

Photo Policière: L'image que l'on donne les policières

dans les polars policiers écrit par

Chrystine Brouillet, Vicki Delany et Louise Penny

Photo Policière: Representations of Female Police Officers

in Police Procedurals written by

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Photo Policière: L'image que l'on donne les femmes policiers

dans les polar du type policier féminine écrit par Chrystine Brouillet, Vicki Delany et Louise Penny

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Abstract

L'image que l'on donne/ N'est pas toujours la bonne
Les Cowboys Fringants, "Les Hirondelles"

Malgré les changements dans le traitement des femmes au fil des décennies, les vraies policières continuent de souffrir des injustices de la part de leurs supérieurs masculins, ainsi que de la communauté qu'ils ont juré de protéger. Tant que la fiction reflète la réalité, on peut s'attendre que le genre de la polar du type policier démontrera non seulement les injustices entre les sexes, mais aussi les façons différentes que les victimes féminines y répondent. Comme des vraies policières, les détectives féminines fictifs sont trop souvent des victimes, même quand elles sont les protagonistes, même si leurs auteurs sont des femmes. Preuve de la discrimination contre les femmes policières réelles et fictives seront explorées dans cette thèse en regardant l'histoire des romans policiers, à travers des études de cas réels impliquant des policières féminines réelles, ainsi que l'analyse de certains personnages clés dans les textes de discussion par Chrystine Brouillet, Vicki Delany et Louise Penny. En conséquence, il sera démontré que les images projetées par les agents de police féminines réelles et fictifs, quelles ne sont pas toujours bonnes, sont de plus en plus variées à la suite du mouvement féministe et en raison de la résistance littérale et imaginaire aux stéréotypes sexistes. Même si elles sont maintenant les protagonistes, les femmes détectives fictionnelles font face à une réduction de l'agence et sont soumises aux attentes différentes de genre que leurs homologues masculins. Aspects de l'inégalité des sexes présents dans les sociétés occidentales d'aujourd'hui se glissent dans la fiction et agissent d'une manière pas toujours possible dans le monde réel. Parfois, les situations sexistes sont résolues dans la fiction, malgré le fait qu'elles existent toujours dans la vie quotidienne de certaines femmes policières. Les stéréotypes autour de ce que ça veut dire d'être policier causent des injustices de genre et existent souvent simultanément avec des images de femmes qui nient ces mêmes stéréotypes. La représentation de la femme policière est donc multiples, les stéréotypes reproduit, mélangé, ou effacé complètement.

Abstract

Masculinity is still regarded as the embodiment of strength and heroism and the female body, weakness and victimization.

Philippa Gates, *Detecting Women*, 282

Despite changes in the treatment of women over the decades, policewomen continue to suffer gender injustices at the hands of their male superiors, as well as from the community they are sworn to protect. The injustices they face are publicized by such media as the CBC, though often in an exaggerated fashion. As fiction often reflects reality, one can expect that the genre of the police procedural will demonstrate not only such gender injustices but also various ways victims respond to them. Like real policewomen, fictional female detectives are too often victims even when they are the protagonists, and even when their author is a woman. Evidence of the victimization of real and fictional policewomen will be explored in this thesis by looking at the history of detective fiction, and through real case studies involving real female police officers, as well as the analysis of certain key characters in focus texts by Chrystine Brouillet, Vicki Delany, and Louise Penny. As a result, it will be shown that the images projected by actual and fictional female police officers, while not always positive ones, are becoming more varied as a result of the feminist movement and as a result of literal and imaginary resistance to sexist stereotypes. Despite having moved into a protagonist position, fictional female detectives all too often have reduced agency and different gendered expectations than their male counterparts. Aspects of gender inequity present in Western societies today creep into fiction and are played out in ways not always possible in reality. Sometimes, sexist problems present in the fictional texts are resolved despite the fact that they still exist in certain policewomen's everyday lives. Stereotypes of what a police officer should be function in ways that reflect and reproduce gender injustices and often exist simultaneously with images of women that resist and oppose these same stereotypes. The representation of policewoman is thus multiple, reproducing stereotypes, blurring them, or erasing them altogether.

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Introduction

This thesis is not about murder. Murder occurs in the majority of this thesis' focus books, but it is merely a catalyst for a story or even multiple stories within the central narrative. This thesis will analyze the extent to which various stories in selected novels reproduce or contest gendered representations and conventions in the police procedural. It will explore social and professional cultural restrictions imposed upon and reproduced by images of policewomen via gender analysis of selected texts from three different series of police procedurals written by women. Nine texts will form the focus corpus, three by Chrystine Brouillet, three by Louise Penny, and three by Vicki Delany.

Vicki Delany is the author of several stand-alone books and two distinct mystery series. She travels the continent giving lectures on crime fiction and is a recognized expert in police procedurals. Delany also gives writing workshops such as the one she gave as part of a Champlain College Creative Arts program on Oct 26, 2009 that was organized, in part, by fellow detective fiction author and Crime Writers of Canada member, Jim Napier. In this thesis, I analyze *In the Shadow of the Glacier*, where rookie Constable Molly Smith must learn about being a police officer in a community that has negative opinions about her career choice; *Valley of the Lost*, where Smith must deal with problems at home as well as on the job; and *Winter of Secrets*, where Smith gains strength and confidence as a police officer, but at a cost.

Like Delany, Louise Penny is a member of Crime Writers of Canada and occasionally gives workshops on writing detective fiction. Her Inspector Gamache series has become very successful; it has received multiple awards from around the globe and many of the novels in it have been translated into French. The series is the only of those under discussion that does not have a female protagonist, giving instead a look at a heterocosm wherein women are permanently set in secondary and even tertiary positions. Works by Penny I here analyze are *Still Life*, wherein Agent Yvette Nichol behaves the way she thinks she is expected to but ends up dismissed from a case; *A Fatal Grace*, wherein

Nichol is given a second chance despite a poor performance record; and *The Cruellest Month*ⁱ, a novel that reveals hidden aspects of Nichols' deceptions and behaviour.

Christine Brouillet has been recognized by Norbert Spehner as one of the most famous authors of the 'polar Québécois'ⁱⁱⁱ (*Scènes de Crimes*, 186). She is also an award-winning author of children's literature, including police procedurals for children, and writes gastronomical reviews in journals and on her blog. The novels I focus on from her Inspector Maud Graham series include *Poison dans l'eau*, a family romance novel and murder mystery; *Préférez-vous les icebergs*, a novel that pits Graham against her fellow, largely male, officers to a certain degree; and *Le Collectionneur*, a novel that 'reboots' the seriesⁱⁱⁱ with a serial killer who develops an unhealthy interest in Inspector Graham.

My project looks at the extent of the gendered prejudices and harassment faced by the policewomen in these series, notably Brouillet's Inspector Maud Graham, Penny's Agent Yvette Nichol, and Delany's Constable Molly Smith, as well as their gendered resistance and successes/strengths. My project examines the representation of these three focus characters vis-à-vis real policewomen's lived experiences, as well as the ways the fictional female detectives' performances conform to or contrast with the gendered conventions of the genre of the police procedural, and the ways certain male and female characters are characterized in specific novels. In the course of this thesis, I will show that police women are more often represented as victims than heroes. My introduction will trace the primary gender arguments supporting this by examining what certain critics have already said about the link between gender discrimination and detective fiction. Important works focused upon in this section will include Glenwood Irons' *Feminism in Women's Detective Fiction* and George Dove's *The Police Procedural*. The first chapter of this thesis will summarize ways that the genre of detective fiction has contributed to gender injustices through the replication of stereotypes and by maintaining women in a victim position even when the protagonist is a woman. Such injustices will first be traced historically from early detective fiction to the modern detective novel, and then traced globally with a look at some

influences on the genre coming from outside North America. The second chapter will examine the affect of gender stereotypes on real police officers, in order to make connections and contrasts between reality and fiction. I will show how real policewomen are often represented simultaneously as strong and weak, often condemned by social media prejudiced against them. The third chapter will closely examine the works of Delany, Brouillet, and Penny with respect to elements discussed in prior areas of my thesis, such as how while real female detectives are often portrayed as taking advantage of a sexist system for personal financial gain, fictional female detectives are most often portrayed as victims of masculine desire. In the conclusion, I will speculate about what needs to be done to amend the gender injustices found in detective fiction and to what degree these changes are already occurring both in fiction and in our lived reality.

My research began with the hypothesis that while older versions of detective fiction generally featured a male hero, a male aggressor, and a female victim, with the female victim being rescued or having her death avenged by the male hero, newer ones would present more female heroes and fewer female victims while still maintaining the motif of the male aggressor. Though the majority of aggressors in detective fiction still remain men, a large number of them are now women. Evidence of this can be found in the hard-boiled detective novel, a masculinist genre that will only briefly be examined in this project, for how its female antagonists generally embody the 'femme fatale,' a woman who uses her sexuality for questionable motives. Though today's women are no longer expected to be subservient to men to the same degree as they were when detective fiction became a genre, they are still frequently depicted as 'objects' of male desire in contemporary female-authored police procedurals. The presence of female detectives is often underscored by the fact that such female 'heroes' are rarely equal to male heroes. Despite being displayed as strong women and often treated as a positive role model, fictional female detectives of contemporary literature are still overwhelmingly made into victims. They are victims of rape, murder, physical or psychological violence, and the threat of

violence. Just as men and women continue to be treated according to traditional views of femininity and masculinity in the real world, they continue to be stereotyped in fiction. A larger variety of stereotypes are represented, with the 'strong woman' being added to the 'helpless female,' the 'good/dutiful wife,' the 'earth goddess/mother,' and the 'Madonna-whore' dichotomy, but even new stereotypes support the systemic victimization of women through support of a hetero-sexist, male-dominant ideology.

It should not be too surprising that fictional women continue to be depicted as victims despite being protagonists and heroines. After all, women are still the victims of gender injustices in reality, and, as has been pointed out by George Dove and other critics, fiction is often as much a reflection of reality as it is a product of the author's imagination. Fiction can thus be used as a somewhat stained window through which we can see elements of our reality, though the window is one made and manipulated by the author. The author decides what elements of reality to show the reader, and how to present them, much like a photograph taken with a specialized lens. In *The Police Procedural*, Dove explains that the problem for mystery fiction is not so much one of reality but plausibility: “the problem of the writer is ... to set the limits of acceptance just broad enough to make the story interesting without setting them so wide that the situation becomes fantastic or ridiculous” (138). The story must be believable, and it must be possible within the bounds of the heterocosm the author has created^{iv}. In the case of the police procedural, this generally means conforming to the rules of contemporary society. For instance, our contemporary society still shows signs of discomfort with a woman in a position of authority whenever she is represented as being anything other than a good mother or wife. It is even possible that a surrogate child will be deployed when such a protagonist is either too old to have a child or has chosen not to have one in order to make her into a mother, as in the case of Inspector Graham, who cares for a cat and a young male prostitute as surrogate children. But when the detective is still seen AS a child by a novel's predominantly male cast of characters, as is the

case with Constable Smith and Agent Nichol, the detective's authority is eroded.

I originally hypothesized that the primary source of challenges to a female detective's powers are her male compatriots, because as Sandra Tonic points out in “Questing Women: The Feminist Mystery after Feminism”: “Law enforcement agencies are repositories of the worst kind of gender injustice” (49). Evidence supporting Tonic's statement regarding gender injustices inherent in the police force can be found in my focus texts and in reality. Cases are constantly coming forth in the media that female police officers have endured gender-based discrimination varying from verbal abuse to sexual abuse, including rape. Further evidence that Tonic's statement is true can be found not only in the high number of lawsuits female officers have brought against police forces but also in the way female officers are represented by the media, often still as something of a freak show and a rarity, even though they are becoming more numerous annually. It is not unreasonable to consider that women may one day represent almost half the police force, but that day will not come until the treatment and representation of female police officers changes. For example, in the pages of *Photo Police*, a popular Québécois *hebdomadaire*^v that publishes stories about police activities, such as arrests and searches, alongside advertising that is often erotic in nature, one may find an image of the female police officer as a sex tool, a dominatrix, or a submissive, albeit armed, woman with pigtails. These images are used to sell lingerie, to promote an 'escort service,' or to sell a product that has nothing to do with sex but is made to look 'sexy' through connection to a suggestively promiscuous woman. The female cop is thus given one of two stigmas by popular media and pop literature: either she is a dangerous dominatrix who threatens masculinity or she is a submissive sexual object who exists only to please patriarchy.

These social texts and their sexist tropes/images are consistent with various literary sources which claim that detective fiction does not traditionally deal with grey areas, preferring instead clear roles of good and evil, detective and criminal, hero and victim, as well as distinctly masculine and feminine characters (see Porter, Dove, Gates). The traditional victims are overwhelmingly dead

women and the classic hero, the avenger/ detective/ redeemer, is usually a man; interestingly, though, Statistics Canada shows that victims of murder are predominately men, not women (statcan.ca). Glenwood Irons' introduction to *Feminism in Women's Detective Fiction* speaks about how the victimization of women in fiction is often a response to the victimization of women in reality. He points out that people are often ignorant of the fact that most detective fiction is written by women, noting how Agatha Christie's fame so greatly surpasses other female authors. Just as Hercule Poirot overshadows Miss Marple, Agatha Christie overshadows other female authors (Irons, xi). Christie has also come to stand as the primary basis of comparison for current authors such as Louise Penny. Yet comparing female authors of detective fiction only to Christie further ignores the fact that so much excellent detective fiction has been and is written by other women. Adrienne Gavin goes so far as to claim in "Feminist Crime Fiction" that the genre is more a female 'norm' than a male one, dominated by such authors as Dorothy Sayers, Sara Paretsky, Sue Grafton, and many more female authors (258).

In his introduction to *Feminism in Women's Detective Fiction*, Irons also shows how the archetypal male detective has often been reworked from a female perspective and how the female counterpart has changed in kind (xii). Thus, a number of changes have been made in detective fiction that reflect the changes women have made in reality. The feminist movement cannot be ignored either in fiction or in reality, as it has given women opportunities in both contexts that were denied to them before the 1900s. Kathleen Klein reminds us in "Habeas Corpus: Feminism and Detective Fiction" that in the late 1800s: "women had virtually no standing in the law" (172). They were not allowed to give testimony in trial unless their testimony could be corroborated and they were not allowed to act as 'real' police, though they did 'police' public behaviour during World War One when 'deviant' women suffered 'khaki fever' and engaged in promiscuous behaviour with soldiers (Open University). This sort of social policing is still associated with policewomen, who are often thought of more as social service agents than genuine police officers. Police matrons came into existence with the early police forces,

but that does not mean they have always held the same authority and carried out the same duties as men. Their duties consisted more of correcting youth and female criminals, as well as 'immoral' behaviour in public places (Open University). It was not until the 1960s that women started fulfilling the same duties as male police officers. Ironically, the first female police officer to appear in detective fiction, a woman simply known as Ms. Gladden, was created before the first real official policewoman (Klein, *The Woman Detective*, 18). Her role as a 'woman' has been debated, as will soon be explained.

Women in early detective fiction (circa 1841-1920 [see Dove, Gates, Porter]) were usually commodities and convenient plot devices who distracted the male detective from doing his job, secondary characters who did not solve crimes. The first female detectives existed more as a kind of a freak show than as a serious endeavour, something to be lined up with the strong man, the two-headed boy, and the bearded lady. They were honorary males or pawns designed to increase a sense of terror, often playing roles straight out of Gothic fiction. In traditional detective fiction, known for its conclusions' restoration of social order and the status quo, having a female detective as a protagonist would have been highly problematic. They were certainly not considered fit for the kind of physical tasks a hard-boiled detective undertakes. Joan Warthling Roberts claims that most early female detectives were domestic but desperate, working only to preserve their honour or restore the honour of a beloved (Roberts, 4). Her comments echo those of Simone de Beauvoir's in *La deuxième sexe* that women are often treated as simply 'the other sex'. Despite having moved into a protagonist position, becoming detectives who do solve crimes, fictional female detectives all too often have reduced agency and different gendered expectations than their male counterparts. Aspects of gender inequity present in Western societies today creep into fiction and are played out in ways not always possible in reality. As many feminist critics remark, detective fiction traditionally promotes a male-gendered concept of law and order wherein women are co-opted by a male-centric system. In fiction, women may have more or less agency than in reality, highlighting what few comparative powers are available to them in reality.

Unfortunately, the masculine-identified nature of detective fiction often leads to the assumption that protagonists of such stories are male unless they are clearly stereotypically female; in other words, weak, motherly Madonnas or dangerous, seductive whores. Consider a problem that occurs when the gender markers are not attributed convincingly enough; due to a reader's assumption that the detective is a male, especially in early detective fiction, it is possible that the reader may forget that the character is female and begin to think of them as male or 'male-like'. This is the reason why Klein does not consider Mrs. Gladden to be a 'real woman', claiming that the lack of gender markers in the first person narrative used by the male author eliminates the female gender in the reader's mind (*The Woman Detective*, 24). According to Adrienne Gavin, by denying Mrs. Gladden the status of 'woman,' Klein devalues the contribution Mrs. Gladden's character makes to the corpus of female detective fiction (Gavin, 259). One has to start from somewhere, though it is debatable if being treated as a 'freak' or as a form of titillation is better than having no leading role at all. Making a female detective into a realistic woman and not just a man in the guise of a woman means eliminating the gender biased distinctions between 'detective' and 'woman' by giving insights into a woman's life and showing challenges women detectives face on a regular basis. This was rarely done in early detective fiction, though it has become an increasingly popular convention in modern works. This device is often used more to create suspense than to actually give women a voice, as shall become evident in relation to several of my focus texts.

One of the major challenges for a literal or fictional female detective is simply to be seen, and to be recognized as an equal to male detectives. For instance, Joan Roberts refers to the first fictional female detectives as being "domestic but desperate," working to preserve their honour or to reunite with a beloved male (Roberts, 4). Either that or they are financially secure spinsters, unmarried and neither sexually interested nor sexually interesting (Roberts, 7). In short, the early female detective's success is undercut by her femininity, sabotaged to uphold conservative patriarchy. A lack of trust in

real women is thus the norm for their fictional counterparts who virtually always have a happy ending – meaning marriage. This is another component of the lack of equality between early male and female detectives. Whereas male detectives could continue detecting after marriage, women were expected to stop once the mystery was solved (Roberts, 5). Analogously, a contributing factor to the invisibility of female detectives is the way they tend to mimic male detectives. As Klein notes: “women detectives are not at the forefront of social emancipation or fictional innovation [...] As a variation on the original rather than the primary model herself, the woman detective trails several steps behind her male counterpart” (*Woman Detective*, 151). The validity of this statement, as Glenwood Irons suggests in his introduction to *Feminism in Women's Detective Fiction*, was not challenged until the feminist movement of the sixties when more complex and less sexist versions of female detectives began to make innovations in the genre. These women, though victims, were less willing to remain victims or to wait for a male rescuer. Instead, they preferred to try and rescue themselves first.

Glenwood Irons argues that powerful female detectives are not present in fiction until after the 1960s (xii), a claim Phillipa Gates denies by presenting some examples of girl reporters as powerful early detectives, albeit as sleuths, in *Detecting Women: Gender and the Hollywood Detective Film*. Unfortunately, the feisty women Gates highlights are often as much trouble and as inconvenient as the crime/mystery they eventually resolve. The fate of the early female detective was to be cast as an annoying, snooping sleuth rather than an authentic, highly trained detective. Often they were not expected to succeed in their detective efforts, something Klein emphasizes in *The Woman Detective*: “When the paid detective is a woman, [the] anticipated pattern of successful crime solving suddenly collapses” (1). This condescending representation does not end with World War Two and the second wave of the women's movement. Consider the case of Nancy Drew (first introduced in 1966): other characters often expect that Nancy Drew will fail to solve the mystery even though it is known that she has skills and can solve a case. Her services are often unwanted or rejected thanks to a perception of

her as a pest or due to an unwillingness on the part of those being investigated to allow a stranger to know their secrets even when those secrets are banal, forcing her to carry out much of her sleuthing clandestinely. 'Nosing around' in secret only increases the image of Drew as a busybody and an annoyance. Nancy Drew and the girl reporters Gate highlights gain a double discrimination due to their age; they are viewed as incapable not just because they are female but because they are young (though with hundreds of cases attributed to her, one cannot call Nancy Drew inexperienced).

The anti-female aspects of detective fiction are further compounded by the sub-genre of the police procedural. This is because police work, like firefighting, is still considered to be a strictly male vocation. Firefighting is perhaps an even more male-identified career, no doubt due to the virtual absence of women in the ranks. Female police officers are plentiful in comparison: Statistics Canada finds that women represent only 2.7% of firefighters whereas one fifth of all current Canadian police officers are women, a large gender disparity indeed (statcan.ca). The image of the ideal firefighter is, like that of the ideal police officer, a muscular and masculine body. The absence of a positive and iconic female role-model could explain why female police officers show difficulty defining and fulfilling their roles vis-à-vis a male dominated career, something Chrisanne Mayer noticed thanks to interviews she conducted as part of her dissertation, *Changes in the Role-Definition of Female Police Officers*. Several other dissertations have confirmed this and the fact that female police officers feel they are victims of harassment to a greater degree than male officers. As Sandra Tonic explains in "Questioning Women: The Feminist Mystery after Feminism" if one rejects the male-centric system of the police force, one has to quit, but staying on to change the system usually means becoming and remaining a victim.

In "Questioning Women: The Feminist Mystery after Feminism," Sandra Tonic examines what she calls "twin energies of entrenchment and dispersal" (59). Tonic considers that women's "entrenchment in corporate culture" subsequently leads to a "redemption of male-dominated

institutions” (58). Entities such as the police force suddenly become 'less bad' simply by allowing women to enter their ranks and have success therein. But simply having women present does not eliminate sexism, as will be seen both in examples from reality and in my selected fictional focus texts. Tonic also examines how these same twin energies cause gender alliances to be realigned; the entry of women into positions of authority is juxtaposed with 'failed' women who have criminal lifestyles such as prostitutes. The 'failed' women become doubly criminal for not leading a 'virtuous' life or obtaining 'legitimate' employment within the patriarchal institutions that have welcomed – albeit grudgingly, and only to a certain degree – the 'virtuous' women. This plays out clearly in Delany's Smith and Winters' series, where Smith often has confrontations with Lorraine, described by Smith as “the town sled” (*Winter*, 123). Lorraine's role as a common whore disgusts the female constable, who feels superior by virtue of not being sexually promiscuous. Smith also feels obliged to alter Lorraine's situation; Constable Smith has a background in social service and, as such, has extra training for certain domestic situations. The more Smith attempts to 'help' Lorraine, the more Lorraine resists her aid and sees Smith as a 'dyke cop,' a term used derogatorily multiple times in the second and third novels.

Brouillet shows something of the aforementioned twin energies in *Preferrez-vous les icebergs?*, where Inspector Graham must interrogate actresses who are trained to lie, trained to perform as somebody very different from who they really are. In this circumstance, it is hard for her to know which women are telling the truth and which ones are hiding the truth from her. Comparatively, there is a major difference between Graham's attitude towards the actresses and Smith's thoughts about Lorraine. Graham may feel that she and the potentially criminal actresses hold different social positions, but she does not think of them as failed women. She respects them, and is disappointed to learn that one was indeed a murderer. Smith has no real respect for Lorraine. Smith's negative opinion of the young woman is equalled only by Lorraine's low opinion of her.

Another aspect of the twin energies of entrenchment and dispersal described by Tonic is found

in the way women are simultaneously praised for being strong and independent and yet are reintegrated into the patriarchal system through another binary, one that seems paradoxical: “she is victimized, she is a success” (Tonic, 60). The modern female detective may resolve the case, but she is not always a winner. Constable Smith finds a murderer, but is left emotionally scarred by her negative encounter with him. She must also deal with the fact that she trusted her short-term boyfriend Duncan and yet he proved to be a criminal and betrayed her, leaving her to wonder if she will ever have a relationship as good as the one she used to have with Graham, her dead fiancé. A subsequent cycle of victim-success follows. Though it is temporarily suspended during the third novel, it eventually returns, in keeping with the convention of the protagonist in distress, a common trope for many contemporary detective series, be the protagonist a man or a woman (though said cycle occurs at a higher frequency when the protagonist is a woman). Inspecteur Graham challenges this convention to a degree: every time somebody tries to re-institute her as a stereotypical woman, she resists actively. Though happy to be a woman, Graham will not allow herself to be contained by stereotypes. This resistance to entrenchment and dispersal is a common convention of feminist detective fiction, which often appropriates the tropes of misogynistic patriarchy in order to reveal its faults. In Penny's series, Agent Nichol also feels the twin energies in the way she is simultaneously used and ignored by Gamache. It becomes hard to tell if she is good or bad, as she constantly flips between the two. For that, she cannot be trusted. She is discouraged as a police officer until she is brought inside, literally: Nichol is last seen in the third book on the threshold of her family kitchen, debating if she should change her behaviour and enter the kitchen or remain outside; to escape into domesticity and the confines of police work as defined by Gamache or to bully her way through the man's world of the Sureté de Québec.

Women are often discouraged from becoming police officers by the pseudo-military aspects of an organization that promotes stereotypical male behaviour and discourages any 'weak' feminine-identified attributes. They are pushed out by what Dove calls the “Tight Enclave,” meaning the way

that the police bond together for mutual protection. The Tight Enclave is a very real sociological and institutional fact as well as a literary trope, though Dove's use of the term applies mostly to fiction. The police are a powerful organization, able to hide the crimes committed within their ranks by simply ignoring them. The fact that this has happened and could happen again in reality has decreased public trust, which is already low due to many people's natural distrust of anybody in a position of power. In the case of the Tight Enclave, power is often exerted to protect the fraternity, both against threatening internal elements and against assailment by outside forces. The preservation of the team is paramount; no case is more important than the murder of a fellow police officer (Dove, 124). A gender-bias on the part of the Tight Enclave is also commonplace, with male officers excluding and even victimizing female officers. Women, by their very 'otherness,' are generally automatic outsiders and a threat to the strength of the Tight Enclave in the minds of those who associate men with strength and women with weakness. When Sandra Tonic comments about how it is hard to not be a female victim in a society in which so much 'normal' male behaviour includes violence and the abuse of women, she is speaking of reality, not fiction (48, 49).

Tonic also explores something of the Tight Enclave of policewomen, looking at how female officers bond together for protection not only against those who are not police but also against male police officers. The tensions between the female Tight Enclave and the male Tight Enclave do not play out to any great extent in my focus texts, no doubt due to the narratives' lack of female officers. Such tensions can be seen to a degree in Delany's series, where the female Constables Smith and Soloway share a bond of friendship, but their only major constant antagonism comes in the form of Constable Evans, who is well established as a sexist misogynist and a poor example of a male officer. There is potential for the female Tight Enclave to be developed in later novels in the series, but a cabal of two is rather small to be called a Tight Enclave. Brouillet's series could also be said to exhibit something of the antagonism between the male and the female Tight Enclaves, but as Inspecteur Graham is a Tight

Enclave of one, the comparison falls far short. Adding more women for the sake of it could be distracting and potentially detrimental to the underlying feminism of the series. After all, it is not intended to be a girl-buddy series. Female friends are introduced in the fourth book in the series, *C'est pour mieux t'aimer, mon enfant*. They are not police officers, but that does not matter to Graham. What is important to her is that they can be trusted. In the case of Penny's series, like Delany's series, the female Tight Enclave consists of only two women, so it does not count either. Moreover, the two women do not like each other, so there is no bond formed between them. This does not mean that Agents Nichol and Lacoste are enemies; they do not undertake vendettas against each other or even actively try to undermine each other. A certain hostility exists because of the fact that that Lacoste is part of a greater Tight Enclave, Inspector Gamache's seemingly gender-neutral Enclave, whereas Nichol is an outsider who is welcomed in, but remains an outsider. In this case we see a woman who remains outside a male dominant Tight Enclave not due to her gender but due to her overly independent behaviour.

Another interesting aspect of Sandra Tonic's "Questioning Women: The Feminist Mystery after Feminism" is the way Tonic critiques postfeminism and its "vilification of patriarchy" (49). Characters such as Chief Inspector Tennison of the televised series *Prime Suspect* – and Inspecteur Graham – are represented in such a manner that their "qualities as [women] accentuate the flaws of the male-centred system" (49). The better they are shown to be advocates for justice, the better they are able to show how patriarchal institutions are systematically discriminating against women. Tonic further notes: "*Prime Suspect*, like other works in the feminist mystery genre, goes to some length to condemn the male-dominated world it elaborates and parodies" (49). In some ways, it can be argued, the condemnation of patriarchy in fiction is exaggerated, becoming a hyperbolic symbol that underscores the treatment of women in our lived reality. The tactic of exaggeration is part of the postfeminist attempt to "disown or discredit their own ostensibly outdated feminist paradigms" (Tonic, 59). In other

words, these texts not only parody patriarchy – they parody feminism as well.

Nevertheless, very few fictional female detectives are treated as important (other than as a sexual object) or are widely known by the general public. The two best known, Miss Marple and Nancy Drew, are not professional detectives but amateur sleuths. They investigate more out of curiosity than out of professional capacity, often stumbling upon mysteries accidentally. These women are innocuous. Adrienne Gavin describes them in “Feminist Crime Fiction” as being skilled, successful, central, and visible (263). Their visibility makes them an annoyance and an inconvenience to suspects and victims alike; detectives like Nancy Drew often have to be asked to leave so that the ‘real’ detectives, i.e. men, can carry out the investigation. Nevertheless, in the noted examples the amateur female sleuths are the ones who end up solving the mystery (and restoring male order). Female police officers, on the other hand, are better known through television series like *Cagney and Lacey* or *Prime Suspect*. Walton and Jones remark: “It was the CBS series *Cagney and Lacey* that moved to most obviously link feminist concerns, investigative agency, and the television series” (246). The series was more than a feminized version of *Starsky and Hutch*, where humorous antics outweighed serious endeavours. Born out of the feminist movement and reflecting back upon it, *Cagney and Lacey* brought the female police procedural into the spotlight. It dealt directly with feminist concerns and made the female Tight Enclave into a contestatory, emasculating, power. Unfortunately, the series has nearly vanished from memory. Without a revival like *Starsky and Hutch* received in 2004, keeping it fresh in viewer’s minds, *Cagney and Lacey* is likely to become something of an obscure text.

This is a potential hazard faced by another television show I just mentioned, *Prime Suspect* (1991). Of *Prime Suspect*, Walton and Jones note: “The miniseries and its sequels ... constitute one of the most significant depictions of a professional female investigator to be aired on prime-time television” (249). The series deals with sexism head-on, examining the lack of remorse and lack of

culpability in a society that normalizes violence against women (Tonic, 49). Here, the female detective's portrayal as a victim within the Tigh Enclave seems almost paradoxical; Detective Chief Inspector (DCI) Jane Tennison, the main protagonist, is aware of her own victim-hood and yet strives to be part of the very system that victimizes her (Tonic, 50). She fights the systematic chauvinism of the police force from within, very much like Brouillet's Maud Graham does. Even if Tennison and Graham cannot change the system themselves, they can become thorns that make others aware that the problems exist, destroying the veneer of normality that covers the abuse of women. Tennison is a model for modern female detectives, being both realistic and yet fantastic enough to draw interest. Her main importance for this thesis is that the rank she comes to hold is equal to Inspector Gamache's. It is an excellent example of a popular series with a woman in charge (Graham is not the same rank as Gamache, despite having a similar title; her rank is more equivalent to Sergeant Winters'). *Prime Suspect* is comparable to the series *King* (2011), where the King is a woman who heads Toronto Police Major Crimes Task Force. The series was cancelled after only two seasons, but in those two seasons it managed to challenge several stereotypes about female police officers. However, given low viewer interest, it is unlikely that a similar series will appear soon.

It should be noted that not all police women in police procedurals have their agency reduced by patriarchy and sexist stereotypes of what a police officer should be. Certain gain further agency through empowerment, though the number of women who are empowered is diminished compared to the number of police women who are continually represented as victims. More often than not, Western society's idea of a hero is a male. Who better to uphold the patriarchal, hetero-normative order than a man? Changing the hero into a woman necessitates changing our masculine dominated hegemony, something that is far easier to say than do. Changing the masculinist hegemony means changing the often unspoken, gendered ideologies that our society is formed around. For instance, often when a woman is the 'hero' something occurs to shift her into the victim position, thus upholding hetero-

normative values rather than altering them. Megan Turner, protagonist of *Blue Steel*, is affected physically and psychologically when she is attacked by the killer, hospitalized and left with permanent injuries. Detective Rizzoli of *Rizzoli and Isles* is constantly ensnared, victimized, and rescued to the point that the televised series is sexist and predictable. Even Clarice Starling does not go unscathed in *The Silence of the Lambs*. She carries a scar made by the bullet Jame Gumb shot her with in the climax. Philippa Gates notes in *Detecting Women* that Clarice: “is never the sexual victim of a man” (274). This does not prevent her from becoming a victim in the sequel, *Hannibal*. In the long term, the female rescuer is either victimized or re-victimized, as is seen with Detective Rizzoli. More often than not, the one maintaining the women in the victim position through repeated victimization is a male. As a matter of routine, all of these women must obey directives given by a male superior, one who may not always have the policewoman's best interests at heart. The degree to which the female detectives in the focus stories are heroines or victims is often dependent upon the treatment of their male counterparts, none of whom are heroes in the traditional sense.

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the male-dominant biases of detective fiction, and especially the male-dominated police procedural, comes from the rise of the representation of lesbian detectives. The first lesbian detective, created by M.F. Beal, appeared in 1977. Her Kat Guerrera opened the way to other lesbian detectives, such as Barbara Wilson's Pam Nilsen, a woman who investigates murder at the same time as she investigates her own sexuality (Gavin, 266). Unfortunately, homosexual couples are too often shown as mimicking heterosexual couples through the portrayal of one of the women as distinctly more masculine than the other. This can be seen as supporting hetero-normative behaviour rather than allowing the portrayed to simply behave as two women in love. Another problem lies in the way that lesbian characters are often criminalized in a way that further supports heterosexuality and patriarchy. Speaking of the film *Black Widow*, Phillipa Gates states: “although the film may play at offering a lesbian subjectivity, it concludes with homosexuality coded as criminal” (*Detecting Women*,

264). The heterosexual male gaze is also favoured by Hollywood films, so much so that the lesbian narrative may receive a place in the patriarchal system only as an example of a 'fetish,' as the fictional depiction of a male fantasy, but that is not its only role. The authentic lesbian narrative, like the female narrative, exists to give a voice to lesbian experiences.

There is only one lesbian character in the nine focus texts, Delany's Constable Dawn Solway; she seems to exist only to emphasize the fact that Constable Smith is straight. This is unnecessary given Smith's consistently heterosexual responses towards men. It is likewise unfortunate that the term 'lesbian' is constantly treated negatively by Delany throughout the series. For example, the revelation of Solway's sexual preference is accompanied by Smith's feelings of discomfort, shame, and secrecy (*Valley*, 225-6). The secrecy and discomfort comes not only in terms of the intimate details Solway has shared with Smith but also in the fact that Smith appears to be the only character aware of Solway's sexual preferences. Worse, the term 'lesbian' is never used in this instance. It is casually revealed that Solway shares details of her sex-life with Smith, details that hint that her lover is a male, as per convention, but then it is quickly revealed that the lover is a female – so quickly, in fact, that the fact that Solway is a lesbian is occluded the moment it is discovered.

The briefness, and the subsequent absence of lesbianism is suspicious. Imbedded in such an insinuation of homosexuality is the suggestion that it is wrong. As Gates explains: “The association of homosexuality and villainy persisted in Hollywood film until recently” (*Criminal Investigation*, 352). This might explain why lesbian detectives are still rare, and when they do appear, they are usually secondary characters (Gates, 354). Delaney's Solway isn't even secondary. She's tertiary at the best, part of the nearly invisible gallery of characters that pepper in Delany's works. If Delany made Solway into a more important, more openly lesbian character, she could easily show such a life choice as being a more positive or more complex one. Delany could also thus highlight some of the challenges that openly gay or lesbian police face both inside the Tight Enclave and in the patrolled community, as well

as at home and outside the police force. The presence of openly lesbian police officers in the police procedural will likely come with a greater acceptance of lesbians in our culture in general. For the time being, their role is much like that of the female detective in early detective fiction: present but not treated as important.

Even so, the nine focus novels in my thesis can be said to represent a wide range of gender types and especially gender injustices from the obvious to the subtle, from the genuine to the perceived. Some of these injustices are found only in certain of my focus series, and some are prominent only in one novel, but there are many more that are inherent to the genre of detective fiction or are specific to the sub-genre of the police procedural. To better understand this point, it is important to briefly examine the gender types and injustices that have historically been central to the police procedural and how they developed out of prior genres such as classic/traditional detective fiction and hard-boiled detective fiction. Detective fiction itself developed out of another genre, Gothic fiction, and so my historical analysis will begin with it.

Chapter 1: Genre Contributions to Gender Injustices

I: Historical Lineage

Detective fiction has its roots in Gothic fiction, where the victimization of women is a common convention. Gothic women are often found locked in attics or trapped in labyrinth-like places and are generally pursued by undesirable suitors far older than themselves. Heroines such as those found in Ann Radcliffe's *Sicilian Romance* (1790) and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) must use their intelligence, as well as trust in fate, to avoid becoming victims of male tyrants. Jane Austen's Gothic parody *Northanger Abbey* (1817) plays on the dangers faced by women in Gothic fiction by having the heroine imagine that some tyranny exists; she eventually learns that it is just her vivid imagination, making the book a playful warning about confusing fiction and reality. Yet women are not the only Gothic victims. Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1764) may include scenes of violence against women, but it is more focused upon fallen men, themselves victims of fate or deception, than upon female victims. In all four examples, a 'good' marriage, or the promise of one, ensures that the heroines perpetuate the control of patriarchy by accepting a role 'inferior' to men (who nevertheless gain strong, intelligent wives capable of being as much a companion as a wife).

Few Gothic works prior to those by Edgar Allen Poe focus specifically on a solitary investigator as protagonist and on the act of ratiocination, two major elements of the genre (I say 'protagonist' but the detection can be done by a team as in the Inspector Gamache series). Poe is credited by many as having 'invented' detective fiction, but it is unlikely that Poe created a new genre out of nothing; tales of detection can be found throughout Gothic literature before 1841 when "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" was first published. Poe certainly did not invent the method his detective, Auguste Dupin, uses to deduce the culprit of each crime. Skene-Melvin remarks: "It is generally accepted by historians of the genre that the first application of ratiocination – deductive reasoning backwards from effects to causes, appears in Voltaire's *Zadig*, first published in English in 1749" (Canadian Crime Fiction, xi).

This does not mean that Voltaire's work is detective fiction, merely that it is a likely inspiration or building block for the genre.

Whatever the original inspirations for the genre as a short story, it is generally accepted that *The Moonstone* (1868) by Wilkie Collins is the first detective novel. *The Moonstone*, with its complex narratives and secondary plots, is a forerunner of amateur detective stories like Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes^{vi}. A decade after *The Moonstone* came Anna Katharine Green's *The Leavenworth Case* (1878), a novel starring Detective Ebenezer Gryce of the New York Metropolitan Police Force; it is both an early police procedural and evidences the first appearance of a serial detective, predating Holmes by almost ten years. Sadly, the existence of Detective Gryce is greatly overshadowed by the popularity of Doyle's creation. Another early police procedural contains the first appearance by a female detective, Andrew Forrester's Mrs. Gladden. She is the protagonist of *The Experiences of a Lady Detective* (1864) in which she narrates seven cases she resolved. One of these cases, "The Unknown Weapon," has a female criminal; in this case, one woman triumphs over another as the criminal outwits the detective, escaping justice (Klein, *The Woman Detective*, 22-3). Mrs. Gladden is the first official detective to make use of 'a woman's intuition,' knowledge granted only to females that stems from experiences that stereotypically men do not share. Women's intuition allows female detectives to draw certain conclusions that male detectives might ignore. It involves much more than noticing details like make-up and shopping habits. In Susan Gaspell's "A Jury of Her Peers", for example, two women deduct the identity of a murderer just by examining a simple domestic scene, a scene to which their husbands pay little attention. A similar scene appears in *Silence of the Lambs* when the protagonist Clarice Starling sees the darts the first victim was preparing to sew and connects them to the shape of the skin cut away from another victim's back to realize the criminal is making a 'suit' out of his victims' skins. Her intuition is verified by a macabre scene in the killer's basement. As sewing is associated with female activity, it is unlikely that a male police officer would

make the same connections as he would lack such 'domestic knowledge'. Oddly enough, the existence of 'a man's intuition,' knowledge reserved for males involving sports and locker-room jokes, is rarely discussed.

As detective fiction is defined predominantly by the behaviour and profession of its protagonist, it can easily adapt to a variety of theme-based genres, such as romance, westerns, fantasy, science-fiction, and blends of any of the aforementioned. It also contains a variety of sub-genres. The works by Poe are representative of 'Golden Age' whodunits where the identity of the culprit is withheld until the end. Louise Penny's works are a mix of police procedurals and a revival of the Golden Age; in *Cruellest Month*, Penny drops the procedural genre completely at the end and has a traditional 'closed room' revelation where only the potential culprits and other concerned parties are present. Keeping the culprit's identity a secret is the key to building a mystery in many traditional works. Building suspense is also important. Suspense is key in the 'inverted' detective story, which reveals the culprit at the beginning and focuses on the capture and or escape of said culprit. Chrystine Brouillet uses the inverted story to a degree in *Le Collectionneur* by allowing the killer stream-of-conscious narratives throughout and also by revealing his name shortly after the midway point of the story. In this case, the intrigue is built not just around whether or not the police will catch the killer, but what else the killer is going to do to toy with his favourite police officer, Inspecteur Maud Graham. Brouillet's series also has elements of hard-boiled fiction in the way her protagonist is antagonized by (and antagonizes) the police she works with.

The hard-boiled novel was most popular between 1920 and 1950. Hammett and Chandler are perhaps the best-known authors of this genre, having pioneered it. Hard-boiled novels generally involve private investigators (also referred to as P.I.s) who are hired to resolve a 'case' that the police either cannot or will not resolve. Very few female authors of hard-boiled fiction are recognized by the average reader/consumer. Their near erasure is no doubt do to the idea that such novels are male

fantasies that were not considered to be appropriate for women readers or authors; the success of Sara Paretsky and Sue Grafton, however, has proven this not to be the case (at least in our feminist influenced era). The hard-boiled detective is, as Irons points out, the reworking of the American male Western hero, a loner and a tough guy (xii). The women in these narratives are separated by character according to the rules of the Madonna-whore dichotomy. Those in the Madonna category are either 'good' subservient and docile women who stay out of the realm of detective, waiting at home for the hero's return, or they are victims whose harm the hero has to avenge. Those in the whore category are best referred to by the term 'femme fatale,' a convention of the hard-boiled novel that vilifies women as either seductresses bent on bringing the hero under their control through sexual pleasures, or as criminal deviants who risk causing the hero's downfall with their feminine deceits, or a mixture of both. According to Walton and Jones, the femme fatale is symbolic of male resentment of women's newly won freedoms (193). She is thus reflective of the images of women presented by *The Monk*. Femmes fatales are not necessarily present in police procedurals. They are somewhat echoed by the criminal female such as seen in *Valley of the Lost*, but the sexual elements at the core of the character are lost when the protagonist is a strictly heterosexual female (unless the femme fatale is transformed into a male, as is with *In the Shadow of a Glacier*).

It should be noted that just because the protagonist is a P.I. does not make the work hard-boiled, though it does in the majority of cases. The Inspector Gamache series, for example, could easily morph into a series with Gamache as a private detective who aids police investigations without transforming the series into a work of hard-boiled fiction. It would instead be a re-working of classic detective fiction, its dominant influence. Real private detectives work with the police, not against them like we see in hard-boiled fiction. Fictional P.Is are often shown as being involved in murder investigations for the simple reason that murder is often sensationalized but in reality, murder is investigated by the police. Modern films frequently circumvent the police and aim for a vigilante-style resolution for

entertainment value; even when the protagonist is police officer, the protagonist often ultimately acts outside the law, such as in *Blue Steel* (1990). There also exists what the author Howard Engel calls 'soft-boiled' detective works, a strongly Canadian-identified version of the hard-boiled detective story with writing that is “more subtle, more psychological, and more caring ... The salient feature of Canadian crime writing is its non-violence, its lack of machismo” (Skene-Melvin, xvii). This is certainly true in the focus texts: there is very little violence in Penny's work, other than the violence of murder; Brouillet's work has very little violence, with the notable exception of *Le Collectionneur*; Delany's text is perhaps a minor exception, given the domestic violence present, but it does not meet the level of gratuitous violence present in American (United States) literature to which Skene-Melvin compares Canadian detective fiction. Before the complaint is made that the detective women in my focus texts are less violent because they are women, it should be noted that there is little violence on the part of the men also present in the three focus series. Furthermore, Skene-Melvin's comment applies to ALL 'hard-boiled' Canadian detective fiction, whether they are works written by men or women.

The police procedural sub-genre of detective fiction began to make a mark in the 1940s, developing alongside the hard-boiled sub-genre. Much like detective fiction is accredited to Poe, the genre of the police procedural is often accredited to Lawrence Sanders' *Was in Victim* (1945). It was made popular thanks to the radio drama *Dragnet* (1949-1957), with its dead-pan narration reminiscent of a documentary program. The documentary style of *Dragnet* adds a realistic edge that is hard to find in hard-boiled or traditional works. It is treated as a report, as something that has actually happened, even though it is fantasy. The element of realism became a standard convention of the genre; things that happen in the narratives could actually happen to us. Less realistic elements are only acceptable so long as they are reasonable within the heterocosm of the narrative. As George Dove notes in *The Police Procedural*: “The police procedural is the only kind of detective story in which the detective has

a recognizable counterpart in real life” (3). There are no Sherlock Holmes or Sam Spades in reality. Such characters are exaggerated and sensationalized; moreover, they do work that is more commonly attributed to real police officers than to real P.I.s. The police in police procedurals are expected to reflect real police officers and situations to a greater degree than fictional sleuths or private detectives.

Police in this genre are not superheroes. They are what Dove calls Ordinary Mortals, realistic characters who are endowed with realistic frailties that are dictated by time and by manpower (*Procedural*, 113). They do not always resolve the crime, a major difference from fictional police and P.I.s. Unlike P.I.s, they cannot refuse to investigate a crime because it is their job, whereas P.I.s can pick and choose and generally do not have to deal with the myriad of other humdrum activities police must undertake. Moreover, they work a Thankless Profession, garnering ridicule and even hatred from the very people they are hired to protect (*Procedural*, 116). Yet this does not make the story real. Dove notes: “The formula almost always has two faces, one determined by the demands of the real world and the other by narrative necessity” (*Procedural*, 4). While authors need to consider the realities of police work, they also need to consider narrative excitement. Readers of police procedurals are almost always treated to a spectacular crime, something that grabs and retains their attention. Though police procedurals reflect reality, they are not real; it is all fiction. The preference of fiction over reality can cause problems when readers confuse fiction with reality^{vii}. Doyle learned this when he heaved Holmes off of Reichenbach Falls^{viii}. Mark Frost dramatizes the reaction to Holmes' death in *6 Messiahs*, where a fictional version of the famous author is mobbed by outraged fans on multiple occasions (both the fictional and the real Doyle eventually accept Holmes' return).

After Jonathan Demme's 1991 adaptation of Thomas Harris' *The Silence of the Lambs*, the criminalist genre sprouted out of the police procedural and became highly popular (Gates, *Detecting Women*, 273). The criminalist genre focuses on the science, or the spectacle of the supposed science, to show how evidence is analyzed to catch a criminal. The term criminalist, much like the term detective,

refers to the job of the protagonist or team of protagonists, as well as the manner in which psychology and technology have become key features of the science of catching criminals. *CSI* and *NCIS* are both highly rated television series that capitalize on criminalist attributes with coroners and other 'lab rats' as major characters. The series *Bones* takes the criminalist narrative to another level by featuring a forensic anthropologist as its protagonist. The series is based on works by Kathy Reichs and is notable due to the fact that the protagonist, Dr. Temperance Brennan, is a woman. However, the series tends to pay more attention to the heterosexual romantic tension between Brennan and FBI Agent Seeley Booth, complete with sex scenes, than it does the difficulties faced by a woman in a position of authority.

Delany's series and Penny's series both portray female coroners with roles similar to Brennan's (Brouillet has a male coroner); neither series shows these women as being the targets of any gender injustices. It is likely that they would receive the same treatment they do in the novels if they were male. Gender injustices faced by a female criminalist are shown more often by the television series *Rizzoli and Isles*, where a female police detective Jane Rizzoli, and a female medical examiner Dr. Maura Isles, work together to catch murderers. The series often plays upon Rizzoli's masculine 'tomboy' character, portraying her more as a man in a woman's body than as a feminine detective while Isles is the 'girly girl' who needs to learn to be more masculine in order to be successful. The series is important to note due to the constant victimization of Rizzoli's character and the subsequent traumas she suffers. She goes from victim to 'survivor' and even to 'retributionist,' arresting or killing the men who have victimized her. The series is also important due to its having a female creator and producer, Janet Tamaro. This could explain while the series seems to be more female-centric, occasionally focusing on elements of a woman's world beyond her place of work.

Rizzoli and Isles is tightly connected to another sub-genre of the police procedural also closely linked to Demmes' *The Silence of the Lambs*, notably the serial killer/thriller. This genre often depicts a female detective hunting a male killer and nearly becoming the killer's victim (in some instances, the

female detective is captured and tortured but not killed, making her a victim in the sense that she has been imprisoned and abused but not in the sense that she has been murdered). The female becomes an object of the male gaze as a matter of convention. As Priscilla Walton and Manina Jones explain:

The serial killer film's use of a psychopathic monster creates a hybrid between the police procedural and the horror genres, one in which female characters are often ambiguously placed as retributive agents and eroticized victims of violence. The repeated association of the female agent with the investigation of serial killings and stalkings might also be read as a disturbing negotiation of female fears and of male fantasies. It certainly makes the permeability of the roles of victim and investigator central to narrative interest. (233)

The serial killer genre, then, often has one (female) body playing the role of both hero and victim. The protagonist is initially introduced in a hero position, attracts negative male attention during the course of the investigation, and then moves into the position of a victim or a potential one. This pattern has been a popular convention of detective fiction since before *The Silence of the Lambs*, occurring most often when there are strong female heroes as a way to neutralize their strength by maintaining them as victims. As has already been said, victimization is a longstanding convention whenever the protagonist is a woman. Or, as Gates comments in *Detecting Women*:

In the serial killer film, masculinity is still regarded as the embodiment of strength and heroism and the female body, weakness and victimization. The female detective is portrayed as competent and successful only as a masculinized or de-feminized woman; when she exhibits feminine traits – usually emotional – she is branded as a professional failure. (282)

The masculine traits of the heroine assure the maintenance of the gender binary in that a male-like protagonist remains in the hero position. Female characters are set up to take a fall; as Gates demonstrates in *Detecting Men* and in *Detecting Women*, men who show too much emotion or

femininity are also victimized, maintaining the strong masculine male as the hero. Often the female protagonist requires a male rescuer, returning the hero position back to its traditional masculine embodiment. *The Silence of the Lambs* is a notable exception, as Clarice Starling rescues not only herself but the killer's female prisoner in the climax. Moreover, the kidnapped victim, Catherine Martin, is on the verge of negotiating her own escape when Starling arrives. It is hard to say how successful Martin would have been if Starling had not arrived. The expectation is that she would have been shot in her attempt to escape, the killer sacrificing his plans for the young woman to save his 'Precious' dog^{ix}. Starling does not escape this scene unharmed. She nearly falls victim to the killer after being stalked by him in the dark of the basement.

Starling's feminine intuition and inherent masculine policing skills mixed with her potential victimhood make her something of a hybrid character. Walton and Jones claim: "Clarice's status teeters back and forth between the possibilities of female agency and the conventions associated with the voyeuristic appeal of female victimization" (229). She is a potential victim, investigator, and rescuer – and she is woman, connected to the victims by their shared femininity. Walton and Jones are not the only critics who consider Starling as something of a victim, even if she is not a victim in the usual sense of being raped or killed. For she IS a victim of sexism and patriarchy. She is used by her male employer to get a reaction from Hannibal Lecter, who has not seen a woman since his incarceration. Hannibal then uses Clarice for his personal satisfaction, building himself up as a mentor and a father-figure at the same time. She is thus a victim in terms of how she is limited in her mobility, by her boss controlling where she can go and when, and in terms of her knowledge of the situation – both Clarice's employer and Hannibal withhold important information from her. This play on Clarice's agency is reflected in a comment by Tonic: "The choice to feature a serial killer of women, precisely because it highlights the woman detective's vulnerability, perforce limits the terms of her independence and mobility" (53). Interestingly, the only female detective from my focus texts to face a serial killer,

Inspector Maud Graham, is neither limited in independence nor in mobility. She has the agency to go where she wants and the intelligence to choose her course wisely; and where she wants to go in *Le Collectionneur*, as we shall see, is into the den of a serial killer.

Brouillet's *Le Collectionneur* is a feminist response to the serial killer genre. It certainly plays on its conventions and reader expectations that result from such conventions. Allowing the killer a stream-of-conscious narrative brings in a male gaze with a taint. The way he watches Graham, stalking her, incorporates suspense as to what he intends to do to her if he catches her. As the killer works on fulfilling his own fantasy, but there are few signs that he is 'insane' or psychotic. The killer is presented instead as something of an artist seeking admiration for his work. The novel's anti-climatic ending exhibits none of the cat-and-mouse type game we see in *The Silence of the Lambs*. When Graham finally does capture him, the killer admits defeat as easily as one who has lost a good game of chess. The lack of machismo in the conclusion denies many of the reader's expectations; its conventions have been played upon but have not been followed as the female detective evades being victimized. Moreover, the phallic gun is never employed, denying the transformation of the female detective into a temporary male by its usage. Graham simply holds her gun by her leg and talks the killer out. In this way, the ending is far more 'feminine' than others of the serial killer genre – a masculinist ending would involve action, gunfire and explosions, culminating in the death of the Collectionneur. The existence of such an alternative ending to Brouillet's *Le Collectionneur* will be discussed later.

Another sub-genre of the police procedural is the police novel. The police novel focuses less on procedure and more on the psychological effects of police work, often starring a cynical burnt-out cop such as Ian Rankin's Detective Inspector John Rebus. Police novels are often negatively-charged; they either endorse the existing dominant social order or reveal stress points and failings of the social system (Messent, 185). They are more focused on bureaucracy, collective agency, and social monitoring/control than on social crimes. The plot often centres on the corruption of the Tight

Enclave, the 'dehumanization' and 'desensitization' that police fall victim to, and the realities of the police world seen through a police officer's eyes. Though they are less focused on procedure, police novels share several elements with the standard procedural, most notably in terms of gender treatment. Women, for example, are shown as being less likely to have violent repercussions of the psychological turmoils of the job, being presented as better able to vent their emotions whereas men like Inspector Rebus hold their emotions in and then explode in a way dangerous to themselves and to those who are around them. It is extremely rare to find a police novel that has a female protagonist. This could be due to the same reason that there are so few female police protagonists to begin with. Female identified police novels differ from standard police novels in that they are focused not upon a cynical and psychologically damaged protagonist but more upon the general frustrations felt by most policewomen, as is the case with the television series *Prime Suspect*. The focus in *Prime Suspect* is often the sexism the female characters face on a constant basis rather than the darker psychological impact the stress of police work has on female officers.

Female Police Procedurals

Having enumerated many of the precedents, conventions, and related detective genres to date, I will now briefly concentrate upon the female police procedural, written by and for women, that developed with and as a result of the women's movement. It can be enjoyed by male readers, but they are not the target audience. The female police procedural functions as much as a form of empowerment as it does as a critique of gender injustices. As Walton and Jones state:

The female police procedural begins to negotiate in fictional form anxieties about two issues central to the women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s: women's equal access to the institutional workplace and problems of social justice – justice as it is administered *by* the law and as it is conducted *within* the law itself. (14)

Women may have gained the right to equal access, but this does not mean they gained the necessary support. Opposition inside the police force as well as in the public domain were evident as the population adapted to the concept of a female 'lawman.' Some of the resentment found in reality is reflected in fiction, such as in the series featuring Dorothy Uhnak's Christie Opara, and Lillian O'Donnell's Norah Mulcahaney. Opara and Mulcahaney have to deal with sexist coworkers and dangerous criminals on a consistent basis. Both undertake hazardous undercover work, often putting their lives in jeopardy and risking becoming real victims by posing as potential ones, often acting as bait to draw criminals out. In *No Business Being a Cop*, the gender divide inside the Tight Enclave is dealt with directly as Mulcahaney investigates a killer focusing on female cops. Mulcahaney's male coworkers, already showing signs of discontent due to fears of losing their job to a woman, suddenly have to change their behaviour or risk being labelled a suspect.

It is not known if O'Donnell's series is based on the experiences of real policewomen, but the chances are high for Uhnak's series, which is likely based on her own work as a police officer. It could also be convention. Adrienne Gavin states:

Three elements prevalent in twenty-first century feminist detective fiction are ensemble characters, issues surrounding motherhood, and violence against women [...] The central concern of feminist crime fiction remains violence against women. Women are victims: captured, raped, murdered, butchered, and in the hands of forensics detectives dissected into evidence. (267)

Violence against women in male-centric fiction is not only a convention but an acceptable form of entertainment. In female detective fiction, however, violence is not glorified. It is not made to be a spectacle but a commentary, a fact and a daily concern that many women have to deal with. This is a distinguishing mark between female police procedures and standard police procedures. It is thus interesting to see the absence of violence against policewomen in any of the focus series but Delany's.

In Penny's series, the only violence against women is done to the murder victims and, in the case of *A Fatal Grace*, to the victim's victim. Brouillet's series is distinctly part of the genre of female police procedural and yet her protagonist does not experience any direct physical violence in the novels. This is not a complaint but a commendation, as it is refreshing to see a woman who is not a victim in the conventional sense.

As for Delany's main character, Smith suffers several instances of violence; however, she is never portrayed as a victim. When her injured feet prevent her from continuing her police duties at the end of *In the Shadow of the Glacier*, her chief teases that he can find some paperwork for her, knowing she is eager to get back to work (302). When she is kidnapped in *Valley of the Lost*, Smith's attempts to escape allow her more agency than the standard female victim due to her near success. The novel's wrap-up includes a 'confrontation' with a man Smith arrested (after he punched her) in the denouement. Though Smith could have handled herself against her attacker, her regular partner Constable Evans "saved her from the big bad guy" (4). A blow to her ego is the only true wound Smith takes – apart from a bloody lip. She finds it aggravating that she needs help from a man, especially one so chauvinistic and narcissistic as Constable Evans. The big bad buy proves to be an undercover cop whose assault on Smith gave him the reputation he needed to access a criminal drug ring, bringing about the arrest of a large-scale heroin dealer (424-5). The violence against Smith thus takes a strangely positive turn, further eliminating victim status in her case. The fact that he punched her becomes 'acceptable' given the turn of events, though I question whether such violence is ever acceptable, even if it does lead to a greater good.

Smith's relationship with Evans helps illuminate Dove's note that one of the main problems a female cop has to deal with "is the male cops' ambivalent feelings about her" (156). On the one hand, men worry that a woman will be promoted simply because she is a woman and the perceived need for a 'token' female to sooth public relations. This fear is apparent in Lillian O'Donnell's series, especially in

No Business Being a Cop, where male police officers fear not only losing out on chances for promotion on the basis of female friendly gender politics but also fear being seen as aggressors in a case where female police officers are being targeted by a killer. It is also the case in Brouillet's series, where Maud Graham certainly takes on the role of the token woman. These fears can lead to strong tensions when men are concerned about keeping their jobs or when there is competition for promotion. On the other hand, women prove to be necessary evils perfect for filling out tedious paperwork while the 'real' cops do 'real' police work. Far too often, female police officers are depicted as secretaries, switch-board operators, and 'desk-jockeys,' doing the more menial tasks while men are depicted as doing the physical and 'genuinely' intellectual tasks. Of course, men are generally depicted in the lead roles, so it is understandable that they would get the more interesting jobs. Another problem female police officers face is what Dove calls the "Little Sister Syndrome": the problem of misplaced chivalry as male cops turn into over-protective brothers who watch over 'the girls' even when they do not need protection (156). Constable Smith gets this kind of treatment from Constable Evans on a constant basis, and she scorns him for it.

Third, things inside the Tight Enclave are not as equal as people might think they are. According to Dove: "A woman must do twice the job just to stay even" (*Procedural*, 157). Female cops may feel the need to prove themselves and thus take unnecessary risks. They might even end up in trouble that they actually do need to be rescued from, though not necessarily by a male. Again, we see Constable Smith often trying to prove that she has what it takes to be a police officer, often due to the negative treatment she receives from her community. However, the trouble she ends up in is often accidental, as when she is confronted by Duncan during their ill-fated date (*In the Shadow of the Glacier*), or the result of another person's choice, as when she comes to harm thanks to the baby her mother wisely refused to hand over to social services (*Valley of the Lost*).

An interesting aspect of the female police procedural is its ability to exist outside, inside, and

alongside feminist values. Walton and Jones comment: “One of the pleasures of reading novels with strong female detectives, it seems, lies in the ability of these works to negotiate what we would call the territory of gender politics in a manner that readers saw as 'normal' rather than 'political,' one identified with 'realism' rather than 'ideology’” (59). Such negotiation is essential to avoid alienating potential readers who seek entertainment rather than a social commentary. The word 'feminism' has become something of a derogatory term, as is shown by the treatment of Maud Graham's character. Being a feminist makes her an outcast. It is possible that Brouillet, who identifies herself as a feminist, is allowing some of her frustrations surrounding some of the anti-feminist treatment she has received to be expressed by Graham's character. It is just as possible that Brouillet is playing upon the victimization of feminists due to a misunderstanding of feminist values.

Walton and Jones provide an excellent analysis of the problems faced by texts that are identified as feminist and the question of whether or not readers differentiate between realistic strong women and ideological feminists. They challenge the negative connotations of feminism, using the feminist detective novel to show ways that feminism can have a positive impact. They note: “Feminist detective fiction constitutes a reverse discourse exploring positions of resistance and agency that were offered by previous practices that were inaccessible to women. Re-inscribing those discourses refuses stereotypical structures at the same time as it reveals their contradictions” (93). The feminist detective novel shifts the victim position towards the survivor position, focusing not on the weakness of the victim but the strength of the woman who overcomes her victim-hood, becoming what Margaret Atwood refers to as a creative non-victim:

Energy is no longer suppressed ... or used up for displacement of the cause, or for passing your victimization along to others ... you are able to accept your own experience for what it is, rather than having to distort it to make it correspond with others' versions of it (particularly those of your oppressors). (*Survival*, 49)

As they are no longer victims, such female detectives are no longer held in a position where they are constantly demoralized. As survivors, they gain a sense of agency denied to victims. Walton and Jones further note: “Women writers of detective fiction strategically talk back to a genre that has often demeaned, trivialized, and even demonized women. The genre itself, however, offers an attractive position from which to investigate agency” (94). The performances of both men and women in the genre are revealing of their relative agency. Smith often acts like she is an independent adult, but it is not until the third novel that she gains more agency by buying a car, a simple act that allows her more mobility and freedom than simply moving out of her parent's house. Graham lives on her own and should be free to do what she wants, but she is restricted at work by closed doors, most of them kept closed by men. Nichol limits herself by denying her own agency and becoming a puppet for Gamache to manipulate. She plays by his rules in *The Cruellest Month*, though she potentially does so for her own reasons. Lacoste is the only one who appears to have true agency, and even she is limited in her powers by her rank and her personal secrets. In all cases, the relative agency and mobility change with the situation, allowing the women less movement in some cases and more in others.

Injustice in Another Language

When critics analyze or comment upon works of detective fiction, they often focus exclusively on English texts, no doubt due to the wealth of works written in the English language. Many critical works focus only on the American market, one that is more conventional than innovative. Focusing exclusively on the North American market means missing some rather interesting developments in terms of gender injustices and gender inequities. To look at some of the new conventions affecting the genre, one must look beyond the North American market. Often English speakers are not the ones who are most noticeably pushing the boundaries of the genre. Sue Neale notes in “Crime Writing in Other Languages” that it is the Scandinavian writers like Steig Larsson (deceased) who are making a

powerful impact on detective fiction (304). Originally written in Swedish, Larsson's *Millennium Trilogy* has been translated both into French and into English and has been made into movies twice, by Swedish producer Niels Arden Oplev in 2009 and by American producer David Fincher in 2011. This trilogy may not be a police procedural, but it is representative of new conventions that are effecting all types of detective fiction, including the procedural.

Reader attraction to the series is no doubt due to Larsson's dark characters, including female hacker Lisbeth Salander. What makes him innovative is the way his characters investigate the psychology of the criminal and the motives behind the commission of the crimes, making a blatant critical social commentary as they do so. This is a drastic change from classic detective fiction, that is more involved with catching the criminal than in addressing the social problems that lead to criminality. However, a more obvious social commentary is creeping into North American detective fiction, as is evidenced by Brouillet's works. As Norbert Spehner puts it: "Chrystine Brouillet a choisi la voie de la fiction pour protester et clamer son désaccord dans un polar qui témoigne, une fois de plus, de sa conscience sociale" (*Scènes de Crimes*, 190). Penny's series does not go as deep into social commentary as Brouillet's does, but it does have the potential to follow Larsson's darker version of detective fiction, especially in the treatment of Agent Nichol's character. Her position as an outsider, as a person unwanted, gives her a lot in common with Lisbeth.

Lisbeth may fill the role of the 'assistant', but she is not a stereotypical Watson figure or even a stereotypical female. She challenges many social conventions both by maintaining them and denying them. Suffering from a sort of autism, Lisbeth has trouble functioning in society; her personal challenges are complicated by society's treatment of the autistic and misunderstanding of her 'bizarre' behaviour. Rather than attempting to understand Lisbeth, society pushes her further into the realm of the outcast, the realm of the social deviant. Though she is an outcast, Lisbeth does not allow herself to remain a victim of society. The way she reverses the roles between herself and rapist Nils Bjurman in

The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo, going from rape victim to aggressive blackmailer, is an excellent example of how she is able to overcome and even control her victimhood. It shows her intelligence and ability to shift the lines of criminality. Bjurman is also Lisbeth's appointed guardian, betraying trust as he was supposed to have been like a parent and a protector rather than a sexual pervert. Lisbeth's revenge for the rape is something of justice, though it is as criminal as the rape itself. Despite this, she is not treated as a criminal, only as a deviant.

The fact that Lisbeth is a female worsens the situation due to the way the concept of a 'female' is often coupled with the expectation of procreation; given that Lisbeth is possibly mentally handicapped, it is expected that she will not (read “should not”) procreate or be allowed to pass her 'disease' onto others. Thus there is a different kind of sexual tension between Lisbeth and the main protagonist, investigative journalist Mikael Blomkvist. Their sexual relationship is set as spontaneous, without permanence and without malice. As readers may expect, it is also without risks of sexually transmitted diseases or pregnancy, things that are traditionally absent from detective fiction. It is also a relationship without true emotional contact; Blomkvist does not hate or harm Lisbeth but he does not love her either; if anything, he pities her. The nature of their relationship depends on how one views Lisbeth's autism as an impediment or an empowerment or something that does not matter at all. Those who consider that the mentally handicapped should receive hysterectomies or vasectomies to prevent the reproduction of their handicaps would see any sexual relationship involving the mentally handicapped as a faux pas, perhaps even feeling disgust at the very thought of such individuals having sex. Such thoughts deny the agency of affected individuals, already socially outcast. I feel that the sexuality of any autonomous consenting adult individual is that individual's personal choice, a matter left between the individual and other autonomous consenting adults.

The *Millennium* series often includes depictions of violence against women as a way of speaking out against such violence. It is clear that Larsson does this on purpose, as clear as the literal

translation for the Swedish title of *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, *Män som Hatar Kvinno* – Men Who Hate Women. Larsson's unconventional series is in many ways a cry against the conventions of a society that allows for such crimes against women to be normalized. His work will no doubt influence future writers of the genre, a posthumous legacy Larsson would no doubt approve of. Unfortunately, the Americanized version of his works 'tames' the violence to such an extent that any outcry is silenced. Lisbeth changes from a mentally challenged individual into a simple social rebel 'scarred' by her negative experiences with men. Her chance to be strong, then, is also erased as she is maintained in a victim position. Changing the language from Swedish to English but maintaining the Swedish setting further alienates the movie from its original intentions; rather than occurring 'at home,' where the problem is present and has to be dealt with directly by the society experiencing it, the events occur elsewhere in an exotic and 'otherly' place. The violence against women becomes normalized as happening in a barbaric 'elsewhere' where such things are common occurrences. The problem becomes more fictional and less immediate. Moreover, it is somebody else's problem, so it does not have to be addressed by the observing society. The exhibition of rape as a despicable act becomes a quotidian amusement that both titillates and makes watchers squeamish, but does not actually encourage them to consider the violence and rapes in their own society. The scene where Lisbeth rapes Bjurman, for example, is more reminiscent of a dark comedy than a serious dramatic social commentary, especially given the way she marks him as a rapist.

Historically speaking, Scandinavia has not been a driving force for innovation in detective fiction. Their contributions have mostly come since the 'cyber age' beginning in the 1980s. The driving force is not England either, despite being home to Sherlock Holmes. As Sue Neale states: “French writers have historically been most influential on the genre's development” (298). The French author who was and is perhaps the most influential is the Belgian George Simenon. Simenon is known to have influenced Agatha Christie and P.D. James, who in turn influenced others. His Commissaire

Maigret has much in common with Penny's Chief Inspecteur Gamache, showing a potential influence there. Both are kindhearted gentlemen capable of being formidable or understanding according to the situation at hand. The French (Québécois) language itself has also clearly influenced Penny, appearing frequently in her work. She often plays upon the stereotypes held by Anglophones about Francophones and vice versa, mildly critiquing a situation often referred to as 'the Two Solitudes' after the novel by Hugh MacLennan. It is even suggested at several points in various novels that people can be judged by their mother tongue.

The stereotype of the two solitudes is often vocalized by male characters like Agent Beauvoir, who is shown as being hyper-masculine and critical of those who are unconventional or non-Francophone such as the members of the artistic community of Three Pines. The main female characters in Penny's works, such as Clara Morrow, are portrayed as being beyond such linguistically-based prejudices, refusing to judge people by their language. The superiority of the women regarding the language question is itself a stereotype revolving around the idea that a woman's brain is somehow more in-tune to language and communication as well as compassion. Whenever a woman does show prejudice or a linguistically-based bias, she is shown to be small-minded, petty, and untrustworthy such as realtor Yolande Fontaine, who is shallow and rude.

In the case of Brouillet, the language question often involves French grammar and yet is full of stereotypes about men and women. The French language uses feminine and masculine grammar to a far deeper degree than the English language, altering word endings so that they are correct grammatically in terms of matching the 'gender' of the object^x. Graham, being female, should be properly designated 'Inspectrice.' As a feminist, however, Graham objects to being called 'Inspectrice' given the connotations of physical and mental inferiority that typically come with it. The idea that an inspectrice is somehow less able to resolve a crime than an inspector only because she is a woman is held by many of the male and female characters that Graham encounters, most particularly the Lambert

family. Mathieu Lambert doesn't know what to call Graham, shifting back and forth between 'inspecteur' and 'inspectrice'. Graham finds this both amusing and insulting, seeing how unnerved her suspect is by her gender alone: “Décidément, une femme inspecteur semble le gêner. Tous pareils” (*Poison*, 136). The after thought, “tous pareils,” reveals some of Graham's own sexist attitudes. She expects that the men she encounters will all be the same, all anti-female patriarchal goons. This explains why she is so short with certain suspects, automatically throwing their presumed sexism in their face as she does with Philippe Lambert: “[Philippe:] Comment se fait-il que vous soyez chargée de l'enquête? -- [Graham:] Vous posez la question parce que je suis une femme ou parce que vous ne comprenez pas qu'on enquête sur la mort de votre bru?” (163). The sharp tone taken by Graham results in a defensiveness on the part of Philippe, who is as cutting with Graham as she is with him.

Interestingly, if the text were to be translated into English, some of the feminist arguments about Graham's title would be lost. The term 'policewoman' can easily be replaced by police officer, a gender-neutral designation. However, the same term is more often applied to a male and thus more associated with masculinity, raising the same question: what do we call Graham? Inspector, Detective, Agent, and Officer are all supposedly neutral terms associated with a male body. There are no female-specific English terms other than policewoman, and Graham is something more than a simple policewoman^{xi}. Moreover, she would likely take as much offence as with the title as 'inspectrice'. The only option is to match the gender-charge of the terms used in French with a similar charge in English, be it feminine, masculine, or 'neutral'. It seems like a petty issue, but real policewomen have been (and still are) struggling to be on equal terms with policemen, as will soon be made evident.

Chapter 2: Reality Check/ Female Police Officers and the Media

In considering the gender and injustices faced by policewomen in fiction, one must consider the treatment of such women in reality. Policewomen receive very different treatment by the media and by consumers of media. The general public consists of people who support women in positions of authority and those who believe such jobs are better left to men. The media, when they portray female officers, often cater to one group or the other. This means that the media occasionally intentionally depicts policewomen as 'loose cannons' or 'sexual distractions' or 'unworthy' of being police officers. As will be shown through specific case studies, the media can have a detrimental effect on the careers of policewomen who gain their attention.

Officer 728

On October 2, 2012 Montreal police officer Stéphanie Trudeau, better known to the public as Officer 728, was filmed committing an act that appalled many worldwide. She accosted a man, Rudy Orchietti, while he was holding open an apartment door with a bottle of beer in his hand. In Quebec, it is illegal to transport alcohol in public once it is open. Rudi Occhietti's friend Simon Pagé was also accosted despite the fact that all he was carrying was a musical instrument (Woods). Trudeau and other officers chased Pagé upstairs into the apartment where he was arrested. Another friend, Serge Lavoie, protested the arrests and soon found himself being dragged downstairs in a choke-hold; in the video that captured much of the chaotic scene, Lavoie offers no resistance other than to try and save his own life from what are clearly over-aggressive actions. The three men claim that they did nothing to warrant such treatment, though Pagé's having returned inside the apartment after refusing to show Trudeau his identification may be interpreted as resisting arrest.

A cell phone confiscated during the incident recorded Trudeau making a report to her supervisor, giving her perception of the incident, including derogatory statements about the men

arrested and about the student movement of Québec's "Printemps érable." The Quebec student movement of 2012 involved nightly protests during several months where college and university students demanding either free education or a freeze in tuition, and a review of the use of university funding, clashed with police who were themselves inevitably stressed by the situation. Interestingly enough, there seems to be no direct connection between the three men and the student movement. For example, none of the videos of the men show them wearing red squares, a symbol of support for the student moment. The only connection, then, is the one Trudeau decided to make. Orchietti, Pagé, Lavoie, and a woman who filmed the incident were all arrested and charged with obstructing police, assault and intimidation. These charges were put in a state of suspension until March 2013 when all charges were dropped (Miles, "Pas d'accusations").

Six months prior in May 2012, Trudeau was filmed in another video directly related to the student movement wherein she pepper-sprayed several protestors more than once. In this case, the protestors clearly verbally incited Trudeau to attack them. However, her reaction to their taunts was still inappropriate. Trudeau should have behaved as the other officers in the video did, which is to say she should have ignored the verbal retorts. Her fellow officers also should have acted differently, shifting Trudeau away from the protestor who continued to provoke her after her first attack. The first pepper-spray attack was unpredictable but the second attack was easily preventable. Removing Trudeau, who was clearly upset and volatile, might have helped the situation, but doing so would mean acknowledging that Trudeau was behaving in an inappropriate manner. That her fellow officers instead remained in place with their backs to the scene only served to increase public distrust in the police. It looked like the other officers didn't care if one of their own abused the power given to them. It shows aspects of the Tight Enclave described by Dove: "Cops almost automatically cover for each other ... admissions of weakness and shortcomings in the department are not permitted outside the group" (122-3). The officers present 'cover' Trudeau by not watching the indecent act, thereby not seeing it. If it

had not been filmed, there would likely have been no record of it.

Disciplinary actions were taken as Trudeau was removed from crowd control duty after the incident; however, these actions could be easily explained away as a means to give Trudeau a break from the stress of the student protests. Trudeau has since been cleared of any criminal acts in this matter, given that the video was taken out of context (we are never shown why the protestors gained Trudeau's attention, and what else they were doing just prior to the incident). As noted in *La Presse*, the procurer examined the video and made a pointed statement regarding it:

“Le segment vidéo ne permet pas d'apprécier l'intégralité de l'événement et son contexte” [...] On y explique que “27 déclarations de témoins ont été recueillies, et démontraient le caractère hargneux et violent de la manifestation.” (Desjardins)

Given the DPCP's (Quebec procurer's) decision, the disciplinary action taken against Trudeau – her being removed from crowd control – is considered adequate by the Sûreté de Québec.

That Trudeau was given riot duty in the first place is a wonder, given her violent past. Complaints against Trudeau that go back to 1996 show that there was an awareness of her behaviour problems well before the student crisis (cbc.ca/player). Reporters such as *Maclean's* Sidhartha Banerjee discovered the following:

The officer [Stephanie Trudeau] has had three previous cases before the province's police ethics committee. Court documents show she was suspended for six days for exhibiting an aggressive attitude towards an employee at Ste-Justine Hospital while investigating a case in 1996. She failed to have the ruling overturned on appeal. In another case, Trudeau and another officer were cleared of any wrongdoing. In a third incident, the case was dropped after the complainant left the country.

(oncampus.macleans.ca)

It should be noted that the majority of the incidents involve male 'suspects', including a father who was simply walking his child in a stroller (cbc.ca [728]). These violent attacks against men may explain why some might consider Trudeau to be a radical lesbian and a man-hater. The idea that perhaps she is anti-male and is simply using her position as a police officer to somehow counter or subvert stereotypical roles of patriarchal authority is perhaps reading too much into the situation, but it does show the potential for a woman to be an aggressor and a male a victim, something that perhaps happens more often in reality than it does in fiction. Consider the focus texts: Brouillet does depict a female murderer in the second novel, but her victims are all women. The only male victim in the three focus books by her is killed by a man, *le Collectionneur*. Penny's second book has a female murderer, but the murder's victim is a woman (and an aggressive one at that). There are no male victims, unless one counts Gamache's accidental injury in the first novel or the threats to his reputation and his life in the third, but that is a different kind of victimization than the one I am speaking of. He's not murdered. Delany presents a mix of female murderers and male victims, blended with the conventional male murderer/ female victim dichotomy. Yet, even in her case, the only male murder victim is killed by a man. Though the Delany's third book involves a female 'killer' and a male victim, the young man's death is accidental rather than a murder; the female perpetrator feels so guilty for causing his death that she commits suicide.

Trudeau was not reprimanded for her actions of October 2, 2012 until October 9, just after the video had gone public. As Dominique Peschard, president of *Ligue des droits et libertés* told a CTV reporter: "It shows that there's a sort of an impunity within the police force" (montreal.ctvnews.ca). Peschard was referring to the fact that it was not Trudeau's partner, co-worker or superior who first spoke out against Trudeau's inappropriate actions. The reprimand was brought about by public outcry over the lack of disciplinary action. In a way, by not immediately condemning Trudeau's actions, her

coworkers and superiors appeared to be condoning them. They supported Trudeau's aggression as silently as the officers in the May pepper-spray video did. Trudeau was placed under suspension during an investigation and will likely be given an administrative role if she is cleared of criminal charges (cbc.ca/player). It is unlikely that Officer Trudeau will be given another role that brings her into the public realm or a role that will bring her into contact with future student protests. Given the treatment she has received from her fellow officers, however, I speculate that Trudeau will quit the police force altogether.

On February 20, 2013, CBC reported that Trudeau was arrested at her home and was later released without charges after agreeing to a psychiatric evaluation. Her Tight Enclave effectively turned against her, pulling away true support under the pretence that she may have a mental disorder or be suffering from extreme stress. This is part of a distancing that began with the revelation of the October 2 video. In fact, it can be said that Trudeau has become a scapegoat for all that is wrong in the Sûreté du Québec. By focusing attention on her, it is possible that crimes committed by other officers, predominately male officers, during the “Printemps érable” may have little attention drawn to them in the media. Violence on the part of male officers is so common that it does not stay in the news long anyways, whereas news of Trudeau's violent act was repeated throughout social media and was re-broadcast in two languages for several months. This may seem like overgeneralizing, but it is a reality that can be confirmed through simple observation of news reports.

Corporal Galliford

In 2007, BC's RCMP spokesman, Corporal Catherine Galliford, went on medical leave after sixteen years of employment. In May of 2011 she charged the RCMP with sexual harassment dating from 1991. The alleged harassment was verbal, psychological, and physical, including inappropriate touching and suggestive language. Galliford has been diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder

and is dealing with depression and substance abuse as a result of her ordeal (cbc.ca [galliford.html]). Galliford's face became known to Canadians and concerned world citizens when she acted as spokesman during the Pickton^{xii} case and the Air India^{xiii} case. Galliford is calling for an independent organization to investigate the various allegations including her own, if only to strengthen informed public opinion about the federal police force. Or as she has said: "If we are looking at Mounties investigating Mounties, there is automatically a perception of a conflict of interest," (cbc.ca [investigation-reaction.html]). An independent watchdog could ease such conflicts, as well as provide an anonymous place for officers of any gender to report any form of harassment.

It has been suggested that the stress of dealing with a serial killer case and an international tragedy, combined with the notoriety Galliford received during those events, caused her to seek more attention through an unfounded claim. This was suggested after another female officer, Constable Susan Gastaldo, made sexual assault allegations after being caught in an extra-marital affair with her superior (cbc.ca [sex-hearing.html]). Gastaldo's allegations were dismissed by an RCMP code of conduct panel after they found that Gastaldo had consensual sex and that she cried rape to save her marriage; Gastaldo has since filed a claim against both her superior and the panel, claiming that she felt she had to comply with the sexual relationship and that since her superior was in a position of authority, the liaisons should be considered to be rape (cbc.ca [conduct-hearing.html]). This second case invokes questions of consensuality in a male-dominated, hierarchy-bound workplace. In Gastaldo's case, sexual text messages she sent her superior suggest that she was a willing participant in an extra-marital affair, but it is just as likely that they were sent to appease her superior and maintain the illusion that Gastaldo was a willing participant to avoid a demotion or other penalty. It is also possible that Gastaldo was taking advantage of Galliford's media 'success' to garner a little spotlight of her own.

However, similar cases put these conjectures into doubt. It is more likely that Galliford's high-

profile case has convinced other victims to come forth to support her, to gain recognition of their own assaults, and to reveal a deep seated problem within the national police force. Hundreds of past and present female members of the BC RCMP and one male member have since filed a class-action lawsuit against the RCMP claiming various degrees of sexual harassment. More are expected to come forward, but the degree to which the claims are true is hard to judge. Some of the women joining the class action suit might be trying to profit from a deplorable situation, seeking to gain from the eventual financial 'windfall' that would likely come from settlement of the case, while others who have truly been victimized may be reluctant to join for fear that they, and not their aggressor, will be punished for making such claims ([cbc.ca \[harassment-report.html\]](http://cbc.ca/harassment-report.html)). For example, the fear of a lack of punishment for the aggressor is validated when a male Mountie, Sergeant Dan Ray, is transferred instead of fired despite the fact that he admits to having sex with his female subordinates while on duty, sexually harassing them at work, and drinking on the job. The only penalties Sergeant Ray received, other than a transfer, were a ten-day dock in pay and a demotion ([cbc.ca \[officer-transfer.html\]](http://cbc.ca/officer-transfer.html)). If a man other than a police officer had committed the same acts, he very likely would have spent some time in jail as well as receiving a fine.

Other officers have quite possibly been further discouraged from joining the class action suit by a blanket response to the suit on the part of Commission chairman Ian McPhail claiming that the complaints are mere cases of bullying and abuse of authority ([cbc.ca \[rcmp-harassment-report-ian-mcphail\]](http://cbc.ca/rcmp-harassment-report-ian-mcphail)). According to the likes of McPhail, the harassment is not sexual in nature but merely perceived as sexual because they involve men who bully women. Men also bully men, a problem the RCMP admits to and claims to be dealing with. At least, they claim that they are improving the way they plans to deal with future instances. Others are not so quick to cover up the instances of genuine sexual assault by RCMP officers against other RCMP officers. RCMP Commissioner Bob Paulson has publicly admitted to knowledge of sexual harassment at the workplace, harassment he claims was dealt

with appropriately at the time it was brought to his attention despite the fact the the claimants are seeking 'further' amendments. These comments were directed specifically towards the case of Staff Sgt. Caroline O'Farrell, who claims she was sexually harassed in the 1980s.

Paulson did address other claims, including Galliford's. According to CBC: “Paulson did not deny the problem exists in the force. 'There are, there have been, and sadly, there may well be other bona fide victims of sexual harassment in the RCMP,' he said” (cbc.ca [pol-rcmp-paulson]). The same article reveals there were “718 harassment complaints filed between 2005 and 2011.” Chairman McPhail maintains that the majority of these claims involved only bullying: “Only four per cent of the complaints dealt with sexual harassment” (cbc.ca [pol-rcmp-paulson]). This reveals a continued effort to remove this issue from the public panopticon, to cover it with other issues like the RCMP's ongoing review of the senate, who are themselves presently reviewing the RCMP. With such gross conflicts of interest drawing public attention, the Galliford case may well be pushed out of the public eye. In an interesting turn of events, revealing clearly the opinion of media in this case, Corporal Galliford has been named by CBC as one of ten important 'whistleblowers,' sharing a list with Edward Snowden and “Deep Throat” Mark Felt^{xiv} (CBC.ca [WHO-whistleblowers]). She is thus being celebrated for having brought several cases of sexual harassment out of the private realm of the Tight Enclave and into the public realm, where it has a better chance of receiving the attention due to it.

Too Strong/ Too Weak: “Elle va devenir la plus grande victime” (Miles)

There are major problems with the manner in which both Galliford and Trudeau have been presented by the media. One is the presumption of truth; Galliford is presumed by the media to be a victim, presenting the RCMP's denial in the worst light. Judging from news reports, it seems unlikely that Galliford could be lying and it appears that the RCMP are attempting a cover-up, which makes better news than claiming that Galliford is lying and the RCMP is getting it right. According to the

present narrative, she was the weak female who got taken advantage of by a patriarchal force. Trudeau, on the other hand, is presented by the media as a raging maniac, mentally unstable and a danger to her fellow officers. She is being presented as a danger to the public without allowing her a genuine chance to explain her actions. Trudeau has not addressed the media about her actions, being instead cloistered away first in her own home and now in a centre for rehabilitation. She was too strong, too aggressive, when she should have been understanding and more conciliatory. Nothing Trudeau says to defend herself will likely be accepted by a public that is calling for her head; not only are there two Facebook pages dedicated to her dismissal, there was another actually calling for her assassination [pages since removed]. The possibility that Trudeau may never face criminal charges for the October incident has further incited public anger. Protest marches demanding immediate action and attempts on Trudeau's life have drawn police attention away from an actual investigation. Trudeau and her partner will, however, be facing civil charges in this matter, as the civilians involved are seeking a total of \$395,000 for civil rights violations, moral and physical damages, and for illegal and abusive – not to mention discriminatory – words and behaviour (Sarrazin).

Simon Pagé, one of the men arrested during the October 2 incident and a claimant in the civil charge, is concerned Trudeau has herself become a victim and a target for further victimization, recognizing the harm that the media attention has caused her:

[Pagé] a constaté avec chagrin et désarroi la déferle numérique de hargne et de mépris à l'égard de Stéfanie Trudeau ... 'J'aurais le goût de la serrer dans mes bras maintenant, cette fille-là. Elle va devenir la plus grande victime dans notre dossier', lance Simon Pagé dans un cri du coeur. (Miles)

That a victim of the October 2 attack has no animosity towards Trudeau is almost ignored by the media, his concerns for her safety overshadowed by the demand for her “termination”^{xv}. Pagé is concerned that people are focusing too much hate on Trudeau and not paying enough attention to what

is really wrong with the system: “The fight is not there. It's not with that agent,' Pagé said. 'The problem is much [bigger] than that.’” (cbc.ca [more-complaints-officer-728.html]). For Pagé, the problem lies with the officers who did nothing to stop Trudeau, assisting her instead, and with Trudeau's superiors, who seemingly encouraged her behaviour by neglecting to adequately punish her after her earlier misconduct and who neglected to assure that she received adequate help dealing with her anger issues. Again, there seems to be a presumption on the part of the media that Trudeau is guilty of multiple crimes, erasing the possibility of innocence in the public eye. The media has certainly not been shy about its portrayal of Trudeau as a brute, as is shown by a theatrical sketch during *Bye Bye 2012* in which Michel Courtemanche, pretending to be Trudeau, peppers and attacks “les gratteuse guitare,” “les carré rouge,” and even a raw cooking hen (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SgVAMClicqQ>). Courtemanche's caricature of 'Matricule 728' was used as a running gag throughout *Bye Bye 2012*, interrupting other sketches randomly, pepper spray close at hand. Though it is a satire, the show further victimizes Trudeau by mocking her and by trivializing the incidents in which she was involved. Worse, the casting of a male actor in her role further emphasizes Trudeau's 'masculinity' in the public eye, not allowing her to be a woman even in jest. That said, it would have been a lost chance if *Bye Bye* had ignored the high profile news item and omitted Matricule 728 from the show given that the goal of the show is to review the year in a comical and occasionally critical fashion. As such, the jest was both distasteful and well played. And it certainly imitated well the way Trudeau has been portrayed by the media.

In the case of Galliford, she appears to be fluctuating between 'victim' and 'profiteer,' with the media and the public mostly on her side, with her unnamed aggressors set as demons not worthy of being called men. Interestingly, her superiors have also fallen into a kind of a victim position with the media accusing them of facilitating a “culture of harassment inside the force” (cbc.ca [lawsuit-galliford]). By the use of the term 'sweeping denial' in the title of an article, it appears that the media is

suggesting that BC's RCMP want to 'sweep the issue under the rug', to quote the cliché (cbc.ca [lawsuit-galliford]). This further demonizes the RCMP in the public eye, further condemning the pseudo-military organization to public scrutiny. It also raises an interesting question: if Galliford's superiors were to be held criminally responsible for the harassment and suffering that she claims have led to her present mental state, would they get a fair trial with a public that has already decided their guilt? Similarly, if Trudeau must face criminal charges, will she be able to obtain a fair jury with a biased public?

The cases for both officers would likely be easier if they were males. After all, there is an expectation that men are aggressive. If Trudeau had been a male, there would still have been an outcry, but the incident would not have been considered as shocking and therefore would not have received as much attention. If Galliford was male, on the other hand, there would likely be more media attention. Men are not supposed to be victims of sexual harassment; they are supposed to be the harassers. A male victim of sexual abuse on the part of a woman would be turned into a bad joke and might even be denied the same treatment as a female victim. The only male officer to have joined the class-action suit has remained anonymous, unnamed in the media for fear of recrimination. Other male claimants, accusing male aggressors and citing 'hazing' incidents, have all been shifted out of the sexual realm by men like Chairman McPhail, who suggested that they were cases of abuse of authority rather than sexual harassment.

More than Once

The cases of Galliford and Trudeau have been blown out of proportion by media presentations. They seem almost unreal, fictional, an aspect that further dilutes the gender injustices that they may or may not have suffered. To gain a better perspective, a brief look must be taken at the testimonies of policewomen who have suffered forms of gender injustice but who have not had their names 'Googled'

or their pictures posted in newspapers or on television screens. One does not need to look far to find examples of brutality, verbal abuse, and sexual harassment felt by policewomen; a simple search for a thesis or a dissertation on the subject garners too many results to outline here. As such, only some of the most telling examples and instances connected to the focus works will be discussed. It should be noted that none of these examples deal with fictional literature. All are 'real-world' accounts that help show the way reality is reflected in the fictional focus texts.

In the abstract to her dissertation “Don't let the job change you; you change the job: The lived experiences of women in policing,” Carrie Buist states:

Women police officers remain marginalized and isolated on the job, even though they successfully perform the duties that policing requires. Further, the majority of the women faced some form of discrimination or harassment on the job. Along with feeling this discrimination the women were also passed over for promotion, [and] received differential treatment because of their status as women.

Buist conducted interviews and went on ride-alongs with police women to gain information about the psychological impacts of being a female police officer. The twenty policewomen she interviewed all experienced various forms of “discrimination, hazing, and harassment from male officers that is nothing short of disturbing” (117). Some of the women interviewed by Buist had to take legal action to gain fair treatment or to ensure that future police women face less harassment. Some were forced to wear uniforms designed for male bodies, uniforms that do not appropriately protect the female form. As Buist notes:

This information goes beyond just the simply [sic] consideration that perhaps their clothing and equipment doesn't fit them properly and operates as examples of hegemony in policing (Corsianos, 2003, 2009), the patterns of practice that result in occupational segregation leaving women officers on the margins, maintaining their role as an

outsider. (118)

In other words, it suggests that the female body does not belong in a police uniform. Moreover, female cops are the minority, making cost-efficiency a question – after all, why should potentially expensive individualized gear be sanctioned when a more generalized, and therefore cheaper, version fits most police officers?

Uniforms are supposed to be a form of homeostatism, the wearing of the 'garments' of same sex or asexuality^{xvi} (Gates, *Detecting Men*, 45). However, the long-standing association of the detective with the masculine has made the uniform of the police into a male garment rather than a gender-neutral garment. Uniforms and special protection, such as ballistic jackets, or safety vests, are designed for male bodies and do not adequately protect women without causing discomfort. Yet this does not mean that Delany's Constable Smith is wearing masculinity when she is in uniform. She is clearly identified as being a female despite wearing a masculine identified uniform. Rather, the contrast between her gender and what her uniform conventionally encodes are pointed out on several instances, notably in *Valley of the Lost*: “What kind of a bully hits a woman?” her father asks, to which Smith replies: “I am not a woman. I am a police officer” (20). This reflects a comment by Kathleen Klein in “*Habeas Corpus*: Feminism and Detective Fiction”: “If female, then not detective; if detective, then not really female [...] she either is or is not Woman” (174). Smith makes a distinction between herself as a Woman and herself as a police officer, perhaps suggesting that she considers the fact she is a female is unimportant or, rather, that it should not be an issue.

Though these experiences are not shared by the policewoman in my focus texts, there is a lot of focus on the uniform and the female form in Delany's works. Much of the discussion around attire and behaviour involves what Judith Butler calls the 'performative,' a concept that is explored not only by Buist but also by multiple critics such as Walton and Jones, who state: “The play on/with/of gender that is manifested by a female character assuming a conventionally male position works to destabilize and

denaturalize norms established through behaviour and dress” (102). The sight of a female body dressed in a deeply male-identified garment is enough to bother many people (though not likely as much as a male body dressed in strongly female-identified clothing, something not seen in any of the focus texts). As the women Buist interviews experienced, the uniform does not offer the same protection that it does a man. Policewomen wear male-identified uniforms and are expected to act male, yet Smith is labeled lesbian (read deviant) when she does so.

When questioned by Buist, the twenty policewomen interviewed commented upon the Tight Enclave, using the term 'brotherhood,' and noted that it is more predominant with older officers than younger ones. Marco Del Colombo found that this is not always true when he completed his dissertation “Police: Male police officers' attitudes toward their female counterparts in the Windsor Police Services.” As his abstract explains, he found that older male officers had more positive attitudes towards female officers than younger ones. Perhaps this is due to the fact that younger male officers see the women as job competition whereas the older officers, already well established in higher ranks, do not share the same fears. Maud Graham receives most of her negative treatment from a superior, her chief. Her equal, her partner Inspecteur Rouaix, provides support and assistance to Graham. There is no animosity between them, only comradeship. Likewise, Sergeant Winters has no actual hatred of Constable Smith. He has little fear that Smith will receive any promotions due to him as he is too far her senior for her to be a threat in that sense. Winters' only fear is that her connections to the community might jeopardize her judgement as she must arrest people she knows well and is friendly with outside of police work. Constable Evans, on the other hand, clearly has trouble with Smith, who seems to be the same age. His misogynistic behaviour may hide fears that she is a better officer (and therefore more of a man) than he is. Even though he receives a promotion before she does, a certain animosity still exists. Smith is, after all, promoted in the third book, becoming the same rank as Evans and thereby returning to the position of direct competition. With a better performance record, she may

very well garner another promotion before he does.

Del Colombo's research also supports my theory as to why Officer 728 makes such a ready scapegoat for failings in her Tight Enclave. He explains that policewomen are “perceived as trouble makers if they displayed masculine traits such as aggression ... [they are] under constant pressure to become more masculine, yet at the same time being criticized for doing so” (18-19). The minute that Officer Trudeau was shown acting in an aggressive manner, she was decried by the public as unfeminine (read lesbian). Her superiors sacrificed her to improve their public image, to show that they could and would discipline one of their own for inappropriate behaviour. Colombo's statement can also be applied to Constable Smith, who is more antagonized by her community as she becomes a stronger (more masculine) police officer. As has already been mentioned, she is negatively referred to more often as a lesbian as the series progresses. Smith is even criminalized in a manner similar to Trudeau, ostracized by the very people she is sworn to 'serve and protect,' a matter to be discussed at greater depth in the next chapter.

Until now, I have been describing negative experiences faced by policewomen. This is because so many policewomen, real and fictional, so often have negative experiences while on the job. But as Chrisanne Mayer shows in “Changes in the role-definition of female police officers,” such things are changing. Initially, women entered into a male-identified workplace and were given female-identified tasks. As the perception and treatment of women evolved over the decades, so did the expectations of the policewoman. The job was still perceived as being better done by a man, but it was slowly recognized that women could do the same job and do it well. Gender-specific tasks were discontinued (at least overtly) and any assignment was deigned manageable by either a man or a woman. Like with other cases of women in the workplace, such as doctors and scientists, there were still some hold-overs with sexist ideas. These became fewer but louder. Women like Constable Smith still face gender-based slurs, and they still hurt, but it is the minority who insults the young constable. Moreover, it is

hinted throughout the series that the ones most vocally opposed to female police officers are themselves deviants, such as Lorraine and her parents. The 'good' characters all support Smith's career choice, with the notable exception of her parents, and even they come to accept that their daughter is a cop (even if they still do not like it). Similarly, Graham receives a large amount of support from the greater community, making her chief look like a holdover from the past.

Readers have no doubt noticed that focus texts by Louise Penny have as yet to be mentioned in this section. This is because her works represent something very different from the other two: the virtual erasure of gender-based discrimination. The very attempt at an elimination of such injustices makes the works suspect, not to mention overly politically correct. It is not that gender injustices do not exist in Penny's heterocosm, they are simply embedded within and hidden behind other forms of injustice. For example, two gay characters are attacked in *Still Life* not because they are men but because they are gay. Though the community of Three Pines decries the gay-bashing, the 'campy' lifestyle the recurrent gay couple display in the series is not a challenge to the treatment and stereotyping of gay men. It is, rather, a continuation of a stereotype. Penny's way of presenting the gay lifestyle as a positive and natural (albeit stereotyped) thing balances the negative and derogatory way Delany's characters treat the lesbian lifestyle. It is in Delany's work, though, that the negative attitudes are more effectively dramatized since her series has the most potential to highlight the treatment of its lesbian-identified police officers.

As to the female police officers in Penny's novels, none face what could be called open gender injustices, not in the way the other two series do. Agent Nichol faces a lot of ill treatment and is outcast in the series, but, as will be shown in the next chapter, it is due to her behaviour and not due to her gender that she is 'targeted'. In the case of Agent Lacoste, her ill treatment may not be an example of direct gender bias on the part of certain characters, but it is only indirectly gender related. As has already been alluded to, she has a belief system that can be called Wicca, and, though she is not a

'witch,' she would likely have been burned at the stake in a different age and time. It must be noted that Lacoste receives zero negative treatment from Gamache's team on the basis of gender or belief. Gamache treats her like a beloved daughter, Beauvoir treats her like a respected sister, and the others treat her like a superior and a source of knowledge. It is outside of Gamache's Tight Enclave that Lacoste receives insults despite her various skills and general likeability. More about this will be illuminated in the next chapter, one that looks more directly at the nine focus texts and the police officers within them.

Chapter 3: “A Barbie Girl”, An Iceberg, and “A Malicious Little Joke”

Female police officers, both real and fictional, face certain obstacles not experienced by male police officers. Many Real policewomen are sexually harassed, verbally insulted, and generally pushed aside on a regular basis. Fictional policewomen frequently suffer the same fate, often coupled with stereotypical characterizations involving somewhat paradoxical expectations. They are expected to be strong yet emotional, stubborn yet understanding, sexy but not promiscuous, intelligent but gullible, independent but in need of a man. They also often defy these stereotypes, are strong both emotionally and physically, stand up against discrimination and to learn how to deal with it, know when they should obey an order and when they should think for themselves, and do not need a man unless they want one. The policewomen in the focus texts show that while they may be built on stereotypes, they do not have to remain stereotypes. Characters can and do evolve beyond stereotypes, especially in a series. That they may evolve into a different kind of stereotype is ever a possibility.

In the Shadow of the Glacier, Valley of the Lost, and Winter of Secrets

Being the only one of the three selected focus authors to have her series marketed as a police procedural, one would expect that Vicki Delany's Constable Smith series follows the conventions of the genre most closely, as it does. Delany's series certainly respects some of the major conventions as outlined by George Dove in *The Police Procedural*, notably Little Sister Syndrome, and the Tight Enclave. That is to say that Delany's characters are plausible, that readers are given a sense of the more mundane aspects of police-work, and that it is often depicted as what Dove calls a Thankless Profession, garnering more scorn than praise from those they protect (Dove, 113). Also, in accordance with conventional police procedurals, Delany's novels may focus on two characters in particular, but there is a whole team of police officers who can be called upon to assist at any time. The police in her novels are conventionally territorial, showing distrust towards any Tight Enclave outside their own.

Thus Chief Constable Keller shows reluctance to call the RCMP for help, making derogatory references to them as “yellow stripes” (*Shadow*, 133-4) and “the Horsemen” (*Shadow*, 190). Though the audience is treated to a spectacular crime in every novel, there are also enough elements of the humdrum daily workings of the police that the characters seem more like real people than extraordinary Sherlock Holmes-like gifted individuals. Furthermore, Delany has worked it so that her series contains a certain verisimilitude as a result of her interviewing real police officers about real police procedures. Having a personal acquaintance with police departments has enabled her to ask “what if?” and gain realistic responses.

Delany's characters are realistic enough, but they are also stereotypes that fulfil elements of the genre's conventions. Skene-Melvin comments: “Stereotypes exist because they reflect reality and serve as guideposts to the truth” (xx). And just as there is more than one perspective on reality, more than one truth, there is more than one stereotype to consider. Constable Smith's character, for example, fulfills the conventions of the buddy cop and of the rookie cop, as well as that of the 'new woman' detective. She is young, inexperienced, and liable to make mistakes with serious consequences not because of her gender but because of her lack of experience. Furthermore, the first two novels see her making a series of rookie mistakes. In them, Smith is a victim of theft, a near victim of rape, is kidnapped, is almost killed, and is insulted on nearly a daily bases because of the combination of her gender and her job. Detective David Mills in the movie *Seven* has much in common with Smith. Phillipa Gates explains: “[Mills] faces the problems of the young officer: not being taken seriously by his fellow officers and neglecting his young wife because of the job” (*Detecting Men*, 174). Smith ends up neglecting her best friend because of the job, with disastrous results. There is a major difference, however, in the treatment of Mills' gender when compared to that of Smith; he is treated like the stereotypical male 'action' cop, often taking action without thought, whereas Smith takes time to consider her courses of action.

Smith's character fits the convention of the buddy cop once she is paired with Winters. Though this convention can involve characters of equal status such as *Cagney and Lacey*, it most commonly involves a hierarchy in terms of rank or race. In general, the higher ranking character is a white male (Gates, *Detecting Men*, 190). *Lethal Weapon* (1987) was something of a twist on this by pairing a wild and suicidal white detective, Sergeant Martin Riggs, with a straight-laced conservative black detective, Sergeant Roger Murtaugh. The pair become one another's yin and yang with aspects of one being adopted by the other. Their story excludes women as central characters until the third segment of the quadrilogy. Gates notes that this is typical of the biracial buddy-cop film (*Detecting Men*, 137). This can also occur in cases where a high ranking officer is paired with a rookie; one invariably learns from the other. The movie *Seven* is an exception, as the cynical and intellectual senior cop, Somerset, learns much from young and ambitious 'action cop,' Mills, but Mills learns little from him, falling instead into a serial killer's trap. Smith's presence as one half of a buddy team continues a fairly recent trend of having non-sexual heterosexual male-female buddy situations (Gates, *Detecting Men*, 203-4). Smith learns much from Winters, but she also learns from the situations she encounters on her own. Winters, in turn, learns to respect Smith as a cop even though he continues to see her as a rookie.

In many ways, Winters acts as a positive role-model for Constable Smith, training her but not favouring her. At first, he wants nothing to do with her. When Smith first meets Sergeant John Winters, he thinks: "She was pretty, too pretty to make an effective officer. Her voice was soft – it would have a problem carrying authority – and had the unfortunate [sic] tendency to crack under stress." (*Shadow*, 19). This appearance based gendered judgement is reinforced by a stinging remark Winters makes to his wife: "She looks like Barbie, all dressed up to play cop" (56) His wife's immediate response is critical of him: "She can't help what she looks like, but you can help judging her on her looks" (56). Eliza's words can be read as "common sense" advice for readers in the real world. Winters follows his wife's advice to a degree, but still continues to quietly judge Smith by her looks in

the early books of the series: “Winters didn't care much for [Smith's] new hair cut ... the new hairstyle made her look even younger, and more vulnerable, than the neat braid” (*Valley*, 13).

The connection between how a person looks and just how vulnerable those looks make them is a subject of much debate. If a woman dresses 'provocatively', and she provokes a rapist, should she be held partly responsible for the rape? Some people, including judges and policemen, believe that the answer is “yes”. 'Slutwalk' protests^{xvii} began after Toronto Police Constable Michael Sanguinetti commented: “that women who don't want to be sexually assaulted should 'avoid dressing like sluts” (globeandmail.com). There was another Slutwalk protest that was held after Justice Robert Dewar gave what was perceived by many as a lenient sentence for rape in which he made comments suggesting that the victim was responsible for her rape due to the way she was dressed (cjc-ccm.gc.ca). Both Sanguinetti and Dewar have publicly apologized for their comments. The question seems silly in respect to Smith, who is not dressed for sex, as is shown when she bears bad news to the family of a dead man in the third novel: “Wendy dared hope this was a strip-o-gram, bringing a raunchy holiday greeting from friends back in Ontario. But the uniform was too perfect. And the woman was not smiling” (*Winter*, 28). Yet even though Smith is a 'real' cop, she will often be mistaken for the embodiment of certain male heterosexual fetishes because she is female.

Initially, Smith's character fits the standard conventions of female detectives. This does not mean that she is like the early female detectives, subservient and marriage-oriented; Smith fits better the 'new woman' stereotypes set in the 1960s. Though she is heterosexual, she does not need a man to be complete. Being an adult, she doesn't need her parents either, but she lives with them in the first two novels. She is one of the “more competent, intelligent, and successful [detective] women” described by Phillipa Gates (*Detecting Men*, 220). Her potential for success is jeopardized more because of her lack of experience than because of her femininity. Thus, Smith has a lot in common with the character Megan Turner in *Blue Steel* (1990). Both struggle to be successful and to be recognized by people who

question why they want to be a police officer. Both are confronted by people who think they are too pretty – and therefore too feminine – to be a cop. Like Turner, Smith faces problems while carrying out a male-identified role and “despite being a cop, she is still vulnerable because of her gender” (*Detecting Men*, 227). Her uniform cannot hide the fact that she is a woman. Despite this, the uniform offers more empowerment than female-identified attire. Like Turner, Smith “feels most vulnerable when she appears most feminine” (Gates, *Detecting Men*, 228). It is also when she is most feminine that Smith comes under attack, as when she is assaulted while dressed in high heels and a revealing shirt. Smith is also attacked when she (reluctantly) acts 'motherly' in *Valley of the Lost*, protecting a baby against a murderer at the risk of her own life.

Both Turner and Smith end up becoming more overtly masculine, more 'male-like' in order to be more accepted as cops. Turner does this by escaping from a hospital bed, where she is considered a victim, and actively hunting down her aggressor, shooting him in revenge in a manner considered standard for male action heroes. Smith's transformation towards masculinity is more subtle, more liable to shift back to the feminine mode. She simply becomes stronger physically and emotionally and becomes more capable of both taking and throwing a punch. Even during her inaugural murder investigation (*In the Shadow of the Glacier*), Smith shows that she knows how to avoid being a victim. When she faces becoming a possible victim of rape and further abuse at the hands of a killer, Smith evades victimization by employing specifically feminine tactics to free herself from a powerful male character; she applies the accoutrements of femininity, her high heels, to the emblem of masculinity, her attacker's testicles, and makes good her escape. Her training as an officer and her garments of femininity thus combine to save her.

However strong she might be, Smith is often victimized as she is subject to a consistent flow of slurs and sexual innuendos from members of her community because she is a female and a cop. Many of the rude comments focus on her uniform, as examples taken from *In the Shadow of the Glacier*

illuminate. Ruth Tyler, a tertiary character, has negative thoughts about Smith while being questioned about the murder: “The uniform didn't suit her. Well it wouldn't, would it – it had been designed for a male body, and quite right too” (86-7). As she thinks this, Ruth offers Winters her best seat. Later, a smart-aleck waiter asks Smith: “You look great in that uniform. Does your gun work?” (137). Sergeant Winters, unimpressed, decides not to leave the waiter a tip. Even Christa, Smith's best friend, also occasionally thinks badly of the constable, as revealed by Christa's stream-of-consciousness: “Now Molly didn't look so tough. Underneath the uniform, she was small and female. Vulnerable” (242). Christa is here reflecting on the fact that any woman can become a victim, something she learned after her stalker ex-boyfriend beat her so badly she had to be hospitalized.

The most damning negative comments Smith receives come, perhaps not surprisingly, from men. An American reporter, Rich Ashcroft, suggests that Smith is: “A female cop who could be making good money as a stripper” (283). Speaking of a report Ashcroft made about Smith, Winters comments: “It implies that the big bad wolf is bullying sweet little red riding hood who happens to be a female police officer” (255). An instigator of riots, Brian Harris, is a little more direct when he tells Smith's mother what he thinks of women and police work: “Dangerous job, a cop. Should be left to men and women who look like men. Not pretty girls with delicate bone structure and long blond hair” (258). There are more comments like these scattered throughout the series, revealing the feminist underlay of Delany's work. Many of these comments connect to something Walton and Jones say in *Detective Agency: Women Rewriting the Hard-Boiled Tradition*: “The play on/with/of gender that is manifested by a female character assuming a conventionally male position works to destabilize and denaturalize norms established through behaviour and dress” (102). Attention is drawn to Smith's 'dress,' attention that is in turn redirected to the treatment of female police officers in general. After all, Smith is likely not the first woman to be told that she should not be a cop simply because the uniform is made for a man. She is, however, the only fictional female detective in the nine focus texts who wears

a uniform. The others are plains-clothed police officers.

Ironically, Constable Smith is more comfortable, more herself, when she is in uniform; she is uncomfortable and more distinctly undertaking a performance when she wears more female-identified clothing such as high heels and a spaghetti string top. Brouillet's Inspecteur Maud Graham's attire is not much described other than to say that it is modest and professional. She is a professional, and behaves as such. She has the confidence and experience that Smith lacks. She also receives the differential treatment Smith perceives herself as getting, only to a greater extent. It is made obvious that Graham is treated differently by her chief because she is a woman. 'Worse,' Graham is a feminist and her feminism presents a direct threat to male authority through challenges to patriarchy and gender stereotyping. This doubles the gender insults: Graham faces injustice first because she is a woman, and therefore supposedly somehow inept for police work, and secondly because she is a feminist, part of the movement that is 'forcing' gender equity upon men who are simply doing their jobs.

Perceptions of a difference between Smith's gender and her ability to perform her duties are felt by many members of her community. The residents of small town Trafalgar see Smith more as the hippies' daughter and the little girl they once watched in a local school play. Her parents, her friends, and her community all expected her to complete her education at the University of Victoria and become a social service worker. They initially reject the idea of her as a police officer. This is intriguing, given that police work IS a kind of a social service. It is, however, a far more male-identified profession than the more female-oriented job of counselling victims. Smith herself does not appear to see the analogy between social service and police-work, certainly not to the same degree as Inspecteur Graham. Smith's opinion about social work is summed up well during a scene in the first novel when she accompanies Winters to question a witness. He suggests he requires her as he finds it "nice to have a female officer on hand when giving news of a loved one's death," to which Smith sarcastically replies: "We're not calling upon the widow Montgomery in order to make a nice cup of tea and serve

chocolate biscuits while we cluck in pretentious sympathy” (*In the Shadow*, 28). Smith seems to see such circumstances as something of an annoyance and an inconvenience. Smith desires to undertake the more masculine action duties, such as hunting criminals, rather than more 'feminine' duties like counselling victims.

Even so, Smith shows a knack for relating to witnesses and getting them to talk, and on more than one occasion during the series witnesses open up to Smith instead of Winters. The reason for this could be explained by a thought from Brouillet's Inspecteur Graham: “Une patrouille passait et les femmes terrorisées ignoraient si elles avaient peur des policiers parce qu'ils étaient des hommes ou si elles étaient soulagées de leur intervention” (*Preferrez*, 13). It is a paradox in that men are stereotypically associated both with the violence of rape and with the protection of rescue (Brouillet, *Preferrez*, 21). Women, however, are associated with shared victimization and emotional commiseration. Graham's thought foregrounds how female victims would be more likely to open up to a female cop due to the belief that they would receive more compassion from another woman, whereas they fear that they will risk further victimization from a man. But this is only part of the reason Smith gains more information than Winters; people know her better and can relate to her on a more personal level, whereas Winters is still an outsider, not yet to be trusted with inside information.

In the third novel, *Winter of Secrets*, Smith has been promoted from a probational Constable to a Constable Third Class, the lowest official rank in most Canadian police forces (an exception being Quebec, which follows its own ranking system). She has also moved out of her parents' home and bought her own car, showing a self-reliance that was not possible while she lived with her parents. The third novel dramatizes the most masculine presentation of Smith, in part because she is more comfortable with her masculine-identified job. Her 'masculinity' is clear in her activity; no longer contained by the domestic realm of her parent's kitchen, Smith is depicted in movement, pushing stalled cars and downhill skiing, or simply being more independent. *Winter of Secrets* also has the

most instances where she is referred to as a dyke. Her mother notices that Smith's character has undergone certain changes: “When Moonlight joined the police force, everything changed. Even her beautiful name. No longer Moonlight Legloas Smith, a name soft as butter melting on the tongue, but Constable Molly Smith. Authority and aggression” (58). Lucky Smith's distaste for her daughter's career choice goes deeper than a name. With the job comes an alteration in familial hierarchy, with Constable Smith going from the 'inferior' position of the daughter to the 'superordinate' position of a representative of the law.

Whatever Constable Smith's perceived shortcomings may be, it is clear that she has a strong inner core. She keeps her calm after being punched in the face by an undercover cop (*Valley*, 4, 424), and to her dismay, it is her most frequent (male) partner, Constable Dave Evans, who subsequently cuffs the the third novel's 'criminal' and processes him. Evans is a male scapegoat, a focus for a possibly feminist agenda and a foil designed to highlight certain attributes of Smith's character. Smith and Evans' relationship is best described as one of 'friction', and not in the good way. Smith sees Evans as a playboy cop, using his uniform to pick up girls. He is portrayed as being conceited and boastful; when a car goes into the river, Evans directs the fire-trucks; “or pretended to direct – they needed no help” (Winter, 13). Evans is also made to look bad in the series via Smith's thoughts: “she felt she'd been stuck in the role of representing all female police officers whereas the fact that Evans was an arrogant, swaggering jerk reflected only upon himself” (Winter, 12).

Smith's inner strength is also shown in the way she addresses her mother's concerns over Smith's face, bloodied by the undercover cop's fist, to do her job: “Never mind me, Mom. Where's the body?” (8). This isn't callousness or disrespect but professionalism. Lucky understands, and does not question her daughter further in the moment, despite her disapproving of her daughter's career choice, as shown by an analogous scene from *In the Shadow of the Glacier*:

Smith undid her gunbelt and tossed it on the table. The weapon lay amongst the

evidence of a comfortable country mountain home like dog poo on the lawns of Buchart Gardens. Lucky turned her face away in disgust. There were some things mother and daughter had learned not to discuss. (42)

The problematic subject might not be discussed at that moment, but it is talked about and even argued about on a continual basis throughout the first three books in the series. It does not help matters that Smith's mother Lucky identifies police officers as male, negatively connecting them with the patriarchy as “a bunch of white men in suits” (*Shadow*, 114). Lucky looks at Winters as being in league with the white suits, but eventually she also learns, as her daughter learns, that Winters is something of a cop outside the ordinary. He is not the stereotypical “older man” who refuses to change or admit he is wrong. In fact, he is likely as cautious with the white suits as Lucky Smith is. Even so, Smith does consider the gendered implications of certain comments Winters makes, notably a comment about her friend Christa, who keeps refusing to report her stalker ex-boyfriend in the first novel. Winters wonders out loud why Christa tolerates such abuse. Smith's following stream-of-conscious thoughts show her own ability for gender-based judgements:

[Smith] would like to explain it to him, all right, about power imbalances, about being raised to be a good girl, about the embarrassment of explaining to a stuffed-shirt, condescending, middle-class *male* police officer like John Winters what it felt like to be stalked, humiliated, threatened. (*Shadow*, 159-60)

Whatever their preconceived notions of each other might have been, Smith and Winters do learn to rely upon each other as the series develops, building a genuine working relationship that is far more positive than that of Gamache and Nichol, but not as equal as that of Graham and Rouaix.

Beyond the three focus novels, Smith establishes a heterosexual romantic relationship with another police officer. In fact, her new boyfriend, Constable Adam Tocek of the RCMP, appears in the first three novels but finds his advances rebuked as Smith has yet to heal after the death of her fiancé,

Graham, and after the revelation of her one-date boyfriend Duncan's criminality and his subsequent death. Tocek starts dating Smith at the very end of *A Winter of Secrets*. That is to say that she plans to date him. It is not until the fourth novel that their relationship becomes sexual. Yet things turn sour in the fourth novel as Tocek, a member of a different Tight Enclave than Smith, becomes overprotective and then overly possessive, causing trouble for Smith's Enclave. Smith disapproves both of the aggressive nature of the protection and of the suggestion that she needs it, though often she does. The subsequent novels are not without dangers for the young constable. Smith, as a result of her negative experiences with men, does become somewhat more distanced and wary in regards to future relationships. She still holds on to memories of Graham and a time when she never considered becoming a cop. Her dwelling on the past and subsequent retrospective emotions could be perceived as a feminine trait that reproduces the stereotype of the emotional female. It is a trait she shares with Inspector Graham, who avoids relationships bitterly as a result of her break-up with Yves, an event that is not shown but is often recollected. In fact, Smith risks becoming jaded like Graham in terms of her perspectives on men. This does not necessarily mean that Smith or Graham are man-haters; more that Graham is suspicious, distrustful, and slow to change her mind about men – much as Smith is beginning to do by the end of the third novel in the series.

It is amusing to see the play on Tonic's twin energies found in Delany's works. Smith is present in the community and in the force, and her presence is not only accepted but appreciated by the majority. As a result, she makes the patriarchal institution of the Trafalgar Police Force look more respectable. Moreover, it appears to be predominantly gender neutral, with the notable exception of Constable Evans. Gender discrimination still clearly exists – but it is, in the post-feminist manner ascribed by Tonic, parodic to the extent that potential effects of the discrimination are diminished. In fact, Smith is not discriminated against so much within the institution on the basis of her gender as she is on the basis of her experience. Smith faces more obvious gender discrimination within the patrolled

community with its support for the traditional, patriarchal institution. Constable Smith has to deal not only with the sexist attitudes of the general population; she also has to protect the victims of those who are insulting her, the victims of domestic disputes and the victims' victims. This aspect of the series and the focus on the violence and gender discrimination present in the 'domestic' realm makes Delany's work stand out from my other focus works.

Poison dans l'eau, Preferez-vous les icebergs?, and Le Collectionneur

The manner in which Chrystine Brouillet begins the first novel of the Maud Graham series sets the tone for the rest of the novels in an unconventional fashion, deploying remnants of the family romance novel favoured by such artists as Anne Hébert. As in Hébert's *Les fous de Bassan*, *Poison dans l'eau* deals with incest and death and the tribulations of a particular 'clan'^{xviii}. Crimes occur in both books, but they are not the dominant focus; though Brouillet gives space to the investigation of a death, even the investigation is a cursory issue beside the troubles of the Lambert family. In *Les fous de Bassan* and *Poison dans l'eau*, the men are failed protectors who encourage incestuous flirtations and even engage in sexual acts with the female members of their own clans. When compared with a story such as *Les fous de Bassan*, the novel that debuts Maud Graham is shown to be more conventional. The 'tainted bloodline' motif that appears in it, for example, is a convention of the Gothic genre. It is also a convention of the family romance novel that Brouillet is imitating. Brouillet has embedded her detective story inside a parody of a Gothic family romance, complete with the conventional ending of a 'suicide before capture' that is often found in such novels. The story ends with the destruction and seeming end of the Lambert family, though the adult children survive. Much like traditional Gothic tales, the ruin of patriarchal power takes focal precedence over the abuse of women in the story. Consider *The Mysteries of Otranto*, where women suffer as a result of corrupt patriarchy but the narrative's focus is upon male characters. Likewise, in *Poison dans l'eau* it is the patriarch who

presents the greatest physical threat, condemning his family to death and a lifetime of shame.

No woman in the narrative is left unvictimized. Even Maud Graham, protagonist of a long series – consisting of fifteen books at the time of the writing of this thesis – is hurt that she was abandoned by her longtime boyfriend, Yves, just before the Lambert case began. The pain of his betrayal and infidelity affects her investigation and taints her interactions with men in all three of the focus novels. She is portrayed as bitter and angry, as though she blames all men for Yves' actions. Thus, Maud Graham continues the stereotype of the victimized female detective without having been raped or at risk of being murdered, at least until the third book. Some of her anger is directed towards women, such as the murder victim's sister, Flore. When Flore comes to the police to bring her former brother-in-law Mathieu Lambert's and his half sister Emma's incestuous relations to their attention, Graham is not exactly welcoming, as her thoughts reveal: “Le silence prolonge de Flore cachait-il la déception de rencontrer une femme plutôt qu'un inspecteur mâle? C'est toujours la même question, sauf dans les cas de viols. Et même.” (27). Flore is lucky that the police listen to her at all, as her complaint involves consenting adults. The reason that Flore is sent to Graham is that at the beginning of the series Graham deals not with murder but with social crimes, such as battered women and children. Furthermore, the chief does not see Flore's complaint as important for men to investigate, claiming: “Les femmes doivent s'occuper des affaires 'sentimentales’” (25). The insinuation is that women should deal with such matters, freeing the men to handle more serious crimes like murder. But Flore's complaint ends up turning into a murder investigation, something that does not please the Lambert family. They do not respond well to the investigation or the female investigator. The Lambert's consternation is drawn out when the patriarch asks Graham – “Comment se fait-il que vous soyez chargée de l'enquête?’ – ‘Vous posez la question parce que je suis une femme ou parce que vous ne comprenez pas qu'on enquête sur la mort de votre bru?’” (163). Graham's quick riposte is just one of the many hints of the hard-boiled genre found in Brouillet's female-identified series.

Inspecteur Graham's ability to put people off is not limited to suspects and witnesses. It extends to her co-workers, as is shown in *Préférez-vous les icebergs?* The title is a reference to Graham's demeanour, as questioned by her chief: “Cette inspectrice était trop froide pour être frigide: pourquoi était-elle si sèche avec les hommes?” (16). Part of the reason is her anger at being left for another woman by her long-time boyfriend just prior to the events of *Le poison dans l'eau*, as was noted earlier. Another reason may be Graham's feminism; some men, particularly Graham's chief, expect that Graham will cause trouble simply because she is a feminist, and feminists are portrayed in the novel (as in much of our patriarchal-dominated society) as troublemakers. The fact that this idea exists in the novel is shown by another of the chief's thoughts: “Graham était vraiment insupportable ... avec son féminisme exacerbe ... chaque unité policière devait la supporter a tour de rôle” (*Préférez*, 10-11).

In fact, there is no real evidence of Graham being an exasperating feminist apart from her manner of expecting all male suspects to treat her poorly merely because she is a woman – so it can be argued that this is in of itself part of the stereotype of the man-hating feminist that Brouillet is parodying. In the noted circumstance the problem is more that Graham's superior is a chauvinist. The chief and his male subordinates find that Graham and her feminism are like sandpaper grating on their nerves, but at the same time she demands their respect and is willing to fight them to support her causes, such as the shelter for battered women she becomes known for throughout the series. If she had not spoken out, she would not have gained an office so that she could meet with victims in private, something that bothers her chief no doubt because he thinks women should be submissive, undemanding, and should not be police officers (*Poison*, 125). Though this is likely what the chief thinks, it is never spoken and there is no stream-of-consciousness for his character so it is hard to say what he really thinks. We have only Graham's thoughts on his treatment of her, which, as has been suggested already, are tainted by her negative opinion of some men.

Graham “n’était pourtant pas le genre de poupée qui emballe les hommes” (*Collectionneur*, 30).

She is 'too strong' and too stubborn for some. Even those who are attracted to her find her difficult. When they first meet in *Preferrez-vous les icebergs?*, her future heterosexual love interest, medical examiner Alain Gagnon, is quick to note something about Graham: every time she encounters a dead woman, she expects to find that the woman has been raped. He calls her out on this, asking: “Pourquoi voulez-vous toujours qu'on viole les victimes?” (*Preferrez*, 83). This is one of Graham's flaws, though not a tragic one. Her experience with battered women has taught her that female murder victims are often also rape victims. In *Preferrez-vous les icebergs?*, the lack of a rape can be explained simply: the killer is a woman. This, and Graham's relationship with the medical examiner, are in keeping with the heterosexual normativity present in Brouillet's works. Every relationship shown in a positive light is a heterosexual one. Rouiax, for example, is shown as a good (heterosexual) husband and a loving father. Graham herself is clearly heterosexual; there are no lesbians in the text, and it is unclear if Graham's friend and surrogate child Gregoire, a male prostitute, is gay even though he has male clients. The absence of lesbian characters, and the absence of suggestions that Graham is a lesbian, is curious given stock biases suggesting that feminists and female police officers are automatically lesbians, tying in with the prejudice that lesbians, and thereby feminists, are deviant and possibly criminal others.

Brouillet's Inspecteur Rouaix, perpetually absent from the first books in the series, is like a brother to Inspecteur Graham. The feeling appears to be mutual, as both treat the other as an equal, sharing their tasks and the 'glory' that comes with the resolution of a case. Graham only appears to work alone due to the author's focus upon her. In *Le poison dans l'eau* as in *Le Collectionneur* and in further texts in the series, Rouaix often finds information 'offstage' and brings it onstage where he shares it with Graham and thereby the reader. This is how Rouaix and Graham function as a team, by dividing the workload and each following a lead that they will later bring together and discuss with mutual respect. On a personal level, Rouaix finds Graham's feminism somewhat exacerbating (*Perferez*, 10), but he respects Graham and trusts her. He knows she is capable of getting the job done

and sees her as more than just a token woman. She's a friend. Accordingly, Rouaix is not shy about teasing Graham on occasion: “Tout en la soutenant dans ses entreprise humanitaires (Rouaix était un des plus fidèles au poste d'écoute) il ne pouvait s'empêcher de taquiner Graham qu'il surnommait 'Robine des Bois'” (*Preferrez*, 166). The fact that he is so relaxed around Graham marks Rouaix as an abnormality within the Tight Enclave. The other male officers are not so comfortable with her presence: “Depuis son arrivee dans ce poste de police, l'atmosphere s'etait modifiee; les enqueteurs ne se permettaient d'etre grivois qu'en l'absence de Graham” (*Preferrez*, 10). The chief of police agrees with his men, finding Graham insufferable, but cannot justify discriminating against her other than for the fact that she annoys him.

Graham is more than just a token woman, though; she is THE token woman, a singularity who draws attention from a killer as well as from the media and the public in *Le Collectionneur*:

C'était une femme et qu'elle sont plutôt rares chez les flics. Ça intriguait les gens; ils voulaient savoir plus sur l'inspectrice. Qui n'était pas inspectrice d'ailleurs, mais détective, enquêtrice. Ce n'était pourtant pas le genre de poupée qui emballe les hommes. Elle était bien trop ronde et trop petite. Elle avait le cheveux roux, d'accord, et de beaux yeux, mais elle ne souriait quasiment jamais. Le pire air bête de Québec. (30)

In this passage, the journalist Paul Devreau, of whom the passage above is his stream-of-consciousness, comes just shy of calling Graham fat. The thought is also revealing of Devreau's obvious sexist conventionality. It is from Devreau's articles that the killer in *Le Collectionneur* learns the most about Graham, apart from his personal observations of her. The serial killer's stalking of her adds much suspense to the novel, as the reader wonders if, as convention would decree, Graham will become a near-victim of the killer. Readers also likely expect that she will end the novel by shooting Michael Rochon, le Collectionneur, in a kind of pseudo-western showdown, much as Clarice Starling shoots Jame^{xix} Gumb in *The Silence of the Lambs*, Megan Turner shoots Eugene Hunt in *Blue Steel*, or Amelia

Donaghy shoots Richard Thompson in *The Bone Collector*. The convention is potentially so anticipated that it is almost a disappointment when it does not happen, no doubt explaining part of the reason Beaudin changes the ending for his 2002 film so that Rochon does get shot, even though it is not by Inspector Graham.

Despite the fact that Graham seems to be the only woman in her division in the novels, she is represented as having several female comrades in the film version of *Le Collectionneur*^{xx}. One of her comrades even becomes a near-victim of the hunted serial killer who has begun to stalk Graham. His stalking of Graham is far more sinister in the film, bringing him right into Graham's house; in the novel, the killer merely dreams of going so far when baiting Graham. The killer in the novel form of *Le Collectionneur*, granted stream-of-consciousness, wonders on more than one occasion why a woman was assigned to chase him down:

Et tout d'abord, qu'est-ce qu'une femme faisait dans la police? Graham avait confié à un journaliste qu'elle aurait aimé être assistante sociale; bonne idée. Ou être infirmière si elle avait tant envie d'aider les gens. Voilà ce qu'elle aurait dû choisir. (106)

The killer is so arrogant about his ability to escape without penalty that he assumes Graham is somehow less able to capture him because she is a woman and that women are better suited for female-identified “nurturing” jobs such as nursing (his mother was a nurse). The killer's inflated sense of himself is suddenly breached, however, when he spots Graham asking questions at the very place he works; that is when, just as suddenly, Graham becomes a target of interest. He wonders if Graham is imbued with a kind of secret feminine knowledge that enables her to antagonize killers and pre-empt their actions, a possibility that angers him greatly (137). Yet his anger, and his obsession, with Graham also bring about a certain level of respect for her.

Le Collectionneur is the only novel of the nine police procedurals being focused upon for this thesis that simultaneously fits into the genre of the serial killer/ thriller. In fact, this genre, as was

mentioned earlier, is usually a subset of the police procedural. It conventionalizes the victimization of female detectives to a far greater degree than other sub-genres, with the possible exception of hard-boiled fiction. Gates, Walton and Jones are among the many critics who harshly criticize the treatment of women in these genres, claiming that women are still being placed in a secondary position; though instead of being merely secondary to men, women in serial killer narratives are secondary to the 'spectacle of the gross', as it is called by Philippa Gates in *Detecting Men*, speaking of the emphasis on gore in modern films: "The visualization of death and mutilation has escalated in frequency and detail ... the mutilated corpse and its relevance to the investigation of the crime have become the focus of cultural narrative" (167-8). The description of the dismemberment of the victims in *Le Collectionneur* initially fit with this, especially in the way the stolen morsels are tallied up so as to discover what parts the killer is missing to complete his macabre maquette. A difference between the maquettes in the book and in the film adaptation is that in the book, the only thing the killer keeps from his one male victim is the penis; in the film, an entire male maquette is created, suggesting that there was more than one male victim – either that or the male director was so panicked by the castration that he provided a complete male body for the penis. This is also a case where the novel is more graphic than the movie. Movies show the spectacle whereas books rely on the reader's imagination. Both books and film can be made more or less graphic simply by adding or hiding certain details. In this case, I would say that the spectacle of a dead man has less graphic impact than Brouillet's description of a dancing penis. Furthermore, showing a dancing penis would shift the spectacle more into the realm of comedy or become overly crass if it was poorly displayed. By cutting the castrated penis out and replacing it with the whole body of a man, a specific feminist point is being missed: that the only thing needed to represent man (or to differentiate man from woman) is a penis.

That is where the spectacle ends. The convention is denied by a reworking of the spectacle, changing it from something interesting to be stared at to something horrid we should want to look away

from. This challenges Gates' claim that women are secondary to the spectacle. In the case of Brouillet, the female victims are paramount. There is also a greater amount of physical disgust and revulsion coupled with the crime scenes than in other police procedurals. Unlike in most works of this genre, even 'hardened' agents vomit near the cadaver, though not so close as to contaminate the crime scene. Graham only avoids vomiting because she knows Darveau is watching and she does not want him to write an article about her being sick at the crime scene (30). As it would in reality, the gruesome nature of the crimes leads to 'consumer' interest/, embodied by the media, for Darveau in particular. The reporter seeks to photograph the scene for his papers, harrying Graham so that he can get some exclusive information in order to compete with television coverage; he is relieved when Graham informs him that the body will not be filmed (37). The eagerness of the reporter to gain some spectacular image or information is not necessarily due to his personal desire to profit from the death. Darveau simply has a job to do, and he knows that he can get a bonus if he takes particular photographs. As Jim Napier (who occasionally works for the *Sherbrooke Record*) informed me, photographers can earn a financial bonus if they provide a picture that really sells.

The differences between the ending of the novel *Le Collectionneur* and the ending of the movie have important ramifications. Whereas Graham captures the killer in the novel, HE ensnares HER in the movie. In the climactic scenes of the film, Graham follows a trail left by the killer, moving from one written note to the next, to find his hideaway in a cabin in Maine. Her car is being tracked by her superiors, but the tracking device is knocked off and Graham ends up seemingly on her own – except that Gregoire has hidden in her trunk and thereby clandestinely accompanied her. When Graham reaches the cabin seemingly alone, the killer is waiting for her. He draws her into an elaborate trap that forces her to abandon her gun and imprisons her in a kind of a giant metal bird cage from which she witnesses young Frederic, a boy Rochon has kidnapped, being tortured. Gregoire suddenly enters the scene, takes up Graham's gun, and kills the killer, ending the movie by a conventional manner.

This is very different from the novel: Gregoire never goes to the Maine cabin, Graham never follows Rochon's notes, notes that do not figure in the novel, and the killer doesn't die in the end. Graham does not even need a gun to capture the killer; he simply surrenders himself to her, much as somebody who loses a game and nonchalantly acknowledges the winner. Several things can be read into this. Perhaps he simply would rather live than risk the kind of confrontation seen in the movie. Perhaps the serial killer has come to see Graham as being 'as good as a man,' an equal. Perhaps, as is suggested by the novel's ending, he is acknowledging that won the game he was playing with her. In short, Graham is not made into a victim in the novels, choosing her strategic positions with clarity and judgement. In the novel, she uses her professional resources, notably the chain of evidence, the general community, and the killer's former friends, to locate the Maine cabin with the assistance of the American police. She takes the killer alive and is able to interrogate him after to discover his motivations and other crimes he has committed.

The film's altered ending in many ways alters the gendered significance of the original narrative. The film takes away the feminist core of the novel and replaces it with a more action-based 'masculine' ending. Furthermore, Graham is diminished from an independent, quick-thinking cop to a submissive, obedient woman who becomes a victim and needs a male to rescue her in the end. Similarly, though more drastically, changes were made when Jeff Kanew adapted Sara Paretsky's *V.I. Warshawski* into film, as Walton and Jones explain:

[Jeff Kanew's *V.I. Warshawski's*] efforts to attract a female audience by drawing on publishing trends end up reinscribing – indeed reifying – the voyeuristic male spectator as normative and even as constitutive of the female 'private eye.' Kanew's cinematic adaptation of Paretsky's novels strategically invokes and then revokes Paretsky's revisions of the hard-boiled tradition, systematically recuperating the figure of the feminist detective into a collection of conservative cultural norms. In other words, the film

appropriates a subversive approach to a conservative genre in order to underwrite a new conservatism. Accordingly, *V.I. Warshawski* may be read as the site of contradictory cultural codings of both gender and genre, a site that reveals anxieties within the Hollywood institution – not simply about the idea of a woman's detective agency but about detection as a figure for women's agency in general. (Walton, 235)

Precisely the same complaint can be applied to Jean Beaudin's work, which draws on the success of Brouillet's novel to produce a work that controverts Inspecteur Graham's agency and denies her the final achievement in the capture of the killer.

Brouillet breaks convention when she alters the expected (masculine) 'action' ending, providing a female-dominant twist. By not killing the Collectionneur, by keeping him alive and talking to him, Brouillet also challenges the convention of the mad serial killer. There is horror at the act of murder, but it is made very clear that the killer is not insane, as Graham explains to Gregoire in the denouement: “Il n'est pas fou ... Il n'est pas normal, mais il distingue parfaitement le bien du mal. Il savait ce qu'il faisait en tuant. Son désir passait par-dessus tout” (213). This simple statement goes against many conventions of the police procedural, wherein the killer is often insane, not to mention the social convention of the general belief that anybody who did what that man did must be insane. Furthermore, The Collectionneur exhibits none of the unnatural intelligence also attributed to serial killers like Hannibal Lector. He is more like the killer in Thomas Harris' *The Red Dragon* (1981); not quite albeit somewhat insane, smart but not exceedingly so, le Collectionneur and the Red Dragon kill because they are haunted by their traumatic childhood experiences. A bad childhood is a social and literary convention often used to explain a criminal's motivations that is often linked back to Freud and the Oedipal complex. Though Brouillet does not suggest that le Collectionneur had some kind of Oedipal desire for his mother, the film does. In general, the film makes a far bigger spectacle of the killer's childhood than the novel does. It is as if the director has erased Brouillet's feminist agenda and

replaced it with a more conventional, more gender-biased discourse blaming bad mothers for the crimes committed by failed male adults.

Brouillet's refusal to remain confined by the standard conventions of gender and genre within the police procedural fit with her feminist agenda, one that both parodies patriarchy and exposes its weaknesses. But Maud Graham, and Brouillet, are more than feminists. They are, as Norbert noted, social activists. They work for the betterment of women and of marginalized people in general. The Maud Graham series thus represents, contests and inverts the traditional dichotomy of the male hero and the female victim in a manner more blunt than the other two series I focus upon.

Still Life, A Fatal Grace, and The Cruellest Month

Louise Penny begins her Inspecteur Gamache series with a dead body, but then quickly steps back in time to when the dead victim was still alive and interacting with other members of the community. This is a longstanding convention of traditional detective fiction that is used to quickly catch the readers attention and to give an idea of the setting. The village of Three Pines needs to be well established, given that it is a fictional place, based on a blend of small communities in Quebec's Eastern Townships, the geography of which often plays a role in the novel. Three Pines could be said to be an echo of King's Abbott, the fictional village created by Agatha Christie in *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*. Such villages are favoured as 'closed' settings similar to a locked room, the other favoured setting of traditional works of detection, in that all the elements of the crime, from the victim and the chain of evidence, to the criminal and the solution, are found in one place. Of course, being a modern work affected by the criminalist genre, some evidence has to be analyzed elsewhere given the lack of forensic technology in Three Pines, but the essential elements of the stories are still restricted to the spaces of the village. The local has a somewhat gendered feel, especially in comparison with the other two series, no doubt due to a large number of female and effeminate characters living there. Yet the

rural but heavily forested setting of Penny's work stands outside the conventions for the setting of most police procedurals. As the police are of necessity most often stationed in large towns or cities, it is not common to find them in the woods.

Brouillet, comparatively, treats readers to the urban scene of Quebec City and its environs, dwelling little on the setting; it has little impact other than to provide many dark alleyways. It certainly doesn't feel gendered, though according to Jean-Noel Blanc's *Polarville*: "La ville ne peut etre qu'une femme ... Elle est la figure du mal" (147). But such a statement is somewhat out of context, fitting better the conventions of hard-boiled fiction than police procedurals or traditional works. There is certainly no sense that the setting in Brouillet's series is a malevolent entity or even a character in of itself, in marked contrast with how in Penny's work the rustic setting is given 'character' status. Penny's setting has more in common with the setting of Delany's works, the fictional community of Trafalgar. Like *Three Pines*, Trafalgar is a wooded city; only *Three Pines* has the hard to find distanced-from-civilization feel of a town nearly forgotten whereas Trafalgar is a tourist mecca and an echo of the very real community of Nelson, British Columbia. Trafalgar is also perhaps made more masculine by the use of conventions of 'action' novels, notably the riots of the first novel and the use of guns in the second. At all times, even when Smith is up the mountain skiing, Trafalgar feels more like a true city than a simple resort town. Neither Delany nor Brouillet offer a setting that is as tranquil as that of Penny's series; likewise, Penny's series is the only to have a gendered setting, one that is seeped in older conventions than settings of standard police procedurals.

Unfortunately, Penny's decision to create more traditional stories of good and evil leads to conventional binary gender oppositions. This leads to stereotyped characters, such as a vilified, somewhat gender non-conformist female detective like Agent Nichol acting as a negative contrast for a the more gender-conformist female detective, Agent Lacoste. Initially, Nichol is a foil for Gamache. She dramatizes his paternal/patriarchal side. But so do other characters, especially Agent Beauvoir, a

male police officer and Gamache's second in command. The distinguishing function of Nichol's character is that while other characters help dramatize Gamache as a great, wise, and benevolent patriarch, she highlights Gamache 'the teacher' and Gamache 'the forgiving' by being an obnoxious and obstructive student. Her role as 'the difficult student' also highlights the way Gamache's team functions as a unit with every member having a specific task entrusted to them. When a member fails to complete their task, as when Nichol fails to follow through on verifying Jane Neal's last will in *Still Life*, the chain of evidence breaks down and the team is unable to solve the mystery until the chain of evidence is re-established. In this case, a more recent final will is discovered by another team member and the police are allowed to enter the victim's house where they discover a means to identify Jane Neal's killer. This respect for the chain of evidence is itself evidence of Penny's narrative conventionality. The event is gendered only because it is a woman, and not a man, who makes the aforementioned crucial mistake.

Nichol also fits the stereotype of the 'annoying little sister' who tags along when she is not wanted and bothers the rest of the team to the point that they get the job done faster just to get rid of her. This stereotype is very different from the little sister syndrome described by Dove; whereas Dove's little sister is a person whom 'the boys' think needs to be protected against a mean and cruel world yet is in reality capable of taking care of herself, the annoying little sister is an inconvenience for – and potentially a danger to – those who have to work with her. When Gamache, playing the role of the 'good father', attempts to bring Nichol into his Tight Enclave, she is so abrasive that even he is reluctant to work with her. Thus it is interesting that Gamache chooses Nichol over all other agents when he needs a decoy to flush out a mole. Nichol fulfils the decoy role very well given that she is an outsider, making her the best choice.

Gamache is an example of a fallen hero, one who was honoured and admired but then fell from favour. He acted against a Tight Enclave that wished to cover-up the misdeeds of certain officers, and

acted without the Tight Enclave's blessing in arresting the criminal officers, notably their leader, Superintendent Arnot, and exposing their misdeeds to the public. The event haunts Gamache and overtakes the investigation in the third novel. Gamache's actions divided the Surete's Enclave into those who continue to support him and those who support Superintendent Francoeur, friend of the fallen Arnot, who antagonizes Gamache and achieves a certain petty retaliation by ordering Agent Nichol to join Gamache's team in the second novel:

Superintendent Francoeur had sent Agent Nichol back. Of course, it could mean nothing. Probably only meant she'd annoyed them so much Francoeur had decided to get his little revenge by sending Nichol to him. Yes, that was the most likely explanation. A malicious little joke, nothing more. (*A Fatal Grace*, 125).

This fairly sums up what Gamache thinks of Nichol. That she is a joke, a nuisance, and an unwanted pest. Gamache's stream-of-consciousness moments often reveal more of his disgust: "[Nichol] annoyed him. Just looking at her pathetic, 'poor-me' demeanor set his skin on edge" (139). One must wonder, as Agent Beauvoir, his second in command does, why Gamache accepts Nichol's return to the team when he knows she is unwanted. However, it involves more than giving her a second chance, as Gamache knows she works for a man who hates him. So why endanger himself and the others? It could be a kind of self-flagellation, his punishing himself and his team, an extension of himself, for the backlash following the Arnot case. It could be a way of keeping his team on edge, getting them to work harder so they can show that they do not need her. It could be a genuine offer of retribution to Nichol and a chance for her reform, but that is the least likely reason given the negative consequences for the team. Most likely, Gamache accepts Nichol only to avoid increasing an already tense situation with the Tight Enclave. As he tells Beauvoir, it is a battle he does not need to fight (*Fatal*, 140).

Accepting to work with Nichol eventually turns to his benefit in *The Cruellest Month*, where Nichol acts as a decoy for Gamache to draw out a dangerous mole. Despite her help, Gamache easily

disposes of her at the end of the novel. She does not reappear in the fourth book, or the fifth. Nichol has been left in a basement, alone, isolated, abandoned, ignored... a pariah, just like Clarice Starling. Nichol is more of a memory than a presence, a reminder that Gamache is capable of making a mistake, of failing, and of putting his team in danger. No, Gamache is far from a perfect hero. Given his treatment of Agent Nichol, Gamache has the potential to be a cruel and egotistical tyrant. He can be callous, going through the details of a murder in front of suspects so as to draw the killer into a confession as he does near the end of *The Cruellest Month*. He is capable of both heated decisions, such as running into a burning building, and cold calculations, such as allowing a suspected mole to remain on his team.

For a moment during *A Fatal Grace*, the somewhat chauvinist Agent Beauvoir finds himself receiving Nichol's tender care when he falls sick. That it is Nichol, not Gamache or Lacoste, who nurses Beauvoir is significant. It marks the point where things could have gone better for Nichol. As has already been explained, she could have built a relationship with Beauvoir and thus joined the team. Unfortunately, things do not end well for Nichol. Her inability to work with the team results in her being pushed even further outside their Tight Enclave. Beauvoir thinks Nichol is allowed to remain during the investigation so that Gamache can keep an eye on her. He likens Gamache's choice to keep Nichol on the team to throwing oneself on a grenade to sacrifice oneself for the team (*Cruellest*, 179). Beauvoir stands ready to take the grenade before Gamache, to save his father-figure and hero. Yet Beauvoir is not the only one ready to sacrifice himself to protect Gamache; it is suggested throughout the series that any number of agents would be ready, even eager, to take risks to please Gamache. Gamache could become a new Arnot, albeit that is not the general direction his character takes.

An interesting and yet conventional aspect of Gamache's use of Nichol as a decoy in *The Cruellest Month* is the way that Penny plays with the audience's perception of her as a 'loose cannon' to make it look like she is a mole. This is continued when Nichol reappears later in the series. She looks

like she is a 'lackey' working for Gamache's enemy within the Tight Enclave, while at the same time it looks like she might be working on her own vindictive agenda. This develops the convention of the vindictive and untrustworthy 'woman scorned' which appears in multiple genres, including detective fiction. To paraphrase William Congreve, "hell hath no fury like a woman scorned" (*The Mourning Bride* (1697), III:viii). Nichol, scorned by Gamache's team in the first three books of the series, could well be a force to be reckoned with in the future, but this is unlikely. Unless Penny decides to alter Nichol's character, it is more likely that Nichol will remain reluctantly loyal to Gamache if only because of her loyalty to her father and, analogously, Gamache's role as a pseudo-father.

The father-child binary reveals a convention that Nichol's character can be associated with but does not fulfil in its entirety: the role of the prodigal child. As in the biblical parable, Nichol is lost at the end of *Still Life* but she returns to the team in the next novel and is given a chance to redeem herself. Redemption, again following a Christian convention, involves self-sacrifice and penance. Nichol's penance is degrading to herself and she plays the rogue in the third novel, but this is not enough. As such, there is no reward for Nichol's obedience nor is there a reward for her finally doing her duty. Perhaps this is in part due to Nichol's not being a prodigal son but a prodigal daughter, since females are traditionally not considered to be of as much worth as a son. More likely, it is a case of Nichol giving too little too late; she has yet to truly try to redeem herself. Remarkably, in future texts she is abandoned once she finally succeeds in her redemption. Gamache only keeps with him those who have always been loyal to him, those who he has always trusted, a team that is all male with the notable exception of Agent Lacoste, whose gendered significance will be discussed later in this chapter.

One of the possible reasons that there are so few obvious gender injustices represented in Penny's work is that the compendium of characters is so female-dominant. The majority of the primary members of Three Pines are women, notably Ruth Zardo and Clara Morrow. Ruth can be seen as a somewhat unfeminine woman, being the town drunk, a role often reserved for a male, but she also fits

the stereotype of 'the harmless old hag' who curses at everybody and then laughs. She is also a poet, something she is both proud and ashamed of; poetry is an historically 'effeminate' genre that prevents her from being perceived as overly masculine. In contrast, some of the male characters are highly feminine, with gay characters Gabri and Olivier leading the way with their bistro and antique shop located at the social and physical centre of town.

Gabri and Olivier's homosexuality is overly normalized by Penny, so much so that their characterizations are overly politically correct. Most of the time, homophobia is a non-issue; the only characters who disprove of homosexual lifestyles are treated as rude and inconsiderate 'bad' people (such as those who gay-bash the couple in the first novel). There are no 'good' in the novels who openly disapprove of homosexuality, as is increasingly thought to be the case in our lived reality. Yet it is fully possible for a wonderful, charitable, and otherwise open-minded person to be so stuck in sex-gender stereotypes and fear that they are unable to see that there is nothing wrong with a gay lifestyle. Unfortunately, Penny's approaches to normalization make Gabri and Olivier into feminized stereotypes that could be misunderstood as mocking the gay community, aided and abetted by Gabri channelling Quentin Crisp^{xxi} or other famous homosexuals (*Still Life*, 15). The fact that the gay couple provide the detective team with food and a place to stay also reinforces the conventional gendered politics of the series since the nurturing, domestic realm is being associated with highly feminized male figures.

By contrast, part of the problem with Nichol is that she has trouble being politically correct. Her stream-of-conscious reveals often negative and derogatory thoughts. She starts out as a positive character, but her personal excitement soon changes into bitterness, hope grows into hate, and respect turns into disgust during Nichol's first homicide investigation with Chief Inspector Gamache, who is the true star of the show. He is the protagonist, not her, and the leader of the investigative team, whereas she is little more than a test subject. When she is first introduced, Nichol shows a desire to be part of Gamache's slipstream (*Still Life*, 28). This is a desire she still holds onto beyond the third

novel, though by then it is a futile hope. When Nichol tells Gamache that she is honoured when she first meets him, she is in earnest. Her rage is likewise in earnest when Gamache kicks her off the case (*Still Life*, 260). Nichol's childish behaviour brings about her dismissal, not her gender. She continually misinterprets situations as being gender-charged when they are not, such as when Gamache asks her to take notes (*Still Life*, 68). Gamache does not mean to treat Nichol like a secretary; he simply wants her to learn from the situation. This does not change the fact that Penny has created a situation in which a female fulfils this stereotypically female task; it is unlikely that a male character, placed in the same situation, would make the same assumption Nichol makes.

Agent Yvette Nichol's thoughts and actions reveal her to be the most misunderstood and the most abused of all the policewomen focused upon in my corpus. She has been lied to by her father, manipulated by Gamache, and ostracized by her co-workers. Of all of the policewomen focused upon, she is the most insulted by fellow officers, though most of the 'badmouthing' occurs while Nichol is not present to defend herself. From the beginning of the second novel, *A Fatal Grace*, right up until her sudden appearance in the team's temporary headquarters, she is referred to by the Three Pines community as horrible (85), a bad choice (70), and a complete disaster (77), amongst other things. The 'complete disaster' comment comes from Ruth Zardo, who insults nearly everybody, and so it does not count at the same level as the others, even though many on Gamache's team would agree with the sentiment. Beauvoir even has a fantasy about Nichol being dismembered (68). Even the supposedly kind Gamache has harsh thoughts about her; he is the one who makes the comment about Nichol being a bad choice. This does not mean she has been an altogether unwilling victim, as when she agrees to play the pariah for Gamache to flush out a mole in *The Cruellest Month*. But the fact that she is a woman, and a victim, makes the above treatment suspect – especially since in a later novel a young man is added to Gamache's team without suffering any of the victimization that Nichol faces.

Despite the cruelty and ostracizing received within the Tight Enclave, Nichol's greatest source

of abuse comes from outside Gamache's team, from outside the police entirely. It comes from a source that she does not expect or even suspect, making her unaware of her own victimization. It is a case of dramatic irony, where the reader knows that Nichol is a victim but she does not. This abuse is more psychological, affecting Nichol's character. Nichol has been abused by her own father, though not in a physical manner. Ari Nikolev has told his daughter stories about his family from before his immigration to Canada, stories set to match the sad tales of death and dispossession told by her mother's family, inventing a brother named Saul who shamed the family and forced them to flee to another country. These stories are lies that Nichol believes as truth. Her father's stream-of-conscious narrative reveal much of his feelings about the lies he has told and their effect on his daughter, as well as his reason for not telling her the truth:

There was no Uncle Saul. No slaughter at the hands of the communists. No noble and valiant flight across the frontier. [Nichol's father had] made all that up years ago to shut up his wife's relatives camped in their home ... he'd needed his own stories of heroics and survival ... He knew he should tell Yvette. Knew that what had started as his own life raft had become an anchor for his little girl. But she worshipped him, and Ari Nikolev craved that look in her gray eyes (*Fatal*, 170)

The story of Saul, who could have been a policeman but failed (*Still Life*, 26; *Fatal*, 254), is an invention made to boost Ari Nikolev's ego, but it also serves to inspire his daughter. Nichol became a police officer in order to prove that she, and by extension her family, is worth protecting, worth saving. She does it to prove that they have value, and that they are not all failures like Saul. Her father's lie almost gets Nichol killed in a fire when she runs into a burning building to save a man named Saul. Others must risk their own lives to save her. At first she is grateful to be rescued. As she thinks on it, however, Nichol becomes bitter. Running into the building is not what Nichol regrets; it is that she is not treated as the central focus of the rescue effort. Though a woman and a victim, she feels that she

was less important than Saul, a man and a witness to a murder. Saul was wanted but died in the fire – the only thing that came living out of the flames was an unwanted bitter pill. Even Nichol's father feels that she is angry when she returns home at the end of the narrative. Because he feels responsible for her pain, and because he fears losing her love, Nichol's father is unable to tell her the truth (*Fatal*, 309). The lie that Nichol has based her life upon, that she has nearly died as a result of her belief in it, is still being told during *The Cruellest Month*. Indeed, when Agent Nichol reappears later in the series, she still believes her father's as yet uncorrected lie.

Ari Nikolev maintains the lie primarily to maintain his illusion that his daughter is still a child, still full of the wonder and love he so enjoyed about her when she was a girl. This could explain Nichol's childish behaviour throughout the series. Her behaviour is also connected to the alienation Nichol feels regarding her mother and her mother's extended family. Because Nichol does not gravitate towards her mother, or towards coming to understand her mother's family, she does not learn to respect them and their stories. Instead, she develops an idea of men as strong and women as weak, an idea that she carries with her into her police work. If she could learn to listen and take the time to listen, Nichol might realize that such an idea was always ill-founded. For her mother (apparently dead, though this is not very clear) is a hero of a sort, having 'rescued' her family from terrible situations and giving them a place to live while they re-established themselves in a new country. Nichol could also learn from her mother's family just how somebody who is an outsider and so very different from the inside group can learn to belong.

Most of her mother's family are refugees from war-stricken areas around Russia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. They do not speak a language that Nichol understands and she does not try to understand; they yell at her because she will not respond, or at least that is her perception, perhaps an excuse for distancing herself from them: “Yvette Nikolev^{xxii} had become the foreigner. All her life she'd just stand on the outside. Longing to belong, but knowing she didn't” (169). Nichol's

family life reflects very well her life on the force, where she stands outside, knowing she has no real place inside, yet desiring to be part of the group anyway. This is another gendered convention that Penny's work speaks to, the convention of the 'ugly duckling' who does not fit in and must either change or find a place where she does fit. Though not exclusive to women, the role of the ugly duckling is stereotypically played by a female. As readers of Penny's works may well remember, ducks play a role in *Three Pines*, particularly in the life of Ruth Zardo, who is also connected to Agent Nichol. Gamache suggests that Nichol will become like Zardo, hated and loved, if she is not careful; when he takes her show her future, it is to Zardo's house he brings her (*Still Life*, 221). This is an interesting moment, as Nichol finds a peculiar sticker on the mirror of Zardo's bathroom that says "You're looking at the problem" (*Still Life*, 223). Nichol looks behind herself instead of at herself.

Nichol's continuing desire to be part of Gamache's team and her subsequent deception evoke a sense of pity. I understand her not wanting to fully integrate as an expression of her fear of the Pig Party. A Pig Party occurs when an outsider and a social misfit, such as an ugly duckling, is invited by a social elite of the opposite sex to a party under the pretence of a date. During the party, the (female) target is shown kindness and affection by the social group and is even invited to a secluded and fairly dark place for insinuated sexual intercourse, but when the social misfit closes her eyes and attempts to kiss her date, he switches place with a pig and the girl kisses the pig instead. Lights are turned on and the victim is so humiliated that she runs away. Stephen King developed a darker version of the pig party in his 1974 novel, *Carrie*. In that novel, the outcast brought death and destruction to those who mocked her.

Nichol is not so bitter that she would kill the people she works with. In fact, despite the negative ways they treat her and judge her, she still has dreams of being part of the group. Nichol is like the unnamed woman in the song "Les Hirondelles" by Les Cowboys Fringants:

Elle était distante/ Un peu arrogante; on la trouvait snob et condescendante/

Toujours à l'écart, survolant les gens du haut du regard/ Froides et sans égard/
 Mais sa suffisante n'était que défense/ Et un truc pour sauver les apparences/
 Car cette timide avait toujours été en vain avide/ Des amitiés solides/ (Refrain)
 L'image que l'on donne/ N'est pas toujours la bonne/ Volent, volent, les hirondelles/
 Même les beaux plumages/ Peuvent être une cage [1:43-2:32]

Nichol is arrogant and childish, cold and rude; but Nichol's distance, her arrogance and her self-deception, can be seen as ways to protect herself from becoming another female victim of sexual disdain and assault by men, to protect herself from the “Pig Party”. She also exercises other forms of self-protection in addition to her emotional and physical distancing from others. Rather than appear as being sexually available or attractive, Nichol dresses poorly to dissuade sexual advances. Her clothing, for example, is purposely dishevelled. It is carefully chosen under the direction of Nichol's father: “Ari Nikolev watched his daughter pack her suitcase with the dreariest, drabest clothes in her closet. At his suggestion. 'I know men,' he'd said, when she protested” (*Fatal*, 170). This instance of sexism stems from an overprotective father who likely has visions of his daughter being molested simply because she dresses in an attractive manner, suggesting that men are unable to control themselves when they feel aroused. The immediate coupling of this scene with a revelation of Ari Nikolev's lie makes the father's fears seem exaggerated. Nichol is packing her bags to go investigate a murder, not to find a lover. The fact that she listens to her father in this matter shows how much her father, and thereby patriarchy, controls her life. But the way she dresses does not have to impact how men treat her. So long as Nichol dresses professionally and acts professionally, it should not matter if she is found to be attractive or not. She should be able to expect men and women to treat her professionally, not to treat her like a piece of meat. However, heterosexism being as prevalent as it is, and given the constant victimization of Nichol's character, it is likely that her father would be proven right if Nichol were to dress in a manner even slightly perceived as provocative.

Something of Nichol's already provocative nature, in the sense that she provokes anger, can be found in her rivalry with Agent Lemieux, who feels little more than animosity for the female detective. Lemieux is no threat to Nichol in the first novel. He is virtually absent, introduced and then set aside as his character is unnecessary for the continuance of the storyline. In the second and third novels, however, he seems to take up the very place that Nichol covets. This makes for a tense relationship between two characters who are in fact very similar. Both are ladder-climbers. Both are willing to take serious risks to gain recognition and advancement. But one major difference is that Lemieux is easily accepted into Gamache's team whereas Nichol remains constantly outside. Part of the reason Lemieux is so readily accepted is his ability to participate in male bonding rituals, such as watching a televised hockey game. It is hard to imagine Nichol dancing and hugging Beauvoir after a hockey goal in the same way Lemieux does (*Fatal*, 285). It's hard to imagine her laughing with Beauvoir, but that is just what Nichol does after tending him while he had the flu (*Fatal*, 195).

Nichol could have benefited from playing a stereotypical female role in nursing Beauvoir to bond with him and thus find an effeminate place for herself inside the team. Unfortunately, she followed up with a stereotypical male role by rushing into a burning building to rescue someone. It is not so much Nichol's adoption of such an 'action' (male) role that is the problem, but that she is unsuccessful in the attempt. She is a failed hero, a failed male. The fact that clearly masculine Beauvoir and Gamache succeed where she fails shows more evidence of the typical patriarchal values manifest throughout Penny's novels. Nichol knows that her foolishness at attempting this rescue are what push her further from Gamache's team than she had been before – due to putting herself, and more importantly Gamache and Beauvoir, in danger:

She'd felt something for Beauvoir, that night when she'd nursed him, and the next morning when they'd breakfasted together. Not a crush, really. Just a sort of comfort. A relief, as though a weight she never even knew she was carrying had been lifted. And

then the fire, and her stupidity in going into the building ... She's not worth it. The words had scalded and burned. (*Fatal*, 286)

The words “She's not worth it” are spoken by Beauvoir, trying to tell Gamache that Nichol was not worth dying for (249). The whole scene of the fire is coded as male-dominant. It is full of the conventions of an action movie complete with arrogant bravado, tension, axes and fallen debris. The two main men of the series, Gamache and Beauvoir, are full of foolhardy bravery as they rescue the 'damsel in distress' as Gamache risks his life for Nichol and Beauvoir risks his life for Gamache. It should be noted, though, that the heterosexist conventionality of the male-rescuer female-victim motif is not limited to the house fire scene. It occurs throughout the first three Inspector Gamache novels, since all of them feature female murder victims who are retrospectively 'rescued' or redeemed through the efforts of a mostly male police team. The scene is also a significant potential turning point for Nichol. She opens up to Gamache afterwards, but not as an adult speaking to an adult: “[Nichol felt] herself falling into [Gamache's] eyes, wanting to curl up in his arms. Not as a lover, but as a child” (253). Nichol remains a child, for she was a child before the fire, repeatedly looking at Gamache as though he was her real father. And her real father is a liar.

Agent Nichol's characterization as a constant child is well played in the made-for-tv movie *Still Life: A Three Pines Mystery*, where Nichol is played by actress Susanna Fournier. The film follows the novel fairly closely as Nichol attempts to ingratiate herself, throws fits (including throwing her coat on the floor) and gets drunk but then denies having been drunk. Her behaviour is nothing like what is expected from a professional. Better police behaviour is exhibited by the character of Agent Lacoste, who is somewhat more 'masculine' in the movie in that she physically restrains Yolande Fontaine when Yolande attempts to cross a police tape. As Gates points out in *Detecting Women*, physical action is often acceptable when it is associated with working class women (120). It has become a convention for detective fiction to include at least one woman who is physically capable of handling herself, such as

Clarice Starling or Detective Jane Rizzoli. The increased presence of women as action heroes signals what Jeffrey A. Brown calls “a growing acceptance of non-traditional roles for women and an awareness of the arbitrariness of gender traits” (Gates, *Detecting Women*, 266). As such, it should not be surprising that Lacoste has such an 'active' role. What is interesting is that Lacoste is so gender neutral in the film when she is so clearly feminine in the novels.

Agent Isabelle Lacoste is the only notable permanent female member of Gamache's official team, his Tight Enclave. She plays a very minor, almost nonexistent and unnecessary role in the first novel; it appears as though she was not originally intended to be a major character, though only Louise Penny could know the truth in this matter. Lacoste does not become a character worthy of attention until the second novel, where her role as a 'white witch' begins to be established. Eventually, in later novels, it is revealed that Lacoste is actually Gamache's third in command, second only to Beauvoir. Her placement as the third in command is not likely the result of sexism or gender injustice; it is an adequate reflection of reality where there are very few female commanders.

Evidence of a certain absence of sexism in this case appears in the way Gamache listens to Lacoste, the way he relies on her, and the way he trusts her. His relationship to Beauvoir may be closer, but that does not mean he is not close to Lacoste as well. Still, it is significant that the primary places of authority and power in this particular Tight Enclave are taken by males. Lacoste plays the 'mother' to the team, but she is not Gamache's wife. She plays the beloved sister in her relationship with Beauvoir, but he remains the older child, the male heir to Gamache's throne. It is suggested throughout the series that Beauvoir has been groomed to replace Gamache, not Lacoste, though she will remain as Beauvoir's second in command. Events occur in future novels that cause this hierarchy to fluctuate, with Lacoste taking on further essential roles and with Beauvoir's character taking a darker turn, but in the initial three novels, all signs are that things will go as Gamache has long planned in terms of promotions after his inevitable retirement.

In general, Lacoste is set as the ideal female cop, acting as a foil for Nichol. A foil can behave two ways though; beside Nichol Lacoste is a positive role model for women in general:

Agent Lacoste, for instance, was only slightly older than Nichol but she seemed a world away. She carried herself with élan. Her hair was always clean and cut in a casually elegant fashion, her clothes were simple with a dash of color and individuality. Of course, Nichol's attire and demeanour were also unique. Their dullness set her apart.

(Fatal, 139)

This stream-of-conscious passage of Agent Beauvoir's says more about the thinker than it does about the subjects, revealing Beauvoir's hidden sexism in how he expects good women to be clean and bad ones to be drab. His bias shows him to be rather shallow. Beauvoir would likely think even less of Lacoste if he knew that she was a closet Wicca. She is a white witch, an earth mother, a goddess of the yin. She speaks to the dead in each novel and assures them that Gamache will find their killers. This behaviour is very female-identified, though Gamache shows political correctness in his tacit 'participation' by allowing Lacoste a positive place for her beliefs.

However, Lacoste's character is almost too perfect to be real, making it somewhat more difficult to judge the treatment of her spirituality. In *The Cruellest Month*, Lacoste's beliefs come to the forefront when she carries out a ritual along with other women from the Three Pine's community (114-122). She does it secretly, without the knowledge of the other officers, including Gamache. Lacoste must keep her spirituality a secret not because she is a woman but because she is surrounded by a scientifically minded team of police officers who happen to be mostly male. Furthermore, those who are religious are generally Catholic, like Beauvoir. He shows discomfort simply thinking that Lacoste "knew altogether too much about that witchcraft bullshit for his liking" (*Cruellest*, 79). The way the thought is placed, there is no doubt about Louise Penny's own opinion of 'that witchcraft bullshit': she clearly respects it. That she imbues not only Lacoste but Gamache with a deeper spiritual connection

to the dead, and the way she treats such issues with other characters, show her respect for Wicca. However, Gamache is the only male thus far so endowed with what could be called an alternative religion, and he is primarily Catholic. Moreover, he is not granted a belief in pagan practices to the same degree as Lacoste and the women of Three Pines. This Wicca motif's reappropriation of a negative stereotype not only suggests that such activities are still mostly reserved for women, denied to men by a society that maintains distinct gender roles, and are carried out in secret, in fear of mockery and oppression, but most importantly it becomes a positive sign of female agency and power.

A final note needs to be made about the role of patriarchy in Penny's series. Unlike in the other series, it is not vilified. Patriarchy is shown to be a good and wholesome thing so long as the patriarch in question is a good man. Despite – and even because of – his flaws, Gamache is never represented as being a bad patriarch. He is instead a 'good' one. The matriarch of the series would seemingly be his wife, but her role is minimal, especially in the early novels. The role of the matriarch is played much more by Agent Lacoste, due to her nurturing traits and her strong female-identified spirituality as well as because of the ways she is treated by the rest of the team. She is thus both Gamache's emotional and intellectual 'daughter' and a kind of surrogate 'wife', making her a strange kind of female Oedipus. As to Nichol, her position as a kind of rogue child/ prodigal daughter within Gamache's team is juxtaposed with her place as the obedient daughter in terms of her real father. There is no one major gendered injustice that can be sighted in terms of Nichol, but there are so many smaller ones sprinkled throughout the series, building into a rather large accumulative gendered injustice towards her. In short, she is the sacrificial female scapegoat whose negative behaviour allows other women (and men) in the series to be represented in a better light.

Conclusion: It is time to “change that channel”^{xxiii}

Beginning my research with a hypothesis that women detectives would somehow be less victimized when they were the protagonists was clearly a case of wishful thinking on my part. The conventional female victim / male hero dichotomy is so strong, both in the actual world and in fictional worlds, that it is very difficult to break away from. So long as one's ability to do a certain job is judged more by gender than by skills, so long as there is a gender-guarded line between male police officers and policewomen, so long as there is the abuse and objectification of women in general, there will be gender injustices. It is too easy to blame social media and commercialism for the perpetuation of such injustices. If you buy a sexist marketed product, you support its associated advertising and the product's consequent discriminatory values, however inadvertently. But what happens when you do not buy the product? What happens when you do not intellectually or ideologically 'buy into' the separation of gender for the sake of promoting one gender over the other, when you see patriarchy as old-fashioned and sexism as passé? Clearly, simply believing that gender injustices are wrong is not enough to bring about a change. We have to be more active, change the channel, and speak out against continuing gender discrimination.

As has been shown, the representation and treatment of policewomen has changed since they first appeared in fiction in 1864 and are still changing in contemporary works. Policewomen have gone from being considered honorary males, to binary Madonna-whore females, to necessary evils, to somewhat heroic protagonists. In police procedurals, the portrayal of women in general has changed from that of conventional helpless victims to strong women, but strong women who are nevertheless generally victimized. Most of the social changes have been brought about by the feminist movement, improving working conditions for women both in reality and in their representation in fiction. And there is still work to do. The image of the policewoman is clearly still tainted by gender biases. The Madonna-whore dichotomy still plays a role in this, with women being classified either as seductive

temptresses, more interested in catching a male police officer “with their pants down” than catching a criminal, or a belief that women are weak and not biologically fit for police work apart from counselling victims. Masculine (including lesbian) women might be accepted, but only if they comply to the unwritten rules of the phallogentric Tight Enclave.

As has been seen both in the various works I have discussed and in lived reality, gender roles in actual and fictional police forces are still predominantly segregationist, with clearly defined roles for men that are distinguished from those for women. Accordingly, Michel Ronchon, *Le Collectionneur*, prefers to think of Inspecteur Graham as a nurse than as a police officer. Even Sergeant Winters has an initial sexist segregationist attitude to Smith. This is in part due to police departments reproducing such roles at an institutional level. Sandra Tonic's comment about such forces facilitating gender injustice has been confirmed to a degree by my research; however, I do not agree that they reproduce 'the worst' gender injustices as Tonic claims (49). As my research has shown, they certainly reproduce patriarchy through pseudo-military organizations, and they encourage certain gender injustices through job competition in very male-identified environments, but it can be argued that such measures and practices are in a large part products of and supported by the community. If the worst gender injustices were generated by the Tight Enclave, there would not be such a large part of the general population showing discontent over the presence of female police officers. Evidence of this can be found in the way Constable Smith is treated by the community she patrols. It was also evident for a time in the articles about Corporal Galliford or on CBC's web pages about Constable Trudeau on, but these pages are now closed and unfortunately no longer available (though some rather inflammatory and sexist comments can still be found on the various videos of Trudeau on Youtube). Most of the more inflammatory comments suggested that women do not belong in the police force at all.

The Galliford and Trudeau cases highlight the role of the Tight Enclave in gender discrimination. Being a defensive and self-protecting entity, as these much publicized cases dramatize,

the Tight Enclave generally tries to cover up any 'deviations' on the part of its members, trying to deal with criminal acts and sexist behaviour privately. When said deviancy cannot be covered over, as in the Trudeau case, the offending female officer is sacrificed to protect the Tight Enclave. When officers such as Gamache bring the criminal act of a fellow officer into the public Panopticon, they become a deviant in the eyes of the Tight Enclave, highlighting one of the ways he and his team stand somewhat outside the rest of the Tight Enclave. The way his team pulls together to form their own enclave is reflective of the way female officers may form an enclave within an enclave. There are, unfortunately, no female-identified Tight Enclaves in any of the focus texts. In fact, it is rare to see a female Tight Enclave with more than two members. Hopefully this will change as the numbers of female police officers increases.

The twin energies of male dominant segregationist entrenchment and dispersal described by Sandra Tonic appear to a greater degree in my selected fictional texts than the female Tight Enclave does, though they are not always explicitly demonstrated. They are not overt in Louise Penny's work. Her Inspector Gamache series does have the potential to make gender critiques, should she choose to take that direction. So far, works beyond Penny's third novel have drifted away from detective fiction and into the realm of romance, becoming less detective fiction with a strong hint of romance and more romance with a slight touch of detective fiction. Her series shows how easy it is to ignore existing gender problems by erasing them and replacing them with formulaic, predominantly hetero-normative, character-based issues. The policewomen in her work are more representative of diverse victims, such as Agent Nichol, and Madonna-earth goddesses, embodied by most of the other female characters, including Agent Lacoste. But Penny does bring up issues that are socially sensitive, even if they are not gender-focused. Drug abuse, betrayal of trust, dealing with loss, and learning to heal as a result of traumas all fit into the series. Adding gender injustices to the mix might actually be overkill, diluting Penny's message that there is no darkness without light (louisepenny.com), a message influenced by the

lines of Leonard Cohen's song "Anthem": "There is a crack in everything/ That's how the light gets in." One hopes that Penny remembers this in her future treatment, if there is any, of Yvette Nichol's character, who has faced more darkness than light.

Penny's works represent a mildly feminist influenced police procedural in that respects "politically correct" gendered politics, treating them softly without bringing any specific attention to them other than through the generally negativized Agent Nichol. Nichol's behaviour and subsequent treatment can easily be passed off as conforming to the convention of the overachiever who ignores salient advice and ends up failing as a result. She does not fit the rookie stereotype in the same way Constable Smith does, being that she has a few years more experience, but she is still new to homicide and to Gamache's team, making her an outsider at the onset. It is too easy to say that Nichol brought all of her mistreatment onto herself, first by nearly ruining her first homicide investigation, second by aligning herself with one of Gamache's enemies, and third by believing her father's lies – for she has no reason not to trust her father, who has been such a source of support despite his secret deception. I like to imagine how Nichol might react if and when her father finally does tell her the truth. Would she hate him for the lie? Would she feel bitter for a while and then forgive him over time? Or would she understand why her father told the lie and why he delayed a confession for so long, realizing how hard it was to tell the truth? Perhaps all of the above, perhaps none – perhaps the lie will remain uncorrected. In terms of Nichol's 'betrayal' of Gamache's trust by working for his latest nemesis, one must remember her rank within the Sûreté du Québec. Nichol has no choice but to work with Francoeur, being a subordinate officer literally under his command. It can also be said that the power and rules of rank are the reasons she goes along with Gamache's plan to use her as a target to find a dangerous mole, interpreting his request as an order. This brings back to mind the Constable Gastaldo case mentioned in the chapter "Reality Check/ Female Police Officers"; did Gastaldo participate in her superior's sexual games because she was willing and interested, or did she partake in them because she

felt compelled to, at the risk of losing her job?

Nichol's lack of agency may also be understood as being a result of her childish nature that prevents her from advancing as she desires. In order to be more accepted by Gamache's Tight Enclave Nichol would have to change her character. She would have to do what Constable Smith does: to grow up and develop more personal agency by thinking for herself rather than relying upon her father or a stand-in. Either that or learn to conform to Gamache's Tight Enclave. Unfortunately, the gender injustices that have been stacked up against her by a manipulative father and by superior (male) officers prevent her from changing. Even if she were to change, the general gender biases held by Beauvoir and other male officers would likely prevent her efforts from being recognized or accepted. To be accepted by Beauvoir, Nichol would have to change so much of herself, both physically, psychologically, and in terms of behaviour, that she would be unrecognizable to him, becoming a different character and a different person entirely.

Despite 'growing up,' Vicki Delany's protagonist is still perceived by her community as a young and somewhat inexperienced police officer at the end of the third novel in the series. Most of Smith's experiences of gender-based discrimination come from dealing with the community she patrols. The injustices she faces within the Tight Enclave are effectively portrayed, though the narrative critique of those who are unjust is somewhat minimal. Constable Evans is depicted as so chauvinistic that he is unlikeable and Rich Ashcroft is so stereotypically misogynistic that he's a joke; though his sexist comments are inflammatory, they are hard to take seriously. In reality, good men can also be discriminatory, but the only examples of male officers that are verbally abusive in the focus texts are exaggerated stereotypes. At least Delany provides examples of women who are as sexist as Evans and Ashcroft, such as Mrs. Montgomery and even Lucky Smith, to a degree. This better reflects reality, where it is not only men who prevent women from being treated as equals due to implicit and explicit beliefs in distinct gender roles.

Many of the feminist aspects of Delany's works are misplaced. Though Constable Smith often represents positive feminist values through her reactions to the verbal abuse she receives from her community on a constant basis, many important feminist values become negatively charged through their representations by Smith's mother, Lucky. Lucky is shown as an ageing feminist, an old hippie who lives too much in a revolutionary time long past, especially in *In the Shadow of the Glacier*. That novel makes feminist values look not only dangerous, but passé. These values are hidden mostly under the cover of values connected with the flower power movement, almost as though Delany is nervous about being too openly feminist. As Walton and Jones have explained, overtly feminist novels tend to be more negatively received by most readers than subtly feminist novels (60). One tactic authors use to 'dilute' feminist values is to submerge it in romance. Unfortunately, the effects of the romance genre on detective fiction, together with hetero-normativity, prevent Constable Smith from becoming a truly independent woman; the presence of a male significant other and a dangerous male opponent will always be present. Smith's distrust in men will thus constantly wavers, though she will always end up in a heterosexual relationship, positive or not.

Christine Brouillet's series also shows the effects of romance on police procedurals, though with a more apparent feminist touch. Her works help in bringing real feminist issues into the fictional realm and deal with them there on a more blatant level than Penny or Delany. The conventional gendered distinctions between being a female and being a detective are challenged by Inspecteur Maud Graham, who merges the roles of 'woman' and 'detective' by insisting on being treated as equal to policemen. However, the portrayal of Graham as being a more socially sensitive detective than her chief does continue one of the gendered stereotypes of men and women, a trope that is somewhat alleviated by portraying Rouaix as a socially sensitive man. I consider Inspector Rouaix's character to be one of the best, albeit rarely depicted, attributes of her series. The way he is portrayed as a well-rounded modern man, able to recognize gender injustices and willing to help to correct them, as he

helps by supporting Graham's victim hotline, is a challenge to stereotypes about male cops. Delany's Sergeant Winters harbours sexist thoughts. Penny's Inspector Gamache pays lip-service to gender equality, favouring stereotypical male behaviour from men and stereotypical female behaviour from women, making an exception for Gabri and Olivier only because they are so stereotypically gay that one expects them to behave in an effeminate manner. Rouiax, on the other hand, may be slightly annoyed by Graham, but no more than one friend might find a certain aspect of another friend's personality somewhat bothersome; he acknowledges his annoyance, but then he lets it go rather than dwelling upon it, denying a gender-based discrimination of Graham on his part.

Graham's character is herself shown as holding certain gender biases, treating men with disdain do to the expectation that they are inherently sexist. There is not enough positive interaction with men in the first three novels to show that Graham is only sceptical about male criminals. Her perception of Rouiax and later Alain Gagnon is not well enough addressed in the early novels of the series for readers to gain a deeper understanding of Graham's expectations of them. It is better revealed in the fourth book of the series, *C'est pour mieux t'aimer, mon enfant*, what Graham's relationship with them is really like. *C'est pour mieux t'aimer, mon enfant* shows more of Graham's private life than the earlier three novels. It includes a tentative date with Gagnon, a better perspective of her friendship with Rouiax, and more positive interactions with men in general. In short, it shows a more well-rounded version of the feminist detective, one that further denies any ideas of her as a radical lesbian or an overly masculine woman.

The first three novels in each of the three focus series often show policewomen at their worst, such as when Agent Nichol purposely aggravates Gamache's Tight Enclave, behaving in an unfeminine and inappropriate manner so that Gamache can deal with a dangerous mole; when Inspecteur Graham insults male suspects, aggravating them and causing them to become more hostile towards her; or when Constable Smith becomes so excited about working to catch a murder that she fails to address the

serious situation with her friend Christa, contributing to Christa's abuse by failing to provide essential support (though Smith cannot be fully blamed, as she was not the one who beat Christa to the point where she had to be hospitalized). The nine novels also show policewomen at their best, with Inspecteur Graham boldly challenging a serial killer, as well as challenging the sexist treatment of women in general, by her providing support for victims of violent crimes such as rape; Agent Nichol risks her life to save a stranger (who has the same name as the uncle her father lied to her about); or Constable Smith standing in face of a riot, as well as placing herself in harm's ways to protect a baby. Constable Smith's character confronts some of the most blatant gender injustices of the focus texts, as she is insulted and assaulted because of the mix of her gender and her job and the very different gendered stereotypes associated with them. Smith must face discrimination and harassment both inside the Tight Enclave and while out on patrol in her community. All three women are judged as having too much or too little of some female identified physical feature to be a true police officer, with Nichol lacking domesticity, Smith being too pretty and Graham not being slim or friendly enough.

Something further should be noted about the lack of the use of guns in the three texts, something that is not that peculiar given that it is standard within Canadian fiction. As Skene-Melvin notes in his introduction to *Canadian Crime Fiction*, while American P.I.s tend to shoot first and ask questions later, Canadian P.I.s prefer to talk first and shoot only if absolutely necessary (xvii). This is also reflected in the three focus series, where guns are almost never drawn. When a gun is used, it is significant. Constable Smith never draws her gun, but it is referred to occasionally, usually combined with some kind of sexual innuendo as is with Duncan in *In the Shadow of the Glacier*. She does have a gun pulled on her in *Valley of the Lost*, and there is also a gunfight as “the cavalry” come to rescue Smith (400). The scene helps to show the power of the Tight Enclave and their willingness to go an extra distance to rescue one of their own. It is also an occasion where Smith needs rescuing; the fact that men rescued her is covered by her attempts to rescue herself. Furthermore, there is a lack of

women trained to handle such situations. There are only a handful of women working with Smith. Only one is shown in action, Constable Dawn Solway. It would have been nice to see Solway as part of the rescue team, but it is important that Smith be rescued by her partner and mentor, Sergeant Winters, to develop the trust between them, and by her budding heterosexual love interest, Constable Adam Tocek, as he has a role to play in future novels.

Inspecteur Graham has her gun ready when she prepares to call the Collectionneur out of his hangar, but it stays pointed at the ground. Guns are not needed here, something Rouaix, who accompanies Graham, has to remind the other officers. It is important to note that the other officers wait for Rouaix's orders rather than listening to Graham; they wait until a male commands them rather than using their eyes and seeing that a woman had the situation under control (205). Guns are also drawn near the conclusion of *The Cruellest Month* by Agent Lemieux, Agent Beauvoir and Agent Nichol. Lemieux draws his gun on Gamache as a genuine threat, intending to kill the inspector if his plan goes awry. Beauvoir pulls his gun on Lemieux and then puts it down in order to protect Gamache. Nichol draws her gun, but remains hidden in a multiple sense; she is unseen by all but Gamache, who does not know if he can fully trust her. Nichol is a shadow, “a ghost caught between worlds” (349). Readers are made to wonder: is she, like Lemieux, an “agent provocateur” (346) set to cause trouble from within, a pawn played by Superintendent Francoeur, or is she one of Superintendent Brébeuf's pawns? Though the possibility of her working for Brébeuf is quickly resolved, the possibility that she is working for Gamache's enemy remains for a few more novels. In *The Cruellest Month*, the suspense is not held long before the ultimate truth is revealed: Nichol is loyal to Gamache. For the moment. Her actual allegiance remains unclear, leaving the possibility that she was working for Francoeur and had been playing Gamache for a fool all along.

Changes are happening. Television series like *Rizzoli and Isles* may be reproducing gendered stereotypes and in many ways supporting sexist patriarchy, but they also occasionally deal with

sensitive women's rights topics such as the treatment of prostitutes (1:4) and the rights of lesbian widows (1:6). And then there is the critically acclaimed movie *Fargo*, a dark comedy that parodies gender roles. In this film, some gender roles are completely reversed, such as that of the protagonist, Chief of Police Marge Gunderson, and her husband, a domestic husband and somewhat effeminate artist. Despite being heavily pregnant, Marge solves a series of gruesome murders. Her pregnancy and the way it is emphasized make it impossible to think of Margie as being 'manly,' despite her masculine determination and the way she handles herself upon finding the killer stuffing a body in a wood chipper; she keeps her emotions suppressed like a man.

Unité 9, though not part of detective fiction, albeit part of the greater genre of crime fiction, is nonetheless important to this thesis given its portrayal of women, showing a wider variety of female characters than any current police procedural and offering a possibility for the future. This television series has received high ratings and has maintained a large viewer following since it began broadcasting in 2012. The series takes place predominantly in a women's prison, explaining the high number of female characters both behind and outside the bars. The women behind the bars are expected to be criminal women, but not all of them behave as such, proclaiming their innocence as is the case for the main protagonist, Marie Lamontagne. Instead, the detainees display a variety of stereotyped and gender challenging roles, often embodied in one character. And sometimes the ones represented as being more 'criminal' are the female correctional officers.

Adding more female characters does not necessarily aid in diversifying the presentation of policewomen or show fewer instances of gender injustices, as has been shown by the televised series *Rookie Blue*, which began broadcasting in 2010. Rather, the series has so far enabled the furthering of several negative female stereotypes by continuing the depiction of women as sexual objects, femmes fatales, and honorary males. The strongest women shown in the series are vulnerable women who follow the same pattern of victimization and vengeance depicted in *Rizzoli and Isles*. There are some

elements, however, that make *Rookie Blue* more diverse. One of the characters, Traci Nash, is a single mother who must balance time with her son and time with her squad. Another, Noelle Williams, becomes pregnant during the series and gives birth during the third season. Both of these women are shown as being strong, solid, and valuable to the team. Their motherhood is treated both as a strength and a weakness; it makes them automatic 'mothers' to the team, sources of emotional support that even the men rely upon, and yet it distracts from their police work, giving the women a different set of female-identified priorities. Given that the series has received high ratings since its inception, it is unlikely that its continuous victimization of women will change in the future. The series will probably continue its conventional format and continue to victimize women to maintain its high ratings.

The social and professional cultural restrictions imposed upon and reproduced by actual policewomen in our contemporary society show the need for more positive and 'heroic' examples of women in a position of authority other than motherhood. For instance, it would also be nice to see more images of female firefighters in particular, especially female fire chiefs and female fighters elite – which do exist, but are shown too rarely. It would also help if female firefighters were themselves more numerous. The continually increasing number of female police officers may have a ricochet effect in increasing the numbers of female firefighters, but such effects are greatly diminished by the negative treatment of policewomen. Until more positive social changes are made, we can expect negative and sexist representations of policewomen to continue to be reproduced, unconsciously or not, in police procedurals, even female authored ones. Until such changes are made, sexist portraits of women dressed as seductive police officers will continue to be found 'spread' provocatively in the pages of *Photo Police*.

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- i Misspelling intentional: this is how Penny spells the title of her third book.
- ii *Polar Quebecois* is the term used for detective fiction set in Quebec and written by Quebec authors.
- iii There is a seven-year gap between the second and third book during which Brouillet was working on other material. When Brouillet returned to the Maud Graham series, she retained many of the original characters and issues but made certain alterations that were not direct continuations of what had come before. For example, though Graham has aged with her author, another character, Gregoire, remains the same age. He is sixteen in *Preferrez-vous les icebergs* and he is still sixteen in *Le Collectionneur*. This discrepancy does not in any way distract from the quality of the novel.
- iv There are even instances of vampire detectives, such as Tanya Huff's Vicki Nelson.
- v A hebdomadaire is a seminal or weekly publication.
- vi It should be noted that Doyle's stories about Holmes are generally short stories. As they were influenced by the rise of the novel, they can be treated in a similar fashion as the novel, though they are not the same.
- vii The most famous incident of fiction being mistaken for reality is Orson Welles' infamous radio broadcast of *War of the Worlds*, where Wells used a parody of news broadcasts to deliver fictional information about an alien invasion that was so realistic it caused wide-spread panic. As such, it is considered by many critics as one of the greatest Halloween pranks in the history of radio.
- viii When Sir Conan Doyle ended Sherlock Holmes' life in "The Final Problem," he expected to be able to concentrate upon more 'serious' literary works such as *The White Company*, one of his 'historical' novels. Public outcry was so great that Doyle was forced to bring Holmes back. The indecent has become legendary and, like most legends, carries with it as much myth as it does reality. Myth has it that Doyle was accused of murdering Holmes, as though Holmes was an actual person. Doyle is not the only author who made choices that outraged his readers to the point of threatened violence. Charlaine Harris received death threats after the ending of her popular Southern Vampire Mysteries was leaked by readers unhappy with her authorial choices.
- ix Precious is the name of the dog in the novel.
- x I've always found it amusing, and confusing, that the word 'feminine' is masculine in French Grammar. This is because the language is not actually gender-charged; it is based in grammatical endings. It is merely perceived as gender-based, and it is the perception that Brouillet plays upon.
- xi There are no female-identified terms for fireman at all. Firefighter is used instead, but, as I've already mentioned, it is so saturated with masculinity that even today, people struggle with the concept of a female firefighter.
- xii In 2002, Robert Pickton was charged with the serial murder of fifteen women, a number that rose to twenty-seven after an investigation on his pig farm. Pickton has since been convicted of second degree murder for six women and is likely to face further charges on the civil level. Galliford is expected to testify before the BC Missing Women Commission of Inquiry which is examining the RCMP's handling of the Pickton affair.
- xiii In 1985, an Air India Boeing 747-237B was destroyed by a bomb while flying just off the coast of Ireland. The majority of those killed were Canadian citizens. Galliford responded to the media on several occasions during an investigation that lasted for close to 20 years.
- xiv Deep Throat is the pseudonym W. Mark Felt used when revealing information during the infamous Watergate scandal, now a notorious meme for other political scuttlebutt such as "Robogate," referring to robotic phone calls and insinuated voter fraud during the 2011 Canadian federal election.
- xv "Termination" is the term generally used in Quebec to indicate somebody has resigned or been fired. It is also used to refer to an assassination.
- xvi Logic dictates that if it's not the same, it's not uniform. However, body structure changes, thus changing the way the uniform is worn.
- xvii A 'slutwalk' is when protestors dress in a provocative manner indicative of clothing considered promiscuous in order to draw attention to the way women are often victimized and labeled 'sluts' just for dressing in a manner they feel makes them attractive.
- xviii The characters in *Les fous de Bassan* are better referred to as a clan than a family as their relations are intertwined intermarriages that involve a blended family tree built on generational incest made 'acceptable' by a secluded geographical location, notably an island.
- xix This is not a spelling mistake. The character's name is Jame, not James, and the specific spelling is played upon at certain moments in the novel.
- xx At the time I am writing this, *Le Collectionneur* and *Penny's Still Life* are the only of the nine novels to have been adapted for film/television.
- xxi Quentin Crisp was an openly gay British writer and storyteller who lived from 1908-1999.
- xxii Calling Agent Nichol 'Yvette Nicolev' is not an error. Nicolev is her real Czechoslovakian last name. Agent Nichol changed her last name to appear less like an immigrant, therefor more like an insider. This is ironic, given her status as a perpetual outsider.
- xxiii This is a reference to the old phrase "Don't touch that dial!"