RELATIONAL RECONCILIATION: SOCIALIZING OTHERS ACROSS DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES

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In demographically diverse organizations, employees charged with socializing others—socialization agents—must navigate a deep tension between the organization's needs to integrate individuals into a collective and individuals' needs for recognition of their unique identities. Through a qualitative study of employees in an urban charter high school where race and class inequalities are salient, we find that socialization agents experience this tension as identity threatening. We develop a theoretical model of relational reconciliation that traces how agents engage with this identity threat in an ongoing, stumbling process. Through relational reconciliation, agents come to redefine their selves in relation to their "socializees," which enables them to engage in elaborated socialization practices that aim to meet the needs of both the organization and the socializee. Our work repositions socialization agents as active parties in socialization, explores the tensions of socializing members of marginalized groups into a dominant culture, and reveals the importance of engaging with one's own identities to reconcile these tensions.

Many social sector organizations aim to reduce societal race and class disparities by encouraging members of marginalized or underrepresented groups to transform themselves in ways that will permit them socioeconomic mobility. For example, settlement agencies help refugees "become American" by facilitating their access to language training, employment, and friendships in local communities

(Mott, 2010). Organizations such as the Posse Foundation and Teach for America prepare racial-ethnic minority and lower-income students to navigate largely White or upper-class educational and professional environments (Jones & Were, 2008; Labaree, 2010). The work of these organizations centers on "socialization" of the people they aim to serve, or a "process by which individuals prepare for participation in the society in which they live" (Cogswell, 1968: 418).

A common tension faced in socialization processes, in both organizations and society more generally, lies between the collective's needs to assimilate individuals and those individuals' needs for recognition of their unique identities (e.g., Cable, Gino, & Staats, 2013; Covaleski, Dirsmith, Heian, & Samuel, 1998; Grusec & Hastings, 2014). A host of research across disciplinary bounds suggests these tensions might be especially acute in diverse contexts. Indeed, members of underrepresented or marginalized groups, such as racial minorities and lower-socioeconomic classes, often struggle with being socialized into the collective culture, which is frequently defined in relation to the experiences of its higher-status groups (e.g., Whites, middle-class people, etc.) (Baxter & Britton, 2001; Friedman, 2014; Tyson, Darity, & Castellino, 2005).

In organizational research, existing studies of incomplete or variable socialization outcomes have

focused on assessing particular tactics' effectiveness (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Jones, 1986; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), or on examining the attitudes and engagement of those being socialized (Ashforth, Sluss, & Saks, 2007; Bauer & Green, 1994; Michel, 2011). How "socialization agents"—the individuals who are tasked with integrating others into the collective—shape the outcomes of socialization processes remains poorly understood (Ashford & Nurmohamed, 2012; Saks & Gruman, 2012). Yet, these individuals are crucial to socialization: positioned at the interface of the organization and the "socializee," they are responsible for implementing the organizations' socialization tactics while simultaneously meeting socializees' unique needs. In diverse contexts, socialization agents' work may be particularly complex as they are likely to be tasked with bringing members of marginalized social groups into a collective in which the norms, values, and practices mirror those of its higher-status social groups.

To build theory on how socialization agents in diverse work contexts navigate tensions between their organization's expectations that they assimilate all members into the collective and the unique needs of those they socialize, we conducted a qualitative, inductive study of tutors working in a charter high school. Educational institutions are important socialization arenas in that they are sites in which students learn to take on new identities (Petriglieri & Petriglieri, 2010; Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006). Schools in particular operate as key "gateway contexts," in which students are socialized into taking on the identity of the dominant social culture; students' success at taking on this identity in turn facilitates their social mobility over their life course (Jack, 2016; Pauker, Apfelbaum, & Spitzer, 2015; Stephens, Markus, & Phillips, 2014). Charter schools are a fast-spreading form of educational organizations that explicitly focus on socializing students from marginalized backgrounds (Jha & Beckman, 2017; Quinn, Oelberger, & Meyerson, 2016). Thus, in many charter schools, as in the one we studied, students are largely ethnic and racial minorities and from lower-income families, while educators are typically White, from upper- and middle-class families, and elite-college graduates (Milner & Lomotey, 2014).

We develop a model of "relational reconciliation," which describes the process through which socialization agents navigate the tension between the organization and socializees when socializing across demographic divides. Our model first reveals how competing demands from the organization and the socializee trigger identity threat for socialization agents. We unpack the components of relational reconciliation, describing how agents engaged in a typically stumbling series of interpersonal interactions that reshaped their self-definitions. Last, we describe how relational reconciliation enabled "elaborated socialization": socialization practices that aimed to respond to both the organization's and the socializees' demands. By placing socialization agents at the center of the socialization process, and examining their experiences in a demographically diverse context, our model offers new directions for scholarship on socialization, identity, and diversity, as well as insights for employees and organizations that are engaged in socializing members of marginalized groups with the intent of reducing demographic inequalities.

SOCIALIZATION IN DIVERSE WORK CONTEXTS

Bringing Socialization Agents to the Fore

Socialization is critical to people's integration into groups, organizations, as well as society more broadly (Ashford & Nurmohamed, 2012; Grusec & Hastings, 2014). Through socialization, people learn who they should be, what they ought to care about, and how they relate to the greater whole; in these ways, socialization transmits culture, norms, and values to new members of collectivities. At the heart of socialization is identity transformation: through socialization, members are offered a new identity, or self-definition (Stets & Burke, 2000), and are encouraged to shed others (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002).

People are socialized into different collectivities over their lives, including family (Grusec, 2011), educational institutions (Holland, 2012), national cultures (Berry, 2015), organizations (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), and work roles (Ibarra, 1999). These socialization processes are not independent. Norms and behaviors learned in the family influence integration into schools (Calarco, 2014) and carry over into other social arenas, such as health care (Lareau, 2011) and employment (Barling, Kelloway, & Bremermann, 1991). The socialization that children receive in school shapes both their experiences in school and, later, their ability to navigate post-secondary educational contexts (Jack, 2016). Thus, socialization both molds people into a given social space and offers a pathway to a possible future self.

Scholarship on how collectives socialize individuals has largely examined socialization tactics, which

can be categorized as "institutionalized" or "individualized" (Cogswell, 1968; Jones, 1986; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Institutionalized tactics, such as separated training programs and clear discipline, aim to instill uniform identities through highly prescribed practices delivered to a group of new entrants by experienced members (Covaleski et al., 1998; Klein & Weaver, 2000). Individualized (or informal) tactics, such as peer pressure and learning through trial and error, aim to instill more heterogeneous identities through unique experiences that unfold without separating the socializee from experienced members (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Cable, et al., 2013; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). The socialization literature finds these different tactics are mostly effective in helping people integrate into the collective (e.g., Grusec, 2011; Holland, 2012; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). For example, dining rituals at the elite Cambridge University helped to transform students' identities and resulted in "an actual shift in participants' social standing" after college (Dacin, Munir, & Tracey, 2010: 1394).

Scholarship on how socializees join the collective has mostly examined how individuals' own attitudes and behaviors shape their responses, which can range from proactive engagement to resistance (Ashford & Black, 1996; Covaleski et al., 1998). In demographically diverse contexts, socializees with marginalized backgrounds may face particular challenges, because taking on the proffered identity can require (implicitly or explicitly) denying treasured parts of themselves. For instance, immigrants sometimes fear that integrating into new national cultures may compromise their cultural identities and their group's survival into the future as a distinct entity (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Taylor, 1994). Students from lower-income families and racial minority groups often have trouble integrating into middle-class schools (Holland, 2012; Shalaby, 2017) because the schools' dominant cultural norms often conflict with their own closely held values (Stephens, Markus, & Phillips, 2014), and the schools often encourage denial of obvious race and class differences (Pauker et al., 2015). In workplaces, socializees with marginalized backgrounds are also likely to experience difficulties, both with institutionalized socialization tactics (Jackson, Stone, & Alvarez, 1992), and with more individualized tactics (Ibarra, 1993; Thomas, 1993).

Socialization agents, the "coworkers, supervisors, subordinates, clients, and/or customers" of socializees, act as bridges between the collective and socializees, and therefore play a central role in helping individuals integrate into the collective (Saks & Gruman, 2012:

285). However, scant attention has been paid to how socialization agents do or experience doing their work. Rather, socialization research generally tends to minimize agents' activities and experiences, and portrays them simply as passive transmitters of socialization tactics (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Ashford & Nurmohamed, 2012). As a result, "we do not know very much about what socialization agents actually do or should do" (Saks & Gruman, 2012: 42).

As socialization agents occupy a position between the organization and the socializee, agents' experience of their role is likely to be at least partially determined by their own relationship to the organization's needs and goals. Research on organizational members in authority roles suggests that supervisors and managers, for example, who must manage performance, be role models, and enforce organizational standards, may not simply transmit the organization's desired values to their subordinates (Bauer & Green, 1998; Butterfield, Trevino, & Ball, 1996; Nicholson, 1984). Rather, these individuals engage or disengage with their authority roles and enforce rules based on their own and the other party's personal characteristics (Butterfield et al., 1996; Kahn & Kram, 1994; Margolis & Molinsky, 2008). Building on these insights, socialization agents are unlikely to passively transmit given practices: their experiences and actions are likely to be more complex.

Socializing across Difference

Socialization agents' experiences are also likely to be determined by their relationship to the socializee. In diverse contexts, this relationship is likely to be complicated because workplaces are often demographically divided (i.e., organizational role hierarchies and societal group hierarchies often overlap [Alderfer & Smith, 1982]). Thus, socialization agents are likely to be tasked with representing collectives that reflect the norms and values associated with higher-status social groups in society (and often also belong to those groups), while their socializees often represent more marginalized groups in society. Research on intergroup interactions offers some starting points for understanding how agents who represent higher-status groups than their socializees may experience integrating socializees from marginalized groups.

Scholarship on intergroup interactions suggests that socialization agents may find socializing across demographic differences, such as race and class, to be fraught with tension. In interracial interactions, demographic identities are likely to be noticed by members of both lower- and higher-status groups (Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006). Cross-race

interactions tend to foster feelings of intergroup anxiety and identity threat (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Richeson & Trawalter, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). High-status group members often fear appearing prejudiced (Frantz, Cuddy, Burnett, Ray, & Hart, 2004). Moreover, to avoid appearing prejudiced, Whites aim to be seen as more moral than competent (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010) and may avoid discussing race even in race-relevant situations (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008).

Social class also shapes interactions at work (Côté, 2011). Cross-class interactions are likely to produce anxiety and identity threat (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). For example, interactions across social class divides can be shrouded in feelings of mutual mistrust, amplifying the distance between individuals (Fiske, Moya, Russell, & Bearns, 2012). A particular concern for relatively higher-class individuals is discomfort with their privilege and denial of such privilege because it threatens their beliefs about the validity and earned nature of their status (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Indeed, recent work has documented the difficulty and discomfort that wealthy individuals experience when bridging class differences even when their explicit goal is to create more equality (Scully, Rothenberg, Beaton, & Tang, 2017).

While research suggests that high-status individuals can experience social identity threat and respond defensively in cross-race and cross-class interactions (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Knowles, Lowery, Chow, & Unzueta, 2014; Shelton & Richeson, 2005), under certain conditions, interpersonal approach behaviors can help foster closer, more positive relationships between demographically dissimilar people. For example, greater contact, identifying similarities and shared identities, and practicing self-disclosure can all result in closer relationships (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Dovidio, Gaertner, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993; Miller, 2002). However, interpersonal approaches can sometimes backfire. In workplaces, identifying similarities and practicing self-disclosure may sometimes sharpen identity group differences, creating distance between demographically dissimilar colleagues, while some amount of withholding can result in closer intergroup relationships (Dumas, Phillips, & Rothbard, 2013; Phillips, Rothbard, & Dumas, 2009). Building on these insights, it seems likely that socialization agents may not be able to easily socialize members of marginalized groups.

In sum, the above literature suggests that agents will face considerable challenges meeting the needs of both the organization and socializees, particularly in demographically diverse contexts. However, we know little about how agents experience and navigate this tension, nor, crucially, how it shapes their actual work of socializing members of marginalized groups. To better understand the nature of these challenges and build theory about how agents' experiences shape their work, we studied educators with largely high-status race and class backgrounds socializing individuals with more marginalized backgrounds in a charter school.

METHOD

We used a qualitative, theory-building approach, which is appropriate given our interest in a phenomenon that is poorly understood (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). Our analysis focused largely on semi-structured interviews with 52 tutors in the school. We also gathered interviews with administrators, observations of employee training sessions, and internal documents relevant to the organization's culture and socialization processes.

Context: An Urban Charter High School

American society is demarcated by race and class. On average, African Americans and Hispanic Americans face significant disadvantages in education, employment, health, income, and wealth compared to White Americans (Bloome, 2014; Wilson, 2012). Race and class divisions are partially perpetuated through the education system: schools largely attended by economically marginalized African Americans and Hispanic Americans tend to be poorly funded and provide low-quality education (National Equity Atlas, 2016). Charter schools—independent yet publicly funded schools—have emerged as one potential tool for reducing these disparities. Unlike traditional public schools, run by local and state governments, charter schools are created and managed by educational management organizations, community members, and groups of parents (Quinn et al., 2016). Charter schools thus enjoy autonomy regarding their mission, teaching philosophy, and practices. Many urban charter schools are chiefly run by White, middle- and upper-class professionals, and serve mainly racial minority and lower-class students (Whitman, 2008).

We studied an urban charter high school in a northeastern U.S. city. We refer to the school as "Domino" (a pseudonym). Domino opened in 2001 and enrolled about 500 students annually. Students were selected for admission through public lottery. Over 95% of Domino students were racial-ethnic minorities and more than three-quarters were from low-income families; these statistics mirror those of the city's public

school demographics. Administrators were at the top of the school's formal hierarchy, followed by teachers and then tutors (the focus of our study). Administrators and teachers had worked at the school for several years. Tutors were hired for one-year positions; about a quarter continued for a second year or joined the school's teaching and administrative staff. Tutors worked closely with three to six students in small groups, assisted classroom teachers, ran extra-curricular programs (e.g., athletics), and communicated with parents.

Domino aimed to transform its students through a "No Excuses" teaching philosophy. This philosophy, followed at many charter schools, centers on high behavioral and academic standards and aims to teach students to behave in ways consistent with middle-class values and norms (Golann, 2015). As one scholar has noted, "It's undeniable that these schools aim to change the lifestyles of those who attend them. They teach inner-city teenagers to embrace middle-class values, to aspire to college, to behave properly, and to reject the culture of the street" (Whitman, 2008: xiii). The No Excuses philosophy requires strict application: these schools expect that "children, without exception, should demonstrate 100% compliance 100% of the time … there are no excuses for noncompliance" (Goodman, 2013: 90). Children, however, are not always perfectly compliant, and No Excuses schools rely on a formal system to socialize the students, including rewards and punishments, as well as the constant promotion of middle-class norms and values (Golann, 2015). While these schools thus do aim to inculcate middle-class aspirations in their students (e.g., college attendance), many of the socialization practices used in these schools (e.g., expectations of obedience, harsh punishments for disobedience) diverge from perceived White, middle-class norms, which emphasize expectations such as asking questions and negotiating with authority figures (Fiske & Markus, 2012; Lareau, 2011; Stephens et al., 2014).

The No Excuses philosophy and approach is hotly contested. For dissenters, this philosophy risks perpetuating inequality by imposing White, middle-class norms on largely poor, racial-ethnic minority children, teaching them to obey authority through oppressive, compliance-based regimes (Lack, 2009), and criminalizing economically marginalized racial-ethnic minority children's behavior at a young age (Losen, Keith, Hodson, & Martinez, 2016). For proponents, No Excuses schools address inequality by providing poor, racial-ethnic minority children a high-quality education and the cultural capital necessary for social and economic mobility (Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2004).

Data Collection

We collected the data following widely used inductive research techniques (Charmaz, 2006; Locke, 2001), analyzing our data as we gathered it. We began our study with a general set of research questions focused on how organizational cultures place pressure on employees' identities. We chose our site and sample purposefully—that is, a priori (Charmaz, 2006)—knowing that, as a No Excuses school, Domino was likely to be a diverse context with a strong culture and that demographic identities were likely to be salient for its employees.

We first gathered publicly available materials, such as information on the history and founding of Domino, its mission and philosophy, and news articles about the school. We read books, articles, and reports on charter schools, which helped us situate the school in a larger context. We then gathered extensive internal documentation, including training manuals, information on school policies, and job descriptions. We attended and took detailed field notes at two retreats for the school's leadership, faculty, and staff. These observations, combined with the documents we gathered, sensitized us to Domino's culture, expectations, and practices, the salience of demographic identities for employees, and informed our interview guide.

Following an initial set of interviews with administrators and tutors, we wrote memos and held discussions within the author team about our emerging insights. Through this process, we realized that, while the school had developed a system of clear socialization practices for tutors to implement, many of the tutors were struggling to apply it. This struggle seemed to be related to their awareness of their own and their students' race and class identities. At this point, we refocused the study on understanding tutors' experiences of the intersection between their demographic identities and socializing others. These refined research interests provided important theoretical guidance for our methodological choices (Locke, 2001). For example, we revised our interview guide to focus more explicitly on social identities and we observed four days of tutor training in order to deepen our understanding of the school's expected socialization practices. We also returned to administrators, re-interviewing them with a focus on the school's socialization practices. We discuss the interviews in greater detail below.

Interview participants. Data for this study came primarily from semi-structured interviews with 58 individuals—six administrators and 52 tutors. We

interviewed and met with the school administrators several times over a three-year period. Our interviews focused on the administrators' own careers, the organization's objectives and history, and the specific socialization practices expected at the school. We took copious field notes during and immediately following these interviews and meetings.

We recruited tutors via email, inviting them to participate in a voluntary, confidential interview for the study, which we described as focused on their daily experiences and work practices. We offered tutors $50 as consideration for their time. We interviewed two separate cohorts of tutors. Thirty out of 40 tutors in the first cohort and 22 out of 30 tutors in the second cohort agreed to participate in the study.

Interview protocol. Interviews with tutors lasted between 45 minutes and an hour. All interviews were conducted off-site, primarily in coffee shops. We asked participants if we could record the interviews; all consented. Our semi-structured interview guide covered several topics, including why the individual had come to work at Domino, their experiences of working with students, and their future plans. We anchored the interviews in questions about the details of their work (e.g., "Tell me about a time you did something with a student that was hard for you"), so as to elicit specific stories with "concrete descriptions" that could inform our understanding of how tutors did their work (Weiss, 1994: 66). Consistent with qualitative interviewing practices, we permitted tutors to "talk about what the respondent wants to talk about, so long as it is anywhere near the topic of the study" (Weiss, 1994: 48–49). Doing so gave us insight into what was meaningful and important to them (Lamont & Swidler, 2014; Spradley, 1979). As noted, the interview guide evolved as we came to better understand the field context and refined our research questions (see Appendix A for the final interview protocol).

Demographics. At the end of the interview, tutors completed a demographic supplement about their race and ethnicity, class background, and future plans. We asked tutors to describe their racial and ethnic identities themselves; this is a commonly used identity measure that captures self-categorization (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). We gathered information on social class by asking about parents' jobs and levels of education. While there are many measures of social class used in contemporary research (see Côté, 2011, for a review), we chose these as family class background is known to have a persistent influence on individuals' experiences into adulthood (e.g., Martin, Côté, &

Woodruff, 2016).[1] However, in interviews, we also asked about tutors' own high school experiences. In recounting these experiences, tutors tended to give more information about their family class background, often volunteering self-categorizations (e.g., "We were all rich kids from the 'burbs"). As we note below, we used these subjective class experiences and information on class mobility as part of our analysis.

Table 1 reports the demographics of our study's participants. Of the 52 tutors, 19 were men, and 33 were women. Forty identified as White and 12 as a member of another racial group. Forty-six had middle- or upper-class backgrounds. Tutors ranged in age from 22 to 29 years old, and had mostly attended private, elite colleges; specifically, 48 of the tutors attended private colleges and four attended public. Of the 48, 42 attended schools ranked in the top 100 national or top 50 liberal arts colleges (e.g., Williams, Princeton). Nearly all aimed to pursue a profession focused on serving others: many intended to stay in education (28 of the 52), and, for them, this represented a first job in the profession. Of these, not many intended to remain at this particular school, even if they intended to continue in charter school education more broadly. Tutors who intended to enter other occupations (such as medicine or psychology) mostly regarded working at the charter school as a "gap" year, or as an opportunity to explore career interests before attending graduate school.

Data Analysis

Although our analysis was iterative, we describe it here as a series of steps. First, each author read all interview transcripts. We then discussed and compared themes in the data relevant to our research questions, devised an initial coding scheme and each independently coded a subset of the interviews. This coding scheme focused on tutors' struggle with

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[1] We used three categories for social class: working, middle, and upper class. Our categorization combined the highest degree held by either parent and type of job. For example, we categorized individuals as "working class" if neither parent had a college degree and held low-income jobs such as being an Emergency Medical Technician or an artist. We categorized individuals as "middle class" if at least one parent had a college degree or held middle-income jobs, such as teachers, caseworkers, or librarian. Finally, we categorized individuals as "upper class" if at least one parent had a graduate degree (e.g., JD) and/or were in very well-remunerated jobs (e.g., bankers).

TABLE 1
Sample Demographics

Race and Gender	Social Class			Total
	Working	Middle	Upper	
White men	2	1	11	14
White women	1	6	19	26
Racial minority men	1	2	2	5
Racial minority women	2	1	4	7
Total	6	10	36	52

socialization practices, their awareness of social identities, and their relationships to students. In this stage, we examined the data at different levels and units of analysis. For instance, we coded tutor-student interactions and tutors' experience of the administration's demands. Ultimately, we focused our analysis on the tutor as situated between the administration and the students.

Through iterations between coding, comparisons across participants, and returns to relevant literature (e.g., managing social identities at work; Roberts, 2005), we refined our codes and moved toward a more focused coding scheme (Charmaz, 2006). This process involved abandoning some codes, collapsing similar codes together, and identifying more complex variations on others. For example, we initially categorized tutors as either implementing or deviating from the expected socialization practices. Through subsequent engagement with the data, we found that many tutors created personalized practices.

We also conducted case-comparisons of codes across race and class dimensions to understand whether and how tutors' experiences of their work varied systematically by social identity group. Most participants were from both higher-status racial or ethnic (i.e., White) and class (i.e., middle and upper) groups ($n = 37$) within the study's U.S.-based context. Of the study's 12 racial or ethnic minority participants, nine were from higher-status class backgrounds and three from working-class backgrounds. Three White participants were from working-class backgrounds (see Table 1). As part of this analysis, we also examined whether the six participants from working-class families subjectively experienced themselves as being in a higher social class than their parents (Lehmann, 2009), which, for instance, may have added challenges with respect to their interacting with students.

Overall, our exploration of cases revealed more similarity than difference between tutors in terms of how they experienced socializing students. As we describe in the findings, nearly all tutors
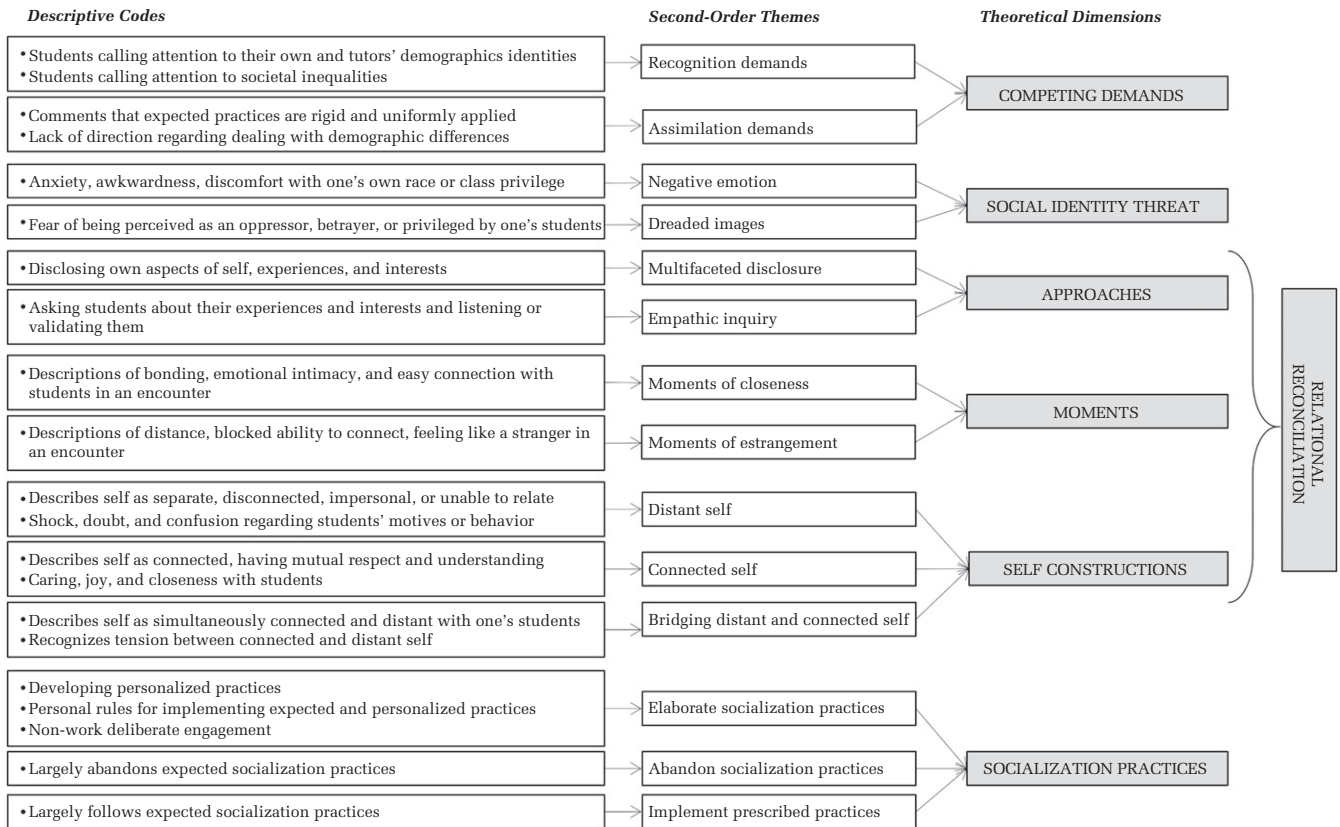
experienced identity threat. However, our analysis revealed some variation in the specific stereotypes associated with identity threat—individuals with higher-status social identities worried about being perceived as "White oppressors" or "privileged" while individuals with lower-status social identities worried about being seen as "betrayers." However, all tutors moved through a similar process toward creating personalized socialization practices. We therefore built theory based on tutors' common experiences and activities in socializing students.

Having developed our basic coding scheme and theoretical focus, we next identified the constructs underlying our codes. For example, we had developed codes for tutors' attribution of "separation" and "distance" between themselves and their socializees. Through comparisons between the data and relevant literature, we came to realize that these statements referred to their self-definitions, aspects of who they were in the tutor role in relation to the student (Stets & Burke, 2000); we labeled these the "distant self." We worked together to finalize a coding scheme that captured the codes and constructs. We discussed any points of disagreement and together agreed upon the appropriate way to code the transcript. Two research assistants aided us at various stages of this coding process.

We then examined relationships between constructs, experimenting with different depictions of these relationships, and returning to our data to assess how reflective these emerging models were of the data. For instance, this stage of analysis showed that tutors' engagement in approaches toward students underpinned both moments of closeness and estrangement. We then returned to relevant literatures (e.g., cross-race and cross-class interactions) to ground these relationships in existing theory. Figure 1 and Table 2 report the final data structure and illustrative examples.[2] We refer to our

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[2] Following the first wave of interviews, we provided administrators with preliminary insight into the tutors' struggle with the socialization system. To our knowledge, administrators were not previously aware of the struggle faced by tutors, and they expressed interest and concern. Our findings sparked discussion among administrators regarding whether tutors should be forced to fully implement the system. After the second wave of interviews, we presented our findings to Domino administrators and leaders from other charter schools. Our findings resonated strongly with this audience; administrators later shared some of the findings with senior staff members in a leadership retreat and expressed interest in changing their training system.

FIGURE 1
Overview of Data Structure

Descriptive Codes / *Second-Order Themes* / *Theoretical Dimensions*

- Students calling attention to their own and tutors' demographics identities
- Students calling attention to societal inequalities
→ Recognition demands → COMPETING DEMANDS

- Comments that expected practices are rigid and uniformly applied
- Lack of direction regarding dealing with demographic differences
→ Assimilation demands

- Anxiety, awkwardness, discomfort with one's own race or class privilege
→ Negative emotion → SOCIAL IDENTITY THREAT

- Fear of being perceived as an oppressor, betrayer, or privileged by one's students
→ Dreaded images

- Disclosing own aspects of self, experiences, and interests
→ Multifaceted disclosure → APPROACHES

- Asking students about their experiences and interests and listening or validating them
→ Empathic inquiry

- Descriptions of bonding, emotional intimacy, and easy connection with students in an encounter
→ Moments of closeness → MOMENTS

- Descriptions of distance, blocked ability to connect, feeling like a stranger in an encounter
→ Moments of estrangement

- Describes self as separate, disconnected, impersonal, or unable to relate
- Shock, doubt, and confusion regarding students' motives or behavior
→ Distant self

- Describes self as connected, having mutual respect and understanding
- Caring, joy, and closeness with students
→ Connected self → SELF CONSTRUCTIONS

- Describes self as simultaneously connected and distant with one's students
- Recognizes tension between connected and distant self
→ Bridging distant and connected self

- Developing personalized practices
- Personal rules for implementing expected and personalized practices
- Non-work deliberate engagement
→ Elaborate socialization practices

- Largely abandons expected socialization practices
→ Abandon socialization practices → SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES

- Largely follows expected socialization practices
→ Implement prescribed practices

(APPROACHES, MOMENTS, SELF CONSTRUCTIONS) → RELATIONAL RECONCILIATION

participants, in tables and findings, using an ID number followed by their race, gender, and class identities.

FINDINGS

We describe our findings in four parts. First, we describe how tutors experienced social identity threat due to competing demands from the organization to assimilate the students into middle- and professional-class culture, and from the students to recognize their race and class identities. Second, we describe how tutors navigated this threat through a process of "relational reconciliation." This process included interpersonal approaches and salient moments in interactions that enabled tutors to embrace self-definitions as simultaneously connected to and distant from the students. Third, we describe how relational reconciliation enabled tutors to engage in socialization practices that elaborated upon the school's expected practices. We close by illustrating

the impasses and feedback loops of the relational reconciliation process.

Expected Socialization Practices at Domino

Administrators, including the principal, deans, and psychologist, understood Domino's aim to be socializing students into a "middle-class," "professional" life, for which attending and succeeding at college was seen as essential. One described the school's intention as "[making] middle-class values transparent" to the students (#A1, female, Asian American, professional class); administrators presumed students had not learned these values at home. In internal documents (e.g., training materials) and in conversations with us, administrators repeatedly used the term "professional" to describe the sorts of people they hoped students would become; this term implicitly conveys White, middle-class, masculine norms and discourages relational, emotional, and ethnic minority cultural displays

TABLE 2
Representative Supporting Data

Second-order themes	Illustrative Examples
Organization	
Assimilation Demands	Domino is like a factory that just produces. It takes kids from low-income backgrounds and just does, like, whatever it takes to produce high SAT scores and get them into as good colleges as possible. (#36, White, male, upper class)
	The merit and demerit system, like, goes back to what we were talking about a lot, which are, like, explicitly teaching the culture of power to students. (#43, White, female, upper class)
Students	
Recognition Demands	One of my students in particular [*laughs*] sort of liked to make comments about distinctions between Blacks and Whites, especially when I was around . . . She was definitely doing it to see how I would react . . . She would ask questions about the characters in the books we read. "Is she Black? Or is she White?" Sort of out of the blue. (#30, White, female, upper class)
	One student said . . . something really interesting, she said, "And the only people who wanna come here are Black people who wanna give back, and White people who feel bad for us." (#19, Black, male, middle class)
Social Identity Threat	
Negative Emotion	You know, it comes up, like my race, or like we had this really weird discussion about financial aid in college, and I felt really awkward about it, 'cause I, like, didn't really, that actually even felt more awkward to me than the race thing . . . Like, there's, like, I, like a huge block for me to talk about that with them. (#2, White, female, upper class)
	I acknowledge that I'm a White woman and that that affords many things and that I grew up in upper-middle class situations, but I also—it's a generalization. I, I hate when my kids ask me if I can buy them things and assuming that money means, like, that I have a lot of money. (#35, White, female, upper class)
Dreaded Images	One day [my student] was just really upset . . . And, you know, really nothing had happened, so I didn't really know why . . . [Another tutor] was like, "Oh, he said that you were, like, being racist." And so I was like, "Oh." Like, I was really taken aback and upset about it. (#41, White, female, upper class)
	If I want you to clean up the table, there's a reason I want you to clean the table. It's not for my personal health, it's because we need to keep the school clean. Like, I'm thinking about other things. It's not a power thing. I think some kids thought it was like a power, I was very power driven. (#19, Black, male, middle class)
Approaches	
Multifaceted Disclosure	I come from a different place than most of them, and a different background, as well. Um, so I always think it's interesting to see like what they assume or what even some preconceived notions that I might've had that they dispel . . . like, they'll—this conversation probably happens once a week, of what would I do if someone tried to fight me, for example . . . Um, so things like that, I guess, you know, different norms that we have in our lives, I think are really ease—uh, like, interesting to talk about. (#37, White, female, upper class)
	Having students, you know, know things about me. Know that I played soccer, and that I live down in [the city], and know that, you know, the food that I liked, and music that I listen to. Trading music with kids. You know, they know, they knew pretty early on how much of a nerd I was, and how much I like to read. (#17, White, male, upper class)
Empathic Inquiry	Asking them about, like, "Oh, what do you cook at home?" or "Does your mom cook?", "What's your favorite dish?", "What are you excited about cooking for Thanksgiving?" was a conversation that we had. (#47, White, female, upper class)
	I'll ask, "How was your weekend?" And they talk about what they did that weekend. And just from that, you know, you can kind of put things together. Like, "Oh, like, I was with my grandma. Blah, blah, blah." And then she—and then I'll be like, "Oh, where were your parents?" And she'll be like, "Oh, I live with my grandparents." (#52, East Asian, male, working class)
Moments	
Moments of Closeness	So we just finally kinda sat down and had that, like, awkward conversation where I told her, "I don't think you're taking this very seriously. What do I need to do to, like, get you to really focus and be here?" Um, I think she took that very personally 'cause that's not who she is. Um, we had a really great conversation where she kinda told me where she was coming from . . . being open and honest with her really—that was like the moment that we kinda clicked, and she started to trust me, I think. (#31, White, male, working class)

TABLE 2
(Continued)

Second-order themes	Illustrative Examples
Moments of Estrangement	I knew what was going on at home, and they felt safe and comfortable to confide in me when something was going on, or I would feel comfortable enough to, like, pull them aside, or take them off-campus, if I'd noticed something a little different. (#28, Black, female, upper class)
	Hearing students be like, "I'm going to get a job," and I'm like, "You're failing all four of your classes. Like, you shouldn't be getting a job," and then it's, like, wait, but they probably are getting this job for a reason, and that's when I think I'm most aware of it. (#33, White, female, middle class)
	I don't have any student loans for college. And I think, coming from that, I had a hard time talking to students about, like, financial aid for college, and realizing, like, financially that some colleges are not an option for students. (#29, White, female, upper class)
Self-constructions	
Connected Self	I'm very empathetic, so it's very easy for me to connect with these kids who, you know, who have issues, who have concerns. And especially with this population of students, like, I didn't come from a low-income family or area but I had a lot of struggles when I was a kid, and a teenager, so I connect with that, so just my ability to relate to the kids . . . that came really easy for me. (#6, White, male, upper class)
	My primary experience with these kids is that they're human beings. They enjoy similar things that I do, you know. . . . The neat thing is that they're surrounded by tutors that are in this weird gray area between teacher and friends . . . (#18, White Hispanic, male, upper class)
Distant Self	Them not doing homework . . . seeing this as not important, and not worthy of their respect or their attention, and that's something where, like, I was definitely always a student in high school who was pretty driven by, you know, thoughts of college or just by interest in the material. And so it's hard for me to relate to that, I think, and hard for me to know what to do there. (#8, White, male, upper class)
	I'm not of the same race as them, like, can I be the best role model for them? Um, and I haven't, like, grown up in the same situations as a lot of them or in the same kinds of communities. (#42, East Asian, female, middle class)
Bridging Connected and Distant Selves	Even though, you know, I don't have that much in common with these kids in terms of, like, upbringing—like, not everyone's coming from some terrible domestic situation where, you know, there's, you know, food scarcity and violence and things, but a lot of them do. Um, but, at the core, you know, people are more the same than they're different. You know, like, [my student] and I couldn't have a more different upbringing, but I understand why he doesn't do his work sometimes 'cause I don't do it for the same reason. (#31, White, male, working class)
	The biggest challenge was establishing yourself as a respectable figure, and someone that was gonna hold a line, but then again you're also a liaison between teacher and student, where you, you know, you kinda have to relate to them on a different level than a teacher to make them feel less stressed, because, you know, it's just constant exposure to adults, and, if they don't have some moments in the day where they're just acting like a kid, or talking to someone who might be older than them, but still kind of, you know, recognizes that they're teenagers and need to kind of relax every once in a while, then they get way overwhelmed. (#12, White, female, upper class)
Socialization Practices	
Implement Prescribed Practices	It's expected for you to hold a firm line with them behaviorally, like enforce a kind of culture system. I don't know if you know that much about it, but, like, giving demerits, and, but demerits for, like, misbehaviors . . . There are, like, different levels of consequences for each of those things. If you swear at a staff member, my reaction would be very different from if you forgot a pencil. And the, like, consequences would be very different, but all, each of those things would be a demerit, and you're expected to enforce that. Just to, like, keep the culture consistent. (#3, White, female, upper class)
	Today she was, like, talking out of turn and I gave her a demerit. And then she just kind of got really mad and just, like, uh, saying that, like, she didn't deserve the demerit and, like, getting really upset in front of everyone. So I had to end up sending her out of the class. Um, and, yeah, that's just one of those things, like, giving them a demerit. Like, you know they might explode, but, like, you have to do it in order to, like, so that everyone can see that you're not gonna, like, put up with that kind of behavior in the class. (#42, East Asian, female, middle class)

TABLE 2
(Continued)

Second-order themes	Illustrative Examples
Elaborate Socialization—Personal Practices	The first thing I do when all my students come in tutorial is I say, "OK, you have forty-five seconds, how was your week—like, tell me about your weekend." And that's not something that every tutor does, it's not something we're supposed to do. We're supposed to—the first five minutes of every tutorial are the "do now," supposed to be silent, they're supposed to be in their seats when the bell rings, with their pencil, working on their paper that we give them, to, like, start the lesson off, and, at the end, last five minutes, the ticket to leave, the same thing, to assess what they have learned in that tutorial, and I've, every Monday, I would be like, "Oh, like, how was your day? How was your weekend? Tell me about it." (#4, East Asian, male, upper class)
	I let kids slip with things that aren't a huge deal, and I make them aware that that's a trade-up for "You need to be a responsible human being and get your work done. If you can't do that, then I'm not gonna let you talk, I'm not gonna let you take a two-minute break and play a calculator game on my calculator," whatever. And I would say that it worked fairly well for my kids, anyway, across all grades. (#18, White Hispanic, male, upper class)
Elaborate Socialization—Personal rules for integrating personal and expected practices	I guess if you looked at, like, my actual practice, though, like, how I actually used the system, I never merited or demerited many of my tutees . . . I'd occasionally give demerits when, like, like they need to be demerited . . . Sometimes those senior boys would say things that were kind of inappropriate, and . . . they just need to be told not to say those things. (#22, White, female, middle class)
	It varies very much based on my students. So I think, like, the seniors and the upper classmen, I'm much more able to have, like, a very casual kind of relationship ... I rarely demerit them. Rarely merit them 'cause it—frankly, it's patronizing, I think, to them to like be treating them like, "Oh, thank you for helping your friends." When it's like, "Okay. You should help your friends." . . . Versus, with my freshmen, who are very much like—they don't really see that light at the end of the tunnel. They don't see the importance of, like, doing their work. I have to take, like, a much harder line. (#38, South Asian, female, upper class)
Abandon Socialization	I was very uncomfortable giving demerits because I didn't want my first interaction to be with a student, like, you know, "Demerit for untying your pants, hi, I'm Mr. X," so I was actually pretty lenient, totally intentionally, and that was bad, I think. I think I was way too lenient, and I didn't give nearly as many demerits. (#14, White, male, working class)
	But it got very difficult toward the end of the year, when you had built this relationship, and you had four solid months, and then toward the end they started exhibiting those same behaviors again, but you had this great relationship, so instead of being more firm and authoritative, you were more just like, "Really? Come on, what are you doing?" And they didn't really respond to that. (#13, White, female, working class)

(Roberts, 2005; Rosette & Dumas, 2007; Uhlmann, Heaphy, Ashford, Zhu, & Sanchez-Burks, 2013).

Tutors also understood their goal to be socializing students into a middle- or professional-class[3] culture, teaching them to value academic success, and to aspire to and develop the "professional" skills that they associated with the middle and upper classes and viewed as necessary to succeed in college. One told us:

I'm sure you've heard people talk about culture, you know, in charter schools, and culture being, like, professional in one's behavior, and one's, like, you know, interactions with others, and one's, you know, posture, and all those sorts of things, so, like,

receiving demerits if their language is unprofessional, if they're slouching in class, if they're not, you know, ready to pick up in the reading where another person left off, and so those sort of, like, behavioral culture things. (#21, White, male, upper class)

Most tutors identified strongly with this middle-class, professional culture and, like the administrators, viewed it as alien to the students. One explained that, unlike the students, "we were all rich kids from the 'burbs . . . and came from that place [the suburbs] where we didn't necessarily need that socialization" (#7, Hispanic, male, middle class). Even tutors who were not "rich kids from the 'burbs" believed their role required consistently promoting middle-class values, including the importance of college: "Do whatever it takes to help these students pass, learn. Get to college" (#13, White, female, working class).

Administrators had designed formal socialization practices for tutors to use with students. These

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[3] Though social scientists often distinguish between middle and professional classes (e.g., Williams, Berdahl, & Blair-Loy, 2013), tutors used the terms "middle class" and "professional" interchangeably and associated each with going to college.

included a merit–demerit system through which students received positive or negative reinforcement for adherence to school expectations around behavior. This system aimed to affirm behaviors and mindsets consistent with the desired "professional" identity and deny those that appeared to be inconsistent. Merits encouraged students to engage in behaviors administrators deemed important to success in college and professional life; accumulation of merits qualified students for "professional status" and privileges such as leaving the building during school hours and special trips. Demerits discouraged behaviors that administrators believed would prevent students from succeeding in college and professional life.

Tutors were urged to use the merit and demerit system, which was detailed in a binder that all tutors received. Tutors were trained to implement this formal system through a two-week training program, which included role plays and discussions. Each week, administrators also published the number of merits and demerits that tutors assigned; tutors were thus aware of how many merits and demerits they assigned relative to other tutors, and so experienced some further pressure to engage the expected practices. Tutors viewed the merit–demerit system as an important tool in their work:

> The merit and demerit system was created to try to kind of form our students into the kind of citizens we want them to be, and the ones that we think will fit into this professional environment. (#39, White, female, middle class)

Tutors also felt expected to interact with students in non-emotional, impersonal ways. The working-class tutor quoted above continued as follows: "They really pushed this idea in training . . . that, you know, don't get too personal with your students" (#13, White, female, working class).

Ironically, alongside these formal, impersonal practices, tutors were urged by the school to socialize students through using their own selves: fully inhabiting the school's middle-class, professional values. The formal description of the tutor role described tutors as "a culture presence" at the school who would continuously model the school's culture and expectations of the students as they interacted with students (Training binder). Through the tutors' example, the school hoped to offer students further lessons on who to be:

> They're really big on the professionalism aspect. You know, tutor to the best of our abilities. And I think . . .

they want us to work as hard as we can, and use that, channel that, to help our kids work hard. (#1, East Asian, male, upper class)

Thus, tutors felt expected to act as personal role models for students by "maintaining the highest level of professionalism and then also, like, always giving 100% to your students in whatever way, shape, or form that may be" (#6, White, male, upper class).

Competing Demands

Tutors struggled to engage in these socialization practices, however, as they experienced themselves as caught between a competing set of demands from the organization and the student.

Assimilation demands. On the one hand, tutors felt that the school demanded that they socialize students in ways that felt "assimilationing" (#51, White, male, middle class); namely, socializing students without regard to their own or the students' demographic identities. Tutors felt that they had been "only taught a very rigid way of working with our students" (#1, East Asian, male, upper class), which involved acting akin to a "robot" who was focused on "holding the line" (#18, White Hispanic, male, upper class), and maintaining a "tight culture" (#8, White, male, upper class). One, exasperated, told us:

> Being in a system where it's like "You need to do it this way" has been frustrating, and I think that I don't like the idea of teaching kids that there is, like, one way that you need to be in the world, when it's, like, OK, maybe that, in some sense that is the case, but that's a problem with the world that we live in. (#2, White, female, upper class)

This frustration with the school's emphasis on "one definition of success" (#35, White, female, upper class) was compounded by a feeling that administrators did not provide direction regarding how to deal with the differences between tutors' and students' race and class identities. Tutors remarked repeatedly that administrators offered them little advice regarding whether or how to navigate race and class in their interactions with the students. This lack of advice left them feeling isolated and uncertain, as described by one of the tutors previously quoted above:

> The racial dynamic is something that I think has been, something that I've really struggled with all year . . . I felt a little bit alone in that, just in the sense of, like, we never really talked about it as like a staff, and I would try to talk to some people that I worked with about it, but it never really felt like people, like, got where it

was coming from, in the sense of, like, I just felt really something really off about. About, like, coming in as a White person from the suburbs. And just, like, what that reinforces, you know, but, like … It was just something that I was always like, "When are we gonna have [*laughs*], like, those discussions?" And we never really did, ever. (#2, White, female, upper class)

Lacking direction from administrators about how to handle the demographic differences, tutors felt that race and class loomed as an unacknowledged "elephant in the room" (#49, White, male, upper class) that prevented the easy implementation of socialization practices.

Recognition demands. In contrast, tutors felt that students demanded they acknowledge and recognize their own and the students' demographic identities. Students seemed to recognize and oppose the assimilation demands; indeed, one tutor described her students repeatedly comparing the school to a "prison" and the "tutors and staff constantly watching" to "security guards" (#28, Black, female, upper class). Students countered these assimilation pressures with their own demands for recognition; one tutor told us that, while she "ignored" demographic differences and associated inequalities, her students made her "conscious" of them:

A lot of times, people just, like, ignore the fact that we're, like, really White tutors, and mostly, like, Black kids at school, and we don't talk about it a lot as, like, adults in the school. And so, a lotta times, I just ignored it, but students definitely make you conscious of it … One of my students in particular, like, he would always bring up the fact that, like, he was, like, a Black male, and he wasn't gonna get certain opportunities, and was really conscious of, like, "Well I don't have the same opportunities as, like, White people, or as, like, you do." (#29, White, female, upper class)

Recognition demands often arose when tutors assigned demerits:

[My student] did something. I said, "Well, just, that's a demerit" … Then, so, my student just leans back, and looks at me, and goes, "Mr. X, what's your background? What's your nationality?" And I was just like, "Whoa, here we go." It's, like, the second week of school. (#49, White, male, upper class)

Other tutors recounted being called "racist" by their students (#26, White, female, upper class) and fielding questions from students about their family finances (#30, White, female, upper class). Thus, tutors experienced seemingly constant demands from students to acknowledge and recognize the race and class differences and disparities between them.

Social Identity Threat

Caught between these demands from administrators and students, tutors experienced fears that were consistent with "social identity threat," which has been defined as "a fear of being misjudged or mistreated because of [one's] membership in a social identity group" (Ely & Roberts, 2008: 181). Tutors were highly conscious of, and nervous about, their social identities. One, like many others we interviewed, noted that the tutors were:

… predominantly, you know, upper-middle class. We all went to, like, really good colleges, and that's kind of an issue, and we're all very nervous about that. You know, we could all tell that that was something that we kind of, were anxious about. (#49, White, male, upper class)

Conscious of their social identities, tutors worried that activities and tasks involved in their work role (e.g., enforcing school rules) echoed negative class and race stereotypes (e.g., oppressor, betrayer, savior), and that students would see them in terms of these negative images. For example, one tutor voiced the following worry:

I'm somewhat uncomfortable with the fact that I am one of many White, privileged people who's telling them what to do. Um, that is always in—not always in my head, but frequently in my head. (#32, White, male, upper class)

This tutor's discomfort reflected a common concern that acting out his tutor role might be viewed as dictatorial (i.e., telling students what to do), and reflected historical patterns of racial dominance and negative stereotypes of Whites wielding harsh authority over racial minorities (Shelton et al., 2006).

Socialization activities, such as managing behavior and giving demerits, providing college and career advice, and daily conversations could prompt identity threat, because they triggered tutors to view themselves through the students' eyes and question the legitimacy of their power and privilege (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013) and their own motives for engaging in their authority roles. For instance, one tutor worried that simply acting as an "authority figure" risked them being viewed by students as a "privileged person who's trying to save you":

I never wanted to be, um—like, just seem like I was coming in and telling them what to do, or, like, I knew better than them. Um, but being an authority figure, you kind of have to do that, to a certain extent. Um, but, uh, I—I guess it was more I didn't want them to

feel, like, oh, I'm coming in as, um, a well-educated or privileged person who's trying to save you type of thing. (#37, White, female, upper class)

Another described how teaching a book about race to her students provoked discomfort because it suggested uncomfortable similarities between tutors and "White people" having "power":

We read the book *Native Son* by Richard Wright . . . Tutoring that book to, ah, African American students was, like, a very interesting experience 'cause I was just like, "What is this trying to say? Like, what is this imagery?" And it's about, like, how White people have this power. Like, Black people don't. And I was like, "This is kind of a weird thing to explain to you because, like, I'm White, and I, like, technically would be in the power situation in this tutorial 'cause I'm your tutor, and, like, this is kind of a . . ."—I was, like, very aware of it. (#33, White, female, middle class)

Tutors with marginalized race and class backgrounds also feared confirming negative stereotypes. These individuals tended to fear being perceived as disloyal to or not "really" part of their race or class identity groups (e.g., "sell-outs"). One Black tutor from an economically advantaged family "felt really bad" about being perceived as a "betrayer" of Black students. She described how a student had said, "Quote unquote, 'Y'all, Miss X's not like us,'"; she continued, laughing, "It's like, for her, that she meant a Black person who wasn't, like, economically disadvantaged . . . I felt really bad, because I was, like, 'Now she thinks like I've betrayed her'" (#28, Black, female, upper class).

Some of the tutors with marginalized social identities feared that teaching students to adopt "professional" norms, such as avoiding "ain't" or "sagging your pants, wearing your hair in a big Afro, or giant hoop earrings," might lead to them being seen as representatives of "the culture of power" (#40, Latina, female, working class), complicit in perpetuating inequalities they had struggled with themselves as members of marginalized groups. Thus, nearly all tutors feared that students would see them negatively due to the ways their race and class identities interacted with their role as socialization agents, even if they differed in the particular stereotypes they dreaded (Ely & Roberts, 2008).

Relational Reconciliation

Tutors engaged with this social identity threat through a process we label "relational reconciliation." This process centered on interpersonal approaches, salient moments, and self-constructions—that is, how they learned to define themselves in relation to students.

Approaches. "Interpersonal approaches" involved multifaceted disclosure and empathic inquiry intended to share information about themselves as well as learn more about students. One way that tutors approached students was by initiating interactions in which they would engage in multifaceted disclosure: sharing personal information and experiences with the students. As one tutor explained:

I connect with students just by, like, showing them different, like, parts about me; and then, like, hoping to get them excited, like, they've, like, learned something weird about me . . . [For example], I have been doing, like, dance my whole life, and, um, it's, like, classical dance, so, like, not a style they've ever really seen before. And so, last week, I—they were asking questions about it and they thought that I did belly dance. And I was, like, "No, no, no, that's different." So I showed them a video . . . of myself, for, like, two minutes, and they loved it. (#44, South Asian, female, upper class)

Another tutor handled a situation in which a student said she "looked like a dyke" by approaching the student, sharing her feelings about being called that word, and initiating:

. . . [a] conversation about the offensiveness of that word, and I equated it to, if I called him the N-word, and he's like, "No, no, no, it's not the same, it's not the same," and it's like, "No, it is. Like, that's exactly, that is, like, the perfect comparison." (#25, White, female, upper class)

Other tutors also disclosed personal information; for instance, one shared his own experience with a student who was "miserable . . . failing every single class." He told us, "I actually brought him aside, and I repeated ninth grade myself, and I told him about my experience doing that" (#14, White, male, working class). By sharing such personal information about various aspects of themselves and their experiences, tutors sought to offer students information that would build more personal connections with the students and allow them to see tutors in a less stereotypical manner.

A second form of approach involved "empathic inquiry": asking students about their experiences, with the aim of better understanding them and validating their desire for recognition. Engaging in inquiry often involved recognition of social identity differences between tutors and their students, as exemplified in the following quotation:

I was asking my student one day about her weave, and was just, like, "Hey, I'm White. I don't know

these things," and, like, I don't—I try my hardest not to pretend that, like, my Whiteness doesn't exist. So, I try to admit that to the kids and, like, try to ask them as genuine questions possible. (#34, White, female, upper class)

The tutor went on to describe how such inquiries were intended to validate students' experience:

I try to, like, validate, students', like, experiences with race, and ask them questions about their experience with race as much as possible, but don't pretend like I know where they come from or know what it's like to be racially profiled, or, like, and especially with the events with Ferguson currently, it—you know, these kids are really conscious of being in a school that is largely minority with a largely White teaching staff. That doesn't look unlike the police force, and they're not unaware of that. (#34, White, female, upper class)

We labeled these inquiries "empathic" because they were often accompanied by a focus on careful listening. To illustrate, one tutor stated the importance of genuinely listening to students' responses, acknowledging the negative stereotypes they needed to overcome:

I think it's, like, especially if you're, like, a White male, who I think is, like, the number one type of person that the kids will be resistant to when looking at them, um, you need to show that, like, you are listening. Which means you need to listen. (#51, White, male, middle class)

Another explained that she felt students were rarely asked about their experiences, and deserved space to share them: "I just ask questions. I think a lot of the times people don't ask the questions, and they don't have a place to talk about it" (#45, White, female, upper class).

Moments of closeness, moments of estrangement. Although approaches enabled tutors to share information and learn more about the students, these interactions could unfold in ways that brought them closer together with their students, creating "moments of closeness," or they could unfold in ways that pushed them apart, creating "moments of estrangement."

Sometimes, approaches prompted interactions in which tutors felt particularly close to and emotionally intimate with the students: moments of closeness. One relayed to us how he engaged in multifaceted disclosure, sharing his own "goofiness and weirdness," which created such a moment:

It's hilarious when you tell the kids that you like a musician that they all, like, like, you know, like, they find out you like Kendrick Lamar and they're like,

"What? You're like, you know, 50," and . . . they, like, don't understand age at all, but it's really great . . . They're like, "Oh, he's a person, he, like, you know, likes songs that aren't, you know, old" . . . You know, having those funny things to bond over, you know, like. (#21, White, male, upper class)

In such moments, tutors felt the interactions were personal, friendly, and fulfilling. One experienced herself as a close confidant in such moments:

The student will find you in the hall and be like, "I remembered I wanted to show you this," and you're like, "Oh, you found me to show this to me. Like, this is great." (#33, White, female, middle class)

Another described how disclosure had generated a particularly fulfilling and joyful moment:

[My student] was struggling with chemistry at the beginning of the year . . . I pulled her aside at the end of homework lab . . . and she was just, like, "Miss—I like—I'm just not good at science." I was like, "I was not good at science." I was like, "And then I majored in biochem,"—like [the student] like—and having that conversation with someone who was actually receptive was so just uplifting . . . And just, like, seeing, like, how much harder she worked and how like—just, like, she—just a fire lit under her belly. Like, that was amazing. (#38, South Asian, female, upper class)

Sometimes, however, approaches, and the information shared within them, created moments in which tutors felt pushed apart from students and blocked in their ability to connect to them: moments of estrangement. One tutor told us how the joking around with students that occurred during approaches suddenly sparked feelings of disconnection and inauthenticity:

It's funny because they joke around with me, because they know I don't make very much money. And I joke around saying, "Hey, I'm broke," but the . . . reality is I have the biggest safety blanket [*chuckles*] . . . I, like, am unable to admit that to the kids, and that's hard . . . I feel like I'm kinda lying about the fact that . . . I am completely financially stable ... And I can't actually connect with what it's like to maybe be working a job and helping to support your family at 15. (#34, White, female, upper class)

Another tutor described how a discussion about the Ferguson police shootings prompted her to ask students about personal change efforts in which they might engage: "What are *you* gonna do to change it?" She quickly realized though that her students wanted to focus on the systemic injustice of these shootings,

rather than their personal efforts for change, and experienced a moment of estrangement. She continued:

> I felt very uncomfortable, um, just because I didn't want to offend. I am not a very eloquent person, and I, like, I don't know. I realize that some of the things that I could say, like, could greatly offend them and destroying that, like, [the] relationship gap will—would be—detrimental. (#47, White, female, upper class)

Connected self, distant self. Accumulations of these moments over time and across students provided tutors with raw materials—shared experiences, new information about their own and the students' social and personal backgrounds and strong emotions—that informed how tutors constructed their selves as tutors in relation to students. Two such self-constructions emerged in the data: defining one's self as "connected," and defining one's self as "distant." These self-constructions represented two different facets of their selves as tutors.

Tutors drew information they had gleaned about the students together with experiences of moments of closeness, to construct their selves as "connected": in a close relationship with students that was characterized by empathy, mutual understanding, and respect (e.g., "I am a tutor who is connected to my students"). One tutor described how she could connect with students easily because of her shared experience "growing up poor":

> I grew up poor. Um, and I don't mean, like, "Oh, man, I wish I had new Barbies all the time" like poor and I just didn't have them. I mean, like, actually literally, like, food stamps and, like, welfare and, like, almost government housing poor . . . I feel, like, one, it's easy for me to connect to a lot of my kids. (#40, Latina, female, working class)

Tutors did not necessarily need shared experiences; even differences could be a basis for seeing themselves as connected to students. Several described how a sense of self as connected was forged through disclosing differences that resulted in moments that produced mutual understanding and respect. For example, one tutor described how "owning" who he was led to mutual understanding:

> One thing that, like, you learn super-fast is, like, you just have to own who you are. And, uh, the kids, overall, respond really well to the fact that I, like, don't know any of the music they listen to. Like a couple video games they like. And, like, find that music video [they] recommended disgusting . . . You kinda own it, and they respect that, and you respect them. (#32, White, male, upper class)

As moments of closeness accumulated over time, tutors solidified their self-definitions as connected. One tutor told us:

> I don't think it was as much moments as frequency of moments, you know. There wasn't, like, one big line for my kid, you know, where we suddenly were, had a relationship to work off of, it was just, the first day I saw that he had a *Call of Duty* sticker on his binder, and I brought it up, and we bonded over that, and, over the next few weeks, the frequency of topics that we both, you know, had a connection on, increased, increased, increased, until we, you know, were pretty close. (#18, White Hispanic, male, upper class).

In these ways, tutors constructed themselves as connected, coming to view themselves as "pseudo-family members" (#16, White, female, upper class) who were "really connected" to their students (#29, White, female, upper class).

Information gleaned about students, combined with accumulated feelings that emerged in moments of estrangement, could also lead tutors to construct their selves as "distant" from the students: fundamentally different from them, confused by their behavior, and occupying an impersonal, purely professional role in relation to them (e.g., "I am a tutor who is distant from my students"). One tutor, who was Black, explained that her family nationality and class background made it hard to "relate to their experiences":

> I'm one of the few Black tutors . . . Initially, I thought that would be to my benefit obviously, but then quickly realized that we have extremely different backgrounds. My parents are African, middle class, and so, while we may look the same, I couldn't even pretend to, like, relate to their experiences. (#28, Black, female, upper class)

In addition to feeling unable to "relate," many tutors also psychologically distanced themselves by professing confusion about students' behavior:

> I was, like, the quintessential good kid, you know. I never talked back. I never, um—I . . . I just . . . just was—I just never had any, like, outbursts or anything. Um, and, so I can appreciate how that can. . . can be hard for. . . for some kids. Absolutely. Um, but since I never went through that, um, I tend to just be, like, "Well, why can't you just, you know, not yell at a teacher?" Um. . . "Why can't you just tuck your shirt in," you know, like, it's just, like, it's something so simple, and there's no reason why. (#49, White, male, upper class)

Tutors further constructed themselves as distant by claiming that they occupied only an impersonal

and professional role in relation to the students. That is, they depersonalized their relationship to students. One described learning to "compartmentalize," as follows:

> I'd offer up free time for them to meet me, and then they wouldn't come, and then I'd be like, "Well that's not me, that's you." And so I think I was able to separate me trying, it's like, I put forth, you have to take it. (#15, Black, female, upper class)

In these ways, tutors constructed themselves as distant, perceiving their "control" over students as limited (#12, White, female, upper class) and coming to view themselves as "separate" (#30, White, female, upper class).

Bridging connected and distant selves. Connected and distant selves were not mutually exclusive self-constructions. Rather, tutors learned to hold on to both of these aspects of their selves at once, seeing themselves as simultaneously connected to and distant from the students. As an example, one tutor drew on shared experiences, such as having taken long bus rides to school, to construct himself as "understanding" and connected to them:

> I had a similar situation with transportation to school. So these kids come, get here, minimal 08:30, stay here for... some of the seniors stayed here 'til 19:15 sometimes. Or regular students stay here 'til 18:30. I had to travel an hour and 15 minutes to school when I was in high school, they have to travel an hour and 15 or 30 minutes to school, some longer. So I understand being... the tiredness, and not having certain... forgetting the dress code.

Yet, alongside this connected self, this tutor also identified himself as distant from the students. He pointed to their treatment of homework to stress his confusion about students' behavior: "I didn't understand when they weren't doin' their homework. Just do it on the train, or do it when you get home" (#19, Black, male, middle class).

Bridging one's connected and distant selves was tenuous, and involved sometimes clear contradictions. The following tutor's reflections illustrate this tension:

> Although I might not have experienced the same things that these kids have experienced, I can still connect to the heart of things that they have gone through because I am a human and can, like, reciprocate. But then, um, some students feel like they can't trust me because I'm in a position of authority. (#47, White, female, upper class)

In this quotation, the tutor moves swiftly from acknowledging ways in which she saw herself as distant from the students ("I might not have experienced the same things that these kids have experienced") to claiming ways that she sees herself as connected to them ("I can still connect to the heart of things because I am a human and can reciprocate"), then returning to a view of herself as distant ("they can't trust me because I am in a position of authority"). The following quotation illustrates a similar dance between "loving them" and recognizing that "there are things I can't understand":

> I can love my students and I can push them, and I can do all of these things and the best—to the best of my ability, but there are things I just can't—like, I can't understand as intuitively because I'm White ... I shared with them that I, you know, can do my best, and I, like, care about them and I love them, and I will, like, work for them as hard as I can, like, to push them. I shared with them that I recognize that there are things, like, limitations to, like, what I can 100% understand because I'm White. (#39, White, female, middle class)

In these ways, tutors constructed their selves as both connected to and distant from the students.

Elaborated Socialization

Holding onto their connected and distant selves enabled tutors to engage in a practical reconciliation of administrators' and students' competing demands for assimilation and recognition by tailoring their socialization. Tutors created a range of personalized practices, which they used in combination with the expected socializing practices according to personal rules for when they would use these two types of practices. We label this combination of personalized practices, personal rules, and expected practices "elaborated socialization."

Personalized practices. First, many tutors routinized spaces and times wherein students could share their experiences and other personal information. One tutor described the following ritual: "I always like to start out my tutorials, with, like, a 'rose' and a 'thorn.' So they tell me, like, one highlight and one, like, bad thing that's happening" (#44, South Asian, female, upper class). Another tutor described a similar intentional practice of structuring her tutorial sessions: "I take, like, maybe five minutes out of that whole 55, spread throughout, to, like, talk a little bit about me, talk a little bit about them" (#15, Black, female, upper class).

Another set of practices involved designating some structured "off time" during tutorials that was

organized around the students' personal interests and desires. Several tutors described selectively using entertainment to provide students with structured breaks during tutoring sessions. Some allowed students to play music, others allowed the playing of games. One tutor told us that she allowed students to "play a math game . . . not just, like, sticking to the same format every time" (#42, East Asian, female, middle class).

A third set of elaborated practices centered on tailored motivation of students. Tutors aimed to develop ways to motivate students that were based on how the students as individuals learned best. For instance, one tutor told us that she learned how to motivate her student by continued attempts at getting to know her learning style:

> I also, like, knew she put walls up a lot if you came down too hard on her, if you were just like, yeah, if you were too strict, she would shut down and just refuse, and then you'd end up sending her out. So, I found it worked a lot better to kind of like tease her a little bit about it, almost, and, like, joke around with her, and just keep things really positive and smiley, and that, like, put her in a better mood, and then she was more likely to continue writing. (#16, White, female, upper class)

Other motivational tactics included using humor and focusing explicitly on their students' learning needs to motivate their students; these practices enabled tutors to, in one tutor's words, "hit it with clarity, and [get] some better results" (#51, White, male, middle class).

Personal rules. Tutors developed personal rules for when and how they would implement elaborated and expected practices. Several tutors reported using discretion about in which spaces (e.g., one-on-one tutorial vs. study hall) they would apply expected or elaborated practices. One described avoiding giving demerits in the hallway, engaging in elaborated practices during one-on-one tutorials, and using demerits when teaching a whole class:

> I have, like, a slight low-level fear of, like, walking through the hallways during passing time just because of the language flying. Like, I can't demerit all of you for swearing at each other! Um, I just, like, pretend to not hear anything. . . If it's a one-on-one tutorial in, like, a more secluded setting, I'm more likely to be "Why did you say that?" rather than "Demerit, move on." . . . When it's a whole class of kids, it's just, like, you don't have time to be, like, "Let's talk about why you said what you just said." Um, so, yes, I will enforce that. (#45, White, female, upper class)

Tutors also differentiated their practices based on which students they were working with. One tutor described using the expected practices with younger students, but focusing on more elaborated practices with older students:

> I had a couple freshmen who were still 14, 'cause they were just young for their age, they'll turn 15 over the summer, and I think there was a difference in maturity, and I think, the more mature students, they don't need the strict No Excuses model, they need to be, like, figuring out how to be, like, curious and passionate learners. (#17, White, male, upper class)

Finally, some tutors focused on whether particular practices would further their students' learning goals as rule for choosing between expected and elaborated practices. For example, one tutor described avoiding giving a demerit to an upset student, because she worried doing so would interfere with his ability to continue working in that moment:

> He was really upset about something coming into class. And he is allowed to use a stress ball. And so he came in. He was, like, squishing the stress ball a million miles an hour. So, it was, like, okay, very obviously agitated already. Um, and I—he was using the ball, then, at one point, I turned around, and I—then the ball was on the other side of the room. So, I picked it up and I took it. And he, you know, got really upset about it—about the fact that he started reacting. And, you know, normally at that point, you would give a demerit, but I would—I also could tell that he was just very already, you know, um, agitated. So I didn't give him a demerit. But I gave him space and I kept the ball and came back when he started doing work. And I gave it back to him.

However, when the same student later became distracted from his work, she changed strategies and gave him a demerit:

> A little while later, he had his phone out, and he wasn't using it, but, um, but it was still out and you're not allowed—like, no phones allowed at Domino. So I gave him a demerit for that, (#41, White, female, upper class)

A Dynamic and Stumbling Process

Hanging on to one's connected and distant selves, and engaging in elaborated socialization—creating personal socialization practices and rules for implementing them—seemed to alleviate tutors' feelings of identity threat. However, tutors did not easily engage in this full process: our data suggests

that they sometimes experienced impasses, and, as a result, fully implemented or abandoned socialization practices. We describe each of these dynamics in turn: the alleviation of threat, the experience of impasses, and how tutors could overcome these impasses to progress toward reconciliation.

Alleviating identity threat. Tutors felt that engaging in relational reconciliation and the elaborated socialization it generated enabled students to see them in a positive, less stereotypical light. For example, one told us that her elaborated socialization practices, which included routinizing spaces and times for students to share their experiences, enabled students to see her as "genuine . . . rather than an anonymous authority figure, and they didn't feel, like, always on guard" and could "be comfortable with who I was" (#15, Black, female, upper class). Another tutor, expressing that "we all want to be liked and respected" felt that elaborated socialization seemed to help students see her as "someone that they can trust" (#44, South Asian, female, upper class). One tutor described how "sharing very personal things with" his students helped them transition from being "very resistant" to him to:

> . . . this phase where they become somewhat comfortable with you, but the relationship is still very, you know, superficial. And then it transitioned to the point where, you know, like, they trusted me a lot. (#6, White, male, upper class)

Another tutor, who had expressed that, early on, "I dreaded going in tutorial. They hated me. . .," explained that "learning to work with your kids, and learning, like, what works, like, obviously, like, not bending the rules, but [*pause*] bend the rules where it's beneficial to them" helped the students to see her in a positive, less impersonal manner: "Learning about them helped them learn about me . . . Now we have a really, really good relationship" (#28, Black, female, upper class). Thus, elaborated socialization seemed to alleviate tutors' experiences of social identity threat, in that they no longer feared being seen as "anonymous authority figures" and instead were individuals whom students chose to approach and seemed to trust.

Impasses in relational reconciliation. Holding onto one's connected and distant selves was difficult, however, and tutors could get stuck in the relational reconciliation process, seemingly hitting a psychological impasse (Conroy & O'Leary-Kelly, 2014; Petriglieri, 2007). Such impasses occurred when tutors focused too much on either their connected or their distant self; impasses had important repercussions for how they socialized students.

When tutors emphasized the connected aspect of their selves, and lost hold on their distant selves, they seemed particularly drawn to meeting students' needs and demands, which led them to abandon the expected socialization practices without replacing or elaborating on them with any personalized practices of their own. One tutor described moments of closeness such as "joking around with" students, which led her to see herself as so connected that she aimed to provide "whatever they needed" at her tutorials (#27, White, female, upper class); unable to draw on a more distant, impersonal self, she saw the expected practices as "mean" and simply abandoned them: "I just felt mean. I felt mean every time that I did it . . . I just didn't do it. I stopped doing it" (#27, White, female, upper class). Emphasizing their distant selves without holding on to a connected self, on the other hand, seemed to draw tutors toward meeting the school's assimilation demands, leading them to cling to the expected socialization practices. For instance, one tutor told us: "I like the clarity that that system can give me—in terms of interacting with the social behavior" (#46, White, female, middle class). This tutor's description of herself as part of a depersonalized "system" interacting with depersonalized "social behavior" reveals a sense of herself as distant, lacking connection, and relying on expected practices.

Tutors found these impasses frustrating, however. When tutors abandoned practices, they worried shortchanging their effectiveness in socializing students. One, who wondered "what's the value of being so like nitpicky with the behavior?" also expressed:

> It was clear to me that I didn't have my class under control, and students weren't learning, and so I was, like, I can understand that sure, like, holding a really firm line with my behavior expectations will help students learn more. (#8, White, male, upper class)

However, when tutors simply implemented expected practices, they also worried that doing so impacted students' education. For instance, a tutor who "loved the system" reflected that "it didn't always give the best results for me or my tutees" (#20, White, female, upper class).

Coming unstuck. Tutors did not rest in these impasses; rather, these were waypoints in their progress toward reconciliation. Abandoning or embracing the expected practices elicited amplified demands from either students or the organization which then pushed tutors back into the reconciliation process and toward learning to bridge their connected and distant selves.

When tutors anchored on the connected self, abandoning expected practices, administrators seemed to exert stronger demands upon them to follow expected practices. One tutor had developed a "strong relationship with [a student], both in tutorial and in extracurriculars." He abandoned expected practices with this student, and "gradually, it'd be like week by week, she'd do a little bit less of her homework." He felt pressured by administrators to inform the student that "you're not up to par right now, like, you need to pick it up, you need to step it up, or you're gonna fail the year"; administrators expressed that "the consequences be damned in terms of your relationship." He initially "chickened out" from providing this feedback because he didn't want to "jeopardize what we had built already." However, he eventually provided the feedback in "a structured session" because "my boss was there, so I had to say it" (#4, East Asian, male, upper class). The administration's demands thus pushed this tutor back toward engaging with expected practices, which he came to view as "safe and necessary," while retaining his sense of connection to the student. Thus, abandoning practices seemed to elicit strong assimilation demands, pushing tutors back into relational reconciliation.

When tutors anchored on their distant self and engaged in expected practices, students tended to respond with relatively strong demands for recognition. One described an ongoing set of interactions with a student who seemed to act "crazy" in tutorials:

> He would be in tutorial, like. . . like, he was supposed to be working, and I'd give him, like, a warning, like, "You're being crazy today, like, next time I look up, and you're not doing your work, like, it's gonna be a demerit," and he'd just, like, take a paper towel roll and stuff it with paper towels . . . and it's, like, "What are you—," like, it's sort of funny, but, like [*laughs*], "What are you doing?" (#26, White, female, upper class)

The tutor handled this situation by giving the student demerits and the student countered by calling her racist: "When I gave him a demerit, he'd say that was racist . . . It was just, like, very difficult" (#26, White, female, upper class). Other tutors too, recounted being called racist (#45, White, female, upper class) or having students remark on their race or class origins when they engaged in expected practices (#35, White, female, upper class). In response to these strong demands for recognition, tutors re-engaged in relational reconciliation and slowly moved toward elaborated practices. One tutor who went through this lengthy, iterative process reflected:

> By the end of the year, I think I was giving a lot less demerits and doing a lot more check-ins in the hallway, or check-ins after tutorial, you know. And those are so much more effective, and saying, like, "Hey, you know what you need to be doing, and, like, you're not doing it, and, like, is something going on?" Like, you know, just actually making it more of a conversation. (#2, White, female, upper class)

Thus, heightened demands from either students or administrators nudged tutors who were stuck in impasses to re-engage in the cycle of relational reconciliation. One tutor, who had been told to give a demerit to a student to whom he felt connected, noted the resilience of the relationship: "It wasn't, like, that hurt our relationship . . . I think it's just give and take. And, slowly, we build that relationship. I think you just butt heads. You make mistakes and then hopefully learn from that" (#52, East Asian, male, working class). Thus, reengagement in relational reconciliation led to interactions that ultimately moved tutors, sometimes haltingly, toward reconciliation and elaborated socialization.

A MULTILEVEL MODEL OF RELATIONAL RECONCILIATION

We build on these findings to propose a process model of how socialization agents in diverse contexts navigate the tension between the organization's needs to bring members into the collective, which often reflects dominant cultural norms, and the unique needs and reactions of socializees, who are often members of marginalized groups. Our model, depicted in Figure 2, reveals the centrality of relational reconciliation to this socialization process. We now further delineate the organizational, individual, and interpersonal elements of this process.

Relational reconciliation is sparked by competing demands from the organization and socializees that trigger agents to experience individual-level identity threat. In demographically diverse contexts like ours, these demands are likely to reflect societal intergroup hierarchies embedded within the organization (Alderfer & Smith, 1982): demands from the organization to assimilate members of lower-status groups in society into an "ideal member" modeled on high-status groups in society, and demands from low-status socializees for their cultural differences to be recognized (Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Taylor, 1994). Just as institutional contradictions manifest in identity dilemmas (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010), these competing demands trigger social identity threat for agents (Ely & Roberts, 2008; Gray &

FIGURE 2
A Process Model of Relational Reconciliation in Socialization
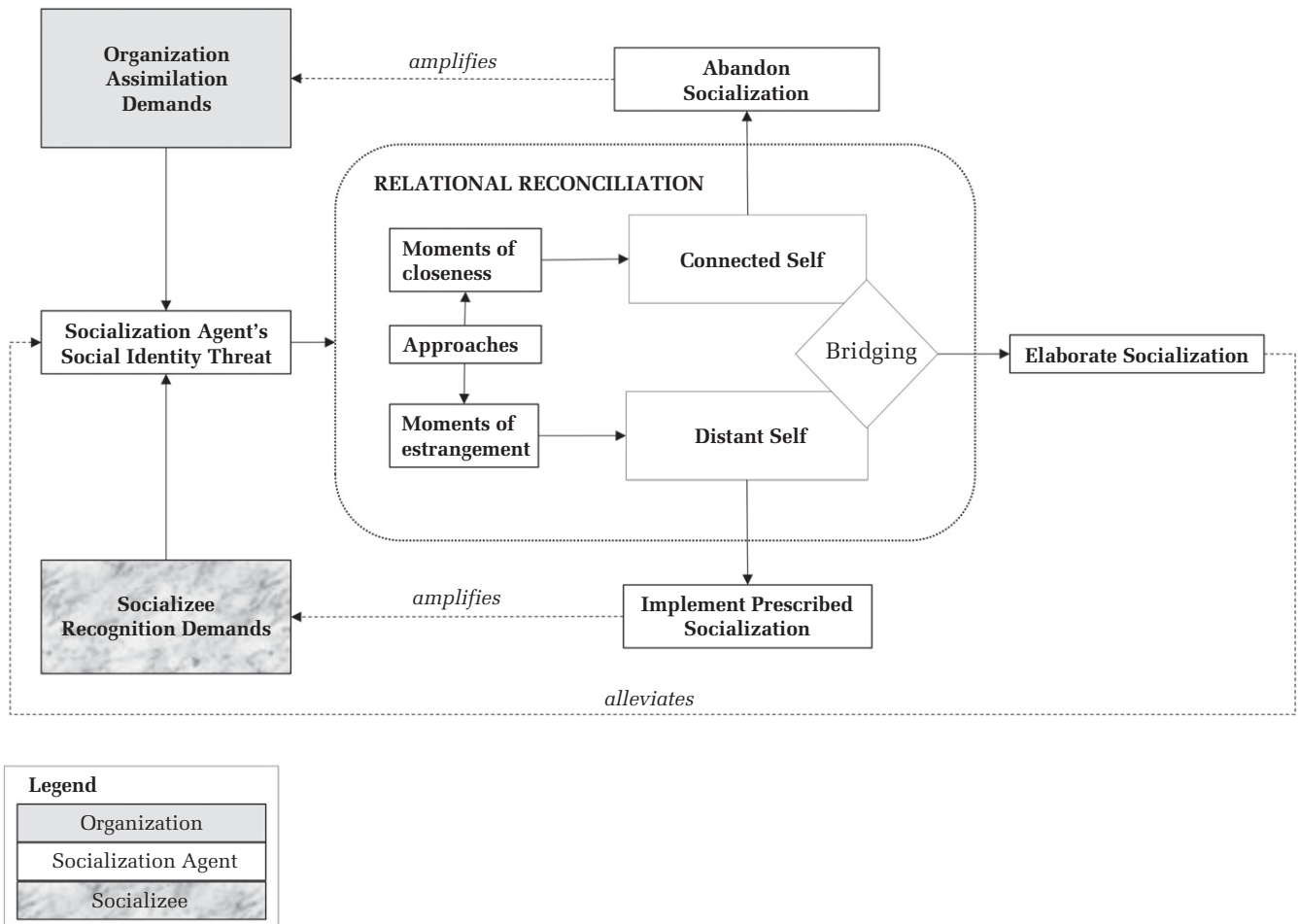
Kish-Gephart, 2013; Petriglieri, 2011). Specifically, agents feared that teaching socializees to conform to the collective's demands and suppress socializees' demands would lead socializees to judge them according to negative social identity stereotypes (e.g., racist, privileged).

Socialization agents engage with this threat through an interpersonal process we label "relational reconciliation," depicted in Figure 2. Relational reconciliation begins with interpersonal approaches; here, multifaceted disclosure and empathic inquiry. The interactions occasioned by these approaches can include moments characterized by cognitive and affective experiences of closeness (Aron, Aron, Tudor, & Nelson, 1991) and estrangement (Simmel, 1950). Consistent with the principle that our social interactions and relationships inform our self-views and identity development (Mead, 1934) and recent research taking this view (Lepisto, Crosina, & Pratt, 2015; Petriglieri & Obodaru, 2018;

Reid, 2018), we reveal how approaches and moments helped foster self-definitions as both connected to and distant from socializees.

Bridging their connected and distant selves enabled agents to engage in an ongoing practice of their role that we label "elaborated socialization": a customized approach to socialization that combines personalized practices and rules alongside expected practices. Building on notions that holding onto complex and complementary self-views can help one behaviorally combine differing needs and perspectives (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008; Dutton, Roberts, & Bednar, 2010), we theorize that constructing one's self as connected provides agents with the motivation and knowledge to respond to socializees' unique needs and customize socialization practices, while simultaneously constructing oneself as distant provides the motivation and knowledge necessary to maintain a claim on one's

formal role as a socialization agent and apply expected practices judiciously. Together, relational reconciliation, including bridging one's connected and distant selves, enabled agents to practically reconcile the organization and socializees' competing demands. In this way, relational reconciliation describes how agents navigate the tension between the organization and the socializee both intrapsychically and interpersonally.

Through relational reconciliation and elaborated socialization, agents experienced an alleviation of the initial identity threat because they felt that socializees began to view them in less stereotypical and more individualized ways. In a virtuous cycle, this feedback loop enables agents to further engage in relational reconciliation. However, agents may become stuck in impasses by being unable to bridge their connected or distant selves. Emphasizing the connected self draws agents to resolve the tension between the organization and the socializee in the latter's favor and abandon socialization practices. Emphasizing the distant self draws one to resolve the tension between the organization and the socializee in the former's favor and implement expected practices. These impasses amplified the demands agents faced: implementing expected practices amplified socializees' recognition demands, while abandoning them amplified the organization's assimilation demands. These amplified demands in turn refuel the initial identity threat. This essential bind nudges socialization agents toward relational reconciliation, enabling them to bridge connected and distant facets of their self, and engage in elaborated socialization. These paths are depicted in Figure 2 with dotted lines. These feedback loops and stumbles suggest that relational reconciliation is not a final resolution of the tension between the organization and the socializee, but rather an ongoing process of calibration. In this way, agents' navigation of socialization tensions may have analogs with how individuals continuously navigate other persistent, competing tensions in organizations through ongoing adjustments and iteration (Schad, Lewis, Raisch, & Smith, 2016).

DISCUSSION

Our research explored a common socialization tension: reconciling the organization's need to assimilate members into a collective and individuals' own needs and reactions. In a demographically diverse context, this tension takes particular form as the strain between the organization's aims to assimilate members into a collective defined by cultural norms associated with higher-status groups and the needs of members of lower-status, marginalized groups, who may fear that joining the collective requires suppressing valued social identities. We depart from traditional scholarly emphases on the organization's tactics or the socializee's reactions by examining the experience and work of socialization agents, who occupy a middle position between these actors. Our study reveals that agents navigate this tension through relational reconciliation, an interpersonal process through which they reshape their own identities and, through them, their socialization practices. By repositioning socialization agents as active parties in socialization, and revealing the importance of relational reconciliation to their work, our study expands research on socialization, identity, and diversity in significant ways.

A first insight from our model of relational reconciliation is that socialization agents' own identities are threatened and transformed as they socialize others. This insight helps extend research on socialization, which has too often treated socialization agents as passive transmitters of organizational tactics (Ashford & Nurmohamed, 2012; Saks & Gruman, 2012), thereby assuming that socializees are the only ones whose identities are transformed through socialization. In our study, socialization agents' work—teaching socializees to take on a given collective identity and ignore demographic identities and differences—placed them at the center of competing social pressures from the organization and the socializee. These pressures prompted an experience of social identity threat; further, interpersonal interactions with socializees were fundamental to agents' navigation of this identity threat and emerging self-definitions. These findings suggest altering our theoretical image of socialization from a unidirectional process of identity construction flowing from organization to socialization target, to a more multidirectional portrait that includes agents being socialized by their interactions with the organization and socializees. This multidirectional perspective on socialization suggests exciting new scholarly directions on the varied sources and nature of socialization in organizations. For instance, scholars could examine how subordinates may socialize managers and customers may socialize salespeople. New lines of inquiry ought to also examine the agency of socializees, including how those from lower-status social groups may reshape the identities of their higher-status socialization agents and thus influence the conditions of their own integration into the collective.

A second key insight from our theoretical model is that agents' identity transformation, which involved learning to bridge facets of their selves as both connected to and distant from socializees, enabled

elaborated socialization practices. This insight advances research on how organizational agents in authority roles, such as leaders and managers, engage with conflicting demands from their institutions and the individuals they serve (Kahn & Kram, 1994; Margolis & Molinsky, 2008; Petriglieri, Wood, & Petriglieri, 2011). Agents who are purely devoted to the organization's needs are often impersonal and lose the ability to meet individual needs; for instance, police officers may treat people as objects despite their mission to serve the public. In contrast, a focus solely on individuals' needs may serve neither them nor the institution well; for instance, managers may avoid providing necessary feedback to a subordinate. Our model proposes that revising one's own identities in relation to the other party allows one to inhabit an authority role in ways that respond to both institutional and individual demands. Specifically, our work suggests that individuals in authority roles may be better able to navigate conflicting institutional and individual demands if they learn to construct themselves as both connected to and distant from their subordinates. Our model further offers deeper insight into how those in authority roles in diverse organizational contexts, such as educators (Petriglieri & Petriglieri, 2010), mentors (Thomas, 1993), or leaders (Nishii & Mayer, 2009), may be able to integrate members of marginalized groups more responsively by engaging in relational reconciliation.

Beyond those responsible for socializing others, our study might also be applicable to research on the socialization of professionals themselves, who must increasingly serve a diverse body of individuals. On the one hand, professional rules and knowledge are often treated as standardized, disembodied entities that can and should be administered uniformly by any professional to any person (Freidson, 1988). On the other hand, professionals embody that knowledge, and, in diverse contexts, they must learn that over- or under-emphasizing the standardized nature of the knowledge can lead to mistreatment and dire consequences (see Greenwood, Carnahan, & Huang, 2018; Hoffman, Trawalter, Axt, & Oliver, 2016, for recent examples of gender- and race-related disparities in medical treatment). Our study suggests that any professional in a diverse context must be taught that reconciling both the institutionalized body of knowledge and the unique needs of those they serve requires redefining their selves.

Our third insight is that socialization practices can be variable because of misalignment between the agent's own views and the organization's demands, not only because of the socializee. Further, we found that the nature and content of the organization's socialization demands drive the misalignment across organizational levels. Specifically, our model depicts how agents engaged in elaborated socialization despite the organization's demands to engage in institutionalized socialization tactics. Our study also revealed how agents can struggle with the content of socialization: here, tutors struggled with the school's demands to ignore students' social identities. While the assimilation demands we studied may seem extreme, they are similar to colorblind philosophies (Pollock, 2004; Rattan & Ambady, 2013) and emphases on a disembodied professional identity (Ashcraft, 2013; Roberts, 2005; Uhlmann et al., 2013) that dominate in many organizations. Our study surfaces evidence that it is not just socializees from marginalized groups who find these demands personally challenging. Imposing these demands can also be difficult for agents, even when it may seem as though these demands fit their own social identities. Thus, in diverse contexts, strong assimilation demands may result in agents' actual socialization practices being misaligned with the organization's expected ones (and perhaps more aligned with socializees' needs).

This misalignment between organizational demands and socialization agents' practices can be read in different ways. A reading emphasizing the socialization agent's agency suggests that, even in organizations with assimilationist practices, agents are capable of socializing members of marginalized groups in a personalized manner. However, a reading emphasizing organizational constraints would emphasize that agents only provide a limited responsiveness to socializees who are members of marginalized groups. In this view, relational reconciliation is not sufficient to fundamentally challenge the organization's assimilationist demands or the broader status quo. In this sense, socialization agents did not act as true change agents in the organization (Creed et al., 2010; Meyerson & Scully, 1995). Indeed, while, as individuals, the agents we studied felt the assimilationist socialization practices potentially reflected and reproduced societal power differences, this did not coalesce into a more overt, collective reckoning with these practices. Furthermore, in other contexts, agents may even be aligned with assimilationist practices, either because they are blind to their impact or believe they are appropriate and effective. Future work should examine agents' responses in different contexts, as well as other outcomes, such as agents' own emotional exhaustion, that might be linked to the experience of misalignment with the organization's socialization demands.

Our model of relational reconciliation also offers important insights for identity and diversity scholarship. First, we bring a relational perspective on identity negotiation (Lepisto et al., 2015) to scholarship on identity threat (Petriglieri, 2011). While work has tended to

examine intra-psychic responses to identity threat (e.g., how gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender priests learn to "be the change," Creed et al., 2010; see also Crocker & Major, 1989), some scholarship suggests that people engage in interpersonal responses as well (Ashforth et al., 2007; Berdahl, 2007; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Our study reveals relational reconciliation as an interpersonal way to engage with identity threat. By paying attention to the interpersonal approaches, we bring fresh insight into understanding how people may cope productively with identity threat (Holmes, Whitman, Campbell, & Johnson, 2016), a rarely studied phenomenon. While some of our findings mirror research that suggests people cope defensively with race- and class-based identity threats (Branscombe et al., 1999; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), we also find that socialization agents sometimes engaged constructively with the threat in ways that expanded their own self-definitions. Thus, our study suggests that responses to identity threat can be simultaneously defensive and developmental (Dutton et al., 2010; Petriglieri, 2007). We speculate that the prosocial nature of the context may have shaped agents' non-defensive responses to social identity threat, in two ways: people open to engaging with social identity differences may have been attracted to the organization, and the organizational mission itself could have encouraged employees to engage with threat (Ely & Roberts, 2008: 189). Future work should examine whether agents may be less likely to experience identity threat or even struggle with organizational demands to assimilate socializees in less prosocially oriented organizations.

Second, our model of relational reconciliation unites seemingly contradictory research on building positive relationships across social identity groups. On the one hand, interpersonal approaches, including disclosure, can minimize group differences and build positive relations (Davies et al., 2011; Dovidio et al., 1993; Miller, 2002). On the other hand, they may create more distance between members of different demographic groups (Dumas et al., 2013; Phillips et al., 2009). We find that socialization agents are likely to experience both of these outcomes: interpersonal approaches sometimes result in encounters that bring them together with their socializees, and sometimes in encounters that pull them apart. Moreover, while approaches helped agents learn about socializees, a key element of relational reconciliation was agents' learning to view their selves as both connected to and distant from socializees. In this way, our study expands the view that approaches help people learn about the other to include the idea that approaches help people learn about themselves. Thus, our work connects research on

demographically dissimilar relationships to research on intrapersonal identity dynamics (Creary, Caza, & Roberts, 2015; Ramarajan, 2014; Ramarajan, Berger, & Greenspan, 2017). While the demographic differences between agents and socializees we studied may have seemed stark, from Silicon Valley to Wall Street, many organizations have similar overlaps between organizational and societal status hierarchies (Catalyst, 2017; Ho, 2009) and often promote assimilation among members (Ramarajan & Reid, 2013; Reid, 2015). Thus, future work should examine how socialization agents in other contexts respond. Overall, our model of relational reconciliation depicts a dynamic and somewhat halting process through which socialization agents in diverse contexts engage with their socializees and bridge aspects of their selves in order to socialize members of marginalized groups in responsive ways.

Study Limitations and Future Research Directions

This study has several limitations and also offers several insights for future work. First, our setting reflected strong institutionalized socialization practices. While such arrangements are common in organizations, future work should examine if agents respond similarly in contexts with more individualized socialization practices. Further, we note that our setting embraced strong norms around colorblindness and professionalism; future work should explore dynamics in settings with weaker norms regarding diversity, assimilation, and the nature of professionalism. A second limitation is that, as most tutors only occupied the role for one year, this transience may have provided an easy justification for tutors to see themselves as distant; future work could examine how role transience may make relational reconciliation more challenging. Third, we note that tutors were not socializing students to take on tutor role; rather, students were being socialized into societal, professional, middle-class norms. Moreover, the socializees in our study were minors in a school; thus, agents had more authority than they would over adults. Future work could examine how relational reconciliation unfolds when agents are socializing individuals to take on an internal organizational role and have less authority. Fourth, while tutors' relational reconciliation was responsive to socializees' needs, we do not mean to suggest that this is the perfect or best response. We encourage further research on agents' and socializees' experiences of socialization practices that are responsive and inclusive. Fifth, our qualitative approach was well suited to building a process theory. Future work may want to use large

sample studies to examine whether relational reconciliation differs based on social class as well as intersections between gender, race, and class identities. Last, future work should examine the consequences of elaborated socialization for the socializee (e.g., performance, well-being).

Practical Implications

Working across social divides is often a messy, complicated, tension-filled endeavor from which people are tempted to retreat. Our work offers insights for both leaders and employees engaged in such work. First, our study suggests that employees and leaders should recognize that overcoming these challenges requires being prepared for and being willing to engage in self-transformation. Thus, while working across race and class is often described as learning about the "other," our study suggests that leaders and employees must reframe this work to position it as learning about one's self as well. In particular, employees charged with socializing members of marginalized groups must discover how their own relationship with the dominant social culture shapes how they engage in this work. For instance, employees from both majority and minority racial groups and high- and low-status class backgrounds found their work challenging. Not all individuals in authority roles will hold the same social identities as those they serve, nor should they need to in order to work effectively; our findings suggest that all agents, regardless of their specific social identity backgrounds, must engage in self-discovery and redefinition of who they are in order to relate to their socializees.

In order to engage in self-transformation, employees should practice interpersonal approaches that will deepen their understanding of both their socializees and themselves. Specifically, they must learn to engage in multifaceted disclosure, sharing information about themselves, and empathic inquiry, asking questions of and listening to their socializees. Leaders and employees must expect that they will stumble as they make these approaches and that relationships may momentarily falter. Thus, leaders must validate approach behaviors and help employees learn tolerance for engaging in approaches despite the potential for backfiring.

Together, approaches and self-transformation will help employees create new socialization practices and ways of engaging with their socializees that are likely to be effective but may depart from practices the organization expects. Leaders should therefore encourage employees to question the utility and effects of existing socialization practices for members of marginalized groups, support experimentation, and institutionalize new practices. Overall, being willing to redefine oneself, take risks and stumble, and deviate from expected practices should better equip employees and leaders help marginalized group members integrate into the collective in ways that recognize and value their culture and background while also helping them participate in and benefit from the majority culture.

Our study also offers insight for leaders of organizations aiming to reduce social inequality. A central debate about charter schools is whether "no excuses" practices help transform inequality by changing students' mindsets and cultural affiliations, or if they reinforce it by perpetuating assimilation and demanding compliance from students from marginalized communities (Lack, 2009; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2004). The presence of relational reconciliation, and the host of elaborated socialization practices it informed, suggests that, at the very least, alternative forms of socialization may exist in these organizations. Thus, school administrators and leaders of social sector organizations attempting to socialize members of marginalized groups should begin by questioning whether their expected practices are necessary or effective and surfacing alternative practices that may already exist. More broadly, despite pro-diversity rhetoric, assimilation pressures such as colorblind philosophies and norms of professionalism remain common in many organizations. In such organizations, leaders should make it safe for employees to stumble and experiment as they navigate toward more inclusive practices and then work toward institutionalizing them at the collective level.

CONCLUSION

Management scholars are being exhorted to address broad societal challenges. By bringing a socialization lens to understanding organizations that aim to reduce social inequalities, our study reveals that even organizational practices designed to reduce inequality may unintentionally reify it. Socialization agents in such organizations are a critical force through which such practices can be altered to meet the needs of members of marginalized groups who bear the brunt of societal inequalities. Our study shows, however, that this can only happen if these agents are willing and open to being transformed by those they are aiming to help.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Original Questions for Cohort 1

- What were you doing before you joined [Domino]?
- Why did you join [Domino]?
- Tell me about your job. What is your job?
- What do you feel are expectations about you as a professional?
- Tell me a story (give me a concrete example) about something you did at work that was hard for you. Tell me a story about something you did at work that was easy for you.
- What's the biggest obstacle in terms of doing your work?
- Is there something about your work that you really enjoy and feel it wouldn't be the same without? How satisfied are you with your work environment?
- What do you recall from your initial training? Who do you go to for help and advice here? Can you tell me about a time when it was difficult to receive feedback?
- Tell me about someone you see as a successful employee at [Domino]. What about them makes them successful? Tell me about someone you see as an unsuccessful employee at [Domino]. What about them makes them unsuccessful?
- What does "no excuses" mean to you? How do you see this changing?

Additional Questions for Cohort 2 that We Asked at the End of the Interviews

- What do you think about the merit/demerit system?
- How did your own high school experience compare to [this school]?
- Have you ever been conscious of your race while at [this school]?
- Have you ever been conscious of your socioeconomic status while at [this school]?
- Have you ever been conscious of your gender while at [this school]?