

Porous Borders

Crossing the Boundaries to 'Eastern Europe' in Scandinavian Crime Fiction

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Abstract

In Scandinavian crime fiction, an implicit dynamics is noticeable between the adjacent worlds: Scandinavia and 'Eastern Europe'. The author of the article approaches their relation using the two interrelated concepts of *border* and *boundary* (Casey, 2011). While borders are fixed and established by conventional agreements, boundaries are natural, perforated, and undermine the impenetrability of the border. Accordingly, two main strands are discernible within the representations of 'Eastern Europe' in Scandinavian crime fiction: a 'border perspective' and a 'boundary perspective'. The first strand is rooted in the old world with pronounced national divisions, while the other anticipates a globalised world, involving a dynamic view of the relation between the neighbours across the Baltic. As the article attempts to demonstrate, the *border/boundary* distinction can be fruitfully applied to the analysis of the Scandinavian discourse on 'Eastern Europe' with all its implications.

Keywords border/boundary, Scandinavian crime fiction, 'Eastern Europe', adjacency, suppression, neighbour.

The drama of crossing borders

The acts of crossing borders between 'Eastern Europe'¹ and Scandinavia are typically represented as accompanied by strong affect and fear – especially in crime fiction. Two episodes from the novels discussed below are striking in this respect. In the Swedish author Henning Mankell's *Hundarna i Riga / The Dogs of Riga* (1992), Kurt Wallander's illegal crossing of the border between Lithuania and Latvia under cover of night serves as a point of no return in the fabula. Having earlier crossed several other borders (German-Polish, Polish-Lithuanian), Wallander perceives the whole travel as a trip deeper and deeper into the heart of darkness. His thoughts are narrated as follows:

The border was invisible. It was there nevertheless, inside him, like a coil of barbed wire, just under his breastbone. Kurt Wallander was scared. He would look back on the final steps he took on Lithuanian soil to the Latvian border as a crippling trek towards a country from where he would find himself shouting Dante's words: Abandon hope, all ye who enter here! (Mankell, 2012, p. 251)

In the Danish writer Leif Davidsen's *Den russiske sangerinde / The Russian Singer* (1988), the climax scene at the end of the novel reads as follows:

We drove down toward the last frontier gate and stopped sixty feet before it. [...] [An officer] stepped out in the middle of the road and released the safety catch of his machine gun. The gate stayed down. [...] The general's long tentacles reached all the way into the KGB's frontier corps, I realized in one absurd second, just before I stepped hard on the gas. It was like a film that ran too fast, and yet it was in slow motion. Then time stood still as I saw one half of the officer's head disappear in a cloud of blood before he was hurled along the road. [...] I let all the horsepower of the Volvo set off with a roar, crashing through the gate into Finland. [...] The guests of the cafeteria were sitting outside at white tables in the mild summer morning. (Davidsen, 1991, pp. 274-5)

The two excerpts provide typical examples of both affective and narrative dramatisation of border crossing, indicating the significance attached to borders separating Eastern Europe and Scandinavia. They represent borders between two utterly different worlds: the civilised and uncivilised, safe and dangerous, visible and invisible, known and unknown (Wolff, 1994). Indeed, crossing the border to the 'other' world feels so strange that it can only be compared to literature (Mankell) or an action movie (Davidsen). The border represents an ultimate edge of 'our' world and experience. At the same time, however, it implies that the two worlds are adjacent. In other words, they are neighbours.

This article argues that within Scandinavian crime fiction an implicit dynamics exists between the two adjacent worlds: Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, and that this dynamics can be understood by using two interrelated concepts of 'border' and 'boundary'. With their help, I will distinguish two central strands within representations of Eastern Europe in Scandinavian crime novels: a 'border perspective' and a 'boundary perspective'. The first one is rooted in the old world with pronounced national divisions, while the other anticipates a globalised world with the question of borders at stake.

The examples derive from *The Dogs of Riga*, Mankell's second novel in his Kurt Wallander police procedural series, and Davidsen's political thriller *The Russian Singer*, the opening part of the so-called Russian tetralogy (recently expanded to pentalogy).² Both novels were written around the time of the political reorientation of 1989/91 in Europe. While they have a lot in common regarding the importance attached to the Scandinavian-East European border, they also manifest meaningful differences. Whereas Mankell questions the fixed status of the border between the two neighbours, due to which his book can be perceived as representing the emergence of a new discourse on Eastern Europe in Scandinavia, Davidsen reproduces a familiar discourse known from the Enlightenment (Wolff, 1994), as well as from 19th century and the Cold War. Despite the fact that the entire Russian series was written after 1989, with the exception of *The Russian Singer*, they all, even the most recent (Davidsen, 2013), reproduce a similar discourse.

As many scholars observed, place has gained increased significance in Scandinavian crime fiction in the post-Cold War period. Globalisation and regionalisation have created 'new ties between

places, undermining, for example, distinctions between national identities' (Nestingen and Arvas, 2011, p. 11). Reflecting on place in the Kurt Wallander series, Paula Arvas and Andrew Nestingen, along with Shane McCorristine, note: 'the series' pessimistic tone is created by continually undermining certainties about the relations constituting place. The place of Others, the place of Sweden and the place of Wallander are [...] haunted by the fluidity [...] which makes securing a stable orientation impossible' (Nestingen and Arvas, 2011, p. 11).

Borders and boundaries

No place is separate from its constituting element: the outer and inner borders. The ways the outer limits of Eastern Europe are represented in the two novels vary significantly. In *The Russian Singer*, the Soviet Union and Scandinavia (Norden) are staged as two disjointed systems with only spare interconnections. Davidsen's protagonist, Jack Andersen, represents a one-dimensional, non-evolving view on Russia. In Mankell's novel, Kurt Wallander, 'an agent of the very establishment targeted for criticism' (McCorristine, 2011, p. 78), represents an example of the opposite. In a xenophobic fashion, he wishes to separate the two spaces but gradually realises that their interconnectedness is impossible to suppress. As the story unfolds, the presence of the 'other' space is made increasingly manifest within Wallander's own world (Sweden), not only on 'the other side of the Baltic' (Mankell, 2012, p. 46).

In his research on different types of edges in human experience, the American philosopher Edward S. Casey distinguishes between *borders* and *boundaries*. While borders are established by conventional agreements and emerge as a product of human history, boundaries are paradigmatically natural and perforated, allowing for the border to breathe (Casey, 2011, p. 388); while borders are fixed and can be measured, boundaries allow negotiation. However, as Casey emphasises, we cannot think about the edge in terms of 'either...or'. *Border* and *boundary* are two aspects of the same edge, even though they belong to ontologically different dimensions (Casey, 2011, p. 395). What is more, '*borders are always already in the process of becoming boundaries*' (Casey, 2011, p. 393, original emphasis).

It is noteworthy that Wallander crosses the border to Latvia during night, while Jack Andersen forces his car through the gate to

Finland in the daylight. If we relate Casey's border/boundary distinction to the differentiation made by the French anthropologist Gilbert Durand between the diurnal and nocturnal regimes of representation (Durand, 2002), then *border* can be thought of as 'diurnal', that is, belonging to the day, ruled by the rational, the solid and the rigid, pointing to division and separation. *Boundary*, on the other hand, represents the opposite: a 'nocturnal regime' characterised by fluidity, elusiveness and a porous structure, inviting disturbing and subversive elements. In Durand's model (elaborated, worth noticing, around 1960, still before the feminist turn in the humanities), the configuration is gendered: while the diurnal is ruled by active male subjects, the nocturnal is inhabited by female, passive objects (Chambers, 2001, p. 104). The relation is thus hierarchical. In the discussed novels, a striking dependency emerges between border/boundary dynamics and gender dynamics.

The spatial and temporal constellation in Mankell's novel, partly set in Ystad, a small town at the southern coast of Sweden, and partly in Riga, in February 1991, the Berlin wall having already 'fallen', but the destiny of the Baltic countries still unknown, carries an important message. As the Swedish author Mariah Larsson notes, 'Sweden's relation to the Baltic states as well as the Soviet Union is complex and problematic. Historically, a large portion of the Swedish colonial expansion project stretched to the east, and during the Cold War, Sweden as a neutral "middle way" nation was not only geographically but also ideologically located in between NATO and the Warsaw pact' (Larsson, 2010, p. 33). According to Larsson, these facts triggered 'a national anxiety interspersed with a vague sense of guilt' (Larsson, 2010, p. 22). Sweden's constant oscillation between East and West and their official neutrality policy impelled the authorities to turn a blind eye to the oppression of their Baltic neighbours by the Soviets. Another reason was the safety of the extensive Latvian and Estonian minorities, mainly refugees from the time of WW2, threatened by 'repatriation' to the USSR (Lundén and Nilsson, 2006, p. 4).

In Mankell's novel, the Baltic Sea acquires a metaphorical dimension – it is a boundary by its very nature; its fluency and porosity disseminate to the plot construction and relations between the actors; they also affect Wallander's perception of reality. Shortly after a life-raft with two Russian corpses reaches the Swedish coast – an

event that commences the criminal plot – the Baltic becomes the subject of inspector Kurt Wallander’s frequent reflections, eventually forcing him to re-evaluate Sweden’s – and his own – position in the surrounding world. The Baltic’s fluent nature allows for the boundary-aspect to dominate the fixity of the political border. It lets ‘other’ elements through – such as the dead Russians. The sea connotes *both* adjacency, which raises Wallander’s fear, *and* an ostensibly safe distance. This ambivalent perception of the Baltic – as both an imagined protective moat and the place of an unidentified danger originating from the East – corresponds to discourses present in Swedish politics in the earlier decades of the Cold War (af Malmberg, 2001, p. 159). Wallander, who embodies the ambiguity of growing xenophobia, on the one hand, and Swedish moral conscience, on the other (McCorristine, 2011, p. 78), wishes borders to be borders (and not boundaries). However, as the plot unfolds, his hope of staying safely isolated and uninvolved fades. The process includes Wallander becoming gradually aware of gaps in his knowledge regarding the history Sweden shares with its Latvian neighbour. He learns, for instance, about the existence of the Latvian minority in Sweden. The ambiguity of attraction and fear to what is on the ‘other’ shore of the Baltic reaches its climax when Wallander travels to Latvia illegally in the second part of the novel – thus allowing for the boundary to take command over border and, moreover, reversing the traditional direction of illegal movement.

What happens, then, after Wallander has illegally crossed the border? First of all, he loses his firm position as a subject in narrative terms, instead becoming a helper. The process comprises a meaningful reversal regarding both national and gender roles: the main Latvian female character, Baiba, the widow of a murdered dissident (major Liepa), becomes the *subject*, while Wallander turns – at least briefly – into an *object* of internal play between Latvian dissidents and the pro-Soviet authorities. The aim is to get hold of major Liepa’s secret report before the pro-Soviet police find it. Meanwhile, Wallander falls in love with Baiba, who rejects him. In contrast to Davidsen’s novels in which traditionally understood gender roles are strongly represented, in Mankell, these roles are challenged. Baiba embodies separation and difference, while Wallander reorients his attitude towards the scenarios of the nocturnal: involvement and connection across national,

cultural and gender divisions. In the end, he realises how difficult they are to enact.

Using A.J. Greimas' narratological term, both the political situation in Latvia and Baiba become Wallander's destinators, a role belonging to the Swedish police and authorities in the first part of the novel (Stjernfelt, 2003, p. 138). Simultaneously, Wallander's position changes from being an ordinary Swedish policeman to Baiba's and the dissidents' private detective. A detective typically transgresses the average, norms and codes governing the police, and accordingly, does not work 'by the book' (Stjernfelt, 2003, p. 141). 'Average' can here mean both Swedish and Soviet standards. Wallander's transnational encounter, his 'boundary experience', opens his eyes to the relativity of such apparently neutral dimensions as law or police investigation rules. Paradoxically, during the Swedish part of the investigation, Wallander is impelled to act according to the Soviet destinator (whose 'middlemen' are the Swedish diplomats fearing that the 'Latvian case' can bring political discord), while when in Latvia, his acts are guided by the anti-Soviet destinators. Thereby, Mankell brings paradoxes into focus: the contrast between Sweden and Latvia is less clear than it might seem at first. At least it rests upon other factors than the trite visible/invisible, civilised/uncivilised, secure/insecure binaries. In Sweden, the lack of transparency is hidden, while in Latvia it is a self-evident condition; in Latvia, insecurity is obvious, while Swedes 'have been lulled into a false sense of security' (McCorristine, 2011, p. 78).

As Charity Scribner observed, the disintegration of Eastern Bloc socialist countries 'prompted comparisons to the exhausted welfare states of the West' (Scribner, 2003, p. 64). Wallander's meeting with Latvia makes him disillusioned about *Folkhemmet* (People's Home), the ideal of Swedish welfare state defined by social equality and moral decency (Tapper, 2011, p. 22). Unlike in a typical police procedural, Mankell's novel does not serve as a 'comforting reassurance to the reader that there is discipline and justice in society' (Bergman, 2011, p. 35). In Davidsen's *The Russian Singer*, the Danish authorities' acceptance of the Soviet conditions is also approached critically. However, the oppositions are fixed: Russia unchangeably remains dystopian and fascinating, while Denmark is the quiet and rightful welfare state, the place of "Interlude", where the protago-

nist lives peacefully, trying to forget his impeded diplomatic career at the Danish embassy in Moscow.

In Davidsen's novel, the diurnal regime clearly persists. Certainly, the black-and-white reality is partly determined by the political thriller genre, where distinctions between East and West are sharp (Davidsen, 1999, p. 3). Again, the clear-cut divisions relate to the strong position of the subject. Davidsen's hero, unlike Mankell's anti-hero, represents a masculine James Bond-like type, who is well-oriented in international affairs. Equally, the plots and trajectories in Davidsen's novel include dividing and separating (Chambers, 2001, p. 104), which additionally resonate in the borders that can be measured precisely. In *The Russian Singer*, it reads: 'I drove the sixty feet to the small cafeteria [on the Finnish side] and stepped into civilization' (Davidsen, 1991, p. 186). Davidsen's use of the term 'civilization' is supposed to denote a highly developed standard of living, as opposed to the uncivilised, underdeveloped Soviet world. As in Georg Brandes's travelogues, *Indtryk fra Polen / Impressions of Poland* (1888) and *Indtryk fra Rusland / Impressions of Russia* (1888), the border represents the beginning (or end) of the 'other' world – dangerous, invisible, and unknown. Paradoxically, however, the 'other', Eastern Europe, is unchangeably known-and-visible for Davidsen's protagonist. The recognition of the Soviet Union as a criminal place is introduced to the reader from the very beginning. Unlike in *The Dogs of Riga*, in Davidsen's novel Eastern Europe is always already a crime scene – and always already familiar to the main protagonist. The representations of the place are filtered through the authority of the speaker, unmistakably well-informed about the (dystopian) reality he confronts. In other words, the speaker takes the position of a superior subject-in-control, while what is seen in front of him and described becomes positioned as an inferior object. The opening paragraphs of *The Russian Singer*, narrated in first person, introduce the reader to Moscow – or rather, a tiny part of Moscow, limited to what the protagonist can see through his window. However, the description of the Sadovaya street, seen from Jack Andersen's room, quickly turns into a metaphor of the whole city and, finally, the Soviet society and its political situation:

As often before, I was looking down upon the *scarred asphalt* of the Sadovaya, where the frozen mixture of ice,

gravel, and snow looked *like a bandage that should have been changed a long time ago*. The Sadovaya is the ring road that surrounds the center of Moscow like a cigar band. It means the Garden Road, but *like almost everything else in the city, the beautiful name covered an unpleasant reality*. The Soviet Union is a society that distinguishes itself by describing lies as truths and staring them straight in the face before turning its back on them, pretending that they do not exist. [...] A deep-frozen night, when *the dark stillness of Moscow grew even quieter, so that all lonely and unhappy people did not know what to do with themselves; when the choice seemed to be between the bottle and suicide*. It was early January, and the cold cut deeper than the thermometer showed, because it had come from the depths of Siberia surprisingly and suddenly after days of thaw and slush and false promises of impending spring.³ Like many times before, I stood by the window smoking my pipe and looking out over the *lifeless city* [...] Sharp icicles hung *like fangs* along the roofs. (Davidsen, 1991, pp. 3-4, added emphases)

The gaze of the narrator – or rather, his voice and the rhetorical devices such as metaphor, hyperbole or animization (in italics) – transform the view unfolding in front of his eyes into an imaginary spectacle of horror and hopelessness. The aura of the place resides in its imagined, life-threatening danger. Inanimate objects are attributed features of living creatures – and deprived of life again. Thus, the rhetoric enacts stereotype. As the Indian theoretician Homi Bhabha noted, stereotype is the major discursive strategy of fixity, ‘a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and demonic repetition’ (Bhabha, 2004, p. 94). This paradox inherent in stereotype guarantees its currency: it ‘ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures’ (Bhabha, 2004, p. 95).

A striking difference between the two authors lies in that while Davidsen stages the border as constituted by the ‘other’, Soviet side, in *The Dogs of Riga* the border is being established from both sides: the East European as well as the Swedish (the border is ‘inside him’ [Mankell, 2012, p. 251]). While Mankell narratively destabilises the border and gives way to boundary (both thematically by making it

porous and narratively by displacing the protagonist from the subject position), Davidsen establishes a 'regime of antithesis' (Durand, 2002, p. 31). Gender relations only confirm this. As the Spanish scholar Ana Manzanas put it, 'As a representation of the vertical axis, the wall/fence stands as a crucible of power and phallicism' (Manzanas, 2007, p. 11). Unlike in Mankell's novel, where the female Latvian protagonist acts as a subject and destinator, Davidsen's female protagonist, Lilli, functions both as a victim of the Soviet system and as an object of exchange across the border. Thus, Jack will only reveal his secret knowledge to the Soviet authorities on the condition that they let Lilli travel with him to Denmark. Finally, the difference between Mankell and Davidsen rests upon the degree of satisfaction and fulfillment gained by the protagonists, both in sexual and professional terms: while Jack wins Lilli's love and is presented in the Soviet media as a hero, Wallander does not manage to ignite Baiba's feelings, and the Swedish police never learn about his successful performance in Latvia. Wallander gets neither a 'reward' (a woman) nor satisfaction derived from being officially acknowledged for his deeds.

Suppression and change

The 'boundary perspective' in Mankell's novel involves another relevant aspect. Drawing on a spatial metaphor employed by Sigmund Freud (Freud, 2012), I will call it suppression. Suppression related to and exposed by border crossings in *The Dogs of Riga* occurs as an incidental emergence of both geographical and historical issues, encompassing the mentioned 'vague sense of guilt' in relation to the Baltic neighbours (Larsson, 2010, p. 22). Erecting any borders, whether visible walls and fences or invisible political borderlines, involves suppression or disavowal of some kind (Scribner, 2003, pp. 135-36). What distinguishes Mankell's 'boundary perspective' from Davidsen's 'border perspective' is that while the Swedish author makes suppression a subject of reflection, a feature that exceeds the formula of the genre, Davidsen with *The Russian Singer* acts as its agent.

Wallander's growing awareness of the Latvian neighbour's existence on the 'other' shore of the Baltic emerges as a 'side effect' of the investigation he conducts, to begin with officially in Ystad, and later unofficially in Riga. Concurrently, in the fabula Wallander is

clearly opposed to the central Swedish authorities, who – fearing the Soviets – monitor the investigation. Both the authorities and Wallander exhibit suppression towards Sweden’s Baltic neighbours. I will argue, however, that whereas the authorities represent fixity and adjustment, Wallander represents a unit of change, subject to revision and dynamism. Wallander tries to overcome his ignorance and understand the Latvian ‘other’, who knocks on the door of his moral conscience.

The Baltic Sea is directly related to the layer of suppression in the fabula. In the context of what could be called ‘suppression and geography’, I will recall a useful spatial metaphor employed by Freud, where crossing a border (threshold) illustrates the psychological phenomenon of suppression:

We will compare the system of the unconscious to a large *ante-chamber*, in which the psychic impulses rub elbows with one another, as separate beings. There opens out of this ante-chamber another, a smaller room, a sort of *parlor*, which consciousness occupies. But on the *threshold* between the two rooms there stands a *watchman*; he passes on the individual psychic impulses, censors them, and will not let them into the parlor if they do not meet with his approval. (Freud, 2012, p. 256, added emphases)

Freud discusses here the individual psychological process of suppression. However, if we extend the metaphor of an antechamber and a parlour to any kind of two adjacent spaces, separated by a ‘threshold’, that is, a border overseen by a ‘watchman’, where the movement from the ‘antechamber’ to the ‘parlor’ is a strictly controlled process, then it can be fruitfully applied to a literary representation of two neighbouring countries sharing a common history, one having the status of the centre or ‘parlor’, the other of a forgotten periphery or ‘antechamber’. Suppression can be viewed as a cultural phenomenon, related to space, borders and history.

Indeed, already at its very beginning, the novel introduces the reader to an act of suppression, revealing the porous structure of the borderline connected to the prevailing Cold War reality. In chapter one, set on the Baltic Sea, we encounter a Swedish smuggler, an obscure figure who transports goods from Sweden to the (former)

Eastern Germany on his fishing boat. When he discovers a life-raft drifting on the sea with two dead bodies in it, he decides not to take any steps or notify the police – to avoid disclosing his illegal activity. However, nagged by guilt, he finally tows the raft closer to the Swedish coast and sails away. The fact that the attempt of suppression, in other words, pretending that the life-raft was non-existent, takes place on the Baltic Sea, is meaningful – the sea is a borderland, in its nature closer to the fluent boundary than fixed border (Casey, 2007, p. 389), between the former Warsaw pact countries and Sweden. The smuggler operates in a grey zone in-between, demonstrating that both sides, the ‘neutral’ Sweden and Eastern Bloc, are dependent on each other and draw mutual benefits from the Cold War order.

Likewise, throughout the story, both Wallander and the officials from Stockholm attempt to keep the ‘Latvian case’ away, move it back to the ‘antechamber’. However, as the story unfolds, not only the physical closeness, but also fragments of historical connections emerge, entering the ‘parlor’ and revealing themselves as suppressed from the official discourse, as well as missing in the awareness of the individual.

A relevant example of suppression occurs when Wallander is reminded about the Swedish hegemony in the 17th century in the areas of today’s Latvia, a part of history that has almost been forgotten in Swedish schoolbooks (Maciejewski, 2001, p. 56).⁴ Significantly, Wallander is reminded about this historical fact by a pro-Soviet police officer, who suggests a parallel between the bygone Swedish and current Soviet imperialism. Indirectly, Sweden’s colonial past as a superpower in the Baltic Sea area is recalled, the period when Russia was her most important rival. These oppositions, as Støren and Salicath emphasise, did not disappear after Sweden’s influence gradually faded (Støren and Salicath, 1986, p. 2). Wallander visits the Swedish Gate in Riga, originating from that time, but his attitude can be said to illustrate suppression:

[He realised that] it must be the Swedish Gate [...]. He shivered. It had grown cold again. He inspected the cracked brick wall absent-mindedly, and tried to decipher some ancient symbols carved into it. He gave up more or

less straight away, and went back to the car. (Mankell, 2012, p. 221)

As Casey observes, 'If external edges serve to terminate something, internal edges complicate it from within. [They] may indicate still deeper structures that are themselves hidden from view' (Casey, 2011, p. 384). As the boundary grows in importance in *The Dogs of Riga*, unwanted and suppressed impulses, 'internal edges', gradually emerge in Wallander's awareness. Many remain in his 'fore-conscious' (Freud, 2012, p. 256). All of them, however, invite the protagonist and the reader to re-imagine both past and present connections across the border. Bringing 'transnational interconnection into adjacent frames', they are 'a way of disrupting certainty of perspective' (Nestingen, 2008, pp. 231).

Mankell's and Davidsen's novels, originating from more or less the same time, represent two parallel, significantly different narratives on the border and boundary between Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. Mankell's novel can be perceived as an emerging new discourse or reshaping of the old one, while Davidsen's is fixed and rooted in the long-established tradition. I view these two approaches as two external poles, not necessarily occurring separately, often mingling in different proportions, on the continuum of contemporary Scandinavian discourse on Eastern Europe – both in crime fiction and other cultural works involved with the subject.

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Notes

- 1 The inverted commas are used here for the term 'Eastern Europe' (left out in the rest of the article) to indicate its constructedness and the fact that the term does not mirror geographical, political and cultural reality. In this respect, see also Wolff (1994) and Mrozewicz (2013).
- 2 Other examples include Kaaberbøll and Friis (2008; 2010; 2011), and

Småge (1997).

- 3 This sentence is an implicit reference to a concrete political situation, helping us define the time when the plot begins as early January 1985. After a short 'thaw' period of Yuri Andropov's rule, Konstantin Chernenko became the leader of the Soviet Union in February 1984, his politics being viewed as a return to the strict policies of the late Leonid Brezhnev era.
- 4 Maciejewski's observation regards the so-called Swedish Deluge (in Polish Potop Szwedzki), that is, a series of mid-17th-century campaigns of Swedish army in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Maciejewski, 2001, p. 56).