Origin: social history, social identity, globalization - individuation
Appears: a *habitus*, an all-encompassing socio-cultural practice, the interpretation of local / global relations takes two forms:
endo-social versus exo-social exchanges between foreigners and locals, contrast of symmetrical inversion:

"consumption of modernity *versus* production of tradition, other-centred *versus* self-centred" (Friedman 1994:113)

exo-social: a knowing subject views the process from the outside, the intrinsic aspects of technical knowledge do not shape the passage, applying knowledge can reduce socio-cultural content and change the relations amongst participants, individual differences are possible but difficult, know-how is unstable.

endo-social: viewed internally by the subjects, no possibility to add local or foreign label to knowledge and thus relations can not be changed through knowledge, personal differences are sought but are impossible, context know-how is deficient.

these are historical opportunities, professionals are socialized into. in TA these contain technical knowledge <u>and</u> professional orientation:

<u>identities</u>: Chadians and French let themselves be guided by judgement about the other side

on both sides reactions to individuals when they dared and could confirmed their skills

encounter conditioned from outside, exchange is non-negotiable

knowledge: frequent labels: *Comme au Chad, comme en France*

when they insisted on the other's role, objects were denied consistency, even physically destroyed tools

normative accusations used to explain failure

both identity and knowledge elements were exo-socially understood

<u>identities</u>: Mexicans and US-americans concentrated on their own roles both sides never managed to react to individuals even so they tried continuously

encounter conditioned from the inside, endless negotiation

knowledge: Mexico - US no labels given to objects, objects were always approved but remained meaningless

professionalism accusations used to explain failure

both identity and knowledge were endo-socially understood

social history, social identity, self-identity, selfhood in the 'global village', sociality as a *habitus*, an all-encompassing socio-cultural practice

endo-social versus **exo-social** exchanges between foreigners and locals the contrast is of symmetrical inversion:

consumption of modernity *versus* production of tradition, other-centred *versus* self-centred"

(Friedman 1994:113)

in TC a pattern contains technical knowledge <u>and</u> professional identities: the content of the exchanges (knowledge) is conditioned by mutual recognition of professional identity

- **exo-social**: the intrinsic aspects of technical knowledge do not shape the passage, knowledge used to diminish sociocultural content and change the relations amongst participants, TC appears impossible, individual differences are possible but avoided
- **endo-social**: no possibility to add local or foreign label to knowledge and thus relations can not be changed through knowledge, TC creates obstacles, individual differences are sought but are impossible *José versus Ramón*

exo-social esxchange is non-negotiable, endo-social endless negotiation these are historical opportunities, individuals are socialized into.

Hawaiian villagers assimilate the world by eradicating its original qualities or changing its signs (Ekholm-Friedman 1995:163) endo-sociality is a general strategy, a complex and contested form of maintaining a social identity, confronting investors, politicians, technology, goods, traders, anthropologists and other outsiders, a form of selfhood Friedman suggests that Hawaiians moved from exo to endo- sociality at the end of the 18th century (Ekholm-Friedman 1995:164)

the Congolese *sapeur* gains his life-force from contact with people and things French, the source of power is external to local society, Western things are an expression of an entirely African process,

"the content does not shape the container", it integrates local economics and politics into the centre in a subordinate form (Friedman 1990, 1992, 1994)

Fieldwork situation and latent exchange processes in TC: in Hawaii the anthropologist can participate if s/he accepts to be an agent to address outside institutions such as administrations, businesses etc. in Congo, the anthropologist serves as the authority, to get power by clientship, s/he is asked to rule (Ekholm-Friedman 1995:163)

In TC participation implies the researcher serves to change relations between TC participants, is not part of the social practice determining the endo - or exo-social patterns, the researcher is an opportunity to articulate or change.

The production of local difference on a global scale is proof of a global relation in production and consumption. Global control over local

consumption via product differentiation is crucial. Global processes of commercial world systems contain 3 levels of integration:

- 1. assimilation of the global to local systems of practice (social reproduction)
- 2. integration of the local into the reproductive cycles of the global
- 3. interaction of identification processes
- a) global identifications of the local as part of the self-identity of the centre
- b) local self-identity
 - i- via the mirror of power, i.e. the assimilation of the gaze of the other, the localisation of global categories
- ii-via the elaboration of local and historicised representations
- c) the practice of authority, i.e. the institutionalisation of identity