Between Resistance and Collaboration: A Teacher's Professional Activity in the Third Space

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Abstract

Aim. Based on Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of education and theory of postcolonialism, to explain how the teacher's position changes in the processes of cultural transmission to their pupils.

Concepts. Bourdieu states that the purpose of a school is to reproduce power relations. Teachers, using their authority, implement a culture that supports the position of the dominant class. However, various new studies show a decline in teacher's authority. The rupture of hierarchical connections in the process of culture imposition is being studied in postcolonialism. By applying the ideas of Homi K. Bhabha, the modern teacher activity can be explained not as a cultural reproduction but as a teacher's constant encounters with the culture of the Other. A space where cultural encounters take place, Bhabha names the Third Space. Here, a new hybrid culture emerges, and a school becomes open to otherness and diversity.

Results. In contemporary society, teachers do not have enough authority to impose a cultural reproduction. Teachers are forced to choose resistance to their culture by encountering pupils and collaborating with their pupils' culture. As a result, a hybrid culture emerges, and the Third Space forms in schools.

Conclusion. Contemporary education is heavily influenced by societal changes, which are shaping new conditions at schools and different perceptions of teachers' work. Previous theories of the sociology of education provide only a limited explanation of these processes. By expanding these theories with theories from the field of culture, we broaden our understanding and ability to explain the processes in today's classrooms. However, such a theoretical approach should be validated by empirical studies in the future.

Originality. By applying the postcolonialism theory to explain the process of cultural formation in schools between the teachers and their pupils.

Key words: teacher's habitus, pedagogic work, pedagogic authority, reproduction of culture, encounter, Third Space, mimicry, hybrid culture

Introduction

The professional activity of a teacher and the issues arising from or about it is the subject of several social sciences. In modern educology, teacher's performance is often analysed in terms of effectiveness, asking how a teacher can achieve high results in educating students. The teacher is often seen as a tool that, when properly prepared and delivered with modern measures, will achieve the desired goals. However, not only in Lithuania, a large part of politicians, society, and media representatives express dissatisfaction with teachers' activities. Research shows that in the Western world satisfaction with the quality of education has been declining since the 1980-ies (Luke, 2006). Public criticism of teachers has an impact on the decline in the prestige of the teaching profession, the shortage of teachers, and the frustration of teachers themselves (OECD, 2020). The question is – have teachers started working worse? Does society, politicians, and parents demand too much of them? An open systems approach is gaining ground in the sociology of education, offering a holistic view of the problem (Ballantine et al., 2017). This article proposes to analyse the teacher's professional activity by combining two critical theories – Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of education and Homi K. Bhabha's theory of postcolonialism.

Both theories are linked by a similar approach to the role of culture in social processes. The transmission and imposition of culture on others in both theories is also considered a means of social and cultural enslavement. From Bourdieu's point of view, the teacher, using symbolic coercion and the authority given to him by external structures, arbitrarily imposes the culture of the dominant classes on the pupils, thus reproducing the social order (Swartz, 1997). The processes of colonisation examined by postcolonialism are interpreted in a similar way – by denying the value of barbaric culture, the culture of colonisers is imposed, at the same time ensuring their oppression and subjugation to the will of the colonisers (Young, 2015). However, according to Bhabha, it is impossible for the imposition of culture to take place without changing both sides involved in the cultural encounter. Tensions arising from cultural encounter challenge strategies of sham adaptation, mimicry, resistance, and collaboration. Through them, a new, hybrid culture begins to form (Bhabha, 1994). Bourdieu does not discuss such a possible view, although he foresees, the possibility of resistance in the face of cultural coercion (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Data from various studies suggest that resistance to teacher-instilled culture is increasing in current schools. Teachers are increasingly forced to resort to strategies that lead to a hybrid culture. Such a situation provokes teachers' reflections on the meaning of their professional activity and the value of its continuity. The purpose of this article is to open up another perspective on looking at the situation and to invite teachers to follow Bourdieu's advice – to reflect more deeply on their activities, finding the most suitable ways of acting for the teacher and the pupil through reflection.

Cultural Reproduction in Schools According to Bourdieu's Sociology

French sociologist Bourdieu (1930-2002) was a universal sociologist who studied various areas of social life. Education is one of his research topics. In 1970, Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron work *Reproduction in Education, Society, Culture* appeared for the first time. This work, by the words of Bourdieu himself, became perhaps the most cited work in the sociology of education, both in critical assessment and based on it, cultivating new ideas or conducting more detailed research (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Introducing some concepts of sociology of education (teacher habitus, pedagogic work, pedagogic authority, etc.) that successfully took root afterward, the authors argued that the main function of the education system and teachers is to reproduce existing power relations through unequal distribution of cultural capital for different social groups. *Cultural capital* is a person's available cultural values, such as works of art, behavioural and appearance specifies, taste, education, language. The cultural value of capital depends on the recognition of it by other agents as its value (Bourdieu, 1986). The school not only introduces the attitude of what a valuable culture is, butalso teaches its own use – the ability to substantiate value, interpret, reflect with the help of specific codes – linguistic elements (Bourdieu, 1996). According to Bourdieu, the school is a vast classification machine that carries out exclusion and inclusion, replacing the former system of aristocratic titles with a system of educational credentials (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Although, legally, today's education is available to every child, regardless of their social background or the economic capabilities of their family, this equality at school is still an illusion (Schneider & Coleman, 2018). With different "starting" positions (for example, experiences of pre-school education), different amounts of linguistic and cultural capital, different level of socialisation, pupils are unequally involved in learning processes (Swartz, 1997). Learning to use culture "appropriately" is much more beneficial for children from higher social backgrounds than for children for whom the culture conveyed at school is entirely unfamiliar (Bourdieu, 1996).

Recognising that structures are superior to individual interactions, and act and direct according to a certain logic of structure, the French sociologist also leaves room for independent action for the individual agent. *Teacher's habitus* is his historical "code" that Bourdieu explains by comparing it with the influence of the human genetic code on the human biological being – it has a certain autonomy and flexibility in various situations caused by structures (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Reproduction should not be understood as the mechanical reproduction of the structures in which the school was created and operates. Habitus dictates the response of an individual social agent to various situations – acceptance, reflection, resistance. The reaction depends on the cultural distance that arises between the culture introduced by the teacher and that brought by the pupil from their family. This is

between what the pupil has acquired during the primary pedagogic work and what the teacher wants to implement during the secondary pedagogic work. *Pedagogic work* is work that seeks to introduce culture arbitrarily so deeply and firmly that it becomes the basis of a person's habitus. The parents and other social agents perform the *primary pedagogic work* in the child's living environment. *Secondary pedagogic work* is the central part of a teacher's professional activity. It aims to adjust or recreate the culture acquired during the primary pedagogic work. In order to successfully perform that action, the teacher must have sufficient *pedagogic authority* – that is, have more of it than the performers of the primary pedagogic work. Pedagogic authority, according to Bourdieu and Passeron, in all cases is given not to a person but a position, always in advance, and is a necessary prerequisite for pedagogic work. Pedagogic authority elevates the teacher to a higher, dominant position in relation to the students confirming that what they say or do is legitimate, valuable, and, most importantly, done for the benefit of the pupils themselves (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). However, researchers, analysing today's educational trends in the 21st century, reveal that the authority given to the professional position of a teacher is declining. Situations where external structures or other social agents who should have an interest in reproducing the existing system no longer provide sufficient authority and support to teachers were not discussed by Bourdieu. In the second half of the 20th century, this issue was not yet relevant (Swartz, 1997).

OECD TALIS 2018 RESEARCH

TALIS – Teaching and Learning International Survey – a survey initiated and coordinated by the OECD in education. It is a quantitative comparative study of education and teachers are the main object of it. The study's primary goal is to provide politically important, reliable international indicators related to various aspects of teaching/learning and their analysis, thus helping countries develop education policies by facilitating more effective teaching/learning. The analysis helps countries to answer the questions of whether other countries face similar challenges and how to overcome them, and show the experience of other countries' education policies, expanding the understanding of the impact of policies on the school learning environment. TALIS surveys are conducted every five years from 2008. 2018 the TALIS survey involved 48 countries and economic policy units (i.e. regions of individual countries). The main objective of this study was to analyse the teacher's profession in five groups – the knowledge and skills required by the teacher; professional career opportunities for teachers; a culture of cooperation between teachers; professional responsibility and teacher autonomy; the prestige of the profession. In this article, we will confine ourselves to a few examples of this study that reveal a decline in teacher authority and professional prestige.

According to TALIS data, teachers in various countries state that they have to devote more and more time to efforts to discipline pupils (seventy per cent of lesson time – OECD (2019)). They indicate that pupils are poorly motivated and involved (thirty per cent of teachers report that it is difficult to motivate pupils – OECD (2019)); feel less trust from society, parents. On average, thirty per cent of teachers say that they no longer feel they are doing meaningful work, and are frustrated, dissatisfied (OECD, 2020). On average, twenty per cent feel constant stress due to the growth of requirements, pupil behaviour, and relationships with the founder (OECD, 2020). Twenty-five per cent plan to terminate their professional activities in the next five years, citing criticism of the work of teachers by the education administration and politicians as reasons (OECD, 2020). Twenty-six per cent of teachers think that their work is viewed negatively by society (OECD, 2020). Similar data is provided by various qualitative and quantitative studies.

According to the Bourdieu theory, we can interpret this research data as data that reveals that teachers are constantly challenged when interacting with pupils. Some of them question the teacher's authority, the cultural capital offered by the teacher, and sometimes the very meaning of education and school. The teacher encounters pupils who are not motivated to obey the teacher's dominance, rejecting the culture they implement. On the one hand, the teacher is pressured by external agents to implement a certain culture, on the other, pupils pressure them. The school becomes a kind of border area where constant cultural *encounters* take place. The theory of *postcolonialism* is used to examine their essence.

Postcolonialism and Education

As is customary in the use of concepts in social or cultural studies, there is no single definition of what constitutes postcolonialism. In this article, postcolonialism is defined as an interdisciplinary arena of critical discourse related to the theory of development and active action. It encompasses physical and economic, psychological, social, and cultural enslavement and, more generally, an analysis of the I and Other relationship explaining shared and individual experiences (Stolterman & Merritt, 2012).

In the sociology of education, this theory is more widely applied in the study of the education of former colonies in order to reveal how and to what extent colonial experience, cultural enslavement, and the extent to which colonial power relations are still reproduced. Researchers analyse the reproduction of culture, the impact of school on social structure, and the impact of participation in the education system on pupils' social status (e.g. Ali A. Abdi, Ailie Cleghorn, 2005). In this article, the theory of postcolonialism is used in a new aspect – in explaining the interruptions of cultural reproduction in Western societies themselves. The idea is based on

the assumption that both Bourdieu's sociology of education and postcolonialism speak of the imposing culture through a relationship of power in order to preserve the exclusive position of dominant groups. In Bourdieu's theory, the teacher is an agent of the power of external structures, who, using the authority given to them, carries out the imposition of culture on pupils while fostering their habitus obedience to the existing social order (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). In the theory of postcolonialism, this model would correspond to the processes of colonialism. The concept of colonialism defines a specific form of cultural exploitation. According to the most famous theorist of colonialism, Edward W. Said, it occurs by implanting certain coloniser-imposed forms of living in the peripheries. The relationship between the colonisers and the colonised forms a very strict hierarchy of differences, resistant to fair and just exchanges of both sides (Said, 2003). The imposition of culture in these relationships involves not only inculturation but also the installation of an understanding that hierarchical relations-based social living is the natural condition of world and social order. The colonisers provide civilisation, and obedience to them is declared not as obedience to the power relationship but to human evolution itself towards the idea of progress. According to thinker Pierre Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, "society colonises when it itself reaches a high level of maturity and strength; it gives birth, cares, creates good conditions for development and matures the new society that has emerged from its womb" (as cited in Said, 2003, p. 219).

Nevertheless, the White, in the process of transmitting civilisation, is also "soiled"– the work of culture implementation leaves impression on them, and there is a certain Creolization – the production of "colony Whites" (Ashcroft et al., 2007). The coloniser becomes somewhat provincial, somewhat primitive, backward (Young, 2003).

It is easy to see the links between colonialism and the great Enlightenment myth that foretold the creation of a civilised, progressive society through education and the work of teachers. "It would be even better to change people as they should be as need dictates" – this could be the purpose of education (Rousseau, 1979, p. 63). Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi when urging to teach diligence and obedience to children in order to cleanse their souls, bodies, minds, reveals the discriminatory logic of Western education: people are twofold – dark and enlightened; the latter undertakes the mission of "cleansing" the dark masses, but not by their liberation, but by their reconciliation with the existing social hierarchy and the domination of the dominant classes (as cited in Lawton & Gordon, 2005). This Enlightenment myth that proclaimed cultural enslavement, the enslavement of individual bodies and souls, as explained by Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno (2002), remains viable in education systems of the 21st century. The teacher is still visible and understands himself as a coloniser of barbarians, a vector of culture, a guide of the people from the darkness.

Professional Activity of Teachers in Interruptions of Cultural Reproduction

Bourdieu, in analysing the culture inculcated by the teacher, reveals that teachers consistently implement the culture of yesterday, that is, the culture in which they matured themselves and which is the basis of their habitus, their culture (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Meanwhile, pupil habitus is forming in today's – current day's – culture. Today's culture is different. Pupils' values, understanding, and attitudes towards education are constructed not only by the pupils' parents or other environments of the primary pedagogic action (Williams & Pritchard, 2006). It is influenced by communication partners on social networks, opinion formers, advertising through the media, and online games – spaces and areas that are practically beyond the control of either parents or educational institutions. Their impact on pupil choices, decisions, and behaviours can be very intense and create constant competition for secondary pedagogic work at school (McLaren, 2002).

Shifts in the fields of power, the revaluation of cultural capital – a common historical process influenced by changes in discourse, technological change, globalisation processes, population migration, emerging social and cultural movements, and the development of science. The evaluation, positions, authority, and authority of the field of education itself, and the social agents are also changing (Williams & Pritchard, 2006). So, the question is: whose and what is the culture that current teachers reproduce in school?

According to the analogy of colonialism, the culture introduced by teachers to the "tribes" of pupils should, first of all, be one that is well known, acceptable, and valuable to teachers. Otherwise, they would lose the "vocation" to implement it. It is problematic to implement ta culture that does not support habitus as its own, because habitus is primarily a cultural construct (Bourdieu, 1986). The colonisers must always feel the support of the metropolis behind their shoulders – otherwise, they find themselves in an unpredictable risk zone. The pedagogic authority is necessary for the teacher – as in the case of the coloniser, it is preliminary, external – it is conveyed by certain cultural artefacts.

However, the teacher, left in those peripheries, in that relationship with the "uneducated" tribes of children, can hardly remain part of the culture of dominant powers and constantly supply himself with the necessary artefacts. Leaving the places of distribution of elite culture – universities – they remain with the culture of yesterday, which does not always capture the shift of powers, new cultural fashions (McLaren, 2002). It is difficult for them to be popular in the face of mass culture – able to conquer the media, social networks. Life, from the point of view of elite or popular culture, in a cultural province – a school – has the same effect as life with the natives had on colonisers. One of the most striking and frequently cited examples in colonial and postcolonial works is Joseph Conrad's *Heart of*

darkness hero Kurtz (Conrad, 2014). To the natives, he is both God and punisher, and a kind of toy, a mascot. For other Europeans, meanwhile, he is defiled by his honour and a man with a damaged psyche, a remnant of yesterday's greatness, a completely incomprehensible being, himself transformed into a *subaltern* in the meaning of the word suggested by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. That is, a person who no longer has access to an "imperial culture"– a culture that can be used as capital to secure a certain social position (Harasym, 1990). The one who finds himself on social margins not as enslaved or exploited, but as one who so desires and hopes for a "piece of cake" but does not get it (Ashcroft et al., 2007). Teachers, detached from the centres of cultural distribution, from popular cultural events, are messiahs of yesterday's culture. They become a subaltern in the sense that they remain only an observer of the culture that is currently emerging.

Pedagogic authority is given to them in lower doses and narrower situations. International organisations or at least national assessment systems have appropriated the primary source of power and authority – to share school credentials and assess the pupil's acquired capital with certain assessment symbols (Brooks et al., 2013). Schools have lost their power, losing the right to shape the content of the credentials given to pupils: pupil certificates now contain the results of centrally conducted national final exams (McNeil, 2000). The teacher's cultural, progress guide's mission is narrowed by establishing the recognition of the direct impact of the socio-economic context (SEC) on pupil achievement and by establishing the concept of pupils with special educational needs (Downey et al., 2019). It is acknowledged that the education offered by a teacher is not a way out of low social status or SEN (Special Educational Needs) for everyone (Tomlinson, 2017; Lin et al., 2015). A teacher's remuneration is not related to their own education, effort to educate, acquisition of new competencies, or development of new teaching strategies, but to the number of pupils and the number of lessons. Various non-governmental organisations and socio-social movements (such as the Green, LGBTQ, feminists, and others) influence education (Burch, 2009; Rado, 2020).

The involvement of teachers in the formation of the curriculum is also kept to a minimum. The example of Australia in the implementation of the Safe Schools project (sexuality and sex education programs) is a typical example of what influences the change in the content of education: politicians, non-governmental organisations, parents' unions, local communities participated in the discussions on the implementation of these programs. They had the biggest influence on decision-making. Safe Schools project and the educational content and tools based on them were developed at the initiative of non-governmental organisations, university researchers funded by the state. Their use in schools is limited by parental choice: they decide whether such a program should apply to their child (Gobby & Walker, 2017). Teachers were not involved in these processes.

Defeated, restricted from certain authority-supporting functions, the teacher is a kind of coloniser, left in their former holdings, which have declared independence just yesterday, where they begin to be dominated by forces unknown to the teacher. A teacher's habitus, indoctrinated by faith in mission, vocation, noble work, experiences constant confrontation with the growing Other. The Other is questioning the value and, at the same time, legitimacy of the culture they implement (Memmi, 2006). *Other*, in this case, is anyone we separate from ourselves as the opposite side of the binary connection. The vision of the Other separates the coloniser and the native while confirming the naturalness and primacy of the coloniser's culture and worldview (Ashcroft et al., 2007).

THE RISE OF THIRD SPACE AND THE FORMATION OF A HYBRID CULTURE, ACCORDING TO BHABHA

Postcolonial theorist, Bhabha, associates the rise and strengthening of the Other with a binary crisis of culture hostility. With physical, and then cultural decolonisation, the primitive mechanism of confrontation breaks, and a whole variety of cultures emerges, interacting with each other in a much more complex and confusing way than the pre-existing binary culture (Bhabha, 1994). Multiculturalism, the emergence of different powers, and penetration of each other do not fit into the "teacher" and the "barbarian" logic. Every cultural meeting turns into a *cultural encounter*, not a cultural imposition. The concept of encounter is used here, one of the main concepts of postcolonialism. Encounters are the interactions of different cultures and experiences. Encounters differ from everyday, ordinary meetings in their surprise, intensity, mutual provocation, disruption (Fahlande, 2007). It is a confrontation of cultures and experiences, which, according to Bhabha, highlights the hierarchical binary nature of the participants in the encounter with all the ambivalence, tension, vagueness intervening between it (Bhabha, 1994). In such a collision, according to Slavoj Žižek, a traumatic echo arising from an experienced confusion is always heard (as cited in Fahlande, 2007). Both confronting parties are forced to admit that their cultural experience and habitus, do not know how to react and which social action or behaviour to apply. This is a spontaneous situation, usually triggering spontaneous behaviour. Nevertheless, as a historical, long-term experience accumulator, habitus, although disturbed, remains active and flexible: it uses a reserve of available capital, seeks a way out – creates new meanings, unusual solutions, complements itself (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

The situation of cultural encounter, based on Said, is clarified by Bhabha as a tension between synchronous (historical), all-encompassing vision of domination (identification, entrenchment, demand) and the opposite diachrony of history (exchange, difference) (Bhabha, 1994). None of the individuals involved in postcolonial cultural encounters

has such a backing that would provide sufficient authority to realise the claim of dominance.

Encountering the Other now requires new strategies and tactics. One of them is *mimicry,* the strategy of adaptation and transformation, the desire to impose, and the ability to take on forms that neutralise tensions or impending conflicts. According to Bhabha, mimicry means an ironic compromise made to preserve dominance, power, and knowledge. It is based on duality in the desire to change the Other but to leave it recognisable. Mimicry seems to appropriate the Other but also embodies difference – thanks to it the Other becomes almost the same, but not quite the same as the transmitter of dominant power (Bhabha, 1994). According to Frantz Fanon (2008) – black skin bodies with white masks. However, mimicry is not just an act of pretence, camouflage; rather, it is the property itself, a habitus of a new form of action.

A space where cultural encounters occur, Bhabha names them liminal spaces, Border territories, *Third Space* (Bhabha, 1994). Third Space is not a colonial or indigenous people's land, and it is a cultural "staircase," a cultural "between," and those here are both collaborators and resisters. Resistance is a response to an arbitrary order and culture arising from structures that are imposed and require approval and reproduction but does not provide sufficient authority and support in encounters (Ashcroft, 2001). Collaborating with the Other, but not out of the pursuit of mutual cooperation, is more like impersonation and imitation, as collaboration is hampered by the still-existing binary hierarchy (Ahmed, 2009). Between these binary connections, according to Bhabha, a new *hybrid culture* is emerging, intertwined with the cultural and social experiences of both participants in the encounter (Bhabha, 1994). In this culture, the coloniser and the colonised are interdependent and create mutual subjectivity. In this dependence, cultural "purity," cultural distinctiveness, and, at the same time, the vision of the dominant culture disappears. Cultural hybridisation takes all cultural hostilities in itself, Otherness. Third Space, where hybrid culture is intertwined, becomes open to Otherness and diversity (Ashcroft et al., 2007).

A Teacher in the Third Space

The decline in a teacher's pedagogic authority can in no way be attributed to their person: Bourdieu and Passeron convincingly revealed that pedagogic authority is given to a position (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Consequently, the position itself, the essence of which is pedagogic work, is weakened. Pedagogic work, which has no external authority, can rely only on the flexibility of the teacher's habitus, the ability to neutralise the traumatic echo of the pedagogic encounter. On the one hand, with the decline of the sources of pedagogic authority, and on the other hand, with the increase of pupils' cultural diversity, the abundance of Otherness, the teacher

finds himself in that "in-between" area, the Third Space (Emdin, 2009). Here, under the influence of their synchronous sense of dominance and historical, cultural pressure, they seek through pedagogic work to transform the diversity of pupils into a certain cultural mass that corresponds to their own professed visions. According to them, the best pupils are those who are able to replicate and repeat after the teacher: their language, behaviour, clothing, and have the same taste and sense of cultural values yet not quite the same, more of analogous (Weber & Mitchell, 1995). Otherwise, the position of the teacher itself would no longer be dominant, with the power to spread higher knowledge, civilisation. Almost the same, but not quite – this is the vision of a perfect pupil. It is the essence of mimicry – a pupil becomes a desired cultural mass that does not go beyond the teacher's cultural level. It is a form of cultural enslavement that discriminates against authentic identities (Bhabha, 1994).

It would be a mistake in today's teacher-pupil relationship to follow the historical understanding that the teacher remains a successful coloniser of children. The prefix post always denotes something after, beyond something (Loomba, 2015). In thetheory of postcolonialism, the post signifies the transcendence of a simple, binary relationship and transforming the relationship of obvious power into something hidden, disguised – a type of mimicry. In the teacher – pupil relationship, the teacher's desire to see pupils in the same binary perspective no longer endures, under pressure from a changed educational discourse, cultural diversity, and a breakthrough in the production of identities. The position of the teacher becomes twofold. They always are pressed for choice. The pressure from pupils' side provokes them to take some cultural resistance against culture, which they are commissioned to implement. This resistance appears in form of mimicry. Teachers listen to pupils' favourite music, read their favourite books, chase after pupils' fashion, change teachers' specific vocabulary into habitual for pupils' vocabulary, and simplify the language. Teachers become almost the same as pupils, but not quite like pupils - this is a feature of mimicry (Quigley, 2011). To produce pupils' culture, to become a part of it, to become "their own" – to collaborate with pupils. Or to take risks and remain "non-progressive," boring, "limited," but loyal to a tradition that seems to have left him alone in the jungle. In any case, the culture that the historical habitus of the teacher feels has to reproduce is no longer someone's, it is yesterday, therefore it is not quite "normal," not quite modern (Williams & Pritchard, 2006). The teacher is provoked to enter the Third Space, where a new, hybrid culture is produced. Apparently, that Third Space is the place where the change in the content of culture appears, observed by Frederic Jameson, the separation of the so-called high culture from the so-called mass and popular culture is disappearing (Jameson, 1998). The high or elite realm is no longer protected "from the urban environment, from glitter and kitsch, from TV series and Reader's Digest culture," which does not require its users to take over "difficult and complex reading, liste-

ning and sighting skills." (Jameson, 1998, p. 2). For anyone facing modern education, these Jameson's remarks are reminiscent of the cultural shift that took place little by little in school: reading is replaced by images. Narratives and speech are replaced by short messages, fragmentary footage. The lesson becomes a performance, a spectacle, an entertainment; reality is transformed by simulacra (Debord, 2006; Baudrillard, 1998). The culture introduced to pupils is a consumer culture in which they are accustomed to signs, satisfaction with surrogates, semi-finished products: read adapted novel abbreviations; see the pyramids on YouTube; hear Ludwig van Beethoven only from the recordings (Wyse et al., 2015). Virtual tours, exhibitions, meetings, communication, relationships – a space filled with simulacra, where the teaching and learning pursue. Teachers' habits are provoked to choose a movement in Third Space, but no longer in a hierarchical binary position. The teacher remains in between, and it depends on their habitus which margin of Third Space is closer to them: traditional, historical pedagogic activities with the aim of introducing a culture that once dominated, or adaptation and survival activities when choosing to live simulacra life. Schematically, the options for teacher habitus choices have a space that we name the Third Space. The boundaries defining it can be named as resistance (Ashcroft, 2001) and collaboration boundary markers. For clarifying, we suggest this scheme:
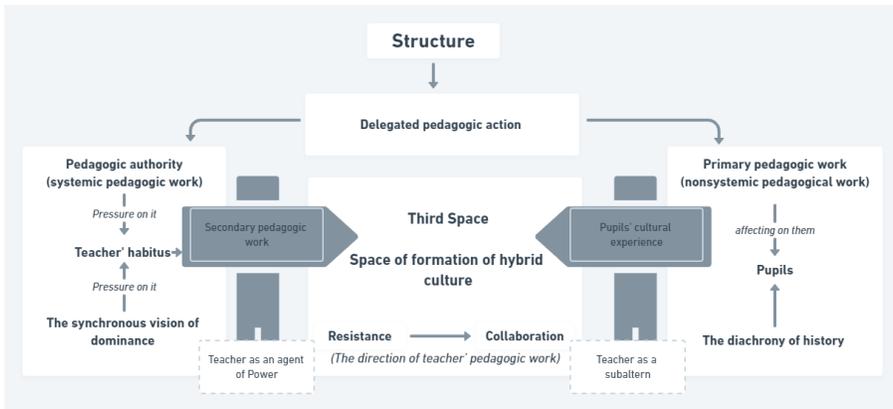

Figure 1
The Emergence of the Third Space in the Process of Schooling
Source: own research.

The teacher finds himself in Third Space beyond the limits of resistance beyond which a hybrid culture is produced. Beyond the limit of collaboration, the teacher is no longer a teacher; they become another simulacrum, a substitute. The presence in Third Space and the movement between these two landmarks, the habitus tactics and strategies of the teacher in this space, the production of hybrid culture are potential objects of sociology of

education. Especially in changes in which Third Space expands into those areas that we were accustomed to seeing only as reproduction space.

DISCUSSION

In today's changing society, all walks of life are experiencing the power of change. The educational system, created under the influence of the 18th century enlightenment ideas, is also influenced by raising questions to what extent does it meet the needs of the present and how important is it in the education of new generations? These questions can no longer be answered by individual theories of sociology of education alone. One of the most popular theories in the sociology of education Bourdieu's sociology of education states that the main purpose of a school is to reproduce existing power relations through the unequal distribution of cultural capital. Teachers, using the pedagogic authority given to them by the structures or other social agents, impose a culture that supports the position of the dominant classes. The teacher-pupil relationship is based on hierarchical binarism, where the teacher's culture is considered higher, more valuable than the pupils, which the pupils acquire during their primary pedagogic work.

This theory convincingly explains the purpose of education and the expectations of other social agents from education. However, the school is not separated from the constant historical change. Ongoing social, cultural, economic processes change the power relations in society, and affect the existing social structures. From the end of the 20th century, various studies recorded a decline in teacher authority, which had a direct impact on the decline in the prestige of the teaching profession. In the face of declining teacher authority, the question arises: whose and what culture is being reproduced by today's teachers?

Assessing the various changes taking place in society, Bourdieu's assertion is confirmed that the teacher always represents yesterday's culture, a culture in which their habitus has matured, which they recognise as their own, valuable, and as one that should be imposed in the pupils. By entrenching this culture, the teacher is also entrenching themselves. The enslavement of Other to this culture determines their survival as a social agent. However, today's pupils question the culture of yesterday – various social, political, economic, and cultural groups take advantage of the huge opportunities for communication and create real competition for the culture implemented by the teacher. Cultural diversity is taking root, whose representatives compete with each other for the reproduction of their culture. Today's teacher is just one of many agents claiming to redistribute cultural capital.

The rupture of conventional hierarchical connections in the processes of cultural imposition is widely studied in the postcolonialism theory. By applying the theory of Bhabha, the pedagogic work performed by a modern

teacher can be explained not as a cultural reproduction but as a teacher's constant encounter with the culture of the Other. The teacher takes strategies in front of the pupil to compensate for their own decreased authority. These strategies are a partial resistance of teachers to their own acquired and professed culture, a departure from which the teacher considered to be the sources of their culture. This is the position of a subaltern. At the same time, in search of filling, the teacher accepts the culture of the Other, in this case, the pupil. Maybe it is just a mimicry, just a partial attempt to be more similar. However, it is also the creation of a new, hybrid culture. This culture is not of someone – it neither belongs to the teacher nor a pupil. It is new. Some researchers are more critical of such cultural shifts, deploring the decline of a higher culture. Others see it as an opportunity for both participants to create a new space in the encounter, a Third space in which cultural diversity can flourish and grow. Such a bright possibility of cultural encounters as the ones resolving tensions and conflicts, fragmentation, and binary approach was seen by Bhabha as the crossroads of the culture of the former colonisers and the inhabitants of the liberated colonies. We offer to see such an opportunity in today's educational processes as well– by eliminating reproduction and binary approach, to create a Third space in which the culture of pupils and teachers would create a new, enriching culture of diversity.

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