Initiating a European Turn in Swedish Crime Fiction: Negotiation of European and National Identities in Mankell's *The Troubled Man*

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Abstract

As an extraordinarily popular genre, crime fiction is a fruitful space in which emerging cultural identities are represented and shaped. As such, the Swedish detective novel has been a site for the negotiation of Sweden's transition to a broadly-defined 'European' identity in an age of Europeanization and globalization. In the last of the Wallander series, *Den oroliga mannen* (2009; *The Troubled Man*, 2011), the Swedish author Henning Mankell exploits this power of crime fiction to execute a simultaneously political and metafictive project. In this novel, Mankell presents the 'threat' and Europeanization in general as something positive, and in thus doing, he simultaneously points out the direction for Swedish crime fiction to take in the years to come.

Key words

Swedish crime fiction, Henning Mankell, Europeanization, national identity in literature

The politicization and expansion of the European Union in the 1990s, accompanied by increased intra-European migration, caused many nation states to perceive that they were being threatened – their independence by the EU and their identity by an influx of new immigrants. In combination with the economic crisis at the beginning of the 1990s, this gave rise to increasingly pronounced expressions of nationalism and racism in most European countries, as well as an augmented focus on identity formation (Holmes and Murray 1999: 1–8). Sweden joined the EU in 1995 after heated national debate and the holding of a referendum, which resulted in an almost even distribution of votes for and against EU accession (Ringmar 1998: 45–6). With its long standing tradition of providing a commentary on current affairs and of promoting social and political criticism (Bergman 'Well-Adjusted Cops' 34), and in light of developments in Europe in the 1990s, Swedish crime fiction has since the turn of the new millennium devoted growing attention to the clash between traditional national identities and the processes of Europeanization and globalization.[1] This is something that has intensified in the last few years, and it is now possible to talk about Europeanization as a strong trend in Swedish crime fiction. In fact, crime fiction – arguably more than any other genre – reflects and seeks to portray developments within a given society. Simultaneously, it is also a genre where current developments are often taken 'one step further', and where future social developments are thus anticipated. As pointed out by Stephen F. Soitos, among others, crime fiction is 'a dynamic literary device for the implementation of cultural worldviews' (Soitos 1996: 26). Jeanne E. Glesener similarly argues that even if many crime novels are primarily read for entertainment purposes, 'in the age of multiculturalism they have become a platform where multicultural issues and realities are being explored,' and where 'the vexed and complicated relationship between different cultures does not only get illustrated but investigated' (Glesener 2009: 15). With crime fiction being such a widely consumed genre today, it reaches and possibly also influences an enormous number of people. Thereby, crime fiction not only mirrors, but anticipates, and perhaps also has the ability to influence, social developments.[2] In this article, I will argue that Henning Mankell's novel *Den orolige mannen* (2009; *The Troubled Man*, 2011)

has been a key text in the discussion of the relationship between traditional national identities and the process of Europeanization, and that Mankell makes the case – a trend he is in favour of – that Swedes today are (and ought to be) in the process of leaving their national identity behind and becoming Europeans.[3]

In the wake of Swedish crime writers Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö's renowned Martin Beck series (1965–75), the police procedural characterized by social criticism became the dominant genre in Swedish crime fiction in the decades to follow.[4] Authors such as Henning Mankell, Håkan Nesser, Åke Edwardson, Helene Tursten, and many others, followed Sjöwall and Wahlöö's lead, writing police novels often adopting the same format of a ten-installment series. In the first decade of the 2000s, however, the Swedish police procedural developed in two distinct directions. While some authors continued to criticize the Swedish welfare state in novels reminiscent of those by Sjöwall and Wahlöö, others wrote neo-romantic police novels set in the countryside, which are characterized by individualism and conservative bourgeoisie values.[5] Following the success of Stieg Larsson's *Millennium* trilogy (2005–2007), the police procedural has also been increasingly substituted by other crime fiction genres and genre hybrids. This holds true also for many authors still using crime fiction to promote social criticism. Recently, the more socially conscious Swedish crime fiction has also become increasingly 'international'. International organized crime syndicates, often with ties to the former Soviet republics or the states that emerged out of former Yugoslavia, are now 'colonizing' Sweden in these crime novels. Additionally, many Swedish crime writers today set their novels beyond the national borders of Sweden, often in Europe, and depict crimes and protagonists that in many ways can be described as international, or at least multi-national. Marieke Krajenbrink has claimed that a crime novel set abroad is less 'likely to function as socio-critical investigation in the realistic tradition.' Furthermore, she regards such novels to be 'connected with travel writing … and often with the exotic' (Krajenbrink 2009: 59–60). Although no doubt true in the examples that Krajenbrink cites, this is not the case when it comes to more recent Swedish crime novels set abroad. In such novels, the external setting is toned down rather

than exoticized, with social and political criticism often being at the core of their stories. Some of the most characteristic examples of this are recent novels by Arne Dahl, Karin Alfredsson, Liza Marklund, and Håkan Nesser.

The tendency toward Europeanization in particular is in many ways outlined and prescribed in Henning Mankell's latest – and final – novel about police inspector Kurt Wallander, *Den orolige mannen*.[6] Furthermore, the novel can be regarded as a recapitulation of the negotiations of cultural identities that have taken place in Swedish crime fiction over the last decade. Anna Westerståhl Stenport notes that already in the first Wallander novel, *Mördare utan ansikte* (1991; *Faceless Killers*, 1997), Kurt Wallander 'perceives the demise of the [Swedish] Welfare State as related not only to immigration, but also to the very fabric of a national ideology that draws on the cultural implications of landscape, like those of his home province Skåne, to sustain itself' (Westerståhl Stenport 2007: 6). Shane McCorristine, in examining the Wallander novels to 1999, also stresses that these novels 'offer a veritable taxonomy of threats to notions of a secure Swedish identity, sometimes the evil to be combated originates outside the community, sometimes it comes from within, but it is always linked to specters of the Other' (McCorristine 2011: 78). In presenting this 'national ideology' and 'secure Swedish identity' as essential building blocks of the welfare state, which is now seen to be collapsing, *Mördare utan ansikte* and the subsequent novels in the series constitute a foreboding voice in the negotiation of cultural identities that eventually culminates in *Den orolige mannen*. The latter novel is thus a key text in discussing the recent Europeanization of Swedish crime fiction. In many ways Mankell himself can also be regarded as what Hartmut Kaelble has called the new type of 'critical, engaged European intellectual' (Kaelble 2009: 202), often being invited to comment on social and political issues in international media.[7] Indeed, Mankell is commonly considered within Sweden to be *the* most important crime writer after Sjöwall and Wahlöö in more ways than one.

Already in the mid-1990s, the European Commission actively worked to promote a sense of European identity by encouraging radio and television producers to make programs that were attractive to 'a large

European audience'. It was believed that 'such broadcasts … [could] help to develop the sense of belonging to a Community' that, in spite of national differences, had 'a common cultural identity' (Morley and Robins 1995: 3). Although largely having occurred without such explicit political and economic EU incentives, a decade and a half later, crime fiction – not only in terms of radio and television, but also in its literary form – appears to have assumed a similar function in this 'project'. In discussing Sweden and Swedes today, Mankell concludes in *Den orolige mannen* that modern Swedes are, and need to be, Europeans rather than Swedes. The development of new cultural identities in Mankell's novel no longer appears primarily rooted in language, folk culture, and national history, but rather in the emergence of a common European cultural and medial environment. The movement toward a sense of European identity embodied in Mankell's novel is likely to be a contributing factor in the current success of Scandinavian crime fiction in Europe – and perhaps likewise European crime fiction in Scandinavia.

This article focuses accordingly on the depiction and discussion of the conflict between old national identities and the new 'sentiment of Europeanness'. David Morley and Kevin Robins have argued that 'cultural identity must be defined, not by its positive content, but always by its relation to, and differentiation from, other cultural identities' (Morley and Robins 1989: 10; also cf. Katzenstein and Checkel 2009: 224). In particular, I will address how this differentiation between a Swedish and European identity is represented and dealt with in Mankell's *Den orolige mannen*. In the context of this article, the concept of identity primarily signifies cultural identity, that is, an identity that can be ascribed to a group of people rather than primarily to an individual.[8] What is discussed is not Wallander's individual identity per se, but rather the way in which he and the other characters of Mankell's novel represent cultural identities that can be described in terms of being, for example, Swedish or European.

Henning Mankell launched his series featuring Inspector Kurt Wallander in 1991 with the novel *Mördare utan ansikte*, set in the small town of Ystad located on the south coast of Sweden. Previously writing in the genre of the proletarian novel, Mankell had concluded that crime fiction was a better vehicle for reaching a large audience with his

socialist, social criticism (Thomson 2003). In turning to crime fiction as a format for promoting social criticism, Mankell closely followed the pattern set by Sjöwall and Wahlöö. *Mördare utan ansikte* was followed by a further seven novels in the 1990s, as well as a collection of short stories, all featuring Wallander; two more Wallander novels followed in the 2000s, the last being *Den orolige mannen* in 2009. During this time, Mankell also published three crime novels that did not feature Wallander.

The majority of Mankell's crime novels deal in some respect with issues of migration, racism, and the difficulties of multiculturalism.[9] From the very first novel of the Wallander series, Mankell portrays a vulnerable Swedish society in the process of undergoing change, threatened by what Wendy Everett has described as 'the rapidly accelerating transnational environment' (Everett 2005: 13).[10] In a study of *Mördare utan ansikte*, Anna Westerståhl Stenport notes that the novel 'posits Sweden as a recent and uneasy member of a global network of nations open to unwanted large-scale migration' (Westerståhl Stenport 2007: 6). Furthermore, Westerståhl Stenport observes that 'porous national borders' are regarded as a major threat in this early Wallander novel, and that 'Sweden's collective mourning for a lost paradise represents that which was never physically graspable or socially retrievable in the first place, the ideological construct of a Swedish nation' (Westerståhl Stenport 2007: 7, 20). The preservation of the (elusive) nation state, its ideologies, and borders thus comes across as still being a relevant project in *Mördare utan ansikte*. Despite its problematic nature, however, Swedish national identity remained so self-evident in the beginning of the 1990s that an alternative, European identity is not conceived of. The Sweden presented in Mankell's early novels is, however, far from an isolated and self-sufficient entity. As Lars Wendelius noted in 1999, Mankell's Sweden 'är ett land där 'världen' ter sig närvarande på ett helt annat sätt än tidigare' (Wendelius 1999: 184) ['is a country where 'the world' seems present in an utterly new way' (my translation)], and this presence is one of the most characteristic features of Sweden as portrayed in the Wallander novels. The problems resulting in the transformation of Swedish society throughout the series are caused, however, by a

combination of national and international developments (Wendelius 1999: 188).

The last installment of the series, *Den orolige mannen*, is Kurt Wallander's farewell to his readers in a most literal sense. There is also a meta-fictional element to the story, as Wallander himself, at the end of the novel, writes down everything that has happened since he started working on the case, thus indicating that he might be the fictional author of the novel (550/362).[11] Wallander is also suffering from the onset of Alzheimer's disease, and, in the final words of the novel, the narrator makes it clear that Wallander will soon be oblivious to the present and live a life relevant only to his daughter and granddaughter – a life not to be depicted in any future novels (555/365). Wallander's 'departure' is Mankell's way of demonstrating that society has undergone a fundamental change in the almost twenty years that have passed since the first novel of the series, and that the rise of a new and different society in turn needs new and different people. Wallander is now depicted as outdated and ready to make room for a new generation.

In *Den orolige mannen*, Wallander spends his time pondering his life and his own advancing age, trying to come to terms with the fact that he has become obsolete in today's society. In this process, he symbolically discards many elements of his old life and begins anew. For example, he leaves the city of Ystad, where he has lived throughout the series, and moves out into the countryside, and he buys a puppy. He realizes that he no longer wants to get back together with his former wife, Mona; that she is a closed chapter of his life even as she now appears to want him back. Furthermore, he says goodbye to his ex-girlfriend, the Latvian Baiba Liepa, who is dying from cancer, and, finally being free from his obsession with Mona, Wallander admits to himself that Baiba was probably the love of his life. Additionally, Wallander becomes a grandfather, and after so many years of having prioritized his work above all else, his relationship with his granddaughter now becomes of paramount importance to him, influencing his decisions and his lack of willingness to take risks, as he wants to make sure that he is around for her as she grows up.

Den orolige mannen is not only a novel about ageing, but also

largely a story about generational shifts. Wallander's generation, the so powerful Swedish generation born in the 1940s, is now losing its dominant position in society.[12] The main mystery of the novel is not the case that Wallander is tasked with investigating in his official capacity as a police officer. Instead, Mankell describes how Wallander privately investigates what has happened to his daughter Linda Wallander's parents-in-law, who have gone missing. The significance of Wallander's pre-occupation with a non-police investigation can be interpreted in two ways: either it shows that the police in general have lost some of their power and prestige and that it is time for a new kind of detective (perhaps someone like Stieg Larsson's Lisbeth Salander), or that, at the very least, the police are becoming a thing of the past in crime fiction. Alternatively, it may simply be a way of showing that Wallander himself no longer has a place in the modern police force; that he is outdated. It could perhaps also be that both interpretations are valid. The thrust is that it might finally be time to leave the police procedural – a genre that has been so dominant in Swedish crime fiction since the mid-1960s – behind. Furthermore, it might also signal that it is time to dispense with the characteristically Swedish detective figure – the lonely, divorced, middle aged, melancholic policeman with health problems – in order to develop and adapt to a new (and in line with the general promotion of European perspectives in the novel, perhaps more European) kind of crime fiction. Accordingly, the title of the novel, *Den orolige mannen* (*The Troubled Man*), not only has double referents – referring to Linda Wallander's missing father-in-law, Håkan von Enke, and to Wallander himself – but also refers to the archetypal character of the fictional Swedish police detective, now found to be in trouble, ready to be substituted.

In a similar fashion to the main investigation of *Den orolige mannen*, the generational shift is also primarily discussed in terms of Kurt Wallander's private life, not his official capacities, and his daughter having a baby is central to these discussions. Throughout the novel, however, the private illustrates more general issues. Already when Linda Wallander reveals to her father that she is pregnant, she chooses to do so in a place loaded with symbolic meaning. It is explained twice that Linda tells Wallander about the baby on the very same beach

where Wallander, during a case in one of the early novels, *Hundarna i Riga* (1992; *The Dogs of Riga*, 2001), found two dead Latvian men in a stranded life raft. His discovery of the bodies awoke in Wallander the realization that there was another world out there, on the other side of the Baltic Sea (Mankell *Orolige mannen* 29–33, 283/*Troubled Man* 12–14, 183). This was an important turning point in Wallander's life, and it can be interpreted as the point in time when his previously nationally confined perspectives were shown to be no longer sufficient. That Linda tells her father about his future grandchild in this specific place thus marks the shift of the generations as well as a shift in worldviews. Throughout *Den orolige mannen* it is further stressed that the newer generations, representing as they do the future, are more important than the older ones (see for example 550/362). In *Den orolige mannen*, the limitations of Wallander's Sweden-centric perspective are reinforced by the depiction of a younger generation who are not constrained by this perspective. For example, Hans von Enke, the father of Linda Wallander's baby, works in a financial institute in Copenhagen, dealing with international finance and working on a daily basis with people of many nationalities. This modern profession and working environment is one that is extremely alien to Wallander. Nevertheless, Wallander himself now moves (almost) naturally through different countries and cultures. He travels to Skagen in Denmark whenever he feels the need for some peace and quiet; he drives down to Berlin in order to meet a man who might know something about the case at hand; and he travels to a funeral in Riga – just as easily as he drives to Stockholm or to the Swedish east coast on other occasions. Still, however, there is a significant difference between Kurt Wallander and Hans von Enke, as Wallander continuously compares his foreign experiences to Sweden, thus underlining his Swedish national identity.

An important part of Wallander's path to coming to terms with his life and ageing is his pondering over old memories, a literary device that simultaneously enables Mankell's readers to recall the earlier novels in the series. Wallander's reminiscences lead him to find out what has become of his classmates from school, and he also revisits his childhood home. The small apartment building of his youth is now mostly inhabited by immigrants, and Wallander concludes that he

himself lived there in 'en annan värld, i en annan tid' (449) ['another world, another time' (292)], thus underscoring the change Sweden has gone through during his lifetime. A man now living in the building explains to Wallander: 'Det är ett bra hus … Vi trivs här, barnen trivs. Man behöver inte känna sig rädd' (449) ['This is a nice house … We like it here; the children like it. We don't have to feel afraid' (292)]. Furthermore, seeing the immigrants now so at home in the house where he grew up renders the internationalization of Swedish society since Wallander's childhood all the more visible to him, as well as to the reader.

Aside from ageing and generational shifts, a central theme in the novel is the Cold War and Sweden's position in relation to the Soviet Union and the United States. Linda Wallander's father-in-law, former military and submarine captain Håkan von Enke, discovered his purpose in life when he witnessed the building of the Berlin Wall. From this point on, he had dedicated himself to the cause of freedom, as he saw it, by working for the Swedish military (132–34/81–82). Belonging to a generation slightly younger than that of von Enke, for Wallander the Cold War has never been a tangible reality, and instead his life and identity have been firmly shaped by and grounded in the local and Swedish. Over the course of his life, Wallander has only seldom been concerned with keeping up to date with the political dilemmas of the Cold War, or with other international political issues. For the most part, he had settled for being 'Swedish,' not bothering to keep abreast of events originating further afield unless they had ramifications on his doorstep. After hearing about von Enke's Berlin experience, however, Wallander is said to still search for 'den Berlinmur som inte fanns' (136) ['the Berlin Wall that didn't exist' (83)], implying that in post-Cold War Europe, Wallander has not found a true purpose in life. He continues in vain, however, to search for such a purpose. The difference between Wallander's generation and the Cold War generation is further illustrated by the contrast between Wallander and a former ex-Stasi officer from East Germany now living in Sweden, an old man whom Wallander has known for many years. Despite their long acquaintanceship, Wallander notes that to him this man 'var i grunden … en helt främmande människa' (297) ['was still at his core a complete

stranger' (192)]. This illustrates the generational gap between the two men, but, more importantly, it signals a difference between them based on their respective nationalities and the different experiences and cultural identities these nationalities entail.

In contrast to Håkan von Enke's experiences of the Berlin Wall being built, Linda Wallander highlights the generational gap by claiming that her primary memories of the Wall are from when it was torn down (324/209). This being a moment commonly regarded as the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the 'new Europe,' the point in time where a sense of a new European identity began to develop, marks Linda Wallander as a modern European. As Zygmunt Bauman argues, 'shared 'communal' identities are by-products of feverish boundary-drawing' (Bauman 2001: 481); that is, cultural identities can only be developed *after* a common boundary is outlined, in this case after the 'new Europe' is united.[13] Only then are 'the myths of … [the borders'] antiquity … spun and the fresh, cultural/political origins of identity are carefully covered up by the genesis stories' (Bauman 2001: 481–2).

To Linda Wallander, an interest and engagement in international politics is something fundamental (Mankell *Orolige mannen* 584/ *Troubled Man* 360–61). Being a teenager in the 1980s, she is part of and at home in the new Europe in a way her father could never be, and in due course, her daughter will likely come to adopt an even stronger European identity. Westerståhl Stenport notes that already in *Mördare utan ansikte* it is stressed that Linda, 'unlike [Kurt] Wallander or his father, has traveled around the world and actively engages with people and experiences the novel construes as foreign' (Westerståhl Stenport 2007: 11). Westerståhl Stenport also points to Kurt Wallander as 'the generational center' of the novel's discussion concerning immigration and relations to the Other, 'mediating between his traditional father and progressive daughter' (11). In *Den orolige mannen*, Kurt Wallander's father is only part of the equation in terms of Kurt Wallander's fear of turning into his father (whom Kurt regards as the opposite of everything he himself aspires to be). Instead, it is now Kurt Wallander who is portrayed as outdated – an anachronism – when compared to his daughter and granddaughter.

Nevertheless, Kurt Wallander still has the ambition to be a good

force in the world, just like the missing Håkan von Enke. This shows that despite Wallander's point of reference being primarily national, his ambitions, at least, transcend this 'narrow' perspective. However, his 'national' identity and the limitations it entails prevent him from really accomplishing anything important on a wider scale. The primarily local criminal cases Wallander handles in his capacity as a police officer during the novel further illustrate this, and when he eventually solves the disappearance of Linda Wallander's in-laws, he refrains from revealing his findings to the world, or even to his family. That he does not do so further emphasizes that the events related to the Cold War belong to the past – something that ought to be buried with the war generation. The case also contains so many loose ends that it can be questioned whether Wallander actually solves it, or whether the case just 'dies': 'De döda hade tagit sina hemligheter med sig) (552) ['The dead had taken their secrets with them' (363)].

Den orolige mannen can be considered to be Wallander's self-penned testament to his life (550/362). Simultaneously, the novel constitutes an epilogue to the Wallander series and the image of Swedish identity the series reflects, anticipates, and to some extent also contributes to shaping. Furthermore, *Den orolige mannen* brings the leitmotifs of the earlier Wallander novels to a conclusion: namely, the ushering in of a new era, one that had so often been feared by Wallander. In 2006, Slavoj Žižek argued that 'The Other of today's World History, poor Third World countries, is … inscribed into the universe of the Wallander novels … as the distant Absent Cause' (Žižek 2006: 128).[14] In 2008, Andrew Nestingen similarly argued that 'Mankell avers that solidarity is the only attitude that can foster the ethical relationships necessary for resisting and reforming the unjust dynamics of economic globalization that ties together Sweden and Mozambique, Euro-America and the Third World' (Nestingen 2008: 230).[15] However, the Third World Other is absent from *Den orolige mannen*; it is even missing as an 'Absent Cause.' Instead, the narrative explores the relationship between Sweden and Europe, and in place of feeling solidarity with the Other, Mankell lets his younger generation of fictional Swedes *become* Europeans. Unlike the ideas of cultural imperialism put forward inter alia by Edward Said (passim), the development in Mankell's novel of an identity that

is no longer primarily national is a phenomenon that cannot mainly be ascribed to the pressure of a European cultural or political power. The motion toward a European cultural identity is rather developed from within and from below. Swedes becoming 'European' is implicitly presented in *Den orolige mannen* as a result of them travelling more, of working environments becoming more international in all senses, and of culture being produced and consumed with no regard for national borders.[16] This type of 'lived and often unreflected identification with a way of life rather than a self-consciously adopted political program' is something that Hartmut Kaelble sees as having increased in Europe in general since the 1980s (Kaelble 2009: 203–4). However, Kaelble also repeatedly refers to studies showing that Sweden is a European Union member with one of the weakest identifications with Europe, something that makes Mankell's promotion of a European identity in *Den orolige mannen* even more intriguing (Kaelble 2009: 205, 209).[17]

When national identities are discussed, they are generally outlined in contrast to 'the Other, the unknown, and the foreign' (Everett 2005: 10). Shane McCorristine claims that up until the short story collection *Pyramiden* (1999; *The Pyramid*, 2008), 'threats to notions of a secure Swedish identity' in the Wallander series are 'always linked to specters of the Other' (McCorristine 2011: 78). Furthermore, as McCorristine notes, 'Mankell's major concern at the outset of this project was to highlight the alarming rise in racism, xenophobia and anti-immigration feeling in Sweden' (McCorristine 2011: 78). In *Den orolige mannen*, however, the Other – an otherwise very common figure throughout Mankell's oeuvre – is transformed into a character of the past, in particular of the Cold War era.[18] The only contemporary non-native Swedes mentioned are the assimilated immigrants living in Wallander's childhood home. They have turned into typical middle class Swedes, the 'replacement Wallanders,' sharing Wallander's values and fears, and appreciating the safeness of the house and neighborhood (449/191–2). They have thus ceased to be Other. As Mankell contrasts the new European identity against the old Swedish identity, interestingly enough Wallander himself can be considered to be the Other of the equation, as he is now obsolete in relation to the younger generations of Europeans. This further illustrates that Swedish national identity is

regarded as something of the past.

As initially claimed, the development of cultural identities in *Den orolige mannen* does not appear primarily rooted in language, folk culture, and national history – three factors often regarded as important for the development of a collective imagining of cultural, and in particular national, communities.[19] On the contrary, the trans-national, European identity outlined in this novel is shown to be independent of these factors. Language barriers are no longer considered an issue when English is the *lingua franca* mastered by all. Folk culture is only represented in the novel by the Wallander family's Midsummer celebration, but the primary focus of the depiction of this event is Wallander's ex-wife getting too drunk and starting a fight, resulting in the party coming to an impromptu end. There is thus nothing in this Swedish tradition that can be regarded as a uniting factor. Rather, the Midsummer celebration is depicted as little more than an old tradition of bringing together people who are better off apart – and thus not much of a foundation for a national identity.

How, then, does the novel deal with national history? History in the novel primarily concerns the history of the Cold War, a history that can hardly be considered national. Instead, it is repeatedly pointed out how Sweden was just a playground of the superpowers. Furthermore, this is stressed to be true for major parts of Europe – the commonality of experience underscoring the identification rather than differentiation between Swedes and other Europeans. In Mankell's novel, the Cold War thus contributes to the presentation of Europe today as a unified cultural space, characterized by its expanding Eastern and Western borders rather than divided by specific national borders. In other words, national historical differences are largely insignificant in relation to the master narrative of the Cold War, thereby creating a framework for seeing similarities within Europe rather than national differences. Jean-William Lapierre argues that 'collective identity relates to a collective memory through which the contemporary group recognizes itself through a common past, remembrance, commemoration, interpretation and reinterpretation' (quoted by Schlesinger 1987: 235).[20] The shared memory of the Cold War past can thus contribute to the establishment of a collective, European, identity.[21] That this

transformation of identities is not only a Swedish phenomenon is also illustrated in *Den orolige mannen* when Wallander, in returning to Riga after an absence of many years, realizes that the biggest change there is in the people (390/251).[22] It is perhaps also the case that they are becoming more European.

In discussing ways of identifying with Europe since the late eighteenth century, in particular since the 'politicization' of the European Union in the 1980s and 1990s, Hartmut Kaelble points to several different variations of identification with Europe (Kaelble 2009: 198–210). He also notes the claim of some scholars that every country has its own distinct way of identifying with Europe, 'based on its specific national experiences … [and] values' (Kaelble 2009: 202). Furthermore, Kaelble stresses that identification with Europe does not exclude simultaneously identifying with, for example, a nation and/or region, and that such multiple cultural identities are quite common today (Kaelble 2009: 208). One type of particularly strong identification with Europe today is identification with its 'internal diversity,' where the 'interest in and tolerance of the different 'other,' and a culture of individualism of persons and collectives, is seen as one of Europe's greatest achievements, worthy of full identification'. Kaelble warns, however, that this type of identification sometimes 'tends towards Euro-centrism' (Kaelble 2009: 201–03, quotes from 201). The European identity promoted in *Den orolige mannen* is clearly a version of this identification with a Europe characterized by diversity. That notwithstanding, on the whole European identity is presented by Mankell as a substitute identity – not one that can reciprocally co-exist in Sweden alongside national and regional identities. On the contrary, Wallander's national perspective is presented as outdated, marked by his inability to 'become' European in the way the younger generations can.[23]

In 1965, in the novel *Roseanna,* Sjöwall and Wahlöö portrayed Sweden as a functioning welfare state, albeit not without its problems. By the end of the series in 1975, however, in the novel *Terroristerna* (*The Terrorists*), Sweden is described as a welfare state that has been completely ruined and corrupted by capitalism: there is nothing left of the good welfare society that was firmly established in Sweden after

the Second World War. In 1991, in *Mördare utan ansikte*, Mankell depicts a Sweden that is in the process of undergoing change, and Wallander repeatedly claims to feel lost in his own country, a Sweden that is turning into something he no longer recognizes.[24] The novel also explores and 'highlight[s] the opposition between 'Swedes' and 'foreigners,'' thus stressing the difference between a Swedish national identity and people with roots outside of Sweden's national borders (Westerståhl Stenport 2007: 15). Westerståhl Stenport further notes that *Mördare utan ansikte* depicts a world that is already globalized, 'where old rules about national identities' have ceased to be valid (17). This is, however, a world that comes across as strange and difficult to grasp, and in *Mördare utan ansikte* Wallander is still far from ready to accept the change: he still lives 'i en annan, gammal värld' (254) ['in another, older world' (231)]. Nevertheless, as Nestingen pointed out in 2008, 'Mankell's novels do not position Wallander and the Other on opposite sides of an irreparable split. Rather they are inextricably and ambivalently entangled' (Nestingen 2008: 252). This entanglement is explored throughout the series, and when Mankell concluded the last installment with *Den orolige mannen* in 2009, he shows the process of transformation to have been completed: Sweden is now primarily a part of Europe, rather than a nation state in its own right, exemplified by Wallander's depiction as outdated and by the promotion of a European identity. His succumbing to Alzheimer's disease not only symbolically heralds the end of the Wallander series and that of the traditional Swedish police detective, but also marks the end of Swedish national identity. Mankell thus prescribes that it is now time for a new European generation to take its place within the ranks of crime detectives and the general public at large – both in the fictional and real world, something which Swedish crime fiction has begun to explore in the last few years. These new 'European' crime novels further explore the concept of European identity, and envision a common Europe beyond its division into nation states.[25] Europeanization is often perceived as 'a threat to national identity' (Holmes and Murray 1999: 4). In *Den orolige mannen*, on the other hand, Mankell presents this 'threat' and Europeanization in general as something positive, and in so doing, he simultaneously points out the direction for Swedish crime fiction to

take in the years to come.

It thus begs the question whether in reality all Swedes are becoming – or will soon become – European in the sense outlined in Mankell's novel? Furthermore, we might ask whether *Den orolige mannen* illustrates that Europe has actually moved – or is in the process of moving – in the direction desired by the European Community in the mid-1990s? There is no clear answer. Statistics illustrate that while a little over fifty percent of European citizens *do* identify themselves as Europeans, in Sweden the corresponding figure is much lower (Kaelble 2009: 205). It can be surmised, however, as Mankell suggests, that many Swedes of the younger generations do or will at least soon identify themselves as Europeans. Zygmunt Bauman proposes that 'instead of talking about identities, inherited or acquired, it would be more in keeping with the realities of the globalizing world to speak of *identification*, a never-ending, always incomplete, unfinished and open-ended activity in which we all, by necessity or by choice, are engaged' (Bauman 2001: 482). In line with this, Martin Kohli stresses that in 'modern democratic polities, citizens do well to conceive of their loyalties not as natural and boundless but as reflexive and conditional' (Kohli 2000: 119). Leslie Holmes and Philomena Murray ask 'whether or not a European identity can be compatible with the maintenance of national and regional identities.' Either way, they also conclude, 'the concept of multiple identities has become increasingly pertinent at the end of the 20th century' (Holmes and Murray 1999: 8). Identity politics continues to be a salient issue in Europe also in the new millennium. In spite of the terminological issue, Stewart Hall points out that identities are 'constructed within, not outside representation' (Hall 1996: 4), and in the 'Afterword' to *Den orolige mannen*, Mankell states: 'Jag, som de flesta andra författare, skriver för att världen på något sätt ska bli mer begriplig. Där kan fiktionen ibland vara den dokumentära realismen överlägsen' (557) ['Like most other authors, I write in order to try to make the world more understandable. In that respect fiction can be superior to factual realism' (367)]. Assuming Hall and Mankell are both right, crime fiction – read by more people today than any other literary genre – should be a good place to start looking for and attempting to understand past, current and future cultural identities.

Endnotes

[1] This is of course not solely a feature of Swedish crime fiction, but prevalent in many forms of cultural expression in Europe. For example, most of the themes and motifs in contemporary European cinema that Aitkin identifies are related to some degree to issues concerning national and supra-national identities (Aitkin 2005: 82).

[2] For a more extensive discussion of the relationship between popular fiction, identity and social change, see Nestingen 2008: 4–7.

[3] In recent decades, the increasing importance of the EU has contributed to making 'Europe' as an entity – geographical as well as political, and not only including the EU states – more prominent in the public consciousness. When Europe and Europeanization are referred to in this article, it is this wider (and somewhat more vaguely defined) entity that is referred to.

[4] For a substantial English introduction to Sjöwall and Wahlöö's novels, see Winston and Mellerski 1992: 16–51.

[5] Tapper (2011) traces the tradition from Sjöwall/Wahlöö onward, and Bergman (2011b) outlines the neo-romantic tradition. Žižek (2011) has argued that the very focus on local setting in contemporary crime fiction is also a reaction to political world developments: 'The main effect of globalization on the detective fiction is discernable in its dialectic counterpart: the powerful reemergence of a specific *locale* as the story's setting – a particular provincial environment'.

[6] Taking Mankell's crime fiction as a point of departure, it would of course be possible to talk about globalization rather than Europeanization, but there are two important reasons why it still makes more sense to talk about a current Europeanization of Swedish crime fiction. First, while Mankell's fiction in general tends toward global issues, *Den orolige mannen* discusses European, not global, identities. Second, other Swedish crime novels from recent years that engage with events beyond Sweden's borders are primarily focused on Europe, and Mankell's often global focus can be seen as an exception (another interesting exception is Karin Alfredsson). Furthermore, the concept of globalization is in itself intrinsically problematic (see for example Galtung 2001, passim).

[7] Mankell's role as an intellectual will not be further discussed here, but the issue is addressed for example by Nestingen (2008: 223–25) and Bergman (2010: 337).

[8] The type of collective identities discussed here can be categorized as cultural identities that combine a 'territorial reference with ethnic, cultural, economic, and legal-political components' and that are implicitly or explicitly 'experienced and expressed by the individual' (Kohli 2000: 117, 122).

[9] In 2005, Everett identified 'issues of exile and emigration … the experiences of the migrant, and the profound cultural changes that mark the continent's shift to a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society' as being an increasing obsession also in contemporary European film (9). Mankell's literary oeuvre can thus be considered part of a larger tendency in European culture around the turn of the century.

[10] Referring to Aitkin in the same volume, Everett primarily considers countries previously dominated by other countries/powers; countries that might now

regard Europe as a less threatening alternative. In Mankell's novels, the 'rapidly accelerating transnational environment' is represented primarily by issues related to immigration, while in other contemporary Swedish crime fiction novels, organized crime, trafficking, and internet crime are at least as prevalent (Bergman 2011a: 48).

[11] Subsequently, page numbers to both the Swedish original and the English translation will be given within parentheses in the text.

[12] The Swedish generation of baby boomers born after the Second World War enjoyed favorable circumstances, becoming prosperous and influential in most areas of Swedish society. With this generation reaching retirement age, a significant generational shift is taking place in both the private and public sector in Sweden.

[13] The European Union was formally established in 1993 out of several predecessors dating back to the late 1950s. It was the fall of the Berlin Wall, symbolizing the uniting of Eastern and Western Europe, that enabled the expansion of the EU into the political and economic union we know today.

[14] This argument was made before the publication of *Den orolige mannen* in 2009 (the English translation was published in 2011).

[15] Nestingen also disagrees with Žižek, stressing that 'the Other is always *present* in Mankell's crime novels, and Wallander is transformatively entangled with Others' (Nestingen 2008: 252, my emphasis). The concept of 'solidarity' that Nestingen associates with Mankell appears to be very similar to what Featherstone (2001: 524–26) discusses as 'identification with humanity'. Holmes and Murray also describe an analogous phenomenon when they talk about 'the greater tolerance of 'other' – indeed the deconstruction of the very concepts of 'them' and 'us' – that is often taken as a key dimension of post-modern societies' (1999: 7).

[16] This could be described in terms of the 'flow,' often associated with globalization: 'The concept of flow points to movement, mobility, to the speed, volume and intensity of interchanges in a globalizing world. The implication for social and cultural life is that the intensity of global flows help to establish new connections and patterns of association and social relationships, along with new modes of identification' (Featherstone 2001: 501–02). Kaelble also notes that 'cross-border travel, study, marriage, work, and retirement have enormously enhanced direct, personal experiences with the lifestyles of other European countries. Although such international exposure is not limited to Europe, it tends to take place mostly between European countries' (2009: 204–05). Many of these things have of course been enabled by the EU as a European political power, as political and economic integration spills over into cultural integration.

[17] In 2000, Kohli also noted that the Scandinavian countries in general display 'particularly low levels of European identification' (123).

[18] The role of the Other in Mankell's fiction is addressed by for example Nestingen (2008: 228–32, 249–52), Westerståhl Stenport (2007: 6), Bergman (2010, passim), and McCorristine (2011: 77–81 and passim).

[19] Scholars often regard the development of the modern nation-state – enabled by, among other factors, capitalism and advances in print technology – as crucial for the establishment of this type of collective imagining. (cf. Anderson

2006).

[20] Everett also stresses that the European nations are connected by 'a shared history and common cultural traditions, and while the individual viewpoints of specific social and national groups may well be at variance, nevertheless they are looking at the same cultural and historical reference points' (Everett 2005: 7–8).

[21] In 2009, Kaelble argued that in Europe today, 'The impact of experience and memory of war and war propaganda has gradually eroded,' and that this erosion actually promotes 'confidence in other European countries' (Kaelble 2009: 205). Simultaneously, however, he also regards 'the loss of the Soviet Union/Russia as an alien and menacing 'other'' at the end of the Cold War as one of the reasons for the still relatively weak identification with Europe today (Kaelble 2009: 207).

[22] There is a striking contrast between the passive and desolate Latvian landscape described in *Hundarna i Riga* (1992) – a scenery that Wallander feels expresses 'en avvisande tomhet som nådde långt bortom allt han tidigare hade kunnat föreställa sig' (107) ['a desolation that was beyond anything he'd ever imagined' (105)] – and the vibrant Riga described a decade and a half later in *Den orolige mannen*. Then Wallander observes 'människorna på gatorna, deras kläder, och bilarna som trängdes vid stoppljus och vid avfarter till central belägna parkeringsplatser' (390) ['the large number of people in the streets, their clothes, and the cars lining up at red lights and at turn-offs to centrally located car parks' (251)].

[23] Kaelble suggests that it is more common today that identification with Europe coincides with a national identification, and that 'confidence in one's own country tends to correlate positively with confidence in other European countries' (Kaelble 2009: 204, quote from note 4).

[24] Nestingen notes that 'by connecting the crimes to the nation state,' Mankell increases the level of drama in his novels (Nestingen 2011: 177).

[25] Some representative examples are Arne Dahl's *Viskleken* (2011) and Liza Marklund's *Du gamla, du fria* (2011).

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