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Autobiography and the Police: The Cultural Politics of Leena Lehtolainen's Crime Fiction¹

Since the 1990s crime fiction writers in Finland have furnished readers with a movable feast. At the same time, as Päivi Lappalainen has observed, scholars began to produce intriguing new research on the crime novel (Lappalainen 2002; Hapuli & Matero 1997; Pyrhönen 1995, 1999). The boom in such creative and scholarly activity notwithstanding, the cultural-political and aesthetic significance of crime fiction has remained uncertain for many. "The 'criminalization' of Finnish literature saddens me," wrote Anja Snellman, construing the rise of crime fiction as a story of cultural and aesthetic erosion (qtd. in Huhtala 2003, 12).² Figuring prominently on bestseller lists, and displaying in the view of many critics high cultural-political and aesthetic aims, the novels of Leena Lehtolainen are a significant example of the 'criminalization' identified by Snellman. Is there a cultural-political or aesthetic significance to them? If we turn to the critics, it is evident that two main answers emphasizing the cultural-political register have predominated.

One reading of Lehtolainen's nine-novel Maria Kallio-series of police procedural novels is that the novels neglect the crime narrative to emphasize their political message. One critic, Jarmo Papinniemi, writes:

I think, though of course one can't be sure, that if Leena Lehtolainen belonged to a generation twenty years older than hers, she wouldn't write crime fiction but political pamphlets defending the environment and humanity [--] [as well as] sexual and ethnic minorities, and attacking workplace discrimination against women. She would fight for environmental causes against free market ideology, she'd raise sensitive issues about domestic violence and child abuse. (Papinniemi 2000, 29)

This critique is typical of a good deal of the criticism on Lehtolainen's novels in its claim about the novels' politics and in the assumption that underpins that claim. In suggesting that the novels' primary concern is political, Papinniemi implies that at a previous cultural juncture more open to political argument, the political assertions made in the novels would not have needed the novels at all. In listing the novels' political concerns, the critic also implies that the political assertions themselves are neither novel nor particularly radical, but typical, left-leaning mainstream critique. At the same time, the premise underlying this commentator's criticism of Lehtolainen is a conventional one about the dynamics of political discourse. That is, an author fashions a political argument about an issue, which she disseminates in the public sphere, thereby generating responses by others that involve discussion and debate, affirmation and rebuttal, resistance and change. On this view, the novels are noteworthy for their political ambitions, even if the content of their politics is not particularly significant; understanding their politics involves interpreting how the novels contribute to conventional political debate.

Another reading of the novels attributes a different kind of political importance to them on account of their 'feminization' of Finnish crime fiction. On this view, the significance of the novels is their use of a female protagonist to challenge some the typically masculine gender dynamics of popular crime fiction, and in so doing to raise readers' consciousness about a number of feminist issues. The novels' project has been important on this view because the popular success of the novels and television adaptations of the Maria Kallio series has combined typically masculine elements of crime fiction with feminine ones, breaking down assumptions about gender differences and boundaries (Aronen 1993; Tenkanen 1997; Lehtolainen 1997b; Arvas 1997). As her flinty surname suggests, Maria Kallio displays features typically used to underscore the masculinity of the male investigator: Kallio is courageous, practical, physically strong, dogged, pragmatic, loyal, witty, and enjoys a whiskey on occasion. At the same time, the Kallio-figure feminizes these features by combining them with emphasis on her perceived responsibilities as a mother and her many thoughts and discussions of secondwave feminist issues such as domestic violence, workplace harassment, and everyday chauvinism. On this reading, then, the significance of the novels lie in their revision of the gendering of crime fiction, and hence their use of popular culture to do feminist politics. Even on this view, though, their cultural-political significance may seem rather marginal, in so far as feminist politics in the Finnish context have figured prominently in public debate and yielded a broad array of means to fight discrimination and cultivate gender parity. Still, the feminization of the police investigator in the Kallio novels stands in contrast to what is arguably the continuing preoccupation with national conventions of masculinity in such figures as Matti Yrjänä Joensuu's Timo Harjunpää and Seppo Jokinen's Sakari Koskinen.

While these readings of Lehtolainen's Kallio series contribute significant insight about the novels' politics, this article argues that they also overlook the seminal cultural-political significance of the Kallio novels. The Kallio novels merit cultural-political analysis because they merge conventions of the police procedural and autobiography in a way that contributes to reimagining sites of political discourse. In combining conventions of autobiography and the police procedural, the novels draw on autobiographical conventions to represent experiences of the intimate sphere as publicly relevant and politically fraught. The site of political struggle, suggest the novels, is not only a public sphere in which the formulation and circulation of argument is the issue, as suggested in the argument about Lehtolainen as pamphleteer. Rather, the novels urge us to recognize that political struggle also occurs in the way the intersection of intimate and public spheres is represented publicly. In constructing this intersection, we can call the novels a 'prosthetic of publicity,' for they emphasize the way our notions of the ways in which intimacy and publicity interpenetrate is constructed through representations, or prosthetics. Because making the intimate sphere public depends on practices of textual representation and circulation, cultural texts have a special capacity to contribute to the way people conceive of the relationship between intimacy and publicity. More important than the substantive politics of the novels or their feminization of crime fiction, I argue, is the novels' identification of the intersection between intimate and public spheres as a site of political struggle.

This article outlines how the novels identify the relationship between intimacy and publicity as a sight of struggle, then sketches a theoretical explanation of the significance of this topos, suggesting that in challenging the continued influence of Habermasian notions of distinct private and public spheres, the Kallio novels complicate narratives of erosion told about the boom of autobiography and crime fiction that have occurred since the 1990s, suggesting instead that change can be understood in terms of pluralization.

Autobiography and the Police Procedural

The Maria Kallio series merges conventions of autobiography and the police procedural to create a first-person narration that thematizes the representation of intimacy in several ways. The novels employ first-person narration in a way that differs from the hardboiled tradition, the most common type of first-person narration in crime fiction. In Lehtolainen's writing, first-person narration facilitates a self-reflexive protagonist whose thoughts create parallels with the experiences of other characters in the novels. The first-person narration also provides a means of creating mise-en-abymes, miniaturizations of autobiographical storytelling, that highlight the representation of intimate experience to make public connections. Narrated in the first-person from Maria Kallio's perspective, the novels include many excerpts of first-person narration that are 'found' or 'received' by Kallio, yet become mise-en-abyme when she reads them as clues that intersect with the larger themes and conflicts narrated by Kallio herself in the first person. If the novels were to rely on the typical third-person narration of the police procedural, the inclusion of first-person writing would not resonate with Kallio's narration of her life, and the salient parallelism between the stories of the people who populate Kallio's investigations and her own life would not receive emphasis. In doing these things, the novels use autobiographical writing to insert the intimate sphere into public political

discourse narrated in Lehtolainen's police procedural.

The term autobiography as I am using it here is not a conventional use of the term, but "a figure of reading," to borrow a term from Paul de Man's writing about autobiography—a self-reflexively unstable option for approaching a text, rather than a term that assumes the fixed correspondence between a literary work and a life (de Man 1984; also see Folkenflik 1993). As I am using it, then, autobiography describes a rhetoric, not an assumption about a correspondence. My use of the term hence refuses the "autobiographical pact" proposed by Phillipe Lejeune (1989), in which an author writes in her own name, truthfully, about her life. The justification for my use of the term is the argument that autobiography is a prosthetic of publicity, a technology for making an individual's life socially visible - a term to which I return below. The prosthetic mediates and give form to flesh through words and images combined for the consumption of others (Shaviro 2003, 80-83). My use of the term autobiography here also encompasses other forms of first-person life writing, such as the diary and letter, that figure in this article. By identifying a prosthetic that makes narration of the intimate sphere publicly visible, the article gestures to many varieties of text that can do this - from the epistolary novel to the homepage - the differences among which are beyond the scope of this discussion.

Before turning to the novels, it is also necessary to outline the terms intimacy and publicity. These terms draw on Jürgen Habermas's argument that during the eighteenth century, a public sphere emerged when the bourgeoisie posited that some discussions were of universal social relevance, and so should be prized free from a feudal system that conducted these discussions among privileged members of the feudal estates (1989). In correlation with the emergent bourgeois public sphere, an associated intimate or private sphere defined by exclusive interests, family and economic life, also became distinct. Habermas maintains that the public sphere was contested during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as the ruling classes came to shape public discussion to suit their interests, rather than universal ones, yet he argues that a norm of rational, universally accessible discussion in the public sphere should be a goal for democratic societies (1987). Critics of Habermas argue, however, that the public sphere was never accessible to all, but instead excluded access for many on the basis that their contributions involved gendered, raced, sexualized, or other identities defined in the intimate sphere and deemed therefore irrelevant to the rational debate and universal concerns of the public sphere (Fraser 1992; Warner 2003). Habermas' critics argue that what is considered public and intimate changes historically as people struggle over what counts as broadly relevant. One such struggle occurred in the late twentieth century, as the narrative forms of the popular media increasingly focused on the intimate sphere, making intimacy an ever more prominent feature of publicity (Plummer 2003; Rojola 2002). Aligning with

critics of Habermas, intimacy and publicity in this article are understood as changing, contested, and contingent. What concerns us here is conceptualizing the cultural political significance of staging intersections between intimate and public spheres, which Leena Lehtolainen's novels do at least in part by using conventions of autobiographical forms to modify the police procedural novel.

While the typical means of narrating the police procedural is some version of thirdperson narration – and according to Lehtolainen she drafted the first Maria Kallio novel in the third person before later revising it in the first person (2004a) – the Maria Kallio series is built around first-person narration that is exceptional and excessive. In eschewing the usual structure of narration in the police procedural, Lehtolainen creates a closer focus on her protagonist than in the police procedural, in which the protagonist is part of an investigative team. The conventionally narrated police procedural of course varies in its focalization, from a broad emphasis encompassing an investigative team, as for example in the novels of Arne Dahl (Jan Arnald), to a specific focus on a single protagonist working with others, as in the case of Matti Yrjänä Joensuu. The team figures prominently in the Kallio novels, but the first-person narration builds the narration around Kallio's perspective and serves to naturalize Kallio's ongoing narrative about her work and her life. This narration draws on the conventions of autobiography.

Some conventions of the crime novel lend themselves to the kinds of generic revision we see in Lehtolainen, in which the rhetoric of autobiography furnishes a tool kit for rewriting the crime novel toward cultural-political ends. A key conflict in the crime novel is the struggle between private desire (the source of disorder and criminality) and public stricture (the source of investigative authority and recuperation of order) (Mc-Cann 2001, 4). The narration of private desire requires an account that identifies and divulges private desire and the disruption it creates. In contrast, the narration of public stricture is usually an account of the investigation and its moral necessity that has tended to depict the investigator from a distance, as an agent of investigative brilliance or moral certainty. Lehtolainen uses features of autobiography to alter the narration of private desire and public stricture. On the one hand, she seeks to develop narrative accounts of many forms of private desire in the context of the intimate spheres from which they emerge. In such a context, private desire is not always criminal. When it is, it can figure in a social context in which its causes are complex, rather than simply being an instance of pathological deviance, as is common in the crime novel. On the other hand, Lehtolainen's novels' narration of the investigator's work, as an agent of public stricture, stand in contrast to similar narration in the classical whodunit, the hardboiled, and the police procedural novel. These subgenres have tended to romanticize the investigator and sought to create a gap between the reader and the 'genius investigator,' whose knowledge and moral certainty are construed as superior to the reader's. By using the rhetoric of autobiography, Lehtolainen makes her investigator ordinary and undermines brilliance and certainty to redirect attention to the intimate sphere of the investigator. In a word, she revises the crime novel's conventions to put intimacy in the foreground in the narration of private desire and public stricture. As a result, intimacy is at the heart of crime and its investigation in her Kallio novels.

Commentators have not spoken about autobiographical convention in analyses of the novels, however, instead explaining Lehtolainen's use of the first-person narration as an adaptation of the hard-boiled convention of first-person narration, stretching from Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler to their feminist appropriations by Sara Paretsky and Sue Grafton (Tenkanen 1997; Lehtolainen 1997b).³ Yet the first-person narration in the Kallio novels differs from these antecedents. As Raymond Chandler wrote in "The Simple Art of Murder," the first-person voice in the hard-boiled tradition expresses a realism that conveys a "sharp, aggressive attitude to life" (58), as it also does in feminist revisions of the hardboiled novel. Narration in the hardboiled is a means of creating a credible voice for the tough-talking private investigator, but as Chandler also asserts, a means of conveying certainty of moral vision. First-person narration functions differently in Lehtolainen's novels. It is a means of including credible selfreflective interior monologue focusing on Kallio's family life and its connections to her investigations.

First-person narration furnishes a natural means of establishing parallelism between Kallio's reflections on her experiences and struggles and the stories of characters that figure in her investigations. In some novels, such as Harmin paikka (In Harm's Way, 1994), Kuparisydän (Copper Heart, 1995a), and Tuulen puolella (With the Wind, 1998), Kallio knows the victims and the suspects, which causes her to recollect personal stories in which her life intersected with the lives of these acquaintances. In other novels, such as Luminainen (Snowoman, 1996) and Kuolemanspiraali (Death Spiral, 1997a), Kallio's experience as a pregnant woman and mother are a subject of her autobiographical narration and also a means of connecting to her investigations of characters whose status as victim or suspect appear to be motivated by pregnancy and motherhood. In all of the novels, Kallio explicitly seeks to imagine herself in the role of others, making narrative parallelism an investigative tool. Reflecting on intimate experiences is a means of understanding the crimes and transgressions Kallio is investigating. Her investigative method privileges identification and emotional probing; the narration eschews the 'deduction' of the whodunit and the attitude and wisecracking moral certainty of the hardboiled tradition. The richer the story Kallio can tell about her life and struggles, the more engaging becomes the parallelism with the narrative of her investigation. As a result, stories of the intimate sphere become a means of explaining crimes implicitly construed as publicly significant.

While the focus of this article is the Kallio novels, we should note that a fascination with autobiographical forms figures prominently in Lehtolainen's other writings, such as *Tappava Säde* (*Death Rey*, 2000), a crime novel narrated by the perpetrator, and *Jonakin onnellisena päivänä* (*Some Happy Day*, 2004b), an autobiographical letter written by the narrator to a former lover. *Jonakin onnellisena päivänä*, for example, modulates emotionally largely through rhetorical alteration of the voice of the first-person narrator, as her feelings change with respect to the lover, Jarkko.

These novels share with the Kallio novels a use of narrative structure to put an emphasis on the status of intimacy as both private and public. In Jonakin onnellisena päivänä, the novel's emotional climax is marked by a mise-en-abyme structure that underscores a shift in the narrator's address to her imaginary reader, the former lover Jarkko, as well as the implied reader. The narration shifts from second-person address, which comprises the bulk of the novel, to third-person narration, altering the proximity between narrator and both readers: "Before the trial you grew increasingly anxious. Or no, I can't tell you this, it belongs to you. Let me begin again. Before the trial Jarkko grew increasingly anxious" (Lehtolainen 2005, 338). The shift in perspective creates a mise-en-abyme structure by putting the novel's status as a 'love letter' in the foreground, thereby stressing the intimacy of the communication between the letter writer and its intended reader Jarkko, while also placing emphasis on the public character of the intimacy by stating the obvious, "No... it belongs to you," in a way that reminds us that we are voyeurs reading this intimate letter. In this example, we see the same use of narrative form to highlight the connection between intimacy and publicity that we find in the Kallio novels.

Although one might argue that the letter form differs from autobiography, what they share is a status as a prosthetic of publicity, which derives from the assumption that intimacy's public status is always constructed. Lehtolainen uses many modes of 'life writing' in her novels for several reasons, but most importantly to make evident that varying representations of the intimate sphere construe its status as public in diverse ways. The quoted passages above underscore the way even a shift in address alters the way intimacy figures in public relevance. What we have in *Jonakin onnellisena päivänä*, as in the other Lehtolainen novels, is a sustained effort to write about the intimate sphere in ways that reflect on its potential public relevance. These texts express more than an interest in intimacy for itself. They seek to articulate the ways in which intimacy can matter publicly in terms of gender, sexuality, religious outlook, ethnicity, generation, socio-economic status and so forth. By understanding the novels in terms of prosthetic of publicity, we attain a means of analyzing the Kallio novels' mediation of intimacies in public as a construction, rather than as a given relationship between separate private and public spheres. The sustained interest in public intimacies also helps explain the texts' use of recursive structures to keep the cultural-political issues in the foreground.

The Kallio novels also underscore the connection between intimacy and publicity through autobiographical mise-en-abyme structures. Kallio reads diaries and autobiographical writing that stages conflicts of intimacy and publicity, which cause her to reflect on the operation of these categories in her own life. In Harmin paikka, the diaries and academic writing of one of the deceased characters, included through excerpts, disclose her struggle with a lover who uses his position as a physician, a position of public trust, to manipulate her, while shielding himself from suspicion. Because Kallio knows the deceased author of the diaries and the victim of the crime, and reflects on her own life's interconnections to these characters, her reading of the characters' writing becomes a means of investigation, while also motivating an autobiographical narrative of her response to it. In Kuolemanspiraali, Kallio's reading of the adolescent victim's diaries divulges that a sports coach has sexually abused the victim. The diaries reveal that she has been entrapped in the intimate sphere through the shame of the abuse, while the coach has used his public reputation to allay suspicion. We see the same autobiographical mise-en-abyme structure recur in Luminainen, where it stresses the politics of the intersection between intimacy and publicity. The novel includes excerpts from the diaries of one of the characters, who has fled her Laestadian community and an abusive husband, who has tried to force her to carry to term a ninth pregnancy, despite doctors' warnings (154-158). Strikingly, Kallio comments on the pleasure of "intrusion" through autobiography, placing emphasis on the intersection of intimacy and publicity:

I've always liked reading autobiography. I guess it's because of my urge to peep, to intrude in people's lives. The most interesting stories to me are those written by average people, and there's been no shortage of those available during the last couple years. I tried to read Johanna's story like an autobiography, the life of a thirty-three-year-old woman from Ostrobothnia. It didn't quite work. (149)

That the reading strategy 'doesn't quite work' is not because the diary excerpts fail as autobiography, but because they are so far from average. They relate a horrific conflict in the intimate sphere that is truly a public struggle over abortion, religious agendas, and public intercession into the intimate sphere. The diary excerpts in *Luminainen* also figure in many layers of autobiographical reflection: Kallio reflects continually on her pregnancy in the novel, which is linked to an investigation narrative that concerns mothers and children and their struggles in abusive relationships.

These autobiographical mise-en-abyme structures continually raise the question, What is the political status of intimate stories in public? Can telling an intimate story to others, 'going public,' be a means of writing a wrong, of fighting for a more just order? These questions figure prominently in the eighth novel, *Veren vimma* (2003, *Fervor*), in which an autobiographical letter written by a sports star's father for his sons provides a motive for the novel's murder. The victim of the murder is a powerful tabloid journalist who is writing a biography of the sports star. When the biographer acquires the autobiographical letter, and seeks to include it in her biography, she is murdered. The emotional climax of the novel, like *Jonakin onnellisena päivänä*, is conveyed in a long letter which recounts the incredible autobiography of the sports star's father. Once again, the struggle is over the public status of intimate experiences. When someone provides access to the intimate sphere and his secrets by inviting journalists into his life, what happens to the intimate sphere? In asking such a question, *Fervor* gives a different perspective on the questions raised in the earlier examples by making the intimate stories of perpetrator and victim ones that are also in play publicly through tabloid journalism – a topic to which Lehtolainen returns in *Rivo satakieli* (2005, *A Salacious Nightingale*).

Using autobiography to probe the changing status of intimate secrets' circulation also figures in Kallio's own autobiographical narration, as is evident in one of the narrative lines of Luminainen. A reporter writing about the murder investigation narrated in the novel also writes a story about Kallio. When they later clash, the reporter seeks to have her companion, a government official, call in a favor from an old friend, the chief of police who overseas Kallio's municipality Espoo. The aged and stale official seeks to punish Kallio by using her pregnancy against her. The chief infantilizes Kallio and characterizes her as emotionally unstable: "if Miss Senior Inspector, or rather Mrs. Senior Inspector, is not up to service, then perhaps she should be on sick leave?" (217). The chief would 'privatize' Kallio's pregnancy, but she sees it as highly relevant to her public status and her relationship to her coworkers and the state institution in which they are employed. The autobiographical narration disrupts the relation of intimacy and publicity, questioning the relationship of these categories (Roberts and Crossley 2004, 16). While the chief's use of gender stereotypes to disparage and insult is not uncommon, and so pointing it out is perhaps not a radical observation, we should not let its quotidian character distract us from the representation of intimacy as publicly significant in this novel and the Kallio series.

As we have seen in the discussion of the novels' use of first-person narration, parallelism, and autobiographical mise-en-abyme, more important than the content of any given conflict is these novels' recurrent effort to focus attention on the ways in which constructions of intimacy have public relevance.

Narratives of Erosion and Pluralization

In their merger of autobiography and crime fiction to publicize and politicize intimate struggles, the Kallio novels interrogate the representation of the fundamental categories 'intimate' and 'public.' In so doing, they challenge arguments that take as their premise

the separation of these categories in the Habermasian legacy of cultural theorizing. Arguments that accept these categories often tell the story of intimacy's increasing public and political significance as a narrative of the public sphere's erosion (Karkama 1998). By contrast, in making suggestions about a reconceptualization of intimacy and publicity, the Kallio novels contribute to a narrative of pluralization, which can be explained by seeing the Kallio novels' use of autobiography as a prosthetic of publicity that queries the positive dynamics of publicly represented, diverse intimacies. This argument makes the case for the cultural-political and aesthetic significance of the novels.

My argument about the cultural politics of the Kallio novels builds on and adds to arguments that have been made about the rise of autobiography in Finland during the 1990s. Autobiography and tropes of autobiography figured prominently in debates about the status of literature, the public status of intimate stories, and the social significance of these throughout the Nordic region during the 1980s and 1990s (Tigerstedt, Roos, and Vilkko 1992; Makkonen 1997; Rojola 2002; Koivisto 2003). In her seminal article on the Finnish autobiography boom, Lea Rojola (2002) traces out a number of arguments that make sense of the new autobiography. Rojola situates the autobiography boom in the context of social crisis, to which autobiography can be understand as a response that offers stories of average lives as compensatory models of selfreflexivity, 'survival stories,' and empowering confession (80-94). Noting that periods of heavy production and consumption of autobiography often correlate with periods of social upheaval and crisis, Rojola situates the boom of Finnish autobiography since the 1990s in relation to the crisis of the Finnish welfare state, that is, the consequences of financial deregulation and 'structural adjustment' of the late 1980s, the economic depression of the early 1990s, and the rise of competitive individualism and the neoliberal ideology associated with globalization. These events undermined the class consensus and universalism on which the welfare state was founded, creating many new uncertainties about social and collective expectations and commitments. In response to these uncertainties, suggests Rojola, autobiography offered narratives of intimacy to grapple with the assertion of new models of individuality. Yet, she astutely points out, this compensatory model can also be understood as a model of erosion, insofar as it imputes a universal relevance to everyone's confessions and intimate experiences. When becoming a subject means confessing one's intimate experiences exhaustively in public, the promulgation of stories of intimacy can individualize public discourse, making the personal story the predominant narrative form (also see Karkama 1998). Such a situation can work to obscure economic, political, and institutional matrices of social power that also structure publicity. Taking as assumptions some of the arguments raised by Rojola's contribution, this article's argument about the Kallio novels suggests that there is a dimension to Lehtolainen's crime novels that figures in Rojola's argument

and deserves more elaboration.

In staging struggles over the relationship between intimacy and publicity, Lehtolainen's novels emphasize a narrative of pluralization. The novels tell a story about the increasing plurality and heterogeneity of intimate experiences that are publicly relevant nationally. Rojola speaks of this dynamic as the emergence of previously silenced voices (86–87). In asking how a variety of intimate experiences, involving gender, sexuality, and ethnicity, become publicly relevant, the Kallio novels query the ways in which voices can be heard and resonate. The answer to this question lies in returning to the narrative analysis developed above, which focused on the self-reflexive use of autobiographical narrative convention to modify the police procedural, the use of parallelism to inflect the first-person narration, the use of mise-en-abyme to foreground intimate experiences of public relevance. By placing an emphasis on the narrative construction and representation of intimacy as publicly relevant, the Kallio novels assert the political importance of struggles over intimacy, while eschewing a particular identity politics. That is, they help us see how textual representation can work as a *prosthetics of publicity* available to cultural-political struggles.

In emphasizing mediation and representation through the term prosthetic, the prosthetic of publicity implies that intimacy in public takes shape through constructions of intimacy and publicity, providing another perspective on the notion that a private identity exists in a preconstituted state and is expressed, or blocked from expression, in the public sphere. Prosthetic of publicity as a term asserts that the representation of intimacy in public is not the repetition of a core identity. Rather, as a prosthetic, such representations always involve the contingent fabrication of a continually changing relation of private and public (Warner 2003, 164–165). This argument suggests another way of framing the notion that there used to be many identities that could not find public expression, which now figure in a clamor to become visible, but in doing so are eroding the public sphere. By focusing on the prosthetic, we can argue that self- and collective-representation in public has varied historically as different constructions and representations of the relation between intimate and public have predominated. We are currently in a historical situation in which the notion that the public sphere should be a site for disembodied debate persists, but in which representations of intimacy provide a means of acquiring public recognition that can be valuable in reordering intimate and public power differentials.

The context of these struggles is neatly summed up by the historian Henrik Stenius, who notes that within the Finnish welfare state politics and publicity have concerned the capacity "to express the true intentions of the people," that is, to articulate consensus (1995, 169). What we see in the Kallio novels is that the people to which Stenius refers are becoming pluralized, as they increasingly assert the importance of diverse in-

timate experiences, which do not homogenize into a singular intention to be articulated in a unified public sphere. The cultural-political significance of the Kallio novels on this account lies not in the novels' compensation for an erosion of an older order, but in their crystallization of a transformation to make evident and mediate connections between diverse lives and their public common ground, indicating that diverse intimacies may square more fully with multiple public spheres, rather than with a single putatively homogenous public sphere.

This argument about the Kallio novels also bears on a second narrative of erosion concerning the rise of crime fiction in Finland during the 1990s. Crime fiction arguably contributed to the undermining of literary fiction by smuggling into literary markets the rules of the marketplace. On this view, texts like those of Lehtolainen would present a special threat. By absorbing the tabloidization of the public sphere and making from it a literary object, they might be seen to have imported the conventions of the gossip sheets into the literary arena. As we saw in this article's opening Anja Snellman has stated this case concisely in a series of aphorisms.

The crime novel – like entertainment in general – brings an ephemeral good feeling and momentary respite.

Art challenges, shocks, entrances, leaves a mark on its recipient. Its influence is deep and enduring.

I view brands, formulas, and production logic as foreign to art. Hence the "criminalization" of Finnish literature saddens me. (Qtd. in Huhtala 2003, 12)

The crime novel is an entertainment form, suggests Snellman. Its impact derives from repetition of a formula and marketing, not from an original engagement with a literary tradition. Crime fiction also ostensibly erodes the status of literature.

The thrust of this article's argument hence bears on Snellman's critique, too, while also suggesting an alternative construal of the crime fiction boom. Snellman's point makes the Kantian assumption that the work of art is autonomous and cannot be judged within the context of the forces from which it emerged. This article's argument has maintained that in as much as Lehtolainen's crime novels take up the language of intimacy in public circulation during the last decades, they repurpose 'tabloidization' to raise questions about whether the pluralization of intimacies and publics might entail positive dynamics. Their cultural-political and aesthetic relevance derives on this view from their embeddedness in debates over private and public, not from their autonomy and disinterestedness. The novels intervene in their historical moment, and their intervention, however one might judge it, makes them vital.

By eschewing narratives of erosion and instead exploring the ways in which the pluralization of intimate experiences requires new conceptualizations of the intersection of private and public spheres, the Kallio novels are an object of study that contributes to debates about intimacy and publicity in the culture of a globalizing Finland. The novels imply that relationships of intimate and public lives are constructed through prosthetics of publicity. In their changing constructions, prosthetics of publicity are open to many attributions of meaning and political significance. By helping identify such sites of debate, Lehtolainen's Kallio novels help make evident some of the potential of conceiving of intimacy and publicity in terms of pluralization, rather than erosion.

Notes

¹ My thanks to two anonymous readers for their thoughtful criticism of an earlier version of this article. This article adapts chapter five of my book *Crime and Fantasy in Scandinavia: Fiction, Film, and Social Change* (University of Washington Press/Museum Tusculanum, forthcoming 2008). My thanks to the publishers for permission to adapt that material here. ² Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

³ This point about the hardboiled novel, and my larger claim about the combination of autobiography and police procedural in Lehtolainen's writing, implies a larger claim about hybridity in her novels, which the scope of this essay cannot accommodate. In addition to these elements, critics have pointed out the importance of 'whodunit' conventions in Lehtolainen's work. Another element is worthy of note as well, the gothic. Gothic elements recur in the series. In Luminainen, for example, the isolated castle of a declining aristocrat becomes the Rosenberg Center for Battered Women, with its surrounding mysteries. Likewise, in Veren vimma (2003, Fervor) the country mansion of the Smeds family near Kirkkonummi bears marks of the gothic, most prominent in the figure of the closely held family secret, which is revealed toward the end of a novel in an epiphanic moment explaining the mysteries surrounding the family. What is more, Kallio's dreams, the novels' fascination with death, and the role of the double, all found for example in Harmin paikka, also call to mind the gothic. Lehtolainen has herself argued that for the importance of hybridity in Finnish women's feminist crime fiction, putting emphasis on the gothic and autobiography in the writing of Eeva Tenhunen (1995b). The gothic would be a rich avenue of inquiry for further research on Lehtolainen.

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