

A praxeological approach to constructions of social science

Body wash and grooming is used as an example

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to show how the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practical sense with accompanying praxeological analyses can help to understand and explain how human behaviour is shaped in interaction between social agents and the social space in which they act. The article especially addresses students who have not previously worked with Bourdieu's theories, and students who wish to do a praxeological master's study using document analysis, observations, or interviews.

A study of body wash and grooming is used as an example. The background for the study is the researcher's curiosity as to why daily body wash and grooming of patients are not combined with massage, as I have seen in a geriatric ward in England. In search for answers, I did historic and contemporary studies on body wash and grooming. Analyses of nursing textbooks, from the first, which was published in 1877, and up to textbooks in use today, show that combining daily body wash and grooming of patients with massage has never been proposed. Interviews and observations in a Norwegian nursing home show that the daily body wash and grooming do not include massage. The absence of massage during body wash and grooming of patients is understandable in the light of the modern norms for bodily cleanliness and physical contact that arose in connection with the modernization of Western societies in the latter half of the 19th century / early 20th century. During this time, an anti-touch culture arose, and expectations were that people should wash and groom

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themselves. Textbook authors and nursing staff seem to have incorporated such modern bodily norms as a practical sense that unconsciously control their navigations. Combinations of body wash and grooming with massage were heterodox practices introduced by nurse Helen Passant at the ward she managed. When Passant left, the former orthodoxy was restored. This means that the combination of body wash and massage is no longer practiced.

Key words: Practical sense, praxeology, document analysis, registrant analysis, observation, interview, massage, body wash and grooming, nursing, nursing science

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to show how the theoretical universe of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) can contribute to understanding and explaining how human actions are shaped in an interaction between an individual and the social space in which the individual acts. Data may be observations of social life, but also traces of social life, the way such traces appear in stories, images, texts and objects (Priour et al., 2002, cover).

The article especially addresses students who have not worked with Bourdieu's theories before and students who wish to do a praxeological master's study using document analysis, observations or interviews.

The first part of the article deals with Bourdieu's theoretical universe with associated analysis strategies. Then follows a construction of the researcher's relation to the research object, which in this example is body wash and grooming (cf. Analysis part I). Analysis part II is about how knowledge of the research object can be constructed by analyzing documents. Analysis part III is on how knowledge about the research object can be constructed through interviews and observations.

A study on body wash and grooming is consistently used as example in this article. The study was based on my curiosity as to how it can be that a daily washing and grooming of patients' bodies is not combined with full body massage (J Boge, 1999; Jeanne Boge, 2020a, pp. 25 - 28).

The background for this curiosity was a meeting with ward nurse Helen Passant in the late 1980s. Passant was an English nurse who decided that the care offered to the patients was not good enough at the geriatric ward she headed in Oxford. In the hope of improving nursing, she learned massage, and then trained the nurses in her ward. When I met Passant, the patients received a full body massage with oils twice a day in connection with body wash (Passant, 1990, 1991). Passant faced considerable opposition from nursing staff when she introduced full body massage during body wash, despite the fact that this way of washing and caring for patients did not require more time than the daily body wash that had been practiced in the ward before, and despite the patients' appreciation of this style of body wash and grooming.

The meeting with Passant made me wonder as to how it can be that the body wash and grooming that I had been trained in and that I had practiced in England and Norway did not include a full body massage. In search for answers I did a Ph.D. in social sciences on body wash and grooming (Jeanne Boge, 2008). The analysis was based on the French philosopher Michel Foucault's interpretations of discipline (Jeanne Boge, 2008, pp. 68 - 76). Such sociological use of philosophy was not uncommon in the nursing environment in which I studied for my master's and Ph.D. degrees (J Boge, 1999; Bondevik, 2004; Sortvik, Callewaert, Boge & Petersen, 2016). I have later problematized the use of philosophy as a framework for social science studies (Jeanne Boge, Sundal, Storum, Callewaert & Petersen, 2016).

In this article, data from my Ph.D. are reanalyzed in the light of Bourdieu's theoretical universe. In this context, I have examined how the nursing profession has positioned itself in relation to body wash and grooming in textbooks and in specific nursing situations in nursing homes, and then explained, in the light of Bourdieu's theory of practical sense and praxeological science theory, how it is that I have not received training in or performed a combination of body wash and full body massage when I have washed and groomed people in need of care.

Why Bourdieu?

The analyses are carried out in the light of Bourdieu's theoretical universe, as he has theories that can contribute to understanding and explaining as to how it can be that nursing staff and other agents think and act as they do (Petersen & Callewaert, 2013).

Bourdieu was in many ways an academic "outsider." He was the son of a postman in rural France and grew up in a family who did not have much economic capital or cultural capital in the form of education (Prieur, Kristiansen & Jacobsen, 2002, p. 110). In his hometown, it was uncommon to get a higher education when he grew up. Bourdieu was the clever exception; he received a scholarship and became one of the most prominent academics in France. Bourdieu found social mobility difficult. His dialect was of low value in the academic environment in Paris. He fought to acquire an academic, Parisian way of speaking. In his older days, he would still feel shame when his southern French accent occasionally cut through (Prieur et al., 2002, p. 110). He felt he was neither the village boy nor a worldly academic. But this experience of being in-between may have contributed to giving him a good position from which to see social inequality and dominance. In the hope of changing society, he problematized the marginalization of the elderly - the marginalization of women with no education - the marginalization of immigrants and other forms of marginalization. He fought against neoliberalism and market-driven globalization (Bourdieu, 2008; Callewaert, 2013).

Bourdieu's theoretical universe has had a central position in several master's studies on nursing that I have been involved in as a supervisor (Blindheim, 2019; Dahl, 2020; Holvik, 2018; Kristiansen, 2020; Mathisen, 2019; Stadheim, 2019; Tvedt, 2016). Students are often excited when they become familiar with Bourdieu's thinking and theories. This enthusiasm may be related to the fact that nursing researchers, like Bourdieu, may feel like academic «outsiders» (Sortvik et al 2016). The enthusiasm may also be related to Bourdieu's conviction that those who want to grasp the logic of the social world must base this on the specific, empirical, concrete practical world in which individuals act. When one is grounded in the concrete, for example, body wash and grooming, one may reflect on the general and vice versa. The general can, for example, be modern bodily norms (Boge 2008, pp. 42 - 56).

Theoretical Foundation

Bourdieu has several theories that can serve as a framework for analyses of washing and grooming the body. For example, his theory of gender hierarchy, as women have frequently been responsible for bodily cleanliness in both family and professional life (Jeanne Boge, 2008; Jeanne Boge & Petersen, 2020a; Bourdieu, 1996a, 1996 -1997; Bourdieu, 2000; P Bourdieu, 2002; Lindgren, 1992). Studies on body wash and grooming can also be founded in the theory of reproduction of social class (Bourdieu, 2008; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), theory of taste hierarchy (Pierre Bourdieu, 2002; Bourdieu, 2010), theory of linguistic hierarchy (Jeanne Boge, 2019, 2020b; Bourdieu, 1997, pp. 35-42) and in theory of territorial hierarchy (Jeanne Boge, 2020c, 2020d; Bourdieu, 1996b; Loui Wacquant,

2014; Loic Wacquant, Slater & Pereira, 2014), because bodily cleanliness has had distinctive class -, taste -, language -, and territorial dimensions (Frykman, 1994; Sundt, 1975/1869; Vignarello, 1988).

Theory of practical sense

In my search for explanations of as to how it can be that I have not been trained in or practiced the combination of body wash and a full body massage, I have based my analyses of body wash and grooming on Bourdieu's theory of practical sense (Callewaert, 1997), as Bourdieu argues that individuals basically act on the basis of a practical sense, which is an embodied way of acting that has incorporated the objective structures (Callewaert, 1997). The practical sense fits the material, objective structures. This entails that the way one acts is more adequate than what one expresses in speech. The objective structures become embedded in the body. The practical sense is not a kind of unconsciousness but refers to the fact that will and actions live in the body. One both *is* and *has* a body, for existence is fundamentally bodily. As a child you learn to walk, talk, write, cycle, swim, etc. After a while you walk, cycle, etc. without thinking about what you are doing. Bourdieu calls such actions practices and uses the Greek word *mimesis* for this (Callewaert, 1997).

When I had a summer job as a nurse in a nursing home when I was 15 years old, I learned body wash and grooming of those in need of care by miming experienced nurses. In other words, I was an agent who acted, without being able to explain as to how it can be that I acted (washed and groomed the bodies of the residents) the way I did. At the same time as I mimed other nurses and developed a practical sense of the work, I brought with me a practical sense of body wash and grooming from home, where I had washed and groomed myself and my younger siblings. Our daily wash was done with a washcloth. On the weekend, we bathed in a bathtub. Body wash was not combined with massage. The embodied knowledge from home became interwoven with what I learned about body wash and grooming for people in need of care in the nursing home. This interweaving unknowingly contributed to my acting as I did when washing and grooming residents in the nursing home.

Praxeological science theory

The assumption that bodily washing and grooming practices can be explained in the light of theory of practical sense has been scientifically examined using Bourdieu's praxeological theory of science. Bourdieu argues that there are three forms of theoretical knowledge; objectivist, phenomenological/subjectivist, and praxeological (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 72 - 86). Objectivist knowledge explains human action (such as washing and grooming of the body) in the light of objective structures, while phenomenology is based on the individual's subjective experiences without examining the social preconditions for such experiences. In a praxeological perspective, neither a phenomenological/subjectivist perspective alone, nor an objectivist/structural perspective alone, can generate valid knowledge of human action the way the actions are expressed in oral and written language and other bodily expressions. Praxeology, which involves a break with both structuralism and phenomenology, is based on the theory that an individual's way of acting is a practice that takes shape in an interplay between objective structures and subjectivism/phenomenology (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 72-86 Petersen, 1996). This means, for example, that home care residents' shower practices are shaped in an interplay between care residents' preferences on the one hand and the municipality's available home care staff on the other.

About understanding and explaining current practices in light of the past

In French epistemology, historical analyses of contemporary practices are central, regardless of whether one adheres to the sociology theories of Bourdieu, the philosophy of Foucault or others' theories and ideas. Historical analyses of contemporary practices have their roots in Gaston Bachelard (1884–1962), who is regarded as the founder of French historical epistemology. He argued that the history of science is not characterized by continuity, but by radical breaks. Bachelard argued

that knowledge had to be understood in light of the historical context in which it arose and operated (Pena-Guzman, 2020). Historical analysis often reveals that contemporary understandings of practices are not self-evident, but a result of battles. Historization involves a distance that enables one to problematize and explain daily practices that one takes for granted in the present (Pena-Guzman, 2020; Prieur et al., 2002, pp. 118 - 123). For example, as to how it can be that we currently wash and groom bodies the way we do.

Praxeological research questions

In a praxeological search for an answer to my curiosity as to how it can be that I have not received training in and as to how it can be that I have not combined washing and grooming patients' bodies with full body massage as a nurse, the following research questions are central:

1. How does the nursing profession position itself in relation to bodily washing and grooming practices (historical and contemporary perspective)?
2. How can it be that the nursing profession position itself as it does in relation to bodily washing and grooming practices (historical and contemporary perspective)?
3. How can past ways of positioning oneself in relation to bodily washing and grooming practices contribute to explanations of current bodily washing and care practices?

Praxeological analysis strategies

One cannot answer research questions directly, but indirectly by means of habitus constructions.

Construction of habitus

Habitus is a theory used to explain as to how it can be that individuals position themselves as they do in words and deeds. This means that habitus is a theory that helps analyze as to how it can be that you have the opinions and experiences you have about, for example, body wash and grooming and a theory to help explain as to how it can be that you perform practices the way you do. Positioning can be expressed in specific bodily care situations (for example by observation), in objects (for example grooming coats), texts (for example textbooks in nursing) and in direct speech (for example interviews) about body wash and grooming. But one cannot just ask a person why they do what they do, because they often do not know. If, for example, someone had asked me, when I started as a nursing assistant, why I washed and groomed people in need of care the way I did, I would have had a problem answering in full because my way of acting is a weave that is based on miming of the body wash and grooming that I have experienced at home and in the nursing home. One remembers through the body. The body internalizes the objective structures so that the knowledge acquired through our history, in a specific context, functions as bodily reason, which means that one always knows how to act. For example, one knows how to wash oneself and one's children based on what one has learned about body wash and grooming in the culture one has grown up in. The knowledge is in the body. Habitus are stable lifelong dispositions, but they can change over time. Habitus construction includes analyses of present and past positionings (Callewaert, 2014).

To explain positionings, one must construct the field and the space in which agents with different positions position themselves (Bourdieu 1998, p. 72- 86). Below I will take a closer look at how one can construct the field and the social space (cf. habitus construction part II), but first I offer an explanation of the construction of past and present positionings (cf. habitus construction part I).

Habitus Construction Part I: Constructing Positionings

Before one can explain practices, one must generate data about the positionings, for example about how the nursing profession positions itself in relation to bodily washing and grooming practices in the past and present (cf. research question 1). Positionings function as data about thoughts, experiences and opinions, the way they are expressed in language and other bodily expressions in the present and past about, for example, body wash and grooming.

Habitus Construction Part II: Explaining positionings

After the positionings have been constructed, one explains them, considering the position that the positioner has in the field and in the social space. In this context, historization is central. In praxeology-based historical analyses of practices, one does not make a continuous historical presentation of the practices one examines but looks for changes and breaks. When one discovers new positionings, i.e. new ways of writing about / presenting, for example, bodily washing and grooming practices, which break with previous interpretations, one constructs the field and the social space that made the new description of body wash and grooming possible (Petersen & Callewaert, 2013, pp. 98, 99 and 110). In this context, one often discovers homologies between changes in the practice one examines, for example body wash and grooming in nursing, and changes in bodily washing and grooming practices in other fields. Homology is not causal relationship but refers to similar positionings in other fields (Halskov, Lundin & Petersen, 2008).

Construction of the field

In a society, people usually carry out their social practices within a field (Frederiksen 2007, pp. 26 - 54; Horne 2016, pp. 44 - 51, Petersen 1989, pp. 44 - 49). For example, a theological, a legal or a medical field. The field can be divided into smaller social rooms to be investigated empirically. A field is not a physical space, but an area with relative autonomy. The autonomy is considered "relative" because everyone is constrained by an overarching field of political power (the State), with associated international relations. The nursing profession can be understood as a subfield to the medical field (Frederiksen, 2007, pp. 55 - 69). This subfield can be divided into a reproductive part (education) and a productive part where practices take place (for example washing and grooming practices).

Analyses of nursing education clearly show how a medical logic has been reproduced by those dominating the education, by those with the highest positions, who have acted as bearers of doxa (Jeanne Boge & Petersen, 2020b). Doxa refers to the unwritten rules / perceptions about how to act. The official, seemingly indisputable, often unwritten, every-day understanding. A tacit consensus. Doxa is a point of view and knowledge that one takes for granted. One can, for example, take it for granted that all employees in a hospital ward use a care coat in bodily washing and grooming situations. If heterodox practices occur, for example that someone does not wear a care coat when performing such body wash and grooming, there may be battles in the field because care coats represent ideas about hygiene that the agents find worth fighting for. Those with the highest position in the field usually have the greatest defining power and the power to maintain and revitalize doxa. That is, they are orthodox (Petersen, 1989, pp. 46-49).

According to Bourdieu, a researcher must exercise radical doubt, break with doxa and challenge everything that they would not ordinarily question. This means that the researcher must not take for granted that one, for example, uses a care coat for body wash and grooming, but, on the contrary, asks as to how it can be that one uses a care coat in such situations. It takes time to learn this, and one learns best in collaboration with other researchers whom one trusts. When such a way of acting is sufficiently incorporated, the researcher can develop an intuition for the social world. Bourdieu had great faith in intuition and argued that intuition was grounded in a profound form of practical

knowledge. He considered intuition as learned, not as an innate or magical ability (Prieur et al., 2002, p. 115).

In the same way that bodily practices are unknowingly incorporated and reproduced, research practices are reproduced in that it is a given that a student who enrolls with a supervisor works within the supervisor's research tradition and is part of the field in which the supervisor acts (Prieur et al., 2002, p. 117).

In this article, the construction of the field is based on data on ideologies, past and present political and material frameworks that can contribute to explain the way the field appears in the present (Frederiksen 2007, p. 26 - 54; Horne 2016, p. 44 - 51, Petersen 1989, pp. 44 - 49).

Construction of the social room

Social actions are constructed in specific social spaces. In the (medical) field, there may be several social spaces (Horne, 2016, p. 42). The social space can be health professionals, cleaning staff, office staff, unskilled workers, students, nurses, doctors, patients, relatives, etc. The social space in the study of body wash and care included doctors and nurses who have acted as textbook authors and health workers, unskilled nursing staff and residents acting in specific bodily washing and grooming situations.

Although social equalization has been a political aim in Norway in the post-war period, it is still the case that people belong to different parts of the social space (Hjellbrekke & Korsnes, 2012). The social space is oriented towards two poles. At the one pole are distinct economic hierarchies, while the other pole is dominated by cultural hierarchies. Both axes have one pole for little capital and one pole that has a lot of capital. Agents who are close to each other in the social space have more in common than those who are far apart in the social space in which the agent acts.

For Bourdieu, social dominance is first and foremost about domination over the categories of perception, over how one perceives, divides, and assesses the world. This dominion is pervasive in favour of the dominant, and those who are dominated tend to devalue themselves. Bourdieu calls this symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1996c). Symbolic violence becomes embedded in the body and makes the body reveal to us where we are in a context where we are socially inferior. We may, for example, feel shy, blush and stutter. Bourdieu describes the body as a reminder of social experiences. An agent's story is stored in the body in the form of emotions and reaction patterns that to a great extent control our actions (Prieur et al., 2002, pp. 110 - 111).

Symbolic violence in connection with body wash and grooming may, for example, be doctors (high position) who argue for daily showering of the whole body in a meeting with unskilled elderly patients who shower every 14 days. The doctors' argument for showering daily may make the patient ashamed of their own showering practices.

Constructions of agents' place in the social space can contribute to explaining as to how it can be that agents position themselves the way they do in relation to such things as body wash and grooming. In this context, researchers need data that can contribute to the construction of positions. What data are valid will vary in different cultures, but gender and position (doctor, nurse, auxiliary nurse, etc.) are often central indicators, with associated data on the cultural, economic and social capital that has contributed to the individuals' current positions. Data on income and property can contribute to the construction of economic capital. Data on family, friends, networks can contribute to the construction of social capital, while, for example, data on education, age, gender, place of upbringing and leisure activities can contribute to the construction of cultural capital (Horne, 2016, p. 42- 51).

Those who come from families with higher education have better preconditions for succeeding in the school system than those who come from families with low education. Teachers do not only reward knowledge, but also language, behaviour, style, as expressed in the form of music

preferences, art preferences, leisure activities, clothing, interior design, etc. The dominant class has the power to be taste makers (Pierre Bourdieu, 2002; Bourdieu, 2010; Hjellbrekke & Korsnes, 2012). Those who grew up in a bourgeois home often have a different taste and preferences from those who grew up in a non-bourgeois home. This imprint is usually unconscious, but it can become apparent when in environments other than those with which one is familiar (Prieur et al., 2002, p. 110).

Summary of the overall theoretical perspective and a praxeological analysis strategy

Based in the theory of practical sense and praxeological science theory, with associated habitus constructions, positionings in relation to (bodily washing and grooming) practices are understood and explained in light of the position of those who position themselves, in light of the field and in light of the social space. This way of constructing science about practices, Bourdieu refers to as praxeology (Petersen & Callewaert, 2013).

Analysis part I: Auto social analysis

Bourdieu argues that it is necessary to objectify the researcher, because research is a social act in line with other practices and the researcher influences all parts of a study (Bourdieu, 2008; Callewaert, 2013, pp. 110 - 118; Prieur et al., 2002, p. 115 and cover). A researcher who intends to explain as to how it can be that body wash and grooming do not include a full body massage, must in other words construct his own habitus and through it make his own approach to body wash and grooming transparent to himself and readers. Such an analysis can contribute with insight that makes it possible to break with the immediate understanding the researcher has of the research object. The researcher is part of the world that they intend to understand and explain, and can only comprehend social practices such as body wash and grooming from where they see it from. The position of the researcher in the social space, characterizes their perceptions of the world. In other words, researchers with different backgrounds wear different "glasses" when they study social life. Since the researcher is not an objective outsider, but an agent who influences all parts of the study, the researcher must ask themselves the same questions as they ask the research object and construct their own habitus. This means that the researcher does an auto-social analysis. In this context, the researcher clarifies their own positions in relation to the practice that has been studied, such as body wash and grooming and their own position (for example, a nursing researcher), place in the social space and relations to the field.

On the basis of the auto-socio-analysis, the researcher can become aware of how it is that the person in question positions themselves as they do in relation to, for example, body wash and grooming, and thus get a basis for challenging / breaking with their own positionings and challenging doxa and everyday life practices that are taken for granted. Bourdieu drew a clear line between self-reflection and the private. The important thing is to objectify one's own place in the field as this position predisposes for certain ways of acting (Bourdieu, 2008; Prieur et al., 2002, pp. 109-117).

Construction of the researcher's habitus

My own background from specific nursing situations in nursing homes, home nursing and hospitals, can contribute to explain that I have researched body wash and grooming in nursing. At the age of 15, I had my first summer job as a nursing assistant in a nursing home in Fusa municipality where I

grew up (Vangsnes, 2005, pp. 158 - 162). There I learned body wash and grooming for those in need of care, by miming nurses who had more experience than me (Callewaert, 1997). That I applied for a summer job in Nursing Services and later became a nurse was not accidental; my mother was a Samaritan with experience from hospital theaters, hospital wards, from nursing homes and home nursing work. She put great emphasis on order and cleanliness in the home, clothes and body, and she took great care of her children, spouse, grandchildren, her parents and parents-in-law.

I grew up in the village where my father's family had lived for generations. Grandma, Grandpa, Dad's three brothers and his sister lived next door. They were all married and had children, so it was a hectic life. Grandmother, who lived a stone's throw from our house, was the leader of the Sanitation Association in the village, with an associated focus on hygiene. My father's sister was a surgical nurse. In my childhood, she was the head of a nursing home in the neighbouring municipality. Of the women who lived in the village, she had the highest position. My father and two of his brothers were trained coastal shipmasters. A third uncle took over the farm that we all had our houses on. He also ran the barrel factory which had generated relatively high financial capital in the family for several generations. In the first half of the 20th century, it was not very common that inhabitants in Fusa municipality were educated beyond elementary school, like my father, his siblings and their mother were (Vangsnes, 2005, p. 146). Grandmother was born in the neighbouring village around 1900 and had spent a year at Voss folk high school. It was very unusual that rural women at that time were educated beyond elementary school. Her grandfather, my great-great-grandfather, may have served as the family's academic door opener. He trained as a teacher at Stord in the 19th century, one of the first teacher educations in Norway. Grandma thought my father had academic talent. She would have liked to see him get a higher education, but Dad would rather be a coastal shipmaster like his older brothers. In that way, my father contributed to that I grew up in a family with relatively high financial capital. In addition, Dad contributed with cultural capital; he read a lot, especially historical works and he often served as the family Encyclopedia. Maybe my father's interest in history contributed to making me feel at home when I had the nurse, philosopher, historian and professor Kari Martinsen as supervisor in the Ph.D.study I did on body wash in nursing (Jeanne Boge, 2008; Jeanne Boge & Petersen, 2011). The historical analyses of contemporary bodily washing practices that Martinsen led me into gained new impetus when I became part of the praxeological research environment the nurse, educator and professor Karin Anna Petersen established in Bergen in 2009 (Petersen & Callewaert, 2013).

The cultural, economic, and social capital that surrounded my upbringing may have predisposed me to marry a nurse who also had plenty of the same capital. His grandfather was born in my home municipality. My partner's mother was a physiotherapist, and his father was a profiled medical doctor.

The experiences from England with daily full body massage during body wash, may have predisposed me for questioning the body care that I have practiced in various parts of the health care system (cf. curiosity initially). The fact that our adopted daughters received a full body oil massage every morning before they were bathed may also have contributed to my questioning of the bodily washing and grooming practices that I had learned about and practiced in the Norwegian health care system. Our daughters were born in India. They spent five-six months in an orphanage in Kolkata (Calcutta) before they came to us.

Although I am glad that our daughters were massaged in Kolkata, and even though I liked the combination of body wash and full body massage that I became familiar with in a ward in England, my studies on body wash and grooming are not an argument that nursing staff should combine body wash and full body massage in the nursing profession. My analyses are limited to generating explanations of how it can be that the body wash that I have been trained in and that I have practiced, is not combined with a full body massage.

Summary of auto-socio analysis

The auto-socio-analysis indicates that the cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital that surrounded me while growing up may have predisposed me for getting a higher education and marry a man with similar capitals. That I became a nurse may be related to the fact that the few women with a higher education in my home municipality when I grew up, were often nurses with high positions in the health care system. Such experiences may have predisposed me for work in the medical field and to attain a high position as a professor of nursing. The curiosity that arose when I discovered that body wash and grooming could be combined with a full body massage, may be related to the fact that I had incorporated body wash and grooming practices that did not include a daily full body massage. My encounter with practitioners who broke with my practical sense in terms of body wash and grooming, may have predisposed me for my research on such practices.

Analysis part II: Construction of knowledge about the research object using document analyses

In search of explanations of how it can be that I have not learned to combine body wash and grooming of patients with a full body massage, I analyzed body wash and grooming in an historical perspective (cf. historical perspective above/ Pena-Guzman, 2020; Prieur et al., 2002, pp. 118 – 123). The analyses are based on past and present textbooks in Norwegian nursing (Jeanne Boge, 2008, p. 97).

Below we see how the nursing profession has positioned itself in terms of body wash and grooming, how it may be that the nursing profession has positioned itself as it has in terms of body wash and grooming and how past ways of positioning oneself in terms of body wash and grooming can contribute to explanations of contemporary bodily washing and grooming practices (cf. research questions 1-3). The analyses are based on registrant analyses (Kropp, 2009).

Construction of data using registrant analysis

A registrant is a collection of short reports, based on a systematic reading of various forms of documents. This way of reading and registering makes it possible to get an overview of large amounts of text. With the help of the registrant, one can historicize practices (for example, bodily washing and grooming practices) and in that way reconstruct how they have arisen and changed and find institutional explanations for agents acting as they do, in accordance with the way actions are expressed in texts. Furthermore, registrants of historical documents can help show that practices and points of view that have been taken for granted in a field are not natural but a result of battles between different positions. Registrants can also reveal chronologies of significant events and whether there are other ways to act than those that are presented as smart and necessary. This means that it is possible to register small changes and track events at the beginning of certain historical processes. Registrant analyses have similarities with comparative methods in that one compares current social practices with past social practices (Kropp, 2009).

Example of praxeological registrant analyses

The master's degree studies of the nurse Marianne Giske Holvik (2018), nurse Mari Blindheim (2019), nurse Elin Fjell Kristiansen (2020) and nurse Miriam Bjørndal Dahl (2020) are examples of Bourdieu-based registrant analyses of nursing practices. Holvik (2018) has analyzed relatives' position in

Norwegian home nursing. Blindheim (2019) has analyzed doctors' and nurses' positioning in relation to cancer survivors. Dahl (2020) has analyzed the Norwegian government's positionings in relation to day surgery, while Kristiansen (2020) has analyzed the nursing profession's positionings in relation to the use of facemasks in surgical procedures.

Registrant techniques in general

Choosing a source is a matter of principle and practicality. Delimitation is necessary at the same time as one tries to include sources that bring out both dominant and marginal points of view, conflicting positionings, breaks and conflicts. The sources should go at least 20 to 30 years back in time. One must be critical of the sources and have an eye for the context in which they are written. There is no recipe for how to create a registrant, but the principle is to ask the same question of all the documents. The questions should be formulated so that they capture the title of the text, the year, the medium in which the text is published, the author's or document's position and a short summary of the author's or document's positions in relation to current practice. Finally, one pulls the threads together and makes a coherent sociological explanation of the current practice. Such sociological explanations include the construction of the habitus of those who position themselves (Kropp, 2009).

Technique for registrant analyzes

Registration of positionings in textbooks in nursing: To find out if there has been an argument for a full body massage with body wash and grooming in the nursing profession, I did a registrant analysis of body wash and grooming (cf. research question 1). The analyses are based on textbooks in nursing from the period 1877 - 2004 (Jeanne Boge, 2008, pp. 76-80). In the analysis, I registered the name and position (nurse, doctor) of the editor of the textbook and author of the relevant chapters, the year the book was published and positionings in terms of how body wash and grooming should be done.

Explanations of changes / breaks in positionings in light of field and social space: When there were changes / breaks in the positioning in relation to body wash and grooming in textbooks in nursing, I searched for explanations of changes / breaks by analyzing the field and the social space that made the change / break possible (cf. research question 2). In this context, the following studies on cleanliness in a historical perspective have been central (Elias, 1989/1939; Frykman, 1994; Martinsen, 2003; Sundt, 1975/1869; Vigarello, 1988), studies on the nursing profession in a historical perspective (Lund, 2012; Melby, 1990; Moseng, 2012), studies on the Norwegian health care systems (Schiøtz, 2003) and general studies on the history of Norway (Nerbøvik, 2004/1999).

Body wash massage breaks with a modern anti-touch culture

On the basis of data from the registrant analyses of textbooks in nursing, a coherent sociological explanation (Kropp, 2009) was constructed on the fact that I have not received training in - and have not practiced full body massage during body wash and grooming in connection with nursing.

Norway's first textbook in nursing, published in 1877, argues for daily wash of the face, hands and grooming of hair. Other parts of the body were not necessary to wash every day unless there were special reasons for it (Nissen, 2000/1877, p. 34). This argument is understandable in the light of the body wash norms that were common in the 1860s. At that time, most people did not wash themselves on a daily basis, but on the weekend visible body parts had to be cleaned. It was often the case that the housewife washed the master, the sister washed the brother, the maid washed the servant boy. The whole body was usually only washed at Christmas-time (Sundt, 1975/1869, pp. 290 - 310).

Modern bodily cleanliness: When Nissen argues for daily washing of visible body parts in 1877, it is probably an expression of her being a well-educated woman from the bourgeoisie (Martinsen, 2000). In the latter half of the 19th century, cleanliness was an important bourgeois class marker that was expressed in the way one talked about the body and in the way one washed and cared for oneself (Frykman, 1994, pp. 185 - 221; Vigarello, 1988, p. 91 - 163). But Nissen's focus on washing and grooming patients' visible body parts is at the same time an expression of the fact that the pre-modern washing norms (Sundt, 1975/1869) live on in parallel with the bourgeois washing norms.

In 1911, the first Norwegian textbook in nursing emerged that argued for daily washing of covered body parts where skin lies against skin, such as under arms, under women's breasts, in the groin, the rectal opening and genitals (Waage, 1911, p. 82). The textbook had Hans Riddervold Waage as editor. He was a doctor, with an associated social background, but the argument would probably have been the same if Rikke Nissen had been the editor in 1911. Both Nissen and Waage were part of the Norwegian bourgeoisie. The argument for daily wash of both visible and covered body parts is understandable in light of the great political work that took place in the late 19th / early 20th century to get individuals in modern industrial societies to wash themselves more often and more extensively, in accordance with the norms that the bourgeoisie argued for at the time (Jeanne Boge, 2008, pp. 35 - 67).

It seems that the generalization of the bourgeois norms of cleanliness were based on a theory that those who were clean behaved properly and were obedient to those in power. These expectations were not explicitly formulated, but underlying and unarticulated. At the same time as the argument for more body wash arose, expectations arose that such bodily, intimate tasks should be performed in a private room and one should not bathe or wash the lower parts of the body longer than was absolutely necessary for cleanliness. The practice of women washing men was considered indecent and gradually disappeared. Physical contact became problematic on the whole (ibid). An anti-touch culture arose (Autton 1990).

In the light of the modern, bourgeois norms for physical contact, it is understandable that neither Nissen in 1877 nor Waage in 1911 argued that washing and grooming of the body were important for one's well-being.

The registrant analyses of body wash and grooming in Norwegian textbooks in nursing show that the principles in the washing practices that arose in Norwegian textbooks in nursing in the late 1800s / early 1900s, have been continued in textbooks in nursing until our time (Jeanne Boge, 2008, pp. 98 - 159; 2020a, pp. 41 - 44).

Doxa: The indisputable, unwritten, everyday understanding in nursing textbooks, regardless of whether the textbook authors are doctors or nurses, are expectations that patients are washed and groomed in accordance with modern, bourgeois, bodily norms (Boge, 2008, p. 35-67). Such standards do not include combinations of a full body massage and body wash.

Analysis part III: Construction of knowledge about the research object by using observations and interviews

Although textbooks in nursing do not argue for a massage with body wash (cf. analysis part II), some nurses may nevertheless practice such combinations in their daily work. This is investigated using observations and interviews on body washing and grooming. As with registrant analysis, solid background knowledge of the research object, the field / subfield and the social space is crucial for accurate interviews and observations (Callewaert, 2003, pp. 325 - 327; Hansen, 2009; Prieur et al., 2002, pp. 109-155).

When interview and observation methods are presented together, it is because observation of positionings usually has to be combined with interview, to get data about agents' position and dispositions (economic, cultural and social capitals). Data on agents' capitals form the basis for constructions of agents' life history (Peteresen, Glasdam & Lorensen, 2007). Furthermore, face-to-face interviews also include observations of behaviour, clothing and the like. During an interview in the home, you will gain data on how the agent positions himself in relation to neighbourhoods and housing (cf. economic capital) and information on how the agent positions his taste in the form of furniture, pictures, books, etc. (cf. cultural capital).

Using observation notes and tape recordings of interviews, the researcher can construct data. In praxeological studies, verbatim transcripts are not important. What is important is that the researcher translates what has been said into a reader-friendly text and brings out both what has been said and what has not been said. Bourdieu sees the research interview as a special case of the everyday conversation, an exchange and a social relationship like all other social relationships, where one tries to understand and explain human actions (Callewaert, 2003s. 312 - 317). But conducting an interview like an everyday conversation in which one accompanies the interviewee in their life story and at the same time holds on to the common thread that is theoretically relevant, requires extensive preparation. Interview guides can be good tools for this, but should not be followed slavishly, as the researcher must listen to what the interviewee says and form new questions in continuation of what has been said (Callewaert, 2003, pp. 318 - 319).

Observation and interview techniques

Sometimes one starts with an observation, and then asks for permission to interview people who may contribute with important data. At other times an interview is done first, and then one asks for permission to observe current candidates. In praxeological studies, as in other studies, national and international guidelines for licensing, anonymization and data storage are followed. But consent may be problematic if those who agree to participate in interview and observational studies do not fully understand what it means to participate (Prieur et al., 2002, pp. 127 - 130).

Bourdieu argues for the least possible professional and social distance between the interviewer and the person being interviewed. It can be challenging if the researcher and the person interviewed do not speak the same language and do not have a common point of reference (Hansen, 2009; Ågotnes, Lea & Petersen, 2019). For example, talking about low cultural, economic and social capital with people with plenty of such capital, may be difficult. In such cases, interviewers can exercise symbolic power (Bourdieu 1996c). That is to say, non-intentional choice. Asymmetry is often unavoidable, but the researcher can reduce the asymmetry by showing genuine interest in the other person's life story. Bourdieu argued that the interview should be conducted in a way that gives the interviewee insight into structural practices that can explain as to how it can be that he has the position he has and positions himself as he does. As a form of auto-socio-analysis. This should be done with an intellectual love that brings out the agent's point of view and the agent's unique life story. Like psychoanalysis, but on a societal level, so that one reveals societal dominance and imprints that individuals were unaware of in the first place. Thus, interviews can form the basis for liberation and changes, both individually and structurally (Callewaert, 2003, p. 315, 317, 319 - 320, 328 - 330; Prieur et al., 2002, p. 110, p. 127).

How many interviews / observations one should conduct is both a professional and financial question. An interview / observation that generates a lot of adequate data can have a higher value than many data-weak interviews / observations.

Example of a praxeological master's degree study based on interview and observation

The study by nurse and master's student Ann Kristin Berge Akselberg (2012) on the positioning of various nurses in Norwegian home nursing is an example of how to use Bourdieu's theoretical universe as a foundation in observational and interview studies (Akselberg, 2012).

No room for massage during body wash and grooming in nursing homes

The Ph.D. study I did on body wash and grooming included observations of 10 morning care situations and subsequent interviews with the 10 residents in need of care, the nine health professionals and the one unskilled nursing assistant who were observed (Boge 2008, pp. 82 - 97).

The observations and interviews I carried out in a nursing home show that the bodily washing norms that were embodied in Waage's 1911 textbook, are still valid in our time (cf. analysis part II above). In the nursing home, residents, regardless of the position of the caregiver and resident, received help to wash their face, neck, hands, armpits, chest area, back, bottom, and to comb / brush their hair every morning, regardless of the washing habits they had before moving to the nursing home. In that connection, water and soap were used in a washbasin, with washcloth and towel. The whole body was usually showered every 14 days. Full body massage was not practiced during daily physical washing and care, but a few patients sometimes received a foot massage in the evening or when they showered every 14 days (Boge, 2008, pp. 106–139).

In connection with my Ph.D. study no data was generated about the nursing staff's dispositions, but the positions and dispositions of those who work in such institutions are constructed in later studies from other Norwegian nursing homes. The analyses show that there are relatively large differences in the economic capital of nurses in nursing homes (Jeanne Boge, Callewaert & Petersen, 2019). But there is little evidence that nursing staff with different dispositions position themselves differently with regard to body wash and grooming. Nurses have the highest position in the nursing hierarchy. This professional group has argued for modern bourgeois norms for bodily washing and grooming (cf. analysis part II). These bodily norms are also embedded in textbooks for health care programmes (Brønstad, 2005). The modern, bourgeois norms are clearly expressed in data from observations of and interviews on body wash and grooming in nursing homes, regardless of whether health professionals or unskilled workers washed and groomed the residents. None of them combined daily body wash and grooming with a full body massage (Jeanne Boge, 2008, pp. 98 - 159).

Patients do not expect a daily full body massage, but a study I did in a Norwegian hospital on newly operated patients, indicates that patients would have liked a combination of body wash and massage of their back and feet, but they had never received any such offers (J Boge, 1999, p 60).

Doxa: The indisputable, unarticulated views on body wash and care that have been analyzed in a Norwegian nursing home are the same as in nursing textbooks (cf. doxa analysis part II). Patients are washed and groomed in accordance with modern, bourgeois norms for bodily cleanliness. Such standards do not include combinations of body wash and massage.

Massage breaks with the nurses' practical sense

In light of doxa that has been incorporated into nursing textbooks (cf. analysis part II) and in Norwegian health institutions (cf. analysis part III), it is no wonder that I have not received training in or have practiced full body massage in connection with body wash and grooming, the way this was done at Helen Passant's ward in Oxford (cf. introduction).

Analyses of positioning in relation to body wash and grooming in Norwegian textbooks in nursing and in Norwegian nursing homes, show that the daily full-body massage practice that Passant (1990, 1991) had initiated is a heterodox practice in the nursing profession. The practices stopped when Passant left the ward. Passant is dead. Her ward at Churchill Hospital in Oxford has been closed

down. It has not been possible to find anyone who has continued her massage practices, in Oxford or elsewhere.

As mentioned in the introduction, Passant met a lot of resistance when she introduced the combination of body wash and full-body oil massage. The resistance from nursing staff is understandable because the nurses, through their upbringing, education and practical work as nursing staff, had most likely incorporated the modern, bourgeois norms for body wash and grooming. This knowledge had become incorporated in their bodies and become a part of their practical sense (Callewaert, 1997). When Passant died, the Orthodoxa was restored (Petersen, 1989). Full body massage during body wash and grooming breaks with the practical sense that I and other nurses have unconsciously incorporated.

Concluding comments

In this text, I have argued that scientific explanations on human actions must be sought in the interaction between individuals and the past and present social room in which agents operate. That is, one takes as a starting point the specific, concrete practical reality in which the individual acts and explains the positionings in light of the acting subject's position and associated dispositions, and in light of the contemporary and historical field and social room in which the actions take place. Bourdieu refers to this way of constructing a science of practice as praxeology (cf. above). In praxeological studies, as in other studies, there are theories, methods and techniques, but one does not operate with a sharp delimitation between the different levels, because the overall theoretical perspective is integrated in all parts of a study. The theory permeates the research questions, the data construction and the analyses, regardless of whether the data is constructed by means of interviews, observation, document analyses and any other qualitative and quantitative methods. This means that data generated using different methods are not truths, but material that must be analyzed in light of theory. Thus, data can contribute to generating explanations and new theories. In other words, one works empirically-theoretically. Data on agents' positionings (thoughts, opinions, bodily expressions), on agents' position (for example nurses and doctors), data on the field and the social room must in other words be analyzed in light of the theoretical perspective in which the study is framed. This way one may get a basis for answering what one wonders about / what made one start the study.

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