MIDAS' CHILDREN: AFFLUENT WHITE FAMILIES AND THE EFFECTS OF PARENTAL
BIAS ON CHILD OUTCOMES

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ABSTRACT

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Navigating parental biases within White affluent homes assumes family dynamics as yet
unexplored within family therapy praxis. This dissertation examines parental biases directed
toward domestic laborers employed in affluent White homes and how these biases might affect
the parent-child relationship and the emerging values of children in these homes. Research from
other fields demonstrates that domestic laborers experience social bias within the workplace;
what this highlights is the likelihood that children in these settings are navigating unspoken
subtleties of racism and classism in the context of developing socio-emotional maturity and
family relationships. The first article within this dissertation critically reviews relevant literature
to illuminate for the reader the lives of children in the care of domestic laborers in affluent White
families. Themes from this review discussed in detail include social hierarchy and the symbolic
boundaries of race and class, narrative cloaks to racial and class biases, parental attitudes about
race and class and the effects of these on the socialization of their children, and the significance
of the relationship between the child and the domestic laborer in the home. The literary review
portion of this dissertation succeeds in emphasizing the value of continued research on this
underexplored context of racial and class tension and the nuanced interactions that affect family
relationships and the socialization of affluent White children.

The second article within this paper incorporates evidence from two rounds of data collection —an open-ended questionnaire and a Likert scale questionnaire—surveying a panel of White adults ($n = 9$) who grew up in affluent White households employing domestic laborers. Items endorsed by participants within the study reveal that parents' views on race and class affect the parent-child relationship and the children's emerging values about race and class. The findings indicate that perceptions of a parent's treatment of domestic laborers inform adult beliefs about race and class. Further, study findings indicate that White adults who grew up in affluent White families employing domestic laborers experience difficulties in their relationships with their parents and that these difficulties are in part due to parental displays of racist and classist values, biases, attitudes, and relationship behaviors. Overall, the study confirms a significant relationship between family demographics, employment of domestic laborers, and parent-child relationships and children's developing perceptions of race and class. The discussion of the study results offers clinical implications for MFTs and other clinicians working with affluent White families as well as directions for future research. This dissertation is available in open access at AURA (https://aura.antioch.edu) and OhioLINK ETD Center (https://etd.ohiolink.edu).

Keywords: affluence, wealth, racism, classism, couples and family therapy, parental bias, family dynamics, domestic labor

Dedication

To Jem, my inspiration and motivation and moments of fun along the way.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The presence of domestic laborers in the homes of affluent White families in the United States offers an important commentary on the family life of the upper classes and adds value to the research community's understanding of racial- and class-based hierarchy. Within the United States, there are approximately 2 million domestic laborers, employed in roles such as nanny or housekeeper, a disproportionate number of them Black and Hispanic women (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.). In affluent White homes where domestic laborers are employed, there are echoes of colonialism, slavery, class stratification, and economic hierarchy. The relationship between domestic laborer and employer, domestic laborer and the children in their charge, and these parents and their children, take place against a backdrop of contradictory social locations informed by history and biases (Rollins, 1985). In the role of nanny or housekeeper, the domestic laborer is an intimate insider, but one who is rigidly segregated and subtly diminished (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). Their presence in the home tells a story of social history and present-day rules: class, ability, character, and worth—these are all things that can be seen, socially categorized, and morally assigned (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009). In less personal settings, someone from the upper class could withdraw from interacting emotionally with someone from a lower class, thereby dispelling any uneasiness about their social location (Sennett & Cobb, 1972). But in this setting, spatial constraints are unique and highlight an intimate relational dynamic containing a mixture of contradictory feelings, from respect to disdain, support to indifference, and fondness to dislike (Rollins, 1985).

Social class is foundational to all systems of oppression and therefore core to individual and family well-being (Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). Class refers not only to having certain assets but also to the power and prestige that comes from leveraging these (Ross, 1995).

Classism on a broader scope refers to socially and politically established systemic and economic inequities (Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012); in its more individualized meaning, classism represents the investment one has in keeping the social and economic imbalance as it is (Wilkerson, 2020). Interpersonally, classism sustains the idea that one's class suggests attributes of character or behavior, such as motivation and effort, or inversely, laziness and lack of motivation (Ross, 1995; Wilkerson, 2020). Significantly, classism often overlaps with racism, defined here as employing racial bias and systemic power to exert individual or group dominance over persons or groups with less power (Wilkerson, 2020). The result is an overarching social hierarchy that uses racialized, classed, and gendered images and dominant narratives to inform policies, institutions, and social interactions (Edwards & Few-Demo, 2016).

This social landscape is the backdrop for family relationships and individual socialization. Socialization within the family references a child's ability to respond to situations in behaviorally appropriate and adaptive ways as outlined by their parents or care figures (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Socialization in the family home includes class- and race-based implicit rulesets that put children on different class and race trajectories (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Typically, socialization within families assumes that parents or direct family members drive socialization practices, but in homes that employ domestic care figures, women employed as nannies or housekeepers also spend a significant amount of relational time with the children (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009). What this infers is that these children are reconciling conflicting or even polarized value commands from their different care figures (Gibson, 2008) in a complex emotional atmosphere informed by intersecting factions of the social hierarchy. The experiences of these children have rarely been researched, and much is unknown about their experience.

Notably, I could find no research specifically addressing the experiences of family members in White affluent homes that explores how their intersecting identities influence emerging beliefs about race and class. Additionally, there is also little research on the developmental effects of affluence on the parent-child relationship or child development more generally (Causadias et al., 2022; McMahon & Luthar, 2006). Thus, our understanding of affluent White clients and the relationships between members of these families has been limited, including these parents' experiences with and responses to personal social contexts.

Existing research on the relationship between domestic laborers working in the roles of nanny or housekeeper and their employers has considered several topics, including the link between the contemporary understanding of class and the U.S. shared history of slavery and servitude (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012; Wilkerson, 2020), the present statistics that illustrate that the U.S. economic divide is still constructed along racial lines (Villanueva & Barber, 2021), and knowledge that domestic service in the U.S. continues to reinforce racial and ethnic stereotypes (Rollins, 1985). Further, the existing literature emphasizes that domestic labor is work with a heavy load of emotional labor (Wilkins & Pace, 2014), that domestic laborers are often confronted with physical and verbal abuse and blatant bias within the workplace (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985; Wilkins & Pace, 2014), and that these workers often cope with employer bias by transferring love and attachment to the children of their employers (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985). These interactions in the home reveal unique undercurrents of U.S. culture (Rollins, 1985) and highlight the need for more research related to the effects of being a child in these contexts.

Existing research related to the topic of belonging shows that belonging is an inherent need that induces group members to display loyalty and suppress conflicts of interest (Wilkins &

Pace, 2014). This need for belonging is ingrained at that level of our neural networks and, from childhood, people unconsciously look to their parents for how to respond, think, and feel in different contexts (Morris et al., 2007). This suggests that children in affluent White homes employing a nanny or housekeeper are being invited to answer a value command around belonging to the *in*-group (racial, class, and fraternal; Sennett & Cobb, 1972) amidst an often-intimate relationship with a domestic care figure (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). Notably, the sole research study on White women who had Black nannies in the South between the 1920s and 1960s noted that these children, now adults, demonstrated cognitive dissonance when reflecting on the relationship with their domestic care figures in childhood (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). Interviewees were reluctant to talk about their relationships with Black help, communicating to researchers that they had misgivings about the treatment their nannies and housekeepers received in their company (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012).

The two articles within this dissertation build on the literature related to the unique intergroup relations presented in these homes, first focusing on how class, classism, and class biases and their effects on individual psychology and family relationships are studied in the field of couples and family therapy, then expanding to in-group relations specific to this demographic, and group-specific meanings of belonging and Whiteness, and finally expanding to intergroup relations specific to this demographic with focused attention on the relational and psychological effects of the relationship between the children of affluent White employers and employed domestic laborers. By studying the childhood reflections of relationships within the family home and the effect of developing within a context with unique intersecting racial and class complexity, this dissertation expands the current knowledge base of how these clients' unique experiences may currently influence their lives and presenting problems, how therapists can best

serve them, and potentially enhances a broader understanding of social relationships in different settings by examining a microcosm of oppressive dynamics and fulcrum of systemic inequality.

Overview of the Articles

In Article 1, I examine the unique context of affluent White homes employing domestic laborers and the influence of this on children in these homes. The literature analysis considers the ways that domestic labor, class, and affluence behave as intersecting factors that contribute to childhood development. Specifically, this article reviews how the social sciences presently and historically frame and understand classism and racism, the psychological impact of affluence, and the relational interplay between domestic laborers and employers. This article provides a framework for understanding the relationship between these women and children and demonstrates that what affluent White parents are telegraphing about class and race through their interactions in the home is not overlooked by the child. Based on this review, I emphasize to the therapeutic community that many of the issues characteristic of this demographic are directly influenced by how their family is positioned in society and by oppressive structures within and upheld by family dynamics.

Article 2 empirically explores the affective bond between a domestic care figure and a child of an affluent White family, including whether this bond was ever at odds with the parent-child relationship, whether it figured into the child's developing sense of self, then and now, and whether reflections on a parent's treatment of a domestic laborer informed emerging beliefs about race and class. This article addresses the effects of navigating the subtleties of classism and racism as a child in the context of developing relationships. Based on the accounts reported by children of these homes, now in adulthood, insight is gained into the effect biases have on the parent-child relationship and emerging beliefs about class and race. By highlighting

the effect on children growing up in these homes, I offer researchers and clinicians a chance to better understand the relational and intrapersonal impacts of socioeconomic and racial differences within a family system.

These two articles are presented sequentially (with references and tables immediately following each). Both are in preparation for submission for publication, and they are presented here in the format necessary for that purpose. Across articles, I am referred to as the first author, and my committee chair as the second author, reflecting his contributions in providing feedback and suggestions.

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CHAPTER II, ARTICLE I: MIDAS' CHILDREN: AFFLUENT WHITE FAMILIES AND THE EFFECTS OF PARENTAL BIAS ON CHILD OUTCOMES

Abstract

This article offers a critical review of relevant literature that sheds light on the lives of children in the care of domestic laborers in affluent White families. Navigating parental biases within affluent White homes assumes family dynamics as yet unexplored within family therapy praxis. This literary examination of affluent White households employing domestic laborers reveals how parental biases displayed towards hired care figures might play a role in the parent-child relationship and the children's emerging values regarding race and class. Research from other fields illustrates that domestic laborers experience social bias within the workplace; what the literature highlights is the likelihood that these children are navigating unspoken subtleties of racism and classism in the context of developing socio-emotional maturity and family relationships. Further, a review of relevant literature emphasizes the value of continued research on this underexplored context of racial and class tension and its revelation of nuanced interactions that affect family relationships and the socialization of affluent White children.

Keywords: affluence, wealth, racism, classism, couples and family therapy, parental bias, family dynamics, domestic labor

Introduction

Little consideration has been paid to the effects of wealth and racial biases on parent-child relationships or emerging perceptions of class and race (Causadias et al., 2022). There is currently a powerful urge in the United States (U.S.) for power to become self-investigating and for the U.S. research community to heighten the exploration of institutionalized racism, colonization, and White privilege (Wilkerson, 2020). As couples and family therapists, we do not yet have many articulated ways of addressing class issues with our affluent White families such that the scope of their treatment includes multicultural and decolonizing sensitivity (McDowell & Hernández, 2010; Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). To do so is particularly relevant in households that employ domestic laborers, a significant portion of whom are women of color living below the poverty line (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.)

Previous research has illustrated that many domestic workers who care for wealthy children as nannies and housekeepers are subject to classist and racist attitudes from their White employers (i.e., derogatory comments, inclusion/exclusion behaviors, harassment, barriers to citizenship, withholding of pay; Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Macklin, 1992; Rollins, 1985). The children in these homes are navigating unspoken subtleties of classism and racism in the context of developing relationships and emotional learning (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). The effects of navigating parental biases in these contexts are not understood.

Background

According to Kochhar and Sechipoulos (2022), 19% of Americans are considered upper class (~63 million people), as compared with 13% of Americans in poverty (~42 million). Approximately 3,331,900 (1%) people are in the highest tier of the American economic hierarchy (Kochhar & Sechipoulos, 2022), a significant number of people when considering the

relevance of developing therapeutic interventions for this population. Domestic laborers are considered in the twice poverty class, with hourly wages two times below the average hourly wage (see Figures 1 & 2; Economic Policy Institute, n.d.). According to the Economic Policy Institute (n.d.) population survey there are currently over 2 million domestic laborers in the U.S., a disproportionate number of them Black and Hispanic women. Domestic laborers, such as nannies and housekeepers, navigate a complex terrain of situational inclusion amidst segregation and emotional exclusion (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009). These women confront classism, sexism, racism, and discrimination while being paid to offer attuned care to the people who employ them and to the children in their charge (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Macklin, 1992; Rollins, 1985). The relationship between these women and children takes place against a backdrop of contradictory social locations informed by history and biases (Rollins, 1985). In this setting, spatial constraints are unique and highlight an intimate relational dynamic containing a mixture of contradictory feelings, from respect to disdain, support to indifference, and fondness to dislike (Rollins, 1985).

Methods

The authors examined literature in the form of peer-reviewed articles and books in the fields of social sciences and psychology on topics related to domestic labor and servitude, class and affluence, and factors that contribute to childhood development. We sought to examine whether an understanding of affluent White homes employing domestic laborers and children in these homes can be observed in the literature within these fields.

Overview of the Review

Focusing on the unique intergroup relations presented in these homes, the authors began by reviewing how the social sciences and fields of psychology presently and historically frame classism and racism, the psychological impact of affluence, and how class and race biases move

through the generations. Given the tendency in this field to highlight these topics from the lens of aiding the disadvantaged, a framing that ignores that the problem of economic disparity in large part lies with the economically privileged and not the oppressed or marginalized (Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012), we specifically investigated conceptualizations of affluence, class, and wealth as an aspect of client demographic and of underlying presenting problems. Next, the authors examined in-group relations specific to this demographic and explored group-specific meanings of belonging and Whiteness. And lastly, the authors examined intergroup relations specific to this demographic, with focused attention on the relational interplay between domestic laborers and employers.

In reviewing and evaluating the literature, the following questions guided the review; (a) Is there a significant relationship between family demographics, employment of domestic laborers, and parent-child relationships? (b) Does the relationship between a domestic laborer, such as a nanny or housekeeper, play a role in children in affluent White homes' relationship with their parents? (c) Does the relationship between a domestic laborer, such as a nanny or housekeeper, play a role in children in affluent White homes' emerging beliefs about race and class? And (d) Do affluent White parents' behaviors and attitudes towards employed domestic laborers impact their children's developing perceptions of race and class?

Inclusion Criteria

In searching for relevant articles and books, we initially used keywords related to the specific phenomenon of relationships between affluent White families and employed domestic laborers, such as nannies or housekeepers. The literature searches in PsychInfo using keywords and phrases on this specific relationship yielded very few results in the fields of marriage and family therapy, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. This was expanded to then search

articles and books in PsycInfo using the keywords "race or racism," "class or classism," "racial socialization," "class socialization," "parenting and race," "parenting and class," "attachment and affluence," "childhood development and affluence," "domestic laborer and domestic worker," "belonging and race," and "belonging and class," in the fields of marriage and family therapy, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. The review excluded studies that investigated clinical solutions and programs for affluent youth, which may be better suited to understanding how the helping professions are presently addressing clinical treatment with affluent populations. A total of 65 resources were identified for review. The literature searches were primarily conducted in PsychInfo, and the publication years of the reviewed studies ranged from 1972 to 2022.

Method of Review

Based on the research questions presented above, patterns of development within certain contexts (i.e., race, class) within the reviewed literature were first identified as well as types of interrelations (e.g., domestic laborers and employers). Then, parent and caregiver attitudes about race and class were examined within the reviewed literature. In the analysis, the contents from the reviewed literature were initially examined for relevant themes and terms. Next, the themes and terms were adjusted and organized based on revision and the strength of the presence of these themes and terms throughout the literature.

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Discussion

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Social Hierarchy and Symbolic Boundaries

The United States is a class-conscious culture (Sennet & Cobb, 1972). Our perception of social class and where we fit into it influences how we feel about ourselves, others, and our families (Ross, 1995). Yet the effects of social class, classism, and class biases on individual psychology and family relationships are largely overlooked and not understood in the fields of

therapy (Ross, 1995; Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). Increasingly within the psychological research community social class has been drawing research focus due to its recognized link to mental, physical, and social health (Colbow et al., 2016). Unfortunately, much of this research neglects within-group and diversified variability (Liu, 2011). Just as race alone is not an adequate explanation of racism, affluence or poverty is not an adequate explanatory variable of the psychological phenomena of class or classism (Liu, 2011). When limited to objective measures alone, such as annual income, observations of class location omit more subtle aspects of the process of class, such as personal values, attitudes, beliefs, and socialization practices (Colbow et al., 2016). Therapy research often obscures the negative repercussions of affluence or wealth, limiting a more complex understanding of class (Liu, 2011; Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). This analysis of social hierarchy and the symbolic boundaries of class revealed subthemes of categorization, caste, and Whiteness, which are presented and discussed in greater depth below.

In terms of subjective experience, class refers to the worldview by which an individual experiences, interprets, and makes sense of the objective socio-economic world around them (Colbow et al., 2016). Classism accounts for systemic forces that work to marginalize, exploit, and oppress individuals and includes behaviors enacted upon others, personal experiences of discrimination, and/or experiences of internal dissonance when one perceives themselves as out of step with those they associate as in their class (Liu, 2011). Social tools of racism, sexism, classism, and the narratives of meritocracy, democracy, and capitalism maintain and justify class distinction (Dolan-Del Vecchio & Lockard, 2004).

Early U.S. culture emphasized political and social normalization of the objectification of others perceived by Whites as racially different, particularly African Americans (van Wormer &

Falkner, 2012). Our shared history of slavery is relevant to our contemporary understanding of class (Wilkerson, 2020) and of domestic labor (Rollins, 1985; van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). The period of the post-reconstruction paradox (1920s–1960s) was particularly influential in creating policy and social attitudes that confirmed that the *other* was separate and not equal, particularly in the labor force (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). Many African Americans during this time were assigned the lowest, dirtiest jobs, consequently becoming seen as lowly and dirty; this message continues to exist today as an enacted part of the dominant social narrative (Wilkerson, 2020). Even today, U.S. workers whose roles are less intellectual and more physical are valued less in terms of pay, their thoughts less valued, and their contributions more anonymous and interchangeable (Villanueva & Barber, 2021).

Present statistics illustrate that the economic divide is still being constructed along racial lines: White families in the U.S. have an average of $141,900 in net worth (Villanueva & Barber, 2021); African American families have an average of $11,000 in net worth (Villanueva & Barber, 2021); Hispanics make 27.8% of what Whites make hourly (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.). Beyond racial divide, the average annual wage of the bottom 90 % of American workers is $40,085, whereas the top 10% have average annual earnings of $823,763. The top 1% have average annual earnings of $3,212,486, which weights the top 10%; without the top 1% added in, the average annual earnings of the upper class (the top 10%) would be $173,176 (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.).

Categorization

Class-based culture keeps people apart using stereotypes and judgment as much as it uses access, status, and wealth (Sennet & Cobb, 1972). A class-based society projects an image of why people belong to high or low classes, illustrating social position as indicative of personal

worth (Sennett & Cobb, 1972; Wilkerson, 2020). An *in* vs. *out, us* vs. *them* social system defines group membership as a positive representation of the *self* in contrast with a negative representation of the *other* (Augoustinos & Every, 2007). When considering how this social categorizing of *us* and *them* plays out in affluent White families that employ a domestic laborer, parents unconsciously signal to their child that their domestic care figure, being from a different place in the social and economic hierarchy, is not truly an *in*-group member (Wilkins & Pace, 2014).

Caste

While U.S. culture proclaims egalitarianism, in structure, it is a caste system, setting certain people from birth at the top of a social hierarchy (Wilkerson, 2020). Race, gender, and class cue social assignment, which cue assumptions about intelligence, appearance, how to treat/be treated, where to live and work, and what services one can provide and/or deserve (Wilkerson, 2020).

Affluent members of society are often invested in maintaining a division of social class, for this division is foundational to their position in the economic hierarchy (Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). This racially and economically determined group imposes on themselves and their children the expectation of remaining above others, "in charge at all times, at the center of things, to police those who might cut ahead of them, to resent the idea of undeserving lower castes jumping the line and getting in from of those born to lead" (Wilkerson, 2020, p. 184). Persons in positions of class and race superiority want, either consciously or unconsciously, the *other* to exist in terms that they have defined for them to better confirm their own identity as superiors (Rollins, 1985).

Whiteness

Race can and has been redefined over time, but while what is White may change, what remains fixed is White as systemically dominant (Wilkerson, 2020). Characteristics of Whiteness in positions of social superiority include perfectionism, a sense of urgency, defensiveness, quantity over quality, worship of the written word, paternalism/maternalism, rigid thinking, fear of open conflict, individualism, worship of unlimited growth, and avoidance of discomfort (Villanueva & Barber, 2021). Relevant to our inquiry, families that consciously or unconsciously promote Whiteness as socially superior make it difficult for other cultural norms and standards (i.e., those of a domestic laborer) to be expressed, unconsciously requiring that the *other* adapt or conform to White norms (Villanueva & Barber, 2021).

Affluent Homes That Employ Domestic Laborers

Affluent White homes employing domestic laborers in the roles of nanny or housekeeper were found to have elements of racism and classism (or both; Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985; Wilkins & Pace, 2014). The subthemes of deference, invisibility, isolation, narrative cloaks, and emotional labor were also analyzed and discussed in greater depth below.

The evolution of domestic service in the U.S. continues to reinforce racial and ethnic stereotypes and the stigma of servitude (Rollins, 1985). The body of the domestic laborer in our culture reads as a book telling the script of social history and present-day rules: class, ability, character, and worth—these are all things that can be seen, socially categorized, and morally assigned (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009). For affluent White employers, maintaining the presence of domestic help strengthens their class and racial identity by broadcasting a particular image of social categorization, making the ideological function of domestic labor a legitimization of the social stratification of class, race, and gender (Rollins, 1985).

The requisite relational attitudes of domestic laborers towards their employers have been described by researchers as deference and invisibility and exist within an atmosphere of social isolation (Rollins, 1985; Wilkins & Pace, 2014).

Deference

Rollins (1985), in her foundational work in the social sciences interviewing domestic laborers and employers in Boston, found that the domestic laborers she interviewed shared the common experience of employers expecting deference and outward signs of subservience. The author describes deference as a relational activity that serves the purpose of confirming superior and inferior social positions (Rollins, 1985).

Invisibility

An invisible person is easy to dismiss as unequal—employers find no cause to bridge differences with someone not in a position to ask to have their emotional reality confirmed (Cox, 2007). In the limited amount of research done on domestic labor, it has been found that many families who employ these women often carry on conversations around them as if they were not there, do not allow them to eat with the family, and/or communicate to them that they do not want to hear about their families or children (Cox, 2007; Rollins, 1985).

Isolation

Domestic laborers are often subject to the biases and attitudes of their employers in a context where there are no overseers or coworkers to keep behaviors in check (Rollins, 1985; Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Isolated in their workplace, domestic laborers may be subject to heightened emotional control while being expected to do more in terms of emotional labor (Wilkins & Pace, 2014).

Narrative Cloaks

More and more there are social taboos against openly expressing prejudices around race, class, or gender (Augoustinos & Every, 2007). This has led to more discreet strategies of presenting negative views of the *other*, protecting the speaker from accusations of racism or prejudice while rationalizing their exclusive behaviors (Augoustinos & Every, 2007). People from privileged classes often make use of dominant narratives to mitigate any shame they may feel about ignoring or enforcing oppressive customs (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). This narrative often tells a story that is not real, such as when a nanny or housekeeper is referred to as *one of the family* (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985; van Wormer & Falkner, 2012) yet does not have a voice in decisions, her name on the guest list, or her favorite foods in the refrigerator.

The phrase *one of the family* is generally used when we speak of our own families or tight-knit circles to communicate a sense of inclusion and the responsibility we feel for or expect from this group (Rollins, 1985). In many of the interviews conducted with domestic laborers, the women indicate that this phrase is generally used by employers when they want something that would typically be thought of as a gross imposition on an employee (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Macklin, 1992; Rollins, 1985; van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). A phrase meant to infer that the domestic laborer is a member of the family truly equates to their "belonging to the family" (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012, p. 393).

Emotional Labor and Rulesets

Emotional labor refers to the work of managing the emotions of people in dominant social positions (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). People who hold status and power in an interaction are expected to assert less emotional labor, have the privilege of evaluating their emotional displays more favorably, and determine what feeling rules will guide the exchange (Wilkins & Pace,

2014). People in deferential positions, assigned there by their race, class, and gender, are expected to mask and manage their emotions to create a positive emotional experience for the higher-status person (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Domestic labor is work with a heavy load of emotional labor (Wilkins & Pace, 2014) and demands that the employee engage with genuine affection and love to meet the needs of the family in their care (Lai, 2009).

Domestic laborers report often confronting physical and verbal abuse within the workplace (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985), including blatant bias requiring emotional restraint (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). These women report that they often cope by transferring love and attachment to the children of their employers (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985). By their reasoning, it makes the job more bearable and helps them to cope with the way they sometimes feel in the house (Lai, 2009), but it is also how they are expected to perform (Rollins, 1985). Emotionally accommodating employers is a survival strategy that helps these women to navigate workplace inequities, obliging them to involuntarily reinforce the emotional stratification between them and their employing family (Wilkins & Pace, 2014).

Parent Attitudes about Class and Race: Socialization, Belonging, and Parenting

Parents' attitudes about class and race and the possible effects on both their children and the employed domestic laborer are concerned with representations of demographic-specific conceptualizations of socialization, belonging, and parenting. The ways that parents communicate their views to their children are critical to their children's development (Thomassin et al., 2020). A parent's style of interacting with their child is informed by the parent's mental health, personal history, ability to emotionally regulate, and attitudes and values (Easterbrooks & Biringen, 2000; Morris et al., 2007). In homes that employ domestic laborers and include undercurrents of classism and racism, children are likely exposed to inter-adult exchanges that

have elements of coerciveness, negativity, hostility, psychological control, and lack of sensitivity (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985). These behaviors in any family context increase the likelihood of children becoming more emotionally reactive and less emotionally secure (Morris et al., 2007). Morris and colleagues (2007) note that exposure to even covert "background anger" (p. 373) directed elsewhere in the family system places children at risk for developmental and socio-emotional problems such as negative attitudes, noncompliance, impulsivity, lack of self-control, difficulties understanding negative affect, and rejection of social values and standards of conduct.

Parents with unchecked classist and racist attitudes at home likely do not realize that this climate they are creating is possibly harming their children's socio-emotional health and development. Many wealthy individuals do not hold or endorse classist attitudes about the poor and believe that people are equal, recognize systemic oppression, and actively attempt to minimize the role of social class in their lives (Colbow et al., 2016). Yet, race and class are part of how individuals maintain and perpetuate their social worldview (Liu, 2011), and self-preservation behaviors in terms of position in the economic hierarchy may at times exist below the level of conscious recognition. Attitudes of parental bias directed towards domestic laborers (i.e., making invisible, demanding deference, etc.) invite the children in these homes to either acknowledge or deny the legitimacy of these acts as they consider their own biological needs for belonging and inclusion (Martocci, 2019).

Belonging

Belonging is an inherent need that induces group members to display loyalty and suppress conflicts of interest (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Members of a group collectively confirm or deny membership based on which behaviors are either to be expressed or repressed (Wilkins

& Pace, 2014). The cost can be an expectation to live up to constrictive norms to maintain group membership and a sense of belonging (Martocci, 2019).

Parents hold both themselves and their children accountable for ideas about how members of existing social categories should behave (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Children are unconsciously looking to their parents for how to respond, think, and feel in different contexts (Morris et al., 2007). What the parents are telegraphing about class and race through their interactions with the domestic laborer in the home cues what and who are acceptable and how to respond emotionally (Wilkins & Pace, 2014).

Parenting

Parenting informs the developing child's broad social behavior, social competence, and adjustment (Boldt et al., 2020). Class and race differences in parenting practices impart distinct emotional competencies to children in families, grooming them for identity-specific adult life (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). The internalization of parents' emotional standards, practices of emotional restraint, or utilization of emotions to manipulate outcomes all display class-and-race-based training for children (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Behaviors and unspoken rules embedded in family life are reinforced by disciplinary tactics, day-to-day interactions, imparted expectations for conduct, rewards for appropriate emotional habits, and provided opportunities (Wilkins & Pace, 2014).

Affluent parents are more likely to use achievement-oriented motivation in their parenting as, conforming with social pressures, they often base their self-worth on the success of their child (Thomassin et al., 2020). These parents tend to excessively problem-solve for their children, spending money on interference rather than developing relational strategies for addressing problems or allowing their children to practice and acquire coping skills (Luthar et

al., 2013). Parenting practices characteristic of affluent families are praise, indulgence, and communicating expectations around status-seeking, which combine to have the likely outcomes of perfectionism and narcissism (Thomassin et al., 2020).

Affluent parents as a group are neither neglectful nor disparaging; it is not the possession of wealth itself that poses a risk to mental health, but the "cultural context of affluence" (Luthar et al., 2013, p. 1532). When there is an overemphasis and preoccupation with status and wealth, the inevitable result is a feeling of disconnectedness, which inhibits intimacy and increases mistrust of others, thereby increasing unhappiness and weakening ties to family and friends (Luthar et al., 2013).

Relationships in the System

The above-described processes describe nuances of dominance and important aspects of relational interactions between a domestic laborer and an employer. Defining this context provides an understanding of inequality as a relational process (Wilkins & Pace, 2014), revealing unique undercurrents of U.S. culture (Rollins, 1985). "Love, economic exploitation, respect and disrespect, mutual dependency, intense self-interest, intimacy without genuine communication, mutual protection—all of these elements were contained in this extraordinarily complex relationship" (Rollins, 1985, p. 178). Reviewed literature to date, while limited, entails similar depictions of affluent White parents and their children, these parents and employed domestic laborers, and affluent White children and domestic laborers. These relationships are discussed in greater depth below.

Parents and their Children

While the field of marriage and family therapy acknowledges that social ecology plays a critical role in developmental outcomes, very little is known about psychological development in

the context of socioeconomic advantage (McMahon & Luthar, 2006). Class is often conflated with ability and intelligence (Prosser, 2020; Sennet & Cobb, 1972), and a default assumption may be that children in affluent homes have a decreased risk of psychosocial problems (McMahon & Luthar, 2006). Evolving research reveals that being in an affluent and elite position in society has its emotional consequences (Luthar, 2003; Luthar et al., 2013; McMahon & Luthar, 2006; Prosser, 2020; Sennet & Cobb, 1972; van Wormer & Falkner, 2012; Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012).

For the developing child, the pressures of being at the top play a role in their evolving mindset, increasing their belief in individualism over collectivism, their sense of disconnection, and ultimately leading to an unsatisfactory self-image (Prosser, 2020; Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). Dominant norms in society enlist wealthy and White children to contribute to the maintenance of oppressive structures without considering their feelings about this or the potentially negative outcomes in terms of their health and well-being (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). The emphasis on accomplishment and excessive competition combined with critical childrearing practices create self-doubt, lack of connection, and a skewed sense of moral character, negatively affecting cognitive development and becoming internalized as perfectionism, narcissism, or other maladaptive traits (Prosser, 2020; Silberschatz & Aafjes-van Doorn, 2017).

The limited research on the relationship between parents and children in affluent homes has noted low psychological closeness between them (Luthar, 2003; Luthar et al., 2013). One of the reasons for this may be the unpredictability regarding caregivers (Shafran, 1992), given that these children are often cared for by nannies or housekeepers. Fluctuations in attentiveness from a primary care figure interfere with the development of a secure sense of self and a secure trust

that others can be counted on concerning personal needs (Shafran, 1992). Parent-child

attachment, which refers to the aspects of the parent-child relationship that foster a sense of

safety, security, and protection in the child (Bowlby, 1988), is a key dimension of socialization

(Boldt et al., 2020). A care figure's behavior fosters or inhibits child attachment security and sets

the groundwork for later emotional regulation skills, initiating a path to more broad social

adjustment (Boldt et al., 2020).

Mothers. Maintaining class standards is a constant pressure for adults in these homes

(Ross, 1995). Mothers must strive to balance achievement-oriented goals and expectations with

the elite status mandate that they be "yet appealing, selfless, nurturing, accommodating, slim,

and beautiful" (Luthar et al., 2013, p. 1533). In concert with their often pressure-filled work

demands, affluent mothers are also the parents most often tasked with maintaining emotional

coherence in the home (Luthar et al., 2013). In general, research indicates that the effects of the

mother-child attachment relationship are amplified; attachment insecurity within this relationship

is correlated with emotional dysregulation, and attachment security with better emotional

regulation in preadolescence (Boldt et al., 2020). Whether this is socially influenced or

biologically influenced, in effect, for women with the demands that affluent mothers often face,

as with mothers in other classes, the combination is a pressure difficult to attenuate.

Fathers.

Once a divorce is effected between love and demonstrations of power, what is the

strength of love itself? Strong feeling, to be sure, but family love is also a matter of all

sorts of actions in a world where power shapes experience, in which mere love does not

feed the children or get the money for the vacation … The real me who cares, the real me

who is sensitive, becomes a vulnerable creature: emotions are an area of self to be

shielded, not to be expressed, lest, by exposure to the world, these tender spots be bruised

or hurt. (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 215)

Mothers are reported as having stronger attachment relationships with children than

fathers in affluent homes (Luthar et al., 2013). Fathers in affluent families are often tasked with

being the primary breadwinner, which means that they are largely responsible for the family's

strict degree of elite appearances of status (Luthar et al., 2013). Fathers often face high demands

of career success and work long hours, resulting in long absences from the home for work travel;

this makes it a challenge for them as fathers to balance active parenthood with their careers, and

they may feel shut out by their families or have feelings of alienation in the home (Luthar et al.,

2013). A care figure who is unresponsive to emotional needs and expressions signifies to the

child their lack of acceptance of and an inability to remain in contact with the emotions being

expressed (Easterbrooks & Biringen, 2000). Punitive, minimizing, or dismissive responses to a

child incite emotional arousal and decrease socioemotional competency, promoting inappropriate

emotional regulation strategies (Morris et al., 2007).

Relationships Between the Parents and the Domestic Laborers

Adult relationships within the family system, particularly contentious ones, affect both

the relationships in the system and child development (Morris et al., 2007). The emotional

well-being and expression of each member of a family combine to create an overall emotional

climate which is reflected most apparently in the quality of relationships within the family

system (Morris et al., 2007). There is a high emotional contagion factor in families, and children

especially are affected by any distress originating from the adults within the environment (Luthar

et al., 2013; Morris et al., 2007). Interviews with domestic laborers report employer attitudes of

ambivalence and care, but also jealousy or even cruelty (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985;

van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). The love and affection care workers give to their charges is not always appreciated or responded to well by other family members, creating tension in the workplace (Lai, 2009). These underlying tensions are informed by ideas and customs each has inherited from the larger culture, influenced by class, ethnic, regional, racial backgrounds, and gender expectations (Rollins, 1985).

Relationships Between the Children and the Domestic Laborers

Bowlby (1988) asserts that the basic need for attachment is biologically based. Security in relationships, as it pertains to socio-emotional development, hinges on the emotional availability of a care figure (Easterbrooks & Biringen, 2000). Easterbrooks and Biringen (2000) question whether this is specific to a parent or if the same standards of interactions apply to other caregivers. The domestic laborer often lives in emotional intimacy with this child, engaging in attachment behaviors such as feeding, clothing, bathing, nurturing, and being the one emotionally available for the child to come to with their daily hurts and fears (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985).

Researchers Cox (2007), Lai (2009), Rollins (1985), and van Wormer and Falkner (2012) stress that the strong affective bond between caregivers and their charges helps the domestic laborer to cope with the way they feel at times in the house, but there is little mentioned in the research regarding the child's response to this bond. In their interviews with White women, now adults, who had Black nannies in the South between the 1920s and 1960s, social science researchers van Wormer and Falkner (2012) found that these women demonstrated cognitive dissonance when reflecting on their relationship with their nannies. Cognitive dissonance refers to the psychological conflict between wanting to see the self as good and misgivings about past choices and behaviors (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). Interviewees contacted were reluctant to

talk about their relationships with Black help, communicating to researchers that they had

misgivings about how their position as White children contributed to oppressive structures and

about their thoughts on the treatment their nannies and housekeepers received in their company

(van Wormer & Falkner, 2012).

The Double-Bind: Attempts to Harmonize Polarizing Differences. When does the

realization come to a child that their sense of self and belonging is dependent upon obeying

social commands that prove them loyal to the social class they were born into (Wilkerson,

2020)? Martocci (2019) notes that social exclusion is a threat to well-being and self-organizing.

Our need for connection and belonging has evolved to become ingrained at that level of our

neural networks (Martocci, 2019). When the need to belong is unmet, maladaptive behaviors

increase, reflecting the individual's desperate attempt to maintain a desired relationship (Morris

et al., 2007). Attempting to meet an unmet need to belong will begin to take behavioral priority

over the need for self-esteem or self-actualization (Morris et al., 2007).

A double-bind is created when a child's developmental needs for consistency and

congruency are thwarted when trying to meaningfully coordinate incompatible value

configurations within their environment (Bateson et al., 1963; Gibson, 2008; E. Shaw, 2011).

Said another way, a double-bind is a set of contradictory commands an individual tries to

mutually obey in a situation that they cannot escape (Sennett & Cobb, 1972). Double-binds are

associated with disorganized attachment, the developing individual becoming hostage to feelings

of guilt while longing to elicit love, and their efforts to individuate collapse again and again (D.

Shaw, 2019).

Double-binds, like cognitive dissonance (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012), refer to

frustrated attempts to restore an original or preferred belief against newly realized truths (Slavin

& Kreigman, 1998). For example, a child may come to realize that their nanny, who they understood as a figure their parents described as *one of the family* (original belief), is somehow inferior or unaccepted by their parents (newly realized truth). The agonizing realization that the child's desired relationship is undesirable to the parents is where a needed relationship potentially becomes a threat to their self-organizing (Slavin & Kreigman, 1998).

Interestingly, beyond resulting in attachment ruptures, double-binds also create a sense of depersonalization in relationships (E. Shaw, 2011). The fragmented individual moves from seeing *thou* to seeing *it*, with others becoming attributed solely to their function of either fulfilling or violating a task (E. Shaw, 2011). The depersonalization of the *other,* who now exists only to facilitate one's own experience, represents objectification, dehumanization, and distancing from relational exchanges, making transactional exchanges more comfortable (E. Shaw, 2011). An attitude of superiority or inferiority towards another disables shared emotional experiences and sustains otherness (Bourdieu, 1986; Wilkerson, 2020; Wilkins & Pace, 2014). This framework may help researchers and clinicians better understand how beliefs about race and class develop and move through the generations. The presence of a double-bind and the resulting sense of depersonalization may also help clinicians better understand the frustrated relationship between parent and child often reported in affluent White families (Luthar, 2003; Luthar et al., 2013). Further, it may help us better understand the increased likelihood of narcissistic behaviors among these youth (Silberschatz & Aafjes-van Doorn, 2017; Thomassin et al., 2020).

Conclusion

The literature provides evidence that children in affluent White families that employ domestic laborers are likely challenged by being raised in emotional climates that include adult

interactions informed by attitudes of classism and racism during a developmental period when they are evolving their moral code and cogent values around race and class. These individuals likely feel torn between a love for their parents, a love for their nannies, and a need for situational inclusion. This review of the literature emphasizes that many of the issues characteristic of this demographic are directly influenced by how their family is positioned in society and by oppressive structures within and upheld by family dynamics.

Further what this review illustrates is that what affluent White parents are telegraphing about class and race through their interactions in the home is not overlooked by the child, who is watching and implicitly learning from the parent's emotional profile and cues about what and who are acceptable and how to respond emotionally (Morris et al., 2007; Wilkins & Pace, 2014). The child sees a domestic care figure, a person who gives them a significant amount of time, attention, and care, confronting subtle or overt displays of classism and racism (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985; van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). This likely impacts the child's identification with parental displays of dominance (Diekman, 2007; Martocci, 2019), highlights class and race differences (Rollins, 1985; van Wormer & Falkner, 2012), and creates conflicting messages about expectations of behavior in the household toward caregiving staff.

Significance and Implications

This review's guiding questions asked: (a) Is there a significant relationship between family demographics, employment of domestic laborers, and parent-child relationships? (b) Does the relationship between a domestic laborer, such as a nanny or housekeeper, play a role in children in affluent White homes' relationship with their parents? (c) Does the relationship between a domestic laborer, such as a nanny or housekeeper, play a role in children in affluent White homes' emerging beliefs about race and class? And (d) Do affluent White parents'

behaviors and attitudes towards employed domestic laborers impact their children's developing perceptions of race and class?

What this paper's review of the relevant literature indicates is that children in these homes are attempting to measure the reward or loss of answering a value command around belonging to the in-group (racial, class, and fraternal; Sennett & Cobb, 1972) against sensitivity towards a domestic care figure (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). This finds the children caught between their affection for their care figure and the social demands, attachment needs, and need for belonging from their parents (Huston & Bentley, 2010). This bind affects their socioemotional development (E. Shaw, 2019), their relationships with their parents (Macklin, 1992), and their developing beliefs about race and class (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012).

Attending to these subtle ruptures of connection in childhood could create meaning for our affluent White clients who are part of family systems that employ domestic laborers. The information presented here within this analysis may help clinicians better support the children in affluent White families to compose narratives that acknowledge legitimate responses to legitimate social forces; as such, we may be able to support them in moving away from maladaptive responses that emerged from silence, ignorance, or denial (Martocci, 2019). To do this, educators, supervisors, and clinicians need to become literate in effective ways to engage affluent clients in narratives about social location and the effects on family dynamics. By exploring the relational dynamics within these families, researchers and therapists potentially gain insight into the effect biases have on parent-child relationships and emerging beliefs about class and race.

A review of the literature has further revealed that clinicians and researchers need to continue to research behavioral and emotional responses within these family systems, what they

reference in terms of family dynamics, and what these responses signify individually and socially. Further, this review serves as a call for continued development on how best to provide effective care for this unique demographic. We cannot change systems without understanding the minds, thoughts, and behaviors of people within these systems (Rollins, 1985). Promoting appropriate responsibility in the therapeutic process with White affluent families means that clinicians also must understand how class biases and their correlated relational factors contribute to presenting problems (McDowell et al., 2022; Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). A therapeutic process that includes consideration and investigation of social dynamics enables clients to manage the undercurrents of class and race that contribute to family complexity (Knudson-Martin & Huenergardt, 2010). Change then would potentially be seen across systems, as clients emerge having a greater sense that they are part of rather than subject to the organizing systems around them (i.e., family, workplace, or community spaces). This can begin within therapy by finding appropriate and effective ways of inviting clients to investigate and disrupt what is often taken for granted about the world around them, helping them to make connections between broader social forces and their individual and relational problems (McDowell et al., 2022).

The wealthy often lack exposure to or consciously or unconsciously avoid channels of constructive decolonizing discourses that inspire personal change (Villanueva & Barber, 2021). Family therapists are positioned to be a bridge. Reconnecting this group to dimensions of power and class outside of a self-limited scope may relieve them from the atomizing pressures of intensified individualist work and social environments and restore a sense of broader social connection (Villanueva & Barber, 2021). Working in this way with these families has the potential to break the denial of pain and raise consciousness, but this means developing self-awareness amidst long-held rationalizations of privileged positions (van Wormer & Falkner,

2012). In a culture conceived in an atmosphere of colonization, placing economic and political justice at the heart of the therapeutic endeavor is essential for the health and well-being of the client (McDowell et al., 2022; Dolan-Del Vecchio & Lockard, 2004). Perhaps society can truly transform broad socioeconomic inequity by enlisting those who are holding the financial reigns to examine their position and to be accountable for it (Villanueva & Barber, 2021).

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Figure 1

Poverty Rates of Domestic Workers (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.)
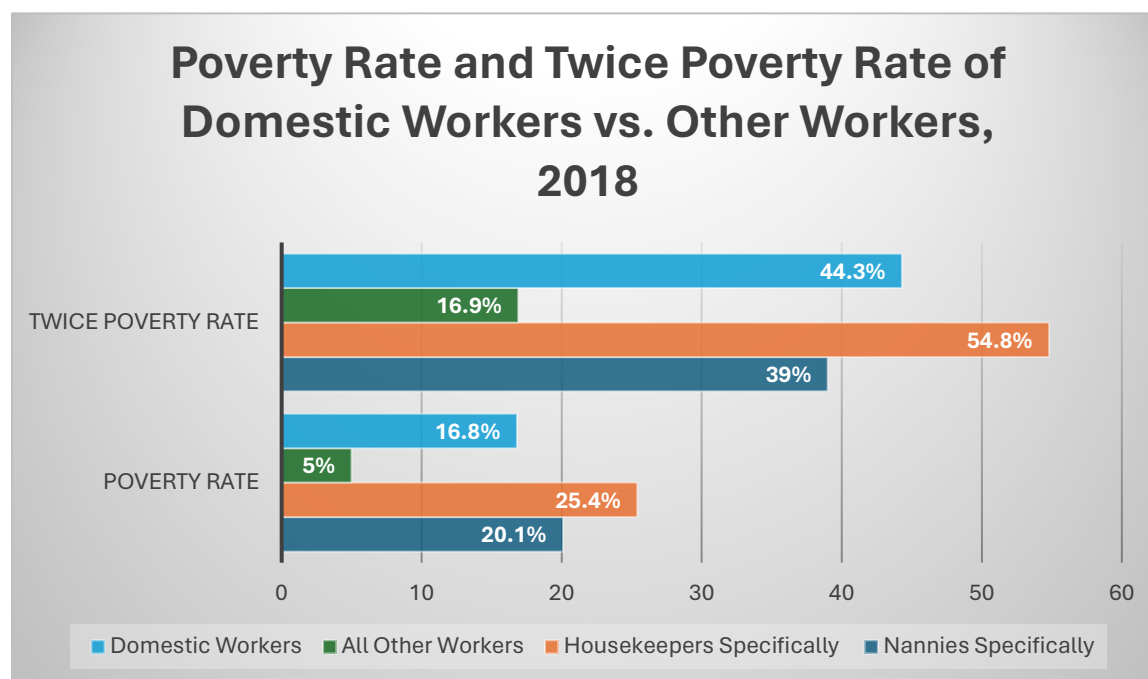
Note: The poverty rate is the share of workers whose family income is below the official poverty line. The twice poverty rate is the share of workers whose family incomes are below twice the official poverty line. Poverty thresholds set in the 1960s have not evolved to reflect the changing necessities of low-income families, therefore researchers often use the twice-poverty rate as a better cutoff for whether a family can make ends meet. The data is drawn from pooled data from 2016-2018 to ensure adequate sample size (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.).

Figure 2

Demonstrated Pay Gap of Nannies Compared with Other Workers (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.)

Median Real Hourly Wages, Domestic Workers (All and by Occupation) vs. Other Workers, 2019

ALL OTHER WORKERS — $19.97
DOMESTIC WORKERS — $12.01
HOUSEKEEPERS SPECIFICALLY — $11.89
NANNIES SPECIFICALLY — $11.60

■ Median Hourly Wages
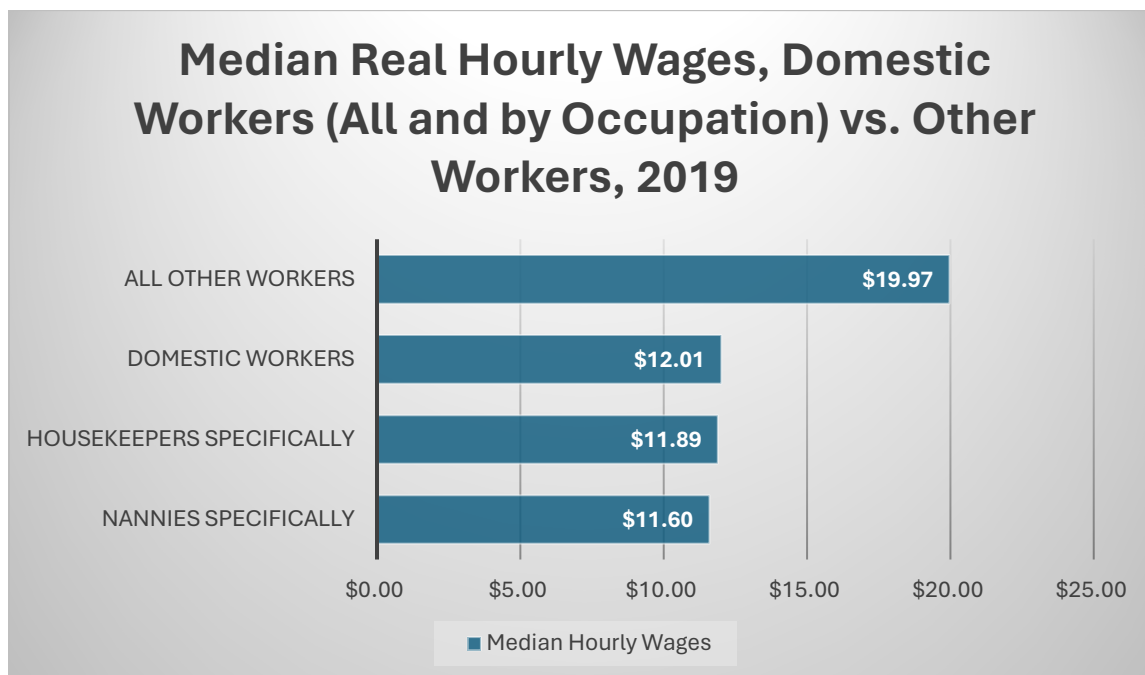
Note: Wages include overtime, tips, and commissions, and data within this figure are pooled from 2017–2019 population survey datasets. Data are in 2019 dollars (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.).

CHAPTER III, ARTICLE II: MIDAS' CHILDREN: AFFLUENT WHITE FAMILIES AND THE EFFECTS OF PARENTAL BIAS ON CHILD OUTCOMES

Abstract

Previous research illustrates that domestic laborers, such as nannies or housekeepers, experience social bias within the workplace. At the printing of this article, the researchers found no other published empirical study within the marriage and family therapy (MFT) literature that examines the family dynamics within affluent White homes employing domestic laborers nor the children within these environments. Employing a modified Delphi approach, the researchers surveyed a panel of White adults ($n = 9$) who grew up in affluent White households employing domestic laborers as either nannies or housekeepers. The study reveals that White children of affluent homes in the care of domestic laborers are navigating subtleties of parental biases in the context of developing socio-emotional maturity and family relationships. The study conducted two rounds of data collection: an open-ended questionnaire and a Likert scale questionnaire. The endorsed items within the analysis reveal that parents' views on race and class affect the parent-child relationship and the children's emerging values about race and class. The discussion of the results offers clinical implications for MFTs and other clinicians working with affluent White families and directions for future research. By turning the researchers' lens to affluent White homes that employ domestic laborers, this study highlights an underexplored context of racial and class tension and how nuanced interactions within these contexts affect family relationships and the socialization of affluent White children.

Keywords: affluence, wealth, racism, classism, couples and family therapy, parental bias, decolonization, domestic labor

Introduction

While the field of marriage and family therapy acknowledges that social ecology plays a critical role in developmental outcomes, very little is known about psychological development in the context of socioeconomic advantage (Causadias et al., 2022; McMahon & Luthar, 2006). As couples and family therapists, we do not yet have many articulated ways of addressing class issues with our affluent White families so that the scope of their treatment includes multicultural and decolonizing sensitivity (McDowell & Hernández, 2010; Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). To do so is particularly relevant in households that employ domestic laborers, a significant portion of whom are women of color living below the poverty line (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.).

Domestic laborers, such as nannies and housekeepers, navigate a complex terrain of situational inclusion amidst segregation and emotional exclusion (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009). These women confront classism, sexism, racism, and discrimination while being paid to offer attuned care to the people who employ them and to the children in their charge (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Macklin, 1992; Rollins, 1985). Affluent White homes that employ domestic laborers often contain undercurrents of classism and racism, whereby children are exposed to inter-adult exchanges that have elements of coerciveness, negativity, hostility, psychological control, and lack of sensitivity (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985). It has been noted within research that these types of behaviors in any family context increase the likelihood of children becoming more emotionally reactive and less emotionally secure (Morris et al., 2007). Morris and colleagues (2007) note that exposure to even covert "background anger" (p. 373) directed elsewhere in the family system places children at risk for developmental and socio-emotional problems such as negative attitudes, noncompliance, impulsivity, lack of self-control, difficulties understanding negative affect, and rejection of social values and standards of conduct.

Researchers note the strong affective bond that often develops between domestic laborers and the children as something that makes the situation more bearable, helping these women to cope with the way they often feel in the workplace (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985; van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). Little is mentioned in the research that describes to clinicians or researchers the child's response to this care in childhood (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). Further what these stories do not include is how the child—or if the child—is affected developmentally by witnessing their parents and the domestic laborers' relationship, which, the literature makes clear, is one fraught with bias, conflict, and complex emotions (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985; van Wormer & Falkner, 2012).

Parenting in general informs the developing child's broad social behavior, social competence, and adjustment (Boldt et al., 2020). Class and race differences in parenting impart distinct emotional competencies to children in families, grooming them for identity-specific adult life (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). What affluent White parents are telegraphing about class and race through their interactions in the home is not overlooked by the child, who is watching and implicitly learning from the parent's emotional profile and cues about what and who are acceptable and how to respond emotionally (Morris et al., 2007; Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Belonging is an inherent need that induces group members to display loyalty and suppress conflicts of interest (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Members of a group collectively confirm or deny belonging based on which behaviors are either to be expressed or repressed (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). The cost can be an expectation to live up to constrictive norms to maintain group membership and a sense of belonging (Martocci, 2019). The ways that parents communicate their views to their children are critical to their children's development (Thomassin et al., 2020). Parents with unchecked classist and racist attitudes at home likely do not realize that this climate

they are creating is possibly harming their child's socio-emotional health and development. Parents that consciously or unconsciously promote Whiteness and class distinction make it difficult for other norms and standards to be expressed, unconsciously requiring adaptation or conformity to White, upper-class norms (Villanueva & Barber, 2021), both from their children and the person in the role of domestic laborer.

Basis for this Study

Increasingly social class has been drawing psychology research focus due to its recognized link to mental, physical, and social health (Colbow et al., 2016). Unfortunately, much of this research neglects within-group and diversified variability (Liu, 2011). Just as race alone is not an adequate explanation of racism, affluence or poverty is not an adequate explanatory variable of the psychological phenomena of class or classism (Liu, 2011). When limited to objective measures alone, such as annual income, observations of class lead to assumptions about subjective experiences, omitting more subtle aspects of the process of class, such as personal values, attitudes, beliefs, and socialization practices (Colbow et al., 2016). Luthar and colleagues (2013) have called for continued research on subgroups of affluent youth so that helping professionals might better understand the contexts that lead to presenting problems and illuminate how adjustment difficulties endure and intensify over time. Although there is an assumed link between the processes by which class inequalities are reproduced through socialization (Bourdieu, 1986), the specifics of this process are rarely explored empirically for their significance in understanding the upper classes with clinical implications in mind.

Within affluent homes, the limited research on the relationship between parents and children has noted often low psychological closeness between them (Luthar, 2003; Luthar et al., 2013). Parent-child attachment, the aspects of the parent-child relationship that foster safety,

security, and protection in the child (Bowlby, 1988), is a key dimension of socialization (Boldt et al., 2020). A care figure's behavior fosters or inhibits child attachment security and sets the groundwork for later emotional regulation skills, initiating a path to more broad social adjustment (Boldt et al., 2020). A domestic laborer often lives in emotional intimacy with the children in their care, engaging in attachment behaviors such as feeding, clothing, bathing, nurturing, and being the one emotionally available for the child to come to with their daily hurts and fears (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985), but their role as an attachment figure in the development of the child's sense of self and security has yet to be studied. Nor has it been explored as to whether this affective bond, the one between domestic care figure and child, is ever at odds with the secure development of attachment between parent and child.

Additionally, previous research in psychology and the social sciences has illustrated that many domestic workers in the roles of nanny or housekeeper are subject to classist and racist attitudes from their affluent White employers (i.e., derogatory comments, inclusion/exclusion behaviors, harassment, barriers to citizenship, withholding of pay; Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Macklin, 1992; Rollins, 1985). What has not yet been empirically studied are the effects of navigating these unspoken subtleties of classism and racism as a child in the context of developing relationships, emotional learning, and emerging beliefs about race and class (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012).

Purpose of this Study

This study demonstrates that by exploring the relational dynamics within White affluent homes that employed a domestic laborer for a significant amount of time when children in these homes were at crucial stages of emotional development, insight is gained into the effect biases have on the parent-child relationship and emerging beliefs about class and race. By highlighting

the effect on children growing up in these homes, this study offers researchers and clinicians a better understanding of the relational and intrapersonal effects of socioeconomic and racial differences within a family system. This study explores these unique intersections, providing clinicians in their work with these family systems the understanding needed to help them to better address how these experiences influence clients' lives and presenting problems. The study highlights the intimate effect of racial and class biases on a family system.

Historically, many decolonizing theories and approaches do not effectively address the role of class or the domestic elites that benefit from or control current economic and political systems (Duvisac, 2022). Modes of control such as segregation, surveillance, criminalization, and servitude are at work to establish that certain people exist at the social periphery (Schiwy, 2007; Tuck & Yang, 2021); decolonization challenges and deconstructs these received notions of identity and power relations by engaging in alternate discourses without reducing people to cultural objects or commodities (Schiwy, 2007). Observing psychodynamic elements of racial and class exclusion within an intimate setting potentially tells us more about elements of this dynamic present in other labor arrangements and relationships. Potential findings may also tell us how beliefs about race and class move across generations. Additionally, for clinicians working with affluent clients, these findings may elucidate the dynamics that underline these clients' presenting problems.

This study's primary research question asks: "Is there a significant relationship between family demographics, employment of domestic laborers, and parent-child relationships?" A secondary question asks: "Do affluent White parents' behaviors and attitudes towards employed domestic laborers impact their children's developing perceptions of race and class?" This study is guided by three hypotheses. Hypothesis: (a) Adults who grew up in affluent White families

employing domestic laborers report difficulties in their relationships with their parents; (b) Adults who report growing up in a family climate that included parental displays of racist and classist values, biases, attitudes, and relationship behaviors report difficulties in their relationships with their parents; and (c) Adults who grew up in affluent White families employing domestic laborers report that perceptions of a parent's treatment of domestic laborers have informed their emerging beliefs about race and class.

Theoretical Framework

This study frames these questions within a decolonial theory lens to interpret study findings. Decolonial theory argues that colonial relations produced and continue to shape present-day political, economic, social, and knowledge systems via the entrenched social hierarchies of racism, classism, and patriarchy (Duvisac, 2022). In the United States, colonial dominance imposes upon sexuality, race, language, religion, as well as class in specific ways (Tuck & Yang, 2021). The theory offers an inherently feminist, anti-racist, and anti-capitalist framework to comprehend and strive for decolonial futures, its processes outlining routes that pursue the local and global undoing of colonial legacies, these routes often beginning at the level of discourse (Duvisac, 2022; Schiwy, 2007).

Decolonizing efforts in their more known applications involve working at the structural level, reorganizing notions of human, cultural, and intellectual property rights; one often unsung yet fundamental aspect of this work has been "the effort to decolonize the soul" (Schiwy, 2007, p. 282). Coloniality exists at both the societal and relational levels, internalized by all individuals within the legacy systems of coloniality (Duvisac, 2022). A primary challenge in decolonization is to make power visible so that it may be equalized (Clare, 2009). The decolonial theory framework evaluates the impacts of colonialism in current-day systems, asking individuals and

institutions to interrogate how they reproduce these systems and reinforce coloniality, then inviting them to elevate, center, and cede power to marginalized voices, experiences, and ways of knowing (Duvisac, 2022).

Method

This study employs a modified Delphi method to answer these questions. Delphi research is a mixed methods approach to structuring communication among panelists to gain insight into a phenomenon that has not yet been studied in detail within the research community (Dawson & Brucker, 2001). Its use of both open-ended and scaled questions provides a structure that allows researchers to group and analyze participant-experts' detailed examination of a subject (Dawson & Brucker, 2001). One advantage of the Delphi method is that the structure congregates diverse information on a subject in such a way that it minimizes the dominance of any one voice so that a cohesive analysis of previously abstract or disparate concepts might be operationalized in practice (Dawson & Brucker, 2001). What this method does not do is generate quick solutions or reduce the need for further discussion (Dawson & Brucker, 2001). Given that this method is a good starting point for gathering information on a known but little-explored phenomenon in an attempt to gain not truth, but informed judgment (Dawson & Brucker, 2001), it is a good fit for the research purposes of this study.

A weakness of Delphi research is a tendency to regress towards the mean over repeated rounds of questionnaires, which could result in a narrow perspective on a topic (Dawson & Brucker, 2001). Because it is often mistaken that the goal of Delphi research is consensus, another potential weakness is that findings might obscure discrepancies leading researchers and clinicians to draw inappropriate conclusions (Dawson & Brucker, 2001). This can be combatted

by modifying the Delphi (which has been done here), and by the researcher looking for and reporting on "camps of dissenting answers" (Dawson & Brucker, 2001, p. 129).

This study incorporated two rounds of data collection, the Delphi Questionnaire 1 (DQ1) and the Delphi Questionnaire 2 (DQ2), described in more detail below. The initial design scheduled a third round, the Delphi Questionnaire 3 (DQ3), which offered the participants a chance to review and modify their answers; this was later revised by omitting the DQ3, a measure approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) overseeing this study. This revision was deemed appropriate by both the IRB and the researchers given the high rate of consensus on a significant number of items in DQ2, and also the interesting variance that the outliers presented, reported within the discussion section when relevant to the discussion.

Researcher Bias

There can be no genuine neutrality in a world that assigns power to people according to identity dimensions such as race and class (Dolan-Del Vecchio & Lockard, 2004). The researchers were aware that their social locations could influence data analysis, and therefore maintained a reflexivity practice throughout the study process and solicited comments and critique from participants in each data collection phase. As the primary researcher, I identify as a White, lower middle class, middle-aged, single-parent, heteroflexible female and an early-career, full-time associate couples and family clinician and doctoral candidate.

Participants

One advantage of the Delphi method is that the pool of voices speaking to the topic can be from various geographic regions (Dawson & Brucker, 2001). The researchers sought participants from different U.S. regions, aware that while there is a shared history around servitude and domestic labor within the U.S., there is also regional difference. The participants

were recruited from a targeted search among colleagues and through social media advertisements

for the study on the platforms of Twitter (now X), Instagram, Facebook, and Reddit.

Additionally, flyers calling for participants were advertised on college campuses in Providence,

RI, and in Boston, MA, and their respective surrounding counties. In compensation for their

time, participants were given the option to have $5 donated to a charitable organization of their

choice after completing each round of data collection.

Delphi research examines the experiences, perspectives, and views of a panelist of

experts on a topic to move closer to knowledge on that topic (Dawson & Brucker, 2001). The

researcher expanded the traditional notion of *expertise* to that of any "group of individuals whose

opinions are important" (Stone Fish & Busby, 2005, p. 251). The experts in this study are the

now adult White children who grew up in an affluent home that employed a domestic laborer as

a nanny or housekeeper for a significant amount of time at a significant stage of their

development. The following inclusion criteria were used to screen participants: (a) self-identifies

as White; (b) self-reports their childhood socioeconomic status in terms of either "elite,"

"affluent," "rich," "upper class," or "upper middle class;" (c) received a significant amount of

care from an employed domestic laborer (> of 20 hours/week for > 2 years); and (d) received this

care between the ages of 3 and 12 years.

Nine experts agreed to participate in the study (see Table 1), which is a number sufficient

to yield stable results within Delphi research (Stone Fish & Busby, 2005). All nine participants

identified as White (two of whom identified as Jewish), seven identified as cis-gendered female,

one as non-binary, and one as cis-gendered male. The age range of participants was 22 to 86.

Three participants attended private grade school; the rest attended public grade school. All

participants went on to complete college, seven of them completed graduate school and two

participants hold a PhD. Three participants grew up in CA, one in OR, one in IA, one in SC, one in NYC, and two in FL. Finally, the participants reported on the demographics of their family's employed domestic laborer: two from Mexico, one from El Salvador, one from Peru, one from Nicaragua, one as African American, and three as White.

There is a tendency within a dominant group to not see its own culture because of the invisibility of dominance to those benefitting from it (Clare, 2009). Making the experts within this study those who have lived experience within these fraught dynamics rather than pooling the voices of clinical experts who have some quantifiable knowledge and mastery of working with affluent clientele involves humility and wisdom on the part of those who uphold and delineate the dominant narrative of what defines *expertise*. Decolonial theory requires that traditionally accepted forms and practices of scholarship recognize their limits in application and effect (Clare, 2009). To examine a phenomenon within the framework of decolonial theory suggests utilizing research methodologies that consciously bring the knowledge and perspectives of people from historically marginalized groups into research and clinical practice (Clare, 2009). While the participants of this study are perhaps not those who are most readily thought of as offering "the vantage point of the colonized" (Smith, 1999, p. 1), this study enters the dynamic via the vantage point of children caught in the bind between the dominant and marginalized positions within a colonizer culture. Harding (1991) suggests that "when the people at the margins of any system describe that system, what they see of its functional and dysfunctional aspects is qualitatively different from the descriptions emerging from the people most privileged by, and therefore in many ways blind to, the system" (p. 142). Although perhaps contrary to some liberatory notions of who is privileged within this specific microcosm influenced by colonialism, this study is sincere in its drive to allow for the narrative voice of those impacted by

dominant positions and narratives to comment on their knowledge of the phenomenon of their experience. Making the children in these dynamics more visible also makes visible the deeply intimate and relational impact of actively and reflexively obscuring those who are most familiarly unseeable within the dominant culture (Clare, 2009).

Procedures and Measures

The research data was collected in two phases, the first being the Delphi Questionnaire 1 (DQ1; see Appendix A). DQ1's design gives participants an open-ended framework to provide input on varying themes related to the study topic (Stone Fish & Busby, 2005). DQ1 consisted of 43 open-ended questions in five sections, with an additional section inviting any questions, comments, or recommendations. Sections for this study asked participants to (a) identify their values regarding class, race, and family (questions 1–6); (b) reflect on their relationships with and between family members, past and present (questions 7–14); (c) reflect on their relationship with their nanny or family housekeeper, past and present (questions 15–24); (d) reflect on perceptions of a parent's behavior or attitude towards a family nanny or housekeeper (questions 25–34); and (e) discuss the messages, either overt or implied, they received from their family of origin regarding belonging, race, and class (questions 35–43; see Appendix C for a detailed protocol of the study's procedures and measures).

The participants were encouraged to write as much or as little as they wanted in the DQ1. The analysis of their responses was conducted in the following stages. First, the narrative texts were read and reread to become familiar with the data. Then, pieces of content identified as relevant to the study were coded by assigning short labels to each segment of identified information. These codes were then clustered into larger themes and subthemes according to similarities and patterns of meaning. These were then developed into a document with a

provisional list of themes, subthemes, and codes including brief descriptions for each theme and subtheme, definitions of the codes, and illustrative quotes for each from the participants' initial transcripts. Finally, based on commonalities in the codes and definitions, these were then evaluated by revisiting the participants' initial responses and counting the number of participants who mentioned each theme. Themes that were mentioned by more than four participants were considered major themes. Phrases based on these themes were then restated to be worded as closely as possible to participants' original responses to better reflect the participants' intended meaning. From these revised phrases the DQ2 was developed with a total of 76 items (see Appendix B for DQ2 questions). The DQ2 was then sent to the panel of participants to be rated on a Likert-type scale from "1" (Not Important) to "7" (Significant). The experts were instructed to choose their answer based on whether the item was a significant issue for researchers and clinicians to consider when working with children of affluent White homes growing up with domestic care figures. Participants were again invited to add any questions, comments, or recommendations at the end of each section and after the survey questionnaire.

Results

After the second round of data collection, interpolated medians (IMs) and interquartile ranges (IQRs) were calculated for each item. A total of 68 items (89.5%) possessed an IM of 6 or higher, and eight (10.53%) items possessed an IQR of 1.5 or less. The interquartile range demonstrates the degree to which participants have reached a consensus on an item and the variability in responses without them being affected by the presence of outliers (Stone Fish & Busby, 2005). The variance between the calculated IM of 6 (89.5%) and IQR of 1.5 (10.53%) strongly suggests an imbalance of answers weighted towards the upper end of the scale (7 – Significant). The first quartile and the third quartile were then calculated for each item and

then plugged into the equation used to determine more about the outliers: [Q1 – (1.5)(IQR), Q2 + (1.5)(IQR)]. This was done for each item, yielding 16 items (21.05%) as having outlying responses. Given that this group of panelist experts was exploring items related to a unique lived experience, outliers, being potentially informed by participant bias and social location in this study, become interesting to consider from a research perspective. Of the outlying responses, 87.5% were from participants who identified their nanny or housekeeper as White, indicating that race or racial bias may have played a role in participants' interpretations of and/or responses to survey questions. Additionally, 87.5% of outlying answers were from participants from the Midwest and 12.5% from participants from the Southeast, indicating that regional differences may also have informed how participants interpreted and/or responded to survey questions. Age, too, may have played a role, as 100% of the outlying responses were from participants in the upper quarter of the participant age range (22 to 86).

Given that the goal of Delphi research is not consensus, but rather gaining informed judgment and knowledge on a topic (Dawson & Brucker, 2001), it was decided by this researcher and the responsible IRB to forgo the DQ3. This avoids the possibility of pushing the participants closer to uniform consensus, and instead, grants leeway to further investigate and report narratively on the discrepancies in responses. Therefore, for this study, items with IMs of 6 or higher and IQRs of 2.5 or lower were considered to be endorsed, with the additional measure taken of reporting and commenting on the outliers when relevant to the discussion. The total was a yield of 36 endorsed items (47.37 %), presented in Tables 3–6, which are organized by themes and present the original item question. Findings were then sorted into four primary areas based on the study's hypotheses. These are (a) items on difficulties in the parent-child relationship in affluent White homes that employed domestic laborers; (b) items on parental displays of racist

and classist values, biases, attitudes, and relationship behaviors; (c) items on reported closeness with an employed domestic laborer; and (d) items on emerging beliefs about race and class.

Items on Difficulties in the Parent-Child Relationship in Affluent White Homes that Employed Domestic Laborers

Six items (16.67%) focused on the difficulties that may emerge in the parent-child relationship specific to affluent White homes that employed domestic laborers (see Table 3). Three of these pertained specifically to the issues of class or affluence and spoke to the pressures of class being a barrier to connection with parents, one was more generally concerned with differences in race and class values being a barrier to connection, and two related specifically to the closeness to a domestic laborer adding confusion, complexity, and distrust to the relationship with a parent.

Items on Parental Displays of Racist and Classist Values, Biases, Attitudes, and Relationship Behaviors

The items in the second largest group of endorsed items (27.78%) centered on parental displays of racist and classist values, biases, attitudes, and relationship behaviors (see Table 4). Five of these items reference witnessing a parents' behavior towards a domestic laborer in childhood that felt uncomfortable and communicated to the child that the parent viewed their nanny or housekeeper differently than they did, four of the items address reflecting on past parental behaviors enacted on a nanny or housekeeper from the vantage point of adulthood, and naming these as classist or racist and noting how this has compelled different actions in themselves as adults, and one item references feeling inhibited as a child to voice concerns about a parents' behavior and wanting to process this as an adult in therapy with a clinician who understands the complexity of the situation.

Items on Reported Closeness with an Employed Domestic Laborer

Six items (16.67%) focused on closeness between the child in the home and the employed domestic laborer (see Table 5). One item describes seeing the nanny or housekeeper as their primary caregiver over a parent, one item pertains to the differences in the quality of love between a parent and a domestic care figure and the effects of this on development, one item references how the acceptance and care they received from a nanny or housekeeper has aided acceptance of personal differences and differences in others, and finally, three items describe the difficulty of accepting that an important care figure was a family employee and the challenge of talking about this complexity to therapists and peers.

Items on Emerging Beliefs about Race and Class

Finally, participants endorsed the highest number of items (38.89%) related to emerging beliefs about race and class (see Table 5). One item refers to the protective factor of talking openly about race and class with a parent, one item addresses the negative consequences of not talking about race and class in childhood, three items refer to the protective factor of having a parent model socially responsible privilege and wealth, and one item expresses the view that money changes people negatively. One item addresses how having Jewish parents, specifically parents who were children of Holocaust survivors, aided in understanding that racism was a dangerous thing. Four items reference witnessing a nanny or housekeeper confront biases and racism in childhood as positively informing racial beliefs and a sense of activism in adulthood. Two items refer to the positive influence of exposure to racial and cultural differences within the relationship with a nanny or housekeeper, and finally, one item addresses a reticence to identify with White culture.

Discussion

This study initially hypothesized that adults who grew up in affluent White families employing domestic laborers would report difficulties in their relationships with their parents (Hypothesis a), that adults who report that the family climate includes parental displays of racist and classist values, biases, attitudes, and relationship behaviors would also report difficulties in their relationships with their parents (Hypothesis b), and lastly, that perceptions of a parent's treatment of a domestic laborer in the home inform emerging beliefs about race and class (Hypothesis c). The discussion section will interpret, analyze, and explain the significance of this study's findings as they relate to these hypotheses and initial research questions. Given that the second questionnaire was assembled from statements provided by panelists in the first questionnaire and given that these statements reflect a compilation of panelists' personal experiences, throughout the discussion, questions from the DQ2 will be used to articulate the relevance of a reported finding.

Affluence, Employment of a Domestic Laborer, and the Parent-Child Relationship

Items endorsed by participants within the study indicate that adults who grew up in affluent White families employing domestic laborers experience difficulties in their relationships with their parents (Hypothesis a). Several statements gathered in the DQ1 and represented in question format within the DQ2 reflect the likelihood of the child in the dynamic being affected by converging circumstances of a relationship with a nanny or housekeeper being at odds with their relationship with a parent. For example,

> A nanny or housekeeper prepared meals but didn't join in on them. Often it was arranged that they would eat their meals in the kitchen, or that I would join them if a parent wasn't going to be home. They were not invited to eat with the family when a parent was

present. I think that this dynamic is what my parents would define as the boundary

between employer and employee. This explanation for me is somewhat confusing, as this

boundary was blurred by them in other areas and certainly wasn't as clear to me. I

accepted that our nanny or housekeeper ate separately from us, even if they were still at

the house, but I didn't understand it. It communicated to me that there were differences

between us that I didn't feel unless all of us were together. (see Table 4; see Appendix B,

question 48)

This statement shows that a family ritual, such as mealtime, can highlight differences

between family members and the nanny or housekeeper that were noticeable to the child.

Further, it emphasizes the child's lack of understanding and potential confusion when attitudes of

parental bias are directed towards a domestic laborer (i.e., exclusion behaviors, making invisible,

demanding deference, etc.). Endorsed items in the study signify that while certain biased

behaviors may be a family norm in childhood, these may be uncomfortable and not understood

by the children. For example,

My family would often talk with one another as if our nanny or housekeeper were not

there. I believe that the expectation, for housekeepers, was they would go about their

work and respect that these conversations were not ones that they should engage in. With

nannies, I believe they would fall into a deferential role and let the parent take the lead on

any family interactions. This was the "norm", but not one I was always comfortable with

or could understand as a child. As an adult, I have come to believe that classism is in part

defined by a failure to acknowledge the presence of another. Through this lens, I can see

the act of omitting a nanny or housekeeper from the conversation and carrying on as if

she were not present is likely, at least in part, informed by classism. (see Table 4; see

Appendix B, question 49)

This statement demonstrates that the child was sensitive to the expectation of invisibility

imposed on domestic laborers (Rollins, 1985; Wilkins & Pace, 2014) and that in adulthood, they

relate the failure to acknowledge the presence of another to an act of classism. Further, this

statement corroborates what previous research has noted about the dynamic between employer

and employed domestic laborer being one fraught with racial and class bias (Cox, 2007; Lai

2009; Macklin, 1992; Rollins, 1985), and adds to the relevant literature clarity in terms of how

children caught in these dynamics are likely to respond emotionally. This and other

panelist-endorsed items highlight situations where a parent demonstrating social exclusion

invites the child to either confirm or deny class expectations and social demands that perpetuate

a division between them and their housekeeper or nanny. For therapists, this knowledge

emphasizes the value of increasing parents' self-awareness and socially just behavior as a

protective factor in terms of their child's emotional well-being and the parent-child relationship.

The panelists also agreed that the closeness between a domestic laborer and the child in

the home adds complexity to the relationship between the parent and child. Previous research

notes the strong bond that often develops between domestic laborers and their employer's

children as something that makes the situation more bearable for the domestic laborer, who often

experiences classism and racism in the workplace (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985; van

Wormer & Falkner, 2012). The results of this study confirm that for many of these children,

growing up with a nanny or housekeeper is a significant experience that impacts the children in

these homes in nuanced ways. The endorsed items highlight that this phenomenon transcends

normal work/life boundaries and many of these children see the nanny or the housekeeper, and not a birth parent, as a primary caregiver. For example,

> In certain ways, I see my nanny or housekeeper, and not a birth parent, as my primary caregiver. While my parents had an impact on me, I believe my nanny or housekeeper is responsible for many of the good parts of me, teaching me to be kind, compassionate, forgiving, perseverant, and resilient. She was the parent I needed but couldn't have. (see Table 5; see Appendix B, question 5)

Panelists noted the distance these children often feel between themselves and a birth parent, who they describe as having class-related expectations around behavior and character—something that is not a feature in the relationship between the child and a nanny or housekeeper. The endorsed items represent the relationship with a nanny or housekeeper as free from parental responsibilities (i.e., providing food, shelter, and education), consequently allowing the relationship to be filled with affection, acceptance, and a more simple and boundless expression of love and care. Participant statements from the DQ1 did not reference or demonstrate knowledge of what has been noted in previous research, that domestic laborers often cope with racist and classist attitudes of their employers by transferring love and attachment to the children of their employers (Cox, 2007; Lai, 2009; Rollins, 1985). Instead, their responses add merit to what is evidenced in the work of Bowlby (1988) and of Easterbrooks and Biringen (2000), who assert that the biological basis for attachment is less related to familial connection, and more so to attachment behaviors and the emotional availability of a care figure.

Panelists agreed that children realizing that this beloved figure was an employee paid to offer care was difficult and complex. For example,

It was a strange realization that the person I consider my primary caregiver was paid to

raise me. I had to come to terms with the fact that my childhood was someone else's job

and that my parents did little of the actual parenting. It is a strange phenomenon that

transcends normative work/life boundaries. I often feel peers, parents, and therapists are

not informed or sensitive to the nuances of my experience. (see Table 5; see Appendix B,

question 67)

This statement underlines that children in these unique situations often feel

misunderstood and their experiences minimized because they grew up with wealth. Relatedly, in

terms of wealth obscuring understanding, both by others and perhaps within their own minds,

participants endorsed items that reflect that it can be hard for these now-adult children to

acknowledge that the presence of a domestic laborer in their life was a privilege, when, to them,

the loving and accepting presence of a nanny or housekeeper helped them significantly overcome

the lack of support or acceptance they experienced in their families and affluent social circles.

For example,

Having mixed and complicated feelings about growing up with a nanny or housekeeper

has made it difficult, or at least complex, to acknowledge their presence in my life as a

class privilege. While intellectually I understand their presence was a privilege, because

of the complexity they added to my life in terms of relationships, it doesn't feel complete

to merely state the fact of their existence in my life as a privilege. There are parts of that

experience that inform my identity and relationships in ways that are challenging for

most people to see. At times I feel misunderstood or unseen by people who may minimize

my experience because I grew up with wealth. (see Table 5; see Appendix B, question 69)

The panel agreed that peers, parents, and therapists are not informed or sensitive to the nuances of these experiences, specifically noting that these experiences inform identity development and relationships. Panelist statements add to the gap in the broader knowledge of the field of marriage and family therapy, defining and adding perspective to complex family systems that include unique subtleties of race and class. Their endorsements indicate that mental health professionals need to better learn how to highlight class and race differences in clinical practice with affluent White clientele more generally, and specifically with families that employ domestic laborers.

Parental Biases and the Parent-Child Relationship

Panelists endorsed statements demonstrate the potential for difficulties to arise in the parent-child relationship when there are parental displays of racist and classist values, biases, attitudes, and relationship behaviors (Hypothesis b). Findings highlight parental biases and their likely impact on the parent-child relationship. For example,

> I do not agree with my parent's assumptions about race and class. They would have argued that the housekeeper had a good situation and was the best a person of their class/race could expect. I don't think they had the slightest understanding of how social determinants were impacting my housekeeper's options and/or how difficult it was for a person to break from this system. Sadly, I also think that this idea of Black people serving White people is both a class and race issue that stems from not resolving cultural issues dating back to the Civil War. (see Table 4; see Appendix B, question 32)

This statement demonstrates that the now-adult child potentially holds a vastly different view of someone who was a shared figure in both their and their parent's lives; a difference that can create complications or distance in the adult parent-child relationship. Additionally, this

statement indicates the belief that a parent lacks awareness of the effects of their biases. This and other panelist endorsements signal that when these children do not agree with a parent's assumptions about race and class, they are more likely to see their parents' ideas as organized around distorted beliefs, illustrating that value differences for some create a significant barrier to connection with parents in adulthood. Interestingly, panelist-endorsed items signify that displays of parental racist and classist biases can propel children in these homes into actively creating an adult lifestyle that reflects conscientiousness and proactivity in terms of educating the self about systemic racism and classism. For example,

> Seeing many of the ways my housekeeper or nanny was treated, where they lived, and understanding their lack of support, opportunities, and equitable pay has had a significant influence on my viewpoints changing and me removing myself from my parent's social sphere and from relational contact with family members. Further, it has compelled me to research class and racial equity and live a lifestyle that reflects these inclusive values.
> (see Table 4; see Appendix B, question 54)

The endorsement of this statement and others like it indicates that panelists believe it is significant for the research and therapeutic communities to consider the potentially positive motivation resulting from being subject to parental biases to better understand social issues that pertain to race and class.

Outlying responses within this section offer a potentially interesting commentary, as the statements deal with recognition of and response to parental biases. Participants were asked to indicate the significance of statements based not on their personal experience but on whether they felt a situation of parental bias was relevant for therapists and researchers to consider. The outlying responses within this section were from panelists located in the region of the Midwest.

While biases are influenced by an individual's context, they also are likely to represent those perpetuated through regional social structures (Hehman et al., 2019). Regional biases can be described as recursive relationships in which individual-level attitudes and beliefs manifest within local social structures, which in turn influence the attitudes and beliefs of individuals in that region (Hehman et al., 2019). Even a person considered unbiased may behave or organize their thinking to resemble biased outlooks of friends, family members, and neighbors who socially expect, model, and reward these attitudes and behaviors (Hehman et al., 2019). The Midwest as a region statistically holds a more generally positive view of race relations, but when broken into more specific questions related to discrimination, the Midwest demonstrates high degrees of racial segregation and racial disparity in terms of job opportunities (Mazzuca, 2002). Additionally, what women earn in comparison to men across all occupational sectors in the Midwest is consistently the lowest in the nation, while the pay gap between White women and women of color is the highest (Boushey & Cherry, 2003). It is possible that unconscious regional attitudes influenced panelists' understanding, interpretation, and answering of questionnaire items dealing with perceptions of parental biases.

In addition to increased knowledge about the relational consequences of holding different value systems, endorsed items narrate that affluent parents' class expectations also contribute to strain within the parent-child relationship and to children in these homes feeling pressured to gain family acceptance. For example,

Growing up it was a continuous worry that I was not doing well enough or that I would let my family down. I never felt good enough. I felt that if I did whatever my family wanted, that they would like me more. I would put their needs before mine trying to gain

acceptance. I think that my adult issues with failure and a poor sense of self-worth likely

stem from parental class expectations. (see Table 3; see Appendix B, question 72)

Similar to what Luthar (2003) found in their research on the parenting styles within

affluent families, this study's panelists agreed that overemphasis and preoccupation with status

and wealth inevitably result in disconnectedness, inhibited closeness, and weakened ties to

family.

A Parent's Treatment of a Domestic Laborer and Emerging Beliefs about Race and Class

Study findings confirm that parents' biased views on race and class as demonstrated by

their treatment of an employed domestic laborer affect their children's emerging values about

race and class (Hypothesis c). Panelists agreed that children in these families are likely to witness

either somewhat or overtly racist behaviors and biases in family members. For example,

The attitude or tone with which a parent or family member has repeatedly told a nanny or

housekeeper how they wanted things done and what they could or could not do in the

workplace was demeaning and portrayed a sense of ownership that I found racist and/or

classist. Recognizing their insensitivity when speaking to them made me angry about

their lack of awareness. This recognition has helped me to speak more mindfully and with

respect to people in lower classes and/or service positions. (see Table 4; see Appendix B,

question 31)

Panelists agreed that these children are often part of an upper-class sphere where people

are handed opportunities with little or no required effort and are protected from systemic

injustice. Panelists noted that when these spheres are predominantly in White neighborhoods or

schools and when these families employ a domestic worker who is a woman of color, not talking

about race with adults in these environments creates an unconscious mindset of *us* vs. *them*. The

panelists connected the silence of the adults—most specifically the parents—to racial biases, conscious or unconscious.

Panelist-endorsed responses indicate that when these children have a parent who encourages open dialogue about race and class, specifically when there is consideration of the systemic nature of these issues, their responsibility to help and advocate for people who do not have access to resources is enhanced. Panelists agreed that having a parent who demonstrates an ongoing commitment to learning and teaching their children that privilege is the responsibility to voice injustices helps these children develop anti-racist and anti-classist beliefs. These findings are similar to Ross (1995) who noted that positive results are connected to discussing the undercurrents of social class in family relationships. The panelists noted that when a nanny or housekeeper also speaks openly about class, these children are even more likely to understand the value of differences, advocate for equality in adulthood, educate themselves about privilege, and initiate class-bias-related conversations with their peers in adulthood. The panel agreed that parents need to engage children in conversations about race and class while acknowledging their social locations.

Items endorsed by panelists indicate that having at least one parent who demonstrates fairness and inclusion in their interactions with a nanny or housekeeper and who models real effort in confronting biases is essential for building trustworthy relationships in the family. For those who did not have such modeling by a parent, panelists noted that it was the significant relationship with a domestic laborer that inspired these individuals to later study White fragility and systemic racism, in part because it put words to what they experienced but could not understand in childhood. For example,

Growing up with a nanny or housekeeper has helped me to become more sensitive to the biases of others and more aware of my own. I believe it protects me from objectifying others, even if they are in a position of doing something for me or are an employee. I realize that class is a systemic issue connected to race and history. I have and will continue to educate myself about privilege, as well as initiate these conversations with my peers. (see Table 6; see Appendix B, question 27)

This statement highlights the potential of a significant relationship with a nanny or housekeeper honing the attention of the child in such a way that recognition and awareness of biases and institutional power are enhanced. Panelist-endorsed items indicate that having a caring relationship with a domestic laborer enables acknowledgment of White privilege and class biases later in life. Panelists report that these children are likely to feel that their experience helps them understand that people who are less financially advantaged are worthy of much of the same rights as people in a higher class. For example,

Something core to my identity as a person raised in economic privilege is the belief that marginalized and disadvantaged groups are worthy of the same rights, basic needs getting met, and pleasure and leisure of those in a higher class. This line of thinking stems from an open dialogue with a parent and with my nanny. Being exposed to a nanny or housekeeper's viewpoint was important and influential. Without it, I would be less sensitive and aware. (see Table 6; see Appendix B, question 30)

In contrast to this statement, panelists speculated whether, without a significant relationship with a domestic care figure, the child would be more like peers or family members who ignore privileges and biases and are consequently less sensitive and aware.

It is interesting to note that panelists agreed that for some children in these environments, it may be hard to claim a concrete identity, that they might consider themselves to have an intimate relationship with the culture of their nanny or housekeeper, or that they may express almost a hatred for White culture, which they may reject or hesitate to identify with. Pfaffendorf (2019) in her research on wealthy adolescents within residential treatment (i.e., therapeutic boarding schools) stated that it is a characteristic of socially privileged groups to deflect association with an objectionable social trait by distancing themselves from an undesirable group using stigma or dominant narrative. While this author was referring to the likelihood of elite youth using group membership and social privilege to *other* those who do not meet class-identified standards (Pfaffendorf, 2019), the statement endorsed by panelists within this study flips this concept on its head, with the person of the dominant social sphere reticent to identify with the dominant majority.

Overall, the study confirms that there is a significant relationship between family demographics, employment of domestic laborers, parent-child relationships, and children's developing perceptions of race and class, which was the study's primary research question, revealing that White children of affluent homes in the care of domestic laborers are navigating subtleties of parental biases in the context of developing socio-emotional maturity and family relationships.

Clinical Significance and Implications

The results of this study are broad enough to capture that many characteristics of this demographic are directly influenced by how their families are positioned in society and by oppressive structures within and upheld by family dynamics. Sociologists Jarness et al. (2019) write that it is reasonable to assume that a significant number of the children of the present elite

will become the economic elite of the future. Studying these children, their families, and the nuances of their lived experiences offer the research and therapeutic communities a rare opportunity to map the economic elite of tomorrow and a more complete map of the socioeconomic landscape in general (Jarness et al., 2019). The results offer general guidance for clinicians on how the socialization of these clients, like others, includes personal history, significant family relationships, and beliefs tied to racism and classism.

Study results signify that a child's sense of self and belonging is informed by social class, parental expectations and biases, and significant relationships with care figures in paid positions within the home. By examining these dynamics and integrating this knowledge into clinical assessment and treatment planning, therapists can better connect familial contexts, the broader social structure, and how this interplay informs an individual's evolving mindset and self-image (Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). In the initial coding of statements provided within participant answers from the DQ1, the researchers noted a significant number of statements reflecting mental health considerations, such as concerns about belonging, the influence of gender and/or sexual identity within the sphere of White affluence, or the heightened emotions that the individual experienced when a nanny or housekeeper left the family (see Table 2).

In the DQ2, endorsed statements further reflected areas that might relate to presenting problems unique to this demographic. Panelist endorsements indicate that the child could feel inhibited when it comes to voicing their discomfort or interrupting a parent's racist or classist behavior. For example,

> As a child, I remember wanting to interrupt a family member's racist behavior but feeling frozen. I would like to better understand and work through this with a therapist who understands the complexity of the situation. (see Table 4; see Appendix B, question 74)

This statement, and other endorsed statements, demonstrate an overall agreement by panelists on the value of clinicians being attuned to the complexity of these situations so that they are better positioned to help members of these families increase their sense of relational security to the point where they are free to voice discomfort when it comes to displays of injustice or bias.

Panel endorsements of items increase clinical awareness of the disorientation, confusion, and even trauma that can result when a parent invites deference, communicates exclusion, or treats as invisible a person that to the child is someone akin to a family member. Significantly, panelists agreed that how a domestic laborer leaving the home is handled by a parent could signal to the child that what is an important relational bond to them is often viewed differently by a parent, the realization of which can result in diminished trust that their parent can effectively attend to their emotional needs. For example,

> I have experienced trauma, abandonment, and/or deep loss when a nanny or housekeeper left, passed away, or was terminated. In recollecting that moment, there was confusion, incomprehension, emotion, and/or pleas to have them stay or return. The feeling of this deep bond being severed is recalled vividly. I felt a sense of abandonment and loss that is akin to the loss of a biological parent. I felt angry with my parents, feeling they handled things poorly and I struggled to trust them after that with my emotional needs. (see Table 3; see Appendix B, question 79)

The study results emphasize the importance of family therapists understanding that belonging within this sphere includes multidimensional facets of class and race, yet these children are still guided by the universal developmental needs for connection and belonging, the absence of which is a threat to well-being (Morris et al., 2007). The results are not meant to limit

continuing dialogue on the subject of affluent clientele nor divert therapists from their continuing commitment to growing and learning about the influence of race and class on lives and relationships both inside and outside of the clinical environment; rather, the results are intended to direct therapists' attention towards a little discussed or understood circumstance that is the lived reality of some of their White affluent clientele.

In the position of a family therapist, there is an often-unconscious right to situationally include or exclude members of a family system in the course of treatment; this right to situationally include or exclude voices in the context of therapy acts as a mechanism of segregation thereby justifying inequities granted to privileged people by their position. A decolonizing therapist listens for how narratives within their approach to practice are incongruous with often marginalized family members' ways of knowing (Clare, 2009). To reveal and understand the link between practice and culture, a practice of reflexivity allows therapists to investigate their prevailing theory and research-based practices for how these may be extensions of the dominant culture (Clare, 2009).

Paradoxical desires from family members that relate to their particular social locations are often overlooked or avoided by therapists not trained to address social location. Decolonial efforts within a family therapy setting are a process of temporary yet complete disorder (Duvisac, 2022), yet this disorder is ideally clinically planned for, its processes broad enough to contain shock, disarray, and uncomfortable feelings. A tool of this process is communication that outlines pathways for the practical development of social justice while prioritizing relationships and promoting mutual dignity (Clare, 2009). This purposeful communication requires acknowledging the perspectives of family members who occupy historically marginalized positions within the family system and advocating for responsiveness to these perspectives from historically

dominant positions within the family system (Clare, 2009). A therapist's agility in facilitating these conversations is supported by training that keeps them in contact with the growing knowledge base of empirical evidence supporting multicultural and multicontextual understanding (Clare, 2009).

Genuine liberation involves challenging systemic and social inequities at various social and institutional levels (McDowell, 2015). While this study centers on White voices, it is believed by these authors to be in service of liberation and that the participants within this study are important commentators on society. Including the perceptions of people critically and relationally affected by their social position of affluence is essential in helping affluent White client families decenter dominant perspectives while resolving presenting problems informed by socialization and systemic power imbalances (McDowell et al., 2019). Marriage and family therapists work with families from various social locations and are uniquely positioned to support third-order changes. Third-order change entails inviting clients to see their presenting problems as they relate to power dynamics, both within the family or couple and in the systems the family is situated amongst (McDowell et al., 2019). Third-order change encourages clients to take action toward more just social changes; change then could be seen across systems, as clients emerge having a greater sense that they are part of rather than subject to the organizing systems around them (McDowell et al., 2019). This begins within therapy when clinicians apply appropriate and effective ways of inviting clients to make connections between broader social forces and their individual and relational problems, and then helping clients to investigate and disrupt what is taken for granted about the world around them (McDowell et al., 2019).

Limitations and Future Directions

We were fortunate to have patient and committed participants enrolled in the study, all of whom completed two rounds of data collection. However, gathering and analyzing the comments from a DQ3 and then investigating the shifts in endorsement might have added value to the data. Nevertheless, the exploration of the relational consequences of class and race biases in affluent homes on the children developing within them is fresh enough territory in the clinical research community that even a preliminary list of important topics to consider is of significant value.

While inclusive of varying intersectionalities, another limitation of the study is the lack of focus on the role of gender. The body is coded in terms of sex as well as in terms of race and class, and questioning the construction of gender and gender relations is a principal component of decolonization (Schiwy, 2007). Race, gender, and class do not exist in isolation, rather "come into existence in and through relation to each other" (Schiwy, 2007, p. 275). To omit the characteristics of gender from the discussion risks unconsciously privileging systemically dominant images of gender and gender binaries (Schiwy, 2007). Future research that considers the influence of gender and patriarchy on the dynamics investigated within this study is needed to aid therapists in more fully recognizing the complexities of dominance and power within family systems.

A potential shortfall of the decolonial framework is *decolonizing* becoming a buzzword or becoming an academic discussion coopted by those who currently wield power, overshadowing its revolutionary potential (Duvisac, 2022). The authors are mindful that an apt decolonial framework cannot be made over-comfortable for students, therapists, clients, or researchers who may be privileged within the social hierarchy in an attempt to relieve feelings of guilt or responsibility. "Decolonization is not a metonym for social justice" (Tuck & Yang, 2021,

p. 21). To genuinely counter oppressive outcomes means more than promoting a doctrine of liberation while remaining silent on colonialism; we acknowledge that our efforts in furthering critical consciousness are not the sole activity of disrupting settler colonialism. We honor the myriad of approaches to dismantling colonialism, including the studies, such as this one, that offer avenues for reaching to include in the conversation people in dominant positions of society generally removed from (or actively avoiding) decolonizing discourses.

Another limitation of this study is that its participants are from the expanse of the entire United States, rather than from a specific region, such as California, New England, or the regional South. While this demonstrates a national agreement on endorsed responses, there is enough regional difference in the histories of U.S. slavery and servitude (Carter, et al., 2014) to warrant future research that focuses on the effects of growing up in affluent White homes with employed domestic laborers in a more region-specific study. It is perhaps of significance to note that outliers within responses tended to fall along the lines of regionality, for example with 87.5% of outlying answers from participants from the Midwest and 12.5% from participants from the Southeast, indicating that regional differences may have informed how participants interpreted and/or responded to representations of bias and closeness within the DQ2 statements.

Additionally, participation in a study of this nature indicates that those who are willing to participate are likely more open to reflection on the subject matter, which naturally creates a situation of self-selection that potentially indicates certain biases. There are a couple of concepts that stand out in terms of how biases might be obscured by those who did participate in the study: those of narrative cloaks and emotional labor. In terms of narrative cloaks, people from privileged classes often make use of dominant narratives to mitigate any shame they may feel about ignoring or enforcing oppressive customs (van Wormer & Falkner, 2012). There is no way

to discern within Delphi methodology to what degree expert panelist biases have influenced their objectivity or desire to mask or cloak any socially inappropriate notion of class or race superiority. In terms of emotional labor, this is a term used typically to refer to the expectation that people in lower-status social or relational positions mask their emotions and create a positive emotional experience for the higher-status person; it also refers to the likelihood that the person in the higher status position evaluates their emotional displays more favorably (Wilkins & Pace, 2014). It is a complex scenario, to be sure, when the lower status person, assigned there by their race and/or class, is the adult in the situation, and the higher status person, assigned there by their race and/or class, and their role as the child of an employer, is also still just that—a child. Still, this method perhaps limited opportunities to better investigate the mutuality of feeling between child and domestic laborer, or how bound the domestic care figure might have been by the expectations of emotional labor. While endorsed responses referred to the candor, honesty, and unbound simplicity of the love children in these homes experienced from a domestic care figure, how these children frame, interpret, and even experience this love still lives within the boundaries of the social constraints of class and race.

Lastly, it is significant to note that of the 21.05% of responses that yielded outliers, 87.5% of these outliers were responses from participants who identified their nanny or housekeeper as White. Journalist and author Wilkerson (2020) notes that what defines White racially might be redefined, but what is fixed is White as systemically dominant; while these authors agree with this broadly, there are nuances of Whiteness in terms of role, region, and assigned relational power that bear further investigation.

We hope that the results of this study will inspire more publications on psychological development in the context of socioeconomic advantage. A specific insight provided by

participants that inspired these researchers to consider the next avenues of investigation was the noted belief that Jewish parents, specifically parents who were children of Holocaust survivors, aided their children in understanding that racism was a dangerous thing, the children then reporting seeing this value reflected in their parents' treatment of domestic workers. Another is that endorsed responses indicated that children in these homes who identify as someone in the LGBTQIA+ community experienced a general lack of support and acceptance in affluent social circles, but that the presence of a caring domestic laborer grounded them in understanding and valuing differences and advocating for equality. Both of these represent intersectionality within the affluent sphere that bears continued exploration and understanding, particularly for clinicians.

Conclusion

This study was an exercise in pulling back the veil of normalized oppressive dynamics, giving researchers and clinicians the power to articulate a problem to take action within an enlarged sense of social network (Zrenchik & McDowell, 2012). In its design, this study explored the relational dynamics within White affluent homes that employed a domestic laborer for a significant amount of time when children in these homes were at crucial stages of development. The participants contributed distinctive and personal ideas that highlighted the relational and intrapersonal effects of socioeconomic and racial differences within a family system. Their contributions are significant in that they add to a literature base that previously overlooked their experience, which has limited the clinical understanding of how the children in these homes may be affected developmentally by these unique interpersonal dynamics. The substantial number of items that were endorsed suggest that these children can become caught between their affection for their care figure and the social demands, attachment needs, and need for belonging from their parents and that this bind affects their socioemotional development,

their relationships with their parents, and their developing beliefs about race and class. Responses further illustrated that the relationship between a domestic laborer and an employer's child can be influential, intimate, and deeply vulnerable for the child. The relational processes described within this study articulate nuances of dominance and important aspects of relational interactions between a domestic laborer and an employer. Defining this context provides an understanding of inequality as a relational process (Wilkins & Pace, 2014), revealing unique undercurrents of U.S. culture. Results may be used to improve clinical assessment and to enhance therapists' understanding of the influence of class and race on families. They may also inspire future investigation of the subcultures of affluent social spheres to aid clinical training and practice. These study findings emphasize the importance of expanding the scope of research and practice to include engaging affluent populations in the effort to generate broader equity, social justice, and decolonization.

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Table 1

Participant Demographics

Participant ID	Gender	Age	Childhood Home State of Residence	Brief Demographic of Employed Domestic Laborer
001	Cis-female	32	CA	Salvadorian
002	Cis-female	23	CA	Mexican
003	Cis-female	86	IA	White
004	Non-binary	55	FL	Hispanic
005	Cis-female	37	NYC	Peruvian
006	Cis-female	22	CA	White
007	Cis-female	31	FL	Nicaraguan
008	Cis-female	30	OR	White
009	Cis-male	58	SC	African American

Table 2

Coded Statements Grouped within Themed Headings

Coded Statements	Theme	Theme	Theme
	The Parent-Child Relationship	Emerging Beliefs About Race and Class	Issues Concerning Mental Health
Positive Messages About Race and Class	x		
Affluent Parenting	x		
Money and Class Expectations as Barriers to Relating	x		
Rejecting Financial Support from a Parent	x		
Witnessing Jealously Towards a Nanny or Housekeeper from a Parent	x		
Parental Biases Create Conflict or Distance in the Relationship	x		
Cutting Ties with a Parent or Family Member	x		
Attachment with Nanny or Housekeeper	x		
"One of the Family"	x		
Racism of a Parent, Towards a Domestic Worker or Otherwise	x		
Witnessing an Abuse of Power by a Parent or Family Member	x		
Believing Money Changes People		x	
Beliefs About Class or Wealth		x	
Trouble Recognizing Privilege		x	
Anti-Racist Statements Made by a Nanny or Housekeeper		x	
Witnessing Deferential Behaviors from a Nanny or Housekeeper		x	
Beliefs about Racism		x	
Advocacy		x	
Witnessing Inclusion/Exclusion		x	
Witnessing Invisibility		x	

Coded Statements	Theme	Theme	Theme
Perceptions of Nanny's Race, Class, Culture or Living Situation		x	
Conversations About Race and Class led by a Parent or Family Member		x	
Living in a "White Bubble"		x	
Beliefs about Whiteness		x	
The Impact of Speaking both Spanish and English		x	
Class and Race Across Multiple Generations		x	
"Things I wish a Therapist Knew About my Experience"			x
Thoughts about Belonging			x
The Influence of Gender or Sexual Identity			x
Trouble Adjusting to a Nanny or Housekeeper Leaving			x
The Effect of or on Siblings			x

Table 3

Items on Difficulties in the Parent-Child Relationship in Affluent White Homes that Employed

Domestic Laborers

Item	IM	IQR	Outlier (Y/N)
There were times when affluence felt like a barrier to receiving the care or support of a family member. At times a parent's social, professional, or academic class-based expectations evoked feelings of pressure. Without perhaps consciously realizing the implications or impact of their words, family at times intimated that meeting their expectations was how to gain acceptance.	6	2.5	N
Wealth obscured many of the issues occurring within my family. I feel my parents used having money to justify their behaviors. There were times I felt neglected and lonely but felt I should not feel that way because of my privilege. My experience fits with the social stigma of the upper class or wealthy not having or being allowed to have issues, especially issues caused or made worse by wealth or class.	6	2.5	N
Growing up it was a continuous worry that I was not doing well enough or what I did do would let my family down. I never felt good enough. I felt that if I did whatever my family wanted, that they would like me more. I would put their needs before mine trying to gain acceptance. I think that my adult issues with failure and a poor sense of self-worth likely stem from parental class expectations.	7	2	Y
A parent's racial and class biases have been a barrier to understanding or connection within the adult relationship, and therefore a barrier to support or care. There are many issues I would never turn to my family for because I know we have different values. I may go to them for advice—for example, for financial advice—but I would not go to them for relationship advice. Differences in our value systems, specifically in terms of racial or class bias, have made it difficult to deepen our relationship in adulthood.	6	1.5	Y
It often felt like my nanny or housekeeper and I were putting on an act for a parent at the handoff. We would talk about how we made the bed and did everything that my parent wanted done. My nanny or housekeeper became submissive and formal. We never talked about the fun things we did, and we tended to be more solemn. I felt relieved when a parent left, and I was alone again with the nanny or housekeeper. Or, vice versa, when the nanny or housekeeper left, and I was alone with a parent. When we were all together, I was confused by the dynamic.	7	2.5	N
I have experienced trauma, abandonment, and/or deep loss when a nanny or housekeeper left, passed away, or was terminated. In recollecting that moment, there was confusion, incomprehension, emotion, and/or pleas to have them stay or return. The feeling of this deep bond being severed is recalled vividly. I felt a sense of abandonment and loss that is akin to the loss of a biological parent. I felt angry with my parents, feeling they handled things poorly, and struggled to trust them after than with my emotional needs.	7	1.5	Y

Table 4

Items on Parental Displays of Racist and Classist Values, Biases, Attitudes, and Relationship

Behaviors

Item	IM	IQR	Outlier (Y/N)
There were times when seeing a family member treat my nanny or housekeeper as an employee was disorienting, traumatic, or confusing. To me, as a child, it was clear that this person was family. To a parent, in the way that they handled termination, loss, or transition out of employment, it appeared to be clear that this person was an employee, and that they did not fully recognize the importance of that figure in my life at that time.	6	2.5	N
The attitude or tone with which a parent or family member has repeatedly told a nanny or housekeeper how they wanted things done and what they could or could not do in the workplace was demeaning and portrayed a sense of ownership that I found racist and/or classist. Recognizing their insensitivity when speaking to them made me angry about their lack of awareness. This recognition has helped me to speak more mindfully and with respect to people in lower classes and/or service positions.	6	2	Y
A nanny or housekeeper prepared meals but did not join in on them. Often it was arranged that they would eat their meals in the kitchen, or that I would join them if a parent was not going to be home. They were not invited to eat with the family when a parent was present. I think that this dynamic is what my parents would define as the boundary between employer and employee. This explanation for me is somewhat confusing, as this boundary was blurred by them in other areas and certainly was not as clear to me. I accepted that our nanny or housekeeper ate separately from us, even if they were still at the house, but I did not understand it. It communicated to me that there were differences between us that I did not feel unless all of us were together.	7	2.5	N
I do not agree with my parent's assumptions about race and class. They would have argued that the housekeeper had a good situation and was the best a person of their class/race could expect. I do not think they had the slightest understanding of how social determinants were impacting my housekeeper's options and/or how difficult it was for a person to break from this system. Sadly, I also think that this idea of Black people serving white people is both a class and race issue that stems from not resolving cultural issues dating back to the Civil War.	7	2	Y
I believe that my family's concept of class is organized around distorted beliefs and assumptions. They flaunt their income and fail to realize the privileges that systemic racism has afforded them. They do not show humility or gratitude towards service workers. They are classist in the way that they fail to recognize systemic influence and in the way they resist educating themselves about their privileges.	7	2.5	N
My family would often talk with one another as if our nanny or housekeeper were not there. I believe that the expectation, for housekeepers, was they would go about their work and respect that these conversations were not ones that they should engage in. With nannies, I believe they would fall into a deferential role and let the parent take the lead on any family interactions. This was the "norm", but not one I was always comfortable with or could understand as a child. As an	6	2	Y

Item	IM	IQR	Outlier (Y/N)
adult, I have come to believe that classism is in part defined by a failure to acknowledge the presence of another. Through this lens, I can see the act of omitting a nanny or housekeeper from the conversation and carrying on as if she were not present is likely, at least in part, informed by classism.			
When I was younger, I interpreted the deferential behaviors of a nanny or housekeeper as the cultural preference of my nanny or housekeeper. To me, it seemed that she was telegraphing that my parents were elite. At the time, it made me feel different from her. Now, as an adult, having more of an understanding of the systemic nature of all these diverse elements, I see my parent's attitude towards her and hers towards them as reflecting day to day interactions that perpetuate ideas of division amongst people.	6	2.5	N
Seeing many of the ways my housekeeper or nanny was treated, where they lived, understanding the lack of support, opportunities, and equitable pay has had a significant influence on my viewpoints changing and me removing myself from my parent's social sphere and from relational contact with family members. Further, it has compelled me to research class and racial equity and live a lifestyle that reflects these inclusive values.	6	2.5	N
Witnessing racial and class bias from a parent or family member has led me to take steps to advocate for systemic change by offering reparations where I can in my work life.	6	2	Y
As a child, I remember wanting to interrupt a family member's racist behavior but feeling frozen. I would like to better understand and work through this with a therapist who understands the complexity of the situation.	6	1.5	Y

Table 5

Reported Closeness with an Employed Domestic Laborer

Item	IM	IQR	Outlier (Y/N)
In certain ways, I see my nanny or housekeeper, and not a birth parent, as my primary caregiver. While my parents had an impact on me, I believe my nanny or housekeeper is responsible for many of the good parts of me, teaching me to be kind, compassionate, forgiving, perseverant, and resilient. She was the parent I needed but could not have.	7	1.5	N
I have very few memories of my parents as a child. I know they were loving when they were around, despite having a lot of ideas of who I was supposed to be. My nanny or housekeeper did not have those expectations or interests. It felt good to have someone in my life who did not need to inform my character in that way. I think this is why children are meant to be raised by a broader community – to experience some love that is separated from the mandate of "shaping" a child. My nanny or housekeeper took me as I was━built me up━gave me affection━they were not responsible for my educational development, or spiritual development – and they were not responsible for putting a roof over my head. Their love was simple and boundless in a way that my parents' love was not.	6	2.5	N
Being gay, queer, non-binary, or having a non-cisgender identity in affluent social circles is met with a general lack of support and acceptance. As someone in the LGBTQIA+ community, I have been empowered to look after other marginalized groups. Much of the love that I received from my housekeeper grounded me in understanding and valuing differences and advocating for equality.	6	2	Y
It was a strange realization that the person I consider my primary caregiver was paid to raise me. I had to come to terms with the fact that my childhood was someone else's job and that my parents did little of the actual parenting. It is a strange phenomenon that transcends normative work/life boundaries. I often feel peers, parents, and therapists are not informed or sensitive to the nuances of my experience.	7	2.5	N
Having mixed and complicated feelings about growing up with a nanny or housekeeper has made it difficult, or at least complex, to acknowledge their presence in my life as class privilege. While intellectually I understand their presence was a privilege, because of the complexity they added to my life in terms of relationships, it does not feel complete to merely state the fact of their existence in my life as a privilege. There are parts of that experience that inform my identity and relationships in ways that are challenging for most people to see. At times I feel misunderstood or unseen by people who may minimize my experience because I grew up with wealth.	7	2	N
Growing up with a nanny or housekeeper was a significant experience that impacted me in nuanced ways that are often unasked about in therapy or general conversation; it is a part of my life I would like a better understanding of and there are few people who I feel I can unpack this with.	7	2	Y

Table 6

Emerging Beliefs about Race and Class

Item	IM	IQR	Outlier (Y/N)
Having at least one parent who demonstrated fairness and inclusion in their interactions with a nanny or housekeeper and who acknowledged and were responsible for their classism and racism has fostered a sense of shared values and connection.	7	1.5	N
Growing up in a white neighborhood (or attending a predominantly white school or employing a domestic worker of color) in an otherwise diverse region and not talking about race with my parents in childhood was a problem; it created an unconscious mindset of "us vs. them". As an adult, I realize that it is likely that not talking about race was connected to parental biases, conscious or unconscious. This has made me more invested as an adult in learning and in talking with my parents about awareness of class and racial difference and privilege.	7	2	Y
Having seen this with a parent, I believe that wealth and status have the power to change someone's character or attitude towards others, even if their motives were initially honorable, such as coming from a lower-class background. I believe that money can change people's values in insidious or invisible ways.	6	2	Y
Having at least one parent model socially responsible privilege and wealth taught me that the privileged are in a social position to both help and advocate for those that do not have the access to resources in our community. It taught me it was a responsibility to be a voice for injustices such as systemic classism and racism. In day-to-day interactions, I saw this modeled in my parent's real effort to confront biases. This has helped me in my development of my own anti-racist and anti-classist beliefs and activism.	7	1.5	N
Something core to my identity as a person raised in economic privilege is the belief that marginalized and disadvantaged groups are worthy of the same rights, basic needs getting met, and pleasure and leisure of those in a higher class. This line of thinking stems from an open dialogue with a parent and with my nanny. Being exposed to a nanny or housekeeper's viewpoint was important and influential. Without it, I would be less sensitive and aware.	7	1	Y
I have been afforded opportunities in education, career, personal life, and society at large because of being from an upper or upper-middle class family. I am trying to use what privilege and power I have to change systems. This has included working on DEI policies and programs in my respective roles.	7	2	N
Having parents who, as children of Holocaust survivors, instilled in me the understanding that prejudice is an ugly and dangerous thing, and seeing this reflected in their treatment of domestic workers, has positively informed my views about race.	6	1.5	Y
When I was young, I recall my nanny or housekeeper and I being looked at differently because of our racial difference. I have gone on to study white fragility and systemic racism which has taught me a lot about what I had experienced but could not put words to in my childhood. My beliefs about the limitations and opportunities associated with race come from my perspective of white supremacy and white privilege in my upbringing with my nanny, and seeing the way that she was treated by others, not necessarily me or my family, but people who would see us together.	7	2.5	N
Growing up with a nanny or housekeeper has taught me to pay attention and to recognize my bias particularly in places where I have institutional power, such	6	2.5	N

Item	IM	IQR	Outlier (Y/N)
as when I am in a position to hire an employee or make a judgement that could have a negative impact on someone's life.			
Seeing what a nanny or housekeeper went through with their finances and juggling raising a family while caring for us, I understand that most people do not have the luxury of a financial support blanket. Growing up with her taught me how hard lower-class families have to work for a comfortable life. It also taught me that higher-class people, including myself, are handed opportunities with little or no required effort. I have come to understand that people who are white are afforded liberties by default. White affluent privilege protected me and continues to protect me from systemic injustice. I do not have to worry about being homeless, denied healthcare, not having food, or experiencing unjust incarceration.	6	2	Y
Growing up with a nanny or housekeeper has helped me to become more sensitive to the biases of others and more aware of my own. I believe it protects me from objectifying others, even if they are in a position of doing something for me or are an employee. I realize that class is a systemic issue connected to race and history. I have and will continue to educate myself about privilege, as well as initiate these conversations with my peers.	6	2	N
I have recognized either somewhat or overtly racist behaviors by members of my immediate family, but I never saw these behaviors from a nanny or housekeeper. As I grew up, I felt I was better able to acknowledge and address my own white privilege and class biases because of her willingness to share her values of equity and inclusion with me. Without them, I have wondered if I would be more like peers or family members who choose to ignore certain privileges and biases.	6	2	Y
I was positively influenced by the cultural expression and racial perspective of my nanny or housekeeper. I was inspired by my relationship with them to prioritize making connections with people of diverse backgrounds. This exposure has informed my educational and career pursuits. I consider myself to have a unique and intimate relationship with their culture because of how intertwined our lives were throughout my childhood.	7	2.5	N
It is hard to say that I have a concrete identity. I feel almost a hatred for White culture. I often reject identifying as such and will hesitate to identify as White.	6	2.5	N

APPENDIX A: DELPHI QUESTIONNAIRE 1

Thank you for participating in this survey gathering data from experts in lived experience. Collected data will be used to ascertain whether perceptions of a parent's treatment of an employed family nanny or housekeeper informs the child's wellbeing, beliefs about race and class, and relationships between them and their parent. The different sections within this questionnaire will ask you to reflect on your relationships with and between family members, past and present; to reflect on any significant relationships with a childhood nanny or family housekeeper; to identify your values regarding class, race, and family; and to discuss the messages, either overt or implied, you received within your family of origin regarding race and class.

The survey results will be used to form the basis of a dissertation thesis scheduled to be published within yet undecided academic journals within the upcoming year. Your participation in the survey and your individual responses will be strictly confidential to the research team and will not be divulged to any outside party, including other survey participants. All participant responses within every portion of this study, from data collection via survey questionnaires, to publication and dissemination, will be kept anonymous, including between study participants. Participation is based on individual consent, and any member of the study has the right to withdraw or not participant at any point within the study. For more information on the Delphi method of survey research, please visit http://www.rand.org/topics/delphi-method.html**.**

Once we have received responses from all participants, we will collate and summarize the findings and formulate a brief second questionnaire. You will receive this early next month. If you have any questions, please contact J. Sema Bruno xxxxxx@xxxxxxx.xxx.

Please provide brief demographic information below.
Year of birth:

Brief Education History (please include higher education as well as grade school (K-12) and if this was private, public, or boarding school):

How would you describe your present social class? Is this similar or different than that of your family of origin?

If known, how many generations has your family employed domestic laborers (i.e., a nanny or housekeeper, but could also include other roles, such as driver or gardener)?

Section One: Values Regarding Race, Class, and Family

Please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge and recollection. A few of the questions are multiple choice and can be answered with only a single selection. A space is provided for you to comment on the underlying reasons for your responses. Though many of the questions depend on recall, we encourage you to value your remembered perceptions when considering the childhood environment, context, relationships, social position, cultural experiences, etc. when formulating your answers.

1. What are the limitations and opportunities that you associate with class?

Reason/Explanation:

2. What are the limitations and opportunities that you associate with race?

Reason/Explanation:

3. How does having grown up with a nanny or housekeeper fit into your understanding of your identity?

Reason/Explanation:

4. How has your experience of growing up with a nanny and/or housekeeper informed your values regarding class? Please elaborate.

⚪Positively
⚪Negatively
⚪Both Positively and Negatively
⚪Not At All

     Reason/Explanation:

5. How has your experience of growing up with a nanny and/or housekeeper informed your values regarding race? Please elaborate.

⚪Positively
⚪Negatively
⚪Both Positively and Negatively
⚪Not At All

     Reason/Explanation:

6. How has your experience of growing up with a nanny and/or housekeeper inform your values regarding family? Please elaborate.

⚪Positively
⚪Negatively
⚪Both Positively and Negatively
⚪Not At All

     Reason/Explanation:

Section Two: Reflections on Relationships Between/With Family Members

Please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge and recollection. A few of the questions are multiple-choice and can be answered with only a single selection. A space is provided for you to comment on the underlying reasons for your responses. Though many of the questions depend on recall, we encourage you to value your remembered perceptions when considering the childhood environment, context, relationships, social position, cultural experiences, etc. when formulating your answers.

7. In times of stress or discomfort in childhood, how likely was it for you to turn to your mother (if applicable) for comfort and support?

◯ Extremely Likely
◯ Likely
◯ Somewhat Likely
◯ Unlikely
◯ Not At All Likely

       Reason/Explanation:

8. In times of stress or discomfort in childhood, how likely was it for you to turn to your father (if applicable) for comfort and support?

◯ Extremely Likely
◯ Likely
◯ Somewhat Likely
◯ Unlikely
◯ Not At All Likely

       Reason/Explanation:

9. In times of stress or discomfort in childhood, how likely was it for you to turn to your nanny or housekeeper for comfort and support?

◯ Extremely Likely
◯ Likely
◯ Somewhat Likely
◯ Unlikely
◯ Not At All Likely

       Reason/Explanation:

10. When you were a child and your parents would leave you alone with a nanny or a housekeeper, was there ever a time you recall feeling frustrated with them for this?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Maybe

Reason/Explanation

11.When you were a child, did you resent or feel frustrated when your parent or parents would spend time away from you?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Maybe

Reason/Explanation:

12. When you were a child, did you ever want to get closer to your parent or parents, but pulled back?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Maybe

Reason/Explanation:

13. Was it easy in childhood for you to be emotionally expressive with your family?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Maybe

Reason/Explanation:

Section Three: Relationship with the Employed Nanny or Housekeeper

Please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge and recollection. A few of the questions are multiple choice and can be answered with only a single selection. A space is provided for you to comment on the underlying reasons for your responses. Though many of the questions depend on recall, we encourage you to value your remembered perceptions when considering the childhood environment, context, relationships, social position, cultural experiences, etc. when formulating your answers.

14. What do you think leads people to work as a nanny or a housekeeper?

15. Was a nanny or housekeeper's ethnic or racial background ever different than your own?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Maybe

Please Elaborate:

16. Did your nanny or housekeeper express their culture (if different than your own) in your childhood home or with you in childhood?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Maybe
☐ Not Applicable

Please Elaborate:

17. Did you ever have a significant relationship with a nanny or family housekeeper? Please elaborate.

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Maybe

Please Elaborate:

**Moving forward in this section, please refer to the most significant relationship with a nanny or housekeeper you experienced, unless the question is otherwise noted as 'in general'.

18. In what ways did your relationship with a nanny or family housekeeper impact your relationship with your parent/parents?

Reason/Explanation:

19. Was there ever a conflict between your parent/parents' parenting style and your nanny or housekeeper's caregiving style?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Maybe

Reason/Explanation:

20. Does your nanny or housekeeper's caregiving style have an impact on you now, as an adult?

☐ Significant Impact
☐ Moderate Impact
☐ Limited Impact
☐ No Impact

Reason/Explanation:

21. Were your interactions with your nanny or family housekeeper different when a parent was present versus when you two were alone together?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Maybe

If 'yes', how were they different:

22. Did your nanny or housekeeper act differently when the two of you were alone together versus when your parents were present?

◯ Yes
◯ No
◯ Maybe

Reason/Explanation:

23. In general, do you think that growing up with a family housekeeper or nanny has affected your present sense of wellbeing or mental health?

◯ Significant Impact
◯ Moderate Impact
◯ Limited Impact
◯ No Impact

Reason/Explanation:

Section Four: Perceptions of Parent Behaviors/Attitudes Towards Nanny or

Housekeeper

Please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge. Many of the questions are Please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge and recollection. A few of the questions are multiple choice and can be answered with only a single selection. A space is provided for you to comment on the underlying reasons for your responses. Though many of the questions depend on recall, we encourage you to value your remembered perceptions when considering the childhood environment, context, relationships, social position, cultural experiences, etc. when formulating your answers.

24. What do you recollect about your parents' interactions with your nannies or family housekeepers? Please elaborate.

25. Do you think that your parents' treatment of a family housekeeper or nanny has informed your views about class?

◯ Extremely Likely
◯ Likely
◯ Somewhat Likely
◯ Unlikely
◯ Not At All Likely

Reason/Explanation:

26. Do you think that your parents' treatment of a family housekeeper or nanny has informed your views about race?

◯ Extremely Likely
◯ Likely
◯ Somewhat Likely
◯ Unlikely
◯ Not At All Likely

Reason/Explanation:

27. Did your nanny or family housekeeper prepare your family meals, and did they join you in those meals? Please elaborate as to what you think informed this dynamic.

◯ Yes
◯ No
◯ Maybe

Reason/Explanation:

28. If known, when your nanny or housekeeper cooked for your family, was the menu different or similar to the foods that she cooked in her own home?

◯ Similar
◯ Different
◯ Unknown

29. If you had a significant relationship with a particular nanny or housekeeper in childhood, how would you describe their personality?

30. How do you imagine your mother (if applicable) would describe her personality?

31. How do you imagine your father (if applicable) would describe her personality?

32. Did a parent ever carry on a conversation with you or with other people in the room as if your nanny or housekeeper were not present?

◯ Yes
◯ No
◯ Maybe

Reason/Explanation:

33. Do you know if your parents provided your family housekeepers or nanny with healthcare?

◯ Yes
◯ No
◯ Maybe

Reason/Explanation:

34. What led to your parents hiring a nanny and/or housekeeper?

Section Five: Perceptions of Parent Messages About Race, Class, & Belonging

Please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge and recollection. A few of the questions are multiple choice and can be answered with only a single selection. A space is provided for you to comment on the underlying reasons for your responses. Though many of the questions depend on recall, we encourage you to value your remembered perceptions when considering the childhood environment, context, relationships, social position, cultural experiences, etc. when formulating your answers.

35. Do you feel that your class growing up has contributed to your adult sense of well-being or mental health?

◻ Yes
◻ No
◻ Maybe

      Please Elaborate:

36. How do you know when someone is behaving in a classist way?

37. Growing up, did you ever have worries that you would let your family down? Please elaborate.

◻ Yes
◻ No
◻ Maybe

      Please Elaborate:

38. Growing up, did you ever worry about not feeling close with your family?

◻ Yes
◻ No
◻ Maybe

      Please Elaborate:

39. Growing up, did you discuss your problems and concerns with your family?

◻ Yes
◻ No
◻ Maybe
◻ Not Applicable

Reason/Explanation:

40. Growing up, did you ever feel that you had to put your family's needs before your own?

⬭ Yes
⬭ No
⬭ Maybe

41. As an adult, do differences in values between you and your parents ever affect your decision to approach them for support or connection?

⬭ Yes
⬭ No
⬭ Maybe

      Please Elaborate:

42. Do you think that your parents' views about race have informed your views about race? Please elaborate.

⬭ Extremely Likely
⬭ Likely
⬭ Somewhat Likely
⬭ Unlikely
⬭ Not At All Likely

      Please Elaborate:

43. Do you think that your parents' views about class have informed your views about class? Please elaborate.

⬭ Extremely Likely
⬭ Likely
⬭ Somewhat Likely
⬭ Unlikely
⬭ Not At All Likely

      Please Elaborate:

In Summary

If there is anything else you would like to add or expand on, or, if there is anything you feel this survey should have asked, but did not, please expound on your thoughts in the provided space below.

APPENDIX B: DELPHI QUESTIONNAIRE 2

Thank you for participating!

This Delphi survey invites you to scale statements that emerged from the initial survey responses. Please rate each statement as either: Not Important (1 or 2) Important but not Significant (3, 4, or 5) Significant (6 or 7).

You're the Expert!

The statement may not reflect your individual experience. That's alright! We will still benefit from your expertise. To make a comparison, if you were a heart surgeon, you may not have seen a particular case, but given your expertise, you could confidently weigh in on a topic having to do with heart surgery. If, though, a statement was made that seemed interesting, but not related to heart surgery, you would be able to identify that. In light of that, please read each statement and let us know if it is something important for a therapist to consider when working with a White, upper or upper-middle-class client who grew up with a nanny or housekeeper in the home. If it is interesting but does not seem related to either wealth, the employment of a domestic laborer, or emerging beliefs about race and class, please rate the statement in accordance with that.

The statements are either in the first or third person. Read them as if someone were sharing with you their experience, and then scale accordingly.

Section One: The Parent/Child Relationship

The first section presents statements having to do with the parent/child relationship. Specifically, the statements consider things that it would be important for a therapist to know about how affluence, racial and class biases, and/or having a nanny or housekeeper has impacted the client's relationship with their parents, either as an adult or as a child. Read each statement as if someone were sharing with you their experience, and then scale accordingly.

1. What's your name?

2. There were times when affluence felt like a barrier to receiving the care or support of a family member. At times a parent's social, professional, or academic class-based expectations evoke feelings of pressure. Without perhaps consciously realizing the implications or impact of their words, family at times intimated that meeting their expectations was how to gain acceptance.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

3. A parent's racial or class biases have been a barrier to understanding and connection within the adult relationship. There are many issues I would never turn to my family for because we have different values. I may go to them for advice–for example, for financial advice–but I would not go to them for support for something more personal. Differences in our values about race or class have made it difficult to deepen our relationships in adulthood.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

4. I have not sought advice or counsel from my parents in my adult years. I have a "chosen family" that I use for support and connection. My experiences being raised with a nanny or housekeeper have taught me that blood is not the only significant way to define family.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

5. In certain ways I see my nanny or housekeeper, and not a birth parent, as my primary caregiver. While my parents had an impact on me, I believe my nanny or housekeeper is responsible for many of the good parts of me, teaching me to be kind, compassionate, forgiving, perseverant, and resilient. She was the parent I needed but couldn't have.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

6. I am confident that a large part of who I am today is because of the care that I received as a child from my nanny or housekeeper. I do not believe that if I were left having my parents alone to care for me I would be the person that I am today.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

7. In some ways, having a nanny or housekeeper's love made me feel farther away from my family. I wanted to spend time with my parents, and I wanted them to love me, but it felt like they just kind of didn't. The issue for me is the contrast: knowing what it feels like to be loved, while knowing what you are missing. Since I knew love, I knew my parents didn't love me. Without the love of a nanny or housekeeper, I may not have realized that. At the same time, I'm grateful I was loved.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

8. I had moments of feeling abandoned or rejected by a parent who hired a nanny or housekeeper to fulfill a parenting role. I wanted to spend time with my parents and wanted them to love me, but often I felt excluded, left behind, or pawned off on the nanny or housekeeper.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

9. Having a nanny was confusing for me as a child. It seemed that a parent was choosing their way of life, personal struggles, or career over parenting. I was angry and frustrated that my family didn't seem to have the time to take

care of me or a lot of space to understand or comfort me. My nanny or housekeeper was there, yet I desired a closer connection with a biological parent.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

10. I sensed there might be jealousy or resentment from a parent over the closeness that developed between me and my nanny or housekeeper. Having a parent telegraph or vocalize resentment or jealousy created confusion and discomfort within the parent-child relationship.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

11. In times of discomfort, I often preferred turning towards a nanny or housekeeper for support over a parent. They were around the most and handled it well. I often felt safer and more comfortable with them than a parent. This likely stems in part from their not being in a position to discipline or reprimand me, so there was never much animosity or hostility between us. When a parent handled punishment in questionable ways, a nanny or housekeeper became a safe space, because I trusted them not to harm me. Their not being in a position to harshly discipline me fostered emotional safety in the relationship in a way that differed from the emotional safety in my relationship with a parent.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

12. I have very few memories of my parents as a child. I know they were loving when they were around, despite having a lot of ideas of who I was supposed to be. My nanny or housekeeper didn't have those expectations or interests. It felt good to have someone in my life who didn't need to inform my character in that way. I think this is why children are meant to be raised by a broader community – to experience some love that is separated from the mandate of "shaping" a child. My nanny or housekeeper took me as I was – built me up – gave me affection – they weren't responsible for my educational development, or spiritual development – and they weren't responsible for putting a roof over my head. Their love was simple and boundless in a way that my parents' love was not.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

13. I craved being seen and understood by my parents, but I didn't feel I was. I do not think it was available to them to offer that kind of support. My nanny or housekeeper was present and unconditional. My parents were distracted, busy, and demanding.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

14. I worried that I would struggle to connect with my parents or family members a□er a nanny or housekeeper left, in large part because my parents were not as present during those formative years. When my nanny or housekeeper was gone, I wanted to get closer to one or both parents but was worried about being received or about not knowing how.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

15. On the one hand, I feel strongly that my chosen family is family, and that I am lucky to have such a special and important chosen family. Having a special bond with my nanny or housekeeper gives me an understanding of how you can choose how you want your family to look. On the other hand, I almost feel a distance between myself and my biological family because of how close I still am with my nanny or housekeeper, who has stepped up in every way possible to do the emotional, physical, mental, and domestic labor of a stereotypical parent.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

16. There were times when seeing a family member treat my nanny or housekeeper as an employee was disorienting, traumatic, or confusing. To me, as a child, it was clear that this person was family. To a parent, in the way that they handled termination, loss, or transition out of employment, it appeared to be clear that this person was an employee, and that they did not fully recognize the importance of that figure in my life at that time.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

17. There were times when the racial attitude of a parent contributed to a lack of emotional safety in my relationship with them. I have felt disappointed in my parent's negative views about race, and these views have negatively affected our closeness and sense of shared values.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

18. When befriending a Black student in high school, my parents informed me that I was not allowed to pursue that relationship, otherwise, I would be punished. My distance from them and their values grew after this experience. It was overt racism, and I started to put together where I was going to school, what our neighborhood and church were like, and what I knew was outright injustice. I requested a transfer to a public school, which my parents did not approve, and I grew more and more distant from them.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

19. When graduating from high school, many nannies or housekeepers wanted to attend as they were a huge part of our development and upbringing. If they attended, they generally did not sit with the families, and they generally were not invited to any celebration afterward. I witnessed similar situations when folks were married – the housekeeper or nanny could sit in for the wedding but was rarely invited to the reception. In this behavior I recognize the US cultural history of slavery and servitude and the ways that nannies and housekeepers are looked at or treated differently in social settings. I interpret a parent excluding my nanny or housekeeper – an important figure in my life – from performances, graduations, and other important events as racism and classism.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

20. Having at least one parent who demonstrated fairness and inclusion in their interactions with a nanny or housekeeper and who acknowledged and was responsible for their classism and racism has fostered a sense of shared values and connection.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

21. Comments on Section One: The Parent/Child Relationship.

Please add any additional thoughts or comments on the overall section, or on a specific question. If you are commenting on a specific question, please include the number of the question you are referencing.

Section Two: Beliefs about Class and Race

The second section presents statements having to do with beliefs about class and race. Specifically, the statements consider things that it would be important for a therapist to know about how affluence, racial and class biases of a parent, and/or having a nanny or housekeeper has informed a client's beliefs about race and class.

22. Having at least one parent model socially responsible privilege and wealth taught me that the privileged are in a social position to both help and advocate for those that don't have access to resources in our community. It taught me it was a responsibility to be a voice for injustices such as systemic classism and racism. In day-to-day interactions, I saw this modeled in my parent's real effort to confront biases. This has helped me in my development of my own anti-racist and anti-classist beliefs and activism.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

23. Having parents who are children of Holocaust survivors instilled in me the understanding that prejudice is an ugly and dangerous thing. Seeing this reflected in their treatment of domestic workers informed my views about race in a positive way and I respect my parents' strong values.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

24. My class has given me opportunities for education and life experience. I recognize that family money has allowed me to take risks within my education and career. Having my family support me financially has let me try things that I could fail at without the fear of failing. This has impacted my life decisions and given me a basic trust that things will be okay. This has helped me be more stable, calm, and trusting. I don't get scared the same way many others do. Recognizing my privilege has helped me to develop empathy for those who have to consider financial security.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not Important   Important/ Not Significant   Significant

25. Having seen this with a parent, I believe that wealth and status have the power to change someone's character or attitude towards others, even if their motives were initially honorable, such as coming from a lower-class background. I believe that money can change people's values in insidious or invisible ways.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not Important   Important/ Not Significant   Significant

26. Following in my family's footsteps in terms of class or the ways that they valued worth and money was undesirable to me. I have taken active steps to demonstrate our value differences as an adult by turning down gifts, rejecting financial support, and no longer taking financial advice from a parent.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not Important   Important/ Not Significant   Significant

27. Growing up with a nanny or housekeeper has helped me to become more sensitive to the biases of others and more aware of my own. I believe it protects me from objectifying others, even if they are in a position of doing something for me or are an employee. I realize that class is a systemic issue connected to race and history. I have and will continue to educate myself about privilege, as well as initiate these conversations with my peers.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not Important   Important/ Not Significant   Significant

28. As a child, I remember noticing a difference in class between my family and my housekeeper or nanny. A parent would often give them hand-me-downs of clothes and toys. I remember feeling a sense of relief that I was a part of a family with more financial security than theirs. As much as my parents loved and appreciated them, there was an implicit sense of pity for their situation that showed up in the way of them being philanthropic to her. As I grew up, I started to understand that I was growing up in a rich bubble and that this was a systemic issue, rather than a situation

of someone being "the deserving one". I started to notice how our having money was connected to race and class history.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

29. I have witnessed a parent, family member, or peer in my social class justify verbal abuse, neglect, or overt classism in a way to me that read as entitlement.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

30. Something core to my identity as a person raised in economic privilege is the belief that marginalized and disadvantaged groups are worthy of the same rights, basic needs getting met, and pleasure and leisure of those in a higher class. This line of thinking stems from an open dialogue with a parent and with my nanny. Being exposed to a nanny or housekeeper's viewpoint was important and influential. Without it, I would be less sensitive and aware.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

31. The attitude or tone with which a parent or family member has repeatedly told a nanny or housekeeper how they wanted things done and what they could or could not do in the workplace was demeaning and portrayed a sense of ownership that I found racist and/or classist. Recognizing their insensitivity when speaking to them made me angry about their lack of awareness. This recognition has helped me to speak more mindfully and with respect to people in lower classes and/or service positions.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

32. I do not agree with my parents' assumptions about race and class. They would have argued that the housekeeper had a good situation and was the best a person of their class/race could expect. I don't think they had the slightest understanding of how social determinants were impacting my housekeeper's options and/or how difficult it was for a person to break from this system. Sadly, I also think that this idea of Black people serving white people is both a class and race issue that stems from not resolving cultural issues dating back to the Civil War.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

33. I believe that my family's concept of class is organized around distorted beliefs and assumptions. They flaunt their income and fail to realize the privileges that systemic racism has afforded them. They do not show humility or

gratitude towards service workers. They are classist in the way that they fail to recognize systemic influence and in the way they resist educating themselves about their privileges.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

34. I am aware that the phrase *one of the family* can be perceived as a micro-aggression by domestic service workers, the implication being that this phrase is used to ask an employee to do something that would otherwise be inappropriate to ask in a work setting – such as staying late or asking special favors. This is confusing, as, to me, this person was family. I believe at times my parents saw her as family as well, but I am uncertain and have concerns that their use of this phrase meant something different than my use of the phrase.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

35. Growing up, a parent engaged in charity work involving children of color, but given their racist attitude in other situations, I interpret this as white saviorism. At times, the realization that I have inherited some of my parents' biases leaves me with a certain discomfort when talking about race. I fear I'll say the wrong things and I don't want to hurt someone, but this stops me from learning.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

36. A parent I identify as racist employs domestic workers of color. In my childhood, these workers, in the roles of nannies and housekeepers, were personal to me, and, as people, didn't deserve to be objectified. I believe that growing up with a nanny or housekeeper has made me less racist and more liberal than my parent.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

37. My parent's relationship with my nanny or housekeeper was that of an upper-class person interacting with a lower-class domestic laborer. While in some ways they had a good working relationship, I am aware that there was a power dynamic at play with my parent having more power and at times almost seeming to abuse it. It was tricky considering that this person was doing paid work, but I found the way that my parent treated them to be demoralizing at times.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

38. At times, the deferential behaviors of my nanny or housekeeper towards my parents were confusing. This was a person that I viewed as family. I recall trying to stop my nanny or housekeeper from acting this way by telling her, in my child's way, that my parents were her family, too. In hindsight, as an adult, I think that if my nanny or housekeeper were like family to a parent, as they have said, they would not have promoted or permitted these behaviors.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			Important/ Not Significant				Significant	

39. When I was younger, I interpreted the deferential behaviors of a nanny or housekeeper as the cultural preference of my nanny or housekeeper. To me, it seemed that she was telegraphing that my parents were elite. At the time, it made me feel different from her. Now, as an adult, having more of an understanding of the systemic nature of all these diverse elements, I see my parent's attitude towards her and hers towards them as reflecting day-to-day interactions that perpetuate ideas of division amongst people.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			Important/ Not Significant				Significant	

40. I have recognized either somewhat or overtly racist behaviors by members of my immediate family, but I never saw these behaviors from a nanny or housekeeper. As I grew up, I felt I was better able to acknowledge and address my own white privilege and class biases because of her willingness to share her values of equity and inclusion with me. Without them, I have wondered if I would be more like peers or family members who choose to ignore certain privileges and biases.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			Important/ Not Significant				Significant	

41. I was positively influenced by the cultural expression and racial perspective of my nanny or housekeeper. I was inspired by my relationship with them to prioritize making connections with people of diverse backgrounds. This exposure has informed my educational and career pursuits. I consider myself to have a unique and intimate relationship with their culture because of how intertwined our lives were throughout my childhood.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			Important/ Not Significant				Significant	

42. When I was young, I recall my nanny or housekeeper and I being looked at differently because of our racial differences. I have gone on to study white fragility and systemic racism which has taught me a lot about what I had experienced but could not put words to in my childhood. My beliefs about the limitations and opportunities associated with race come from my perspective of white supremacy and white privilege in my upbringing with my nanny, and seeing the way that she was treated by others, not necessarily me or my family, but by people who would see us together.

| 1 | 2 | | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | 7 |

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

43. Growing up with a nanny or housekeeper has taught me to pay attention and to recognize my bias, particularly in places where I have institutional power, such as when I am in a position to hire an employee or make a judgment that could have a negative impact on someone's life.

| 1 | 2 | | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | 7 |

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

44. I have been afforded opportunities in education, career, personal life, and society at large because of being from an upper or upper-middle class family. I am trying to use what privilege and power I have to change systems. This has included working on DEI policies and programs in my respective roles.

| 1 | 2 | | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | 7 |

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

45. I have been inspired by my relationship with a nanny or housekeeper to host difficult conversations about race and class with my peers in the hopes they will get curious about their own inherited biases.

| 1 | 2 | | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | 7 |

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

46. Witnessing racial and class bias from a parent or family member has led me to take steps to advocate for systemic change by offering reparations where I can in my work life.

| 1 | 2 | | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | 7 |

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

47. Being raised by parents with certain biases has increased my motivation for understanding white privilege and racial bias. I have gone on to study race and class academically and/or as a hobby. My parents have not done this, so I think that my views are more educated and informed than theirs. I proactively address issues of race and class with parents as an adult.

| 1 | 2 | | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | 7 |

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

48. A nanny or housekeeper prepared meals but didn't join in on them. Often it was arranged that they would eat their meals in the kitchen, or that I would join them if a parent wasn't going to be home. They were not invited to eat with the family when a parent was present. I think that this dynamic is what my parents would define as the boundary between employer and employee. This explanation for me is somewhat confusing, as this boundary was blurred by them in other areas and certainly wasn't as clear to me. I accepted that our nanny or housekeeper ate separately from us, even if they were still at the house, but I didn't understand it. It communicated to me that there were differences between us that I didn't feel unless all of us were together.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

49. My family would often talk with one another as if our nanny or housekeeper were not there. I believe that the expectation, for housekeepers, was they would go about their work and respect that these conversations were not ones that they should engage in. With nannies, I believe they would fall into a deferential role and let the parent take the lead on any family interactions. This was the norm, but not one I was always comfortable with or could understand as a child. As an adult, I have come to believe that classism is in part defined by a failure to acknowledge the presence of another. Through this lens, I can see the act of omitting a nanny or housekeeper from the conversation and carrying on as if she were not present is likely, at least in part, informed by classism.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

50. I experienced a nanny or housekeeper's living situation as dangerous or impoverished. I am aware that my nanny or housekeeper has immediate or close family who have been the victims of gun violence, unjust incarceration, or addiction. My exposure to these environments through my nanny or housekeeper is the most intimate experience I have with a class outside of my own, giving me a window out of my privilege. It is an intimate perspective that has deeply impacted me and informed my understanding of class and systemic injustice.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

51. I believe that people become nannies and housekeepers out of necessity, whether it is because of immigration status, lack of education or job opportunities, or other limiting social determinants. I think that often people in these positions experience subtle or overt racism or classism. I think that developing a bond with the children in the home helps to make the situation more bearable. And I think that there is enjoyment for many of them to be able to influence children by showing them a bit of their culture.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

52. I remember as a child my nanny or housekeeper went home for a visit. I recall their explaining that their home is another country, which is different than the country that we were in. When I asked why she was going home, she replied, "I'm treated differently there than I am here purely based on the way that I look". This was a moment of realizing that there were differences between her and myself and that we were looked at or treated differently. It made a big impact on me to have them articulate that there were environments other than our home where they felt more understood, safe, respected, or allowed to express themselves and/or their culture.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

53. Seeing what a nanny or housekeeper went through with their finances and juggling raising a family while caring for us, I understand that most people do not have the luxury of a financial support blanket. Growing up with her taught me how hard lower-class families have to work for a comfortable life. It also taught me that higher-class people, including myself, are handed opportunities with little or no required effort. I have come to understand that people who are White are afforded liberties by default. White affluent privilege protected me and continues to protect me from systemic injustice. I don't have to worry about being homeless, denied healthcare, not having food, or experiencing unjust incarceration.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

54. Seeing many of the ways my housekeeper or nanny was treated, where they lived, and understanding the lack of support, opportunities, and equitable pay has had a significant influence on my viewpoints changing and me removing myself from my parent's social sphere and relational contact with family members. Further, it has compelled me to research class and racial equity and live a lifestyle that reflects these inclusive values.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

55. Given the stark difference between the living situations of a nanny or housekeeper and myself, I at times questioned the fairness of pay from a parent to a domestic worker who is noticeably less materially secure.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

56. When my nanny or housekeeper and I were alone she was more relaxed and there was less pressure. I remember wondering when I was young if my nanny or housekeeper was afraid of my parents. As an adult, I have a greater understanding of the complexity of not only the employee/employer dynamic but also of the social factors that make a nanny or housekeeper vulnerable and how this impacts their sense of job security/insecurity.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

57. Growing up in a white neighborhood (or attending a predominantly white school or employing a domestic worker of color) in an otherwise diverse region and not talking about race with my parents in childhood was a problem; it created an unconscious mindset of *us vs. them*. As an adult, I realize that it is likely that not talking about race was connected to parental biases, conscious or unconscious. This has made me more invested as an adult in learning and in talking with my parents about awareness of class and racial difference and privilege.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**   **7**

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

58. As a child, I recall witnessing a family member make fun of the culture of my nanny or housekeeper. This was the dawn of my realization that white people are privileged; that we are the ones who get to make fun of others, but others aren't in a position to make fun of us.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**   **7**

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

59. What emotions were and weren't allowed in the home was set by my parents. A nanny or housekeeper was obliged to follow these unspoken rules in the company of a parent, their employer. When my nanny or housekeeper and I were not with my parents, I felt the emotional rulesets change. Experiencing them, a person of color, as more emotionally available and attuned than my white parents, I have concluded that whiteness equates with a lack of emotional intelligence and availability.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**   **7**

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

60. A parent hired a nanny or housekeeper who spoke Spanish intentionally to teach me a second language. People often assume that because I am white, I do not speak or understand Spanish. Being fluent in Spanish, I believe I have an openness and receptivity to others that I believe is unique for someone in my social class. This has highlighted for me that people have preconceived notions about what a person is or is not capable of based on their skin color.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**   **7**

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

61. Having had a nanny or housekeeper whose first language was Spanish I spoke Spanish since I was very young. This opened my mind to a new way of thinking because each language has its own logic, rhythm, philosophy, and history that informs how those speaking it are thinking and feeling. Class and language are associated because even in English, class informs how dialects are developed. Understanding the vastness of language has allowed me to

appreciate the struggles and gifts of class cultures. I also was loved by someone who loved in a particular way – a way that was informed by her language, culture, and class. As a result, I believe I have a more open mind and receptive heart than others in my social class.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

62. In my family and other families in our region, it was not uncommon to have the same nanny or housekeeper serve multiple generations or for a daughter to take over those duties. My housekeeper had been the housekeeper for my mother's family when she was a child, so it was a generational thing. I have hired a housekeeper, a nanny, or other domestic workers. My parents continue to have a housekeeper to this day.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

63. Gender is a driving force in deciding who takes care of the home and children, with women being socialized into caregiving and domestic roles. All of our nannies and housekeepers were women. All of our housekeepers were women of color, and the majority of our nannies were as well.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

64. Much of the love that I received from my housekeeper or nanny has grounded me in understanding and valuing differences and advocating for equality. Being gay, queer, non-binary, or having a non-cisgender identity in affluent social circles is often met with a general lack of support and acceptance. As someone in the LGBTQIA+ community, I have been empowered to look after other marginalized groups.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

65. Comments on Section Two: Beliefs About Race and Class

Please add any additional thoughts or comments on the overall section or a specific question. If you are commenting on a specific question, please include the number of the question you are referencing.

Section Three: Mental Health Considerations

The third section presents statements having to do with mental health considerations specific to the experience of being raised in a home where a nanny and/or housekeeper was employed. Specifically, the statements consider things that it would be important for a therapist to know about how affluence, racial and class biases of a parent, and/or having a nanny or housekeeper has affected a client's health.

66. Growing up with a nanny or housekeeper was a significant experience that impacted me in nuanced ways that are often unasked about in therapy or general conversation; it is a part of my life I would like a better understanding of and there are few people who I feel I can unpack this with.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

67. It was a strange realization that the person I consider my primary caregiver was paid to raise me. I had to come to terms with the fact that my childhood was someone else's job and that my parents did little of the actual parenting. It is a strange phenomenon that transcends normative work/life boundaries. I often feel peers, parents, and therapists are not informed or sensitive to the nuances of my experience.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

68. Wealth obscured many of the issues occurring within my family. I feel my parents used having money to justify their behaviors. There were times I felt neglected and lonely but felt I shouldn't feel that way because of my privilege. My experience fits with the social stigma of the upper class or wealthy not having or being allowed to have issues, especially issues caused or made worse by wealth or class.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

69. Having mixed and complicated feelings about growing up with a nanny or housekeeper has made it difficult, or at least complex, to acknowledge their presence in my life as a class privilege. While intellectually I understand their presence was a privilege, because of the complexity they added to my life in terms of relationships, it doesn't feel complete to merely state the fact of their existence in my life as a privilege. There are parts of that experience that inform my identity and relationships in ways that are challenging for most people to see. At times I feel misunderstood or unseen by people who may minimize my experience because I grew up with wealth.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

70. It often felt like my nanny or housekeeper and I were putting on an act for a parent at the handoff. We would talk about how we made the bed and did everything that my parent wanted done. My nanny or housekeeper became submissive and formal. We never talked about the fun things we did, and we tended to be more solemn. I felt relieved when a parent left, and I was alone again with the nanny or housekeeper. Or, vice versa, when the nanny or housekeeper left, and I was alone with a parent. When we were all together, I was confused by the dynamic.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Important		**Important/ Not Significant**			**Significant**	

71. Growing up I feared a parent's rejection and the weight of their expectations. As an adult, I have renounced their expectations while still benefitting from the privilege of their provided financial stability. At times this evokes mixed feelings and effects my sense of self or well-being.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

72. Growing up it was a continuous worry that I was not doing well enough or that what I did do would let my family down. I never felt good enough. I felt that if I did whatever my family wanted, that they would like me more. I would put their needs before mine trying to gain acceptance. I think that my adult issues with failure and a poor sense of self-worth likely stem from parental class expectations.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

73. It is hard to say that I have a concrete identity. I feel almost a hatred for white culture. I o☐en reject identifying as such and will hesitate to identify as white.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

74. As a child, I remember wanting to interrupt a family member's racist behavior but feeling frozen. I would like to better understand and work through this with a therapist who understands the complexity of the situation.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

75. I remember a moment when I was very young and lashing out and hitting a nanny or housekeeper. I remember them saying that they would not work here or care for me any longer if I did that again. A parent can't say that kind of thing. The potential for a nanny or housekeeper who is a close care figure to leave – and to know this as a child – is an interesting phenomenon that may inform my adult relationships, but I have never been asked about this in therapy.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7
Not Important			**Important/ Not Significant**				**Significant**	

76. I felt jealous growing up of peers who were close to their parents. I wanted aspects of what they had, and I would sometimes steal some of their things from their houses in an attempt to get them.

1	2		3	4	5		6	7

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

77. I wanted the attention of a parent and would make a scene and be manipulative to create reasons for them to have to intervene. After I realized that I would not get the attention I sought, I stopped trying and turned to self-comforting behaviors, some of them destructive.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**   **7**

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

78. Growing up with a nanny or housekeeper as a parental figure was confusing and led to feelings of loneliness and not understanding my place in life. I suffered from unexpressed anger which continues to take a toll on me.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**   **7**

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

79. I have experienced trauma, abandonment, and/or deep loss when a nanny or housekeeper left, passed away, or was terminated. In recollecting that moment, there was confusion, incomprehension, emotion, and/or pleas to have them stay or return. The feeling of this deep bond being severed is recalled vividly. I felt a sense of abandonment and loss that is akin to the loss of a biological parent. I felt angry with my parents, feeling they handled things poorly, and struggled to trust them after that with my emotional needs.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**   **7**

Not Important   **Important/ Not Significant**   **Significant**

80. Comments on Section Three: Mental Health Considerations

Please add any additional thoughts or comments on the overall section, or on a specific question. If you are commenting on a specific question, please include the number of the question you are referencing.

81. Any other comments?

Please add any additional thoughts or comments on the overall survey, for example, if you feel something important has been left out or if you have something additional that came to mind that you wanted to share, this is the space in which to do so.

APPENDIX C: A DETAILED PROCEDURES AND MEASURES PROTOCOL

I.   Subject Selection and Recruitment

    A.   This study's nine participants identified as White (two of whom identified as Jewish), seven as cis-gendered female, one as non-binary, and one as cis-gendered male. Participants' age range was from 22–86. Three participants attended private grade school; six attended public grade school. Nine participants completed college, seven completed graduate school, and two participants hold a Ph.D.

    B.   Participants were selected from within the United States. Three participants grew up in CA, one in OR, one in IA, one in SC, one in NYC, and two in FL.

    C.   Participant recruitment began on April 24, 2023. Recruitment ended and participants were enrolled by June 7, 2023. Data collection began on June 15, 2023, and was completed on November 6, 2023.

    D.   The procedures directly affecting study participants were the time that it took to complete the initial open-ended questionnaire (~90 min), the waiting time between the open-ended questionnaire and the scaled survey (~ 4 mos.), and the time it took to complete the scaled survey (~3 hrs.).

    E.   To be included in the study, study participants successfully met the inclusion criteria of a) self-identifies as White, b) self-reports their childhood socioeconomic status in terms of either 'elite', 'affluent', 'rich', 'upper class', or 'upper middle class', c) received a significant amount of care from an employed domestic laborer (> of 20 hours/week for > 2 years), and d) received this care between the ages of three and 12 years of age.

F. The participants were recruited from a targeted search among colleagues and through social media advertisements on the platforms of Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and Reddit. Flyers calling for participants were sent to psychology and social science department heads in regions identified as those employing the highest number of domestic laborers and the highest median incomes: Providence, RI, Boston, MA, New York City and its surrounding counties, Washington D.C. and its surrounding counties in VA, and Santa Clara and San Mateo counties of CA. In and around Providence, RI, and Boston, MA, flyers were posted on college campuses and at local cafes.

G. An initial 19 people responded to recruitment efforts. 12 people were available for and completed the participant screening call via telephone. Nine people met the inclusion criteria and were eligible for and agreed to participate in the study. The script of the participant screening call included the study's purpose, data collection procedures, options for correspondence (e.g., mail or email), confidentiality measures, data storage and protection measures, potential risks, and the assurance that they may leave the study without preamble at any time. Each potential participant was also screened in terms of a self-disclosed sense of emotional stability and mental health. Participants were verbally offered a list of referrals for therapists.

H. The 9 study participants were emailed via a S/MIME enhanced encrypted address the consent form outlining their rights, potential risks and benefits, confidentiality measures, and provisions made in the case of an adverse incident occurring during the study. Once the form was signed and returned, the respondent became an

official study participant. This form–in addition to demographic information and all data collected throughout the study–was stored in an S/MIME-enhanced encrypted location on the cloud at the information security site, surveysparrow.com.

II.   Risks and Benefits

    A. The potential risks of this Delphi Method study are minimal. There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, and internet transactions. In addition, there is the psychological risk for participants of the study having memories of childhood evoked that bring up feelings of discomfort, though the questions themselves are not likely to create risk and do not ask about things that could put people at risk of criminal or civil liability.

    B. The possible benefits of the procedure might be a chance to express an influential aspect of the participants' life experience that is unlikely asked about or addressed in a normal social context. The possible benefits to others may be that by sharing these experiences within the research and therapeutic communities, this study may help researchers and therapists better understand the effect these life experiences may have on problems that bring individuals or families to therapy. Further, for professionals in the research and clinical communities, benefits may be an enhanced understanding of relationships that include oppressive dynamics, including those in other labor arrangements and relationships. Findings may also tell us how beliefs about race and class move across generations.

III.   Data Management & Privacy/Confidentiality

A. Data potentially linked to participants will be kept confidential; this includes their

    screening call template, consent form, and Delphi Questionnaires 1 &2.

B. All study forms, demographic information, and data collected throughout the

    study were stored in an S/MIME-enhanced encrypted location on the cloud at the

    information security site, surveysparrow.com. Each participant was given a

    coding number at the time of their enrollment. Researchers used a number and

    letter coding system to preserve participant anonymity throughout the research

    process.

C. The data stored at the identified S/MIME-enhanced encrypted location will be

    kept in that location until July 1, 2024, at which time the storage location will

    safely dispose of the sensitive data and/or return the coded and anonymous data

    findings to the researcher in the form of Excel spreadsheets and pdf files. Any

    data stored on the home computers of the researchers has and will be coded and

    numbered to further protect the anonymity of the study participants.

IV. Data & Safety Monitoring

A. The procedure for deviation from the IRB-approved study was the completion of

    the amendment application, submitting this to the overseeing IRB, and awaiting

    approval. Such a form was submitted and approved on November 30, 2023. The

    amended study omitted the initially proposed Delphi questionnaire 3 (DQ3).

V. Researcher Bias

A. This researcher will maintain a reflexivity journal throughout the research

    process. Given the nature of the Delphi method, the identity of the participants in

    relation to their submitted questionnaire responses will not be anonymous to the

researcher (although confidentiality will be maintained, identifiers coded throughout the analysis portions, and anonymity between participants maintained throughout). Given that the identity of the participant will be transparent to the researcher at the phases of the study when respondents' answers and subsequent questionnaires will be sent back to them, particular attention will be paid within the reflexivity process to any emerging concerns about bias caused by a potential conflict of interest. In addition, beyond the first open-ended questionnaire, all subsequent questionnaires of the Delphi method are quantitative, which also reduces the question of researcher bias.

VI.   Research Methods & Procedures

    A. This researcher created a set of questionnaires informed by the Delphi method of study crafted around themes pertinent to the researchers' primary and secondary research questions, testing qualitative Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3. Two phases of questionnaires were administered to the panel of nine participants who met the inclusion criteria. The Delphi method enables participants to anonymously consider responses to questions in the Delphi Questionnaire 2 (DQ2) that were formed from the answers participants provided narratively in Delphi Questionnaire 1 (DQ1). Participants were asked to complete the questionnaires either via email exchange or via post mail, according to their preference. Participants were asked to complete the questionnaire within a specified time frame and were informed that recorders would send email prompts as encouragement and to field questions. Participants were invited to add any

questions, comments, or recommendations at the end of each section of both survey questionnaires.

1. DQ1 Analysis

    a) The DQ1 is an open-ended questionnaire with major category headings and well as narrative prompts supplied to guide and stimulate participant thinking. The participants were encouraged to write as much or as little as they wanted in the DQ1. The analysis of their responses was conducted in the following stages. First, the narrative texts were read and reread to become familiar with the data. Then, pieces of content identified as relevant to the study were coded by assigning short labels to each segment of identified information. These codes were then clustered into larger themes and subthemes according to similarities and patterns of meaning. These were then developed into a document with a provisional list of themes, subthemes, and codes including brief descriptions for each theme and subtheme, definitions of the codes, and illustrative quotes for each from the participants' initial transcripts. Finally, based on commonalities in the codes and definitions, these were then evaluated by revisiting the participants' initial responses and counting the number of participants who mentioned each theme. The themes that were mentioned by more than four participants were considered major themes. Phrases based on these themes were then restated to be worded as closely as possible to

participants' original responses to better reflect the participants'

intended meaning. From these revised phrases the DQ2 was

developed with a total of 76 items.

2. DQ2 Analysis

   a) The DQ2 takes the themes that have emerged from the DQ1

responses and asks participants to rate these themes in terms of

relative importance on a 7-point scale (1 indicating complete

disagreement with the theme's importance; 7 indicating complete

agreement). Participants' responses to the DQ2 were analyzed by

computing the interpolated medians (IMs) and interquartile ranges

(IQRs) were calculated for each item. The variance between the

calculated IM of 6 (89.5%) and IQR of 1.5 (10.53%) strongly

suggested an imbalance of answers weighted towards the upper

end of the scale (7 – Significant). The first quartile and the third

quartile were then calculated for each item and then plugged into

the equation used to determine more about the outliers: [Q1 –

(1.5)(IQR), Q2 + (1.5)(IQR)]. This was done for each item,

yielding 16 items (21.05%) as having outlying responses. Items

with IMs of 6 or higher and IQRs of 2.5 or lower were considered

to be endorsed as significant themes to consider, and items having

outliers were noted so that they might be reported and commented

on when relevant to the discussion. The total was a yield of 36

endorsed items (47.37 %). Endorsed statements were then sorted

into four primary areas based on the study's hypotheses. These are

a) items on difficulties in the parent-child relationship in affluent

White homes that employed domestic laborers, b) items on

parental displays of racist and classist values, biases, attitudes, and

relationship behaviors, c) items on reported closeness with an

employed domestic laborer, and d) items on emerging beliefs about

race and class.