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PROFESSIONAL EYES:
FEMINIST CRIME FICTION BY FORMER CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROFESSIONALS

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies novels written by and about professional women investigators, or “professional eyes,” who have worked in occupations involving police investigation and criminal trials. It poses the questions: How has the inclusion of novels by professional eyes changed the direction of feminist crime fiction? Is there a difference between the novels of crime fiction authors with professional experience to those without? How does it reflect real feminist gains in the criminal justice system?

Dorothy Uhnak was the first of these authors to emerge with her autobiography and fictional Christie Opara trilogy. Following this, Linda Fairstein began publishing her Alexandra Cooper series of legal thrillers, based upon her own experience as head of the sex crimes unit of the Manhattan District Attorney’s office. Kathy Reichs also began publishing her Temperance Brennan forensic crime series, which was based upon her experiences as a forensic anthropologist. The final authors examined are former Australian police officers P.M. Newton, Karen M. Davis, and Y.A. Erskine.

Through a study of discourse, genre, and the author, my suggestion is that the promise of ‘reality’ and ‘truth’ by these authors resonates with a readership of contemporary women who are faced with ‘plausible’ feminist investigators. Furthermore, there are significant differences in the narratives of professionals compared to non-professionals, in their use of expertise and jargon, links between their fiction and nonfiction, use of fiction as a kind of scriptotherapy, and depiction of unequal justice systems. Although the authors reveal the challenges that still exist in the integration of women into the criminal justice system, they have ushered in a new era in the real world of criminal justice, just as they have in fiction.

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INTRODUCTION

The New Female Investigator

In 1979, Carolyn G. Heilbrun published her book *Reinventing Womanhood* in which she claims, “Women writers, like successful women in male dominated professions, have failed to imagine autonomous women characters. With remarkably few exceptions, women writers do not imagine women characters with even the autonomy they themselves have achieved” (*Reinventing Womanhood* 71). Heilbrun, an academic and professor from Columbia University, published nonfiction feminist titles under her own name as well as the Kate Fansler crime series under the pseudonym Amanda Cross (an act that did little in itself to help the point she was trying to make). Almost a decade later, Maureen T. Reddy argued a similar view as Heilbrun, writing:

If the woman detective in crime fiction remains relatively rare, the female series character is rarer still. One possible reason for this is that employment discrimination on the basis of sex has barred women from jobs as police detectives or private investigators until fairly recently, leaving crime novelists who wanted plausible female protagonists with only the option of gifted amateurs, like Christie’s Miss Marple. (*Sisters in Crime* 6)

Marcia Muller, Sara Paretsky and Sue Grafton are among those authors who began to introduce professional women as protagonists of crime fiction from the 1970s onwards. The popularity of these authors revealed the readership of women who appreciated the tough female investigator challenging gender stereotypes, and proved inspirational for increasing numbers of female crime authors. In their 1999 book *Detective Agency*, Priscilla L. Walton and Manina Jones graph the radical leap in numbers of professional female investigators in crime fiction, revealing how it had tripled in the decade since Reddy’s

observation (29). Professional female investigators in crime fiction have increased rapidly since the 1970s, one of the most significant developments in the genre, and yet little has been written about this change. This is where this thesis sits within the critical debate, with a focus on professional women in crime fiction, as both protagonists and authors. There is some disagreement in what constitutes a 'professional' in crime fiction, and whether amateurs or private detectives can be included in the label. This disagreement is evident in the disparate ideas of Kathleen Klein who argues in *The Woman Detective* (1988) that crime fiction is fundamentally adverse to feminist ideas, and Sherri Paris who writes in "Riding the Crime Wave" (1989) that Klein's argument is biased by a lack of discussion on amateur detectives such as those by Barbara Wilson and Amanda Cross. Paris believes that by focusing on professionals who work within male-oriented institutions, Klein fails to include the most feminist of crime fiction texts. She argues that Klein's focus on institutional crime professionals "skews her analysis and leads her to marginalize the feminocentric novels many women have created outside the boundaries of this model—and to ignore, lamentably, virtually the entire lesbian-feminist canon of detective fiction" ("Riding" 10). Paris suggests that these amateurs represent feminist concerns specifically because of their placement outside of the male-oriented system. This dissertation focuses on professional women who have worked within the criminal justice system in positions directly involved in the prosecution and investigation of crime. These include police officers, forensic technicians, and prosecutors. This is not in order to ignore the importance of private detectives such as Paretsky's V.I. Warshawski, Grafton's Kinsey Millhone, or Wilson's Pam Nilsen; but to provide research on the progression of their successors, and the ways they approach legal and policing institutions from within.

This dissertation studies these novels written by and about professional women investigators, and poses the questions: How has this development changed the direction of feminist crime fiction? Is there a difference between the novels of crime fiction authors with professional experience to those without? How does it reflect real feminist gains in the criminal justice system? Women are now imagining protagonists with the professional autonomy they themselves have gained, and the fiction of former criminal justice

professionals provide protagonists who are ‘plausible’ to readers. The gifted amateurs described by Reddy are more often found in historical fiction, while professional female investigators proliferate within the hardboiled mode. To answer the overall research questions I explore fiction and nonfiction authored by these women, who are henceforth termed ‘professional eyes.’

In the early decades of crime fiction criticism there is a distinct lack of academic writing about women—as authors, protagonists or readers—to the extent that male critics shaped the genre as specifically ‘masculine.’ The critical suppositions of these men, particularly Edgar Allan Poe, Thomas De Quincey and Dennis Porter will be subverted by a focus on the female protagonist throughout this thesis, along with discussion continuing the feminist criticisms of the 1960s and 1970s by prominent feminists such as Judith Butler, Hélène Cixous, Monique Wittig and Carolyn Heilbrun, as well as the more contemporary critical literature of academics such as Linda Mizejewski, Griselda Pollock and Anne Hunsaker Hawkins. As well as her important writings on performativity, Butler furthers the ideas of Michel Foucault on justice, power and institutions, and this scholarship forms a major part of this dissertation’s approach to the discussion of professional eyes. Female critics produced important studies on feminist crime fiction in the 1980s, such as Maureen Reddy’s 1988 *Sisters in Crime*, and Kathleen Gregory Klein’s *The Woman Detective* in the same year, and two very important critical books published in the 1990s were *Feminism in Women’s Detective Fiction* edited by Glenwood Irons in 1995, and *Detective Agency* in 1998 by Priscilla Walton and Manina Jones. The bodies of scholarly work that I have chosen to supplement my argument include these works, as well as those on global feminisms and tourist gaze, gendered speech, the adversarial court system, adaptations, and Blaxploitation.

Criticism and Crime Fiction: A Review of the Literature

The earliest crime fiction was influenced by sensation novels and the advent of the police, both of which were centred in nineteenth century London. The Metropolitan police were set up in 1829, while ‘The Newgate Novel’ genre thrived, using narratives based on real criminals in the prison (Knight *Form and Ideology* 9). Sensation novels themselves—

although the authors had no experience from within this new police institution—were published in the 1860s and 1870s, and were in turn largely influenced by Victorian literature and the real crimes fictionalised in Newgate novels:

The growth of cheap newspapers following the abolition of the stamp tax on newspapers in 1855, and tendency of both the expanding penny press and the middle-class newspapers to include more crime reporting was one factor in the creation of the market for sensation novels. Real life crime, as reported in contemporary newspapers...provided the plots for sensation novels. (Pykett "Newgate" 32)

A well-known example of this adaptation of real crime is Mary Elizabeth Braddon's sensation novel, *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862), which uses elements of the actual Constance Kent murder case of 1860. Braddon's novel is an archetypal sensation novel through its questioning of Victorian ideas of women in the domestic sphere, which translates well to contemporary professional eye fiction. Lady Audley, however, is the perpetrator, while her nephew conducts the investigation into her past. Academics such as Gwen Williams argue that early feminist crime novels—although based on true crime—can only feature fictional female investigators: "The female detective entered fiction in 1861¹ with the Mrs. Paschal stories long before she joined the profession in actuality. She is, therefore, a purely imaginative creation" (G. Williams 39). There is clearly some disagreement over why the female detective entered the genre at all. As discussed above, Reddy argues that rather than use 'implausible' female professionals, early female crime authors were disposed to use amateurs. Therefore, while some crime fiction plots of the late nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century were founded on real crime, the professional woman detective was entirely fictional and not "plausible." Perhaps this is why Carolyn Heilbrun created Kate Fansler as an amateur detective who was a professional in another field (academia), to produce a feminist protagonist who had at least some kind of institutional authority, and

¹ In truth, Mrs Paschal appeared in 1864 alongside Andrew Forrester Jr.'s *The Female Detective*.

was intelligent and capable. The relevance and popularity of professional eyes becomes clear through this historical trouble with professional female investigators, as they represent a doubling of the career woman in real life and fiction, and therefore gain the authority deemed necessary by Reddy and Williams.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a flourishing of female detectives and authors, but not much critical recognition other than Carolyn Wells's often overlooked 1913 text *The Technique of the Mystery Story* (Knight "Golden Age" 79). The 'whodunnit' or 'cosy' was a very popular form of crime fiction for women writers to publish, particularly in England, while the hardboiled mode prospered in America. The spinster detective became a symbol of the British sub-genre, and of the 'queens of crime.' Catherine Louisa Pirgis pioneered the tradition with her detective Loveday Brooke. In 1897, Anna Katherine Green published her first Amelia Butterworth novel and beginning in 1908, Mary Roberts Rinehart created three spinster detectives. Agatha Christie introduced her celebrated spinster detective, Miss Jane Marple, in 1930. In her first novel as protagonist, Miss Marple states, "There is no detective in England equal to a spinster lady of uncertain age with plenty of time on her hands" (Christie 47), emphasising the disparity between the professional male and the amateur 'lady' detective. While she did not have her own female detective, Dorothy Sayers's 1935 novel *Gaudy Night* is often described as the first feminist crime novel (Hart 48) because of its focus on the character of Harriet Vane, a mystery novelist who considers retreating into a life of academia rather than matrimony. In *Gaudy Night* a fraudulent academic commits suicide, and his widow wreaks revenge on female academics who have moved outside of the domestic sphere and are therefore, in her opinion, causing the deaths (literal and figurative) of male academics. Although the character of Harriet communicates certain ideas about women and education, she calls Lord Peter Wimsey for help with the investigation, and accepts his proposal of marriage in the conclusion, effectively choosing matrimony over academia. American academic, Elizabeth A. Trembley finds that many feminist critics are opposed to this ending as Harriet is established as an independent character in preceding books. Trembley argues that this independence was forced on Harriet by circumstance and that she was not an emotionally

independent character but more of a typical woman from the 1920s (88). *Gaudy Night* is an early example of the female detective working within academia, combining the 'feminine' incursion into two areas that were traditionally male domains.

Although an interesting example, the novel did not have as large an impact on feminist crime fiction as two subsequent academic crime novels. In the 1972 novel *An Unsuitable Job for a Woman*, P.D. James places much of the investigation inside Cambridge University to raise questions of female comradeship and agency, and in the 1981 novel *Death in a Tenured Position*, Heilbrun uses the death of a female academic at Harvard University to illustrate the difficulties for women to integrate into academia. Although Susan Leonardi examines the female academic investigator in "Murders Academic" (1995), she does not tie the subgenre to Sayers's earlier work. Her focus on the links between academia and detection, and the doubling of the academic woman with her fictional creation, lends itself to authors such as Amanda Cross in the 1980s, but not their earlier prototypes. Scholarship on this connection between Sayers's early 'feminist' crime fiction and the later academic works is insufficient, an omission that deserves more attention outside of this dissertation.

Following the popularity of Christie's and Rinehart's spinster detectives, Patricia Wentworth introduced Miss Silver in 1928, and in 1929 American authors Mignon Eberhart and Gladys Mitchell introduced their amateur spinster detectives. Critical writing on spinster detectives has proliferated more recently, Mary Freier and Joan Warthling Roberts arguing that the spinster detective is a product of her time historically and socially, brought about by woman such as Rinehart who had to support families (Freier). The 'New Woman' who worked as an author to support her family when her husband could not, gave impetus to female protagonists who were also finding new autonomy. Roberts believes that the mystery story is "a microcosm of the culture and mores of the times it portrays: it changes as they change" (J.W. Roberts 3), citing Green's Amelia Butterworth as a "proto-feminist" investigator (10) who provided an early influence on P.D. James, Carolyn Heilbrun, Sue Grafton, and Sara Paretsky. This 'New Woman' author would account for the stronger female characters in sensation and crime fiction, as 'New Woman' authors were taking on more responsibilities in their own lives. The spinster detective was unrestricted by

expectations of marriage or family, and was—as Christie’s Miss Marple pointed out—free to investigate crimes at her leisure. While the protagonists in novels by professional eyes are generally younger, her career-mindedness removes any expectations of imminent marriage. Contemporary female authors take this autonomy further as both author and protagonist work within the criminal justice system.

The antithesis of these early twentieth-century spinster detectives was Nancy Drew, a sixteen-year-old amateur detective who emerged in 1930. The series was originally created by Edward Stratemeyer, who had recently published the popular Hardy Boys series, and written by numerous authors under the pseudonym of Carolyn Keene. Two years after the first Nancy Drew book was released, Margaret Sutton published *The Vanishing Shadow*, featuring girl detective Judy Bolton. When the series concluded in 1967 Sutton claimed it was not due to declining sales, but pressure from the Stratemeyer Syndicate, who did not want competition with the Nancy Drew series (Winslow). There was clearly an emerging market for young women in the twentieth century, as more women were educated, and in great part due to the popularity of female authors writing under their own names, such as Christie and Sayers. This market was important to publishers, who were becoming increasingly concerned with financial gains rather than their own gender perceptions (Jones and Walton 28).

There has been a recent proliferation of critical writing on the importance of Nancy Drew, influenced by significant texts by authors such as Bobbie Ann Mason. Mason’s 1975 book *The Girl Sleuth: A Feminist Guide* led critics such as Luana Russell to rediscover the forgotten character of Bolton: “Mason confirmed to my delight that the character was not simply a figment of my imagination” (73). Melanie Rehak’s similarly titled 2005 text *Girl Sleuth: Nancy Drew and the Women Who Created Her* is an investigation into the women at the Stratemeyer Syndicate who shaped Nancy Drew’s character, the real ‘Carolyn Keene.’ It is also interesting that one of the real-life private detectives Val McDermid interviewed for her book *A Suitable Job for a Woman* (1995) was professionally inspired by her childhood reading of Nancy Drew books (282). Mason and Rehak present an alternate history of crime fiction through its impact on female readers. Her reader-response approach is an important

tradition in texts by women and can be found in many feminist crime fiction criticism, such as Erin Smith's 2000 study *Hardboiled*, which looks back at the consumers of hardboiled pulp magazines. In the 1999 article "First at the Scene," Della Borton names Mason along with Dilys Winn and Catherine Ross Nickerson as influential female critics in the crime genre. She argues that these women's inquiries into early women's crime began a feminist critical tradition, which she then felt able to continue (Borton). Nickerson's 1998 book, *The Web of Iniquity: Early Detective Fiction by American Women* certainly addressed a gap in criticism between Poe and Hammett with her analysis of forgotten 'domestic detective fiction' (Schofield). Both reader-response theory and the historical examination by Nickerson laid groundwork for a further exploration of popular contemporary feminist crime fiction. This thesis examines present-day women who contribute to crime fiction and the criminal justice system, rather than revisiting a study of women in the historical development of the genre.

With changes in society to education, gender roles and discrimination laws, women have become increasingly involved in the genre as authors and protagonists, particularly following the popularity of second-wave feminism. Critics such as Rehak, Nickerson and Mason unearthed previously ignored women's texts, and tracked the development of crime fiction to women's sensation novels published before influential male authors such as Arthur Conan Doyle, whose first Sherlock Holmes novel *A Study in Scarlet* was published in 1886, twenty-four years following Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret*. Some early critical works, such as the historical overviews of fictional female detectives in Patricia Craig and Mary Cadogan's 1981 *The Lady Investigates* and Lyn Pykett's 1992 book *The 'Improper' Feminine* have little in-depth reading of the literature, and how it can challenge or contribute to the crime genre. For example, there is no discussion in either text of how 'New Woman' authors and their protagonists challenged gender boundaries by crossing the domestic and professional spheres. Rehak and Mason approach women-authored crime fiction through close-reading and the effect on readers, while in their critical studies Pykett, and Craig and Cadogan discuss texts in broad bibliographic terms, providing no closer assessment of the impact of female crime authors on the genre or readers. Pykett supplies a more comprehensive close reading in her chapter "The Newgate Novel and Sensation

Fiction, 1830-1868" in *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction* (2003). While creating a history of women in the genre is important, this dissertation applies close readings of the texts in order to discover how they are received by readers. In a popular genre such as crime fiction the social aspect of reading becomes relevant, particularly when studying the implications of the professional eye. With the commercial success of feminist crime novels—Reichs's and Fairstein's series have been published continuously for almost two decades and each number around twenty novels—indicating a certain identification readers feel with the protagonists.

Although there were few male critics concentrating on the golden-age crime tradition, Jacques Barzun from Columbia University and newspaper columnist Anthony Boucher were two prominent figures. Boucher writes that in literary criticism, "at least as long ago as 1905 critics were asserting that all conceivable changes had been rung, and the form was doomed to sterile repetition. But every year brings new evidence that true creative talent can freshen any form" (41). He is one of the few contemporary male critics to account for the changes women can bring to the genre, a view argued overall in this thesis. Over the past century male critics have continuously claimed that the genre has accomplished all possible outcomes and is condemned to 'sterile repetition'; H. Douglas Thomson comes to this conclusion in his 1931 study *Masters of Mystery* (274), and in his 1983 article "Literature Under the Table" Ernst Kaemmel claims that with the fall of capitalism the genre will disappear (Kaemmel 61), failing to note the socialist *literatura politica* works of those such as Cuban author Ignacio Cardenas Acuna. The genre's developments in the fifty years between Thomson and Kaemmel's arguments—which include Uhnak's police procedurals, Heilbrun's and James's academic investigators, and the hardboiled protagonists of Marcia Muller, Sue Grafton and Sara Paretsky—demonstrate how it develops with societal changes and will continue to do so. Professional eyes have introduced advances to the contemporary genre that Grafton, Paretsky and Muller did with their tough-talking feminist private detectives in the 1980s. This new cohort of professional women in higher-level roles than previous generations reflects real changes in post-civil rights Western society. Through identification with the protagonists of these authors, and their ongoing struggles, readers

are drawn to decades of progress over serialised novels. Claims that the genre has reached its conclusion have faded from the critical discourse, and many of the recent developments have been studied; yet the professional eye remains overlooked.

While male scholars in the 1970s and 1980s may have ignored the output of women writers in the cosy tradition, they did examine the hardboiled tradition in increasing detail. It is noteworthy that the professional eye novel follows the gritty hardboiled school of crime fiction that emerged in America rather than the middle-class, highly structured conventions of golden-age crime that developed in England. Grebstein describes the subgenre as a furthering of the tough 'masculine' American tradition, ignoring the contributions of women authors to the crime fiction canon. He argues that detectives are "defined not only by physical durability and the maintenance of the stoic pose, but also and ultimately the power to confront death without morbid pessimism or specious piety" (Grebstein 27). I suggest that Grebstein is mistaken and detectives must keep their heroic stature through acknowledgment of the ramifications in taking a life. The feminist hardboiled mode by professional eyes often repudiates the use of guns, preferring to use an intimate approach that haunts the protagonists afterwards, as discussed in the first chapter on Dorothy Uhnak and the second chapter with regards to Linda Fairstein's *Silent Mercy*. As such, when the female protagonist uses violence in a more direct and reactive sense (with an axe, rock, or other weapon found nearby and wielded close-range), she cannot emotionally or physically distance herself from the consequences of this violence. Occasionally these consequences can impact upon her professional image, principally explored in Chapter Four of this dissertation through the depiction of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. This is one way that female professional eyes distance themselves from the 'masculine' violence of hardboiled crime fiction.

Many male university scholars began serious analysis of the hardboiled tradition in the 1970s. While authors shaped hardboiled crime as a masculine space, critics and academics marked it as the critical field of men. Julian Symons fails to perceive the importance of women authors and looking forward, writes, "Most of it has little to do with literature, but is designed to give pleasure—to Professor Barzun, to me, to nice old ladies

using country libraries and tough young men buying Spillane in paperback” (242). In his 1973 article “The Politics of Tough Guy Mysteries,” John M. Reilly argues that Barzun incorrectly applies Marxist readings to hardboiled crime, writing, “In tough guy mysteries there is no clear evidence of class struggle, no conscious dialectics, and the tone of the mysteries is quite distinct from the humanistic optimism of Marxism” (Reilly 29). He believes rather, that the tough-guy detective represents America, and is not always flattering in its portrayal. For example, Reilly writes that “Spillane’s stylized tough guy novels strip from the protagonist all value but that of acting out frustrations violently: give them as good as they do you; kill, kill, kill” (30). He is one of the few male academics in the 1970s who writes on hardboiled crime as an unperfected tradition that would change over time, reflecting that it would take a change in the society upon which it was modeled for the genre to become meaningful. Uhnak was introducing this change in the 1960s, yet she was not discussed in detail until 2003 when Leroy Panek described the long-lasting effects of her introduction of a ‘trauma of change’ into the crime genre. This ‘trauma of change’ was the result of the introduction of professional women into the genre, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter One of this dissertation, as it is a key theory in understanding the impacts of the professional eye.

John G. Cawelti of the University of Chicago published *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance* in 1976. He discusses the stagnant formula of what he calls ‘traditional detective fiction,’ classifying the characters as falling into the groupings of victims, detectives, criminals or minor characters threatened by the crime. Referring to Poe’s strategies in creating victims, Cawelti argues that, “His first approach as exemplified in “The Murders in the Rue Morgue” was to make his victims obscure, ordinary, and colorless people who meet a grotesque and mystifying end” (92). He fails to note that the victims are almost exclusively women, adding to their ‘obscurity’ and contributing to the tradition of the male gaze on the body of the female victim. This formulaic creation of the victim through the male gaze will be discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation, in regards to Kathy Reichs’s use of forensic gaze. While Dennis Porter defines the label ‘private eye’ as encompassing the non-organisational masculine voyeur (“Private Eye”), the label of ‘professional eye’ will replace

this with a more encompassing, intersectional return of the gaze by female professionals. This is discussed with supporting texts by bell hooks and Griselda Pollock. By experimenting with Cawelti's groupings, authors can upset the essentialist binaries of crime fiction. For example, a combination of the victim and detective brings the victim's story into the spotlight rather than obscuring it, as discussed throughout this dissertation. As female bodies and essentialism are so integral to the crime genre, it will form the third chapter of this thesis, through focus on Reichs's gaze of female empathy, and her difficulties reconciling this with her protagonist's professional role. The function of the femme fatale in hardboiled crime fiction is, as Cawelti argues, "not simply that of appropriate sexual consort to the dashing hero; she also poses certain basic challenges to the detective's physical and psychological security" (154). This argument could also extend to the woman detective, who occupies a traditionally male position, an important aspect of this thesis that will be discussed in terms of professionalism and female agency, particularly in Chapters Two and Three.

In 1979 David I. Grossvogel of Cornell University published *Mystery and its Fictions: From Oedipus to Agatha Christie*. His is one of the only analyses to draw upon the earlier writing of Marie Bonaparte who argues that the impetus behind Poe's original crime stories is a repeat of the child's first sexual investigation. With no discussion of the advent of the police, or the counter-tradition in America, Bonaparte concludes that:

Since 1842, when "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" first appeared, what numbers of detective novels have entertained, mystified and thrilled successive generations of readers? In all, as Freud first pointed out to me, the unconscious roots of their interest, for us, lies in the fact that the trail the detective follows repeats, though transferred to other activities, the infant's original sexual investigations. (456)

Grossvogel is not convinced by her arguments (95) and prefers to link the genre to stories from the Bible, in which men prove their morality and reverence through the solving

of mysteries. Although he discredits Bonaparte's Freudian analysis, his drawing from the Bible and masculine tradition is similarly biased. Stephen Knight, on the other hand, finds that "it is hard to deny that the story has a dynamic only a Freudian approach can explain" (*Form and Ideology* 50). The origins of the genre are often compared to contemporary social trends, such as the advent of the police and early media attention to spreading murder and crime in increasingly industrialised urban spaces (Pykett "Newgate"). Crime fiction is a social and popular genre that changes with society across decades. As such, the current trend of professional women as authors and protagonists deserves attention as it reflects the changing role of women in society. David Geherin's 1980 book, *Sons of Sam Spade* also focuses on 'masculine' crime, specifically the American hardboiled tradition of the 1930s and 1940s that evolved in contradiction to the 'cosy' English style. It is clear from the title that male critics such as Geherin viewed the hardboiled style as specifically American and male. The 'queens of crime' had long-since claimed the cosy British style, which is mostly ignored by male scholars of the 1970s and 1980s.

In 1981, Dennis Porter published *The Pursuit of Crime: Art and Ideology in Detective Fiction*, focusing on hardboiled crime fiction as an American institution. He links many of the earlier criticisms in a coherent manner, and discusses the flippancy of critics towards Agatha Christie as stemming from Edmund Wilson's article "Who Cares Who Killed Roger Ackroyd?" in which crime fiction, particularly those novels by the 'queens of crime' such as Dorothy Sayers and Ngaio Marsh, is censured as being unintellectual, boring and "hackneyed" (E. Wilson). Porter's book was accepted into the male-dominated academy at the time as an innovative work, particularly for its discussion of colloquial language in hardboiled books. Porter argues that by using wisecracks and tough speech, hardboiled crime writers created "a mode of address, a style of self-presentation, and an affirmation of American manliness" (*Pursuit of Crime* 139). This is an extension of ideas brought up by Grebstein, and Richard Bridgman in his 1966 text *The Colloquial Style in America*. Dialogue and gendered language will be discussed in some detail in Chapter Two. Although Porter does not analyse the implications of 'masculine' speech on the female characters, his arguments can be reformulated to discover how women have appropriated hardboiled

language to create feminist novels in the crime tradition. This dissertation posits the argument that professional eyes combine hardboiled language and professional jargon to this end, particularly through Linda Fairstein's use of legal jargon in the courtroom.

The marginalisation of women in hardboiled crime extended from characters to critics, to authors. However, reader statistics show that the majority of crime fiction readers are women. The American chapter of Sisters in Crime completed a survey in 2010 in which they discovered that 68 percent of mystery buyers are female (C. Thomas). On a smaller scale, Tess Gerritsen surveyed her readers and found that women were four times more likely to rate her as one of their favourite authors, and that her readership was around 75 percent female (Gerritsen). Female authors of contemporary hardboiled crime have clearly influenced the accessibility of the genre to female readers, who can now find 'plausible' female protagonists. Although no statistics exist for women readers in the nineteenth century, Kate Flint suggests that they were also numerous, particularly evident through increased male commentary on the dangers of women reading sensation fiction (Flint 274), and Knight writes that through lending libraries early crime fiction had a 75 percent female readership ("Golden Age" 81). One only has to view the abundance of women's dime novels on Felicia Carr's online database "The American Women's Dime Novel," which includes a history and lists of archives, in order to identify how interested women are in reading stories by and about women. The contemporary readers of these dime novels were almost exclusively young working-class women (Carr), however, the novels were sensation fiction rather than hardboiled crime.

Conventionally, there were very few women writing in the hardboiled tradition, and pulp magazines were historically male-oriented. However, some women were published in *Black Mask*, the influential hardboiled pulp magazine that launched the career of Raymond Chandler. These women included mainly Americans, such as Marjory Stoneman Douglas, Sally Dixon Wright, Florence M. Pettee, Marion O'Hearn, Kay Krausse, Frances Beck, and Tiah Devitt. Dorothy Dunn wrote stories with titles such as "Senora Satan" and "Dead-End Darling," and Katherine Brocklebank had a series of short stories based on the hardboiled woman detective, Tex of the Border Patrol (Penzler). A few women gained wider

commercial success in the hardboiled genre, such as Leigh Brackett, who wrote so well in the Chanderlesque style that Howard Hawks commissioned her to work on the film script for *The Big Sleep* (1946), and Patricia Highsmith who rose to fame through her novels *Strangers on a Train* (1950) and *The Talented Mr. Ripley* (1955). There were also three female authors in the 1950s who were not Americans and yet gained popularity in the hardboiled genre; Australians Audrey Armitage and Muriel Watkins who published the Johnny Buchanan series under the pseudonym K.T. McCall (Watson), and British author Betty Mabel Lillian Williams who published her Danny Spade series of novels under the pseudonym Dail Ambler (Holland); both series were set in New York City despite the authors' backgrounds. Overviews of the hardboiled genre tend to overlook the contributions of these women, and yet they paved the way for the hardboiled works of authors such as Sue Grafton and Sara Paretsky, and more recently the works of the professional eyes writing in the hardboiled mode.

The 'Wilderness' of Feminist Criticism

Feminist crime fiction criticism links the earlier criticism of the genre by male academics, with the writing of prominent second-wave feminists such as Heilbrun, Hélène Cixous, and Monique Wittig. Although a work of its time, Cixous's 1975 essay "The Laugh of the Medusa" has pertinent links to feminist literary criticism of the crime genre, particularly in her argument, "By writing her self, woman will return to the body which has been more than confiscated from her, which has been turned into the uncanny stranger on display—the ailing or dead figure, which so often turns out to be the nasty companion, the cause and location of inhibitions" (Cixous 880). Instead, Cixous advocated for 'bisexual' writing. Her notion of women's bodies being stolen from them through male-centered writing has been adapted by prominent contemporary feminist academics such as Jeanne Addison Roberts and Nina Auerbach, and linked to the male detective's gaze on the victim's body, as discussed in Chapter Three on Kathy Reichs. Although I concur with Cixous on the confiscation of women's bodies, I argue a different approach to rectifying this through language and the empathetic tourist gaze.

This aligns with more recent readings of Cixous, such as that by Ian Blyth and Susan Sellers, who write that “‘Bisexuality’ was a term much in vogue in psychoanalytical circles in the 1970s and it is important to note that Cixous is using the term within this frame of reference” (Blyth and Sellers 27). Wittig has similar ideas of women’s bodies being taken from them by phallogentric language and Freudian theory and argues that there is no ‘feminine’ writing (59), preferring to write in her native French with gender-neutral language. She suggests that the masculine is normalised, while the feminine has become other (Wittig 60), however, hardboiled crime fiction relies just as heavily on constructions of masculinity as it does on femininity. While these two influential feminist writers may seem to represent opposites (such as Wittig’s proposal of women as Amazons and Cixous’s preference for mothers to represent women), they both strived to achieve androgynous writing. Blyth and Sellers elaborate on Cixous’s meanings, arguing, “‘Bisexuality’ is the psychic imprint made when one admits the ‘presence’ of both sexes in the mind—something akin to what Woolf, following Coleridge, called ‘the androgynous mind’” (Blyth and Sellers 27). The characters in early hardboiled crime who most resemble Wittig’s Amazons are the femme fatales, while Cixous’s mother is exemplified in the characteristics of the hardboiled detective’s secretary. In professional eye novels the two feminist bodies are usually combined through an ‘androgynous mind’ and body, another difference in the more recent works that are examined beginning with the opening chapter on Dorothy Uhnak. Moreover, Cixous believed that *l’écriture féminine* would be diminished by the application of masculine literary theory (Sellers 1), and wrote for her female readers as “a way to share joy and energy with friendly readers ...[and appeal] to the reader to identify with the writer’s real history” (Lie 7). In this way, contemporary readings of Cixous link to the professional eye particularly, as these authors appeal to readers to identify with their unique insights into criminal justice institutions.

Many critics influenced by Friedan, Beauvoir and Wittig, commenced the search for women’s writing in phallogentric traditions, such as the crime fiction genre. As previously discussed, Heilbrun’s writings are different from those of the ‘queens of crime’ before her, as she suggests that female authors must craft strong, professional female characters, not

amateur detectives like Miss Marple. In 1973, Heilbrun published the nonfiction book *Toward a Recognition of Androgyny* under her own name, arguing in favour of a future in which characters and plots would stop centering around essentialist gender roles. It is difficult to conceive of this kind of novel as the only avenue for feminist authorship, particularly in the crime genre. Much of the criminal activity in the novels of professional eyes emerges from sexism and racial discrimination underlying the judicial system, which has wider implications to women in society. In her 1979 publication *Reinventing Womanhood*, Heilbrun argues a very different approach for female authors that is more in line with feminist crime fiction, espousing the importance of women writing autonomous female characters. Heilbrun argues that women who have achieved success in male-dominated areas become “honorary men,” rather than preserving and fostering autonomous concepts of womanhood (*Reinventing Womanhood* 29), and that womanhood can be reinvented through female comradeship, and female claims to ambition (35). This kind of womanhood is evident in the works of professional eyes, who present ambition as a driving motivation for their female protagonists. Chapter Three of this dissertation includes a discussion of the dangers of ambitious women who repudiate female comradeship.

Heilbrun’s critical and fictional work inspired many other women, and in 2005 *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature* released a posthumous special issue in honour of her life and work. Articles were contributed by a variety of female academics such as Nina Auerbach, Molly Hite, Gail Holst-Warhaft, Alice Jardine, Susan Kress, Sara Paretsky and Kathleen Woodward. Sara Paretsky writes, “Amanda Cross opened a window and let fresh air blow in on the crime novel and on the world’s ways of thinking about women and our stories” (“Remarks” 243). Although Heilbrun argued for androgynous fiction, her novels play upon sexual divisions in order to bring gender politics away from academia and into popular culture. The authors discussed throughout this dissertation have answered her entreaty for professional female protagonists. Professional eyes depict protagonists in occupations as wide-ranging as the policing, forensic, and legal professions.

Essentialist gender roles play a central function in the plots of crime fiction. Early critical works place importance on the beautiful woman as victim. Thomas De Quincey’s

1827 essay “On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts” began a tradition of analysing crime by aesthetics. De Quincey wrote it as a parody of a speech at a Gentleman’s Club, “not with a view to regulate your judgment: as to old women and the mob of newspaper readers” (49); but aimed at gentlemen of sensibility who could appreciate the aesthetics. Poe’s “The Philosophy of Composition” certainly continued this tradition, particularly through his argument that nothing is more poetic than the death of a beautiful woman (164).

Both Poe and De Quincey had important roles in creating the male gaze on the female victim’s body in crime fiction, however, this gaze is evident even earlier in female-authored literature. It is easily identifiable, for example, in Jane Austen’s *Persuasion* (1818) when boatmen congregate “to enjoy the sight of a dead young lady” (109) following Louisa Musgrove’s disastrous fall at Lyme Cobb. The male gaze on the female body forms an integral focus in Chapter Three of this dissertation, particularly through Kathy Reichs’s protagonist and her use of gaze in her forensic occupation. The essentialist roles of women and men are likewise crucial in the reading of early hardboiled crime, in which the conflict between the femme fatales and masculine detectives is a key impetus behind plot. I examine this in Chapter Three as well, and show how the professional woman protagonist in hardboiled crime subverts these roles. It is also interesting to note the analysis of hardboiled fiction readership in Smith’s *Hardboiled*. She discovers that the working class men who consumed early pulp crime were threatened by the changing roles of women between the wars; a fear that was personified in the figure of the femme fatale. In much the same way, the professional eye novels are consumed by a largely female readership that find the career-minded protagonist working within a sexist institution plays upon their social anxieties. This is certainly supported by Walton and Jones’s reader survey in which women were asked for the reasons they read feminist crime fiction. The respondents are quoted as identifying more with ‘realistic’ professional female protagonists (Jones and Walton 61). Indeed, Walton and Jones discovered that female readers identify with the gender politics of these novels without designating them as specifically political or feminist. Female readers can find pleasure in protagonists’ challenges in finding time for both career and home, and in crimes that exploit the concerns of working women. The professional eye furthers this

identification as she has worked within the organisation herself, thus lending 'authenticity' to her novels.

Another female scholar who struggled against the masculinist culture of literary criticism was Elaine Showalter, who describes Heilbrun as one pole in a "wilderness" (179). As discussed in her 1981 essay "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," Showalter questions the use of ideology that advances from the dialogue of male theorists, and advocates a move to "gynocritics," using works penned by women and reader-response theory (184). I agree with Showalter on this point, and find that the theories of women in regards to feminist crime fiction are very useful. Early critics referred to throughout this dissertation include Heilbrun, Wittig, Cixous and Butler, while texts by more contemporary female critics include Maureen Reddy's *Sisters in Crime* (1988), Sally Munt's *Murder by the Book* (1994), Kathleen Gregory Klein's *The Woman Detective* (1995), and edited collections *Women Times Three* (1995) and *Diversity and Detective Fiction* (1999), Linda Mizejewski's *Hardboiled and High Heeled* (2004), Rosemary Johnsen's *Contemporary Feminist Historical Crime Fiction* (2006), Marty Knepper's articles on Agatha Christie such as "Miss Marple's St. Mary Mead" (2007), and Sue Turnbull's *The Television Crime Drama* (2014). However, discounting male scholars would hinder any serious discussion of crime fiction, as it would disregard important texts such as Scott Christianson's articles on hardboiled language including "Talkin' Trash and Kickin' Butt" in Irons's *Feminism in Women's Detective Fiction* (1995), John Scaggs *Crime Fiction* (2005), and Stephen Knight's *Crime Fiction, 1800-2000* (2004) and *The Mysteries of the Cities* (2012). These authors are significant in an informed contemporary critical reading of the genre. Furthermore, I do not condemn criticism based upon the theories of male scholars to complete obsolescence, and particularly find Judith Butler's reworking of Foucault's theories of hierarchical institutions pertinent to the discussion of modern court systems in Chapter Three.

Second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s had a momentous cultural impact on women's writing, and in crime fiction there was a surge in women writing female detectives. These detectives proved very popular with female readers. In 1964, Heilbrun led the charge with her first Kate Fansler novel *In the Last Analysis*, which is set in New York

City and written in the cosy tradition. Dorothy Uhnak's *The Bait* was published four years later, also set in New York City but following a hardboiled approach. While Fansler is an academic (like her creator) and therefore more suited to cosy, Uhnak bases her series on her own life as a police officer in a hardboiled police procedural. Heilbrun's creation of Kate Fansler is clearly influenced by her own life. Fansler is a female academic, a professor at an unnamed New York university, and an amateur crime-solver. Perhaps the most widely discussed Kate Fansler novel is *Death in a Tenured Position* (1981). In this novel, Fansler travels to Harvard University where Janet Mandelbaum, the first female professor in the English department, has been drawn unwillingly into scandal and murdered during Fansler's investigation. Suspects include Janet's chauvinist male colleagues and 'The Sisterhood,' a feminist group she staunchly avoided. At the end of the novel Fansler reveals that Janet committed suicide when she could no longer disregard the ill treatment of her male colleagues. As Jeanne Addison Roberts argues, "the female victim is most clearly 'murdered' by social prejudices; and in it we have Heilbrun's most successful development of female community" (101). This is a reversal of Dorothy Sayers's *Gaudy Night* (1972), in which a male academic commits suicide because of the incursion of women into universities, and offers an alternate view on the effects of institutional sexism.

From the very beginning of the novel, the association between author and protagonist highlights possible realities faced by women in academia: "Kate Fansler gazed across the large conference table at the men on its other side, and the men on either side of her...Kate would sometimes picture her tombstone with 'The Token Woman' engraved in the marble" (Cross 4). This echoes Uhnak's retirement as the "token woman" in a male institution, as discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation. The "female community" Roberts refers to is actively involved in Fansler's investigation, and includes her friends, niece, and the women of The Sisterhood. As one of these women explains to Fansler, "women who are sisters have no part in the male establishment, no part in patriarchal institutions at all...Women who are not sisters play along with the rottenness, either liking it, or thinking it changeable" (Cross 11). The focus on institutionalised sexism is therefore not exclusive to the novels of professional eyes, and has much of its basis in earlier novels

such as those by Heilbrun. The difference is in the “mutual humiliation” described by Uhnak, which the protagonists of professional eyes experience in their roles within masculinist institutions. The separation between the inner-shame and the outward actions of these protagonists is a continuation of the ‘trauma of change’ introduced in the 1960s, by the inclusion of women as professionals in the criminal justice system. This ‘trauma of change’ will be examined in Chapter One as an integral impetus behind the professional eye subgenre.

The nonfiction Heilbrun published under her own name, particularly *Toward a Recognition of Androgyny* (1973) and *Reinventing Womanhood* (1979), fortified her challenge to masculinist genre fiction. She understood that women had to support each other through both literature and the academic criticism that reinforced it. Heilbrun believed that, “Great novels are not conventional. They are not on that account startling or shocking; indeed, it is unlikely they will be in any way flamboyant. Today’s shocks are tomorrow’s conventions” (*Toward a Recognition* 56). In the contemporary climate of crime fiction when her first Kate Fansler novel was published in 1964 (the same year as Uhnak’s *Policewoman*), her novels were indeed unconventional, however tame they may seem fifty years later. In the 2005 *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature* journal dedicated to Heilbrun’s feminist legacy, Nina Auerbach suggests:

The academic patriarchs who growl through the Amanda Cross books look like paper tigers—in large part, of course, because they have withered under the unflagging harangues of Carolyn Heilbrun. Meanwhile, it would have been hard for the creator who punished Janet Mandelbaum to imagine the variety and intellectual sparkle of the women who now teach at Harvard, Princeton, and Yale. (267)

It seems clear that her role as both author and academic bolstered her importance within feminist crime fiction, as a genre where few women were either. Reddy agrees that, “Heilbrun was doubly important in what has come to be known as the ‘second wave’ of

feminism: as Carolyn Heilbrun, she produced some of the earliest and most influential literary criticism, while as Amanda Cross she brought a feminist perspective to the crime novel, significantly altering the genre" ("Feminist Counter-Tradition" 174). Here the similarities between Heilbrun and authors such as Dorothy Uhnak, Kathy Reichs, Linda Fairstein, P.M. Newton, Karen M. Davis, and Y.A. Erskine becomes evident; just as she linked feminist academia with crime fiction, professional eyes link the realities of criminal justice systems with the genre. As discussed in the following chapters of this dissertation, professional eyes provide protagonists who are female professionals attempting to fit into the masculinist institution as introduced by Heilbrun in *Death in a Tenured Position*.

Eight years after the first Kate Fansler novel was published, P.D. James, British author of the Inspector Dalgliesh series, introduced private detective Cordelia Gray in her inspirational novel *An Unsuitable Job for a Woman*. Although not an academic like Fansler, Cordelia spends much of the novel at Cambridge University where the victim, Mark Callender, was once a student. Like Heilbrun, James highlights female comradeship to unravel the case. For example, when Cordelia doubts her ability to solve the crime she considers turning to women for help, thinking, "If only there were someone reliable in whom she could confide, someone who would reinforce her confidence. She thought again of Sophie, but...she was on her own and that, when she came to think about it, was no different from how essentially it had always been" (James 110). When Cordelia is attacked and thrown down a well, she is saved due to a combination of her own determination and a chance encounter when the female owner of the property notices the well cover has been moved. In the denouement of the novel, Cordelia helps Miss Leaming cover up the murder of Mark's father (who killed Mark), and lies to the police to protect her. They are relatively unafraid of discovery, as Leaming argues, "What is there to be frightened of? We shall be dealing only with men" (James 182). Despite their dislike of each other, they act in female comradeship according to their own moral codes: "Cordelia's eventual act of solidarity with Elizabeth Leaming...all to protect Elizabeth from a legitimize murder charge—is clearly a gender-inflected solidarity" (N. Nixon 31).

Following these early experimentations set within academia, three authors began to publish enduring series following their hardboiled private detectives; Marcia Muller with her Californian Sharon McCone series, beginning with the novel *Edwin of the Iron Shoes* in 1977; and two authors with introductory novels in 1982 were Sue Grafton, who introduced another Californian detective, Kinsey Millhone in *A is for Alibi*, and Sara Paretsky with her first V.I. Warshawski novel *Indemnity Only*, set in Chicago. These authors proved very prolific; in 2013 Paretsky published *Critical Mass*, her eighteenth Warshawski novel and Grafton released *W is for Wasted*, her twenty-third novel in the Millhone series, and in 2014 Muller published her thirty-first McCone novel, *The Night Searchers*. The popularity of these texts has prompted academics to investigate the development of the female investigator from her earlier origins.

Feminist readings of historical texts such as the 'New Woman' and sensation novels were an important part of recognising the importance of female authors to the canon of crime fiction, which had been so often condemned as a 'masculine' genre. In Toril Moi's important feminist deconstruction text *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (1985) she argues that gender binaries have crucial implications in feminist readings of texts, and certainly this is true of early hardboiled crime in which the binary oppositions of man/woman are signified through the detective/femme fatale, and detective/secretary characters. This is particularly evident in well-known hardboiled novels by authors such as Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler, who base much of the central conflicts of their narratives around the encounters between the male detective and the femme fatale. This translates to modern feminist crime fiction and is particularly pertinent to Chapter Two of this thesis, to the discussion of hierarchies created through judicial institutions, which particularly affect those involved in rape trials.

Judith Butler's theory of performativity is another central issue to women in crime fiction, particularly those who occupy previously male professions and must find a middle-ground between 'femininity' and 'masculinity.' Chapter Three examines this gender compromise in the novels of Kathy Reichs. Her protagonist Temperance Brennan occupies the role of a professional who uses the masculine forensic gaze, while simultaneously

sympathising with female victims through her recognition of shared vulnerability. Butler's ideas on performativity will be a key theory in the discussion, alongside *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990), in which she argues that Wittig is too focused on lesbianism as the "necessary consequence of feminism" (162), which in itself creates a binary between gay and straight, and defies the varied experiences of 'women' (155). In Chapter Four, this will be applied to a discussion of crime fiction, where it has been implicated that lesbian crime is the only true feminist revision of the genre (Klein "Habeas").

Butler's adaptation of Michel Foucault's argument in *The History of Sexuality* (1978) that juridical institutions seek to "qualify, measure, appraise, and hierarchize" (144) citizens has implications for female investigators in crime fiction. The protagonists of professional eyes work within these juridical institutions and are simultaneously positioned as potential victims. Although Foucault wrote about institutions replacing the power of monarchies to wield death, Butler broadens this discussion to include the sexism inherent within the make-up of these institutions. Butler's translation that "juridical systems of power produce the subjects they subsequently come to represent" (*Gender Trouble* 4) will form the basis of the first section in Chapter Two of this thesis. Although he did not focus on women, Foucault's ideas are relevant to a discussion of feminism and female agency in crime fiction. Some academics, such as Shane Phelan, believe that Foucauldian theories are "vital" (421) to feminist literary criticism, but Phelan also understands the reasons he is rejected by some feminists. Jana Sawicki writes that although Foucault never explicitly focuses on feminism, his theories can be used to further feminist psychoanalytic reasoning (95). While I do not agree that Foucault is "vital" to a feminist reading of literature, I apply his ideas on justice and institutions to my reading of professional eye crime novels. As Sawicki claims, Foucault's theories—at least in this area—provide an excellent starting point to analyse crime fiction. The questioning of the justice system that occurs in the novels of professional eyes is reminiscent of Foucault's arguments in *The History of Sexuality*. In both, readers can come to their own conclusions of how modern juridical systems create conflicts along class, race and gender lines.

In her 1988 book *Sisters in Crime: Feminism and the Crime Novel*, Maureen T. Reddy argues that the genre is conservative and masculinist, and the reason for a lack of professional women detectives could be employment discrimination, as discussed in the opening paragraph of this Introduction (*Sisters in Crime* 6). In the same year as Reddy's publication, Kathleen Gregory Klein released *The Woman Detective: Gender and Genre*, giving a historical overview of women detectives, concluding that true feminist crime fiction can never exist because of the masculinist conventions of the genre (Klein *The Woman Detective*). Although her focus on professional protagonists has been criticised by those such as Sherri Paris (Paris "Riding") and John S. Whitley (Whitley), I can understand the impetus of Klein's argument. The use of violence, sexualised bodies, and male individualism in early hardboiled crime is continuously read as masculinist and anti-feminist. I maintain that these same features of the hardboiled narrative can be read through the lens of feminism. A focus on professional female authors with professional female protagonists is important in this feminist reading, and has been too often overlooked. I argue that the doubling of professionalism in author and protagonist can be used to highlight feminist concerns, particularly through the real issues that women face in the criminal justice system, such as violence, institutionalised sexism, and denials of female agency. While 'plausible' female investigators may have been atypical in 1988 when Klein and Reddy published these books, much has changed in the past two-and-a-half decades, yet these readings of hardboiled crime persist. Neither Reddy nor Klein includes the works of Dorothy Uhnak in their analyses of the genre, although she was both a police officer and author from 1968 onwards, and provides a compelling argument for a plausible female investigator in hardboiled crime twenty years before the critics released their books. The lack of criticism on Uhnak is curious, as she is the first professional eye, and a very early example of feminist crime fiction, and hardboiled crime published by a woman. A reading of her fiction and autobiography, as well as her public persona in New York City newspapers as a local hero, provides a counterargument to Reddy and Klein. I address the works of Uhnak in the first chapter of this dissertation, and show how she initiated the professional eye subgenre.

In their 1981 overview of the history of women detectives, Patricia Craig and Mary Cadogan dub the unfortunate Lamaar Ransome as “nothing more than Philip Marlowe in drag” (228). This is an oft-used metaphor in women’s crime fiction criticism. In *P is for Peril*, Sue Grafton’s detective Kinsey Millhone even describes herself in the same way (Grafton 165). As a possible reasoning for this gender ambiguity, Sara Paretsky argues:

Characters have to be exaggerated to make social points. People behave in more stereotypical ways than they might in mimetic fiction because their actions have to depict concepts of power, law and justice. It is these exaggerated roles which make genre fiction an interesting source for mapping changes in social attitudes. (“Private Eyes” 12)

Indeed, professional eyes exaggerate the cases on which they worked, in order to also challenge the roles of women in social and juridical institutions. In his comparison of Paretsky’s detective Warshawski to Beauvoirian feminism, Kenneth Paradis discusses how her body is still female, and denies the inherent violence of hardboiled crime. He argues, “While Marlowe’s attitude toward his body fairly accurately reproduces Sartre’s idea of the body as an instrument of one’s grasp on the world, Warshawski’s attitude toward her own body is far more ambivalent. While she recognises the professional benefits of the ‘tough guy’ body, she also ironically marks her distance from it” (Paradis 94). The ongoing accusation of women in traditionally male roles as performing ‘drag’ will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three, along with Butler’s ideas on performativity. I argue that ‘drag’ only applies to a reading of female detectives who are implausible, as Reddy claimed. Professional eyes provide protagonists who are partially autobiographical, and in these instances are not performing drag. Therefore the gender binary that creates much of the impetus of crime fiction has been replaced with these authors’ own narratives about the struggle for female professionalism.

Likewise, the reworking of hardboiled language for women detectives has come back into critical discourse. James V. Catano follows up on Porter’s earlier theories of the

detective representing the self-made man in America in his 1990 article "The Rhetoric of Masculinity" (Catano), with more discussion on what that means for the female characters. In *Gender, Language and Myth* (1992), a book of essays edited by Glenwood Irons, Scott Christianson also discusses Porter and the use of tough-talking detectives to create American myths of masculinity ("Tough Talks"). Christianson's and Catano's arguments on female protagonists appropriating the masculine speech of the hardboiled dick, along with Porter's ideas, are built upon in the section on language and dialogue in Chapter Two of this dissertation. That chapter will concentrate on Fairstein's developments of legal language in crime fiction and how female characters have appropriated hardboiled 'masculine' dialogue.

In her 1990 article "Fear's Keen Knife," Gwen Williams writes that in the beginnings of the genre the female detective was a purely imaginative creation, and the feminisation of the genre has undermined the necessary suspense (G. Williams). In *Murder by the Book*, Sally R. Munt disagrees with Williams, arguing that women writers and protagonists challenge conventional masculinity (4). I argue that by creating suspense through the links between the investigator and victim, rather than investigator and criminal, female protagonists can eschew typical gender roles. They combine elements of the victim and the investigator, and must save themselves to complete the investigation. Munt also discounts the earlier criticism of Julian Symons, writing, "His masculine critical bias is partly a result of the representation of this perceived rigid gender divide in which women create inferior imitations, only reflecting, never directing, the generic development" (Munt 14). Indeed, if female authors create suspense through the victimisation of their protagonists, and overturn the 'damsel in distress' stereotype by having their protagonists save themselves, Symons is mistaken. Altering crime fiction tropes that silence the female victim while asserting the voice of the male investigator and criminal creates an alternate reading of the genre in terms of feminism. Stylistically the female author can create suspense, but she also focuses on the voice of the victim and transforms her into a visible and often audible character. The arguments of Williams and Munt will be analysed in Chapter Three, in the section on victims, where I continue Munt's argument of increased suspense with a female protagonist. Rosemary Erikson Johnsen believes Munt's book disregards female authors' recent

excursions into historical crime fiction, which she writes can engage younger readers in an understanding of women throughout history. Johnsen argues that Klein has a pessimistic view of crime fiction because she has chosen to concentrate on the hardboiled subgenre, which is “the least amenable to feminist revision” (112). However, I contend that through the suspenseful victimisation of the heroine and other developments of conventional tropes, the hardboiled subgenre becomes both amenable to feminist revision and pleasurable to readers. A rereading of historical crime fiction by women is important as it reclaims the genre from male critics who have silenced women’s voices in the past, and studies of historical fiction like those published by Johnsen and John Scaggs (122) are relevant. However, to ignore current and future hardboiled women’s fiction seems shortsighted. This thesis concentrates on the more contemporary succession of professional eye crime to show how they link the development of fictional professional women with the gains of real women in the criminal justice system.

The 1990s saw the publication of two very important texts in women’s crime literature criticism; Glenwood Irons’s *Feminism in Women’s Detective Fiction* in 1995, and *Detective Agency* in 1999 by Priscilla L. Walton and Manina Jones. In Irons’s second book, Christianson follows up on his earlier essay with “Talkin’ Trash and Kickin’ Butt: Sue Grafton’s Hardboiled Feminism,” in which he analyses Grafton’s use of American wisecracks to subvert the genre and create a space for the woman detective (“Talkin’ Trash”). Christianson’s essay is an important beginning point for my research on dialogue in professional eye novels, a combination of the hardboiled feminist language developed by Grafton, and professional jargon. Irons’s book covers many literary movements of feminist crime fiction using feminist criticisms. Susan J. Leonardi writes about the importance of Heilbrun and the academic woman detective (Leonardi). In her chapter, Sandra Tomc argues that female detectives provide further suspense to the genre, as they are interchangeable with their victims (Tomc), a view that rightly disagrees with William’s ideas on feminisation lessening the suspense in crime novels. The book concludes with Kathleen Gregory Klein’s analysis of lesbian detectives, which implies that the lesbian detective can be truly feminist because she is a third sex (*Habeas Corpus*). The final chapter of this thesis

refers to Klein's argument as it invites an interesting reading of lesbian crime fiction. However, I favour Butler's suggestion that lesbianism is not a universal feminist experience, particularly as there are so many different intersecting feminisms around the globe. After reading Irons's book, Morag Shiach concludes, "The desire to find in detective fiction a satisfying realisation of female autonomy results in disappointment for most of the contributors to this volume" (815). A more encouraging reading might find in Irons's collection a celebration of how the female detective subverts and challenges traditional gender roles. Two oversights of the collection are its absence of inquiry into the professional protagonist, something that is reflected more through Jones's and Walton's book, and lack of discussion of non-white female detectives such as Barbara Neely's Blanche White series.

While male critics such as Marty Roth and H. Douglas Thomson may well write that the genre has reached "perfection"—the actual term used by Thomson in his 1931 *Masters of Mystery* (274)—Jones and Walton argue that by 1999, "the woman as tough professional investigator has been the single most striking development in the detective novel in the past decade" (10). Jones and Walton also investigate reader-response and increasing publications by women, an astute approach to the crime genre that will also apply in this thesis, along with close reading of texts. The discrediting of female hardboiled detectives by naming them 'Philip Marlowe in drag' is discussed in detail, Jones and Walton concluding that the questioning of gender roles creates a reverse discourse—to use the Foucauldian term—and the stories can "be read as producing a critique of the formula by reproducing it with strategic differences, thus redirecting the trajectory of dominant discourse" (92). The writings of Foucault and Butler are applied to the crime genre, as well as Dennis Porter's arguments on hardboiled language. Porter's discussion of tough talk as a response to the corrupt authorities and disorder of the 1920s is applied to the feminist movement of the 1970s, with the double-reading that women detectives use wisecracks to resist corrupt authority and masculine tradition. Walton and Jones believe it is "a mode of resistance more plausible and ethical—and potentially subversive—than, say, physical violence" (131).

Recently there has been a renewed interest in women's crime fiction, particularly in North American postgraduate university dissertations. In her 2010 thesis, Andrea

Braithewaite from McGill University argues that girl detectives such as Veronica Mars use witty dialogue to talk back to the ideas of postfeminism (Braithewaite), and Luisa T. Cole of Georgetown University discusses whether nineteenth century women detectives were subversive or conformist (Cole). In 2011 there was a sudden proliferation of crime fiction thesis subjects. Caitlin F. Jones from Georgetown University argues that Nancy Drew influenced many contemporary women detectives such as Kinsey Millhone (C. Jones), Miriam Michelle Robinson from Boston University concentrates on the use of crime genre elements by writers such as Edgar Allan Poe and Mark Twain (Robinson), Katherine Ann Ostrom from the University of Minnesota researches the gendered writings of Latin American crime novelists (Ostrom), and Melanie A. Cattrell from the University of New Mexico published a thesis on the gendered viewing of television crime drama (Cattrell). The following year saw Nathan Holmes of The University of Chicago publish a dissertation on urban decline in crime films of the early 1970s (Holmes), and University of Maryland's Erin Rebecca Bone Steele researched the use of true crime in nineteenth-century theatre (Steele). Theses on crime published in 2013 include two from the Chapel Hill campus of the University of North Carolina; Erin Bartel Buller's dissertation on the use of evidence in twentieth-century American novels (Buller), and Angelo Castagnino's dissertation on intellectual detectives in Italian crime fiction (Castagnino). In 2014, there were a number of Ph.D. theses on crime fiction, again from America; Jennifer R. Weiss from the University of New York writes about the importance of crime fiction in America before the hardboiled period (Weiss), Lisa Rose Williams from Michigan State University examines the development of jazz and hardboiled crime fiction in America following World War One (L. Williams), Aileen Marie Cruz of the University of California focuses on colonial Japanese detective fiction of the 1930s (Cruz), Marc Christian Evans from Drew University submitted a thesis on the hardboiled genre's debt to medieval romance (Evans), and Rodrigo Fuentes of Cornell University argues that contemporary Central American fiction is heavily influenced by the *testimonio* detective genre (Fuentes).

These examples of recent theses on crime fiction generally focus on early texts in the genre or the male detectives of crime fiction translated from languages other than English.

The evolution of the feminist investigator seems to have been abandoned, except for her incarnation on television. Paretsky and Grafton continue to publish their popular feminist series, and these have been discussed in detail by critics in the 1990s such as Christianson, Klein and Reddy. Christianson focuses specifically on hardboiled language to create a feminist 'talking back' ("Talkin' Trash"), while Reddy finds Grafton and Paretsky use the hardboiled mode to highlight sexism in society (Reddy "Feminist Counter-Tradition"). Klein on the other hand, finds the whole subgenre resistant to feminist revision (Klein *The Woman Detective*). However, there is little discussion of the next generation of authors who are former professional women, or the authority attributed to them by publishers and readers. It is disheartening to read, as recently as 2005, academics such as Charles Rzepka labeling feminist crime fiction (or, it seems, any authored by women after the golden age) as "alternative" detection (240). Feminist crime fiction has become mainstream, to the point that it has splintered into sub-divisions including lesbian, African-American feminist, and professional eye fiction. Throughout this thesis I approach the alterations made to feminist crime by professional eyes, particularly to ideas of authority and violence, therefore addressing the absence in scholarship.

Authenticity and the Professional Eye

In women's crime fiction there is an evident tendency to look to the past, rather than at the current trends. Women with professions in the criminal justice system have begun to author crime fiction with feminist protagonists in an extension of what Heilbrun hoped for the future of women's writing, however, critical readings of these texts are conspicuously absent. Dorothy Uhnak was the first of the professional eyes and is therefore important in a study of them. After working for fourteen years as a New York City detective, Uhnak published her autobiography *Policewoman* in 1964, and four years later published the first of her Christie Opara trilogy (which would be adapted into the 1974 Blaxploitation television film and series *Get Christie Love!*). Anne Holt was a Norwegian police lawyer and Minister of Justice, as well as author of the series featuring lesbian detective Hanne Wilhelmsen, the first of which was published in 1993. In 1996, Linda Fairstein, head of the sex crimes unit of the

Manhattan District Attorney's office, published *Final Jeopardy*. It is the first of her Alexandra Cooper series of which there are currently sixteen novels. The following year, forensic anthropologist Kathy Reichs published *Déjà Dead*, the first of her Temperance Brennan series of which there are currently seventeen novels. This series was then adapted into the popular television show *Bones*, which is currently broadcasting its tenth season. More recently in Australia there have been the publications of police officers P.M. Newton, Y.A. Erskine and Karen M. Davis. As each of the Australian authors have fewer publications, there will be a discussion of multiple authors in Chapter Four. The introduction of these professional eyes into the genre demonstrates how women have attained acceptance in criminal justice careers. The employment discrimination described by Reddy is in the process of change, and yet this change has not been represented in academic criticism. This thesis remedies the absence of criticism on professional eye fiction through a study of the ways the authors adapt and challenge the crime genre, and how this reflects real criminal justice systems.

One of the ways this is achieved is through readers' trust in the 'truth' of the professional eye narrative and voice. Narrative and literary theoretical texts such as Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis* (1953), Seymour Chatman's *Story and Discourse* (1978) and J. Hillis Miller's *Reading Narrative* (1998) focus on "the interpretation of reality through literary representation or 'imitation'" (E. Auerbach 554), which is relevant to an examination of the professional eye through this idea of "representation." This literary representation of reality becomes problematic when readers associate the fiction as an authoritative truth-telling narrative. The difficulties faced by readers are best exemplified in Chapter One of this thesis, in the discussion of how readers for Little Brown Publishing identified Dorothy Uhnak's initial attempts at fiction as encompassing a "hybrid form" (Seitlin). Furthermore, this hybridisation only troubles readers when the author is female, as she doubly resists masculine authority through her fiction and her real-life profession. This is discussed further in Chapter Two, through an examination of Linda Fairstein's treatment by the media (Burns; Little) following the 2002 overturning of her career-defining 1989 Central Park Jogger convictions. When problems were identified in the investigative and trial procedures, Fairstein's literary work was questioned alongside her legal work because her authority was

under question. Despite this problematic nature of female authority, the professional eyes' representation of truth in crime fiction has not been discussed adequately in literary criticism.

Ann Banfield's *Unspeakable Sentences* (1982) touches close to the argument, without applying it to the crime genre, when she writes, "The author, unlike either narrator or character, is not ordinarily represented in the text; his ordering hand is perhaps 'betrayed' in it, but not in the form of a fictional person" (211). Banfield's description of the 'betraying' hand of the author gives the impression that the author is removed from the fictional representation they have created, which is relevant in a study of authors who use an element of the autobiographical in their fiction, an extension of 'write what you know.' Perhaps the closest standpoint to mine is that of Leigh Gilmore in *Autobiographics* (1994), which focuses on autobiography by women. Gilmore writes, "autobiography draws its social authority from its relation to culturally dominant discourses of truth telling and not, as had previously been asserted, from its privileged relation to 'real life'" (14). Gilmore convincingly argues that the faith of readers in the 'truth' of an autobiography gives the genre its agency, an opinion that is relevant to my discussion of Uhnak in the following chapter, and Fairstein in Chapter Two, through a focus on their use of autobiographical nonfiction to supplement their novels.

This representation of 'truth' also applies to novels with autobiographical elements, such as those by professional eyes, which straddle the boundaries between crime fiction, true crime, and autobiography. The similarities between Uhnak's autobiographical *Policewoman* and the first of her fictional works, *The Bait*, are numerous and transparent, as discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. The fact that these narratives are based on true events (however transformed they are in fictional form) is a major marketing ploy for the publishing houses.

One only has to look at the covers of the professional eye novels to see how important their experiences are to sales. The first edition hardcover of Kathy Reichs's primary novel *Déjà Dead* (Reichs *Déjà Dead*) has a plain cover, the title in much larger font (almost the entire cover) than her name. The back cover is filled with reviews from a mix of

crime authors (such as Tess Gerritsen) and criminal justice professionals (former FBI, police, and forensic specialists). By the time Arrow Books issued a second printing of her novels, the covers had changed radically. The cover of *Death du Jour* (Reichs *Death Du Jour*) sports her name almost twice as large as the title, and advertises itself by the television series. The bottom of the back cover states, “Like Dr. Tempe Brennan, Kathy Reichs is a top forensic anthropologist. Thrillers don’t get more real than this.” The importance of ‘reality’ in marketing is clear, as well as drawing new readers from the television adaptation *Bones*.

Bones also markets itself through Reichs’s professional experience, each episode informing



Fig. 1: Fairstein cover

viewers, “Inspired by the life of forensic anthropologist and author Kathy Reichs.” Linda Fairstein’s novels have a very similar marketing approach. *Night Watch* advertises itself in almost the exact wording of Reichs’s novel. “Like Assistant D.A. Alex Cooper, Linda Fairstein was once a top New York City prosecutor. Crime novels can’t get any more real.” The final sentence is in larger, yellow font. Again ‘reality’ becomes an important marketing tool, although in Fairstein’s case the setting of New York City is also invoked. The front cover (fig. 1) shows the legs of a heeled woman, with a busy

Manhattan road behind her (a sign for East 27th Street is easily visible.)

A quotation from Reichs on the cover reads, “Fairstein has the expertise and the experience and it shows.” The quotation recommends Fairstein to the readers of the more popular Reichs, highlighting her ‘expertise’ and therefore linking her to Reichs as another professional eye. The use of setting to attract readers is often employed in crime fiction, particularly with lesser-known authors. The Fairstein cover is subtle compared to first novels by new authors, or newly-translated international authors. *1222* was the first novel of Anne Holt’s to be translated into English, and rather than market her through her ‘expertise,’ the cover displays a pristine snowy, Scandinavian setting and links her to well-

known (in the English-speaking canon) authors. A quotation claims that she is, “a mash-up of Stieg Larsson, Jeffery Deaver and Agatha Christie.” Her biography appears inside the

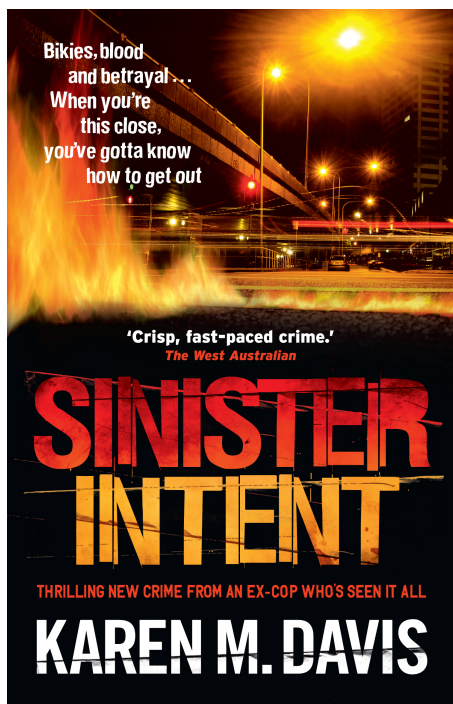


Fig. 2: Davis cover

front cover, so that readers are drawn by the promise of a new Scandinavian Larsson-type thriller, rather than the experience of the unknown—at least to English-speaking readers—author.

Covers of Australian professional eye novels published within Australia, on the other hand, place more importance on marketing the professionalism of the author rather than exotic settings. *Sinister Intent* (fig. 2) is Karen M. Davis’s first novel, and has not sold the millions of copies overseas that Holt’s novels have, and so marketing focuses on her ‘expertise’ in an attempt to win over domestic readers. Under the title it reads, “Thrilling new crime from an ex-cop who’s seen it all.” Following other examples, she

might be marketed to overseas readers through the settings of Bondi Beach where the narrative takes place, but the Australian cover shows an unrecognisable bridge at nighttime. The Bondi setting is not as exotic to Australians as Holt’s snowy cover, and so Davis is marketed through her experience.

The importance of ‘truth telling’ in autobiography also applies to these women, particularly Uhnak, Reichs and Fairstein, as readers assume certain realism in the portrayal of the women’s former professions. This is made clear when readers are promised from the outset that crime fiction does not “get more real than this.” Each of these author’s novels feature protagonists who are idealised and constructed characters, an amalgamation of the authors’ lived-experiences and the fantasy of a feminist, professional woman. Hence, the professional eye creates narrators (arguably even in their autobiographies) who are merely representations of female professionals, much the same as crime novelists without backgrounds in the justice system. What, then, is the difference between these two groups of authors, other than marketing strategies by publishing houses? Perhaps the marketing of

‘truth telling’ and ‘real’ experiences points to the difference—that readers respond to the idea of ‘truth’ in the narratives, to the believable representation of women in the justice system. The difference may not be revealed necessarily in the writing style or technique authors employ, but in the simple fact that they are women who have worked in criminal justice professions. They embody a real change in feminist crime fiction; the introduction of a ‘plausible’ professional woman investigator. Throughout this thesis I explore whether there is a difference not only in the perceptions of readers but in the narrative style itself.

This thesis will fit into critical debate as a much-needed study of crime fiction with female protagonists, authored by women who have worked in the criminal justice system. I will aim to show how the genre can no longer be called ‘masculine,’ and that the ever-changing juridical culture has affected the literary tradition. I will show how the professional eye has brought about the developments that Heilbrun and Reddy suggested were so conspicuously absent in women’s literature. Certain parameters were set in order to choose authors for this dissertation. The authors are women who have worked in the criminal justice system, directly involved with the investigations and trials of crimes, who then published crime fiction novels with female protagonists. There are many authors who fall into this category, including lawyers Frances Fyfield (pseudonym of Frances Hegarty) who published the 1988 to 1996 Helen West series set in London, Lisa Scottoline with her series following the all-women law firm in Philadelphia that began in 1993, and Kerry Greenwood, Australian author of the historical 1920s Phryne Fisher series which began in the late 1980s and currently comprises of twenty novels; Californian court investigators Abigail Padgett with her bipolar protagonist Bo Bradley in the 1990s series, and Nancy Taylor Rosenberg with her Carolyn Sullivan and Judge Lily Forrester series, published between 1993 and 2010; forensic technician Patricia Cornwell with her popular Kay Scarpetta novels set in Richmond and Florida, of which there are over twenty novels since 1990; private detectives Tara Moss and her ex-model Mak Vanderwall novels set in Sydney from 1999 onwards, and Nancy Baker Jacobs with her early 1990s Devon MacDonald series set in Minneapolis; and Scottish police officer Karen Campbell with her Anna Cameron series set in Glasgow, published since 2008.

The list was further culled by disqualifying authors who cannot be easily termed as 'feminist' such as Cornwell. Although her protagonist, Kay Scarpetta, is an intelligent professional, the novels have caused much polarisation for scholars who argue that she represents traditional conservative views of gender in her novels (see Mizejewski "Illusive Evidence" 11; and Reddy "Women Detectives" 206). Authors who write in the historical crime genre such as Greenwood were also excluded as I link the novels to modern criminal justice systems that the authors have actually worked within. The chosen authors are mostly American, followed by a chapter on the more recent works of Australian professional eyes. Dorothy Uhnak, as the original professional eye, is the focus of the first chapter of this dissertation, while Kathy Reichs and Linda Fairstein—very recognised names in the genre, with a proliferation of works to draw upon—make up Chapters Two and Three. The final chapter focuses on the recent proliferation of Australian professional eyes.

Although it is often overlooked as a formulaic genre, an analysis of women in crime fiction is important as it reflects popular culture as well as real women with legal power. A large step in ending gender oppression is to look for a future with equality of the sexes in the criminal justice system. This will be demonstrated by concentrating on the ideas of Foucauldian power, performativity, essentialism and violence in the fiction of professional eyes.

For the purpose of this thesis, 'feminism' is the argument in support of equality in workplace, society, family and discourses. A feminist author, as Marty S. Knepper defines it, is "a writer, female or male, who shows as a norm and not as freaks, women capable of intelligence, moral responsibility, competence, and independent action; who presents women as central characters, as the heroes, not just as 'the other sex'" ("Agatha" 399). The authors evaluated in this thesis necessitate that this 'feminism' will concentrate on white, western women, although women professional eyes from African-American, Aboriginal, Latin-American, African and Asian decent will surely be a forthcoming development. Often, crime novels from non-white authors are termed 'post-colonial crime fiction,' and as Ed Christian argues:

Only those who are themselves post-colonialists can adequately comprehend and explain to others the full complexity of feeling and attitude found in post-colonial literature or among post-colonial peoples. It has also been argued that given the long marginalization of these peoples, to appropriate their critical space by pretending a thorough knowledge of their most valuable cultural insights is in effect to recolonize them. (2)

For example, presently in crime fiction the women of Botswana are represented by Alexander McCall Smith, a white Englishman. Although novelists should be able to have protagonists of any racial, religious, or sexual background, my argument is in favour of women authors with first-hand experience of their social and physical roles in the criminal justice system, who can speak from a personal and intersectional standpoint.

In the following chapters, I examine novels by these professional eyes, and the impact of this increasingly popular literary genre on ideas of justice, authority, violence, feminism, and authorial intent. The aims of this project are to show how crime fiction, as a popular genre, moves contemporaneously with social developments, which makes it a useful genre for feminist narratives. As well as the novels and literary criticism studied, nonfiction, interviews and correspondence by these authors provide essential resources for this dissertation.

Chapter One focuses on Dorothy Uhnak and the origins of the female professional eye during the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s in America. Leroy Panek describes the ‘trauma of change’ that the introduction of professional women had on the crime genre, and this is explored through Uhnak’s autobiography *Policewoman* (1964), and her fictional Christie Opara trilogy (1968-1970). It begins with the questions, why are readers so intrigued by the perceived authority of professional eye crime fiction? How has the introduction of women into formerly masculinist occupations created a ‘trauma of change’ within the crime genre? Uhnak’s personal correspondence and a comparison of her fiction and nonfiction—particularly the depictions of violence and institutional sexism—form a major methodology in answering these questions. Val McDermid’s *A Suitable Job for a*

Woman (1995) also forms a basis for my analysis. Published the same year as *The Mermaids Singing*, the first of her popular Detective Inspector Carol Jordan and Dr. Tony Hill crime series, McDermid's nonfiction book examines real female private detectives and their reasons for pursuing a career in such a male-dominated area. This leads me to ask, with the similarities between feminist crime novels such as those by McDermid, Amanda Cross and P.D. James to those of Uhnak, does the professional eye bring anything new to the genre? Finally, through a discussion of *Get Christie Love!* (1974), the Blaxploitation television adaptation of Uhnak's novel *The Ledger* (1970), I ask, how has this adaptation engaged in different ways with the 'trauma of change'? This begins with a discussion of adaptation theory, which introduces questions of audience reception and 'authenticity.' *Get Christie Love!* was adapted featuring an African-American protagonist, a product of the Blaxploitation era of Hollywood. Ed Guerrero and William R. Grant are discussed in terms of Blaxploitation, while I also refer to Stephane Dunn's and bell hooks's inquiries into female spectatorship.

In the second chapter I analyse the use of language in professional eye novels with a focus on those by Linda Fairstein. How does Fairstein's status as a professional eye affect her portrayal in the media? This will be examined through a comparison of the media attention surrounding the Central Park Jogger case of 1989, Sarah Burns's *The Central Park Five* (2011), and Fairstein's responses through nonfiction and fiction. I also ask, how does Fairstein represent institutional sexism through her fiction? The critical writings of Michel Foucault and Judith Butler on hierarchies within judicial institutions are major methodologies, and lead me to further analysis of how Fairstein uses language within her novels to allow her protagonist to negotiate this hierarchical space. The scholarship on judicial systems by Foucault, Butler, Débora de Carvalho Figueiredo, and Maggie O'Neill and Lizzie Seal are important in answering this question. There is an examination of women's roles in public speaking and in the courtroom, supported by the scholarship of Bonnie McElhinny and Janet Cotterill. The chapter studies the use of professional jargon in the novels, and I argue that by combining this jargon with hardboiled modes of language, the professional protagonist 'reauthorises' herself.

The third chapter discusses the conventional female body within crime fiction and the use of the forensic gaze, by focusing on the fiction of Kathy Reichs. I begin with her use of the tourist gaze to highlight global feminist concerns. Methodology for this includes close reading of Reichs's fiction, along with the critical work of John Urry and Jonas Larsen, John Scaggs, and Sue Turnbull. I also ask, how does Reichs depict sexism within institutions in her fiction and shape female professionalism within these institutions? This section examines how essentialist perceptions are challenged by replacing the male body with the female within crime fiction, supported by the scholarship of Michel Foucault and Jana Sawicki. Dennis Porter, Griselda Pollock and Linda Mizejewski are important references in a study of voyeurism and how this is developed through a female forensic investigator in Reichs's novels. The link between the bodies of the female victim and female investigator are examined, and I highlight how placing the protagonist in dangerous situations creates suspense, and allows the protagonists to become their own saviours.

The fourth chapter returns to the idea of a 'trauma of change' that has infected the crime genre since Uhnak's originating professional eye novels. I examine how this has shifted from a psychological trauma to a physical one and turn focus from American to Australian crime fiction. How do professional eyes represent their experiences of silencing and trauma within the brotherhood of the Australian police forces? This chapter will focus on the works of three authors to answer this; P.M. Newton's *The Old School* (2010) and *Beams Falling* (2014), Y.A. Erskine's *The Brotherhood* (2011) and *The Betrayal* (2012), and Karen M. Davis's *Sinister Intent* (2013) and *Deadly Obsession* (2014). I examine the ways that intersections of sex and race, particularly in Newton's novels, affect the fictional female officers through their coercion into silence. Following this I ask, how do these police officers internalise the threat of physical violence? Belinda Neil's autobiographical *Under Siege* (2014) is linked to close readings of the novels of professional eyes through descriptions of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and institutional sexism, particularly the threat of rape to the female officer. This also leads to a discussion on the differences of rape within professional eye novels and the rape-revenge depicted in other popular crime fiction, supported by the criticism of Julianne Pidduck, Christine Holmlund and Linda Mizejewski. Finally, how do

lesbian police officers negotiate a space within the institution? This focuses on the use of drag performance in feminist crime fiction, followed by an examination of lesbian officers in the novels of Newton and Erskine, as well as some discussion of Norwegian professional eye Anne Holt.

Through a study of the uses of discourse, essentialism, genre, and the author, my suggestion is that the promise of 'reality' and 'truth' by professional eyes resonates with a readership of contemporary women who are faced with 'plausible' feminist investigators. Although challenges subsist in the integration of women into the criminal justice system, these authors have ushered in a new era in the real world of criminal justice, just as they have in fiction. Much has changed in crime fiction in the three decades since Heilbrun despaired over the lack of autonomous, professional female characters. Professional eyes mark an important development, as they are women who have indeed imagined protagonists with the autonomy they themselves have achieved.

CHAPTER ONE

Dorothy Uhnak:

The Original Professional Eye

Crime fiction is often cited as a realistic portrayal of society, drawing its conflicts from real disputes. Certainly, as a popular genre it does derive many narratives and conventions from current social contexts. Catherine Nickerson claims, "The mystery of mysteries, if you will, is how a genre can achieve such wild success as a mode of relaxation while representing in a generally realistic style the most anxiety-producing issues and narratives of a culture" (744). This representation is integral to the popularity of the genre, and even more specifically the popularity of the professional eye. By drawing upon contemporary social anxieties, crime novels can guide readers to a sense of order when investigations are concluded and perpetrators brought to justice. This is characteristic of feminist professional eye novels, which occupy a contradictory position within the genre. On the one hand, the professional eye gains readers through the representation of reality; the marketing of narratives based on real experiences. This marketed authenticity is combined with the conventional tropes of the genre.

Indeed, it could also be argued that the popularity of many crime novels comes from the disregard of 'realistic' social conventions, and often the most recognised protagonists are outsiders in the style of Poe's detective Auguste Dupin, Doyle's Sherlock Holmes and Christie's Hercule Poirot. Although all of these characters are middle-class white men, they are alienated because of their strange behaviour and shunning of social conventions. The outsider character can view the behaviour of her society, but struggles to integrate. As such, Temperance Brennan from the Kathy Reichs series is often excluded because of her sex, just as Fairstein's protagonist Alexandra Cooper continuously has to explain her reasons for working in the sex crimes unit. Although not socially awkward in the tradition of Holmes and Dupin, these protagonists are part of a newer professional crime novel in which the female protagonist is an outsider because of her sex. The police and justice systems of the

west are traditionally masculine, and the residual essentialist culture raises difficulties for the women, described by Leroy Panek as the “trauma” of change:

Before Dorothy Uhnak’s Christie Opara women did not play a significant role in police novels. With the passage of civil rights legislation, however, police departments had to accept women into their ranks. From Uhnak onwards the trauma of this change and the challenge of incorporating women into formerly all male organisations became a major theme. (165)

Uhnak certainly introduced a challenge to the masculine institution in both her real life and her fiction, and this has been repeated throughout feminist crime fiction into contemporary professional eye novels.

Throughout this chapter I ask, why are readers so intrigued by the perceived authority of professional eye crime fiction? How has the introduction of women into formerly masculinist occupations created a ‘trauma of change’ within the crime genre? To answer this I begin with a reading of Uhnak’s personal correspondence in regards to why she began publishing fiction based on her professional experiences. This question will also be answered through a comparison of Uhnak’s autobiographical *Policewoman* with her fictional Christie Opara trilogy, particularly focusing on depictions of sexism and violence. There is also examination of Val McDermid’s study of real female private investigators in *A Suitable Job for a Woman* (1995). With the similarities between early feminist crime novels and those of Uhnak, does the professional eye bring anything new to the genre? Following this is an analysis of the Blaxploitation television adaptation of Uhnak’s novels into *Get Christie Love!* (1974). Despite being pulled off the air after only one season, how has this adaptation engaged in different ways with the ‘trauma of change’?

The 'trauma of change' described by Panek refers to the psychological disturbance felt by the police institution and its male officers, rather than physical trauma to officers. As Panek points out, the trauma is often expressed in police procedurals through policemen's fears of female colleagues who are imagined to be physically inept and dangerous (166), not through any actual trauma received following their work alongside female officers. Physical trauma will be discussed with regards to Australian police officers in Chapter Four of this dissertation. The years that Dorothy Uhnak published her autobiography and Christie Opara trilogy were very turbulent times for the New York Police Department (henceforth NYPD), and as such it is interesting to regard how she fits into the context of female police officers in the NYPD through a short history, and her own personal reasons for joining and then writing about her experiences.

The modern police systems of the Western world originated in 1800 with the Prefecture of Paris set in place by Napoleon and developed under Eugène François Vidocq from 1811 to 1832.² With the Industrial Revolution, London experienced an increase in urbanisation and with the rapidly increasing size of the city there was an increase in both crime and its reportage. Following this, in 1829, the Metropolitan Police Act (Worthington 61) saw the introduction of a modern police system like those of Glasgow and Paris. In 1845, the NYPD was established, based upon the London police system, initially only hiring women to monitor female prisoners. The NYPD hired its first four female police officers in 1891, and its first female detective was Isabella Goodwin, hired in 1912.³ By 1953, the year Uhnak joined the NYPD, women were still a minority within the institution, were required to hold a degree and dealt primarily with female prisoners and witnesses. Despite fourteen years as a detective, two decorations during her career, and much positive media attention, Uhnak was not promoted (Carlson).

The years leading up to the publication of Uhnak's autobiography *Policewoman* (1964) were characterised by shifting gender roles within the NYPD. In 1961, Felicia

² For more, see: <www.interieur.gouv.fr>.

³ For more, see NYPDPEA: Policewomen's Endowment Association "The History of Women in the NYPD" at: <www.nypdpea.com/History.html>.

Shpritzer sued to be allowed to take the sergeant's examination, resulting in 126 female police officers sitting it for the first time in 1964 (the same year *Policewoman* was published). In 1967, Schpritzer and Gertrude Schimmel sued again in order to become the first two female lieutenants (Darien 69), and this same year Uhnak retired to write fulltime. The following year, Uhnak published the first of three crime fiction novels featuring New York City police officer Christie Opara; *The Bait* (1968), *The Witness* (1969), and *The Ledger* (1970). It was not until 1973 that the female police officers' department was fully integrated into the NYPD, and in 1974 *Get Christie Love!*, a made-for-television movie based on *The Ledger*, was aired by the American Broadcasting Company. With no preceding professional eyes to inspire her, it is interesting to examine the reasons that Uhnak began to write fiction based on her real experiences as a professional in the criminal justice system. An examination of Uhnak's personal correspondence at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center in Boston University reveals how she was received by contemporary readers, and her own experiences of writing as a pioneering professional eye (in fact, the very first professional eye).

Firstly, letters exchanged between Uhnak and the editors of Simon and Schuster Publishers in the early 1960s expose her reasoning for publishing crime based on her own experiences. After reading her original manuscript for a novel, editor Charlotte Seitlin mailed a rejection letter to Uhnak, instead suggesting the alternative of nonfiction. In this letter, dated December 2, 1960, Seitlin wrote to Uhnak:

We're most intrigued by your background and very special vantage point. As one reader said, 'I wonder if Mrs. Uhnak could be persuaded to write about her experiences in the first person. Seems to me, her material might have much more impact as a personal narrative than it does in this fictional form which, for me, was contrived, one-dimensional and melodramatic.' (Seitlin)

This letter reveals that the professional eye subgenre originates from readers, who want a "personal" narrative rather than something "contrived." Uhnak was initially angry

at the suggestion, as she wanted to write completely fictional novels, and four days following Seitlin's letter she wrote to a Mr Kaplan about the suggestion and concluded: "she stated she thought it would be a great deal easier for me, and more interesting to the reader, for me to try to set down a first-person narrative of all my experiences as a policewoman" (Uhnak. Letter to Mr. Kaplan). She followed Seitlin's suggestion to instead write an autobiography about her professional experiences. Uhnak's difficulties did not end there, however, as two years later her updated manuscript had still not been accepted for publication. In a letter to Uhnak's agent on June 6, 1962, Little Brown Publishers explained:

The other readers of the manuscript here were not nearly as enthusiastic as Alan and I. The majority felt that the book would be merely a series of vignettes or thinly fictionalized case histories which have as fiction no development of plot or characterization and as nonfiction no strong internal structure. The feeling was that in this hybrid form, the book could not possibly succeed. (Little Brown)

The issue with Uhnak's book was partly due to the "hybrid" status it inhabited as a combination of autobiography and fiction. In the Introduction of *Policewoman*, as the manuscript came to be titled, Uhnak explains to her readers, "the stories are true, but they are fashioned by the writer's imagination, combined with the acquired knowledge of the policewoman. I feel it is my obligation as a writer to be selective, to change and maneuver facts into an orderly combination" (*Policewoman* xvii). This difficulty in situating the book as fact or fiction has proved challenging to many autobiographical books like Uhnak's, but there seemed to be greater concern for her publishers than was necessary considering the police procedurals published by male authors since the 1800s. These included Vidocq's 1828 *Mémoires* and the unidentified author of William Russell's 1849 "Recollections of a Police Officer" in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (Knight *Crime Fiction* 23-30), former New York City police commissioner Richard Enright's *Vultures in the Dark* and *The Borrowed Shield*, both published in 1925; Californian police officer Leslie T. White's *Harness Bull* and *Homicide* from

1937; *PC Richardson's First Case* (1933) by former Scotland Yard commissioner, Sir Basil Thomson; the various novels of other former policemen such as Johnathan Craig and Maurice Procter (*Knight Crime Fiction* 153-5); and the widespread popularity of *Dragnet*, first on the radio from 1949, and then broadcast on television from 1951.⁴ Each of these police procedurals was written by former criminal justice professionals (or used professional experts in the case of *Dragnet*) who used their own experience to form hybrid fiction. Enright was also professionally involved in setting up the NYPD Women's Precinct in 1921, although he maintained "rigid job categories by sex as a means of protecting the privileged position of male workers" (Darien 47). The hesitation from publishers such as Little Brown was clearly less to do with how viable Uhnak's writing would be in the market, but with her role as a woman in a volatile pre-civil rights America. Finally, despite these concerns, Simon and Schuster agreed to publish *Policewoman* in 1964.

It is reasonable to attribute some of the success of a novice author with the marketing of their debut book. Therefore, an examination of contemporary advertising and newspaper articles on Uhnak's police and authorial work proves illuminating, particularly in terms of her precarious role as a female professional. Uhnak would have been recognisable to some readers through her presence in the New York City newspapers following two high-profile arrests. In November 1954 *Daily News* reported that she "kayoed a husky six-foot masher...after he punched her in the face" ("Lady Cop's Gun"), and in October 1955 she captured another mugger using a judo move. The latter arrest was particularly well publicised, although the reports emphasised Uhnak's beauty and status as a mother and wife. *Daily News* named her a "wildcat" (Lafer), while *Long Island Sunday Press* featured twee, posed photographs of Uhnak performing a 'judo flip' on her husband (supposedly the move that she used on the captured criminal). In the draft of an advertisement for *Policewoman*, Simon and Schuster marketed the authenticity of Uhnak's professional eye status, claiming, "This is the stuff of daily life for Dorothy Uhnak, who has combined an outstanding police career with successful, happy marriage and motherhood. Her book is a revelation of the horrifying subsurface of New York, and of the daily adventures, shocks,

⁴ For more, see: <archive.org/details/Dragnet_OTR>.

temptations and dangers of a profession little understood by the ordinary citizen who is its beneficiary" (Simon and Schuster).

This marketing of *Policewoman* as 'authentic' and therefore valuable to readers who become "beneficiaries" (particularly as Uhnak was still a mother and homemaker) was a precarious venture for the marketing of a book that deals with institutional sexism in the late 1960s, a subject largely disregarded by the preceding male-authored police procedurals. The hybridisation of fact and fiction extended to a hybrid of the female in professional and private spheres. This made for some interesting fan mail, and many of these letters are still available through the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center. The majority of these letters are from male readers, although her family has donated only a fraction of Uhnak's surviving correspondence. There were those readers who were unimpressed with Uhnak's claim to authenticity. In a letter from August 1964, a man who calls himself 'Hal Quistgaard' accuses Uhnak of lying about authoring the book, claiming she had a ghost-writer and was trying to "hookwink the public" (Quistgaard) into believing that she could have written her own autobiography. In 1974, Uhnak received a letter signed by a 'Harvey H. Hevenor,' who accuses her of witchcraft because of her honest depiction of men, writing "You have stripped us poor set upon men down to our very bones so that all the world may see how poorly we are constructed. Not content with that witchery in one case you even cut off our rod of Jacob. Tis for shame gal, tis for shame this casting down of thy rightful lords and masters" (Hevenor). A trend is revealed in the letters she received from male readers, to object when a woman is given authority while the male body—particularly the genitals—become subject to violence within her fiction (therefore subverting the usual binaries). The accusation that she is not a 'writer' also emanates from a fear of gender subversion, with contemporary male authors perceived as more authoritative and marketable, while Uhnak's position as a female author of a female protagonist was more problematic. Even as late as 1981, Uhnak received a letter signed by 'The Macho Men of America,' accusing her of claims to authenticity that would only hurt women, with the indictment, "by publicizing your fantasies, and in the TV Guide no less, the only thing you will be accomplishing will be to get our beautiful ladies of the opposite and "WEAKER" [sic] sex hurt, because many of them

will believe your point of view" (MACHO MEN). It is clear that the perceived and marketed authenticity of a professional eye draws readers to the novels, and that it polarises them greatly.

A surprising element to Uhnak's fan letters are the amount of readers who were male prisoners, but found her challenge to the justice system aligned with their own. One of these was from T.L. "Lenny" Spina, a former detective and at the time of writing his correspondence in October 1973, prisoner at Queens Detention Center. He wrote, "having been sent here on 'manufactured' evidence, I read with sheer enthusiasm your fine job of writing this piece of 'fiction'" (Spina). By placing 'fiction' in inverted commas, Spina suggests a kind of conspiracy in embedding unpalatable truths within fiction. Whether Spina was innocent or guilty, he still found within Uhnak's novels an understanding of the hierarchical justice system that squared with his own. Another prisoner, Karamoko Baye (formerly Antonio Fernandez) also empathised with her novels and their depiction of an unequal justice system. In a letter written in July 1975, he told her:

Experience is the foundation of all knowledge, Ms. Uhnak, & our experience has not been the experience of amerikkka's white middle class...I seriously doubt if you've any awareness of the way prisoners read—Black Prisoners in particular. The reasons, the intensity with which they/we approach a book are probably alien to your comprehension, & so, I'd like to enlighten you..inasmuch [sic] as an author can always utilize general information.

Unlike those in the "free" world (minimum security, we call it), we seek much more than entertainment or escape; we look for values, standards, & concepts that may aid in restructuring our shattered lives. Rehabilitation is not offered by the authorities—despite what their rhetoric says—and we must find it for ourselves, wherever we can. Unfortunately, it seems the entire Western World is in need of rehabilitation. (Baye)

Baye eloquently describes the reading experience of a particular group (“Black Prisoners”) who, like a female readership, may have found an appeal through Uhnak’s depiction of crimes and investigations that uncover the inequalities within the justice system, and of society at large. The camaraderie between women depicted in Uhnak’s novels (discussed below) is reminiscent of that found between African American characters within crime fiction such as Chester Himes’s *A Rage in Harlem* (1957). This fiction can then work as “rehabilitation,” which in turn could work to heal a society experiencing Panek’s ‘trauma of change.’ By placing the concerns of the readership at the centre of a fictional investigation, and through her perceived authority as a professional eye, Uhnak had finally found a relevant place for her “hybrid” fiction. In her response to Baye, Uhnak answered his question of why she writes, and what responsibilities she feels to society:

This is where we differ; all my life I have striven as an individual. I have resisted the easy temptations to be a joiner...I have found that in any group, formed for whatever reason or idealistic goal certain things prevail that turn me inward and away. A sort of structure is imposed by individuals that eventually seems to operate for the sole benefit of perpetuating those at the top in place...As a writer, I fall back on what I know, irrevocably as part of my experience (as you said, experience is education). As a writer, hopefully as an artist, what I owe my talent to is to express to the best of my ability what I know, have learned, to show others something they didn’t know before; to give them a different viewpoint from which to view certain familiar situations. (Uhnak. Letter to Karamoko Baye)

Of particular interest in this letter is Uhnak’s emphasis on her individual struggles and her experience. Therein lies the appeal for readers of the professional eye. By turning the personal conflicts women have experienced into a fictional investigation, which uncovers the sexism and inequalities that concern many women and disadvantaged minorities, professional eyes create a standpoint with which readers can empathise. Indeed,

the protagonists of professional eyes are individuals within the justice institution who feel the necessity to act as advocates for those not represented by the NYPD and courts. As Joan Chernock wrote about *Policewoman* to Simon and Schuster in January 1972, "At the time it was published perhaps there was not much public interest in the female cop, but today, with all our problems with police-community relations and with women's abilities and professional competence, a book like this would really sell" (Chernock). Chernock, another reader of Uhnak, has again emphasised the way 'real' experiences are marketable to readers who share the concerns of the professional eye, in this case concerns of women in the professional sphere.

This continuing interest in Uhnak's fiction saw an article published in *Chicago Today* newspaper in 1973, which focused on her reasons for retiring from the police force. After receiving no promotions during her fourteen years, and a demotion upon returning from maternity leave, Uhnak is quoted as stating, "I was tired of being the token woman showpiece in the front office and felt I had to resign" (Preston 23). It seems that Uhnak was attracted to the freedom to express her dissatisfaction within fiction. This freedom is, however, couched in terms of authenticity, as she writes in an article from 1986, "if one does set out to do what will be offered as an accurate portrayal of an event in the police world, I feel that it is incumbent upon the writer to set the framework within the authority of authenticity" (Uhnak "Working" 8). The identification with Uhnak's narratives by readers such as Chernock, through shared societal concerns, encompasses Panek's thesis on the 'trauma of change'; that investigations in feminist crime novels uncover the ways society is still healing from the sudden shifts brought about during the civil rights movement and second-wave feminism. The very authenticity for which Uhnak strived brought her both rapport and notoriety with readers.

'Mutual humiliation': Uhnak's Hybrid Fiction

A consideration of Dorothy Uhnak's *Policewoman* reveals the troubling aspects of her autobiography, and perhaps highlights the reasons publishers and readers attempted to label it as "hybrid." Her depiction of sexism within the police force proved inspirational to

other feminist authors such as Marcia Muller, for whom Uhnak, “exceeded the technically oriented aspects of the police procedural formula in favor of developing female characters who tread the boundaries between the real and fictional—as well as the conventionally masculine and feminine—realms” (Jones and Walton 16). From the very beginning of her 1964 autobiography *Policewoman*, the undeniable sexism in the NYPD is evident. When the newest recruits are addressed by a Deputy Inspector, Uhnak notices his aversion to the women, and writes, “His words were addressed to the men, but he had seen us, the policewomen, sitting there in the first row before him. He had seen us in one hard, scornful, open glance, and then had dismissed us. If he had his serious doubts and suspicions of the men before him, there was no question of his feelings toward the women present” (*Policewoman* 11). Although this treatment immediately associates the women as a group within the force, Uhnak rebels against this forced camaraderie, writing, “I was supposed to be ‘one of the girls,’ and even knowing, realizing that it was just for the assignment, there was still that peculiar feeling of resentment, that old throwback rebellion of my tomboy days—not me!” (*Policewoman* 104). Despite this feeling of resentment, Uhnak consistently displays how she is part of the female community, and has concerns with the way she is expected to treat civilian women as a member of the police.

Throughout *Policewoman* recurring examples highlight how this trouble occurs during arrests. The first example arises in the second chapter “Start to know it; start to live it,” in which Uhnak performs a drug search on an arrested woman. She writes, “There was something so dreadful about a woman who would unprotestingly disrobe when told to do so...and I didn’t like the feeling of being in a position to say ‘strip’ or ‘dress,’ to have this power over a person, this authority. It was mutual humiliation, and I felt my part heavily and with disgust” (*Policewoman* 31). The use of words such as “dreadful” and “disgust” is similar to Tempe’s description of viewing crime scene photography as a “jarring and dispiriting task” (*Grave Secrets* 79) in Reichs’s series, as discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation. The description of the naked woman is by no means voyeuristic or gratifying, and Uhnak does not gain power over the woman. Rather, she explains it in terms of mutual shame. Despite the two women experiencing a mutuality through the shame of their female

bodies, Uhnak holds authority over the other woman; the authority of a masculinist institution. The loss of control over the woman's own body is something that affects Uhnak, in the police force of the early 1960s, when her own body is moulded as female, and she is expected to perform 'feminine' police work.

This linkage of the female with her body is experienced by Uhnak herself during the climax of the autobiography in the first half of Chapter Eight. She is sent undercover to catch a serial rapist in the act, or rather to use herself as bait and arrest him as he attempts to rape her. This is clearly inspiration for the first Christie Opara novel *The Bait*, published four years after the autobiography. In Chapter Eighteen of the novel, Opara becomes the bait for a serial rapist and murderer, while her male colleagues hide in relative safety and shoot once the rapist attempts to attack their female colleague.

In *Policewoman*, during a search of the rapist's apartment, Uhnak and her colleagues find his pregnant teenage wife, of whom she writes, "A moment passed, was shared, and I wanted to say something to her" (*Policewoman* 144). She apologises to the girl, and describes her blank expression and lack of questions about why her husband has been arrested. The chapter ends with more than just a "shared moment," as Uhnak describes her own emotional blankness, explaining, "I am hard as stone and devoid of feeling, because this is how you have to be: this is your only defense" (*Policewoman* 144). This hardness can be attributed to her position as a police officer, or—according to that shared and mutual humiliation she experiences with female suspects and witnesses—it could more easily be attributed to her role as a woman. In the following chapter, Uhnak appears on a television show, where she 'wins' prize money. Remembering the pregnant teenager, Uhnak sends half the prize money to the girl, a representation of a real act (Carlson) of female solidarity that modern readers may find difficult to imagine. She places it anonymously in the post, and writes, "I wondered, walking home, exactly what it was that I was trying to buy for one hundred and twenty-five dollars" (*Policewoman* 156). Unlike many men in her position in the past, Uhnak recognises the difficulties the girl will face once her husband has gone to jail and she is left with a baby and no support. The conclusion of the book, with Uhnak's act of kindness one of her final in the police force, links to the earlier feeling of "mutual

humiliation” while performing a strip-search. Each woman is described in terms of their female bodies, one naked and unapologetic, the other pregnant and unquestioning. Perhaps it is her own conscience that she is trying to buy, as a female within an institution that ignores the problems experienced by women. Uhnak recognises that arresting the rapist does not necessarily reconcile all of the complications he has left behind.

Depictions of female community in the novels of Carolyn Heilbrun (published under the pseudonym Amanda Cross), and P.D. James (discussed in the Introduction of this dissertation) influenced many popular contemporary crime novelists, such as Scottish author Val McDermid. The same year she published *The Mermaids Singing* (1995), the first novel in her Tony Hill and Carol Jordan series, McDermid published a nonfiction book titled *A Suitable Job for a Woman*, marking the changes in private detection since James’s novel. To research for this book, she interviewed many female private detectives and collated their experiences, as an interesting comparison to their fictional counterparts. One experience faced by the overwhelming majority of women interviewed was the same kind of institutionalised sexism that forms the background of novels by feminist professional eyes: “The institutionalised sexism that has characterized police forces on both sides of the Atlantic spills over into the world of private eyes. When the men leave the force and go private, they carry all the old attitudes with them” (McDermid *A Suitable Job* 87). McDermid also maintains the importance of a community of women to support each other, which forms much of the feminist crime genre, writing that, “Most of the women eyes I spoke to actively support others in the field, employing women in their agency and helping each other out on cases...These women gradually developed a solid and supportive community of friends” (*A Suitable Job* 19).

The premise of institutionalised sexism is important to her fiction as made clear throughout *The Mermaids Singing*, in which Carol often discusses her battle to progress in the police force through McDermid’s suggestion that, “She didn’t intend her career to hit the buffers just because she’d made the mistake of opting for a force run by Neanderthals” (*Mermaids* 9). The narrative however, fits more neatly into the canon of fictional crime and is highly reminiscent of the important 1988 Thomas Harris novel *The Silence of the Lambs*,

including the use of a female agent/male psychologist pairing, and a gender-confused serial killer. The difference between professional eyes and McDermid then—and presumably other authors drawing upon research more than first-hand experience—is that she chooses to use those plot and stylistic techniques that exaggerate gender conflicts more common in feminist crime fiction, rather than feature crimes that are committed because of institutionalised sexism (as in the novels of Reichs and Fairstein). Unlike James and Heilbrun, McDermid’s protagonist is a female police officer rather than an amateur or private detective, and on the surface would appear to resemble Uhnak’s Christie Opara. In her research of female private eyes, McDermid describes how one interviewee named Byrna, entered the field because “the gay community, the women’s community, the left community had nobody they could trust. If they got charged with crimes, not necessarily politically associated ones, they needed someone who had some credibility within the community to work on their behalf” (*Suitable Job* 18). Her Carol Jordan does not engage with this kind of community in *Mermaids Singing*, unlike James’s Cordelia Grey and Heilbrun’s Kate Fansler. Christie Opara falls somewhere in-between these two conflicting ideas of female community, as a professional protagonist who works within a masculinist institution but also represents and engages with the wider female public within this role.

The institutionalised sexism of the police force, right down to the level of assignments, becomes a large basis for Uhnak’s fictional narratives, as discussed in further detail later in this chapter. Unlike the rather neat conclusions of novels by Heilbrun, James, and even McDermid, Uhnak’s fiction and nonfiction conclude with ambiguity about the abilities of the force to help female citizens. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Leroy Panek actually credits Uhnak with the addition of women into the police procedural, a development that had been impossible because of women’s lack of involvement in the masculinist institution in real life. This assertion predicates upon the idea that women had to be based upon real models, or as Reddy argues, “women were debarred from most law enforcement positions and were unlikely to be found working as private detectives; they thus are also debarred from the world of the fictional private eye” (“Women Detectives” 193). More recently, in 2009, P.D. James wrote, “If I started today it is likely that I would

choose a woman [detective], but this was not an option at the time when women were not active in the detective force. The main choice, therefore, was whether to have a male professional or an amateur of either sex, and as I was aiming at as much realism as possible, I chose the first option" (*Talking* 152). Her reasoning is that even an amateur female detective lacked "realism" when she began writing crime fiction. Due to Uhnak's role as a professional police officer, she could become a legitimate, authoritative author of autobiography and crime fiction, which in turn gave her an opportunity to instigate the way forward for other female authors and protagonists.

There are interesting links in the terms 'authorship' and 'authority', both of which are perceived as masculine qualities. Indeed, it has been suggested by Mary Eagleton that, "How this 'authorising' might link to a stronger sense of 'authority' has been one of the dominant narratives in feminist literary criticism over the last thirty or more years" (Eagleton 2). The significance of women such as Uhnak writing "hybrid" fiction becomes clearer when one considers the trouble with female authors and authority, as her professional authority is the core of her novels and autobiography. While there are accomplished female contemporaries writing at the same time as Uhnak, they often "signify through their lack of visibility" (Gilmore 8). Uhnak herself has become largely overlooked within the history of the crime genre. This can be considered as a double-loss when literary critics ascribe to the 'death of the author' approach of New Criticism (Banfield 183), meaning that discussion of the woman author's biography is also often ignored. As Eagleton argues, the female author may be concerned not with her removal from critical discussion, but "the fact that she has barely lived and, thus, the critic should not help with her euthanasia" (Eagleton 24). For these reasons, the New Criticism approach to texts as distinct from their authors is not useful when discussing the female professional eye, as she derives authority from her very authorship of texts that mirror her incursion into previously masculine spaces. The fact that professional eyes such as Uhnak have moved beyond the historical expectations of gender, as both professionals and authors, gives new importance to reading their novels autobiographically. The return of 'the author' to the text, as Burke argues, is a difficult concept to grasp, as the idea of 'the author' changes with each reading and is

perceived differently by each reader: "Reading biographically is not a neutralizing, simplifying activity. So far from functioning as an ideal figure, from figuring as a function of Cartesian certitude, the author operates as a principle of uncertainty in the text" (Burke 172). This uncertainty and multitude of readings can be important to readers. As McDermid discovered in her own research of female private eyes, "getting into a masculine profession isn't always easy but each woman who does it paves the way for others" (*Suitable Job* 19). Despite the inability to create a completely satisfying feminist character in pre-second-wave America, Uhnak is a pioneer in the sub-genre, and one of the few women of the time to make the move from a criminal justice profession to crime genre author.

Christie Opara: 'That fresh little bitch'

One could ask, then, in what other ways does Uhnak's professional eye fiction differ from those of other popular feminist crime authors such as Heilbrun, James, and McDermid? The answer appears to return to the idea of Uhnak's representation of the professional 'trauma of change' experienced within the criminal justice system during the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s. As Munt writes, "this conflation of the author's experience with the verisimilitude of the text frames any dominant reading. Her first novel, *Policewoman* (1964), is classed as a non-fictional representation of authentic procedure. Her novels, which present women investigators in pioneering roles, rely on a feminism circumscribed by a confused (and confusing) libertarianism" (85). In Uhnak's protagonist, Christie Opara, readers witness the struggles with second-wave feminist concerns experienced following women's inclusion into the NYPD. Opara must juggle her roles as a professional and single mother, and negotiate her place within the force as the "token woman." The most important hurdles Opara faces are often to do with her role as both woman and professional, and it is through her negotiation of these hurdles that female readers can find identification.

Juggling the demands of being a mother and a professional is an important part of the professional eyes' narratives. These conflicting demands represent their particularly American, post-feminist style of women 'having it all', which is described by Ruth Milkman

(8) as impossible in contemporary corporate America (in fact Milkman argues that women seem only able to devote their time to family or work, but rarely both). Whether Christie succeeds is questionable. Often, she must leave her young son with her mother-in-law while she works, and admits to herself, "She was away from home too much, away from her son too much" (Uhnak *Ledger* 45). The romantic entanglements Uhnak depicts are even more problematic. Similar to Linda Fairstein's protagonist, Uhnak's Christie Opara has survived the death of her spouse. As she explains to Helena Vargas in *The Ledger*, "I know where my husband is when I work nights. He's where he's been for the last six years. He is in his grave" (Uhnak *Ledger* 56). His death was a result of his work in the police force but rather than find a romantic relationship with someone in a less dangerous profession, Christie is drawn to the older, married Assistant District Attorney Casey Reardon. Their professional relationship is similar to that of Alex and Mike in Fairstein's series, however Reardon treats Christie as an inferior rather than colleague. Entering into a relationship with someone like Reardon would be losing the sense of agency that Christie has attempted to gain within the police force. While acknowledging her importance in the canon, Stephen Knight argues that this romance undermines any attempt at feminism in the trilogy, as "Uhnak's Christie Opara, first appearing in *The Bait*, is brave and effective, but she is also emotively and professionally incapable of resisting the male embrace, metaphorical and literal" (*Crime Fiction* 163).

This romantic entanglement with her professional superior does appear to create difficulties for Opara. Despite her reputable work, Casey Reardon struggles to accept her as a police officer. Early in *The Bait*, he tells her that he forgets she is female; "We just tended to think a cop is a cop" (Uhnak *Bait* 58). Although this seems a reasonable perspective, he proceeds to contradict himself throughout the remainder of the novel. He assigns her to speak to a female witness, as she can use "girl talk" (Uhnak *Bait* 113). When she successfully garners information from the woman, he is incredulous, leading her to wonder, "Why did he always seem so surprised when she accomplished what she had been assigned to do?" (Uhnak *Bait* 122). It becomes clear that he deems certain jobs as 'women's work' and at the same time doubts the ability of women to achieve results. Later in the novel he becomes

increasingly frustrated with her, imagining that every facial expression is rebellious, and thinking, "He knew she had spoken with the clear, professional logic of a good police officer: yet, why was it, Reardon wondered, that every time she opened her mouth, every word hit him as some kind of personal challenge?" (Uhnak *Bait* 177). As a reader, over four decades after the publication of the novel, it is evident that the challenge stems from the combination of her professional authority and her sex. It is interesting to compare this to the contemporary novels of Fairstein and Reichs, where this discomfort towards the female protagonists felt by men in formerly masculinist institutions may still be evident, but the agency and professional confidence of Alexandra Cooper and Temperance Brennan provide a strong confrontation to the chauvinistic mentality. Another clear difference between Uhnak's trilogy and contemporary series is the presence of male mentors who believe in sexual equality, such as Battaglia in Linda Fairstein's series, and LaManche in Kathy Reichs's series. As discussed above, Opara's superior is not a professional mentor to her, and questions rather than encourages her presence in the police.

Another troubling aspect of Uhnak's trilogy is the violence Opara faces in her occupation. As a female police officer, Opara is perceived as the receiver of violence, rather than the instigator. In the first novel of the Opara trilogy, *The Bait*, readers follow Christie Opara's seemingly straight-forward arrest of Murray Rogoff after he exposes himself on a train (Uhnak *Bait* 20). By Chapter Seven of the novel, readers discover that Rogoff is a serial rapist and murderer who has evaded the police. After his arrest by Christie, he begins stalking her (Uhnak *Bait* 132). Once she realises this and brings it to the attention of Reardon, a trap is laid for Murray in which Christie is the bait (as discussed earlier). In Chapter Eighteen, she lies on a bed in an apartment and waits for Murray who plans to rape and kill her. His plan is prevented when Christie's colleagues shoot Murray when he enters the room. However, this links to a troubling moment earlier in the novel when Reardon first considers the plan to use Christie as bait, and thinks, "That fresh little bitch might very well get herself raped and murdered. If not by Murray Rogoff maybe by Casey Reardon" (Uhnak *The Bait* 181). Throughout the Opara trilogy, Uhnak mostly focuses on the perspective of Christie, but here the employment of free indirect speech reveals the disturbing thoughts of

her colleague and love interest. Although the reader may hope Reardon's meaning is that he could kill Christie in a joking manner (not rape her), his violent thoughts are too similar to those of Rogoff. There is the lingering awareness that Christie is a woman and therefore in danger of violence, from both criminals and her colleagues.

Furthermore, throughout the trilogy Christie rarely uses her gun, and in one incident in *The Witness*, she shoots an assassin only when he raises his gun at her. Casey Reardon is incredulous that in this situation she shot the man in the shoulder. He tells her, "As far as I know, the only reason a police officer draws a revolver is with the full intent to shoot and the only intention in shooting is to kill the person you're aiming at. If you're not justified in killing a person, you have no justification to pull the trigger in the first place" (Uhnak *Witness* 158). Reardon voices the male opinion of gun violence and a certain indifferent attitude towards death whereas Christie uses her gun to maim. Even with her own life in danger she does not consider killing the perpetrator. In the final novel of the trilogy, *The Ledger*, she threatens use of her gun once in order to assure her own safety upon getting into a mobster's car, but there is no indication of whether she would follow through on the threat. When asked if she is scared she replies, "Mr. Giardino, I have my fingers wrapped around my .38 Detective Special and it's pointed straight at you. Why would I be scared?" (Uhnak *Ledger* 153). Despite her words, she describes feeling vulnerable and immediately upon leaving the car she decides to spend time with her son. Although she considers the implications of death and violence on others, she understands that the threats of men such as Giardino will be followed through with no moral conscience of its impact.

Perhaps Christie's views on violence are best described in the first novel, *The Bait*, by her mother-in-law Nora, who tells Reardon, "The point: Christie lost three people—all in premature ways, all more or less through violence. Now, Christie has to face it for herself; it involves her personally and she has to be there and prove to herself that she can beat it" (Uhnak *Bait* 188). Christie knows the devastating consequences of violence on people's lives, from the personal experience of losing her parents and then her husband. The idea of beating it means she cannot use the same violence, for that would be perpetuating the problem. For Christie, she must face it "personally," which means using her own body

rather than a gun. These values expressed by Opara fit in well with an imagining of a feminist protagonist by Alison Littler, who argues:

Of course, women can be strong; they can fight to protect themselves; they can carry weapons; they can fight in war. But using the private-eye genre is not simply a matter of representing women as strong and able to fight to look after themselves, or of constructing a strong heroic woman as a role model. The important issue is the values which underlie, justify and valorize this behaviour. (131)

While Littler writes about private detectives, this is even more difficult in feminist fiction that features professional investigators who are working within an institution that is often shown to be corrupt and antithetical to the values of the female police protagonist. The differences between Opara and her male colleagues highlight their conflicting values. Although she is reluctant to use her gun, realising the ramifications and finality of such violence, Reardon perceives this as weakness. The gun is identified as the weapon of police officers, and in turn, Reardon classifies police officers as physically and mentally masculine. Opara shoots her gun, however, her use of violence lacks potency, maiming but not killing her target. This failure to carry violence through to its lethal conclusion symbolises the feminisation of the police institution, and essentially, Reardon clashes with the trauma of this change rather than Opara's 'unsuccessful' shooting of a suspect. It is interesting to note the reality that female police officers during the years of Uhnak's service eschewed firearms. Darien writes that in an interview with *Times Magazine*, an NYPD police officer named Melchione "explained that policewomen, although equipped with guns and jujitsu skills, rarely employed their weapons" (Darien 66). This avoidance of guns in Uhnak's fiction is based upon a real experience of difference between male and female officers and their gendered division of duties.

Failing to get Christie Love: Blaxploitation and Adaptation

While Uhnak paved the way for professional eyes through her Christie Opara trilogy and work in the NYPD, the 1974 made-for-television movie adaptation titled *Get Christie Love!* furthered this 'trauma of change' during the civil rights era, by featuring an African American actress in the title role. A television show spawned from the movie, and after only one season, was cancelled. Although *Get Christie Love!* is more 'authentic' to its original text than *Bones* (based on Kathy Reichs's novels), usually a point of contention with viewers, the former was received with less enthusiasm by contemporary audiences. The specific changes that were made might explain this failure in adaptation.

The woman investigator on screen has become increasingly common, from the original popular culture television shows in the 1970s such as Aaron Spelling's *Charlie's Angels* (1976-1981), to the grittier Hannibal-era detectives such as Jane Tennison (Helen Mirren) in BBC's *Prime Suspect* (1991-2006). However, it should be noted that there are differences between cinematic and televised women investigators, due to the need for television to encourage loyalty in viewers. While filmgoers can attend movie screenings at any chosen time, television series are broadcast in scheduled timeslots, and must attract repeat viewers who incorporate the series into their weekly lives. It is interesting to take this into consideration in an examination of the 1974 adaptation of Uhnak's Christie Opara. Based on Uhnak's *The Ledger*, the undercover police officer's last name is changed to 'Love' and she is depicted by African American actress Teresa Graves. Although referred to as Blaxploitation, the film uses a mainly white cast. It follows the plot of *The Ledger* very closely, however, Christie is now African American and has no ex-husband or son. This removes the representation of the 'trauma of change' introduced by Uhnak through the difficulties between professional and domestic spheres. The film instead introduces the difficulties of race and sex in America during the 1970s.

The film opens as Casey Reardon questions a drug dealer about his heroin supplier. He is told that the drug lord Cortino only shares that information with his mistress, Helena Varga. This leads Reardon to tell his men that they need to, "Get Christie Love" (*Get Christie Love!*). Funk music begins to play and the scene shifts to a dark street where a beautiful

African American woman is approached by a man for sex and led into the darkness of a park. There the man pulls out a knife and tells her to undress. The scenery is very dark, only the torsos and faces of the two actors visible on the screen. As the music takes an upbeat turn, heavy on the bass guitar, she incapacitates him with martial arts clearly adapted from Kung Fu movies, and her partner emerges to help her handcuff the man, whom viewers discover has killed four prostitutes. The woman is Christie Love: undercover police officer. Her next assignment is to ingratiate herself to Helena to discover the whereabouts of Cortino's drug ledger.

Initially, the use of Kung Fu fighting style and the casting of an African American woman to play Christie are the most noticeable changes of the adaptation. Following her first fight scene with her would-be rapist, Christie has a scuffle with one of Cortino's henchmen at a hotel in Miami. This ends when he runs at her and she ducks, sending him flying over the balcony railing. When Cortino is first introduced, he is watching a Kung Fu movie with some associates and tells them, "That's your new goldmine: samurai movies" (*Get Christie Love!*). When Christie arrests Cortino he is again watching a Kung Fu movie in a cinema. While diegetic oriental music plays, Christie chases him by running across the tops of the cinema seats and then jumping down impressively to block him from the exit, touting her catch-phrase, "You're under arrest, sugar" (*Get Christie Love!*). Kung Fu is not only a stylistic trope of the 1970s, it is also used by Christie throughout the film to create physical resistance to the body of the white male (every Kung Fu fight is against a white man). Over the course of the film she also continuously talks back to her white male boss, Casey Reardon. Although this is borrowed from *The Ledger*, it has another level of resistance when it issues from an African American woman. Even while masquerading as a prostitute in her introduction into the film, she struts confidently past the white men with her chin jutted forward and quotes prices too high for any of the potential customers to afford.

The use of costuming is very important in Blaxploitation films, and Christie Love is similarly dressed to film heroines such as Tamara Dobsen in the iconic *Cleopatra Jones* (1973). Her fashionable costumes highlight her dark skin, through the use of bright reds, whites, and yellows. The tight pants and cropped blouses reveal her tall frame and simultaneously



Fig. 3: Love and Reardon

present her as a character with high levels of heterosexual attractiveness. She is propositioned twice as a prostitute before the rapist approaches her, and throughout the film must ward off the advances of a doctor she is questioning, and Reardon.

Although the attraction of Reardon to Christie is depicted as a representation of her power as an African American heroine, particularly through his acceptance of her decision to refuse him at the beginning of the film, the pairing of the young and attractive Graves with the much older, mustached white actor (Harry Guardino)—as shown letting himself into Christie's apartment in fig. 3—bestows a sinister facet to their interactions. Much like scenes between these two in the novel, where the married Reardon often thinks violent thoughts about Opara, the relationship is unsettling.

Another important aspect of Christie's appearance is her hair. In the opening scenes she has long curled hair, representative of feminine beauty. Once she discards her flimsy, decorative disguise as a prostitute (fig. 4) and appears in her own more practical clothing, she also wears her hair in an 'afro' for the remainder of the film. As Stephane Dunn argues, "Hair has been symbolically important in the historical racial politics shaping notions of black and white female beauty. The flowing hair exemplified by white women was one of the standards for white evaluations of female beauty. Hairstyles signal the difference inscribed in the heroine" (119). While Christie dons a longer, softer hairstyle for her role as a sexual object, once no longer undercover she switches to an afro to represent her distance from this 'white' idea of female sexuality.



Fig. 4: Undercover as a prostitute (left), and in her own clothes (right).

When asked for her opinions on *Get Christie Love!*'s more popular televisual rival *Policewoman* (not to be confused with Uhnak's autobiography despite the titular resemblance), Dorothy Uhnak said it was, "pure Hollywood...whoever heard of a police lady named 'Pepper?'" (Lynskey). When she was then asked about her thoughts on *Get Christie Love!* Uhnak responded, "You were lucky if you never saw the movie. It was self-torture to watch them do such silly things. No police officer did what they portrayed" (Lynskey). The plots of the film and the novel have only slight alterations, leading to an understanding that Uhnak objected not to an 'infidelity' to the original text but to the use of Kung Fu and Blaxploitation styling, which had more to do with the film as a product of contemporary Hollywood than as a realistic portrayal of police work. This is supported by a more unrestrained summary of how Uhnak felt about the adaptation in a letter written to Maureen Rissik at Hodder and Stoughton after the movie aired. Uhnak writes that Love tosses "her tightly-clad little body all over someone claiming to be Reardon. He responds by grabbing, clutching, drooling, et cetera. In the course of the 90 minutes, Christie, herself, personally, has killed five (count them, five) people...[and] is involved in a spectacular car chase—from which she emerges not only unscathed but triumphant" (Uhnak. Letter to Ms. Maureen Rissik). This letter suggests that the specific changes Uhnak disagrees with are

those that undermine the attempts of the Christie of the book to integrate into a masculinist institution, particularly the difficulties in maintaining relationships with colleagues, the avoidance of violence and its lasting effects. These tropes are some of her most important in representing the 'trauma of change' experienced by female officers. However, it is also worth mentioning that the idea of adaptation does not necessitate that the television series is inferior to the novels because of the change in medium and the loss of 'fidelity' to the original text. As Linda Hutcheon argues, "Adaptation is repetition, but repetition without replication" (Hutcheon 7). By avoiding an analysis of *Get Christie Love!* in terms of fidelity, much can be discovered about its value as a text that represents African American women during the civil rights era. As McFarlane argues, "The insistence on fidelity has led to a suppression of potentially more rewarding approaches to the phenomenon of adaptation. It tends to ignore the idea of adaptation as an example of convergence among the arts, perhaps a desirable—even inevitable—process in a rich culture" (10). While Uhnak provides a representation of the 'trauma of change' experienced by women entering a male-dominated criminal justice system during a time of great upheaval, *Get Christie Love!* also engages with ideas of racial hierarchy.

Get Christie Love! was released in the midst of what is known as the Blaxploitation period of Hollywood films. Hollywood was experiencing a slump in financial profits, and the response was to create cheap films aimed at an African American audience, using themes of rebellion that would appeal to the generation of civil rights activists. As Dunn points out, "by investing in a lot of relatively cheaply made vehicles, Hollywood studios made a great deal of money while their films never radically upset either the racial patriarchal politics implicit in their making—the actual idea of white supremacy and patriarchy as the natural order—nor popular and contemporary notions about race" (Dunn 5). The casts were mostly African American, and the settings were based in poor urban suburbs. Well-known films include *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), *Shaft* (1971), *Cleopatra Jones* (1973), and *Foxy Brown* (1974). Although marketed towards an African American audience, the films and profits were overwhelmingly retained by white Hollywood film executives. Ed Guerrero argues that although, "older stereotypes and

subordinations of blacks [were] jettisoned in favor of more assertive and multidimensional black characters, as well as black-focused themes and narratives...Hollywood developed more subtle and masked forms of devaluing African Americans on the screen" (Guerrero 70). As Blaxploitation was confined to the years during the 1970s when white Hollywood executives made the change out of necessity, rather than as a political statement, it was dropped when the studios recovered their financial security. Just as the civil rights movement raised racial and sexual discrimination as concerns in the NYPD—which in turn forced the departments to open employment opportunities (Darien 103) and hire women such as Uhnak—Blaxploitation also played upon the need for more diversity in film and television. Television series rely on Nielsen ratings, and these were controlled by white audiences (Mizejewski *Harboiled* 63). It therefore stands to reason that *Policewoman* with its less challenging white female detective was preferred to *Get Christie Love!*

Furthermore, there are the differences between television and movie viewership to take into consideration. Not only are television series broadcast at specific times, but they are also allocated certain lengths of time for each episode, usually one hour or thirty minutes including advertising breaks. Two strategies outlined by Allrath and Gymnich to retain television viewers are the hybrid series/serial and the use of climax in an episode. Series traditionally refers to a television show in which each episode presents a story that comes to a conclusion, while serials have ongoing storylines across episodes. Allrath and Gymnich refer to more contemporary shows' use of hybrids to attract a loyal viewership and argue, "Series with multiple storylines often strike a balance between continuity and closure by achieving episodic closure in one or more plotlines, while continuing others beyond individual episodes" (Allrath and Gymnich 24). This trend is cited as originating with the TV show *Hill Street Blues* (1981-1987). In 1974, when *Get Christie Love!* was broadcast, the use of hybrid series/serial was not yet part of the commercial strategy. This leads to the second strategy of using climaxes or 'cliff-hangers' (Allrath and Gymnich 12). Each episode may have used them before commercial breaks to retain interest, and yet without also including a cliff-hanger at the end of the episode to keep viewers invested in a continuing serial, the

show had less opportunity than *Bones* (the recent adaptation of Kathy Reichs's Temperance Brennan novels) to become a commercial success.

Get Christie Love! does not engage with the tendency of Blaxploitation to relegate African American women to roles simply as sexual objects, as Love is shown in a multitude of roles, including empowering ones. This standard relegation has partly been attributed to the basic drive of these films to portray macho African American heroes, who would be part of a gender binary with the women of the films. The women were tools the men could use to prove their sexual desirability and prowess, which was an important part of the Blaxploitation hero's character. As Grant argues, "the devaluation and degradation of Black women in Blaxploitation were definitely aided, with few exceptions, by the figure of the Superspade who was equal parts pimp, player hustler, and sex-machine hero of the emergent genre" (Grant 40). This sexism was mirrored in the civil rights and Black activism of the time, and racial rights superseded those of women. Guerrero suggests:

A politicized black women's agenda was generally submerged under a male-focused black nationalist discourse aimed at rediscovering and articulating the mystique of a liberated 'black manhood' during the late 1960s and into the early 1970s. Most certainly we can discern this fixation on an insurgent sense of black manhood surfacing in the fantasy construction of Blaxploitation's macho heroes to come. (91)

While Guerrero and Grant have valid arguments and have, at least briefly, attempted to raise the issue of sexism within the Blaxploitation genre, female African American critics and scholars have given the period a much more nuanced and encompassing analysis. Two of these African American feminists who provide dissenting arguments are bell hooks and Stephane Dunn. Disagreeing with Guerrero's interpretation that women could not identify with the female characters of Blaxploitation films, Dunn writes, "The problem with this dismissive reading is that it obscures how black women may negotiate the racial and gender politics underlying the narrative but still find various types of pleasure in viewing action

cinema generally and the rare fantasies of a baad black woman heroine, especially one headlining a Hollywood film" (Dunn 16). She continues to describe the African American women's re-appropriation of the terms 'baad' and 'Bitch' (with a capital B) as signs of their empowerment, linking it to the lyrics of contemporary female rap artists such as Queen Latifah, Foxy Brown, and Lil' Kim: "Women's confiscation or revision of the 'Bad Bitch' label to signify female empowerment has a long history. During the second-wave feminist fervor of the early '70s, Jo Freeman's *The Bitch Manifesto* (1971) critically reconfigured 'Bitch' as a call to sisterhood" (Dunn 27). hooks also emphasises the ways African American women approach and interpret these films, arguing that they use an oppositional gaze:

Mainstream feminist film criticism in no way acknowledges black female spectatorship. It does not even consider the possibility that women can construct an oppositional gaze via an understanding and awareness of the politics of race and racism. Feminist film theory rooted in an ahistorical psychoanalytic framework that privileges sexual difference actively suppresses recognition of race, reenacting and mirroring the erasure of black womanhood that occurs in films, silencing any discussion of racial difference—of radicalized sexual difference. (123)

According to hooks and Dunn, African American women of the 1970s could view the Blaxploitation films with an oppositional gaze, recognise the racial and sexual implications symbolised by the female characters, and even draw some pleasure from the spectacle of the films. As such, in a similar way to how Baye explains the Black Culture Society's identification with Uhnak's novels in his correspondence with her, African Americans as television spectators can identify with black feminism through *Get Christie Love!* This also relates to African American detectives in Chester Himes's crime novels, who Andrew Pepper argues, "could never hope to transcend the material conditions of racial oppression and discrimination operating on and through them. Inevitably, too, the law which they themselves must enforce is part of the institutionalized superstructure upon which racially-

conceived relations of domination-subordination depend" (212). This tension is further heightened when the investigator battles with institutional sexism as well as racism, perhaps a reason that African American female viewers identified so strongly with the intersections depicted through Christie Love. As Jason Mittell argues, the use of identification is of particular importance in television, as the continuation of a series is dependent on viewer response and, "This process of identification invites viewers to imagine themselves as part of the text's storyworld" (278). This idea of identification is supported by John Sumser, who argues, "The privileged position of a television viewer within a drama forces him or her to adopt the concerns, interests, and definitions of the hero" (Sumser 45). *Bones* has increased viewer identification by presenting audiences with a socially and racially diverse group of characters. Both Brennan's superiors (Dr. Goodman and then Cam) are African American, Angela is Asian American, and the rotating interns come from wide-ranging backgrounds including African American, Middle Eastern, and Cuban. There is also equilibrium in the sexes, with half the investigating team made up of women.

According to Keith MacKinnon, African American women view movies or television series in which they are often typecast as sexual objects, and they may choose to identify with the male character instead, or identify the women characters as fantasy. As MacKinnon writes:

The crucial role permitted to gender in the classic account of spectatorship has been challenged on a number of grounds. Some of these might well be anticipated, since they arise from awareness that the relationship of fantasy gender to social gender might not be totally predictable. Mulvey...allows for a separation between the socially gendered female spectator and a textually created femininity, so that the social female can become the fantasy male for a limited period. (74)

Particularly in crime television and film where female investigators tread the line of femininity and masculinity, the objectifying gaze on the female protagonist can create

difficulties in viewer identification. This difficulty is also evident in the failure of the adaptations of Sara Paretsky's *Deadlock* into *V.I. Warshawski* (1991), and *One for the Money* (2012) from Janet Evanovich's first Stephanie Plum novel. Both used Anglicised versions of the much-loved protagonists—the blonde Kathleen Turner as Warshawski, who has a proud Polish ancestry in the novels, and Katherine Heigl as the Hungarian-American Plum. As Kathleen Gregory Klein argues, “Objectified and fetishized by the ‘male gaze’ of technological apparatus—the camera eye—the previously independent and self-defined V.I. becomes ‘other,’ a manifestation of the gaze, and a product of patriarchal capitalism” (“Watching Warshawski” 145). The bodily presence of an adapted feminist investigator heightens the difficulty of the trauma experienced between the ideal of feminine presence and professional authority. Although she works to find her authority within the police force, Christie Love is hindered by her appearance to viewers through the male gaze of the camera eye. In the novels, Opara describes herself as athletic, rather than attractive: “I *feel* sexy and I *smell* sexy. I can’t help it if I don’t *look* sexy” (*Uhnak Bait* 80, author’s emphasis). This thought is immediately followed by Opara’s reflection on a scar caused by a sporting injury, with the explanation, “She had run the football right through the line, right through her older brothers, right through all of them, to score the point, even though she had felt her wrist snap” (*Uhnak Bait* 80). Opara’s physicality focuses on her body as a means of professional competence, rather than heterosexual attractiveness. On the other hand, Christie Love has her beauty accentuated by lingering camera shots and form-fitting costumes that highlight her attractiveness, though, as discussed, the costuming choices provide African American female spectators with a rare protagonist who distances herself from ideals of white femininity.

The *Get Christie Love!* television series that eventuated from the movie appears to have failed to generate enough viewer identification as it only lasted for one season. However, it made a lasting impression on African American women as spectators, and Dunn writes:

Since the days of Christie, I've been enthralled by the heightened sense of entertainment that action films offer. I can still see pretty, chocolate-skinned Christie smiling and kicking butt...Of course, now through the prism of my developing critical spectatorship, I see that while the character signified the public visibility of a feminist and black liberation aesthetic, Christie's sexy, tough black woman cop role also demonstrated the continued influence of historical dominant inscription of black femininity. (Dunn xii)

Turnbull argues that Christie Love "clearly made a lasting impression" (*TV Crime Drama* 161) while Mizejewski also argues that, despite any flaws, she is an interesting character for the time and, "with so few black women on prime time in 1974, her very appearance, no matter how sexualized and one-dimensional, was remarkable" (*Hardboiled* 62). She then analyses the rival female police officer in a television series broadcast in 1974, Pepper Anderson in *Policewoman*. This show was much more popular, running for a number of years, and featured the blonde, white actress Angie Dickinson in the lead role. Mizejewski argues that Pepper was more traditionally feminine and conservative and concludes:

The racial difference between Christie and Pepper was surely significant in the overall impact of each show...Christie was sexually alluring, but she was also smart-mouthed, disrespectful of rules, and African American, proudly flaunting her 'fro. She triumphantly summarized two 1960s liberation movements—women's and black's—as the powerful heroine who talks back. For Pam Grier, this combination worked for films targeting an African American market, but the formula didn't work for the white-dominated Nielsen audiences. (*Hardboiled* 63)

Clearly, an analysis of *Get Christie Love!* in terms of 'fidelity' to Uhnak's novel does not account entirely for its lack of popularity. There are also factors of genre, and racial and gender politics of the time, which contributed to its cancellation. It is part of a specific

context of Blaxploitation and 'jiggle' television (scantily-clad women in active roles designed specifically for male enjoyment) that signals its stylistic choices. Television, as a visual medium, would hardly portray the tedium of paper work that is described by Uhnak in her autobiography. However, the main spirit of the novel—a woman in a masculine occupation—has been maintained and contextualised through the use of an African American woman. In fact, the questioning of race and gender in the televisual adaptation has created a longer lasting memory in viewers than in readers of the novels, with some important intertextual references occurring in the last three decades.

Perhaps the most famous allusion to the film occurs in Quentin Tarantino's 1992 film *Reservoir Dogs*, in which the thieves discuss the film and try to remember the name of the actress in the title role. Mr. Orange suggests Anne Francis, although Mr. Pink rightly argues that Francis is white. The conversation suggests that the film is an easily forgotten product of its contemporary context, its black actress indistinguishable in the end from Honey West, portrayed by white actress Francis. It is interesting to note that Tarantino's third film *Jackie Brown* (1997) stars Pam Grier in the title role and although not classed as Blaxploitation, makes references to Grier's films in that genre, *Foxy Brown*, and *Coffy*. The film is an adaptation of Elmore Leonard's novel *Rum Punch* (1992), and like *Get Christie Love!* an African American actress was cast to play a protagonist who is white in the novel. By approaching the adaptation as a product of its time and through its challenge to the accepted norm (such as the more popular characters of Honey West and Pepper Anderson) rather than racial fidelity to the protagonist, *Get Christie Love!* maintains some of the underlying 'trauma of change' present in Uhnak's Opara trilogy.

Dorothy Uhnak: Hybrid or just Humdrum?

Throughout this chapter I asked, how has the introduction of women into formerly masculinist occupations created a 'trauma of change' within the crime genre? The very originating novels of feminist crime fiction introduced some combination of experience with generic conventions. As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, Carolyn Heilbrun published her crime fiction series featuring Kate Fansler—who, like her creator, is an

academic—under the pseudonym of Amanda Cross. This was buttressed by Heilbrun's feminist academic writing under her own name. In a reverse-narrative to Dorothy Sayers's *Gaudy Night* (1935), Heilbrun's novel *Death in a Tenured Position* (1981) exposes the institutional sexism that was rampant in universities in the 1970s. P.D. James continued to place feminist crime fiction within the arena of universities in her seminal novel *An Unsuitable Job for a Woman* (1972), focusing on the creation of a sisterhood in order to combat sexism, in much the same way as Heilbrun. Val McDermid also studied the institutional sexism faced by women in her nonfiction text *A Suitable Job for a Woman* (1995), for which she interviewed female private detectives in America and Britain to discover their reasons for entering the profession and how the profession differs from its depiction in crime novels. This text informed her novel of the same year, *The Mermaids Singing*. Clearly, in each of these texts, the authors have used real experiences and research in order to place their female investigators into institutions reeling from the 'trauma of change' that followed the second-wave feminist movement.

Each of these novels is influential and highly relevant to the feminist crime canon, so why do readers ascribe authority to the novels of professional eyes? Through an examination of Dorothy Uhnak's correspondence it becomes evident that she did not originally plan to write fiction based on her own experiences and that this "hybrid" fiction was deemed unmarketable by publishers mainly because of her problematic status as a female professional. Readers and publishers wanted autobiography from Uhnak, while she preferred fiction, and the hybrid form brought her a wide range of criticism and praise. The narrative of *The Bait* (1968) mirrors that of her autobiographical *Policewoman* (1964), stimulating an interest in this hybrid fiction. Readers wrote to her about finding something more than simply escapism in fiction, about looking for a kind of rehabilitation. By merging her professional experiences of an unequal justice system with the violent conventions of the crime genre, Uhnak appealed to disenfranchised minorities such as women and African American readers. Uhnak wrote a very marketable hybrid genre that played with readers' concerns of the 'trauma of change' following civil rights movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

Despite being pulled off the air after only one season, how has *Get Christie Love!* (1974) engaged with the 'trauma of change' in different ways to Uhnak's Opara trilogy? Hollywood introduced Blaxploitation in order to make money by playing upon the civil rights movement, however, African American women were often either hyper-sexualised or marginalised within this movement and era of film and television. Likewise, they were ostracised from the second-wave feminist movement. A character such as Christie Love amalgamated the 'trauma of change' of a professional woman as introduced by Dorothy Uhnak, with elements of Blaxploitation such as afros, Kung Fu, and confrontations with oppressive white masculinity. In this way, *Get Christie Love!* engaged an African American female viewership with ideas of their volatile position in America during the civil rights and feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s. It is little wonder that white Nielsen audiences felt so hesitant towards this adaptation and that it has remained troubling in the collective memory, as highlighted through references and confusion of colour such as that in Tarantino's *Reservoir Dogs* (1992).

Finally, if feminist crime authors such as Carolyn Heilbrun, P.D. James, and Val McDermid also develop narratives around concerns with unequal institutions, what then is the difference between their novels and those of a professional eye such as Dorothy Uhnak? McDermid particularly, as a former crime journalist, has insight and knowledge of the criminal justice system, but not as an officer, lawyer or other professional who is directly involved in the investigation and trial of criminals. The initial difference in this case is through the response of readers and publishers, who perceive within Uhnak's fiction an authority based upon her experience as a former criminal justice professional. Although Uhnak incorporates the conventions of the crime genre in very similar ways to other feminist authors such as James and Heilbrun, many of the scenarios depicted have striking similarities to those in her autobiography. The 'trauma of change' that Panek describes is highlighted in a narrative that readers can identify as authentic. Readers distinguish professional eye novels as an authoritative hybrid form of fiction and can thus interpret inequalities within the criminal justice systems of Dorothy Uhnak's novels as having a basis in truth.

Uhnak participates more with the 'trauma of change' experienced following the full professional inclusion of women into the NYPD during the civil rights and feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Christie Opara must learn to negotiate with her role as "token woman" by splitting herself into two parts, professional police officer and marginalised female. The "mutual humiliation" described by Dorothy Uhnak is an example of when these two halves are in conflict, as internally she wishes to engage with a community of women who are likewise victims of discrimination, while physically she must act in an official capacity as one who works within a masculinist institution. Christie Opara engages in a kind of double-compartmentalisation, a reaction to the 'trauma of change' Dorothy Uhnak was part of when she joined the NYPD at a time of upheaval and reevaluation.

CHAPTER TWO

Linda Fairstein: Foucauldian Feminism in the Legal System

As the former head of the sex crimes unit in the Manhattan District Attorney's office, employed in that role from 1976 until 2002, Linda Fairstein has much professional experience to draw upon for her series of Alexandra Cooper novels. In 1993, Fairstein released the nonfiction book *Sexual Violence*, in which she uses her real cases and findings to depict the need for a greater focus on the victims of crime. Three years later, she began to publish her Alexandra Cooper series, drawing upon her real cases and featuring a female prosecutor who resembles Fairstein professionally. She has also published six short case studies demonstrating the failures of the current system in dealing with rape. Her fiction reveals her experience through depictions of institutional sexism, professional jargon, blurring of Alex's professional and personal lives, and treatment of female victims. Indeed, Fairstein's books resemble her real cases, some of which played out in the public sphere, such as *Death Angel* (2013) to the Central Park Jogger case of 1989, and *Night Watch* (2012) to the 2012 Dominique Strauss-Kahn case in New York.

In interviews, Fairstein has compared herself to Alex, stating, "Professionally, she is meant to be me. She expresses my passion for the work and what the rewards are and also what the frustrations are" (Memmott "Heat"). These frustrations will be discussed in this chapter. In the same interview, Fairstein also suggests that her experience lends her a certain authority and authenticity within the crime fiction genre, arguing "The one thing I thought I could bring to a popular, crowded genre was the authenticity of the work I had done...I was sitting, at that point, on almost twenty years of human experience and professional experience" (Memmott "Heat").

Throughout this chapter I ask the following questions about Fairstein's work: How does Fairstein's status as a professional eye affect her portrayal in the media? How does Fairstein represent institutional sexism in her fiction? The ideas of Michel Foucault and

Judith Butler on the justice system and sexism form an important theoretical standpoint to this question. This also leads to an analysis of how Alex can work within one of these sexist institutions. For example, one of the ways she negotiates the traditionally masculinist space is through her combination of hardboiled language and professional jargon. I also ask, what aspects (other than language) of Fairstein's novels challenge and conform to her work within the legal institution? Finally, how does Alex's gender blur the lines between her professional role and potential victimisation?

Finding Faults with Fairstein in the Media

On April 19, 1989, Trisha Meili—known as the “Central Park Jogger”—was raped and viciously beaten while jogging through New York City's Central Park. She was found in the early hours of the morning suffering from hypothermia, internal bleeding and a fractured skull. Doctors believed it unlikely she would ever wake from her coma. Police very quickly arrested five Black and Hispanic youths between the ages of 14-16; Antron McCray, Yusef Salaam, Raymond Santana, Kevin Richardson and Kharey Wise. The boys were interrogated under questionable circumstances for long periods of time, and exculpatory evidence was ignored by police and prosecutors. They confessed to the rape, and later retracted their confessions stating that they had been coerced and intimidated by police detectives, lead prosecutor Elizabeth Lederer, and head of the prosecution unit, Linda Fairstein. Although no DNA evidence linked the boys to the crime, they were found guilty and were sentenced to lengthy jail terms. Sensationalist racial language in the media was prevalent throughout the trial, culminating in much public condemnation of the ‘Central Park Five.’ It was only in 1992 after all five men had served full jail terms that convicted Latino rapist Martias Reyes came forward and confessed as the sole attacker of Meili, a confession confirmed by a DNA match. In 2002 the Central Park Five had their convictions expunged. As head of the prosecution unit, Linda Fairstein's professional reputation was consolidated by her ‘win’ at the Central Park Five trial (although not to the same extent as lead prosecutor Elizabeth Lederer). In the aftermath of the overturned convictions, Fairstein faced much media condemnation, particularly in the newspaper *The Village Voice*, which published Rivka

Gerwitz Little's 2002 article "Ash-Blond Ambition." This gendered title employs similarly discriminatory language to that used against the Central Park Five during their trial in 1990. The following chapter of this dissertation begins with an examination of Fairstein's treatment following the overturning of the convictions. Her depiction within the media will then be compared to the narrative of professionalism presented in her nonfiction.

In 2011, Sarah Burns published *The Central Park Five*, focusing on the harrowing tale from the perspective of the five convicted men. The book brought to light injustices in the media, police, and legal systems of New York City by focusing on the 1989 case of the Central Park Jogger. In 2012 Burns, alongside her father Ken Burns and husband David McMahon, released the corresponding documentary *The Central Park Five* to critical acclaim. The scene is set (in both the filmic and literary versions) within the context of a city with horrific crime statistics and racial divisions. Burns leads readers through a timetable of the victim, defendants, police detectives and prosecutors on the day of the attack. In contrast to her meticulous, journalistic summary of the case, Burns introduces Fairstein in a surprisingly gendered manner, describing how, "She wore designer clothes and was well connected in New York social circles, and...had a history of contentious relationships with the other high-ranking women" (36). This is presented as a negative portrayal of Fairstein, almost a caricature of an ambitious (and therefore disliked by other women), consumerist professional woman. It is even insinuated that her professional status is due to her 'connections.' Contrary to Burns's accusations, in *Sexual Violence* Fairstein names women who mentored and inspired her such as Joan Sudolnik, her "role model, teacher, and good-humored friend" (*Sexual Violence* 97), and Detective Maureen Spencer whom she describes as an intelligent and experienced colleague (*Sexual Violence* 120). Burns accredits Fairstein's supposed lack of female friendship to a single incident, in which Fairstein argued that the Central Park Jogger case should be handled by the sex crimes unit rather than Nancy Ryan's homicide unit, a shrewd decision in hindsight. Despite the fact that it was a rape trial, not a homicide, Burns suggests that Fairstein "wrested it away [from Ryan] for her Sex Crimes Prosecution Unit" (188). It seems that the way it was "wrested" is objectionable because of its aggression, which is perceived as unfeminine. Burns's portrayal reads as personal and

petty when compared to her compelling arguments on the case and the sensitivity she displays towards the five men.

This sexist language to describe a professional woman is also evident in articles by Little, who writes that Fairstein is a “zealot” and a “crusader.” Her professional dress and penchant for designer clothes is attacked by unnamed sources who “admit a personal distaste for her tendency to flaunt her wealth” (Little “Ash-Blond” 1), and her passion for her work is described as “a passion that can go beyond maneuvering for power” (Little “Ash-Blond” 2). Furthermore, she is mocked for the “ultra-blond airbrushed” (Little “Ash-Blond 1) photo that appears in her novels’ jackets. One wonders whether a male prosecutor would have his drive to succeed and his fashionable appearance mocked in the same language. In comparison, Sydney Schanberg’s less-biased article from the same paper describes Fairstein as, “a fiercely competitive, driven professional” (Schanberg). In his book *Unequal Verdicts*, Timothy Sullivan likewise introduces Fairstein as a professional whose final trial case in 1988 “raised her to a level of celebrity beyond the considerable status she had achieved in criminal justice and feminist circles for championing the aggressive prosecution of hitherto hushed-up crimes” (20). While Sullivan and Schanberg introduce Fairstein as a professional, Burns and Little focus on her appearance in order to ‘deauthorise’ her. Paradoxically, the sexist language employed by Burns and Little to describe Fairstein is evocative of the racial language used against the Central Park Five during their trials. While the teenagers were accused of “wilding” and were depicted using animalistic imagery, Fairstein has been censured as a consumerist blonde who lacks essential maternal qualities. Both descriptions rely on discriminatory sensationalism rather than facts.

In her book, Burns presents a timeline that clearly shows the impossibility of a fair interrogation of the suspects, who were questioned before Meili had even been identified by friends in hospital. The coerced statements wrought from the underage suspects are a focal point of the entire book and documentary, as they were for the entire court case—to the point that they were pivotal in the guilty verdicts—and Burns deftly shows readers how the legality of police interrogation itself should be questioned. As she argues, “Young people are

especially susceptible to the pressures that can lead to false confessions. One study found that one-third of those who gave false confessions were juveniles, and half were under the age of twenty-five” (Burns 60). The confessions proved powerful evidence against the teenagers, because of the authority ascribed to confession, even when it is later retracted.

Furthermore, the adversarial court system of America relies on competing narratives and performance to prosecute cases. Describing this use of competing narratives, Janet Cotterill writes “the adversarial system accords the ‘performance’ aspect of the trial a far greater significance than it has in inquisitorial proceedings...some critics of the adversarial system accuse trial lawyers of prioritizing style of delivery over substance of fact in their attempts to convince the jury” (9). This is certainly true of the allegations against Fairstein and her team throughout *The Central Park Five*. Cotterill goes on to argue that the performative aspect of the adversarial system calls for great oral performers, as “the recasting of the courtroom as a stage is deeply rooted in the classical rhetorical tradition, providing a dramatic setting for great orators with the jury and public gallery as the audience” (205). Perhaps then it is clear why these orators are blamed when the flaws in the system are revealed. This adversarial court system—presented to juries in many Western countries such as America and Australia—focuses on the authority of a narrative rather than evidence, and it therefore hinges on the performance of the prosecutors and defense lawyers presenting the dissenting narratives.

While this authoritative language is used in male-dominated institutions by many women such as Fairstein, not all women have the same opportunity. Female victims are often silenced through the court system, because of their lack of authoritative language. In fact, after studying the way women spoke as court witnesses in 1998, O’Barr and Atkins published an article renaming ‘women’s language’ as ‘powerless language.’ The discovery was that women from well-educated backgrounds and higher-level occupations exhibited less conventional ‘women’s language,’ which was used instead by both men and women who were powerless and rendered almost speechless by the court system (Atkins and O’Barr). The Central Park Five were minors who would not have access to this ‘powerful language’ in the court or police interviews—because of their youthful age and distressing

situations—and thus their narrative was constructed for them, to their detriment. By the time Lederer and Fairstein had arrived at the Central Park Precinct to question the suspects, the elite Manhattan North Homicide Squad had begun interrogations because they were “more successful [than local police] in convincing the families of the juvenile suspects to cooperate” (Sullivan 22) and had produced written statements of confessions that would later be videotaped. As Sullivan elucidates, the families of the Central Park Five were also hindered through their lack of authority or knowledge of the justice system. This cannot be blamed simply on the detectives and prosecutors, but traced back to the adversarial system that is employed in New York courts, which allows racism and other social biases to impact on trials that should rely on evidence, and relegates victims and defendants to silence.

As such, it can also be argued that Meili, as the victim, had her narrative likewise constructed by the media and prosecution and little opportunity to assert her own version. She seems lost in many accounts of the case, which often focus solely on the racial prejudices that led to the wrongful imprisonment of five youths. Meili did publish an autobiography entitled *I Am the Central Park Jogger* in 2003, soon after the revelation that Matias Reyes was the sole rapist. In her book, it becomes clear how little she had to do with the trial of the Central Park Five, because of her amnesia and because of the construction of her narrative by the prosecution and media. She particularly dislikes how the media ignores her incredible recovery from a traumatic brain injury, casting her as a victim instead of a survivor. Meili writes, “While they were sympathetic, they confirmed my fears that they would concentrate on my injuries, focusing on what was wrong with me rather than saying that the way I looked, walked, and spoke was pretty darn good. What I read I saw as criticism, and the overheated prose stung” (184). She describes the Central Park Jogger as a separate person to herself. Throughout the autobiography she refers to this old self in the third person perspective. As she explains, “I experienced an outpouring of support only a few of us are privileged to receive, but it wasn’t me, Trisha Meili, who was being singled out. I’d become a symbol of something far greater than myself” (Meili 126). Meili discloses a powerful standpoint in which her narrative concentrates on these community networks and support systems. Rather than concentrate on racism and the criminal justice system, Meili

provides her own narrative of overcoming tremendous obstacles and injuries. She presents herself as a survivor rather than a victim. As such, she finds that she feels an obligation to provide support for other people in need outside of any legal institutions, through Coalition for the Homeless, walks for MS (Multiple Sclerosis), swim-a-thons, blood drives, and SAVI (Sexual Assault Victims Initiative). While the justice system failed Meili through its wrongful prosecution, she focuses instead on the support networks that saved her indomitable spirit and her life. This support came from people who sympathised with her because they could see that her assault and injury was more than just a personal narrative, that she truly was a symbol of problems in contemporary society. These people included the doctor (whose own daughter was raped at gunpoint a month prior to Meili) who took no days off until he was sure she would survive her head trauma, the nurse who used gentle touch to nurture her wounded body, the strangers who wrote letters of encouragement and support for years following the attack, her workplace which held a job for her and gave her tasks of increasing difficulty to aid in her recovery, and the jogging group at the hospital. Meili tells a very different narrative to Burns.

The construction of a narrative in this case raises questions, as the reliance on evidence can be difficult in many rape cases, particularly in the more common scenario of date and acquaintance rape. However, in this case the DNA evidence did not implicate any of the defendants, and yet Reyes was not convicted until his confession over a decade after the crime. As Burns states elaborately, Lederer “deftly wove a tale of mischief and mayhem in Central Park on April 19, 1989, in her opening statement, describing the weak evidence the prosecution had as if it were strong and dismissing the lack of DNA matches as inconsequential” (132). This is a description of the narrative-based cases that are common in adversarial justice systems, and yet Burns lays the blame almost entirely on the two female prosecutors, much more often and scathingly than the male officers who arrested and initially interrogated the teenagers. For example, she writes that after the interrogations by the detectives revealed that the boys did not know the time Meili was attacked, Lederer “chose to present an opening statement that simply hid a glaring contradiction from the jury” (Burns 162). On the other hand, the detectives are not named for their role in eliciting

these confessions. Instead Burns writes, “these crimes might have been prevented if the police had bothered to consider anything but the narrative they instantly formed” (Burns 206).⁵ While Lederer is described as making a choice, she implies that the unnamed police accidentally formed opinions through laziness.

Lederer and Fairstein do merit some blame for using this narrative to silence Meili. For a sex crimes unit to create a narrative for a rape victim and fail to prosecute the rapist, or even fully investigate the DNA evidence, is failing the victim as much as it fails the wrongfully accused. As Meili explains, “He could not be charged because the statute of limitation in the case had expired” (1). The removal of the statute of limitations in cases of extreme violence and rape in the state of New York did not occur until 2006. However, Fairstein often addresses problems with current laws that prevent the effective punishment of rapists. For example, in *Entombed* Alexandra Cooper faces the frustrations of trying to convict the ‘silk-stockings rapist’ using his DNA code, as the statute of limitations will run out on some of the older cases before he can be arrested. Fairstein also addresses legal problems through her nonfiction, in her book *Sexual Violence*, and other short case studies. In an article on the backlog of untested rape kits in America, Fairstein writes about the unsolved case of Helena Lazaro. Her rape kit from 1996 remained untested until 2003, and Lazaro did not discover the results until 2009 when the sheriff’s office was pressed by social services. The rapist was identified as a man serving time for a rape that occurred after he attacked Lazaro, which could have been prevented. Fairstein argues:

The backlog gives a rapist free rein to harass a victim a second or third time, and it also sends a dangerous message to women that the justice system isn’t concerned with solving sex-related crimes. Why, women ask me, should they spend hours in the ER, surrendering to vaginal and rectal swabs, pubic-hair combings, and nail scrapings, if the evidence is never analyzed? (*Rape Scandal* 10)

⁵ The importance of narrative and confession to American adversarial trials has come back into the spotlight following the popularity of Sarah Koenig’s podcast *Serial* (October 3-December 18, 2014).

The distrust of DNA evidence in cases during the 1980s is also described through Fairstein's fiction, where Alex explains for readers: "The lawyers in my own office had fought and won that groundbreaking struggle to use DNA technology in 1989, opening the way for genetic profiling, which continues to revolutionize criminal justice to this day" (Fairstein *Death Angel* 25). As Fairstein explains, the year DNA evidence could begin to enter courts is the same year as the Central Park Jogger assault took place. Indeed, DNA evidence was a burgeoning field in the late 1980s. The first person in America with a conviction based upon DNA evidence was Florida rapist Tommie Lee Andrews in 1987.⁶ In a similar case to that of the Central Park Five, Gary Dotson of Chicago was the first person who was exonerated through DNA evidence and had his conviction overturned.⁷ This occurred in 1989, the same year that the five youths were convicted.

Fairstein's nonfiction addresses the legal impediments that victims such as Meili face in receiving justice. However, Meili is conspicuously absent in Burns's contradictory narrative of the event, and there is no discussion of the effects the overturned convictions had on the woman at the centre of the furor. The seemingly separate cases of the Central Park Five and the Central Park Jogger both serve to highlight inequalities in the justice system's treatment of female rape victims, and New York City's racial minorities, therefore providing an intersecting case that involves both institutional sexism and racism. It does not need to be viewed as one or the other, despite the prevailing narratives that seem to work against each other.

At the time of the trials there was much divergence between those who saw the case as a feminist issue, and those who named it a racial issue. Little argues, "this case highlights the continuing struggle within the feminist movement, and often, its failure to truly engage the needs and issues facing women of color, or grapple well with situations in which issues of race and gender are intermingled" ("Rage"). Those such as Kimberlé Crenshaw and bell hooks have long argued that second-wave feminism fails to take into account the differing

⁶ For more see:

<<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/case/revolution/databases.html>>.

⁷ For more see: <<http://www.people.com/people/archive/article/0,,20121045,00.html>>.

experiences of women who are not white and middle-class. Feminisms have continued to struggle with the nuances of an increasingly globalised world in which one might identify with many marginalised groups, meaning that a woman could have an individual intersection of identities that cannot be unified in a single feminist movement. Indeed, "In the case of multiple identities, one must explore differences within each aspect of identity as each is influenced simultaneously by the other dimensions. How these patterns of oppression interact with each other creates multidimensional identities or a status of intersectionality that is different from the sum of its parts" (Dryden, Sanchez-Hucles and Winstead 104). The Central Park Jogger case is an example of how second-wave feminists may have failed to integrate non-white women's issues into their movement, however to fail to link the case to other notorious gang rapes around the world is continuing to exclude any non-Americans, and changing the binaries from white/black to Western/non-Western.

As a professional eye, Fairstein gains much of her literary recognition from readers' perception of her authority and authenticity. Her real cases have clearly had an influence on her fiction, much as other professional eyes such as Kathy Reichs have used their past cases as inspiration. However, this is now under scrutiny because of Reyes's confession and the removal of the Central Park Five's convictions. Other past cases of Fairstein's team have also been overturned, such as that of Oliver Jovanovic who argues that she "used what happened in that unit to make money, and that is wrong" (Little "Ash-Blond"). Arguably all authors use their lived experiences to varying degrees when writing their novels, and it can also be reasoned that the justice system requires a certain degree of transparency. Jovanovic vilifies Fairstein in the same way as Burns and Little, which hardly seems reasonable, particularly as media interviews and books also "make money" for Burns, Little and Jovanovic.

Much of Burns's most interesting and relevant discussion is about the media frenzy and racist animalistic symbolism surrounding the case, and how this affected the outcome of the trial. However, Burns has failed to fully explain the boys' participation in the other crimes of the night, what the media termed "wilding." Although minors at the time and now found innocent of the attack on Meili, they do not deny involvement in the other

assaults that occurred in Central Park on the same night. These other attacks were not minor events and there were conceivable similarities in the use of rocks to beat victims' heads. Burns writes that several of the group left one victim "bleeding from the head" (22), while another victim had injuries "so serious that he spent two nights in hospital" (25). These attacks are discussed by Burns as though the five youths were innocent bystanders and in no way culpable.

The analysis of the entire case as black and white—in terms of justice and race—is rather too simplified. While a worthwhile comparison can be made, Burns's likening of the public's calls for the reintroduction of the death penalty to the lynchings of the post-civil war years (74), does not necessarily point to racism. Marlon Ross argues that by invoking racial lynching as punishment for rape, African American women are silenced. He writes that it erases African American women "as the routine targets of rape in order to metaphorize racial violence as the psychological desexing of black men" (Ross 314). According to Ross, the physical rape of African American women by slave-owners in antebellum America and the psychological threat of castration through lynching of African American men are very different systems of racial torture that should not be contrasted in order to negate each other. The media's use of animalistic imagery to describe the boys is indeed racist, and the quick conclusions about their guilt could also be attributed to racism. Calls for the death penalty after a gang rape are not unique to this case and can also be attributed to the severity of injuries to the victim. For example, the death sentencing of the men involved in the gang rape and murder of Jyoti Singh Pandey in India in 2012 had less to do with racism than frustration at the gridlock in women's rights around the country.⁸ Media coverage in America was just as racially sensationalised as that during the Central Park Five trials, in this case through colonial discourse linking rape to charges of India as "a failed democracy where progressive gender politics cannot gain traction" (Durham 184). Meili's injuries almost culminated in her death, leading to similarly sensational media coverage and public anger.

⁸ For more see: <<http://www.euronews.com/2013/09/13/celebrations-in-india-after-rape-and-murder-case-death-sentences/>>.

Fairstein transcends fiction and nonfiction to depict women in New York City's criminal justice system. Her 1993 book *Sexual Violence* chronicles her entrance into the District Attorney's Office of Manhattan in the 1970s, and eventual promotion to head of the newly developed sex crimes unit. Throughout the book, Fairstein refers to several cases on which she has worked over the course of her career, in order to highlight the changes made to the prosecution of sex crimes and the challenges that remain. There are startling similarities between the cases described and those in her fiction, particularly in the depiction of men using their positions of authority to victimise women. For example, dentists Marvin Teicher, and twins Benjamin and Michael Koplik, are used as examples of institutional abuse in Fairstein's book, as they sexually assaulted patients who were under the influence of anesthetic. Their cases provide inspiration for the doctor who drugs and rapes two women in *Death Dance* (2006). The use of false uniforms to trick women into opening their apartment doors in *Lethal Legacy* (2009) also has origins in a case Fairstein outlines as one of the earliest she worked on in the 1970s, regarding "John Miller, an attractive and articulate young man in his mid-twenties, [who] dressed in a khaki outfit that passed for a uniform" (*Sexual Violence* 60). He used this uniform to gain entry into women's houses and attack them.

The importance of male mentors is another similarity between Fairstein's fiction and nonfiction. In the fictional series, Alex Cooper often describes her success as partially due to the support of her supervisor, District Attorney Battaglia. In her nonfiction book, Battaglia's real-life counterpart is Mr. Morgenthau. Fairstein describes how, "two of his [Morgenthau's] most overlooked accomplishments are his professional mentoring of women in the law, and his determined commitment to the issue of sexual violence" (*Sexual Violence* 104). By highlighting the mentorship of male colleagues and the legal changes that have occurred within the prosecution of rape, Ann Jones supposes that *Sexual Violence* highlights Fairstein's "heartening message to women: the system has changed. The system works" (14). While this is mostly true, Fairstein ends the book by highlighting areas in the prosecution of sexual crime that she believes need amendment; health services, government funding, and a system that supports victims. Fairstein writes, "Only when we make the survivor comfortable in the system will we be able to defeat the problem at its source" (*Sexual Violence* 272). She

addresses the unfair opportunity of the defendant to use character witnesses and simultaneously question the character of the victim in the courtroom. Throughout the book Fairstein also stresses the importance of longer prison terms because of the recidivist rate of rapists. She writes, "Our files are replete with names of assailants my colleagues and I have prosecuted and convicted of rape, who have been sentenced to substantial prison terms, and who have been released on parole to rape again" (*Sexual Violence* 27). This issue is also represented in her novels, perhaps most convincingly with the character of Troy Rasheed in *Killer Heat* (2008). Priscilla Walton argues, "Contextually smudging the lines between her own public personae and that of her novelistic hero, Fairstein fictionally reveals how personal positions influence a prosecutor's stance on a case" (Walton 26). A reading of *Sexual Violence* illustrates how Fairstein uses the fictional crime genre to question the problems of the legal system; perhaps in an attempt to bring the issues to a wider reading audience than could be achieved in a courtroom. Her description of being able to express "frustrations" through fiction—what Walton terms her "personal positions"—is revealed in her use of Alex's cases to expose a broad range of institutional sexism across New York City.

Sarah Burns's *The Central Park Five* is a deeply moving and disturbing book in which she impressively conveys this miscarriage of justice and its devastating effect on the lives of five innocent men and their families. However, there is no clarification of why racial bias impedes investigations, or the media's effect on juries. Her rendering of the New York justice system and the detectives and prosecutors such as Fairstein could have ongoing consequences on their professional authority. Fairstein has denied the allegations of racism (Schanberg 2), and maintained the possibility of the guilt of the Central Park Five, despite the legal overturning of their convictions. In *Sexual Violence*, Fairstein writes that "an attorney must be as conversant with the facts of the case as every person involved in every single aspect of the crime and the subsequent investigation, whether or not all of the details are admissible at trial" (*Sexual Violence* 250). Although all of the facts were known by Lederer, in an adversarial system it is more important to create a clear narrative than present every fact, including potentially exculpatory DNA evidence. As Fairstein further argues, "the most difficult part of a prosecutor's preparation is structuring a direct case that is

logical and coherent as well as compelling and persuasive" (*Sexual Violence* 251). This clarifies the higher importance placed on narrative when using juries, as opposed to presenting all contradictory evidence. As Schanberg writes, the criminal justice system is "a process full of human fallibility and error, sometimes noble, more often unfair, rarely evil but frequently unequal...like other big, unwieldy institutions" (Schanberg). It is much more complex than its portrayal by Burns. The judgment of the Central Park Five took place through the police detectives, prosecutors, court system and juries, media and public. There is more depth to the issues the case unearthed than just a problem with the prosecution. Both Fairstein and Burns are essentially arguing for the same thing: drastic changes within the justice system, which could mean less chance of false imprisonment.

It could be argued that Burns, Little, and Jovanovic disapprove of Fairstein because of her role as a professional eye, an author of fiction that borrows from her high-profile cases and turns her experiences into financial profits. The authority attributed to Fairstein is problematic, as although her novels are labeled as fiction, some of the narratives resemble cases from real life. The element of the autobiographical draws readers to Fairstein's novels—and those of other professional eyes—at the same time as it exposes her to public condemnation. Gilmore suggests that autobiography "draws its social authority from its relation to culturally dominant discourses of truth telling and not, as has previously been asserted, from its privileged relation to 'real life'" (Gilmore 14). Although her novels are not strictly autobiographical, it is the "truth telling" ascribed to Fairstein rather than the relation to reality that has been questioned alongside the overturned records of the Central Park Five. As Gilmore expands, "authority is derived through autobiography's proximity to the rhetoric of truth telling: the confession...The story of the self is constructed as one that must be sworn to and will be subject to verification" (Gilmore 109). This idea of confession is central to the vilification of both Fairstein and the Central Park Five. The youths confessed on camera to the crimes. Burns argues, "Confessions are a uniquely persuasive form of evidence when presented to a jury, even in the face of contradictory physical evidence. Juries believe confessions because they cannot imagine a situation in which anyone would confess to something they hadn't done" (140). Likewise, using authors' real experience to

publicise their fiction can lead to reader perception that the confessional qualities of professional eye fiction equate with a certain authenticity. As previously discussed, Fairstein believes her experience brings “authenticity” to her fiction (Memmott “Heat”) and the back cover of *Night Watch* touts that “crime novels can’t get any more real.” Following such a mistake in her professional experience, Fairstein’s authority of “truth telling” in her fiction could suffer. It seems unlikely that sales of her fiction have suffered substantially, because of the divisions caused by Sarah Burns’s book,⁹ which lead some readers to publicly defend Fairstein.

A now-closed petition¹⁰ asked for an apology to the Central Park Five from Fairstein, but not from the other parties involved in the investigation and conviction. Of those who signed, some have left their reasons, which include promises to stop reading her novels and charges of hypocrisy for continuing to publish them while innocent men were imprisoned. It is specifically her success in publishing fiction that has brought her under scrutiny more than Lederer and the detectives involved. The reaction is interesting when compared to the public outcry against the five teenagers in 1989, when many called for the reinstatement of the death penalty. Despite attempts to boycott her fiction on the internet, the petition has just over six hundred supporters and the Facebook page¹¹ only has thirty three members (or “likes”), while Fairstein’s public Facebook page has over twenty thousand.

‘I’m not a cop’: Institutions and Justice

Crime fiction written by professional women often affords scrutiny into the institutions within which these authors have worked, such as the police and court systems. This correlates to the theories of Michel Foucault, who argues:

⁹ Some articles are clearly pro-Burns such as that at the following site: <<http://observer.com/2012/10/after-botching-central-park-five-case-city-goes-after-filmmakers-who-told-the-tale/>>.

while others exemplify the opposite extreme, such as the following article:

<<http://www.frontpagemag.com/2014/jack-kerwick/the-central-park-five-still-guilty/>>.

¹⁰ Available at: <<https://www.change.org/p/linda-fairstein-reconcile-with-the-central-park-5>>.

¹¹ Available at: <<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Boycott-Linda-Fairstein/550997298255076>>. Also see: <http://www.amazon.com/Linda-Fairstein-is-a-FRAUD/forum/Fx24FLMVW2L2XN2/Tx3VNMWSNW1CZ29/1?_encoding=UTF8&asin=0525952632>.

A power whose task is to take charge of life needs continuous regulatory and corrective mechanisms. It is no longer a matter of bringing death into play in the field of sovereignty, but of distributing the living in the domain of value and utility. Such a power has to qualify, measure, appraise, and hierarchize, rather than display itself in its murderous splendor. (144)

This hierarchising or distribution of the living that Foucault describes can never be an equal distribution. Those who are deemed to have “value and utility” within a society are those employed by large institutions which control life and death, particularly those within the criminal justice institutions such as courts, police forces, legal firms and prosecution, and prisons. Women and minorities may then find society relegates them as lower class through their treatment within these institutions, as demonstrated by the low prosecution rates of rapists, and the higher numbers of certain racial minorities sentenced to imprisonment. Critics such as Judith Butler have discussed this idea in detail in feminist debate, although Butler acknowledges that Foucault was not arguing in terms of gender hierarchy. However, she contends:

Foucault points out that juridical systems of power produce the subjects they subsequently come to represent. Juridical notions of power appear to regulate the political life in purely negative terms—that is, through the limitation, prohibition, regulation, control, and even ‘protection’ of individuals related to that political structure through the contingent and retractable operation of choice. But the subjects regulated by such structures are, by virtue of being subjected to them, formed, defined, and reproduced in accordance with the requirements of those structures. (Butler *Gender Trouble* 2)

Butler’s argument that power within these juridical institutions is unequal and biased—and therefore the treatment of citizens is regulated through this hierarchy—has links to Fairstein’s Alex Cooper series. However, the concept of choice is important to Butler,

as she questions whether in actuality there can be any choices in such a regulated system, whereas Fairstein's protagonist rebels against this system from within. Therefore Alex is shown to have both the power of being well-respected within this institutional hierarchy, and choosing to use this power to change the regulation of gender. The idea that institutions such as the police force and court system produce the subjects they represent is often the issue at the crux of feminist crime fiction. This is not exclusive to professional eye novels, but a convention continued on from Sara Paretsky, Sue Grafton and their contemporaries through to more recent series. The professional eye has an insight into the system through extended work within it. The authority gained from this experience translates to their fiction, and how it is marketed to and received by readers. In this way, Foucault, who seemingly had little interest in feminism, becomes significant in an analysis of professional eye novels. Indeed, an examination of professional eye novels using Foucault's standpoints on institutional hierarchy brings many contemporary interests to light, and reveals how these authors have found such success. Contemporary criminal justice institutions shape women as victims through their basis in masculinist military structures and laws, and the failure of justice once women report crime. For example, the discourse used in rape trials often places the onus on women to prevent rape, which will be discussed later in this chapter. These ideas are prevalent in the works of Fairstein, Reichs, and Y.A. Erskine. Fairstein particularly explores the institutions of New York, and how they oppress women.

Institutionalised sexism is a source of contention among third and fourth-wave feminists, as Aileen Maguire argues:

The reality of our everyday lives is conveyed to us through social and political institutions. They are the skeleton, the framework, on which the flesh of our reality hangs. Religion, language, health care, the courts, trade unions, welfare schemes, business corporations, local government, political parties are the everyday context in which we live and function. (18)

This is in line with the Foucauldian arguments of institutions ‘ruling’ the lives of citizens in the place of monarchies. In fact, each of the institutions named by Maguire is integral to the crimes investigated throughout Fairstein’s series, almost every novel targeting a specific institution. This includes hospitals in *Likely to Die* (1997), in which the victim Gemma Dogen, a prominent neurosurgeon at the Mid-Manhattan Hospital, is found stabbed to death in her office. During her investigation, Alex describes how, “not a single public nor private hospital seemed to have been spared the indignity of some kind of sexual assault on the premises within the past three years” (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 56). In another novel in the series, a man who works for the court system poses as a gynecologist to prey on teenage girls (Fairstein *The Kills* 102). This sexism within judicial institutions exaggerates the problems faced by real women working in these jobs. In their description of how women are disenchanted with Australian courts Anleu and Mack argue, “In most Australian courts, less than one-third of judicial officers are women...Continued progress towards gender diversity in the courts is essential to the legitimacy of this key public institution in a democracy” (211). Through fiction, Fairstein highlights the problems faced by women when masculinist institutions fail to adequately represent them. Meanwhile, her nonfiction also addresses the need for sexual equality, particularly through her approval of Morgenthau for his innovative mentorship of female professionals.

Perhaps the most explicit and potentially controversial questioning of an institution in Fairstein’s fiction occurs in *Silent Mercy* (2011). The novel follows Alex as she investigates the murders of women attempting to gain authority within religious institutions. The victims include a woman protesting for the right to pray at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem and a woman ordained as a priest. Throughout the novel Alex learns about how the Catholic Church has its own internal system of dealing with crime, as she attempts to prosecute a pedophile priest and explains, “It was my rude awakening to how the church operated. At the first whiff of a complaint, the priests were moved to another archdiocese. Another state, thousands of miles away. Beyond the subpoena power of the state of New York” (Fairstein *Silent Mercy* 55). Once she becomes further involved in the murder investigation, Alex tells Mike how misogyny within religious institutions has created wide-reaching problems for

women around the world: “Discrimination against women sheltered under the wings of religion—every religion—is a really serious problem. It’s been that way for centuries. It’s excluded us from education and social opportunities, from positions of authority” (Fairstein *Silent Mercy* 81). The killer is eventually identified as a religious zealot, but Alex acknowledges the responsibility shared by institutions that have declared a punishment of silence on women fighting for authority. The killer cut out the tongues of each woman, in an extension of the church’s ‘silencing.’

In other Fairstein novels, institutions silence women through their professional identities, which are regarded as less important than those of supervising men. For example, in *The Bone Vault* (2011), the director of the Metropolitan Museum uses a female employee’s identity in order to protect his reputation while stealing artifacts from a French museum, leading a detective to snipe, “The girl’s reputation didn’t matter, right?” (Fairstein *Bone Vault* 246). The identification of the victim as a “girl” rather than a woman relegates her to a position of powerlessness, even after death. With this kind of silencing occurring within the institutions of Fairstein’s series, it is no surprise that many of the female victims are hesitant to work with the police. *Killer Heat* (2008) features a serial rapist and murderer who targets women dressed in uniform, while using his own military background as a way of disarming his victims. One of the survivors explains, “That’s another reason I trusted him. I really respected his years of service” (Fairstein *Killer Heat* 323). Similarly, *Lethal Legacy* (2009) introduces a killer who also dresses in uniform to gain entry into women’s homes. The novel opens as Alex speaks to the first victim through her door, as she is too scared to open it after she was tricked by a false fireman’s uniform. Understanding the woman’s distrust of institutions, Alex tells her, “I’m not a cop” (Fairstein *Lethal Legacy* 8). One might expect the opposite tactic to work, and that the police are there to help rather than continue to victimise women. This idea is prevalent throughout feminist crime fiction, where the “series’ novels tend to link a particular investigation—of insurance fraud, of murder, of a missing person—to wider social problems that are usually related in fairly direct ways to women’s continuing oppression” (Reddy “Women Detectives” 198). The hardboiled narrative of the solo male investigator is replaced by emphasis on the importance of female community and equality

within society. This is particularly evident in the rape-revenge scenarios outlined in Chapter Four of this dissertation, especially those with a police officer as rapist such as Erskine's *The Betrayal* (2011).

This raises the question of how the police and court systems help women who have been effectively victimised by institutions, a central focus of Fairstein's novels. Violent women are 'recuperated' back into their gender through the court system. As O'Neill and Seal argue, "Feminist scholars are concerned with abjection and recuperation in social, legal and cultural responses to violent women as they play a role in maintaining divisions between masculinity and femininity, and in constituting the acceptable boundaries of femininity which contributes to the wider regulation of gender" (44). This wider regulation of gender is particularly apparent in the treatment of rape cases by the court system, in which the victim is often viewed as partially guilty for the crime. Indeed, as Figueiredo writes, "We can argue that the discourse of rape trials has 'side-effects' which reach far beyond the confines of the courtroom" (Figueiredo 262). This discourse incorporates the 'silencing' of women by the court institution, and defamation of victims' characters. Women who speak out against rape can have past sexual experiences, alcohol consumption, and even clothing choices questioned. Furthermore, Figueiredo describes the silencing that occurs before women even make legal complaints:

The distressing experience of giving evidence in court, the frequent practice of character assassination carried out by defence lawyers and even by judges, and the fear of having the most intimate details of one's life publicly discussed, laughed at or even enjoyed as erotic material, are indications of what awaits women who file a complaint of rape, and probably leads many of them to keep quiet about male sexual violence. (271)

Therefore the language used by participants within the court system can affect social interaction in the wider community. As Cotterill argues, "The expression of institutional hierarchies through control over interaction is embodied in the roles and participant

configurations to be found at various stages in the criminal trial" (92). Rape trials affect the wider regulation of gender in the way women dress, watch their drinks, and return home safely. Rules that apply to women when sitting in a taxi, walking home alone, and leaving with strangers, do not apply to men.

This kind of institutional regulation of society neatly coincides with Foucault's viewpoints, and although he did not write about institutional power regulating women in particular, he argues, as discussed earlier, "such a power has to qualify, measure, appraise, and hierarchize" (144). In the recuperation of female criminals and the regulation of women as possible rape victims, women are qualified and appraised as different to men, and lower on the hierarchical scale. As Butler argues, "Feminist critique ought also to understand how the category of 'women,' the subject of feminism, is produced and restrained by the very structures of power through which emancipation is sought" (*Gender Trouble* 2). In Fairstein's series there is optimism that the justice system is experiencing change that benefits women, the problems of punishing men for domestic abuse described as issues of the past. In *Bad Blood* Alex explains, "Rarely was the known assailant considered the same risk to the victim as a stranger, and rarely was any attempt made to consider the lethality factor—the potential for future harm—in setting bail or issuing a protective order" (Fairstein *Bad Blood* 82). Her use of past tense here assures readers that these are no longer issues faced by women in New York. Despite the aforementioned belief of Ann Jones that Fairstein is communicating a revolutionised system that "works" (14), Fairstein does not always show the legal system as helpful to female victims. Although laws are constantly changing and police procedures such as the testing of rape kits are being updated, the process Fairstein describes is a slow battle against an institution mired in decades of bureaucratic discrimination. Jones's assumption is understandable through its belief in the authority of the author and the 'truth' of nonfiction. The perception of authority in Fairstein's fiction is an extension of this, as Chatman suggests: "The narrator's presence derives from the audience's sense of some demonstrable communication. If it feels it is being told something, it presumes a teller" (147). In the novels of Fairstein, readers could easily suppose that the narrator is the author

herself, and that they are being told 'truths' Fairstein has learned through her real experience.

Juridical issues that readers could associate with Fairstein's experience occur throughout her fiction. The serial rapist and murderer of *Killer Heat* (2008), previously discussed, is revealed as a parolee who was incarcerated for rape and torture and released after submitting to chemical castration. His further rape (and murder) of women is an example of the system's failure, particularly when Alex discovers that a woman from the prison administration fought to keep him jailed after he told her that he would have been better off killing the women he raped. This is because of the specific laws about chemical castration and civil commitment faced by rapists in the state of New Jersey, which leads the prison psychologist to explain, "A kid Troy's age would probably have been paroled long before now, even for homicide" (Fairstein *Killer Heat* 259). This is typical of the kinds of legal problems Alex faces throughout Fairstein's novels. Often it seems that she is struggling against the legal system rather than against criminals. This sentiment is echoed in McDermid's findings while interviewing private detectives such as Byrna Aronson and Susan Lauman (*A Suitable Job* 110). In this instance the laws of New Jersey have indeed created a hierarchy for criminals, where rapists are worse off than murderers and rather than being rehabilitated become more hostile through their incarceration. Helplessness against diplomatic immunity is examined in *Entombed* (2004). The victims of the 'silk-stocking rapist' are examples of how women can become targets of institutionalised sexism, with no recourse for justice. The 'silk stocking rapist' is the name used by the media, which is a kind of underhand sexism through the use of a nostalgic and misleading label (he actually uses regular nylon stockings) to describe a man who is a dangerous criminal. Additionally, the rapist almost escapes the country after authorities discover he is the son of a diplomat and alert him that he is wanted for questioning. The victims are to be offered money, rather than the incarceration of the rapist, in order to save the government from asking that diplomatic immunity be waived. One 'favoured son' is valued higher in the juridical hierarchy, than the numerous women he has victimised. From a Foucauldian viewpoint, the justice system's tolerance of violence against women maintains this social

hierarchy. Alex's sense of helplessness against the system is mirrored throughout the crime novels of professional eyes, even as they depict the continuing struggle for women professionals to change the system from within.

'A razor-sharp tongue': Hardboiled and Professional Language

As examined in the Introduction to this dissertation, an oft-contested aspect of hardboiled crime fiction is the silence of women. Often, they have been excluded as protagonists, readers, authors and even critics. Dennis Porter began a discussion in 1981 on the use of speech in hardboiled crime to construct the heroic American male detective. Scott Christianson (1995), Priscilla L. Walton and Manina Jones (1999) furthered this argument by studying the implications to women as protagonists in feminist crime books. They argued that hardboiled dialogue which once formed a subversive discourse against the English 'motherland' has become a way for women protagonists to 'talk back' to masculine authority (Jones and Walton 131). The search for women's language by Monique Wittig, Hélène Cixous, and Carolyn Heilbrun has implications in a critical reading of female authors in crime fiction, and yet, this important development receives little attention in literary scholarship. Women working in high-level positions within the criminal justice system are now authoring crime books and represent the 'trauma of change' to the genre and the real institutions. Fairstein's novels display how hardboiled language has developed through the addition of professional jargon in order to create a female-friendly discourse.

Over the history of the crime fiction genre the female voice has often been silenced while the male has asserted its autonomy, particularly in early academic criticism. As Butler claims, "Silence is the performative effect of a certain kind of speech, where that speech is an address that has as its object the deauthorization of the speech of the one to whom the speech act is addressed" (Butler *Excitable Speech* 137). When the authors of early crime deauthorised their female characters, just as male critics deauthorised women authors of the sensation novel, they were met with this silence. For example, in Edgar Allan Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" there is a curious difference between the women's and men's voices. The female victims are silenced by the ape, author and critics. As Thomas notes,

“They were deprived of the power of speech, since both the daughter’s tongue and the mother’s vocal cords were severed in the course of their struggle with the unknown assailant. Into their silence the detective must speak” (R. Thomas 45). From this originating story, the silenced woman has developed as a staple of crime fiction, and through repetition and criticism she has become a normative part of the dialogic history of the genre. This deauthorisation of women in crime can be resisted with professional speech and language, which would return authority to authors and protagonists.

All discussions on hardboiled language inevitably discuss Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler. Julian Symons (1972) David Geherin (1980), and Dennis Porter (1981) are just a few of the early critics who credit the authors with the creation of a new landscape and language, purposely relocating the crime genre from the genteel British-dominated works of Agatha Christie and her contemporaries into the Americanised hardboiled form. Porter argues that on a closer reading language expresses some myths of American nationality. Common vernacular is a rebellion against the class-structured discourse of the rejected motherland (Porter *Pursuit of Crime* 132). This language is described by Denning (1987) as a ‘mechanic accent,’ which uses the rhetoric of urban craftworkers (103), but is also highly stylised.

The language of hardboiled crime is anti-elitist in its descriptions of settings and characters, distancing the detectives from those working with the social classes of the English cosy. The homes of rich clients are described in metaphors that signal an underlying emptiness, shown by the disdain of Marlowe to the opulence of the Sternwood mansion with his description, “This room was too big, the ceiling was too high, the doors were too tall, and the white carpet that went from wall to wall looked like a fresh fall of snow at Lake Arrowhead. There were full-length mirrors and crystal doodads all over the place” (Chandler 16). Although the room described is lovely, it has “too” much excess, to the point that “doodads”—which one assumes are useless—fill the space. In contrast to this, the hardboiled detectives live Spartan existences. Spade’s office has little aestheticism, as shown in the opening description: “Ragged grey flakes of cigarette-ash dotted the yellow top of the desk and the green blotter and the papers that were there. A buff-curtained window, eight

or ten inches open, let in from the court a current of air faintly scented with ammonia" (Hammett 7). In her study of the readers of hardboiled fiction between the wars, Erin A. Smith (2000) finds the vast majority to be white, working-class men, particularly those involved in factory and manual labour occupations. She argues that the preference for the 'natural' over the 'aesthetic' in the original stories of pulp crime was a reaction against the increasing capitalism of America, a move away from the industrial. There was also an increase of women in traditionally male occupations, adding to the overall anxieties of working-class men, who feared the loss of their workplace autonomy. As she discovers:

The piecework prose of producers who were the first authors of hard-boiled detective stories created texts that managed working-class men's anxieties about modern life. These texts shaped readers into consumers by selling them what they wanted to hear: stories about manly-artisan-heroes who resisted the encroachment of commodity culture and the consuming women who came with it. (E. Smith 78)

Speech is employed by Hammett and Chandler to give authenticity to their narratives and the speech of the hardboiled detective is that of the heroic spirit of white, working-class American masculinity. As such it is sometimes obscene. If the same rebellious, common and often crude language issued from female characters, they were presumed to be what Porter terms "fallen or comic" (*Pursuit of Crime* 183). Overall, the hardboiled tradition leaves women as outsiders and others. Nyman goes so far as to name it a "masculine romance," which encourages male autonomy as the ideal, over sexual romance or love (Nyman 307).

All of the techniques used by Hammett and Chandler stage the hardboiled genre as specifically masculine. This was fostered by male criticism, which cemented it as the popular form of crime fiction over the British cosy. The flipside of popularising the myth of the white American man as hero was the deauthorised position of female characters. By emphasising

the essentialist masculine qualities of the hardboiled detective, Hammett and Chandler had to define the women in equally stereotypical terms. As James V. Catano (1990) describes it:

The myth usually sentimentalizes the relationship between masculine and feminine to achieve a sophisticated denial of the social sphere of the mother, with its overtones of the feminine and the domestic, in favor of the larger, more 'real' world of male action—the world of job, commerce, or career. In these real worlds, the stereotypical fundamentals of serious male behaviour can be performed and incidentals of domestic life left behind. (427)

The “real” world of career is approached in the novels of professional eyes by using their authoritative experience within the actual criminal justice system. When faced with the totality of masculine discourse in hardboiled crime, female authors must resort to one of three options; adapt a masculine voice, create an entirely new voice, or continue to be silent. However, an alternative view offered by Jana Sawicki (1991) follows the Foucauldian model of language and power, where “discourse is ambiguous and plurivocal. It is a site of conflict and contestation. Thus, women can adopt and adapt language to their own ends. They may not have total control over it but then neither do men. Choice, chance and power govern our relationships to the discourse we employ” (1). The discussion of discourse and language in this chapter similarly centres on the argument that hardboiled language can be used to convey ideas of power and gender and that its construction as masculine can be altered to suit female authors’ requirements.

Each of the professional eyes discussed in this dissertation has opted for the latter option put forward by Sawicki and Foucault, using a combination of ‘masculine’ hardboiled language and professional jargon to create a renewed female voice. Professional language is emphasised in the novels of these women as a type of validation for their incursion into a formerly masculine genre and language.

This language communicates historical masculine ideas of hardboiled crime fiction, as well as performative feminine ideas. As Butler describes in her 1997 *Excitable Speech*,

“Performatives do not merely reflect prior social conditions, but produce a set of social effects of ‘official’ discourse, they nevertheless work their social power not only to regulate bodies, but to form them as well. Indeed, the efforts of performative discourse exceed and confound the authorizing contexts from which they emerge” (159). Butler’s explanation of how perceived authoritative language can produce the bodies it describes is a theory that applies well to some crime fiction, where female characters have been relegated as voiceless victims.

Professionally, women have been excluded from public speaking in many forms, particularly within masculine institutions such as the court and police systems, and yet, “Exclusion does not have to depend on absolute prohibition, but may be accomplished more subtly through a gendered division of linguistic labour within public sphere institutions” (Cameron 8). Docile language became ‘feminine’ and the oratory bravado of public speaking within institutions became ‘masculine.’ Another attitude to develop in the early days of crime fiction was that “women speakers were not ‘true’ women, but that they were ‘unsexed’ by engaging in public speaking. Nineteenth-century sexual-biological theories taught that women would be rendered sterile through strenuous intellectual efforts such as oratory, ‘unsexing’ themselves literally as well as figuratively” (Bean 25). When the detective or protagonist of hardboiled crime fiction is a woman, the use of masculine language can contribute to the image of “Philip Marlowe in drag.” Scott Christianson links this back to Porter’s arguments in *The Pursuit of Crime* and writes that the (incorrect) conclusions are “either that the adoption of the hard-boiled voice makes the female detective/narrator a man, or that a female narrator is proscribed from adopting such a voice” (“Talkin’ Trash” 139). It becomes clear in the novels of Fairstein that she has avoided this through a combination of hardboiled slang and professional jargon she has learnt ‘on the job.’ Each professional eye has experience outside of fiction, and can equip her protagonist with the discourses of a strong, professional and modern woman.

The use of wisecracks and obscenities by these women would formerly have marked them as unworthy of 'heroine' status. When Alex Cooper talks obscenely to her boyfriend Jed Segal in Fairstein's initial novel *Final Jeopardy* (1996), he chastises her, "Don't talk like your cop friends, Alex. It really isn't becoming. You sound crass and vulgar" and she replies, "Yeah, but it's a hell of a lot more direct than the crap you're trying to peddle" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 98). Here again, as in the well-known hardboiled crime of Chandler and Hammett, there is a preference for the 'natural' over false politeness. Jed's own speech is assiduously formal. The words "crass and vulgar" bring to mind British etiquette, and the idea that women must be "becoming" is outdated in contemporary New York. Likewise, his association of this language with her "cop friends" hints that while police officers may be perceived as a lower class, those in the legal profession are perceived as higher in the criminal justice hierarchy. When Jed admonishes her, "It's always wisecracks with you, Alex," (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 198), he disagrees with her use of lower-class, masculine language. With language 'inoffensive' and "becoming," Alex would not have her managerial position, as a large part of her success relies on strong and insinuating language to find out the intimate truths of claimants. She specifically relies on rhetoric, understood as "persuasive talk—[which] is particularly crucial in litigation. Legal proceedings are always conflict initiated" (Salmi-Tolonen 59). Her witnesses and claimants are often defensive and reticent because of the nature of these conflicts, and hence, her questions are direct and leading. Alison Johnson (2002) refers to the use of questions prefaced with 'so' in interviews and how this produces a coherent narrative rather than a conversational dialogue, arguing, "In this way, it is often the interviewer who tells the story" (91). In court Alex constructs the story of the claimant for her, and cross-examines the defense's witnesses in order to untangle their contradictory stories. It is clear that Alex must use a strong and often defiant voice in her professional life, and that Jed is unhappy with this when it crosses over into her private life. Jed's reproach causes a reverse reading as his own speech belies his misunderstanding of Alex and professional women in general, and exposes him as the unbecoming one of the pair. Later in the novel Alex and Mike confront Jed at a gentleman's club, where he is smoking cigars and drinking with some male colleagues. Alex accuses him

of cheating on her, and he attempts to silence her with lies. The setting and dialogue combine to recreate the idea of British etiquette and an older time, so that Jed is again cast as the 'other' who is caught up in outdated etiquette.

In contrast, Mike finds Alex's language refreshing, as a wisecracking, working-class detective himself. When laughing at the idea that she can cook in *Bad Blood* (2007), he jokes, "This is a girl who finds the toaster oven to be a real challenge...The only tools she's good with are an ice-maker and a razor-sharp tongue" (Fairstein *Bad Blood* 77). These are not undesired skills for a woman in his eyes; rather they mark Alex as a fellow upholder of the law who has little time for outdated 'feminine' domestic work or language. This conflict in language is commonly studied in the discipline of Law and Literature, which "brings together two overlapping bodies of thought, the legal and the literary, that have much in common, including an emphasis on rhetoric" (Posner 1). When reading from the standpoint of Law and Literature it is possible to imagine "an alternative vision of the United States as a redeemer nation able to exemplify for the rest of the world how a political and legal order can continue to move toward greater justice. The judiciary was to be rebuked for its conservation of an unjust legal and social order" (Crane 193). Thus, when Alex uses wisecracks and professional jargon to exert her authority, readers are presented with an alternative vision of how the masculinist institutions represented by those such as Jed can be resisted. Indeed, by studying crime fiction through the interdisciplinary lens of Law and Literature, it can become "the site of an invaluable critique of the stories and ideologies upheld by America's legal system. As a result, the law's treatment of women, people of colour, the disabled, children and many other marginalised groups have been an integral concern of this interdisciplinary field" (Dolin 182).

The differences between Mike and Jed are further highlighted in *Likely to Die* (1997) when Mike refuses to work with another female prosecutor. Unlike Alex, Laurie Deitcher cares more about her appearance than her profession:

The Princess? Never again, Blondie. The only time I had a high-profile case with her, it was a disaster. During the lunch hour, instead of prepping witnesses and outlining her cross-examinations, she'd make us wait in the hallway while she plugged in her hot rollers and troweled on some more makeup. Then she'd belly up to the jury box like she was Norma Desmond ready for her close-up. She looked great for the cameras, but the friggin' perp walked. (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 10)

Here the preference for hard work over consumerism and false appearances is demonstrated, just as it was in the works of Chandler and Hammett. As Smith argues, this preference once established the hardboiled genre as a romance of masculine autonomy. In the novels of Fairstein it becomes a romance of women's professionalism.

Moreover, Jed's implication that Alex's language is unbecoming for a woman is outdated in light of O'Barr and Atkins's aforementioned findings on 'powerless language' replacing 'women's language.' In her 1998 study of the women officers of the Pittsburgh police force, Bonnie McElhinny came to similar conclusions. She found that female police officers assumed stereotypically unemotional 'male language' and smiled less in their professional roles, writing:

That women who move into powerful and masculine institutions sometimes adopt the interactional behaviour characteristic of these institutions might disappoint some feminists. But it seems clear that who we think can do certain jobs changes more rapidly than expectations about how these jobs should be done. The process by which women enter a masculine workplace necessarily includes some adoption, as well as adaptation, of institutional norms. (McElhinny 322)

Alex adopts the masculine language of policemen she works alongside, exemplified in situations such as that in *Night Watch* (2012) when she is confronted with a civil lawyer

trying to control a victim and effectively hijack her case. She quips to her workmates, “I can play hardball every bit as well as that sleazebag” (Fairstein *Night Watch* 104). She uses the term “sleazebag” to effectively diminish his professionalism, and also subtly equate him with the criminals she takes to trial. “Hardball” also refers to baseball, a sport equated with both masculinity and American nationalism. She uses this witticism to assert her place in an American and masculine role. Often, this tough-talk is turned against her male detective partner, ridiculing him when he tries to act overtly masculine in front of her, with retorts such as, “What’s the point, Mike? Am I supposed to be swooning over your manliness now?” (Fairstein *Night Watch* 174). What was once a staple of proving masculine heroism and American manliness is now a point of humour in professional eye fiction. The binaries between the essentialist ideas of masculine and feminine traits are mocked using hardboiled witticisms. Thus, Fairstein talks back to masculine authority by ridiculing the idea that women professionals swoon over their colleagues.

Despite her adoption and adaptation of hardboiled language, Alex is foremost a professional. As clarified by William Gormley, Jr. (2001), investigators in crime fiction can be broken down into three categories: rogues, pragmatists and moralists. Within the pragmatists are two further groupings of improvisers and professionals. The latter are “rule-utilitarians” who rely upon the law, even when they disagree with it. Furthermore, he lists Alex as an example of a professional pragmatist and argues, “Authority is Cooper’s Achilles heel. Her rule of thumb is to follow direct orders from her ultimate boss, the district attorney, whom she respects, but to circumvent directives from an immediate supervisor, the deputy chief of the trial division, whom she detests” (Gormley 191). Authority may be her “Achilles heel” in the sense that she will not endanger her position by disobeying laws, but her professionalism instills Alex with her authoritative speech in the first instance. Her much disliked supervisor, Pat McKinney is also a valuable gauge of professionalism and provides opportunities for her to demonstrate her authoritative speech. Her dialogue to McKinney can on occasion be termed ‘risky,’ for example in *Bad Blood* she quips to him, “You forgot to tell me which hand it is you’ve got the judge eating from, and what it is you’ve been feeding him. I think I can guess, but I’d rather do it the old-fashioned way.

Ethically, if it is all the same to you" (Fairstein *Bad Blood* 203). This kind of language is risky through its combination of humour and professional insult. This is only one of many instances where she uses this precarious language to address McKinney. As Butler argues in *Excitable Speech*, "Insurrectionary speech becomes the necessary response to injurious language, a risk taken in response to being put at risk, a repetition in language that forces change" (163). Through a repetition of 'talking back' to her chauvinistic male superior, in which she often targets his professional integrity, Alex uses insurrectionary speech to respond to the sexism she faces within the legal system. This can also be applied to Alex's risky language in the courtroom (discussed further below) where she often disagrees with male judges. By responding with similar language she hopes to bring change to the way women are treated as both victims and professionals.

As described earlier, women were traditionally exempt from public speaking of any kind because they would become 'unsexed.' While in the past the male detective replaced the female victim's story with his own, Alex uses legal discourse to place both herself and victims as subjects within a masculine institution. The American adversarial trial system is characteristically a performative one, where the jury is audience to monologic openings and closings by lawyers: "The overwhelming primacy of the oral over the written in court also means that the verbal dexterity of the speaker becomes a significant factor in the presentation of credible testimony" (Cotterill 10). The female lawyer is given a large role within the framework of the court institution, while the woman as victim is given a very scripted and constricted timeframe to tell 'her' story. This is particularly evident in rape trials, the core of Alex's trial work. Susan Ehrlich (2006) comments on a rape trial she viewed where the victim became confused and unintelligible when confronted with the defense lawyer's cross-examination. She had difficulty understanding the legal language of the adversarial court and the judge found her 'feminine' and 'lay' language equally confusing. A feminine perspective, "when manifest in a public context, can be distorted or rendered invisible by the androcentric discourses that often dominate in these contexts" (Ehrlich 140).

This misunderstanding is part of many trials through Fairstein's series, in particular those featuring Judge Harlan Moffet. In *Death Dance* (2006) Alex describes him as "a judge

who had never made the effort to understand the nature of sexual assault nor to address 'lady lawyers' appropriately" (Fairstein *Death Dance* 26). When Moffet refuses to take her seriously, Alex steps back from the bench so that the court reporter can record their comments, stating, "I'm going to step back to counsel table. I'd like this entire application to go on the record" (Fairstein *Death Dance* 26). The reference to a "record" raises the idea of a double discourse formed by court professionals themselves; a public record of what must be perceived as fair, and a private one ruled by the interests and prejudices of the judges, the majority of whom are white males. It is unsurprising that the fear of public spectacle in these courts convinces women not to report rapes. The institutional framework becomes a punishment for the women it supposedly represents, through what Figueiredo (2002) terms pedagogy of sexual behaviour:

Seen as a symbolic event, a rape trial establishes for the defendant and the complainant, as well as for men and women in general, the forms of behaviour which guarantee social and legal protection, and those which lead to exposure and punishment. Fear of symbolic punishment is enough to prevent many women from reporting a rape. Their silence indicates that women have internalized the notion that they should learn to avoid male violence and to keep quiet about it. (262)

Thus, as discussed earlier, the institution that claims to protect victims actually perpetuates their continued victimisation. Alex has more power in her speech within the courtroom because of her professional position and she uses this professional speech not to silence the victim as did the earlier male detectives, but rather to uncover their voices. Professional eyes are engaged in a mode of feminism that hinges upon women's agency, and the language they employ is the key to this professionalism.

By adopting hardboiled discursive techniques, Fairstein has echoed the conventions of American hardboiled crime. The challenges that remain are which conventions can be adapted so that the protagonists are not read as masculine. When compared to popular

detectives Spade and Marlowe, there are some distinct differences in the way Alex conducts her investigations. Although she uses tough-talk and displays a preference for truth over aesthetic deception, she relies on her professionalism and ability to work within the law. Professional jargon provides Alex—and the protagonists of other professional eyes—agency within language, and legitimises them as protagonists of hardboiled crime. As Litosseliti (2006) argues:

In terms of interaction, we could argue that this process of justification or legitimacy-gaining involves a wide variety of discursive strategies, including, perhaps unsurprisingly, a combination of what may be recognized as stereotypical 'male' and 'female' speech styles. In other words, in addition to adopting the masculinist style that is dominant in a particular environment, women may find a combination of styles and strategies as the most effective way of achieving their goals. (45)

Alex knows different legal proceedings and outcomes even better than her superior, Pat McKinney. In *Entombed* (2004) this is highlighted more than in the other novels. She initiates a 'John Doe indictment' using the unidentified rapist's DNA so that she can overcome the statute of limitations, which would allow him to avoid prosecution for his crimes older than five years (Fairstein *Entombed* 20). In the same novel, Alex verbally asserts herself to McKinney when he releases a witness without proper questioning because another lawyer, Roy Kirby, has cited 'cleric-congregation privilege.' He calls out to Kirby, "Miss Cooper doesn't trust your interpretation of the law, Roy. Want to show her that copy of the opinion in the Cox matter?" (Fairstein *Entombed* 161). He attempts male-bonding with the defense lawyer through the embarrassment of his female colleague. Alex retorts, "I'm going to say this very quietly, Pat, because now that Roy Kirby has made a fool out of you once tonight, I don't need him to do it again...the decision was reversed by the United States Court of Appeals a year later" (Fairstein *Entombed* 161). She uses her professional knowledge to her advantage, and to 'talk back' to her male superior.

'Engrave it on your body': Victimised Bodies in New York City

The hardboiled language of Fairstein's novels is not the only way she confronts issues of greed and consumerism. Urban settings and interior spaces present the misuse of beauty for commercial and social gains. Interior spaces of the rich are described with an assumed aesthetic of culture and society that the owner rarely appreciates or understands. The house of Lowell Caxton, an art collector whose wife has been murdered in Fairstein's *Cold Hit* (1999), imitates the garish pad of Geiger in *The Big Sleep*, even down to the oriental furnishings: "The walls were lacquered in a rich shade of Chinese red, strikingly showcasing another Picasso, this time from the artist's Rose Period. Bookcases were lined with sets of leather-bound volumes, valuable and rare, and assuredly untouched and unread. Some decorator's idea of a complement to the art" (Fairstein *Cold Hit* 53). The valuable books are treated as ornaments, representative of the use of language by Caxton and his contemporaries to cover deceit and manipulation. Similarly, Jonah Krauss from Fairstein's *Lethal Legacy* (2009) is so obsessed with collecting and showcasing the written word that he has gone to another extreme. In his personal library collection, Alex and Mike find a nineteenth century court trial, bound in the executed murderer's skin (Fairstein *Lethal Legacy* 190). This grotesque discovery reveals that Krauss's collection is also for ornamental display, rather than any real appreciation of books or language. The effect on Alex is the same in the end, distaste for the opulence of the rich.

Alex's difficulty with the difference between aesthetic veneer and justice is revealed through her failed relationships. Upon discovering Jed's affair with the murder victim in *Final Jeopardy* (1996) she concludes, "he seemed to think that we were bluffing and as long as he was smarter than we were—a woman and a blue-collar civil servant—he could simply hold his course and continue to mislead us" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 163). In *Night Watch* (2012) her boyfriend Luc seems to care more about his restaurant business than the murdered woman found in the lake, leading Alex to realise, "Luc was reliving the magical evening he had created, while I was fixed on the body across the shore" (Fairstein *Night Watch* 15). Alex herself has a large inheritance, but chooses to work in a low-paying

government job so that she can help victims find justice, while the cavalier attitudes of Jed and Luc are everything she stands against as a professional.

The urban setting becomes important to solving crimes, as each novel focuses on a historical institution in New York City. When women are murdered they are shown to have lost possession of their bodies, which are viewed by police in terms of politics and residential hierarchies. For example, there is a disagreement over jurisdiction between the detectives in *Cold Hit* (1999) when Mike argues that finding a body in Manhattan gives them jurisdiction, rather than passing the case to the outer-borough departments where the female victim lived. Chief Lunetta opposes this, debating:

I think you gentlemen realize how much the commissioner hates it when this kind of thing happens. Tourists aren't scared away by drug dealers killing each other off on their own turf or gang members shooting other gang members to death. But if this woman turns out to be an innocent victim of violence, I don't think I have to tell you what it means to the city. (Fairstein *Cold Hit* 31)

Here, crime is referred to in terms of money and politics. Murder and rape are preferable in certain suburbs, rather than more upper-class areas such as Manhattan. When Mike has trouble locating the case report for a drive-by shooting, he suggests, "I'll probably find out that they're carrying the investigation as disorderly conduct instead of attempted murder. Heaven forbid you alarm the good citizens of the Upper East Side by suggesting a violent crime could happen here—they might confuse the place with Harlem" (Fairstein *Cold Hit* 61). He describes New York in terms of residential hierarchy. Furthermore, within this hierarchy it is shown that women face more dangers than men. David Schmid highlights this disparity, writing:

It is imperative to remember the simple and brutal fact that women's experience of public space is undeniably different from that of men, because of the ways in which women's mobility and behaviour in that space is constantly regulated, or even prohibited, by violence and harassment. However, one also has to emphasize resistance, the possibility that women who are not solely victims but are active participants in the improvement of urban space can alter the city. (16)

This "regulated" and "prohibited" space ties back again to Foucault's ideas of institutional bodies of power creating social hierarchies. While the bodies of raped and murdered women strewn throughout Fairstein's series may depict the dangers faced by women in the urban setting, the resistance of Alex and her gusto in affecting change provide an alternate vision of women in the public sphere.

In a series that deals with rape, the ownership of bodies, even after death, is often highlighted. While the women (and occasionally men) victimised lose possession of their bodies after death, the perpetrators gain power. This ties back to Poe's claim of 'the death of a beautiful woman' as the most poetical of themes. The idea that dead women can represent a body of art, as well as a touristic experience, is exemplified in Fairstein's *Killer Heat* (2008). Serial rapist and murderer Troy Rasheed tattoos his crimes onto his body, leading Mike to remark:

When we were kids, Coop, people went someplace they bought postcards. Collected 'em or sent 'em to relatives to show where they'd been. Then ten, fifteen years ago, you take a trip and suddenly big fat Middle America comes home with pictures of their vacation spots plastered across their chests instead of on a picture postcard...Now, you been somewhere, done something, raped somebody—just friggin' engrave it on your body. (Fairstein *Killer Heat* 244)

Rasheed tattoos the initials of each of his victims on his body as a kind of map, while the women—particularly those murdered afterwards—lose ownership of their bodies to the court and coroner. They become part of Rasheed's corpus of art to be displayed on his own body. The women Rasheed has victimised during his travels have been made immobile, and recorded on his body as 'postcards' in a horrific performance of tourism. The idea of tourism and the local female body will be developed in the following chapter of this dissertation.

While Fairstein adheres to certain conventions of hardboiled crime fiction, Smith argues that early novels in the genre were "centrally concerned with the loss of workplace autonomy, the appropriation of white men's historic privilege by women and uppity ethnics" (E. Smith 76). Rather than channel the perspective of the white man losing his workplace autonomy, Alex gives readers the standpoint of the woman fighting to gain a place in the law, by representing those "women and uppity ethnics."

Hell Gate (2011) is another novel that merits some examination in terms of institutional sexism and setting. The novel opens as Alex waits with a team to rescue survivors of a boat crash off the coast of New York City. As she interviews the two women found alive, it becomes clear that they were victims of human trafficking, to be sold into prostitution. Alex describes the horrific tale as one she has heard many times, with young women from developing nations traveling to America in search of a better life, lamenting, "The girls rarely made it to farmlands and fields. The sex trade had become a huge transnational industry, as lucrative as it could be deadly. The teenagers on the 'Golden Voyage' were doubtless bound for basements and brothels, to be broken in by their owners for the months and years of prostitution that awaited them" (Fairstein *Hell Gate* 15). The global hierarchy is shown to trick these girls—both female and ethnic—into losing ownership of their bodies and lives. The alliteration of the "farmlands and fields" conjures a peaceful, pastoral image. This is then echoed by the alliteration describing the reality the women would face in "basements and brothels." Although readers may initially develop assumptions on the kinds of criminals who traffic in humans, these expectations are overturned once the traffickers are revealed as a group of politicians spearheaded by a police officer on the mayor's security detail. The politicians use their institutional power to

dehumanise and trade women and “uppity ethnics,” who are then displayed for white Americans to consume.

Fairstein represents this unequal society through the focus on institutions as scenes of crime in her fictional series, which features hospitals in *Likely to Die* (1997), art curatorship in *Cold Hit* (1999), museum curatorship in *The Bone Vault* (2011), local politics in *Hell Gate* (2011), and legal institutions in *Killer Heat* (2008). *The Deadhouse* (2001) is particularly linked to the standpoints of Foucault on the hierarchical nature of governing institutions, through its focus on mental asylums. By mapping these unequal institutions across New York City, Fairstein gives them grounding in real places, and the effect on readers is more geographical and relatable. Some of these institutions are literally within the foundations of the city, such as the all-male ‘sand-hogs’ who work on the underground water tunnels in *Bad Blood* (2007), or *Terminal City* (2014) which focuses on the subway system.

‘A delicate balance’: Gender and Essentialism at Work and Home

Authors may attempt to base a series around a woman who disregards essentialist ideas in favour of those that reveal gender as socially and historically constructed, but often the conventions of the genre establish a structure that can only be essentialist. Deborah Chay argues that constructionists are essentialists in denial and writes, “The constructionist, too, is incapable of removing language from its established semantic environment and, ironically, buttresses the traditional essentialist argument with each predictably failed attempt to articulate her own position outside it” (137). This rather pessimistic view of constructionists can be applied to Alex, although it could also be argued that she, like many contemporary female crime protagonists, does not attempt to ignore or overly resist essentialism in the work place. Rather, she represents a current position within essentialist institutions that is often exaggerated in order to bring the residual ‘trauma of change’ to the forefront, through which readers discover just how far women have come professionally. This exaggeration also applies to how female protagonists subvert the gender conventions of the homemaker, mirroring the disorganised homes and kitchens of Plum, Warshawski and Millhone. At work, Tempe struggles with the sexism of Luc Claudel throughout Reichs’s series, while

Alex has similar confrontations with her supervisor, McKinney. Both protagonists face much social criticism for their professions because neither work in traditionally female roles. The fact that those working in the criminal justice system are habitually expected to be men is often referred to in the novels of Reichs and Fairstein. Alex's unisex name leads to the assumption that she is a man, for example in *Final Jeopardy* (1996) a police officer asks for "Mr. Cooper" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 27). In another incident her profession is labeled as unladylike, while subsequently her name is changed into a less gender-ambiguous one, when a woman tells her, "You should get yourself a husband, Alice, and leave this disgusting business to Creavey and his ilk. It's nasty for a girl. No wonder you're unmarried" (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 246). Her name and her profession are seen as unfeminine and a failure in heteronormative society.

Klein and Lewis have argued that the inherent sexism of the genre's conventions refutes any attempt at feminist crime fiction. Lewis writes, "The detective genre—whether as practiced by female or male writers—is fundamentally hostile to women's liberation even when the detectives are female" (T. Lewis 78). Klein agrees, and writes that the female detective supports "the existing system which oppresses women when she reestablishes the ordered status quo" (*Woman Detective* 201). Johnsen argues that Klein is biased by her focus on the masculine hardboiled subgenre (112). Indeed, Klein's argument is shortsighted, as are many others concerning crime fiction as masculine. Although the genre may not overtly topple dominant ideologies, when written by a professional eye it can question the current status quo and bring concerns to the forefront. Perhaps a more encompassing argument is that of Jones and Walton, who believe that, "Like genre, gender is socially generated, but it is not a simple set of rules, nor is it established on an uncomplicated model of production and consumption. It is, rather, a regulating, contradictory, and transformable set of discursive practices that may be negotiated and renegotiated by different people in different contexts" (Jones and Walton 84). This renegotiation of gender and genre certainly applies to professional eyes, who question the traditional binaries of 'mother' and 'Amazon' in their novels. Their female protagonists highlight the difficulties of career women who also want to have a rich family and home life. The mess, takeaway food, lack of exercise, untidy

appearances, and shortage of time to spend with children (or have them) appeals to contemporary anxieties of women with long work hours. This anxiety is clear through the amount of nonfiction and websites dedicated to balancing the difficulties of family and work as a woman, such as femalebreadwinners.com and Mumsnet, and books such as Karen Salmansohn's *How to Succeed in Business Without a Penis* (1997), Norah Vincent's *Self Made Man: One Woman's Journey Into Manhood and Back Again* (2006), and Sheryl Sandberg's *Lean In* (2013). The professional eye connects with her female readership through a shared understanding of the balance between work and home life. This is drawn upon through humour, providing readers with protagonists who acknowledge and defy the stereotypes of their sex. This is a furthering of academic Margaret Kinsman's identification with Paretsky, when she argues, "the life of an autonomous female appeal[s] to me because of the way in which a single professional woman is authentically and accurately portrayed holding her own in the potentially corrupting milieu of city civic spaces" (Kinsman 15). Furthermore, the contradictory nature of these novels can be appealing to female readers. As Munt writes, "The peculiar attraction of a crime novel is its ability to appease sometimes contradictory desires, which presumably can placate the feminine and provoke the feminist in all of us" (202).

Throughout Fairstein's series, Alex marks her distance from the emotional and caring 'mother' role. When Mike describes her to a suspect in *Death Dance* (2006) he jokes, "Where most women have a heart? She's got a pair of steel balls. That's how come you know when she gets excited—you can hear them clanging against each other from miles around" (Fairstein *Death Dance* 164). It is also interesting to note that most characters shorten her name to the gender neutral "Alex" (as discussed earlier), while Mike uses the even more androgynous nickname "Coop." Later in the same novel, Fairstein further removes Alex from the stereotypical 'mother' role when she tells a man flirting with her that she is a single parent of four children: "I had gotten from coast to coast and from New York to Europe several times without ever having to make small talk to guys sitting next to me after giving that answer. It was a foolproof conversation killer with lonely businessmen angling for a pickup" (*Death Dance* 241). The troubling part of this exchange is Alex's experience of the

perception that motherhood equates a loss in sexuality. A simple exchange such as that written by Fairstein above highlights the difficulties for working women in finding a balance. It is also worth noting that although she attempts to use motherhood to dissuade the man on the plane, he still pursues her. This is part of the fantasy of the professional eyes' protagonists, who often embody the idea of 'having it all,' while in reality Milkman has shown statistically that in corporate and high-level government institutions women devote themselves to family or work, but rarely both (Milkman 8). Hence, Fairstein is not arguing that motherhood truly equals a loss of sexuality, but rather that (like Milkman) she thinks women cannot afford to devote time to both children and profession.

Furthermore, Alex does not resemble the stereotypical woman in the home. She is a fan of take-out, or takeaway as we refer to it in Australia, leading Mike to joke in *Final Jeopardy*, "she's got the skinniest roaches in all of New York City. If they wait around for Alex to serve 'em food, they'll all die of starvation" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 78). Other female protagonists in crime novels also eat local takeaway and junk food almost every night; Janet Evanovich's Stephanie Plum frequents Cluck-in-a-Bucket, Sue Grafton's Kinsey Millhone enjoys peanut butter and pickle sandwiches, and Paretsky's V.I. Warshawski (like Stephanie Plum) often eats in her car. This lifestyle is neither realistic nor long-term, but part of the fantasy of the career woman who has left behind the domestic sphere for adventure.

Despite her avoidance of the domestic, Alex dresses in very feminine clothing and often describes her expensive shopping habits. This gives her a certain edge, however, when her knowledge of designer products aids not only the police investigation, but her own discovery of personal betrayal in *Final Jeopardy* (1996). Firstly, she recognises her boyfriend by the sleeve of his designer shirt in a photo with the victim shortly before she was killed (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 153). Soon after, she questions him about the purchase of some perfume during his trip to France:

I had been hoping that he might have even tried to say the duty-free shop, as I had joked at my apartment on Saturday evening. But no, he was determined for some reason to make me think I had been in his consciousness in Paris. The irony was that Chanel 22 is the only one of their perfumes that is made in America. It isn't sold in a single place in France, not even the company's own stores. (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 164)

Linking her female protagonist to consumerism could restrict a feminist reading of Fairstein's series as shopping is "a highly gendered activity, frequently regarded as 'women's work'" (Holbrook et al 95). Furthermore, this "women's work" is unpaid, even if the woman works full-time and is married. Although her reliance on consumerism is an essentialist 'feminine' trait, Alex is unapologetic and even uses her knowledge to her advantage against her less knowledgeable colleagues and suspects. Despite the fact that her shopping habits are occasionally used for humour, it does not seem that Fairstein uses the products of sexism in order to highlight and ridicule them, like for example, Evanovich's heroine Stephanie Plum's use of feminine products such as hairspray in lieu of mace and other conventional weapons. Fairstein's representation of body, clothing and consumerism in her series raises more troubling questions in its conformity, whereas Reichs finds a balance between the soft 'feminine' heroine and the muscular 'masculine' heroine (to be discussed in the following chapter). This difference could be influenced by the attention paid to Fairstein's physical appearance in the media, such as the article "Ash-Blond Ambition" (Little), and Sarah Burns's nonfiction book *The Central Park Five* (Burns). Also, Fairstein bases her series around her 'real' experiences within the court system of Manhattan, which is a performative and adversarial system that would require her to dress differently to Reichs, who would be less likely to wear designer clothes or high heels to an anthropological dig.

Alex is the most provocative of the professional eyes' protagonists discussed in this dissertation, in the way she both reinforces and questions this idea of drag and gender. She is often described as blonde, good-looking and stylish. In *Night Watch* (2012), defense lawyer

Lem Howell explains how her mood can be discerned by the sound of her high heels: “I can always gauge your level of excitement about seeing me by the pacing of the click of your heels on the tiled floor” (Fairstein *Night Watch* 143). However, when Mike describes Alex he often masculinises her, such as the earlier example when he describes her as having a “pair of steel balls” (Fairstein *Death Dance* 164). He describes her body using ‘masculine’ qualifiers, just as others describe her by her ‘feminine’ clothing. She prefers ballet classes to the gym (this avoidance of standard exercise is also displayed by Tempe and Plum, again part of the working woman’s fantasy), distancing herself from any kind of ‘tough-guy’ body. Rather, the quality of drag performance, or her “steel balls,” arise from the way she acts and thinks; an attempt to create a ‘perfect’ modern woman who combines both beauty and style with strength and professionalism. Mizejewski writes that contemporary women protagonists in crime fiction have given up the drag aspect that the original feminist authors like Paretsky and Grafton introduced and argues, “What is lost is another pleasure of the detective genre: the impact of the woman in the man’s shoes, so to speak, and the resulting dissonance between bodies and genders” (“Dressed to Kill” 123). However, this dissonance is still apparent in the works of contemporary authors like Fairstein, through a subtler approach that equates their professional authority with masculine bodies. Grafton’s Kinsey Millhone describes her one black dress that is perfect for any occasion, her constant eating takeaway rather than cooking, and cutting her own hair with nail scissors. These behaviours are humorous to female readers who also balance professional and domestic life. The protagonists of professional eyes provide a fantasy protagonist, who likewise encounters difficulties working within traditionally male institutions and with the lack of time to cook, clean or date.

Despite the encroachment of her work on personal relations and time, Alex regards the move of women into the legal institution as a hard-fought and ongoing conflict from which she is unwilling to withdraw. In *Hell Gate* (2011) she introduces some female colleagues who were the first generation to become sex crimes prosecutors, describing them simultaneously as, “consummate professionals...[and] loving wives and mothers” (Fairstein *Hell Gate* 36). Her admiration and ambitions are clear; she is a woman who wants to be a

professional, as well as have a rich personal life. These colleagues are proof that she can be a woman and have a family, and still be considered a professional. Although perhaps not an 'authentic' representation of reality, the fantasy can appeal to female readers through its optimism.

Like the female colleagues she looks up to, Alex is also shown to have a specialty, the unit she runs:

Six years earlier, Battaglia had promoted me to the position of Chief of the Sex Crimes Prosecution Unit in the Manhattan D.A.'s Office. I supervised the investigation and prosecution of all cases of sexual assault reported in the county, as well as the more sensitive, bizarre cases like stalkers. The unit had been the first of its kind in the country and we prided ourselves in doing innovative work to better the plight of women who had long been denied justice in the courtrooms when victimized in these traumatic cases. (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 15)

Her language in this description is impersonal and authoritative, the kind of language one would expect from a professional. Although she has had to work hard—often depicted continuing investigations with her colleagues well past midnight—Alex loves her job and the good she achieves, and explains, "Every day I wake up and want to go to work. I like how my gut feels, I like knowing we make things a little bit easier for people who don't expect the system to get it right" (Fairstein *Death Dance* 82). Here she uses more conversational language, her motivations and emotions revealing a more relatable protagonist. There is often this kind of blurring of the public and private in Fairstein's series; Alex's private life becomes public knowledge through the newspaper reports of Diamond, and the people she deals with in her work life often impose on her personal life. The shift to legal thrillers with female protagonists highlights this blending of personal and private. Walton argues that this shift, "signals an alteration in women's place in the public sphere;

that is, where the PI is by nature a systematic 'outsider,' the new female legal protagonists are 'inside' the system" (Walton 22).

Mike compares Alex to a larger-than-life statue, known as 'Civic Fame' and tells her, "She reminds me of you, Coop. Not just the tiara and the veneer...See how she's standing? She's on top of a ball, spending her entire life trying to keep a delicate balance" (Fairstein *Hell Gate* 248). Part of maintaining this balance is Alex's reliance on both colleagues and outside friendships. Alex has a close-knit group that supports her throughout Fairstein's series. In *Likely to Die* (1997) she thinks, "I reminded myself of my own good fortune in the friends and family relationships I was able to count on to sustain me through the emotional intensity of my work" (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 63). In this way, the female protagonist marks a difference from the conventional male loner-detective who sought autonomy. The women are surrounded by support systems and family, which is portrayed as an advantage. Although many real private detectives interviewed by Val McDermid argue that their fictional counterparts "struggle to maintain any kind of friendship" (*A Suitable Job* 284), this is not true of more contemporary feminist crime novels; Evanovich's Stephanie Plum is often aided on cases through the female gossip networks and family connections of her Grandma Mazur, her best friend Mary Lou, and colleagues Lula and Connie. Likewise, Warshawski's friends Lotty, Mary Louise, and her neighbor Salvatore, help her on cases throughout Paretsky's series. The evident difference in professional eye novels such as those by Fairstein and Reichs, is that these friendships blossom from an understanding of the difficulties balancing work and life. Alex has a group of professional female friends with whom she maintains contact throughout the novels, often relaxing on weekends together at Alex's house at Martha's Vineyard. Joan Stafford is a novelist, and Nina Baum is a friend from university about whom Alex explains, "we left messages on our home machines, so that no matter what hour I got in after a long day, the sound of Nina's familiar voice would frequently help me unwind and put my day in perspective" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 120). Maintaining her professional identity means a large sacrifice on the part of her personal time. Fairstein attempts to compensate this with a string of romances for Alex throughout the series, however these often end in disappointment.

Fairstein also compares Alex's work ethic to that of both male and female colleagues, particularly McKinney, introduced by Alex as the archetypal male who dislikes his female coworkers with the introduction, "He was senior to me by a couple of years, and as rigid and humorless as any man could be. I've never figured what made him such an angry person, but something seethed inside him and most frequently found its outlet when directed at the women professionals in the office" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 26). Although the women are termed "professionals," Pat remains simply "a man" and "an angry person," distinguishing him from the professionals through his outdated behaviour. As mentioned earlier, the second novel *Likely to Die* (1997) explores extreme levels of institutional sexism when the neurological surgeon Gemma Dogen is found murdered in her office. It becomes increasingly clear that Gemma's rigid professional standards are the motivation behind her murder, as Fairstein writes:

Early on, she made it clear that she was not going to accept anyone into the neurosurgical program unless the applicant met all her standards. Those were rigorous, as you might imagine. Medical school grades, references, intellectual ability, integrity, performance in the operating theater, internship ratings. No teacher's pets or favorite sons or people who'd blundered already along the way. (*Likely to Die* 261)

The use of the term "favorite sons" brings to mind the findings of Anleu and Mack on Australian judiciary, in which one of the contributing factors to the low representation of women was "that a process involving information via personal, 'old-boy' networks and secrecy tends to privilege (some) men and disadvantage (many) women and result in what are sometimes seen as political, not necessarily strictly meritorious appointments" (202). Gemma Dogen would not allow this kind of appointment, as a woman who has had to work hard to attain success and an international reputation. Alex discovers that the murderer is Coleman Harper, a man who was turned down for the program by Gemma because of his low results and surgical merit, despite the endorsement of a male mentor. Beside her body,

Gemma has scrawled a symbol in her blood that looks like the letter R, which Alex suggests is a final message to her murderer with the reflection, “Now the unfinished letter looked to me like an R, and so, in hindsight, I had her spelling out the word ‘Reject’” (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 309). Even in her dying moments, Gemma rejected Harper. He attacks Alex in Gemma’s home, trying to kill her as well, but Alex stabs him. Her choice of weapon is symbolic: a golden scalpel awarded to Gemma for her groundbreaking work. The murder of a woman who refuses to coddle men still relying on old ‘brotherhood’ connections, relates this novel to pioneering feminist novels such as Sayers’s *Gaudy Night* (1935) and Heilbrun’s (under the penname Amanda Cross) *Death in a Tenured Position* (1981). It is more relevant to contemporary readers through its threat that these men’s networks place the public in danger of being surgically operated on by someone who is not adequately trained.

While not part of the “favorite sons” network, Alex strives for men’s approval, evident through her reaction to simply being allowed on a crime scene in *Likely to Die* when she explains, “I was grateful for Peterson’s acceptance. He and Chief McGraw were from the same era in their NYPD training—a time when females were not allowed to be either homicide detectives or prosecutors” (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 23). Peterson’s acceptance is juxtaposed with McGraw’s disapproval of Alex. District Attorney Battaglia, the man from whom she most seeks approval, also takes issue with McGraw and terms him a “Neanderthal” (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 85). Peterson and McGraw come from an “era” and “a time,” and the description of McGraw as a Neanderthal places this era in the very distant past. Yet, Alex still feels “grateful” for their acceptance. Despite this implied expectation of disapproval, Alex finds support in her colleagues because of her years of experience, unlike Erskine’s character of Lucy (to be discussed in Chapter Four). This is clearly influenced by Fairstein’s reverence for her real-life superior District Attorney Morgenthau, a mutually beneficial mentorship which is mirrored in her fiction.

‘The line of intimacy’: Romantic or Professional?

Authors risk losing their readers if they terminate a female protagonist’s investigative career once she is married. This is particularly evident in the disappointment

of many feminists at the marriage of Peter and Harriet in Sayers's *Gaudy Night* (1935), which concluded with a conventional ending that saw woman's place return from investigation/academia to the home. The question of how to avoid the retirement of the female investigator to domesticity has proved difficult, and has been dealt with in a multitude of ways. P.D. James had her detective Cordelia Grey find non-romantic attachments and, "In *An Unsuitable Job for a Woman*, James responds to these undercurrents and, in effect, solves the problems raised by *Gaudy Night*'s love interest by leaving her heroine without a hero. Instead she splits the hero into two characters, each filling one of Peter's two main functions—one an authority figure and one a lover" (Campbell 17). The protagonists of the feminist crime novels in the 1990s reverted towards the hardboiled ideas of romance. Writing on Sue Grafton's detective, Ann Wilson argues that Kinsey Millhone becomes vulnerable when she gives into the temptation of romance and, "The doomed romantic relationship is, of course, part of the tradition of detective novels, not just hardboiled fiction, because detective fiction tends to celebrate the individual: one person uncovers the truth" (155).

Rather than appropriate the exact formula like Grafton or split the romantic figure like James, Reichs and Fairstein have updated the tradition and given their protagonists a choice between love and obligation. They must turn down opportunities for happiness with colleagues—Mike Chapman for Alex, and Andrew Ryan for Tempe—in order to keep their professional integrity, and the sexual tension also keeps readers engaged in the series. For the first fourteen novels of Fairstein's series Alex and Mike do not acknowledge their attraction for each other, because she recognises the risk to their professional relationship: "Maybe Mike was stuck with the same dilemma I was, wondering how our superb professional partnership would be affected by a change in personal direction. At the same time it both interested and frightened me. Once we crossed the line of intimacy, we'd never be able to work cases together again" (Fairstein *Hell Gate* 188). Not only would they not work together again, but she would also lose her job. She expresses this clearly in *Night Watch* (2012) by telling the reader, "If I gave any thought to dating Mike—even though he'd never suggested as much—I knew that Battaglia would relieve me of my position. He

wouldn't allow the impression that a top detective was closing cases or eliciting confessions because he was sleeping with a supervising prosecutor" (Fairstein *Night Watch* 85). Instead, Alex is given a sequence of relationships that end in disappointment and an aversion to marriage because of the tragic death of her fiancé in a car accident. Her work is the most common excuse for these failed relationships and she often describes the article "The Legal Miss who Misses Kisses," penned by a court journalist, of which Alex explains, "His theory was that I was crazy to take this job because no man in his right mind would want to date a woman who might confuse the first pass with an inappropriate touch—a criminal one" (Fairstein *Entombed* 60).

In the 2013 novel *Death Angel* this all changes when an incorrect assumption that Alex and Mike are intimate causes real problems. It is revealed that Mike had a relationship with a Judge who is now jealous of Alex and wants to ruin her career (and life, as it turns out she has knowingly set free a rapist who hates Alex). Alex thinks, "It was such a professional boundary violation that I couldn't imagine that neither of them had nipped temptation in the bud" (Fairstein *Death Angel* 52), comparing it to her own willpower. It then becomes clear that there are double standards in the District Attorney's office when Alex's position is threatened over the assumed relationship between her and Mike, even though her direct superior McKinney previously left his wife for a colleague who now receives work despite her redundancy. Alex then surrenders to her emotions since she is professionally punished anyway, and shares a kiss with Mike. This gives her added incentive to stop Judge Pell from destroying Mike's job. It also opens up future narratives to additional complications that arise from beginning a personal relationship, the impact on Alex's professionalism already apparent in *Terminal City* (2014).

'A toe-tag mislabeled': Victimisation of the Protagonist

Fairstein draws attention to the exaggeration of male serial killers of women in crime fiction by arguing that serial rapists such as the character of Floyd Warren are more realistic villains: "There were a hundred Floyd Warrens in this country for every serial killer, who are far more common in the pages of crime novels than in real life" (*Killer Heat* 150). Indeed,

the women of Fairstein's novels are rarely the unlucky victims of serial murderers. Often they are killed by male colleagues (*Likely To Die*, *The Deadhouse*, *The Bone Vault*, *Death Dance*, and *Night Watch*), or by past and present partners and family members (*Cold Hit*, *The Kills*, *Entombed*, *Bad Blood*, *Lethal Legacy*, *Hell Gate*, *Death Angel*, and *Terminal City*). Only *Killer Heat* (2008) and *Silent Mercy* (2011) follow the more typical serial killer route. As a professional eye with a background in sexual crimes, Fairstein uses her series to bring attention to these more common violent crimes against women. Rather than be caught up in the canon of serial killer crime fiction, she concentrates on what is professionally considered the more pressing issue: sexual assault and domestic violence. In *Bad Blood* (2007), she describes the intimate way women are killed when compared to men:

Male victims of homicides are most often shot or stabbed to death. They are killed on the street or in the workplace or in any kind of public space, while women are attacked inside the privacy of their homes. When women are killed by a partner, it's usually in a very personal manner—hands on if you will—exhibiting far more force than necessary to cause death, and far more rage. They are beaten and burned and thrown out of windows...And they are most frequently victims of strangulation. (Fairstein *Bad Blood* 84)

Despite her specialty in sex crimes, Alex does not label all men as misogynists, arguing, "Most of the men I've ever met in my life are incapable of this kind of conduct. I am not one of those women who believes that all men are potential rapists. That's one of the main reasons I can deal with these cases. And it really doesn't carry over into my relationships with men" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 181). In another instance she explains, "We've had defendants from every ethnic, racial, social, religious, and economic background" (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 191). Conversely, through her work Alex is confronted with society's obsession with the sexualisation of female victims. The names of her victims cannot be released to the media, so instead they describe imagined physical attributes: "In no other kind of case would a news reporter ask for a description of the woman. But the

tabloid's titillating version of sexual assault stories required the flaxen-haired filly or buxom blue-eyed beauty to fill in the blanks occasioned by the media rule of not naming rape victims in their stories" (Fairstein *Entombed* 57). This negative portrayal of the media reflects upon Fairstein's own treatment, and gendered descriptions of her professionalism as "ash-blond ambition" (Little "Ash-Blond"). It is even more confronting when victims are sexualised and subsequently degraded by crime scene professionals. This happens in *Final Jeopardy* (1996) when police nickname an unidentified prostitute whose body was found in a packing crate, "the fox in the box" (*Final Jeopardy* 174).

When discussing victims in crime fiction with a female protagonist, there is an added element of suspense. The woman investigating combines features of both heroine and victim. Often her impetus to solve the crime comes from personal threat: "In fictions featuring a woman investigator, the doubling effect often links her not so much to the criminal as to the victim" (Mizejewski "Illusive Evidence" 8). Gwen Williams argues that female protagonists undercut the suspense necessary in the genre (G. Williams), however, the suspense in more recent women's crime fiction draws from first person narration and fear of personal bodily harm. This is not necessarily an invented fear. In *Misogynies*, Joan Smith writes that while she reported on the Yorkshire Ripper in the 1970s, "I was constantly aware of my dual role of reporter and potential victim...and my professional status was no protection" (ix-x). The misogynistic perpetrators of Fairstein's novels are often, not surprisingly, angered by the authoritative woman at the centre of the investigation. This culminates in a final confrontation, sometimes involving Mike and Mercer, in a remote location. In eleven of the sixteen novels currently published Alex faces the killer alone; in secluded caves in *Death Angel* and *Entombed*, isolated islands in *Killer Heat*, *The Deadhouse*, and *Silent Mercy* (where she saves a wounded Mike from the killer), locked towers in *Hell Gate* and *Death Dance*, a vault in *The Bone Vault*, a victim's apartment in *Likely to Die*, a quiet art gallery in *Cold Hit*, and a boat in *The Kills*.

The numerous examples above demonstrate how Fairstein often relies on this interchangeability between Alex and the victims as an important plot point in her series. The nature of Alex's work dictates that the victims will be almost exclusively women, and she

often compares them to herself, through mistakes such as when a maître d' accidentally uses the English word for 'prostitute' instead of 'prosecutor' to introduce Alex (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 62), and in small comparisons to victims such as "I could see that Salma used the same makeup that I did" (Fairstein *Hell Gate* 84). Other victims have more striking similarities, such as Dr. Gemma Dogen in *Likely to Die*, about whom Alex acknowledges: "A single professional woman, no children, no pets, no one to depend on her for contact. I tried to push any personal comparisons out of my mind...but I kept bringing up the image of my own corpse, lying behind a locked door on the eighth-floor corridor of the District Attorney's office" (Fairstein *Likely to Die* 19). Another example of this interchangeability is in the opening of the very first novel, *Final Jeopardy*, in which Alex's friend Isabella is shot while staying at Alex's holiday house. Her face is rendered unrecognisable, leading local police to believe the victim is Alex: "The news wires were about to explode with the information that the face of the dazzlingly beautiful actress and film star, Isabella Lascar, had been obliterated, and that what was left of her body lay in the tiny Vineyard morgue, with a toe tag mislabeled in the name of Alexandra Cooper" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 11). The duality of Isabella's and Alex's stories continue when it is revealed that the murderer is targeting Jed's lovers. Alex's house at Martha's Vineyard is treated as a crime scene, as if she really was the victim, which leads her to comment, "Another thing I hadn't focused on, despite all my professional experience...Hundreds of victims in cases I'd worked on had described to me the painful intrusion caused by their well-intentioned investigators, rifling through drawers and brushing black powder on possessions" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 76). Although she cites her professional experience, this is the first novel in the series and immediately the reader can only draw comparisons to Alex and Isabella, as Alex is treated more like a victim than a professional and is the next target of the killer.

Suspense through victimisation is a staple in both feminist and professional eye novels, however, Alex's role as heroine is often problematic. In *Cold Hit* (1999), Mike jokes that her favourite movies, including *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and *Double Indemnity*, include domestic violence. She replies, "Yeah, now you're getting to the good ones. The ladies strike back, Mikey. Those are the ones I really enjoy" (Fairstein *Cold Hit* 50). This is a

bold statement from a character who rarely 'strikes back' herself. Later in the same novel, she is upset when her friend, Detective Mercer Wallace, is hospitalised after she let him chase a gunman by himself. Mike tells her, "He's a cop and you're not. Aren't we supposed to take bullets for the rest of you ungrateful assholes who delight in calling us pigs?" (Fairstein *Cold Hit* 216). Her reservation at the crime scene is excused by Mike, as she is not a police officer but a prosecutor. She returns alone to the art gallery where the shooting happened, and is provided a second chance to become the heroine. However, the conclusion is disappointing. After running away from the killer on some high beams, he accidentally overbalances and falls to his death. Because she has vertigo, Alex then waits for the police to arrive. Despite initially facing the killers alone, many of Fairstein's novels conclude with Alex escaping through luck or waiting to be saved by Mercer and Mike. For her, court is the real fight, described by Fairstein as "going into battle" (*Bad Blood* 13). Although she is a prosecutor, she is also the heroine of the story, and there is an expectation that she will be the character to overcome the villain before receiving help.

Particularly in *Final Jeopardy* (1996), the first novel of the series, Fairstein appears to embrace this feminine role. Alex continuously thinks how she would like to be saved, like Ingrid Bergman in *Notorious*. She also compares herself to the women of *Gone with the Wind*: "I'm tired of being Scarlett O'Hara. In my next life I'm going to come back as Melanie Wilkes, fragile and helpless" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 32). This statement is uncharacteristic of contemporary heroines. Women readers are no longer satisfied with weak or fragile women characters, evidenced through the immense popularity of characters such as Stieg Larsson's Lisbeth Salander and Susan Collins's Katniss Everdeen, and the incredible durability of a novel like *Gone with the Wind* is due to the strength and resourcefulness of Scarlett O'Hara. Scarlett is arguably popular because she displays many flaws and quirks and also consistently saves herself while the other female characters cannot handle the pressures of life during war. The assumption for readers then, is that Alex is joking and just needs a holiday, although she will not be getting one until her "next life" (Fairstein *Final Jeopardy* 32). Despite this insistence that she is strong all of the time, Alex is saved by her

colleagues and her neighbor, all men, when a crazed stalker kidnaps her at the end of the novel.

In the following novels, Alex takes a more proactive approach through necessity, engaging in a physical confrontation and stabbing the killer in the second novel, *Likely to Die*. Alex approaches this with the logical thought, “The only person who knew where to find me—Mercer Wallace—was hours away from here with no idea that I was in danger. There would be no one to save me...if I couldn’t do it myself” (Fairstein *Cold Hit* 302). This ever-changing role of victim and heroine continues across the series. Perhaps the clearest demonstration of the disparity in Alex’s roles occurs in *Entombed*. Half way through the novel, Alex is knocked unconscious at Poe House. She is tied up, gagged, and hidden under the floorboards while Mercer and Mike are distracted outside. She overhears Mike suggesting they leave the house and look for her elsewhere, but Mercer stays and eventually hears her breathing. When she is found, she is angry with Mike. Understandably, he does not believe he has done anything wrong and asks, “You want me to flog myself and put on a hair shirt for not having had the good sense to think you were walled up behind a door or buried alive with a black cat. Right?” (Fairstein *Entombed* 234). In the climax of the novel, Alex is caught by the killer, Sinclair Phelps, and escapes by hitting him with a rock: “I lifted the rock and brought it down as hard as I could, pleased with the sound it made as it cracked against bone” (Fairstein *Entombed* 344). Here, she demonstrates that she does not need Mike to save her, even if her assailant is larger and stronger. However, her pleasure at the use of violence is jarring with her earlier actions and her work as a professional who helps victims of violent assaults. Mike jokes about how her use of violence will be blamed on him in court as unnecessary force by a police officer, and that Phelps might even get bail for medical treatment. He jokes, “Alex Cooper used her glutes and pecs instead of her brains to bring a guy down? I’m not being the patsy for you tonight” (Fairstein *Entombed* 344). He acknowledges her heroism and strength as proof that he does not need to save her.

There are concerns with violent women in society, as violence is perceived as a masculine quality. Women serial killers, for instance, are often disconnected from their sex and labeled as ‘monsters’ or portrayed as victims, in order to return them to their gender

boundaries. O'Neill and Seal term this process by media and legal systems 'recuperation,' and write, "Violence is culturally understood to be the province of masculinity, whereas femininity is associated with nurturance and the maintenance of order and stability. For women to enact violent behaviour transgresses the male/female gender binary, making violent women culturally troubling figures" (42). There is also discomfort (in novels of both male and female authors) with violent women in fiction. For example, Alison Littler argues that male crime authors use violence in order to construct a 'masculine' identity for their male protagonists, which is often linked to their sexuality. When these authors write women she points to their similar approach, portraying violent female characters as promiscuous. She concludes, "Feminist writers, on the other hand, recognize that most violence is male and is directed at women and they are often interested in women's responses to 'domestic' criminal violence" (Littler 124). There are many issues with Fairstein's depiction of violence and heroism. Her more convincing examples of Alex as victor take place in the courtroom; perhaps as Fairstein argues it is the true 'battle' for a heroine like Alex.

'A liability in my hands': Women with Guns

Another interesting comparison between male and female violence is the use of guns. One could argue that female protagonists have no need to fear close, physical violence if they are equipped with a firearm. However, the gun is also a symbol of masculinity, specifically the phallus, often used in violence by and against men and a clichéd part of the myth of the hardboiled male detective. Feminist authors often show the long-term psychological and physical impacts of violence, highlighting its larger, social effect. In feminist crime guns often symbolise male violence, linking them to the threat of rape to the female investigator. Grafton's detective Millhone and Paretsky's Warshawski both use guns, however, the ongoing consequences to their bodies are emphasised. For example, Millhone suffers from tinnitus after shooting from inside a trash can at the end of *A is for Alibi* (1982), and in *J is for Judgment* (1993) she describes sunbathing as "boldly exposing a body crisscrossed with pale scars from the assorted injuries that had been inflicted on me over the years" (Grafton *J is for Judgment* 15). Warshawski's closest friend is a doctor who often treats

her after various injuries throughout Paretsky's novels. In her Opara trilogy, Uhnak also highlights the immediate physical effects of pulling a gun's trigger, writing "The shock of the explosion raced up her arm, wrenched at her shoulder" (*The Witness* 141). Before the bullet has even hit its target, Christie Opara has felt the physical shock of shooting someone and will soon feel the psychological shock.

Despite the avoidance of guns in these novels, the female protagonists are not inept. For example, Janet Evanovich's protagonist Stephanie Plum often leaves her gun in the cookie jar (in an allusion to Jim Rockford of *The Rockford Files*), and yet she can still shoot to protect herself when necessary. Opara uses her gun in *The Ledger* (1988), as does Jo in Erskine's *The Brotherhood* (as discussed in Chapter Four) when there is no other option. However, Fairstein and Reichs have their protagonists use other objects including rocks, axes and knives. Writing about this abhorrence of guns in feminist crime, Messent examines Paretsky's novels and argues:

V.I. Warshawski, makes the kind of intertextual reference so common within the genre, when she self-consciously distances herself from Chandler's protagonist...in terms of her emotional sensibility: 'I'm no Philip Marlowe forever pulling guns out of armpits or glove compartments. Marlowe probably never fainted, either, from the sight of a dead woman's splintered skull.' (3)

Messent effectively parallels the unquestioning use of guns with blindness to the terrible effects of violence. By using a gun, Marlowe is partaking in the violence generated by the villains of Chandler's novels. Not only this, but the gun becomes a means of removing oneself from the physical, and therefore psychological, effects of violence. When a woman protagonist uses physical violence she remembers these effects by using her own body as a weapon, rather than a gun. "The resistant female body does not always replace the gun as an icon of crime fiction violence, but it is an important supplementary signifier...Representing the defensive body is a way of gendering the abstract narrative

voice. It is also a way of evoking the larger social dynamic around violence against women” (Jones and Walton 179). This is depicted in many of Fairstein’s novels, for example at the ending of *Silent Mercy*. The killer, Zukov, has Mike cornered and Alex must find his missing gun in the pitch dark in order to help: “I knew I had no choice but to find the loaded gun and use it” (Fairstein *Silent Mercy* 318). Zukov is a member of a martial arts religious group and a circus performer with incredible control over his body, and Alex knows she and Mike have little chance of besting him in a physical fight, but her reluctance to use Mike’s gun is clear by the fact that she has waited until she has “no choice.” She finds the gun and is pursued by Zukov, realising that she cannot reach Mike before being caught:

I would be fortunate to outrun him to return to Mike, but far likelier to be overtaken by him and fall victim to the combat techniques of his extreme ministry. In either case, the gun was a liability in my hands, without the opportunity to examine and prepare it for firing. I went to my waistband to retrieve it, and...heaved the pistol as mightily as I could, beyond the rocky shore and into the icy waters of the Sound. (Fairstein *Silent Mercy* 323)

Here, she admits that while she may be able to use the gun against Zukov, it is more likely that it could be turned against her. Having to “examine and prepare it” also reflects her preference for her own body, or a weapon that is already prepared, which will now be her only defense. In the end, she incapacitates Zukov with an axe: “I swung the ax with all my strength and struck at his outstretched arm” (Fairstein *Silent Mercy* 325). Alex cuts off Zukov’s hand but refrains from killing him, as she might have with a gun, an instrument she is not as sure of as her own body.

While Grafton, Evanovich, Paretsky and Muller have their protagonists use guns on occasion and emphasise the physical/psychological effects, Fairstein does not have a novel in her entire series that concludes with Alex shooting a criminal. Instead she resorts to other weapons found close-to-hand. Although Holt, Erskine, Davis, Newton and Uhnak write novels featuring police officers, their female protagonists very rarely use guns either. The

professional eye instead focuses on the female body and mind as a weapon, and the power of the strong female professional to use other legal avenues to capture criminals.

Linda Fairstein: Foucauldian Feminist?

At the beginning of this chapter I asked the following questions: How does Fairstein represent institutional sexism in her fiction? What aspects of Fairstein's novels conform with and challenge her work within the legal institution? How are female victims treated in Fairstein's novels, and how does Alex's gender blur the lines between her professional role and potential for victimisation?

Fairstein worked within the Manhattan District Attorney's office at a very high level and as such she has become a visible representation of women within the American legal institution. Much like Trisha Meili's experience of a symbolic role, the approach of the media and public towards Fairstein is emblematic of the discomfort towards how women fit into this previously masculine institution. Fairstein uses real experiences (as it could be argued that all authors do) to depict this discomfort. Male characters such as Patrick McKinney receive advantages as the "favorite sons" of institutions, while Alex is held to higher standards. Rapists and murderers wear the uniforms of these institutions in order to exploit this perceived authority to victimise women. The institutions of New York City—such as local politics, museums, hospitals, and the legal and court system—are all permeated with sexism, which is often the root cause of the investigation in each novel. By geographically mapping these institutions across New York City, Fairstein reveals that the foundations of the city itself are established upon inequality. This reflects the viewpoints of Foucault and Butler, who argue that institutional power creates a hierarchy in which social rules are disseminated in order to keep minorities disadvantaged; what Foucault labels "a distribution of the living."

This is further depicted through Alex's difficulties in maintaining a balance between work and home, and how she is often viewed as performing a kind of drag in her profession. And yet, she avoids using violence or guns to catch criminals, as violence is perceived to be particularly masculine and anathema to a protagonist whose job revolves

around defending victims of violence. When it is used, Fairstein highlights the ongoing physical and mental effects, as well as the social. The true battles for Alex take place within the courtroom where she can attempt to legally affect a larger difference to the way women are treated. She also prefers to employ a combination of hardboiled and professional language as more retaliatory than violence, as this truly displays her authority and agency. Fairstein suggests fighting inequality through the justice system by involving men such as Battaglia to mentor and support women within masculinist institutions.

Fairstein has become a symbol of the legal institution for many citizens of New York City, through both her fiction and her real life professional success. Therefore she is an easy mark for those who wish to blame her for the failing of this legal system. As a female, her body is a target for those such as Little and Burns to comment upon in an attempt to damage her authority. However, Fairstein has illustrated this inequality within the legal institution in both fiction and nonfiction for over twenty years. Additionally, she has worked hard to make tangible changes such as the admission of DNA in trials, clearing out the backlog of medical evidence held in police stations, and advocacy for the treatment of rape victims during trials. Her role as a professional eye and her visibility within the media transform Fairstein into a relevant symbol of the discomfort with authoritative women in Western society. Because of this combination of factors, she is an author who communicates more than just her written words to female readers. Linda Fairstein represents the difficulties that many of her readers experience in finding a personal and professional balance in a society ruled by sexist institutions, and this is mirrored through Alex Cooper's conflicts. Through her fictional depiction of women's struggles with the law, Fairstein presents readers with an alternate vision in which reauthorised women are legally an equal part of society.

CHAPTER THREE

Kathy Reichs:

The Female Forensic Gaze

Kathy Reichs is a forensic anthropologist and academic who worked for the medical laboratory in Montreal and as a professor at the University of North Carolina. Over the course of her career, Reichs has testified at the United Nations' criminal tribunal for Rwanda, worked on high profile forensic teams such as those recovering massacre victims near Lake Atitlan in Guatemala, and with the Disaster Mortuary Operational Response at the World Trade Center. The first Temperance Brennan novel *Déjà Dead* was published in 1997 and the series currently numbers seventeen. Fairstein and Reichs have similar approaches toward their fiction. Both have been interviewed by Carol Memmott and made similar statements. Speaking about herself and Tempe, Reichs claims "Professionally we're the same, but our personal lives are different" (Memmott "For Author"). Indeed, Tempe has a career very similar to Reichs, working for the forensic laboratories in Montreal and Charlotte. Like Fairstein, Reichs has found differences in her fiction and those of other crime novelists through her representation of authenticity. Reichs states that, "What gives my books authenticity is that I actually do what it is I'm writing about...the fact that I am in the autopsy room, I go to the crime scene and I do work in the lab gives my books this flavor that otherwise they wouldn't have" (Memmott "For Author"). There are similarities between her novels and cases upon which she has worked. *Déjà Dead* is based on Canadian serial killer Serge Archambault, *Death du Jour* on the Solar Temple cult, and *Grave Secrets* on real digs in Guatemala with the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation, or FAFG (Memmott "For Author"). In *American Anthropologist* journal, Walsh-Haney argues that this authenticity is a divergence from what the National Academy of Sciences (henceforth NAS) terms the "CSI Effect" that fictional forensics have on the public, writing "Contrary to the NAS report, Reichs's Brennan novels comprehensively and correctly educate the public

about forensic anthropology, including its limitations and challenges" (651). This authenticity is not the only aspect of Reichs's fiction that recommends her to readers.

The forensic crime novel has a particular focus on the bodies of victims, and often these bodies are female. Through fiction, Reichs can explore the sexism involved in this gaze on the female body, particularly through the use of a female forensic professional. Throughout this chapter I ask, how does Reichs use the touristic element of crime fiction to highlight different feminist concerns around the globe? Formed around the theories of Jonas Larsen and John Urry on the tourist gaze, this includes analysis of Reichs's use of maps as paratext and within the narrative, globally specific crimes, and how her novels fit within the global context of third-wave feminisms. My other research questions are, how does Reichs depict sexism and shape female professionalism within these institutions? This includes close reading of her language and jargon, and Tempe's struggles with colleagues. Also, how has she changed the 'place of vision' of the forensic gaze? Forensic gaze is approached through the critical writing of Joy Palmer, Daryl Ogden, and Griselda Pollock.

'Une anthropologist Americaine': A Tour of Global Feminisms

Crime fiction has always had an element of tourism, ever since the alleyways of Paris became the setting for Edgar Allan Poe's seminal story "The Murders in the Rue Morgue." Increasingly, especially after the success of Stieg Larsson's *Millennium* trilogy (2005- 2007), more crime novels written in languages other than English are being translated, and more English-speaking crime novelists are widening their geographic scope. Critic Eva Erdmann argues that, "the spread of crime has taken on topographic proportions that reflect the globalization processes of the late twentieth century" ("Nationality International" 13). Kathy Reichs's series is interesting in this regard. Although Tempe is based in two medical laboratories in Western countries, she also uses Tempe's occupation to take her to other parts of the world such as Jerusalem and Guatemala City. In these settings she often works on cases with female victims who represent different global intersections. Second-wave feminist theory, on the other hand, has been accused of pertaining solely to white women in Western countries and failing to cross borders.

Throughout the history of crime fiction and criticism, feminist readings have moved in sync with feminist theory and while the first feminist crime novels of the late 1970s and early 1980s were the domain of white, Western women, contemporary feminist crime has more in common with third-wave feminism in its global appeal. At a superficial level, hopping from place-to-place gives each book a distinctive tone, but there is also a deeper level at work. If crime readers engage in tourism, then what conclusions can be drawn from the ways different institutions and justice systems treat their female citizens and how do these conclusions relate to feminist theory?

Tempe's work as a forensic anthropologist sees her splitting her year between the medical labs in Montreal and Charlotte. Reichs's own work as a forensic anthropologist has seen her travel extensively to countries including Tanzania where she testified at the UN's International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, and to Guatemala as part of a team exhuming massacre victims. These parallels between author and protagonist are an important part of the professional eye's novel, as these real experiences lend authority to Reichs's fiction. Tempe is introduced in *Déjà Dead* (1997) as a cultural outsider who lives and works part of the year in Quebec. Over the course of the novel she admits her difficulties with "Le Français Québécois" (Reichs *Déjà* 10) and is identified in a newspaper article as "une anthropologist Américaine" (Reichs *Déjà* 84). Furthermore, when she disagrees with a detective over a murder as singular or serial, she is accused of "trying to turn a simple murder into an American-style psycho extravaganza" (Reichs *Déjà* 208). The police of Montreal rarely experience serial killings, and view them as particular to America, along with Tempe's perceived 'hysteria.'

The touristic aspect is introduced early in the book, with Tempe considering a weekend trip. She reflects, "I had a trip to Quebec City in mind, but my plans were vague. I thought of visiting the Plains of Abraham, eating mussels and crepes, and buying trinkets from street vendors. Escape in tourism" (Reichs *Déjà* 9). These plans are disrupted by a darker side to Montreal, which can only be seen by those such as Tempe who work in the criminal justice system (and voyeuristically by readers). Although tourist operators advertise 'realistic' experiences, safety is an important consideration in where to travel.

Crime fiction such as *Déjà Dead* can give readers a touristic experience that offers realism with no actual danger. Readers become involved in this dangerous underbelly of urban space through the investigation of maps and the crime story. As Urry and Larsen describe the tourist gaze, it often relegates the mobile as male and the immobile as female, meaning that the gaze often focuses on local women: “The mobile tourist gaze presupposes immobile bodies (normally female) servicing and displaying their bodies for those who are mobile and passing by” (Larsen and Urry 29). In crime fiction readers can pass through and view displayed bodies of female victims. While the gaze of the reader and the investigator presupposes a victim’s body (often female), the narrative moves on to place increasing importance on the investigation and the criminal, rather than the victim.

In *Déjà Dead*, a woman’s body is found, mutilated and murdered, and a hunt for a serial killer begins. The city of Montreal is integral in this search. As Erdmann describes it, “While the internationality of crime fiction is due in part to book marketing and publishing house strategies, it is also due to the narrative strategies used in the portrayal of local settings. It is precisely the characteristic element of the surroundings at the scene of the crime that contributes significantly to the success of these novels” (“Internationality International” 16). The surroundings of Montreal are divided into jurisdictions rather than suburbs. Reichs explains for the readers, “As in many cities, questions of jurisdiction can be tricky in Montreal. The city lies on an island in the middle of the St Lawrence. The Communauté Urbaine de Montreal police handle murders occurring on the island itself. Off the island they fall to local police departments, or to La Sûreté du Québec. Coordination is not always good” (*Déjà* 60). The protagonist in tourist crime novels learns about the culture in order to understand the motives for crime and as Tempe learns, readers learn. In this way, reading Kathy Reichs becomes an exercise in tourism. Tempe notes the way police divide Montreal not only into jurisdictions, but also into smaller internal maps of crime. She thinks, “I wondered if their cognitive maps were based on sites of police happenings chronicled in incident reports, rather than on the names of rivers and streets and the numbers on buildings that the rest of us use” (Reichs *Déjà* 155).

Erdmann argues that maps on the inside cover transform “a crime fiction novel into a tourist guide” (“Topographical Fiction” 276). However, the first edition of *Déjà Dead* includes a map that marks places of interest in terms of the crime story rather than the usual tourist spots, underscoring what Sue Turnbull terms “the moral logic of space in crime fiction” (“Scene of Murder” 25). Maps like that of Montreal in *Déjà Dead* are often used in the paratext of crime novels, although little has been written about their function. Gérard Genette defines paratext as “a zone between text and off-text, a tone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public” (2). Genette fails to discuss the use of maps as paratext, writing that his “knowledge of them is too erratic...to be able to study them in any meaningful way” (404). Indeed, there is relatively little available on the subject, even with the repeated use of maps in fantasy and crime fiction. In his analysis of Agatha Christie, John Scaggs argues that her novels give “an objectified sense of time and place in the use of maps and plans” (51) which contributes to the overall sense of time and place that are crucial to identifying a suspect. Two more recent insights into the use of maps in crime fiction are provided by Marty S. Knepper and Christina Ljungberg. Knepper’s 2007 article “Miss Marple’s St. Mary Mead” focuses on Christie’s use of maps as a means of engaging readers in further mystery, rather than only in terms of ‘setting.’ In her 2012 study of maps in literature, Ljungberg does not focus exclusively on crime fiction. The little she writes on the genre is that “one of the main functions of maps in contemporary crime fiction is to guide readers in the development of plot” (Ljungberg 85), without explaining the other functions. While her discussion of maps in crime may be limited, her research is illuminating in its insistence that “diagrams enable us to trace an imaginary journey on a map. By interacting with a written text, the diagram can thus convey information that would elude us if we simply read the text” (Ljungberg 52). Ljungberg’s conclusions and Genette’s suggestion that the intention of paratext is to guide a better understanding of a book serve the argument that maps in crime novels can create mystery and commence an adventure for the reader who can act as his or her own investigator.

Turnbull observes the differences between 'setting' and maps and argues, "Indeed, 'setting' hardly seems the appropriate word for a socio-spatial context that proves to be so intrinsically related to the cause and effect of murder and revenge" ("Scene of Murder" 25). This is highlighted by the map in *Déjà Dead*. Places marked include where each victim was murdered and where their bodies were found. Maps also feature within the story. The killer leaves a map for Tempe with an X marking the place he has buried her best friend. By using a map to study the geography of the killing sites, Tempe uncovers his methods. She realises that each victim lived near a train line, six stops from the university intersection. The killer, Leo Fortier, stalks women who disembark at one of these stops, and uses real estate around the city by posing as a potential buyer to gain entry into houses. Readers can find the same clues from the map at the front of the novel (fig. 5), which clearly marks the metro line and relevant stations. The map not only gives a contextual geography of the suspect, as Scaggs argues, it also provides readers with opportunities to uncover the link to the killer through his choice of transportation and base at the university intersection. Knepper outlines how Christie uses maps in her novels as a paratext for the reader, which creates further mystery in the real location of Jane Marple's village: "Why try to locate a fictional place on a real map? We can enjoy the Miss Marple novels without knowing if St. Mary Mead has a local habitation and a name. Thinking of St. Mary Mead as Sunningdale, however, can enrich our reading of the novels and understanding of Christie as a person and writer" ("Miss Marple" 48). The same can be argued for the map in *Déjà Dead*, which places the answer before readers' eyes within the real geography of Montreal.

Not only does crime give us a geography of the city, but the place also creates geographically specific crimes. As Reichs describes it, "It isn't what something is, so much as where it is that often shapes our reaction" (*Déjà* 239). When Leo's identity is discovered, readers learn that he developed problems after witnessing his mother's death during an abortion. Illegalised abortion in Quebec meant that she risked an operation under an unqualified surgeon, which resulted in her death and the beginnings of her son's psychological break-down. The authorities then left Fortier with an abusive grandmother. Therefore, the governmental and legal institutions of Quebec have a part to play in the

creation of Leo Fortier as a serial killer particular to his home town, through the illegalisation of abortion and lack of child support for orphans.

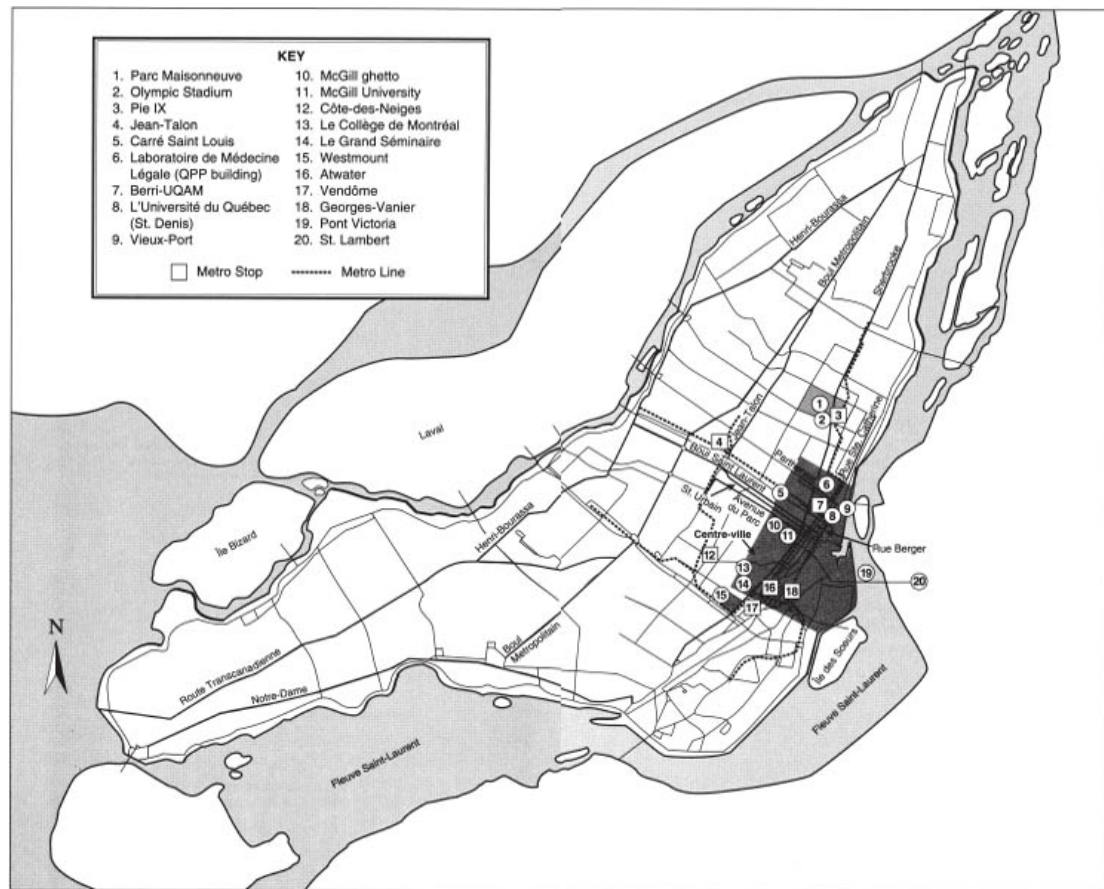


Fig. 5: Map from Kathy Reichs's *Déjà Dead*. Reprinted with the permission of Scribner, a Division of Simon & Schuster, Inc., from *DEJA DEAD* by Kathy Reichs. Copyright © 1997 by Simon & Schuster, Inc. All rights reserved.

Reichs's second novel *Death du Jour* (2000) expands geographically to cross the borders of Canada and America. When the tortured bodies of multiple young women are found in Montreal, the case leads from McGill University to a cult operating from Beaufort, South Carolina. On first arriving in Beaufort, Tempe notes the store names on the main street: "The Cat's Meow. Stones and Bones. In High Cotton. Yes. Beaufort had embraced the world of tourism" (Reichs *Death* 246). The women's bodies discovered in Beaufort have been drugged with the date-rape drug Rohypnol and submitted to the same torture techniques as those in Montreal. From early on, *Death du Jour* links Montreal, Charlotte, and Beaufort through this one investigation. Tempe becomes personally involved in solving the murders when her sister Harry joins the cult through an organisation called Inner Life

Empowerment. Since Harry signed up for the lessons at a university, Tempe trusts that they are legitimate, arguing to herself that her sister “took the courses through a legitimate institution, and there was no cause for alarm” (Reichs *Death* 345). This legitimacy proves false, and crucial to draw members into the cult where the leader must be perceived to have authority (Reichs *Death* 327). Tempe learns that the cult members plan a mass suicide and a meeting with their ‘guardian angel’ and must race to save her sister. By studying a map, she discovers that the guardian angel is not a person as she originally assumed: “I located Montreal, then followed the Champlain Bridge across the St Lawrence and on to 10 East. With a numb finger I traced the route I had taken to Lac Memphrémagog...Ange Gardien. It’s not a person, it’s a place. They’re going to meet *at* Ange Gardien” (Reichs *Death* 404). Tempe and the police manage to stop the mass suicide / murder and arrest the leader, a woman named Elle. In French, “elle” is literally translated as “she.” Elle explains to Tempe, “Je suis Elle. I am She. The female force” (Reichs *Death* 418). Elle’s villainy is not hidden under a guise of masculinity. Her presentation of female force contrasts with a secondary case Tempe works on throughout the novel, the disinterment and identification of a nun’s bones for consideration of sainthood. Despite Sister Élizabeth’s good deeds with the sick in her care, Tempe is concerned that she will not be canonised when studying the bones reveals her illegitimate birth to an African father. The other nuns still hope for canonisation, leading Tempe to comment, “What an extraordinary role model Élizabeth could be to people of faith who suffer prejudices because they were not born Caucasian” (Reichs *Death* 428). While Elle victimises women in order to attain authority over her cult members, Élizabeth has gained greater recognition and possibly sainthood through her aid of women in need, and her ability to unite intersectional people of faith. Both cases are based on real experiences of Reichs’s forensic work in the 1990s; the five Solar Temple Cult members found dead in Montreal, and the disinterment and examination of Jeanne Le Ber for sainthood. By using the complexities of her real work, Reichs can depict the intersectional roles of women. By fictionalising these cases and forming them around recognisable crime genre traits, she can draw readers into considerations of real crimes and global prejudices.

A female aggressor is also behind the murders in *Monday Mourning*. When the remains of three girls are found in a pizza store basement, Tempe is horrified that women are yet again the “universal victims” (Reichs *Monday* 17). Detective Claudel argues that they are cold cases, and when proved through Carbon 14 dating to be recent he argues that they were probably prostitutes. Tempe disagrees that their occupation should impact their right to an investigation, arguing, “Yes, they may have been prostitutes, guilty of the sins of ignorance and need. They may have been runaways, guilty of the sins of poor judgment and bad luck. They may have been yanked from their lives and guilty of nothing. Whoever they were, Monsieur Claudel, they deserve more than a forgotten grave in a moldy cellar” (Reichs *Monday* 141).

Like the deaths in *Death du Jour*, the buried bodies in *Monday Mourning* connect a variety of geographical locations across North America. Rather than using a paper map, Tempe charts the victims’ bones by conducting an experimental procedure called strontium isotope analysis. Strontium isotopes are absorbed through drinking water and can be found in bones and teeth, providing locations to search for the murdered girls’ identities. As Reichs explains, “Enamel values suggest place of birth and early childhood. Bone values suggest place of residence during the last years of life” (*Monday* 150). Two of the victims are found to be from either Vermont or Montreal, the other from California. Neil Wesley Catts, a former tenant of the pizza shop, is a Vermonter who attended university in California and then moved to Montreal, thus linking all three locations. It is discovered that the girls were sex slaves, and that he still has two in captivity. When Catts is found dead of an apparent suicide, Reichs continues the narrative to question the “universal victim” trope through the different reactions of victims Tawny McGee and Anique Pomerleau. While Tawny attempts to recover, telling Tempe “I wanted you to see that I am a person, not a creature in a cage” (Reichs *Monday* 267), Anique is revealed to have become partners with her rapist, learning to enjoy and enact violence against women. At the end of the novel, Anique eludes the police: “Anique Pomerleau’s photo went out across the continent. Dozens of tips were received by CUM and SQ. Pomerleau was sighted in Sherbooke. Albany. Tampa. Thunder Bay” (Reichs *Monday* 269). Readers may be justified in wondering if Reichs left the storyline open-ended

because Anique is such a problematic character. She is both a victim and a perpetrator of violence against women. The violence of this kind of rape-revenge narrative is paradoxical. As Alison Young argues, “the violence of wrong-doing is wrong, whereas the violence which responds to wrong-doing is righteous” (24). As such the violence used by the victim can only be against her rapist to be considered righteous. This open-ended narrative is revisited by Reichs in her latest Brennan novel *Bones Never Lie* (2014), in which Anique and Tawny together kidnap and murder more girls, until Tawny murders Anique and is caught by Tempe and police. Tempe considers Tawny’s future as a prisoner again and concludes, “Even the damaged cannot be allowed to damage” (Reichs *Bones Never Lie* 284). Anique and Tawny raise the doubt of whether women can be considered “universal victims” in a globalised, intersectional world.

The other novel notable for featuring missing girls across North America is *Bones to Ashes* (2007). Beginning in Montreal, Tempe describes the seasonal nexus of tourism and forensic anthropology, noting, “Spring to early summer is high season in my business in Quebec. Rivers thaw. Snow melts. Hikers, campers, and picnickers sally forth. Tada! Rotting corpses are found” (Reichs *Bones to Ashes* 39). One of the bodies brought to Tempe is from Sheldrake Island, which was a leper colony for five years in the nineteenth century, its inhabitants treated like criminals because of their illness: “The sick were abandoned with little food, only crude shelter, and virtually no medical care” (Reichs *Bones to Ashes* 184). Following this the government moved the survivors to a slightly more humane facility in Tracadie-Sheila: “After five years of staggering mortality, the New Brunswick board of health recognized the inhumanity of forced quarantine on Sheldrake Island. A site was chosen in a backwater called Tracadie, and meager funds were appropriated for the construction of a lazaretto” (Reichs *Bones to Ashes* 205). This reminds her of a childhood friend Évangéline, who holidayed at Pawleys Island at the same time as Tempe’s family and lived the rest of the year in Tracadie. Through her friend, Tempe had learned about the difference between the touristic perception of a place and its reality. Évangéline described “Acadian history, and the expulsion of her ancestors from their homeland...The French Acadians driven into exile by a British deportation order, stripped of their lands and rights”

(Reichs *Bones to Ashes* 20). Harry and Tempe renew their childhood search for Évangéline, which previously ended in disappointment, and along the way uncover the disparity between the “rights” Tempe believes all people deserve, and the legal rights that change with each government. Meanwhile, an investigation into missing girls leads to the discovery that a photographer in Montreal has forced them into child pornography. There seems to be a connection to Évangéline’s brother-in-law David Bastarache who owns numerous strip clubs. This introduces readers to the darker side of urban Quebec City:

Quaint and cobbled, the Vieux-Québec is a world heritage site. Bastarache’s small corner of the ville definitely was not. Located on a seedy street off Chemin Sainte-Foy, le Passage Noir was a dive in a row of dives featuring women taking off their clothes. Short on charm, the neighborhood filled a niche in Quebec City’s urban ecosystem. In addition to strippers flaunting T and A on runways, dealers hawked drugs on street corners, and hookers sold sex out of flophouses and taxis. (Reichs *Bones to Ashes* 225)

Native American antiques such as totem poles in the background of the pornography footage lead Tempe and Harry to Bastarache’s house in Tracadie, where a former employee has forced girls into servitude and sex work for decades. This small town may seem on the surface to have escaped the vices of urban Québec, and yet is revealed as the setting for the discrimination and victimisation of Acadians in the eighteenth century, those with leprosy (now known as Hansen’s disease) in the nineteenth century, and the sexual abuse of young girls since the 1950s. Évangéline encompasses an intersection of all these discriminations as an Acadian teenager who was forced into child pornography, then contracted Hansen’s disease from her mother who she nursed at home because of social stigma.

Once we become accustomed to the scenery of Montreal over the first four novels of the series, Reichs takes *Fatal Voyage* (2002) further afield to the Smokey Mountains. A plane has crashed, leaving no survivors and Tempe is part of the team identifying remains. The

mystery and wilderness of the mountains becomes a central part of the plot. Reichs describes the scenery, acknowledging the:

Surreal beauty of the place. Molded by aeons of wind and rain, the Great Smokies roll across the South as a series of gentle valleys and peaks...The soft, mohair greens and smokelike haze for which these highlands are named create an unparalleled allure. The earth at its best. Death and destruction amid such dreamlike loveliness was a stark contrast. (*Fatal* 22)

The evocative descriptions such as “aeons of wind and rain,” and “soft mohair greens,” and “smokelike haze” invoke a magical, fairytale-like setting. The loveliness of the mountains hide many dangers to Tempe, which she first discovers when surrounded by a pack of wild coyotes. She mistakes them for wolves, leading Ryan to compare her to Goldilocks and Little Red Riding Hood (Reichs *Fatal* 41). This fairytale motif continues throughout the novel. While searching for the origins of a foot that does not belong to any crash victims (perhaps a morbid allusion to Cinderella), Tempe finds an abandoned house, which she describes as “taken back by nature. What had once been a lawn or garden was now overgrown” (Reichs *Fatal* 73). In a reference to Goldilocks, Tempe is accused of trespass on the house, despite no evidence of its occupancy. The ongoing Little Red Riding Hood allusion becomes apparent towards the denouement of the novel, when Tempe realises that the high rate of missing elderly people living in the forest is due to a cannibalistic secret society that operates there. The bodies of the victims are found inside the basement of the house, surrounded by inscribed names of pre-Christian deities: “Moctezuma, The Aztecs. Saturn devouring his children” (Reichs *Fatal* 370). The surrounding wilderness creates a mysterious and untamed setting for the cannibal narrative, as well as logistically aiding the society to hide because of the isolation of residents. As W.H. Auden suggests of outdoor crime scenes, “the more Eden-like it is, the greater the contradiction of murder...The corpse must shock not only because it is a corpse but also because, even for a corpse, it is shockingly out of place” (2). When the killers are caught, one tells Tempe that although

cannibalism may seem uncivilised, there has long been an obsession with it in Western culture:

Human sacrifice is mentioned in the Old Testament, the Rig-Veda.

Anthropophagy is central to the plot of many Greek and Roman myths; it's the centerpiece of the Catholic Mass. Look at literature. Jonathan Swift's "Modest Proposal" and Tom Prest's tale of Sweeney Todd. Movies *Soylent Green*; *Fried Green Tomatoes*; *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife, Her Lover*; Jean-Luc Godard's *Weekend*. And let's not forget the children: Hansel and Gretel, the Gingerbread Man, and various versions of Snow White, Cinderella, and Red Riding Hood. Grandma, what big teeth you have! (Reichs *Fatal* 424)

He suggests that the elite, white Englishmen who began the Hell Fire cannibal society were in the mountains on a hunting and fishing trip, and became inspired when a man accidentally lost his way in the woods and stumbled upon their remote cabin. The literature listed may have references to cannibalism but the tone is misinterpreted, particularly in Swift's "Modest Proposal," which was written and published anonymously as a satirical essay to highlight the disparities between poor and rich. Swift suggests that the increasing population of poor children could be consumed (literally) by the rich, his hyperbolic merciless attitude satirising the exploitative higher classes of Ireland. Swift's point—that the poor are dehumanised and treated as product—is lost on the cannibal of *Fatal Voyage*, who is using the literature as an excuse to dehumanise the elderly. The elite, prosperous, white men are still 'feeding' on the less fortunate in society. It is also clear through the threats to Tempe's work (discussed later in this chapter) that she is one of these unfortunates who draws ire from the men and is an easy target because of her sex.

The following novel *Grave Secrets* (2003) is set in Guatemala and follows Tempe as she finishes up exhumations of Mayan women and children who were killed in the massacres of the early 1980s. Reichs describes the fictional incident as follows:

Here in Chupan Ya, soldiers and civil patrollers had entered on an August morning in 1982. Fearing they'd be accused of collaborating with the local guerilla movement and punished, the men fled. The women were told to gather with their children at designated farms. Trusting, or perhaps fearing, the military, they obeyed. When the soldiers located the women where they'd been sent, they raped them for hours, then killed them along with their kids.
(*Grave 4*)

The viewing of a site where tragedy has occurred is another feature of the tourist gaze that bears discussion. The professional eye often bases her conclusions on real experiences, and as such these global crime narratives are the result of a professional eye's tourist gaze. Reichs based this storyline, and presumably her conclusions, on her own experiences working as a forensic anthropologist for the FAFG in the exhumation of a mass grave near Lake Atitlan. In its own words, the FAFG aims to contribute to "the strengthening of the justice system and to the respect of human rights through the investigation, documentation, dissemination, education and awareness raising regarding the historic violations of the right to life and the cases of non-clarified deaths" (FAFG). One of the areas researched by the foundation is femicide, which they found increased by 130 percent between 2001 and 2006, the years of the study. Reichs's work with FAFG exposed her to the realities of sexism and racial tension in Guatemala, which she has brought to the attention of readers through her fiction.

Tempe's forensic work around the world means that she must occupy the normally male space as one who gazes at the bodies of women, and "consuming other places often involves gazing at and collecting places of violent death" (Larsen and Urry 219). Examples listed by Urry and Larsen include Holocaust sites, slave forts, jails, battle and assassination sites, and natural disaster sites. Chupan Ya is such a place, however, "These places of death, disaster and suffering have come to be performed as places of leisure, often charging an

entrance fee, providing interpretation and selling various other services and souvenirs” (219). Thirty years after the deaths, the women and children are not memorialised because many of the soldiers involved in the massacres have escaped justice and now hold government positions. Tempe does not employ the tourist gaze to objectify, but to bring attention to injustice.

Tempe learns more about Guatemala’s institutional corruption when she is asked to aid in the recovery of bones from a septic tank that are believed to be the remains of a teenage girl; one of four to go missing in Guatemala City in recent weeks. Tempe learns from police detectives she works with just how different the juridical system in Guatemala is from those of Canada and America:

I was troubled by thoughts of how far from home I was, geographically and culturally. While I had some understanding of the Guatemalan legal system, I knew nothing of the jurisdictional rivalries and personal histories that can impede an investigation. I knew the stage but not the players. My misgivings went beyond the complications of police work. I was an outsider in Guatemala, with a superficial grasp of its inner soul. I knew little of the people... Their views toward law and authority... Their reasons for murder. (Reichs *Grave* 71)

She is constantly regarded as an outsider, from her first introduction to the local Assistant District Attorney, who tells her, “While you may view our forensic doctors as inadequately trained hacks laboring in a Third World medico-legal system, or as mere cogs in an antiquated and ineffective judicial bureaucracy, let me assure you they are professionals who hold themselves to the highest standards” (Reichs *Grave* 42). However, she believes that it is her very ‘outsider’ status that gives her insight into the problems of their system. Reichs describes how the shift to democracy in many South American nations led to investigations of past human rights violations and argues, “In some countries those investigations led to convictions. In others various amnesty proclamations allowed the

guilty to skate prosecution. It became clear that outside investigators were essential if real facts were to be unearthed" (*Grave* 100). Tempe unearths physical evidence at Chupan Ya, and this exposes the perpetrator as the very Assistant DA who protested her involvement. He was attempting to use the disorganised Guatemalan system to cover his tracks.

The place is described through landmarks of crime; the mass grave at Chupan Ya, the septic tank, the woods behind the house where another missing girl's remains are found, the hospital, the morgue. The place also creates crimes through its history, culture and corrupt institutions. In the end, although the assistant DA is killed, two other known war criminals who were explicitly involved in the massacres at Chupan Ya remain in positions of power, one as a judge, the other an ambassador. The missing girls are from affluent areas and receive a thorough investigation from Guatemalan police. Tempe laments the division of poor and rich, thinking, "Unlike the poor and homeless, unlike the victims at Chupan Ya, or the addict orphans in Parque Concordia, these women were not without power" (Reichs *Grave* 76). While each missing girl case is solved at the end of the novel, the Mayan survivors receive no final sense of justice while the men responsible still hold powerful positions.

Another more recent novel that deals with tourist gaze is *Bones of the Lost* (2013), which focuses on the issue of war crimes committed by American soldiers. The novel has three sections, the first and last set in Tempe's hometown of Charlotte, and the middle section set in Afghanistan. In Part One, Tempe examines remains for two seemingly unconnected cases; mummified dogs smuggled from Peru, and the body of an unidentified teenage girl involved in a hit-and-run. Detective Slidell ascertains that the victim is possibly an illegal Mexican working as a prostitute. Much like the Mayan women killed in Guatemala in *Grave Secrets*, this unidentified girl (or 'Juanita Doe' as Slidell refers to her) is not important to the police. Slidell is forced by his superiors to concentrate on a missing persons case instead as, "The disappearance of a hard-working single mother who was locally known forced the death of an unknown probably illegal and possible hooker onto the back burner" (Reichs *Bones of the Lost* 71). This is reminiscent of the differences in the investigations of the missing daughters of affluent families in *Grave Secrets* compared to the

murdered Mayan families. Tempe becomes fixated on finding the killer of the teenager, especially through an identification of the victim with her own daughter, Katy.

Part Two of the novel focuses on the ongoing war in Afghanistan and the role of military justice in women's lives both in America, and the Middle East. Katy has joined the army and deployed to Bagram in Afghanistan, due to the changing laws on women's involvement in the military. As Reichs describes it:

On May 14, 2012, the United States Army opened HIMARS, High Mobility Artillery Rocket System, and the MLR, Multiple Launch Rocket System, units to female soldiers for the first time. Early the next year the military lifted its long-standing ban on women in combat. Upon completion of her BCT, basic combat training, Katy requested MLR as her military occupational specialty, or MOS. Following AIT, advanced individual training, she was off to Afghanistan. WTF? (*Bones of the Lost* 53)

Tempe flies to Bagram to examine the bones of two Afghani men killed by an American marine. Although she tries to remain empirical in her examination, she wonders whether the men killed were Taliban and reflects, "I try to be open-minded...But I have no tolerance for a creed that not only denies an education to girls, but condones, even encourages, the abuse of women. For a dogma that allows men to beat, mutilate, even execute members of my gender. My one prejudice. I despise the Taliban" (Reichs *Bones of the Lost* 135). Tempe finds that Sergeant Gross shot the two Afghani men as they were running towards him, not away as claimed, seemingly exonerating him of murder.

The inclusion of war and terrorism in the novel link it to Larsen and Urry's analysis of 'dark tourism' and the risks associated with an increasingly globalised world. As they note, the last decade has been marked by terrorist attacks in tourist destinations as widespread as Bali, Morocco, Spain, America, and Norway. There are connections in the Middle East between tourism and terrorism, as "tourism uses much oil, this oil props up unequal and corrupt regimes, such regimes generate terrorism, and so tourists are at risk of

being bombed in those tourist sites that are intermittently visited by terrorists” (Larsen and Urry 230). Therefore, while Tempe may be visiting Afghanistan and commenting on the issues faced by the country, her own tourism contributes to worldwide terrorism. While it may seem that the presence of American soldiers in Afghanistan results in their deaths due to terrorism, the crimes in *Bones of the Lost* are committed by Gross, the American soldier accused of shooting two civilians. By using the war against terrorism and the prejudices of other Americans—even Tempe, who considers that the dead Afghani men could be terrorists—Gross conceals his crimes against the local people in Bagram. The hierarchical residency discussed in the previous chapter on Fairstein is evident here, as Tempe is needed to examine the body rather than a local forensic anthropologist. The American government assumes the dead Afghani men were terrorists attacking their soldiers. However, this crime was caused by tourism rather than terrorism, as an off-duty American soldier visiting Bagram kidnapped and murdered locals.

The final section of the novel further highlights the connections between crime and tourism, as well as the role in America. The hit-and-run victim in Charlotte is identified as Ara, an Afghani girl who Sergeant Gross trafficked into the country and forced into prostitution. Through this narrative, Reichs is able to present readers with some horrifying statistics on human trafficking: “At any given time, 2.5 million people worldwide are in forced labor as a result of trafficking...Forty-three percent of all trafficking victims end up in involuntary commercial sexual exploitation. Ninety-eight percent are women and girls” (*Bones of the Lost* 233). Despite Gross’s role to supposedly help the Bagram locals escape the crimes of the Taliban, many of which against women (as Tempe discusses), Gross is also victimising women for his own financial profit.

War provides the backdrop for women’s increased vulnerability, much as it did in *Grave Secrets*, but this time the criminals are Americans. Tempe’s love interest, Andrew Ryan, appears briefly at the conclusion and tells her that his daughter has died of a heroin overdose. The final message presented to readers is that parents cannot protect their daughters in a world where globalisation profits crime; whether that is the importation of illegal drugs, the trafficking and sexual exploitation of girls, or crimes concealed by war.

Ryan could not stop his daughter from purchasing illegal drugs, which possibly originated in the Middle East; Tempe cannot stop her daughter from enlisting in the military; and Ara was sold by her mother, who thought she would find a better life in America.

In recent debate on feminism and globalisation, Susan Hanson believes that “Feminists need to come down to earth, quite literally, by incorporating space, place, and location into feminist understandings of how differences are created and dissolved. Geographers can transform feminism by pulling it down to the earth, by grounding it, by showing how gender is and continues to be shaped by real geographies” (Hanson 686). Possibly second-wave feminists do not explore issues of women in different parts of the world, not because they are ungrounded in reality, but rather are unwilling to tell the stories of other women. In non-essentialist feminist theory, women are not a singular group. Intersections of race, class and a multitude of other factors create a specific standpoint for different women, and this has made it historically difficult to negotiate between divergent intersectional feminisms. Becky Thompson also argues that feminism is not global, and writes “Hegemonic feminism deemphasizes or ignores a class and race analysis, generally sees equality with men as the goal of feminism, and has an individual rights-based, rather than justice-based vision for social change” (337). Crime fiction in particular can fill the void in women’s stories around the globe through its popularity, particularly with the genre’s history of women as victims, its focus on justice, and its element of tourism. In crime fiction that features female victims around the world—whether in Montreal, Guatemala City, or Bagram—the institutions that let women and minorities down in different ways are challenged and exposed. When readers approach discriminations and injustices through fiction rather than nonfiction, they can identify with them in more personal ways. As Walton argues, “The act of reading is a process which involves the development of an identifactory relationship between the protagonist and the reader...When a woman approaches novels like Grafton’s, novels that play upon and undercut the sexist proclivities of the male detective “canon,” her position as a woman is affirmed by the resistant text” (Walton 102).

This was not always the case within the genre, which has been often criticised as masculinist. Rather than read feminist crime fiction as a separate medium to feminist theory,

it is possible to instead regard them as developing together in their global application. The second-wave feminist movement may have had issues with its focus on white, middle-class women, just as the early feminist crime of the 1960s and 1970s focused on these women. The late 1980s and 1990s witnessed the proliferation of series by women such as Reichs who wrote for a global readership of women, just as third-wave feminism began to take hold globally, addressing the concerns of women in Developing and Third World nations: "Third World feminism, in its urge to incorporate ethnicity into the analysis of gender oppression, has forcefully integrated the colour metaphor into feminist debates" (Sa'ar 686). At the first ever United Nations conference for women in Mexico City in 1975, delegates designated the following decade as a time of institution building as, "They were aware that, although networks are important, the long life of a movement will be assured when institutions are created to backstop and promote it" (Snyder 32). It was not until 1985 at the highly regarded conference in Nairobi, Kenya, that women had achieved this institution building to a suitable degree and could discuss different issues faced globally, in what was described by Valentine Moghadam as "an impetus for novel forms of women's organizing and mobilizing" (1). Moghadam goes on to name the institutions that represented different cultural issues faced by women, such as DAWN for women in third world countries, WLUML (Women Living Under Muslim Laws) for women in Islamic nations, and WLP (Women's Learning Partnership for Peace, Development, and Rights) which targets fundamentalism. Institutions such as these were very important in this globalisation and communication of women's movements. Margaret Snyder describes the UN as the "unlikely godmother" of global feminisms, arguing:

This strong growth of the twentieth-century and early twenty-first-century women's movements in different parts of the world was in large part made possible by co-opting the UN as their unlikely godmother, using the power of its blessing to influence the policies and programs of major global and national institutions to build new institutions to sustain the movement women were creating. (45)

Furthermore, since around 2008 these global feminisms have used the Internet to communicate, in what has been termed the fourth-wave of feminism.¹² This combination of global and intersectional feminisms online has culminated in the mobilisation of intersectional feminisms through blogs, Twitter and Facebook. Contemporary feminists use online forums to plan protests such as Reclaim the Night, and 'shame' misogyny through projects such as The Everyday Sexism Project.¹³ Feminist crime fiction popularises similar ideas as global feminist movements by emphasising the dangers of masculinist institutions and governments to women's issues including abortion, rape as a war tactic, global and residential hierarchies, and sex trafficking. Using the tourist element of the genre, authors such as Reichs have been able to bring these issues into their books and to readers' attention. While Stephen Knight has linked urban tourism with the writing of Eugène Sue, Paul Féval and George Reynold during the growth of modern Paris and London in the early nineteenth century (*Mysteries of the Cities*), professional eye novels link the touristic aspect of the genre with real cases, bringing contemporary gravitas to the idea of dangerous urban spaces.

'The job required testicles': Institutional Sexism and the Professional Female Body

By depicting the masculinist nature of institutions around the world, particularly the police force of Montreal, Reichs can question essentialist ideas. Readers' identification with Tempe and her placement within one of these institutions allows for a portrayal of the unfair deauthorising of women's work. The ways women are treated as professionals, victims, and criminals throughout Reichs's series often interplay. In *Flash and Bones* (2011) for example, Tempe comes up against sexism in Charlotte, North Carolina. Just before NASCAR races are due to be held there, a body is found. A man approaches Tempe, wondering if the body is that of his sister. She has been missing since she was a teenager, just as she was about to break into NASCAR as one of its few female drivers. Through her inquiries, Tempe discovers that sexism and racism are deeply entrenched in the culture of NASCAR. A

¹² For more see *Feminist Media Studies* journal, particularly Volume 14.6 (2014) and 15.1 (2015).

¹³ For more, see: <<http://everydaysexism.com>>.

suspect who heads a fascist organisation hands her a pamphlet and tells her that every member is a patriot. She notices, "Every one is white and male" (Reichs *Flash* 97). The qualifier "patriot" indeed conjures an image of a white man through its history as such and roots in the Greek word for 'father.'¹⁴ Later, while talking to the best friend of the missing woman, Tempe is told that Craig Bogan, another suspect, hates women who "defile the hallowed and sacred" (Reichs *Flash* 199). By this she means NASCAR, which Bogan sees solely as the domain of white men.

This sexism is evident throughout the entire novel, as both male and female characters use performative language to affirm gender expectations. For example, when Tempe is caught in the middle of her ex-husband's relationship drama she thinks, "I'd have preferred hemorrhoids to a conversation with Pete's dimwit fiancée" (Reichs *Flash* 35). Here she uses a wisecrack to distance herself from the idea that because she is a woman she wants to help repair other peoples' relationships, and that her language will be polite and obliging. Although she thinks of Summer as a "dimwit," the wisecrack is aimed at Pete, so much so that he is named rather than Summer. He is much older and supposedly wiser than his fiancée and Tempe uses this in her ammunition of wisecracks. There is an interesting comparison to be made between the two women, particularly as a conversation is repellent to Tempe. Throughout *Flash and Bones*, Summer continuously misunderstands Tempe's speech, beginning when Tempe calls Summer upon the request of Pete. Tempe describes Summer's southern accent as "a drawl you could pour on pancakes" (Reichs *Flash* 45). The conversation is awkward as Tempe is desperate for subject matter and Summer makes defensive taunts such as, "Not everyone can be superwoman" (Reichs *Flash* 45). Tempe becomes negotiator between Pete and the "little-girl petulant" Summer. The phone call ends when Tempe becomes irritated by this performance and complains, "I pictured Summer with her overdeveloped breasts and her undeveloped brain. Marveled again at the folly of middle-aged men" (Reichs *Flash* 46). The end of their first interaction turns the blame to Pete and middle-aged men in general, casting them as the butt of the joke.

¹⁴ As defined by *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2.2, 2007. 2125.

It is unsurprising that Tempe and Summer have difficulty understanding each other when their speech is at such odds. Tempe is defined as a professional and uses technical language that falls somewhere beyond the bounds of 'masculine' and 'feminine.' Summer, on the other hand, falls into stereotypical, performative 'women's language.' Her "little-girl petulant" act ties her to well-known femme fatales, particularly Carmen Sternwood in Chandler's *The Big Sleep* who exasperates Marlowe by sucking her thumb rather than answering questions. Reichs contrasts this highly male-constructed feminine character with the professional protagonist, underlining the ways that the genre has changed through speech and language. Both Pete and Summer have identified Tempe as someone with an agency in language, and therefore have asked her to insert her voice in lieu of their own to uncover the issues in their relationship. Her language spans both public and private spheres, so that she is an authority in her profession as well as within her personal opinions.

Summer's performance of femininity contrasts with Detective Slidell, who uses language to perform masculinity. Reichs writes, "Slidell views himself as Charlotte's answer to Dirty Harry. Hollywood cop lingo is part of the schtick" (*Flash* 43). On the other hand, another agent has a voice that does not meet the stereotypical gender ideal, as Tempe explains, "One word and I knew why Randall spoke so rarely. His voice was high and nasal, more suited to a Hollywood hairdresser than an FBI agent" (Reichs *Flash* 177). FBI agents have a perceived voice and Randall is silenced through his failure to enact this expected voice, highlighting the social nature of performance. As Erving Goffman argues in *The Presentation of the Self*, "When an individual plays a part he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them...The individual offers his performance and puts on his show 'for the benefit of other people'" (17). The reference to Hollywood in both descriptions of the men's language highlights this showmanship aspect of gender roles and expectations. Tempe does not take part in this use of language as gender performance, and through her sardonic first-person description of it readers are drawn to notice the depth of sexism in modern Western society, from sports to language. Reichs's language often draws attention to sexism enabled through men's organisations and clubs. Other novels concentrate on women's mistreatment by outlaw motorcycle clubs (*Deadly*

Decisions), the exploitation of young girls by the pornography industry (*Bones to Ashes*), and sexual slavery (*Monday Mourning*).

The police and court system is depicted as suffering from similar difficulties as other institutions. During the NASCAR investigation of *Flash and Bones*, the FBI claim jurisdiction over the local police and take a body Tempe has recovered. The medical examiner, Larabee argues, "This is outrageous. The medical examiner must operate independently. I can't have government agents waltzing into my morgue and confiscating remains" (Reichs *Flash* 72). The government is depicted as nonchalant about crime, as the word "waltzing" suggests carelessness and whimsy. Larabee's assessment proves correct, as the agency mishandles the body and destroys evidence: "Due to an unfortunate combination of circumstances, including a mix-up in paperwork, understaffing, and an error on the part of an inexperienced tech, instead of back to the cooler, the landfill John Doe had accidentally been sent for cremation" (Reichs *Flash* 91). A similar scenario occurs in *Grave Secrets*. Tempe aids the Guatemalan police in removing bones from a septic tank, and then the body is confiscated before her examination. Andrew Ryan is appalled at the Guatemalan system, asking Tempe, "Let me get this straight. These yokels ask you to do the leprous slog, then the DA lays paper and boogies with the goods?" (Reichs *Grave* 69). His colloquial language (yokels, slog, boogies) undermines the seriousness of his message, because he believes that Guatemala is not as advanced as Canada and that they are "yokels" who do not understand the importance of forensic impartiality. However, this misuse of Tempe's work by men with more judicial authority also occurs frequently in Canada and America.

This clumsy misuse of jurisdictional authority is a common drawback of working within the criminal justice system. The constant grapple for power between men often hampers the actual investigation of crime. Early feminist crime novels by authors such as Grafton, Paretsky, James and Cross/Heilbrun featured private detectives who worked from outside of a system that has difficulties with feminism. The protagonists of professional eyes differ as they are employed within traditionally masculinist judicial institutions. Through a first-person perspective located within the criminal justice system, professional eyes have the opportunity to expose the troubling imbalance of authority that women face. As

discussed earlier, Tempe is horrified by her discovery of the difficulties Guatemalan citizens have with their justice system. She is told, “many of those who were involved in atrocities remain in command of the military...although nominally under the jurisdiction of the Interior Ministry, the police here remain effectively under army control. The criminal justice system is permeated by fear” (Reichs *Grave* 117). The fear described is fear of death, which Foucault argues is hidden under the hierarchising and qualifying of society. In countries under military control, the “murderous splendor” described by Foucault in *The History of Sexuality* is often used as a means of controlling citizens. The army’s use of rape as a war tactic creates victims of female citizens in order to then regulate and control them. As Butler expounds, “the question of women as the subject of feminism raises the possibility that there may not be a subject who stands ‘before’ the law, awaiting representation in or by the law. Perhaps the subject, as well as the invocation of a temporal ‘before,’ is constituted by the law as the fictive foundation of its own claim to legitimacy” (*Gender Trouble* 2). Thus, Butler’s reading of Foucauldian institutional hierarchy debates that by creating ‘women’ in order to represent them and subsequently let them down, the judicial systems and institutions of the world are establishing and maintaining a hierarchy. This system disappoints women who rely upon it and those who work within it.

This ‘trauma of change’ seen from Uhnak’s novels onwards is underscored in the thinking of Tempe’s coworkers throughout Reichs’s novels. In *Bare Bones* (2003), detective ‘Skinny’ Slidell explains why he dislikes the gay anthropologist, Walter Cagle, and tells Tempe, “Look, the way I see it, men are men and women are women, and everyone should sleep in the tent he was born with. You start crossing lines, no one’s going to know where to buy their undies” (Reichs *Bare* 172). One is left to contemplate what exactly makes a ‘man’ and what makes a ‘woman?’ Slidell refers to “undies,” conjuring genitalia and connecting the sex one is born with to sets of feminine and masculine behaviours. Furthermore, he describes confusing gender as “crossing lines,” referring to social norms and expectations, which he clearly feels the pressure to maintain. Just as Tempe is expected to perform the role of a woman, Slidell bends to social pressure to perform masculinity. He marks Cagle as a social outcast for crossing the line and redefining his gender boundaries.

Tempe can also be viewed as crossing this line of gender norms simply by her work in forensic anthropology, but in light of changing women's roles, Slidell does not realise the similarities between her and Cagle's positions. This harkens to Butler's argument, "The very subject of women is no longer understood in stable or abiding terms...there is very little agreement after all on what it is that constitutes, or ought to constitute, the category of women" (*Gender Trouble* 1). In Slidell's view, it is clear; women are all born with 'feminine' gender and men with 'masculine' gender. Readers are reminded of the larger debate between essentialism and constructionism, summed up by Henning Bech in the question: "Are sexuality and gender historically and socially constituted or 'constructed,' or are they eternally identical, pre-socially given, personality-penetrating 'essences?'" (187).

Slidell's true feelings on the matter become clear later in Reichs's series through his successful partnering with someone who defies many norms: "Feeling he needed a tune-up in the area of cultural diversity, the department had paired him with a woman named Theresa Madrid. Boistrous, bodacious, and weighing almost as much as Skinny, Madrid referred to herself as a double-L: Latina lesbian" (Reichs *Flash* 48). Slidell's easy partnership with Madrid indicates that his earlier concern over gender "lines" is an expression of social anxiety and not an internal bias, however, it is still unclear how he would react to a partnership with a gay man. The masculinist imperative of the hardboiled genre creates difficulties for gay detectives in the same way as females, through its characterisation of them as feminine. As Heather Worthington argues, "Even in relatively recent crime fiction the gay detective is unusual and is shown to be subject to suspicion and discrimination from fellow police officers" (71). Some examples of this are insurance investigator Dave Brandsetter in Joseph Hansen's hardboiled series (1970-1991) and LAPD detective Milo Sturgis in Jonathan Kellerman's long-running Alex Delaware psychological series (1985-current). Knight also contemplates the lack, writing, "It may be simply that the image of the macho detective, ready for action and violence, equally tough of talk and hide, is one with which the male gay community is reluctant to identify" (*Crime Fiction* 181). Indeed, the links between macho detectives and violence are key to the scarcity of gay detectives. Masculinity is perceived as an important presentation in an occupation that is often violent, and "given

the concentration of weapons and the practice of violence among men...gender patterns appear to be strategic. Masculinities are the forms in which many dynamics of violence take shape" (Connell "Arms" 29). Indeed, masculinity studies find that contemporary ideals of masculinity have difficulty incorporating gay men (Connell *Masculinities* 45).

Gender lines and the 'feminine' traits of women as homemakers are questioned by Reichs though Tempe's lack of skills as a homemaker. In *Bare Bones* (2003), she describes an incident that signifies her approach to cleanliness: "I'd once found a dead goldfish in my desk drawer. Solved the mystery of its disappearance the previous spring" (Reichs *Bare* 177). While she watches detective Andrew Ryan cooking in *Cross Bones* (2005) she thinks, "I've been called insightful. Brilliant even. When it comes to cooking, I have the vision of a guppy. Given an eon to ponder, my brain would never conceive a road map to mashed potatoes that did not pass through boiling" (Reichs *Cross* 60). Here the differences between Tempe and Ryan highlight the malleability of gender; he is a detective with a rough past but also a wonderful cook, while she is a scientist with little in the way of household skills.

Tempe also has trouble expressing her emotions. Readers experience both her inner-thoughts and her inability to express them, so that she can be both emotional and unemotional at once. In *Déjà Dead* Reichs removes Tempe from the 'mothering' role when she thinks, "Bones were easier to read than kids" (*Déjà* 194). Furthermore, even her mother had the same lack of emotional response as her. She explains, "When overwhelmed by emotion, my mother closed the door. I do the same" (Reichs *Mortal* 291). Tempe's main concerns are often to do with her work as a professional and she becomes most emotional when this—not a romantic relationship—is threatened. In *Break No Bones* (2006), Ryan comments, "We've been friends for a decade, Tempe. I know you feel passionate about your work. Otherwise, most of the time, I'm clueless about what you feel. I have no idea what makes you happy, sad, angry, hopeful" (Reichs *Break* 169). As readers this may seem overstated, as Tempe's thoughts and emotions are manifested through first-person narration. It is also apparent how much she closes off these emotions and her responses in order to remain professional. Readers know that she closes off her emotions from others because she tells us that she, like her mother, "closes the door" (Reichs *Mortal* 291). The

“door” of her emotional responses is open to readers though, which is important in conveying the ‘trauma of change’ experienced by a professional eye’s protagonist. Emma, another friend of Tempe’s who has a high-level position in the same field, views Tempe very differently to Ryan, perhaps because she is also a professional woman and understands the difficulties. She comments that Tempe is surrounded by friends and family, leading Tempe to think, “Emma is right. Whatever the outcome, I am among the lucky. I have people in my life. People who love me” (Reichs *Break* 334).

Essentialism in crime fiction focuses on the emotional as ‘feminine’ but also places much significance on the female body as weak and passive. Foucault’s idea of this focal body as the product of disciplinary institutions and hierarchical power in society has more in common with the viewpoints of feminist crime fiction: “Foucault’s attention to the productive nature of power, and his emphasis on the body as a target and vehicle of modern disciplinary practices were compatible with already developing feminist insights” (Sawicki 95). The female body as target has been exemplified in crime fiction as in few other genres. While Cixous claimed “Censor the body and you censor breath and speech at the same time” (880), often in the crime genre the contrary seems true; that the more the body is uncensored, the further the voice is silenced.

While female victims may be silenced and feminised through their bodies, the bodies of female detectives represent the flexibility of gender. Readers can find a sense of identification and humour in the self-cut hair of Millhone and the unfeminine shoes of Clarice Sterling. These androgynous peculiarities of feminist detectives represent a certain disregard for conventional standards of beauty, providing readers with protagonists who eschew the system physically as well as professionally. As R.W. Connell argues, “the great majority of us combine masculine and feminine characteristics, in varying blends, rather than being all one or all the other” (*Gender* 5). By underscoring this flexibility of gender and multitude of femininities through the body of the detective, feminist authors can also distance their protagonists from the hardboiled male detective. Comparing Paretsky’s character V.I. Warshawski to Marlowe, Kenneth Paradis argues:

While she recognizes the professional benefits of the 'tough guy' body, she also ironically marks her distance from it...More than simply being unwilling or unable to master her body and its pain by numbing it with alcohol, she is also aware that she is not master of her body's social meanings. Where Marlowe's generic white male body can be marked or unmarked at his will, Warshawski recognizes that her control over her social reception is not absolute. (94)

Tempe has a similar view of her body. When working on remains, she rarely wears makeup or feminine clothing. In the first novel of the series, she notices a police officer at a crime scene looking at her oddly and thinks, "I must have looked more like a middle-aged mother forced to abandon a wallpaper project than a forensic anthropologist" (Reichs *Déjà* 14). The use of the term "mother" rather than "woman" here signifies the loss of sexuality and changing roles of women in Tempe's experience. By middle-age, she assumes the police officer sees her as a mother, not a sexually viable partner. Tempe enjoys the relaxed uniform of forensics, as Reichs writes, "That's probably what attracted me to archeology. No makeup, no fluffing or mousseing" (*Break* 28). Often she takes this further by describing Tempe's appearance with unflattering and humorous similes, likening her to "Phyllis Diller before her makeover" (Reichs *Deadly* 26) and "a badly permed shih tzu" (Reichs *Devil* 94). Tempe often works outdoors in dirty conditions and does not mind her casual appearance. For example, when she scrapes her chin in *Bones are Forever*, her colleague Ollie teases her, "Nice. Very few have the poise to carry off the hamburger-chin look," and she replies, "I used to model for Chanel" (Reichs *Bones are Forever* 158). By using hardboiled witticism she highlights how unimportant beauty is to her, professionally or personally.

Despite this, Tempe occasionally judges other professionals by their appearances, such as Sheriff Crowe in *Fatal Voyage* (2002), whom she initially describes as follows: "Under the jacket his shoulder looked broad and hard, suggesting regular workouts. I hoped I would not find myself at cross-purposes with Sheriff Mountain Macho...Crowe turned and I realized that macho would not be an issue" (Reichs *Fatal* 8). Upon the discovery that the

macho sheriff is a woman, Tempe recognises a professional in the criminal justice field who will not dismiss her because of her sex. The use of a muscular body on a female character is reminiscent of action heroines who emerged in films of the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as Ripley from *Alien* (Ridley Scott, 1979) and Sarah Connor from *Terminator 2* (James Cameron, 1991). This is described as 'musculinity': "a form of masculinity signaled by a physically fit and muscle-bound body that was no longer exclusively embodied by men" (O'Neill and Seal 46). Perhaps because of the visual impact, 'musculinity' prevails in contemporary cinema and television (such as J. J. Abrams's characters of Sidney Bristow in *Alias* and Olivia Dunham in *Fringe*) rather than crime novels. It is part of the spectacle of Hollywood action films and television. Yvonne Tasker describes how the notion of masculinity plays on performative genders, as "'Musculinity' indicates the way in which the signifiers of strength are not limited to male characters. These action heroines though, are still marked as women, despite the arguments advanced by some critics that figures like Ripley are merely men in drag" (149). Rather, these women display the flexibility of gender, as described earlier by Connell. These are women who have control over their bodies and the power to mark themselves as both feminine and masculine, but ultimately are still limited socially by their sex.

Tempe is often deauthorised by men, who use her female body as a means of dismissal. In *Death du Jour*, a firefighter approaches a group of medical-legal lab technicians and explains, "We've got a body in the basement. They say we're going to need this Brennan guy" (Reichs *Death* 30). When it becomes clear that Tempe is the "guy" in question, the fireman becomes agitated. As Tempe explains, "The fireman gave me a head to toe, sizing up my five-foot-five, one-hundred-twenty-pound frame. Though the thermal outfitting disguised my shape and the hard hat hid my long hair, he saw enough to convince himself I belonged elsewhere...Fireman Macho thought the job required testicles" (Reichs *Death* 33). Reichs again conjures genitalia when referring to gender, binding behavioral codes to one's sex. Tempe views the situation with dry humour; Reichs plainly disagrees that temperament and job-suitability is determined by sex. There is a clear distinction between one's sex and one's gender. This is reminiscent of Butler's oft-quoted argument that, "to be a woman is to

have become a woman, to compel the body to conform to an historical idea of 'woman,' to induce the body to become a cultural sign, to materialize oneself in obedience to an historically delimited possibility, and to do this as a sustained and repeated corporeal project" ("Performative Acts" 552). Tempe's body is covered, but even in contemporary crime fiction with professional women protagonists the female body is a source of contention and assumption.

Another incident in the series highlights the way Tempe's body is used by her male colleagues as a means of dismissal. In *Monday Mourning* (2004) she rescues a victim from a house fire, removing some clothing so that she will not catch alight, and is discovered on the ground in her underpants: "I pictured myself panty-mooning the sky. Great. Word was out. My PC-challenged male colleagues would have a field day" (Reichs *Monday* 254). Eight novels later in the series she is still teased about the incident when male detectives guess what pattern underpants she is wearing: "Today's teasing stemmed from an incident in which I'd been dragged from a fire and deposited bum-up. My leopard-skin panties had saluted the world. Though the episode had occurred several years earlier, it was still the top choice for source material" (Reichs *Bones Are Forever* 59). The joke sexualises actions in which she saved a life and located the perpetrator before the police. Although male colleagues in the same situation as Tempe would presumably also become "source material" for jokes, there is an uncomfortable undertone when a group of detectives harass a female colleague they barely know as she hurries through the room.

While Tempe is uninterested in appearance, the men of Reichs's series exert more effort; Pete and Ryan tease each other about their clothing in front of Tempe (*Break* 212), and Claudel is often described by his impeccable fashion: "Claudel had assumed an Armani pose in the lobby. Leather gloves. Tan cashmere coat. Impatient frown" (206 *Bones* 211). This attention to dress is used as a weapon by Ryan and Pete in their dispute, and furthers the aloofness between Claudel and Tempe. Fashionable men often signify unprofessionalism to Tempe, such as the doctor who kills patients in *Break No Bones* (2006). Tempe notes, "I caught a whiff of the pricey aftershave, noticed again the creamy silk, the soft glow of the tasseled leather...I felt repulsed by the arrogance, by the pompous indifference of the

bastard" (268). Money made through murder has paid for artificial extravagances; he cares more about his appearance than human lives. Meanwhile, Tempe is often dirty and dressed practically so that she can perform her best at forensic digs.

This distaste for aesthetic dress is reflected in a preference for the natural landscape over urban corruption, similar to that found in Fairstein's series. Much of Tempe's work occurs outside, often in natural surroundings. Like early hardboiled novels by Chandler and Hammett, nature is contrasted to the urban landscape, for example in *Mortal Remains* (2010) Tempe describes the orchard "sparkling like a nine-carat rock" (Reichs *Mortal* 1) before focusing on the corpse she is examining. The corpse represents the encroachment of urban corruption on the natural land, which was previously as beautiful as a diamond. Perhaps more explicit is her disagreement with a developer in *Break no Bones* (2006). While trying to halt the discovery of an ancient Native American burial ground on a potential site, he asks if she understands his position and she thinks, "I abhorred Dupree's position. His goal was money, earned by any means that wouldn't get him indicted. Screw the rain forest, the wetlands, the seashore, the dunes, the culture that was here when the English arrived. Dickie Dupree would implode the Temple of Artemis if it stood where he wanted to slap up condos" (Reichs *Break* 7). Dupree regards money as more important than law and justice and has no regard for the natural land or the sacred site of its original people. Because of his wealth, he places himself above the democratic laws that govern others, which he believes gives him a right to Native American land, reminiscent of the first British colonialists. Money is equated with many problems for Tempe: the urban, consumerism, the false, the English, and therefore anti-democracy.

'My turn to trespass': The Female Forensic Gaze of Empathy

A central concern for feminist authors of crime fiction is how to both conform to and challenge hardboiled conventions such as the victimisation of women. What has been described by scholars such as Gwen Williams (1990) as conformity can instead be viewed as exploitation; professional eyes can use genre fiction to convey real problems in the justice system. Professional eyes use the trope of the female victim in order to focus on the larger

concern of violence against women, one way in which genre expectations are exploited. Through the gaze of the female investigator, positioning protagonists temporarily in the place of victims, professional eyes frame crime conventions to form a feminist narrative. Reichs tends to concentrate on equal numbers of female and male victims, however, the female victims are used to highlight feminist issues. Despite this numerical equality of victims, Tempe often laments the amount of young women she encounters in the morgue. In *Fatal Voyage* (2002) Reichs describes the continuing victimisation:

Violence against women is not a recent phenomenon. The bones of my sisters litter history and prehistory. The mass grave at Cahokia. The sacred cenote at Chichén Itzá. The Iron Age girl in the bog, hair shorn, blindfolded and leashed. Women are conditioned to be wary. Walk faster at the sound of footsteps. Peek through the hole before opening the door. Stand by the controls in the empty elevator. (*Fatal* 253)

The power of this statement is its familiarity. Rather than accept the deaths of women as an expected part of the genre, Tempe uses examples that are shockingly everyday to female readers, who would be accustomed to these behaviours. Many of Reichs's novels focus on the deaths of women as acts by misogynistic men, whereas the deaths of men are often due to their backgrounds as bikers (*Deadly Decisions*), criminals (*Bare Bones* and *Break No Bones*), crooked politicians (*Grave Secrets*), and sexual deviants (*Monday Mourning* and *Mortal Remains*). The crime genre routinely depicts women as innocent (and passive) victims, and men—even when victims—as more active. Although the number of violent deaths with women as victims is exaggerated, the misogyny of the genre is questioned by Reichs. Despite her claims in *Monday Mourning* (Reichs *Monday* 17), she rarely creates “universal” female victims, and instead introduces a variety of both likable and dislikable victims, such as Tawny McGee and Anique Pomerleau, discussed earlier in this chapter. She also draws attention to the different ways female and male victims are treated by crime

scene professionals, with murdered women written off as not worth the detectives' time (particularly evident in *Déjà Dead*, *Monday Mourning* and *Bones of the Lost*).

As her protagonist is a forensic specialist, the importance of the body and the impacts of violence upon it become integral to Reichs's novels. Tempe is linked to the victims of crime through violence, which Reemtsma explains "has two components: the inflicting of it and the suffering of it. What unites the two is a reduction of the person who suffers violence to his or her body. All forms of violence—locative, raptive, autotelic—reduce those who suffer it to their physicality" (66). While this is true of the women victims, the males are rarely reduced to their physicality, a troubling issue that Tempe deals with continuously in her professional role. The voyeuristic nature of her job troubles her, as well as the callousness of male detectives such as Claudel. In *Déjà Dead* she thinks about the detectives, "I'd heard the banter, the comments, the jokes made over a victim's battered body" (Reichs *Déjà* 40). She admits her role in the system that victimises and dehumanises women, even after death. Reichs writes:

Violent death allows no privacy. It plunders one's dignity as surely as it has taken one's life. The body is handled, scrutinized, and photographed, with a new series of digits allocated at each step. The victim becomes part of the evidence, an exhibit, on display for police, pathologists, forensic specialists, lawyers, and, eventually, jurors. Number it. Photograph it. Take samples. Tag the toe. While I am an active participant, I can never accept the impersonality of the system. It is like looting on the most personal level. At least I would give the victim a name. (*Déjà* 24)

Reichs also makes a concerted effort not to sexualise female victim's bodies. When observing the voyeuristic nature of crime scene photography, Tempe thinks, "Unlike photographic art in which lighting and subjects are chosen or positioned to enhance moments of beauty, scene photos are shot to capture stark, unadorned reality in vivid detail. Viewing them is a jarring and dispiriting task" (Reichs *Grave* 79). "Dispiriting" indicates that

her gaze on violent scenes leave her feeling less of a person; that violence on another woman's body is in some way replicated in her own psyche. Indeed she finds the enjoyment of her work in the finality of a case, in the closure a family can find when a relative is identified and returned to them, and in helping "the dead to speak, to say a final goodbye" (Reichs *Break* 25). It is for the victims, rather than forensic voyeurism, or the 'thrill of the chase' that Tempe enjoys her work in forensics. This differs markedly from the early ideas of those such as De Quincey and Poe, who likened murder to art, and preferred to concentrate on aestheticism (De Quincey; Poe). This tone of unease is an important part of creating the feminist professional gaze and differs from De Quincey's satirical language by instead encompassing empathy and equality.

Although she adopts crime fiction conventions, Reichs's novels represent moral equality in the sexes, so that a binary between male/female and aggressive/passive does not drive narratives. As Heilbrun suggests, "While women celebrate their particular sexuality, they must also recognize that, as female sexuality has been muted by culture, male sexuality has been deformed into hideous aggression" ("A Response" 809). The male sexuality and perversion that permeates the crime genre risks becoming overly hyperbolic. At the same time, it negates any female sexuality through its placement of women as helpless victims of rape and murder. Reichs avoids this by countering with male characters who are not sexually aggressive or deviant. Claudel in particular is a contradiction; sexist and suspicious of Tempe, he still often acknowledges her agency and professionalism. Characters such as Claudel and Andrew Ryan are not particularly violent men, and often they are very disturbed by the sadistic violence they encounter and do place importance on solving murders. For example, in *Déjà Dead* Tempe is vehemently obstructed by Claudel when she suggests murders were committed by one killer, whereas by the end of the novel he focuses entirely on the case and sends her a heartfelt letter in which he expresses a wish to work with her again (Reichs *Déjà* 411).

When the protagonist in a crime novel is a forensic specialist, the body as locus and means of social reception is amplified by the voyeuristic nature of the profession. The genre has always had an element of voyeurism, since Dupin read the detailed description of the two women's violent deaths in "The Murders in the Rue Morgue." With the rise of the hardboiled private detective, this element came to the forefront, as evident through Porter's claim that "a private eye suggests among other things: a solitary eye, and the (forbidden) pleasures associated with Freud's scopic drive; a non-organisation man's eye, like the frontier scout's or the cowboy's; an eye that trusts no other; an eye that's licensed to look; and even, by extrapolation, an eye for hire" ("Private Eye" 95). Unspoken here is the implication of what the "man's eye" is looking at: a woman, possibly dead and unable to protect her privacy. The term 'professional eye' conjures a rather different image of one who remains professional, judicial and fair. While Porter ascertains that 'private eye' summons to mind the terms "non-organisation" and "eye for hire," a title of 'professional eye' can replace these with 'institutional organisation' and 'educated and trained eye.' Rather than highlighting autonomy and what Nyman claims is the 'romance' of the independent male, the professional eye focuses on expertise and community. These replacement terms better suit a feminist crime novel, which plays with contemporary women's anxieties of equal-pay in the work place and 'glass ceilings.'

When the eye that looks is a woman's eye, the implications are complex. Tempe is a forensic anthropologist and as such must examine the remains of many victims, ascertaining from their bones who they are, how they lived, and how they died. She can recognise skeletal markers for the victim's occupations and hobbies. Toxicology results reveal any drugs they were taking, legal or otherwise. An autopsy will determine the last meal they ate. The bodies are photographed, cut open, weighed, cleaned, examined, and then discussed in court. If the victims are women, readers often learn about marks left on the body from rape, torture or domestic abuse. Palmer writes:

In the forensic detective novel, especially, the specular instruments of scientific detection that work to fragment and classify the body are increasingly fetishized as the body's evidentiary, even feminized, and erotic status becomes the focal point of the plot...[One must consider] the highly gendered dynamics of the empiricist, investigative gaze, examining how the gaze of a female doctor may signal a potential subversion or shift in those gendered viewing paradigms. (55)

Even with a female forensic anthropologist, this gaze is consistently classified as male: "As feminists have argued, then, the detective novel is always already a masculinist genre, and the protagonist, by default, necessarily male" (Palmer 56). This train of thought would then lead to the conclusion that the victim is always 'feminine,' even when their sex is male. The male victim becomes the subject of the 'masculine' gaze, which objectifies and feminises him. The female forensic anthropologist holds the dubious position of being classified a potential victim (by her female body), but works in a male profession. Indeed, often the perpetrator turns his or her attention to Tempe as a new target, in an attempt to return her to her proper place as woman: on the morgue table. Daryl Ogden discusses this idea of the male gaze as a psychological difference, but disagrees with its validity and argues for social stigma as the cause, writing, "In the canon of evolutionary psychology, women emphasize personal characteristics besides beauty in evaluating potential mates and either do not see with sexually selective eyes or, if they do, do not see with the same intensity as men" (13). When the gaze appears in cinema, as well as much popular culture including crime novels, it often silences and negates the female subject. Pollock describes it as, "an active mastering gaze subjecting the passive image of woman, fragmented, or dismembered, fetishized and above all silenced...[and] a monological masculine discourse conjuring up the fetish of a female bodily presence and a vocal absence" (Pollock 122). Although she speaks of the male gaze as it pertains to art, the use of words such as "dismembered" and "silenced" link this theory of the gaze to crime fiction, where women are often more than just symbolically dismembered and silenced.

As Pollock, Ogden and Palmer have shown, there is certainly an argument to be made for the female gaze, for returning some sexuality and power to the sight and interpretation of women in crime fiction, as well as the voice of the gaze's subject. To always classify a gaze as 'male' because of the genre's past associations seems negligent and dated. Pollock has a solution to the 'maleness' of the gaze that is particularly pertinent to the forensic sub-genre: "One of the major means by which femininity is...reworked is by the rearticulation of traditional space so that it ceases to function primarily as the space of sight for a mastering gaze, but becomes the locus of relationships. The gaze that is fixed on the represented figure is that of equal and like" (124). Reichs certainly introduces this rearticulated gaze. When Tempe looks at victims it is with empathy for a fellow woman and the need to give the victim the name and voice that has been taken from them. In this way, she avoids the male gaze by changing the traditional space of the empirical forensic lab. Karen Schwartzman argues in favour of this strategy, and writes, "By questioning gender, genre is inevitably deconstructed, which then makes possible a reconstruction from another place of vision" (142). Although there is no major deconstruction of crime fiction by Reichs, there is a subtle change in viewpoint, which allows space for the female gaze.

Tempe further avoids the male gaze by becoming emotionally invested in catching killers. Unlike the detectives with whom she works, her first priority is to give the victim back their identity. The victim in both hardboiled and cosy crime is often "a person of little emotive value" (Knight "Golden Age" 78). Indeed, when it comes to the treatment of female victims, Tempe's colleague Luc Claudel is a source of irritation. Frustrated with him in *Death du Jour*, she thinks, "I found Claudel's habit of depersonalizing annoying. A white female. The victim. The body. The wrists. Not even a personal pronoun" (Reichs *Death* 151). However much she becomes emotionally involved in the investigation, she acknowledges the invasion of privacy in which she is implicit: "With a stab of pain, I'd noticed that her toenails were painted a soft pink. The intimacy of that simple act had caused me such an ache that I wanted to cover her, to scream at all of them to leave her alone. Instead, I'd stood and watched, waiting for my turn to trespass" (Reichs *Déjà* 44). In these kinds of scenes, Reichs marks her distance from the other popular female forensic crime author, Patricia

Cornwell. Mizejewski writes that Cornwell's protagonist Kay Scarpetta is "the bestseller list's most upscale and, not surprisingly, most conservative female investigator. Her statement about having 'the body and sensibilities of a woman with the power and ambition of a man' suggests her traditional and essentialist faith in a true female body and a monolithic masculine mind" ("Illusive Evidence" 11). This kind of writing negates women's agency and power by confining them solely to their bodies. 'Masculinity' on the other hand, becomes the definition of mental presence and individuality. Cornwell is describing 'sensibilities' or emotions as feminine, and the 'mind' or rationality, as masculine. Tempe differs from Scarpetta in this, as she disassociates from the idea of masculine or feminine binaries, and prefers to be many things at once; authoritative, intelligent, a lover, an ex-wife, a mother, sister, aunt, and a professional. She is both an Amazon and a mother, and many other things as well. She cares about the victims she examines, whether they are female or male.

As in Fairstein's series, Reichs often increases suspense by placing Tempe temporarily as a victim. As discussed in the previous chapter, Fairstein employs violence to establish Alex as a heroine and underline the long-term social effects. Alison Littler (42) links violence in crime fiction to masculine sexuality, so that violent women are also often promiscuous. Violence in Reichs's novels leads to Tempe's professionalism (rather than promiscuity), and also highlights her heroism. This is evident from the first novel, *Déjà Dead*, in which a serial killer inserts objects into his female victims, and mutilates them. He becomes fixated on Tempe, threatening her daughter, her best friend, and herself. When the police first find the home of the killer, they discover a photo of Tempe, which she describes as follows: "My image had been circled and recircled in pen, and the front of my chest was marked with a large X" (Reichs *Déjà* 119). Ryan warns her not to investigate anything by herself, as "He may now have his sights trained on you" (Reichs *Déjà* 270). Frustrated with the lack of help she receives from Claudel and the other detectives, Tempe ignores Ryan's advice and continues her own investigation. She often becomes trapped in frightening situations through which she highlights her professional mindset: "I wanted to cry in frustration. Oh, there's a good idea, Brennan. Weep. Maybe someone will come and rescue

you" (Reichs *Déjà* 147). She acknowledges the reality that she is alone, and cannot give in to the stereotype of the female victim if she wants to catch the murderer.

She also has an interesting relationship with her friend Gabby, who often disappears and needs Tempe to rescue her. When Tempe has had enough, she yells at Gabby, "I'm not buying into your schizophrenia! I'm not buying into your paranoia! And I'm not, repeat not, playing Masked Avenger to your damsel in and out of distress!" (Reichs *Déjà* 197). Tempe clearly marks her distance from the typical victim through this interplay. In the final confrontation, Tempe stabs the killer and faints when Claudel arrives. In this way she is not saved by her male colleagues, but saves herself and receives help after the fact. This is a repeated denouement throughout the series. Ryan often tries to stop Tempe from pursuing killers on her own, despite her irritation with the patronising treatment. When Ryan asks Tempe's building caretaker to watch out for her after she is harassed in *Bones to Ashes* (2007), she sarcastically notes their behaviour: "The men locked gazes, acknowledging responsibility for the womenfolk" (Reichs *Bones to Ashes* 199). At the ending of the novels, Tempe often defeats or escapes from the killer, before the police catch up with her and help in the arrest. Throughout, she remains in control of her emotions and reminds herself of her ultimate role, not as victim or victor, but as a professional. When caught by Elle in *Death du Jour* this is plainly articulated through her interior speech: "As I recoiled my head cracked wood and the start of a scream froze in my throat. Goddamn it, Brennan, get ahold of yourself. You are a crime scene professional, not a hysterical onlooker" (Reichs *Death* 412). She acknowledges that all interactions will be presented to a judge, and she must remain professional in order to see the case successfully prosecuted. Following this she is tied to a chair by Elle. Upon noticing the shadows of police officers through the window, she distracts Elle, who has a gun. When Elle raises the gun to shoot any police who come through the door, Tempe takes action, saving their lives: "I flexed my hips and brought my boots up, hitting her arm with the full force of my weight. The gun flew across the room and out of my field of vision" (Reichs *Death* 421).

Gwen Williams and Sandra Tomc argue that suspense through the victimisation of the protagonist is contradictory to the concept of feminist crime fiction. Tomc writes:

How does the feminist detective's pursuit of acceptance as a policeman mesh with her metaphoric status as a victim? It doesn't. *Prime Suspect* is one of a number of women's crime stories released or published in the early 1990s that bizarrely combine an aggressive critique of 'patriarchy' with a narrative that highlights the virtues of submission and conformity...Reflective of changes in feminism in the late 1980s, they tend to find their political rationale in contradiction itself, marking out a program made up simultaneously of vilification and acceptance. (47)

Perhaps this is true of some women's crime fiction, occasionally even Fairstein's novels, but it draws troubling parallel binaries between detective/victim and masculine/feminine. Disagreeing with Williams's similar ideas, Munt argues, "This feminization is seen by Gwen Williams as undermining the development of suspense and the detective story's 'basic structure' of rationality, a criticism which tends towards normalizing the masculine form as ideal" (4). Victimisation of the protagonist in Reichs's series challenges this ideal by linking victimisation with heroism, as Tempe consistently saves herself, and sometimes others. She never thinks of herself as a victim, but rather a professional who must always act accordingly. Although she often uses violence, it is never with sadistic pleasure or anger.

Afterwards, the effects of her use of force remain with her, mentally and physically. At the end of *Bare Bones* (2003) after a physical altercation with a murderer, she takes a postponed beach holiday with Andrew Ryan. She explains, "Ryan and I hauled our sand chairs across Anne's boardwalk and parked them on the beach. I wore the long-anticipated bikini and an elegant white sock. A large-brimmed hat and Sophia Loren shades hid the black eye and scabbing on my face. A cane kept the weight off my left foot" (Reichs *Bare* 253). This is not the only novel in which Reichs's protagonist suffers the scars of her heroism. In *Monday Mourning* (2004) she describes her reflection: "My face was scraped and blotchy. My hair was singed. What remained of my brows and lashes were crinkly little

sprigs" (Reichs *Monday* 254). In *Grave Secrets*, Ryan visits Tempe in hospital and comments on her beauty to which she replies, "I have a black eye, my cheek's an eggplant, there's a needle in my arm, and Nurse Kevorkian just shoved a suppository up my ass" (Reichs *Grave* 407). The reference to the suppository and "Kevorkian" (Dr. Death, who assisted suicides of terminally ill patients) makes it clear that Tempe is joking about her brush with death. Having a laugh at her own expense when it comes to her appearance and injuries is an important part of Tempe's character; she does not see hospitalisation as a sign of weakness and is not a passive victim. Like Alex's female colleagues, Tempe comes through the worst experiences of life with dignity. Therefore, Tomc's argument misses the point made by the authors through the use of violence. Although they are often frightened and the injury will last for a long period of time, they persist in their quests against male violence and female victimisation. Although "these female detectives are not quite the 'tough guy' equivalents of their male counterparts and often admit to feeling afraid, bullied, and disaster-bound...The power and heroic appeal for the reader clearly lie precisely in this determination to accept fear, recognize the dangers, and yet go beyond them" (Vanacker 65). Tempe may be battered at the end of *Bare Bones*, but she has overcome violence and still feels confidence, hence the "elegance" of her appearance. Her injuries are badges of honour, representative of her survival.

The real private detectives McDermid interviewed found realistic effects of violence lacking in crime fiction with female protagonists. As McDermid explains, "women private eyes who pound the fictional mean streets seem to take an extraordinary amount of physical punishment in their stride. Not only do they manage to make incredibly swift physical recoveries, but they don't suffer the kind of psychological damage that real victims of violence know all about" (*A Suitable Job* 125). This description has little relation to Tempe. Her numerous injuries and hospital visits, and the long-lasting effects of violence link Tempe with the victims of crime she investigates. This empathetic connection is a defining feature of Reichs's forensic novels.

'Jargon violation': Female Professionalism and Language

Unlike earlier hardboiled heroes who were often private detectives, the protagonists of professional eye novels are, unsurprisingly, professionals. As discussed earlier, Tempe is asked by the Guatemalan authorities to help remove a body from a septic tank, what Ryan calls, "La spécialité du chef" (Reichs *Monday* 68). Tempe gains confidence and agency through her professional reputation, however this reputation proves tenuous. *Fatal Voyage* (2002) is the novel that deals with this most directly. While investigating a plane crash site Tempe finds a foot that does not belong to any of the victims. This leads to her own investigation, despite anger from local authorities. An anonymous source questions her ethics, and her own reputation is threatened during the ensuing inquiry. The universities and laboratories that employ her are contacted about this possible breach of ethics, and she is disappointed when Larke, a friend and colleague, does not support her despite their years of working together: "Besides the professional humiliation, there was the personal let-down. Though we'd been friends for years, and Larke knew I was scrupulous about professional ethics, he hadn't defended me" (Reichs *Fatal* 89). She is asked to leave the investigation site, and placed on sabbatical by the university in Charlotte. It becomes increasingly obvious that the instigator of the ethics inquiry is someone highly regarded politically by the police and scientific community, namely the lieutenant governor. He fears that the body part will reveal numerous murders committed by his cannibalistic secret society over the years (discussed earlier in this chapter). However, he has threatened an integral part of Tempe's sense of self, giving her more incentive to complete her own investigation. As she argues, "an ethics violation would end my career in forensics. If the lieutenant governor had his way, I would effectively be barred from pursuing my profession. An expert witness under an ethical cloud is road-kill on cross-examination. Who would have confidence in any opinion of mine?" (Reichs *Fatal* 277).

This is a very literal representation for the struggle of female professionals within masculinist institutions. As Reddy argues, "The detective's authority—indeed the very nature of authority itself—becomes a subject of inquiry in most feminist crime novels...Women's authority is always in question...and it is therefore always a struggle for

a woman to establish herself as an authority in any area, as authority is popularly associated with masculinity" ("Feminist Counter-Tradition" 177). Over the course of *Fatal Voyage* there is an evident precariousness to Tempe's agency as a professional. Despite her years of hard work and education, corrupt men in higher positions of power can easily overturn her through official, institutional channels, in a modern 'witch-hunt.' This harkens to Goffman's *The Presentation of the Self*, in which he argues that the performance individuals present for the benefit of others can affect social mobility. Goffman writes, "Commonly we find that upward mobility involves the presentation of proper performances and that efforts to move upward and efforts to keep from moving downward are expressed in terms of sacrifices" (36). Tempe's tenuous hold on professional authority underlines how sexual discrimination in contemporary workplaces can hinder this social mobility, even when her professional performance is ethical.

Tempe also faces less apparent obstructions from the police with whom she works, despite her years of experience and professionalism. However, she yearns for the approval of these men. In the first novel of the series, *Déjà Dead*, she often works alone, as none of her male colleagues will give her input any credence. She finds herself having issues with Claudel in particular, and reflects, "Though I truly disliked the man, I forced myself to admit that his opinion of me mattered. I wanted his approval. I wanted him to like me. I wanted all of them to accept me, to admit me to the club" (Reichs *Déjà* 40). The use of the word "club" insinuates that it is a men's club, and links Tempe's understanding of the police in Canada with Lucy's experience of 'brotherhood' in Australia, to be discussed in Chapter Four. When Tempe's hunches and personal investigations lead to the murderer, Claudel is forced to admit that she has value (Reichs *Déjà* 390). In Erskine's novels Lucy has no experience and therefore no personal agency within the Tasmanian police force, while Alex holds a position of authority based on experience occurring before the beginning of Fairstein's series. Tempe struggles throughout the series to gain agency and support, and is in the process of achieving a reputation through professional experience. The approval of male colleagues is important to all of these women, as it validates their hard work—often more work than a man would accomplish for the same level of endorsement—and it makes

their jobs easier. This is one way that the 'educated eye' which challenges Porter's idea (discussed earlier) of the "non-organisation" eye is important to the feminist professional eye novel. Female contemporaries of Dorothy Uhnak in the NYPD were required to hold degrees, and this modern professional eye feature of the educated protagonist uses this necessity to women's advantage.

Although Tempe may have the gradual support of her male colleagues, she also negotiates with the ambitions of female colleagues, as opposed to the laziness of many men. *206 Bones* (2009) focuses on the overambitious female colleague, a kind of modern femme fatale, in the character of Briel. Over the course of the novel Tempe's work is questioned, as it seems she has made mistakes resulting in the loss of evidence. She begins to suspect that Briel is sabotaging her work, particularly when another female colleague decides to leave the laboratory, telling Tempe:

The woman is ambitious to the point of ruthlessness. She's everywhere, has a finger in every pie. She's in the autopsy room at all hours of the night.

Teaches a university course. Has a research grant. Plans to present papers at about a zillion scientific conferences. She's a callous, unfeeling, cold-hearted climber...Briel is determined to be a superstar and she doesn't care who she destroys on her march to glory. Did you know she fired her graduate student today? Had the girl in tears. (Reichs *206 Bones* 206)

Briel's ambitiousness would not be an issue except that she has become "unfeeling" and chooses to damage the reputations of other women rather than create a professional reputation for herself. When compared to Tempe, who has slowly built a place for herself through her hard work, Briel has a problematic ethic. The women of Reichs's series work harder than the men to prove themselves, and Briel could become part of a support system but instead fires her female graduate student and sabotages her female colleagues. She is reminiscent of Janet Mandelbaum in Heilbrun's novel *Death in a Tenured Position* (1981) who

loses support of the female sisterhood when she attributes her gains to independent work rather than her role in a community of women.

Throughout Reichs's series readers are introduced to many men, on the other hand, who gain support within legal and academic circles despite their lack of ambition or hard work. These include Simon Midkiff in *Fatal Voyage*, who is "notorious for excavating sites, filing the requisite reports, then failing to publish his findings" (Reichs *Fatal* 21). Tempe is disgusted by his lack of professionalism and his pandering to her reputation in order to boost his own. Likewise, she distrusts her daughter's boyfriend Palmer Cousins in *Bare Bones* (2003), and ponders why: "Because he was dating my daughter? Because of his seeming lack of knowledge of his own profession?" (Reichs *Bare* 188). Neither of these characters is malicious and in the end of both novels, Tempe comes to the realisation that their unprofessionalism is not hurting her personally, unlike the actions of Briel. When the unprofessionalism harms the cases she works on, Tempe is less forgiving. As she describes it:

A coroner or pathologist orders a textbook or takes a short course, and Shazam! He or she is a forensic anthropologist! Why not score a copy of *Operative Cardiac Surgery*, hang a shingle, and start opening chests? Though it's rare that an underqualified person attempts to practice my profession, when it happens on my turf, I am far from pleased. (Reichs *Bones to Ashes* 38)

It is clear that professionalism is very important to Tempe, and a large part of her personal identity and confidence arises from her work ethic and commitment. Although those such as Midkiff and Cousins may appear throughout the series, they do not affect her own work. When those such as Briel sabotage her work, she fights for her reputation, to the point of actual physical confrontation in *206 Bones*. Briel and her boyfriend kidnap and enclose Tempe in the sewerage tunnels under Montreal. Her assistant, who feels unappreciated, is convinced by Briel to kill Tempe. Rather than work to prove himself in his field, he is seduced by the promise of a fast promotion. In the conclusion, Tempe tells

Andrew Ryan that accreditation is very important, arguing, “Those letters behind a scientist’s name aren’t just for show. They’re hard-earned. And they’re a message that an expert has undergone peer scrutiny and meets a high set of ethical standards” (Reichs 206 *Bones* 302). Furthermore, the novel is dedicated to Reichs’s colleagues “who have demonstrated their professional commitment and aptitude by applying for and obtaining legitimate board certification” (206 *Bones*). This is an ongoing premise throughout Reichs’s series and is particularly accentuated through the questioning of Tempe’s professionalism.

When faced with the difficulties of remaining professional despite challenges to their agency, seeking male colleagues’ approval, and negotiating overly ambitious colleagues, it becomes clear that the female protagonists of feminist crime series must approach their work with a certain level of emotional detachment. Tempe makes this clear from the very first novel, because of the proximity to death entailed in her forensic work. She explains, “Day after day I cleaned them up, examined them, sorted them out. I wrote reports. Testified. And sometimes I felt nothing. Professional detachment. Clinical disinterest. I saw death too often, too close, and I feared I was losing a sense of its meaning” (Reichs *Déjà* 305). As discussed earlier in this chapter, other characters such as Andrew Ryan may describe her as emotionally withdrawn, and her language is replete with medical jargon, however, the use of first-person narration gives readers a fuller understanding of her emotions during cases and any outward detachment is nullified by her internal struggle. She often investigates cases without detectives’ knowledge or approval, her personal emotional connection to victims revealed to readers but not other characters.

Devil Bones (2008) provides readers with a rare example of a lapse in Tempe’s professionalism. While she often laments having to work on cases with Detective Slidell while in North Carolina, their positions are reversed after Slidell’s partner is killed. Tempe surrenders to her latent alcohol addiction, and once recovered realises that days have passed as she ignored her obligations: “In one way Slidell and I are much alike. Though devastated by Rinaldi’s death, neither of us would permit others to see our pain. But, while Skinny had carried on, I’d come apart. I’d blown off the investigation, and for the first time in my life, was failing to carry out my academic duties. Shame burned my already flushed face”

(Reichs *Devil* 171). After this realisation, she diverts her attention back to the case but lingering paranoia that colleagues have noticed her hangover indicate that she is meticulous about self-control and the separation of public and private. Alcohol addiction is a staple of the male hardboiled genre, and although Tempe mentions her addiction in passing, *Devil Bones* is the first novel of the series to introduce Tempe's struggle into the narrative. Tellingly, it affects her professionally more than personally. Failing in her professional duties because of her private meltdown is something she cannot do if she wishes to retain the professional reputation that has taken so long to build. Although her struggle to be taken seriously has been hard-won across the series, it is also precarious because she is still a woman surrounded by mostly male colleagues, and she cannot risk the slightest misstep.

Romantic involvement with a detective puts her career at risk. Unlike Alex and Mike, Tempe and Ryan do have a personal relationship early on, by *Death du Jour* the second novel of the series. He promises her, "Brennan, I'm not going to go berserk in the autopsy room or grope you on a stakeout. Our personal relationship will in no way affect our professional behaviour" (Reichs *Death* 262). The use of teenage colloquialisms such as "berserk" and "grope" highlight how juvenile Ryan finds the suggestion. They break up only five novels later and this affects their relationship in ways Ryan did not consider. Tempe tries to work with other detectives, however, in *Monday Mourning* their separate cases are connected: "I'd vowed to distance myself from Ryan, but all the threads were starting to connect. With the Parent and pizza basement investigations merging, professional separation would not yet be possible. C'est la vie. I would be a pro. I would do my job. Then I would wish Ryan well and move on" (Reichs *Monday* 174). Despite her claims, the short sentences belie the sentiment by exposing her unease, which could impact on her professional abilities. In the remaining novels they struggle to regain their professional rapport. The latest novel *Bones Never Lie* (2014) concludes with Ryan proposing marriage to Tempe. No answer is given, perhaps signaling further complications or the conclusion of a series that has continued for almost two decades. Both Reichs and Fairstein hint that with the final fulfillment of their protagonists' romantic desires, the series will end.

Much in the same way that Fairstein uses professional legal language to authorise her protagonist, Reichs relies on a mixture of hardboiled wisecracks and technical forensic jargon. Wisecracks are not always directed at other characters. When the wisecrack of a woman is directed at authority it has a double meaning not evident in male-oriented crime fiction. It is an assertion of workplace autonomy, as in the novels of Hammett and Chandler, but also a 'talking back' to patriarchal institutions. For them, "the wisecrack is a means of opposing conventional codes of feminine conduct...Talking back to masculine authority traditionally has been viewed as inappropriate behaviour for women; it is a mode of resistance more plausible and ethical—and potentially subversive—than, say, physical violence" (Jones and Walton 131). A wisecrack in the style of Hammett and Chandler would combine wit and humour, a faculty of masculine discourse that Susan Purdie argues has been long denied to women, as "the capacity to joke is connected with possession of that 'proper' language which commands full subjectivity, for it is that subjectivity which patriarchy consistently denies to women" (128). Those denied the ability to make jokes will also become the predictable target, as shown by the wisecracks towards femme fatales in hardboiled fiction. When the female protagonist of hardboiled crime turns the male colleague into the butt of the joke, she is asserting more than just her hardboiled and heroic stature. She is tough-talking to the legal system she upholds, which has historically treated her as a second sex.

Tempe often teases the male cops she works with, thinking in *Bones are Forever* (2012), "Ollie was wearing that face men don when they're about to go macho" (Reichs *Bones are Forever* 172). The use of the words "wearing" and "don" by Reichs implies a performance, one that is presented for the benefit of Tempe. Ollie is wearing a face—not his usual face—that is believed to be necessary for macho male characters in crime fiction. As an outsider, Tempe is able to comment upon this masculine performance: "Contemporary masculinity is constructed as the enactment of the *libido dominandi*, an unfaltering assertion of virility which pits men against each other in agonistic games of self-assertion...exclusion from the realm of masculine privilege accords women a certain critical insight—the lucidity of the excluded—into masculinity" (McNay 53). The focus on Ollie's body as the

performance site for masculinity also underlines how gender construction affects men as well as women. As Connell argues, “True masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men’s bodies—to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body” (*Masculinities* 45). Through Tempe’s wisecracks Reichs asserts her critical insight, and at once questions and ridicules this macho ideal through her use of hardboiled witticism. In *Monday Mourning*, Tempe’s obscene language and wisecracks are brought on by her male colleague, Detective Claudel: “The thought of working with Claudel had triggered the morning’s first ‘damn’” (Reichs 13). Furthermore, when she loses the opportunity to work with her preferred Detective and past-lover, Andrew Ryan, she thinks, “I didn’t need a burning bush. Officer Studmuffin was moving on. And I was stuck with Detective Dickhead” (Reichs 49). Her colleagues are reduced to their basic characteristics in a manner that is amusing for the reader, despite (or perhaps due to) its belittling tone. The joke has been turned so that the men are the butts, so to speak, in a manner that replicates jokes about women.

Another use of language to highlight Tempe’s professionalism and hardboiled toughness is through Reichs’s structure of paragraphs and sentences leading to punchlines, similar to what Scott Christianson terms “hard-boiled conceit” (“Talkin’ Trash” 133). Early in *Bones Are Forever* (2012) a paragraph illustrates this structure as Tempe looks at a baby: “The baby’s eyes startled me. So round and white and pulsing with movement, like the tiny mouth and nasal openings. Ignoring the maggot masses, I inserted gloved fingers beneath the small torso” (Reichs *Bones are Forever* 11). This conceit sets a hardboiled scene, and simultaneously questions gender roles. Rather than holding a baby in a maternal manner, Tempe examines its remains in her capacity as a professional. Readers are reminded that she is not to be thought of in terms of gender, but as a hardboiled hero. Even in her role as a professional, faced with the deaths of innocent newborns, Tempe relies on her professional speech. She knows that by remaining distant through language, she is better equipped to find the murderer. When reading this scene, a similar opening to the earlier novel *Deadly Decisions* (2000) comes to mind, which begins “Her name was Emily Anne. She was nine years old, with black ringlets, long lashes, and caramel colored skin. Her ears were pierced

with tiny gold hoops. Her forehead was pierced by two slugs from a Cobra nine-millimeter semiautomatic" (Reichs *Deadly* 10). Again, Reichs uses a hardboiled conceit to shock readers into viewing Tempe as a professional and not a maternal figure.

Tempe also asserts her professionalism through technical medical language, describing how the "maleus, incius, and the stapes," (Reichs *Bones are Forever* 54) will give her the age in months of a dead baby. Often, male detectives she works with need her to simplify findings, and Detective Claudel will not even enter a morgue or the medical lab, because he cannot abide corpses. Detective Ryan has no problem with the bodies, but has trouble understanding the terminology of her profession. In *Mortal Remains* (2010) she tells him about a procedure she would like to test on some bones: "First, you extract nuclear DNA from your sample. Next, you amplify specific polymorphic regions—" and here Ryan interrupts her complaining, "Flag on the field. Jargon violation" (Reichs *Mortal* 89). Tempe sometimes uses technical jargon to alienate men on purpose, such as an annoying journalist in *Break No Bones*: "That was it. I hit the little cretin with the interview terminator. Jargon" (Reichs *Break* 3). While the male colleagues in both Reichs and Fairstein's novels have not changed overly from the stereotypes of Spade and Marlowe, the women protagonists have grown professionally and appear progressive in comparison.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Butler believed that silence was the first response of those who have been deauthorised by speech (*Excitable Speech* 137). In the professional jargon of Tempe and Alex readers can view a re-authorisation of women in crime. Spade and Marlowe relied on 'hunches,' described by Porter as the masculine version of feminine intuition, and were proud of their street-smart roles as part of the American working class. Similarly, Tempe and Alex use their educations to help average Americans, to give them voices against their oppressors, Alex through the legal system and Tempe by identifying faceless remains. Both make split-second decisions in their jobs, particularly when lives are at risk. However, these decisions are more than 'hunches' or that old adage of 'feminine intuition.' When asked on what she bases her gut feeling, Tempe answers, "Experience" (Reichs *Monday* 48). This experience comprises of her long years as a professional.

The final point of comparison between the language of early hardboiled and contemporary feminist crime fiction is the uses of internal monologue and spoken dialogue. Spade and Marlowe spoke their wisecracks aloud, in order to assert their separation from consumerist society. Tempe, on the other hand, keeps many of her most subversive and humorous wisecracks to herself. There has been much critical study on dialogue as a social interaction, with Bakhtin's analysis of the 'dialogic imagination' at the forefront. While he theorised that dialogue turned the abstract into a performance, the study of internal monologue also relates to Reichs's protagonist. "Bakhtin argues that even internal speech, the language of one's seemingly personal thoughts, is nothing more than what, in Satre's terms, we call the internalization of externality, the suffusion of the social into the supposedly personal" (Polan 148). In this light, the internal monologue of Tempe is part of a larger social dialogue. In many of the examples above, Tempe keeps her wisecracks silent, which lessens her linguistic power. Although the protagonists of professional eyes have achieved high-level occupations, they have had to work harder than some of the men in the same roles, and there is an expectation that they will create responses appropriate to their gender.

Following through the arguments of Bakhtin, every spoken word or phrase has already influenced a response, and for Tempe the expected response is often silence. Readers are still privy to her real thoughts, and witness how much is sacrificed—right down to freedom of dialogue—in order to remain a professional and a woman. This separation of private and public speech also shows the power of the internal, as "Human communication revolves chiefly around two kinds of speech: silent speech (listening) and overt speech (talking). Silent speech is the necessary preliminary to overt speech, and the quality of overt speech cannot be better than the quality of the silent speech from which it springs. One's expressive powers can never exceed one's silent powers" (Brown 58). Through the use of humour, readers can empathise with the silent monologue of the female protagonist, but the power of the speaker becomes apparent in her choice to keep the wisecrack internal. Spade and Marlowe worked for themselves and had little chance for promotion, whereas Tempe exercises restraint and social understanding in her use of overt speech so that she may

remain professional. She also interprets the speech of her superiors in terms of what it might mean for her professionally, for example in *Flash and Bones*, she ponders “Larabee’s closing ‘attagirl.’ Wondered. Was ‘trouper’ a promotion or demotion from ‘champ’?” (Reichs *Flash* 50). Fairstein’s Alex is more prone to speaking her wisecracks aloud, and in general is more outspoken and forceful in her use of language. This could be due to her role as head of the sex crimes unit and her adaptation of legal, adversarial dialogue in the courtroom.

Kathy Reichs: The Corpus of a Forensic Feminist?

The forensic crime genre places its protagonists in positions where the gaze on the female body is fundamental. When this forensic protagonist is a woman, there are many feminist avenues available to explore. Reichs herself has traveled extensively in her capacity as a forensic anthropologist, which is echoed by Tempe’s travels. How does Reichs use the touristic element of crime fiction to highlight different feminist concerns around the globe? Through maps as paratext readers can become personally involved in tracing crimes specific to setting, such as train stations and real estate in *Déjà Dead*, which is also set in a city where abortion is illegal. Maps and locations within the narratives also highlight geographically specific crimes against women, such as the rapes and murders of Guatemalan Mayan women in *Grave Secrets*, women drawn into cults in *Death du Jour* are mapped from McGill University to Ange Gardien, strontium isotope analysis to map the locations of kidnapped girls in *Monday Mourning*, the governmental initiatives in New Brunswick that saw Acadians removed and those ill with Hansen’s disease inhumane­ly quarantined in *Bones to Ashes*, and the difficulties faced by civilian and military women during war in *Bones of the Lost*. Also, the hierarchies of victims are revealed through tourism, such as the wilderness of the Smokey Mountains where rich white men feed on those less fortunate, Guatemala City where missing girls from affluent areas are more important than Mayan victims, the controversy surrounding the canonisation of a woman with African ancestry, and the unwillingness of detectives in both Canada and America to find murderers of prostitutes. By using the touristic element of crime fiction, and the tourist gaze described by Larsen and Urry, Reichs highlights different global feminisms throughout her series.

This leads to the question, how has Reichs depicted sexism within these global institutions? Each novel focuses on an institution or organisation that discriminates against women, from NASCAR in *Flash and Bones* to the Guatemalan army in *Grave Secrets*. The justice systems of Canada and America are also depicted as suffering from lingering sexism and hierarchical disputes. Tempe's evidence is confiscated by those higher on the institutional ladder, who then interfere with the impartiality of the investigation. The detectives with whom she works, particularly Slidell, feel pressure to perform gender within their professional roles. Tempe denies this gender expectation through her lack of skills as a homemaker and her disinterest in feminine clothing. However, her colleagues often attempt to sexualise her through the incident in *Monday Mourning* in which her underwear was exposed, perhaps in order to retain the "gender lines" that Slidell argues cannot be crossed. This undertone of sexism threatens Tempe's professionalism and ability to be taken seriously.

Despite this institutional sexism, how has Reichs changed the 'place of vision' of the forensic gaze? There are differences between the treatments of female and male victims throughout Reichs's novels. While the women are stereotypically innocent victims, the male victims often die because of their own law-breaking. However, the disparities between the characters of Élizabeth and Elle in *Death du Jour*, and Tawny and Anique in *Monday Mourning* highlight that women cannot be thought of as "universal victims." Tempe acknowledges the impersonality of forensic examinations, and her role within the institution. At the same time, she also comes from another 'place of vision' in which she uses a forensic gaze of empathy and identification. This identification is furthered through her own potential as a victim. Many of Reichs's novels see killers target Tempe or someone close to her, and depict her decision to act as a professional rather than a victim. When she uses violence in these situations, the effects on her body are long-lasting.

Finally, how does Reichs shape female professionalism within a sexist institution? Professionalism is very important to Reichs and to her protagonist. Men with higher political ranking than Tempe occasionally threaten her professional reputation. Often the hindrance to solving crime is not the criminals, but the bureaucratic hierarchy of the

criminal justice system. In *Fatal Voyage* this is particularly evident through an ethics inquiry, but Tempe also faces challenges with Detective Claudel in *Déjà Dead* and *Death du Jour*, and Briel in *206 Bones*. *Devil Bones* is the only novel in which Tempe is personally responsible for her unprofessionalism. Romance with a colleague proves difficult for her, as she and Ryan face problems in continuing to work together afterwards. Language is also an important feature in Reichs's development of Tempe's professionalism. It gives her authority in both personal and occupational contexts, specifically through her use of scientific jargon. By keeping her wisecracks internal, readers can explore how women use silence differently to men, in order to remain professional and distant.

As a professional eye specialising in forensics, Reichs's novels focus on the female body. At its most superficial level, this body is that of the murder victim on the slab. Reichs delves deeper by focusing her female forensic gaze upon the bodies of women concerned with intersectional differences around the globe. The female body becomes a larger symbol of the dangers faced by women because of this sexism, and how difficult it is to solve crimes using impartial science, when that science is subject to the hierarchical bureaucracy of the criminal justice system.

CHAPTER FOUR

Australian Police Officers and Fiction as Therapy

Increasing numbers of Australian police officers are publishing fiction and nonfiction based on their professions. In 2010, former Sydney detective P.M. Newton published her first crime fiction novel *The Old School*. Her protagonist Nhu “Ned” Kelly is a Vietnamese-Irish detective who works in the Western Sydney suburb of Bankstown in the 1990s. The following year saw two more books appear. *Fair Cop* is the nonfiction book by Christine Nixon, the first female Chief Commissioner of any state police in Australia. She wrote of her reform of the occasionally intolerant Victorian state police, which she describes as “the exclusive brethren of blokes, entrenched in rituals of bad behaviour that ostracize so many good men, as well as most women” (C. Nixon 131). Y.A. Erskine also published her first novel *The Brotherhood*, based on her time as a detective in the Tasmanian police force. Her second novel *The Betrayal* was published the following year. In 2013, Karen M. Davis, another former female police officer from Sydney published *Sinister Intent*, the first novel featuring Bondi detective Lexie Rogers. In 2014 readers were provided with *Deadly Obsession*, Davis’s second novel, Newton’s long-awaited follow-up *Beams Falling*, and *Under Siege*, a nonfiction book by Sydney detective Belinda Neil.

Clearly, there is a need for Australian police officers to assert their stories, and a readership who are interested in consuming them. Answering questions about the inspiration for *The Brotherhood*, Erskine explained, “after going through a particularly dark patch towards the end of my career, I became extremely negative and pessimistic about policing and chose to express my anger through words” (Fox). She further explains that corruption and sexism in her novels is exaggerated for Australian readers who enjoy “their bent cops Underbelly-esque style” (Fox).¹⁵ In this case, it may seem unclear what had made Erskine so angry about the police force. Following the release of her second novel *The*

¹⁵ This refers to the Australian television series *Underbelly* (2008-2013), which focused on real criminal cases, and particularly *Underbelly: The Golden Mile* (2010), about the Wood Royal Commission of 1995 into police corruption in the New South Wales force.

Betrayal, this was clarified in another article in which she reveals that the rape of Lucy by another police officer (discussed in this chapter) is based on her own experience. She writes, "I decided against making a formal complaint. I knew how the system worked and felt that my case wouldn't stand a chance" (Erskine "Secret"). She explains that the novel was written in order to explore "what might have happened had I pursued a complaint at the time" (Erskine "Secret"). This enhances a reading of *The Betrayal* through its basis in truth, and the disappointment of the failed rape complaint. As Burke argues, "A massive disjunction opens up between the theoretical statement of authorial disappearance and the project of reading without the author" (154). It is difficult to read Erskine's novels without taking into account her role as author and her background as a police officer. Knowing her personal biography enhances a reading of *The Betrayal*. Although an initial reading of the novel may give the impression that Erskine is using the rape of Lucy as a wider social metaphor for the sexism of the police and court system, she is actually playing out a kind of personal therapy.

Karen M. Davis also published her fiction as a kind of therapy, or scriptotherapy. Both Davis and her protagonist suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (hereafter PTSD) because of the violence they have been subjected to in their work. Davis's mother encouraged her to write about her experiences as a form of therapy (much like Erskine). As she explains, "I retired from the police force in 2007 after being diagnosed with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. Encouraged by my mother...I began to write down my police experiences as a form of therapy" (Davis "AWW Feature").

P.M. Newton also explores PTSD through her protagonist, Ned Kelly, who has ongoing therapy after suffering a gun wound in *The Old School*. Ned's fears are an exaggeration of those felt by Newton in the past. In an interview with *The Sydney Morning Herald*, she explained, "For me, the burden of carrying a weapon became heavier until by the end I was scared I might not use it if I needed to...The act of carrying a weapon, of when, how and why you might use it ended up becoming a significant issue for Ned in the novel" (Morris). This use of the crime genre as a kind of scriptotherapy for violence and institutional sexism relates to the feminist mantra "the personal is political," which has seen

fourth-wave feminists use personal examples of everyday sexism to create political change.¹⁶ Scriptotherapy can become therapeutic to these police officers suffering PTSD through its liberation of the internal trauma, as “Verbally labeling and describing a trauma through writing allows an individual to cognitively process the event and gain a sense of control, thus reducing the work of inhibition” (Riordan 263). The published narrative can also appeal to readers, and authors “may understand their projects as acts of collective remembering, offering readers a possibility of community in identifying with their stories” (Smith and Watson 23).

By shining a spotlight on the problems faced personally in the Australian police, Newton, Erskine and Davis, whether consciously or not, enrich the larger political discussion of sexism in Australian institutions. What is gleaned from interviews with professional eyes is that they believe the three key differences between their novels and other crime novels are authenticity, reliance on professional experience rather than research (which would lend to this authenticity), and the use of fiction as a kind of therapeutic outlet for the violence and horror faced in these professional experiences. Nixon’s description of the “brethren” in the Australian police forces is mirrored through titles such as *The Old School* and *The Brotherhood*. How do professional eyes represent their experiences of silencing and trauma within the brotherhood of the Australian police force? To answer this question, I will examine the outcomes of romance within the police force in the novels of Erskine and Newton, the intersection of race and sex that affects Nhu “Ned” Kelly in Newton’s novels, and the ways that fictional female police officers are coerced into silence and held to higher standards than their male counterparts. Secondly, how do these police officers internalise the threat of physical violence? This question will be broken down into an analysis of the use of guns, and the traumatic effects of violence. Belinda Neil’s nonfiction links the PTSD described in the novels of Davis and Newton to real experiences, depicting the similarities between female police officers and victims of crimes such as rape. Also, how does the treatment of rape in the novels of professional eyes differ from the rape-revenge of popular

¹⁶ “The Everyday Sexism Project,” for example, saw London police trained to handle the harassment reported on public transport. For more see Kira Cochrane at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/10/fourth-wave-feminism-rebel-women>.

fiction and film? I apply the scholarship of Pidduck, Holmlund, and Mizejewski to the depictions of victimisation and rape in Newton's *Beams Falling*, Davis's *Sinister Intent*, and Erskine's *The Betrayal*. Finally, how do lesbian police officers negotiate a space within the institution? This begins with consideration of drag performance in crime fiction, and then focuses on the characters of Newton's Annie Dwyer, Erskine's Sonya Wheeler, and briefly Norwegian professional eye Anne Holt's protagonist Hanne Wilhelmsen, to discuss non-normative families and the lesbian gaze.

'The essential scent of maleness': The Brotherhood of Australian Policemen

In recent Australian police novels by professional eyes there is a tendency for protagonists to seek approval from male colleagues, and yearn for acceptance into the institutional community. A major aspect of Y. A. Erskine's debut novel *The Brotherhood*, as suggested by the title, is the masculinist culture of the Tasmanian police. The novel begins with the death of a well-liked senior police sergeant while on a routine call-out with rookie Lucy Howard. From the moment Lucy begins her third-person perspective in the opening chapter, readers become aware of the sex divisions within the police. Erskine writes that Lucy "might not have the standard-issue penis, but that didn't mean she couldn't become a good copper, given time" (*Brotherhood* 17). Her colloquial language, such as the use of the word "copper", indicate the ways Lucy adapts to fit into the masculinist culture of the police. The "standard-issue penis" replaces the phallic standard-issue firearm as a necessity for police work. Although Lucy follows instructions, she feels responsible when the sergeant dies. Policemen blame her as well, the commissioner thinking, "She was a solid girl, that was something. Unlike some of her pipsqueak friends, but at the end of the day she was a fucking woman. And that was all that mattered. And a fucking academic, if he remembered rightly. And new. The worst possible combination. It was no wonder that poor John was fucking dead" (Erskine *Brotherhood* 39). Lucy's "copper" and "penis" seem tame in comparison to the commissioner's expletives. Although she attempts a coarser jargon, her male colleagues take colloquial language further, revealing her unsuccessful attempts at acceptance. The combination of being a new, educated woman is anathema to the

commissioner's view of a good police officer; the Australian standard of the hard-working, brawny man, who prides himself on life experience rather than education. This is defined by the commissioner as "the brotherhood": "The club where each man, no matter what rank, looked after one another. Joined as one when threatened by the enemy, any enemy. And most importantly, they kept their mouths shut" (Erskine *Brotherhood* 46). Lucy is introduced over many of the chapters as the "enemy," the woman in the man's job. Erskine provides one possible response to Reddy's questions on female police procedurals: "What happens when women try to join this brotherhood? Does the brotherhood cast them out, change its shape to accommodate sisters, or force the women to become brothers, male police officers in female bodies?" (*Sisters in Crime* 70). Despite the desire of readers for Lucy to defend herself and garner some sympathy, she is instead vilified and downtrodden, because she wishes to be part of the brotherhood.

Much like *The Betrayal* (discussed later in this chapter), the denouement portrays a more realistic ending to the situation where the woman, the unfortunate Lucy in both novels, is cast as the outsider within the institution, who is therefore an easy scapegoat. According to a Foucauldian reading of Erskine, Lucy has moved beyond her role as a woman in an institutional hierarchy, and is experiencing the power of that institution to recuperate her back into her assigned role. In *The Betrayal*, the woman making the rape complaint is not only culpable for the physical attack on herself, but also the effects her complaint will have on the institution. The police fail to effectively investigate, convict or punish her rapist, instead focusing on other concerns perceived as more important, such as high-level police corruption. The commissioner's corruption is linked to his general attitude towards female officers, as highlighted through his obscene jargon concerning Lucy. This kind of discrimination within Erskine's police force affects the treatment of civilian women by the police, and the wider regulation of gender.

This is reminiscent of the authoritative aspects of police culture deplored by Christine Nixon in her autobiography, where she writes "its strength can be its weakness when it misuses its militaristic roots of command-and-control to bully adherence to a particular model of authority; to co-opt its honourable traditions of duty and loyalty to

pursuing an agenda; to become authoritarian, draconian, intolerant and, at its worst, corrupt" (C. Nixon 130). Nixon does not approach this concern in much detail, because her book is openly autobiographical and blatant accusations could have repercussions to her career. Autobiography can be read as the author's political stance. As Linda Anderson argues, "To use one's experience as representative, in the way that Oakley, Meulenbelt, and other feminist autobiographers have done, is to attempt to assert its political meaning, to seek to offer a more general means of reflection on the experience and construction of female subjectivity" (124). Female autobiographers who have held positions of authority will often be expected to make a political, feminist stance. Fiction protects professional eyes from the kinds of repercussions Nixon could face, by embedding real experiences within the frameworks of genre.

The female police officers in Erskine's two novels attempt not only to integrate professionally with the brotherhood, but also to find romance. As discussed in the first chapter, Stephen Knight notes that Dorothy Uhnak's protagonist is "emotively and professionally incapable of resisting the male embrace, metaphorical and literal" (*Crime Fiction* 163), not surprising considering the state of gender roles pre-second wave feminism. In Erskine's much more recent novels however, the female police officers still seem unable to resist the embrace of the masculinist institution. The male colleagues are revered professionally and romantically, despite the treatment female police officers receive at their hands. Lucy Howard's persecution in *The Brotherhood* and then her rape in *The Betrayal* are examples of this, as well as her infatuation with Cam, whom she venerates as, "her knight in shining armour" (Erskine *Brotherhood* 19). This particular phrase conjures fairytales, and immediately offers readers the impression that Lucy is childish and unrealistic, as perhaps was her vision for joining the police force in the first place. Indeed, she supports Cam throughout his trial and imprisonment, while he fails to support her following her rape complaint. The character of Jo has an extramarital relationship with Sergeant John White, which ends with her leaving the force and moving overseas. Both relationships affect the professional capability of the women by opening them up to vulnerability. The chivalric fairytale image is mirrored by Newton, when Ned describes her ex-boyfriend as "Murph the

white knight” (Newton *Beams* 232). He is a white knight through his actions, killing a corrupt police officer who shot Ned. This is ironic though, as he was also part of the corruption through his destruction of evidence that could have led to the murderer of Ned’s parents. The fairytale of a romantic ending within the police force concludes in disenchantment for the characters in Newton’s and Erskine’s novels.

For women, inclusion into the brotherhood or brethren of the police force was once only possible through marriage, as Belinda Neil explains in her nonfiction book *Under Siege* (2014). When she decided to become a police officer in 1985, she writes, “My grandmother knew a high-ranking federal police officer, and she put in a word on my behalf. He said I shouldn’t bother to train, I should just marry a copper” (Neil 8). In Newton’s first novel, set in the 1990s, Ned’s mentor likewise tells her how the police are separated by sex and race: “Two things you want to remember about the good old days, Ned. They weren’t that good and they’re not that old” (Newton *Old School* 26). She describes the police force as split into separate cliques (Newton *Old School* 157), initially by biological sex: “The D’s office smelt of fast food and stale cigarette smoke. Cleaners hadn’t been through yet, though nothing short of arson would eliminate the essential scent of maleness that permeated every detectives’ office Ned had ever set foot in” (Newton *Old School* 220). Erskine’s insistence on Australian readers’ favouritism for “Underbelly-esque” police corruption narratives is also evident in Newton’s novel. As discussed, Ned discovers that Sean Murphy—her undercover detective boyfriend—is responsible for the loss of evidence in the investigation of her parents’ murder, for which he was rewarded with quick promotions. This corruption is supported by “Mateship...Murph must’ve learnt early how the old school operated” (Newton *Old School* 317).

This “mateship” excludes those who are not white, Australian men, and therefore further alienates Ned through her background as Vietnamese. Often she is reminded of her difference and summarises, “Casual displays of racism from cops, that was nothing special either...was it to remind her that she too was a potential target, but one who could buy immunity with silence?” (Newton *Old School* 38). This is reminiscent of Reddy’s argument that “White bonding generally takes place at a less than fully conscious level, in an exchange

of glances, laughter at racist jokes, and sharing of assumptions about people of color" (*Traces* 10). Like Erskine's insistence that the brotherhood "kept their mouths shut," silence in Newton's novels rewards those such as Murph. It becomes difficult for Ned to remain silent once she crosses the divide between police officer and victim's family. Her profession is further complicated by her Vietnamese background, which again links to Reddy's suggestion that hardboiled crime was often based on themes of 'yellow peril,' exemplified by Hammett's "Dead Yellow Women" (*Traces* 18). At the same time, the nickname "Ned" Kelly signals to Australian readers her anti-institutional heroism and her separation from class-structured police institutions through its reference to the infamous bushranger, Ned Kelly.

Amid the unstable footing of female police officers within this brethren, it also becomes important for them to prove their worth. Therefore they cannot afford to be victimised or wounded. As Aboriginal lawyer Marcus Jarrett tells Ned, "Bar's higher for us. Can't be good enough, or just good. Got to be better" (Newton *Old School* 132). This is particularly true for Ned, who represents an intersection of race and sex, making her inclusion even more difficult than those of the white female protagonists of Erskine and Davis.

'An unhappy sisterhood': Violence and Trauma

As discussed in the opening chapter of this dissertation with regard to Uhnak, violence and the use of guns becomes a prominent feature of crime fiction in which the protagonist is a police officer. As Littler explains, "While murder is common in crime fiction, the amateur detective is not generally expected to be a match for the criminal when it comes to the use of violence, whereas the professional is. Police detectives, for example, are expected to carry guns" (Littler 123). However, female police protagonists are not always as comfortable with guns as their male counterparts, recognising the social implications of the violence a gun may inflict. In Erskine's *The Brotherhood* (2012), Jo is new to the Tasmanian police force when she finds herself confronted with an armed man. Her sergeant tells her to prepare to use her gun. Erskine describes Jo's thoughts as follows:

A chill of terror convulsed through her. The sarge was so close she could almost hear his heart racing, despite his unruffled exterior. As she took long, deep, relaxing breaths in the darkness trying desperately to calm herself, her hand strayed onto the grip of her Glock and a thought passed through her mind like a leaf in a gutter, caught by a gust of wind. I may not go home tonight. (Erskine *The Brotherhood* 114)

The calculation or excitement felt by the detective of early hardboiled crime fiction in this kind of situation is replaced with fear. She also acknowledges that her male sergeant feels fear, emphasising that her reaction is due to neither experience nor gender.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Newton fears using weapons, which influences her narrative in *Beams Falling* (2014). The title refers to the 'Flitcraft parable' in Hammett's *The Maltese Falcon* (1930), in which Sam Spade tells the story of a man who reconsiders his way of life after he is almost killed by a falling beam at a construction site. As Spade explains, "The life he knew was a clean orderly sane responsible affair. Now a falling beam had shown him that life was fundamentally none of these things" (Hammett 55). Flitcraft readjusts his life in preparedness for more falling beams, and then settles with a similar family and occupation in a new city. In the conclusion of *The Old School* (2010), Ned is shot by a corrupt police officer, and the following novel deals with the consequence of this violence as, much like Flitcraft, she readjusts her perspective on life. Although she is so frightened of guns that she involuntarily urinates when exposed to gunfire, the perception of the police force is that she is a hero. She is told, "just about everyone under the rank of senior constable thinks you're Sarah Connor...Must be the way she handles guns" (Newton *Beams* 177). In contrast, Davis's protagonist is reassured by her gun: "She touched her ankle, felt the metal of her weapon and had a second of reassurance. She would use her gun if she had to. She'd done it before. She could do it again" (Davis *Sinister* 252). There are differences in the violent incidents that have traumatised the two characters; Ned is shot and then her attacker is shot and killed in front of her, while Lexie is stabbed and then uses her gun to

save herself. She did not kill her attacker, as she explains, “the bastard still lived. I’m not the best shot in the world” (Davis *Sinister* 288). Lexie does not witness the finality of death by using her weapon. In the final confrontation of the novel, the gun is removed from her ankle holster, and her attacker is shot dead in front of her. This exposes her to the same trauma as Ned, and perhaps a greater fear of deadly weapons. Both women are saved by personal connections to their civilian communities, not through their weapons. Lexie is rescued by a local biker who associates her with his long-lost daughter, and Ned finds relief through community connections of the Sydney suburb of Cabramatta and her therapy group.

The aftermath of violence is an important signifier of the feminist investigator, who must wear her injuries as the badges of survival, as discussed in the previous chapter. This convention is difficult to reconcile with the police officer as protagonist. As discussed, female police officers attempt to integrate themselves into a brethren or brotherhood, and must prove that their bodies are not weaker than those of their male colleagues, and must remain silent. By ignoring physical trauma, each of the Australian police officer professional eyes describes how it accumulates into PTSD. Critical literature on scriptotherapy often highlights how the act of writing can be therapeutic because of the unspeakable nature of trauma: “Speaking or writing about trauma becomes a process through which the narrator finds words to give voice to what was previously unspeakable” (Smith and Watson 22). Furthermore, Janice Haaken argues that the trauma narrative “anoints the survivor with a heroic status—as bearer of unspeakable truths” (Haaken 1083).

Newton and Davis particularly portray the internalisation of trauma. Davis’s protagonist Lexie Rogers is introduced after already suffering a multitude of traumatic events. The narrative flow is regularly interrupted by panic attacks, often brought on by the adrenaline that accompanies police work: “Suddenly, out of nowhere, a rush of anxiety tightened her chest and knotted her shoulders...Exhilaration had promptly turned to fear and trepidation” (Davis *Sinister* 5). By admitting this internalised trauma, the protagonists are concerned that they will be judged harshly, that their sex will be blamed, because—as Marcus Jarrett told Ned—they have to prove themselves by being “better” than the norm. In

her autobiography, Belinda Neil describes how she failed to seek help for her PTSD because of this concern, which was made worse through her position as a female detective:

I had not sought help for fear I would be ridiculed. It was generally known that if you couldn't handle stressful situations as a police officer, your chances of promotion would be affected...[A colleague] had talked about 'these women who get pregnant then get pregnant again, then go off sick because they didn't get part-time leave.' This comment highlighted to me what some senior police were thinking and how my name had been damaged. (Neil 240)

Neil feels that her colleagues ridiculed her PTSD because she had already taken maternity leave, highlighting how little policing has changed since Dorothy Uhnak's demotion upon her return to work after giving birth. This double-standard is replicated within the novels of the professional eyes. When Davis introduces Lexie, she is concerned with her reception back to work after trauma, particularly as a woman:

The last thing she wanted was to have the stigma of her past affect her future. There could be nothing worse than forever dodging rockets of judgment regarding her ability to cope...The extra burden of being a female striving to assert herself in the male-dominated world of criminal investigation was something she found especially challenging. (Davis *Sinister* 26)

Ned is also treated differently when she returns to work following both physical and internalised trauma in *Beams Falling* (2014). She is moved from the Sydney Bankstown precinct to Cabramatta, which she views as a demotion: "A few words were all it took to transform her from detective to handbag; a cop who had to be carried...Light duties meant you couldn't really earn your keep" (Newton *Beams* 20). The term "handbag" connotes this uselessness as particularly feminine through the metaphor of a women's fashion accessory.

If female police officers are so affected by trying to integrate into the brethren that they ignore the signs of PTSD, then one might consider that a sisterhood could form within the police force. However, the only sisterhood mentioned by Newton is that of the victim. As Newton writes, “Ned had seen enough rape victims, sat opposite enough of them, to recognise a new member of an unhappy sisterhood” (*Beams* 144). Although not all of the police officers in the novels of Newton, Davis and Erskine are raped, they do face violence and internalise their trauma, which forms a comparison to the victims they see through their profession. As Ned considers, perhaps the policemen with whom she works are reminding her that she is a potential target. The protagonists describe their experiences of PTSD and trauma as a personal, internalised struggle. This silencing and internalisation negates the possibility of a sisterhood.

Similarly, scriptotherapy has been criticised for its self-centeredness as “a form of indulgence promoting narcissistic withdrawal, dependence, and passivity, and a reluctance to address the inescapable moral and existential dimensions of life problems” (Crossley 161). However much scriptotherapy might begin as a form of narcissism, when the final product is published it is accepted by a community of readers. In her examination of scriptotherapy, Anne Hunsaker Hawkins finds that the knowledge of a readership is integral to the therapeutic effect of the trauma narrative. She writes, “the possibility of an audience of readers are as much a factor in the patient’s feeling that this was a helpful experience as the act of writing itself” (Hawkins 123). The unspeakable nature of trauma is a large part of the formation of PTSD, and therefore the knowledge that a community of readers will observe the narrative removes the very inhibition that caused the trauma. Furthermore, the act of writing becomes an act of confession, in which the author has no need to vocalise the unspeakable, but can still frame it into an intelligible narrative. The unspeakable is not necessarily unwritable. By embedding this trauma narrative within genre fiction, as discussed below, readership is more comprehensive.

'Closely typed trauma': The Reality of Rape-Revenge

The parallel between rape victims and the female police officers who investigate rapes—while suffering violence through their professions within masculinist institutions—deserves further analysis. Since Judith Lewis Herman published *Trauma and Recovery* in 1997, it has been generally accepted that rape victims can be diagnosed with PTSD (Henke xiii). Sexualised female victims have been a recognisable convention of crime fiction since they first appeared in the works of Edgar Allan Poe. Women in crime novels are consistently subject to sadistic violence, particularly evident in popular novels such as Stieg Larsson's *Millennium Trilogy*. This rape-revenge narrative has found more traction in film, despite occasional standalone novels such as Helen Zahari's *Dirty Weekend* (1991) and Derrick Jensen's *The Knitting Circle Rapist Annihilation Squad* (2012). Julianne Pidduck and Christine Holmlund both argue that this recent filmic popularity derives from the cycle of films in the 1990s with characters based upon the femme fatales of postwar-era Hollywood. Pidduck names the newer variations "fatal femmes" (Pidduck) while Holmlund uses the term "deadly dolls" (Holmlund). Pidduck writes "if the femme fatale in wartime and postwar cinema is often connected to a deep-seated unease in the shifting gender roles in that society, the fatal femme offers fertile ground for theorists to speculate on the perceived threat of feminist gains in the 1990s" (Pidduck 2). Contemporary versions of vengeful women are figures of fantasy and empowerment with which readers and viewers empathise, rather than a 'backlash' like the fatal femmes of 1990s films described by Pidduck and Holmlund. In recent years there has been the rape-revenge opening scene of *Kill Bill Volume 1* (2003) the Swedish and American adaptations of *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (2008, 2011) and season five of the popular Showtime series *Dexter* (2006-2013) in which he teams up with Lumen to exact revenge on her rapists. These examples of rape-revenge in recent film and television can be viewed as part of a growing retaliation to this trend of violence towards women in popular culture, and current feminist debates on 'rape culture.' Rather than the male hero (portrayed by the like of Sylvester Stallone and Charles Bronson) who seeks revenge for the rape and/or murder of his wife, these women often protect themselves and seek their own vengeance.

It seems that everyone has read Larsson's *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (2005, English trans. 2008), or at the very least seen one of the filmic adaptations (Niels Arden Oplev 2009, and David Fincher 2011). Ten years after its publication, and seven since its translation into English, the first novel of Larsson's trilogy still generates much critical discussion. The popularity centres on Lisbeth's personal act of rape-revenge rather than the overall crime narrative, and in fact much criticism focuses on this one part of the novel. O'Neill and Seal write that, "Lisbeth has been read as 'a revenge fantasy come to life,' but Larsson has also been criticized for offering potentially titillating detailed descriptions of violence against women, such as Lisbeth's rape, which seem to undercut the book's claim to be a critique of misogyny" (60). Lisbeth is both protagonist and victim, providing the narrative from the victim's perspective, rather than silencing her. In Meghan Freeman's dissection of Larsson and McDermid's novels she wonders:

If only the voiceless victim has the right to testify to the violation suffered, how do the individuals tasked with proving the existence of these violations do so without imitating the initial perpetrator? McDermid and Larsson use an identical strategy to get around this problem: they remove their protagonists from positions of authority and make them (temporarily, at least) victims.
(124)

This temporary victimisation is also an important distinction between the fantasy rape-revenge and those based on more realistic outcomes. Part of the fantasy of Lisbeth is that not only does she triumph over her rapist, she also ends the novel with financial and personal independence. This strategy is used in only a handful of professional eye novels, perhaps because of the difficulties for authors who are attempting to more authentically replicate criminal cases.

Australian police officer professional eyes focus on the protagonist as a potential target, where the threat of rape to women is also a threat against the body of the female detective. Lexie Rogers has a scar on her neck, serving as a reminder of the attack she

survived and her upcoming appearance at the trial:

How could she put everything out of her mind when every day she had to look at the scar on her neck and be reminded of what that bikie had done to her, knowing that she would have to re-live the ordeal one day soon at the trial. She would have to sit in the witness box, in the same room as the man who had tried to kill her, and be made to look like a criminal, having to justify her actions to some smart-arse lawyer being paid big bucks to discredit her.
(Davis *Sinister* 69)

Although she has not been raped, there are similarities through her fear of a 'second victimisation' in court. Even police officers lose their authority in courtrooms, because of the adversarial system discussed in Chapter Two of this dissertation. In the final confrontation of *Sinister Intent* (2013), Lexie is threatened with an actual rape by a corrupt police officer, Detective Burgh. She finds it easier to exercise her authority in her role as professional, than in the courtroom: "Taking offense at her words, Burgh moved swiftly, his hand raised threateningly in the air as he advanced towards her. Lexie flinched instinctively, bracing herself. The blow stung, its force whipping her head sideways. With a practiced skill she turned off the pain, straightened up and stared him down" (Davis *Sinister* 352). Through the performative effect, or "practiced skill," Lexie can face physical violence as a professional, while she can only relate to an adversarial trial in the performative role of a victim.

Newton, like Davis, raises the comparison of rape and the 'second victimisation' through the investigation and the trial, first in *The Old School* (2010) when she writes that Ned "didn't want to do it anymore, sit opposite demolished women and tear out of them all the details they longed to forget. The better she did her job, the worse she felt afterwards...Not just a spectator, she got in there, stuck her fingers into open wounds. And recorded it, page after page of neat, closely typed trauma" (Newton *Old School* 23). When dealing with her own trauma in *Beams Falling* (2014), this act of recording leaves Ned feeling hypocritical: "She was nothing but a fraud, to try and make this girl tell her the very thing

she didn't want to talk about, the very thing that she didn't want to remember. When on Thursday Ned would sit in her therapy group unwilling to talk about any of the things that had brought her there" (Newton *Beams* 146). In this instance, Ned fails to receive an official statement, perhaps because of her knowledge of the police system's inability to handle trauma. The rapists are not found and punished, but Ned helps the girl and her family over the course of the novel. Indeed, the entire novel seems skewed towards healing through community support instead of criminal investigation. Both Ned and Lexie equate their traumatic experiences within their professional roles to those of rape victims. Belinda Neil also equates her real experience with PTSD and the compensation she endured as a kind of second trauma. She writes, "I found it harrowing, as it once again required me to open up and discuss the various horrors I had seen" (Neil 242). The parallels between rape cases and police officers suffering from PTSD clearly have roots in real experiences.

The fictional disappointment rape victims find in the justice system is taken one step further by Erskine in *The Betrayal* (2012), which follows the rape of police officer Lucy Howard by another member of the police in a more common date-rape scenario. Already this marks its difference to many narratives of stranger rape, which do not effectively portray the danger that occurs more often in domestic spaces. As Fairstein has Alex argue, "Rarely was the known assailant considered the same risk to the victim as a stranger" (*Bad Blood* 82). Rapists in film are often also made ugly, deformed or monstrous; such as those seen in Meir Zarchi's *I Spit on Your Grave* (1978). The rapist in Erskine's novel does not resemble the grotesque caricature represented in many films, but is a *homme fatale* figure, described by Linda Mizejewski as different to the *femme fatale* as, "Both are seductive and both can kill. But the fatal man is also capable of rape, an ugly element in the mix. For the fictional woman investigator, whose body is already a high-stakes element in the game, rape represents her ultimate vulnerability as a heroine" (*Hardboiled* 153). Here the literary and filmic versions of rape-revenge differ, as film often presents spectators with a grotesque rapist. Peter Lehman argues that this means the male spectator can project his repressed desires onto the rapist, but also sympathise with the female protagonist (112). Jacinta Read disagrees with this assessment, writing, "the female character is frequently not eroticized

until after the rape and the rape, in fact, is a process through which she is transformed" (40). According to Read, in filmic rape-revenge the erotic subject is the vigilante woman, not the victimised one. In literature, the vengeful women often become weakened rather than eroticised. For example, Erskine describes her character as thin and sickly. While the filmic avengers represent female fantasies of power, the literary "lost girls" (to borrow Reich's term from *Monday Mourning*) are not as reliant on spectacle. Since the professional eyes depict real problems in the justice system's treatment of female victims, there is less emphasis on the embodiment of female fantasy, and more on the inner-turmoil of the female victim. This unease is metaphorically represented through the weakened body of the rape victim, who must recover internal peace before her body can heal. Professional eye literature represents the internal struggle of rape victims and the female police officers who investigate the rapes, while film is less monological and, rather, represents this struggle through external spectacle (specifically violence and sexuality).

Lucy is told not to expect support from her coworkers in pursuing a case against her rapist, when her psychologist argues, "No matter how much they claim the service is modern, equal, inclusive and all other politically-correct palaver, it's still a very male-dominated and in many respects old-fashioned beast" (Erskine *The Betrayal* 122). The psychologist calls the police force a "beast," dehumanising it and linking it to the victimisation of women in a larger sense. The sergeant in charge of investigating Lucy's rape is Sonya Wheeler, a lesbian whose character raises interesting issues in regards to institutionalised sexism and female comradeship (to be discussed below). At first, Sonya's disregard of male police officers may give the impression that Lucy finally has a sympathiser. She describes her male colleagues as belonging to a boy's club, beginning with Will Torino, thinking he was, "not a professional. He was one of the boys, the maaaaate, the back-slapper extraordinaire" (Erskine *The Betrayal* 127). She refers to his specifically Australian brand of sexism, his part in the 'mate' culture, which is shown throughout the novel to be responsible for Lucy's continued victimisation, just as "mateship" was responsible for the cover-up of the murder of Ned's parents. Sonya's wife asks what she would have done in the same position as Lucy. Interestingly, she thinks to the book she is

currently reading, a not-so subtle nod to the impact of Larsson's revenge scenario in *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*. She finds comparisons between Lisbeth's rapist, and Lucy's: "A guardian. A lawyer. A public personality who people assumed they could trust" (Erskine *Betrayal* 146). Hence, her chapter closes with a questioning of the hierarchy and rules of society, and how these rules create class systems that victimise women and do not give them any chance for justice.

In *The Betrayal* the rapist (and potential rapist in *Sinister Intent*) is a police officer, symbolising how the justice system lets rape victims down.^v In the ending of *The Betrayal*, Lucy's boyfriend breaks up with her, and most of her colleagues and family do not believe that she was raped. Her case does not make it to court and she is described as "alone, defeated, but not entirely without hope" (Erskine *Betrayal* 281). Like Reichs's character Tawny McGee (discussed in the previous chapter), who is "not a creature in a cage," Lucy does not let her rape define her. She does not enact a revenge fantasy like Lisbeth, or receive help from her colleagues like Christie Opara and Lexie Rogers. Erskine presents a more realistic outcome, not often available outside of feminist crime fiction. As John Scaggs writes, the realism of the police procedural "becomes a powerful weapon of reassurance in the dominant social order" (98). By providing realistic procedures of the police force this kind of crime fiction also satisfies readers with the capabilities of modern policing systems. Scaggs adds a caveat for sexism within the police force and writes that there are "certain gender issues associated with placing women within the hierarchical and traditionally masculine world of the police" (102). He argues that the investigations of crimes against women are paralleled with sexism within the policing institution itself. Unlike this conventional police procedural, *The Betrayal* provides a conclusion that highlights the female investigator's disenchantment with the social order through a failed investigation. There is no possibility of reader satisfaction with police procedure, but a questioning of the current social order. The disappointment of readers at this sudden open-ended conclusion leads to a questioning of the 'reality' of rape. Real victims do not often get their day in court, and even

^v In Anne Holt's *Blessed Are Those Who Thirst* (2012), a rape victim and her father also lose patience with the slowness of justice, and hunt down her rapist—also a police officer—and murder him.

less a violent revenge. Her rapist does not face any juridical consequences, an interesting ending that is unfortunately more true-to-life, and raises questions of sexism in the justice system. But Lucy is “not entirely without hope,” and this gives the impression that the experience has not destroyed her sense of self. Although beginning with a negative, it promises a future acceptance.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Erskine based *The Betrayal* on her own experience of rape while serving in the police force. She did not raise a complaint against her real-life assailant as she felt her case “wouldn’t stand a chance” (Erskine “Secret”). She wrote the novel to explore possible outcomes if she had asked for an investigation, in a kind of therapeutic retelling of her trauma. By framing her trauma story as a fictional narrative, Erskine could ask “what if?” in a way that is not possible through the more common autobiographical structure of scriptotherapy. However, even autobiography requires a reconstruction of events into a narrative, as Hawkins argues, “Autobiographical reconstruction, like formulation, is often described as a process of selective remembering, ordering those memories into narrative form, and in so doing discovering—or imposing—meaning...authors use images and symbols, and even fully developed myths, to describe their experience” (Hawkins 117). Constructing the narrative into genre fiction instead—as Erskine and other professional eyes have done—allows these authors to access a fount of myths, symbols and conventions that aid the structuring of their trauma into a recognisable narrative form. Despite this, Hawkins further argues:

Though allowing that they are constructed and not remembered narratives, trauma theorists would stress the factual over the fictive dimension. The emphasis on the factual nature of testimony reflects our cultural preoccupation with the authority of personal experience. Perhaps, then, autobiographies about illness or trauma have achieved a validity and an authenticity that is in part a reflection of the way we in our culture privilege personal narrative. (124)

This appears to be a common perspective in critical writing on scriptotherapy, which focuses on the autobiographical form. There is an absence of critical literature exploring fictional scriptotherapy, despite its current profusion. Professional eyes in particular use this fictional form of scriptotherapy, perhaps to distance themselves from the allegations of institutional sexism and neglect that can be read into their novels. The very unspeakable nature of trauma that leads to the confessional liberation of scriptotherapy becomes problematic when it could impact on one's professional occupation in material ways. By making claims in an autobiographical frame, which is generally received as truthful and authoritative, the professional eye could damage his or her career. As Belinda Neil outlines in her autobiography, the silencing of trauma through the dominant police culture makes it difficult for those with PTSD to come forward and seek help. There are similar difficulties in writing the unspeakable narrative. As fiction this narrative can perform as both scriptotherapy, but also be publicly denied as such. While autobiography carries the weight of confession and authenticity, fiction can function in a more freely defined space. As Gilmore argues, autobiographical confession is "subject to verification" (109), while fiction can openly play with ideas of gender and genre.

Although the fictional scriptotherapy narrative of rape may not appear to have the same authority as the autobiographical form, it depicts the struggles of victims in more realistic ways than popular rape-revenge novels and films such as Larsson's *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*. Perhaps the most clear and distressing similarity between the depictions of rape investigations in professional eye novels and the rape-revenge films is the portrayal of the justice system as unable to help rape victims, who must help themselves through either righteous violence, or by beginning the lonely process of inner-healing. Lucy has joined Newton's "unhappy sisterhood," but through a comparison of the internalised trauma experienced by female police officers within the masculinist institution of the Australian police force, one could argue that those investigating the rapes are also part of this sisterhood relegated to silence. In *Beams Falling* readers follow Ned's journey to overcome PTSD through group therapy. Her therapist tells her to take control of her own story of trauma: "you tell the story, you retell it, until eventually you control it. First in writing, then

out loud, then listening to it, adding to it, getting all the details down, and then eventually telling it to the group" (Newton *Beams* 102). It seems that the step following this is to publish the story as a form of scriptotherapy, in autobiography like Belinda Neil, or as fiction like Newton, Erskine, and Davis.

'Holding his gaze': Drag Performance and Lesbian Detectives

As outlined in Chapter Three, an important aspect of crime fiction is the protagonist's control over and reliance on his or her body, particularly with the ambiguity surrounding the femininity of the female investigator's physique. The use of violence on and by their bodies allows female protagonists to recreate themselves as heroic figures. Despite how instrumental the early feminist detectives of Sue Grafton, Sara Paretsky and Marcia Muller are in this recreation of the woman protagonist, these authors' investigators are accused of drag performance. For example, Susan Geeson sums up Paretsky, Grafton, Barbara Wilson and Liza Cody by arguing that "the feminist PIs are Philip Marlowe in drag" (qtd. in Jones and Walton 99). Likewise, Patricia Craig and Mary Cadogan dub Lamaar Ransome as "nothing more than Philip Marlowe in drag" (228). Clearly, for these critics among others, the imitation of male hardboiled detectives is not enough to reconstruct the protagonist as feminist, just as some critics also took issue with 'musculinity' in action films of the 1990s and accused those actresses of performing drag. To label the detectives as "Philip Marlowe in drag" is to confuse the genders immensely, to argue that the women are actually men like Marlowe, dressed as women. One could ask, like Littler, is the feminist detective "a man in woman's clothing—or is it a woman in man's clothing?" (133). This confusion of gender ideology is perhaps part of the overall point the authors attempt to make, that gender is not a fixed trait. Regardless, the use of "drag" in Geeson and Craig's arguments invites further discussion.

Judith Butler's argument that gender itself is a performance—just as drag is a performance—comes to the logical conclusion then, that drag is a performance of a performance, or a double imitation. Butler writes that drag:

Fully subverts the distinction between inner and outer psychic space and effectively mocks both the expressive model of gender and the notion of a true gender identity...The notion of an original or primary gender identity is often parodied within the cultural practices of drag, cross-dressing, and the sexual stylization of butch/femme identities...In imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself. (*Gender Trouble* 137)

There have been many arguments about the intentions of men who dress in drag, such as Keith McNeal's suggestion that drag is a parody of society's belief that gay men are 'feminine.' He writes that gay men dress in drag in order to:

Observe and indeed laugh together at what society tells them they are. In the drag show, it seems that we encounter a silent, intersubjective agreement on the part of the audience members in which the drag queens unabashedly act out and perform on stage many of the conflicts, attributions, and ambivalence of being gay and male in the United States. (McNeal)

McNeal's view is narrow in that he only focuses on gay men, and only those in America. If drag were simply about being a gay man in America, for what reasons would women 'drag kings' and 'bois,' or men in other countries and cultures (such as the 'lady boys' of Thailand) perform drag? Perhaps a stronger argument is that of an anonymous author in *Harvard Law Review* in 1995. The author suggests that the comedic parody of drag is not supposed to be realistic, because the audience should realise that underneath the costume is an anatomical man. Rather, by dressing as a woman, the gay man reasserts himself in heterosexual society: "The blatant disruption of the connection between sex and gender signals the convergence of identification and desire: the parody of femininity announces that the object of the drag queen's desire is male. Thus, drag appropriates the heterosexual matrix and redeploys the presumed relationships between the binary pairs for erotic effect" ("Patriarchy" 1988). The binaries that influence authors of early hardboiled

crime to create stereotypically 'feminine' and 'masculine' characters also provide gay men and lesbians with performances which can symbolically position them within heterosexual society. This reasoning does not apply well to the use of 'drag' to create a feminist protagonist, unless she is a lesbian detective, as discussed below. In 2002, R.W. Connell argued for a simpler approach to gender studies that encompasses all heterosexual and homosexual people as individually different and socially reactive. By studying the life of a drag queen called Harriet, Connell suggests that while drag performance is a parody of gender, in reality, "we are always moving into historical spaces that no one has occupied before. At the same time we do not create in a vacuum" (*Gender* 23). While categories such as transgender, gay, and straight may provide a familiar expectation, gender fluctuates within contextual, intersectional circumstances.

From the earliest years of hardboiled crime, one could argue that the idea of drag performance was part of the genre, especially as it originated in a time of intense gender division and scrutiny. In a 1926 editorial of *Black Mask* magazine the editor, Phil Cody, considers the growing circulation of the pulp magazine proposing, "*Black Mask* gives its readers more real, honest-to-jasper, he-man stuff...than any other magazine" (qtd. in E. Smith 28). The use of the term "he-man" is redundant; all men are surely 'he-men.' However, by qualifying this, he is making a distinction of the 'real' man, as opposed to the troubling figure of the 'she-man,' or gay man. Gay men in hardboiled crime fiction were often feminised in a kind of drag performance, and portrayed as villains (such as Geiger in *The Big Sleep*, who in many ways was a victim). There is also room for the 'he-woman,' which would negate the arguments of Geeson, and Cadogan and Craig, for the very parody of gender establishes and questions essentialism and binaries, and has since the first examples of hardboiled crime fiction were published.

A discussion of drag in crime fiction inevitably leads to consideration of the lesbian protagonist, such as Pam Nilsen from Barbara Wilson's trilogy beginning with *Murder in the Collective* (1984), and Lindsay Gordon who first appeared in Val McDermid's *Report for Murder* (1987). The use of drag performance could reestablish a place for the lesbian within heterosexual society, as well as remove her from the essentialist binaries that have formerly

constricted women within the genre. In early crime novels, the lesbian was cast as villain, such as Phoebe in the 1895 short crime story "The Long Arm" by Mary Wilkins Freeman (Wilkins). The story follows Sarah Fairbanks, who is suspected of murdering her father, and sets out to clear her name. The real murderer happens to be the lesbian neighbor. As Rohy notes, "When, in the second half of the text, suspicion centres on Phoebe, "The Long Arm" posits concealed criminality and hidden perversion as two sides of the same coin" (104). Lesbianism in these early stories was a form of deviance, and so lesbians were eventually perpetrators of other crimes such as murder. In contemporary crime fiction with lesbian protagonists, which began to be published in the 1980s alongside Paretsky and Grafton, this social disavowal of homosexuality is revealed from the other point of view. As Paris writes, "it is an obvious form for expressing the search for social justice denied by the institutions of the mainstream culture...crime essentially stems from the fact that lesbian relationships are not socially sanctioned" ("In a World" 20). While crimes in early novels were frequently the cause of homosexuality, contemporary lesbian crime fiction features crimes caused by the social abnegation of homosexuality. In the same way that feminist crime fiction often centres on the mistreatment of women by institutions and governments, lesbian crime novels further this with the ways that queer culture is denied by dominant heterosexual culture.

Anna Wilson argues that the rise of lesbian crime novels was countered by the decline in the 'coming-out story' that was exclusive to the gay community. Many of the conventions such as the creation of a female community were eliminated in the lesbian detective sub-genre:

Repudiating home and family, the lesbian detective novel also rejects any attempt to reinvest these terms with alternative meaning as the coming-out story sought to do in rendering the community of women, and femaleness itself, as homelike. The lesbian detective novel rejects the concept of home not merely because it is the novel of coalition politics but also because home is the place of essence, mired in biology...and with the family structure as naturalized social order. (Anna Wilson 268)

In the novels of the authors discussed below, the traditional family unit is replaced with a lesbian family. Rather than “repudiating” the traditional family, lesbian characters are shown to have created their own families in which the husband / wife binary is interrupted. Treatment by patriarchal institutions and violence and on the body of the lesbian detective are perhaps more relevant discussions. While the lesbian may be regarded as an outsider and even a sexual deviant by heterosexual society, she can also remove her body from the constraints of that society, and the conventions of the female body in crime fiction. As Klein argues, “The lesbian withdraws her body—and its reproductive capacity—from the power structure. In a system where ‘have the body’ is a legal as well as social right, her body is not available” (“*Habeas Corpus*” 174). Another important difference is the replacement of the male gaze with a lesbian gaze. She introduces the “possibility that texts made by women can produce different positions within this sexual politics of looking. Without that possibility, women are both denied a representation of their desire and pleasure and are constantly erased so that to look at and enjoy the sites of patriarchal culture we women must become nominal transvestites” (Pollock 122). There is also a difference between the female and the lesbian gaze since, as discussed, the lesbian is removed from heterosexual binaries and views other women with desire. In an article studying the consumption of popular lesbian magazines, Reina Lewis suggests that lesbian readers have a triplicate of corresponding responses to the female image, as they gaze with desire to have, desire to be desired by other lesbians, and with “narcissistic identification” (R. Lewis 94). In this sense, the lesbian detective may fit into the crime canon more easily than the straight female detective, as she occupies a space where she both desires and sympathises with the female victim.

Three lesbian characters in the novels of professional eyes are Erskine’s Sonya Wheeler, Newton’s Annie Dwyer, and Norwegian Anne Holt’s detective Hanne Wilhelmsen. Each raises interesting disputes in their attempts to fit into heteronormative societies. Annie, a minor character in Newton’s *Beams Falling* (2014), is a detective at the Cabramatta office who takes maternity leave near the end of the novel. Ned discovers that

one of their colleagues, nicknamed “Funnel-web,”¹⁸ is the sperm donor. When Annie begins her maternity leave, her partner Megan tells Ned that they are relocating to Darwin to get away from the possessive Funnel-web and warns, “Watch your back around these cocks. And whatever you do, don’t ever let that big blonde bastard ever do you a favour. Believe me, you don’t want to be in his debt. He’d load you as soon as look at you” (Newton *Beams* 259). Removing their family from Funnel-web’s influence is revealed as an astute decision, as Ned overhears Funnel-web “sharing his intentions to make sure the boy had a bit of testosterone in his life” (Newton *Beams* 274). The difficulty in beginning a family while connected to the police force affects both lesbians and single mothers. Annie takes maternity leave, while Virgo has recently returned from it. Both Ned and Virgo are on light duties; Ned after the shooting at the end of *The Old School*, and Virgo after becoming addicted to heroine and pregnant to a dealer while working undercover in the drug enforcement unit. Virgo vents her frustrations in her abandonment after her pregnancy with the complaint, “Where’s my fucking medal, eh? My medal for being wounded in the War on fucking drugs?” (Newton *Beams* 247). In Newton’s novels it appears that women have difficulty negotiating their families and professions in the police institution. Also, their families are hierarchised by patriarch and son. A police officer as father is more highly regarded than a drug dealer, a child born with difficulties becomes solely the mother’s responsibility, and neither Virgo nor Annie have control over paternal involvement.

As discussed previously, Sonya is the sergeant in charge of investigating Lucy’s rape by a fellow police officer in Erskine’s *The Betrayal*. She uses her lesbian gaze against a male colleague who is described as desirable by other women and observes, “He was a good-looking son of a bitch and he knew it. Good-looking and arrogant. But as far as she was concerned, both qualities paled into insignificance when compared with his greatest crime of all: his cavalier attitude. Torino was not a professional” (Erskine *The Betrayal* 127). Despite recognising male beauty, Sonya reveals her disregard for it, naming it a “crime” (his unprofessionalism cited as his “greatest crime” insinuates that he is guilty of others). Sonya

¹⁸ Funnel-webs are large, venomous spiders native to Australia and the nickname signals to an Australian readership that the character is potentially dangerous, just as Ned’s nickname signals her anti-institutional heroism.

also uses her lesbian gaze when confronted with Lucy's rapist, Nick:

He glared at her but she just stared back defiantly, holding his gaze. Oh yes, tough guy. That's right. I'm a woman who isn't intimidated by you. One who isn't going to fall for your charms. One who isn't going to trip over herself and throw her knickers at you just 'cause you're SOG.¹⁹ One who you're not going to fuck over. You can eyeball me all you want and I'm not going to budge. (Erskine *The Betrayal* 132)

Her gaze meets his male gaze and removes her body as passive and desirable. She uses a defiant look against Nick, one that eliminates desire from the equation, meaning that he has no power over her because she has removed herself from the heteronormative hierarchy. She thinks that she is not going to "fall for his charms" and hence will not "budge" from her professionalism. Just as readers might rejoice at a character with some sympathy for Lucy, Sonya reveals the conundrum the 'boy's club' of the Tasmanian police has put female police officers in; there is no way they can truly support other women without losing personal achievements. She tells her partner:

Ever since I joined I've been fighting to be recognised as being not only equal, but valuable, to the service... We've had to fight to gain their trust at every juncture, fight to convince them that we're all worthy of being permitted to do the same job they do, fight to gain their respect time after bloody time... And all it takes for that precious equilibrium to come crashing down is one Lucy fucking Howard. (Erskine *The Betrayal* 146)

Sonya regards Lucy's complaint as bringing all women in the force back a step, in an ongoing "fight." Furthermore, Sonya is violent in a manner reminiscent of early hardboiled detectives. Of Torino she thinks, "It'd be a pleasure to smack the smarmy grin off his face"

¹⁹ Special Operations Group; a tactical operations branch of the Australian police.

(Erskine *The Betrayal* 128). This violent attitude is not directed only at men, but also at Lucy. When Lucy becomes emotional while wearing a wire, Sonya takes control: "Sonya zeroed in on Lucy and made a grab for her, a little rougher than she'd intended. But she didn't care. Hoped she left bruises actually" (Erskine *The Betrayal* 132). This type of thought process firmly places Sonya in a 'masculine' position of power, with the right to exercise violence over the less powerful Lucy. She only thought of hitting Torino, but felt it was acceptable to be rough with another woman.

There are differences in how she uses her gaze (and physical power) against Nick and Lucy. Lucy is treated to an exasperated gaze and perceived to be failing female police officers as a whole. The insinuation that Lucy has 'fallen' for Nick's charms indicates that she has succumbed to the trap of the men's club; unprofessionalism. Even friendship with another police officer is frowned upon by Sonya, who believes that by continuing to "fight" to gain equality, women cannot afford to engage in any unprofessional behaviour (which is not to say the rape, but rather the friendship with Nick that put Lucy in a vulnerable position). It is indicated that by remaining unimpeachable—more so than the men—women in the Tasmanian police may one day achieve recognition. Perhaps Sonya's distrust of friendship with colleagues is due to her sexuality. Holt's detective (discussed in more detail below) hides her lesbianism from her colleagues, thinking it may be construed as a form of deviancy. Holt writes that Hanne "had dug a deep moat between her professional life and private life. She didn't have a single friend in the police force" (*Blind Goddess* 21). Erskine's chapter ends with Sonya's arrival home to a wife and daughter, revealing that she has a loving family and is not an unhealthily obsessed lesbian like Phoebe in "The Long Arm." Readers learn that the child is hers from a previous heterosexual relationship, and that she left her husband for a female colleague. This challenges assumptions created by her earlier 'masculine' position, as she is the birth mother of the girl and part of a relationship founded on professional equality.

The other lesbian detective to briefly consider is Hanne Wilhelmsen, from Norwegian author Anne Holt's eight novels including *The Blind Goddess*, *Blessed Are Those Who Thirst*, *Death of the Demon*, *Lion's Mouth* and *1222*. Only the final and first four novels

have been translated into English. Although Holt is not an Australian author, there are interesting comparisons to be found between Hanne and the Australian police protagonists in their establishment of lesbian families. At first, Hanne would rather not have children. She tells her partner Cecile, "I really believe a child should come into being through a mother and father loving each other" (Holt *Death* 93). By 1222 Hanne has a new wife and a young daughter. Although she loves her daughter, she still removes herself from a motherly role: "I had said no to children, over and over again, ever since the question had come up on the very first night we were together, and I explained that I didn't want to burden any child with a mother like me" (Holt 1222 143). This indicates that the difficulties with the lesbian family in *Death of the Demon* have been overcome, and the different family unit is not troubling to Holt because of its lack of a father. It could also be argued that Hanne's reluctance to be a parent puts her in a traditionally paternal role, imitating the heteronormative family unit. The differences could also result from wording choices or omissions in the translation from Norwegian to English.

Discussion of drag performance and lesbian detectives in professional eye novels reveals problems women face in juggling family and career. Accusing women detectives in crime fiction of drag performance is not a particularly original or surprising idea, as in the canon of the genre the detective is constructed as masculine: "If female, then not detective; if detective, then not really female...Woman is the patriarchal construction which women refuse to honour at considerable risk of erasure, of silencing" (Klein "*Habeas Corpus*" 174). Erskine, Newton and Holt disrupt this silencing by replacing it with the lesbian voice and gaze. If drag performance allows gay men and lesbians to integrate into heterosexual society, then for the female detective it can allow her transition into a traditionally male genre, while simultaneously questioning and exaggerating the conventions. The lesbian detective in particular removes her body from the heterosexual binaries of the genre, and uses the lesbian gaze to uncover the way sexism in society creates larger disputes and crimes.

Breaking the Silence

In the past few years, increasing numbers of Australian police officers have published their stories as fiction and nonfiction. In her autobiographical *Under Siege*, Belinda Neil reveals how the closed sphere of the policing world contributed to her struggles with PTSD. Through fiction, P.M. Newton introduced Nhu “Ned” Kelly, a female detective impacted by race, sex, and trauma; Y.A. Erskine based the rape of her fictional police officer Lucy Howard on her own trauma; and Karen M. Davis published her Lexie Rogers novels as therapy for her own PTSD. In the fiction of each of these professional eyes, it becomes clear how gender also plays a role in managing trauma within the Australian police forces.

Nixon’s description of the “brethren” in the Australian police forces is mirrored through titles such as *The Old School* and *The Brotherhood*. How does the brotherhood of the Australian police force silence and traumatise female police officers? In *The Brotherhood* Erskine describes Lucy’s absence of a “standard-issue penis” and how the brotherhood “kept their mouths shut.” This culminates in Lucy’s lack of support when she makes a rape complaint against another police officer, breaking the silence expected of her. She is abandoned by her “knight in shining armour.” Newton’s protagonist Ned Kelly also comments on the “scent of maleness” in detectives’ offices, and her potential as a target of racism can be avoided by “immunity with silence.” This silence is highlighted through her romance with her own “white knight” Murph, who abides by the rules of “mateship” and misplaces evidence that could expose the murderers of Ned’s parents. Erskine’s reflections on the marketability of “Underbelly-esque” police corruption is evident in the crime plots of all three Australian professional eyes. The more insidious vice of the police forces is depicted to be ongoing sexism, and the silencing of female police officers.

How do these police officers internalise physical violence? By internalising their trauma and fear of violence, the protagonists of these novels are silently suffering ongoing PTSD. Particularly in the novels of Newton and Davis, it appears that community support is more helpful than that found within the ranks. Neil’s description of becoming the subject of ridicule following her trauma is mirrored by Lexie “dodging rockets of judgment” and Ned’s description of herself as a “handbag.” By internalising their trauma, they have joined

an “unhappy sisterhood” within the brethren of the Australian police force. In this way, female police officers are subject to a second victimisation through trial and investigation, similar to that faced by rape victims. There are many parallels between the detectives and the rape victims they encounter; Lexie describes how in court she will have to “re-live the ordeal” of being stabbed, and Ned thinks that she is “nothing but a fraud” when questioning a rape victim. Male police officers themselves are rapists of their female colleagues in Erskine’s *The Betrayal* and Davis’s *Sinister Intent*. Professional eyes differ in their treatment of rape investigations to those in popular fiction such as Larsson’s *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*. By voicing their trauma and controlling their own stories, the protagonists can heal. The focus becomes community support and inner healing, rather than the violent spectacle of retribution. This is mirrored by the use of crime fiction as scriptotherapy for professional eyes, described by academics such as Hawkins, and Smith and Watson, as consumable for readers who identify with the trauma depicted.

Finally, how do lesbian police officers negotiate a space within the institution? In Mary Wilkins Freeman’s story “The Long Arm,” the lesbian deviancy of Phoebe was the locus of crime. In more contemporary lesbian crime fiction, Anna Wilson finds that the lesbian detectives reject the concept of home and family. In the professional eye novels studied, the lesbian characters replace the normative family with their own, withdrawing their capacity for childrearing from the male characters. In Newton’s *Beams Falling*, Annie Dwyer and her partner remove their child from the influences of its sperm donor. Holt’s Hanne Wilhelmsen, and Sonya Wheeler in Erskine’s *The Betrayal* have also formed their own lesbian families.

By publishing these silenced narratives of non-normative families, internalised trauma, and institutional sexism, the act of writing has become a kind of scriptotherapy for the professional eyes. Y.A. Erskine, Karen M. Davis, and P.M. Newton have taken control of their own stories. Whether those stories are of the fear of violence, rape, or Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, they each seem to partially stem from the inability of a sexist institution to deal with its traumas, rather than silencing them.

CONCLUSION

Professional Eyes and the Crime Fiction Genre

Studying the chronological development of professional eyes reveals a movement from the ‘trauma of change’ brought about by women’s rights in the 1960s, to the continuing difficulties of institutional sexism throughout the decades, which leads to the current slew of protagonists with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. This dissertation has discussed the fiction and nonfiction of Dorothy Uhnak, Linda Fairstein, Kathy Reichs, P.M. Newton, Y.A. Erskine, and Karen M. Davis. Each of these authors has former professional experience within the criminal justice system, directly involved in the investigations and trials of crimes. Their crime novels are marketed to readers as authoritative texts because of this professional experience, however, they are still writing within a genre that is known for its conventional tropes of violence and the investigator’s independence.

Indeed, early feminist crime authors also often worked within formerly masculine institutions and mirrored this through their protagonists and nonfiction. A notable example is Carolyn Heilbrun, as she worked in universities and published many feminist texts including *Toward a Recognition of Androgyny* (1973) and *Reinventing Womanhood* (1979), while writing feminist crime fiction under the penname Amanda Cross. Her first novel *In the Last Analysis* (1964) introduced her fictional protagonist, Kate Fansler, who—like Heilbrun herself—worked in universities as the “token woman.” The narratives of the Fansler series often revolve around the difficulties faced by professional women in academia. Although her fiction was very popular, Heilbrun/Cross and Fansler are rarely linked to the same extent as professional eyes and their protagonists. There are similarities in her statement in *Reinventing Womanhood* that successful women in male-dominated roles become “honorary men” and must remain passive and feminine to be accepted into these roles (29), and the refusal of Janet Mandelbaum to be connected with an aggressive feminist sisterhood in Heilbrun’s novel *Death in a Tenured Position* (1981). Heilbrun’s very use of a pseudonym

suggests that she wished to keep her fiction and nonfiction separate from each other. As illustrated by the covers of their novels, professional eyes are marketed and identified by their professional experience. This gives them a certain authenticity for readers, while also proving dangerous when their professional integrity is questioned.

The initial research questions of this dissertation were; how has the development of the professional eye changed the direction of feminist crime fiction? Is there a perceivable difference between the novels of authors with professional experience to those without? How do professional eye novels reflect real feminist gains in the criminal justice system? I answer the first of these research questions by chronologically tracking the development of the subgenre throughout this thesis, from the original professional eye to the more recent examples of Australian police officers. Differences introduced by authors with professional experience are specifically answered in sections on the use of violence, trauma narratives, and nonfiction by each author, while the final question receives a response in Chapter Three with regard to Reichs's tourism of global feminisms, and the importance of female community support in Chapter Four.

These questions are broken down further throughout each chapter, beginning with Chapter One on Dorothy Uhnak, which asks why are readers so intrigued by the perceived authority of professional eye crime fiction? How has the introduction of women into formerly masculinist occupations created a 'trauma of change' within the genre? These questions are answered through analysis of Uhnak's correspondence and her 1964 autobiography *Policewoman*. The following section compares Uhnak's autobiography to her fictional Christie Opara trilogy in order to ask, does the professional eye bring anything different or new to the crime genre? The final section of the chapter also includes discussion of the Blaxploitation adaptation *Get Christie Love!* and asks, how has this adaptation engaged in different ways with the 'trauma of change' introduced through Uhnak's novels? The second chapter focuses on Linda Fairstein and the New York State legal system, beginning with her own professional reputation following the media attention on Sarah Burns's *The Central Park Five* (2011) and asks, how has her status as a professional eye affected her portrayal in the media? The chapter then turns to Fairstein's fictional Alexandra Cooper

series and asks, how does she represent institutional sexism through her series? What aspects of her fiction challenge and conform to her work within a legal institution? How does Alex's gender blur the lines between her professional role and potential for victimisation? The third chapter on Kathy Reichs begins with the touristic element to her Temperance Brennan novels and asks, how does this element highlight different feminist concerns around the globe? Following this, Chapter Three focuses on Tempe's body and her professionalism, asking, how does Reichs depict sexism and shape female professionalism within institutions? How has Reichs changed the place of vision of the traditionally masculine forensic gaze? The fourth chapter uses the autobiographies *Fair Cop* (2011) by Christine Nixon and *Under Siege* (2014) by Belinda Neil, alongside the fiction of Y.A. Erskine, P.M. Newton, and Karen M. Davis, in order to ask how do professional eyes represent their experiences of trauma and silencing within the Australian police force? How do these police officers internalise the threat of physical violence? The third section on rape-revenge leads to the question, how does the treatment of rape in the novels of former police officers differ to that evident in popular film and television? Chapter Four concludes with analysis of drag performance and lesbian detectives and asks, how do lesbian police officers negotiate a space within the institution?

Feminist crime fiction has always proved a divisive subgenre, through the description of female investigators as "Philip Marlowe in drag" to the argument that the entire crime genre is conservative and fundamentally resistant to revision. As discussed in the Introduction, and Chapters Two and Three, it was argued by those such as Gwen Williams and Lyn Pykett that the difficulties in creating 'plausible' feminist investigators was due to a lack of real role models. Often these discussions ignore Dorothy Uhnak, who wrote of her experiences as a police officer in New York City during the civil rights era in *Policewoman* (1964), and then published her fictional Christie Opara trilogy. *The Bait* (1968), the first novel of this trilogy, has many narrative similarities to her autobiography. Although Uhnak relied heavily on the conventions of the crime genre, her professional expertise disrupts the argument that her novels lack 'plausibility.' Rather than avoid discussion of the author within the text, I agree instead with Seán Burke's assertions in *The Death and the*

Return of the Author (2010) as the professional eyes are marketed, and perhaps even sought out by readers because of the author's perceived authenticity. As Burke suggests, "The entry of the author, and the author's biography into the text...dissolves any putative assumptions that an author's life does not belong with his [sic] work" (Burke 172). This argument in favour of criticism that reads an author's biography in line with their fictional corpus adapts well to the popular fascination with professional eyes through their supposed realism. This is by no means an all-encompassing argument, but rather one that takes into account different ways of analysing texts, as "the attraction of the biographical referent varies from author to author, text to text, textual moment to textual moment" (Burke 173). Also, the differences between feminist crime novels by authors with and without professional experience are further-reaching than simply the perception of readers or biographical referents, and can be perceived within the narrative, structure and language.

Romance of the Career Woman

As discussed in the Introduction, Chapters One, Two and Four, and as Ann Banfield argues, the 'betraying hand' of the author can often be discovered within a fictional text (211). Searching beyond the general perception of readers and publishers that there is a difference between those authors with professional experience to those without, this dissertation has searched for the 'betraying hand' within the fiction of professional eyes. Firstly, the clearest difference is in the overall shift in the focus of their narratives. Rather than produce crime fiction that simply follows an autonomous investigator as she solves a mystery, readers can discover a secondary, ongoing narrative about the struggles of modern Western women who juggle their domestic and professional lives. Instead of presenting protagonists who resemble Cixous's mothers or Wittig's Amazons, professional eyes reveal the difficulties women face in attempting to embody both of these ideals. This is relevant to a modern female readership, as Milkman has shown in her study of women's unsuccessful attempts to 'have it all' (Milkman 8).

Professional eyes depict how institutional sexism continues to contribute to this difficulty. Each novel of Fairstein's and Reichs's series bases the investigation around a

specific institution or organisation, from hospitals in *Likely to Die* (Fairstein, 1997), to NASCAR in *Flash and Bones* (Reichs, 2011). Reichs has Tempe travel to diverse places, such as Guatemala in *Grave Secrets* (2003), in order to expose the mass rape and murder of women by the army, while Fairstein concentrates on institutions operating within New York City such as the rape of women under anesthesia by a doctor in *Death Dance* (2006), the protection of rapists under diplomatic immunity in *Entombed* (2004), and the political support of human trafficking in *Hell Gate* (2011). Furthermore, in novels such as Fairstein's *Likely to Die* (1997), murders are committed by men who can no longer rely on their fraternal connections to progress professionally. Female victims in these novels are wary of the police, leading the protagonists to distance themselves on occasion. For example, Alex justifies her ability to help another woman in *Lethal Legacy* (2009) by explaining she's "not a cop" (Fairstein *Lethal Legacy* 8). Examples such as these highlight the disparity felt between the protagonists' professional role and their place within a community of women who want to help each other. This disparity encompasses Leroy Panek's description of the 'trauma of change' experienced in crime fiction once women such as Dorothy Uhnak began working in previously male-dominated institutions. The continued focus on these institutions and how professional women can create a space within them reveals how the 'trauma of change' is still evident in the novels of Fairstein and Reichs. Protagonists such as Christie Opara, Alex Cooper, and Tempe Brennan work from within these institutions, and thus experience the frustrations of a justice system in the midst of change. Often the solving of crime in these professional eye novels is not as significant as the female protagonists' confrontation with an unwieldy system.

Each chapter of this dissertation approaches the institutional sexism depicted by the authors. The first two sections of Chapter One focus on Uhnak's autobiography *Policewoman* (1964) and her representation of the 'trauma of change' introduced by female officers to the police system, linking it to the critical writing of Leroy Panek. The section titled 'I'm not a cop' in Chapter Two focuses on Fairstein's depictions of institutional sexism throughout her series of novels, with reference to the theories of Michel Foucault and Judith Butler on the social hierarchy enforced by justice systems. Chapter Three uses global examples of

institutional sexism in Reichs's series and how Tempe herself works within an unequal system, referring closely to texts such as Larsen and Urry's *Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011). The fourth chapter links the institutional sexism of the Australian police force to professional eye narratives of PTSD and scriptotherapy, with reference to the critical literature of Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, Anne Hunsaker Hawkins, and Janice Haaken. Throughout these narratives, the criminal justice system itself is often the adversary, proving inflexible in the protagonists' attempts to punish perpetrators of crimes against women. Tempe Brennan must consistently maneuver through the internal tussles for power between male colleagues simply in order to do her job. For example, in *Flash and Bones* (2011), the body she is examining is confiscated by the FBI and then destroyed through administrative error. Alex Cooper must also find ways around the legal system in order to prosecute rapists and murderers, such as her use of a DNA sequence as a 'John Doe indictment' when the statute of limitations are about to run out for the first victims of a serial rapist (*Entombed* 20).

Uhnak, Fairstein, and Reichs also highlight the professional concerns of women who are attempting to work from within these institutions. While Jopi Nyman names the hardboiled male detective's autonomy a 'masculine romance,' the professional eye novel adapts this into a 'feminist romance' of the career woman who relies on female support-networks. For these protagonists, establishing authority is difficult and once achieved can be lost abruptly. In Reichs's *Fatal Voyage* (2001), this is particularly evident through the rush to judgment when Tempe becomes the subject of an ethics investigation. Likewise, in Fairstein's *Death Angel* (2013), after pressure from a judge with a personal grudge against Alex, she finds herself hindered professionally by her superiors. While criminal investigation in these two novels provides the impetus for the narratives, the career struggles of the protagonists provides readers with a more personal conflict with which to empathise. An important part of reader identification is the protagonists' focus on female community, and this contrasts to the autonomous ambitions of characters such as Briel in Reichs's *206 Bones* (2009). The character of Briel harkens back to Janet Mandelbaum in Heilbrun's 1981 feminist novel *Death in a Tenured Position*, with more professionally dangerous consequences. Not only does Briel refuse to take part in female community and

support-networks (she fires her female intern), she also jeopardises the work of her female superior, Tempe, rather than benefiting from mentorship. This autonomous and unethical ambition is not simply part of the motivation for murder, as in Heilbrun's novel, but personally affects the protagonist, and therefore contributes to the ongoing narrative of Tempe's advancement as a professional.

Another important narrative element that differentiates the professional eye novel from other non-professional eye feminist crime fiction is the romantic choices of the protagonists. Rather than adapt hardboiled tropes by using 'homme fatale' figures, the protagonists of professional eye novels face possible romantic relationships with colleagues, providing them with a clear choice between love and career. Uhnak's Christie Opara has a problematic relationship with her superior, Assistant District Attorney Casey Reardon; Reichs's Tempe Brennan has grappled with the difficulties in continuing to work with Andrew Ryan after a short-lived relationship; and Fairstein's Alex Cooper has likewise considered the professional implications of beginning a relationship with Mike Chapman. The two latter authors have come to crossroads in their latest novels, Reichs with Ryan's surprising marriage proposal at the conclusion of *Bones Never Lie* (2014), and the complications introduced to Alex's working relationship with Mike in Fairstein's *Terminal City* (2014). Reichs and Fairstein could either use these burgeoning romances to introduce further complications to the narrative of the professional female protagonist, or conclude the series. Both of these authors give the impression that once their protagonists settle into these relationships, their careers (and the series of both novels) will retire.

Violence and the 'Unhappy Sisterhood'

Feminist crime fiction generally presents violence as a masculinist performance that affects women in a long-lasting way, through bodily harm (such as Millhone's tinnitus), and psychologically through an understanding of the effects on society. As such, when violence is used it is more often than not an evasive maneuver to avoid fatal violence. In *Death du Jour* (1999), Reichs has Tempe kick a gun out of Elle's hand so that she cannot shoot the police team who have just arrived. Tempe often sports wounds following confrontations with

murderers, and she wears them proudly as badges of honour that show she is one of those who faces violence despite the risks, but does not perpetuate it. At the conclusion of *Monday Mourning* Tempe's face is burnt (*Monday* 254), she ends *Grave Secrets* in a hospital (*Grave* 407), and in *Bare Bones* she sports a black eye and walks with a cane (*Bare* 253). Anne Holt has taken this trope of the genre to the extreme of having her protagonist, Hanne Wilhelmsen, shot on duty and permanently confined to a wheelchair.

The crimes that appear throughout Fairstein's series of novels in particular often resemble everyday crimes, those of domestic and sexual violence as opposed to the generic convention for serial killers and criminal masterminds. Almost every novel in the Alex Cooper series sees her facing murderers who were colleagues, family members or spouses of their victims. *Likely to Die* (1997), *The Deadhouse* (2001), *The Bone Vault* (2003), *Death Dance* (2006), and *Night Watch* (2012) each feature male colleagues as murderers of women, while *Cold Hit* (1999), *The Kills* (2004), *Entombed* (2005), *Bad Blood* (2007), *Lethal Legacy* (2009), *Hell Gate* (2010), *Death Angel* (2013), and *Terminal City* (2014) feature domestic violence by male family members, spouses and ex-lovers. *Killer Heat* (2008) and *Silent Mercy* (2011) feature more conventional serial murderers, although both specifically target women in positions of authority, in religion in *Silent Mercy*, and women in uniforms in *Killer Heat*. Fairstein's first novel, *Final Jeopardy* (1996), is the only in the series with a female killer. Female police officers in professional eye novels face violence from their own colleagues; Ned is attacked and shot by a colleague in her home in Newton's *The Old School* (2010), Lexie is almost raped and murdered by a corrupt police officer in Davis's *Sinister Intent* (2013), and Lucy is date-raped by a friend and colleague at his home in Erskine's *The Betrayal* (2012). It is a worrying trend in Australian crime fiction by former police officers, especially relevant through each protagonist's ongoing psychological trauma.

In each of the professional eye's novels there is also an aversion to gun violence, even in those written by and about police officers. In Uhnak's *The Witness* (1969), Opara is berated by her male supervisor for not shooting to kill. This avoidance of guns is based in the actual gendered division of physical violence in the police force of Uhnak's pre-civil rights era (Darien 66). Indeed, Uhnak's main problem with the 1974 adaptation *Get Christie Love!*

appears to be its gratuitous use of violent spectacle, as she writes in her personal correspondence that Christie kills five people and emerges “unscathed” and “triumphant” (Uhnak “Letter to Maureen Rissik”). In the novels of the other professional eyes discussed throughout this dissertation, guns are also assiduously avoided. As discussed in Chapter Two in the section ‘A liability in my hands,’ Fairstein uses means other than firearms for her protagonist to repel criminals. For example, in Fairstein’s 2011 *Silent Mercy* Alex throws a gun into the ocean rather than risk having it turned against her by the murderer. This is also discussed in the Chapter Three section titled ‘My turn to trespass,’ in relation to Reichs’s *Death du Jour* (2000), in which Tempe kicks a gun from Elle’s hands before she can fire upon police officers. The avoidance of guns occurs in the novels of each author analysed throughout this dissertation, even the contemporary authors who were formerly police officers. Both Erskine and Newton depict the terrible fear that their police protagonists feel when expected to use their guns, as discussed in ‘An unhappy sisterhood’ within Chapter Four using examples of Jo in Erskine’s *The Brotherhood* (2011), and Newton’s protagonist Ned in *Beams Falling* (2014). Despite this social understanding and fear of violence, feminist investigators continue to face it in order to prove their heroism. The protagonists of professional eyes, particularly those former Australian police officers discussed in Chapter Four, then depict the effects of continuing to face violence despite this fear, namely through the development of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Thus, while the depiction of violence in feminist and professional eye crime fiction is similar through its masculinisation and narrative device to prove the heroism of protagonists, professional eyes attempt to highlight real social effects that they have often witnessed or experienced. These include the representation of domestic and sexual violence rather than the more generic tropes of serial killers, and development of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder following continuous internalisation of violence.

There are also differences in the narrative techniques professional eyes use to combat this masculinisation of violence in crime fiction. Firstly, as the protagonists illustrate the ‘trauma of change’ faced by professional women within formerly all-male institutions, there is a schism between the way the protagonist must act professionally, and their place within

a community of women. While ‘the Sisterhood’ in Heilbrun’s *Death in a Tenured Position* (1981) believes that women have no part within male establishments (Cross 11), professional eyes do have a place within these institutions. This position can be used to aid women in the wider community. In *Policewoman* (1964), Uhnak’s description of “mutual humiliation” on performing a strip search in her role as police officer—which she describes as filling her with “disgust” (31)—and her “shared moment” (144) with the young wife of a serial rapist, represent this schism between her professional role and her internal conflict with the marginalisation of women it entails. In Reichs’s novels, Tempe also describes gazing at crime scene photographs as “jarring and dispiriting” (*Grave* 79). The masculine gaze that is generally used in crime fiction is adapted into an empathetic gaze through examples such as those above. Just as bell hooks describes the ability of African American women to identify an oppositional gaze through “an understanding and awareness of the politics of race and racism” (123), female readers can identify a gaze of empathy through the protagonists of professional eyes, particularly within their first-person perspective of their internal engagement with institutional sexism. The gaze of the female investigator can also be a tourist gaze that uses professional opportunities of travel to bring to light different concerns of intersectional feminisms around the world, such as in Reichs’s novels *Grave Secrets* (2002) set in Guatemala, and *Bones of the Lost* (2013) which partly takes place in Afghanistan. Global narratives can particularly bring attention to the numbers of women being trafficked into sex work around the world, as in the Fairstein’s *Hell Gate* (2010). Even when the novels are set in American cities such as Charlotte and New York City, the touristic, empathetic gaze of the female protagonist can highlight problems faced by women through the hierarchy of public spaces, where women live by different rules to men. Readers can also take part in this tourist gaze through the use of paratextual maps, such as that in Reichs’s *Deja Dead* (1997) in which the laws of the city itself (specifically the illegalisation of abortion) provide the originating impetus for the serial murder of women.

This empathetic gaze, or as Griselda Pollock terms it, gaze of “equal and like” (124), also highlights the ways in which the professional eyes’ protagonists are interchangeable with female victims, through the “mutual humiliation” of a female body which becomes an

object of the criminal justice institution's masculine gaze. Indeed, Fairstein's very first novel *Final Jeopardy* (1996) opens with Alex's description of a body in the morgue "with a toe tag mislabeled in the name of Alexandra Cooper" (11). The body of the female investigator is a tool through which her male colleagues can challenge her authority, evident in the way policemen attempt to humiliate Tempe after her underwear is exposed in *Monday Mourning* (2004). She immediately notes that her "PC-challenged male colleagues would have a field day" (Reichs *Monday* 254), pinpointing the problem to a certain group of her colleagues. Therefore, this interchangeability with the victim is a large part of the protagonists' use of an empathetic gaze, as although they work within the criminal justice system, they are similarly objectified by the masculine gaze. Unlike characters such as Janet Mandelbaum in Heilbrun's *Death in a Tenured Position* (1981), or Briel in Reichs's *206 Bones* (2009), the professional eye's protagonist uses this interchangeability and empathy to drive her professional ambition. She seeks to use her place within the male establishment, not to turn her back on her 'sisterhood,' but in order to promote sexual equality within the justice system and disrupt the hierarchy of race and gender.

This is a foremost difference between the novels of professional eyes and those feminist authors with no professional experience in the criminal justice system. To achieve this difference, the female investigator of the professional eye works from within the institution so that she may become a kind of 'advocate' for women (professionals and victims). Early male-authored crime fiction emphasises the silencing of women, sometimes even physically silencing them, such as the two murder victims in Edgar Allan Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," one of whom is throttled while the other has her throat slit. This has been adapted in professional eye fiction as a deauthorisation of women, to borrow Judith Butler's term (*Excitable Speech* 137), represented through the removal of the tongues of women advancing in religious institutions in Fairstein's *Silent Mercy* (2011), the symbolic silencing of female officers in Erskine's brotherhood of the Tasmanian police force in *The Brotherhood* (2011), and Newton's description of buying "immunity with silence" in *The Old School* (2010). The protagonists' of professional eye novels recognise this imperative to silence women and yet, as advocates, they use their voices to represent silenced women.

While Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler had their hardboiled detectives speak their wisecracks aloud, these female investigators are constantly aware of the consequences to their professionalism, and often their wisecracks are presented to readers through internal monologue, exposing the complexity of social interactions they must maneuver in order to retain their authority. Not only for personal reasons is this hold on professionalism so precarious, but also for the role they perform as advocates for communities of women silenced by the criminal justice system. The emphasis does not centre on successfully catching the criminal—thereby proving their intellectual superiority—but rather on returning each victim their identity and sense of worth. In her first novel, *Final Jeopardy* (1996), Fairstein introduces Alex's work through this focus, explaining, "we prided ourselves in doing innovative work to better the plight of women who had long been denied justice in the courtrooms" (15). Even in their personal lives, the protagonists of these professional eye novels are given authoritative speech, as evident in Reichs's 2011 *Flash and Bones* in which Tempe is differentiated from Summer's "little-girl petulant" drawl (45), and Slidell's "Hollywood cop lingo" learnt from Dirty Harry (43). While both are performative speech acts, Tempe does not take part in either, and so becomes an intermediary between her ex-husband Pete and his fiancée Summer, because of her authority in language. This authority is partly gained through her knowledge of technical jargon.

While hardboiled witticisms are used by many feminist crime authors to 'talk back' to masculine authority, as Christianson argues in regards to Sue Grafton ("Talkin' Trash"), professional eyes 'reauthorise' their female advocates by using professional jargon. For example, Alex often knows more about legal rulings than her superior, Pat McKinney, as depicted through their disagreement over cleric-confidentiality in *Entombed* (2004). This kind of professional language is useful for Fairstein's protagonist, who works within an adversarial trial system that calls for performative orators to win cases (Cotterill 9). Tempe often uses her professional jargon to deflect unwanted attention, as she calls it an "interview terminator" (Reichs *Break* 3). Most importantly, this technical jargon is what instills the protagonists with authority within the courtroom, and the lack of it is what silences many women. The emphasis on rhetoric in both literary and legal language is the basis for the

discipline of Law and Literature, the convergence of which Crane argues aims to create an “alternative vision...to move toward greater justice” (193). Thus, the reauthorised female advocate in the court system—whether there as police officer, forensic specialist, or lawyer—represents silenced and marginalised groups and attempts to better their experiences of the hierarchical system. With the competing narratives that take place within the adversarial court system, Alex Cooper is in an authoritative position from which she can provide a voice for silenced victims, while Tempe Brennan uses her professional expertise to bring the deceased back from anonymity.

Representations of Reality

There are more differences in professional eye narratives beyond depictions of professionalism, violence, and authoritative language. Readers often associate the novels with the professional reputations of the authors themselves, and this is bolstered through the publication of nonfiction and autobiography. Uhnak’s autobiographical *Policewoman* (1964) was published before any of her fiction, not through an initial choice of her own, but through the demands of publishing companies and readers who found her ‘hybrid’ fiction troubling. The numbers of men with professional experience writing crime fiction before Uhnak suggests that the problematic nature of her ‘hybrid’ fiction was more to do with her depictions of female authority and institutional sexism. This was even more troubling due to the timing of her publications during the volatile civil rights movement in New York City. Uhnak’s first work of fiction, *The Bait* (1968), mirrored many of the narrative points of her autobiography, furthering the difficulties for readers with this ‘hybrid’ fiction. By writing fiction, however, Uhnak could structure the narrative as more readable and identifiable through her use of crime genre tropes and conventions.

There are also links to be made between Fairstein’s real cases and her fiction, particularly the well-publicised trials of the Central Park Jogger in 1990 to *Death Angel* (2013), and the Dominique Strauss-Kahn case of 2012 to *Night Watch* (2012). The arguments made through her nonfictional case studies and 1993 book *Sexual Violence* reach a wider readership through her fictional series. Her factual examination of the problems the New

York trial system faces when prosecuting rapists find contextual narratives in her fiction, in which the professional and personal risks to the protagonist can provide a more identifiable scenario for those readers untouched by the kinds of crime depicted. In an interview, Fairstein suggests that her fiction allows her to express the “frustrations” of her work, as well as the “rewards” (Memmott “Heat”). By presenting these frustrations fictionally, Fairstein can avoid any recriminations on her legal career. Reichs has also used real cases as inspiration for her fiction, and has edited two technical publications, *Hominid Origins: Injuries Past and Present* (1983) and *Forensic Osteology: Advances in the Identification of Human Remains* (1986). Links to relatively unknown anthropological work, such as the exhumations of massacre victims in Guatemala with the FAFG, are depicted in powerful retellings through Reichs’s Temperance Brennan novels. Through her fiction, Reichs is thus able to bring third world feminist concerns to the attention of potentially uninformed readers. Her scientific publications are not autobiographical nonfiction texts, and are inaccessible to readers unfamiliar with academic scientific and medical language.

Fiction also enables professional eyes to ask ‘what if?’ about certain situations that have affected them personally in the course of their careers. Erskine particularly represents this through her 2012 novel *The Betrayal*, in which she explores the possibilities if she had pursued a rape complaint while in the Tasmanian police force. The outcomes of this novel lead to another difference in the fiction of professional eyes when compared to other feminist crime fiction. In this novel, Lucy Howard endures the prejudice and second victimisation that are often the unfortunate real-life experiences of victims of sexual violence. While fiction may give the professional eye freedoms not available through nonfiction or autobiography, the narratives they write do still adhere to what Uhnak recognised as the “authority of authenticity” (“Working”). The marketing or authenticity to draw in readers of professional eyes is mirrored in the responsibility these authors feel toward depicting the real impacts on victims of crime. The depiction of rape is particularly differentiated from the rape-revenge narratives of popular film and television, which shocked viewers of the 2009 Swedish (directed by Niels Arden Oplev) and 2011 American (directed by David Fincher) film adaptations of *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, season five of

Showtime television series *Dexter* (2010), and more recently season four of *Carnival* Films/Masterpiece series *Downton Abbey* (2013) and the second season of CW's *Reign* (2014). Rather than provide readers with the fantasy of a vengeful victim, Erskine and her contemporary professional eyes convey the helplessness felt by both victims and investigators within a system that struggles with how to treat crimes of sexual violence. In Newton's 2014 *Beams Falling*, Ned does not push a rape victim for a statement, and instead helps her through family and community support. When crimes are investigated through the system, professional eyes represent the slow-moving bureaucracy and hierarchical nature of the investigations and trials. Likewise, Reichs has been lauded for her truthful depictions of the challenges and slow timelines of forensic testing, what Walsh-Haney argues is an anti-CSI effect (651).

The hierarchical justice system has long been the subject of theory, such as Foucault's argument that it must "qualify, measure, appraise, and hierarchize, rather than display itself in its murderous splendor" (144). This is expounded further by Judith Butler, who writes "juridical systems of power produce the subjects they subsequently come to represent" (*Gender Trouble* 2). The cyclical system of social regulation and crime is addressed through both the fiction and nonfiction of professional eyes. Fairstein, for example, writes about how police have failed to test rape evidence kits, instead leaving them to gather dust in evidence lockers. She believes this teaches women to keep silent about rape, as they perceive it as unimportant to police investigators (*Rape Scandal* 10). Through the realistic depiction in fiction of the difficulties faced by women who do report rape, professional eyes such as Fairstein, Newton and Erskine are commenting on the changes that need to be made within this hierarchical system, and reaching a wider audience than in their nonfiction. As Walton and Jones suggest through their survey results, female readers enjoy crime narratives and strong, female protagonists without necessarily identifying with a political or feminist message.

Generally in the fiction of professional eyes, the protagonists fight the system itself, rather than the criminals they are investigating and prosecuting. The novels discussed throughout this dissertation are replete with female investigators fighting chauvinistic male

colleagues, fighting outdated laws and social prejudices, and fighting to maintain their hard-won authority. When they do fight the criminals themselves, the physical tussle becomes symbolic of larger issues of male violence and female professionalism, and the effects on female protagonists are long-lasting. These protagonists represent a current place within a system in the process of change, and they are advocates for the marginalised people of society who deserve more representation in the judicial system.

Reading the Author in the Text

Reader interest in crime has permeated fiction since the reports on Newgate prison's real criminals, and the influence of these real crimes on sensation fiction (Pykett "Newgate" 32). Maureen Reddy has argued that readers of these earlier crime novels could only find amateur female investigators plausible, as there were no professional women in reality (*Sisters in Crime* 6). Likewise, Gwen Williams has suggested that professional female investigators in Victorian England were "purely imaginative creations" (39). As discussed in the Introduction of this dissertation, the covers of professional eye novels advertise them as 'real' and focus attention on the expertise of the author. Just as Erin Smith writes that early examples of hardboiled crime fiction were marketed to male readers of the post-World War One years who were afraid of losing their jobs to women, professional eyes are marketed to modern women dealing with the continuing 'trauma of change' brought about by their entrance into masculine establishments since both world wars, and the civil rights era of the 1960s and 1970s. Original readers of Dorothy Uhnak's fiction convinced her to write more of a "personal narrative" (Seitlin), and then backtracked with the opinion that it could not be commercially viable in such a "hybrid form" (Little Brown). When her autobiography *Policewoman* was published in 1964, it was marketed through the persona of its author and her role as a police officer. At the same time, advertising established her femininity through her combination of this professional role with that of "successful, happy marriage and motherhood" (Simon and Schuster). The marketing of Reichs and Fairstein concentrates less on this successful combination of domestic and professional, and focuses on the realism implied by their occupational experience. The back cover of Reichs's *Death du Jour* claims

that “Thrillers don’t get more real than this” (Reichs *Death du Jour*), while Fairstein’s *Night Watch* advertises that “Crime novels can’t get any more real” (Fairstein *Night Watch*). The use of negative contractions “can’t” and “don’t” followed by the colloquial “get more real” infers that the authors supply a grittiness not available in other conventional crime fiction; a kind of voyeurism for the reader into the forbidden corners of criminal investigations.

Furthermore, the authors and protagonists are women, who depict the struggles faced by professional women. Through Walton and Jones’s small survey of female readers of feminist crime fiction series, they convincingly argue that readers identify with ‘realistic’ professional women and their struggles balancing domestic life and career (55). By also providing more realistic examples of violence against women and the effects of this violence, professional eyes provide their female readership with protagonists who can be easily identified with, despite their integration into recognisable tropes of masculine hardboiled crime fiction. This is also suggested through correspondence from readers to Uhnak, such as the letter from Chernock, who identified with the ‘trauma of change’ presented in Uhnak’s novels (Chernock). Chernock identified with Uhnak’s ‘realistic’ portrayal of professional women, just as Uhnak wrote with the obligation of the “authority of authenticity” she felt because of her professional experience. Letters from other readers such as the black prisoner society members show how reading familiar inequalities of the justice system can become a kind of “rehabilitation” (Baye). This rehabilitation relies on the knowledge that others experience these same inequalities, even those who work from within the system, and can also be a kind of scriptotherapy for the professional eyes themselves through having their fiction consumed and appreciated by these readers. It is an act of confession, stylised through the generic tropes of crime fiction, which can be rehabilitation for both authors and readers. However, the “authority of authenticity,” even when published as fiction, can leave the author exposed to public criticism. Fairstein’s treatment following the overturning of the convictions of the Central Park Five, particularly by writers for the *Village Voice* such as Rivka Gerwitz Little, exposes society’s residual difficulty with authoritative women.

Through an examination of female authors who cross boundaries of professionalism and authority, this dissertation has contributed to existing knowledge on the crime fiction

genre. While Leroy Panek, Kathleen Gregory Klein, and Manina Jones and Priscilla Walton discussed the importance of the introduction of professional women to crime fiction, this thesis has explored the echoes of this impact. These echoes can be seen through this dissertation's analysis of the author, nonfiction and correspondence. The author's intentions and readers' perception of them as authoritative and authentic are important in a genre that is so popular. This thesis has also linked tropes of the genre such as violence, hardboiled language and the silenced female body to the more universal feminist narratives of institutional sexism and female professionalism. By building upon the writing of Judith Butler and Michel Foucault on institutional hierarchies, this dissertation has focused specifically on the professional eye, her evolution in the past fifty years, and her importance to large numbers of female readers. With the popularity of professional eyes such as Fairstein and Reichs, it can no longer be convincingly argued that feminist investigators are not 'plausible' or that the genre is resistant to revision. It is a significant area to research, as fourth-wave feminisms become increasingly globalised, and women in Western nations strive to reach higher professional positions and create female communities and support networks. From within these institutions, women such as Fairstein are attempting to affect a change to the hierarchical distribution of society along class, gender and racial lines. Fictionalised accounts of these struggles through professional eye fiction can reach consumers of popular culture, and bring a wider awareness to the difficulties faced by the authors and their colleagues. Although these conflicts may be hidden within seemingly conventional crime genre tropes, readers are consuming novels marketed as authoritative, professional, feminist texts. Through their consumption of these crime novels, readers are exposed to the dissatisfaction felt by professional eyes towards outdated institutions. Perhaps it is time to return authors to their texts, to recognise the significance of professional authors' expertise and nonfiction when researching their fictional texts.

Dorothy Uhnak introduced the use of professional experience in the writing of a feminist crime novel with *The Bait* in 1968, presenting the genre with a 'trauma of change' in the midst of the volatile civil rights movement. Linda Fairstein and Kathy Reichs continued to develop the professional eye genre throughout the 1990s, with their depictions of strong,

female professionals as protagonists who fight crime from within formerly masculinist institutions, using reauthorised language in their roles as advocates. More recently, Australian professional eyes such as P.M. Newton, Y.A. Erskine, and Karen M. Davis have portrayed the continued physical and psychological trauma created by introducing women into formerly male institutions, a continuation of the 'trauma of change' to its development into Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, and the healing power of community networks and confessional fiction. Reading these professional eyes over the decades is reading the historical changes slowly taking place within Western judicial systems following the inclusion of female professionals. There are indeed differences between the narrative techniques used by feminist crime fiction authors with and without previous professional experience in criminal investigation and trials. These differences are due to the changes wrought on the genre and the criminal justice system through the inclusion of female professionals, who can then act as advocates for women who approach the formerly masculine institution as powerless and silenced victims. The introduction of professional eyes, as representatives of these fundamental changes in the reality of criminal prosecution, has been one of the most striking developments of the crime genre in recent decades.

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