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BODY TRANSFORMATION PRACTICES: CASE OF TATTOOING IN YOUNG GIRLS WITH COCODY AND MARCORY (COTE D'IVOIRE)

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ABSTRACT: This study examines the social logics related to the practice of tattooing among young girls. The study was essentially qualitative with appropriate investigation tools in this case, documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews administered to a category of actors¹ in Cocody and Marcory (Abidjan). Based on this methodological approach, we arrived at the following result: the practice of tattooing was devolved to men, but the observation is that this practice also affects women and more particularly young girls. However, the logics are different. In young men, the logic is related to masculinity, social belonging and in young girls, the logics are different from those of men (namely aesthetics, beauty and seduction).

Keywords: Body transformation, Tattooing, Social logics, Côte d'Ivoire

I. INTRODUCTION

The tattoo is an instrument of body modification (Alois, 1996; Viguier, 2010) which has existed since the Neolithic period. Throughout the ages and civilizations, tattooing has taken on different functions and different statuses. It has thus been able to mark belonging to a group such as gangs, the distinction among nobles in 19th century Europe, or to illustrate the paroxysm of infamy with the marking in the camps during the Second World War (Admirat, 2010, 8). Thus, at the end of the 19th century, tattoos began to be the subject of anthropological investigations, and doctors such as Lacassagne (1881); Laurent (2010) or Lombroso (1876) listed and collected real catalogues of tattoos found on delinquents (more than 2,500 listed by Lacassagne) in order to establish typical psychological profiles, unfortunately full of clichés.

In the world described as primitive, children are quickly marked with scarification or tattoos during rituals that are prolonged and repeated at all major stages of their lives (Borel, 1998, 16). It is an ideal support for inscriptions; it offers the surface of its skin to all the marks that distinguish it from the animal kingdom. It spontaneously lends the flank to tattoos and scarifications in order to transform itself visibly and recognizably into a social body (Borel, 1998, 17).

In black Africa, tattooing is essentially tribal and is carried out by scarification (which could be described as the "ancient" African culture of tattoos) on certain parts of the body such as the face, the back. These tattoos are initiation rites. They can be the fact of belonging to a community or mark the passage from one state to another. It was considered as a sign of belonging to a group. In the past, a woman or a man had scarification marks that would distinguish him or her from someone else, indicating his or her rank in society, family, clan and tribe, and would symbolize his or her beauty or strength. In some African tribes, it was like carrying his or her identity card on his or her face. Of course, some may hate it, but it was a mark of pride, not shame. In most African cultures, it was a major aesthetic and cultural component (Assoumou, Gnagne-Koffi, Adou, Mansila-Abouattier, 1998).

Similarly, certain ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire (Yacouba, Guéré, Baoulé) practised scarification and tattooing for therapeutic purposes (to combat certain diseases such as smallpox and chicken pox) and for aesthetic purposes. During traditional ceremonies, temporary tattoos with a white powder called "kaolin" were marked on the face, arms and legs of young women as an embellishment.

¹This study involves two social categories: tattooers and tattooed women. The data collection from this category made it possible to gather information about their representations of tattooing, to know their relationships within their peer groups (family, friends, spouses or partners) and to identify the chosen motives and the body parts most in demand for tattoos.

Another form of tattoo in the past consisted of putting black anchor on the gums to highlight the whiteness of the teeth and the beauty of the smile of the African woman. This was a common traditional practice among women in West Africa (Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire etc.). Using needles soaked in black ink, these were injected directly into the gums to make them blacker (Yatabary, 2016).

Thus, the perception of tattooing is different from one society to another. Tattooing is therefore considered as a social, psychological, anthropological, cultural, existential and identity phenomenon. There are several ideologies and social relations which are woven around the phenomenon of tattooing. It appears as a social marker or a self-identity (Rouers, 2006); a cultural identity (Le Breton, 2006).

In Côte d'Ivoire, in the 1980s, tattooing was once a way of marking membership of marginal groups such as "loubards", gangs and prostitutes. Today, the tattoo is displayed on every street corner. And most of the time, the drawings have nothing to do with ethnicity or rituals. Since the advent of the "coupe décalé" (an Ivorian musical style), tattooing rhymes with fashion, the "Starmania" and the affected target which constitutes a vast potential market for tattoo artists in Abidjan are young boys and particularly young girls between 17 and 25 years old. Just by observing the behaviour and clothing styles of these teenagers on weekends in the "hot" places of the Abidjan capital, one really realises that tattooing plays an important role in their lives. Neck tattoo, shoulder tattoo, arm tattoo, breast tattoo, hip tattoo, calf tattoo. Several visible or invisible parts of the body are used by these young girls to tattoo themselves and the reasons for their steps are many and varied. According to a tattoo artist, tattoos are either temporary or permanent.

There are no official statistics on the practice of tattooing, but observation in the field has shown that young girls are increasingly resorting to the practice. However, these tattooed girls are the object of blame and stigmatisation because they are considered prostitutes and debauched. Tattooing is associated with the depravity of morals, prostitution and delinquency in the social imaginations of the people of Côte d'Ivoire.

Despite the prejudices and stigma attached to tattooing, the craze for the practice of tattooing remains among young girls. What are the social logics linked to the practice of tattooing among young girls? The interest of this study consists in analyzing the social logics related to the practice of tattooing among young girls. It is specifically about: (i) Determine the context and the norms of the emergence of tattooing among young girls in Côte d'Ivoire; (ii) Determine the diversity of representations of the practice of tattooing among young girls; (iii) Explain the meaning of the practice of tattooing among young girls; (iv) Determine the types of tattooing and the practices associated with tattooing; (v) Describe the nature of the existing relationships between tattooed girls and others.

The literature review showed that the issue of body transformation has been the subject of numerous analyses. First, a first trend analyses the practice of tattooing as a cultural or fashion phenomenon (Jova, 2016; Le Breton 2016). Then, another trend analyses tattooing as an identity construction (Honneth, 2016; Admirat, 2010; Wiener, 2004); a third trend approaches tattooing from a biomedical perspective (Agbo et al, 2009); tattooing is also analysed as a deviation from social norms and therefore as a stigma (Goffman, 1975; Admirat, 2010; Agbo, Fargeat and N'Daw, 2009) and a last approach takes into account sociodemographic variables such as age, gender or even socio-professional status (Milvaux, 2006; Guiard-Schmid, 2006). This article addresses tattooing as social capital, a strategy, a stigma and an identity construction.

1-Theoretical approach: Culturalist and functionalist approaches

The quest to understand community-based social practices suggests two theoretical socio-anthropological models for this study. Through the typology of forms of culture, R. Benedict (1950) first identifies specific cultural traits for each of them: Each culture is characterised by a model of conduct, a configuration specific to each society that unifies the behaviour of its members and makes them understandable. In this respect, the transformation of the body does not obscure the traditional values attached to the construction of differential socio-cultural relationships.

Then through the functionalist approach Malinovski B. (1944), each culture is constituted as a coherent whole where all the elements of the cultural system are independent, which makes it impossible to analyse an isolated cultural phenomenon. From this point of view, he distinguishes between needs directly derived from nature which have a universal character (biological or physiological needs) and those which are modified by the conditions of culture (derived or cultural needs). Thus, taking any community, primitive or civilised, one would see that there is everywhere a subsistence service specific to the tribe, wanted first of all by the food needs of the human metabolism but creating new technological, economic, legal, even magical, ethical, religious needs. The functionalist approach, as a theoretical model of analysis, seems indicated to explain the ideologies legitimising the transformation of the body through the tattoos of the actors, by also questioning, for example, the system of production of the transformation of the body by the actors and the interaction structuring the functioning in the construction or manufacture of differential socio-cultural relations.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study was essentially qualitative and consisted of semi-directive interviews, life stories and direct observation. In total, we conducted twenty-two(22) individual interviews: eleven(11) individual interviews in the commune of Cocody and six(6) individual interviews in Marcory, three(3) individual interviews with tattoo artists in Cocody and Marcory, and two(2) life stories with tattooed girls. Tattoo artists and some female students have been the channels of contact with tattooed girls. Thus, two social categories of people were interviewed. They are the tattooers and the tattooed girls. The tattooers allowed the collection of data on the functioning, the techniques of tattooing, the types of tattoo (drawings, tattooed parts), the actors involved and the causes related to this practice. The second category, in particular young tattooed girls, constitute the target population. With them, information was collected on the representations they have of tattooing, the motivations for getting tattooed and the relationships with their relatives (family, friends, spouses).

In this study, snowball or network sampling was used to test our interviews in order to collect information up to saturation, according to the criteria of (B. Glaser & A. Strauss, 1967). This sampling method resulted in the application of certain selection rules in the study field, such as the status and role of the actors in the choice of body transformation through tattoos. Thus, the data collected was the subject of a content analysis more specifically the thematic analysis was adapted. We note from the study that the different ideologies legitimise the social practices of body transformation of the actors. The thematic analysis also made it possible to identify the symbolic aspects and the hidden meaning that legitimize the practice of tattooing among young girls. Clearly, the tattooing behaviours of the actors have a cultural background.

III. RESULTS

3-1-Context, norms and emergence of tattooing among women in Côte d'Ivoire

Tattooing has undergone a great evolution over time. In the last 20 years, tattooing has evolved subtly from a mark of rebellion and originality to a standardised mark associated with youth and fashion (Cabrera, 2018, 3).

In Côte d'Ivoire, tattooing has always existed but among marginal groups such as gangs, "loubards" or people from the night world or showbiz world and was the prerogative of men. Women from the night world such as prostitutes used to tattoo themselves. The advent of the "coupe décalé", an Ivorian musical concept, exacerbated the practice of tattooing among young people and more specifically among young girls. The "coupe décalé" is a movement initiated by the Ivorian diaspora and is said to have originated in the nightclubs of Paris and London. This dance and this musical current spread throughout West Africa. Indeed, the coupé décalé celebrates a somewhat ostentatious way of life, this musical rhythm crosses borders and seems to be carried by a phenomenon of young people. (Gawa, 2014).

It was in 2004 that this new musical trend appeared in Côte d'Ivoire and spread to all the bars and nightclubs in the country. The "DJs" who animate this musical style wear tattoos as well as the young female artists of the offbeat coupé. The latter display their tattoos on the music scene and influence young women. Wearing a tattoo is both a norm and a sign of belonging to the world of the offbeat coupé.

Also, each tattoo has a story: neck, shoulder, arm, breast, hip, calf tattoo. Several visible or invisible parts of the body are used by these young people to tattoo themselves and the reasons for their approach are many and varied: a tribute to an important person, a step towards reconstruction after a significant event; an identity marker; to avoid areas that are too visible, especially in relation to their studies and work; to understand family reactions. There is a diversity of representations around the tattoo and each tattooed drawing has a meaning.

3-2-Diversity of representations around the practice of tattooing among young girls

According to (Bourdieu, 1980, 92), "Individual behaviours generally take place within the framework of common-sense social thinking and practices rooted in a habitus in the sense of a habitus as an incessant and largely unconscious process of learning and inculcation, which would direct the individual to think, act and perceive his or her experiences according to internalized patterns, inculcated through learning or socialization. But also, and above all, a habitus as a set of predispositions varying according to the nature of the risk and its contexts of emergence, as well as "an infinite capacity to generate in complete (controlled) freedom products of thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions which always have as their limits the historically and socially situated conditions of its production. Risk behaviours are therefore part of lifestyles, habits, social practices, secular strategies for managing choices in a context of uncertainty; in short, as negotiated, on a daily basis, by an individual with multiple complementary rationalities and open to dealing, in a reflexive framework, with certain risks in certain circumstances". This statement illustrates:

The girls who come to get tattoos in my studio like certain drawings such as butterflies, roses, keys to music theory. And it's the parts like the thighs; the chest, the hip and the neck that they like
(Extract of maintenance with a tattoo artist).

To raise the price, another tattooist testifies:

There's a symbol behind the tattoo. The drawings are chosen according to a philosophy and not by chance " " Tattoos have many meanings. It is always in relation to something that you do them (Extract from an interview with a tattoo artist).

Analysis of the corpus shows that the drawings requested by the girls are stars, flowers, butterflies, hearts, love letters, the names of lovers, etc. The tattooed parts are the neck, the thigh, the hip, the lower navel, the buttocks, the ankle which represent discreet places on the body to show seduction for some girls. Each drawing constitutes a symbol and a meaning. Here are a few examples: The butterfly represents beauty, metamorphosis, rebirth and change. This argument supports:

There are some who make the butterfly. It symbolizes sweetness; beauty. Others make thorns around the arm. This symbolizes the trials of life. This is how each one chooses his tattoos (Extract of interview with a tattoo artist in Marcory).

In view of this, there is a convergence of views on the idea of tattooing practices. The statements listed are corroborated by the idea that the practice of tattooing is a means of conveying values and affirming a socio-cultural identity. Consequently, tattoos in the shape of musical notes (treble clef and bass clef) are very common designs among music lovers and particularly among those who have talent in this field and whose passion is music. Moreover, having a tattooed dragonfly is seen as something extremely feminine, because of the delicacy and beauty of these insects. Dragonflies symbolize luck, purity, prosperity, harmony and strength. Stars are a fairly common choice. On the skin, they symbolize truth, spirit, courage and hope. In addition to being beautiful, they guide us when confusion takes hold of us. These words illustrate:

I tattooed a flower and a star because it represents something deep like love (Interview with a 22-year-old student); I made a treble clef because I like music and I made a dolphin because I like the image (Interview with a 17-year-old student); I especially made a scroll with biblical verses; it's about God and my faith; As a tattoo artist, when I make my tattoos, it's to mark many things in my life. I tattooed my mother's face because it is thanks to her that I am who I am. So I will never regret this choice (Extract of interview with a 30 years old Tattooist in Cocody).

In addition, hearts represent love and passion and generally symbolize a person's feelings. Bird motifs are also quite popular. The bird tattoo symbolizes freedom and hope. Arrow tattoos can mean different things to different people. In general, they refer to dreams, goals and the path to follow:

I chose the angel's wing because I wanted to take flight in my life. The drawing reminds you of the goal you set yourself in life and it is engraved on your skin. Every time you wash you see this symbol that reminds you of your flight and you can never forget it (Excerpt from an interview with a 23-year-old girl in Marcory).

Surveys have shown that the most tattooed body parts in young girls are the thigh, back, lower navel, hands, shoulder, calf, hip, breasts, chest, wrist and neck. A few comments illustrate this:

I tattooed my breasts because when I wear the necklines, it's pretty and sexy and I also tattooed my neck and thigh" student in senior class, 18 years old; "I don't want everyone to see my tattoo. The reason I did it on my thigh is so that I don't have to show everyone. I just want to show my darling! (Excerpt from an interview with a student, 24 years old).

The choice of these tattooed parts of the tattooed body is a strategy developed by young girls with the aim of seduction. These parts are considered as sensual parts of the woman. They are therefore aware of the choice of tattooed parts. This refers to the rational choice of the actor developed by Boudon (2002). These young girls not only put their social capital (Bourdieu, 1980) at stake by tattooing these body parts but also do so in relation to networks of relationships.

3-3-Tattooing as a means of expressing beauty

Depending on the ethnic group, history, year and customs, the criteria for assessing the beauty of the body vary. In fact, there is no universal beauty, but a whole series of physical features which, depending on the requirements and situations, contribute to defining the beauty of an individual. Beauty is fundamentally a problem of cultural identity, a problem of civilisation.

The canons of beauty vary from one society to another; what is beautiful for one society may not seem so for another. Beauty is also linked to time, because what seems beautiful in one era may not be beautiful in another, such as the phenomenon of fashion. Thus, the criteria of beauty vary with time, social types and classes. This notion is relative. Traditional African beauty criteria are different and do not focus on tattoos but rather on the complexion, legs, neck, breasts, buttocks according to ethnic groups.

Nowadays, the tattoo becomes a criterion of beauty for a fringe of Ivorian youth. The practice of tattooing among young girls is certainly part of a musical movement but also an expression of female beauty according to a modern western model. Wearing a tattoo is an expression of beauty for young girls. The tattoo participates in the embellishment of oneself:

Well, tattooing for me is like a fashion, there are a lot of girls who do it. It's like buying human locks to wear. It's a fashion! And it makes you pretty, chic and sexy. The tattoo brings a special touch to my feminine beauty and brings out my sensual side. I have 3 tattoos: one on my neck, the other on my left breast and the last one on my hip (Extract from an interview with a 24 year old shopkeeper).

3-4-Tattooing, expression of emotions and symbol of belonging to a group

The practice of tattooing is perceived by some respondents as a means of expressing their emotions and feelings. The following comments illustrate this: *the tattoo I did on my kidneys was when I separated from my boyfriend. To forget my grief a little, but then we came back together* (Extract from an interview with a 21-year-old student).

Tattooed girls most often belong to peer groups (family, friends or other groups).

I tattooed a snake because it represents the sign of our family. It's like the genius of our family. It's the one who protects us that's why I made it on me. Now, flowers and stars represent something deep for me, like love (Field investigation).

3-5-Tattoo types and practices associated with tattooing

Women, according to one tattoo artist, are real tattoo enthusiasts. They use it to hide either scars or stretch marks. Many of them do it for pleasure, for passion. On the other hand others do it to show off and to follow fashion. In Abidjan, two types of tattoos are done: temporary tattoos and permanent tattoos. Temporary tattoos last almost a week depending on where they are placed. You can spread them as much as you like and change them whenever you feel like it. Another alternative to a permanent tattoo is the *delébile*. "Djabi" for the bambaras, "Poudi" for the Peulh, Lawsonianermis for the scientists, Henna comes from a thorny shrub of the Lythraceae family. Henna leaves grow naturally in the tropical and subtropical regions of Africa, South Asia and Australia. Henna leaves are then processed into powder for the various uses of the product. Henna has been used for centuries in North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa as a beauty and aesthetic product. Henna tattooing is one of the traditional tattoos and belongs to the category of ephemeral tattoos. Certain ethnic groups of the Ivory Coast such as the Dioulas often use henna tattooing at events such as weddings and Tabaski festivals. Tattoos are placed on hands and feet.

3-6- Tattooing as make-up

Tattooing is used as make-up for young girls. Indeed, it is a question for them of creating beauty spots on the face or other visible parts of the body, of highlighting the contour of the lips, redrawing the eyebrows in order to facilitate the make-up. Many women come to have their eyebrows tattooed, with the temporary tattoo called "rajout" which is 500 FCFA or 0.93 US dollars and the permanent tattoo for those who wish to have it for life, the cost varies from 5,000 FCFA or 9.30 US dollars to 50,000 FCFA or 93.20 US dollars or even more. Thus, young girls use it as a beauty tool. As an illustration, a young shopkeeper who came to Cocody market to get a tattoo, opted for a temporary tattoo on the eyebrows she has been wearing for 6 months.

This argument illustrates:

Body tattoos are beautiful but I prefer them with light people. I had my eyebrows tattooed for 2 years, now at least I feel beautiful and I always wear make-up. So I make less effort on a daily basis. In addition to the reduction of effort, the young lady finds them quite economical, since she spent less than 10,000FCFA or 18.60 US dollars. The prices differ according to the style of drawing. At the Cocovico market in Angré, it is necessary to pay at least 35,000FCFA or US\$65.20 for a long-lasting tattoo (Extract from an interview with a shopkeeper).

3-7-Tattoo related attitudes

The practices and behaviours observable among tattooed girls vary from one place to another and from one person to another. The results obtained show a double attitude of the young girls concerning their tattoos and according to the place where they are. Sometimes these tattoos are hidden in the family circle, within the religious community, at school, at work because these institutions prohibit it, and sometimes they are displayed in certain environments (between peer groups, between friends or sexual partners, nightclubs, bush, bars).

My parents know that I am tattooed but this is not a problem because they are small and discreet tattoos (student 21 years old); Most of my tattoos are not visible so people can't talk too much because I don't show everyone. For example, there are places where I go, I dress well as a lady, like going to look for a job or something else I wear well. When I go with my sweetheart to the bush, or to the bar there I show my tattoos, I wear sexy clothes to show off"; "First of all, you

have to be sure of your tattoo. What does it mean to you? Above all, to choose the location of your tattoo well. I sometimes refuse tattoos in places that are more exposed when the clients are young. The best would be to choose according to your sector of activity but especially a discrete place, a part of the body which you can easily conceal if need be (Indicates a tattoo artist). I refuse to tattoo minors, schoolchildren, especially when they are in their school uniform. It is necessary to avoid certain tattoos such as the name of your spouse, to avoid regrets when you are no longer together (Tattoo artist for 15 years).

In several civilizations, tattooing is even considered a rite of passage because of the pain endured during the execution of the motif. The pain while the tattooist is at work remains something that can be difficult to bear. The tattooed person generally feels sensations ranging from a simple discomfort to a sharp pain depending on his sensitivity and the tattooed place. Sensitive areas: the ribs, the spine, the ankle... The pain can vary according to the individual.

During our interview, a 24 year old girl confided to us that she had drunk a little alcohol before her tattoo session to better bear the pain. She is not at her first tattoo. It was her 4th tattoo; two huge drawings on both thighs, another one on her lower back, and the last one on her right ankle. On the other hand, some people by fear of the pain do not wish to try the experiment: *If you fear to have pain, think of the temporary tattoo while waiting to be ready to pass this step (specifies the tattooist).*

4-The nature of the relations existing between the tattooed girls and the others

The labelling of tattooed girls usually manifests itself in interactions with other non-tattooed people or even between tattooed people. (Gofmann, 1975). The aim here is to show the types of relationships that characterize the experience of tattooed actors in spite of labelling. Among other things, to present the strategies set up to avoid or accept labelling in their relationships with others.

4-1- Labelling of tattooed persons

The experience of tattooed girls despite labelling is based on mechanisms linked to forms of exclusion of tattooed actors by others. Specifically, these are depreciative looks, social belonging as a means by which tattooed girls are labelled, forms of rejection and forms of social disqualification on the labour market. The depreciative gaze is perceptible through two facets which are: the visibility of the tattoo and the presence of the tattooed woman in public. Firstly, the visible tattoo attracts the gaze of others as well as prejudices about the tattooed person. Then, her presence in a social space prevents her from blending in or becoming familiar with the group because of the stigmatizing look. Finally, his relationship to others is linked to these forms of designation:

When I pass by, others look at me in a strange way. When I walk into a corner, everyone is looking at me like I'm an alien. Others will look at you and find a name to give you (Field investigation).

4-2- Distrust and disguise as a modality of social relations between tattooed and non-tattooed people.

Several social frameworks generally characterise the experience of tattooed actors, namely the family, professional and community framework. At the family level, the norm for the majority of families is to avoid having a child tattooed. The non-respect of this rule characterizes them as deviant (Becker, 1985). These tattooed children occupy a different position than other children. This often leads to a breakdown of family ties because of the tattoo. This testimony illustrates:

Me in the family when I come back, they call me unconscious in any case, if you don't know me and you see me, you're going to think that I'm a girl of bad life, when I undress, you're going to shoot, I have eight tattoos"; "Often when I go to the parents and they see, they talk despite the fact that I'm tall, why I got tattooed and am I normal. I go to church and I do too much stupidity. I wear decent clothes to hide them, apart from them I like to show them off (24-year-old beautician).

At the professional level, tattooed persons often enter into relationships of distrust through strategies of concealment of their tattoos in the presence of their hierarchies and certain colleagues at the risk of losing their jobs. In this case, young tattooed girls are held in this relationship of mistrust in the professional space.

4-3-Tattooing as a means of building networks of relationships and the strategies of identity adoption of young tattooed girls in the face of labelling

The experience of tattooed girls is also linked to the networks of relationships in which they are enrolled. Most of those we interviewed belong to peer groups that also have tattoos. Tattooing brings them closer to the male population through the aesthetics it provides: I have a lot of male friends thanks to my tattoos, they find it clean and pretty.

Several strategies explain the identity adoption of tattooed women in the face of labelling. These are assertiveness, de-stigmatisation strategies and the influence of the profession or professional environment.

4-3-1-Assertiveness: a strategy of identity adoption

Assertiveness is a strategy of identity adoption for tattooed actors in their relationships with others. Assertiveness is part of the experience of tattooed actors in the face of labelling. This one is translated by social practices according to two orders. A first order is manifested by the style of clothing adopted by the tattooed girls to show their belonging to others. They indeed wear short-sleeved clothes, the dismembered ones exposing their tattooed bodies. It's with the aim of asserting their identity without apprehension or shame. The second order lies in the indiscretion practices of tattooed actors who seek to draw the attention of others to their bodies through representations:

I have not hidden what I have. I want to bring out what I wear, I can't go around naked all the time (laughs). And on the contrary, there are things I do for myself, but I like people to be interested in what I have and make them curious and say "yeah", ask themselves questions and react a little. And that there's a question behind it, why you did it.

4-3-2-De-stigmatization as a strategy for the adoption of tattooed girls

De-stigmatisation is an integral part of the strategies for adapting the identity of tattooed women to the experience of being labelled. Although they are aware of the forms of exclusion and stigmatisation linked to tattooing, they adopt strategies of rapprochement with non-tattooed actors in order to demystify the stereotypes pronounced in their regard. According to them, the perceptions and social representations (prostitute, unconscious, promiscuous girl, etc.) that others have of them do not necessarily reflect reality. Indeed, there are tattooed people who have a valued status in society such as sportsmen and certain professional executives. They legitimise their tattooing as a practice that conforms to the norms of society:

You mustn't see the tattooed person as a thief, a person with bad morals, you see a little no, myself I'm tattooed but I'm not like that. I have friends who are also tattooed but who live their lives well without frills (problem), let's not go far, there are men of God who have tattoos that they made when they were young and that stayed on them.

4-3-3- The profession and the professional framework as a space for the fabrication of the identity of the tattooed girls

The experience of young tattooed girls is linked for some of them to the influence of their profession or professional space. Indeed, the fact of belonging to a corporation or a given social environment (artist, actress, sportswoman, dancer, army dressed corps or other etc.) favours the practice or acceptance of tattooing among women:

"I am 25 years old and I work in the night world (bar and nightclub). And I'm in the offbeat coupé style. So I am tattooed on visible parts such as my thighs, my neck and even my arm. It doesn't bother anyone because our environment lends itself to it. Practically all of us waitresses have a tattoo. It's our background. »

IV. DISCUSSION

In short, this study examines the social logics linked to the practice of tattooing among young girls. We retain from the study that the transformation of the body linked to tattooing practices allows the actors to value their identity. This behaviour for the actors is part of the construction of socio-cultural relations that are differentiated and legitimised by the perceptions that the actors have of their bodies. The results of the study also showed that tattooing in women in our time is neither a ritual nor a rebellion. It simply consists of proudly displaying this light banner of freedom of expression. After a break-up, for example, or because of disappointment or a bad moment to get over, the reaction of some women is to go shopping or rush to the hairdresser for a new cut and thus give themselves pleasure by giving their life another direction. This study noted the fact that tattooing seems to be a modern phenomenon but is more a social capital, a strategy, a stigma and an identity construction. Tattooing is a cultural practice of self-modification. But modifying one's body, making it more meaningful than it already is, is also a choice to modify one's image and therefore the image that others will perceive. (Admirat, 2010, 9). In terms of external validation of the results of this study, tattooing practices can be approached from four angles: tattooing from a strategic angle (Bourdieu, Boudon, Crozier and Friedberck); tattooing as social capital, tattooing as labelling and tattooing as identity reconstruction.

For Bourdieu (1980), social capital is linked to a network of belonging and a sustainable network. Capital constitutes the attributes (economic, social, cultural) of individuals, benefits inherited from their social environment.

Indeed, Granovetter (1983) approaches social capital as a network of links or a chain of relationships. His contribution is based on "the strength of weak ties": it is these contacts, which are rare but with many people, that provide new information, bridges to socially different individuals, and opportunities. As for Burt

(1995), he even values the absence of regular bridges between two social groups: the structural holes in a network.

Here, we consider all the relationships maintained by the members within a community. Coleman (1988) defines social capital by its collective function of facilitating action for the individuals in a group. As for Putnam (2001), he conceives social capital as a quantity characteristic of the state of a society: networks, norms and trust, which facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Regardless of the approaches to social capital, the study of tattooing among young girls falls within each of the approaches cited. Indeed, tattooing constitutes social capital in that it enables these young girls to develop a set of resources and also places them in a personal and community network (community of tattooed people). Even if this community is not institutionalised, the tattooed girls recognise themselves as belonging to a community that more or less legitimises the practice and does not stigmatise them.

The strategy is approached under different approaches. The strategy of Bourdieu, Boudon and that of Crozier and Friedberg. Bourdieu developed a theory of action, around the concept of habitus, which has had great influence in the social sciences. This theory seeks to show that social agents develop strategies, based on a small number of dispositions acquired through socialisation which, although unconscious, are adapted to the needs of the social world. Tattooing can be approached as an unconscious strategy insofar as young girls develop strategies to adapt to their social world which is their family, school, church or mosque. They camouflage their tattoos according to the environments in which they find themselves and expose them in others. In Côte d'Ivoire, institutions such as the school or the family do not allow tattooing and perceive it as a deviation. Camouflage is therefore a strategy for integrating these environments. Thus, tattoos are marked on non-visible parts (hip, breasts, belly; back for example).

For Boudon (2002), to explain the social is to understand the reasons of individuals in the context that is theirs and to grasp the emerging effects of their actions, i.e. the way in which all individual actions are recomposed to create the social phenomenon. These effects are often unexpected or even contrary to everyone's intentions. The phenomenon of tattooing among young girls has become a fashion through the individual action of each girl. Girls consciously tattoo themselves for personal reasons but which lead to a social phenomenon.

Crozier and Friedberg (1977) postulate that the actor is endowed with a limited rationality. He develops strategies according to the opportunities that present themselves to him in an environment that is never entirely predictable. Actors' behaviours are no longer seen as the simple result of structural, financial or psychological determinants that are predictable, stereotyped and therefore reproducible. Their behaviours are invented by the actors, in a context, built with a view to certain goals. To achieve these goals, the actors will pursue their own strategies; they will use the resources at their disposal in the most judicious way, taking into account the constraints of the moment, as they perceive them, from their position. Regardless of the position they occupy (as a child, pupil, worker, sexual partner; friend) these young girls as actors develop their own strategies, use some of the resources they have at their disposal to achieve goals.

For Goffman (1975), stigma is that which, during an interaction, affects, by discrediting it, an individual's social identity. Being or becoming the bearer of a more or less visible stigma induces in a society reactions sometimes of rejection, sometimes of integration and always of adaptation. Tattooing can be considered as a stigma insofar as young tattooed girls are sometimes rejected in certain circles or integrated in others. They therefore tend to adapt to their stigma or tattoo according to the environments they integrate. The experience of the tattooed girls is characterized by the control mechanism of the interactions with the non-tattooed people. Indeed, tattooed girls generally use disguise strategies in their relationships with others in given social spaces and in given contexts. The visibility of their tattoo leads them to control interactions with their acquaintances either through camouflage or ignorance. Goffman (1975) describes the types of relationships that exist between stigmatised people and normals. According to Goffman, the encounter between normals who support and defend social norms and stigma, who claim equality, can only take place in a specific way because the normative expectations of the participants differ.

The desired identity reflects the fact that actors adapt their identity commitments, either to the expectations of others or to one's own desires and if possible to both (Honneth, 2016). Indeed, it is in a deliberate way that actresses (young girls) decide to get a tattoo. They are aware of the stereotypes and forms of labelling associated with tattooing. Thus, they are prepared to face stigmatisation in their relationships with others. One of the ways in which this voluntary commitment materialises is through self-assertion, through belonging to the category of tattooed people. In other words, young tattooed girls take pride in wearing the tattoo on their bodies and encourage others to denigrate them in order to strengthen their attachment or sense of belonging to the category of tattooed persons.

The results of the study effectively demonstrate that these actresses are in a logic of identity construction or reconstruction (Honneth, 2016; Haissat, 2006; Andrieu, 2008). In fact, the way in which the actors construct their personal identity by taking part in a logic of action with others explains their social

behaviour. In other words, actors give themselves a personal identity and realise it among others, the way they build their relationships with others and how they produce society.

V. CONCLUSION

This study is a contribution to the sociology of body transformation and gender relations. It examined the social logics linked to the practice of tattooing among young girls. It was essentially qualitative with adequate data collection instruments. This allowed us to achieve the following results: Getting a tattoo is the first social communication network that allows one to transmit elements of one's life to others without the need to speak. The tattoo serves above all to affirm to oneself first of all a rewarding image of freedom and creativity. The body becomes a canvas, the means of locomotion of the soul and the tattoo a form of writing of thought. This cannot be simply a fashion effect because fashion is ephemeral, tattooing is permanent. It is a construction of self-image. It is not a simple ornament. To get a tattoo is to mark a stage in one's life as a ritual of passage which elevates us and makes us grow. It is a way of asserting oneself and of making one's body a painting representing the important stages of one's life. The experience of tattooed girls is characterised by the control strategies they put in place. They adapt to the forms of labelling to which they are subject and this translates into strategies for controlling their interactions with others.

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