## What do Finnish coastguards think of their professionalism? Thoughts about professionalism in the Finnish coastguard

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Miia-Leena Tiili from the Department of European Ethnology at the University of Helsinki defended her doctoral thesis on military personnel working in the Finnish Coastal Guard at a time when the subject is quite topical. Last year, the borders of Europe were crossed by different immigrants and refugees. Finnish coast guards were on duty and tasked with the job of responding to calls for help from those refugees who crossed the borders by sea. The flow of refugees during the last couple of years has had an impact on the work of the coast guard units, but such changes are not discussed in this study; they are only discussed in the epilogue of the thesis (pp. 245–248).

Tiili's study discusses the professionalism of the people working in the coast guard units patrolling the Gulf of Finland from their point of view. One interesting issue is clarifying just who these people are. They are military personnel working in the Gulf of Finland Coast Guard District, which is an administrative unit of the Finnish Border Guard operating under the Ministry of the Interior. The main point of the study is what coast guard workers (officers) themselves think, understand, produce and discuss with respect to professionalism and how it is taken into account as the organisation changes. Tiili's thesis is a fresh and an interesting contribution to studies concerning changes in several professions and work communities, which has been a very important theme of late in ethnological studies. Her study will certainly not be the last one of its kind, but definitely it is among the most interesting and important of such studies, not least because of its topicality, but also because of its theoretical concepts. Tiili herself said that when she started her fieldwork among the coast guard units, she did not think about the timeliness of her theme. This topicality is in fact a good part of ethnology; we study what we think interests us, but often when the study has been concluded, it has become very real and timely.

The target of the study is interesting in many ways. Coast guard units are an example of a closed work community, and there are quite few studies concerning them - so Tiili's contribution is also in this sense very important. She is quite familiar with studies concerning work communities and other types of closed societies. Tiili has carefully read Swedish ethnological literature in particular, which becomes clear precisely because this is a phenomenological and cultural-analytical study. In addition to phenomenological-cultural analyses, different aspects of place and space and profession (e.g. Doreen Massey and Tim Ingold) and sensory ethnography (e.g. Sarah Pink) are also important. In particular, Tiili has made use of participant observation in ethnographic fieldwork to flesh out her discussion of sensory ethnography. A phenomenological understanding has served as a basis for interpretations, which has brought forth the relevance of things in the relation between human beings and the world. Although it is a good choice to include phenomenological and cultural analyses, sometimes the material could have been explained better for readers. Also, Tiili uses quite many - I became confused when counting them - theoretical concepts, which are scattered in several places throughout the study. Some concepts, such as everyday life, racism and borders, could have been discussed better. Perhaps because of the chosen framework, the timeframe sometimes become confused when describing the changes affecting coast guards. The book is thematic, not chronological, which is a good choice and makes the study more interesting for readers. It might also be the reason why the chronology is not always clear in the study.

Tiili did her ethnographic fieldwork during several periods and some of it even for her master's thesis. She participated in several working periods and events, conducted interviews and participants observations - also interviewed family members and spent time with coast guard units in their work and free time. She has chosen to call her method (according to Ulla Vuorela) 'deep hanging around', and the usefulness of this method appears in the many fieldwork material quotations in the thesis. The meaning of even the first trip into the field must also have been quite important for this thesis, and this should have been explained more to readers. She discusses ethical questions carefully enough. Tiili reflects on her own position (e.g. age, gender, social class and social situations) quite well, although I think that the gender issues could have been discussed a little more. What is the meaning and importance of gender in the work and community of coast guards? Social gender is visible in the text, but the meaning of it in this kind of work cannot be overemphasised. She did her fieldwork over a long period of time, the benefits of which are clear in the strong analyses provided in the study. All in all, there is some 'richness' in the chosen theoretical concepts and they are well suited to a study of this nature and especially to the fieldwork material.

The study is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter includes an introduction and the second chapter describes the spaces and working phases, both helping to frame the everyday life of marital border guard units. Chapter three describes officer and his/her equipment, including also the different aspects of professionalism. Chapter four, which assesses the coast guard as a functioning unit, discusses, e.g. different aspects of work. Chapter five, which is on community ties, discusses the work community and its different spheres, e.g. hierarchy and equality. Chapter seven, on the move, includes a discussion of different movements. The concluding chapter, chapter eight, focuses on the kinaesthetic dispositions of the coast guard. In conclusion, Tiili has also written a brief afterwords, which focuses on topical and current aspects of border security from the Gulf of Finland to the Mediterranean Sea, in which the Finnish coast guard plays an important role.

Two concepts, cultural knowledge and bodily knowledge, serve as the main concepts and an important part of the study. They also form the subtitle of the study. Tiili understands cultural knowledge as a verbalised and non-verbalised shared understanding constructed in everyday practices and experiences. That is why it is 'grounded in an officer's interaction with his physical and social environment while working, using equipment, and encountering colleagues and clients' (p. 263). According to Tiili, the other chosen concept, bodily knowledge, comes out in embodied aspects of professionalism. So gestures, facial expressions and postures are seen as nodal points for collecting cultural influences and expressing both formal and informal content. When we see a coast guard, we see in his/her bodily movements that both cultural and kinaesthetic knowledge overlap and are intertwined. Loyalty and border security are also sub-concepts that inform the main concepts.

According to this study, cultural knowledge cannot be divided into categories, such as formal and informal, but should instead be understood as an intermingling of influences and knowledge formation in, through and between working bodies. Movement is seen as very important, even an essential aspect informing different cultural assumptions. Movement is key, for example, in an officer's apprehension of trust, discipline and different functions. But in addition to loyalty, there is also friction. The trajectories and collective choreographies of working bodies explicate the cultural friction between the functions at sea and border control, which comes out in the concluding chapters.

The kinaesthetic perspective used in the concluding chapters fits extremely well with the interpretations and results of the study. It adds value to Tiili's work because it allows her to discuss such a perspective in relation to other studies done on work communities and other closed communities.

The thesis is a well-written study on one particular closed working community, which has experienced several changes during the last few decades. The changes in the work and also the changed working environment have impacted both cultural and kinaesthetic knowledge in Finnish coast guard units. Anchoring professionalism is a good example of studies concerning a current work community. The book has no photos, but it includes several short or long quotations from Tiili's fieldwork. They make the study even more vivid.

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