., Marshall, E.G., Martino, C., et al. (2012). Beyond the classroom—A case study of immigrant safety liaisons in residential construction. *New Solutions: A Journal of Environmental and Occupational Health Policy*, 22 (3), 365-386.

96. See <https://www.seattle.gov/domestic-workers-standards-board>

97. Andrias, K. (2016). The new labor law. *Yale Law Journal*, 126(1); "Sectoral Bargaining: Principles for Reform" (2021). Principles for Sectoral Bargaining. Retrieved from: <https://concerned-sectoral-bargaining.medium.com/sectoral-bargaining-principles-for-reform-7b7f2c945624>

LOOKING AHEAD

This evaluation of the We Rise Nanny Training program has highlighted the role that peer education and popular education can play in improving domestic workers' workplace conditions, enforcing and raising standards within the industry, and fostering solidarity and organizing. The recommendations below draw out principles for building on the strengths of this program and shoring up its capacity to make change at scale.

» **Recognize popular education and peer training as a critical part of enforcing and lifting standards for domestic workers and other precarious workers.**

Amid active experimentation with strategies for confronting widespread labor violations in low-paid work,⁹⁸ training has been an important part of the toolbox in empowering workers to enforce standards. The We Rise Nanny Training is an example of a training program that not only educates workers about their rights, but also aims to build workers' confidence and sense of agency in speaking up and taking action. The popular and peer education design of We Rise seems to help create a space in which workers can cultivate solidarity, recognize and assert the value

of their labor, and link their individual efforts to speak up to collective efforts for industry change. For a precarious workforce that is predominantly made up of women of color and immigrants who are isolated across private households, this can be critical to supporting workers in actually speaking up to make change. Those seeking to enforce and lift standards for domestic workers and other precarious workers should invest in the implementation and expansion of peer and popular training programs like the We Rise Nanny Training.

» **Expand access to training programs that ground professional/workforce development firmly within a framework for building workers' power.**

Our research suggests that specialized programs like the We Rise Nanny Training—by virtue of combining workforce development with workers' rights education and a popular education approach—can be an effective channel for precarious workers to become involved in organizing and collective action. While it appears that many nannies are drawn to sign up for the We Rise Nanny Training because of the professional development and the certificate, the experience of the training seems to orient

98. Fine, J., & Round, J. (2024). Governing for Worker Power: Worker Centers Lead the Way on Labor Law Enforcement. *New Labor Forum*, 33(1), 44-53.



participants toward advocating for domestic workers' rights and taking action at the individual and collective levels. While traditional workforce development programs often serve to strengthen employers' power in the labor market,⁹⁹ the design of the We Rise Nanny Training—rooted in worker organizations and with explicit pathways for workers to participate in those organizations—can help to make professional/workforce development a tool for building the power of precarious workers.

» **Integrate training programs into broader strategies to institutionalize precarious workers' collective power.**

Our research found that domestic worker organizations use the We Rise Nanny Training to support key elements of their organizing strategy to lift standards in the industry, as it has

been an effective channel for helping to build an organized base of nannies. Yet our research also highlighted how the broader power relations that workers confront in the workplace and in the industry can reveal the limits of this strategy—lifting standards across the industry requires a strategy that goes beyond empowering nannies to engage in individual negotiations. Peer and popular education can be most effective in lifting industry standards when they are one part of a larger strategy to build and institutionalize workers' collective power. The emerging neighborhood standards board that the Carroll Gardens Association and the We Rise coalition are preparing to pilot in a Brooklyn neighborhood—building on existing tripartite sectoral initiatives such as the Domestic Workers Standards Board in Seattle, Washington—is one example of a promising approach for formalizing workers' role in collectively setting and enforcing industry standards at the local level.

99. Naidu & Sojourner, 2020

» **Support the sustainable expansion of the We Rise Nanny Training for domestic worker organizations.**

Our evaluation showed promising findings regarding the impact of the We Rise Nanny Training program on participants' ability to take action at the individual and collective levels, negotiating higher wages and better working conditions, and expanding their participation in outreach and organizing efforts. At the organizational level, the training has become a critical tool within the broader strategies of organizations in the We Rise coalition, as it supports base-building, leadership development, and deepening workers' involvement in outreach and organizing activities. Several organizations are seeking to scale up the We Rise program to meet increasing demand and reach more nannies across the industry, while other organizations are seeking to implement We Rise for the first time. Given that the program depends on substantial labor on the part of organizers, trainers, captains, staff, and coalition coordinators, our research pointed to key ways that increased resources for the coalition and the individual organizations could support sustainable expansion of the program and stronger coordination across the coalition.

First, expanding the corps of (paid) peer trainers, who are at the heart of We Rise, requires creating more opportunities for training of trainers, expanding the team of evaluators, and increasing organizational capacity for ongoing coaching and development of trainers; all of these demand dedicated time and labor. Second, creating dedicated, fully funded coalition coordination positions would enable stronger systems for effectively coordinating We Rise across the different coalition organizations and increasing opportunities for learning and exchange across the coalition. As We Rise aims to increasingly bring worker leaders into roles such as captains

and coalition coordinators, there is a greater need for systematic skill-building and ensuring knowledge transfer as workers transition through different roles. Finally, increased resources would allow organizations and the coalition to experiment with building out the structures of support for graduates of the We Rise Nanny Training. Structures of support could include additional workshops or targeted peer support groups that help workers strategically apply the learnings in their own workplace; expanding the use of model contracts and contract templates (e.g., building on Beyond Care's use of a standard contract template for worker-owners); and otherwise expanding the entry points for We Rise graduates to become involved in organizing and advocacy efforts.

APPENDIX A:

METHODS

This appendix includes details about the research methods that are not included in the “Methods” section of the main body of the report.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This 18-month mixed-methods evaluation of the We Rise Nanny Training aimed to deepen our understanding of the training’s impact at multiple levels: how it affects participating nannies’ ability to negotiate and secure better wages and working conditions; how it affects their participation in organizing activities; how it affects the leadership development of the peer trainers; and how the program may support participating organizations’ base-building, education, and organizing strategies.

In 2016, participatory survey research was conducted with nannies who had completed the previous iteration of the Cornell Nanny Training that predated the We Rise Nanny Training. The 2016 Cornell Employability Survey included questions about whether participants had applied the knowledge and skills from the training and whether the training had an impact on their wages, working conditions, and job searches. The current study sought to update and expand on the 2016 findings through an evaluation of the We Rise Nanny Training, with the following evaluation objectives:

Evaluation Objective:

To understand the degree to which We Rise had a meaningful impact on domestic workers’ workplace standards and their leadership development.

- a. Does participation in We Rise provide participants the information and skills to negotiate better working conditions, such as overtime pay, higher wages, and benefits?
- b. Does participation in We Rise develop participants’ leadership skills and increase their involvement in organizing activity?
- c. Does We Rise increase lead trainers’ training skills and confidence as trainers?
- d. How does We Rise support the leadership development of lead trainers within the movement for domestic workers’ rights?

Evaluation Objective:

To better understand how the various elements of the We Rise program infrastructure enabled its success or pointed toward challenges.

- a. What are the core elements of the model that are fundamental to the We Rise program and that are critical to replicating the model?

- b. How effective are the different elements of organizational infrastructure at supporting the implementation and maintenance of We Rise peer education programs?
- c. What impact does the institutional affiliation with Cornell have on We Rise stakeholders (participants, lead trainers, captains, and organizations)?

DELIVERY OF TRAINING

Four organizations delivered the We Rise Nanny Training during the period of our evaluation: Adhikaar, the Beyond Care Childcare Cooperative, the Carroll Gardens Association (CGA), and the Community Resource Center (CRC).

All of the trainings took place between May 21, 2022 and October 8, 2022, with 152 nannies completing the training across the four organizations. Each organization runs the training on a distinct schedule that is tailored to the needs and schedules of their membership. At Adhikaar, the training was 18 hours delivered over 7 weeks; at CRC, it was 33 hours over 4 weeks; at Beyond Care, it was 28 hours over 6 weeks;

and at CGA, it was 27 to 33 hours over 5 to 6 weeks (see Table 5). The trainings were all held online over Zoom, and the training sessions were delivered in English, Spanish, and Nepali. The training curriculum focused on the following areas: workers' rights, negotiation, social emotional child development, child nutrition, communication with a family, home as a workplace, health care for children, sexual harassment at the workplace, we are organizers, and CPR/first aid.

SURVEY SAMPLING

Our unit of analysis included nannies who completed the We Rise Nanny Training Program at four different organizations: Carroll Gardens Association, Adhikaar, Beyond Care Childcare Cooperative, and Community Resource Center. Of the total number of training participants, 119 took the survey at the baseline, 87 at the midline, and 76 at the endline. To address concerns about confidentiality, the survey did not collect names and contact information from respondents; respondents used the last four digits of their phone numbers as identifiers. Because of anticipated challenges in following up with

Table 5. Organizations Hosting We Rise Trainings

| Organization | Date of training | Total # of training participants | Language | Total hours of training |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| Adhikaar | June 25, 2022 to July 31, 2022 | 18 | Nepali | 18 hours |
| Beyond Care Childcare Cooperative | May 21, 2022 to June 25, 2022 | 37 | Spanish | 28 hours |
| Carroll Gardens Association | June 4, 2022 to July 10, 2022; September 10, 2022 to October 8, 2022 | 19 13 14 23 | English Spanish English Spanish | 33 hours |
| Community Resource Center | July 8, 2022 to July 30, 2022 | 28 | Spanish | 33 hours |

respondents to take the midline and endline surveys when they were no longer in the training setting, our research design was based on a pooled analysis of the aggregate responses (rather than a paired analysis).

Because of miscommunication surrounding changes in training schedules and the research timeline, some organizations administered the baseline surveys after training participants had already completed some training modules. The research team assumed that some measures, such as confidence or knowledge of rights, would change quickly after receiving the We Rise training. However, changes in wages or receipt of overtime were expected to take longer to manifest. To include the greatest number of responses in our analysis while maintaining a valid baseline, the date that baseline responses were received was compared to the start dates of training at each organization, and responses were excluded from some analysis of variables related to confidence, participation in activities related to membership, information sharing, and preparation for interviews if the response was received after the first day of training. Responses from participants of trainings at Beyond Care Childcare Cooperative and the Community Resource Center were excluded from these baseline measures because they were received after training had begun. Some responses were excluded from the Carroll Gardens Association, but most were retained. Responses from participants at Adhikaar were received on the second day of training. However, these responses were retained for most measures because participants had only received the training module related to child health, which was technical and not directly related to confidence and knowledge of rights. Responses from respondents who received training at Adhikaar were excluded from measures related to sharing information

about child development and not having shared information, as it is possible that respondents would share that information with others immediately after receiving the training.

Those that only took the baseline and those that took all three surveys were compared at the baseline with regard to demographic characteristics (age, education background, race and ethnicity) and hourly wage to assess comparability of samples. Responses were identified by the last four digits of the respondents' phone numbers. One set of responses where the team was not confident that a unique respondent had been identified was removed from the analysis of attrition. Thirty-nine respondents only took the baseline; 48 respondents took all three surveys. The remainder took some combination of two surveys. No significant differences, nor large observed differences, between the respondents who only took the baseline and the respondents who took all three surveys were identified in the variables mentioned above. Measures of confidence or participation in activities were not compared between surveys, as the research team had no reason to suspect that these measures would be related to attrition.

STATISTICAL METHODS

Baseline, midline, and endline surveys were coded, entered into a computerized database, and analyzed using SPSS statistical software, version 28.0.0. Initial analysis included basic descriptive statistics of the sample. Results were compared from the baseline to the midline, from the midline to the endline, and from the baseline to the endline to analyze changes over the course of the year. Because the research team could not definitively link respondents between surveys, responses at each survey were treated as independent samples.

Independent-samples proportion tests were used to analyze changes in the proportions of respondents receiving certain benefits between surveys. Some categories where the observed changes were too small and sample size was too small were dropped from analysis.¹⁰⁰ Where the sample size was too small to conduct proportion tests, Fisher's exact tests were used to compare the proportion of respondents who had engaged in a variety of activities identified with membership, who had shared certain kinds of information, and who possessed items necessary for job interviews. P-values are one-sided, as we hypothesized that the proportion of respondents receiving certain benefits, participating in activities, possessing items necessary for interviews, and sharing certain kinds of information would increase after the training.

Independent-samples t-tests were used to analyze changes in wages, weekly hours worked, and scores on respondents' knowledge of their rights. P-values are one-sided, as we hypothesized that respondents' wages and knowledge of their rights would increase after the training. We also hypothesized that respondents' weekly hours worked would decrease. Cohen's d was used to report effect sizes. Kruskal-Wallis tests were used to compare the number of paid sick days and the number of paid vacation days that respondents received over time, as well as to analyze changes in the number of activities related to membership that respondents reported participating in, because the data was non-normal. P-values are two-sided. Eta squared was used to report effect sizes.¹⁰¹

Chi square tests measured change over time for categorical variables, such as those relating to levels of confidence. Fisher's exact tests were used where sample size conditions for chi square tests were not met. Cramer's V was used to report effect sizes both for chi square and exact tests.

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative interviews and focus groups were conducted over Zoom and recorded; the recordings were transcribed, and those conducted in Spanish were also translated into English. Fundamental to any qualitative data analysis is ensuring that overarching themes are supported by excerpts from the raw data and that the data interpretation remains directly linked to the words of the respondents.¹⁰² In order to do this, the research team coded the data using the qualitative data analysis software Dedoose. The initial coding framework was developed based on the interview schedule and notes on emerging topics and themes in the transcripts. Analysis of the transcripts then involved an initial round of "first cycle" coding in Dedoose, followed by subsequent rounds of "second cycle" coding methods to identify themes and patterns in the data.¹⁰³

100. For example, the percentage of respondents receiving pension/retirement benefits was not compared between surveys because only two respondents reported receiving pension/retirement benefits at the baseline, and only one respondent reported receiving those benefits at the midline and endline.

101. Eta squared calculated according to formula provided here: Maciej Tomczak and Ewa Tomczak. (2014). The need to report effect size estimates revisited. An overview of some recommended measures of effect size. *Trends in Sport Sciences*, 1(21):19-25.

102. Fereday, J. and Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 5 (1): 1-11.

103. Saldaña, J. (2021). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage.

APPENDIX B:

DATA TABLES

DEMOGRAPHICS

Table 1. Gender

| Please select your gender. | Count (%) |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| Female | 138 (93.3%) |
| Missing | 9 (6.1%) |
| Total | 147 (100%) |

Table 2. Place of birth

| Were you born in the United States? | Count (%) |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Yes | 6 (4.1%) |
| No | 124 (84.4%) |
| I prefer not to answer | 7 (4.8%) |
| Missing | 10 (6.8%) |
| Total | 147 (100%) |

Table 3. Race

| Please select your race/ethnicity. | Count (%) |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| American Indian or Alaska Native | 2 (1.3%) |
| Asian | 23 (15.4%) |
| Afro-Caribbean | 17 (11.4%) |
| Black or African American | 18 (12.1%) |
| Latina/Latino/Latinx | 82 (55%) |
| White | 3 (2%) |
| Other | 4 (2.7%) |
| Total | 149 (100%) |

Table 4. Tenure in the industry

| For how many years have you been working as a nanny? | Count (%) |
|--|-------------------|
| Less than one year | 26 (17.7%) |
| 1-2 years | 14 (9.5%) |
| 3-5 years | 25 (17%) |
| 6-10 years | 20 (13.6%) |
| More than 10 years | 47 (32%) |
| Missing | 15 (10.2%) |
| Total | 147 (100%) |

Table 5. Age

| What is your age? | Count (%) |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 18-24 | 7 (4.8%) |
| 25-34 | 24 (16.3%) |
| 35-44 | 42 (28.6%) |
| 45-54 | 53 (36.1%) |
| 55-64 | 12 (8.2%) |
| 65-74 | 1 (0.7%) |
| Missing | 8 (5.4%) |
| Total | 147 (100%) |

Table 6. Education

| What is your formal education background? | Count (%) |
|---|-------------------|
| Less than 12 years | 39 (26.5%) |
| High School Diploma/GED | 51 (34.7%) |
| Some college or university | 28 (19%) |
| Bachelor's degree | 11 (7.5%) |
| Master's degree or higher | 5 (3.4%) |
| Missing | 13 (8.8%) |
| Total | 147 (100%) |

NEGOTIATION & SPEAKING UP

Table 7a. Ability to negotiate

| [Have you previously]/[Since taking the WeRise training], have you negotiated higher wages, better work benefits, and/ or a better work schedule with your current employer? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|---|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| No, I do not feel comfortable trying to negotiate with my current employer | 25 (26%) | 6 (8.3%) | 4 (5.4%) |
| No, I am satisfied with my current wages, benefits, and schedule | 17 (17.7%) | 16 (22.2%) | 17 (23%) |
| Yes, I negotiated higher wages, better work benefits, and/or a better schedule with my current employer | 42 (43.8%) | 38 (52.8%) | 43 (58.1%) |
| I tried to negotiate with my current employer but was not successful | 12 (12.5%) | 12 (16.7%) | 10 (13.5%) |
| Total | 96 (100%) | 72 (100%) | 74 (100%) |

Table 7b. Chi-square tests for ability to negotiate better wages

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Cramer's V |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 8.623(3) | .035 | .227 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .894(3) | .827 | .078 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 12.767(3) | .005 | .274 |

Table 8a. Confidence and skills to negotiate

| Do you feel like you have the confidence and the necessary skills to negotiate higher wages, better work benefits, and/or a better work schedule? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|---|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Not at all | 2 (3.7%) | 2 (2.6%) | 2 (2.6%) |
| A little bit or somewhat | 33 (61.1%) | 40 (51.3%) | 40 (52.6%) |
| Definitely | 19 (35.2%) | 36 (46.2%) | 34 (44.7%) |
| Total | 54 (100%) | 78 (100%) | 76 (100%) |

* baseline responses from Beyond Care and Community Resource Center were excluded (see Appendix A).

Table 8b. Chi-square test for level of confidence in negotiating with employers

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Cramer's V |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 1.688(2) | .329 | .112 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .031(2) | .985 | .014 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 1.688(2) | .430 | .098 |

Table 9a. Confidence in speaking up at work

| How confident are you in speaking up at work? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Not at all | 4 (7%) | 3 (3.8%) | 4 (5.3%) |
| A little bit or somewhat | 30 (52.6%) | 37 (46.8%) | 35 (46.1%) |
| Definitely | 23 (40.4%) | 39 (49.4%) | 37 (48.7%) |
| Total | 57 (100%) | 79 (100%) | 76 (100%) |

* baseline responses from Beyond Care and Community Resource Center were excluded (see Appendix A).

Table 9b. Chi-square test for confidence in speaking up at work

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Cramer's V |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 1.843(2) | .474 | .104 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .193(2) | .927 | .035 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .957(2) | .688 | .085 |

PAY & BENEFITS

Table 10a. Hourly wages of respondents currently working as nannies

| | N | Mean | Standard Deviation | Min | Max |
|----------|----|--------|--------------------|------|-----|
| Baseline | 50 | 20.243 | 4.063 | 12.5 | 33 |
| Midline | 49 | 21.272 | 5.518 | 13.5 | 32 |
| Endline | 39 | 23.066 | 4.267 | 15 | 33 |

* Respondents reported wages as either hourly rates or flat weekly or monthly rates. For those reporting flat rates, hourly rates were computed by dividing reported flat rates by reported hours.

Table 10b. Independent samples t-test for wages

| | t(df) | P-value | Cohen's d |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 2.132(95) | .018 | .433 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 1.136(84) | .130 | .246 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 3.181(87) | <.001 | .680 |

Table 11a. Receipt of overtime for respondents currently working as nannies

| Do you receive overtime pay if your work over 40 hours per week? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Yes | 15 (24.59%) | 17 (31.48%) | 17 (32.69%) |
| No | 39 (63.93%) | 22 (40.74%) | 19 (36.54%) |
| I don't know | 2 (3.28%) | 2 (3.7%) | 0 (0%) |
| I never work more than 40 hours a week | 5 (8.2%) | 13 (24.07%) | 16 (30.77%) |
| Total | 61 (100%) | 54 (100%) | 52 (100%) |

Table 11b: Chi-square test for receipt of overtime pay for respondents currently working as nannies

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Cramer's V |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 6.042(1) | .014 | .229 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .687(1) | .407 | .080 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 10.606(1) | .001 | .306 |

Table 12a: Benefits received by respondents currently employed as nannies

| What benefits do you receive? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Paid sick time | 59 (64.13%) | 52 (72.22%) | 43 (65.15%) |
| Paid vacation time | 59 (64.13%) | 52 (72.22%) | 46 (69.7%) |
| Paid holidays | 55 (59.78%) | 54 (75%) | 48 (72.73%) |
| Health insurance | 3 (3.26%) | 2 (2.78%) | 4 (6.06%) |
| Dental insurance | 1 (1.09%) | 1 (1.39%) | 3 (4.55%) |
| Pension/retirement benefits | 2 (2.17%) | 1 (1.39%) | 1 (1.52%) |
| Disability insurance | 2 (2.17%) | 3 (4.17%) | 1 (1.52%) |

Table 12b. Test for proportion of currently employed nannies receiving federal and religious holidays

| | Z | P-value |
|----------------------------|------|---------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .937 | .174 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .145 | .558 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .772 | .220 |

Table 12c. Test for proportion of currently employed nannies receiving sick days

| | Z | P-value |
|----------------------------|------|---------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .871 | .192 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .857 | .804 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .037 | .515 |

Table 12d. Test for proportion of currently employed nannies receiving vacation days

| | Z | P-value |
|----------------------------|--------|---------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | -1.121 | .131 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .114 | .455 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | -1.216 | .112 |

Table 12e. Number of sick days received by currently employed nannies

| | N | Mean | Standard Deviation | Min | Max |
|----------|----|-------|--------------------|-----|-----|
| Baseline | 50 | 3.7 | 2.350 | 0 | 10 |
| Midline | 45 | 4.283 | 2.880 | 0 | 14 |
| Endline | 45 | 3.822 | 2.902 | 0 | 10 |

Table 12f. Number of vacation days received by currently employed nannies

| | N | Mean | Standard Deviation | Min | Max |
|----------|----|-------|--------------------|-----|------|
| Baseline | 48 | 9.719 | 5.185 | 1 | 21 |
| Midline | 45 | 9.478 | 5.099 | 0 | 21 |
| Endline | 48 | 9.510 | 5.523 | 0 | 17.5 |

Table 12g. Kruskal-Wallis equality of populations test for number of sick days for currently employed nannies

| Chi-square | P-value |
|-------------|---------|
| H(2) = .785 | .675 |

Table 12h. Kruskal-Wallis equality of populations test for number of vacation days for currently employed nannies

| Chi-square | P-value |
|-------------|---------|
| H(2) = .212 | .899 |

CONTRACTS

Table 13a. Contract status for currently employed nannies

| Do you have a written contract or a spoken agreement with your current employer? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes, I have a written contract | 24 (35.29%) | 25 (44.64%) | 28 (51.85%) |
| Yes, I have an oral agreement | 22 (32.35%) | 17 (30.36%) | 19 (35.19%) |
| I don't know | 3 (4.41%) | 2 (3.57%) | 0 (0%) |
| No, I don't have a written contract or oral agreement | 19 (27.94) | 12 (21.42%) | 7 (12.96%) |
| Total | 68 (100%) | 56 (100%) | 54 (100%) |

Table 13b. Chi-square test for contract status

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Cramer's V |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 6.768(2) | .034 | .236 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 1.088(2) | .581 | .084 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 5.488(2) | .064 | .180 |

Table 14a. Contract updates for currently employed nannies

| Has your contract or agreement been updated since you began this job? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| No, my contract/agreement has not changed since I began this job | 36 (65.45%) | 33 (63.46%) | 31 (59.6%) |
| Yes, my employer and I check in about my contract/agreement every year (or more often) and update it | 15 (27.27%) | 17 (32.69%) | 18 (34.6%) |
| Yes, my employer makes changes to my contract/agreement (without checking in with me) | 2 (3.64%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) |
| I'm not sure | 2 (3.64%) | 2 (3.85%) | 3 (5.8%) |
| Total | 55 (100%) | 52 (100%) | 52 (100%) |

* This item only includes respondents who answered that they have a written contract or an oral agreement.

Table 14b. Chi-square test for contract updates

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Cramer's V |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 2.173(3) | .661 | .143 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .291(2) | .895 | .053 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 2.764(3) | .498 | .161 |

**Because such a small percentage of respondents responded that their employers unilaterally changed their contracts/agreements, or that they were not sure whether their contracts/agreements had been updated, analysis was conducted using Fisher's exact tests, which are listed as the P-values.*

SCHEDULES

Table 15a. Hours worked in a typical week for currently employed nannies

| How many hours per week do you usually work per week in your job as a nanny? | N | Mean | Standard Deviation | Min | Max |
|--|----|--------|--------------------|-----|-----|
| Baseline | 62 | 38.887 | 13.809 | 8 | 60 |
| Midline | 59 | 35.627 | 14.527 | 4 | 60 |
| Endline | 58 | 37.991 | 10.637 | 10 | 65 |

Table 15b. Independent samples t-test for hours worked in a typical week

| | t(df) | P-value | Cohen's d |
|----------------------------|------------|---------|-----------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 1.868(94) | .968 | .382 |
| Midline to Endline Change | -0.663(90) | .254 | -.138 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 1.403(94) | .918 | .287 |

Table 16a. Difference between working hours and ideal working hours

| | N | Mean | Standard Deviation | Min | Max |
|----------|----|--------|--------------------|-----|-----|
| Baseline | 44 | .659 | 11.305 | -35 | 36 |
| Midline | 43 | -1.767 | 9.818 | -40 | 17 |
| Endline | 41 | -2.220 | 9.923 | -30 | 30 |

Table 16b. T-test for difference between working hours and ideal working hours

| | t(df) | P-value | Cohen's d |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 1.068(85) | .856 | .229 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .210(82) | .523 | .046 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 1.244(83) | .892 | .270 |

Table 17a. Schedule consistency for respondents currently working as nannies

| Do you have a consistent schedule for the hours that you work each day? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes, I have a regular schedule for the daily hours I work | 55 (84.62%) | 48 (90.57%) | 44 (91.67%) |
| No, my employer often changes my daily schedule (my schedule is not predictable) | 10 (15.38%) | 5 (9.43%) | 4 (8.33%) |
| Total | 65 (100%) | 53 (100%) | 48 (100%) |

Table 17b. Chi-square tests for consistent schedules

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Cramer's V |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .9317(1) | .334 | .089 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .038(1) | .846 | .019 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 1.245(1) | .261 | .106 |

INFORMATION SHARING

Table 18a. Comparing types of information respondents had shared over time

| I have shared information with other nannies about the following topics | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|---|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Our rights as nannies | 44 (75.9%) | 70 (88.6%) | 68 (89.5%) |
| Child development | 22 (53.7%) | 46 (58.2%) | 55 (72.4%) |
| Nutrition | 24 (41.4%) | 26 (32.9%) | 54 (71.1%) |
| Other things that are important to nannies | 35 (60.3%) | 48 (60.8%) | 48 (63.2%) |
| I have not shared this type of information with other nannies | 4 (9.8%) | 2 (2.5%) | 2 (2.6%) |

* Baseline responses from Adhikaar were excluded for information about child development and for not sharing information with other nannies (see Appendix A).

Table 18b. Chi-square test for sharing information about rights as nannies

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 3.889(1) | .041 | 2.475 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .030(1) | .534 | 1.093 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 4.441(1) | .031 | 2.705 |

Table 18c. Chi-square test for sharing information about child development

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .229(1) | .387 | 1.204 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 3.412(1) | .046 | 1.879 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 4.144(1) | .034 | 2.262 |

Table 18d. Chi-square test for sharing information about nutrition

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 8.981(1) | .002 | 2.888 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .229(1) | .360 | 1.204 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 11.907(1) | <.001 | 3.477 |

Table 18e. Chi-square test for sharing other information that is important to nannies

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .002(1) | .550 | 1.018 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .095(1) | .444 | 1.107 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .110(1) | .439 | 1.127 |

Table 18f. Chi-square test for not sharing information about these topics

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 2.966(1) | .103 | .240 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .002(1) | .675 | 1.041 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 2.779(1) | .112 | .250 |

Table 19a. Respondent identification of nannies' rights as workers

| Most nannies in New York have legal rights to | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| At least 3 paid days of vacation per year once a nanny has worked for at least a year | 36 (62.1%) | 51 (69.9%) | 47 (62.7%) |
| Be paid at least the minimum wage | 33 (56.9%) | 49 (67.1%) | 53 (70.7%) |
| Overtime pay once a nanny works more than 40 hours in a week | 42 (72.4%) | 66 (90.4%) | 70 (93.3%) |
| Protection from discrimination based on race, gender, sex, and religion | 36 (62.1%) | 51 (69.9%) | 56 (74.7%) |
| Your employer must provide you with a 30-minute break or compensate you for those 30 minutes | 28 (48.3%) | 42 (57.5%) | 50 (66.7%) |
| Your employer must pay for your health insurance | 18 (31%) | 23 (31.5%) | 15 (20%) |
| Undocumented immigrants do not have access to worker rights | 12 (20.7%) | 14 (19.2%) | 16 (21.3%) |

Table 19b. T-test for average knowledge of rights

| | t(df) | P-value |
|----------------------------|------------|---------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 2.145(129) | .017 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .961(146) | .169 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 2.993(131) | .002 |

Table 19c. Chi-square test for knowledge of right to vacation days

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .880(1) | .226 | 1.17 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .856(1) | .226 | .724 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .005(1) | .543 | 1.026 |

Table 19d. Chi-square test for knowledge of right to vacation days

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .880(1) | .226 | 1.417 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .856(1) | .226 | .724 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .005(1) | .543 | 1.026 |

Table 19e. Chi-square test for knowledge of right to minimum wage

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 1.444(1) | .154 | 1.547 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .217(1) | .387 | 1.180 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 2.714(1) | .072 | 1.825 |

Table 19f. Chi-square test for knowledge of right to overtime pay

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 7.232(1) | .007 | 3.592 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .424(1) | .364 | 1.485 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 10.765(1) | .001 | 5.333 |

Table 19g. Chi-square test for knowledge of right to protection from discrimination

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .880(1) | .226 | 1.417 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .426(1) | .320 | 1.271 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 2.434(1) | .085 | 1.801 |

Table 19h. Chi-square test for knowledge of right to a 30-minute break

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 1.113(1) | .190 | 1.452 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 1.312(1) | .165 | 1.476 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 4.561(1) | .025 | 2.143 |

Table 19i. Chi-square test for knowledge of right to health insurance

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .003(1) | .553 | 1.022 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 2.567(1) | .079 | .543 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 2.135(1) | .104 | .556 |

Table 19j. Chi-square test for knowledge that undocumented immigrants do not have access to worker rights

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .046(1) | .500 | .910 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .106(1) | .452 | 1.143 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .008(1) | .551 | 1.040 |

Table 20: I am able to clearly identify when any of my rights as a worker are being violated

| | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Not at all | 6 (6.25%) | 2 (2.67%) | 3 (3.95%) |
| A little bit or somewhat | 43 (44.79%) | 26 (34.67%) | 27 (35.53%) |
| Definitely | 47 (48.96%) | 47 (62.67%) | 46 (60.53%) |
| Total | 96 (100%) | 75 (100%) | 76 (100%) |

Table 21a. Respondent participation in activities related to membership and leadership

| What types of activities have you been involved with in your worker organization or cooperative? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Taking on leadership roles | 8 (8%) | 7 (9.3%) | 7 (9.2%) |
| Organizing and advocacy | 3 (5.7%) | 20 (26.7%) | 13 (17.1%) |
| Joining another organization | 8 (15.1%) | 15 (20%) | 14 (18.4%) |
| Holding one-on-one meetings with other nannies | 7 (13.2%) | 11 (14.7%) | 15 (19.7%) |
| Attending a protest | 6 (11.3%) | 10 (13.3%) | 6 (7.9%) |
| Attending city council meetings or calling city council members | 2 (3.8%) | 3 (4%) | 2 (2.6%) |
| Facilitating trainings or workshops | 6 (11.3%) | 13 (17.3%) | 9 (11.8%) |
| Attending workshops | 15 (28.3%) | 45 (60%) | 39 (51.3%) |
| Recruiting other nannies | 9 (17%) | 26 (34.7%) | 30 (39.5%) |

* baseline responses from Beyond Care and Community Resource Center were excluded (see Appendix A).

Table 21b. Chi-square test for taking on leadership roles

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .134(1) | .467 | .806 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .808(1) | .232 | .740 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 7.70(1) | .004 | .362 |

Table 21c. Chi-square test for organizing and advocacy

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 9.297(1) | .002 | 6.061 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 2.021(1) | .110 | .567 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 3.764(1) | .044 | 3.439 |

Table 21d. Chi-square test for joining another organization

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .507(1) | .319 | 1.406 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .808(1) | .232 | .740 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .244(1) | .403 | 1.270 |

Table 21e. Chi-square test for holding one-on-one meetings with other nannies

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .055(1) | .514 | 1.129 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .681(1) | .271 | 1.431 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .940(1) | .234 | 1.616 |

Table 21f. Chi-square test for attending a protest

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .115(1) | .478 | 1.205 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 1.179(1) | .206 | .557 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .434(1) | .358 | .671 |

Table 21g. Chi-square test for attending city council meetings or calling city council members

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .004(1) | .660 | 1.063 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .221(1) | .494 | .221 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .136(1) | .545 | .689 |

Table 21h. Chi-square test for facilitating trainings or workshops

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .888(1) | .247 | 1.642 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .914(1) | .234 | .641 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .008(1) | .579 | 1.052 |

Table 21i. Chi-square test for attending workshops

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 12.530(1) | .000 | 3.800 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 1.153(1) | .181 | .703 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 6.795(1) | .007 | 2.670 |

Table 21j. Chi-square test for recruiting other nannies

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 4.889(1) | .021 | 2.594 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .374(1) | .329 | 1.229 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 7.489(1) | .005 | 3.188 |

Table 21k. Pairwise comparisons for the number of activities respondents participated in

| | H(df) | P-value |
|----------------------------|------------|---------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | -28.471(1) | .008 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 7.634(1) | .504 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | -20.836(1) | .051 |

Table 22a. Respondent feelings of leadership

| | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Not at all | 13 (24.5%) | 13 (16.9%) | 15 (20%) |
| A little bit or somewhat | 20 (37.7%) | 46 (59.7%) | 43 (57.3%) |
| Definitely | 20 (37.7%) | 18 (23.4%) | 17 (22.7%) |
| Total | 53 (100%) | 77 (100%) | 75 (100%) |

Table 22b. Chi-square test for feelings of leadership

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Cramer's V |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 6.126(2) | .047 | .217 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .246(2) | .884 | .040 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 5.154(2) | .076 | .201 |

JOB PREPAREDNESS

Table 23a. Items respondents have prepared for job interviews

| If you had to look for a new job tomorrow, what things do you already have prepared to bring to a job interview? | Baseline (%) | Midline (%) | Endline (%) |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Resume | 35 (64.81%) | 56 (72.73%) | 49 (71.01%) |
| Portfolio | 16 (29.63%) | 43 (55.84%) | 40 (57.97%) |
| Reference letters | 44 (81.48%) | 50 (64.94%) | 52 (75.36%) |
| Business casual attire | 18 (33.33%) | 26 (33.77%) | 23 (33.33%) |

* Baseline Responses From Beyond Care And Community Resource Center Were Excluded (See Appendix A).

Table 23b. Chi-square test for resumes

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds-ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .937(1) | .219 | 1.448 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .053(1) | .481 | .919 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .538(1) | .295 | 1.330 |

Table 23c. Chi-square test for portfolios

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds-ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 8.812(1) | .002 | 3.004 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .067(1) | .464 | 1.091 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | 9.811(1) | .001 | 3.276 |

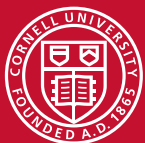
Table 23d. Chi-square test for reference letters

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds-ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | 4.288(1) | .029 | .421 |
| Midline to Endline Change | 1.879(1) | .117 | 1.652 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .662(1) | .278 | .695 |

Table 23e. Chi-square test for business casual attire

| | Chi-square(df) | P-value | Odds-ratio |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Baseline to Midline Change | .003(1) | .556 | 1.020 |
| Midline to Endline Change | .003(1) | .548 | .981 |
| Baseline to Endline Change | .000(1) | .575 | 1.000 |

ILR Worker Institute



The Worker Institute at Cornell
570 Lexington Avenue, 12th Floor
New York, NY 10022

ilr.cornell.edu/worker-institute