

Crossing the Boundaries of East and West: Texts and Their Interpretation through Bourdieu's Theory and Social Philosophy⁺

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Abstract

Explanations of difference across East and West are often over-simplified, invoking unquestioned assumptions about traditional culture and about current global geo-politics. This paper seeks alternative explanations, based upon text analysis and upon the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Two texts, arising out the United Nations Copenhagen climate summit (7th-18th December 2009), are chosen representing two sides of an argument about summit outcomes. These texts are analyzed using a three-dimensional model, firstly at the level of text and secondly at the level of discursive practice, through extended meanings from the text itself and then through meanings from the literature on East-West analysis. Thirdly, it is analyzed at the level of social practice, through the theory and social philosophy of Pierre Bourdieu. This identifies "East" and "West" having distinct field-habitus arrangements, but explains how differences may be viewed as "misrecognitions" and how a common logic applies across both.

Keywords: *Pierre Bourdieu, text analysis, discourse analysis, East-West analysis, misrecognition, reflexivity*

JEL classification: *F51, N40, Z10, Z13*

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on a two news articles, from the United Kingdom and from the People's Republic of China, that emerged after the 2009 United Nations Copenhagen climate change summit (7th-18th December). Each describes the summit process and within each is a common description of events. Each differs quite markedly, however, in the interpretation of outcomes and underlying motives. The differences can be simply explained in terms of

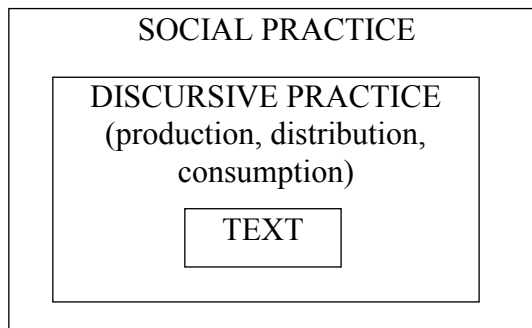
a global politics or in terms of differing East-West “cultures”. This paper chooses, however, to look more deeply for an explanation that incorporates these simple explanations, but also integrates and generalizes. In other words, it looks at differences, but in addition it universalizes through common logics and common origins, defying Kipling’s aphorism that “East is East, and West is West”.

It will do this by following Fairclough’s (1992) three-dimensional discourse analysis model leading to Pierre Bourdieu’s theory and social philosophy. In Fairclough’s model, text is at the core, consisting of language form (the signifier) and language meaning (the signified); surrounding that is discursive practice, that consists of text production and consumption; finally, around that is social practice, which is described in this paper through Bourdieu’s work (Figure 1).

Section 2 restricts itself to the text and to the immediate context, a major international conference that occupied global news headlines for many days. It assumes deep emotion as part of that context and therefore analyses the emotive words within those texts. Section 3 and 4 are about discursive practices, “reading in” elements of meaning that may not be directly obvious from the text. They go “beyond the information given” (Bruner, 1973), using prior knowledge and hypothesizing through context. Section 3 does this through the text itself; Section 4 does this by borrowing from existing literature of East-West analysis.

Section 5 describes social practice from the viewpoint of the theories and social philosophy of Pierre Bourdieu. It introduces terminology applicable across the full range of social practice, irrespective of origin from East or West; it reinforces reasons for particular interpretations of text from previous sections; it reveals common roots to divisions between East and West and the “misrecognitions” that apply. The core model is illustrated in Figure 3 and the overall structure of this paper is shown in Table 1.

Figure 1 Three-Dimensional Conception of Discourse (Fairclough, 1992)



Whilst grounded within the context of the Copenhagen summit, this paper avoids commentary about the geo-politics that surrounds climate issues in general and the summit in particular. It seeks distance from this highly controversial area, except in terms of the blunt commentary that has arisen from it. Each news article played a core role, from respective positions, each generating substantial “spin-off” media coverage. This degree of provocation (as opposed to the specifics of the Copenhagen summit) makes the choice of these two articles appropriate, generating evidence of underlying dispositions, visions and approaches that suggest realities are deep, individualized and close to home, rather than simplistic, general and globalized. The significance and relevance of that evidence, as opposed to specifics of climate issues and the summit, is discussed in terms of choices to academics, diplomats and journalists.

2. Text: Two News Articles

The United Nations Copenhagen (Denmark) summit took place between 7th and 18th December 2009. It followed the Bali (Indonesia) summit of 2007 that declared that the earth’s temperature is rising due to an increase in carbon dioxide in the atmosphere generated by human activity. Ultimately this would lead to melting of the polar ice caps, a rise in sea levels and physical disaster especially for low-lying nations. The work of the Copenhagen summit was in action planning, based upon a “roadmap” drawn up at the Bali summit. There was much media coverage and the two news articles chosen as the subject of this paper were published immediately afterwards (22nd December and 25th December respectively) as part of that.

The first article (Lynas, 2009a) was written by a British environmentalist reporting for the UK Guardian newspaper, who was also acting as advisor to the Republic of the Maldives. It expressed the view that People’s Republic of China continually and intentionally blocked agreements amongst nation states at the conference. It concurred with comments made by the UK climate minister who attended the conference (Milliband, 2009) and it attracted much attention within its readership, its online version drawing 928 reader comments (31st December 2009). The article and its author are referred to as the “protagonist” below.

The second article was written by reporters who accompanied Premier Wen Jiabao 温家宝 of the People’s Republic of China whilst leading the Chinese delegation at the Copenhagen summit (Zhao, Tian and Wei, 2009). It is largely a diary account of the Premier during the final three days at the summit, describing difficulties and achievements during that time. It was published after the first article and since it covers much of the same ground with an alternative point of view, it is possible that it was written as a response

to that article. However, it makes only general reference to specific criticisms and in rebuttal, it makes no specific reference to any article, allegation or critic. It is referred to as the “alternative view” in this paper.

Variants of each article were published (for example, Lynas, 2009b; Mu, 2009) and there was much peripheral news reporting, in particular as a result of the protagonist article (for example, Revkin, 2009). None disputed details; some take up a mediating position (Fallows, 2009a, 2009b). They confirmed the importance of the protagonist article and added weight to the supposition that the alternative view was a response.

Quotes from each news article contain words that are highlighted by this author in the examples below. They illustrate words that are *forceful*, *abrasive* and *pessimistic* within the protagonist article, and words which are *defusing*, *consensual* and *optimistic* within the alternative view article. Using an online concordance engine (http://www.lex tutor.ca/concordancers/text_concord/), “top 20” lists of words were drawn up, based upon perceived strength of meaning (Tables 2a and 2b).

2.1. The Protagonist Article (Lynas, 2009a)

The first paragraph of the protagonist article sets the tone:

“Copenhagen was a **disaster**. That much is agreed. But the truth about what actually happened is in **danger** of being lost amid the spin and inevitable mutual **recriminations**. The truth is this: China **wrecked** the talks, intentionally **humiliated** Barack Obama, and insisted on an **awful** ‘deal’ so western leaders would walk away carrying the **blame**. How do I know this? Because I was in the room and saw it happen.” (paragraph 1)

The article continues up to paragraph 8 with equally assertive comments, indicating an author who is heavily immersed in and with a track record in the issue of climate change (Lynas, 2007). For example:

“What I saw was profoundly **shocking**. The Chinese premier, Wen Jiabao, did not deign to attend the meetings personally, instead sending a second-tier official in the country’s foreign ministry to sit opposite Obama himself. The diplomatic **snub** was obvious and **brutal**, as was the practical implication: several times during the session, the world’s most powerful heads of state were forced to wait around as the Chinese delegate went off to make telephone calls to his ‘superiors.’” (paragraph 6)

The highlighted words are *forceful*, *abrasive* and *pessimistic*; they are present in most of the article and set the overall tone. The “top 20” of those words in terms of strength of meaning are given in Table 1 (a); none of these words appeared in the alternative view article.

Table 1 (a) Text Analysis: Top 20 Words for the Protagonist News Article

The Protagonist	Count
Words that were <i>forceful, abrasive and pessimistic</i>	Count
AGHAST	1
ANNOYED	1
ARGUE	1
AWFUL	1
BATTLE/BAITLES	2
BLAME/BLAMING	6
BRUTAL	1
BULLIED	1
CRASHED	1
DESPAIR/DESPERATE/DESPERATELY	3
DESPONDENT	1
DISASTER	1
FUMED	1
FURIOUS	1
HINDRANCE	1
HUMILIATED	1
SAVAGE	1
SNUB	1
SUICIDE	2
WRECKED	1

Table 1 (b) Text Analysis: Top 20 Words for the Alternative View News Article

The Alternative View	Count
Words that were <i>defusing, consensual and optimistic</i>	Count
ACCORD	1
ACHIEVE/ACHIEVEMENT/ACHIEVEMENTS/ACHIEVING	8
AFFIRM	1
AGREED/AGREEMENT	8
ASPIRATION	1
COMMITMENT/COMMITMENTS/COMMITTED	6
COMPROMISE	1
CONCERNED/CONCERNS	2
CONFIDENT	1
CONFIRMED	1
CONSENSUS	7
CONSTRUCTIVE	1
CONTRIBUTIONS	1
COOPERATE/COOPERATION	8
ENDEAVOUR/ENDEAVOURS	2
FRUIT	1
HOPE	5
PROGRESS	2
SAFEGUARD/SAFEGUARDS	2
TRANSPARENCY/TRANSPARENT	5

The tone shifts only on paragraph 9 where the question is asked: “So how did China manage to pull off this coup?”. In a similar vein, paragraph 12 starts: “All this raises the question: what is China’s game?”. Paragraphs 9 to 12 may be summarized as rationalising the behaviour and the motives behind China’s negotiation tactic. Paragraph 12 continues:

“Why did China, in the words of a UK-based analyst who also spent hours in heads of state meetings, ‘not only reject targets for itself, but also refuse to allow any other country to take on binding targets?’ The analyst, who has attended climate conferences for more than 15 years, concludes that China wants to weaken the climate regulation regime now ‘in order to avoid the risk that it might be called on to be more ambitious in a few years’ time’.”

Only on reaching paragraph 13 is there a conciliatory note, where it declares: “This does not mean China is not serious about global warming. It is strong in both wind and solar industries”. Rationalizations continue after that and after 1304 words, and 14 paragraphs, the article finishes with the sentence:

“After all the hope and all the hype, the mobilisation of thousands, a wave of optimism crashed against the rock of global power politics, fell back, and drained away.”

2.2. *The Alternative View Article (Zhao, Tian and Wei, 2009)*

The alternative view article is prefaced by an editor’s note:

“Xinhua correspondents Zhao Cheng and Tian Fan, who accompanied and covered Premier Wen Jiabao’s tour to the Copenhagen climate talks last week, recall in this following special report what they witnessed at the summit in the Danish capital. With close-in observations of Premier Wen’s tight schedule and meetings with world leaders, their account is expected to shed light on some queries concerning the conference.

- What did Premier Wen tell world leaders?
- Why was Premier Wen missing from a mysterious small group meeting called by the United States?
- How was Copenhagen Accord finally reached after long, tough negotiations?”

The “mysterious small group meeting” was clearly felt to be important; it may have had some connection to the strong words used by the protagonist on paragraph 6 of his article (see above) about that meeting. Oblique references to specific points such as this was part of the style of the article.

The alternative view comes in 2068 words broken down into 69 short paragraphs of one or only a few sentences. Thirty-three paragraphs were simple, uncontroversial statements. For example:

“Premier Wen’s schedule on Dec. 17 was almost fully occupied by meetings with world leaders.” (paragraph 4)

Most remaining paragraphs report the speech of Premier Wen Jiabao, either directly (8 paragraphs) or indirectly (16 paragraphs). An example of the former is:

“It will be a tough task. Now I can feel how heavy my **duty** is to attend the meeting on behalf of the Chinese government,’ Wen told reporters aboard his plane en route to Copenhagen.” (paragraph 2)

Of the latter, examples are:

“He (Wen) told the UN chief (Ban Ki-Moon) it was important to fix on the political **aspiration** to deliver **confidence** and **hope** to the world.

“The drafting of the final document must be **transparent** while **concerns** of different parties, especially developing countries, must be taken into consideration, Wen stressed.”

Occasionally, Wen is being told something by others (2 paragraphs) or is agreeing something (2). Only four times is someone else quoted. On five occasions, an inference is made, without direct evidence, for example:

“The three industrialized countries, though ambitious in leading international **cooperation** on climate change issues, lacked understanding of developing countries and had therefore raised some unrealistic and unfair requests.”

Highlights represent words that are *defusing*, *consensual* and *optimistic*. As with highlighted words from the protagonist article, a “top 20” list of words was drawn up (Table 2b). In only one instance did a word (“hope”) from the list appear in the protagonist article, where it was used with a negative context (i.e. the absence, rather than the presence of hope – paragraph 14).

3. Discursive Practice: Extension of Meanings

Section 1 of this paper is about the text. This section (Section 3) and the next section (Section 4) are about discursive practice which, according to Fairclough (1992) “involves processes of text production, distribution, and consumption” and whose nature “varies between different types of discourse according to social factors.” For example, a newspaper article is produced through “complex routines of a collective nature” that may vary considerably across different newspapers and across different topic areas covered. Similarly, text may also be consumed (or interpreted) in different ways, across different contexts.

This section looks at discourse relating to those two vocabulary sets (forceful, abrasive and pessimistic; defusing, consensual and optimistic)

and the next section looks at it from an East-West perspective. This section analyzes according to two hypotheses:

- Words that are *forceful*, *abrasive* and *pessimistic* signify (i) a disposition that is **immersed**, (ii) a vision that is **deliberate** and (iii) an approach that is **confrontational**.
- Words that are *defusing*, *consensual* and *optimistic* signify (i) a disposition that is **distanced**, (ii) a vision that is **emergent** and (iii) an approach that is **conciliatory**.

These hypotheses are illustrated diagrammatically in Table 2. Each of these terms is discussed and analyzed below.

3.1. Immersed and Distanced (Disposition)

Behind the text of the two news articles lies the drama of the Copenhagen summit. The copious commentary generated and the general global media coverage gives testament to this. The different vocabularies of each article, testify to two different interpretations of the nature of that drama. Within the forceful, abrasive, pessimistic vocabulary used by the protagonist, there is a disposition that is **immersed** within that drama (hypothesis 1). Within the consensual, defusing, optimistic vocabulary of the alternative view, there is a recognition of that drama, but also a disposition that is **distanced** from it (hypothesis 2). Through these dispositions, we may assume particular consumptions of the text have been intended (Fairclough, 1992).

There are particular background details to the two news articles which inform about those consumptions; these will be discussed below. First, we

Table 2 Four Levels of Discourse Analysis (Structure of the Paper)

DISCOURSE\TEXT	Protagonist	Alternative View
Text: two news articles (section 1)	Forceful, abrasive, pessimistic (1.1)	Defusing, consensual, optimistic (1.2)
Discursive Practice: extension of meanings (2)	Immersed (2.1) Deliberate (2.2) Confrontational (2.3)	Distanced (2.1) Emergent (2.2) Conciliatory (2.3)
Discursive Practice: east and west (3)	Disposition (immersion/distanced) (3.1) Vision (deliberate/emergent) (3.2) Approach (confrontational/conciliatory) (3.3)	
Social Practice: Pierre Bourdieu (4)	Habitus and Field (4.1) Conatus and Hysterisis (4.2) Misrecognition and Language (4.3) Reflexivity and Universality (4.4)	

analyze in terms of a related text, with a view to discovering the range of possible meanings (both intended and consumed), that might be “read in”, presuming similar logics apply.

That other text is an article by Michael Keith: “Public sociology? Between heroic immersion and critical distance: Personal reflections on academic engagement with political life” (2008). In it, the author offers an autobiographical account of how he became involved in politics in the East End of London, incorporating a view of the context he entered into. He describes getting involved in a street riot, which delayed him going to an important local government re-development meeting and his move:

“... from the street to the lofty height ... – a change of position, of dress code, of postcode, of view, of company, of subject matter. In one step from immersion in the flux of street politics to the self-indulgent bureaucratic deliberations of critical distance.”

The terms “heroic immersion” and “critical distance” express this personally-felt experience, of respectively being on the street, and then being in a skyscraper office, deliberating about that street. His story sets up these terms, but because they are part of a drama, meanings extend beyond the immediate experience, acquiring underlying axioms that generate further meaning. Hence, for example, he is able to make the suggestion that we might “... wish to reconsider the sorts of polarities that such axiomatic positionings offers ... to privilege neither but to see the problems of both”. Invoking a notion of balance, he critiques the view of survey bureaucracies as “unfit to probe and scrutinize the life of marginalized populations” and that aspiring to “carnal sociology” is “not quite so at odds with a simultaneous engagement with the bureaucratic rationalities ...”.

Hypotheses about immersion and distancing in the two news articles both constitute and generate similar extensions to meaning. They posit a drama; they raise questions about details, previously irrelevant; they enable a reasoning that goes beyond the information given. Hence, the previous work of the protagonist (referred to above as the background details) starts to become of interest. He has, for example, written a scientific text about the levels of disaster that are immanent, for each degree rise in global temperature up to six degrees Celsius (Lynas, 2007). He also wrote a series of articles for the Independent newspaper (Lynas, 2009c) leading up to that final day of the Summit. He has a high reputation as a committed and dedicated lobbyist (personal communication). This background starts to inform a particular consumption of not just his article, but the article of the alternative view as well.

The alternative view is extensible in a similar way. The protagonist himself introduces some of those extensions, not least by asserting that

“China wrecked the talks” (paragraph 1), such that the alternative view article automatically becomes a defense, using defusing, consensual, optimistic language. However, the alternative view article obviously goes further than those allegations, introducing its own extensions based around the intentions and achievements of the Premier and his country, not least with respect to the “soft rise” that is part of the diplomatic positioning of China as a rising power (Berkovsky, 2007; Bowring, 2007; Nye, 2005). As part of discursive practice, such extensions build upon existing knowledge, in particular about reputations and stereotypes. If the reader lacks knowledge of these at the initial reading, they become topics of interest and prompt questioning and investigation (at least amongst those who choose not to rely upon stereotype).

Centred around the hypotheses, through inferred dramas, there are the extended readings of discursive practice, drawing in information from beyond the text. There are questions about the choice of hypotheses and alternative hypotheses are possible. Following a scientific process (Kuhn, 1996; Popper, 2002), we provisionally persist with hypotheses, until better ones are found.

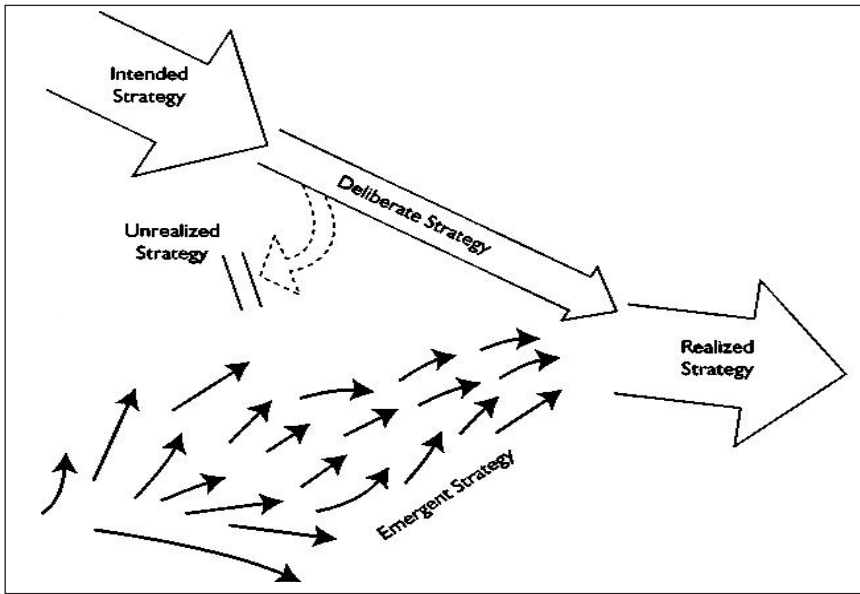
3.2. Deliberate and Emergent (Vision)

In addition to the drama latent within a text, we can also posit logics that key players within the text (not just authors) may use. Amongst the products of those logics are the visions that these key players adopt, which might be explicit but could equally be latent. Within the forceful, abrasive, pessimistic vocabulary used by the protagonist, we may posit a deliberate vision, largely explicit, of a legally binding agreement between nations. Within the consensual, defusing, optimistic vocabulary of the alternative view, we may posit an emergent vision, less explicit, based on a consensus as the primary concern and a binding agreement as secondary.

The differences between deliberate and emergent visions are illustrated by Mintzberg (1998, 2000) who writes about business strategy and his accumulated experience in the area, in terms of “deliberate strategy” and “emergent strategy” (Figure 2). He declares that:

... intentions that are fully realized can be called deliberate strategies. Those that are not realized at all can be called unrealized strategies. The planning school, for example, recognizes both, with an obvious preference for the former. But there is a third case, which we call emergent strategy – where a pattern realized was not expressly intended. Actions were taken, one by one, which converged over time to some sort of consistency or pattern. For example, rather than pursuing a strategy (read plan) of diversification, a company simply makes diversification decisions one at a time, in effect testing the market. First it buys an urban hotel, next a restaurant, then a resort hotel, then another urban hotel with a restaurant, then a third of these,

Figure 2 Mintzberg’s Deliberative and Emergent Strategies



and so on, until a strategy (pattern) of diversifying into urban hotels with restaurants has emerged.

(Mintzberg, 1998; 11)

By setting up such a logic, Mintzberg not only describes a range of strategies, he also establishes axioms that enable inference. Hence, he is able to comment about the realities of these strategies:

A few may claim that their intentions were realised perfectly. Suspect their honesty. A few others may claim that their realisation had nothing to do with their intentions. Suspect their behaviour. Most, we propose, will give an answer that falls between these two extremes.

(Mintzberg, 2000)

Hypotheses about deliberate and emergent vision in the two news articles lead to similar inferences. Following Mintzberg’s example, these may not be so much about the explicit logic exhibited by the protagonist and alternative views. Rather, they may be based upon a meta-logic, questioning whether the provisional hypotheses, of deliberate and emergent vision, are indeed valid. A new level of analysis is introduced, adopting a game theory (Simon, 1945) that seeks to discover what the “other” is thinking. Such a theory may be simple or sophisticated, accurate or misleading. A text consumption takes place involving both explicit and implicit logics, for example concerning

stereotypes about East and West. A new arena for struggle is introduced; questions about validity, previously unimportant, arise; broad policy, previously irrelevant, becomes significant; histories, previously of passing interest, become of great concern.

At this stage, there can no declaration of deliberate and emergent visions being anything more than hypotheses, replaceable if better ones can be found. They exist on the basis of assumed meta-logics and they await supporting evidence from other literature (for example, in Section 4) and statements of theory (Section 5).

3.3. Confrontation and Conciliation (Approach)

The confrontational approach of the protagonist article is evident, from the title of the piece onwards. The continued use of forceful, abrasive, pessimistic vocabulary throughout the article reinforces that. The editor's note in the alternative view article indicates a desire to take up the challenge of that confrontation, using a conciliatory approach, using defusing, consensual and optimistic vocabulary.

Tannen (1995) considers such approaches using accumulated experience, writing an observational, anecdotal account of conversational patterns within "typical" office working environments. She describes how those habituated to such environments can easily take for granted these conversational styles: "The reason ways of talking, like other ways of conducting our lives, come to seem natural is that the behaviours that make up our lives are ritualized". Her approach through a gender point of view enables phenomena like this (ritualized and habituated), otherwise invisible, to be brought into view.

For example, she describes how a woman in an engineering company had to be "willing to take her colleagues on in an animated argument, before being taken seriously". Through a gender perspective, the phenomenon is made manifest and so, also, is the reason for the phenomenon. "The logic behind ritual opposition", Tannen claims, "is that knowing that your ideas will be scrutinized by others should encourage you to think more rigorously in advance". Through a gender perspective, she identifies issues and extends her reading of events. Through consumptions of text across a social divide, she identifies a "logic of ritual opposition", universalizing a situation that was previously the domain of men only.

Within the confrontational and conciliatory approaches hypothesized in this paper, there is a perspective of East and West, which corresponds logically to the male-female gender perspective above. Within that perspective, there is a confrontational West and conciliatory East, but just as with the gender example above there may be a rationalization and an identification of a universal point of view. Based upon that the reasons for confrontation

and conciliation may be better understood in exactly the same way as the “logic of ritual opposition” is better understood. This is discussed further in Section 4.3.

As with disposition and vision, statements about approach remain hypotheses, open to falsification. The approaches might seem so exposed and blatant that these statements might be considered declarative and not hypothesis. Following the guidance of Bourdieu, the status of hypothesis should be maintained, resisting temptation towards commonsense certainty that Bourdieu calls “misrecognition” (Section 5).

3.4. Disposition, Vision and Approach

Section 3 has analyzed the discursive practice surrounding the text of the two news articles, through two hypotheses arising from the text. There is no special status to those hypotheses at present; like other hypotheses they can be replaced and it is worth a brief aside, at this stage, to comment upon the nature of that replacement.

They can be replaced, first of all, through challenge to the commonsense understandings adopted, in this case based upon the categories of disposition, vision and approach. Hypotheses may be contested, for example, in the kinds of terms used by the protagonist, who claims value in the statement “I was in the room” in the title of his article, claiming presence as a feature that justifies and validates. This type of challenge is provisionally rejected because a scientific approach, along the lines of Kuhn (1996) and Popper (2002) might be used, in which the terms and frameworks of a theory are laid out and hypotheses are both generated and tested within them. Within Bourdieu’s theory and social philosophy there is the concept of field-habitus and the concept of capital exchange – symbolic and financial – within and between those field habitus arrangements (Figure 3; Section 5). These terms and their frameworks offer alternatives to commonsense approaches and these need to be considered in generating and testing the hypotheses and any proposed alternatives.

4. Discursive Practice: East and West

Like Section 3, this section analyzes discursive practice, but seeks to extend meanings through perspectives from literature on the East-West divide. It does this not to maintain that divide, but question it and, as necessary, to break it down. The work of Arthur Henderson-Smith (1894) offers a useful starting point in this respect, whose book “Chinese Characteristics” consists of chapters each describing, anecdotally, a “characteristic” of the Chinese: for example, “face”, “economy”, “industry”, “politeness”. The book was written

from a perspective of race as an acceptable distinguishing feature. Such a perspective enabled a taxonomic approach, with an assumed, direct correlation between the race and characteristic.

Subsequent authors retain the ontological distinction of “East” and “West” but have adopted a more considered approach, with greater elaboration assigned to those characteristics. There is move away from an empirical, anecdotal approach towards a search for underlying structure with greater explanatory power. Although China and the Chinese remain the principal topics, the coupling between the characteristic and the group/nationality is loosened. The terminology starts to achieve independence from its direct context, but without denying the historical sources and significance of those original distinctions.

Disposition, vision and approach remain at the core of this section. Through these categories, the importance of the text of the two news articles is maintained and enhanced through the discussion that an elaborated East-West perspective brings. They lead towards a discussion of social practice, based upon Bourdieu’s philosophy and social theory (Section 5), that explains the differences and identify the commonalities across the East-West divide.

4.1. Disposition

Fei Xiaotong 费孝通 wrote the series of essays “From the Soil” (1992) shortly before the Communist party took power in 1949. It was written as a contribution towards an anticipated programme of national renewal and reconstruction, offering a template and a baseline. It described the condition of Chinese people in relation to the West, with an underlying theme of “modernization”.

He coined the term *chaxugeju* 差序格局 which translates to “differential mode of association” which his translator describes as “the patterning of Chinese society through nonequivalent, ranked categories of social relationship”. This is likened to multiple ripples in a pond so that “society is composed not of discrete organisations but of overlapping networks of people linked together through differentially categorised social relationships” (Fei, 1992). There are four principle features:

- These networks are discontinuous – they do not link people together in a systematic way;
- Each link in a person’s network is defined by a personal, normative, dyadic tie, known as *guanxi* 关系;
- There is no explicit boundary to each network – individuals do not “sign up”, ties are preset and there is an expectation to rise to the morality expected within those ties;

- The moral content of behaviour is situation specific – evaluation is embedded within the world of those ties, which in turn dialectically determines the value of those ties.

This mode of association contrasts with *tuantigeju* 团体格局 which translates to “organizational mode of association” in which:

- People create groups that have clear boundaries;
- Membership is unambiguous; everyone knows who is and who is not a member;
- Rights and duties of members are clearly delineated.

The terminology is rooted in a study of Chinese society but the definitions are sufficiently clear and elaborated to be applicable across other groups and societies that are not Chinese. There is progress with a methodology that moves away from a taxonomic description of assumed national and racial characteristics.

Such roots should not, however, be ignored and no terminology should be consider in isolation. Each of Henderson Smith’s categories could, for example, be elaborated and placed within such a broader structure. Similarly, observations about immersion and distance (above) could be interpreted in terms of modes of association. For example, with differential modes of association, with individuals and groups loosely coupled, the primary concern must be with “rules of engagement” and only after they are established, can meaningful conversation takes place. Hence, the alternative view news article might be rooted within this mode of association.

Within organizational modes of association, there is a group with a focused goal and objective. The rules of engagement may be presumed established, so that meaningful conversation can be assumed (even if in reality it is not) at the outset. There might be distance in terms of the dyad (e.g. within one-to-one conversations) but overall there is deep, immersed engagement backed up, often, by prepared arguments and evidence, and coordinated action from an identifiable lobby group. This mode of association might underpin the protagonist news article.

Within both modes, we might see field-habitus arrangements as described by Bourdieu (Figure 3; Section 5) historically determined according to social, political and economic conditions both between and within “East” and “West”. The dynamics within each arrangement may be subjected to analysis according to Bourdieu’s theory (Section 5).

4.2. Vision

There are two set of literature that relate to vision. They confront the commonly held view that vision has to be deliberate with a “long” projection, in

order to be successful. They describe how a vision that is emergent with a “short” projection can be equally successful.

4.2.1. Recent economic development in China

Zhou (1996) offers an account of the economic history of the People’s Republic of China over the last 30 years. It begins with the “feudalization” of Chinese farmers, bound to the land under a collectivized production system controlled by the Communist state ruled by Mao Zedong 毛泽东. It then describes how this system of economic production, of tightly controlled markets, was gradually broken down by enterprising individuals and family units who following a series of initiatives, sold surplus produce outside of the state system. Local administrators were initially opposed, but after hunger and famine in 1958 and after the Cultural Revolution, their adherence to national policy weakened, not least because produce became plentiful and cheap through family unit production. Eventually, the state controlled market was abandoned and what was previously the black market became the standard, conventional marketplace. Zhou states:

What is important is not the farmers’ cohesion but the millions acting largely as individuals. Since farmers could not organise as a tangible opposition group under the Communist regime, farmer’ actions were unorganised and unled. In seeking economic independence and family autonomy, the new farmers flow around the cadre fish, who wanted to keep the farmers trapped in the new feudal system. Those unorganised farmers moved China to new horizons.

(Zhou, 1996: 42)

She underpins her view using quotes from farmers themselves gathered during her field work in China between 1981 and 1986. For example:

When one family’s chicken catches the disease, the whole village catches it.
When one village has it, the whole country will be infected.

(*ibid.*: 56)

She coins the acronym SULNAM (spontaneous, unorganized, leaderless, non-ideological, apolitical movement) to describe the actions that these farmers took.

Zhu (2007) describes a similar process:

I posit that China’s reform could be characterised as one without a theory, rather than a deliberate approach, gradual or otherwise. China’s reform is not guided by any received theory, be it neoclassical market theory, the grand Marxist model, popular Washington consensus, or World Bank/IMF

development prescriptions. It is, instead, informed by an intensely pragmatic mindscape and facilitated by a set of historically situated structural factors.
(Zhu, 2007: 1054)

He goes beyond Zhou's anecdotal account, elaborating on an "intensely pragmatic mindscape" through a set of concepts: *wuli* 物理, *shili* 事理 and *renli* 人理. These reflect, respectively:

- the command economy legacy
- the mindscape
- utilitarianistic familism

Each is implicated in characteristics, such as:

- a "bias" against abstraction and codification (p.1508)
- a tendency toward "fief transactions" with uncoded information asymmetrically distributed through the personalized power relationships (p.1508)
- ambiguity as an important feature of the Chinese mindscape (p.1508)
- the maintenance of fuzziness, emptiness and chaos from which creativity can emerge (p.1508)
- acceptance of action without theory as a virtue, not incapability
- distrust of public institution and outsiders

Both Zhou and Zhu describe how Chinese farmers acted in response to an imposing, resistant, overbearing set of restrictions. They did this not through a far-sighted (long) projection, but rather through many short projections of limited scope, which each accumulated to achieve no less an effect. Reform took place, without a theory.

4.2.2. Science and civilization in China

As part of his comprehensive research into science and civilization in China, Joseph Needham gathered detail about how and why science in China had not developed in the same as in "West". Part of the difference, Needham pointed out, had been separation in China between the different modes of inquiry.

Science is cumulative in that every generation builds on the knowledge of Nature acquired by previous generation, but always it looks outward to Nature to see what can be added by empirical observation and new experiment. "Books and experiments", wrote Edward Bernard in 1671, "do well together, but separately they betray an imperfection, for the illiterate is anticipated unwillingly by the labours of the ancients, and the man of authors deceived by story instead of science".

(Needham, 1969: 281)

He goes on: “This theme of empiricism was extremely strong in Chinese tradition”, giving offering the quotes below to indicate that “books and experiments” were indeed separated in China:

“Those who can manage the dykes and rivers are the same in all ages; they did not learn their business from Yu the Great, they learnt it from the waters” (Shen Tzu, 3rd century AD)

“Those who are good at archery, learnt from the bow and not from Yi the archer ...Those who can think, learnt for themselves and not from the Sages.” (Kuan Yin Tzu, 8th century AD)

With respect to the use of hypothesis, he states that “Chinese achievements were invariably technical, rather than scientific” and “... the theories of the Chinese remained to the end of their autochthonous period characteristically medieval in type, for the Renaissance, with its mathematisation of hypotheses, did not happen among them.” (Needham, 1969: 62)

Through a methodology that was empirical, rather than theoretical, Chinese scientists and technicians achieved through an incremental approach, that parallels the recent approaches of Chinese farmers in achieving the kind of economic system that they felt best. In each case, the vision was short and narrow but the outcomes were nonetheless deep and sustained. There was achievement, without envisioning.

4.2.3. *Vision: deliberate and emergent*

Section 4.2 introduced the terms of deliberate vision and emergent vision. It illustrated these terms through Mintzberg’s notions of deliberate and emergent strategy. This section supports the use of these terms, suggesting that the bias towards emergent (accreted) vision has worked effectively in China during recent economic development and during past scientific and technological advance. Allowing for a field-habitus arrangement (Figure 3) that has over centuries successfully reproduced an “intensely pragmatic mindscape” (Zhou, 2007), an influence upon the handling of events like the Copenhagen summit becomes possible. Against the short-term pragmatic view of the alternative view, sits the long-term, projected view of the protagonist, each view consistent and coherent in terms of the respective field-habitus arrangements of the protagonist and alternative view, but conflicting across the wider “field of power”, constituted by the Copenhagen summit itself.

This perspective across an East-West divide may thus deliver an extended meaning to readings of the two news articles, if history and heritage become elements in the reading of the text. Through elaborated explanations, they may also facilitate a social analysis through a logic that matches a theory, for

example, that of Pierre Bourdieu (Section 5). Through that logic, the bindings to race and nation can be broken, types of vision can be universalized and misrecognitions manifested as stereotype may be avoided.

4.3. Approach

The 4th century neo-Confucian classic, the *Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸 compares the “moral man” and the “vulgar man” as respectively supporting and undermining the “moral order”. But at the same time, it quotes Confucius: “There is in the world now really no moral social order at all” (Lin, 1938). The apparent contradiction is unlocked through knowing the “mind of the moral man”:

For there is nothing so great but the mind of the moral man can conceive of something still greater which nothing in the world can hold. There is nothing so small but the mind of the moral man can conceive of something still smaller which nothing in the world can split.

(Lin, 1938: 108)

The “moral man” is therefore a future construct, an ideal; its absence in the present is the spur for its acquisition in the future. The dilemma of modern science and technology are foreseen within this Confucian insight, each major scientific synthesis or technological achievement generating problems in its wake (not least with respect to industrial expansion and the climate issue). In each case, there follows the need to “conceive of something still greater” and no major scientific or technological advance can neglect this. Unlike in the “West”, however, the Confucian insight does not call for an intervening theory (for example, climate theory), that in the “West” is conventionally agonized about and argued over; it is, simply, a doctrine.

Regardless, accepting the Confucian doctrine, the focus shifts to “the moral man” and how that term derives meaning without the support of the kind of argumentation that accompanies, for example, the establishment of scientific theory. The argumentation turns out to be a mixture of animism and appeal to traditional stories. For example:

Confucius remarked: “The power of spiritual forces in the Universe – how active it is everywhere! Invisible to eyes, and impalpable to the senses, it is inherent in all things, and nothing can escape its operation”.

(*ibid.*: 108)

Confucius remarked: “There was the Emperor Shun. He was perhaps what may be considered a truly great intellect. Shun had a natural curiosity of mind and he loved to inquire into ordinary conversation. He ignore the bad (words?) and broadcast the good. Taking two extreme counsels, he took the

mean between them and applied them in dealings with his people. This was the characteristic of Shun's great intellect."

(*ibid.*: 112)

The bias of choice, between confrontational and conciliatory approaches, may be conditioned historically by patterns of success and failure. Where hypothetical-deductive analysis is an available technique, confrontational approaches may be used frequently, because the ensuing argument is a key component in arriving at a solution. The protagonist bias towards such an approach might not be a surprise. In those societies and groups having traditionally relied upon emergent, accreted strategy, conciliatory approaches may be used more, because the paramount need for harmony and order are challenged by confrontation. Bias to this approach might be expected in the alternative view.

Such biases could be modeled within field-habitus arrangements in the theory of Bourdieu (Figure 3; Section 5) if the range of that modeling included historical doctrinal factors. Judgements about carrying that out, taking account of misrecognition and stereotyping, are discussed in Section 5.

5. Social Practice: The Theory and Philosophy of Pierre Bourdieu

This paper adopted the three-dimensional text analysis model suggested by Fairclough (1992) and using the text from the two news articles as a focal point, it worked "outwards" towards an elaborated understanding. As part of this process, elements of theory (in this case Bourdieu's) have inevitably been introduced because perception cannot exist without hypothesis (Gregory, 1998). From this point onwards, the paper moves in the "opposite" direction, taking the theory and social philosophy of Pierre Bourdieu, moving "inwards" towards an interpretation of the text of the two news articles. From this point on, a philosophical shift is proposed.

It moves with particularity regard to the terminology that Bourdieu introduces as his "thinking tools" to escape "slippery language" (Grenfell, 2009). These are allied to the warning that he makes of scholars mistaking "the things of logic for the logic of things" (Bourdieu, 1990), in other words arriving at the site of research with a preconceived ontology that "slippery language" allows, that biases the types of logic applied. The terminology described below (see Table 1) are by no means comprehensive, but they cover the main points that arise out the two news articles. Grenfell (2008) offers more comprehensive list of terms and key concepts.

Through this terminology, analysis of social discourse takes place, but equally, if not more important, it also brings a meta-analysis. Not only are the two news article texts under scrutiny, so are the hypotheses that have been

raised within Sections 3 and 4 by this paper. These may be considered through the same reflexive practice (Section 5.4) so that the same, coherent argument runs through from text to theory, as it does from theory to text. This methodology pays particular attention to the East-West boundary, its stereotypes and misrecognitions that divide, and its commonalities that unite.

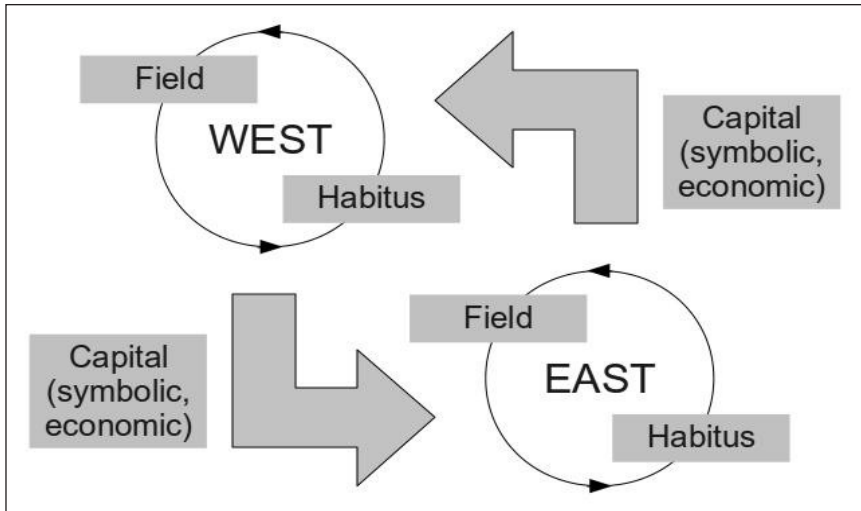
5.1. *Habitus and Field*

When Bourdieu studied the people in his native village in the south of France he noted there was regularity in the dispositions and physical actions of the people there. This was not just a behavioural “habit”. He noted that there were underlying structures to that behaviour, that was more than just rule-driven, that had social and historical elements to it. He therefore called these dispositions and behaviours, together with their historical and social roots, the “habitus” of his subjects. Within the context of the news articles that are the subject of this paper, those characteristics identified within protagonist and alternative views could be considered purely as habits. However, they could also be viewed in terms of social relationships and history, and deemed part of the habitus of those subjects.

This choice of terminology is particularly pertinent, because Bourdieu also introduced the notion of “field”, denoting the space surrounding the individual and his/her habitus, incorporating dimensions that are both social and historical. This might be understood purely as an imposition and a causal determinant upon the habitus. However, Bourdieu posited a close association between habitus and field, so that the two were “homologous” and “mutually constituting”. Thus each shares the same underlying logic and each is a component in the construction of the other. In terms of the protagonist view and the alternative view, this implies not just social relationships and histories, but an underlying structure to those relationships and histories as well. There is “ontological complicity” between habitus and field that is not just behavioural, but also structural. Particular behaviours can have a background to them that can be overplayed, or underplayed. So, for example, rationalization that is only behavioural (for example, in terms of individual actions), or indeed, only structural (for example, in terms of a political doctrine), may be inadequate. Behaviours are not just the result of surface structures, they are also a result of deep structures, including structures within structures. A schema for field-habitus arrangement across an East-West divide is shown in Figure 3 in which field-habitus of respectively East and West are not isolated, but interact. For the sake of simplicity, further elaboration, for example, sub-systems within each East and West system, are not shown.

Field-habitus arrangements exhibit variations across geography and across time; some of these stabilize, reproduce and become associated with

Figure 3 Field-habitus Arrangements across East and West: A Schema



social groups. The net result, over time, may be distinct areas of similarity (for example, within an “Eastern” context or within a “Western” context) as well as distinct areas of difference (for example, across an East-West divide). Those biases in disposition, vision and approach described in Section 3 and 4 may thus achieve the status of being *both* empirical statements *and* theoretical constructs, sometimes with an uneasy relationship between the two. Some statements might appear to be empirical statements, but equally might be misrecognized (Section 5.3). An example of where this might occur is given in Section 3.3, with respect to strongly correlating confrontational and conciliatory approaches to West and East respectively and denying that weak correlation and cross-correlation is possible.

5.2. *Conatus and Hysterisis*

Habitus and field can often be closely matched or “well formed”. A given object, with a given habitus might find comfort and relaxation within a given field, like a “fish in water”. Hence, the authors of the protagonist view and the alternative view might each feel comfortable within the company of their own colleagues and their own audiences, who help constitute the field within which each works. Habitus and field do not remain static, however. There can be homeostasis, but equally, there might be discontinuity if external overriding “fields of power” disrupt the internal field-habitus equilibrium. The habitus might generate behaviours inappropriate to the newly imposed “field of power”. The subject might start to feel like “a fish out of water”.

Bourdieu coins the term “hysteresis” to describe this state of affairs, where the complicity between habitus and field is out of balance, much like the situation of a compass needle when a artificial external magnetic field is suddenly applied. Just as equilibrium is sought in the physical analogy, so it is with the social situation where there is (i) a shift to a new equilibrium (ii) a time lag before it can be achieved. This is expressed through the concept of “conatus”, which describes the trajectory a given habitus might possess, determining readjustments following disruption by a “field of power”.

Especially at international events, we might see diverse elements of field-habitus arrangements clash, each having moved away from “well formed” conditions. Each news article represents influences, potentially across a wide range of historical, geographical, economic and political contexts but at the same time, *within* a given field-habitus arrangement. Viewed from *across* different arrangements, there may be discomfort and/or a need to adjust. Part of the stake in this is the new field of power that each adjusts to, which becomes an arena for struggle for new positionings within that field. Thus, the protagonist and the alternative view might represent “well formed” field-habitus arrangements before the Copenhagen summit took place, disrupted by the events at the summit itself. Adjustments were necessary within the space of a mere few days and the two news articles offer textual evidence for that. The process may continue to take place over ensuing weeks and months, and this may be both modeled and reviewed in terms of habitus, field, hysteresis and conatus.

5.3. *Misrecognition and Language*

Within those “well-formed” habitus/field relationships, particular relations acquire stability, to the extent that the subjects within that habitus/field no longer recognize the arbitrariness of those relations (akin to the ritualizations that Tannen, Section 3.3, identifies). For example, within a given field-habitus arrangement, there might be an absolute right for any individual to question and/or contest any statement or position regardless of that individual’s status; within another, there might be the need to confer about that statement, either within a group or with a supervisor. In both cases, such rules might be built in and unconscious (ritualized); the individual would conform through a built-in disposition that Bourdieu calls a *doxa*, rather than through an explicit rule coding. In unwittingly conforming, the subject may be carrying out a “misrecognition” of a situation, not realizing that the *doxa* was arbitrary and/or artificial (Grenfell, 2004: 166).

For Bourdieu, language is an important part of this misrecognition, in that particular words and phrases generate “schemes of thought” in particular through the connotations that are associated with them. For example, in

relation to his criticism of the neo-liberal agenda: “Market – freedom, open, flexible, dynamic, moving, future, new, growth, individual, individualism, diversity, authenticity, democracy; state – constraint, closed, rigid, fixed, past, passed, archaic, group, collective, uniform, artificial, autocratic, totalitarian” (Bourdieu, 2008). Such terms are used by groups and individuals with *interest* (in particular, of domination), who seek to accumulate *capital*, either economic or symbolic, through exchanges taking place within field-habitus arrangements.

In relation to Mintzberg’s strategies (Section 3.2), loose and “slippery” uses of the word “strategy” lead to misrecognitions about strategies “realized perfectly” and about realizations that “had nothing to do with their intentions”. Mintzberg refines the term, distinguishing deliberate and emergent strategies, thus adjusting “schemes of thought” and with them the interests and the capital involved possessed, for example, those who act, rather than those who plan.

In relation to the protagonist and alternative view news articles, we see words which are forceful, abrasive and pessimistic and words which defusing, consensual and optimistic. Each set of vocabulary both represents and generates schemes of thought, within a backdrop of further terms like “green”, “renewable” and “sustainable”. Within those schemes of thought sit misrecognitions about self and about the “other”, from the past, in the present and into the future. These may be represented as images, stereotypes and projections (Table 3). Each may be “read in” to the news article texts, alongside other misrecognitions, for example those stereotypes that accompany East-West discourse, historically reinforced (Benton, 2009; Said, 1978). Misrecognition may be applied directly to the object of the research, but also reflexively (Section 5.4), to the researcher and his/her relationship to his/her audience.

5.4. Reflexivity and Universalism

Bourdieu’s conception of society has been described as “comprising a series of overlapping social fields of activity or relatively ‘autonomous worlds’” (Maton, 2003). It is proposed, above, that the protagonist and the alternative view occupy such “worlds”, subjected to the wider “field of power” presented

Table 3 Categories of Misrecognition

misrecognition by “us”	of the past	of the present	of the future
directed at “us”	self-stereotype	self-image	self-projection
directed at “them”	stereotype	image	projection

by the Copenhagen climate summit. Within those worlds there may be misrecognitions but they exist within stable zones of “comfort”, within “well formed” field-habitus arrangements. Within the wider field of power those misrecognitions (for example, about the status of the scientific case for climate change) move out of those stable, well-formed arrangements and meet challenges from equivalent, alternative field-habitus arrangements. This raises the question about misrecognition: who decides?

Within arenas of struggle, there are forms of *symbolic violence* representing attempts to determine who decides. For Bourdieu, those terms coined by the neo-liberal agenda (Grenfell, 2004; Bourdieu, 2008; Section 5.3) illustrate this, constructing “schemes of thought” for the purposes of domination. They are examples of “euphemization and sublimation” that are subject to a wider field of power, that constrain and censor what can be spoken of. He identifies the philosophy of Heidegger as an example of this (Grenfell, 2004: 169) in which the terminology invented fitted well with the prevailing Nazi ideology of the time.

Avoiding symbolic violence, Bourdieu identified the “scientific” field, belonging mainly to the academic scholar, as the means to prevent misrecognition, including that which denies cultural, social and economic influence upon science. Compromised by these influences, science requires (i) a recognition of that compromise and (ii) the scholarly skill of “reflexivity” that adequately takes account. This is not merely an individual effort to overcome one’s own biases. Instead, it is firstly sociological in which “all knowledge producers should strive to recognise their own objective position within the intellectual and academic field” (Deer, 2008). It is secondly epistemic, in that it incorporates a collective epistemology, that of the academic, intellectual field.

For Bourdieu, that field involved the processes to “change social life by changing the representation of social life, and by putting a modicum of imagination into power” and the attempt to “chisel a science of social conditions of possibility of democracy”. He was opposed to “‘axiological neutrality’ that is wrongly equated with scientific objectivity”, instead wanting to “politicize things by subjecting them to science” and to “think politics without for that thinking politically” (Poupeau *et al.*, 2004). For Maton (2003), as part of critiquing and supplementing Bourdieu’s epistemic reflexivity, that field incorporates a postulated epistemic capital which is that intrinsic knowing distinctive within each separate habitus, that may be compared to that skill and knowledge that Wenger (1999) identifies within “communities of practice”.

Reflexivity can be brought to bear upon judgements about field-habitus arrangements and whether disposition is immersed/distanced, vision is deliberate/emergent and approach is confrontational/conciliatory. It can

look for misrecognition within self and “other”, and across past, present and future (Table 3). It can decide upon a “possibility of democracy”, or alternately, a means to commit symbolic violence. Within the field-habitus for the protagonist and the alternative view, it can apply to those correlations often applied across East and West that often manifest as stereotypes, which happened to be applied by Henderson Smith (1894).

Reflexivity can therefore lead to universalism that does not rely upon any absolute truth, nor upon any “rule of thumb”, but upon constant questioning of not just the science itself, but of the conditions that made that science possible. Having grasped that science, we can come back to the question of “who decides?”. The answer is: those who create the science and those who benefit from it through those “things politicized” that have been “subjected to” that science created; not those who create the politics and dominate others by it.

6. Concluding Comments

This paper has taken two news articles, expressing conflicting views about the Copenhagen climate summit. It has analyzed at the level of text, discursive practice and social practice (Figure 1). It firstly emphasized the text, taking meanings from it, with a view to a theory; it then took a theory (of Bourdieu) and validated those meanings, in terms of relevance to the theory. Using the news articles as an example, the paper presents a methodology that assigns a status to both text and theory, but also questions that status. The text offers sense data but through theory, it takes on extended meanings and a status beyond that sense data. The theory offers a mental framework, but only in relation to the text, that is interpreted not just by explicit theory, but implicit theory as well, for example, within dramas, within the perceived logics of players and across social perspectives (Section 3). Reliant upon such a co-dependency, what the paper offers is far from being a “silver bullet”, that reifies data and theory and that pretends predictive scenarios. It relies upon informed, localized judgement that must sensitively apply theory and method, that will construct further hypotheses and design further investigation as necessary. In the case of the two news articles, the paper constructs hypotheses and presents a theory, with those further hypotheses and further investigations in mind.

With this as a basis, the main points can be summarized. Firstly, on the basis of theory, difference and change in social relations can be explained. It does this from a core set of concepts, such that differences across East and West, for example, may be seen as field-habitus variants. It therefore universalizes through a common terminology that detaches characteristics from, and makes irrelevant, correspondence with a nation or ethnic group. It interprets the act of stereotyping as a misrecognition within a field-habitus

sub-variant and indicates how characteristics can be convergent or divergent, through conatus-hysterisis. *Within* the theory, the differences between East and West break down.

Secondly, through the status of “schemes of thought” and their relation to language, this breakdown within theory takes on significance in practice. By identifying those schemes and their associated language that leads to stereotyping and alienation, the *practice* of breaking down East-West differences become possible. Reflexivity is a part of this practice that ensures scientific judgement acts on misrecognitions, rather than the traditions and habits of the doxa. A part of this, in turn, is that the researcher, applying reflexive practice, occupies the same space as the research object, so that irrelevant data and/or ineffective theory can be avoided. To be separate, for example as some kind of “neutral observer”, breaks out of the logic of theory, discarding any of the advantages that the theory brings.

Finally, there are questions of scope and range, that the scheme elucidates, that can critically alter perceptions and therefore outcomes. On the one hand, there are the microscopic dyadic relations, typical of *guanxi* within a traditional Chinese context, that may apply in the West as well as in the East; on the other, there are the macroscopic institutional and organizational arrangements, led by deliberate, detailed, projected strategies (Section 4.1), that Fei saw in the West, but not the East, that in the modern age probably apply to both. Beyond that, there are macroscopic national histories and broad government policy themes that can have both microscopic and macroscopic impacts, for example memories of the Opium Wars (Schell, 2008; Ward, 1974) and policies of the “soft rise” of China (Berkovsky, 2007; Bowing, 2007; Nye, 2005), as an emerging world power. Within situations requiring negotiation and management, influences across a wide scope can become relevant. Usually, it is a matter of common-sense, or experience, which decides, for example, whether a particular dyadic relationship is significant, or whether a national policy needs to be taken into account, or both. Often, there can be conflict, when priorities are sensitive and where the meta-logic is latent. Decision-making, by academics, diplomats or journalists, can be difficult and the “thinking tools” suggested by Bourdieu can help.

Notes

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- * Dr Denis Wong 黃世雄 is the coordinator of the East-West Forum (consisting of former staff at the University of Southampton, United Kingdom). Dr Wong is a

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