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### Defining the Self in Terms of Power, Plurality and Social Embeddedness – the Model of the Agonistic Self

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## DEFINING THE SELF IN TERMS OF POWER, PLURALITY AND SOCIAL EMBEDDEDNESS – THE MODEL OF THE AGONISTIC SELF

*Abstract.* The paper offers an analytical framework for conceptualization and research of the structure and dynamics of the agonistic self, relying on Hermans' dialogical self theory and Foucault's analytics of power. In a multiple-case study, 9 teachers participated in a two-phase Agonistic Self Interview. A deductive-inductive thematic analysis of the data yielded an analytical framework comprising 4 categories: Functions of Voices, Power Relations (with two sub-categories: Forms of Exercising Power and Practices for Exercising Power and Resistance), Types of Relations Between Voices, and Institutional Context. The paper offers the analytical concept of a strategic situation along with novel methodological tools for the research and analysis of the self as embedded in interpersonal relationships and sociocultural and institutional context. The psychological relevance of the findings is discussed in terms of relations between dominance and maintaining plurality within the self and relations between the stability and social contextualization of the self.

*Keywords:* dialogical self, power relations, self in context, qualitative research, teacher professional self.

### INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a thorough consideration of the model of the multiple, decentralized, discontinued, socially embedded and culturally and institutionally contextualized self, whose dynamics are predominantly defined by power relations between different voices (Džinović, 2020). We propose for this model of the self to be labeled as *agonistic*. The term comes from the Greek word *agon* (ἀγών) denoting struggle, which is the root metaphor of our understanding of the self.

In the first part of the paper, we focus on: 1) approaches that share the ideas of multivoicedness and sociocultural embeddedness – polyphony (Bakhtin, 1929/1984), the dialogical self theory (Hermans & Kempen, 1993), and social saturation (Gergen, 1991; 2009); 2) Foucault's (1979) analytics of power. Further, we present the model of the agonistic self as a part of the strategic situation along with its research methodology. Finally, we introduce a set of categories for describing and analyzing the dynamics of the agonistic self, developed in a qualitative study of the teacher professional self.

#### **Multivoicedness, Social Embeddedness, and the Self**

Bakhtin (1929/1984) inspired the model of the multivoiced self as he was among the first to view individual consciousness as a social and dialogical phenomenon. He pointed to the need to analyze

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3 the tensions and contradictions within the self from the standpoint of wider ideological conflicts  
4 in society, within which one's individual consciousness is established.

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6 Drawing on Bakhtin's ideas, Hermans & Kempen (1993) conceptualized the self as  
7 comprising a multitude of perspectives that the I can take up alternately in order to give them voice  
8 and enable dialogical exchanges between them. Hermans (2003; 2018) relativized the deeply  
9 rooted division into the inner psychological space and the material and sociocultural space  
10 accepting James' (1890) idea of the self possessing the crucial ability of appropriating various  
11 aspects of the surroundings. Relatedly, one of the key assumptions of the dialogical self theory  
12 (DST) is that relations between I-positions reflect a vast array of interpersonal relations, such as  
13 agreeing/disagreeing, negotiating, criticizing or judging, as well as different societal relations  
14 characteristic of institutional relations and social rules, such as self-sabotage, self-radicalization or  
15 self-government (Hermans, 2018).  
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19 Kenneth Gergen (1991) shed light on the mechanism through which the social environment  
20 furnishes the self with myriad different and conflicted potentials for being, referring to it as social  
21 saturation. Gergen argued that people adopt values, ritualized practices, and behavior patterns  
22 through relations with others, which is also in line with the ideas of Vygotsky (1962). Therefore,  
23 the results of social saturation are not limited to mental representations that aid the formation of a  
24 person's self-concept, but also include potentials for different ways of existing and expressing  
25 opinions, feelings, and intentions (Gergen, 2009).  
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### 38 **From Dialogicality to the Struggle for Dominance**

39 The DST offers an extensive elaboration of the idea that the dynamics of the self are affected by  
40 power relations. According to this perspective, power asymmetry is inherent in all communication  
41 activity, especially when institutional power differences are at play (Hermans, 1996; Hermans &  
42 Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Moreover, contemporary DST authors recognize that the tensions will  
43 inevitably emerge from the structural power differences, and that they represent pluralistic  
44 conditions for the development of both intrapsychological and interpersonal dialogues (Suransky  
45 & Alma, 2018). By incorporating the model of the agonistic democracy (Mouffe, 2013) they argue  
46 that the inherent structural differences cannot be overcome within the dialogue as they are rooted  
47 in political and economical circumstances. Therefore, authors call for explicitly addressing those  
48 inequalities with the aim to create an agonistic environment, in which parties both fight for  
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3 hegemony and acknowledge the right of others to fight for their position. In line with Mouffe  
4 (2013), Hermans (2018) states that both kinds of dialogue - consensual (consonant) and agonistic  
5 (dissonant) create the dynamics of the self. The former leads to consensus and effective action,  
6 while the latter leads to change and innovativity. The key idea of the dissonant dialogue is that the  
7 power differences are unavoidable and productive. This is also the basis assumption of our model  
8 of the self, with one important addition: behavior is based not only on the tensed and temporary  
9 convergence among alternative ideologies, but also on the suppression of the opposing  
10 perspectives.

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12 In order to fully understand the importance of power relations for intrapsychic dynamics  
13 we turn to Foucault's analytics of power (1979; 1982) as the most influential author whose work  
14 connects the theory of power and psychology. Foucault's significant contribution to contemporary  
15 understanding of power is that *power relations are ubiquitous, unavoidable, and positive*. Power  
16 is ubiquitous because everybody exercises power and is subjected to it. It is also unavoidable as it  
17 is impossible to extricate oneself from power relations. Finally, the positivity of the mechanisms  
18 of power is manifested in *the constitutive role of the struggle for power in producing human*  
19 *subjectivity* (Džinović, 2020; Foucault, 1979). Namely, social mechanisms of surveillance,  
20 confession, and examination produce discourses about individuals as beings to whom certain  
21 psychological characteristics, dispositions, and potentials are ascribed (Foucault, 1979; 1982).  
22 Discourses offer positions for the individualization of accounts, perceptions, and actions, which  
23 Foucault (1972) referred to as vacant places. The main implication of this standpoint is that the  
24 sense of being a psychological subject is the result of the individual temporarily occupying a  
25 certain position within the mechanism of subjectivizing power. Much like Gergen, Foucault  
26 believed that positions of subjectivity constitute a unique guide to action and are not mere semantic  
27 labels that people can identify with and use to conceptualize their diverse experiences.

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29 Foucault's approach to the problem of subjectivity neglects the perspective of the subject  
30 herself, who is faced with an array of possibilities for different ways of self-perception and action.  
31 Therefore, in this paper, we want to shed light on this individual perspective by asking the question  
32 of what sense of self is enabled by the mechanisms of subjectivizing power. Having in mind these  
33 considerations, we assumed that being exposed to multiple positions of subjectivity results in a  
34 struggle for dominance between these positions and that these agonistic dynamics form the basis  
35 of one's sense of self.

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3 Raggatt and Weatherly (2015) also pointed out that there is a lack of assessment tools that  
4 would allow for the examination of conflicts and opposing relations as crucial features of the  
5 dynamics of the dialogical self. This points to the existence of the methodological problem in  
6 agonistic approach to the self, aside from the conceptual one. Therefore, we aim to address both  
7 shortcomings in our paper.  
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### 13 **The Agonistic Self and the Strategic Situation**

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15 Previously the model of the agonistic self has been proposed, in which the self was defined as a  
16 *strategic situation that entails a temporary and dynamic relation of power between different voices*  
17 (Džinović, 2020). This agonistic approach is based on the view of the self not as a permanent and  
18 singular psychological object behind the pronoun I, but rather as an *event* in which different voices  
19 of unequal power confront each other. The situation is labeled as *strategic* because voices enter  
20 complex, long-lasting conflicts in which they use diverse tactics of power. The term *voice* refers  
21 to a personified, voiced, and named ideology that encompasses a relatively coherent set of beliefs,  
22 value orientations, and courses of action (Bakhtin, 1929/1984). In accordance with Billig (1991)  
23 we also understand a voice as a certain ideological view with its arguments, which compete for  
24 dominance with rival arguments. This strategic situation represents a *dynamic* event or process  
25 because tendencies towards conflict and cooperation among voices are diversely expressed in it.  
26 *Temporariness* refers to the fact that a sudden change in the distribution of power in the strategic  
27 situation leads to the epistemological appearance of a new self with new voices as characters  
28 among which a novel agonistic “plot” arises.  
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40 Having in mind the DST, we previously considered the self as a key concept whose  
41 dynamics are to be analyzed. However, the dynamics of the strategic situation are not exhausted  
42 by the relations between the voices belonging to the self, but two other actors equally shape these  
43 dynamics. First, there are exterior voices as representations of others in relation to the self since it  
44 is not possible to draw a clear line between what belongs to the self and what is the product of  
45 intersubjectivity, that is, the experience of joint action (Shotter, 1989; 1993). Second, there is the  
46 sociocultural and institutional context viewed as “a pre-existing plane” of value orientations that  
47 are operationalized through corresponding positions of subjectivity, institutionalized practices,  
48 material products, rituals, social norms, language, and the like (Cole, 1996; Foucault, 1972).  
49 Therefore, we wish to examine the justification and usefulness of reconsidering the strategic  
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3 situation as *a temporary, dynamic, and context-embedded constellation of power that entails*  
4 *internal and internalized voices of the self and exterior voices.*  
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### 8 **Research Aim**

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10 The main research aim of this paper is to develop a system of categories for precise theoretical  
11 conceptualization and the analysis of structure and the dynamics of the strategic situation. In line  
12 with this goal, we wish to determine whether introducing power relations as an inherent  
13 characteristic of the self can shed light on some of the aspects of the dynamics of the self that have  
14 remained omitted in the models insisting on the integrated (Erikson, 1968/1994; Harre, 1998;  
15 McAdams, 2006), coherent (Kelly, 1955; McAdams, 2006), and democratic (Hermans, 2018)  
16 nature of the self.  
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### 24 **Context of the study**

25 Primary education in Serbia is comprehensive, compulsory and implemented in two cycles: class  
26 teaching from Years 1–4 and subject teaching from Years 5–8, starting from the age of 7  
27 (Spasenovic, Hebib & Maksic, 2015). Most of the teachers are female. The average teacher salary  
28 is slightly higher than the average salary in the country (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia,  
29 2019). For that reason, the teaching profession is not quite attractive and it is worrying that every  
30 fifth teacher would like to change their job (OECD, 2014; Spasenovic, 2012). Lack of financial  
31 support makes the in-service training less effective, and the fact that around 40% of teachers have  
32 fixed-term working contracts and small career advancement opportunities negatively affect their  
33 motivation levels (OECD, 2020).  
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41 The Serbian educational system faced significant reforms in the past two decades which  
42 were mainly created for and applied at the elementary school level. The major among them refer  
43 to the changes in school management, the implementation of inclusive education, the creation of  
44 new curriculum, the development and application of school evaluation and the implementation of  
45 a new model of in-service teacher development (Hebib & Ovesni, 2019; Spasenović, Hebib &  
46 Maksić, 2015; Stanković, 2011). In spite of the amount of the reform interventions the overall  
47 evaluation of their outcomes shows the limited success in all the areas of the reform. There were  
48 significant discontinuities in educational policies during this period resulting in the teachers' sense  
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of confusion regarding the direction of the reform and, consequently, to insufficient progress in the quality of students' knowledge (Hebib & Ovesni, 2019; Stanković, 2011).

## METHODOLOGY

### Participants

The sample comprised 9 elementary school teachers, including 7 subject teachers and 2 class teachers. All participants were female, with 1-10 (N=3), 10-20 (N=4), and >20 (N=2) years of teaching experience. Most participants taught humanities subjects. Participants were recruited from two elementary schools in downtown B.<sup>1</sup>, both schools being partner institutions on a research project conducted by the research institute to which the authors of this paper are affiliated. Teachers were invited to participate in our research, which would include in-depth conversations about their professional experiences and old and new professional roles and would, hopefully, help them gain a deeper understanding of their profession and their professional identities. Each participant gave a verbal informed consent for audio-recording the conversations and the researchers guaranteed anonymity.

### Data Gathering – The Agonistic Self Interview

We gathered data using the Agonistic Self Interview (ASI), which represents an operationalization of the Model of the agonistic self (Džinović, Vesić, & Grbić, 2021; Grbić, Vesić, & Džinović, 2021; Vesić, Džinović, & Grbić, 2022). The interview procedure was inspired by the Constructivist Rologram technique (Stojnov & Pavlović, 2009; Stojnov & Procter, 2012), which uses graphic representations to elicit roles and encourage reflection on the relations between them. We found this interview approach to the plurality of the self useful for organization of agenda for Agonistic Self Interview, because it serves to elicit different positions of I with the help of visual mapping of their relations. We further developed the ASI as a distinct technique based on the principles of dialogicality and power relations.

We started the first interview by introducing the concept of “voice” to the teachers. As mentioned, we have explained that during the interview we will explore their professional identity, and different roles they have as teachers. We said that they could think about these different roles

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<sup>1</sup> Full name of the city will be provided after the review process.

(we used this term in the everyday sense and not in the sense it is defined in the Personal Construct Psychology - PCP) as various “voices”, or characters that they assume in their everyday professional practice. Each “voice”, role, or character has its own thought process, beliefs on what is important to achieve and ideas on how those beliefs should be put into practice. We have also mentioned that some roles, or voices, could be compatible, i.e. in sync with one another, while others could be mutually opposed. In general, the metaphor of voice seemed intuitively understandable for the participants and most of them easily adopted it. However, we did not insist on the name “voice” - participants also used the term “role”, or just said, for example: “I am, first and foremost, the Lecturer” and “Sometimes, I’m also a Boogeyman”. Those distinct characters teachers treated as their professional roles and they matched our conceptualization of voice, so we treated them as such.

During the first interview, we encouraged the participants to write down each of the characters they assumed in their teaching practice, and to visually represent them and their relationships to each other (to put closer those who work together well, to put the most important ones in the middle, to use some symbols to represent collisions between some of their roles, characters or voices, etc.). Aside from this similarity with the Constructivist Rologram, it should be clear that, theoretically, the concept of voice is different from the concept of role used in the Constructivist Rologram technique. Let’s take for example the role of *Older brother*. In Rologram technique, this role would be understood in terms of one’s constructions of his/hers placement and responsibilities in social relations (e.g. “I am an older brother who has to protect my younger siblings”). However, in the ASI we would elicit different perspectives on what does it mean to be and how does it look like to be an Older brother (e.g. “I as an older brother have to always be there for my younger sibling”, but also, “I as an older brother deserve more allowances”). We consider roles from the Personal Construct Psychology and voices in the Model of Agonistic self as categories belonging to different planes of conceptualization of human behavior.

After the introduction to the participants on how they can understand the term “voice”, we proceeded with the interview. The ASI comprises questions that explore the structure and dynamics of the strategic situation, here in the context of the teacher’s professional identity.

*Structure.* First, we mapped the inner voices, that is, the voices participants viewed as genuinely theirs. Some of the questions in this section were: ‘Write down your thoughts on professional roles that you assume as a teacher as if they were voices or characters engaging in



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3 dialogue on an imagined stage. Write down their views on what classes should look like, how the  
4 teacher and students should behave, what learning is, and the like. How would you name each of  
5 those voices?’ In the subsequent part of the interview, we asked participants to expand their voice  
6 repertoire to include internalized voices, that is, the ones they knew came from other people but  
7 they heard as if they were theirs or as if they were ‘in their heads’. Finally, we asked teachers to  
8 elicit exterior voices, the messages sent by other actors in the educational system with whom they  
9 regularly interact.

15 *Dynamics.* The interview process proceeded with the questions concerning the  
16 relationships between voices. The questions regarding the dynamics were conceptualized based on  
17 the theoretical categories of dominance versus subjection and cooperation versus conflict  
18 (Džinović, 2020). Examples of questions were: Which voices are dominant and which are sidelined  
19 or silenced and why? Which voices cooperate, support, or help one another and which voices are  
20 in a mutual conflict and why? Which voice do you rely on most when faced with everyday  
21 professional challenges/bad feelings and why? Which voice is the sheer opposite of this voice in  
22 this respect and why?’

29 Data gathering procedure included the second interview, which was less structured and  
30 more focused, and served to further elaborate all concrete dilemmas regarding the structure and  
31 dynamic of one’s agonistic self. For example, if during the analysis of the first interview we  
32 mapped a stream of thought that the participant themselves did not recognize as voice, we used the  
33 second interview to explicitly ask them about it and clarify its status. A participant could mention  
34 in the first interview that she sometimes feels “tired” and thinks that professional demands are too  
35 high and that they could take a toll on her health. If we were not clear on the status of this stream  
36 of thought after the analysis of the initial interview, we would ask the teacher in the second  
37 interview whether this is a distinct new voice or if this is a part of some other already recognized  
38 voice.

46 Typically, at the beginning of the first interview participants named 5 to 6 internal and  
47 internalized voices, and during the course of the first interview, as well as in the second, around 2  
48 to 3 more voices were elaborated. We believe that the number of voices that can be elicited should  
49 not be limited in advance. But, in our experience, one can perceive and differentiate from 5 to 10  
50 voices as independent and relatively coherent units.

## Procedure

Teachers who volunteered to participate in the research first had initial interviews at the schools where they worked, which were subsequently transcribed. Based on the initial analysis, the researchers wrote up individual reports containing descriptions and interpretations of the structure and dynamics of the agonistic self, which the researchers treated as revisable hypotheses. After the initial analysis, the teachers received: a) individual reports for the purpose of participant validation; and b) additional questions for purpose of resolution of existing dilemmas, gathering missing data and theory specification (see Quality Assurance).

For five teachers whose individual reports were more extensive and involved more dilemmas and missing data, the second interview was conducted. Four teachers were asked to send their answers in written form as their individual reports were less dilemmatic. Each initial and second interview lasted between 90 and 120 minutes. The initial interviews were conducted between April and June 2019, while the second interviews and the written exchange took place in January and February 2020. The teachers who participated in the second interviews were financially reimbursed. New data was used to produce revised and more elaborated individual reports that entered a cross-case analysis.

## Data Analysis

We opted for the multiple-case study design as the methodological framework most suitable for linking the level of individually specific data to the level of general data that enable theory building (Willig, 2008; Yin, 1994/2014). Within the multiple-case study design, we conducted a deductive-inductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the first step, we conducted single-case studies. Each successive study served to replicate the previously generated categories and develop new categories (Yin, 1994/2014). To replicate the categories developed in later individual studies, we returned to previous studies and revised them. In other words, our multiple-case study involved multiple reinterpretations of case studies within a 20-month process of developing, applying, and verifying analytical categories.

The initial categories of dominance, subjection, cooperation, and conflict, which were entered into the interview guide, were based on Foucault's (1979) analytics of power. In the process of data analysis, these categories were distinguished from similar, inductively developed categories. Although numerous inductive categories were introduced during the course of thematic

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3 analysis, we used pre-existing theoretical concepts to name and define them and thus establish  
4 links between our categories and these concepts (Table 1).

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6 In the phases of collecting data and developing inductive categories, we partially validated  
7 the generated categories through the experiences of the participants. However, we moved away  
8 from our participant's experiences and terminology and developed analytical concepts that could  
9 provide the foundation for a theory on the dynamics that underlie behavior.

### 14 15 **Quality Assurance Procedure**

16 The quality assurance procedure involved the hermeneutic circle (Schleiermacher, 1998), the  
17 negotiation of the meanings of the generated categories, participant validation, and **additional data**  
18 **gathering for the purpose of theory refinement** (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992).

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20 We applied a common quality assurance procedure involving circular movement between  
21 the data and the interpretive categories along with the reinterpretation or refinement of their  
22 meanings when needed. A shift in meaning between the two points in time when the interviews  
23 were conducted was a particular challenge. This challenge was overcome by pointing out the  
24 differences in meaning to the teachers and asking them to modify the initial interpretations together  
25 with the researchers. That way, we acknowledged the temporal mutability and the developmental  
26 nature of the phenomenon (Yin, 1994/2014).

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28 The researchers together analyzed all the data, which allowed for a continuous negotiation  
29 of interpretations and a dialogue on theoretical and semantic meanings of the categories. The  
30 researchers partly relied on Foucauldian, Kellyan, and sociocultural theoretical orientations, which  
31 led to lively and occasionally heated discussions that contributed to the preciseness and credibility  
32 of the obtained categories.

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34 In terms of participant validation, we asked the teachers to read the initial individual reports  
35 and give their comments on the soundness of our interpretations. To this end, we constructed the  
36 initial individual reports so they comprised descriptions of relations between voices that reflected  
37 the statements of our participants as closely as possible. We explicitly mentioned only a few  
38 analytical categories developed by that point.

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40 For the purpose of further development of the theory, we prepared **additional** questions for  
41 **the participants**. We asked the teachers to confirm the existence of the new voices hypothesized  
42 on the basis of the transcript, additionally describe relations between certain voices, render these

interactions concrete and tangible by describing situations in which they can be observed, and finally, act as a jury of sorts in cases of competing interpretations provided by the researchers.

Appendix 1 offers excerpts from the first and the second interview with one of the participants, Tea, which readers can use to get the idea on how the voices were elicited during the interviews and how participants discussed them in the context of their everyday teaching. Excerpts from Tea's interviews are used throughout the Results section in order to discuss and illustrate theoretical propositions, as well as to show distinctions between the proposed categories on concrete examples. Where appropriate, we have also used excerpts from interviews with the other participants, which entail the descriptions of their interactions with the students, parents and colleagues.

## RESULTS

Table 1 offers an overview of the tripartite category system which entails: structural part of our model (Functions of voices), dynamics of the agonistic self (Forms of exercising power, Practices for exercising power and resistance and Types of relations between voices) and the institutional context in which voices operate. The table also includes references to theoretical sources based on which certain categories were formed or named.

*Table 1. Categories for Describing the Dynamics of the Strategic Situation*

Main Categories	Sub-categories	Theoretical Influence
Functions of Voices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideologue (prevailing, dominant)</li> <li>• Executor</li> <li>• Facilitator</li> <li>• Advocate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal Construct Psychology (PCP), subordination (Kelly, 1955)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Illegitimate Facilitator</li> <li>• Protestor (*some are Antagonists)</li> <li>• Process Modifier</li> <li>• Subsequent Evaluator</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dialogical Self Theory (DST), shadow position (Hermans, 2018); PCP, regnancy (Kelly, 1955)</li> <li>• DST, meta-position, (Hermans, 2018)</li> </ul>

<b>Power relations</b>	<i>Forms of Exercising Power</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Domination</li> <li>• Prevailment</li> <li>• Resistance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analytics of power (Foucault, 1979); PCP, core constructs (Kelly, 1955)</li> <li>• Analytics of power (Foucault, 1979)</li> </ul>
	<i>Practices for Exercising Power and Resistance</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legitimation</li> <li>• Delegitimation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discursive psychology, strong evaluation (Taylor, 1985); positioning (Davies &amp; Harré, 1990)</li> </ul>
	<b>Types of Relations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identification</li> <li>• Acceptance with critique</li> <li>• Team work (facilitating, executive)</li> <li>• Cooperation</li> <li>• Productive tension</li> <li>• Conflict</li> </ul>	
	<b>Institutional Context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formative effect</li> <li>• Legitimizing effect</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analytics of power (Foucault, 1979)</li> </ul>

### Functions of Voices

When asked about their professional roles and values, teachers, as expected, usually started their narrative with the role of somebody who passes the knowledge down (“Educator”, “Lecturer”, sometimes “Motivator”). Later, teachers elaborated on key beliefs and values they hold, which they attributed either to the voice of the “Educator”, or they ascribed it to an important other from their past, often both. As we will argue, these voices are Ideologues, a kind of powerful voices which are a backbone of their professional identity. Their narratives show that Ideologues have supportive voices that help with the teaching process, which we named Executors and Facilitators. Teachers also have additional beliefs regarding their practice that were important but not central for them, which were personified by what we named Advocates. Furthermore, while narrating everyday school situations and interactions, they also displayed some other behaviors and perspectives on teaching that were quite different from their main values. Those voices had a range of negative affects and emotions attached to them (e.g. rage, exhaustion, helplessness). We were sensitive to displays of these other experiences and treated them as distinct types of voices:

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3 Illegitimate Facilitators, Protestors and Antagonists (which we treated as a subtype of Protestors).  
4 Finally, teachers habitually reported on an evaluative practice they tend to do during and/or after  
5 they exit the classroom, which we recognized as Process Modifiers and Subsequent Evaluators.  
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8 In total, we distinguished between 8 main functions of voices (Table 1) which are relational  
9 and trans-situational. It means that a voice only has a function in relation to other voices and  
10 performs the same function in all strategic situations. The exceptions of the rule of trans-  
11 situationality are the Facilitator and the Advocate (see the sections on Facilitator and Advocate  
12 below).  
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19 First, we will discuss voices which personify participants' core values and beliefs. These  
20 voices are recognizable in that the participants regularly use first person to describe them ("I want  
21 to change the world"... "I'm also a circus performer"... "I take into consideration the differences  
22 between the kids"), which suggests strong identification with these standpoints. We view these  
23 voices as ego-syntonic in a sense that they mostly personify positive emotions, desirable traits and  
24 skills and an overall sense of purpose.  
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29 Examples that will serve for better understanding of developed categories will be presented  
30 in indented blocks separated from the rest of the text. These examples represent excerpts from  
31 individual reports, which means that they are parts of our analysis. The individual reports also  
32 comprise the excerpts from the interviews, i.e., participants own words, which we put in *italics*.  
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38 **Ideologue** is, as we mentioned, usually the first voice participants elicited during the interviews.  
39 We defined it as a voice primarily characterized by a complex and well elaborated system of  
40 values, attitudes and preferences which regularly interacts with the exterior voices and channelizes  
41 the behavior in a wide range of situations. We mapped two kinds of Ideologues: the prevailing  
42 Ideologue, i.e. the King, and the dominant Ideologue.  
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46 The King is 'the main protagonist' of the strategic situation, that participants talked about as  
47 the most important voice or the voice who has some kind of a task or a mission (in this particular  
48 case, regarding the teaching) and an idea on how to put that into practice. As participants'  
49 narratives show, he has a team of voices assembled around him with whose assistance the King  
50 manages to assert its course of action and realize its ideology in most situations (Tea: "It's as if he  
51 was above them. It's like a king and his kingdom. The king has advisors who assist him to reign").  
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3 As can be concluded from this excerpt, we named this function of the voices ‘the King’ according  
4 to the label which the research participant had used in order to express the importance and the  
5 central position of this kind of Ideologue in the repertoire of the voices. The voices that comprise  
6 Kings’ team or coalition will be discussed in the sections on the Facilitator and the Executor. Here  
7 is one example of King:  
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13 Tea<sup>2</sup> named her King the Educator and here is how she describes it: *One complete teacher that is well*  
14 *educated and competent should always work on improving herself. I want to learn new things, to inspire*  
15 *the students, to change the world. As we can see, King’s ideology is not limited to the goal of teaching*  
16 *the students stuff included in the curriculum, but also bears the sense of professional purpose. She is*  
17 *motivated by leaving a trace in student lives (which stems from the Family voice): *It is important for**  
18 *me that students learn something for life. I want them to remember me... I have found [student’s talent*  
19 *for music] which they and their parents had no clue about. There’s no bigger inspiration!. The*  
20 *Educator’s complex ideology personifies a blend of the traditional and the modern teacher, because it*  
21 *is not merely oriented towards passing down the knowledge: *I don’t like to teach frontally, that is**  
22 *outdated, and not good with these new generations. I mainly teach through the discussion and guide*  
23 *students to discover the answers themselves. Tea opposed our initial interpretation of Educator, arguing*  
24 *that she stands for creativity: *She is not strict and firm... I think you got her all wrong. Yes, she is**  
25 *focused on realizing curriculum, but she finds creative ways to do so. She is flexible. The Educator has*  
26 *a vision about how her classes should look: *I teach culture. My classes should be pleasant, creative,**  
27 *interesting... I mainly teach through the discussion and guide students to discover the answers*  
28 *themselves. This type of standpoint that has a wide-ranging set of beliefs and bears a sense of purpose*  
29 *is what we call a highly developed ideology.*  
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40 A second type of Ideologues is the dominant Ideologue, which personifies core personal or  
41 professional values. In all but one example, it was a voice of the important person or persons from  
42 the participants' past, which was crucial for the development of their value system. In the case of  
43 Tea, she named it “Family voice”, and for her it was a collective voice of her mother’s side of the  
44 family. Mina named it “Father’s voice” and for Jessica it was Teacher’s voice of fairness (see  
45 below Mina’s example under section Domination and Jessica’s example under section  
46 Identification). However, times change and participants recognized that, even though they heavily  
47 rely on a set of beliefs and practices personified by that voice, they also have to modernize their  
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56 <sup>2</sup> We used pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants.  
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3 perspective if they want to keep up with the new generations and societal transformations. That is  
4 why, although crucially important for participant's moral system and professional identity, these  
5 voices are not the main protagonists on the educational scene, but "chief advisors of the King", as  
6 Tea put it. Also, they remain key transsituational sources of the legitimation of the prevailing  
7 Ideologue. The discussion on dominant Ideologues continues in the Dominance section.  
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13 **Executor** appears in participants' narratives as a supporting voice that interacts with the students,  
14 i.e. the exterior voices in order to help the King realize its teaching values, which makes it part of  
15 King's team (see the section on Team work below). In participants' narratives, Executors' actions  
16 were described as a straightforward execution of King's values, which is why we proposed that  
17 the Executor relies on a role relationship with the King (see the section on Team work below).  
18 That is why the Executor could never enter any type of relation with its King other than team work.  
19 What granted the Executor status of a distinguished type of voice (not identical to the King) is,  
20 firstly, the fact that participants themselves separated them from the King and gave them a unique  
21 name. That is the case of Tea's Actor (see example below). Secondly, we recognized that Executor  
22 has distinct *competencies*, that is, the practical, subordinate level of an ideology, consisting of  
23 knowledge on how to realize a certain ideology. The same way superordinate constructs control  
24 subordinate constructs in the **Personal Construct Psychology** - PCP (Kelly, 1955), we presumed  
25 that Ideologues use legitimation (see the section on Legitimation below) to exert effect on  
26 Executors and thus prevail over them. One additional observation is that one other type of voice  
27 can also have its own Executor, and that is the Process Modifier. Example of team work (see the  
28 section on Team work below) show how Jane's Executor, the Inspirer, creates a right atmosphere  
29 for the students to feel free to express their own opinions, which is what her King, the Teacher,  
30 values. Here is Tea's example:  
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46 When asked which voices go well together, Tea answered: *It's the Educator, the Actor and the*  
47 *Psychologist. They are realizing the teaching process and they want to do it right, to bring the best*  
48 *results. They want to help the children.* She described their relationship as follows: *The Educator is the*  
49 *leader, he is on top of the pyramid, but all other voices have to participate, so they could help the*  
50 *Educator who is on the top.* She elaborated on the role of the Actor: *I also have to be an Actor, a circus*  
51 *performer... especially with these new generations, you know. For this group you put this mask, for the*  
52 *other group this other mask. ... The classroom is a kind of a stage, and I have to adjust to my public.*  
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3 *So yes, I change roles.* As she described her King, the Educator, as the voice that values creativity and  
4 teaching through interaction, the Actor did not have distinct values and beliefs that we could discern  
5 from the King's - it appeared that they stood from the same things (see Appendix 1). The Actor's  
6 speciality was knowing which masks to put on to engage the students. For that reason, we understood  
7 him as an executive **instance that allows the Educator to expand its repertoire of roles, performances,**  
8 **and tools contributing to successful teaching:** *Sometimes, to get the right answer, I pretend to play the*  
9 *piano, trumpet, guitar – I use mimics and movement to get them to answer correctly... you simply have*  
10 *to know exactly when you should act something out.*

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15 What follows is the concrete situation when the Actor helps the Educator to realize what's the  
16 most important for her: *So, it is the end of the year, I have to finish the lessons, nobody listens to me,*  
17 *and I decide to tell them a riddle from the seminar. Only 2-3 kids heard me in that chaos and it blew*  
18 *my mind how smart and quick they were. ... Now, I completely wasted that class in a sense that I did*  
19 *not do what I planned. But my heart was full, I managed to calm them down, we had so many creative*  
20 *answers, even the most undisciplined and the least bright ones – everyone participated.* (Tea)

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25 **Facilitator** is in a role relationship (see **the section on Role relationship below**) with an Ideologue,  
26 which grants it the legitimacy to act upon the activities of exterior voices, and thus secure the  
27 conditions for this Ideologue to preserve or regain dominance/prevailment ("The Educator is the  
28 leader... but all other voices have to ... help the Educator"). Tea's case shows how actions of the  
29 Psychologist, the Facilitator, "prepares the ground" for the Educator, the King, to take over and  
30 pass down the knowledge. The Facilitator has its own point of view (e.g. on students and teaching)  
31 that is independent of the King's standpoint, and he realizes it in various situations. In other words,  
32 when the performance of a voice comes to serve the King, this voice assumes the function of the  
33 **Facilitator**, and we call this type of relation team work (see in the Relations sections). Because of  
34 that, the Facilitator is, just like the Executor, a part of the King's team.

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42 It is important to note the difference from the Executor: While participants clearly  
43 distinguished the Facilitator's unique and well elaborated point of view, it was impossible to  
44 pinpoint the Executor's values and beliefs that would differ from those of the King. Additionally,  
45 while the participants reported on Executor's goals and actions as always fully compliant with the  
46 King's standpoint, their narratives suggested that what was in previous situation the Facilitator in  
47 the next situation could "criticize" the King or pressure him to change his performance. That's  
48 when the Facilitator stops helping the King and assumes the function of the Advocate (see **the**  
49 **section on Advocate below**), which the Executor could never do. Example of team work (see **the**  
50 **section on Team work below**) show how Jane's Facilitator, **Ambitiousness**, manages to get

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3 students to cooperate in the teaching process, thus making them susceptible for the King, Teacher  
4 to take over the class. Here is Tea's example:  
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8 Tea mentioned the voice of the Psychologist several times throughout her narrative. Psychologist is:  
9 ...one piece of a puzzle. You have to adjust that curriculum to each individual student group, every  
10 group is different. ... She takes into consideration not just their behavior, but also their needs and  
11 wishes. And children react differently to the same things. Psychologist uses "soft" methods to elicit  
12 empathy from the students and make them susceptible for the Educator: *When it's hellishly hot ... I say*  
13 *to them: "Maybe I have to go to the bathroom too; I am nervous too, maybe I am hungry. ... But let's*  
14 *endure until we finish the job."* ... *I can scream, I can start playing the piano loudly, but sometimes I*  
15 *want to get through them. ... I want to show them that I am not a Boogeyman, that I care about them.*  
16 ... *That I am not here to torture them, that we are all on the same side. ... It calms them down.* As we  
17 understood it, the Psychologist brings another viewpoint on students that is compatible with, but  
18 separate from the viewpoint of the Educator. Additionally, Psychologist is interacting with the students  
19 in a way that makes it possible for the Educator to later take the stage. Psychologist here communicates  
20 the narrative of the Emotional (Protestor voice) to the students, but that only serves for the King to take  
21 over. (Tea)  
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30 **Advocate** is similar to the Facilitator in that it also has its own ideology, i.e., set of values and  
31 beliefs different from King's ideology that he tends to realize in various strategic situations.  
32 Participants' narratives suggested that, although important, this voice did not provide a sense of  
33 purpose nor had a team of voices that surrounded him, which distinguishes it from the Ideologue.<sup>3</sup>  
34 That does not mean that this voice is weak. What differs the Advocate from the Facilitator is that,  
35 instead of "working for" the King (as the Facilitator does), the Advocate makes the King modify  
36 its performance to include what the Advocate stands for. This is possible because, as we have  
37 hypothesized, this type of voice is legitimized, for example, by the powerful discourse in the  
38 educational context or by the voice of an important other from the past personified by the dominant  
39 Ideologue. Advocate, thus, in general does not interact with the exterior voices. Instead, his  
40 ideology is realized through King's actions, which is another difference from the Facilitator, who  
41 regularly interacts with the exterior voices. Our presumption is that, in agonistic dynamics, the  
42 King has to accommodate what Advocate 'pushes for' in order for the King to maintain his own  
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54 <sup>3</sup> In previous versions of the manuscript, we named this voice Minor Ideologue. However, given that this type of voice  
55 is not at the core of one's sense of professional or personal identity, we opted to change its name as to avoid the  
56 confusion with the category "Ideologue".  
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prevailment. As we mentioned, unlike any other function of voices that are subjected to the rule of trans-situationality, the Facilitator and the Advocate are interchangeable roles. That means that the same voice could assume the function of the Facilitator in one situation, but could switch it to the function of the Advocate in another strategic situation. Jane's Tutor is an example of the Advocate:

In Jane's case, The Teacher is the King, which personifies the narrative about learning based on experience and critical thinking: *I mean, (it's important) that they not just memorize the facts, but to learn things that they will use later in life and things that will make them think. If you are open to new ideas, you give the students the chance to say their personal views and interpretations of the matter at hand. But not without arguments - I always say... If you don't like a novel or a chapter, you can always tell me that... but support your opinion with good arguments.* However, Jane also had a voice of a Tutor: *It is important to use the materials to teach children certain life lessons.* When we asked Jane if the Teacher is doing the work, or the Tutor takes over the stage for a bit, she answered: *The Teacher interacts with the students, but it also starts using the materials for character-building purposes. Hence, we understood Tutor as an Advocate, whose message Teacher hears and modifies its own performance to make students learn what is important to the Tutor (see the section on Cooperation below). Maybe it is because of my subject... but I have to admit that I do this often, especially when discussing literary works. I consciously do it because I see that new generations need to connect the curriculum with real-life situations.*

So far, we have presented functions of voices that teachers saw as central for their sense of self in a professional context. Now, we will move to the voices that are ego-dystonic in a sense that they personify negative emotions, but also beliefs and practices that teachers feel either conflicted about or they see them as outright undesirable and even threatening to their professional identity. As we will see, King's successful prevalence rests on his ability to delegitimize and silence those voices in the majority of situations.

**Illegitimate Facilitator** represents a voice whose repertoire includes ways of realizing its own ideological position that are not legitimized by the Ideologue. This voice's ideology is a radicalized version of a certain Ideologue's position and is characterized by authoritarian, rough, harsh, and even humiliating communication with external voices. In case of Tea, she stressed that her Boogeyman was the opposite of the enthusiasm personified by her King, the Educator, and repeatedly expressed how repulsive the Boogeyman was, which we took as an indication that Illegitimate Facilitator's tools for realizing its own ideological position (for example, shouting) are

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3 not legitimized by the Ideologue. It is a voice that participants felt the most conflicted about  
4 because they acknowledged its usefulness whilst at the same time accentuating its undesirability  
5 (“He creates negativity, a bad atmosphere... I would kick him out both from my home and from  
6 the classroom. But the kids need to learn that there are some rules, a system that they will need to  
7 follow later, as grownups... The Boogeyman is like a bad cop who has to put things in order. Law  
8 and order kind of voice”). When asked to describe these standpoints, teachers regularly talked  
9 about them in third person. Illegitimate Facilitator’s prevailment is provoked by the situation in  
10 which the participants felt the delegitimation of the core values, which for Tea were the enthusiasm  
11 and the respect (“When I’m telling an interesting story and somebody talks behind my back... you  
12 start to feel insecure... When a child starts behaving as if we are friends, that throws me off the  
13 track”).

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15 As we have seen from teachers’ narratives, these voices have derogatory names and  
16 personify feelings of frustration and (sometimes intense) rage. They seem to abruptly take over the  
17 scene and react aggressively in an impulsive manner (“One kid told me: “Teacher, do you yell like  
18 that at your own kids?... If you were my mom, I would be so scared of you”. ... I realized that I  
19 was not aware of my behavior... It was more like a volcano eruption”). On the basis of that, we  
20 understood their ideology as founded on the principle of all or nothing, which acts like in a state  
21 of urgency, similarly to Kelly’s (1955) regnant construct.<sup>4</sup> As with Tea’s Boogeyman, we  
22 recognized some similarities between the dominant Ideologue (“Grandma and grandpa were  
23 extremely strict, God forbid how strict they were, but they were respected and beloved”) and the  
24 Illegitimate Facilitator, but the later seems to be a radicalized version of the former (“I remember  
25 when my grandma used to say: “If they don’t listen to you, you should talk quietly for a bit, or stop  
26 talking shortly.” Yeah, right, they would be the happiest if I stopped talking so they could have  
27 their fun. ... They [children] only react to something that is fast. And dramatic and dynamic”).

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29 Even though voices gathered around the King resist Illegitimate Facilitator it seems that  
30 this voice still becomes ‘implicitly’ legitimized, since its performance inadvertently secures the  
31 realization of Ideologue’s position, which is why we decided to consider them a kind of facilitators.  
32 We find that Illegitimate Facilitators are also similar to Hermans’ (2018) shadow positions, since

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<sup>4</sup> As an ideological position, our notion of voice most likely corresponds to a constellation of constructs (Kelly, 1955) that strives to realize its ideology in a complex situation of conflict between entities of unequal power.

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3 they are positioned by other voices as destructive but have positive functions and carry a  
4 developmental potential. However, unlike with shadow positions, individuals see Illegitimate  
5 Facilitators as parts of themselves and justify their actions, while also emphasizing their  
6 undesirability. Here is another example of the Illegitimate Facilitator:  
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12 Ivone named one of her voices Witch. The Witch perceives children as unsocialized, misbehaved and  
13 it laments the lack of possibility to use various punitive measures in the school. It is ready to tell  
14 students off or to argue with them until students are left disarmed and speechless. She narrated the  
15 situation where the Witch appeared: *I have a student who spends 6 hours a day on his phone on*  
16 *average... He explicitly told me that, and afterwards he did not bring his homework. That's when I*  
17 *felt the Witch awakening inside me... So, I told him in front of the entire class: 'You can spend 6 hours*  
18 *on your phone but you can't finish your homework?'. Teacher then narrated that after she left the*  
19 *classroom, she could hear other perspectives that were critical of the Witch: 'This child is very quiet,*  
20 *he never fights with anyone nor he ever protests for anything. So after the class I started questioning*  
21 *myself: 'Did I act right regarding him? How would this affect this child?' Afterwards he brought his*  
22 *homework and he even started coming to the extra classes I taught... But this could have turned out*  
23 *negatively, for sure, because he is a sensitive and quiet child. We understood this response as*  
24 *belonging to the Subsequent Evaluator (see the section on Subsequent Evaluator below), who*  
25 *regularly appears after the class and in this situation echoes the voices of the Mother and the Friend,*  
26 *the Advocates which strongly oppose the Witch's harsh approach as they position it as possibly*  
27 *damaging for the students. In spite of the arguments about its negative effects, the Witch's*  
28 *performance recreates the atmosphere for the continuing of the teaching process led by the King who*  
29 *values fairness, strictness and class management skills. (Ivone)*  
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39 **Protestor** personifies feelings of pressure, exhaustion, emotional rawness and vulnerability with  
40 the accompanying thoughts that what one is doing is damaging for one's long-term well-being.  
41 Alternatively, it represents beliefs regarding teaching that were diametrically opposed to the values  
42 and practices put forward by the King. Teachers generally considered it a personal weakness or  
43 tended to hide it, which is why it usually appeared later in teachers' narratives, and often was not  
44 easy to elaborate on.  
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Protestor is the most similar to the Advocate in a sense that they both have a unique  
ideological standpoint independent from the King. What differs him from the Advocate is that, as  
participants' narratives suggested, Protestor almost never influences the King or his team. He  
remains sidelined, in a position of resistance and in the relation of conflict with the King, without

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3 the possibility to ensure the realization of his own standpoint. We proposed that, unlike the  
4 Advocate, the Protestor regularly fails to influence the King and his team because he lacks any  
5 kind of legitimation that stems, for instance, from the institutional context or from the dominant  
6 Ideologue.  
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10 When it comes to the differences between the Protestor and the Illegitimate Facilitator, the  
11 latter is characterized by impulsive takeover of the strategic situation, the interaction with the  
12 exterior voices and radicalized, rude or angry performance which results, however, in  
13 strengthening the position of the King. Unlike that, the Protestor interacts only with the internal  
14 voices, almost never prevails over them in order to put his ideology into practice, and always  
15 problematizes the King's ideology. Here's Tea's Protestor:  
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22 The Emotional is not only delegitimized by her King and the students, as the exterior voices, but also  
23 by her dominant Ideologue, the Family voice. When trying to elaborate on the Emotional, one of the  
24 first things Tea told us is: *We should not show them ... what I am bringing from my life, from my family...  
25 No matter how tired I am, that's not their concern. That is my issue, not theirs. That's my job. I have  
26 to deal with it. Why would I tell them that and try to get their compassion?* We identified this as the  
27 standpoint of her King, the Educator, who, in the internal dialogue with the Emotional, advocates  
28 enthusiasm and perseverance. We understood this as an indicator of how strongly the King but also the  
29 context oppose her and delegitimize her. We also connected that with the Emotional's delegitimation  
30 by the Family voice (the dominant Ideologue), as he is a personification of a traditional teacher who  
31 maintains that the teacher should not show emotions: *They [grandma and grampa] were uptight and  
32 restrained.*  
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38 When we asked her to try and describe what the Emotional is feeling or saying, she ironically  
39 stated: *The previous night I took care of my sick kids, sure, I'm fine.* Emotional is, thus, only indirectly,  
40 through irony, communicating the exhaustion. Tea's narrative further illustrates how students, as the  
41 exterior voices, delegitimize the Emotional: *They (students) say for the other teacher: "You can easily  
42 see when she is nervous – she must have gotten into a fight with her boyfriend". Look, they are the  
43 children, and I'm listening and thinking – that's appalling.* In her narrative, when students ask: *Are you  
44 ok, teacher?*, because *You can see it [tiredness] on my face*, she answers: "I'm fine", which Tea  
45 attributed to the Actor, who regularly hides the Emotional. (Tea)  
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51 *Antagonists* are a form of Protestors that we opted to mention separately because of their extremely  
52 negative ideological standpoint in relation to the King and disturbing implications. The Antagonist  
53 personifies an immense frustration, feelings of helplessness, personal worthlessness or futility of  
54 someone's efforts. We encountered them in the situations when teachers reflected on extreme  
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3 invalidation by their students or on the general state of their profession. The Antagonist questions  
4 one's personal or professional choices, with the alternatives of either giving up on trying to put  
5 effort ("Just do the bare minimum") or making dramatical changes, including leaving teaching.  
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8 As with the Illegitimate Facilitators, teachers gave them derogatory names, but, unlike  
9 them, Antagonists are seen as completely unwanted and harmful (Mina: "I don't like when the  
10 Revolter takes over. He starts questioning everything"). What distinguished them from the other  
11 Protestors is that the Antagonist appeared only after teachers leave the classroom, never during the  
12 class ("He is not there when I teach... Once I leave the classroom, he could show up and bug me").  
13 We can see there that, at least in the case of teacher identity, the Antagonist's appearance is more  
14 dependent on the context change than other Protestors' or Illegitimate Facilitator's appearance.  
15 Additionally, unlike other Protestors, teachers extensively elaborated the Antagonist's standpoint.  
16 Further, the strength of the Antagonist's arguments comes from the fact that he shows up in the  
17 situation when the King is strongly undermined. Hence, participants reported that significantly  
18 more effort on their King's part was necessary to suppress the Antagonist compared to other  
19 Protestors. The example of such voice, which Olga named Real Life, is in the section on Conflict,  
20 and here's Tea's example:  
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32 Teas's Grumpy accentuates financial dissatisfaction, lack of respect for teachers and irrational  
33 administrative and other demands, which then produce strong feelings of frustration and pessimistic  
34 expectations: *Sometimes I ask myself: "God, why did you choose to become a teacher?" ... (This is  
35 some Grumpy voice... he is heavily influenced by the context, you know, the state in our society... the  
36 way the kids treat us, teachers, the way the parents treat us. ... It's all the paperwork, it is  
37 confusing....don't make fools of us, teachers. All of us are becoming more and more Grumpy, because  
38 we are pressured very hard. ... I work over the norm. But then Grumpy shows up: Why do you do that?  
39 How much are you paid? I mean... After 13 years on this job, I fulfill 100% of my quota and I get paid  
40 75%,... (My grandparents) lived modestly but they were highly appreciated. Nowadays, not only can  
41 you barely make your ends meet, you don't even get the respect.... (Tea)*  
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48 Finally, teachers' narratives suggested that they regularly engage in the reflective practice that  
49 helps them align their future actions with their values and goals, as well as to become aware of a  
50 perspective that has been sidelined by the more powerful voices. We have distinguished between  
51 two such functions: Process Modifier and Subsequent Evaluator.  
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3 **Process Modifier** is a voice that reflexively supervises the ongoing strategic situation ( “Do I  
4 adequately follow the lesson plan?”). These “watchers” have a practice-oriented ideology (“I have  
5 to make sure that students are physically safe”), based on which they estimate the performances of  
6 other voices. Phenomenologically, they appear as self-examination and internal evaluation of one’s  
7 actions and decisions according to the specified practical parameters (“Is this lesson’s difficulty  
8 adequate for this class?”). Participants named these voices accordingly (“Controller, Evaluator”)  
9 and described them in the form of questions they asked themselves (“Am I being too strict to this  
10 student?”).

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12 Even though some Process Modifiers also have its Executor, the most prominent difference  
13 compared to the King (prevailing Ideologue) is that Modifier’s standpoint does not encompass  
14 core personal or professional values and it usually doesn’t have its team of voices. Additionally,  
15 the Process Modifier never interacts with the exterior voices, e.g. the students. Teachers implied  
16 that Process Modifiers are valuable instances for their practice and are strongly influenced by them,  
17 which separates them from the Protestors. What was also apparent from the narratives is that the  
18 influence was one sided: While this voice modified other voices’ performances, nobody could  
19 modify it back. That distinguishes the Process Modifier not only from the King but also from the  
20 Advocate. Finally, teachers often reported that the self-evaluation was not an easy, harmonious  
21 process, and the modification of the King and his team often did not go smoothly, but included  
22 some psychological discomfort (see the example below). Based on that, we proposed that this  
23 voice exclusively engages in relations of productive tension or conflict with the King and his team,  
24 unlike the Advocates who could also cooperate with them (see Relations section). Alexandra’s  
25 case shows the tensive relation between her Process Modifier, the Controller as a Process Modifier,  
26 and her King, the Lecturer:  
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44 The Controller personifies the teacher’s narrative about the importance of strict management of the  
45 teaching process and the responsibility for students’ safety: *Controller is the one that makes sure there*  
46 *is order in the classroom, so that it does not turn into chaos. He reminds me to always keep track of*  
47 *everyone and make sure that all students are safe, that nobody falls down the stairs, and the like.* The  
48 Controller establishes productive tension (see the section on Productive tension below) with the  
49 Lecturer, an Ideologue which prefers interactive classes. As Alexandra reported, this relationship feels  
50 tensive because even in a smooth situation the Controller has to restrain the Lecturer who easily  
51 becomes influenced by the students when they push for more interaction and play. When this happens,  
52 Controller pulls back the Lecturer: “Yes, but not 100% and not all the time”. However, the Lecturer  
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3 easily forgets that: *Because the Lecturer is happy that the children are participating. That's why the*  
4 *Lecturer at that point dismisses the Controller. He starts thinking that he is better and smarter than*  
5 *him. Since the Controller notices that the Lecturer is in danger of not keeping the order in the*  
6 *classroom and not actually finishing the lesson plan for the day, its relationship with the Lecturer*  
7 *easily turns from productive tension to conflict (see the section on Conflict below): When the*  
8 *Lecturer's authority disappears and boundaries are crossed, the Controller opposes him - "Enough,*  
9 *Lecturer, you are not in kindergarten. This is a school. The students came here to learn something,*  
10 *and you should help them do that. You should give them some kind of strategy". This maneuver of the*  
11 *Controller leads to the previous relation which ensures that the Lecturer keeps the appropriate distance*  
12 *towards students and successfully realizes the lesson plan. (Alexandra)*  
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19 **Subsequent Evaluator** provides a subsequent evaluation of the outcomes of a strategic situation,  
20 based on revisiting it and reviewing it retrospectively. It shares many of the characteristics of the  
21 **Process Modifier**, which is why participants also described this voice using the metaphors of  
22 reflection and **retrospective** self-examination. Characteristics shared with the **Process Modifier**  
23 include that it interacts **only with the internal or internalized voices** (but not the exterior voices),  
24 cannot be modified and enters relations of productive tension and conflict (see **Relations** section).  
25 However, there are some notable differences. First, it never appears in the ongoing strategic  
26 situation, but takes the stage afterwards. Secondly, it only reflects the perspective of other voices.  
27 Some of them amplify the perspective of some powerful, prevailing ideology (see the example  
28 below). Others oppose a certain prevailing ideology by supporting the voice of resistance and  
29 highlighting the long-term negative effects of this prevailing ideology. In the latter case,  
30 participants named these voices by using the language of emotional and bodily states (e.g. sadness,  
31 fatigue or dissatisfaction). Finally, **unlike Process Modifiers**, participants described how it can  
32 reflect on several past situations with the same outcome, which serves to signal the need for some  
33 long-term adjustment or change.  
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45 Since **Subsequent Evaluators** amplify the arguments of different voices, they make sure  
46 there are no permanently silenced or marginalized positions. **Subsequent Evaluators** are thus  
47 similar to Hermans' (2018) meta-positions, except their role in overcoming conflicts and enabling  
48 the integration of the self. From our perspective, overcoming agonism is not possible. Here is Tea's  
49 example:  
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3 Tea's Evaluator subsequently reflects on the performance of her Educator, the King: *Sometimes I fail*  
4 *to do everything I had planned, so I start asking myself what I could have done better, why I let*  
5 *someone be disruptive and what I can do to prevent that from happening again. Her Evaluator is a*  
6 *powerful voice that does not let her enjoy her successes easily: I'm severely self-critical. ... I'm never*  
7 *satisfied ... It's not good for me but I always manage to find a flaw in everything. The other day we*  
8 *had a project about M.M. and I was insanely nervous because I wanted to show off both myself, as*  
9 *well as the other colleagues and the students. ... It turned out to be very interesting, and, even though*  
10 *I was praised for it, and everyone said that it was great, I was not satisfied afterwards. Tea recognized*  
11 *that this trait runs in her family: I'm trying to fight this but I guess I'm just made that way. My grandma*  
12 *was the same way. That was instilled in me, my mother always spoke about that... She always read*  
13 *something new, up until she retired. As we understood it, the Evaluator hears and amplifies the*  
14 *ideological position of the dominant Ideologue, Family voice, that nothing is good enough. As a*  
15 *consequence, the Educator listens to the Evaluator and modifies its performance in order to improve*  
16 *on something previously detected as flawed. (Tea)*  
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25 So far, we have discussed different functions that voices could assume, which outlines the  
26 structural part of our model. Now we proceed with the dynamics of the agonistic self. First, we  
27 introduce the concept of power relations.  
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### 31 **Power relations**

#### 32 *Forms of Exercising Power*

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37 Concept of power is indispensable for any theory of psychological dynamics founded on the  
38 principle of agonism. We substantially rely on Foucault's (1982) idea of power, who defined it as  
39 the ability to govern someone's behavior and to act upon the actions of others. While Foucault  
40 offered a clear-cut division into positions of power and resistance, which we initially adopted, our  
41 findings suggested that it is important to distinguish between *domination* and *prevailment* as two  
42 qualitatively different forms of power.  
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49 **Domination** is reserved for only one type of voice - it refers to a relatively stable "rule" of the  
50 dominant Ideologue who is, as participants described, an old voice and almost always originates  
51 from important other(s) from their past. This voice had a wide-ranging set of beliefs which were  
52 fundamental for their current value system and a sense of purpose. Participants suggested that  
53 much of what they do is aligned with dominant Ideologue's beliefs ("One complete teacher ...  
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3 should always work on improving themselves... I'm never satisfied... My grandma was the same  
4 way. That was instilled in me... (My mother also) always read something new, up until she  
5 retired"). From the point of our theory, that means that dominant Ideologue ensures that a large  
6 number of the legitimized voices implement its ideology or facilitate its realization. Also, beliefs  
7 and practices that our participants were strongly against run counter to the dominant Ideologue's  
8 standpoint ("I work over the norm... and I'm paid 75%. My colleagues say: You should only work  
9 as much as you are paid to. ... But I will never work like that. My grandma and grandpa... lived  
10 modestly but they were highly appreciated"). This suggests that domination leads to the relatively  
11 permanent delegitimation and suppression of opposing ideologies. As this voice represented  
12 'deeply seated' values, we posited that it cannot be modified but only temporarily disputed. That  
13 does not mean that this voice is a 'dictator' who is never challenged, as we will later see. We have  
14 already mentioned how Tea's King, the Educator, heavily relied on the Family voice, which  
15 represents a collective voice of her mother's side of the family. Here is Mina's example:  
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27 Mina is an interesting case, because her dominant Ideologue, the Father, became a backbone for two  
28 important voices: the Teacher and the Friend. Here is how she described the Father: *My father was*  
29 *also a professor. Lots of times I catch myself, as I'm talking with my students, that I'm explaining*  
30 *something to them just as my father used to explain that to me. I'm literally repeating his sentences.*  
31 *He was also very ambitious and strict but - which is totally contradictory - he maintained that*  
32 *everything is to be achieved with love. Just like the Friend, (he believed that) you can achieve anything*  
33 *if you provide understanding and support to the kids. The Friend, a voice which switches between*  
34 *the functions of the Advocate and the Facilitator, forms its own perspective under the strong influence*  
35 *of the Father's ideology: It's very important to me that the students can tell me everything, even some*  
36 *life-related things... Nowadays, what they miss the most is love. It's the sweetest thing for me when*  
37 *they feel loved and understood. The Teacher is the King that shapes the teaching practice. It also*  
38 *develops its own ideology, but it identifies with the part of the Father's ideology related to teaching:*  
39 *The Teacher... does everything by the book... ... It strongly opposes creativity because it succumbs*  
40 *to the old dogma on how you should properly teach. He wants order, work, discipline... He believes*  
41 *that, if you want tangible results, children need to see you as a figure of authority. In the teaching*  
42 *process, the Teacher most often interacts with the students and retains prevailment over alternative*  
43 *ideologies, as it is strongly legitimized by the voice of the Father. (Mina)*  
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53 The relationship between the dominant Ideologue and other voices is similar to the relationship  
54 between core role constructs and the constructs subordinate to them (Kelly, 1955). Namely, core  
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3 role constructs are not influenced by subordinate constructs, while the use of subordinate  
4 constructs is always guided by the imperative of core role constructs' validation. However, unlike  
5 core role constructs, other voices come into conflict with the dominant Ideologue under different  
6 circumstances (for instance, see [Acceptance with critique](#)).  
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11 **Prevailment** is a relation in which a voice exerts a temporary effect on other voices' performance.  
12 Its legitimizing power is limited to a smaller number of voices, which means that it is smaller in  
13 scope and more easily disputed. Consider Tea's case: the Educator, the King, influenced only the  
14 Actor (Executor) and the Psychologist (Facilitator). Unlike that, the Family voice, the dominant  
15 Ideologue, legitimized a wider range of more powerful voices: not only the King, but also her  
16 Evaluator ("You should always work on improving yourself"), and the Boogeyman, the  
17 Illegitimate Facilitator ("Children should learn that there are some rules that they will need to obey  
18 as adults"). Secondly, in contrast to the dominant Ideologue, a voice can simultaneously prevail in  
19 relation to another voice and be dominated or prevailed by some other voice. Tea's King usually  
20 prevails over the students - exterior voices (implied by the fact that the teacher has the feeling that  
21 she succeeds in engaging them in educational interaction), and over its team (by making them  
22 "work for him"), but, also, he regularly prevails over his opponents - i.e. Protestors (he successfully  
23 suppresses the Emotional and Grumpy). At the same time, the Educator regularly complies with  
24 the Evaluator's imperative to always improve and searches for the ways to modify itself in order  
25 to fix detected flaws.  
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38 That brings up an important point regarding the prevailing Ideologue, i.e. the King. From  
39 the perspective of our model, it is important to note that the King is not a sovereign who can do  
40 whatever he wants and who every other voice subjects to, as we will further see. Not only is he  
41 heavily relied on the legitimation provided by the dominant Ideologue, but his interactions with  
42 the exterior voices (e.g., the students) are also regularly modified by other influential voices, like  
43 Advocates, Process Modifiers and Subsequent Evaluators. We argue that King's prevailment on  
44 the exterior voices depends on the fact that he adjusts and modifies his actions in accordance with  
45 influential voices' ideology. When the King fails to do so, conflict arises and another voice  
46 temporarily takes the stage, i.e. interacts with the exterior voices.  
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53 The effects of exercising prevailment can be twofold: 1) A voice (i.e. modifier) can modify  
54 other (i.e. modified) voices. A voice that prevails over exterior voices manifests itself in externally  
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3 visible behavior. In Tea's case, the Educator, her King, prevails over the Actor (the Executor), but,  
4 also, over the children (the exterior voices). 2) A voice can silence another voice, like in the case  
5 of exercising dominance, but the silencing effect of prevailment is more temporary. As we have  
6 previously seen, the Educator and his team consistently manage to silence the Grumpy, Tea's  
7 Antagonist, but it is a constant battle in which deep dissatisfaction personified by the Grumpy  
8 seems to occasionally overpower her enthusiasm and love for profession which Educator  
9 represents ("All of us are becoming Grumpy more and more... I love it (my job) and...I work  
10 over the norm. But then Grumpy shows up: Why do you do that? ... I fight against windmills, I  
11 try not to be Grumpy.....But you should be very strong."). Here's Alexandra's case:

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20 Alexandra's King, the Lecturer, personifies the values of interactive teaching and closeness to  
21 children. Her Controller, the Process Modifier values organization and adherence to the curriculum.  
22 Thanks to productive tension, the Controller modifies the Lecturer, who, then, adapts his interactive  
23 methods to still achieve learning outcomes. That way, Lecturer maintains its prevailment over the  
24 students, the exterior voices: *It's noisy, for example, during group work. Now, some children can work*  
25 *under such conditions, but it bothers others, they cannot concentrate to do their task... The Controller*  
26 *is the one who has to constantly think about those children for whom it's annoying. Also, the*  
27 *Controller has to remind the Lecturer to parade there to calm students down and organize them, to*  
28 *caution them to raise two fingers, and to listen to the group.*

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33 However, when children grant legitimacy to the Lecturer by enjoying interaction, the  
34 Lecturer prevails over the Controller who is no longer able to modify the Lecturer. Hence, the  
35 Controller becomes sidelined. That leads to total disorganization, which creates the opportunity for  
36 the Screamer, the Illegitimate Facilitator who prefers strictness to establish control over students, to  
37 take over the scene: *The Lecturer fails to manage the situation in the sense in which the Controller*  
38 *wanted... Chaos arises, and then the Lecturer itself is confused, scared, and it doesn't listen anymore.*  
39 *The Controller doesn't have any special power, and then the Screamer appears. And since the*  
40 *Screamer is inherently ugly to the ear, the Controller quickly musters the strength to overpower the*  
41 *Screamer. As we can see, the Screamer takes advantage of the change in power to use its means for*  
42 *ensuring order: So the Screamer wants to ...use shouting to make them understand... The short-term*  
43 *prevailment of the Screamer leads, however, to the resistance of numerous influential voices as its*  
44 *performance runs counter to their ideology, which weakens the Screamer. In that situation, the*  
45 *resistance of the Controller becomes effective, and he manages to prevail over the Screamer with the*  
46 *rhetoric of moral objection to endanger the welfare of children: 'No one has to listen to you shout.*  
47 *They are children. You may scare a child.' The Controller attacks the Screamer and literally forces it*  
48 *to stop. (Alexandra)*

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3 **Resistance** represents the freedom of a voice to act in a way that is not legitimized by the  
4 dominant/prevaling voice. Our model posits that whenever a voice is not in a position of  
5 prevailment, it is in a position of resistance toward a prevailing voice, i.e. in the search for ways  
6 to overthrow it and gain the prevailment itself. We have seen how, as soon as the Tea's King, the  
7 Educator, gets delegitimized by the students ("When I'm telling an interesting story and somebody  
8 talks behind my back...that throws me off the track"), the Illegitimate Facilitator, the Boogeyman,  
9 grabs a chance to take over the scene and restore the order its way ("They only react to something  
10 fast. And dramatic and dynamic... [My reaction] was like a volcano eruption").

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17 Resistance can be viewed as a dimension, considering its intensity, and what is important  
18 to note are the extremes. At the one end is the already described *silencing* of voices, which means  
19 that a voice's resistance is severely weakened by other voices and thus muted. Tea's case shows  
20 how, whenever she enters the classroom, the Grumpy (Antagonist) is consistently silenced by the  
21 prevailing Ideologue, i.e. the King and his team ("Grumpy is not there when I teach, I leave him  
22 outside the classroom... when he gets ahold of me I manage to quickly chase him away"). At the  
23 other end, there is a phenomenon of *increasing resistance* - arguments of the voice of resistance  
24 start to more actively undermine the dominant ideological position, but they fail to reverse the  
25 power relations or modify the performances of other voices. As we have seen, Tea's Emotional  
26 occasionally shows on her face ("You can see it sometimes... Students ask: "Are you ok,  
27 teacher?""), which runs counter the Educator's standpoint ("We should not show them that part of  
28 ourselves"). The Actor executes King's ideological position and consistently manages to hide the  
29 Emotional ("I respond to them: "I'm fine"").

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41 Once we delineated our apprehension of power, we wanted to elaborate further how the exertion  
42 of power occurs. In answering this query, we worked out the concept of practices for exercising  
43 power and resistance.

#### 44 45 46 47 48 *Practices for Exercising Power and Resistance*

49 We conceive of practices as ways of maintaining or asserting dominance/prevailment or exerting  
50 resistance in a strategic situation. On the basis of their purpose, we have distinguished between  
51 two *practices* - legitimation and delegitimation. The notion of these practices comes from Taylor's  
52 (1985) idea of the strong evaluation and Davies & Harré's (1990) idea of positioning. When a  
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3 voice evaluates the other voices within the moral system and labels them as virtuous or vicious,  
4 noble or base or socially useful or harmful, with the goal of supporting or undermining them, we  
5 will say that it practices legitimation or delegitimation. Participants' narratives do not show them  
6 explicitly. Instead, they are implied in participants' arguments for the decisions they made and the  
7 actions they took, as we will argue in the examples below.  
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11 Practices for exercising power and resistance rest on the concept of *compatibility* of  
12 ideologies. Compatibility refers to the degree to which two ideological positions can be realized  
13 simultaneously. The compatibility of ideologies makes it possible for a voice to modify its  
14 performance and partially realize the ideology of another voice. By extension, if ideologies are not  
15 compatible at all, that means that a voice cannot partially realize the ideology of another voice  
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22 **Legitimation** happens when the voices' ideologies are *compatible*. Participants' narratives  
23 suggested three situations in which legitimation occurs.  
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26 1) The dominant or prevailing voice uses its ideological position to promote the  
27 purposefulness of the ideology of another voice. In Tea's case, we have seen how her dominant  
28 Ideologue, the Family voice, strongly legitimizes her Subsequent Evaluator ("I'm severely self-  
29 critical. My grandma was the same way. That was instilled in me"). The Emotional, Protestor,  
30 argues ("It's not good for me") but, backed by the Family voice, the Evaluator wins the argument  
31 and then manages to influence the Educator to search and improve on detected flaws ("I'm trying  
32 to fight this but I guess I'm just made that way"). As the example shows, voices which are  
33 legitimized by the dominant/influential voice are much more likely to assert their prevailment and  
34 influence the behavior. Further, our assumption is that the legitimation is a two-way process. This  
35 means that dominant (/influential) voices get legitimized back, thus ensuring the realization of its  
36 own ideological position. For the example of the first situation of legitimation see the example in  
37 the Dominance section.  
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46 2) Participants' narratives pointed to two other sources of legitimation. One of them is an  
47 exterior voice, who can validate the purposefulness of the ideology of an internal or internalized  
48 voice, which leads to the realization of the position of this legitimized voice.  
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51 3) The third powerful source of legitimation is context, which legitimizes certain voices by  
52 predetermining which voices are more valuable or useful. These empirical evidences brought up  
53 our theoretical conception of the strategic situation, which, as we conceive it, includes not only  
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3 internal and internalized voices, but also entails exterior voices (i.e. other people which are  
4 idiosyncratically refracted in the self, see Introduction) and the social context (through material  
5 cultural products, rituals, procedures, norms, and values). By implication, even though relations  
6 (see the next section) can only be established among internal and internalized voices of the self,  
7  
8 our concept of strategic situation means that both exterior voices and the context can have a  
9 legitimizing or delegitimizing effect on internal and internalized voices of the self. **Whether the  
10 internal or internalized voice will be (de)legitimized depends on the compatibility between the  
11 dominant ideology of the context/external voices on the one hand, and the ideology of the internal  
12 or internalized voice, on the other hand**<sup>5</sup>. The legitimizing effect of the institutional context will  
13 be further specified later. Ruth's example shows the latter two sources of legitimation (context  
14 legitimized Ruth's internal voice, the Motivator, by providing a particular type of textbook, and  
15 exterior voice of students later also legitimized the Motivator).

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26 Ruth's King was the Lecturer, who personifies the traditional approach to teaching: *He [The Lecturer]*  
27 *provides a skeleton, some sketch, and the Motivator is the spice [i.e. important addition which adds*  
28 *flavor, but not the main thing]. The Motivator, Advocate, preaches perseverance and importance of*  
29 *critical and divergent thinking: It is important for them to learn some facts, but for me it is very*  
30 *important that they think, that they make mistakes and from those mistakes arrive at what is correct...*  
31 *They should learn to see where the problem is and to solve it, so they can learn that life means trying,*  
32 *not giving up. Just like in sports - you love it, it's hard but you overcome obstacles, not everything is*  
33 *beautiful and interesting, you discipline yourself, you find your own motivation. Ruth's example*  
34 *shows how the order of power between the two voices - in her case the Lecturer and the Motivator -*  
35 *can be reversed, when one of the voices, in her case the Motivator, gets legitimized by the two other*  
36 *constituents of the strategic situation: institutional context and exterior voices. Namely, the*  
37 *availability of a textbook that corresponds to the interactive and modern approach encourages*  
38 *teaching practices and values personified by the Motivator and thus legitimates this voice who now*  
39 *becomes stronger in relation to the Lecturer. That enables the Motivator to suppress the King, and to*  
40 *conduct the teaching practice on its own by relying on the legitimacy granted by the educational*  
41 *context, that is, the textbook as its product: Now we are going through something completely new in*  
42 *fifth grade. The spiral system of knowledge by thematic areas is different, there are no plants and*  
43 *animals. ... This year I took a textbook that is full of instruments of all sorts and without definitions.*  
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54 <sup>5</sup>In the Introduction section we defined context as “a pre-existing plane” of various value orientations, with the addition  
55 that some value orientations/ideologies are more valued in a particular institutional context than other ideologies. This  
56 idea is not new - it rests on Foucault's analysis of the practices underlying the dominant discourses and the discourses  
57 of resistance (Foucault, 1979).  
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3 Likewise, the exterior voice of students further enhances the Motivator's legitimacy, since students  
4 positively react to innovative teaching practices: *I've noticed that there are fifth-graders who are*  
5 *enthusiastic about it and highly receptive to this style of teaching.* This process of suppression of the  
6 Lecturer by the Motivator is also an example of delegitimation practice, which we further discuss  
7  
8 (Ruth).  
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11 **Delegitimation** happens when the voices' ideologies are *incompatible*. It refers to the efforts of  
12 one voice to bring into question other voices by positioning them as morally problematic.  
13 Delegitimation manifests itself as follows: 1) A voice undermines the position of other voices by  
14 placing them in the context of socially problematic categories of being harmful, outdated,  
15 inapplicable, and unacceptable in the given institutional context. Tea's case shows how her  
16 Educator, the King, delegitimizes the Boogeyman, Illegitimate Facilitator ("He creates negativity,  
17 a bad atmosphere... I would kick him out"). Also, in the Prevailment section, we have seen how  
18 Alexandra's Controller, Process Modifier, delegitimizes the Screamer, Illegitimate Facilitator  
19 ("No one has to listen to you shout... You may scare a child"). 2) An exterior voice undermines  
20 the position of internal voices by bringing into question the status of their moral and professional  
21 virtue. Tea's case shows how the Emotional, the Protestor, is delegitimized by the students. 3)  
22 Context, as well, may regularly delegitimize certain voices.  
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34 As we have seen, our model presupposes that a sense of self is shaped by one central voice, the  
35 prevailing Ideologue, i.e. King, as well as the numerous other standpoints that could have various  
36 functions in relation to the King. We have further argued that the nature of power is more  
37 convoluted than previously theorized, which implied the intricate nature of the King's position,  
38 contrary to the idea of one all-powerful and never challenged perspective. To further sharpen this  
39 picture, we proceeded to delineate the character of interactions voices could participate in. This  
40 section completes our current ideas on the dynamics of the agonistic self, and it will be focused  
41 on, but not limited to, the King's relations with voices who assume other functions.  
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### 49 **Types of Relations Between Voices**

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52 Our initial crude ideas regarding voices' interactions that orbited around the dimension  
53 "cooperation-conflict" were subsequently developed through a thorough analysis process, and we  
54 have finally landed on a six-item categorisation system presented below. As we will see, the  
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functions of voices and their relations are co-implicative. For instance, team work is possible only between the King and the Executor or Facilitator, and identification is possible only with the Ideologue. This does not apply to the conflict, which could ensue between the King and almost all other functions (see the section on Conflict below).

Types of relations can be distributed along the dimension of degrees of *compatibility* of ideologies (Table 2), which is the concept that we previously defined (see Practices for Exercising Power and Resistance). The second concept that we will use to define and distinguish between the relations is *the range of convenience*. Originally created in the PCP (Kelly, 1955) in our model it refers to an area of application of a particular voice. For example, the voice of the Psychologist deals with the needs and feelings of the students and not teaching or grading, which is the range of convenience of the Teacher. The concept of range of convenience is introduced in order to explain why the King was forced to “use the services” of a Facilitator (in team work relation) and enter different relations with other voices. Why wouldn’t the King do everything himself, so a person would not need as many other voices in her professional practice? Based on participants’ explanations, we posited the hypothesis that the King was not able to simply do what those other voices did because it did not have an appropriate range of convenience - the King’s range of convenience was typically teaching, while for everything else it was forced to “lend” the services of other voices.

Table 2. Types of Relations Between Voices According to Compatibility and Range of Convenience

Relation Type	Compatibility	Range of Convenience
Identification	Full compatibility	Same
Acceptance with critique	Partial compatibility	Same
Executive relation	High compatibility	Same
Team work Facilitating relation	High compatibility	Different
Cooperation	High compatibility	Different

Productive tension	Partial compatibility	Same or different
Conflict	Incompatibility	Same or different

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The relations to be presented here could be viewed as mechanisms for self-regulation. Our model proposes that these mechanisms represent different ways of realizing two conflicting principles of organizing relations between the voices: 1) *the tendency towards dominance* – the tendency of voices to gain supremacy over other voices and 2) *the tendency towards pluralism* – the tendency of voices to persevere and realize themselves within the multi-voiced strategic situation.

**Identification** is a relation in which a voice adopts the ideology of an Ideologue but, over time, it develops its own independent standpoint but continues to have the same range of convenience. Participants recognized that some of their current views, traits and values were modeled after their important other(s), or reported on similarities two of their voices shared. In the example of domination, we have seen how both Mina’s Teacher, the King, and Friend, the Advocate, identify with the Father’s voice, which is the dominant Ideologue (“Lots of times I catch myself, as I’m talking with my students, that I’m explaining something to them just as my father used to explain that to me. I’m literally repeating his sentences.”). In almost all cases, the voice that the other voice identified with was the dominant Ideologue. Based on our participants’ narratives, we formulated three criteria that need to be met in order for a relation to be defined as identification: 1) the voice that acts as the role model personifies the positions of important figures or wide-ranging personal beliefs; 2) the voice that acts as the role model is developmentally anterior in relation to the voice that identifies with it; and 3) the relation is transsituational, stable, and long-lasting. In the relation of identification, the voice that identifies with an Ideologue further elaborates its position but does not bring into question any aspects of the role model’s ideology, which differentiates this relation from acceptance with critique (see the section on Acceptance with critique below). Here’s Jessica’s example:

Jessica is a young teacher who vividly remembers her first teacher when she was growing up: *When I talk with the kids, I often recall my class teacher. I ask myself: “What would she say now?... For her, fairness was a key. She was somebody who was very strict, but impartial. You always knew what was going to happen if you broke the rule, because she came through every time. She later named this dominant Ideologue Teacher’s voice of fairness, and it became the backbone of her voice Level, Process*

Modifier which was extremely oriented towards impartiality: *I try to be fair towards the kids, to not have any favorites. I want them to get what they have earned. I truly aspire not to do wrong to any child and to give everyone a fair shake.* Also, the Level expands its standpoint by orienting towards finding the optimal level of difficulty for the students: *Not to overwhelm them with new and difficult information, but also not to make stuff too easy if they are already familiar with it.* In the challenging situation when a parent wants her child to get a higher grade than what Jessica considered fair, it argues: *I will listen to the parent, but I will not change what I already estimated as a knowledge level of the child. ... It won't happen, just because of someone's partial judgment and a pressure he puts, that the Level caves and changes what is already decided.* From the perspective of our model, this means that the Level prevailed over the parent (the exterior voice), backed by the dominant Ideologue's legitimation. (Jessica)

**Acceptance with critique** is a relation between two voices, one being the dominant Ideologue and the other one being a source of purpose (rarely: an Illegitimate Facilitator). The second voice partially identifies with the position of the dominant Ideologue **and has the same range of convenience as that voice (in Tea's example - teaching).** However, unlike in the case of identification, this voice **opposes some** aspects of the dominant Ideologue's standpoint, hence undermining it. **This type of relation is visible in the Illegitimate Facilitator section.** Here is Tea's example of the relation between two Ideologues:

Tea's King, the Educator, distinguished between what is valuable for him in Family voice's ideology, like the values of a just, esteemed, and beloved teacher, and what should be discarded and replaced with more modern beliefs and practices: *It was completely different back then, so I cannot rely only on them, but it is probably something that was instilled in me, some values that we all need to nurture, and that children need to learn and respect. Grandma and grandpa were extremely strict, God forbid how strict they were... Educator is not strict and firm...If you look at the tradition – grandma and grandpa taught frontally, they talked and the children were quiet ... My Educator has to learn new stuff, to expand his knowledge. I don't like to teach frontally, that is outdated, and not good with these new generations... I think that the times have changed... Children no longer treat us the same way and I think that they would not be able to handle it. That is why I have to play roles [the Psychologist, the Actor] that are different from theirs.* This is why we named this relation acceptance with critique.

Other than conflict, any relation of some voice with a dominant Ideologue is either identification or acceptance with critique. Both identification and acceptance with critique can be seen as mechanisms by which dominant Ideologues persist with the help of the safety belt provided by the

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3 new voices, as new elaborations of the old values. Without these relations in service of healthy  
4 self-regulation, strategic situations would be characterized by the rigid domination of a single  
5 Ideologue, which would prevent the influx of new perspectives, or by a radical rupture or  
6 overthrow of the old ideology in favor of the new one. Compared to identification, acceptance with  
7 critique means that a voice moves further away from the old values in order to keep up with the  
8 changes brought up by modern times. As for the newer voices, identification is one way to secure  
9 legitimation for themselves, which enables them to assert their prevailment over some third voices.  
10 Dominant/influential voices get legitimized back, thus securing their continuity in the ever-  
11 changing self.  
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20 **Team work** is a relation between the King and the Executor or the Facilitator, in which the latter  
21 interact with the exterior voices in order to help the King actualize its values. Voices that enter  
22 teamwork make King's team. We posited that team work is based upon what Kelly (1955)  
23 conceptualized as role relationship: a voice epistemologically takes the perspective of another  
24 voice and examines its desirable courses of action as well as the expectations this position has  
25 from the first position (the one entering the role relationship). Role relationship can be seen as a  
26 social strategy opposite to positioning, as positioning involves labeling others instead of taking  
27 their perspective. Entering role relationship enables the Executor and the Facilitator to  
28 'acknowledge' the legitimacy of the King's ideology and to ensure the legitimation of their own  
29 actions by referring to the King's ideology.  
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38 We recognize two forms of team work – executive and facilitating. The executive form of  
39 team work is characterized by the straightforward execution of King's values by the Executor, and  
40 teachers' narratives show that it is more permanent, i.e. transsituational. In the facilitating form of  
41 team work, the Facilitator interacts with the exterior voices in order to prepare the scene for the  
42 King to take over and carry through with his values and goals. In the executive type of team work,  
43 the King "uses" the Executor with whom he shares the range of convenience but the Executor has  
44 the competences that the King lacks. In the facilitating form of team work, the Facilitator has not  
45 only his own competences different from the King's, but it also has a different range of  
46 convenience. This is what enables the Facilitator to prepare the scene for the King to take over and  
47 start teaching. Tea's case demonstrates both forms of team work. Her Actor has the skills to  
48 execute the Educator's (King's) ideas on teaching ("I have to be an Actor, a circus performer...  
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3 The classroom is a kind of a stage, and I have to adjust to my public... Sometimes, to get the right  
4 answer, I pretend to play the piano, trumpet, guitar... you simply have to know exactly when you  
5 should act something out"). Tea's Psychologist "prepares the ground" for the King ("When it's  
6 hellishly hot... I want to show them that... I care about them. ... That I am not here to torture  
7 them, that we are all on the same side. ... It calms them down. ... let's endure until we finish the  
8 job."). Facilitating form of teamwork is less stable, because in a new strategic situation the  
9 Facilitator could switch to the function of the Advocate and cooperate or even get into conflict  
10 with the King. Here is Jane's case, which also shows both forms of team work:  
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18 As described in the Advocate section, the Teacher is Jane's King, which personifies the values of the  
19 experience-based learning and critical thinking. Teacher's ideology is supported by the actions of the  
20 Inspirer as its Executor, who uses its skills to give the impetus to students to express themselves freely:  
21 *You have to do all that in a good atmosphere which is motivating for them and cultivates their spirit*  
22 *of curiosity... For them to come up with new ideas, feel free, and simply voice their opinions... you*  
23 *have to be the Inspirer. The Ambitiousness is Facilitator which is also a part of King's team, and it*  
24 *personifies the ideology of perseverance, competitiveness, and setting ambitious goals. When students*  
25 *don't put enough effort in learning school material the Ambitiousness starts interacting with them: I*  
26 *ask for the maximum dedication, preparation. It means giving your best. It means full investment...*   
27 *You need to explain [to the students] what coyness is and why it was considered a virtue in girls<sup>6</sup>. You*  
28 *analyze the poem verse by verse and go back to that time and explain... to the point you can feel the*  
29 *sweat dripping down your back. That way, you bring them along for a ride with you and you can feel*  
30 *them going back and thinking about it. By bolstering children's perseverance and ambitious goal*  
31 *setting, the Ambitiousness prepares them to answer to the Teacher's requests for argumentative*  
32 *dialogue and critical thinking: [It's important] that they not just memorize the facts, but to learn...*  
33 *things that will make them think. It will aid them develop as persons, not just as students... But if you*  
34 *don't like a novel or a chapter, you can always tell me that... but support your opinion with good*  
35 *arguments. (Jane)*  
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46 Team work can be viewed as a mechanism for supporting and realizing Ideologue's standpoint in  
47 conditions in which this standpoint is exposed to an increasing number of new ideological  
48 positions and social contexts. Through this process the new voices become Facilitators of the older  
49 voices. Likewise, team work between the King and an Executor represents a way to realize an  
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56 <sup>6</sup> The teacher was talking about a folk poem emphasizing a girl's virtues in a patriarchal society.  
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3 important ideology by relying on newly developed competencies and the concrete ideologies of  
4 know-how.  
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8 Now, we move to the discussion of the two types of King's relations in which the tables have  
9 turned. Unlike in team work, in cooperation and productive tension the King is forced to change  
10 its interactions with the exterior voices in the way which suits other influential internal or  
11 internalized voices.  
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17 **Cooperation** is a relation between the King (modified voice) and the Advocate (modifier), with  
18 whom the King has compatible ideology but with a different range of convenience. Cooperation  
19 means that, in order to preserve the ability to prevail over exterior voices, the King (and his team)  
20 modifies its performance and actualizes both Advocate's and its own ideology. For that, we  
21 postulate that the King uses role relationship, which suggests that even a relationship that could be  
22 considered synonymous with openness to the perspectives of others represents an element of a  
23 wider strategy for maintaining power (Džinović, 2020). In Jane's case presented in the section on  
24 Advocate, we have seen how the Tutor manages to influence the Teacher to change the way it  
25 lectures ("It is important to use the materials to teach children certain life lessons... but I have to  
26 admit that I do this often... it is because I see that with the new generations I need to connect the  
27 curriculum with real-life situations."). Note that, unlike in Team work, the voice which is in  
28 cooperation with the King is not interacting with the exterior voices. As Jane's and other  
29 participants' narratives suggest, cooperation is phenomenologically manifested as a generally  
30 harmonious process, where different standpoints were in accord and complemented one another.  
31 We assume that cooperation is established when the King can use its competencies to realize  
32 certain aspects of the Advocate's ideology.  
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45 However, when that is not the case, conflict ensues. Namely, when Jane's Teacher failed  
46 to pass character building messages to students, Tutor entered the conflict with the King,  
47 temporarily sidelined the King, and engaged in interaction with the students itself in order to  
48 actualize its values ("When I see behavior that is unacceptable to me, or generally, it contradicts  
49 the culture of dialogue and good mannerism, I admit that I lose the whole class just to talk with  
50 the students and make them understand"). On the basis of that, we posited that the Advocate is an  
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3 influential voice who has an independent source of legitimation, and that the King is in danger of  
4 being delegitimized if it does change his actions in accordance with the Advocate's values.  
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8 **Productive tension** is a relation between the King (modified voice) and one of the modifiers: The  
9 Advocate, the Process Modifier or the Subsequent Evaluator, with whom the King has only  
10 partially compatible ideology. As in cooperation, the King (and his team) is forced to modify its  
11 performance in order to actualize both modifier's and its own ideology and we posit that, to achieve  
12 that, the King relies on role relationship with the modifier. As in cooperation and unlike the team  
13 work, the voice which is in cooperation with the King is not interacting with the exterior voices.  
14 Alexandra's case in the section on Process Modifier shows how her Process Modifier, the  
15 Controller, has to constantly restrain her Lecturer, the King, in order to keep him focused on  
16 maintaining the order and finishing the lesson ("Because the Lecturer is happy that the children  
17 are participating.", but the Controller pushes back: "Yes, but not 100% and not all the time... The  
18 students came here to learn something").  
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27 Productive tension makes it possible for two ideologies that are only partially compatible  
28 and would potentially lead to mutually exclusive courses of action to realize themselves  
29 simultaneously through a relatively coherent form of behavior, which makes it psychologically  
30 crucial for establishing relatively stable dynamics as an indicator of good self-regulation.  
31 However, participants' narratives pointed to the phenomenological sense of tension in this type of  
32 relation, which distinguishes it from cooperation ("The Controller has to constantly be there to  
33 remind him that the boundaries should not be crossed. He has to regulate him [the Lecturer], he  
34 does not allow for the order to be lost").  
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41 Based on that, we posited that this temporary coherency does not lead to a permanent  
42 reconciliation of ideologies, which means that productive tension could switch to conflict even  
43 more easily than cooperation. Alexandra's case shows how the Lecturer, when highly legitimized  
44 by the students' responsiveness, pushes the Controller aside ("The Lecturer at that point dismisses  
45 the Controller. He starts thinking that he is better and smarter than him"), and how the Controller  
46 fights back ("Enough, Lecturer, you are not in kindergarten.... This is a school.... You should give  
47 them some kind of strategy"). For the detailed example of the productive tension, see the  
48 Alexandra's case in the section on Process modifier above. As for the Advocates, teachers'  
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narratives suggested that often the psychological voices modify the King's interaction with students, which results in the approach that is more sensitive to students' psychological state.

Both cooperation and productive tension represent the manifestation of the flexibility of the self and the personality. Without them, the dynamics of the self would be categorized by the exclusive domination of a single ideology or the eternal state of being torn between irreconcilable perspectives.

Finally, we will discuss the relation in which the perspectives are irreconcilable - conflict. Our findings suggest that, with the exception of voices comprising the King's team (team work relation), and the dominant Ideologue that King identifies with, all voices could enter conflict with the King. This, from the perspective of our model, points to the agonistic nature of the self-in-context. Given its prevalence, we will distinguish between different functions conflict might have.

**Conflict** is a relation between two incompatible voices whose ideologies lead to mutually exclusive courses of action and thus delegitimize each other. Conflict appeared in teachers' narratives as the strong opposition between voices. We have recognized conflict when teachers described how one voice strongly criticized the other and pointed out its flaws. Consider Mina's case. When the Enlightener, the Advocate who supports modern teaching methods and "creative chaos" make "a fiasco" of a class, the Teacher, her King who is traditional and strict, strongly criticizes it: "[What happens is] a big disappointment. The Teacher scolded the Enlightener. He asked him: How could you allow such failure? Methods you implemented are not efficient."

Also, Alexandra's case shown in the section on Prevaliment shows how strongly her Process Modifier, the Controller, opposes her Illegitimate Facilitator, the Screamer, who shows up to harshly restore the lost order in the classroom ("The Screamer then takes over and starts yelling. But it's making the things worse, he heightens the nervous energy. The Controller attacks the Screamer: Why would anyone listen to your shouting?...You may scare a child!"). As we have seen, conflict results in one voice being temporarily completely sidelined ("The Screamer sounds awful...The Controller literally forces the Screamer to stop yelling at students: You won't achieve anything by yelling at them. He pushes the Screamer away"). Note one another difference between the productive tension and conflict: While after the tense dialogue between voices the King "caves" and the actualisation of both standpoints ensues, in conflict only one voice manages to

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3 realize what it stands for. We note the dual function of conflict between voices: It could be a  
4 mechanism for (1) maintaining domination/prevailment, or for (2) reestablishing the  
5 multivoicedness.  
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8 The first pertains to defending influential voice's standpoint, where the tendency towards  
9 domination is manifested. In this context, conflict can be: (a) a long-lasting relationship or (b) a  
10 sign of the temporary "crisis dynamics".  
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13 (a) A habitual, long-lasting relationship between the Ideologue and Protestors, which need  
14 to be continually suppressed in order not to undermine the sense of purpose personified by the  
15 Ideologue. In Tea's case, we have seen how her King, the Educator, habitually silences her  
16 Protestor, the Emotional ("We should not show them ... what I am bringing from my life, from  
17 my family... No matter how tired I am, that's not their concern"). Also, the Educator regularly  
18 suppresses Tea's Antagonist, the Grumpy ("I love it [my job] and when the Grumpy gets hold of  
19 me I manage to quickly chase him away... I hate the proverb: "How much money, that much  
20 music"... I will never work like that"). Olga's case shows the example of a long-lasting conflict  
21 with the Antagonist:  
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31 In Olga's case, I Without a Mask is the dominant Ideologue, which personifies enthusiasm and love for  
32 the profession. It is in a permanent conflict with the Antagonist, the Real Life, which personifies the  
33 narrative about dissatisfaction with the current state of the teaching profession. After the class in which  
34 students are disinterested or act inappropriate in class, the Real Life's legitimacy is enhanced. Thus, the  
35 Real Life challenges the I Without a Mask: *Alright, Olga, they keep misbehaving, so why not just quit?*  
36 *You are young, find a better-paying job, somewhere where you will be valued and respected.* The I  
37 Without a Mask emphasis its core beliefs: *I love my job so much that I am not sure I would do any other*  
38 *job half as well. ... I would not be interested in the work I do, not really, not from the heart.* This enables  
39 the I Without the Mask to suppress the dangerous Antagonist and to maintain dominance. (Olga)  
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45 (b) 'Crisis dynamics' occurs when a Protestor or an Illegitimate Facilitator temporarily prevails  
46 and its suppression becomes the priority. We have seen that in Alexandra's case shown in the  
47 Prevailment section and discussed in the paragraph above, when the Controller (along with some  
48 other voices) strongly opposes the Screamer, Illegitimate Facilitator, because of the  
49 inappropriateness and potential harmfulness of his methods.  
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53 (2) Conflict can also function as a means for establishing the multivoicedness. This  
54 happens when the usual dynamics of multivoicedness in which two influential ideologies find a  
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3 way to realize themselves simultaneously, either through productive tension or cooperation,  
4 becomes disturbed. That occurs when one voice becomes stronger in relation to the other and is  
5 thus no longer influenced by the other voice. Then, multivoicedness temporarily ceases to exist as  
6 only the stronger voice actualises its standpoint. The Alexandra's case shown in the section on  
7 Process Modifier demonstrates how the Lecturer gets legitimized by the students ("Because the  
8 Lecturer is happy that the children are participating") and dismisses the Controller ("He starts  
9 thinking that he is better and smarter than him"). In such situations, through conflict ("Enough,  
10 Lecturer, you are not in kindergarten"), the other voice reestablishes the dynamics in which both  
11 ideologies are realized, which ensures the plurality of perspectives.  
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20 Lastly, we will discuss the effect of the context, as the third and the final element of our tripartite  
21 model.  
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### 24 25 Institutional context

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29 Even though we were strongly influenced by the cultural approaches to the self and explicitly  
30 relied on Foucault's theory of the development of subjectivity, we did not intend to empirically  
31 tackle the effect of the context in this paper. However, our data suggested that the development  
32 and the current dynamics of the self could not be completely understood without considering the  
33 context's influence. We have distinguished between two ways in which the **institutional context**  
34 shapes the dynamics of the agonistic self: 1) formatively and 2) through legitimation.  
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39 1) As we conceptualized it, the context is *formative* in relation to the self in the sense that  
40 it predetermines the positions of subjectivity that can be appropriated (and voiced). What we have  
41 additionally posited is that context also predetermines the relations between the positions of  
42 subjectivity, which means that these relations can be appropriated as well. This influence of the  
43 context is evidenced by the finding that the most common strategic situation in all teachers was  
44 the one in which the voice of the Teacher was the prevailing Ideologue, while the voices of the  
45 Tutor, the Psychologist, and the Animator performed the functions of Facilitators/Advocates or  
46 Executors. It is clear that educational institutions offer all of these positions, but prioritize the  
47 professional practices the Teacher voice personifies. Such dynamics could be understood as the  
48 reproduction of historically established predominance of pedagogical over psychological  
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3 discourses in educational institutions (Džinović, 2010). Also, we have seen that participants'  
4 Antagonists have fairly similar disturbing narratives regarding the strong downsides of the  
5 teaching profession. This could be conceived of as the consequence of the fact that the context  
6 allows for the position of a dissatisfied teacher who has the right to feel frustrated and/or helpless  
7 given the pressures she is under and to consider making radical life changes. What supports this  
8 thesis is the observation that most of the participants formulated the voice "Other teachers"/  
9 "Some colleagues" whose main message was that the best coping mechanism is to minimize the efforts  
10 (Tea: "My colleagues say to me: You know what? You should only work as much as you are paid  
11 to").

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19 2) However, our data show how the context can also influence the ongoing dynamics of  
20 the strategic situation. Namely, temporary influential discourses within a context can *legitimize* or  
21 delegitimize one of the previously appropriated positions of subjectivity. As we have discussed in  
22 the section dedicated to legitimation, Ruth's case shows how her Advocate, the Motivator,  
23 managed to suppress the King, the Lecturer, after the change in context occurred. Namely, the  
24 provision of a new textbook, which was written in accordance with Motivator's modern approach  
25 to teaching, gave the legitimacy to the Motivator to temporarily push the King aside and to  
26 singularly shape the teaching practice ("This year I took a textbook that is full of instruments of  
27 all sorts and without definitions... For me it is very important that they think, that they make  
28 mistakes and from those mistakes arrive at what is correct"). Note that, in this case, both  
29 standpoints already existed as parts of the teacher's identity. What the context did through its  
30 material product is that it changed the order of power between them.

## 41 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

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45 In previous sections, we provided a description of the dynamics of the agonistic self, which heavily  
46 relied on interpretative tools for understanding social dynamics, such as the ones employed by  
47 Hermans (2018). However, we extended this interpretative framework by accepting Foucault's  
48 (1979) argument on the role of struggle for dominance in producing human subjectivity. We  
49 believe that we respond to the need for new methodological tools Raggatt and Weatherly (2015)  
50 pointed to.

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3 Our findings validated some of Hermans' categories that refer to the functions of the voices  
4 such as the meta-position and shadow position. However, we confirmed our assumption that  
5 focusing on power as a key feature of the dynamics of the self contributes to a more comprehensive  
6 understanding of the dynamics, compared to the predictions of Hermans' (2018) model. We  
7 mapped a larger number of *functions* that voices can perform and a variety of *relations* between  
8 them. Moreover, we mapped an additional *form of exercising power* - prevailment, which  
9 represents a short-term and limited form of dominance. To specify forms of exercising power, we  
10 identified *practices* through which voices obtain or maintain prevailment/dominance, or exert  
11 resistance in a strategic situation. The result of our efforts is an interpretative system that we hope  
12 is sufficiently operationalized for application by other researchers and helping professionals.  
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20 All types of relations between voices are founded on practices for exercising power and  
21 resistance. In that sense, the strategic situation could be conceived of as a system of legitimizing  
22 and delegitimizing practices among the voices embedded in particular context. Thus, clear-cut  
23 legitimation is an integral part of several relations between voices: identification, acceptance with  
24 critique and team work. The dominant Ideologue regularly employs it to legitimize the King  
25 (sometimes, also, other voices), and King to legitimize Executors and Facilitators. In cases of  
26 cooperation and productive tension, a voice is in danger of being delegitimized if it does not  
27 modify its performance according to the influential voice's standpoint. Influential voices  
28 (Advocates, Process Modifiers and Subsequent Evaluators), in our model, have some source of  
29 legitimation (Ideologue, external voices, context) that enables them to prevail over an internal  
30 voice and modify its performance. When conflict occurs its integral part is clear-cut delegitimation.  
31 Protestors (especially Antagonists) are regularly in opposition with the King and his team and,  
32 thus, routinely delegitimized. The same goes for the Illegitimate Facilitator, although its status is  
33 a bit more controversial because, as we have seen, it proves itself useful to an influential voice in  
34 some situations.  
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46 The presented interpretative framework provides the tools necessary for understanding and  
47 describing the psychological mechanisms involved in establishing the dynamics between the  
48 already defined *tendency towards dominance* and the opposing *tendency towards pluralism*.  
49 Accordingly, conflict can be seen as a mechanism for preserving incompatible ideologies within  
50 the self, while the mechanisms of productive tension and cooperation make it possible for these  
51 ideologies to be manifested simultaneously in behavior with more or less friction. Likewise,  
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3 acceptance with critique and identification are responsible for maintaining both the continuity of  
4 dominant ideologies and openness towards new ideologies. This helps avoid rigidity or rupture in  
5 the self. Team work enables an ideological position to realize itself in various social circumstances  
6 by relying on the situationally contextualized ideologies of the facilitators and the know-how of  
7 the executors. The absolute predominance of the tendency towards domination would result in a  
8 monologized self, while the absolute predominance of the tendency towards the pluralism would  
9 result in a cacophony. Both extremes are features of pathological dynamics of the self (Lysaker &  
10 Lysaker, 2002).

11  
12 Our methodological approach and the obtained data justified the conceptualization of the  
13 self as inextricable from interpersonal relations, and discursive and material aspects of the cultural  
14 and institutional context (Gergen, 1991; Mead, 1934; Procter & Winter, 2020; Shotter, 1993). In  
15 order to operationalize the role of the sociocultural environment as an active agent that shapes the  
16 dynamics of the agonistic self we conceptualized the strategic situation comprising the self,  
17 exterior voices and the context as the main unit of our analysis.

18  
19 Namely, we confirmed the assumption from the DST that others continuously shape the  
20 dynamics of the self. When other people, who exist outside and independently of the self, assume  
21 one of the available positions of subjectivity within the limitations of the cultural context and  
22 engage in an interaction with someone's self, they become idiosyncratically refracted in that self,  
23 i.e. the self gives others the status of exterior voices.

24  
25 Further, for [understanding](#) the dynamics of the agonistic self it is necessary to take into  
26 consideration the formative and legitimizing effect of sociocultural and institutional context. As  
27 for the *formative* effect, Hermans (2018) pointed out that there is a constant flux between the self  
28 and social environment, which means that positions from the social environment transform the self  
29 through internalization. The novelty here is that we found that not only positions are appropriated,  
30 but also the relations between them. However, the appropriation of positions of subjectivity from  
31 the context does not preclude idiosyncrasy. For example, the subject-position of a teacher as a  
32 figure of authority appears in the individual consciousness as the voice of the Father with its  
33 idiosyncratic narrative. Likewise, relations between voices do not only reflect the culturally  
34 typified "dramatic plots" that narrative psychologists analyze, but also individually specific  
35 dramas. For example, in certain teachers, the voice of the Tutor can in some cases prevail over the  
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3 voice of the Teacher. Finally, the professional self of a teacher is also saturated by voices  
4 originating from other social contexts, e.g., family, friendly, and emotional voices.  
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7 Another novel finding presented here, compared to the DST, is that the context is not only  
8 manifested as a set of positions. Ideologies it comprises are also realized through material cultural  
9 products (e.g., a textbook), rituals (e.g., wearing black when mourning the death of a family  
10 member), procedures and norms (e.g., employment practices or administration) as well as values  
11 (e.g., an education system encouraging project-based learning). These manifestations, even though  
12 are not personified as voices, do legitimize or delegitimize voices of the agonistic self, thus  
13 significantly affecting its dynamics. We labeled this kind of influence of the context that does not  
14 involve a prior appropriation of ideologies as *legitimizing*.  
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20 We hope that the concept of strategic situation allows for more comprehensive analysis of  
21 the dynamics of the self-in-context, and that will contribute to overcoming the conceptual and  
22 empirical challenges caused by the artificial extraction of the self from interpersonal relations and  
23 sociocultural and institutionalized practices. This theoretical and methodological necessity has  
24 previously been articulated in sociocultural models of human development and activity (Cole,  
25 1996; Engeström, 1987; Valsiner, 2000; Wertsch, 1991).  
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31 Another important issue, as pointed out by Mischel & Shoda (2008), pertains to the  
32 relationship between individual consistency understood as transsituational stability on the one  
33 hand and the changeability and adaptability of behavior to different social situations on the other.  
34 We believe that dominance/prevalment results in the consistency of behavior that is self-perceived  
35 and perceived by others, which other authors have ascribed to the universal developmental  
36 psychological tendency towards the integration of the self and the identity (Erikson, 1968/1994;  
37 Adler, 1956; McAdams, 2001). However, dominance and prevailment rely on tension and  
38 resistance, which can lead to shifts in the distribution of power in a strategic situation, which could  
39 explain the changeability of behavior. Likewise, the influence of the context on the dynamics of a  
40 strategic situation additionally illuminates the fact that behavior is context-specific and  
41 diachronically mutable.  
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50 The presented model is suitable for context-sensitive examinations of the phenomena of  
51 self-regulation, identity and development (Džinović, 2020; Džinović, Vesić, & Grbić, 2021; Grbić,  
52 Vesić, & Džinović 2021; Vesić, Džinović, & Grbić, 2022) but also personality mechanisms that  
53 underlie the sense of personal and professional purpose, wellbeing and mental health (Džinović,  
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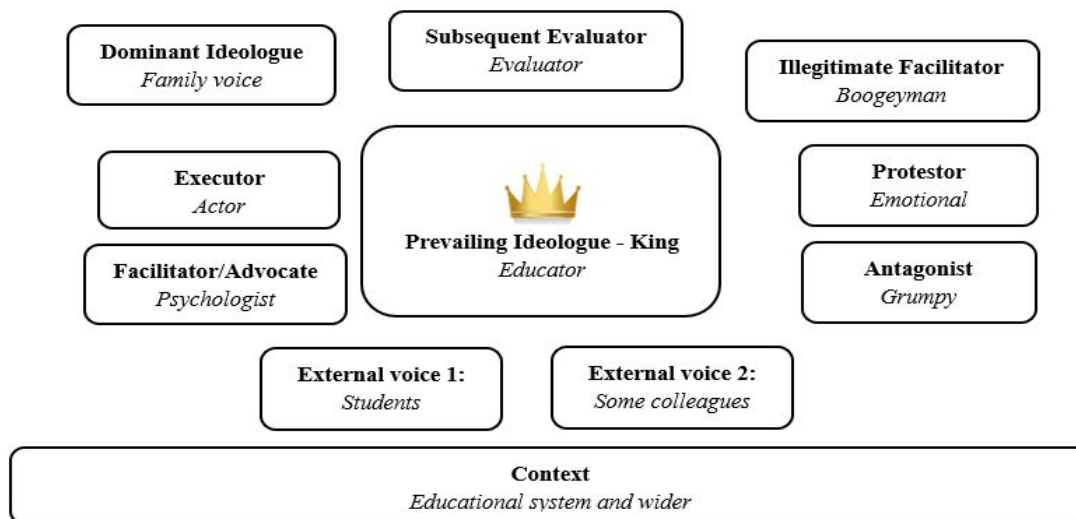
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3 2021; Džinović, Grbić, & Vesić, 2021). Based on the teachers' positive feedback after the  
4 interview, we can conclude that the model can be used as a framework for planning and realizing  
5 self-evaluation and self-guided professional development. Therefore, future studies should focus  
6 on the practical application of the model with the goal of deepening the understanding of concrete  
7 behavior and planning interventions in educational, professional, and psychotherapeutic contexts.  
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10  
11 The main limitations of our research are related to the type of data we had at our disposal.  
12 The research did not encompass the level of social interactions, on which we only had retrospective  
13 data. The absence of other sources of data precluded triangulation. Therefore, future studies should  
14 use additional data gathering and analysis techniques, such as ethnography, Foucauldian discourse  
15 analysis, and various techniques for exploring social interactions. Another limitation stems from  
16 the gender structure of the sample, which did not include male teachers. This prevented us from  
17 illuminating the role of gender in the constitution of the dynamics of the self. Finally, we are aware  
18 of the effect of the context of primary education institutions [on the model of the agonistic self that](#)  
19 [we have developed](#) and therefore it is necessary to test its applicability and comprehensiveness in  
20 different personal, interpersonal, and institutional contexts. [Since we strived to formulate](#)  
21 [categories that are formal and independent of the content, we believe that the model should be](#)  
22 [applicable in all other contexts, but we cannot exclude the possibility of redefining some categories](#)  
23 [as well as introducing new ones.](#)  
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### Appendix 1

Picture 1 below shows each of the functions in an example of one of the participants – Tea. What is missing in this picture is the Process Modifier, which Tea did not have.



Picture 1: Functions of voices – Tea's example

What follows are the excerpts from the first and the second interview with one of the participants, Tea.

#### Excerpts from the first interview with Tea

*Tea: I am, first and foremost, the Educator. I teach them stuff that is included in the curriculum. I teach culture. My classes should be pleasant, creative, interesting... I don't like to teach frontally, that is outdated, and not good with these new generations. I mainly teach through the discussion and guide students to discover the answers themselves. Sometimes, to get the right answer, I pretend to play the piano, trumpet, guitar – I use mimic and movement to get them to answer correctly. But you have to adjust that curriculum to each individual student group, every group is different. In one group it is a really creative atmosphere, but in another it is a catastrophe, I have to become serious and strict, I can't be creative. As soon as I start playing some musical games or something similar, somebody starts obstructing the class. God forbid if I start doing some choreographies – the fight would break instantly! So, I have to become uptight and iron-fisted with them. When I go to teach that student group, I first say a prayer and then I enter the classroom.*

*Researcher: Ok, so, you are an Educator first. How would you name the voice that adjust every lesson to each student group?*

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3 *Tea: That is Psychologist. He takes into consideration not just their behavior, but also their needs and wishes.*  
4 *And children react differently to the same things... So, I also have to be Actor, circus performer... especially*  
5 *with these new generations, you know. For this group you put this mask, for the other group this other mask.*  
6 *... The Actor has a very difficult role. You simply have to know exactly when you should act something out.*  
7 *The most difficult thing is that you need to know how to respond in certain situations and you need to stand*  
8 *firmly on the ground, because if you let one class slip out of your hands, you have ruined your authority and*  
9 *everything for the entire year.*

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13 *Researcher: What about the strict, uptight one? How does this voice behave in a classroom?*

14 *Tea: ...Write down Boogeyman, we'll call it that. I'll give you an example from a few days ago which shook*  
15 *me up a little, I mean, it happens to everyone sometimes. One kid told me: "Teacher, do you yell like that at*  
16 *your own kids?"; I say: "Yes, I think that I yell at them even more"; He responded: "If you were my mom, I*  
17 *would be so scared of you". ... I realized that I was not aware of my behavior. That made me stop for a*  
18 *moment and question myself. Am I really that Boogeyman? I don't want to be one. I don't like yelling.*

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22 *Researcher: In which circumstances Boogeyman takes over?*

23 *Tea: Well, that happens when I try to explain something interesting to the students, and everyone listens but*  
24 *the three girls, who attend music school, talk constantly. You wouldn't believe how quiet a whisper that is -*  
25 *like the flapping of a butterfly's wings, but even if I stood on my head, they wouldn't pay attention. I was*  
26 *probably more nervous than usual, so I yelled. But then, the worst situation is when I'm telling an interesting*  
27 *story and somebody talks behind my back, or students start a fistfight... That is when the Boogeyman took*  
28 *the scene and started screaming at them.*

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32 *Researchers: So, before her the Actor tried to motivate the students, he failed, you started feeling frustrated and*  
33 *the Boogeyman took over?*

34 *Tea: Well, you start to feel insecure, for sure and – maybe it's ugly to say, but I'm doing this psychological*  
35 *analysis with you right now – maybe it is an attack on my ego. When a child starts behaving as if we are*  
36 *friends, that throws me off track. Not just me but all my colleagues too. What should we do, Actor should*  
37 *start jumping around or what, to make it interesting for them? And even that would not do the trick for a few*  
38 *of them, I'm afraid.*

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42 *But then, there was a situation in which I, as an Actor, wanted to apply some stuff that I've learned at the*  
43 *seminar I recently attended and, somewhat to my surprise, I succeeded.... So, it is the end of the year, I have*  
44 *to finish the lessons, nobody listens to me, and I decide to tell them a riddle from the seminar. Only 2-3 kids*  
45 *heard me in that chaos and it blew my mind how smart and quick they were... Then the atmosphere start*  
46 *changing, one by one they started wondering what games we are playing. I gave them another musical riddle*  
47 *("What stands down? Note C!"<sup>7</sup>), and, from that point on, we all started inventing the riddles ourselves.*  
48 *Now, I completely wasted that class in a sense that I did not do what I planned. But my heart was full, I*  
49 *managed to calm them down, we had so many creative answers, even the most undisciplined and the least*  
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56 <sup>7</sup> Wordplay in authors' mother tongue: note C is "DO", which is the first part of the word "DOWN".  
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3 *bright ones – everyone participated, I couldn't believe how great it was. ... By the end of the class I was*  
4 *exhausted, but the lesson turned out to be very smart and creative. I started, and they took over the initiative.*

5  
6 *Researcher: Is there some other role, the voice who is maybe not constantly there but it sends you a message that*  
7 *you find important?*

8  
9 *Tea: Well, yes, I as I'm questioning myself... It's the Evaluator, somebody who is doing self-evaluation. No*  
10 *matter how experienced you are, we all have that voice. Sometimes I fail to do everything I had planned, so I*  
11 *start asking myself what I could have done, why I let someone be disruptive and what I can do to prevent that*  
12 *from happening again.*

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15 *Researcher: Ok, and can you now remember some voice that you hear sometimes in your mind, but you know that*  
16 *it belongs to somebody else that you know? Maybe they belong to your parents or colleagues?*

17  
18 *Tea: Well, sometimes I ask myself: "God, why did you choose to become a teacher?" But my mom's parents*  
19 *were teachers, so maybe they instilled in me love for this vocation.*

20  
21 *Researcher: Which voice questions your choice of profession?*

22  
23 *Tea: I don't know, some Grumpy voice. I'm kidding, it is ugly to say that that is a pessimist because I am not*  
24 *one, but... he is heavily influenced by the context, you know, the state in our society. When I say that, I mean*  
25 *– the state of the culture in general, but also – the way the kids treat us, teachers, the way the parents treat us.*  
26 *All of us are becoming Grumpy more and more, because we are pressured very hard, and that's not good. We*  
27 *are all playing and balancing on a wire, and it depends on how much you love your job... I love it and when*  
28 *the Grumpy gets ahold of me I manage to quickly chase him away. ... But he is not there when I teach, I leave*  
29 *him outside the classroom. Once I leave the classroom, he could show up and bug me.*

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32 *Researcher: How do you manage to chase the Grumpy away?*

33  
34 *Tea: Because I lead an orchestra and choir and I see how much children like to come to my classes. ... I really*  
35 *love it. I work over the norm. But then Grumpy shows up: Why do you do that? How much are you paid? I*  
36 *mean... After 13 years on this job, I fulfill 100% of my quota and I get paid 75%, even though I work in 2-3*  
37 *schools. It is perfectly normal for Grumpy to take over. On Monday, I finished my classes at 12:20, but I left*  
38 *school at 3, because the children wanted to stay and sing. And even though I'm mourning my late father, I*  
39 *can't leave, I want to stay. So, I stayed and sang with them. My colleagues say to me: You know what? You*  
40 *should only work as much as you are paid to. But I will never work like that... My grandma and grandpa were*  
41 *extremely strict, God forbid how strict they were, but they were respected and loved. Everybody knew of them.*  
42 *They lived modestly but they were highly appreciated. Nowadays, not only can you barely make your ends*  
43 *meet, you don't even get respect. But I hate the proverb: "How much money, that much music", I will never*  
44 *say it. I do not want to lose this enthusiasm and if I lose it, I will quit. I will stop teaching. I will... I will become*  
45 *a dishwasher. With no one to bug me, I will just do the dishes in silence. ...*

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51 *Researcher: Who is the biggest opponent to the Educator? Who undermines him the most?*

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53 *Tea: It's all the paperwork, it is confusing, and they have different forms in different schools. It makes me mad,*  
54 *the Grumpy starts showing up – come on, make the simple form and apply it everywhere, don't make fools of*  
55 *us, teachers. And all the innovative methods, it all sounds great but it is not realistic in our system, we are not*  
56

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3 *America. In their movies, my colleagues sit outside, play their little guitar, sing about birds and flowers. But I*  
4 *have a curriculum, I have a textbook and I have to adhere to the lesson plan.*

5  
6 *Another thing is – I'm severely self-critical, I'm trying to fight this but I guess I'm just made that way. My*  
7 *grandma was the same way. I'm never satisfied and I always think that it could be done better. It's not good*  
8 *for me but I always manage to find a flaw in everything. The other day we had a project about M.M. and I was*  
9 *insanely nervous because I wanted to show off both myself, as well as the other colleagues and the students.*  
10 *My colleagues did not complete the project on time, so I had to do something at the last minute, which is very*  
11 *stressful for me. And the Actor can't show the kids that he is under stress. Also, I wanted to do that project.*  
12 *And it turned out to be very interesting. Nobody new how stressed I was. Even though I was praised for it and*  
13 *everyone said that it was great, I was not satisfied.*

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17 *Researcher: You have mentioned your grandparents. What take did they have on your profession? What do you*  
18 *think about it?*

19  
20 *Tea: I think that the times have changed... Children no longer treat us the same way and I think that they would*  
21 *not be able to handle it. That is why I have to play roles that are different from theirs.*

22  
23 *Researcher: Can you think of some situation in the class that shows how all your voices act?*

24  
25 *Tea: Well, it's 1000 degrees in my classroom. I want to give final grades and the students could see that*  
26 *I'm nervous – one is singing here, the other one is doing some random stuff, the one over there wants to*  
27 *improve his grade, the fourth one is yelling something. One student is playing the piano. My head is like*  
28 *an octopus, my brain is a mash. And the students ask: "How do you manage to keep track of what every*  
29 *one of us is doing?" But I really can, probably because I'm a musician – I see and hear everything. When*  
30 *you find yourself in that chaos, how to make that bearable? Then the Boogeyman shows up, and starts*  
31 *yelling and threatening. But after two minutes the chaos arises again. That happens at the end of the year,*  
32 *when it's hellishly hot. Then, I tell them that I understand that they are nervous, but I tell them: "Please*  
33 *understand me. I'm also human, I'm also sweating. There are so many of us and I am alone. We should*  
34 *understand each other's hardships".*

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39 *Researcher: Which voice is saying that?*

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41 *Tea: That is somebody new who is emotional and needs compassion and empathy. Emotional. Kids mostly*  
42 *lack it nowadays, but sometimes they amaze me. When my father died, they came, some of them hugged me,*  
43 *some offered condolences. Then I started playing for them, and they said: "Can you do it, teacher? You*  
44 *are great". This is my job, I'm a professional, nobody should ask if I can do it or not. I don't want them to*  
45 *lack anything because of my private issues.*

46  
47  
48 *Researcher: Which voices go together well? Which make a good team?*

49  
50 *Tea: It's the Educator, the Actor and the Psychologist. They are realizing the teaching process and the want to*  
51 *do it right, to bring the best results. They want to help the children. There was a kid who said to me: "Teacher,*  
52 *since we listened to the music in your classes, I started doing it regularly with my mother.". He wasn't a great*  
53 *student, but he has become great, he found his interests and now he knows everything, not a chance that he will*  
54 *miss something! I motivated him and that means so much to me. That inspires me to continue doing good things.*

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3 *Or sometimes students start attending music school because they have worked with me and they liked it. I have*  
4 *found their talent which they and their parents had no clue about. There's no bigger inspiration!*

5  
6 *Researcher: What is the opposite of this – of inspiring the students?*

7 *Tea: It's the Boogeyman, he creates negativity, bad atmosphere, he should not show up and take over but,*  
8 *unfortunately, he has to. I would kick him out both from my home and from the classroom. But kids need to*  
9 *learn that there are some rules, a system that they will need to follow later, as grownups, what can you do, you*  
10 *have to.*

11  
12  
13 *Researcher: What is the opposite of having enthusiasm?*

14 *Tea: Well, the Grumpy. One complete teacher that is well educated and competent should always work on*  
15 *improving themselves, she wants to learn new things, to inspire the students, to change the world. I fight against*  
16 *windmills, I try not to be Grumpy, not to be a Boogeyman, and I believe that I still have that positive energy,*  
17 *which I would like to keep, to continue including new and innovative stuff when I teach. If you stagnate and the*  
18 *system pulls you, you drown in the Dead Sea, you are where you are and you don't want to move, you are not*  
19 *open to the new things. The system is suffocating you. I think that many feel anxious in this system. Now, if you*  
20 *are strong enough and you are an enthusiast and want to progress, you push that anxiety away. But you should*  
21 *be very strong in teaching as well as in life and it is important to be aware of that. Many are not aware and*  
22 *they drown.*

## 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 **Excerpts from the second interview with Tea**

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31 *Interviewer: What do you think of our analysis? Did it make sense for you?*

32 *Tea: When I was reading it, I started thinking about Grandma's and Grandpa's voice. It's not just them, it's*  
33 *more like what I was watching when I was growing up, what was instilled in me. It is my whole upbringing,*  
34 *that includes both of them, but also my parents. ... It's like a Family voice. I mean, it was completely different*  
35 *back then, so I cannot rely only on them, but it is probably something that was instilled in me, some values that*  
36 *we all need to nurture, and that children need to learn and respect.*

37  
38  
39 *Interviewer: Ok, we will change the name of that voice to Family voice. ... Now, who says the following words:*  
40 *“One complete teacher that is well educated and competent should always work on improving themselves...to*  
41 *inspire the students, to change the world. ... If you are strong enough ... you push that anxiety away.”? Also, who*  
42 *says: “I mainly teach through the discussion and guide students to discover the answers themselves.” and “The*  
43 *class turned out to be very smart and creative. I started, and they took over the initiative”?*

44  
45  
46 *Tea: How many voices do we have in our heads?*

47  
48 *Interviewer: A lot, and they grow bigger in numbers as the time passes by.*

49 *Tea: That sounds worrying (laugh). ... It's the Educator. He is not strict and firm... I think you got him all*  
50 *wrong. Yes, he is focused on realizing curriculum, but he finds creative ways to do so. He is flexible. If you look*  
51 *at the tradition – grandma and grandpa taught frontally, they talked and children were quiet. They were uptight*  
52 *and restrained ... My Educator has to learn new stuff, to expand his knowledge. The Educator is the leader, he*  
53 *is on top of the pyramid, but all other voices have to participate, so they could help the Educator who is on top.*

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3 Interviewer: Who helps him?

4 Tea: The Psychologist, he is one piece of the puzzle. Also, the Actor. I mean, I'm not acting, I am myself with  
5 my students. But the classroom is a kind of a stage, and I have to adjust to my public. So yes, I change roles.  
6 But there are 2-3 students that are tough cookies, so the Boogeyman must take over.  
7

8  
9 Interviewer: So, you keep going back to the idea of a team assembled around the Educator. Let's use that metaphor.

10 Tea: Yes, that's what I said. It's as if he [the Educator, see example below] was above them. It's like a king and  
11 his kingdom. The king has advisors who assist him to reign.  
12

13 Interviewer: How do they help him?

14 Tea: I remembered you yesterday when I said to my students: "Look how many of you are here, and there is  
15 only one me". That calmed them down, even if for a minute or two. They look at me like: "She is right" and say  
16 to each other: "Look at the poor teacher, be quiet". ... So those other voices make the right atmosphere for the  
17 Educator to come out and teach or sing, whatever he intended to do. They prepare the scene for his work. When  
18 that does not work, I first pretend that I'm mad – that's the Actor - and then I talk to them about respecting  
19 each other, about following the rules, about being decent and well-mannered. That is what Family voice  
20 believes in.  
21

22 Interviewer: So maybe you have two kings, two main voices?

23 Tea: No, the Family voice is like a chief adviser in the kingdom. He has some traditional values. He and the  
24 Educator want students to know, when they hear something on TV or radio, what that music is. It is important  
25 for me that students learn something for life. I want them to remember me.  
26

27 Interviewer: ... Ok. You also said that it is important for you as a teacher to always improve your skills and  
28 knowledge. Which voice says that?  
29

30 Tea: Well, maybe that is the Evaluator, he wants to help the Educator to always be better. But it is hard to put  
31 that one town in just one voice – for me that's the natural order of things, nobody needs to push me to improve  
32 myself. That was instilled in me, my mother always spoke about that. It's from the childhood. In my family  
33 everyone has a university degree. My mom always read something, up until she retired. The mom did so, my  
34 grandparents did so. Throughout my schooling teachers always said: "Never stagnate, always learn new stuff".  
35 So it is maybe the Family voice.  
36

37 Interviewer: Ok, so you explained that quite clearly for us. What about this: "Times have changed, children no  
38 longer treat us the same way and I think that they [grandma and grandpa] would not be able to handle it. That  
39 is why I have to play roles [the Psychologist, the Actor, the Innovative and Flexible Teacher] that are different  
40 from theirs."  
41

42 Tea: It is the Educator, but the Psychologist and the Actor also see that. They did not have to play different  
43 roles.  
44

45 Interviewer: Ok, let's go back to the Boogeyman. Who is undermined so that the Boogeyman has to take the stage?

46 Tea: When I was reading your analysis, I really did not like the Boogeyman. He is not screaming, he is yelling,  
47 but it's not long or anything. It is more like the volcano eruption. Psychologist tries to no avail; the Actor tries  
48 and fails.  
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3 Interviewer: ... And then the Boogeyman takes over. Is he defending the Emotional one?

4 Tea: Now when you mentioned the Emotional one – we should not show that side of ourselves to the students.  
5 They say for the other teacher: “You can easily see when she is nervous – she must have gotten into the fight  
6 with her boyfriend”. Look, they are the children, and I’m listening and thinking – that’s appalling. When I ask  
7 about myself, they say: “You don’t act like that”. So, we shouldn’t show them that emotional part of us. No  
8 matter how tired am I, that’s not their concern. That is my issue, not theirs. That’s my job. I have to deal with  
9 it. But sometimes you can see it [tiredness] on my face... everyone shows it sometimes. They ask: “Are you ok  
10 teacher?” The previous night I took care of my sick kids, sure, I’m fine. Why would I tell them that and try to  
11 get their compassion? There’s no need for that. But the Boogeyman does not hide the Emotional, it’s the Actor.  
12 Interviewer: When does the Boogeyman show up, then?

13

14 Tea: Unfortunately, they [children] only react to something that is fast. And dramatic and dynamic. I remember  
15 when my grandma used to say: “If they don’t listen to you, you should talk quietly for a bit, or stop talking  
16 shortly.” Yeah, right, they would be the happiest if I stopped talking so they could have their fun. ... The  
17 Boogeyman is like a bad cop who has to put things in order. Law and order kind of voice.  
18

19 ...

20 Interviewer: Ok, so we have this emotional part that you have said that you don’t like to show.

21 Tea: Yes, it is when it’s hellishly hot and I say to them: “Maybe I have to go to the bathroom too; I am nervous  
22 too, maybe I am hungry. But sometimes you simply have to endure. You are nauseous, I am too. But let’s endure  
23 until we finish the job.” ... I can scream, I can start playing the piano loudly, but sometimes I want to get  
24 through them. ... I want to show them that I am not a Boogeyman, that I care about them. ... That I am not here  
25 to torture them, that we are all on the same side. These are some more sophisticated methods.... I’m using  
26 Psychologist for that. It calms them down, which helps the Educator.  
27

28 Interviewer: But we also have that emotional part of you. ...

29 Tea: The Emotional... They should not see something that is personal, which I am bringing from my life, from  
30 my family. Students say (for the other teacher): “She is playing with her hair nervously; she must have gotten  
31 into a fight with her boyfriend. ... You don’t show that stuff to us.” And I don’t want to show that to them. It’s  
32 ugly to show it.  
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