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1. Introduction

Gender is a much debated topic in today's society as the changes in its fabric necessitate a reconsideration of the traditional roles men and women usually incorporate in different domains of everyday life. To realise the demand for gender equality is hereby particularly important in order to accommodate and reflect the transformation precipitated by social progress. Even though a lot has already changed, adequately adjusting women's position in society at large, there are still antiquated, yet dominant beliefs rooted in the collective consciousness, which adhere to a rather specific conception of the world that defines men and women as opposites on various levels and consequently influences how men or women are perceived and treated according to their stereotypical gender-specific attributes and qualities.

The analysis presented in this paper mainly focuses on if and how such beliefs are implicitly expressed in different domains of everyday life in the selected crime fiction novels and further how they affect the respective protagonists in the given context, thereby reflecting issues in society at large. Based on Stuart Hall's theory of articulation, three domains were examined in more detail in order to gather information and thus gain valuable insights regarding the representation of gender in selected works of Scottish crime author Val McDermid. The overall purpose of this analysis can be summarised in the following research questions:

1. How is gender presented in selected works of Val McDermid in consideration of dominant cultural beliefs?
2. How is the articulation of gender with specific domains portrayed in the respective novels?

It is hypothesised that the protagonists of the crime fiction novels in question do not conform to and even challenge dominant gender beliefs to a certain extent due to the construction of their character in general as well as due to their contextual situation (as regards, for instance, their workplace), which additionally necessitates their non-conformity. Further, it is hypothesised that there is a discernible articulation of gender with the domains selected for the analysis reflecting dominant cultural beliefs about gender, which in further consequence

affects the characters due to their respective gender, however, does not dissuade them from challenging these norms.

Before exploring these questions in more detail, the first part of the paper aims to outline the theoretical background for a better understanding of the analysis. First, the concept of gender is elaborated on in detail by illustrating different perspectives, which construct gender in different terms. Thereafter follows a short discourse on gender roles and gender stereotypes. This section lastly and most importantly concludes with an overview of specific domains usually articulated with gender, outlining their relevance and affect on social coexistence. The section on gender is then followed by a short section on the genre of crime fiction including its development, its representation of gender in the course of time and its significance for female authors. It lastly concludes with a short discourse on a specific subgenre of crime fiction, the Scottish Tartan Noir, since the selected crime fiction novels in question are identified as belonging to said subgenre, reflecting its dominant themes and characteristics. After having outlined the theoretical background, the methodological approach is presented. The first part of the paper thus includes the theoretical background on the concept of gender as well as the theoretical background on the genre of crime fiction and the methodological approach. The second part of the paper then presents the analysis focussing on the research questions mentioned above. However, before exploring the research questions in more detail, a short biography of the author and a summary of the selected novels is provided in order to provide context. Thereafter the first research question is examined in a more general character analysis, focussing on the protagonists of the crime fiction novels as well as other notable characters. The second research question, which represents the heart of this paper, is subsequently explored by means of Hall's articulation theory, looking closely at the articulation of gender and three specific domains. The findings are then once more reflected, summarised and compared in a short discussion section, until the paper lastly concludes with a more general summary of this complex issue.

2. Gender and gender stereotypes

The concept of gender has gained considerable importance in contemporary debates of various scholarly disciplines including psychology, philosophy, cultural studies, literary studies as well as, of course, gender studies. Consequently, it has been discussed with regard to numerous aspects, which are of relevance not only for the respective disciplines themselves but also, quite generally, for the social coexistence in today's society. Although social progress has notably changed the structures of society in the course of time, as regards for example the role of women, a specific concept of gender, which specifies what ideally constitutes masculinity or femininity, still remains rooted in the collective consciousness of Western cultures. This is further reflected in multiple domains and cultural practices, which are in turn reproduced repeatedly, for example in the literary canon including crime fiction.

Consequently, it is particularly interesting to closely examine the representation of the concept of gender in contemporary crime fiction to ascertain its conformity or non-conformity with dominant views of today's society. Thus, for a better understanding of the analysis presented in a subsequent section of this paper, the concept of gender is explored in more detail. First of all, this entails a close examination of the notable differentiation between the concepts 'gender' and 'sex', which is important to understand the largely socially constructed notion of gender. Thereafter follows a discussion of dominant gender roles and gender stereotypes, which are frequently encountered in cultural domains and practices of everyday life and therefore in the respective crime fiction novels as well. Lastly, domains are outlined, which are typically articulated with gender. Thereby, the focus lies on three specific domains including 'emotional expression', 'status, power and authority' and 'the workplace'.

To fully explore the concept of gender, scholarly discourse usually involves the differentiation between 'gender' and 'sex'. Whereas gender is largely understood as a socially and culturally constructed concept, sex usually refers to "the biology of the body" (Barker 2000: 187). This, as Ryle (2012: 6) further outlines, is referred to as the biosocial approach, which assumes that individuals can be assigned one of two categories, male or female respectively. These categories,

however, do not solely shape the individuals actions, which are also influenced by cultural factors. Nonetheless, sex is the dominant trait, which causally leads to a specific gender category. Although gender is, as aforementioned, viewed as culturally constructed (due to the assignment of a specific sex category), there are restrictions to this cultural influence due to the biological sex (Ryle 2012: 8f.).

Another perspective, the so called strong social constructionist perspective, however, argues that it is not sex that which determines gender, but gender that which determines sex. This basically means that not only gender is a social construct, but sex as well (Ryle 2012: 8f.). As Ryle (2012: 9) explains, “[g]ender, in the form of cultural meanings, therefore produces our notions of sex, rather than the other way around”. Both perspectives are represented in the field of gender studies and exert influence on the understanding of these constructs.

Additionally there are two other perspectives between which many scholars distinguish namely the essentialist approach and the constructionist approach. In general these approaches are quite similar to the approaches aforescribed. On the one hand, the essentialist perspective, similarly to the biosocial perspective, assumes that there are certain characteristics, which make it possible to identify an individual as either male or female (Ryle 2012: 10). Contrary to the biosocial perspective, these characteristics do not “necessarily have to be grounded in biology” (Ryle 2012: 11). The constructionist approach, on the other hand, postulates that everything is subjectively constructed and further that individuals “see reality only through [their] own constructions of the world” (Ryle 2012: 10). Although similar to the strong social constructionist perspective, the constructionist approach is, in comparison, broader and more variable.

As can be deduced from this short discourse, the concept of gender is not as easy to define as it may seem, since different aspects are included in different approaches. The debate is ongoing. Thus, gender can be understood as a flexible and multi-layered concept, which implicitly exerts influence on social coexistence.

The usual distinction between the categories ‘male’ and ‘female’, regardless of being biological characteristics or merely social constructs, affects individuals on various levels including, for example, the development of a social identity, which goes hand in hand with pre-existing notions of gender-specific traits and behaviours. “Gender identity”, as Martin and Dinella (2001: 6021) postulate, “is the

sense of oneself as a male or a female”, which is not only shaped by the individuals biological sex but other social and cultural factors as well. This identity, as Schmader and Block (2015: 475) further emphasise, develops from an early age since the process of categorisation, or “sex categorization” as Ridgeway and Correll (2004:514) refer to it, is one of the primal processes in human development. As outlined in Martin and Dinella’s paper (2001: 6021), it is assumed to proceed in stages, starting with the realisation of being male or female, which gradually becomes a firmly established premise. Consequently, sorting by default into one out of two categories is often perceived to be a normal process. This is not the case but rather it can be ascribed to “widely shared cultural beliefs about gender” (Ridgeway & Correll 2004: 515), which serve as the basis for what Ridgeway and Correll (2004: 511ff.) call the “gender system”.

This institutionalised gender system aims at categorising individuals to regulate and stratify social coexistence by drawing on dominant cultural beliefs, which overall affect the “social relational contexts” individuals are situated in (Ridgeway and Correll 2004: 510). Such “[s]ystems for categorizing and defining things are based on contrast, and therefore, difference” (Ridgeway 2009: 147), which is used for easily situating individuals to another. Hence, categorisation according to sex, based on a cultures dominant gender beliefs, is the first step in the process of forming a gender identity, which, in further consequence, paves the way for the preservation of ‘doing gender’. This is one of the reason why many scholars would approve of a broader framework as regards gender identity, a framework, which “articulate[s] how one’s gender identity and identification reciprocally shape and are shaped by the behavioral preferences and traits one expresses” (Schmader & Block 2015: 477).

The traits and behavioural preferences, which are usually articulated with gender, are referred to as gender roles. Martin and Dinella (2001: 6021) also describe it as “a broad term referring to behaviors, attitudes, and traits that are associated with being male or female”, contrary to “[g]ender stereotypes, which are culturally defined expectations about the sexes in terms of personality, appearance, occupations, abilities, and interests [...]” (Martin & Dinella 2001: 6021). These beliefs are usually oriented towards cultural hegemony, although there are alternative beliefs as well (Ridgeway 2004: 514). Generally, it can be said that

every culture draws on specific gender roles, which, however, are not necessarily identical and vary to a certain extent (Webster & Rashotte 2009: 326).

Consequently, the question arises how these gender roles emerge and further how they are acquired during an individual's development. Priess and Hyde (2011: 99) outline different theories, which are considered to be either biological, cognitive or socio-cultural explanations. Whereas biological explanations assume biological causes (such as hormones) or evolutionary development to lead to different gender roles, cognitive explanations, such as the cognitive development theory by Lawrence Kohlberg or the gender schema theory by Carol Martin, Charles Halverson and Sandra Bern, assume cognitive processes (usually involving multiple stages) to be the cause of the emergence of gender differences. Lastly, there are also socio-cultural explanations, which consider multiple entities to exert influence on the development of different gender roles. These include for instance the individuals themselves, the environment they live in (i.e. society at large, other individuals, etc.) as well as other biological factors (Priess & Hyde 2011: 100ff.). The theories described, "[i]t is important to note [...] contribute to some understanding of gender-role development. That is, gender-role development likely involves the interaction of biological, social, and cognitive factors" (Priess & Hyde 2011: 99).

Related to gender roles are gender stereotypes, which "represent themselves as universal depictions of women and men defined by a narrow set of features" (Ridgeway & Correll 2004: 513). They are affiliated with gender roles in so far as they "are often related to the roles that the sexes fulfill in the culture" (Martin & Dinella 2001: 6023). Consequently, stereotypes, similarly to gender roles, also vary from culture to culture. They can be found in multiple domains of everyday life as the subsequent paragraph explores, including for example personality traits, physical appearance or the workplace (Johnston & Diekman 2015: 16). In all these domains men and women are regarded to exhibit gender-specific characteristics. It is often mentioned in the respective literature that men are usually articulated with agency, whereas women are articulated with communality (Johnston & Diekman 2015: 16; Ridgeway & Correll 2004: 513; Schmader & Block 2015: 475). This means that while men are perceived as the active and usually also superior sex, which is associated with specific adjectives such as "assertive, self-confident,

and competitive” (Schmader & Block 2015: 475), women are perceived as the less active and usually inferior sex, which is associated with quite different adjectives such as “caring, compassionate, and cooperative” (Schmader & Block 2015: 475). This is, however, only one example of gender stereotypes in the domain of personality traits. There is, of course, a multitude of such stereotypes, which reflect the dominant gender beliefs of a specific culture.

As Ridgeway (2009: 148f.) further outlines, it is usually the case that “[w]e all know these stereotypes as cultural knowledge, whether or not we personally endorse them”. As a result, these stereotypes influence social relational contexts and are thus re-enacted and continue to exist. This in turn contributes to the preservation of a system of difference and inequality (Ridgeway & Correll 2004: 511; Ridgeway 2009: 149). However, this must not necessarily be the case, since this situational view holds that men and women can actually choose from a range of different behaviours appropriate for a specific situation. Additionally, “inequality is not tied to or supported by other social system needs as they are in the older view” (Webster & Rashotte 2009: 330). This is to say that both men and women can be equipped with the same personality traits but due to contextual factors are more likely to exhibit them in different situations, thus leading to the continued existence of gender stereotypes.

Another interesting perspective further proposes a dynamic nature of stereotypes, which means that the content of stereotypes may change in the course of time due to a cultures changing beliefs (Johnston & Diekmann 2015: 16). As Diekmann and Eagly (2000: 1171) further explain, “some stereotypes are dynamic because they incorporate beliefs about changing characteristics”. Notably, this is the case as regards stereotypes about women due to their changing roles in society at large. While these stereotypes change continually and can thus be considered as dynamic, gender stereotypes about men are rather static and have not varied considerably (Diekmann & Eagly 2000: 1172). This is further corroborated in Diekmann and Eagly’s study (2000: 1183), which found “that perceivers incorporate the implications of social change into groups’ images” and consequently “that stereotypes about social groups can be dynamic or static” (Diekmann & Eagly 2000: 1183). This shows that although stereotypes prevail, they are adapted according to changing cultural and societal values as well as beliefs. As can be seen, gender roles

and gender stereotypes are closely linked to the cultural beliefs of a particular society, representing its expectations regarding its members.

Now that the general concept of gender roles and gender stereotypes has been discussed in detail, the next paragraphs focus on specific gender-articulated domains in which stereotypes notably come into effect, influencing the way men and women perceive themselves or are perceived by others. As mentioned previously, there are multiple domains, which are articulated with gender. Among other things, these usually include personality traits, physical appearance or the workplace (Johnston & Diekmann 2015: 16) as well as relations of status, power and authority. For the purpose of the subsequent analysis three domains are explored in more detail including personality traits (with the focus on the expression of emotion), relations of status, power and authority as well as the workplace, which partly links back to the preceding domains.

One of the domains typically articulated with gender encompasses the broad area of personality traits, which includes multiple facets such as emotion or, more specifically, the expression of emotion. Traditionally men and women are thought to be on different ends of a spectrum as regards their emotionality, with women being the emotional and more expressive sex (Fiorentini 2013: 15; Gaia 2013: 593). The basis for this stereotype, which is not universally valid as various studies show, are the aforementioned cultural and societal values and beliefs. These, as Shields (2013: 424) further outlines, indicate “when, where, and how emotion should occur, as well as what the occurrence of emotion signifies”. This is to say that in Western cultures men and women are usually understood to behave and express their emotions in a certain way. Although, at first glance, this seems relatively straightforward, the subject matter at hand is more complex since these beliefs are often contradictory (Shields 2013: 424). On the one hand, the expression of emotion is valued for certain characteristics, on the other hand, it is devalued for the exact same reasons. To give an example, women, on the one hand, are valued for their emotional expressivity when it comes to the private sphere (e.g. childcare, relationship, etc.), on the other hand, this same emotional expressivity is not appreciated in the public sphere (e.g. workplace) for being a sign of weakness and inferiority (Shields 2007: 106). Although men generally enjoy a higher status, they too are confronted with double standards. Typically

men are perceived as agentic and instrumental (Johnston & Diekman 2015: 16; Ridgeway & Correll 2004: 513; Schmader & Block 2015: 475), which is seen as advantageous when interacting in the public sphere but which is not necessarily relevant for attaining power in the private sphere, traditionally regarded as women's domain (Diekman, Goodfriend & Goodwin 2004: 202). Nonetheless, today's society continually challenges the view of the non-expressive male and calls for more emotionality. Studies, however, indicate that men's expression of emotion is usually perceived negatively, especially by other men (Gaia 2013: 599). As Gaia (2013: 600) recapitulates:

Another important implication of these findings is that men are the primary enforcers of the gender stereotype of the non-expressive man. If men's masculinity is questioned and they risk social rejection when they openly express intimate emotions, they may be more aware of and more readily adhere to social rules associated with gender [...] and benefit from the enforcement of these stereotypes. [...] As a result, men behave in accordance with social expectations and gender norms, resisting the open expression of intimacy [...].

Consequently, stereotypes concerned with the gender-specific expression of emotion (or other personality traits) continue to exist and promote the belief in the dissimilarity of men and women. This is also noticeable in other domains such as relations of status, power and authority, in which gender inequality still persists due to the belief that men and women hold a different status in society based on their stereotypical characteristics.

These beliefs, also referred to as "[s]tatus beliefs[,] are shared cultural schemas about the status position in society of groups such as those based on gender, race, ethnicity, education, or occupation" (Ridgeway 2001: 637). They serve to establish hierarchies in society in which men are seen as superior (in status) to women due to competences, which are supposedly of higher value, especially in the public sphere. Consequently, status beliefs regulate the access to positions of power and authority. This means that women are usually disadvantaged due to being associated with lower status qualities (Ridgeway 2001: 642). Although barriers still exist, the situation is slowly changing in so far as women gain more and more access to different forms of power.

Diekman, Goodfriend and Goodwin (2004: 203f.) notably distinguish between different forms of power including occupational, economic, political, relational and

individual power. Due to societal changes, which saw women become part of the long-since male-dominated workforce, women were able to gain more power in all these domains. Obtaining power in the occupational domain was accompanied by obtaining power in the economical domain. The economical domain in turn was linked with the political domain due to monetary reasons, ensuring an increase in power in this domain as well. Regarding relational power, women gained more equality due to economic independence because they were overall less dependent on relational power itself. Lastly, women also obtained individual power, which is similarly “the cause and consequence of other forms of power” (Diekman, Goodfriend & Goodwin 2004: 204).

Although this generally seems like a considerable improvement, women’s power, nonetheless, cannot be equated with men’s power. Gender inequality due to an imbalance of power relations is still an important issue. As Diekman, Goodfriend and Goodwin (2004: 212) point out, “[a]lthough men and women perceive similar changes in the power structure, women see women’s gains in power more positively than men do”. This has to do with the fact that the dominant group, which enjoys a higher status in the hierarchy (i.e. men), is not necessarily willing to embrace these changes for fear of loss of even more power and prestige (Diekman, Goodfriend & Goodwin 2004: 212). When it comes to authority and leadership in the workplace, the situation is the same as authority and leadership are also linked to status beliefs invoked by gender stereotypes.

Starting with exploring the occupational domain in more general terms, it can be said that, as already mentioned, women have strengthened their position in the workplace in the course of time, gaining considerable power in this domain. Nonetheless, gender inequity remains an important issue. Gender roles and stereotypes exert a notable influence on perceptions regarding women’s positions in the workplace. Due to the persisting belief that women are the communal, emotional and expressive sex, they face multiple barriers in their professional career, especially when aiming to be successful in typically male occupations (Heilman 2012: 115). Traditionally women are thought to excel in professions, which are regarded to be feminine in nature (e.g. education, social work, health care, etc.), whereas men are placed in professional fields, which are regarded to be masculine in nature (e.g. management). This is due to the fact that these

occupations are usually associated with stereotypical character traits of men and women (Heilman 2012: 116; Ridgeway 2001: 640; Tomsich & Guy 2014: 473). Consequently, women face difficulties when aiming at a successful career in typically male occupations, since, as Heilman (2012: 123) points out, “[i]f women are to succeed in upper level work settings they have to violate gender stereotypic prescriptions”, which in turn evokes a largely negative response. Hence, upper level positions (Heilman 2012: 113f.) or “positions of highest authority” (Ridgeway & Correll 2004: 525) are rarely held by women.

This goes hand in hand with gender discrimination in the workplace. For when gender stereotypes are violated, they induce a negative “backlash” (Heilman 2012: 123; Ridgeway 2001: 649), which can manifest itself in different ways. Interestingly, however, “doing what she should seems not to boost a woman’s evaluation, but failing to do what she should seems to have a decidedly negative effect” (Heilman 2012: 125). This again shows the precarious situation many women experience in their professional lives as regards the dichotomy between their own expectations and the expectations of society at large. Additionally, what is important to note is that there are multiple factors, which affect gender discrimination and inequity including dominant cultural beliefs as well as “elements of workplace structure” (Bobbitt-Zeher 2011: 765). These organisational structures play an important role as well, as Bobbitt-Zeher’s study (2011: 781) indicates, which shows “that policies may be at the heart of how gender-based assumptions translate into unequal outcomes for women at work today”.

This is also the case for women in law enforcement, for the police force is yet another profession, which is typically associated with masculinity and thus burdens women with choosing between “their gender identity versus their career” (Rabe-Hemp 2009: 114). As Agocs, Langan and Sanders (2015: 268) further point out, “[f]emale officers experience unique challenges at work in comparison to male officers, challenges that are directly attributable to how their gender identity ‘fits’ within the organizational and cultural contexts of policing”. Again, this primarily affects the conception of women’s communality and emotionality, which so sharply contrasts with this line of work. Notably, one aspect of women’s gender identity is especially problematic, namely their potential of motherhood, which is not easily

compatible with the irregular working schedule of policing “and other working practices” (Dick & Cassell 2004: 51f.). Hence, policewomen are confronted with various biases due to their gender identity, which overall affect their working experience on different levels.

These gender-articulated domains, among others, are also featured in contemporary crime fiction and convey a certain image of how men and women are perceived in society. Whereas some authors (sometimes purposefully) work with stereotypical representations of their characters, others try to include more diverse representations of men and women, violating traditional gender roles, stereotypes and status beliefs. This is explored in more detail in the following section on the genre of crime fiction.

3. Crime fiction

Turning to the literary genre of crime fiction, the following section examines its beginnings and its development, as well as common themes, which are of particular importance for this genre. Furthermore, and more importantly, it also includes an analysis of the representation of gender in crime fiction as well as an overview of the history of women writers in crime fiction. The section finally concludes with an outline of a particular subgenre of crime fiction, the Scottish Tartan Noir.

3.1. The genre of crime fiction and its development

The genre of crime fiction is probably one of the most popular literary genres today. Although in past times it was not considered to be part of the literary canon regarded as high culture, its status has changed in the course of time. Through various transformations concerning structure, characters and themes of crime novels, it has continually gained recognition among critics, “reflect[ing] most of the major cultural themes of the period” (Cawelti 1999: 45).

Although generally the origins of the crime novel as a literary genre can be traced back to the England of the 18th century, various scholars point out that crime has featured in narratives long before that. In this context, Bradford (2015: 1) and Markaris (2014: 161) both mention the Greek tragedy *Oedipus* as an example.

Apart from ancient Greek tragedies, another example is “Scheherazade’s tale of ‘The Three Apples’, from *One Thousand and One Nights* [, which] include[s] unresolved puzzles, in this specific case the discovery of the dismembered body of a young woman in a heavily locked chest in the river Tigris” (Bradford 2015: 2). Although crime itself was not the major theme in these narratives but mainly complementing other motives, it was nonetheless an integral part of the story.

Only in the beginning of the 18th century did crime and criminality feature more dominantly in the respective narratives of the period or, as Bell (2003: 7) starts his exploration of crime writing, “The literature of the eighteenth century is suffused with crime [...]”. This, in part, had to do with the fact that crime was thriving at this time and further that the justice system was unable to regulate it properly. Hangings or other forms of capital punishment were common place. The public was generally antipathetic to criminality but at the same time fascinated with it. Public executions were a sensation and myriads of people travelled to the place of execution to witness the event themselves. This craving for sensation further resulted in numerous narratives detailing convicts’ lives, which were later subsumed in *The Newgate Calendar* (Bradford 2015: 4f.). Notable writers such as Daniel Defoe or Henry Fielding also concerned themselves with these issues, producing novels, based on infamous criminals of that time, filled with various acts of crime (Bell 2003: 8).

Although this can be seen as the beginning of crime fiction, it is not until the 19th century that the genre of crime fiction itself was established. For the most part scholars agree that it is Edgar Allan Poe, who can be considered as the founder of crime fiction (Bradford 2015: 7; Cawelti 1999: 49; Priestman 2003: 2; Scaggs 2005: 7). With his three short stories, *The Murder in the Rue Morgue* (1841), *The Mystery of Marie Roget* (1842) and *The Purloined Letter* (1844) respectively, he initiated a new literary genre featuring crime, which now not only portrayed the questionable misdeeds, but also focussed on the process of solving them by including a detective character “who makes use of his deductive skills to arrive at a solution to the transgressive act” (Bradford 2015: 7). However, as Bradford (2015: 11) further outlines, “at the time he left no discernible footprint on the literary landscape”. More influential instead were Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s publications featuring the famous Sherlock Holmes, which, after some time, were even so successful that

after killing his protagonist off, Doyle had to revive him in order to satisfy his readership with yet more adventures. This not only was a success for Doyle himself but also for the genre, since it was taken more seriously from then on (Bradford 2015: 14ff.; Scaggs 2005: 24ff.).

Crime fiction novels now had a refined structure, which further developed in the 20th century. During the first half of the century, the so called Golden Age of crime fiction, the “clue-puzzle formula” (Knight 2003: 77) or “plot-puzzle formula” (Bradford 2015: 19) gained considerable importance. It followed a particular pattern, which deviated from earlier works of crime fiction. This includes for example the centrality of the crime, which is committed in an isolated setting. Further, as Knight (2003: 78) outlines, the “[d]etection [of this crime] is rational rather than active or intuitional, a method which fits with the unemotional presentation of the crime”. Another noticeable characteristic includes a pool of different suspects out of which one is presented as the culprit at the end of the story (Knight 2003 78f.). Worth noting is that this style of writing was dominant in Great Britain and consequently dominated by British crime writers, most notably Agatha Christie, whose “influence on the genre [was] enormous” (Scaggs 2005: 26). Other noteworthy crime fiction writers of the Golden Age include Dorothy L. Sayers, Margery Allingham as well as Ngaio Marsh (Bradford 2015: 22; Scaggs 2005: 26), who are often referred to as the “Queens of Crime” (Munt 2005: 6).

In the second half of the 20th century, another formula started to become more popular, a formula of crime fiction, which was contrasting with the writing style of the Golden Age. This new subgenre, referred to as hard-boiled crime fiction, already started to develop at the time of the Golden Age, at the beginning of the 20th century and gained even more recognition after the Golden Age had ended (Worthington 2011: 121f.). Notably, hard-boiled crime fiction was typically American, including writers such as Dashiell Hammett, James M. Cain and Raymond Chandler (Bradford 2015: 26ff.). It further differed from the British Golden Age’s mode of writing in various aspects. Although crime still played a central role in the narrative, it was depicted in a different way, usually more realistic and, in addition, more graphic. Furthermore, it was not resolved as neatly. Other notable differences include the depiction of the main protagonist, the tough male detective; the setting in which the crime is committed, the city; and also the

choice of victim (Scaggs 2005: 55ff.; Worthington 2011: 122ff.). All these characteristics decidedly marked hard-boiled crime fiction and made it “the first genuinely non-derivative crime fiction in the United States” (Worthington 2011: 122). Not surprisingly, hard-boiled crime fiction exerted considerable influence on and consequently shaped subsequent subgenres of crime fiction, including for example the police procedural or the thriller (Scaggs 2005: 105).

In contrast to its humble beginnings, today there are numerous subgenres of crime fiction including Golden Age crime fiction, hard-boiled crime fiction (such as the Scottish Tartan Noir), historical crime fiction, spy fiction, police procedurals and thrillers, to name but a few. Although often still not taken as seriously as other forms of literature typically thought of as high culture, its status among critics has changed as well. Although crime still plays a central role as regards the genre, it has generally broadened its approach to include a wide range of other issues. As Bradford (2015: 115) remarks, “there are crime novelists whose work engages with profound social, moral, and existential issues, and [further] crime writing can claim among its practitioners some of the finest literary stylists”. Thus, the genre of crime fiction has undergone a noteworthy metamorphosis, from its mere crime-recounting beginnings in the 18th century towards a more comprehensive narrative, including a multiplicity of different themes and motives.

As already mentioned, the genre of crime fiction, as well as its various subgenres, features a myriad of different themes and motives. These are usually tied to the historical, political or cultural contexts of the respective period and consequently reflect relevant issues of that time. Hence, the variety of themes and motives reflected in contemporary works of crime fiction differs to a certain extent from earlier publications. Overall, relevant themes and motives include for example crime and criminality, urbanisation, race and discrimination as well as gender and sexuality, to name but a few. Depending on the core theme of the novel, these and other issues are further nuanced in the course of the narrative in order to shed light on the given subject matter and implicitly draw the reader’s attention to the issue at hand, which in contemporary crime fiction novels also often focuses on the flaws and hardships of its protagonists (Worthington 2011: 88ff.). A theme, which is of particular significance in the light of social changes in society at large, includes the discourse on gender and sexuality.

3.2. The representation of gender and sexuality in crime fiction

Crime fiction is often considered to be a masculine and deeply conservative genre, in its subject matter and because of the formulaic nature of its narratives [...]. These fixed patterns have contributed to the perception of the genre as masculine, a perception strengthened by the underpinning of method and rationality that enable the discovery of the solution and the strong association [...] of the detective with science and logic (Worthington 2011: 41).

Since the beginning of crime writing, the representation of gender and sexuality followed a predetermined formula, a formula influenced by dominant cultural beliefs about gender and reproduced by the primarily male authorship situated in a patriarchal society, which attributed specific roles as well as character traits to men and women. This, as Worthington (2011: 41) exemplifies, largely contributed to the common association between the genre of crime fiction and masculinity. Not only were favourable masculine qualities accentuated, but transgressions of specific (usually female) gender roles exposed.

For a long time, the general conception of what it means to be a man or a woman, as pointed out in section 2., was based on stereotypical gender beliefs, which associated men with agency and women with communality as well as other gender-specific character traits and further sorted them into different domains of everyday life. This was also reflected in the literary canon of crime fiction, where men and women were allocated typical roles that fit their gender identity (Worthington 2011: 41). Conforming to said beliefs men traditionally held the active role of detective, while women were only portrayed as victims or otherwise as the cause of the criminal act. Hardly ever were they depicted as detectives or criminal offenders, since “any deviance from the perceived norms of gender was condemned by society” (Worthington 2011: 42). Nonetheless, as Plain (2001: 6) points out, “[g]ender transgression and the disruption of ‘normative’ sexuality have always been an integral part of crime narrative”, however between the lines. Only when the role of women changed in society at large, did the roles of men and women in crime fiction start changing as well.

Whereas the genre of hard-boiled crime fiction, on the one hand, further relied upon tropes of masculinity, depicting “women as either dangerous, seductive villains or nurturing but essentially insignificant helpmates” (Reddy 2003: 193),

Golden Age crime fiction, on the other hand, portrayed its male and female characters quite differently. Male detectives, as Worthington (2011: 47) refers to it, were regularly “feminised”. Apart from this development, also the first female detectives were written into crime narratives, which triggered the association of Golden Age crime fiction with femininity (Reddy 2003: 193). Nonetheless, these female detectives were still not portrayed as extensively as their male counterparts. Furthermore, they were depicted in a rather specific way, usually “beyond the age of sexual desire and no longer in need of masculine protection” (Worthington 2011: 47) or, as Bradford (2015: 85) refers to it, they featured “characteristics that would at the time [not] be associated with womanhood”. Yet, they still violated dominant gender norms due to their agency. Only at the beginning of the 21st century, as Worthington (2011: 48) remarks, is “the female investigator [...] no longer transgressing gender boundaries”. This is to say that men and women can and do occupy the same positions in contemporary crime fiction as detectives or other relevant characters in the narrative (i.e. perpetrators, victims, etc.). Notably, especially women’s role has developed from the passive victim or supporting character to an active leading role in the limelight.

Thus, it can be said that the representation of gender and sexuality in the genre of crime fiction has changed considerably in the course of time, elevating women’s role in the respective narrative. Whereas in the beginning women were merely allocated a passive role, today they take on an active part in the narrative as well and constitute three-dimensional characters. Nevertheless, gender still remains an important theme in contemporary crime fiction. The focus today, however, lies on different aspects related to gender, such as the formation of a (gender) identity, which is further interwoven with other socio-cultural issues. This is present also in the works of Val McDermid, where “[g]ender and sexuality are key to the plot and to the agenda of the text and its author” (Worthington 2011: 51), as is explored in the analysis presented in this paper.

3.3. Women writers in crime fiction

Similarly to the role of gender in the respective crime fiction novels, the role of gender in the genre of crime fiction in general is of significance. Especially in the early days of crime fiction, women crime writers were scarce and the genre was

largely male-dominated. This presented the status quo for a rather long time. Consequently, this notably influenced genre conventions and shaped the early development of crime writing. Only later, especially during the Golden Age, did more women attend to writing crime fiction and thus contributed to its multifarious evolution, which gradually paved the way for succeeding women crime writers.

In the early days of the crime fiction genre, women crime writers were basically nonexistent. Rather, as various scholars attest (Bradford 2015: 82; Worthington 2011: 41), the genre was dominated by men and generally associated with masculinity. This had various reasons including, on the one hand, the nature of the genre itself, which was considered to address primarily manly topics (e.g. policing, crime, violence, etc.) and, on the other hand, the role of women in society at large, which was not yet liberated from patriarchal constraints set by cultural conventions. Bradford (2015: 82) even states that there were certainly no more than five women crime writers during the 18th and 19th century, highlighting women's precarious situation at that time. As Scaggs (2005: 20) further remarks, "(i)n general, [...] the crime genre during this period was a particularly powerful ideological tool that consolidated and disseminated patriarchal power, and its voice was the rational, coolly logical voice of the male detective or his male narrator".

This only changed at the beginning of the 20th century, when due to the war, women's role in society underwent considerable change. Munt (2005: 10) further elaborates that "the inter-war years provid[ed] women with greater work and leisure opportunities which [in turn] led to a rapid growth in middle-class women writers, including those trying their hand at detection". Notable women writers subsequently dominating the genre due to their new found position included Agatha Christie, Dorothy L. Sayers, Margery Allingham and Ngaio Marsh with their creations Hercule Poirot and Miss Marple, Lord Peter Wimsey, Albert Campion and Roderick Alleyn respectively (Bradford 2015: 19ff.; Worthington 2011: 108). Although, these writers kept creating male detective characters in their narratives, they influenced the genre in so far as they "significantly feminised" (Knight 2003: 82) their male protagonists and further also introduced more complex female characters, albeit still oriented towards dominant gender beliefs. Nonetheless, this

was a major step for women in the genre of crime fiction. Considered unanimously as the representatives of the Golden Age of crime fiction, these women can thus be regarded as the precursors of later generations of women crime writers.

Whereas the Golden Age of crime fiction was dominated by British women, the hard-boiled genre was for a long time largely dominated by American men, who continued celebrating the unequivocally masculine nature of detective fiction. In the course of time, however, women were able to appropriate this subgenre of crime fiction as well, although they were still massively influenced by its original masculine formula (Bradford 2015: 91). Through various influences, the American hard-boiled genre further developed into different subgenres, such as the Scottish Tartan Noir, which is explored in more detail in the subsequent section.

Further developments (including the various feminist movements in the course of the 20th century), which influenced women's role in society, also affected women's role as professional writers in the genre of crime fiction and consequently the overall content of crime fiction narratives as regards the representations of gender-articulated domains. Today there are at least as many female crime writers as male ones, which is reflected in the diversity of contemporary crime fiction.

3.4. A subgenre of crime fiction: the Scottish Tartan Noir

The Scottish Tartan Noir traces back to the already mentioned hard-boiled genre, which developed in the course of the 20th century. The hard-boiled genre was a "distinctively American sub-genre" (Scaggs 2005: 29) of crime fiction, following specific genre conventions, which developed as an antithesis to the equally popular Golden Age crime fiction. Therefore, it differed from Golden Age narratives in various respects including its depiction of the central character, the setting as well as recurrent themes and motives (Worthington 2011: 122ff.). As Plain (2007: 132) notes, "Scottish crime fiction has adopted and adapted the hard-boiled private investigator of modernist American legend while also, of course, drawing upon an indigenous tradition of Scottish urban working-class fiction". Hence, the Scottish Tartan Noir incorporates certain characteristics typically ascribed to the American hard-boiled genre, such as its relentless realism, but at the same time it also features aspects of its own country's long-established literary tradition, which, as McDermid (2014a) points out, can be said to be very "distinct and distinctive".

The term 'Tartan Noir', which was presumably coined by American writer James Ellroy, was first used to describe William McIlvanney's debut crime novel *Laidlaw* (1977), featuring the eponymous detective of the same name (Johnstone 2013; McDermid 2014a; Wickman 2013: 87). Although McIlvanney is not solely a crime fiction writer, his three *Laidlaw* novels captured the grim realism of the hard-boiled genre, combining it with Scottish sentiment, and thus gave rise to a new tradition of Scottish crime fiction, which includes notable authors such as Denise Mina, Ian Rankin or Val McDermid to name but a few (Johnstone 2013). Since then, as McDermid (2014a) notes, the Tartan Noir "encompasses a wide range of work, from apparent rural douceness to raw urban savagery", which, on the one hand, is favourable in representing a distinct and characteristic style of Scottish writing, on the other hand, however, is less favourable in throwing together a multitude of subgenres of Scottish crime fiction under one umbrella term, which does not fully capture their manifold diversity (Foster 2014; Johnstone 2013). For this reason, the term was often criticised and further only reluctantly used by some authors.

Yet, as Foster (2014) remarks, "there are certain common threads that run throughout the mysteries and thrillers of Scotland". Following genre conventions of hard-boiled crime fiction, the Tartan Noir similarly depicts gritty urban realism in all its facets. However, the narrative does not only revolve around the crime and about the 'whodunit', but extensively explores the bigger picture via a multitude of themes and motives, which often address ethical, political and socio-cultural issues usually encountered in Scotland. Further, the characters, detectives and perpetrators alike, as well as the setting, play an important role in the respective narratives of the Tartan Noir tradition and act as a literary device to give voice to current issues. It is to note, however, that not all Scottish crime novels, which are thought to belong to the Tartan Noir genre, are necessarily set in Scotland as the novels of Val McDermid show (Foster 2014).

These aforementioned features presumably mark the Tartan Noir genre. Additional and probably more distinct characteristics include a notion of contrariness described by the Scottish word *thrawn*, which, as pointed out by Stuart McBride, "basically means that if you tell us to do something we'll generally do the complete opposite" (McBride quoted in Foster 2014). This concept further ties in with another feature, dark humour, which is also often employed in Scottish

crime fiction novels (including Val McDermid's Tony Hill/Carol Jordan series), no matter how dark or gruesome the depicted situation. A further noteworthy characteristic includes the incorporation of Scottish vocabulary into the narrative, which, apart from its multi-faceted meaning, often transcends mere denotation and acts as a distinct marker of Scottish identity (Foster 2014).

If the Scottish tradition of Tartan Noir can therefore be assigned the status of a genre, or if it is just a label is left to every individuals' own devices. As Johnstone (2013) fittingly concludes:

In the end, labels don't matter a toss to writers or readers – only to those marketing books. But maybe there is something that holds us all together: a down-to-earth quality, an unflinching eye on the social context of crime, a focus on the bleakly, blackly comic side of life and death that we learnt from McIlvanney. Or maybe it's just down to the miserable weather.

4. Methodological approach

Having outlined the theoretical background on which the analysis rests, the following section describes the methodological approach, which was used as a means to extrapolate relevant conclusions concerning the relation between the respective crime fiction novels in question and the aforementioned theoretical background. The focus of the analysis thereby lay on how gender and gender-articulated domains are depicted throughout the crime fiction novels written by Val McDermid, considering the strong social constructionist perspective as well as socio-cultural explanations and social relational contexts as regards dominant gender beliefs and stereotypes.

To begin with, the subject matter was explored by means of a more general character analysis, which focused on the protagonists of the novels (i.e. Detective Inspector Carol Jordan and Dr. Tony Hill) but also included other noteworthy characters (e.g. perpetrators) in terms of their (non-)gender-specific representation. Accordingly, the analysis looked in more detail at how characters' and their personalities were constructed throughout the narrative. Although this already lead to interesting insights as regards the first research question focussing on the representation of gender in the selected crime fiction novels, this character

analysis only represents a small part of the overall analysis of this complex subject matter.

Subsequently, the more detailed analysis followed, which represents an in-depth analysis of domains typically articulated with gender, including 'emotional expression', 'relations of status, power and authority' and 'the workplace'. These domains were critically analysed based on the so called theory of articulation, which was notably shaped by cultural theorist Stuart Hall (Slack 1996: 121).

Typically, the term articulation denotes enunciation. [...] But articulation as used by cultural theorists takes on a slightly different inflection. Articulation, for cultural theorists, suggests two critical dynamics: a contingent joining of parts to make a unity or identity that constitutes a context, and the empowerment and disempowerment of certain ways of imagining and acting within this context (Slack 2006: 225).

This is to say that articulation describes a concept, which sees two entities (such as gender and the aforementioned domains) as necessarily articulated for reasons of (dis-)empowerment in a specific context. The articulation theory is used as a means to look more closely at these articulated elements and further to analyse as well as question them as regards their apparent connection. As a result, this can yield valuable information not only about the articulated entities but about society at large, which has a major, albeit not always explicit, influence on this process of articulation, "creating a sort of map of what is possible and what is not, who or what is valued and who or what is not, who or what benefits and who or what does not" (Slack 2006: 225).

Keeping the theory of articulation in mind and drawing from the respective theoretical background as regards gender, this second part of the analysis focused on the second research question concerning the three domains aforementioned. Overall, they were analysed with the male and female protagonist of the crime fiction novels in mind. Regarding the three domains it is to mention that they, at times, include subcategories, which are hard to distinguish clearly. The analysis of the domain 'emotional expression', for example, is divided into emotional expression in the private sphere (e.g. family, relationship, friendship, etc.) and in the public sphere (e.g. work, especially as a female police officer like Detective Inspector Carol Jordan). The domain 'relations of status, power and authority' is

generally divided into these very categories, which, however are largely intertwined.

On a final note, it is to mention that for the purpose of data collection, three crime fiction novels of Val McDermid's Tony Hill/Carol Jordan series were used. They are titled *The Mermaids Singing* (1995), *The Torment of Others* (2004) and *The Retribution* (2011) respectively and present the first, fourth and seventh book of the series. (For contextualisation, a short summary of these novels is provided in section 5.2.) These novels were selected in order to provide a multifarious approach to the analysis, which takes the protagonists' notable character development in the various gender-articulated domains throughout the novels into account.

5. Representation of gender in selected works of Val McDermid

5.1. Val McDermid

A short biography of the novels' author, Val McDermid, is included for her life certainly influenced her writing in various respects. Not only is her Scottishness reflected in the themes and motives of her novels, usually characterised as Tartan Noir, but also her gender identity as a woman and as a lesbian, which is mirrored in the diversity presented in her narratives.

Val McDermid was born as an only child in 1955 in the small town of Kirkcaldy, Scotland, where she spent the best part of her childhood. Although from a working class family without the necessary monetary support, McDermid was able to attend St. Hilda's College (Oxford) as "one of the youngest undergraduates they'd ever taken on, and the first from a Scottish state school" (McDermid 2014b). This opportunity for higher education presented itself in the form of an educational experiment, which "in the 60s saw McDermid and other gifted children [...] fast-tracked into university" (Ellis-Petersen 2015). Since then she spent most of her life in England. After graduating from University, McDermid turned to a career in journalism, training for two years in Devon and subsequently she worked as a one of only a few female journalists for different papers in, for example, Glasgow or Manchester (Wroe 2011). Meanwhile she also attempted to establish herself as a writer, however was rejected by publishing houses with her first novel.

Nonetheless, this did not deter McDermid from pursuing her literary career but merely prompted her to “turn [her] hand to writing a crime novel” (McDermid 2014b). In 1987 *Report for Murder*, the first Lindsay Gordon novel, was successfully published by the Women’s Press and, as McDermid (2014b) puts it, “[t]he rest is history”. McDermid was finally able to give up her job as a journalist and solely support herself by her writing a couple of years later. Since then she has come a long way. She has written more than 30 books including various crime novels of her famous series (i.e. Lindsay Gordon, Kate Brannigan, Tony Hill/Carol Jordan), stand-alone novels (fiction as well as non-fiction), a children’s book and multiple short stories as well as three plays (McDermid 2014c) and won several awards. As Wroe (2011) phrases it “She is a bestselling writer, a gregarious personality and a much-loved figure on the crime-writing scene”.

Her novels are suspenseful and dark, exploring the human psyche at its worst. However, they also implicitly address socio-cultural issues that are of relevance in contemporary Scottish society. Although she spent more time in England than in her native Scotland, McDermid states that her identity as a Scot is nonetheless undeniably linked to her identity as a writer and thus to her crime fiction novels. “[...] [W]e have a different sensibility from our English neighbours. Our history is different. Our culture is different. Our class system is different. [...] And I believe that’s why our crime fiction is different” (McDermid 2014a). The phenomenon of Scottish crime fiction McDermid points to with these words, is the already mentioned Tartan Noir sub-genre with which her work is typically associated with.

However, not only her identity as a Scot and the Scottish literary tradition exert influence on her literary work, but also her identity as a woman and as a lesbian, although her “books have never been about being a lesbian” (McDermid quoted in Wroe: 2011). As McDermid further explains “I’ve never wanted to live in a ghetto or write in a ghetto. I want to write about a world that reflects the one most people live in. Gay people are just one aspect of that” (McDermid quoted in Wroe: 2011). This is the very world reflected in her crime fiction novels, a world that displays diversity and features a variety of characters with different cultural origins, different social backgrounds or different sexual orientation. Her work thus positively encompasses a wide range of manifold characters, reflecting, as intended, today’s diverse and multicultural society.

Consequently, McDermid's work is shaped by various influences, including her identity as Scot, her gender-identity as a woman and as a lesbian but also, quite generally, by the experiences she gained throughout her life (e.g. through her work as a journalist), amongst other things. All these elements combined contribute to the diversity featured in her work, which, as the analysis shows is, with particular regard to the representation of gender, evidently discernible.

5.2. Tony Hill and Carol Jordan series

Alongside her Lindsay Gordon and Kate Brannigan series, McDermid's Tony Hill/Carol Jordan novels are one of her three consecutive series of crime fiction novels. Chronologically, it is the latest of the series, the first novel *The Mermaids Singing* being published only in 1995 after four consecutive books each of the other series were already printed (McDermid 2014c). Interestingly, *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) was initially intended solely as a standalone novel since its concept, which revolves around a serial killer, did not fit the other narratives, detailing the life of a investigative journalist (i.e. Lindsay Gordon) and a private eye (i.e. Kate Branningan) respectively. However, the novel's immediate success launched the beginning of a new series, following the adventures of female police officer Detective Chief Inspector Carol Jordan as well as clinical psychologist and profiler Dr. Tony Hill (Wroe 2011). Up until now the Tony Hill/Carol Jordan series comprises nine consecutive novels and represents McDermid's biggest mainstream success.

The narrative of the novels revolves around its protagonists, Detective Chief Inspector Carol Jordan and psychologist Dr. Tony Hill, who, in the fictional city of Bradfield, are brought together to work on the most atrocious criminal cases of serial killers. The novels, however, not only portray and explore the black abyss of the dark and twisted human soul, but also follow its unusual characters' development in the public and private sphere. In particular this means their establishment as outsiders in a particular kind of work, namely the work in the Bradfield police force, as well as their struggle to maintain balanced relationships and friendships such as their own continually growing companionship.

In order to provide context, the following paragraphs provide a short summary of each of the three novels, which were used for the subsequent analysis. These

include the first novel of the series, *The Mermaids Singing* (1995), the fourth novel, *The Torment of Others* (2004), and the seventh novel, *The Retribution* (2011), respectively. They were chosen to gain insight into the characters' complexity at various, but more importantly crucial stages of their development, which is also mirrored in the domains (i.e. 'emotional expression', 'relations of status, power and authority', 'the workplace') usually articulated with gender.

In *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) the city of Bradfield is shaken by gruesome murders of young and supposedly homosexual men in the city's gay area of Temple Fields, which leaves the public instilled with fear and terror. Reluctant to admit that a serial killer is on the loose, Bradfield police initially pursues separate lines of investigation. Only when another body is found, one belonging to their own ranks, resources are effectively put to use for the hunt of the perpetrator. Under the command of ACC John Brandon the investigation is finally steered into the right direction. To further support the process of catching the person responsible for these horrible acts of violence, he enlists the help of clinical psychologist and profiler Dr. Tony Hill, who, with his ability to take on the perpetrators' perspective, is able to provide the police with valuable input. Acting as a liaison officer, newly promoted Detective Inspector Carol Jordan, successfully works with Tony and together they further penetrate the killer's mind. Only equipped with a tentative profile but no hard evidence, the seemingly ineffective hunt for the perpetrator goes on. The lack of clues does not advance the investigation, but the profile established by Tony as well as a chance witness, who saw the killer leave one of the victims' residence, finally steers the investigation on the right path. Just in time, as an unsuspecting Tony was abducted from the perpetrator and is meanwhile fighting for his survival to be spared by the killer, who is only looking for a worthy partner.

The Torment of Others (2004) is set a couple of years after the events featured in the first novel. After an undercover operation has gone awry, Detective Chief Inspector Carol Jordan is living and working in London and has no contact to her former unit. Dr. Tony Hill as well is not involved with the Bradfield police department any longer, but instead works as a clinical psychologist in Bradfield Moor. The situation, however, changes when Carol's former boss, John Brandon, recruits her to head a specialist team for serious crime. Intrigued by the offer and

determined to not give up on herself after her traumatic experience, she takes the job and moves back to Bradfield, albeit keeping her apartment in London as a safety measure. Initially, her hand-picked team starts working on various cold cases, including the disappearance and possible murder of two young boys in the Bradfield area. While continuously working on said case, a series of murders takes hold of Bradfield. Murders, which seem eerily similar to the murders of a solved case from about two years prior, for which the perpetrator has been arrested and convicted. Confronted with this enigma, Carol's specialist team works around the clock to catch the killer but also to solve the missing-boys-case. In the course of the investigation, Tony is consulted for his expertise and produces a shockingly detailed and accurate profile of the killer. Nonetheless, the investigation does not make any real progress. Pressed to produce results, it is decided to launch an undercover operation with one of Carol's detectives, Detective Constable Paula McIntyre, as bait to lure and trap the perpetrator. The situation gets worse when Paula herself is abducted and contrived to be the next victim. Confronted with her own demons, Carol now has to do everything in her power to save her constable and apprehend the killer. Assisted by Tony and her capable team of specialists, this is merely a matter of time as they narrow down on the perpetrator that hides in their own ranks.

In *The Retribution* (2011), years later, DCI Carol Jordan's team is about to be terminated due to budgetary reasons. Similarly, Dr. Tony Hill is no longer (officially) consulted for this very reason. Both of them have prospective positions in Worcester and are bound to leave Bradfield in the near future. Determined to demonstrate the value of their unit one last time, Carol and her team take on a case of gruesome prostitute murders. In the course of working the case, terrible news reach them. Jacko Vance, former athlete turned famous TV presenter and murderer of numerous teenage girls, who was arrested by Carol with the help of Tony (during the events of *The Wire in the Blood* (1997)), was able to break out of prison. Plotting his revenge meticulously for several years, Jacko Vance is determined to destroy the lives of those who wronged him, including Carol, Tony as well as his own ex-wife, by taking everything that is dear to them and striking where it hurts most. In order to achieve this, he does not shy away from arson, murder and other horrible atrocities. Not only does this affect Carol and Tony

individually, but also puts a strain on their gradually built companionship. Howbeit, they are not in the position to let themselves succumb to the emotional trauma inflicted. They each have to give their best efforts to stop and recapture the man, who always seems to be one step ahead of them.

5.3. Character analysis

5.3.1. DCI Carol Jordan

Detective Chief Inspector Carol Jordan is one of the main protagonists of Val McDermid's Tony Hill/Carol Jordan series of crime novels. The narrative follows her and Tony's adventures in the Bradfield police force, as well as their personal development in the public and private sphere. Although there are certain constant characteristics in both their personalities, they nonetheless invariably change due to the events happening throughout the novels. Some of their features are typically associated with their respective gender, others, however, challenge dominant gender norms of contemporary society.

DCI Carol Jordan, initially DI Carol Jordan, is an ambitious female police officer in the Bradfield police department. She was born and raised in Warwick with her brother Michael by parents Jane and David Jordan. Although she holds her family dear, she only visits her parents occasionally for they have nothing in common anymore. Her relationship with her brother, on the other hand, is all the more precious to her and they have a strong bond, even in adulthood. After graduating school and leaving home, she attended the University of Manchester and thereafter joined the metropolitan police service, moving to Bradfield in the process.

Carol is described as a beautiful and attractive woman with blonde hair, blue eyes and pale skin. Men usually find her appealing and she herself is also aware of the effect she can have on men. Her formidable appearance is thus mentioned several times throughout the novels, either when male characters quite generally reflect on her attractiveness as, for example, Tony when first meeting her:

Even without the animation of her blue eyes, he could see that she'd be classified as beautiful. Oval face, broad forehead, clear pale skin, and that thick blonde hair, cut slightly shaggy (McDermid 2006: 96).

or when contrasted with how she has changed after experiencing emotional trauma, including her rape (in *The Last Temptation* (2002)) or the murder of her beloved brother Michael and his fiancée Lucy (in *The Retribution* (2011)). When meeting Carol some time after she was violently assaulted to recruit her for his special team dealing with serious crime, her then-superior, ACC John Brandon, for example, encounters and describes a radically different Carol:

The woman who waited in the doorway for him to emerge from the lift bore almost no resemblance to his memory of her. [...] Her hair was radically different, cut short at the sides, the heavy fringe swept to one side, changing the shape of her face. But she had altered in more fundamental ways. The flesh seemed to have melted from her face, giving it a new arrangement of planes and hollows (McDermid 2005: 16).

Her changing appearance is continually mentioned throughout the novels, illustrating the overall relevance of a woman's appearance in every condition of life in today's society in contrast to a man's. Interestingly enough, however, it is not referred to as often in relation to the respective work sphere, which would be of even more significance regarding the fact that women are a minority in the police force and consequently often discriminated against for various reasons, including their feminine qualities, which starkly contrast with the masculinity typically associated with the profession. However, her appearance is seldom mentioned in relation to work, although Tony sensibly remarks that "[e]ither attribute without the other [i.e. looks vs. intelligence] would have made promotion easier" (McDermid 2006: 84) for Carol, who is determined to move forward in her chosen line of work as a police officer.

Driven to move up the hierarchical ladder in the police force, "[s]he'd worked her socks off for the best part of nine years, first to get a good degree and then to justify her place on the promotion fast track" (McDermid 2006: 11). Nonetheless, she is often met with resentment on part of her male colleagues in this male dominated domain, which is through and through "masculine by social construction (Rabe-Hemp 2009: 116). However, Carol does not let herself be deterred from her goal and due to her remarkable competences as a police officer, succeeds in gaining several promotions, including her promotion to Detective Inspector and later on her promotion to Detective Chief Inspector, even heading her own hand-picked special team for serious crime for some time. Thus, Carol

does not take on a submissive or passive female role. She does not content herself with work regarded as feminine in the police force but rather prefers to situate herself in a very active role, a role of leadership as well as responsibility, which is demanding but serves to further her personal and professional development. This notion of agency is typically associated with men (Johnston & Diekman 2015: 16; Ridgeway & Correll 2004: 513; Schmader & Block 2015: 475), similarly to other attributes that Carol necessarily displays to succeed in her profession.

Although Carol thus manages to thrive in her role and to move up in the police hierarchy, she still experiences challenges to do with her gender, including not being taken seriously as a team leader or insubordination of the police officers she commands. However, she is notably supported by Brandon, who thinks of her as “the best detective he’d ever had under his command” (McDermid 2005: 14) due to “[t]he combination of intelligence and instinct and solid police work” (McDermid 2005: 19). His support coupled with Carol’s exceptional competences, both as an individual and more specifically as a police officer, enables her to build a noteworthy reputation and to establish herself as a successful detective despite the challenges she faces throughout her career. These competences, for example, include Carol’s excellent deduction skills and her ability to take on different perspectives as well as “her ability to think laterally, to come up with the tangent that nobody else had considered” (McDermid 2005: 159), which is often commended by her colleagues. Additionally, she is repeatedly praised for her expertise, intelligence and quick-wit. Another helpful asset includes her ability of near perfect recall of speech. Apart from these favourable qualities, as explored in more detail in section 5.4.1., Carol is also able to adapt her behaviour adequately in order to give the desirable impression as a tough police woman by adjusting general behavioural patterns or her outward expression of emotion. Although this effectively serves the purpose of keeping up her work persona, it affects Carol in a profound way. To deal with the suppressed emotions caused by the horrors witnessed as well as experienced repeatedly in the line of duty, she builds up emotional barriers and further resorts to drinking in order to cope with the emotional burden in her own way. This is not stereotypically female behaviour. Instead of talking about her feelings, Carol mostly represses them and resorts to other coping mechanisms. Nonetheless, it shows her emotional vulnerability. On

the one hand, Carol is thus portrayed with attributes that are usually associated with men, on the other hand, however, she also displays female vulnerability and fragility.

Despite the gruesomeness with which she is confronted repeatedly due to her job and the implications this entails, Carol is passionate about her work and considers it to be a big part of her, which is also pointed out by other characters. Her work defines her and despite deeply affecting her emotional well-being, also saves her from self-destruction by means of drinking and self-initiated social isolation. It makes her stronger and determined to not give up on herself. Although traumatised more than once, Carol does not succumb to the numbing pain of being a victim but yet again chooses to take an active role. She chooses to stand up and fight for herself in order to put the pieces back together and get better. Although, as aforementioned, her vulnerable side is presented, she is overall portrayed as a strong woman, who does not let traumatic events get the better of her as the following quote illustrates:

For the first time in months, she understood that she had travelled so far down the route of survival that there was no longer any question but that she was going to make it. The Carol Jordan who emerged on the far side of what had happened to her would be very different, but she would be herself again. Damaged but not destroyed, cracked but not broken (McDermid 2005: 243).

Despite the fact that she has been victimised repeatedly, she does not let these events define who she is. On the contrary, at one point she decides to not give in and to take control of herself again, reclaiming herself as well as her body. Even though this is an arduous process during which she struggles to find her way back to her old self, she is ultimately able to do so due to her resolution and determination not to be destroyed, signalling agency as well as autonomy.

Nevertheless, it is not only Carol's determination and work which save her, although, admittedly, these two factors play a large part in the healing process. The social network, in which she is firmly embedded, also positively contributes to this. Tony as well as her team offer her support and consequently help her to move forward on her journey. Apart from Tony and her colleagues at work, not much is known about Carol's social relationships. Due to the nature of her work, she is described to have only a small circle of friends, whom she values and trusts. On

this short list of confidantes is her brother Michael, with whom she has a close relationship. Overall, her social relationships are very important to her but undoubtedly work comes first. This makes it all the more difficult for her to maintain friendships.

The same can be said for romantic relationships. Due to the nature and importance of Carol's job, it is hard for her to find a partner, who is understanding and can relate to what she has to deal with on a daily basis, shift work included. Although Carol seems to be afflicted by the irreconcilability of her job and her love life, she, nevertheless, does not care enough to ascribe her job a different priority. Once more, this shows the complexity of Carol's character. On the one hand, she longs for a balanced romantic relationship, but on the other hand, she prioritises her job and her career as a police officer. This stands in stark contrast to the stereotypical notion of a woman, who is supposed to favour communality and the private sphere over everything else or at least give it preference to the public sphere, which primarily means work. Although Carol does give work the highest priority in her life, her motives are more complex than success and professional advancement. Notwithstanding that she understandably wants to succeed in her chosen career, her primary motivator is her strong sense of justice and her determination to do good by stopping those who commit unfathomable crime. It is not primarily about incorporating a role of leadership or being in command, although this is undoubtedly a welcome side effect, which makes it easier to realise these agendas.

Overall, DCI Carol Jordan, the female protagonist of the crime fiction novels in question, can be said to be a multifaceted character, who mirrors and at the same time challenges dominant gender stereotypes. Apart from being depicted as a stereotypically attractive woman, who is affected by her emotions and vulnerability after instances of victimisation, Carol is more importantly portrayed as a strong female character, defined by her determination and strong-willed personality. She knows what she wants and she is not afraid to stand up for herself and to pursue her goals. She is ambitious and driven but yet not negatively so for her ambition is part of bigger picture of motives, which together make up the ethics of her being. Notably, she does not only stand up for herself but also for the people she cares about, including Tony and her team, supporting them and furthering their development. Agency is what defines Carol in any situation, being

it in the public sphere or the private sphere, her willingness to take matters into her own hands and to make the best of what she is confronted with. Although communality and other stereotypically female character traits similarly play an noticeable role in her life, they are not as defining and do not characterise her personality to the same extent.

5.3.2. Dr. Tony Hill

Dr. Tony Hill is the male protagonist of Val McDermid's Tony Hill/Carol Jordan series of crime fiction novels. He is a clinical psychologist and profiler, who is often consulted on complex cases by the Bradfield police department due to his expertise and insight into the criminal mind. He works alongside DCI Carol Jordan on most cases and presents a valuable asset.

Tony was born and raised in Halifax by his mother Vanessa, who abandoned him early on, leaving him to the care of his similarly unloving grandmother. Due to the dysfunctionality of his family, his childhood was rather troubled, the loveless treatment of his mother and grandmother leaving him "with the air of the trained victim" (McDermid 2012: 426). As a consequence, this affected other areas of his life including school where he was an outsider, who was regularly bullied by the other children. He was saved by the kindness and developing friendship with the school's dinner lady, Joan, who first showed him love and kindness. Further, she "told him the way to escape whatever ailed him was to educate himself so that he had choices" (McDermid 2012: 429). This prompted Tony to action and he finished school with excellent grades. After graduation, he attended London University and later Oxford. Not fit for the life of an academic, he decided to work as a clinician and consequently worked in various hospitals for about eight years. Thereafter, he was employed by the Home Office as the head of their feasibility study, by the Bradfield police department as a consultant or in other healthcare institutions, such as Bradfield Moor, as a clinician. Although excelling professionally, the emotional trauma of Tony's troubled childhood shaped his personality and character irreversibly, transforming him into an "emotionally limited, dysfunctional man, saved from ruin only by fragments of other people's love and the gift of empathy" (McDermid 2012: 469). Understandably, Tony is thus not eager to talk about his troubled past or to go into detail as regards the still

complicated relationship with his mother, who still “despise[s] him and scorn[s] what he [does] for a living” (McDermid 2012: 113) because “he could have turned his gifts to good use, made a success of himself” (McDermid 2012: 113).

Regarding his appearance, Tony is described as “[a]round five-eight, slim, good shoulders, narrow hips, legs and trunk in proportion, short dark hair, side parting, dark eyes, probably blue, shadows under the eyes, fair skin, average nose, wide mouth, lower lip fuller than upper” (McDermid 2006: 34). Apart from Carol’s precise description on one of their first encounters, his appearance is, otherwise, not mentioned very often except for his “startlingly blue eyes” (McDermid 2005: 37) and his rather nonchalant way of dressing, which implies an apparent disinterest in the way he is perceived by others via possible status symbols like clothing. Consequently, Tony is often perceived as eccentric, chaotic and disorganised, not only because of his appearance but also due to the apparent lack of organisation in his office. However it may seem, Tony is not an absent-minded professor but rather “the principles that governed his memory were unusual” (McDermid 2012: 128), which often leads others, including his colleagues, to perceive him as a “strange little psychologist” (McDermid 2012: 308) “on the far side of odd” (McDermid 2012: 218).

This also has to do with his behaviour in general. Although Tony seems to be confident on the outside, he is a deeply insecure and troubled man, who has problems with establishing and maintaining healthy relationships. Due to his upbringing, Tony never learned how to properly interact with others for “he’d never learned the building blocks of love and friendship” (McDermid 2012: 424). However, through Joan and in the course of time, he learned to pretend and to take on different masks in order to successfully playact what (he thinks) is considered to be normal behaviour, which he refers to as “passing for human” (McDermid 2005: 192). Nonetheless, Tony is often considered to be awkward or weird. Further, he still incorporates the role of an outsider (especially in the police force) as he himself is aware that “[i]n spite of the constant efforts to assume a series of masks that would help him blend in, [he] knew [that] he was an outsider in the world beyond the grim institutional walls of Bradfield Moor” (McDermid 2005: 44). Regardless of his status as an outsider, Tony is more or less content with his

situation and is glad to not be always surrounded by other people, even if they are his friends.

As already hinted at, Tony only has a small circle of friends that he cares about since “he’d never quite mastered the art of making easy connections with others” (McDermid 2012: 430). From the beginning, Carol occupies a very special place in this circle for being the only person Tony is really close to and with whom he is comfortable enough to reveal his true self. Their relationship (often referred to as a companionship) is special for both of them, but even more so for Tony, who “had come to rely on her presence as a constant steadying force” (McDermid 2012: 424). Up until now, Tony never had an uncomplicated relationship with a woman due to his insecurity and emotional instability. His emotional instability in further consequence culminated in impotence, which in turn led him to feel ridiculed and to decrease his self-esteem, continually burdening him at an emotional level. Although attracted to Carol, similarly as she is attracted to him, Tony does not want to risk their personal as well as professional relationship, traumatised by his past experiences with women. Hence, their relationship develops into a sincere friendship, which both of them value. As a consequence, it can be deduced that Tony is constructed as vulnerable and rather sensitive, attributes, which are usually articulated with women when it comes to character traits, especially in connection with (romantic) relationships.

These, however, are not the only qualities, which mark Tony’s feminised character. Another very important character trait is Tony’s empathy, i.e. his ability to empathise with other people, to take on their perspective and to make sense of their seemingly perverted logic, being it his colleagues’ or the criminals’ he so purposefully helps to pursue. These “famous empathetic skills” (McDermid 2005: 36) are also commended by the people he works with, in Bradfield Moor as well as in the Bradfield police department. His colleagues highly value his insight into the human mind and on more than one occasion he is therefore described as being equipped with remarkable insight as well as intuition, which represent further qualities more commonly associated with femininity. Other (more neutral) attributes, which are used to describe Tony include charming, intelligent, brilliant, quick and sharp but nonetheless, “he’s not a know-all” (McDermid 2006: 113).

Carol further mentions his eagerness as well as his curiosity, which are central motivators for Tony in his line of work.

Similarly to Carol, it is not success or the prospect of a respectable position, which motivate Tony but rather the idealistic believe that there is hope for people in form of change and rehabilitation. With his unique abilities he wants to help them and further their development, enabling them to make progress by taking steps into the right direction. With respect to this, Tony is indeed very successful in his profession as a clinical psychologist, however, as noted by Carol when meeting him at their first case, he is not “a prisoner of his professional ego” (McDermid 2006: 62). He does not boast and in fact he does not seem to care much for his professional achievements, at least not by means of proving himself to others. This also becomes evident when Tony’s office is described in detail:

There were no degrees or diplomas on the walls, no books with his name on the cover prominently displayed, nothing that indicated Tony wanted to impress anyone with his position or achievements (McDermid 2005: 155).

He does not seek glory or recognition by means of his professional achievements and he has no problem to efface himself to a certain extent in order to let others shine. This is not only due to his different motivations but also, at least as regards his career as an academic, due to his unease about a position in the limelight, since “he wasn’t cut out to be a performing seal” (McDermid 2005: 8). In fact, “[h]e wasn’t an academic. He was a clinician first and foremost, then a profiler” (McDermid 2005: 9), who found himself at home in other people’s heads due to his own traumatic experiences, which could have led him on another path all together.

As Tony further contemplates:

[A]nyone examining his own past would have found a series of indicators that in another man, would have been the first steps on the tortuous route to psychopathy. For him, they had provided the foundation of his empathy with those who had ended up on a different path. He was never entirely sure where the crucial fork on the road had been, but he had ended up a different kind of hunter (McDermid 2005: 289).

Consequently, Tony’s motivation does not revolve around money or fame. Rather, he is motivated by making use of his own experience and the thereby acquired empathy to help others, who were not as fortunate as himself and who did not get

supported by a helping hand, leading them out of their state of suffering. In order to do so, Tony expediently utilises his skills and proficiently employs them on his patients. What is striking about Tony is that he is thus primarily characterised by his remarkably developed cognitive skills and not by physical abilities. In fact, he is never described as excelling in any domains usually articulated with masculinity that require agency or some form of physicality. On the contrary, what makes him special are his cognitive skills coupled with his intuition and instinct. Nonetheless, Tony is, by and large, not portrayed in a passive role, at least not as regards his work as he, in his role as a profiler, even describes himself as a hunter. He does take an active part, yet in a different way. His contributions actively facilitate ongoing investigations and move them forward into the right direction. Therefore, he is also an integral part of the police's endeavours. Overall, Tony is thus a highly valued asset for the Bradfield police department. However, not all police officers welcome his expertise, being sceptic about the tentative and deductive nature of work, which, in contrast to policing, is largely based on motives and not on evidence-based facts. Consequently, Tony has to deal with challenges when interacting in the world of policing, which, for the most part, grounds on logic and rationality. His professional authority is repeatedly questioned and his status undermined, especially by hardened police officers ranking high in the professional hierarchy. Nevertheless, Tony is able to prove himself more than once on the job. He is therefore also able to convince a considerable number of police officers of his professional as well as personal capabilities.

Same as the character of DCI Carol Jordan, Dr. Tony Hill's character is not confined to specific gender norms. He represents a complex and multidimensional character, who combines a multitude of attributes. Due to his traumatic childhood and the experiences gained throughout his formative years, he is vulnerable, empathetic and intuitive. Although he experienced considerable emotional abuse and suffering, he did not succumb to the pain he had to endure. Instead, he showed will power, strength and self-control. He further learned how to deal with and make the most of his abilities and how to use them effectively to help others. Although still affected by his past at various personal levels, he is consciously aware of his peculiarities and learned to live with them. Despite his flaws and insecurities, Tony is nonetheless a strong character for not shying away from

confrontation and taking matters into his own hands, to be the architect of his own future. He may be cautious and withdrawn when it comes to taking action, but yet not passive. His agency expresses itself by other means but it is nonetheless a defining characteristic of his personality, which, taken all things together, is not stereotypically male but even so fascinating and more complex. As Worthington (2011: 51f.) notes, Tony “is feminised in his use of intuition and by his sexual impotence; by contrast police detective Carol Jordan must prove herself better than her male colleagues in her use of rationality and intelligence”.

5.3.3. Others

Other interesting characters in terms of their (non-)gender-specific representation include, apart from Carol’s team members, the perpetrators of the respective crime fiction novels. These are not only men, but also include women or transgender people. They differ immensely in their personalities as well as in their motives for committing the atrocious crimes for which they are persecuted for by Carol and Tony.

In *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) the complex issue of gender is of particular relevance. As Worthington (2011: 52) points out, it is not only through the protagonists that the issue of gender is addressed for “it is again in the figure of the murderer that the issues of gender and sexuality are both concentrated and confused”. Angelica Thorpe, formerly Christopher Thorpe, is a transgender person, who in her quest for love, murders young, seemingly gay men not responding appropriately to her forceful advances. It is not only Angelica’s behaviour, which fuses stereotypical gender expectations. Although she altered her appearance accordingly and underwent gender reassignment surgery, Angelica is still mainly characterised by her dominant masculine features as Tony describes:

She was tall for a woman, at least five feet ten, with chunky bone structure to match. Not even her mother could have called her attractive, with her heavy jaw, slightly bulbous nose, wide mouth and eyes set curiously far apart (McDermid 2006: 388).

Nonetheless, she tries to counteract this by dressing very feminine to draw the attention to her more womanly qualities, which she apparently honed meticulously as Tony remarks that “[f]rom the neck down, she could have been a model for a soft-porn magazine” (McDermid 2006: 391). Her efforts to achieve

female perfection physically stand in stark contrast to her behaviour, which, when not paid particular attention to in stressful situations (such as the kidnappings of her victims), is still thoroughly masculine. Apart from the physical strength, which characterise Angelica in the given situations, she also resorts to different, more violent, courses of action, which reflect her previous gender identity more closely. This dichotomy is also reflected in the discrepancy between her motives and the implemented scheme to achieve her goal. "The selection of the victims is based on a pattern of female desire," as Worthington (2011: 52) outlines, "but the torture that follows what Angelica constructs as the victim's rejection of her love arouses in him/her a sexual desire that is couched in very masculine terms", primarily violence and aggression. Additionally, Angelica's "psychology's all wrong" (McDermid 2006: 305), as observed by Tony, mainly revolving around themes associated with masculinity such as control and domination, even though she herself assumes it to be love. Overall, as Worthington (2011: 52) concludes, "Angelica embodies gender as a construct and questions the relationship between gender, sexuality and sexual desire".

The Torment of Others (2004) as well features a complex and gender-boundaries-transgressing antagonist in the form of Detective Sergeant Jan Shields, who, by means of a manipulated proxy, brutally murders young prostitutes out of her desire for power and domination. Basically she is described as an average looking woman with feminine features, which "made her look as if she was perpetually on the verge of a smile" (McDermid 2005: 51). However, beneath the surface hides a more complex and dark character, which is already hinted at by Carol's first assessment, remarking that "[o]nly the eyes gave her away; she had the long flat stare of a cop who'd grown weary of the variety of human viciousness and misery" (McDermid 2005: 51). What Carol could not know is that human viciousness as well as misery do not mean much to Jan. Feeling unfairly treated and not content with what life had given her, she decided from an early age to not let these things hold her back but strive for what she perceives to be necessary to achieve these ends, namely power, especially power over other people. In that her character is oriented towards concepts typically articulated with masculinity, such as agency, power, domination and assertiveness, which is also reflected in her crimes. Nonetheless, Jan also displays more feminine qualities such as cautiousness,

carefulness and forbearance, which consequently lead her to implement her crimes differently, namely without being at immediate risk herself but still being able to dominate another individual to the full extent. In that she takes a less active part in the actual execution of her schemes but can nonetheless fully enjoy her fantasies of domination and power without risking her own safety. Accordingly, she is an overly careful planner, leaving nothing to chance or unforeseen circumstances. Similarly, the rest of her life is as organised and well-arranged as her meticulous plans. Jan has no empathy or intuition, holding only “contempt for the weak” (McDermid 2005: 412) and counting on their predictability in her schemes. Altogether, DS Jan Shields represents a complex character, who combines a multitude of features, some of which are stereotypically associated with masculinity, whereas others are usually associated with femininity, allocating them new significance in the overall construction of her personality.

Contrary to the other two novels, *The Retribution* (2011) features an unambiguously male perpetrator, Jacko Vance, who, after his imprisonment by Carol and Tony, escapes his confinement after several years and thereafter mercilessly executes his personal vendetta against them as well as others that wronged him. His motives for committing these unspeakable acts of crime are quite different in that they solely revolve around revenge and his desire to demonstrate his infallible superiority. He is therefore characterised by stereotypically male qualities, primarily oriented towards positions of power and domination. Further, he is portrayed as overly confident, ambitious, analytical, cold and calculating. He is a charismatic, yet “psychopathic charmer without a trace of conscience” (McDermid 2012: 70), who, by presenting a completely different persona to the outside world, manages to mislead people on his true intentions. Similarly to Jan, he is described as patient and as a meticulous planner, using as well as manipulating others and leaving nothing to chance. Although this similarly has to do with not wanting to be incarcerated again, more importantly, he wants to effectively destroy his enemies while revelling in their pain and suffering. In order to achieve this, he initially enlists the help of an unsuspecting accomplice, but gets rid of him as soon as possible, not relying on another individual but readily carrying out his twisted and gruesomely violent schemes himself despite his supposed distaste of killing. “Vance took no pleasure in the killing itself; he never

had. It had always been secondary to the pleasures of inflicting pain and terror” (McDermid 2012: 155), which he willingly used to foster his narcissistic ego, characterising himself repeatedly as “exceptional” (McDermid 2012: 366). Altogether, the antagonist, Jacko Vance, featured in *The Retribution* (2011) is mostly built on stereotypical male tropes in contrast to the other afore-described more complex opponents, who, despite their womanhood, are not limited to exclusively stereotypical characteristics reflecting their gender identity according to cultural expectations.

5.4. Domain: emotional expression

Emotional expression is one of the domains typically articulated with gender, meaning that, based on the gender beliefs of the respective culture, men and women are thought as well as expected to express their emotions in a way that is appropriate for their designated gender. This implies that, due to their gender, men and women supposedly differ to a certain extent in their expression of emotion. Hence, there is a discernible articulation of gender and emotion, which usually assigns men rationality and women emotionality (Gaia 2013: 591f). Whereas men are depicted as the non-expressive sex, characterised by reason, logic and other stereotypically male attributes, women are portrayed as the expressive sex, caring and nurturing (Shields 2013: 426). These qualities further divide into more nuanced gender-specific attributes and encompass a wide range of features, which are reflected in the different contexts individuals are situated in. No matter the context, the articulation of gender and emotion is relatively strong, so that any sign of non-conformity can cause an overwhelmingly negative response as outlined in section 2..

The subsequent analysis broadly divides these aforementioned contexts into the private sphere and into the public sphere. Concerning the second research question, it investigates in how far emotional expression is typically articulated with gender in these respective contexts, with particular regard to the protagonists of the crime novels in question, DCI Carol Jordan and Dr. Tony Hill. Concerning the two different spheres, they more specifically include the characters’ use of expression of emotion in relation to their family, their significant other or their closest friends (as contexts part of the private sphere) or their expression of

emotion in relation to work (as context part of the public sphere). Overall, this shows if and to what degree emotional expression is articulated with gender in the given narrative and how it affects the protagonists and thus reflects dominant beliefs of society at large.

5.4.1. DCI Carol Jordan

As already outlined in the general character analysis, DCI Carol Jordan is portrayed as a woman, who, at least in the beginning of the novels, is in every respect in control of her emotions and tries to not let them overcome her, even in the most warranted situation. This is largely due to her profession as a police officer, which does not favour emotion, perceiving it as a sign of weakness, especially from women. As Shields (2007: 106) remarks, there is a “paradoxical construal of emotion” which promotes emotionality in one sphere, however, devalues it in the other. This makes it even harder for women to succeed in some lines of work, for their stereotypical expression of emotion starkly contrasts with men’s stereotypical expression of emotion, even more so in the domain of crime fighting (Ehrlich Martin 1999: 116). Consequently, there are different expectations regarding the expression of emotion as Carol herself repeatedly experiences on the job, noting that

[s]omehow, it was acceptable for young male officers to throw up when they were confronted with victims of violent death. [...] But in spite of the fact that women were supposed to lack bottle anyway, when female officers chucked up on the margins of crime scenes they instantly lost any respect they’d ever won and became objects of contempt, the butts of locker-room jokes from the canteen cowboys (McDermid 2006: 20).

As a result, Carol adapts her behaviour accordingly, suppressing any outward signs of emotion, acting tough ‘like a man’. She is determined not to show or give in to her conflicting emotions in order to not weaken the position she so laboriously worked for in the course of her career. However, this gradually takes a toll on her emotional well-being and she has to find a different way of coping with her repressed feelings. Consequently, she resorts to drinking, which she describes as “a familiar ritual at the end of a working day” (McDermid 2005: 137), to be able to meet the standards she determinedly set for herself, not wanting to talk about her feelings with someone she cannot completely trust. Although drinking is a common coping mechanism among police officers, as noted by Ehrlich Martin (1999: 124),

“women who drink heavily fail to meet the social ideals of feminine behavior” (Ehrlich Martin 1999: 124). Yet again, women are faced with a double standard. On the one hand, they are supposed to defy their femininity but, on the other hand, they are similarly condemned if they do. Carol as well is confronted with this impossible situation. Hence, she keeps her drinking habit a secret and defiantly keeps up her professional mask, hiding her emotions and letting other qualities speak for herself. This is even more so the case after experiencing emotional trauma (following, for example, the events of *The Last Temptation* (2002)), which has the potential to make her look weak and vulnerable in front of her team members and other colleagues. Although Carol seems to gradually fall apart, she does not allow herself the luxury of showing her pain publicly. Instead she keeps up her work persona no matter the cost, feigning confidence by “squaring her shoulder and tilting her chin up” (McDermid 2005: 31) and trying to distract herself with “[s]omething that might just lay her demons to rest” (McDermid 2005: 35). The articulation of gender and emotion is particularly strong, especially in the public sphere. However, it represents an impossible situation for women like Carol by setting standards which are practically unattainable due to their contradictory nature as reflected in the respective narrative. Although, on the one hand, Carol challenges dominant gender beliefs with her atypical behaviour, on the other hand, she unconsciously tries to conform to a different set of expectations imposed by the policing profession, which are similarly culturally articulated with emotion and gender.

Notably, Carol’s expression of emotion in the public sphere has its effects on her emotional expression in the private sphere. This is the case because there are no clear boundaries thoroughly separating Carol’s public and private sphere. Her work plays a major role in her life and consequently influences other areas of her private life. When portrayed in the novels, these different areas of Carol’s private sphere (i.e. family, relationship, friendship) are always undoubtedly linked to her work. This includes, for example, the interaction with her family as well as the interaction with friends but also romantic relationships, which are all subordinate to and thus largely determined by Carol’s job as a police officer.

As already noted Carol has a rather small circle of close friends, mostly due to the demanding nature of her work. Through their work together, Tony gradually

becomes one of them. Although their relationship appears to be quite complicated in the beginning due to their mutual attraction to each other, they are able to overcome this obstacle so that their relationship develops into a sincere and affectionate friendship. With Tony, Carol can be herself as she notes that he is different from the men she is used to working with. She can display her professional competences as well as her emotional investment without being judged or patronised. Nonetheless, Carol cannot reveal everything to Tony because “she need[s] his friendship too much to want to turn him into a therapist” (McDermid 2005: 138). Although Carol shows Tony her vulnerability to a certain extent, she does not want herself to be constructed as a woman governed by her female instincts or emotions. Consequently, she is often at odds with her instinctive reactions when someone she cares about (like Tony or her team members) is in a precarious situation. She negatively perceives her stereotypically constructed female instincts, for example, asking herself “Dear God, what is happening to me? First I treat Don like a mother hen, then I start fancying the expert witness” (McDermid 2006: 199). Her reason, however, does not prevent her from automatically giving in to her nurturing tendencies, taking care and comforting those in need. Although emotionality and expressivity are constructed as valuable assets for women in the private sphere, Carol rarely allows herself to make use of them. She does not express her emotions considerably and only involuntarily gives into them at certain times as the following excerpt from *The Mermaids Singing* (2006: 232) shows:

He looked so vulnerable and fallible, his shoulders slumped, his head down that Carol’s impulses overrode the decision she’d taken only minutes before to play it cool. She stepped forward and pulled Tony into a tight hug.

Instead, Carol usually chooses to rely on other competences, which more closely define her character. The situation is quite similar as regards romantic relationships. Not conforming to stereotypical gender beliefs, Carol does not prioritise her private life over her chosen profession. She is portrayed as an active and success-oriented woman, who does not want to lower her expectations because of a possible courtship and private bliss. Rather, she is looking for an egalitarian relationship with a man, who understands and is sympathetic towards her work, which, however, is not as easy as it may sound as further elaborated on

in section 5.6.1.. Although the situation for women has changed considerably in the course of time, “traditional gender ideologies remain remarkably resilient, as courtship conventions symbolizing men’s dominant, bread-winning status stubbornly persist” (Lamont 2014: 190). This makes it even harder to unify these seemingly competing forces. Disappointed after a long term relationship failing for this very reason, Carol is cautious to invest once more in a relationship, which could affect her career aspirations. This is, for example, illustrated by Carol telling herself, when meeting Tony for the first time, that “she had neither the time nor the inclination for emotional involvement” (McDermid 2006: 62). Although she thus seems to long for emotional intimacy, she cannot give in to her desires for fear of potentially affecting her professional life. In the course of the narrative the situation gets even more complicated and despite the growing attachment between Carol and Tony they remain friends, refusing to admit their feelings for each other. Although there are other potential love interests, Carol is not inclined to risk her heart again. One time, she even completely switches the roles by making use of a man to gain control of herself again. After experiencing emotional trauma following her sexual assault during the events of *The Last Temptation* (2002), Carol acknowledges the advances of a sensible man she met through work but instead of aiming for a relationship, merely uses him as a means to further her healing process. Even though Carol finds him attractive and likes him, she knows in her heart that he is not the one. She acknowledges her brokenness and the need to move on:

Since the rape, I’ve felt like I didn’t own my body any more. It took me a while to realize that I needed a sexual experience that would show me I was still in control of my responses. I needed it to be about me and I needed it to be uncomplicated (McDermid 2005: 320).

In doing so, she takes on a role rather unusual for a woman. She does not rely on a man to be her saviour but incorporates the role herself, using him for her means, however not malevolently. Generally, Carol does not depend on men in any way but is her own woman, taking charge of every aspect of her life. Although there is a culturally induced articulation, which connects women and emotionality in relationships, this is not necessarily reflected in the given novels, at least not through the female protagonist. Although Carol does display emotionality and vulnerability in the course of the narrative, she, nonetheless, challenges this

stereotypical belief by portraying a woman, who is largely in control of herself and who does not need a man to save her, let alone complete her life.

In the context of her family, Carol similarly takes on the role of a strong and independent woman. Although she is close to her family, she does not necessarily rely on them for support and rarely shows them her emotional vulnerability. Nonetheless, Carol and her brother Michael have a particularly strong bond and Carol can confide in him when troubled. Overall, however, she tries hard to keep up her mask in front of her family and usually succeeds in doing so. Only after her brother's horrific murder during the events of *The Retribution* (2011) she is not able to hide her vulnerability and repress her emotions any longer as the following excerpt illustrates:

She'd been holding herself together all day and now she was starting to come apart. She supposed it was something to do with her parents. Even though she was the one taking the adult role, she couldn't help slipping into her natural position into the emotional hierarchy (McDermid 2012: 328).

This emotional hierarchy, which situates women on a different end of the emotional spectrum than men, ascribing them vulnerability, sensitivity and expressivity, enables Carol to let go of her mask for once and act out her feelings. This represents a noteworthy exception for Carol, who, otherwise, does not allow herself to publicly show her emotional vulnerability. More importantly, this situation is only short-lived as Carol has to adopt her work persona again a short time after, which now "was on a very high shelf" (McDermid 2012: 331). Nevertheless, always being the professional, Carol is able to do so, even though it requires considerable effort on her part.

Despite the articulation of emotional expression and womanhood in specific domains of everyday life, the character of DCI Carol Jordan does not conform to dominant gender beliefs in most respects. In the public sphere, she challenges dominant norms of womanhood by employing other competences and behavioural patterns than the ones usually associated with sentimental femininity and backgrounds her emotional involvement. In the private sphere as well she handles her emotions differently, mainly due to reasons related to work. She does not accept her status as a victim and defiantly fights back. Although emotionally vulnerable, Carol does not rely on other people to fix her but is determined to work

through her problems alone. Of course, this not only has to do with strength of will and character but is due to Carol's inability to let go of her professional mask. Nonetheless, she is generally depicted as a strong, resilient and autonomous character, which incorporates but at the same time challenges dominant beliefs articulated with gender.

5.4.2. Dr. Tony Hill

The character of Dr. Tony Hill similarly cannot readily be tied to dominant gender beliefs usually articulated with emotional expression. Contrary to Carol, Tony, as outlined in the general character analysis, represents a distinctively feminised character, thus portraying the complete opposite of stereotypical masculinity. This is reflected in his work as well as in his private life, where empathy, instinct, intuition and emotional vulnerability are noticeable recurring themes.

In the public sphere, which spans Tony's profession as a clinical psychologist as well as his involvement as a profiler with the Bradfield police department, Tony's emotionality, characterised by his empathy, instinct and intuition, plays a major role. In contrast to Carol, his emotional involvement is required and represents one of his biggest assets, which he is often commended for by his colleagues at work. In his profession as a clinical psychologist this is of particular importance as Tony himself notes that it is for these very qualities that he is as successful in what he does. He can relate to people, take on different perspectives and empathise with them if need be. On the one hand, he is thus open about his emotional sensitivity. On the other hand, however, he does not show the full depth of it for being too troubled an individual to want to admit to this fact. Consequently, "Tony hated others studying him the way he studied them. The idea of being a patient on the receiving end of his own probing was one of the nightmares that he woke from in sweat" (McDermid 2006: 250). Similarly to Carol, he therefore takes on a different personas to act the part accordingly. Most of the time he succeeds in doing so by "passing for human" (McDermid 2012: 201), however, being aware that "he still had plenty to learn" (McDermid 2012: 201). Rarely does his mask slip and if so, only under extreme circumstances. Not only for his work as a clinician do his empathy and intuition represent valuable assets, but also for his work as a profiler and consultant for the Bradfield police department. In a profession which is largely

articulated with stereotypically male qualities, Tony's work as well as his competences represent a stark contrast. Consequently, he is often confronted with prejudices, which are caused, among other things, by his drastically different method of working. Nonetheless, Tony is able to hold his ground and establish himself as a valuable asset for this very reason. During his work with the police Tony does not refrain from displaying emotional involvement and, in contrast to Carol, is able to show weakness without immediate negative consequences. When confronted with the possibility of examining his first actual crime scene, Tony, for example, casually remarks "I'll probably lose my lunch, but it's a bonus for me if I get to see them in a fairly pristine state" (McDermid 2006: 32). Whereas Carol cannot even admit to such a thing and is forced to overcome her emotional reaction due to the double standard imposed on women in the police force as pointed out at the beginning of section 5.4.1., Tony, as an outsider with a more feminised profession, is in a completely different position, which allows him to voice his thoughts more openly, although he generally "worked hard to keep his own responses battened down" (McDermid 2005: 214). Even though Tony faces different challenges throughout his involvement with Bradfield police, it seems as if his behaviour, in terms of emotional expression, is easier to tolerate as well as easier to accept in this different work environment due to the fact that, for one thing, he is a man and, additionally, from another professional field, which is based on radically different principles.

In the private sphere, Tony's emotional competences are not as easily discernible due to his peculiar personality, which rendered him incapable of genuinely interacting with people from early on. Therefore, he has few people he is really close to. He has numerous acquaintances due to his professional involvement, however, only a small circle of friends as the following excerpt illustrates:

Tony's life was not overburdened with friendships. There were plenty of acquaintances, colleagues, former students. There were a handful of people he thought of as friends, but they weren't close in the way that Vance would need (McDermid 2012: 469).

This, as already mentioned in section 5.3.2., is largely due to his inability to genuinely interact and connect with people, which Tony never learned during his troubled childhood, leaving him clueless regarding most forms of social

interaction, as Jacko Vance rightly assumes, contemplating Tony's usually awkward behaviour:

He'd often wondered if Hill was autistic, so awkward was he in social encounters that were not based exclusively on drawing information from the other person. But maybe it was less interesting than that. Maybe he'd grown up with a mother who had no interest in social encounters in the home, so Hill hadn't learned how to do it at an early enough age for it ever to have become second nature (McDermid 2012: 482).

Only later, due to his friendship with Joan, as detailed in *The Retribution* (2011), Tony learned how to empathise with people and how to pretend to care, how to pass for human. This made it a lot easier to interact with people and establish something resembling a friendship.

Carol is one of the few people he thinks of as a friend and with whom he can be his quirky self. Notably their relationship is more complicated than that. Although Tony does not explicitly show it in the beginning, his feelings for Carol are very strong. From the moment of their first encounter, he is attracted to her but rather than act on his feelings, their relationship evolves from a work-induced companionship into a sincere and affectionate friendship (rather than a romantic relationship) in the course of the narrative. Although Tony does not disclose everything to Carol, he trusts her immensely. He is not afraid to share his past with her, including some of his biggest secrets like the troubled relationship with his mother or his impotence. He counts on Carol as a trusted friend and relies on her "as a constant steadying force" (McDermid 2012: 424) in his life. Although Carol similarly relies on Tony and equally values their relationship, Tony is depicted as being more emotionally dependent on Carol than she is on him. Yet again, this reverses the usual roles men and women are associated with concerning relationships and emotionality. This is reflected in Carol's overall importance in Tony's life as well as his emotional attachment to her. Tony would do anything for Carol for when she hurts and suffers, he hurts and suffers as is even stated by Vance, who schemingly reflects on the fact that "the more he hurt Carol Jordan, the more he would hurt both of them" (McDermid 2012: 281). His emotional investment is considerable but nonetheless, Carol mentions "Tony's capacity for avoidance of the life emotional" (McDermid 2005: 246), especially when it comes to the complicated part of their otherwise uncomplicated relationship relating to

their repeatedly repressed attraction to each other, which is closely linked to Tony's deep seated insecurity about having a romantic relationship with a woman. Similar to the challenges Tony experiences when interacting with people, he experiences considerable challenges in romantic relationships with women. Yet again, the root of this problem lies in his troubled childhood, which saw him become an insecure and emotionally troubled man, or, as Tony bitterly puts it, a "sexual and emotional cripple" (McDermid 2006: 121). The insecurity, which developed out of his mother's and grandmother's indifferent upbringing, continued to exist and spread to other areas of his life. He remained a cautious and shy man, effectively excelling in his academic achievements only. Tony's timid nature consequently also affected his relationship with women, who expected more agency from him, especially in bed where they were continuously disappointed by his unconvincing sexual performance, further resulting in feelings of shame and humiliation on Tony's side and subsequently impotence, which he was not able to overcome throughout the years.

At University, he'd been too shy and hard-working to improve his [sexual] experience by much. Then, when he'd started work on his doctorate, he'd fallen head over heels with a young philosophy tutor in his college. Patricia made no secret of the fact that she was a woman of the world, just as she made no secret of the fact that she had ended their relationship because of his lacklustre performance between the sheets. [...] It had been downhill from then (McDermid 2006: 353).

Thus robbed of his one true marker of masculinity, Tony gradually became more insecure and withdrawn. This is also indicated when Tony reflects on his impotence, remarking "It's all very well for old men to be impotent. Men my age who can't get it up are a joke" (McDermid 2006: 261), further referring to himself as "a pathetic excuse for a man" (McDermid 2006: 262). Not considering professional help out of embarrassment and a lack of trust, he unwittingly embraced the anonymous phone calls of Angelica (during the events of *The Mermaids Singing* (2006)) as a form of therapy to help himself reclaim his masculinity, never mind that it turned out quite differently. It is for all these reasons that his relationship with Carol is as enduring but at the same time as complicated as it is. On the one hand, Tony has strong feelings for Carol, on the other hand, he is afraid to act on them due to his degraded self-worth resulting out of the negative experiences of previous romantic relationships and his impotence.

He contemplates that there is “[n]o point in even thinking about relationships with nice, normal women. He would have blown it with Carol, just as he’d always blown it with women as soon as they got close” (McDermid 2006: 262). The perspective on Tony’s attitude towards relationships is completely different than Carol’s. Whereas Carol’s problems are largely linked to her work, Tony’s problems are rooted in his troubled personality and his defective sexuality. He constructs himself as an incomplete and flawed man, who is not able to maintain a romantic relationship for fear of humiliation and rejection. Although he does not give up on himself completely as his attempt at treating himself via Angelica’s phone calls shows, he is, nonetheless, portrayed in a subordinate role, which is rather unusual for a man, especially in relationships.

Turning to Tony’s behavioural patterns in the context of his family, it is to note that, as already mentioned, it is his family, his mother and grandmother respectively, who made him the man as which he is portrayed throughout the novels. Confronted with two strong and rather atypical female personalities from an early age on, Tony developed into an awkward and not necessarily stereotypical man. His mother is described as follows:

Vanessa Hill was not most mothers. Her son had been an inconvenience since even before he’d been born and she managed to sidestep anything approaching a maternal response to him. She had set her face against him from the beginning and nothing he had done had changed her position (McDermid 2012: 113).

Due to Vanessa’s apparent disinterest in her motherly duties but self-serving orientation towards ambition as regards her career, Tony was left with his grandmother, who dutifully brought him up, however similarly detached from emotion. Nevertheless, Tony remarks that “[s]he wasn’t a bad woman, [but] just constrained by her own upbringing into the belief that children should be seen and not heard” (McDermid 2006: 219). Not knowing his father since his mother scared him of, Tony grew up without a father figure (as his grandfather was similarly non-existent), suffering emotional abuse throughout his childhood and adolescence:

All through his life, his mother had used him as an emotional punchbag. She’d belittled him, criticised him, made fun of him. She’d made sure he grew up without a father, without a refuge, without love. She hadn’t cared whether he succeeded or failed. And he’d [consequently] grown into an emotionally limited, dysfunctional man [...] (McDermid 2012: 469).

All of this had a considerable impact on Tony, who describes himself as “emotionally limited” (McDermid 2012: 469) or as an “emotional cripple” (McDermid 2006: 121). Despite his shortcomings, he is, nonetheless, perceptive, empathetic and caring, which he learned later on thanks to his school’s dinner lady, Joan, with whom he developed a cordial relationship that saved him from a darker path as it is stated that “Joan had saved him from what lay in prospect when she had snatched him out of the dinner line” (McDermid 2012: 430). He undoubtedly has issues as regards social conventions, more specifically as regards social interaction, and yet he is still able to relate to people and to take on their perspective (even better than most people). Thus, in general, Tony displays a considerable amount of insight into human emotionality. It is because of his troubled childhood, as he mentions himself, that he developed these abilities, which enable him to help people, who travelled down another, considerably darker path in life. On the contrary to his mother and grandmother, Tony displays more compassionate and empathetic qualities, which characterise him in more feminine terms than his mother or grandmother, who, in contrast, are portrayed as neither compassionate nor caring.

Altogether, the character of Dr. Tony Hill, similar to the character of DCI Carol Jordan, does not conform to dominant gender beliefs, which largely determine the cultural articulation of emotion and gender. Men are usually depicted as rational and analytical, guided by their expertise knowledge to gain positions of power and authority. Tony, however, is portrayed quite differently. Pursuing a successful career in a field, which is not necessarily articulated with stereotypical masculinity, he primarily makes use of his cognitive skills coupled with his empathy, instinct and intuition but not to achieve a position of power, rather to help people to rehabilitate themselves. He is not characterised by stereotypically male attributes and further does not behave like a stereotypical man. Rather he is portrayed as sensitive and considerate. He does not try to assert himself in a position of power or to yield authority over other people. His insight into the emotional workings of the human mind is one of his biggest assets, which he uses personally as well as professionally. In the public sphere, Tony is thus constructed in more feminine terms, than for example Carol, who cannot as easily admit to her emotional involvement. In the private sphere, as well, Tony’s behaviour does not

conform to dominant gender beliefs. He is portrayed as socially awkward, insecure and usually subordinate to the strong female characters in his life, being it his mother, grandmother or even Carol. All of this considerably undermines his masculinity. His impotence, which additionally puts a heavy weight on Tony's emotional well-being, further contributes to this. Accordingly, Tony is depicted as a more feminised character, marked by his emotional capacities which define his unusual personality.

5.5. Domain: status, power and authority

The second domain articulated with gender, examined in the course of the analysis of the given crime fiction novels, focuses on relations of status, power and authority. Similar to the previous domain, there are certain cultural beliefs which predetermine the articulation of gender and these relations. As noted in chapter 2. these beliefs, which exert considerable influence on a cultures understanding of positions of status, power and authority, are referred to as status beliefs. They mediate a concept, which signifies the status of individuals in a social group (Ridgeway 2001: 638ff.). More importantly, as Ridgeway (2001: 639) further notes, is that “[t]he signature of status beliefs [...] is that they [...] link the higher status group with greater overall competence and with whatever specific skills are most valued by the society at that time”. As regards gender, the higher status group usually encompasses the male sex. Hence, by implicit influence of these cultural beliefs, men enjoy a higher status in society at large and as a consequence also in, for example, the public sphere including the workplace, whereas women, especially in typically male professions, are confronted with these beliefs in a different way, which, if they want to achieve the same status as a man, requires them to “display a higher level of recognized competence than a similar man” (Ridgeway 2001: 647). This further creates double standards impacting women not only as regards the revaluation of their status but also their power and authority, which is unquestionably linked to a position of greater significance in the occupational hierarchy (Ridgeway 2001: 647f.). Notably, this is also the case in the professional field of police work, where women are regularly confronted with gender beliefs and prejudices arising out of the articulation of the profession with masculinity.

Still investigating the second research question, the subsequent analysis examines how the protagonists of the selected crime fiction novels are confronted with such status beliefs and the resulting prejudices in their respective workplaces, how this affects their current positions and influences their occupational development in terms of perceived status, power and authority. Hence, useful insights can be gained as regards the articulation of gender with relations of status, power and authority as featured in the respective narrative. Contrary to the preceding analysis of the domain 'emotional expression', which generally examined its articulation with gender throughout the novels, the subsequent analysis explores the domain book per book as there are considerable differences and noteworthy developments in the respective novels, which are best outlined chronologically.

5.5.1. DCI Carol Jordan

In *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) Carol Jordan is first introduced as a newly promoted Detective Inspector with the Bradfield police department, a position which she put considerable effort into gaining, educating herself and working hard to make a lasting impression. In her position as Detective Inspector Carol ranks above other police officers and already holds a certain status. Nonetheless, she has to justify and defend her position against her predominantly male colleagues, who doubt her competences as a police officer. This is already linked to culturally imposed double standards, which, arising out of status beliefs, exert influence on the way women are perceived and treated in the police force by their colleagues. Carol has to work harder and additionally adopt a certain behaviour, which reflects the masculinity associated with the profession. Nevertheless, this does not spare her from being repeatedly undermined, questioned and confronted with prejudiced behaviour as the following excerpt shows, which demonstrates her colleagues' negative reaction when she is assigned to head one of the major investigations:

Carol kept her head high and looked around. The faces she could see mostly showed open cynicism. Several heads turned towards her. There was no warmth in their stares. Even those who might support the profiling initiative were brassed off that the prime job had gone to a woman rather than one of the lads (McDermid 2006: 70).

Even though Carol is more than qualified to do this job and even though she already has a noteworthy reputation, her colleagues are affronted by the fact that a woman was chosen over “one of the lads” (McDermid 2006: 70). The high status group is not prepared to give up even some of its prestige to an individual belonging to the lower status group, which could potentially lead to its gaining even more status and consequently power (Diekman, Goodfriend & Goodwin 2004: 212).

Carol is not only challenged by her colleagues but also by some of her superiors. Regarding the full scale of the police hierarchy, Carol, despite her position, overall ranks quite low, being subordinate to higher ranking police officers, usually men, who do not support her professional aspirations, like Detective Superintendent Tom Cross. Cross regularly treats Carol with contempt and does not seem to take her seriously. Although she knows that he is often in the wrong, she has to put up with his condescending behaviour, not being able to do anything about it, except for countering it with yet more professionalism and a hint of irony as the following excerpt exemplifies:

‘You’re not as smart as you like to think you are. One step out of line, lady, and I’ll have your guts for a jock strap’ He took a deep drag of his cigarette and leaned forward to blow smoke in Carol’s direction. [...] Looking disgusted, Cross turned on his heel and marched back to the scene of the crime. ‘You meet a nice class of person on this job Carol said’ (McDermid 2006: 47).

There is a clear hierarchy in the police force, which allocates status and power to the highest positions, which are mostly held by men. Apart from Carol no other noteworthy female police officers are mentioned throughout the narrative, especially not in higher positions. Furthermore, it is to note that it is rather unusual that women have support from higher up in the form of a superior, who tries to promote and further their occupational development as “it is preferable to put investment into a man’s career” (Holdaway & Parker 1998: 55). However, Carol is evidently supported by her superior ACC John Brandon, who thinks very highly of her and helps her to climb farther up the ladder by presenting her with various opportunities to prove herself on the job, such as her position as liaison officer, despite Cross’ disapproval. Throughout the novel, Carol is thus able to strengthen her position due to her tireless and dedicated work. This is not looked favourably upon by some of her colleagues, who characterise her as “bloody

ruthless” (McDermid 2006: 300) because she is an ambitious woman, aiming to succeed in her chosen line of work. Others, however, do realise her potential and remark on her exceptional competences, stating that “she’ll be running the shop one of these days” (McDermid 2006: 354).

Overall, Carol’s position in the beginning of the novels is not characterised by a special status, which grants her particular power or authority, even though she manages to make a name for herself. She is one of a minority of female police officers, who tries to succeed in this male dominated line of work. The narrative clearly illustrates the hierarchical organisation of the police force, which grants status and prestige almost exclusively to older, already established male police officers. Although Carol already managed to improve her position via her promotion to Detective Inspector, her status as well as the power and authority she holds with this position is still rather limited in comparison to other, higher ranking positions and further stands in contrast to what is culturally expected of her.

In *The Torment of Others* (2004) Carol already achieved the next step in climbing up the hierarchical ladder, now incorporating the rank of Detective Chief Inspector. Due to the events in *The Last Temptation* (2002), she retreated from her work with the Bradfield police department and instead moved to London. However, she is recruited by her former superior, John Brandon to head a hand-picked major incident team exclusively involved with serious crime cases. Intrigued by the offer, Carol accepts the job and the new challenges it brings with it. Even though Carol now incorporates a position that entails yet more status, power and responsibility, she is still confronted with various challenges. On the one hand, Carol questions her own competences due to her emotional instability and insecurity. On the other hand, she is also worried how her experiences may influence the way her former colleagues perceive her as the following excerpt shows:

Her squad was small, hand-picked by her and Brandon. Most of them she’d worked with before and she knew they respected her. Or at least they once had. She hoped their respect was still strong enough to withstand the temptation to pity (McDermid 2005: 28f.).

Carol is an experienced and more importantly established police officer in a leading position by now, but she is worried how her emotionality may negatively affect her status in a professional domain, which highly values other, more

masculine character traits. Although her team repeatedly assures her that they are only interested in her professional achievements, they are, nonetheless, slightly biased and prone to insubordination if Carol does not support their proposals. Consequently, Carol is on her guard and, despite her status, has to assert herself more than once against her subordinates by explaining and backing her decisions:

‘Couldn’t you have held back on the ID, chief? Then hit him with it in the interview?’

Carol stopped and gave Paula a speculative look.

‘You think I was weak back there, don’t you?’

Paula looked horrified. ‘I never...’

‘Giving in isn’t always a sign of weakness, Paula. There was no point in holding out. I know how Scott works [...]’ Carol walked off, feeling the tension in her shoulders. Maybe they didn’t trust her as much as she’d thought (McDermid 2005: 74f.).

This excerpt shows one example, which illustrates Carol’s constant struggle in her new position of power. One of the reasons Carol is not as successful in implementing her position of power and authority may be unconsciously grounded in the fact that, as a woman, Carol’s leadership position is not compatible with stereotypical gender beliefs, much less so as a woman in the police force. Therefore she violates culturally prescriptive gender norms, which, additionally to Carol’s recent history, make her team doubt her competences. This unquestionably puts even more pressure on her. In order to embody her position more credibly and thus keep her team in line, she resorts to effectively displaying more confidence and authority. It is continuously mentioned throughout the novel how Carol adjusts her behaviour by, for example, adapting her posture or her tone of voice, to express confidence she does not necessarily feel at the given moment but which enables her to “assum[e] the appearance of calm authority she knew she needed [...]” (McDermid 2005: 159). Her insecurity is further highlighted by way of Carol’s repeated admission of her fear of being undermined in her current position. More than once she remarks on possible conspicuous behaviour on the part of colleagues, her own team or even superiors, asking herself “Was this the first sign that someone was out to undermine her squad and, by extension, their new Chief Constable?” (McDermid 2005: 42). Almost every member of Carol’s team goes directly against one of her orders at least once throughout the narrative. Even though they do respect her and do not necessarily want to challenge her status as their superior as they are aware of her skills and reputation, they still question her

current ability to make the right decisions due to her recent history, which, in the opinion of some, left her “a fucked-up DCI” (McDermid 2005: 63). Throughout the novel it is a constant struggle for Carol to justify her place as she herself is not absolutely convinced of her own abilities after what happened to her during the events of *The Last Temptation* (2002). However, as the narrative progresses, Carol is able to change for the better and to make the decision to not give up on herself but to defend what she achieved in her career. After DC Sam Evan’s insubordination, she is determined “to end it here and now before it caused problems with the others” (McDermid 2005: 258). Although the way to reclaim herself is not without setbacks, Carol, after first reclaiming control of her body, is able to reclaim herself by lastly acknowledging that she is “[d]amaged but not destroyed. Cracked but not broken” (McDermid 2005: 243). Consequently, she is able to strengthen her position of leadership by dominantly displaying her new found authority and by winning back her team’s respect as well as trust in her policing abilities.

As can be deduced, throughout the first four novels Carol’s position has changed considerably. In the beginning merely a Detective Inspector, Carol now holds the position of Detective Chief Inspector, even leading her own hand-picked team. She thus ascended one further step on the occupational hierarchy. She was able to establish herself and further to strengthen her position in the police force. Even though there are still superior ranks, Carol incorporates a considerable status due to her position. Notably, there is an apparent articulation of gender with relations of status, power and authority, which questions the role of women in higher positions in which they are concerned with leadership and wielding power. This is reflected in the way Carol is confronted with the backlash she experiences in her new role via the insubordination of her team members and other colleagues. However, it is not only her colleagues to whom Carol has to prove something, but also to herself as she momentarily doubts her skills and competences. Despite this struggle Carol is successful and overcomes all obstacles. Owing to her determination and endurance, she is able to gradually deconstruct the articulation of gender with relations of status, power and authority and firmly reintegrate herself as a successful high ranking female police officer, who is respected and esteemed throughout most of the department.

In *The Retribution* (2011) Carol is still acting in her position as Detective Chief Inspector and is also still in charge of her specialist team. However, due to changes higher up which threaten the termination of her unit, she has arranged for a respectable position for herself with Worcester police. (Although it is note that this is only one of the reasons, the other including Tony's impending employment in the same area.) Throughout the preceding novels, Carol grew more into her role as head of her specialist unit and was able to establish a basis of trust and mutual respect, which in further consequence enabled her to perform her role of leadership more easily as it is mentioned that she "ha[s] no problem with delegation, not with a hand-picked squad like this one" (McDermid 2012: 40). Nonetheless, she is, at times, still confronted with instances of insubordination (such as from DC Paula McIntyre, who secretly collaborates on a case with Tony). Nevertheless, Carol stands up for her team and advocates for its continued existence. As a consequence the members of her team (except for DC Sam Evans) are fiercely loyal to her and defend her status if it is undermined by outsiders as various instances, such as the following excerpt, show:

'I've heard he's [i.e. Tony] good,' Dean said. 'They say that's part of the reason Carol Jordan has such a great success rate.'
Paula bristled. 'Don't underestimate the chief. She's a helluva detective'
(McDermid 2012: 434).

As can be further deduced from these lines, Carol has made a name for herself as she and her achievements are known throughout the force. Overall, she is respected by most of her colleagues, who are aware of her status in her current position. Whereas some generally admire her abilities as a police officer, others feel intimidated by them and envy her success as she, as a woman, does not belong to the higher status group. Nonetheless, Carol has quite generally a noteworthy reputation and others want to prove themselves to her as Tony, for example, remarks that her subordinate officers-to-be in Worcester "Alvin Ambrose and Stuart Petterson need some space to prove themselves to [her] before [she] really [is] their boss" (McDermid 2012: 374). This says a lot about her current position and what it entails. Not only does Carol incorporate a position of status, it is also recognised by most of her male colleagues. Her status, as well as the power and authority that come with it, has increased considerably in comparison to the first novel. Even though she is still confronted with superiors, who act out of different

interests (including James Blake's cancelling her MIT unit due to monetary reasons as well as cancelling Tony's consultancy) that go against everything Carol believes in, she holds a firmly established position with Bradfield police, being supported by numerable people.

In McDermid's seventh novel, Carol's position regarding relations of status, power and authority could not be more different from when she was first introduced in *The Mermaids Singing* (1995). Due to her promotion to Detective Chief Inspector and her leadership role in the MIT squad, Carol status was boosted enormously, which in turn also affected her occupational power and authority. Even though there were still instances indicating an apparent articulation of gender with said relations, Carol's position is stronger than ever and further outranks the positions of numerous male colleagues. Despite her continuous struggle with the double standards she is confronted with at work and the personal issues caused by the traumatic events in her life, Carol grew into her role successfully, presenting an able and competent leadership personality, which, in the course of the narrative, is also admitted by a considerable number of people, who endorse Carol in her position of power, thus challenging the articulation of status, power and authority with masculinity.

5.5.2. Dr. Tony Hill

In *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) Dr. Tony Hill is introduced as a respected clinical psychologist, currently heading a study of the Home Office to further promote the National Criminal Profiling Task Force. His work as a clinician is not closely detailed in the novel, which rather focuses on his imminent involvement as a consultant with Bradfield police. However, it can be assumed that in his professional field as a clinical psychologist Tony incorporates a high status as indicated by his succeeding reputation and his successful career. This completely differs from his work as a profiler for the police. Although Tony is a respected and established psychologist with a noteworthy reputation, he encounters notable challenges during his work with the Bradfield police department. First of all, his professional status is challenged on various occasions, most notably by Detective Superintendent Tom Cross, who contemptuously refers to Tony as a "Home Office penpusher" (McDermid 2006: 40) or "Wonder Boy" (McDermid 2006: 112). He is

further resistant to take Tony seriously and insists that his “mumbo jumbo” (McDermid 2006: 41) work hardly can contribute effectively to solid police work. Cross is not the only one who voices scepticism at the thought of involving someone from the outside at the investigation, more importantly someone from a professional field, which so starkly contrasts with policing. Hence, Tony finds himself in a similar position as Carol. Whereas Carol is an outsider due to her gender, Tony is an outsider due to the nature of his work, which requires him to prove his already established status once more. Additionally, this also affects Tony’s professional authority, which, at the beginning, is not significant. His professional opinion is valued only by ACC John Brandon, who enlisted Tony’s help in the first place, and Carol, who is paired to closely work with him and act as liaison officer on the case. In the course of the narrative the situation slowly changes and Tony is able to strengthen his position with Bradfield police:

Carol smiled secretly. Thank God the rest of the team were finally starting to accept Tony had something worth saying. It was amazing how different the atmosphere was now that Cross had gone (McDermid 2006: 331).

Nonetheless, Tony’s position is still considerably weaker than in his other profession, where he enjoys more status and prestige. The articulation of gender with relations of status, power and authority is not as easily outlined as in Carol’s case for one has to look more closely at different, interacting factors. It is not gender per se which marks Tony as an outsider in the police force and thus affects his status as perceived by Bradfield police. Rather, it is his profession, which is more closely articulated with feminine qualities than, in contrast, the stereotypical concept of policing. This in combination with Tony’s other rather atypical character traits contribute to his unique position within the police. An articulation of gender and relations of status, power and authority can be assumed, which expresses itself by means of discriminating against what is perceived to be more closely associated with femininity. As a consequence Tony struggles to be accepted in a stereotypically masculine profession, which rests on profoundly different principles. This in turn further affects his status, power and professional authority, which is notably undisputed in his other profession as a clinical psychologist.

In *The Torment of Others* (2004) Tony has returned to work as a clinician in Bradfield Moor. Although the preceding novels saw him establish himself as a

profiler with Bradfield police, he did not keep his position as a consultant due to the troubling events in *The Last Temptation* (2002), which prompted Carol's resignation. Despite Tony's retreat back into clinical work, "back in[to] the world of messy heads, back where he belonged" (McDermid 2005: 44), the case featured in the previous novel notably increased his status, as Tony ponders that "[h]e wasn't short of offers. [...] Now the Germans, the Dutch and the Austrians wanted him to work for them as a consultant. Not just on serial murder, but on other criminal activity that treated international frontiers as if they didn't exist" (McDermid 2005: 9). His status with the police force (including Bradfield police) thus improved considerably, despite the initial difficulties he experienced due to the otherness of his work. Nonetheless, there are still sceptics among the police officers, who do not completely trust in Tony's kind of work. In comparison to *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) this number, however, remains rather small and Tony is regarded as a trusted advisor, especially by Carol and her team. In spite of his improved status, Tony's power as well as his authority in the police force are still not significant, which is mainly due to his secondary role as a consultant. In his job as a clinical psychologist in the mental institution of Bradfield Moor, this is not the case. Although Tony does not parade his status, he enjoys considerable prestige as well as professional authority among his colleagues. Overall, he is a highly esteemed member of the profession "with a reputation for both brilliance and awkwardness" (McDermid 2005: 35). Despite his status and professional authority, Tony does not incorporate considerable power in this occupational domain as he is not interested in professional politics or advancement in the occupational hierarchy as he continually remarks that the motives for his work lie elsewhere, as the following discourse with DS Jan Shields demonstrates:

'The nutters in Bradfield Moor. Why bother? You could spend your life profiling and teaching. Why earn a pittance dealing with the dregs?'
He thought for a moment. 'Hope,' he said finally.
'That's it? Hope?'
'Don't underestimate the power of hope. And besides,' he added 'I'm good at it. There's a satisfaction in doing something you know you do better than most people in the field [...]' (McDermid 2005: 395).

As a consequence, Tony is subordinate to others, who are higher up on the occupational ladder, such as Aidan Hart, the current head of Bradfield Moor. In spite of his position, Tony does take certain liberties as regards his conduct, which

is only possible because of his firm establishment in the profession and his distinguished reputation. In this respect Tony certainly enjoys more freedom than Carol, who faces more challenges when exceeding the boundaries marking her respective status, power and authority, clearly illustrating the existing articulation of said relations with gender.

The Retribution (2011), once more, focuses more dominantly on Tony's involvement with the police, although at the time he actually has "no operational involvement with Bradfield CID" (McDermid 2012: 11). In the beginning it is mentioned that due to the events featured in the previous books, Tony, again, is about to change jobs as a result of his unexpected inheritance in Worcester, where he subsequently accepted a position as a clinical psychologist at a local facility. Once more this indicates Tony's notable reputation in this professional field as he is able to easily find yet another position that is more compatible with his new living environment. The remainder of the narrative, however, exclusively deals with Tony's involvement with Bradfield police, on the one hand, due to a recent string of prostitute murders, on the other hand, due to the escape of convicted serial killer Jacko Vance. Regarding the former investigation, Tony is not officially involved but secretly helps Paula for Carol's current boss, James Blake, does not want to afford Tony's consultancy due to budgetary reasons since "staying in-house is cheaper and [further] it means he keeps in control" (McDermid 2012: 12). Although his expertise is well known throughout the force and his reputation precedes him, Tony is not taken up on his offer of consultancy as this would mean more expenses than the police is willing to pay. In addition, Carol forbids Tony to offer his services for free on grounds of their friendship. It is clear that Tony incorporates a certain status and is valued accordingly. However, recent changes in the police hierarchy complicated the situation for him and he is no longer of relevance as the usefulness of his employment does not trump the means of saving money, requiring consulting someone else. Regarding his involvement in the pursuit of Jacko Vance, Tony's expertise is initially a welcome support, which unequivocally steers the pursuit into the right direction. Nonetheless, Tony's professional authority is questioned yet again in the course of the investigation, especially by police officers (such as Detective Chief Inspector John Franklin) with whom he has never worked with before and who trust that "the undeniable

forensics came up with something more than Tony's conviction based only on experience and instinct" (McDermid 2012: 275f.). Furthermore, it is also challenged by Carol, who, out of her misery after her brother's and his fiancé's murder, lashes out against Tony, not willing to rely on his professional competences anymore, exclaiming "This is all your fault!" (McDermid 2012: 259), which in consequence leads Tony himself to doubt his competences reflecting that he "should have seen what was coming. Not once but twice he'd failed to figure out what Vance would do next" (McDermid 2012: 333).

Altogether, the narrative features a rather consistent take on Tony's position with the Bradfield police department, which is quite similar to the other two novels. Tony is presented as a respected profiler with a noteworthy reputation and substantial professional authority, however lacking power in an occupational domain to which he is de facto an outsider. The difference to the preceding narratives is that Tony acts in another role, which does not directly involve relations of status, power and authority as he, for the most part, finds himself in a different position, forwarding his expertise as a friend and potential victim rather than in his usual position as consulting clinical profiler.

The analysis of the characters of DCI Carol Jordan and Dr. Tony Hill examining relations of status, power and authority in the respective work context, both reveal that there is an apparent articulation of gender and the aforementioned domains based on culturally-shaped gender beliefs, especially in the police force. Carol, although working her way up the hierarchical ladder and acquiring a respectable reputation, is confronted with various challenges in her career, which question her status, power and authority due to attributes echoing her femininity. On the one hand, she is therefore expected to deny her feminine qualities in order to succeed in her profession, on the other hand, however, she is, at the same time, treated unfairly if she does, being negatively characterised as ruthless or worse. Tony similarly experiences challenges regarding his work with Bradfield police, although they are not directly relatable to his gender. Nevertheless, they are certainly influenced by culturally-shaped beliefs about gender, which situate Tony's profession as a clinical psychologist in contrast to policing, resulting in the noticeable scepticism and resentment he is confronted with.

5.6. Domain: the workplace

The last domain, which was already implicitly addressed in the preceding section due to its connection with relations of status, power and authority, comprises the workplace. More specifically the analysis focuses on the police as the respective workplace as this is the occupational environment dominantly (although not exclusively) featured in the narrative regarding the protagonists. As already outlined in section 2. women have gained considerable footing in the occupational domain in general. However, they are still confronted with gender discrimination on various levels. This is even more so the case in professions which are typically associated with masculinity, such as policing. As Rabe-Hemp (2009: 115) points out “[p]olicewomen’s identities are situated in the context of the institution and culture of policing, which has historically been sharply divided according to gender and sex”. Even though this distinction does not hold as strongly as it once had, it still exerts a notable influence on how the role of police women is constructed. On the one hand, prescriptive gender norms play an important role in so far as they implicitly characterise women’s role within this professional field. On the other hand, women are at the same time measured against their male colleagues with a different set of features and deprecated if they do not meet these expectations adequately. This is to say that “[p]olicewomen are assessed and identified by how well they can or cannot perform against their male counterparts” (Agocs, Langan & Sanders 2015: 268). However, if police women are able to do so or even succeed further by gaining a promotion, they face a negative response nonetheless for not conforming to the aforementioned prescriptive gender norms. As Heilman (2012: 126) further outlines:

Achievement in these roles is seen as ‘off limits’ for women – they are simply not supposed to excel at them. Thus, although with their success they discredit and refute the negative performance expectations that arise from descriptive stereotypes, successful women confront yet another impediment in pursuing their careers – the disapproval and negativity that results from violating prescriptive gender norms.

Consequently, women are faced with double standards, which impose conflicting expectations on them – regardless of what they do, they cannot comply with both sets of expectations. The articulation of gender with the respective workplace of

policing is thus once again bound to descriptive as well as prescriptive gender norms, which decidedly precipitate this gender-particular impediment.

The subsequent analysis closely examines the articulation of gender and the workplace in the context of policing and to some extent also in other occupational domains as they are featured in the novels, such as Tony's profession as a clinical psychologist and as a consultant profiler with Bradfield police. Relating once more to the second research question, the analysis overall focuses on the protagonists of the crime novels and investigates how the articulation of gender and the workplace is reflected in the given narrative. Further it explores how the characters are affected by this articulation as regards, for example, their (either positive or negative) experiences in the course of their careers, their behaviour or their attitude towards work. In doing so the analysis also indirectly deals with the characters' (non-)conformity concerning dominant gender beliefs, which is an important factor influencing the discernability of the articulation considerably.

5.6.1. DCI Carol Jordan

As already outlined in the general character analysis as well as the preceding analysis of the other domains, Carol Jordan is a successful police woman incorporating the rank of Detective Inspector and later on even Detective Chief Inspector, which is considerable, keeping in mind that women are a minority in the police force and even more so in leading positions. As noted in section 5.3.1., it is mentioned early on that Carol put a lot of effort into her career and that she worked hard to achieve what she now has. Nonetheless, it becomes clear in the course of the narrative that not all her colleagues look favourably at her success as Carol herself notes that, after being assigned with leading a major investigation, she encountered mostly "open cynicism" (McDermid 2006: 70) since "[...] the prime job had gone to a woman rather than one of the lads" (McDermid 2006: 70). This already highlights the impediment many police women are confronted with: they are supposed to excel in their profession despite their stereotypical female qualities, however, they are not being supported, even held in contempt for it, if their success endangers male supremacy. Through such behaviour Carol as well experiences exclusion. Nonetheless she is not to be deterred from her aspirations and she remains committed to her work as she already put considerable effort into

coming as far as she did. Even though some admire her for her persistence as well as her competences, especially after she successfully established a noteworthy reputation, she is often confronted with misogynistic behaviour reflecting dominant gender beliefs.

Regarding her leading position, which per se is incompatible with the stereotypical concept of a woman, especially in a male-dominated profession, a major factor contributing to this negative backlash may also lie in Carol's potential of motherhood at some point in her career, which as several studies (Dick & Cassel 2004: 67; Holdaway & Parker 1998: 54f.; O'Connor Shelley, Schaefer Morabito & Tobin-Gurley 2011: 358) note is the reason women's commitment to their respective profession is often questioned as motherhood could keep them from further performing their duties as usual. Although this does not necessarily apply to Carol's situation, as she is not in a long term relationship or looking to start a family any time soon, it may nonetheless be a possibility that her male colleagues keep in mind, albeit unconsciously. This is reflected in the way Carol is often automatically assumed to be distracted by an attractive man and the romantic feelings he may invoke in her. In more than one instance she is confronted with such prejudices as the following excerpt shows:

Carol shrugged. 'It's early yet. But yeah, on first impressions, I'd say he's got something to offer.'

Kevin grinned. 'Something to offer the investigation or something to offer you?'

'Piss of, Kevin,' Carol said, tired of the innuendo that followed her round the job. 'Unlike some, I never shit on my own doorstep' (McDermid 2006: 114).

Carol promptly counters and dismisses such sexist remarks even though she is affected by them. They not only reflect the widespread conception of women being driven by their emotionality but, alternatively, portray them as the more seductive sex, characterising them as either emotionally driven mother figures, on the one hand, or temptresses, on the other. It is obviously difficult to adequately deal with such instances of sexism as no matter what behaviour is shown by a woman it is used against her in one way or the other. Therefore, Carol mostly keeps her private life exactly that, private, and does not discuss any of it with her colleagues or her team members, as the reflections of one of her officers indicate.

They had worked together for long enough for Chris to know just how rare it was to hear Carol Jordan speak so clearly from the heart. Both women guarded their privacy, deliberately avoiding intimacy. Close as this team was, they didn't socialise together. Wherever they opened their hearts, it wasn't in the office (McDermid 2012: 108).

Instead Carol keeps her professional mask on at all times. Tony is one the few people she can reveal her more emotional side to without being confronted with prejudices, outlining to him, for example, the perks of the profession regarding its virtual incompatibleness with romantic relationships:

'I've found that men aren't very sympathetic towards shifts unless they do them too. You know, you're never there with the tea on the table when they've got to rush out to that vital squash match. Add to that the difficulty of getting them to understand why the job drives you inside your head and what are you left with? Junior doctors, other coppers, fire fighters, ambulance drivers. And in my experience, there aren't many of them who want a relationship with an equal. [...]' (McDermid 2006: 227).

In her job Carol is often discriminated against because of her gender as it stands in stark contrast to what is typically associated with the profession, namely masculinity. In relationships she is similarly confronted with prejudices due to her gender arising out of the incompatibleness of the stereotypical conception of the communal woman and the tough and successful police woman. The articulation of gender and the workplace thus reaches far beyond the occupational domain and, as apparent, exerts influence on other domains of a woman's life as well.

Returning to the articulation of gender and the workplace, which results in police women often being confronted with double standards in the form of prejudices and discrimination, it is to note that this in further consequence also affects women's behaviour and general conduct. Due to culturally predefined expectations, Carol as well adapts her behaviour accordingly in order to make it more appropriate for her respective workplace environment. This, as already noted, includes, for example, adapting her posture as well as her tone of voice and more importantly, not displaying her stereotypically female emotionality. It is often mentioned how Carol squares her shoulders or straightens up before interacting with her colleagues in situations which require her utmost credibility as a police woman. Additionally, she also assumes an air of confidence and authority in order to convincingly portray her work persona, or puts on her "work

face” (McDermid 2012: 218) as the members of her team refer to it, further keeping her emotions at bay so as to show strength and by extension professionalism. When confronted, for instance, with the kidnapping of Paula, one of her squad members, during the undercover operation in *The Torment of Others* (2004) her reaction is described as the following:

She wanted to curl up in a ball and weep, but that would have to wait for later (McDermid 2005: 429).

Carol reacts in a quite similar manner when confronted with the unexpected death of another member of her hand-picked team, Don, at the end of the same narrative:

She buried her face in her hands. Then she forced herself to her feet. There would be time for her grief later. For now, she had responsibilities (McDermid 2005: 463).

Even though, as can be seen, Carol is deeply affected by these tragic events, her reaction more importantly reflects her dedication and sense of duty for the job, which is a necessity to be respected and taken seriously by her male colleagues. Therefore, as outlined in section 5.4.1., from the beginning, Carol is portrayed as a woman, who does not give in to or show her emotions, at least not on the job. Rather, she is depicted as a woman, who opts to embody professionalism through and through. Nevertheless, this is not only looked upon favourably since, as already outlined, by conforming to police customs she is defying dominant gender beliefs, which outline how a woman is supposed to ideally behave. Consequently, Carol is perceived to be “totally bloody ruthless” (McDermid 2006: 300) by some. Kevin, in a later novel reformed and a member of her trusted team, at first describes her thus:

‘You don’t know her. [...] She wants to go all the way, that one, and she’d drop me in it soon as look at me if she thought it would take her a rung up the ladder’ (McDermid 2006: 300).

Although the portrayal of her tough work persona helps Carol considerably, it nonetheless remains difficult to deal with her male colleagues in certain situations. On the one hand, Carol needs to signalise her strength and suitability for the job refraining from public emotional expression. On the other hand, she has to efface herself in order to not alienate her male colleagues due to her position as a successful police woman. She even notes during a conversation with one of her male colleagues that it is “[b]etter [to] not alienate the lads any more than her

assignment had already done” (McDermid 2006: 110). Therefore, at least in *The Mermaids Singing* (1995), Carol repeatedly demonstrates submission in order to keep the goodwill of her male colleagues.

The same can be said for Carol’s interaction with more seasoned officers or some of her superiors. In the three novels analysed Carol has to come to terms with decisions of her superiors (i.e. Tom Cross, John Brandon and James Blake respectively), which she does not approve since they are, in her opinion, negatively affecting investigations of which she is a vital part of. However, Carol cannot readily voice her views without jeopardising her position as she is not yet in a position of power. When confronted with Cross’ stubbornness at the beginning of the murder investigation in *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) the following interaction takes place:

‘What the hell are you up to, woman? This is a murder scene. You don’t let any old Tom, Dick or Home Office penpusher walk all over it.’
Carol closed her eyes fractionally longer than a blink. Then she said in a voice whose cheerful tone astonished Tony, ‘Sir, Mr. Brandon brought Dr Hill with him. The ACC thinks Dr Hill can help us profile our killer.’
‘What d’you mean killer? How many times do I have to tell you? [...] You know what the trouble is with you fast-track graduates?’ Cross demanded, aggressively leaning towards Carol.
‘I’m sure you’ll tell me, sir,’ Carol said sweetly (McDermid 2006: 40f.).

Even though Carol is convinced from early on that a serial killer is on the loose in Bradfield and even though she suspects that Cross is wrong with his theory involving multiple culprits, she cannot openly tell him for fear of potential repercussions. Instead she has to play her part, show her submission despite her reservations and do as she is told by her immediate superior, who anyhow goes against Cross’ game plan. Similar situations are featured in *The Torment of Others* (2004) when Brandon, pressed for results, decides to set up an undercover operation, as well as in *The Retribution* (2011) when Blake, due to budgetary reasons, declares that only in-house profilers instead of Tony be consulted, which require Carol to comply with orders going against her better judgment. Notably, only in *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) Carol is treated with as much contempt by a higher ranking officer such as Cross, who rather openly makes his dislike for her clear. Despite his insensitive move in *The Torment of Others* (2004), Brandon thinks highly of Carol and openly voices his opinion on her capabilities declaring her “probably the best detective he’d ever had under his command” (McDermid

2005: 14). He trusts in her judgment as well as in her competences and consequently also supports her as regards her occupational development, as already outlined in the preceding section. More than once he puts her in charge of tasks which enable her to show that she has what it takes to do the job and hold higher positions as well, including her employment as liaison officer in *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) or her appointment as head of the MIT squad in *The Torment of Others* (2004). As noted in Holdaway and Parker (1998: 54f.) this is not necessarily often the case as usually men are preferably supported and mentored as opposed to women. However, in the given crime novels, Carol is presented with multiple opportunities to prove herself, which she does, leading to her ascent in the police hierarchy and consequently her improved position.

The articulation of gender and the workplace is abundantly obvious. Throughout her career Carol is repeatedly confronted with double standards successful women face in the workplace, even more so in male dominated professions. Rooted in dominant cultural beliefs, she has to deal with prejudiced attitudes and behaviour directed towards women, which not only affects her work environment at large but also her own attitude and behaviour on the job. This is to say that in order to be more readily accepted by her colleagues and to further succeed in her chosen profession, she adapts her general conduct in order to reconcile her gender identity with the stereotypically masculine identity of the police. Although this makes things easier for Carol, she is nonetheless confronted with a negative backlash as her attempt at conforming to these expectations violates cultural beliefs which characterise the stereotypical woman quite differently. It is to note that there are also exceptions to this. Although Carol is confronted with this and experiences various setbacks throughout her career, she, more importantly, also gains various supporters, which enables her to overcome some of these obstacles and move forward towards a more secure position, which consequently allows her to carry out her role with more freedom.

5.6.2. Dr. Tony Hill

Dr. Tony Hill is part of different occupational domains, as he exercises two different professions encompassing his role as a clinical psychologist in various health institutions and his role as a consultant profiler with Bradfield police. In

both professions Tony was able to establish a noteworthy reputation over the years, although his involvement with the police is not as stable a position as his position as a clinician for largely standing in contrast to the typical articulation of gender and this respective workplace.

In the beginning of *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) Tony is introduced as a successful clinical psychologist working for the Home Office. He is dedicated to his work and excels professionally, even though he struggles with certain parts of his profession, which are incompatible with his quirky personality, including socialising with fellow academics or giving academic presentations to a large audience as is already indicated in the first chapter of the novel:

Tony took a step backwards and savoured the applause, not because it was particularly enthusiastic, but because it signalled the end of the forty-five minutes he'd been dreading for weeks. Public speaking had always been firmly outside the boundaries of his comfort zone, so much so that he'd turned his back on an academic career after achieving his doctorate because he couldn't face the constant spectre of the lecture theatre (McDermid 2006: 15).

Despite his professional accomplishments, Tony is not interested in showing off his achievements or standing in the limelight. On the contrary, he prefers to keep out of the spotlight as much as possible. This is the case since, apart from dreading public speaking, Tony is not motivated by the prospective success his profession might entail. Rather, he finds his motives grounded in the hope that there is the possibility for change and rehabilitation for his patients. Furthermore, “[c]ompassion and empathy were the principles Tony had always tried to apply to his professional life” (McDermid 2012: 71).

As already outlined in the general character analysis and the analysis of the preceding domains, Tony is portrayed as a rather feminised character, which, apart from his personality, is also due to the more feminine nature of his profession as a clinician (in contrast to policing). However, the articulation of gender and Tony's work environment as a clinical psychologist is not as easily discernible as is the case regarding the articulation of gender with his work environment as a consultant profiler. Although portrayed in the novels to a certain extent, it is not featured as extensively as Tony's work with Bradfield police, where the articulation of gender with the workplace is without question noticeable. This is to say that, as already mentioned in the preceding analysis focusing on Carol, the

respective workplace is usually articulated with gender. As a result Tony, similar to Carol, experiences challenges during his work with the police. However, he is not discriminated against because of his gender but rather because of his status as an outsider, acting in a different professional role, and because, even though he is a man, he does not necessarily display stereotypically male attributes associated with policing as for his work as a clinician and consultant profiler other qualities are of relevance. Even though Tony is able to gain a good reputation throughout the police force in the course of time, in the beginning he is repeatedly confronted with scepticism and rejection. More seasoned officers as well as officers, who have not worked with him before, do not take him or his work seriously and reject the idea that something as vague as psychology can meaningfully contribute to a profession, which, in their opinion, should solely count on hard facts, as Tony reflects:

‘Motive,’ he said to a passing mallard. ‘That’s what separates psychologists from police officers. We can’t do without it. But they’re really not bothered. Just the facts, ma’am. That’s what they want. Forensic evidence, witnesses, stuff they think you can’t fake. But I’m really not at all bothered about the facts. Because facts are like views. They all depend on where you’re standing’ (McDermid 2012: 409).

In *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) this view is, for instance, portrayed via the character of Tom Cross, who continually sneers at Tony and his work. In *The Retribution* (2011) it is a character by the name of John Franklin, who “pretend[s] to have an open mind” (McDermid 2012: 275) when interacting with Tony but in the end does not trust in his professional expertise and prefers to stick with what he is accustomed to. Although Tony is initially brought in by one of their own, his position did not strengthen until he successfully worked on several investigations and contributed considerably to move them forward, allowing him to enjoy more credibility among his new colleagues. Notably, Tony too has to efface himself to a certain extent as he remarks to Carol on their first investigation that “It’s my job to cooperate with the police, not to undermine them” (McDermid 2006: 20). Thus, in order to successfully establish himself as a valuable asset, he has to mediate his ideas and make them appealing for the police so as to not alienate his new colleagues. Initially, Tony cannot openly voice his first thoughts on cases but has to formulate well-advised profiles, which more closely reflect the complexity of his working process. Carol is the only person with whom he can share his initial

theories and whom he can use to bounce off ideas, which further helps refine his speculations. In the course of the narrative, when Tony is finally accepted by the people he collaborates with on most investigations, his position is strengthened. Even though he does not conform to the typical concept of masculinity, he is valued for his unique skills and competences. The articulation of gender and the workplace is discernible in so far as it is conversely reflected in the way Tony is treated and positioned due to his incompatible more feminine attributes in combination with his different profession, which highlight the associated connection between policing and masculinity.

Altogether, as the analysis of the protagonists of the crime novels in question shows, there is a discernible articulation of gender and the workplace regarding the policing profession. This is reflected not only via the female protagonist, DCI Carol Jordan but also via the male protagonist, Dr. Tony Hill. Carol is affected by this articulation of gender and the workplace in various ways as predefined cultural beliefs about gender not only shape her colleagues' attitudes and behaviour towards her, but also force her to adapt her own attitudes and behaviour in order to gain acceptance and further to be able to succeed in her chosen profession. Notably, however, this does not keep her from being criticised. Even though she is conforming to the police' ideals in terms of what they want associated with their profession, Carol is, at the same time, violating dominant gender beliefs prescribing stereotypical femininity as acceptable in Western culture. Due to being confronted with these different and contradicting expectations, however only being able to meet one, Carol is confronted with a negative response from various sides as regards the different aspects of her work persona. In the beginning of the novels this is even more so the case as her position within the police force is not yet incorporating status, power or authority. In the course of the narrative, Carol is able to excel in her profession and climb up the hierarchical ladder despite the challenges she faces. Although this does not put a stop to prejudiced behaviour on the part of some her colleagues, it does assure her the respect of those she directly works with as they acknowledge her skills and competences. Further, it also contributes to improve her status as well as her credibility among her fellow police officers. Tony is affected by the articulation of gender and the workplace in a similar way. His personality contradicts dominant

gender beliefs as Tony is portrayed as a somewhat feminised character. Moreover, his profession as a clinical psychologist is based on different principles and it also uses a different set of skills for its working practice than the other work domain he is involved with. In his outsider role with a not distinctly male character and a profession quite contrary to policing, he too experiences discrimination – not because of his gender per se but because the representation of his gender identity does not wholly conform to what is culturally associated with masculinity. Therefore, he goes against the cultural articulation of gender and the respective workplace and thus makes it even more visible as he, as a man, is discriminated against due to attributes Western cultures usually associate with femininity.

6. Discussion

As can be deduced from the preceding analysis, gender is an important and recurring underlying theme in Val McDermid's crime fiction novels. It is not only implicitly addressed via the multifaceted depiction of the male and female protagonist of the series, DCI Carol Jordan and Dr. Tony Hill, as well as other noteworthy characters including the members of Carol's team or the perpetrators of the respective novels, but also via the presentation of different usually gender-articulated domains, which reflect dominant cultural beliefs about gender-appropriate behaviour. Additionally, the notion of gender or gender identity is sometimes also used as a significant element of the plot as is the case in *The Mermaids Singing* (1995) or also the latest novel of the series, *Splinter the Silence* (2015).

The general character analysis revealed that the protagonists of the novels address gender in so far as they are not necessarily portrayed as stereotypical representatives of their respective gender. Although they certainly display characteristics usually associated with men or women, they more importantly portray a wider range of attributes, which do not readily conform to dominant gender beliefs. Thus, they challenge the articulation of gender and cultural norms, which situate men and women on different ends of a spectrum. Carol is portrayed as a strong and independent woman, who, despite the challenges she is confronted with in the course of her career in a male dominated profession, further pursues her ambition to establish herself as a successful and well respected police woman.

In order to achieve her goal, she displays character traits, which are usually associated with the agency of men such as determination, strong-mindedness and ambition. Furthermore, she is often commended on her quick wit, intelligence and the ability to think on her feet. These qualities are emphasised as they are de facto prerequisites for Carol's profession, even more so since she is a woman and therefore has to be better than her male colleagues, who enjoy a different status due to their sex. Another notable quality is Carol's leadership personality, which yet again defies dominant gender beliefs. Even though Carol similarly displays character traits usually associated with women, such as emotionality, vulnerability or communality, she is not predominantly defined by these characteristics. In fact, she tries to not let these characteristics show too much, as they stand in contrast to what is expected of her work persona, which is the one counting most in Carol's conception of herself.

Tony, on the other hand, is portrayed with a different set of attributes altogether. In contrast to Carol's display of qualities predominantly associated with masculinity, Tony is characterised by attributes which are largely associated with femininity. He is overly intuitive and empathic. He is further described as insecure and afflicted with self-doubt. Additionally, he is portrayed as considerably less active and confrontational than Carol and thus incorporates a rather feminised role. On the contrary to Carol, who had to adapt her behaviour in order to better meet the expectations she is confronted with in her respective profession, Tony made use of his qualities as they were to excel in his professional field. In doing so, he, albeit being aware of the peculiarities of his behaviour, embraces his character, trying to make the most of what it offers him. Nonetheless, he also works on himself to grow personally by adapting to new contexts (including his involvement with Bradfield police as a consultant profiler and the resulting new found companionship with Carol), which require him to develop new skills and competences he was not initially equipped with. Altogether, Tony represents a multifaceted male protagonist, who challenges dominant gender beliefs as he is uncharacteristically defined by a multitude of stereotypically female qualities, which he, however, does not reject but embraces.

Summarising these findings for the first research question it can be said that the representation of gender by way of stereotypically male or female characters is not

featured in the respective crime novels, at least not as regards the protagonists. Rather the characters challenge dominant gender beliefs and show that masculinity as well as femininity are not mutually exclusive concepts but can and do beneficially complement each other in various ways. Although Carol and Tony are at times still necessarily influenced by dominant cultural beliefs affecting the contexts they are situated in, they are much more than what they ideally should be according to societal norms. They represent three-dimensional and multifaceted characters, which do not fit one particular gender category, labelling them as exclusively male or exclusively female. As already argued in one of the first sections of this paper, gender itself is a complex concept, which cannot be easily defined despite society's attempts to establish it as a binary concept. It is all the more intriguing to establish characters such as Carol and Tony, who further question this categorical differentiation.

Notably, it is not only the protagonists, who challenge dominant gender beliefs. They are further implicitly challenged via the representation of other characters such as some of Carol's team members as well as the perpetrators of the respective novels. Whereas one of the perpetrators, Jacko Vance, is portrayed as an unambivalently masculine character, the other two perpetrators, Angelica/Christopher Thorpe and Jan Shields, are presented in more ambiguous terms. The character of Angelica/Christopher quite obviously addresses the gender issue (as a transgender person) and more specifically raises the question as to what exactly constitutes a person's gender identity. Jan's character as well examines a similar issue, however, from a different, more abstract perspective by being constructed as a female character and yet mainly defined by qualities and motives which are usually associated with masculinity. On a different level, the role of gender is also addressed via the role both Angelica/Christopher and Jan occupy as violent sexual perpetrators, which is yet another atypical role assumed by women due to the cultural conception of stereotypical womanhood.

Apart from the general character analysis, which examined the representation of gender in rather broad terms, the articulation of gender with specific domains was also analysed. By critically examining the respective domains featured in the crime fiction novels with regard to the second research question, the culturally generated articulation of gender with 'emotional expression', 'relations of status, power and

authority' as well as 'the workplace' could be revealed, even though the characters were portrayed to mostly challenge these dominant cultural beliefs. In the domain of emotional expression the stereotypical gender roles were found to be reversed to a certain extent. Whereas Carol is depicted as a strong female character, who deals with her emotions in a different way to what is culturally expected, trying to repress them and trivialising their effect on her well-being, Tony is portrayed as the empathetic and intuitive character. Especially in the public sphere the difference could not be any greater. Carol, on the one hand, in order to establish herself as successful police officer and earn the respect of her male colleagues, has to hide her emotional involvement and instead rely on other, more analytical skills and competences. Tony's professional success, on the other hand, is based on his empathy and his understanding of the human mind. Although it is not always valued by the police, for whom he works as a consultant, it is the essence of his profession. In the private sphere as well, Carol and Tony are not equipped with stereotypical attributes usually associated with emotional expression. Carol tries to keep up the mask she so arduously constructed for work, further repressing her emotions and coping with them via drinking. Although she is depicted as vulnerable, dealing with emotional trauma of various sorts, she does ultimately not give in to these instances of victimisation but decides to fight back. Tony yet again is depicted in quite different terms: socially awkward and not able to establish personal relationships of any kind, Tony is portrayed as insecure and usually subordinate to the strong female characters in his life. His emotional workings are further highlighted in the form of his continuous self-reflection, which demonstrate once more the necessity of their importance as a central attribute of his personality.

Regarding relations of status, power and authority, the articulation with gender is even more apparent. Due to the cultural conception of what a woman should ideally be like in a patriarchal society, Carol is confronted with considerable challenges in her profession, reflecting the double standards women are confronted with when trying to overcome said beliefs. Throughout the novels it becomes clear that Carol is treated differently and held to different standards than her male colleagues. As for many women in other male-dominated professions, it is considerably harder for her to succeed in her chosen profession and thus acquire a

certain status, enabling her to yield authority and power, especially without drawing criticism from her male colleagues despite her qualifications and efforts to conform to police culture. Although Carol is able to climb up the hierarchical ladder and consequently hold a noteworthy status within the police force, her position is often questioned. She is confronted with insubordination on various levels, signalling once more the precarious situation women are confronted with in high level positions due to their violation of dominant gender beliefs. Tony as well is faced with difficulties during his work with the police, which regularly undermine his professional authority as a clinical psychologist and consultant profiler. Although at first glance this might not be directly related to gender, it can be argued that the feminised construction of Tony's character as well as the construction of his respective profession, which stands in contrast to the masculinity usually associated with policing, are implicitly the reasons for his outsider position. This serves to further demonstrate the existence of the articulation of gender with relations of status, power and authority with masculinity.

The last domain considered for the analysis links back to the other two domains aforementioned as it is generally closely linked to relations of status, power and authority and further affects how individuals behave (including their emotional expression) in the respective work context by usually enforcing cultural gender norms. By means of analysing this respective domain, the workplace, regarding the male and female protagonist of the novels, the existing articulation of gender and the workplace could be deduced also. The experiences both characters make in a dominantly masculine working environment, which enforces masculine norms and beliefs, see the role of femininity marginalised due to its supposed incompatibility with the respective profession. Even though Carol and Tony both challenge dominant gender beliefs, they are each still confronted with considerable challenges relating to issues based on gender, some of which are more explicit than others.

Even though the respective crime fiction novels reflect dominant cultural gender norms in different domains of everyday life, they, at the same time, challenge this very articulation by presenting characters, which, apart from their apparent non-conformity to cultural expectations regarding gender, try to challenge this

articulation and to some extent also succeed in doing so. Notably, this is not necessarily a straightforward process and includes multiple setbacks. Ultimately, however, through the characters of DCI Carol Jordan as well as Dr. Tony Hill, Val McDermid is able to draw attention to this crucial issue, which still affects society at large and process it accordingly.

7. Conclusion

The analysis presented in this paper examined the representation of gender in selected works of Scottish crime author Val McDermid. Thereby it focussed, on the one hand, on how gender is generally presented and constructed via the protagonists of the crime fiction novels and, on the other hand, on how the articulation of gender and three specific domains is portrayed throughout the narrative. Moreover, it examined how this in further consequence reflects dominant beliefs of contemporary society. Based on the information gathered via a close analysis of the three novels selected from McDermid's Tony Hill/Carol Jordan series, the analysis showed that the protagonists of the novels, DCI Carol Jordan and Dr. Tony Hill, as well as the perpetrators, Angelica/Christopher Thorpe, Jan Shields and Jacko Vance, did in most instances not readily conform to dominant gender norms, as hypothesised. Thereby the characters of DCI Carol Jordan and Dr. Tony Hill in particular present an interesting example for their practically interchanged roles. Regarding the articulation of gender and the domains in question, the analysis further revealed a discernible articulation, reflecting dominant cultural beliefs about gender and their affect on individuals in different contexts. It is to note that the novels not only presented this articulation as existing but also questioned and challenged it via the construction and development of its protagonists. Therefore, the complex issue of gender is repeatedly addressed in the course of the narrative, critically reflecting and, to a certain extent, also deconstructing its cultural conception in society at large by using characters, which do not conform to societal norms but challenge them. Even though it is not explicitly mediated, McDermid thus shows that gender plays an important role in multiple domains in society at large, often negatively affecting women as well as men, who do not conform to these beliefs. Hence, it can be deduced that with the portrayal of her protagonists McDermid calls attention to these beliefs and

challenges them, thereby establishing a more comprehensive concept of gender, which is not based on inequality and supposed differences.

As already noted, it has to be mentioned once more that the analysis presented in this paper focussed, for the most part, solely on the protagonists of the crime fiction novels. Even though this already yields a lot of useful information regarding the representation of gender as well as its articulation with specific domains, it would be interesting to further analyse other recurring characters in more detail, such as Carol's superiors or the members of her team, which in the present analysis were only used as a source to gather further information on the protagonists so as to keep the analysis clearly structured and to not transcend the scope of this paper. Furthermore, even though the context of all novels was considered, only three novels were more closely analysed and referred to in the course of the analysis in order to provide a concise yet not tedious overview of the protagonists' development regarding their character as well as their situation in the respective domains throughout the narrative. Even though this already covers a lot of ground, the analysis does not make any claims to completeness as it thus only focuses on a restricted number of aspects, which could be further used for an even more extensive analysis of the complex subject matter in question.

On a final note, it is also noteworthy to mention that it would certainly be interesting to further examine other works of crime fiction in order to investigate how the role of gender has been constructed in the course of time. Thereby, one could explore how male and female protagonists were portrayed throughout the narrative, what role/s they incorporated, whether they were stereotypical and how this reflected or challenged dominant gender beliefs of that time. In connection to this, one could also investigate the articulation of gender with specific domains, as the paper in hand has aimed to do, and draw conclusions regarding the societal construction of gender and whether it has changed in the course of time. The information gained by such an extensive analysis could be used further to compare and draw parallels between the respective works of crime fiction, which could lead to valuable insights regarding the construction of gender in society at large.

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9. Abstract

9.1. English abstract

The analysis presented in this paper investigates the representation of gender in selected works of Scottish crime author Val McDermid. Drawing on cultural conceptions of gender, the analysis explores the general construction of gender via the novels' protagonists as well as its articulation with specific domains, based on Stuart Hall's articulation theory. Focusing on these aspects, the analysis could show that despite the discernible articulation of gender and the respective domains, which reflects dominant societal beliefs, the non-stereotypical construction of the novels' protagonists, Carol Jordan and Tony Hill, encourages to challenge and reinterpret the dominant conception of gender as well as its socially predetermined articulation with the domains under consideration.

9.2. German abstract

Die Analyse, welche in dieser Diplomarbeit vorgestellt wird, beschäftigt sich mit der Repräsentation von Gender in ausgewählten Werken der Schottischen Krimi Autorin Val McDermid. In Anbetracht kulturell verbreiteter Konzeptionen von Gender, erforscht die Analyse angelehnt an Stuart Hall's Artikulationstheorie, die allgemeine Konstruktion von Gender anhand der Darstellung der Protagonisten der Tony Hill/Carol Jordan Buchreihe, sowie auch die Artikulation von Gender mit bestimmten Domänen. Hinsichtlich dieser Aspekte konnte die Analyse darstellen, dass trotz der erkennbaren Artikulation von Gender und den jeweiligen Domänen, welche insgesamt die vorherrschenden sozialen Vorstellungen widerspiegeln, die nicht stereotype Darstellung der Hauptcharaktere, Carol Jordan und Tony Hill, dazu beiträgt die verbreite Konzeption von Gender als auch dessen kulturell festgelegte Artikulation zu hinterfragen und neu zu interpretieren.