Mindset Shifts and Parent Teacher Home Visits

Prepared for
Parent Teacher Home Visits

RTI International

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Contents

Foreword

"What are your hopes and dreams for your child?" This simple question can have profound implications for students, their families, and their teachers. April Ybarra, a public school parent, reinforces the impact this one simple question can have on a family:

> *"I knew that if anybody was going to come into my home, in a nonjudgmental way, and ask me that question, that they really cared. After my first home visit, we worked together to help my daughter and she was reading at grade level by the end of the year."*

April, her children, and their teachers understand the value of family engagement in schools—they experienced its life-changing power directly and personally. More broadly, the research tells us any school reform effort must include an integrated family engagement effort if it is to succeed. Simply put, the more a parent or guardian is actively involved in the child's education, the more successful the child will be in school. Families are indeed the child's first teacher, and they offer a wealth of experience and capacity that can have far-reaching effects on their children's education—particularly when that experience and capacity is combined with the experience and capacity of educators.

Now more than ever, educators, families, and all who seek equity in our educational system must reach out across differences and accept and honor one another as the multifaceted, multitalented, and complex human beings we are. Parent Teacher Home Visits (PTHV) is grateful to public school educators who have stepped forward to answer the call. Every day across the country thousands of teachers show up to under-resourced, underfunded schools with a deep commitment to educating our children. Already putting in countless unpaid hours, many of these same teachers are stepping outside of their schools into the neighborhoods and homes of their students to foster trusting relationships with their students' families. These educators and families, functioning as co-educators, lead the way in breaking down the barriers of language, race, culture, and economic status.

The enclosed report shows how the PTHV model and process of relational home visits builds understanding and trust, reduces anxiety and stress, and fosters positive cross-group interactions between educators and families. Moreover, these relational capacities are critical for identifying and reducing educators' and families' implicit biases that too often lead to disconnects, missed opportunities, and discriminatory behaviors in and beyond the classroom. The findings are consistent with what PTHV's founders intuited at the beginning: when educators and families build mutually respectful and trusting relationships they become more aware of stereotypes and biases and work toward leaving them behind. As a result, they are both better equipped to support the students' education. With the help of relational home visits, their common interest—the child's success—wins out over unconscious assumptions.

The report also offers valuable recommendations for strengthening and deepening the impact of PTHV's relational home visits. We welcome the opportunity to think about how we can develop our model and process: How can we create more opportunities for educators and parents to identify and reflect on their implicit biases? How can we offer greater support to parents? How can we intentionally link PTHV home visits with a systems approach to decreasing implicit bias? We look forward to answering these questions together.

We are grateful to the four school districts, their staff, and their families who invested time and resources in making this study a reality. We also recognize their bold vision for meaningful family engagement, and their commitment to investing in, creating, and supporting the systems that realize it. Similarly, we appreciate the organizations that provided the financial resources to carry out the evaluation. Flamboyan Foundation provided critical initial funding and has been a valued partner in the design, implementation, and reporting

phases of the study. NEA, Stuart Foundation, and W.K. Kellogg Foundation all generously funded the study as well. Through their support for this study, these districts and funders contributed to advancing the knowledge base of both PTHV and the greater field of family engagement.

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The academic, social, and emotional development of all our students depends upon meaningful relational connections among the students themselves, and the most important adults in their lives—their families and their teachers. At PTHV, we remain committed to building these relationships and leveraging their power to identify and address implicit bias in schools.

Gina Martinez-Keddy

Executive Director

Parent Teacher Home Visits
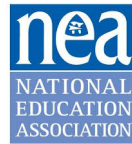
Executive Summary

Parent Teacher Home Visits (PTHV) is a strategy for engaging families and educators as a team to support student achievement. The PTHV model developed from an understanding that family engagement is critical to student success, and yet complex barriers often stand in the way of meaningful partnerships between educators and families. In communities where educators and families differ by race, culture, and/or class, educators may have little knowledge of the communities where they teach, including historic racism and poverty. They may also be unaware of their own automatic and unconscious biases (henceforth referred to as "implicit biases") that lead to disconnects and missed opportunities in teaching their students.

Educators' implicit biases are linked to the well-documented and persistent achievement gaps for Black, Hispanic, and low-income students (e.g., Gay, 2010). Decades of research shows that students of color and those from low-income households are often treated differently from White and middle- and upper-class students in ways that have a negative impact on their school experience and learning (Fabelo et al., 2011; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002; Smith & Harper, 2015). Although PTHV did not start as a program explicitly designed to reduce implicit biases in school communities, after close to two decades of practice, leaders of the model believe it does counteract these biases and that bridging divides as a result of race, culture, language, and socioeconomic status is an essential component of the program's impact.

Acknowledging and addressing implicit bias based upon race, culture, and class is more important than ever in PK–12 education in the United States. Although student demographics have shifted to a majority of students of color, teacher demographics in public schools have not (Walker, 2016). Per the National Center for Education Statistics, over 80% of public school teachers in the United States are White, middle class, and female (Walker, 2016).

Parent Teacher Home Visits Model

The PTHV model is designed to promote a mutually supportive and accountable relationship between educators and families. Educators are trained in the model and then invited to visit the homes of their students in teams of two, conducting the initial visit in the summer or fall. The model emphasizes discussing hopes and dreams educators and family members have for their students. Other home visit models focus on student performance and academics, which can reinforce prevailing power structures between schools and families and hinder relationship-building. Communication continues after the first home visit, enabling teachers to apply what they learned about their students to instruction, and families to engage more fully with the school and children's coursework. A second visit in the winter or spring focuses on academics, with reference to the hopes, dreams, and goals shared in the first visit.

In the last 20 years, PTHV has expanded to a network of over 450 communities in 20 states, each a collaboration between local partners such as school districts, teachers unions, and community organizations. While specifics of the model vary by location, participating sites agree to five core practices or "nonnegotiables":

1. Visits are always voluntary for educators and families, and arranged in advance.

2. Teachers are trained and compensated for visits outside their school day.

3. The focus of the first visit is relationship-building; educators and families discuss hopes and dreams.

4. No targeting – visit all or a cross-section of students so there is no stigma.

5. Educators conduct visits in pairs and, after the visit, reflect with their partners.

Study Overview

This report summarizes findings from a study conducted by RTI International examining whether and how PTHV helps to interrupt implicit biases that educators and families may have about each other. Referred to here as mindset shifts, these changes may enable educators and families to more effectively partner to support student success. The research questions driving the study are as follows:

1. According to the research literature, how are mindsets related to race, class, and culture formed?

2. According to research, what are effective strategies for changing these mindsets?

3. What reported changes in beliefs and behaviors do educators and families attribute to participating in Parent Teacher Home Visits?

4. What aspects of Parent Teacher Home Visits support mindset shifts?

The study relies on three main sources of data: 1) research literature on the formation, maintenance, and change of implicit biases; 2) a field scan of other home visit programs; and 3) qualitative data collected from two or three schools in each of four large districts implementing PTHV. Each of the districts serves student populations that are majority students of color and majority students from low-income families. We interviewed the principals and conducted focus groups with educators and families at each school, totaling 175 PTHV participants.

Key Findings

From the research literature review we know the following:

Implicit biases are part of being human. They are not a character flaw but a feature of the human brain, and they have survival benefits. Although implicit biases are hardwired, the targets of those biases are not. Who we regard as the "outgroup" is not only influenced by how our brains categorize, but also by the direct and indirect messages we are exposed to about others throughout our lives, regardless of the accuracy of those messages. Furthermore, implicit biases distort our perceptions; they impair how we process and act on information about other people.

The achievement gap can be at least partially explained by educators' implicit biases, which impact their expectations and behaviors toward students, which, in turn, affects student performance through mechanisms such as stereotype threat and self-fulfilling prophecy.

Fortunately, implicit biases are not un-changeable. We can become aware of and reduce these biases.

Based on interviews with 175 PTHV participants we found the following:

PTHV supports mindset shifts in ways that improve partnerships between educators and families and that are supportive of student success. PTHV participants described the following changes in beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors:

Families shifted beliefs and actions about educators and schools.

- Most families reported that, as a result of home visits, they realized interactions with educators did not have to be negative or uncomfortable, and the families began to develop stronger and more equitable relationships with school staff. Many families' perceptions of educators changed. Once seen as distant authority figures, educators were now people with whom families could relate.
- As a result, families reported increased confidence in reaching out to educators and communicating about students' needs.

Educators shifted beliefs and actions related to families and students.

- Many educators recognized that previous deficit assumptions about families and students were unfounded. Instead of assuming that many parents did not care about their children's education, they recognized that many families cared, but demonstrated their care differently from expected. Educators reported similar shifts in perceptions about students' behaviors, moving from thinking students lack motivation or interest in school to recognizing students' capabilities.
- By visiting families in their homes, educators reported newfound understanding and empathy, which resulted in changes in their behaviors.
  - Educators incorporated students' interests and culture, information obtained from the home visits, to improve student engagement and motivation.
  - Educators' disciplinary actions reflected an empathic as opposed to a punitive approach.
  - Educators' efforts to communicate with families increased after home visits.

Despite these changes, some educators held on to deficit assumptions about families, focusing on their shortcomings, such as lack of resources or parenting styles, to rationalize nonconforming student behaviors.

By reviewing research on strategies to reduce implicit biases and interviewing participants about PTHV practices, we found the following:

The PTHV model and its core practices align well with research-supported strategies for reducing implicit biases and discriminatory behaviors.

- Creating opportunities for families and educators to meet, outside of school, and to get to know each other breaks down traditional barriers to partnerships.
- Providing individuation strategies, a particularly powerful element of home visits, helps families and educators focus on one another's unique qualities and reduces the tendency to invoke group stereotypes.
- Making home visits voluntary and scheduled helps to reduce anxiety and stress about cross-group interactions between educators and families and builds trust and acceptance.
- Providing training and supports for educators can build self-awareness of biased mindsets as well as motivation and skills to counteract biased mindsets.
- Focusing on hopes and dreams for the first visit, rather than on academics and/or student performance, is a particularly powerful core practice for decreasing implicit biases as it builds understanding and trust, reduces anxiety and stress, and fosters positive cross-group interactions. It also builds partnerships around a shared goal, which is an effective way for reducing implicit biases.
- Traveling in pairs reduces anxiety and stress about conducting visits for those new to PTHV, and debriefing enables self-awareness of biased mindsets and may motivate educators to change them and any potentially discriminatory behaviors.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Counteracting implicit biases is a necessary mechanism for building successful cross-group relationships. Our review suggests that the PTHV model has many strong, research-supported features for addressing and counteracting implicit biases and for building positive school and family partnerships focused on the success of the student. We offer five recommendations for strengthening the PTHV model for fostering successful school and family relationships, especially where race, culture, and class serve as barriers.

1. PTHV could be strengthened by incorporating strategies to intentionally target implicit biases. Shifting biased mindsets was not an intended outcome of the PTHV model when it was developed. However, PTHV training was instituted to attend to biased mindsets. Our study indicates that sites implement and attend to that aspect of the training differently. Because implicit biases are persistent and difficult to change, it may be challenging for PTHV to have a sustainable impact on mindset shifts without

strengthening how and the extent to which biased mindsets are addressed and ensuring consistent implementation across sites.

2. PTHV could be strengthened by opportunities for ongoing reflection by educators. Our study found that although debriefing is part of the five core practices, teachers in general are not using postvisit debriefs to challenge race, class, and/or cultural assumptions about students and families. Nor are schools holding school-wide discussions about home visits as an opportunity to discuss assumptions about race, class, and culture. It would be helpful for schools to offer other opportunities for reflecting on the home visits, particularly as the visits relate to biased mindsets. Debriefing is a critical component of building self-awareness and motivation to address implicit biases and discriminatory behavior.

3. PTHV should consider providing more home visit supports to families. Families were not always clear on the purpose of the PTHV home visits, and no training or supports were specifically geared toward them. Yet research indicates that for successful cross-group interactions, both groups should be invested. Families often reported they did not receive information about the purpose of the visit. Supports for families could go beyond their involvement in the training for educators to provide family perspective. These additional supports could include resources for educators curated by families, trainings for families, and/or opportunities for families to debrief.

4. PTHV could be enhanced by providing an intentional focus on asset framing. Debiasing techniques are effective for counteracting the influence of implicit biases on behaviors toward members of the "outgroup," and they can help to shift mindsets. Asset framing can help individuals nullify dominant stereotypes and reduce the tendency toward confirmation biases and fundamental attribution errors.

5. PTHV should be part of a systems approach to decreasing implicit biases and fostering school and family partnerships. PTHV leverages multiple research-supported strategies that reduce implicit biases. However, to make a sustainable impact on the implicit biases of educators and families, PTHV should be one of multiple antibias interventions implemented by schools. PTHV could contribute to a systems approach focused on shifting biased mindsets by partnering with schools to identify how other interventions can support or be supported by the PTHV model.

I. INTRODUCTION

This study examines Parent Teacher Home Visits as a means to address and shift race, class, and/or cultural biases that educators and families may have about each other, which contribute to negative outcomes for students.

Parent Teacher Home Visits (PTHV) is a strategy for engaging families and educators as a team to support student achievement. The PTHV model developed from an understanding that family engagement is critical to student success, and yet complex barriers often stand in the way of meaningful partnerships between educators and families. A group of families and teachers in a low-income neighborhood in south Sacramento, California, came together in 1998 to address a deep distrust between the school district and the community. Out of this, parents and teachers created PTHV based upon community organizing principles of empowerment, with a focus on building trust, communication, and partnering on common goals for student success.

As word of PTHV spread, and the leaders answered requests from other school communities for training in the process, it was clear that the alienation between educators and families was not specific to Sacramento. From Missoula, Montana, to Springfield, Massachusetts, the complaints of teachers and parents shared a common thread: because of cultural differences they did not trust each other or communicate well. Educators, mostly White and middle class, often had little knowledge of the public school communities where they taught, including historic racism and poverty, and they were unaware of their own automatic and unconscious biases (henceforth referred to as "implicit biases"), that led to disconnects and missed opportunities in teaching their students.

Although PTHV did not start as a program explicitly designed to close achievement gaps or reduce implicit biases in school communities, after close to two decades of practice, leaders of the model believe it does and that bridging socioeconomic divides is an essential component to the program's impact.

The point was to get parents and teachers in collaboration so that kids would learn. However, in home visit training and practice across the U.S., it became clear that racism and other socio-economic dynamics were keeping well-intentioned people apart, and our program was helping educators and families hurdle these barriers in order to get improved outcomes for students. (Parent Teacher Home Visits Program, n.d., page 3)

Acknowledging and addressing implicit bias based upon race and class is more important than ever in PK–12 education in the United States. The year 2014 marked a notable shift in the demographics in the nation's public schools: It was the first year when students of color represented the majority (Walker, 2016). This shift had already occurred 10 years earlier in California, Hawaii, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas (Gay, 2010). Low-income students in U.S. public schools, who are disproportionately people of color, became the majority in 2013 (Suitts et al., 2015).

Although student demographics have clearly shifted, teacher demographics in public schools have not. Per the National Center for Education Statistics, over 80% of public school teachers in the United States are White, middle-class, and female (Walker, 2016).

What is the impact of this disparity between the demographics of teachers and their students? Culture determines how we think, feel, behave, and, therefore, how we teach and learn (Gay, 2010). According to cultural difference theories, dissimilarities between the school, home, and community cultures for students of color and those from low-income households are important factors in the well-documented discrepancies in academic achievement for these students. Teachers and students bring their cultures into the classroom, influencing their perceptions of each other and the teaching and learning that takes place.

Decades of research documents that students of color and those from low-income households are often treated differently from White and middle- or upper-class students in ways that negatively impact their school experience and learning. For example, studies of school discipline over the past 25 years have "consistently found evidence of socioeconomic and racial disproportionality in the administration of school discipline" (Skiba et al., 2002, p. 318). Suspensions and expulsions result in lost instructional time and stigmatization as "problem students" (Smith & Harper, 2015). Students who are suspended and/or expelled, especially those who are disciplined repeatedly, are more likely to be held back a grade or to drop out than students who are not involved in the disciplinary system (Fabelo et al., 2011).

One key source of disproportionate treatment comes from teachers' expectations of students. Researchers have long demonstrated that teacher expectations have an impact on student learning and performance, often due to what is called the self-fulfilling prophecy (Rubie-Davies, Hattie, & Hamilton, 2006). That is, people begin to believe what is expected of them and start behaving as if it were true. Numerous studies since have documented how students' race, ethnicity and/or their socioeconomic status have an impact on teacher expectations. Gershenson, Holt, and Papageorge (2016) found that non-Black teachers have significantly lower expectations of Black students. In a separate study, researchers concluded from their meta-analysis that teachers' expectations and speech (positive, neutral, or negative) did indeed vary, depending on the ethnicity of the student (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Specifically, teachers made more positive and fewer negative disciplinary referrals and used more positive or neutral speech with White compared with Black or Latino students.

Why do disparities in teachers' expectations of low-income and stigmatized racial and ethnic groups exist? There is an assumption that most American teachers go into the profession to help students learn and to support their success. If this assumption is correct, it is important to understand how these inequities in expectations and subsequent treatment of students and families happen despite teachers' best intentions. Research

on how humans process information about others can be helpful in shedding light on this question. As noted earlier, educators in the United States are largely from different racial, ethnic, and economic groups than at least half of their students. Psychological studies of unconscious biases toward others who are different, often referred to as the "outgroup" in this research, suggest that human brains have evolved to have these implicit biases, and they are automatic and unconscious.

Educators' implicit biases are linked to the well-documented and persistent achievement gaps for Black, Hispanic, and low-income students (e.g., Gay, 2010). Psychological research indicates that we are born with implicit biases, which help humans detect and be wary of differences for survival benefit. Yet, like many human features intended to improve survival, the propensity for implicit biases has drawbacks as well. Numerous researchers have demonstrated the link between educators' implicit biases toward students and student performance and achievement. In a recent study, Van den Bergh, Dennessen, Hornstra, Voeten, and Holland (2010) measured self-reported prejudiced attitudes (i.e., explicit or conscious biases) as well as implicit biases of elementary school teachers and found that unconscious beliefs, not the explicit biases, predicted student achievement through teacher expectations. Interventions tailored specifically to address and change these implicit biases are a critical next step in serving students equitably. Although implicit biases are automatic and unconscious, interventions do exist that show promise in reducing biases and resulting discriminatory behaviors.

Parent Teacher Home Visits Model

The PTHV model is designed to promote a mutually supportive and accountable relationship between educators and families. First, educators are trained in the model. The training ideally includes personal testimony from both teachers and family members who have experienced the impact of home visits. Family members are often included because PTHV staff members have noted the impact of these stories on educators' motivation to do home visits.

Once trained, educators are asked to visit the homes of their students in teams of two, conducting the initial visit in the summer or fall.

The model calls for positive topics of discussion, including the hopes and dreams that educators and family members have for students. The intention is for communication to continue after the first home visit, allowing an opportunity for teachers to apply what they learned about their students in the classroom setting, and for families to find new and additional ways to engage with the school and the child's coursework. A second visit in the winter or spring focuses on academics, with reference to the hopes, dreams, and goals shared in the first visit.

In the last 20 years, PTHV has expanded to a network of over 450 communities in 20 states, each a collaboration between local partners such as school districts, teachers unions, and community organizations. While specifics of the model vary by location, participating sites agree to five core practices or "nonnegotiables," described in detail in Section IV. Information about the history of PTHV is found in Appendix A of this report.

The Current Study of Mindset Shifts and PTHV

In 2017, the PTHV national nonprofit contracted with RTI International and Dr. Stephen Sheldon of Johns Hopkins University to conduct a three-study national evaluation. This report summarizes findings from the first study, which is focused exclusively on mindset shifts. Studies 2 and 3, currently under way, focus on implementation and student outcomes, respectively. The research questions driving this first study are as follows:

1. According to the research literature, how are mindsets related to race and culture formed?

2. According to research, what are effective strategies for changing these mindsets?

3. What reported changes in beliefs and behaviors do educators and families attribute to participating in Parent Teacher Home Visits?

4. What aspects of Parent Teacher Home Visits support mindset shifts?

Data Sources

The current study relies on three main sources of data: 1) research literature on the formation, maintenance, and change of cognitive biases along with research literature on educators' beliefs about students and families; 2) a field scan of other home visit programs, which included interviews with leaders of other home visit programs; and 3) qualitative data collected from two or three schools in each of four school districts implementing PTHV.

Overview of School District Profiles

The four school districts were selected by PTHV. Each district enrolls at least 45,000 students, with approximately one-half to three-quarters of their students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch, a commonly used indicator for low-income family economic status. Students of color comprise a majority of the student populations, ranging from about 55% to about 80%. The districts are located in mid-sized or large cities; three are in the west and the fourth is in the northeast.

Overview of Qualitative Data Collection

We conducted 1-day site visits to two to three schools in each of the four districts in spring 2017. During those visits, we interviewed the principals and conducted two focus groups: one with teachers and staff, and a second with families. As a guide for the interviews and focus groups, we used semi-structured protocols that included questions about participants' experiences doing home visits and their perceptions of the benefits and impacts of those visits. Through these methods, we gathered qualitative data from a total of 11 principals, 96 teachers and staff, and 68 adult family members. See Appendix B for additional details about the methodology of this study.

Structure of this Report

This report is organized around the four main research questions. Table 1 summarizes the report section, the focus of that section, and the research question(s) each section addresses, if applicable.

Table 1. Report sections and applicable research questions

Report Section	Focus	Research Question
Section II	Summarizes research literature on how mindsets related to race and culture are formed	Research Question 1: According to the research literature, how are mindsets related to race and culture formed?
Section III	Describes the changes in beliefs and behaviors that educators and families discussed during the site visits and attribute to their experiences with PTHV	Research Question 3: What reported changes in beliefs and behaviors do educators and families attribute to participating in Parent Teacher Home Visits?
Section IV	Weaves together literature on effective strategies for changing mindsets, describes the extent to which PTHV practices align with those strategies, and summarizes comments from the educators and family members about aspects of PTHV that helped to shift their beliefs and behavior	Research Question 2: According to research, what are effective strategies for changing these mindsets? Research Question 4: What aspects of Parent Teacher Home Visits support mindset shifts?
Section V	Summarizes the key findings of the study and offers recommendations for PTHV to consider for strengthening its impact	N/A

II. WHAT MINDSETS ARE AND HOW THEY FORM

This section describes what mindsets are, focusing on biased, unconscious mindsets. Reviewing research, we describe how they form and how they impact student learning and achievement. We note some implications for PTHV, further expanding on these in Section IV where we describe strategies for shifting mindsets.

The term "mindset" has different meanings to different audiences. Popular media uses the term to mean a habitual way of thinking. In this report, we focus on mindsets as habits of thinking, specifically as they relate to race, class, and culture, or to others who are different from us. Moreover, we focus on biased mindsets that are not accurate (e.g., thinking that students of a given race are less intelligent or they are prone to criminal activity). Psychology literature uses other terms to describe biased ways of thinking that are more precise regarding what constitutes "habitual" and how these "mindsets" influence behavior. A critical distinction made in the literature is between mindsets that are conscious or explicit and those that are unconscious or implicit. Although both can have a negative behavioral impact, those that are implicit are perhaps more insidious because, by definition, we are not aware of them and therefore unaware of how they impact our interactions with others. In addition to the field of psychology, studies in health, criminology, and justice include numerous examples of how society's implicit expectations of marginalized groups lead to discriminatory behavior.

In our review of research in this section, we focus primarily on what is known about how implicit biases are formed and how they impact student learning. Where applicable, we conclude sections with a brief mention of implications from the research for PTHV. In drawing the linkages between the research and the relevance for PTHV, we do not make conclusions in this section about whether PTHV is sufficiently addressing a given phenomenon. Rather, we highlight why it is important for any home visit program, including PTHV, to be aware of the research. Section IV includes more direct linkages between research on shifting mindsets and the PTHV model, and

Section V presents recommendations for PTHV to strengthen its impact on addressing implicit biases.

Who has implicit biases and how we acquire them: Implicit biases are part of being human; they are not a character flaw but a feature of the human brain, and they have survival benefits. However, who we hold implicit biases against is not hardwired but influenced by direct and indirect messages we are exposed to throughout our lives, regardless of the accuracy of those messages.

Implicit biases are attitudes or stereotypes toward others that unconsciously affect our understanding, actions, and decisions toward others. Cognitive scientists hold that implicit biases serve a variety of functions, one of which is to conserve mental effort (Haselton, Nettle, & Murray, 2005). Specifically, cognitive biases, regardless of their focus, function like mental "shortcuts" and, in some instances, are thought to promote human adaptation and survival. They are automatic and immediate, thus saving valuable cognitive processing resources and result in immediate action. Implicit biases are also mental shortcuts, used for quick categorization and identification of "ingroups" and "outgroups" (Tobena, Marks, & Dar, 1999).

Research with young children suggests we are predisposed to categorize by gender, race, and age (Tobena et al., 1999). By age 5, children already take into account race as well as language and accent when choosing playmates (Anzures et al., 2013). This tendency to categorize allows us to identify ourselves as part of an "ingroup", which yields group membership benefits that promote survival, such as access to group resources and protection. Research suggests that social

stereotypes—widely held, fixed, and oversimplified images or ideas of a particular type of person—arise easily and perhaps unavoidably as a result of our tendency toward implicit biases for social adaptation. It is important to note, however, that implicit biases are not inherently directed against any specific group or type of people. The subjects of these biases are influenced by individual experience, often by the values that society has placed on certain beliefs, traditions, and preferences (Rudman, Ashmore, & Gary, 2001). Further, implicit biases develop over the course of a lifetime beginning at a very early age through exposure to direct and indirect messages, often about different groups of people. Staats et al. (2016, p. 14) explained, "When we are constantly exposed to certain identity groups being paired with certain characteristics, we can begin to automatically and unconsciously associate the identity with the characteristics, whether or not that association aligns with reality."

Implicit biases influence the way we classify and interpret behaviors of members from both the ingroup and outgroup. Namely, individuals who hold favorable attitudes toward an outgroup member are likely to attend to that person's positive attributes, while those with unfavorable attitudes will focus on negative qualities. One such tendency is known as confirmation bias, or the unconscious propensity to pay closer attention to evidence that confirms our views and less attention to evidence that contradicts them (Tobena et al, 1999). For example, individuals who believe that outgroup members are threatening or inferior attend to evidence that supports their perception and ignore evidence to the contrary. A related cognitive bias is known as the ultimate or fundamental attribution error. This occurs when we attribute negative behaviors of outgroup members to their characters, especially when these behaviors are consistent with the dominant stereotype narrative (Stewart, Latu, Kawakami, & Myers, 2010), and conversely attribute positive behaviors to situational-level factors. These attributions are the reverse when evaluating ingroup behaviors. For example, if an outgroup member is observed doing something suspicious, cognitive biases would lead the observer to conclude that person is inherently bad or criminally inclined. On the contrary, if an ingroup

member was observed doing the same, the conclusion would be that the situation forced the suspicious behavior, with no questioning of the ingroup member's character. Notably, some researchers have found effective interventions, such as Situational Attribution Training, help people become aware of and counteract their tendency toward confirmation bias and/or the fundamental attribution error (e.g., Stewart et al., 2010).

Deficit- versus asset-based perspectives: An important type of cognitive bias that has been documented in middle-class educators about students and families from different racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic backgrounds is the focus on their "deficits" (Garcia & Guerra, 2004).

Deficit thinking is the inherent view that students or parents are deficient, especially in qualities that educators believe are typically necessary to be successful in school (Valencia, 2012). Educators may attribute students' educational failure to these deficits. For example, research describes a prevailing belief among educators and school staff that low-income parents do not care about their children's education due to parents' limited participation in traditional school involvement activities such as "Back to School Nights" or parent-teacher conferences (Garcia & Guerra, 2004; Nelson, & Guerra, 2014; Valencia & Black, 2002). Instead of explaining the limited involvement as a result of parents' circumstances (e.g., lack of transportation, work hours), many educators have historically interpreted limited involvement as lack of interest, thus making the fundamental attribution error and placing blame on character, not circumstance.

Of equal importance to knowing how mindsets are formed is understanding social factors (or "triggers") that can facilitate and further engrain implicit biases into the way we interact with others. We discuss some of these key triggers in the following section.

Situational triggers for implicit biases and discriminatory behavior: Stress, social contexts, cues, and power differentials can trigger implicit biases.

Although all human beings are innately "wired" for developing implicit biases and associated biased perceptions and judgments, a variety of factors can trigger them and facilitate associated discriminatory behaviors. These situational variables are important for understanding the complexity with which implicit biases are maintained and embedded societally as well as how we might intervene to change them. A critical and consistent finding among researchers is that negative emotional states trigger implicit biases and related discriminatory behaviors. In a study of police violence, Dr. Phillip Goff of the Center for Policing Equity noted that situations that create anxiety, fear, and perception of threat, activate implicit biases and subsequent behavior (Goff, 2016). Goff described his research on how instances when an individual feels threatened (self-threat situations) led to greater use of discriminatory behavior by police officers who otherwise showed no inclination toward prejudice. Specifically, when the arresting officer chased the suspect on foot, there was a higher likelihood of discriminatory behavior toward the suspect than from a nonchasing officer. Chasing on foot led to spikes in adrenalin, anxiety, and threat perception. The police department therefore enacted a policy where only a nonchasing officer could handcuff the suspect. Notably, police violence in that precinct decreased by 23%.

Goff also observed how stressful situations in schools, such as inadequate curricular resources or mentors for new teachers, can similarly lead to discriminatory behaviors toward stigmatized groups**.** Examples included:

> Stressful school environments can lead to
>
> - over-management of student behavior;
> - criminalizing behavior (e.g., viewing vandalism as a crime vs. boredom);
> - a punitive culture (e.g., suspending or expelling students vs. problem-solving).

Goff notes that policy, settings, and culture matter and together can heighten or diminish the kinds of situations he calls "identity traps" that lead to discriminatory behaviors. Identity traps are a combination of implicit biases and situations that invoke self-threat. Situational triggers such as these can impact home visit dynamics as well. For example, if teachers feel anxious and unsafe doing home visits in the community served by their school and do not receive sufficient training in strategies to address potential situational stressors, home visits may have a lower probability of success in shifting racial or cultural mindsets and building effective partnerships.

Along with the emotional valence of a situation, Dasgupta and Greenwald (2001) identified social context cues and prior expectations as situational triggers of implicit biases and discriminatory behaviors. They presented undergraduates with positive images of the outgroup (in this case, African Americans) and negative images of the ingroup (European Americans). They wanted to know if exposure to positive images of a devalued group and negative images of a valued group could create new memory representations and therefore change automatic attitudes and associated behaviors toward those groups. They found that although there was no change in the conscious biases of the in- and outgroup, there was a change in implicit or unconscious preference and prejudice. Moreover, changes extended beyond the lab experiment for at least 24 hours. These findings have implications for how social expectations, norms, and portrayals of the in- and outgroup serve as triggers for implicit biases about race and culture and for how biases might be changed. In short, social stereotypes reinforce implicit and explicit biases and can change them. Addressing social stereotypes, and providing examples that counteract them could be a useful intervention for home visits. Tying those examples to our tendency toward confirmation biases, for instance, attending to examples that confirm the stereotypes and ignoring examples that don't, may be even more powerful.

A final situational trigger relevant to schools and families involves power differentials, in which individuals are in a position of power or authority over others. Richeson and Ambady (2003) found

that those with situational power expressed more implicit bias in the anticipation of an interracial interaction than those in a subordinate position. Moreover, those in positions of power relied more heavily on stereotype-consistent information, while subordinates tended to do the opposite. Relevant to the American education system, Johnson (2014) observed that inequities have been institutionally entrenched as distinct boundaries between classrooms and homes, where schools hold the power. He adds that our education system persists in a pattern of dominant-class subordination over marginalized populations. Johnson observes that because of these power differentials, focusing on implicit and explicit biases as they relate to relationships between schools and families should be a foundational practice for home visit programs.

How Implicit Biases Can Negatively Impact Student Learning and Achievement: The mechanisms of self-fulfilling prophecy and stereotype threat.

Racial and cultural attitudes and stereotypes are both automatic and implicit, and they operate even without explicit intent. People hold attitudes and stereotypes over which they have little to no intentional control (Levinson, 2007). The combination of these unconscious, unintentional biases; their impact on perception, judgment, and

action; and social norms that reinforce them all create the conditions for discriminatory behavior that has real and unsettling implications for education and learning. Research on the impact of implicit racial and cultural biases in schools points to a number of insidious processes that lead to disparities in student outcomes. Here we focus on two of those processes that, according to research, function as the link between educators' implicit biases and the achievement gap: self-fulfilling prophecy and stereotype threat (see Figure 1). Home visit programs like PTHV, designed to build collaborative school and family relationships, could be immensely helpful in reducing or eliminating both of these subtle mechanisms for creating learning and achievement disparities for stigmatized groups. The first process, known as the self-fulfilling prophecy, highlights how expectations about people can affect their own behavior, as well as others' behavior toward them, in such a way that causes the expectations to be fulfilled. Stigmatized students may modify their thinking and behavior to conform to their teacher's expectations. Additionally, teachers may modify how they teach, evaluate, and advise students, and how they allocate resources to some students and not others based on implicit biases and related expectations (Gershenson et al., 2016). The modified behavior of the students and/or the teachers fulfills the negative expectation or

Figure 1. The link between implicit biases and student outcomes
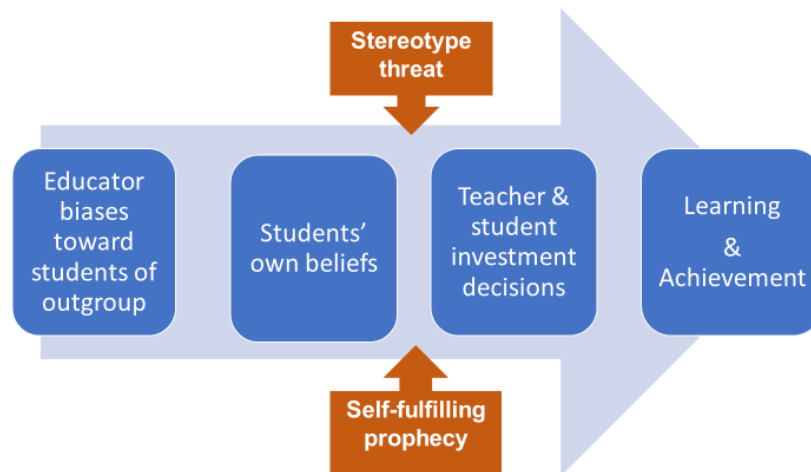
"prophecy" and leaves the stigmatized students behind in learning and achievement. Because implicit biases are unconscious, teachers may not be aware of how their biases influence subtle behaviors. In a key study of how teacher expectations influence student performance, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) gave teachers differing information about their students' potential at the start of the school year, to manipulate their expectations. By the end of the year, there were significant differences in achievement level. These differences in expectations can influence students' beliefs and expectations for themselves (see Gershenson et al., 2016).

Stereotype threat is somewhat related to the self-fulfilling prophecy. Stereotype threat refers to fear of confirming a negative stereotype about one's group as a self-characteristic (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Taylor and Walton (2011, p. 1055) observe that "hundreds of experiments show that stereotype threat undermines intellectual performance directly by causing stereotyped students to perform below their capabilities." In a key study, Steele and Aronson (1995) examined how group stereotypes can threaten the way students evaluate themselves, altering their academic identity and intellectual performance. Steele and Aronson gave Black and White college students of similar abilities (based on SAT scores)

a test using difficult items from the verbal Graduate Record Exam (GRE). In the stereotype threat condition, Steele and Aronson told students the test diagnosed intellectual ability, while in the non-stereotype threat condition, they presented the test as a problem-solving lab task, saying nothing about ability. The stereotype presumably invoked was that Black students are less intelligent than others. In the stereotype threat condition, the Black students performed worse than the White students, while in the non–stereotype threat condition, their performance was equal. Researchers suggest that the psychological consequences of stereotype threat are high levels of arousal, negative emotion regulation, cognitive depletion, and a prevention focus. As Taylor and Walton (2011) observe, not only can these conditions hinder performance, but they can hinder learning as well. Taylor and Walton (2011, p. 1065) further suggest "stereotype threat may contribute substantially more to group differences in academic performance than is now understood." Helping teachers to be aware of the link between implicit biases and expectation of students and the mechanisms of self-fulfilling prophecy and stereotype threat on student learning and achievement can help to motivate teachers to attend to mindsets and work to change them.

III. EVIDENCE OF MINDSET SHIFTS IN PTHV

In this section we address the research question examining the impact of home visits on PTHV participants' beliefs, attitudes and behaviors.

To examine whether PTHV participants reported shifting their racial or cultural assumptions about one another, we interviewed 11 principals, 96 teachers and staff, and 68 adult family members across four districts implementing PTHV. Almost all the PTHV participants we interviewed related positive outcomes from the home visits and that the time invested resulted in unexpected benefits. In particular, both educators and family members described changes in their perceptions about one another that allowed for better understanding and, in turn, deepened existing or newly developed relationships. Educators and family members, regardless of racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds, reported shifts in their assumptions or perceptions. Even educators or staff with similar backgrounds to the school community reported changes. Educators realized that prior perceptions of families' and students' interest in and capability to invest in education did not align with reality. Through home visits, family members reported that they felt less "intimidated" by educators and schools and began to feel that educators were people with whom they could relate and begin to trust.

It is important to note that focus groups and interviews can only uncover conscious shifts in attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. By virtue of being self-reported, interview data cannot get at implicit biases because biases are by definition unconscious, and therefore not everyone is explicitly aware of them. The reported shifts by educators and families, then, are explicit or conscious. However, self-report does allow us to describe educators' and families' shifts in attitudes and behaviors, many of which can be linked to factors that reduce implicit biases (e.g., increased empathy). For example, family members and educators reported increased communication with one another because of enhanced trust and comfort. Moreover, educators reported showing more empathy and adjusting their responses with students, particularly when a student's actions might have traditionally been considered inappropriate in an academic setting (e.g., resting one's head on a desk during class).

In this section, we explain the existing beliefs and assumptions PTHV educators, staff, and families had about one another, the new beliefs or perspectives after the home visits, and behaviors changed as a result. We begin with a thorough discussion of the perceived impact on families, then follow with a similarly detailed discussion about perceived impact on educators.

Families' shifted beliefs and actions about educators and schools: As a result of home visits, the majority of families reported that they realized interactions with educators did not have to be negative or uncomfortable and began to develop stronger and more equitable relationships with school staff.

Numerous family members reported that, prior to engaging in the first home visit, they felt trepidation about educators' motives and expressed doubt that the intended purpose was to get to know the family and student. A few families used the word "scared" when describing their anxiety about the home visit. One family member said, "One gets scared. I was scared at first. I said, 'Why do they have to come?' I didn't know why they were truly coming for." Family members expressed fear that home visits would focus on assessing the quality of home life or their parenting style, similar to social service visits, or that the school officials were confirming that students lived in the appropriate school boundaries. For example, one family member worried that teachers were visiting because the school thought they were "bad parents" due to their child missing 10 days of school because of prearranged travel. Research describing family members' perceptions of schools and teachers echoes similar sentiments—that schools do not genuinely care or respect families (Carreón, Drake, & Barton, 2005).

Similarly, many educators reported on family members' genuine disbelief that a home visit would be a positive interaction for families. Teachers guessed that because families are often primarily contacted by school staff for "negative" reasons, families applied this perception to the home visit. One educator explained having to change families' perceptions before the home visit occurred: "I did have to explain to many families that 'we're not here to check you out or judge you or judge your living conditions or anything. It's just to get to know you guys.' I had to repeat that quite a bit my first year doing home visits but then after the first year I didn't have to keep saying, 'Don't worry, we're not there to look at your house and look at your parenting style. We just want to get to know the families.'" A few educators also suggested that families may have had these perceptions as a result of their own negative experiences as students.

After experience with the home visits, family members reported how surprised they had been that the interaction was positive and, moreover, that the educators seemed to care about them and their students. One family member explained how their perspective shifted after the visit:

> *Well when she came, I ain't going to lie, I cleaned up like a mug. Scrubbed my walls, scrubbed my floors, lit the incense, I even made dinner for her, and she ate it. I was shocked. And she don't even eat green beans and she ate mine. That broke down the wall, when I [see] her do that. And she wanted to go upstairs and look in the kids' room. She was like, "Oh I see that you guys are photogenic, you got a lot of pictures on your wall." And I was like, "Okay, she cool." You know, and then after that, we just was like 'this' [crosses fingers]. She really seemed that she wanted to know more about me and my kids outside of school, what we like to do. If she would have never came, she wouldn't knew I played the drums, she wouldn't knew I go to church every Sunday, none of that. But she just came in, and I was like, 'Okay, she can be my homie.'*

Families shifted their perceptions of educators as distant authority figures to people with whom they could relate. Before home visits, many family members reported they viewed their teachers as authority figures or as people with elevated social status, but home visits enabled family members to perceive equal footing with educators. Families reported that thinking of educators as "above them" often made them feel intimidated. Family members used the words "professional" or "authority figure" to describe educators, and educators also expressed that family members seemed to put educators on a "pedestal." For example, one family member reported first rejecting the home visit because of not having graduated high school and being afraid that the teacher was going to come into the house speaking "big words" that would limit the family's understanding of what the teacher was saying. Another family member reported seeing educators as arrogant or "uppity" because they lived in neighborhoods that were more affluent than the neighborhoods in which the majority of the school's families lived.

During focus groups, family members reported that this perception of teachers changed after the home visit. Specifically, family members explained that they saw teachers as "normal" or as "human beings" as opposed to authority figures or people superior to them. Some family members even expressed that the teacher had become a friend or part of their family. Because of this new way of seeing teachers, families reported feeling less intimidated, whereas, prior to the visit, family members reported being uncomfortable approaching teachers. Further, family members said they were less "afraid" of talking with teachers because they had developed a more trusting relationship. One family member explained being more comfortable than before in talking with the teacher about the family's situation because there was no longer a fear of being judged. This family member explained, "It starts to break [the barrier] down where you see this person now as, they're not that authority figure. They're not that intimidating anymore because now they know where you are. So it makes it a little easier to talk to them."

Families reported feeling more comfortable communicating with educators. After home visits, family members reported that this improved communication led to a better parent-educator partnership, which enabled them to better support their students. After home visits, family members reported that they felt more comfortable communicating with teachers and, as a result, did so more frequently. Specifically, families' new perceptions of teachers as friends rather than authority figures increased confidence in sharing information without fear of judgment. Numerous families expressed more trust in teachers. One family member explained what this change looked like and why it happened:

> *At first there was no communication with the teacher, it was drop off, pick up, and see you later. But now if I have any question, I feel more comfortable to talk to teacher. As well as the teacher. If the teacher needs to communicate with me, it feels like the home visit broke the ice between us. So if there is any doubt or problem, it's easier for me to communicate with the teacher.*

Family members reported feeling more comfortable approaching the teacher to discuss their student, including asking for help and confiding in the teacher about situations at home. In general, family members attributed their increased confidence to the developed trust in educators. One family member explained,

> *It's easier to sit down and talk to her because now it's like, 'Oh, I don't have to worry about the image of that teacher, that authority kind of thing.' Now she's down to earth and we can actually be completely honest with each other versus trying to talk to this person and cover up what's really going on. It's a whole lot different. It breaks down the barrier.*

Families discussed scenarios in which they felt more comfortable sharing information with the teacher than they would have prior to home visits. These included situations such as explaining why a student did not finish homework or asking a teacher to look out for changes in a student's behavior due to the recent incarceration of the student's father. One family member expressed being vulnerable and opening up to educators:

> *When I finally had the meeting with the teacher at my house, I explained to her that [the student] would miss school several days. Not because I didn't want to take her to school but because she had health issues. The teacher was surprised and said she couldn't believe it and if I had told them they could have helped....So it's not a teacher relationship, it's a deeper relationship, where you trust her and you say, 'Teacher, I feel this way, I'm worried about my kid, could you observe my daughter?' It's a different kind of relationship completely. You see the kids go by and you hug them, or they see another one and they run to her to hug her. But it's that! The relationship, the love they offer, the trust. If you don't trust someone, you can greet them, you can see them, but you won't open that door beyond that.*

Almost all families reported that they felt more comfortable than before in communicating with their students' teachers, and some began to note a positive change in their students' behavior and academic performance as a result. One family member explained that increased communication between the family member and educator had supported the student's improvement in school:

> *In Kindergarten, I was not visited, and my child was falling behind, and because of that I didn't understand about the homework and what to be done, and I didn't know how to help her. After the visits every year and I've been more open to ask questions, 'How can I help my child and how to continue to push my child?' I think that she is doing better in class, and I think it's because the communication with the teacher.*

A few families reported no change in communication patterns due to their existing confidence in communicating with their children's educators. One family member explained, "We are close with [the] teacher because our daughter has a disability. So I'm in there every day. I've always been open that way."

In summary, families realized that one-on-one interactions with educators could be positive. Many shifted their perceptions of educators as distant authority figures to people with whom they could relate and described their children's teachers as a "friend" or "family member" after participating in home visits. As a result, families reported increased confidence to reach out to educators and communicate about their students' needs. Next, we explore shifts in educators' beliefs about families and students, specifically moving from deficit assumptions to valuing strengths and capabilities.

Educators shifted beliefs and actions related to families and students: Educators acknowledged assumptions about families and students based on the community in which they lived and because their behavior did not align with traditional conceptions of how to participate in school.

These initial assumptions reflected a deficit perspective. In some cases, educators noted that their initial perceptions were completely incorrect. In other cases, analysis of their responses showed they shifted their perceptions to an asset perspective, focusing on families' and students' strengths and at the same time broadening their definitions of appropriate behavior. Focusing on assets rather than deficits helps lay the groundwork for developing strong and equitable relationships, which will be explained further in Section IV. Below, we discuss these shifts in educators' perspectives about families and then about students. We also explain the resulting educator behaviors.

Educators shifted deficit assumptions about students' home lives and living situations. After experience with home visits, educators noted their need to view students and their families in terms of their strengths, not what teachers assumed they lacked. Two overarching assumptions educators reportedly changed after home visits were those about the types of families and/or living situations from which students came. Educators sometimes assumed that because students lived in certain neighborhoods, students' lives were more chaotic, under-resourced, or more traumatic than their own. While some family situations confirmed educators' assumptions, many educators reported

witnessing positive family dynamics and situations. Educators recognized their blanket characterizations as incorrect. One educator expressed this change in perception:

> *Like I said, I'm thinking there's all kinds of gangsters in the area…. And so after I did the home visit, it's just a normal family, normal neighborhood, everybody going about their business. It's not just a whole bunch of kids hanging out there. Or that you see people drive by, or just strange, homeless, weird-looking person, no. It's a clean neighborhood, just like any other neighborhood. And like I said, once I visited the first time, I was comfortable, and like I said, I mean, it's normal families.*

Another educator reported being surprised to see that students' homes were similar to the educator's own home:

> *I would visit [families], and then they would tell me about their situation and where they came from and how they immigrated to the United States and what they had to go through. And how they didn't finish middle school, or they might've not finished high school, or whatever. And then they just wanted their kids to have that opportunity, and then you would see, you would talk to them about their work and you would just see the home. And it was just, you know, there's pictures on the wall and there's like, it just felt like a home. Right? And everyone's cooking, and you're at the table, and it was just, you know, it just made you go like, 'Oh, wow.'*

Two-way relationships, where families are elevated as equal partners is not how schools traditionally set up relationships between educators and communities of color and low-income families (Ishimaru, 2014). An administrator emphasized the shift from deficit to asset thinking through home visits, especially recognizing that educators have something to learn from families:

> *What I thought in my infinite wisdom was that I was going to go in, and I was going to see my impoverished families with no books and no*

focused learning time and no outside positive influences. I had this bizarre kind of belief of what went on in my homes. Once I got into our homes, 95% of them are incredible. I'm seeing culture and I'm seeing a love of education. I'm seeing a love of family, and all those preconceived ideas are going by the wayside. I always felt like not ... well, that they needed us. They needed us to show them the way. That's not true. We could learn a lot from our families, and we needed to value their experience and we needed to value what they brought rather than what we could do for them, which was where I was coming from.

Educators shifted deficit assumptions about families' capabilities and interest to support education. In addition to recognizing that students' living situations were different than imagined, educators also recognized that their prior assumptions about families' capabilities and interest in their child's education were unfounded. Educators in our sample reported narrow definitions of what it meant to be involved or care about a child's education prior to home visits. In some cases, educators reported assumptions that families did not care about education because family members did not interact with teachers or the school community in typical "parent involvement" activities (e.g., parent-teacher conferences) in ways that educators expected. Some educators also said that they thought families did not care because students did not finish their homework or come to school ready to learn in ways that educators believed students should. As explained in the literature review, educators working in low-income neighborhoods typically have such beliefs about families' interest in education, especially about families of color (Garcia & Guerra, 2004; Lawson, 2003; Valencia, 2002). One educator elaborated on the origin of her assumptions about families:

My first 6 years of teaching were in private school. Very, very, very different experience than working here in [school] with such ... in such an urban community, a high needs community. And I think because of like, our turnout, to things like open house, and back to school, and just in general parents ... lack of

parent contact. We don't have a lot of parent contact. And from my own experience as a parent, I'm in constant contact, right? With my kid's teacher.

Multiple educators reported that these negative perceptions about why families did not participate changed after the home visit. Teachers recognized that though family academic involvement may look different than what they expected, this did not mean that families did not care. One teacher explained this new understanding: "They're doing their families a little bit different than me but they love their kids and they want their kids to do well and they have high expectations." Another educator reflected on an experience talking with a family member about a student and how the family member's reaction to the discussion made the teacher realize how much the family cared about the student's academic abilities:

I was just watching [the student], and watching her mom and her mom's face light up and she had the biggest smile, talking about her kids. And talking about her daughter and her success and how well she was doing. And just the success of all of her kids. And she was just so proud of her. And to see that in her face was just so awesome. You know what I mean? And to hear one teacher saying something, like, it just went around, like "Wow, she's just such a great"... This teacher, the VP, everybody was just in here talking and just praising her and watching her mom's face light up ... And that was just so awesome because I love that feeling when I hear great things about my own kid, do you know what I mean?

Educators' definitions of "care" and "involvement" broadened to include the cultural contexts of the families at their schools. For example, one teacher explained how families are supporting students' development of their first language during the weekends instead of allowing students to play videogames in an effort to support literacy skills. Another educator learned that although families do not constantly contact teachers, families may still be informed about school activities. This educator explained the surprise of hearing from a family

member about how much the family appreciated receiving the teacher's notes and emails:

> So even though [families] were never replying to my emails, it just kind of reinforced my idea that yes, these are helping. Yes, they're paying attention. Yes, they care about their kids' lives; they're just from a different culture than maybe that sort of helicopter parent who's always at the school and always talking to the teacher. That doesn't mean they don't care any less. It just means they communicate a different way. And they're really grateful that I'm communicating with them, that I'm letting them know what's going on every day.

Other educators recognized that families may not have the tools or resources to participate in student's education in ways educators expected. For example, some families did not have access to reliable transportation, and some did not have the time or the language skills to understand and respond to teachers' notes or communication. Teachers realized that these barriers did not automatically mean that families did not care. One teacher explained how her understanding of "family involvement" broadened:

> I expected parents to volunteer in certain roles in the school, but parents did not feel good to be involved in [school activities]. If they feel limited in skills, they won't go into the classroom. Maybe they can participate in different ways. In the past, if a parent was not signing up to volunteer to go to the zoo, then the parent wasn't "involved." Family involvement is every day until they get the child to school…everybody cares for the child in a different way.

Similarly, another educator expressed how even actions that were interpreted as neglect could not always be interpreted using existing paradigms of appropriate parental responsibilities. For example, one educator recounted an incident in which a family member had asked a high school student to stay home and watch some younger siblings instead of going to school. This educator explained how home visits provided contextual information to better understand why the family member

prioritized their family's needs the way they did. This educator explained,

> I knew [keeping the high school child at home] wasn't acceptable, but getting to know the family, I understand the decisions mom was making, not that they were ok. I can see that mom is deciding to go to work because the family needs money, and someone needs to take care of the kids. She doesn't have the capacity to fix this on her own… There isn't a willful decision on parents' part to say "I'm not going to care of the kids." You have to dig deep.

Educators increased communication with family members after home visits. Like family members, educators reported increased and improved communication with families after the home visits. First, educators reported that home visits allowed them to learn the best ways to communicate with families (e.g., through phone or text) and the best person to contact. Educators reported not having this information before the home visits. For example, one educator learned that in one particular family, the the mother, not the father, should be called. This same educator learned that a different mother worked at a job with no access to a phone, so the mother instructed the educator to call the grandmother for any situations that arose at school to ensure a response. Another educator learned that some families liked to communicate through written notes instead of phone or text. One educator explained that prior to learning communication preferences through home visits, the school would take a chance and call whomever and hope to get a response.

Educators also reported feeling more comfortable communicating with family members, especially when challenging situations at school arose. Instead of feeling like these calls were negative, educators thought that these calls reflected a partnership between families and educators; teachers believed they had the trust of families and that everyone was looking out for the best interest of the children. As a result of this improved communication, educators could ask for family members' advice on how to deal with situations at school. Many educators commented that the initial home visit was like putting "money in the bank"

because it built up a reserve of trust that the educator could draw on when needed. One educator noticed how conversations after the home visits reflected a partnership:

> *When you call home, you definitely get a different type of conversation there. It's almost like you're having a talk with one of your neighbors…. It reminds me of when I was a kid and we'd always say, "It takes a village to raise a child." And that doesn't happen much now [in schools]. But, it's almost like a partnership that you've built with them. They trust you and they know that you're in this partnership. So, when you do call them to tell them something, you've already built up such a good rapport and such a good relationship, that they know your intention behind whatever it is that you're telling them. They know that you just want their child to succeed. Or, that you've been working on this one problem with their child for a while, and we've got to figure out something else to do because nothing's working. Or whatever it is, it comes from a place of … They know that it's genuine. So, you feel comfortable and you're able to make yourself available and be honest and transparent about what's happening in the classroom without having reservations of, "what words do I use?" or "I don't know, really how do I say this parent's name?"*

After home visits, a few educators reported increased positive communication with many of their families, not just those of the students that received home visits. Because they had recognized the impact of building positive relationships with families through home visits and that families do not always have positive interactions with school personnel, they wanted to extend this new way of communicating to all of their students' families to increase the likelihood of developing strong partnerships.

However, some educators reported that communication with a few families did not increase after home visits. One set of educators from one school associated lower overall parent participation at their schools to the inability to form relationships with families. One educator

explained, "I don't feel that [home visits] had an impact at all. And I say that because parents are going to make a decision. Most of us here are parents. You're going to make a decision whether you're going to be the teacher of your child's life or not. And that decision's already pre-made, whether there's a home visit or not. So, I don't think that it had any implications on the relationship that I built with parents' post–home visit, if you will." Another educator explained that language differences prevented ongoing interactions with families.

Educators developed a new way of thinking about student capabilities. Educators began to understand the importance of contextualizing student behavior and performance with what they learned during home visits. Some educators developed an understanding of student's capabilities that shifted their view of students' behaviors from a deficit to asset perspective. Similar to thinking that families did not care about school, educators reported thinking that some students did not care about school or were not motivated due to their behavior in the classroom. After doing home visits, educators developed nuanced understandings of students' home lives, which countered their assumptions, especially recognizing students' skills and capabilities in ways that were not demonstrated at school. One educator explained an evolving understanding of how a student's home environment impacts school performance:

> *What they're asked to do at home as a 9- or 10-year-old, and it's pretty amazing. I know as a fourth-grader, I wasn't asked to do that stuff. It's kind of interesting to know that they're here all day and you're trying to get them to learn and work hard but they have to go home to other family situations where they have to watch little brother, little sister, mom and dad aren't home quite yet. As much as we may think they're not responsible, I think in their own right, they are. They may not have their whole desk together, and their desk might be falling apart at school and have everything falling out, but there's probably other things on their minds. It's pretty admirable to see them in that atmosphere.*

Multiple teachers responded using similar sentiments—that while students' behavior in class may seem disruptive or problematic, it does not necessarily follow that students do not care or do not have an interest in learning. Another teacher explained the realization:

> There's a kid that has a baby sister at home, and mom has to work late, so as a third-grader his responsibility is to take care of her. That takes a lot of their time from being a kid. That's a random example but that is the first one that came to mind. It helps you understand that's probably why he's sluggish, it's not that they don't want to be here, it's not that they don't want to learn. They have a whole other life outside of the school going on.

Educators maintained deficit perspectives about families to explain student behaviors. Despite reporting a better understanding of students and families, many educators continued to rationalize students' behavior by focusing on families' shortcomings. Teachers correlated lack of family resources, current living environments, or parenting style to explain what they considered negative student behaviors. However, some educators recognized that these families do not represent the typical families at their schools. For example, one teacher explained that a student's daily naps in the classroom could be attributed to the family's lack of beds at home. Another educator reasoned that a student's lack of focus in the classroom could be due to the "chaos" of the home environment. This teacher expressed not being able to focus on what was going on during the home visit due to the amount of activity at the home. Another educator explained that being able to see students' home lives allowed the educator to understand their behavior but characterized them by the problems brought to school that staff had to remedy: "You get to know [students'] circumstances and get a better understanding of what's going on in their personal life: Why the kids are tired, why they come to class hungry, not ready to learn. Some of my kids are emotional wrecks and you get to learn why."

One teacher attributed students' lack of positive behaviors and skills to students' home experiences and culture, as opposed to focusing on how their experiences provided them with skills and strengths from which to build:

> For [families] it's the children who have no say. This is the way things are. And [my own children] have way more say. It's different, when I'm giving [students] choices that's not something they are used to. Home is not a choice. I have to modify how I treat [students], I have to teach them those skills that my own children came to school with…The biggest one is playing games. It amazes me, [students] don't play games as a family. They don't question their family and they don't speak to their parents enough with whole sentences. My own kids—it was a full soliloquy when I asked them a question. I have to explicitly teach [students] how to ask a question how to talk to people. … Some of it's cultural and that's different from ours. And I have to teach [students]. What a different life they lead! It's bizarre. They come from a family with, we have a lot of trauma families, these kids have seen death, they have seen gangs and people hurt each other and [students] have more life skills. They can count money but can't count anything [else].

A few educators also commented on families' parenting styles and extrapolated this information to students' behavior in the classroom. One educator elaborated on a home visit experience:

> I think I'm continuously surprised by familial dynamics and expectations with a visitor in the house or with people. The interrupting or the climbing on the furniture or the kids that are literally, like, hanging from the staircase as you're talking to the parents. The parent is obvious that that happens all the time because there's not even a blink or glimmer in the face and you're just, like, okay so that's interesting. So that I feel, like, it always surprises me and definitely relates back to if you ever have a problem in the classroom, you're like oh, let's talk about what a reasonable expectation might actually look like. But I'm always surprised by that. You think they're such professional parents and then you …

professional individuals and then you see them as parents and you're very concerned. Not concerned, perhaps confused, interesting. Sometimes concerned.

Other educators expressed their efforts to provide students with resources or care to make up for what families lacked. While teachers may have exhibited compassion towards students, this perspective suggests that students are "broken" or need "remediation" and can reflect a deficit perspective (Garcia & Guerra, 2004, p. 159). For example, one educator reported tutoring a student after a home visit because the student did not have support at home. When describing the impact of home visits, one educator reported attempting to build a caring and supportive environment for their students due to witnessing negative situations during home visits:

So for me, [the learning] was "I can see how hectic your life is outside of this classroom, so I need to work really hard to make sure that inside of this classroom, you feel safe and you feel like you know what you're supposed to do, you know what you're expected to do, and you know that there's nothing but love inside this classroom. Because it doesn't matter what you've got going on outside, when you get here, you can relax. You can take a breath. You can have that anchor in your life that these kids kind of need."

A few educators also continued to hold the assumption that certain families continue to exhibit disinterest in their children's education despite teachers' continual efforts to engage families. But again, educators stressed that they were aware that these families did not represent all families. One educator, who grew up in a similar community and similar socioeconomic status as the families at the school, expressed frustration at trying to engage families in school activities:

Okay, I struggled. I lived in the ghetto. I lived in the projects when they were killing people and dodging behind cars so I wouldn't get shot while the gangs and bullets went past my children. I know about this area. I know the community. And I want it more for them, so my

sacrifice was, I don't care what I have to do. If I'm falling asleep at that table [asking my children], "What did you do today? Tell me what your school, what did you do today?" The who, what, when, where, why and how. … So, I mean, and it affects me. I go and talk to these because … It affects me sometimes where I just want to vent and say "What is wrong?" What can we do to get these parents into the school setting, because, and I tell my parents privately, "I've been where you are. I know what it feels like." You know, "I'm not new to this, and I want to help you. What can I do to help you to be more concerned or to get involved in your child's education?

Educators developed empathy through home visits and reported that because of this, their reactions to behavioral issues changed for the better. Educators reported developing an empathetic mindset for students as a result of this deeper understanding of their home lives. While we cannot attribute a causal link between home visits and mindset shifts, educators specifically named developing empathy as a result of their interactions with students and families in their homes. One teacher emphasized that the empathy she developed for a student she visited was "100 % without a doubt" the result of home visits. "Because...until you see [kids] in their own environment, you don't really know." Another teacher commented on the power of seeing students' home environment firsthand: "Hearing those stories, we've known it, but having a face to the story means more. This is what this person has gone through—it's real." Another teacher noted, "Your appreciation of [students] and empathy for them increases." Awareness of students' challenges helped foster empathy for families and students as well as a commitment to supporting students' success. One teacher explained,

As a teacher, we always, when a child in our classroom is struggling, you always think, "Oh my God. The parents don't sit with them, they don't do anything for them." When you go to the home visits and you see that they don't have even a table to sit with them, or a chair, or that they don't have the ability to do anything for them or with them, it breaks your

heart. It changes your perspective of things immediately. You find out so many things. You know, sometimes it's overwhelming that you have a different view when you're here. When you go over there it completely changes your world and you're more empathetic or more, I don't know, you're trying to help more because of what you find out.

Further, educators realized that students' home lives are different from what they imagined. One educator summed up this perspective:

The kids are just little human beings. They're not just students, and they have lives and they have stories to tell, and they have stories behind those eyes that we don't know. So, I come back to the word "empathy." It has helped me to have more empathy for, maybe some things that they're going through, especially the amount of responsibility students had at home, allowed them to develop empathy for the students.

Learning about students' situations and capabilities resulted in teachers' developing empathy for students, which translated into reacting differently to students' behavior, not only through recognizing students' capabilities but also after having seen students' living situations. For example, one educator reflected on how understanding the children affected reactions:

It gives me a lot of patience. Not that I feel like I don't have patience, but I know when I was doing home visits with third-graders, I had a student [who wore my patience thin]. To see him at home, and he was just the sweetest gentleman, [in] third grade and offering me water, and closed the door because the dog was barking, and to see him at home with his family, I had never-ending patience for him after that. Because I had been with his family and seen him as the person, this sweet little boy that his parents see him as. I feel like it's important to see students as kids, and see them through their parents' eyes. I feel like I get that when I go to their house. Then I have that never-ending patience for them.

Some educators explained how empathy had affected their disciplinary reactions. One educator noted the change in reactions before and after home visits: "Instead of being frustrated I can step back and go, 'Okay, how can we rework this?' [It's a] patience that you would have for your own child." Another educator elaborated on how the response might be different to a student "acting out":

I can be like, "So, what's going on? How's this going? Is there a way that I can help you to find time to do your homework? Can we get you an afterschool program? Here's some resources that your mom can use, send her to the community liaison office to get resources for legal issues."

Similarly, an educator described approaching a student who placed a head down on the desk during class with empathy. Without an understanding about the child's situation, the educator would have sent the child to the office for sleeping after repeatedly asking for the student's head to be taken off the desk. However, because the educator knew more about the student's home life, the decision was made to wait until the next day to ascertain the student's situation, instead of sending the student away.

One educator explained approaching students' behavior with understanding, even when the educator used a deficit frame to portray families:

Listening to how the families talk at home, if they're raised in a different environment where I would consider something to be disrespectful when they said it, knowing that that's what's going on at home and it's not they're being disrespectful, they just don't know better or they don't have the words to say it in a more respectful way. That's been something that I've kind of learned along the way too, is listening to how the families talk so I might not nail that kid for disrespect if they don't have the words or if that's the way their family talks at home—it's a learned behavior. They're not in control of that. That's probably my biggest takeaway in that area.

Educators also reported asking about students' situations during the school day, especially when students were dealing with challenging situations at home. If educators knew of a particular home situation, such as the health of a grandparent, they would ask the student about it to demonstrate that they cared. For example, one teacher explained how interaction with a child was informed by knowing that a student had issues with his mother:

> *[Back to the student] and his mom. I'm not typically going to check in with a student every day about how their mom is, right? But I know that that's an issue with him, and when I would see him, every morning I would bring him over and I would say, "Hey, bud, how's it going today?" You know? And it wasn't that I wasn't close with all my other kids in the same way, but I knew that he just, to start the day off, might need a little thing. I knew around Mother's Day, that there was gonna be issues coming up, because we're gonna do Mother's Day things. And I knew that that was gonna be something that I was gonna have to like, think of. So yeah, in a sense, now that I knew more, it would change my actions.*

A few educators mentioned that while they hold all students to high academic expectations, they may relax some minor behavioral expectations as part of their empathic approach. For example, for one student, an educator relaxed expectations that homework be complete because the student did not have support at home to finish the homework. One educator expressed that an entire school dropped homework because of the stigma incomplete homework generated for students. Another educator described physically writing an assignment for a student as the student narrated responses. This educator explained the reason behind the approach:

> *[My expectations] have never changed. I always have the bar really high. They think it's unreachable. But I know they can do it, and with me in classroom. I'm a really good teacher and they can be successful. I try to help them in any way that I can. I always had the bar really high and they always reach it. I never want them to feel like "oh you can't do that so let's*

> *make it easier." It's the same expectations, but the way we get there may be different. I have some, for the life of them, cannot write a paragraph and have so much going on, but I sit down with them and I write it all for them, but they are saying everything. That way they are still writing an essay, but the way we get there may be different.*

Educators tailored instructional approach by incorporating students' interests: Educators reported using what they learned about students' interests to motivate or encourage learning.

Many educators reported learning about students' interests, skills, and culture during the home visits that did not emerge in normal classroom interactions. Such learning does not reflect shifts in assumptions about students but were noted by educators as being critical learning about students. For example, one educator learned that a student was interested in boats and fishing but never showed this interest in class. An educator explained the importance of this learning:

> *Throughout the years I have learned, you know what each one of us have different funds of knowledge, and it empowers me as a teacher to go to their homes to learn more about their culture, the student's perspective, the families, because that gives me a different type of funds of knowledge that I've been able to utilize as a teaching tool, as a learning material for the students to make stronger connections in relevance to what I'm teaching.*

Experiencing the students' culture firsthand, another teacher observed, created a deeper awareness of what it means to be "open-minded" and culturally responsive in ways she hadn't realized before. This teacher reflected,

> *I think it's one thing to be, like, culturally responsive, or like, "Oh, I'm really open-minded." But if you haven't had those real experiences, then, how can you say you're open-minded? Like, you're open-minded to the experience, but you need to have a real-life*

experience as well. Not just like reading and thinking that you're culturally responsive.

As educators developed a greater understanding of students' interests and capabilities, they attempted to draw on both in the classroom. For example, one educator explained attempting to motivate a student to help out in class because the educator saw how the student helped with brothers and sisters at home. Another educator explained a similar example:

So, I had one student who was a pretty big goofball in class. Hilarious, funny guy, but he was just kind of a goofball. He didn't really do his work. He didn't really take anything seriously. And then when I did a home visit, he showed that he really took his little brother seriously. He took care of his little brother a lot. He prepared a lot of things around the house. We were in the home visit and his little brother was throwing this ball at me. And mom doesn't even ... Mom's just talking 90 miles an hour. And it's actually the student who acts like the parent to this 2-year-old. And is like, "Hey you can't throw balls at people while they're having a conversation." I was like, whoa. So this kid is a leader at home. I was able to start to guide him toward doing that same thing in the classroom, instead of just being a goofball all the time. We could talk about how he shows leadership at home and how he can show leadership in the classroom.

Teachers also reported connecting instructional activities in the classroom to students' home lives. For example, one teacher reported choosing books based on students' interests or helping students

think of topics of interest for writing assignments. One teacher explained that knowing students' backgrounds and interests was critical to students' ability to build connections to texts, which is why this educator reported that home visits have been a huge benefit. Another educator explained how building this connection between home and school could have potential to increase students' motivation for learning:

So, if I know that their dad works in construction, I can, you know, when we're talking about area and perimeter, we can talk about, well, when you're building a house, you need to make sure you're measuring accurately. And then you need to calculate the square footage of a floor to be able to figure out how much flooring you need. Or you need to figure out volume to figure out how much concrete you need to pour a foundation. And when they're like, "Whoa! My dad uses this. Maybe I should actually learn this."

Research on student motivation and engagement suggests that incorporating students' personal interests in the classroom can trigger students' passion for learning, which may lead to students engaging in academic behaviors that may lead to academic achievement, such as doing homework and studying for tests (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan 2001; Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 1991). Incorporating students' personal interests in the subject matter can also result in students' deeper conceptual understanding of the content because while studying, students may use strategies that help them engage more deeply with the content, rather than learning for rote memorization (Deci et al., 2001; Deci et al., 1991).

IV. HOW PTHV ALIGNS WITH RESEARCH ON CHANGING IMPLICIT BIASES

In this section, we first focus on research-supported strategies for shifting biased mindsets related to race, class, and culture, then follow with a discussion of the PTHV model and how it aligns with this research.

In the last section, we elaborated on the various shifts in families and educators' assumptions and perceptions as a result of participating in PTHV. Their previous assumptions about one another reflected common biases noted in research based on racial, cultural, or socioeconomic differences. Educators and families reported changing their behaviors, such as communication with each other, due to their new understanding or perceptions. This is good news for districts implementing PTHV, which is designed to foster collaborative partnerships between schools and families.

It is important to note that the PTHV model was not explicitly designed to address and change biased perceptions. Nevertheless, PTHV adopted some features that research has found to be effective for counteracting implicit biases. Although implicit biases are commonplace and by nature hidden from an individual's consciousness, we can become aware of and reduce these biases. In this section, we discuss research on strategies for counteracting implicit biases that are relevant to the PTHV model. After describing the research-based strategies, we explicitly draw linkages between these strategies and specific PTHV model components. The research-based strategies we discuss fall within four general domains (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Strategies for Shifting Biased Midsets

| Self-awareness & Motivation |
| Individuation |
| Affect |
| Cooperative Learning |
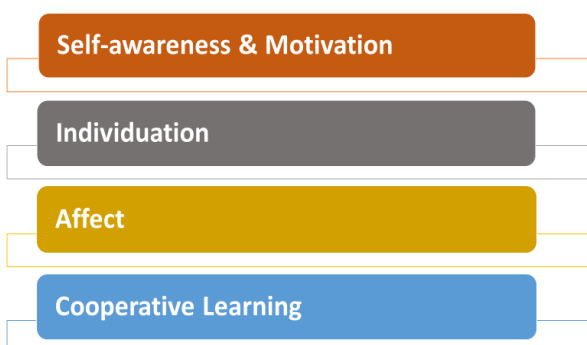
Why self-awareness and motivation matter: Because individuals are unaware of their implicit biases, making them known is one of the first steps toward fostering the motivation to counteract their effects.

Because implicit biases are unconscious, understanding them requires an indirect means of assessing them. A common method is the Implicit Association Test, which measures reaction time for making associations between words or phrases and photos of individuals. Researchers also recommend the use of self-reflection. Examples of self-reflection for teachers working with racially and culturally diverse students include critically engaged dialogue and race-reflective journaling (Milner, 2003). Critically engaged dialogue allows teachers to openly discuss the ways in which they differ from their students while being sensitive and alert to how their position and practices serve to replicate or intervene with current power differentials. Journaling, on the other hand, provides a private space for reflection and may be more appropriate for those who are not yet comfortable discussing race. Structured and intentional reflection can bring biases to the forefront and help teachers explore the ways their biases manifest in the classroom and the consequences of those biases.

Research indicates that awareness of biases alone may not be enough to motivate us to work against them. To motivate individuals to counteract implicit biases, researchers recommend strategies that demonstrate how implicit biases can trigger discriminatory behaviors (Burgess, Ryn, Dovidio, & Saha, 2007; Devine et al., 2012; Rudman et al., 2001). In schools, making the link between educators' implicit biases and their negative impact on students can be a powerful way to motivate educators to be aware of and counteract their

biases. Some research-based strategies for increasing motivation to reduce implicit biases include (Burgess et al., 2007)

- appealing to positive vs. negative goals (e.g., desire to support all students in academic success vs. avoiding censure from colleagues);
- acknowledging that implicit biases are not due to character flaws but are an inherent part of being human; and
- discussing issues around implicit biases in a safe and supportive environment that is nonjudgmental.

The message needs to be clear that implicit bias is not a matter of character, and with the right effort and attention to the situations in which they arise, biases can be counteracted (Burgess et al., 2007; Goff, 2016). Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that who we target for biases and stereotyping is learned through socialization (Burgess et al., 2007).

Other research suggests that even if we are motivated, we may still not be enough to negate the influence of implicit biases on behavior. Without our awareness, implicit biases can focus our attention on evidence that confirms a given stereotype (e.g., Plous, 1993). It can also trigger the fundamental attribution error, in which we attribute someone's behavior to internal factors such as personality or disposition, rather than situational influences (Ross, 1977), such as when educators reported attributing parent's limited involvement at the school to not caring. Therefore we need deliberate strategies aimed at debiasing how we process information and make decisions to combat our implicit biases and discriminatory behaviors that may result (e.g., Casey, Warren, Cheesman, & Elek, 2012). For example, in a TED Talk on the "Scout Mindset," Julia Galef (2016) talks about ways in which we can make ourselves aware of our assumptions about others and "scout" for evidence that contradicts those assumptions.

Individuation and how it affects implicit biases: Individuation is the ability to see an individual as a collection of his or her unique characteristics, experiences, and beliefs and disrupts the human tendency to quickly

categorize people based on their most noticeable features (Burgess et al., 2007).

Because our brains are "wired" to categorize, one of the cognitive shortcuts we take is to associate noticeable features, such as skin color or language, with stereotypes. Research indicates that repeated exposure to exemplars that contradict dominant stereotypes can help to break those associations. A study by Dasgupta and Greenwald (2001) showed that, with college students, positive exemplars of the outgroup and negative exemplars of the ingroup led to positive changes in implicit biases toward these groups. Importantly, this strategy works even with those not socialized to have cross-race friendships or positive exemplars of stigmatized groups. Showing exemplars who don't "fit the mold" of the dominant stereotypes helps to present them as individuals with unique characteristics, thus fostering individuation.

A key mechanism by which individuation reduces implicit biases is through empathy. There is a good body of research on strategies for developing empathy and the impact on implicit biases. Perspective taking is one such strategy. It enables individuals to focus on situational factors and influences (e.g., boredom, group pressure to misbehave) rather than group stereotypes (e.g., "bad student") to account for behavior (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). In the education realm, specifically, empathy continues to be a core tenet of individuation and bias reduction. An empathic mindset and response shows students that they are valued and helps to maintain positive relationships. Okonofua, Paunesku, and Walton (2016) found that an empathic mindset goes so far as reducing a teacher's suspension referrals by half: Empathy allowed teachers to see students as complex individuals, not stereotypes. Similarly, discussing shared experiences and determining commonalities enables individuals to relate on a level that transcends group boundaries. In an intervention referred to as "deep canvassing," volunteers found that sharing personal experiences, instead of telling people how to vote, and attentive listening without judging, made voters more accepting of controversial issues such as same-sex marriage.

The belief that outgroup members do not have anything in common with them may prevent individuals from engaging outgroup members and, therefore, from acknowledging their personal attributes. To support individuation and develop empathy, experts in social justice focus on defining individuals by their positive qualities or aspirations (e.g., Shorters, 2016; Zhao, 2016). Known as "asset framing," this practice involves use of language that focuses on an individual's strengths and aspirations before discussing the challenges they face. For educators, focusing their work on students' hopes and dreams, rather than "fixing" the challenges students face, is a key task in asset framing and defining students by their individual rather than perceived group qualities.

The importance of affect in the formation and triggering of implicit biases: A consistent research finding is that the affect (emotion) experienced during cross-group interactions has a significant impact on how implicit biases are formed, their strength and persistence, and on associated discriminatory behaviors.

Research on how implicit biases work indicates separate cognitive (e.g., how we think) and affective (e.g., how we feel) processes, which have distinct influences on behavior (Amodio & Devine, 2006). Situations that elicit anxiety, for example, foster reliance on more stereotypic explanations for behavior (Goff, 2016). On the other hand, positive emotion has been found to influence the filtering of new information, resulting in a widening of who is considered part of the ingroup, and reduce categorization based on race (Burgess et al., 2007). Notably, individuals who have cross-race friendships show more positive feelings when interacting with novel members of the outgroup (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Dento, Alegre, & Siy, 2010). Therefore, the type of contact one has with members of the outgroup can facilitate whether further instances of contact are met with anxiety and provoke stereotypic attributions for behavior or whether they elicit positive feelings and increase individuation. Strategies built on fostering positive emotions during intergroup contact, therefore, can be effective in reducing implicit biases.

Creating opportunities for positive intergroup contact is one of the most powerful means of reducing implicit biases and discriminatory behavior. Implicit biases occur from generalizations made about groups. Increased contact with outgroup members is a way of conceptualizing them as complex individuals with unique qualities. Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis outlines certain conditions necessary for positive cross-group contact: equal footing among members, a focus on common goals, support from authority, emphasis on cooperation, and personal connection. Similarly, Burgess et al. (2007, p. 883) suggested the use of "interactive, facilitated discussions, particularly in which people interact in individualized ways, among colleagues of different race and ethnicity," a notion also consistent with individuation. The benefits of cross-group interactions are seen in individuals who develop friendships with members of the outgroup. An important study by Page-Gould et al. (2010) contradicted the need for Allport's conditions for positive cross-group contact when cross-group friendships exist and interactions have been positive.

Other sets of interventions for targeting emotions to counteract implicit biases focus on intentional strategies for reducing anxiety and stress. Increasing awareness of the effects of stress on stereotyping can facilitate an explicit awareness or "mindfulness" and replacement of implicit bias when it occurs. These types of strategies may be helpful for educators to implement prior to conducting home visits, if they find doing those visits to be stressful. Educators who are new to home visits may find these strategies particularly helpful for reducing anxiety prior to the visit.

Collaborative Relationships as a powerful intervention for reducing implicit biases: Creating opportunities for identifying a shared goal and working together to attain it is one of the most effective ways to foster positive cross-group interactions and counteract implicit biases.

Cooperative relationships with the outgroup builds on the goal of positive contact and extends it to working actively together to reach a common goal. In a classic experiment, Sherif, Harvey, White,

Hood, and Sherif (1961) demonstrated how, by introducing opportunities for cooperation, groups of boys that were previously at odds with each other could work collaboratively and shift from animosity to cooperation. The key to building the cooperation was to introduce a shared goal that both groups cared about. Burgess et al. (2007) similarly intervened with health care providers by framing interactions with patients as collaboration between equals on the shared goal of improved health (Burgess et al., 2007). In education, building partnerships around the shared goal of the student's success can bolster relationships between teachers and families (e.g., Johnson, 2014; Parent Teacher Home Visits, 2011). Orienting intergroup contact around a shared goal, for example, student academic success, and acknowledging stakeholders as equal parties can foster positive cross-group feelings, which helps reduce implicit biases.

How PTHV aligns with research on reducing implicit biases: Home visits incorporate research-supported strategies to counteract race, class, and culture biases and associated discriminatory behaviors toward stigmatized groups.

By linking the reported features of home visits that impact intergroup relationships to features of empirically based interventions, we provide an explanation for the PTHV model's potential to shift biased mindsets. Johnson (2014) framed home visits between schools and families as a means by which to negate "deeply entrenched institutionalized inequities" in the American educational system. Home visits, when conceptualized as collaborative partnerships, mitigate the traditional power differentials between schools and families by viewing students, families, and communities as resources that can enhance the educational process, not as problems to fix (e.g., Zentella, 2005). In this section, we explain how the PTHV model aligns with features of interventions from the above research review that focus on fostering educator self-awareness and motivation, individuation, creating positive affect, and promoting collaborative partnerships between families and educators. As our research review indicates, these mechanisms have the

potential to shift biased mindsets and discriminatory behavior. We combine data from interviews and focus groups with PTHV participants with our literature review and field scan.

Overview of the Five Core Practices of the PTHV Model: The five nonnegotiable core practices of the PTHV model align with numerous research-supported strategies for effectively shifting implicit biases and related discriminatory behavior.

As noted in the introduction of this report, the PTHV model developed from an understanding that family engagement is critical to a student's success, and yet complex barriers often stand in the way of meaningful partnerships between educators and families. The core practices of the PTHV model were intended to build the foundation for sustainable, collaborative partnerships between schools and families.

Based on our research review and interviews with PTHV participants, we hypothesize that the reported increases in understanding and learning from one another, at least in part, are facilitated by the PTHV Core Practices. These core practices or "nonnegotiables" are intended to ensure consistency of results across all implementations of PTHV. The five core practices include:

1. Visits are always voluntary for educators and families and arranged in advance.

2. Teachers are trained and compensated for visits outside their school day.

3. The focus of the first visit is relationship-building; educators and families discuss hopes and dreams.

4. No targeting – visit all or a cross-section of students so there is no stigma.

5. Educators conduct visits in pairs, and after the visit, reflect with their partner.

In the following section, we begin with a discussion about why the very premise of home visits— meeting outside the school environment—is a good strategy for building positive cross-group interactions and counteracting implicit biases.

Then, we describe how the five core practices align with research on effective strategies for shifting implicit biases through the voices of PTHV participants.

Meeting off campus builds trust and equality: Bringing educators and families together away from school fosters the conditions that support positive cross-group interactions.

As our research review revealed, implicit biases can create barriers for effective school and family partnerships for supporting student success. Moreover, power differentials and negative emotions such as stress, anxiety, and feeling threatened can serve as triggers for implicit biases. Bringing educators and families together to create cross-group partnerships, in a place that eliminates power differentials, makes home visits a potentially powerful intervention for reducing implicit biases. In our interviews and focus groups, PTHV participants reported that meeting away from the school, in a place that is comfortable to families is a critical feature of the home visit model. Two general reasons emerged, and we discuss each in further detail below:

1. Meeting outside the school, in a place that is comfortable for families, allowed school staff to see things they hadn't seen before in on-campus interactions.

2. Meeting outside the school shifts the traditional power dynamic between schools and families to more equal footing.

Meeting outside the school allowed educators to learn new things about students and families.

Educators reported that meeting at families' homes allowed them to observe aspects of the family of which they hadn't been aware and, more specifically, hadn't expected. One teacher explained, "It's easy to have [families] here at school, but when you go out and see them, and see their house and see their culture and how they live, and how they interact together, you learn so much from them." As one principal reported, this allowed teachers to "see a community from the inside." One teacher commented on how her assumptions about a child changed after the home visit. Initially, she assumed the student had an unfortunate home life based on the child's school clothes; that "mom is by

herself and dad is not in the picture and money is a struggle." However, the home visit changed her understanding: "When I went to the house, mom was always staying at home and always there. Dad was always working, she was always there for the kids. Everything in the house was spotless." Another teacher commented on how what she learned from home visits interrupted the explicit stereotypes she had of families:

> *These home visits really give me insight into families and the community as individual people with their own lives and issues. And it just breaks apart a stereotype, because if you have those counter-examples, then the stereotype can no longer exist.*

According to our research review, seeing positive exemplars of the outgroup that contradict prevailing stereotypes can help to reduce implicit and explicit biases. Moreover, cross-group interactions that encourage a focus on the unique characteristics of others (i.e., individuation) can help to shift biased mindsets. Visiting students' homes helped teachers to see the families and students as unique individuals.

Another effective strategy for shifting biased mindsets is to foster perspective-taking. One teacher elaborated on how being at the family's home and interacting allowed her to understand how families might feel when interacting with institutions that are unfamiliar. For example, going to the home of a family whose culture was unfamiliar helped her understand how families can feel uncomfortable engaging at the school:

> *For a family, it's hard to bring a child to school when it's hard to communicate and culturally you do life differently; so an experience where you can laugh together and have commonality, that's breaking barriers. Every day they don't know what's going on, and so [when] I go into their home, [I see what it feels like to] not know what's going on fully.*

Per our research review, this self-awareness of bias, coupled with the motivation to change it, can be powerful mechanisms for shifting biased mindsets.

Meeting outside the school shifted the power dynamic between educators and families.

Meeting away from school reportedly allowed family members to interact with school staff in a place that is more comfortable for them. Many educators reflected that the off-campus visits had the potential to lessen family members' anxiety about interacting with school staff. Educators acknowledged that many families may not have had positive interactions with schools or teachers prior to the home visit or that they may be intimidated by teachers from a different cultural background. One family member observed,

> As a parent, we are somewhat scared when we go to the classroom, but it is different when the teachers come to your home. We feel a little bit more comfortable. We break that stereotype of looking at teachers as professionals, so when they come to our home we look at them in a friendlier way—we can ask questions.

Educators and family members mentioned that family members who may have felt uncomfortable having educators in their home were more comfortable meeting at a public space, like a park, library, or restaurant. Meeting outside of school in a place more comfortable can also help shift existing dynamics because during those visits, educators reported being on the family's "turf," which can eliminate a power differential. One teacher explained, "When we go to their house they are more comfortable, they are assisting us, giving us water, seeing how we are doing. This creates a more egalitarian relationship." A family member expressed how teachers' interactions may change because of the location:

> When they're in their classroom, they're teaching and they're focused on their day. At the end of the day when I have a chance to talk to them, they're probably stressed and have a million things on their mind, and they want to go home. When I'm working I know that I'm focused on my work, and so to see them more relaxed, away from the school, and they're still working, they're still a teacher, but the environment, I think, changes their energy and their approach.

Our data suggest that meeting outside school helps reduce anxiety and power differentials for families, which not only allows for more positive interactions but also can serve as a foundation for creating collaborative relationships. These mechanisms are consistent with our research review on situational triggers for implicit biases. The home visits help to reduce or eliminate those triggers and thus foster the ability of families and educators to build positive relationships.

Next we focus on the five nonnegotiable core practices of PTHV and how they align with research on shifting implicit biases and fostering positive cross-group relationships.

Core Practice #1. Visits are always voluntary for educators and families and arranged in advance. Scheduling visits so that both educators and families can sufficiently prepare, and making them voluntary, fosters success.

A key feature of PTHV's model is that visits need to be completely voluntary for both the educators and families. Mandating home visits can create anxiety and stress for educators, family members, and students, especially if they have assumptions about the purpose of the visit. As one family member reported, "I thought they were going to talk to you personally about the issues your child had at school." One teacher also observed how home visits can cause anxiety for families:

> One interesting thing is how intimidating [home visits] can be. I see how brave they are to open their doors, sometimes they don't have any furniture or mattresses in the corner. It is heartbreaking in a way but still, opening their doors for you. Watching them go through the process of nervousness, "are these people really here for what they said?"

As reported in our literature review, situations that invoke stress and anxiety are known to trigger implicit biases and discriminatory behaviors. By making home visits voluntary and scheduling them (vs. unexpected "drop-ins"), the PTHV model creates conditions for fostering positive cross-group interactions. In our field scan interviews, a district received funding from Head Start and was

therefore required to implement two home visits per preschool child each school year. The teachers were upset about the new requirement of traveling into neighborhoods and homes where they felt unwelcome and/or unsafe. Generating positive, mutually beneficial relationships in such a stressful situation is unlikely and can elicit prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Goff, 2016).

Teachers at all but two of the 11 PTHV schools we interviewed for our study reported that home visits were voluntary for families and educators. In the other two schools, despite the PTHV nonnegotiables, home visits were viewed by teachers as required. The district for these two schools includes a family and community connections component in teacher evaluations, and the schools used the number of home visits as a metric for that evaluation component. In both schools, teachers reported they had to complete a specific number of home visits, based on classroom size, by the end of October. In a separate district, while home visits were not mandated, two school principals reported expecting all teachers to do at least one home visit but did not indicate whether they monitored the results. Teachers at one of the schools using number of home visits as part of teacher evaluations reported that forcing home visits created a layer of discontent between family members and teachers. They reported that families did not feel comfortable having teachers visit their homes and that they had the right to their own private space. One teacher reported that the home visit was "forced because it was not a sense of feeling good, on both parts."

In our interviews with PTHV participants, educators reported opting to do home visits for the opportunity to learn about families and students and to build relationships. A few teachers specifically wanted to learn about their students' different cultural backgrounds. As one teacher explained, "I wanted to get to know families...Because my lifestyle is different [from families] then maybe I would have an understanding of what the families are going through."

Family members said they volunteered for home visits to be more involved with their students' lives and learn more about how to help them. Several acknowledged that they had not agreed to home visits when initially asked, out of fear of feeling inferior, but ended up participating in subsequent years.

Other research we reviewed indicated the importance of self-awareness of biases and motivation to counteract them and their negative effects on others. If visits are mandated, educators and families may not have internal motivation to engage with each other, and therefore it may not be an effective strategy for shifting mindsets and building productive partnerships between schools and families. Positive cross-group relationships should be cultivated, not forced, and PTHV acknowledges this through the mandate that visits should be voluntary. Other home visit models from our field scan found a comfortable balance between completely voluntary and mandated home visits: Although not required, home visits were an expectation. The schools and districts that created this balance, cultivated a culture in which home visits were the norm, and therefore they were perceived as less threatening. In those situations, interviewees indicated that most teachers and families willingly complied and the normative culture of home visits helped to reduce stress and anxiety about them.

Core Practice #2: Educators are trained and compensated for visits outside the school day.

A key aspect of the PTHV model is the training and support educators receive around building connections with families. The trainings are focused on understanding the need for and benefit of participating in home visits, in addition to an overview of the model and the basis for its different components and core practices. These trainings are designed to be interactive and informative and to build on the capacity of educators to foster meaningful relationships with the families of their students. In our interviews with PTHV participants, we found two general themes regarding support for home visits:

1. Training can help to increase awareness of biases.

2. Supports can help to reduce anxiety around home visits.

***Training can help increase educators'
awareness of biases***. In our interviews with PTHV
participants, educators reported that training
encouraged them to refrain from making
assumptions about families and students during
home visits, and the ability to practice suspending
their assumptions during the training was useful.
At one site, educators watched a video which had
the potential to elicit immediate judgments about a
family member; however, viewers learned why the
scenario played out the way it did, providing a
different explanation for the family member's
behavior. One teacher explained that the video
made her aware of the potential for judgment
during home visits: "You could look at [the video]
and see the worst or keep an open mind. We are
reminded to go in with open mind." Interventions
intended to shift mindsets require not only
awareness of mindsets but also motivation and
practice in counteracting biased information
processing, such as confirmation biases or
fundamental attribution errors (e.g., Casey,
Warren, Cheesman, & Elek, 2012). This video
training is one example of how debiasing
techniques can be woven into PTHV training.

Training decreases anxiety around home visits.
PTHV participants observed how various aspects of
the home visit training helped teachers overcome
initial anxiety about the visits. Specifically,
educators reported that the tools for guiding the
initial phone call and the first home visit
conversation were particularly helpful. As one
teacher observed,

> *The first visit. That's probably the toughest
> thing if you haven't done it before, to figure
> out how do you go about getting visits with
> parents that don't initially want to do visits,
> you know? And so, like, when we went in and
> [the trainers] kind of gave ideas for … how to
> start off the conversations.*

Others noted that hearing the experiences of the
families during the home visit training made them
more aware of the potential anxiety that family
members may have about home visits. One teacher
reported that better understanding the family's
perspective helped her connect with them during
the first visit.

Educators also appreciated learning about what
they could expect in the home visits to diffuse
anxiety. As one teacher explained, the training
eased teachers' worries about the home visit by
sharing examples of what teachers may need to
report to child protective services and how to be
respectful of families if they share food during the
visit. Another teacher elaborated on how the
training helped her feel comfortable with home
visits:

> *I just like the personal stories that [teachers]
> shared. It seemed like it was a little bit easier
> to go in. In some of them they, I think that
> [home visits] went from very normal
> experiences to extreme experiences so that you
> knew, like, it was okay. Like, you know, just
> how you could react in a certain situation and
> making sure that you're going with somebody
> else. That's really helpful, in that you don't
> think you can go by yourself. I mean, maybe
> there's a couple of students that you could, but
> just like ingraining that you should probably
> have a partner, and these are the reasons why.
> But don't freak out, because you'll survive this
> home visit.*

An important lesson learned from the research
literature is that situations can be the best
predictors of discriminatory behavior. Goff (2016)
reminds us that policies and culture can be more
effective than focusing on attitudes and beliefs in
reducing discriminatory behaviors. Policies that
reduce stress, threat, fear, and anxiety, and cultural
norms that facilitate and reward positive cross-
group relationships and equal treatment of all
people are particularly powerful. Interviews
revealed, not surprisingly, that when school and
district leaders visibly supported home visits,
including participating in them, home visits were
more likely to become part of the school culture
and more readily adopted and positively perceived
by educators and families.

Our field scan revealed a range of training and
support provided to educators for conducting
home visits. In general, those involved in PTHV
reported more intensive support, but there was
even a range in intensity across the four PTHV
sites. For example, some PTHV sites had one
training prior to the home visits, and nothing else.

Others had ongoing discussions and training, focused on race, culture, and power structures between schools and communities. At one PTHV school, the principal integrated discussions about cross-group biases into faculty meetings to make all teachers aware of the kinds of judgments they might be making about students and families. In this school, the principal also arranged for explicit debriefing after home visits, to discuss issues related to cross-group biases and shifting mindsets. Families at that school observed how the school culture was accepting and welcoming to everyone. Goff (2016) reported that setting policies and culture to reduce situational triggers for implicit biases often works better than training.

Implicit biases are difficult to change, especially if they are associated with strong attitudes; therefore, more intensive recurring training and supports are critical to the ongoing success of home visits (Devine et al., 2012). Training which only involves sharing information is not enough to shift mindsets based on implicit biases. Our research review indicates that training should occur in a safe, nonjudgmental environment to explore implicit biases, fears, and impacts on others (e.g., Casey et al., 2012). Additionally, we should not expect that awareness of biases is sufficient for change; awareness must be coupled with motivation and conditions that reduce the situational triggers for biases and discriminatory behavior. Conditions that are stressful, threatening, or anxiety producing will hinder the work. Training therefore might include stress reduction techniques like mindfulness (intentional meditation) before intergroup contact and awareness of the effects of stress on stereotyping. Training in cognitive debiasing techniques that involves intentional awareness and replacement of biases, such as attribution errors and confirmation biases, have also been shown to be effective in reducing discriminatory behavior (Burgess et al., 2007). Toolkits, such as the checklist Milner (2003) created, shared in Appendix C, that support teachers in successful implementation of debiasing techniques for information processing and decision-making can be helpful. As Table C1 in Appendix C suggests, training that is ongoing and involves multiple research-based components that target a variety of mechanisms is likely to be most

effective for building positive cross-group relationships via home visits.

Compensation for home visits cited by some PTHV teachers as a critical motivator. Related to the supports required by educators for home visits is whether to compensate them. Many of the home visit models in our field scan paid teachers a stipend for the home visits. Our field scan interviews reflected some debate about whether educators should be compensated, as it was unclear how best to motivate people to do home visits. Some believed compensation was an effective motivator. In fact, in one field scan interview, a program staffer indicated that before stipends were paid, only 25% of teachers did home visits. After instituting the stipend, the number of teachers more than doubled. In two of the PTHV schools in our study, a minority of teachers indicated that if they were not compensated for the visits, they probably would not continue to do them. When asked what got them interested in doing home visits, one PTHV teacher described how being paid to do the visits made a difference:

> *I don't think I would go out of my way to do [home visits] if I didn't know I was getting paid. I want to do them, but realistically I know myself and the amount of time it takes to travel and things. Having this payment there. I'm like 'Okay. I'll do it." If you took that away, I probably wouldn't go on home visits because I think they're very valuable and I'm glad I do, but at the end of the day it's like … it is very helpful, but I also have to weigh that with being efficient with my time and respectful of my own time. So when I know I'm making money, I'm happy to do them. I don't think I would do them if I didn't make money …It is very time consuming.*

The research we reviewed indicated that intrinsic motivation (i.e., the desire to change arising from within oneself) to change implicit biases is necessary for that change to occur. Financial compensation, however, is considered an extrinsic motivation (i.e., motivation driven by external influences such as money or accolades), and changes stemming from this type of motivation may not last. However, it is possible that paying educators for home visits serves as an initial

external motivator, while the home visits themselves further motivate educators to change their mindsets.

Core Practice #3: The focus of the first visit is on relationship-building by discussing hopes and dreams.

Along with meeting off campus, focusing the visit on hopes and dreams seems to be a key component of PTHV for facilitating productive school and family relationships. The research review and our interviews with PTHV participants suggest several research-supported mechanisms by which these two key ingredients work effectively together to create collaborative school and family relationships. Figure 3 highlights those mechanisms.

One potential PTHV theory of action seems to be that visiting people on their own "turf" and focusing on their hopes and dreams creates comfort, communicates a willingness to connect, and helps build trust and understanding. It also creates a partnership designed to attain a common goal: supporting the student's success in attaining those hopes and dreams. Fostering positive emotions in cross-group interactions can help shift biased mindsets and serve as a foundation for working collaboratively toward a shared goal. Johnson (2014) observed that since educators' lives are often disconnected from the lives of their

students, educator home visits cultivate the type of relationships and social support that enhances student success. Health and wellness programs find similar results. Visiting patients at their homes builds trust and engagement with the health provider, much as visiting students and families off campus builds trust and engagement with schools (e.g., Burgess et al., 2007; Johnson, 2014). As cited earlier in this report, positive cross-group partnerships function as an antidote to race and culture biases.

According to PTHV participant interviews and focus groups, the focus on nonacademic topics (hopes and dreams) seemed to encourage the development of positive relationships in ways that can dismantle bias because

1. discussing hopes and dreams allowed for positive interactions between family members and educators as opposed to focusing on the negative;

2. talking about something other than academics allowed them to learn more about each other; and

3. talking about how to help the student succeed, as opposed to what they were doing wrong, created a platform for developing collaborative relationships built around a shared goal.

We explain each of these mechanisms and elaborate on how they may have shifted mindsets.

Figure 3. Mechanisms by which PTHV fosters strong school/family relationships
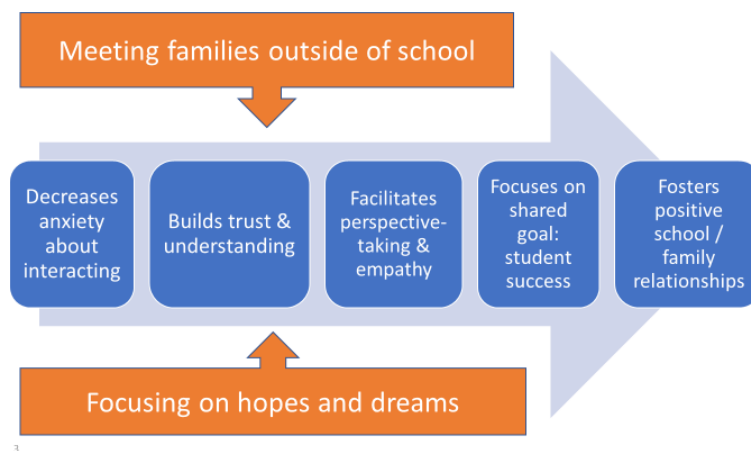
Nonacademic topics fostered positive conversations and increased comfort. PTHV educators and family members explained that focusing home visit conversations on hopes and dreams replaced the conversations families typically have with teachers, which they reported were often focused on negative topics or feeling judged. Several family members commented on how they initially expected the visit to be focused on their children's negative behaviors or concern that the visits would focus on "checking up" on the families. They were surprised that the visits focused instead on getting to know one another and their children. One family member expressed surprise at how the home visit unfolded:

> [Teachers] aren't real nosy or trying to get into your business...it wasn't what I was expecting. In the past I would have thought, "Why are they doing this?" Because you think that maybe the [teachers are] going to call social services or they're digging for something. But they were just there to see how our kids live and to see how it affects how they perform at school. They weren't there with notebooks to take notes like I expected. I said, "Where's your notebook?" She said, "No, we just came to hang out." And that's why it was unexpected. It was a good visit.

One teacher observed that talking about nonacademic subject matter shifted the relationship between certain family members and teachers. The teacher commented on how families reported that before home visits, they were "nervous" around teachers, especially those of different racial and/or ethnic backgrounds, but were now more comfortable. When asked why home visits may have shifted families' mindsets, the teacher noted,

> I think it's the topics that we talk about. I think it's that our topics are about "I would like to get to know you, as a person." We're not here to talk about academics, I'm not pointing out some problem that I think there is. It's just, "Hey, let's hang out for a little bit and just be people."

Positive interactions can lead to developing more positive feelings about one another. Additionally, conversations that establish similarities support individuation and empathy, both of which help to counteract cross-group biases.

Focusing on hopes and dreams builds connections with families, students, and educators. By limiting the academic content in the first visit, families, educators, and students could share information about one another at a level that went beyond their typical interactions. Participants acknowledged that they may have not been able to talk about those topics if the conversation mostly focused on academics. One teacher compared this experience to sitting next to someone on a long flight:

> When you interact with parents, it's always about school and academics, right?...But when you do the visit, you're kind of forced, and not in a bad way, but you're forced to just really have a conversation with somebody as if you, you know, were sitting next to them on a long flight or something like that.

Families and educators reported that they shared information about themselves in addition to talking about students' hopes and dreams. One teacher commented,

> The common thing I hear from parents was hearing about the sacrifice they do for their child: "I'm working two jobs, I'm depending on you to educate them." Sometimes I forget how much these parents love their children and want the best for them. It's nice to hear them talk about it. They talk about their experience, new to the country, why they came.

Similarly, families reported the importance of hearing from teachers about teachers' lives, as it helped families find a common ground with them:

> We think that they're teachers so they're set, but they also had to go through a process. Just like [students], [teachers] come from low grades, bad days, not having been accepted to certain schools.

A teacher echoed this sentiment that sharing things about oneself can help the family member and teacher find commonalities. This report is similar to the research on "deep canvassing" described

earlier, in which sharing personal information to establish similarities can enhance cross-group interactions and reduce cross-group biases.

Focusing on hopes and dreams helped families and educators create and work toward a shared goal for the student. Focusing on hopes and dreams created the opportunity for families and educators to figure out how to work together. In this study, families and educators reported more communication after the home visit because they felt more trust. After a home visit, educators knew they could call families about their child and have the family's support. Research indicates that having a shared goal facilitates positive cross-group interactions that help to build positive relationships. Additionally, participant feedback reflected that the focus on hopes and dreams helped to eliminate power differentials. Educators and families shared hopes and dreams for the student and, in some cases, developed strategies together to move the student toward those hoped for outcomes. As one principal expressed, focusing on hopes and dreams for the student

> *ensures that [teachers] go in with the motivation to learn about the child. That their goal is not to come in and save [the family/student] with a book. You know it's not about giving them something, it's about receiving. To put the teacher in that role of receiving from the family instead of being the "I am the teacher and I'm bringing something to you"...You know, but it shifts that and it says, "I am here humbly to learn from you. You are the expert in your child. Help. I can't teach your child until I know who he is."*

We heard several educators acknowledge that their role in the PTHV home visit was to listen instead of "tell" and to allow families to share aspirations for their children. The focus on listening without judgment is similar to "deep canvassing" interventions discussed earlier in this report. It aligns with research on reducing biases by building empathy, understanding, and as a result, cross-group partnerships. Additionally, PTHV includes time to observe children interacting in their own environment, with their own families. These visits provided teachers opportunities for perspective-taking and building understanding and empathy

for their students. Programs from the health and wellness fields similarly use home visits as a diagnostic resource and to build understanding and empathy. In this way, home visits offer good opportunities for individuation strategies for reducing implicit biases.

Core Practice #4: No targeting — visit all or a cross section of students so there is no stigma.

PTHV emphasizes the importance of offering home visits to all students and avoiding targeting those who may be struggling behaviorally and/or academically. Interviews with families indicated that some initially assumed that home visits were intended to check in on them, report them to Child Protective Services, or discuss their children's behavioral and/or academic problems. As one family member reported through a translator during a focus group:

> *At first our son was happy about the visit, but we were concerned that something was wrong, that he did something wrong, that there were behavior problems. And so we felt nervous and anxious about the visit.*

Research on school and family partnerships indicates that families of color and/or lower socioeconomic status disproportionately experience contact from schools focused on their child's misbehavior or poor academic performance (e.g., Esler, Godber, & Christenson, 2002). As a result, mistrust and frustration are common barriers between these families and their children's schools. By offering home visits to all families and students, PTHV avoids stigmatizing the families they visit. Further, by focusing on hopes and dreams, PTHV bypasses discussions about academics and behavior that often polarize families and schools and create a barrier that is difficult to overcome. In our interviews with PTHV participants, families and educators found it refreshing to focus the visit on a positive interaction with and about the child, regardless of his or her academic and behavioral performance at school. As one principal reported,

> *We have a school where the majority of our families are second language learners and the majority of our families live in poverty and*

school can be a scary place. Their experience in school might not have been positive, and so if we can get into the home and make it purely positive and supportive, it's just money in the bank for later on.

Another teacher underscored the importance of trying to visit all students, regardless of their backgrounds:

[Home visits] make me more conscious of what the needs are for each and every student. And it makes me understand how I can help the families and how I can involve more families in our school. And just be there more for our students, understand how we can help out our students.

Similarly, another teacher observed,

Because if you don't set that standard [of visiting ALL students], then you're going to have teachers that only want to visit kids with all A's, or only want to visit kids that are struggling and only want to talk about academics. And then it's not "let me see your family, let me meet you, let me hear what your life is like." It's "let me tell you all the things your kid's doing wrong, or let me tell you all the things your kid's doing right." And that's a different kind of visit.

The same teacher observed the pitfalls of targeting specific students for home visits:

I think less parents would be interested. I think ... you would lose all those kids in the middle. You would have the kids who have really interested parents who want you to visit their house, to tell them how great their kid is. And then you'd have all the parents of kids that are struggling want you to come to their house and explain to them why is their kid doing so poorly in school. But you would lose all the kids in the middle I think... I think that's what happens a lot of times, is you lose the kids in the middle when you focus on the high achievers and the low achievers, and that's what kind of an academic focus tends to make you do.

Core Practice #5: Traveling in pairs reduces anxiety and provides an opportunity to debrief.

The final key component of PTHV that relates to shifting mindsets is having teachers travel in pairs, which nearly all PTHV educators in our study did. In most interviews, the educators did not focus on how pairing up improved their physical safety, but rather how it impacted their psychological safety. Several educators observed that going in pairs, especially with more experienced home visiting partners, could help lessen the anxiety of "going into the unknown." The "veteran" home visitor would help to set up the visit with the family and guide the conversation, which provided a sense of safety. As one teacher explained, "I was really nervous, and I went with [veteran teacher] for my first one, and it was really comfortable going with her, because she had gone, so she kind of showed me the ropes." A principal reported, "One teacher's telling me she's so shy it just freaks her out. To go do that [home visit], but then she's got to pick somebody to go with her that's very extroverted because it's difficult for her." Research on situational triggers for implicit biases indicates that reducing stress, anxiety, and perceived threat is critical for reducing implicit biases and related discriminatory behavior. In one focus group with PTHV educators, they discussed policies about not traveling alone or at night for home visits and that some neighborhoods were "unsafe."

Our field scan of other home visit models uncovered resources for educators that were intended to improve their safety. In one home visit program in England, teachers were warned not to wear jewelry or carry valuables on home visits. Although well-intended as a means of protecting teachers' safety, research suggests that policies like these could undermine the relationship-building they are trying to promote. Such warnings imply that families are criminals, which can serve to reinforce unconscious cross-group biases and generate anxiety and fear and increase vigilance to threat. Focusing on the negative helps to reinforce stereotypes, for example, that low-income neighborhoods are dangerous, and reflects a deficit framework, in which individuals focus on what people lack versus what they have. Research indicates that reinforcing stereotypes and using a

deficit framework helps trigger and reinforce implicit biases and hinders the development of positive, cross-group relationships.

PTHV educators also talked about the value of traveling in pairs for debriefing about the visit. As one teacher observed,

> *We go together and we talk afterwards and say we need to give that support. For example, we went [on a home visit] with another teacher and we were saying that "this family needs this, this family needs that. How can we support them together?" Because both of us had the same family, so we gave [the family] the same support after that.*

From a different site, another teacher reported,

> *Teachers share with each other, it's a very natural thing. We don't formalize it, we used to share vignettes/show case a home visit. But [sharing] is so commonplace now I feel like it [home visits] comes up in conversations.*

Educators also discussed different ways in which they debriefed, both formal (e.g., faculty meetings) and informal (e.g., hallway) conversations:

> *In our staff meetings, or with administration, or with [NAME]. Here at the school she's the head of the home visits…or the hallway or when we visit… We [often debrief] in a very informal way. "How was the visit? Or "I have a sister, or siblings, I'm going to do the home visit, let's go it's a good opportunity."*

A principal at one of the sites also described how her school debriefed after home visits:

> *Oh yes, we have [debriefs] frequently and I tend to, you know, go and have one-off conversations with my teachers all the time about "Oh I heard you did three home visits last week," you know, "so what did you learn? What was your impression?" I proactively go after my teachers and find out what was the best thing about this visit. "What are the parts*

> *that made you uncomfortable? What are the parts that affirmed your belief in this kid?" And I really push them to give me some feedback.*

This principal also indicated that with the teachers who are newer to home visits, she checks in with them to make sure they focused on hopes and dreams and that the conversation didn't drift over to student performance and grades.

We found multiple purposes for debriefing in the home visit models we reviewed in our field scan. Many models focused their debriefs on what was learned about the student for instructional purposes. Yet for the purposes of building effective cross-group partnerships between schools and families, debriefing focused on awareness of cross-group biases is also important. Engaging in critical dialogue with colleagues, in an open, nonjudgmental fashion, has been shown to facilitate the awareness of biases and implementation of bias reduction strategies (e.g., Casey et al., 2012). Debriefing could also include journaling, where teachers reflect on their own biases and the effects they may have on others (e.g., Milner, 2003). As we note in our research review, reflective journaling has been shown to counteract implicit biases as well.

In Summary

By restructuring traditional family-educator interactions and "blurring the boundaries between classrooms and living rooms," home visits can positively influence academic outcomes and uncover valuable educational resources in students' homes (Johnson, 2014, p. 359). Incorporating strategies discussed in this section as part of the training and supports for home visits, and/or within the home visit itself, should help to increase the likelihood of positive mindset shifts brought about by the home visits. Appendix C, Table C1 shows some examples of how research on reducing implicit biases can be applied to home visits. Educators and program staff can use these suggestions as a starting place for developing their own interventions that suit the needs of their unique contexts.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section we summarize our key findings and put forth recommendations for strengthening the PTHV model to further support mindset shifts and build strong family and school partnerships to foster student success.

Our study of PTHV as a strategy for eliciting mindset shifts for educators and families involved a review of research on implicit biases, a field scan of other home visit programs, and interviews and focus groups with 175 PTHV participants in four school districts across the United States. These data provide a wealth of information about how biased mindsets about race, class, and culture can impact student outcomes. They also point to how the PTHV model aligns with research and where it could be strengthened for shifting biased mindsets and building effective school and family partnerships. We learned that implicit biases are part of being human: They are not a character flaw but a feature of the human brain that was designed for survival benefit. But implicit biases can be destructive. They bias information processing and decision-making, which can lead to discriminatory behaviors. At schools, implicit biases can have a devastating impact on students' success. The achievement gap can be at least partially explained by educators' implicit biases, which impact their expectations and behaviors toward students. These expectations and behaviors can in turn negatively impact students' expectations and behaviors and, ultimately, their performance and investment decisions about education and other areas of their lives.

PTHV supports mindset shifts: Our analyses of interviews with family members and educators indicated shifts in their assumptions about one another after home visits, which also led to changes in behaviors. However, some educators maintained deficit assumptions about families.

Families realized that one-on-one interactions with educators could be positive. Many shifted their perceptions of educators as distant authority figures to people with whom they could relate and described their children's teachers as a "friend" or "family member" after receiving home visits. As a result, families reported increased confidence in reaching out to educators and communicate about their students' needs.

Educators also reported shifting their perceptions about family members and students. Many recognized that previous deficit assumptions about families' were unfounded: All students did not live in chaotic or under-resourced homes, and while family academic involvement may look different from what they expected, this did not mean that families did not care. Educators also reported increased efforts to connect with families after home visits. They developed a nuanced understanding of students' home lives, which countered their assumptions about students' motivation or interest in school. However, some educators held on to deficit assumptions about families, even as they began to develop a nuanced understanding of students. These educators rationalized nonconforming student behaviors by focusing on families' shortcomings, such as lack of resources or parenting styles. Nevertheless, educators reported shifting their reactions to student behaviors as a result of their deeper understanding of students' home lives. Some reported this increased empathy had affected their disciplinary reactions to student behaviors. Additionally, improved understandings of their students helped educators tailor their instructional approach by incorporating students' interests.

PTHV is aligned with evidence-based strategies for reducing implicit bias: The PTHV model and its five core practices align well with research-supported strategies for reducing implicit biases and discriminatory behaviors.

Home visits break down traditional barriers to family and school partnerships by creating opportunities to meet, outside of school, and to get to know each other. Home visits are particularly powerful for individuation strategies that help

families and educators focus on the others' unique qualities and reduce the tendency to invoke group stereotypes. The core practice of making home visits voluntary and scheduled helps to reduce anxiety and stress about cross-group interactions between educators and families and builds trust and acceptance. Providing training and supports for educators (another core practice, along with compensation for visits outside of work hours) builds self-awareness of biased mindsets as well as motivation and skills to counteract biased mindsets. Focusing on hopes and dreams for the first visit, rather than on academics and/or student performance, is a particularly powerful core practice for decreasing implicit biases as it builds understanding and trust, reduces anxiety and stress, and fosters positive cross-group interactions. A key feature of this core practice is enabling individuation and the development of empathy for each other. It also builds partnerships around a shared goal, which is an effective way for reducing implicit biases and building positive cross-group interactions. The positive interactions lead to stronger partnerships between families and educators, enabling a shared focus on supporting student success. The PTHV core practice of making visits available to all students rather than targeting a subset avoids stigmatizing students and families and communicates a cultural belief that everyone is valued and important. Some families even reported a sense of acceptance by the school because educators were willing to come to their homes. And the core practice of traveling in pairs provides safety and support for each of the visiting educators, as well as an opportunity to debrief after the visit. Traveling in pairs reduces anxiety and stress about conducting the visit for those new to PTHV, and debriefing enables self-awareness of biased mindsets and may motivate educators to work to change them and any potentially discriminatory behaviors.

Recommendations for enhancing the PTHV model: Our study provides compelling data for recommendations that could strengthen the PTHV model for building effective family and school partnerships for student success.

From our study, it is clear that counteracting implicit biases is a necessary mechanism for

building successful cross-group relationships. Moreover, our review suggests that the PTHV model has many strong, research-supported features for addressing and countering implicit biases and for building positive school and family partnerships focused on the success of the student. The following recommendations are based on the literature review, field scan of other home visit models, and interviews and focus groups with PTHV participants. We focus on ways to strengthen the PTHV model for fostering successful school and family relationships, especially where race, culture, and class serve as barriers to those relationships.

1   **PTHV would be strengthened by incorporating strategies to intentionally target implicit biases.**

Our research review indicates that implicit biases are a critical mechanism underlying negative cross-group interactions and discriminatory behaviors. Because PTHV was designed to help schools and families build collaborative partnerships, incorporating research-supported strategies for shifting biased mindsets as part of the standard implementation should strengthen the model. In fact, we would suggest that these strategies become core practices or nonnegotiables of the model. Research indicates that relationships between schools and families can be difficult when the race, class, and/or culture of the teachers are different from that of the communities they serve (e.g., Gay, 2010; Johnson, 2014). Because PTHV is working in districts in which these conditions are often present, incorporating strategies intentionally designed to reduce implicit biases for educators and families should help to strengthen the partnerships PTHV was designed to develop.

As PTHV program staff acknowledged, shifting biased mindsets was not an intended outcome of the PTHV model when it was developed. However, PTHV training was instituted to attend to biased mindsets. But, from our focus groups and interviews, it appears that sites implement and attend to that aspect of the training differently. Because implicit biases are persistent and difficult to change, it may be difficult for PTHV to have a sustainable impact on mindset shifts if the model does not include consistent and ongoing efforts, using multiple strategies to make a sustainable shift. That may mean making the implicit bias

component a nonnegotiable of the PTHV model. In our literature review, we highlighted how strategies for building self-awareness and motivation to address implicit biases were an important first step. PTHV training includes some of these strategies; however, sites vary in terms of their emphasis on implicit biases as an integral part of the model. By making the shift of implicit biases a targeted outcome for PTHV, and incorporating research-based strategies to do so, the PTHV model should be more effective at building and supporting strong school and family relationships.

2 PTHV could be strengthened by opportunities for ongoing reflection by educators.

A key finding from our focus groups and interviews with PTHV participants is that although debriefing is part of the five core practices, teachers in general are not using post-visit debriefs to challenge race, class, and/or cultural assumptions about students and families. Nor are schools holding school-wide discussions about home visits as an opportunity to discuss assumptions about race, class, and culture. Although informal discussions with paired teachers after a home visit are useful, it would be helpful for schools to offer other opportunities for reflecting on the home visits, particularly as the visits relate to biased mindsets. Our field scan and literature review suggest that debriefing is a critical component of building self-awareness and motivation to address implicit biases and discriminatory behavior. We came across a variety of approaches for strengthening debriefing strategies. For example, offering time during department planning periods or educator mentoring sessions for critical discussions about attitudes and beliefs about race, class, and culture and how they impact teaching and learning in classrooms can be a useful strategy. Using vignettes (e.g., videos) or role playing can also be helpful for sparking discussions about biased mindsets. If educators would like to work individually, reflective journaling, which can be written, oral, or video recorded can be helpful. It is important to acknowledge the research that indicates discussions of race, class, culture and biased mindsets should occur in a safe environment, where people don't feel judged, and

where they understand that implicit biases are part of being human.

3 PTHV should consider providing more home visit supports to families.

From our interviews and focus groups, we learned that families were not always clear on the purpose of the PTHV home visits, and no training or supports were geared toward them. Yet our research review indicates that for successful cross-group interactions, both groups should be invested. Currently, families are invited to participate, but they often report they did not receive any information about the purpose of the visit. Many in our study indicated feeling nervous about the visit, assuming it was due to a problem, either with them or the student. Supports for families could go beyond involvement in the educator training to provide family perspective. Additional supports could include resources for educators curated by families, a family-specific training, and/or opportunities for families to debrief. Trainings could be structured like those for educators, in which information about implicit biases and their influence on discriminatory behaviors could be shared in a safe, supportive, and nonjudgmental environment. Debriefs about the home visits might involve family discussions or they could involve a mix of families and educators, again, provided the environment feels safe and nonjudgmental to participants.

4 PTHV could be enhanced by providing an intentional focus on asset framing.

Asset framing is an approach to cognitive debiasing that helps to counter biased information processing and decision-making that can lead to discriminatory behaviors. Research indicates that debiasing techniques are effective for counteracting the influence of implicit biases on behaviors toward members of the "outgroup" and they can help to shift mindsets. Asset framing can help individuals to nullify dominant stereotypes and reduce the tendency toward confirmation biases and fundamental attribution errors. There are a variety of resources online that could be shared with educators and families—such as the podcast with Trabian Shorters (see Table C1 in Appendix C)—that describe the framework and its

importance for debunking dominant stereotypes. Asset framing would be a useful additional "tool" in the PTHV set of strategies for building positive school and family relationships.

5 **PTHV should be part of a systems approach to decreasing implicit biases and fostering school and family collaborative partnerships.**

PTHV leverages multiple research-supported strategies that reduce implicit biases. However, to make a sustainable impact on the implicit biases of educators and families, PTHV should be one of multiple antibias interventions implemented by schools. Our literature review uncovered interventions such as critical dialogue, reflective journaling, cognitive debiasing techniques, role playing, perspective-taking, and many others, for reducing implicit biases and fostering cross-group relationships. Although PTHV could certainly accommodate these strategies, the more these strategies become the normative way of thinking and acting in schools and with families, the more of an impact they will have. In our literature review, one key finding was that developing policies and a school culture that help to reduce situational triggers for implicit biases and discriminatory behavior is a critical and sometimes overlooked means for accomplishing these outcomes. Implementing PTHV in schools that don't clearly connect how it fits into a larger set of cultural norms and policies aimed at eliminating disparities in the treatment of others may reduce the impact

of the home visits on building effective family and school partnerships. A systems approach, in which individual-, group-, and organization-level strategies are implemented synergistically can help to create and sustain change (Anderson & Anderson, 2010). PTHV could contribute to a systems approach focused on shifting biased mindsets by partnering with schools to identify how other interventions can support or be supported by the PTHV model. These partnerships might extend outside the school as well, for example with local social services.

In summary, the PTHV model appears to be an effective intervention for accomplishing the goal of fostering positive, cross-group interactions to build trusting, productive partnerships between families and schools to support student success.

Many of the features of PTHV are research-supported to effectively reduce implicit biases and discriminatory behaviors. With an explicit intention to leverage those features to create mindset shifts and overcome the traditional barriers to successful family and school partnerships, the PTHV model can be a powerful component of a larger set of policies focused on positive family-school partnerships designed to support students to succeed.

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Appendix A: PTHV History[1]

PARENT TEACHER HOME VISITS HISTORY

In 1998, parents from a low-income neighborhood in Sacramento, CA used community-organizing principles to develop a strategy intended to build trust and accountability between parents and teachers, interrupting a cycle of blaming each other for low student achievement.

Parent Teacher Home Visits (PTHV) are voluntary meetings between two equal partners with common goals, in a setting away from the institutional power of the school.

The model was refined with teacher and community allies, and a pilot project was created with the support of a unique collaboration between the local school district, Sacramento City Unified School district, the teachers' union, Sacramento City Teachers Association, and the community organizing group who originally galvanized the parents, Sacramento Area Congregations Together.

The project evolved into a non-profit and word of the program's success spread beyond Sacramento. The founding parents and teachers answered hundreds of requests to train communities like theirs, from Alaska to Florida, in rural, suburban and urban districts across the United States. The growing grassroots movement was supported with an annual conference, which continues to be peer-led and focused on best practices.

As the PTHV model was adapted and adopted by widely diverse communities, we evolved five non-negotiable core practices that, when followed, maintain the integrity and impact of this relational, capacity-building approach.

In 2013, we formed a national board of directors representative of the work across the country, including school district and teacher's union partners. This board created a 5-year strategic plan, 2015–2020, with goals for the expansion and deepening of the use of Parent Teacher Home Visits across the country.

PTHV Model

While the model is adapted to fit local needs in 20 states across the US, the following five core practices are consistent amongst PTHV implementers:

1. Visits are always voluntary for both educators and families, and arranged in advance.

2. Educators are compensated for their time outside of the school day.

3. No targeting – visit all or a cross section of families.

4. Focus of visit is relational, on hopes and dreams for the child, and mutual expectations between the teacher and family.

5. Educators go in pairs, and together, after the visit, reflect on their assumptions and how they will bring what they learned back to the classroom.

PTHV Mission Statement

PTHV increases student and school success by building and sustaining a national network of partners who effectively implement and advance our relationship-based home-visit model of family and teacher engagement in public schools across the United States.

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[1] This information is provided by PTHV for this report.

PTHV Vision Statement

In 3–5 years, because of PTHV, our model will be implemented with fidelity at scale, leading to increased academic and social success for all students whose families participate in home visits. Strong evidence of its outcomes will drive demand for the model, which will be known at the state and national levels as the best foundational practice in family engagement and an essential catalyst of school improvement efforts and increased student success.

PTHV Values Statement

We believe that to build a democratic society we need free quality public education for all, which can only be achieved when educators and families are collaborating together as equal, trusting partners. The academic, social and emotional development of all our students depends upon meaningful relational connections that are as important as any system or program. Our model of home visits is a cost effective and proven catalyst for student achievement, family engagement, teacher development, and school success.

Appendix B: Study Methodology

In December 2016, PTHV contracted with RTI International and Dr. Stephen Sheldon of Johns Hopkins University to conduct three studies that together form the national evaluation of PTHV. RTI is leading the first two studies on mindset shifts and implementation, while Dr. Sheldon is leading the third study on student outcomes. After an evaluation kick-off meeting with PTHV and the Flamboyan Foundation, a major contributor to the PTHV work and national evaluation, RTI formed an Evaluation Advisory Group (EAG). Made up of representatives from PTHV, Flamboyan, and each of the four study districts, the EAG meets virtually each quarter, providing feedback to the researchers on plans for the design and conduct of each study. The EAG also reviews interview and focus group protocols and draft study reports.

Study 1 relies on three main sources of data, described in turn below.

Literature Review

We reviewed research literature on the formation, maintenance, and change of implicit biases, prejudice, and discrimination, including literature on educators' beliefs about students and families. We started from psychology literature and extended into education and social justice. The review included resources recommended by EAG members. For this study, we reviewed over 50 research articles, book chapters, webinars, podcasts, and videos.

Field Scan

We conducted a field scan of 20 different home visit programs from education, health, and wellness, to identify how they function as an intervention for reducing implicit biases and ultimately, discriminatory behaviors. We reviewed home visit websites and social media resources, and for seven of the larger programs, we conducted phone interviews with staff members. The primary purpose of the field scan was to identify whether other home visit models use strategies for reducing implicit bias that PTHV does not currently use and which may be helpful to consider incorporating

into the PTHV model. Information obtained from the field scan was integrated into Section IV.

Site Visits to Study Schools

For all three studies in the national evaluation, including this one, we are focused on four large districts that have participated in PTHV for at least 5 years. Three study schools within each district were selected by the district in collaboration with PTHV, Flamboyan, and RTI. RTI developed the following parameters for school selection:

- Mix of elementary, middle, and high schools
- Mix of schools that have been doing PTHV for a while, and those that started more recently
- Mix of schools with a range of leadership involvement
- Mix of schools with a range of parental involvement/support
- Mix of charter and public schools, if appropriate
- Diversity of demographics for the families, students, and educators

In spring 2017, we conducted site visits to 11 of the 12 study schools. A planned visit to one school was postponed twice due to the needs of the school and ultimately was cancelled due to study timelines.

In preparation for the visit, RTI or Flamboyan met with the principal via phone or in person to discuss data collection plans for the site visits. Principals, or their designee, were asked to invite teachers and other school staff who conduct site visits, such as counselors and paraprofessionals, to focus groups, which were typically held during lunch or directly after school on the site visit day. Principals were also asked to recruit parents, guardians, and other adult family members who had participated in PTHV to a separate focus group to be held on the site visit day, either directly after school started, after school, or in the evening. In planning for the site visit, RTI worked with PTHV, Flamboyan, and the district to provide translation for families in schools where it was needed. RTI asked that focus group sizes be kept to 10 or fewer participants. To accommodate those who could not attend the scheduled focus group sessions, RTI conducted

one-on-one interviews with educators and family members. RTI also interviewed the principal of each school. The numbers of Study 1 participants are shown in table B1.

Each site visit was conducted by an RTI researcher; a second RTI researcher joined some interviews via phone and took notes. Focus groups and interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. At the start of each interview and focus group, the researcher explained the purpose of the site visit and noted that study participation was voluntary and that data would be aggregated so no participant could be identified. Participants signed consent forms prior to participation. We used a semistructured protocol to ask a series of questions about the participants' experience with PTHV, including whether and how their attitudes and beliefs about students' families (during the teacher focus group) or educators (during the family focus group) had changed as a result of PTHV. They were also asked about changes in behaviors following the home visit (e.g., other interactions with the school, attending school events, adjusting curriculum or disciplinary practices).

After Study 1 site visits were completed, we developed a coding structure using NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software program, to code the written transcripts from the interviews and focus groups. The coding structure was informed by the literature review and preliminary debriefing meetings of the RTI study team. Two RTI researchers coded the transcripts. The RTI study team met throughout the coding process to discuss emerging findings and coding challenges and to reach a consensus about how to address the coding challenges.

It is important to note the limitations of the study for addressing the research questions. Participation in the interviews and focus groups was voluntary versus randomly sampled. Therefore it is possible we obtained data from a biased sample, for example, only those with strong opinions about PTHV, or only those who were invested in the program. Families and teachers who could not participate during the offered focus group times may be systematically different than those who could. Additionally, some families for whom English is a second language may not have been aware of the focus groups or may have been reluctant to participate.

Table B1: Number of Participants in Study 1 Interviews and Focus Groups

	Principals (Interviews)	Teachers, Counselors, Paraprofessionals and Other School Staff (Focus Groups and Interviews)	Parents, Guardians, and other Adult Family Members (Focus Groups and Interviews)
District A	3	21	11
District B	3	27	19
District C	3	23	21
District D	2	25	17
Total	11	96	68

Appendix C: Implict Bias Interventions

This table presents some examples of how research on reducing implicit biases can be applied to home visits. Educators and program staff can use these suggestions as a starting place for developing their own interventions that suit the needs of their unique contexts.

Table C1. Application of research to home visits

Type of Intervention	Description of Intervention	Application to Home Visits
Self-Awareness	**Implicit Association Test:** Method of identifying biases by measuring reaction time for making associations between words or phrases and photos of individuals **Increasing Motivation:** One way is to provide evidence of discriminatory practices as well as evidence for how biases contribute to discriminatory behaviors. For practitioners, certain conditions must be in place: 1. An appeal to the desire of practitioners to provide the best possible care without a focus on external pressures 2. Public acknowledgement that implicit biases are not character flaws but are inherent in the way humans process information 3. Safe and supportive nonjudgmental environment for discussion **Intentional strategies for the evaluation of new information and decision-making:** 1. Deliberative (vs. intuitive) thinking 2. Cloaking exercises (i.e., checking decisions for bias by imagining a stigmatized group member as if he/she belonged to a nonstigmatized group) 3. Organizational reviews of decisions/behaviors to check for bias 4. Creation of a culture that holds egalitarian beliefs versus adhering to stereotypes (i.e., norm setting) 5. Provision of meaningful, nonthreatening feedback on demonstrated biases 6. Provision of concrete suggestions and recognition for those who display egalitarian behaviors as positive reinforcement 7. Increased exposure to counterstereotypes **Self-Reflection:** Important to reflect on how implicit biases and lack of exposure to diverse	**Incorporate the Implicit Association Test into educator or family training** to increase self-awareness. Implement in conditions outlined for **Increasing Motivation** to create a safe environment for exploration and understanding. Given the sensitivity of the topic of implicit biases and discriminatory behaviors, home visit models should ensure that the three conditions to the left are fostered during any training or supports focused on discussions of implicit biases or mindset shifts. Forcing discussions and not setting up conditions where people feel safe has a high probability of backfiring. **Evaluating information processing** Resources such as the Casey et al. (2012) report highlight intentional ways for being aware of and controlling cognitive biases (see to the left). These activities can be built into school culture through faculty meetings, focused group discussions, and monitoring of progress in reducing biased decision-making and treatment of families or students. Holding each other accountable in a supportive, nonjudgmental environment is important for success. Build **self-reflection** activities (e.g., those to the left) intentionally into collaborative learning teams, mentoring (e.g., Master Teacher with more junior teacher), and deliberative debriefing sessions after home visits. Awareness of implicit biases and their impact on others helps increase motivation to counteract the biases. Webinars, podcasts, and websites can serve as useful resources to support that awareness and motivation. For example, https://perception.org/research/implicit-bias/ or https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/ may be useful for information about implicit biases; these websites provide links to further

Type of Intervention	Description of Intervention	Application to Home Visits
	populations can perpetuate a deficit framework of teaching, two strategies include: 1. Critically engaged dialogue is a way of allowing teachers to openly discuss the ways in which they differ from their students while being sensitive and alert to how their position and practices serve to replicate or intervene with current power differentials. 2. Race reflective journaling provides a private space for reflection and may be more appropriate for those who are not yet comfortable discussing race.	resources. Additionally Goff (2016) and Galef (2017) videos, cited in the references, are informative.
Individuation	**Exposure to exemplars that contradict dominant stereotypes:** Highlighting counterstereotypical exemplars of members of prejudiced groups reduces automatic preferences for certain groups over others **Perspective taking:** The act of trying to see a situation through another's perspective allows an individual to take into account situational factors and extend their self-concept to include members of the outgroup **Empathic mindset and response:** Encouraging teachers to use empathy when assessing student behavior, strategies include: 1. Reading an article with messaging about how good teacher-student relationships help students learn self-control 2. Teacher modules that discuss developmental reasons for why students sometimes misbehave and how positive relationships can help foster growth 3. Encouraging teachers to understand and value students' experiences and negative feelings that can cause misbehavior **Discussing shared experiences and determining commonalities:** This generates a feeling of connectedness that helps to break down the feeling that members of the outgroup are inherently different. Finding common ground also helps break automatic associations between an individual and categorization based on their most salient features **Asset framing:** Defined as "defining people by their aspirations and contributions then acknowledging the challenges—which extend beyond them—and investing in them for their	Home visits can use multiple strategies to promote individuation—viewing cross-group members as unique individuals with their own strengths, hopes, and dreams. Strategies listed to the left can be used with families and educators and incorporated into home visit training sessions. To be effective, training sessions should be ongoing (vs. a single workshop). Smaller meetings focused on these activities, for example, short sessions after school for families or during teachers' regular professional development times. Many of these strategies can be supported by listening to podcasts or watching videos, such as Trabian Shorters's podcast on asset framing (found at https://ssir.org/podcasts/entry/opportunities_for_a_fresh_start_on_race) and Dr. Philip Goff's webinar on classroom bias (found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gAnSBsI965M). Schools could provide the links to families and educators. **Discussing shared experiences** seems to already be a focus of PTHV home visits. Having family members participate in home visit training with teachers to share their perspectives would supplement the visits. **Asset framing** has to be intentional. Focusing on this mindset in training and providing examples is important for successful mindset shifts. Resources such as Trabian Shorters's podcast (see link above) are useful for explaining asset framing and its importance.

Type of Intervention	Description of Intervention	Application to Home Visits
	continued benefit to society." This is achieved by 1. reframing descriptions of individuals that are based on stereotyped views; and 2. looking at all individuals as potentials for investment and contribution to society.	
Affect	**Cross-Race friendships:** Those who have been socialized with members of other groups show less implicit bias. Positive feelings felt from cross-race friendships are extended to other members of that race. **Awareness of the effects of stress:** Stress serves as a trigger for implicit bias and stereotyping while negative contact with members of the outgroup serves to reinforce stereotypic assumptions about them. Awareness of a situation being stressful can help a motivated individual take a step back and reframe that situation to not trigger biases. **Stress reduction techniques include:** 1. Mindfulness is a process of focusing on the present moment and focusing on one's thoughts and feelings 2. Meditation practices like taking a few deep breaths can help recenter and reapproach a stressful situation **Creating opportunities for positive intergroup contact:** Positive feelings towards members of the outgroup effect the way new information is filtered. It is another mechanism for reducing automatic associations and for extending the self-concept to include others. Certain conditions to facilitate positive contact are: 1. Equal footing among members 2. Common goals 3. Support from authority 4. Cooperation 5. Personal connection **Interactive facilitated discussions:** Structured discussions with points of contact that focus on getting to know someone on a personal individualized level can be a mechanism for facilitating the development of positive affect towards members of different groups.	Facilitating **positive cross-group partnerships** between schools and families through the home visits is a helpful way for building **cross-race friendships**. Encouraging (but not forcing) friendships among students and making them a school culture norm is helpful as well. **Stress reduction** should be an intentional focus of home visit programs. Incorporating strategies to the left into training and ongoing educator support can occur prior to the visit to help reduce stress and anxiety. Clearly informing families about the visits and their purpose is critical for reducing stress prior to the visit as well. Focusing home visits on shared experiences, hopes, and dreams, helps to increase understanding and empathy and thus **positive intergroup contact.** Meeting off campus helps to create equal footing. The emphasis on teachers listening versus "telling" also helps. School leaders regularly communicating support for school/family partnerships and creating a school culture of mutual respect is critical. **Interactive, facilitated discussions** regarding cross-group partnerships and implicit biases can be an intentional part of training and home visit debriefs. Facilitating these discussions with family members, in a place that is comfortable for them, for example, at the public library, would also be helpful.

Type of Intervention	Description of Intervention	Application to Home Visits
Collaborative Relationships	**Cooperative learning and partnership building:** When there is a basis for shared experiences and commonalities among members of different groups, activities that foster cooperation and partnership can strengthen these bonds and continue providing contradictions to learned automatic associations. **Working actively together to reach a common goal:** When conversations are structured around an attainable goal shared by individuals of different groups, stereotypic associations are put aside when sharing responsibility to reach the desired goal. A mechanism for this is: 1. Intentionally structuring intergroup contact around "superordinate" goals. Therefore, each point of contact requires some sort of collaboration. 2. Framing interactions as one amongst "collaborating equals" expands the view of who is included in the ingroup.	Cooperative learning and partnership building can be implemented for educators and families as well as students. Identifying a shared goal (e.g., a learning task for students) and fostering collaboration focused on accomplishing the goal is critical. Home visits focused on acknowledging the common goal of student success are a great strategy for building partnerships among the adults.