Publisher's Note

Principles of Sociology: Personal Relationships & Behavior is the first title in Salem's *Principles of Sociology* series. The next two volumes are *Group Relationships & Behavior* and *Societal Issues & Behavior*. This series is intended to introduce students and researchers to the fundamentals of important and far-reaching topics in sociology using easy-to-understand language.

The field of sociology is vital in the world we live in today, and relevant in many social groupings and behaviors. This work includes categories such as "Day-to-Day Interaction," "Family & Relationships," "Socialization," "Social Change," and "Aging & Elderly Issues."

The entries in this volume are arranged in an A to Z order by section, making it easy to find the topic of interest. Each entry includes the following:

- *Abstract* giving a brief introduction to the topic;
- *Overview* that presents key terms and concepts;
- Clear, concise *presentation of the topic*, including a discussion of applications and issues;

- Definitions of key *Terms & Concepts*;
- *Bibliography* for further reading.

The back matter in *Principles of Sociology: Personal Relationships & Behavior* contains a thorough and valuable index.

Salem Press thanks the contributors, whose names are listed with each essay. Their diverse backgrounds include graduate degrees in a wide field of expertise and experience that allows them to offer information in language that is often more accessible than that of sociology specialists, whose explanations may be narrowly focused. A list of contributors' names follows this Publisher's Note.

The essays in this volume are written for a varied audience. Our goals include attention to clarity and avoidance of unnecessary jargon. For those readers who desire more specific information on any one topic, each essay includes a list of entries for further reading.

Principles of Sociology: Personal Relationships & Behavior is, as are all Salem Press titles, available in print, as an e-book and on https://online.salempress.com.

Body Art and Ornamentation

ABSTRACT

Sociology has long sought to understand the cultural meaning behind body art, including both forms considered extreme and forms widely accepted by society, such as female ear piercing. Less than a generation ago, tattoos and many other forms of body ornamentation were widely regarded in the United States and other Western societies as a kind of self-inflicted mutilation, clear indicators of questionable decision-making skills and/or profound deviant psychological issues. As such, they served as potent symbols of identity among certain subcultures, such as sailors and bikers. With the emergence of the millennial generation, tattoos, piercings, and related body modifications have become far more complex in their social implications. Indeed, an academic sub-discipline in the field of sociology has emerged that now regards body art as a significant element in the structural dynamic of an ever widening sociological unit.

OVERVIEW

Body ornamentation includes practices that range from routine and temporary, such as applying makeup, coloring hair, wearing garments intended to enhance or distort the body's natural curves, and sporting facial hair, to permanent or semi-permanent alterations, usually to the skin. Ear piercing is an ancient form of body art that gained popularity with women in the United States in the mid-twentieth century. Though earrings had long fallen out of favor among men, people of all genders within the punk rock community became interested in alternative forms of ear jewelry—safety pins, for example. Alternative placement followed, with piercings of the nipple, navel, nose, and tongue becoming popular with young people. Ear piercings also became more elaborate and eventually included ear stretching. Scalpelling is a technique for creating large body piercings such as those required to accommodate gauge earrings.

Simultaneous with the trend in body piercing, tattoo artists experienced unprecedented growth in their industry. Bold and often intensely personal graphic designs injected into the skin are intended to

be a life-long statement. Nevertheless, the availability of increasingly sophisticated surgical procedures designed to remove tattoos, suggests that body art acquired at a particular moment early in life carries with it a significance or personal aesthetic that may pall with the passage of time.

Sociologists have traced the evolution of tattoos as another critical element in its manifestation as a significant contemporary social construct (see Schildkraut 2001). Tattoos have a rich and complicated history. Anthropologists have long cited evidence to suggest that applying pigment to the skin dates back more than 30,000 years, that tribes particularly in the Pacific Rim and in the African sub-continent used striking and colorful designs on the skin often as a rite of passage into adulthood or as a way to define social status or to single out significant achievement. Body art was looked upon as a sign of distinction as well as an enhancement of the textures and monochromatic makeup of natural skin. Egyptian civilization, more than 5,000 years ago, introduced body art as a strict form of social definition, a way to distinguish slaves from the working class and the working class from the nobility.

British sailors in the mid-seventeenth century frequently returned with tattoos acquired during extensive voyages along the Pacific Rim and the Horn of Africa. The procedure was brutal, bloody, time consuming, and permanent. Those who underwent the process boasted of the endurance and the discipline necessary to have such work done. Tattooing became extremely popular among sailors and miners, as men involved in each profession often obtained tattoos of anchors or miner's lamps, respectively, on their arms—which served as markers of identity and status. In the United States, tattoos were viewed as ornamentation for men and associated with predominantly male subcultures, especially the military. In the later half of twentieth century, as more young men chose college or private employment over joining the military, the association with convicts, bikers, and street gangs in the public's imagination made tattoos taboo in the broader American society.

Contemporary sociologists suggest that body art, more than defying social constructs, actually creates a social construct. Sociologists studying manifestations of body ornamentation in a contemporary

society recognize the key elements of a social dynamic: initiation into a subculture through body art, stigmatization by a judgmental collective and compulsion to find within their own social construct a place at once a part and apart, and celebration of a newfound sense of identity and a chosen vehicle of self-expression. Among sociologists, the vocabulary used to define and describe those who have body art echo larger sociological unions: tradition, inclusivity, private communication, outsiders, secrecy, rituals, levels of status, even levels of initiation between those who have tattoos but hide them and those who display their tattoos in highly visible areas, such as the neck and the arms.

Despite lingering prejudices, body art such as piercings and tattoos are now commonplace and even fashionable. In September 2014, USA Today reported that approximately 40 percent of millennials have at least one tattoo. According to the website Statistic Brain, an online site that compiles quantitative data on a variety of different topics, a January 2014 study conducted at Northwestern University revealed that 83 percent of Americans have had their ears pierced. With females representing approximately half of the U.S. population, these results indicate that approximately one-third of males in the United States have had at least one ear piercing at some point in their lifetime. This study also found that 14 percent of Americans have at least one body piercing on a location other than their earlobes, with females accounting for 72 percent of this group.

Research indicates a clear age dimension to the body ornamentation trend in the United States. Nearly three quarters of Americans get their first tattoo between the ages of 18 and 22. A 2007 Pew Research survey indicated that only 10 percent of Americans between the ages of 40 and 65 had at least one tattoo. In recent years, tattoos have become highly visible in American pop culture, as numerous celebrities—such as actor and professional wrestler Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson, former heavyweight champion Mike Tyson, NBA basketball players Dennis Rodman and Allen Iverson, and singers Pink and Axl Rose—all have prominent tattoos. This mainstreaming of tattoos has led some sociologists to suggest that the shock value and rebellious symbolism once associated with such body art has eroded. However, large, prominent tattoos, facial tattoos, and other relatively extreme forms of body modification retain their "outsider" significance for many groups.

APPLICATIONS

Although sociologists of body art are quick to point out how hackneyed and antiquated are most of the stereotypes of the tattooed, data has begun to show certain patterns. For example, the more tattoos a person has, the more likely that person is to engage in reckless, self-destructive, anti-social, and/or illegal behavior, including binge drinking, marijuana use, promiscuity, and a general resistance to employment. Sociologist have only begun to gather data on the age in which regrets set in, the age at which a second tattoo is added, and how late a person decides to get tattooed. Body art has long been associated with both teenage rebellion and midlife crises.

Sociologists have categorized tattoos into three broad areas:

1. Symbols (often including Greek letters, tribal signs, religious emblems, musical notes, or initials)
2. Images (ranging from flowers to hearts and skulls, bleeding daggers to fire-breathing dragons and flags)
3. Text (often lengthy passages rendered in elaborate scroll, most often from wisdom literature, songs, or inspirational bromides).

In addition, sociologists have looked into the logic and motivation behind where tattoos are placed, the boldness of the statement and/or the need to cloak the tattoo as a kind of exhilarating secret. For instance, less than 10 percent of tattoos involve the face, the neck, and the hands—places where concealing the work is virtually impossible.

Body art is, in a sense, a kind of performance art, which may be less about defying society as it is about self-expression. Controlling one's own appearance is important to the creation of personal identity (Wohlrab et al., 2007). If a generation ago tattoos were seen as the result of impulsive decision making or the desperate need to belong to a marginalized group or even a muted cry for help, the body is now being redefined as a kind of blank page upon which

a person can inscribe those concepts, elements, and images critical to their emerging sense of identity. While tattooing may be seen as a form of exhibitionism, it operates against a larger social context in which anonymity is a constant threat and where the boldest and most creative individuals may be stymied by a nagging sense of impotence and a catastrophic loss of self.

Regret and Removal. As the number of Americans with tattoos and body piercings has increased in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, so too have the number of individuals who later regret undergoing such body modifications. This is particularly the case with tattoos, given their relatively permanent nature. A 2006 survey conducted by the *Journal of the American Academy of Dermatology* found that 17 percent of persons with tattoos have considered removing at least one of their tattoos at a later time.

Tattoo removal procedures are expensive (costing several times more than the original price of the tattoo), can be painful, and require an individual to undergo several sessions over an extended period of time (ordinarily 5–12 sessions, with a one-month interval between sessions) before the tattoo is fully removed. Even then, there is no guarantee that the removal procedure will render the tattoo completely invisible, as the general outline of the tattoo may remain on the outer layer of the skin. Tattoos are typically removed through the use of lasers, which break the ink of the tattoo down so it can be removed naturally by the body.

Medical insurance ordinarily does not cover the cost of tattoo removal, as tattoo removal is considered a cosmetic (rather than medically necessary) procedure. Persons are thus required to pay for the cost of tattoo removal out of pocket, and as of 2016, the cost of a single tattoo removal session ranged from about $75 to $300 or more. In February 2015, Alec Falkenham, a student in the PhD program in Pathology at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, gained international attention by claiming that he was in the process of developing a tattoo-removal cream that could break down tattoo ink for a fraction of the cost of laser removal. Falkenham told the media that his self-applied topical cream, which he claimed to have successfully tested on a pig's ear, was painless and would be inexpensive.

VIEWPOINTS

Workplace Acceptance. The tremendous surge in the popularity of tattoos and body piercing in American society has shifted social norms and workplace culture. Visible displays of tattoos and body piercings, including earrings worn by men, were formerly considered unprofessional and, consequently, inappropriate for employees within a business setting. Federal and state laws generally allow employers to openly discriminate against hiring applicants, as well as firing employees, for their tattoos and/or piercings, unless this bodily ornamentation is a fundamental component of an employee's ethnic or religious heritage and identity. Many employers, however, are growing tolerant of body art among employees as the number of highly qualified job applicants with body art and ornamentation increases.

The U.S. military has strict guidelines regarding tattooing. The National Guard, for example, does not permit enlisted personnel to have tattoos on their face, neck, head, or hands. "Sleeve" tattoos on arms or legs are forbidden. However, the U.S. Army announced in the summer of 2014 that it was considering relaxing its policy preventing soldiers with large or extensive tattooing from being promoted to officer rank. In 2016 the US Navy updated its rules to allow tattoos anywhere except the head, with some limitations, and allow members with visible tattoos to serve in previously restricted positions. Soldiers often get tattoos to commemorate fellow soldiers who have been killed in combat.

Health Risks. Aside from debates regarding the professional image of tattoos and body piercings, serious questions as to the health risks of body ornamentation also abound. Potential risks include the transmission of blood-borne diseases through dirty and contaminated needles and the development of infections in tattooed or pierced areas, as well as unanticipated pain stemming from botched piercings. Hepatitis and HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) can both be easily spread from one person to another through infected needles used during the tattooing process.

Although the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has established federal standards to regulate the contents of ink used in tattoo parlors across the nation, no federal guidelines regarding the

actual practice of tattooing itself have ever been implemented. As a result, the safety of tattooing rests squarely with the judgment of the individual tattoo artist and the vigilance of the individual receiving the tattoo.

Tattoos and the Major Religions. Religious views regarding tattoos and body piercings vary considerably. Within Judaism, for example, tattooing has long been a controversial subject. Orthodox Judaism generally opposes tattoos, while Reform Judaism is divided over its interpretation of tattoos and other body piercings. In 2012 the New York Times reported that a growing number of Israeli millennials whose grandparents were Holocaust survivors were obtaining tattoos of their grandparents' concentration camp numbers, which were tattooed on the inside of an individual's left forearm. Young Israelis who seek these tattoos do so in effort to honor and commemorate their grandparents' sacrifice and perseverance during the Holocaust.

Within Islam, henna tattoos, which are temporary, are generally permitted, but permanent tattoos generate considerably more controversy. Among Christians, Catholics and Protestants alike, tattoos and body piercings are sometimes viewed as defiling one's body. Nevertheless, Christian-themed tattoos, such as depictions of the Virgin Mary, the crucifixion, praying hands, crosses, and Bible verses, are some of the most common types of tattoos found in contemporary American society. Hinduism and Buddhism appear to exhibit relatively fewer cultural and religious prohibitions against tattoos and body piercings, generally speaking, than the three Abrahamic religions.

TERMS & CONCEPTS

Body modification: Any one of numerous processes, both permanent and temporary, by which and through which an individual can alter the appearance of their skin, their body shape, their height and/or weight, and hair style and/or hair color.

Ethnography: The academic discipline that investigates, traces, and defines cultures and races.

Henna tattoo: A temporary tattoo, made by applying the paste extracted from the henna plant to skin, which typically lasts one to two weeks before fading.

Sleeve: A popular type of tattoo consisting of a large design that covers all or most of an entire arm (from shoulder to wrist) or leg (from upper thigh to ankle).

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Socialization

INTRODUCTION

This section addresses the concept of socialization, which is how a person learns who they are and how to interact with others in the world around them. Socialization, also known as social learning) begins by developing a sense of self, known as personality development. The next step is to figure out how you intersect with others around you, how you integrate and/or modify to fit into the society. Our ability to form a solid identity begins with our earliest memories. Some experts believe that our identity continues to grow and change throughout our lives, while others believe it is fixed at an early age.

One of the most famous psychiatrists to study personality development and psyche, Sigmund Freud, relied heavily on theories of sexuality and morality and his work attracted much attention and controversy. Freud believed that development occurred as children passed through different sexual stages, and that the brain has three parts – id, ego, and superego – that are responsible for acting out how to meet our needs. Although Freud is still widely studied, some believe his theories to be outdated and inaccurate.

Other well-known theorists in this category include Erikson, Piaget, Cooly, and Kohlberg. They all worked on theories of development and socialization, providing different understandings of how a person learns to behave in society, and all are discussed in this section. Erikson believed that a person's identity is challenged and impacted by every developmental stage they encounter. Cooley's concept describes how an individual develops his or her identity in response to how he or she understands others' perceptions of him or her.

In addition to theories of identity development, this section also includes articles that explore how individuals are socialized through sport, schools, peer groups and families. Every contextual and cultural aspect of a person's life plays a role in their personality development and their socialization. Human beings have both strong individual minds, and are also highly impacted by their environment. Therefore, individuals who grow up in the same community, or even in the same household, often have very different personalities. The age-old debate between nature verses nurture continues – both have a strong impact on personality and socialization.

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COOLEY & THE LOOKING GLASS SELF

ABSTRACT

Charles Horton Cooley was one of the first generation of American sociologists and taught in the sociology department at the University of Michigan from 1892, although his degree was in economics. His approach differed from those of his contemporaries, as his was a humanistic approach that emphasized the significance of the mind in developing a sense of self. As such, he opened up discussion about the impact of subjectivity and creativity on the production of society, in contrast to the rather objective approach to the constitution of society taken by many of his contemporaries. Indeed, Cooley saw himself as less of a sociologist than as a scholar fusing history, philosophy and social psychology and drew on the work of philosopher William James.

The concept of the looking glass self describes how an individual develops his or her identity in response to how he or she understands others' perceptions of himself or herself. Cooley's work influenced that of George Herbert Mead and contributed to the development of symbolic interactionism. In addition, his work has indirectly influenced feminist work on gender identity and subjectivity.

OVERVIEW

Charles Horton Cooley was part of the first generation American sociologists and taught in the sociology department at the University of Michigan from 1892, although his degree was in economics. His approach differed from those of his contemporaries, as his was a humanistic approach that emphasized the significance of the mind in developing a sense of self. As such, he opened up discussion about the impact of subjectivity and creativity on the production of society, in contrast to the rather objective approach to the constitution of society taken by many of his contemporaries. Indeed, Cooley saw himself as less of a sociologist than as a scholar fusing history, philosophy and social psychology, and he drew on the work of philosopher William James.

Cooley's most significant contributions to the field of sociology were the concept of "the looking glass self" and what he termed "primary groups" and "secondary groups." The looking glass self was introduced in his book Human Nature and the Social Order (1902) and primary group was introduced in Social Organization (1909). The concept of the looking glass self describes how an individual develops his or her identity in response to how he or she understands others' perceptions of him or her. The concepts of primary and secondary groups describe how interactions between the individual and social groups can influence the individual's socialization (Marshall, 1998). Cooley's work influenced that of George Herbert Mead and contributed to the development of symbolic interactionism. In addition, his work has indirectly influenced feminist work on gender identity and subjectivity.

CHARLES HORTON COOLEY

One might argue that Cooley's work was shaped by some of his early life experiences. He was the son of a very successful law professor and Michigan State Supreme Court justice. However, he did not have a highly interactive, intimate relationship with his father. As a result, he developed personality traits that are associated with passive individuals and experienced a number of illnesses that are believed to have been psychosomatic. In order to compensate for his perceived shortcomings, he created a "self" that was successful (i.e. a self that had the traits of men like his father). This imagined self allowed him to cope with living in the shadow of his father and up to his father's standards. Although his work was most widely embraced by sociologists, Cooley always had topics such as "the self" at the top of his list. He wrote extensively on the relationship between the self and society in books such as Human Nature and the Social Order (1902), Social Organization (1909), and Social Process (1918).

THE SELF IN SOCIOLOGY

At the beginning of the twentieth century the discipline of sociology worked with Cartesian concepts of mind and body that viewed them as separate, disconnected entities. However, a number of theorists, such as William James, began rethinking this distinction. William James' work stretched across disciplines (physiology, psychology and philosophy) and

influenced thinkers in Europe and the U.S., contributing to both pragmatism and phenomenology. His work on the self, and the idea that it contained within it the capacity to reflect on itself, was especially influential on Cooley.

James divided the self into two parts: the "phenomenal self"-or the self that is experienced as the self-and "self thought," or the self that experiences and knows the self. He further divided the phenomenal self into the "material me," the "social me," and the "spiritual me." The material me comprises the body and its physical surroundings; the social me is created by how one believes others view oneself; and the spiritual me is one's awareness of one's thoughts and emotions. Self thought, on the other hand, is what orders these different phenomenal selves into an enduring sense of identity (Wozniak, 1999).

Charles Cooley built on this framework in order to integrate mind and body as an interconnected, organic whole. Moreover, foreshadowing sociologists who came to be associated with the development of symbolic interactionism at the University of Chicago, Cooley argued that the individual and society could only be understood in relationship to each other, and that each was mutually constitutive of the other. Rather than view the individual as a solitary and discrete entity, Cooley believed that a person's self is developed by his or her social interactions and therefore people are always, through interaction, connected to other people. For Cooley, these interactions create a process through which people come to view themselves as objects and are able to take on the roles of others. He used the example of a looking glass to illustrate his theory (Coser, 1977).

FURTHER INSIGHTS

The Looking Glass Self
In 1902, Cooley published Human Nature and the Social Order in which he proposed a theory of the development of the self as a creative agent (Waters, 1994). According to Cooley, a person's sense of self is created by the ideas he or she believes others have about him or her. This self-development depends on interaction with others who reflect back to them images of themselves. In short, we learn who we are from others and our imagination of how we appear to them. We are literally looking at others and imaging the image they have of us. As Cooley wrote:

As we see our face, figure, and dress in the glass, and are interested in them because they are ours, and pleased or otherwise with them according as they do or do not answer to what we should like them to be; so in imagination we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends, and so on, and are variously affected by it. (Cooley, 1902, p. 183)

Mirrors provide us with visual access to the external appearance of our bodies, but the appearance of our bodies is mediated through what we imagine others think of us (Howson, 2004). Thus, the metaphor of the looking glass, or mirror, provides a way to think about the importance of visual information and the appearance of the body and for the development of what Cooley calls the self-idea, which emerges in three key stages:

- First, we image how we appear to others (e.g., as intelligent, pretty, professional);
- Second, the self-idea develops in relation to how we imagine others perceive or judge us (e.g. did we attend the right schools, do we wear attractive clothing, or do we belong to the right professional groups?);
- Third, the self-idea emerges through the "self-feeling" or attitude we develop toward ourselves, based on how we believe others perceive us (e.g. pride or embarrassment about our intelligence, physical appearance, or professional status).

In essence, Cooley argues that the development of self is "an interactive process through which connections are made between the personal subjective self of the viewer and the external world of other people" (Hepworth, 2000, p. 46). It is worth quoting Hepworth in full here:

Because we have no direct access to the external reality of the body, even with the existence of aids such as mirrors and the wide range of technical apparatus available to us now (cameras, video cameras and the like), the act of human perception is always mediated symbolically by meaning. When we look into a mirror we are therefore engaged in an act of the imagination whereby the self is constructed symbolically as a portrait or picture. (Hepworth, 2000, p. 46)

However, this process of mediation is not error-free, and it is possible for a person to develop a false interpretation of what others think and end up with an erroneous self-perception (Coser, 1977).

Primary Groups & Secondary Groups

A primary group can be described as a group of individuals who share an intimate relationship and face-to-face interaction. Examples of such groups include families, close circles of friends, and neighborhoods. Group members identify with the group, cooperate and sympathize with one another, and share responsibilities and culture. Cooley was thinking in particular of the family and peer group as a primary group in order to establish a distinction between relationships among people that are characterized by intimacy and those that are more contractual (Andersen & Taylor, 2005). Researchers have persistently demonstrated the power in Cooley's insight, in work, for instance, that explores the influence of peer groups on children's development of identity and self-esteem. Moreover, primary, or peer groups, do not stop being influential as people grow older. Professional groups and other groups to which people belong have an impact on identity and emotional experience. Cooley believed that primary groups have a strong influence on a person's self, which is why they may last a long period of time. These relationships can provide a source of support when an individual experiences the high and low points of his or her life. Still, others have pointed out that primary groups can demand that members conform to strict codes of thought and behavior, and thereby stultify individuality (Giddens, Duneier & Appelbaum, 2007).

A secondary group, in contrast, tends to have few personal relationships and be temporary and formed for a specific purpose. This "nucleated" group is larger and more disparate and its members have far less, if any, direct contact with each other. Examples of such a group would be coworkers, an organization's board members, the people in a neighborhood and political groups. Such groups do not last as long as primary groups, although they can occasionally take on the characteristics of a primary group in circumstances of social change or stress (Andersen & Taylor, 2005). For instance, when communities are affected by disasters (e.g. hurricanes, floods or crime), they can, for a time, become more connected to each other and coalesce around the event, and in doing so, become a primary group.

As Andersen and Taylor (2005) note, primary and secondary groups serve different social needs. Primary groups provide opportunities for meeting expressive needs such as emotional intimacy and companionship, while secondary groups provide opportunities for instrumental needs, such as playing games or sports (sports or athletic groups) or lobbying to create political change (political groups). Secondary groups can evolve and become primary groups (by providing an important source of identity for its members); but in general, they serve a more functional, and often short-lived objective.

George Herbert Mead's I & Me

Many scholars built on Cooley's work to create a general theory of the self. One of the most influential scholars in the sociology of the self was George Herbert Mead.

Mead taught social psychology at the University of Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century. Although he published no books, his lectures were collected and published posthumously and his work has been enormously influential in the sociology of the self (Waters, 1994). Drawing on the approach developed by the German sociologist Georg Simmel, Mead took the view that humans are motivated by ideas and that society is constituted through the exchange of gestures and symbols. The self, in his view, is the product of an on-going, never-ending social process characterized by constant interaction not only between self and others but also between different aspects of self (Howson, 2004).

For Mead there is a two-part self that is aligned, first, with what he refers to as impulsive or instinctual habits (I) and second, to the set of organized beliefs learned from the mirroring process described by Cooley (me). The "me," is an objective, social self that expresses the gaze of others and from which "I" am capable of standing back from and reflecting upon. The "I" and the "me" are in continual dialogue and interaction with each other. The social self, or what he called the "me," emerges from the unsocialized "I" as it passes through three stages in childhood that are associated with play, through which, Mead theorized, we learn to develop an awareness of, anticipate and take on the roles of others.

During the first stage, the child's play imitates adult activities. Observing his or her father hammering nails, for example, the child might bang a stair step with a stick. During the second stage, the child's play will act out adult roles. He or she might play house or pretend to be a soldier. Mead called this "taking the role of the other" and believed that it helps children develop a socialized "me." During the final stage, play becomes more complex and governed by rules. The child learns to play organized games like hide-and-go seek. Mead believed that during this stage children learn about fairness as well as their cultures' values and morality (Giddens, Duneier & Appelbaum, 2007).

Like Cooley, Mead argued that the self develops over the life course; it is not fixed in time but is open to change and modification because its development occurs in interactions (Howson, 2004). The implication of this approach is that through our interactions with others over time, our awareness of how others see us may change, and in turn, how we see ourselves (Hepworth, 2000).

VIEWPOINTS

Self & Social Perception: A Two-Way Relationship?

Cooley's concept of the looking glass self assumes that a person's self perceptions are derived and internalized via the images provided by others. However, researchers have begun to examine the direction of this relationship and explore the control that people have over how others perceive them. For instance, Yeung and Martin (2003) sought determine whether "one's self-perceptions are an internationalization of perceptions of the views of others" or whether one's self-perception is created by one's relative ability or inability to convince others to see oneself in a particular way (Yeung & Martin, 2003, p. 843). Taking communes as their case study, the researchers reasoned that because communes generally attract people who are looking for a social environment in which they can develop personally (i.e. alter their sense of self), they would be places where people are especially sensitive to how others perceive them.

The researchers collected and analyzed data from the Benjamin Zablocki Urban Commune Project in 1974. Of the 60 communes studied in this project, Yeung and Martin selected 56 communes for their own study. These selected communes had between 5 and 40 members, though most had about 10 members. In total, 422 commune members were included in Yeung's and Martin's study.

During Zablocki's initial study, members were asked to complete a relationship questionnaire in which they were asked to name other members whom they considered to have a variety of personality traits, such as charisma, strength, passivity, and narcissism. A second questionnaire asked each member which traits he or she believed he or she possessed. Yeung and Martin analyzed the results of these surveys to determine if members' assessments of one another were similar to their assessments of themselves and concluded that one's understanding of oneself is at least partly formed by the internalization of the others' beliefs about oneself. However, their results also suggested that especially persistent people could change others' perceptions about themselves over time.

Gender Identity, the Looking Glass Self & Representation

Cooley's concept of the looking glass self has been directly and indirectly influential on how feminist researchers have conceived of the female self, and in particular, the process of objectification that shapes feminine identity. Identity building depends on the recognition of others and the images they reflect back to us. Many feminists have argued that the images of femininity reflected to young girls and women are images that have the power to objectify. As art critic John Berger noted, "Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being look at" (1972, p. 48). In Western art and culture more generally, women are represented as objects. A consequence of this representation is that women are seen as visual objects of sorts, and that they are encouraged by Western culture to treat their physical appearance as part of being "on show."

Women, feminists argue, spend a lot of time and energy in making sure that their appearance aligns with Western idealizations of female beauty. The experience of being watched encourages women to be conscious of themselves and invest in their bodies as an expression of self (Brumberg, 1997). This preoccupation with the body as an expression of self, and as a manifestation of the self-building process that is captured in Cooley's analogy to the looking glass, is

a somewhat modern phenomenon. However, it requires a high degree of internal control and discipline (Bordo, 1989) and contributes to a constrained sense of self that creates psychic limitations for women. In this sense, the looking glass self process appears to be an endless process that locks women into identities that are potentially limiting.

CONCLUSION

Cooley's approach to understanding the development of the self is somewhat solipsistic, in that the self, in fact, slips from view and society is viewed as a series of "imagined imaginations." Moreover, Cooley saw himself as contributing not to sociology as such, but to a more integrated approach to history, philosophy and social psychology. Nonetheless, his work has captured the sociological imagination and continues to be among the most influential concepts for understanding the self-society relation, as a series of imagined imaginings through which self and society are created in relation to each other.

TERMS & CONCEPTS

Expressive Ties: Relationships associated with primary groups that are characterized by being an end in themselves.

Instrumental Ties: Relationships associated with secondary groups that are characterized by being goal or task-oriented.

Looking Glass Self: A theory of the self which hold that one's sense of self is created through 1) how one believes oneself to appear to others 2) how one believes other perceive oneself and 3) how one responds to one's beliefs about how others perceive oneself.

Primary Groups: A concept developed by Cooley, primary groups are characterized by close, enduring relationships among group members. These groups are marked by members' concern for one another, shared activities and culture, and endurance over a long period of time.

Secondary Groups: A concept developed by Cooley, secondary groups tend to be temporary and are

formed to achieve a specific goal. Secondary group members have few if any close personal relationships.

Self: "The irreducible unit out of which the coherence and stability of a personality emerge" (Zimbardo & Gerrig, 1996, G-11).

Social Self: The self is produced through interaction with other people.

Symbolic Interactionism: An approach to the self-society relation that emphasizes face-to-face interaction, impression management, information control and being ever attentive to what our bodies and faces are 'telling' others.

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Cooley & the Looking Glass Self

Marie Gould and Alexandra Howson, Ph.D.

ERIKSON'S EIGHT STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

ABSTRACT

Socialization is the process through which people learn to become functional members of society. While some researchers have argued that this process is limited to the childhood years, others have suggested that socialization is a continuous process that stretches over a person's lifetime. Although some of the theorists in the field of social psychology are both psychologists and sociologists, most are trained within the field of psychology. Regardless of the field of study, all of the scholars view the individual as their point of reference and focus on how a person's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are affected by others in ways that shape identity and individuality; and how people develop the appropriate cognitive, personal, and social skills they need to function as productive members their societies. One of these social scientists is the theorist Erik Erikson, who perhaps more than any other social psychologist, worked to understand personal and social identity.

OVERVIEW

Social Psychology & Socialization
Social psychology deals primarily with socialization and faceto- face and small group social interaction.

Socialization is the process through which people learn to become functional members of society. While some researchers have argued that this process is limited to the childhood years, others have suggested that socialization is a continuous process that stretches over a person's lifetime. Although some of the theorists in the field of social psychology are both psychologists and sociologists, most are trained within the field of psychology. Regardless of the field of study, all of the scholars view the individual as their point of reference and focus on how a person's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are affected by others in ways that shape identity and individuality, and how people develop the appropriate cognitive, personal, and social skills they need to function as productive members their societies. One of these social scientists is the theorist Erik Erikson, who perhaps more than any other social psychologist, worked to understand personal and social identity.

The word "identity" stems from the Latin *idem*, which evokes sameness and continuity. Identity primarily became a focus for psychological scholarship in the twentieth century, developing, first, from Freud's theory of identification and, second, from Erikson's work on the connections between the individual and his or her community. Where Freud emphasized identity as a relatively continuous inner