

Research Article

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**Gender intersectionality representation in “Boule de Suif”
by Guy de Maupassant**

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Abstract

Boule de Suif is considered one of the best short stories written by Guy de Maupassant. This study is based on a feminist perspective applying a narrative approach to provide an overview of the intersectionality of gender in Guy de Maupassant's narrative work, *The Boule de Suif*. Specifically, the narrative model was chosen as an approach that focuses on the individual stories of the characters within the work. Narrative identification is important for unraveling issues of gender intersectionality that arise in unequal phenomena. From the process of analysis, it is clear that the character Boule de Suif experiences the phenomenon of intersectionality of gender in the categories of gender, social class and identity in a situation of mutual support, trying to protect themselves from a violent war.

Keywords: Literature; gender intersectionality; narrative

1. Introduction

Gender inequality is still identified as an ongoing issue in various domains, both domestic and public, and continues to be fought for improvement with various solution ideas. Gender, as is known, is the distinction between the characteristics of women and men in a social perspective. This socially constructed distinction then often leads to the practice of inequality between the two genders, generally with women as the disadvantaged party, causing problems ranging from discomfort to rejection and rebellion.

According to one point of view, literary works are considered as representations of the contextual situations and conditions from which they are born. With the issue of gender inequality that continues to live in society, it is not uncommon for writers to focus on this gender phenomenon and emphasize it specifically in their works. Likewise, Guy de Maupassant, a 19th century French writer, raised the issue of inequality in his work *Boule de Suif* (dumpling or circle of fat), published on April 15/16, 1880. Set during the Franco-Prussian war (July 19, 1870 to January 28, 1871), the protagonist, whose nickname is used as the title, travels away from the Prussian-held city of Rouen with several others in a horse-drawn carriage to Dieppe. Throughout the narrative, the protagonist's real name is used only a few times and is more often narrated with a pejorative epithet which, when applied to human characteristics, means 'the fat one'. From these pejorative titles, we can get an idea of what kind of fate Maupassant has given to his main character. During the journey, Boule de Suif, who does various kindnesses and takes care of her traveling companions sincerely, is rewarded with various unpleasant treatments related to the fact that she is a woman and works as a call girl.

This first reading of one of Guy de Maupassant's monumental works raises some assumptions that the female gender inherent in it causes the main character to experience various inequalities throughout the long journey. By applying the narrative approach as a method that considers the focus on individual narrative aspects, it is hoped that clarity will be obtained regarding the phenomenon of gender inequality depicted in this story. Not only the depiction of the inequality experienced by Boule de Suif, the narrative method makes it possible to underline the various good deeds she did in order for the other passengers to correct the inequalities she received. It also underscores the incongruity of the common assumption that kindness will be rewarded, in this short story any good deed from Boule de Suif does not cause her traveling companions to reciprocate with the same good deed.

Thus, apart from being a methodological model, feminist, social class and identity theories and concepts will also be used as a theoretical starting point with the possibility of using other related theories as reinforcement. Due to the intersectional nature of the gender field, it is likely that to get a holistic-comprehensive understanding of a gender phenomenon, other concepts/theories that still intersect with feminism will be needed. This is in line with the opinion of Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991), the originator of the term intersectionality, that gender studies will almost certainly intersect with other studies such as biology, race, class, and others. This is what is called intersectionality. Intersectionality is also related to social location and power relations and experiences (Hankivsky, 2022) experienced by women specifically in a period of time. More details about the literature review and research methods will be elaborated in the next section of this proposal.

Intersectionality

This terminology was introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) with the understanding that perspectives in gender studies are not singular (Crenshaw 1991, Udasmoro, 2020). In her writing, Crenshaw emphasizes the intersection between race and gender issues. Also referred to as multidimensional discrimination, Majid (2020) states that intersections can also arise between ethnicity (tribe), religion, social class education and other domains in women's lives. Intersectionality is a way to conceptualize the relationship between oppressive systems that build identity (Udasmoro, 2020).

Further on intersectionality, Crenshaw (1991) points out that one of the domains that intersect with black women's gender, race, is an integral part of her life (as it is for women of any race). Instead of allowing the restrictive subordinate situation of being a black woman to overcome her, she can counter it by putting a dynamic perspective on understanding the unique situation of women (1991). The concrete-strategic step proposed by Crenshaw is to prioritize all intersecting domains. In the case exemplified by Crenshaw, the issues of racism and sexism faced by black women, prioritization cannot be done in one domain alone without including other domains. This is also the issue of culture and nature put forward by Arofah (2020). Understanding that women and men are naturally or naturally different, will lead to an understanding that this difference should not be a distinction in the realm of culture. Cultural distinctions based on the nature of women then cause conflicts whose resolution must include these two intersecting domains. Cultural distinctions based on the nature of women then lead to conflicts whose resolution must include these two intersecting spheres. The nurturing aspect is naturally a feminine characteristic, but this does not mean that women can only exist and be limited to the realm of nurturing. Culturally, women can also exist in the realm of decision-making and leadership, which are masculine characteristics. Similarly, men can also exist in the realm of nurture.

Hankivsky (2022) further elaborates that the intersectionality between social location and power relations (systems and structures) can create situations of privilege or vice versa oppressive situations. Social location in this article refers to race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality, geography, age,

disability as well as migration status and religion. In the classification of the categories just mentioned, there are still more specific classifications as can be seen in the following figure;



Figure 1. Intersectionality presented in a wheel diagram (Hankivsky, 2022: 6)

As with the elements of social location, not all contexts of intersectionality relating to power systems and structures, namely the government, political parties and conglomerates, laws, regulations, religious institutions and the media, will contribute to this research. The inclusion of concepts in the reading of phenomena is done selectively according to specific characteristics. In terms of the inclusion of this concept, the focus is on identifying the various causes of inequality oppressive.

The phenomenon of gender intersectionality is represented through the depiction of the characters in Guy de Maupassant's *Boule de Suif*. Boule de Suif, the main character, is said to be traveling with 9 (nine) other people on a horse-drawn carriage. The setting is during the Franco-Prussian war which historically took place from 1870 to 1871, and the passengers are trying to get away from Rouen, which has fallen into the hands of German troops, to Le Havre via Tôtes. The passengers consist of a democratic politician, a noble couple, a rich bourgeois couple, a simple bourgeois couple, 2 nuns and Boule de Suif, a call girl with high patriotic values who is forced to sacrifice her patriotism to help her traveling companions who ironically are not patriotic and cannot appreciate Boule de sacrifice.

In one of his best works, Maupassant places the main character in the intersectionality of sexuality that causes oppression. Based on the phenomenon described in this work, the author includes one more social location, namely profession. Thus, to further understand the phenomenon of intersectionality in Maupassant's work, a theory related to the understanding of these various social locations is needed. The theoretical framework needed to conduct a narrative intensive reading of *Boule de Suif* is described below.

Gender

Gender is the social roles, norms and behaviors associated with a person's sex in society. Biologically, gender is based on physiological anatomy and is distinguished between women and men. These biological differences lead to distinctions in the socio-cultural realm due to the influence of cultural, social and psychological factors. Gender then includes many things, including gender identity, gender expression, expected gender roles in society. Thus it can be understood that gender is

not a static state, but dynamic. Gender can change and adjust to the situation and conditions (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

This dynamic gender is in line with Butler's (1990: 9) opinion. Starting from Simone de Beauvoir's opinion in *Le Deuxième Sexe* (1949) that "On ne naît pas femme: on le devient" or 'one is not born female: one becomes female'. This 'becoming a woman' is socio-culturally constructed and thus there are two understandings, firstly that the body passively accepts this construction and behaves in a conformist manner; secondly that in the process of 'becoming' there is a dynamic choice. When socio-cultural constructions are attached to 'becoming', women can choose. And if the first choice does not suit her she can change it to make it more suitable. Even de Beauvoir's opinion can be interpreted that 'someone' may not be born biologically as a woman but then chooses to attach the female gender construction to herself because it is considered appropriate.

The above statement is to underline that gender cannot be interpreted in a fixed way, but rather to harmonize with the situation of the individual being discussed. In the case of *Boule de Suif*, the notion of gender used to read the narrative situation is that *Boule de Suif* is biologically born female and behaves and dresses normatively like a 19th century European woman.

Social Class or Social Status

Social class is a system of classification or division of society based on certain factors such as income, education, occupation, social status or wealth (Macioni & Plummer, 2005). Examples of social classes that are common in society are the upper class consisting of people who have fantastic wealth and are usually very powerful in society. Next is the middle class which consists of people who have stable jobs and incomes but do not fall into the fantastic category. Next is the lower class which consists of people with low incomes and often have less access to resources, facilities and opportunities. Social class can affect many things in a person's life, such as access to education, employment, health and justice.

Identity (Occupation)

Identity can be defined as the way a person defines himself or herself as a unique individual in society. Identity is a complex concept and encompasses various aspects including values, beliefs, culture, religion, gender, race, ethnicity, language and so on. Identity is not only determined by innate factors (heredity or gender), but also by other complex factors such as environment, life experiences, education, social influences. Like gender, identity is not a static state but can dynamically change and develop, in line with one's life experiences. Identity can also be seen from various other perspectives, such as individual, group or community. Identity from an individual perspective includes aspects that are unique to a person. Group identity includes aspects related to the social group to which a person belongs, while identity with a societal perspective includes aspects related to the culture and values adopted by a particular society (Jenkins, 2008). In a pluralistic and multicultural society, identities can be very complex and are often a potential source of conflict and misunderstanding between different groups. Therefore, understanding and respecting the identities of other individuals and groups is crucial to maintaining balance and diversity in society. In this research, the aspect of identity that receives oppressive behavior is the occupation or profession of *Boule de Suif*.

Various studies have been conducted on social phenomena with a focus on aspects of gender intersectionality. In Saputra and Qorimah's (2022) research on Wakatobi folklore entitled *Tua Tua Mia Wakatobi*, a female character is depicted who gets double oppression from a father who is also a king. Thus, when this father considers his daughter to have made a mistake, he is not only expelled from home but also imprisoned with a tight escort of palace soldiers. Aldeeb's (2018) research conducted a gynocritical-intersectional reading of a novel entitled *The Dove's Necklace* by Raja Alem, a feminist

writer from Mecca. The work that led Alem to become the first woman to win the International Award for fictional works in Arabic. The most correlative thing for this research is the intersectionality aspect of the work depicted through its female characters. Being born as women, they are oppressed by male family members; fathers who must be called Mr. by their mothers, and brothers who control their inheritance rights. In the realm of class, women are also opposed and eventually oppressed when they take part professionally and successfully and have economic power. The next research on literary works entitled *Oppression and Resistance of Intersectionality Women in the Short Story "Pohon Api"* by Oka Rusmini (2018) was conducted by Mustaqim who described his female character who experienced oppression in the form of discrimination and harassment. Oppression is carried out by her father who orders her to marry an old man whom she does not love. When she became his husband, the female character received oppression when her body was considered only as an object that gave birth to offspring for men.

Based on previous research, there are similarities in terms of gender intersectionality that leads to multi-sphere oppressive acts experienced by female characters in this literary work. Meanwhile, the novelty of this research corresponds to the narrative approach chosen to be applied in this research. Specifically, the narrative approach allows research to focus on the life story of an individual at a certain time and all the context that accompanies it with a mission to convey a certain message. Another thing is that most previous research was conducted on novels. The short story form of Guy de Maupassant's work does not hinder the delivery of important issues that deserve attention.

2. Methods

First of all, this research takes a qualitative form and as mentioned above, puts the life experience of individual characters as the focus, therefore the method chosen is narrative where the main source of all meaning of a value lies in the individual life experience of a human being, in this case as depicted in the literary work. Creswell and Poth (2018) describe the characteristics of narrative studies as follows: (1) Narrative research places the research domain on individual stories (and documents) that are raised to convey certain messages. (2) Narrative stories recount the experiences of individuals, and they can shed light on individuals' identities, how they see themselves and the life experiences they narrate. (3) Narrative stories take place in a particular place or situation. Temporality is important to the researcher's telling of the story within a place. Such contextual details may include descriptions of descriptions of physical, emotional, and social situations. (4) Narrative stories are collected through various forms of data, such as through interviews which may be the main form of data collection but also through observations, documents, pictures, etc. which are qualitative data sources. (5) Narrative stories are analyzed using a variety of strategies. Analysis can be made of what is being said (thematically), the nature of the storytelling (structurally), to whom the story is directed (dialogically/performance). Other options for analysis involve focusing on value, plot, significance, or mapping character and time. (6) Narrative stories are often transformed into chronological ones by the researcher, although they may include past or future storytelling. (7) Narrative stories often contain turning points or tensions as well as certain transitions or even interruptions that are highlighted by the researcher.

While the following are the stages involved in narrative research; (1) Beginning with the translation of the French work with the aim of not distracting the researcher from the language, the next step is to determine the problem or research question best suited to narrative research. Narrative research is best for capturing detailed stories or life experiences of a single individual. (2) Select one individual who has a story or life experience to tell. In this study, the focus was placed on Boule de Suif's lived experience while traveling away from the war site with several people (3) Include the context of the story into data collection, analysis, and writing. Researchers situate individuals' stories within their personal experiences (personal value, occupation/identity, home, etc.), their culture

(custom, stigma related to certain occupation/identity, etc.), and their historical context (time, place). Being context-sensitive is considered important for narrative studies. The context in which the research subject is placed in this study is specific to the conditions during the Franco-Prussian war experienced by Boule de Suif and the values she believed in, as well as her experience as a woman with a certain profession and social class having to interact with other characters of different gender and class. (4) Representing the story in a structured analysis with an introduction; telling the story to theorize about Boule de Suif's life, with narrative segments; and a final interpretation of the story's meaning (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

3. Results

The analysis of Guy de Maupassant's *Boule de Suif* using a feminist perspective, or more specifically - gender intersectionality - is carried out using the feminist-intersectionality theoretical framework with sub-variables; gender, social class and identity as described in Chapter II. Successively, the reporting of research results is described chronologically according to the narrative. The results are described by including a discussion in order to maintain the unity of the findings and their explanation.

3.1. Identity (Occupation)

Aussitôt qu'elle fut reconnue, des chuchotements coururent parmi les femmes honnêtes, et les mots de 'prostituée', de 'honte publique' furent chuchotés si haut qu'elle leva la tête. Alors elle promena sur ses voisins un regard tellement provocant et hardi qu'un grand silence aussitôt régna, et tout le monde baissa les yeux à l'exception de Loiseau (Maupassant, 1907: 19).

(As soon as she was recognized, whispers ran among the honest women, and the words 'prostitute' and 'public disgrace' were whispered so loudly that she raised her head. Then she gave her neighbors such a bold, provocative look that a great silence immediately reigned, and everyone lowered their eyes except Loiseau.)

Boule de Suif is a comfort woman. As soon as she is recognized, the woman in the carriage immediately shows condescending behavior by either inching her way out of the carriage or not.

Mais bientôt la conversation reprit entre les trois dames, que la présence de cette fille avait rendues subitement amies, presque intimes. (Maupassant, 1907 : 20)

(But soon the conversation resumed between the three ladies, whom the presence of this girl had made suddenly friendly, almost intimate.)

It indicates that they needed to distance themselves from the perpetrators of the profession, as well as by whispering occasionally at a volume audible to the others, "... prostitute..." The body language including facial expressions and comments made regarding the Boule de Suif's profession indicated that the women looked down upon and ostracized the person. While the reactions given by the men varied, some pretended not to care and some openly looked at the Boule de Suif with curiosity.

The different reactions given by women and men mainly occur instinctively and are reflexes. While women automatically perceive the profession as a threat to the men in their families, men instinctively have a greater interest and concern for sexual activity and thus for professions where sex is the primary professional activity.

Voyons, vous êtes bête, qu'est-ce que ça vous fait? Elle avait l'air indigné et répondit:
— *Non, mon cher, il y a des moments où ces choses-là ne se font pas; et puis, ici, ce serait une honte.* (Maupassant, 1907: 35)

(She looked indignant and replied:

- No, my dear, there are times when these things are not done; and then, here, it would be a disgrace...)

In the snippet of conversation between Cornudet and Boule de Suif who forced her way into Boule de Suif's room at the inn above, Cornudet asked while forcing Boule de Suif to comply with the German army officer's request. Cornudet does not see any justification for Boule de Suif to refuse, as accompanying men is a job or occupation that she has always done. Cornudet could see no reason why Boule de Suif would refuse this time.

On descendit le lendemain avec des visages fatigués et des cœurs exaspérés. Les femmes parlaient à peine à Boule de Suif. (Maupassant, 1907 : 45).

(We went down the next day with tired faces and exasperated hearts. The women barely spoke to Boule de Suif.)

There was a difference in the behavior of the other female passengers, who had begun to tolerate Boule de Suif for saving them all from starvation, and began to chat a little, back to being cold and almost not even greeting Boule de Suif who did not want to grant the German officer's request. Secretly, they even sided with the German officer who they thought had good manners and a decent face and physique.

3.2. Class

Et tous les trois se jetaient des coups d'œil rapides et amicaux. Bien que de conditions différentes, ils se sentaient frères par l'argent, de la grande franc-maçonnerie de ceux qui possèdent, qui font sonner de l'or en mettant la main dans la poche de leur culotte. (Maupassant, 1907 : 20)

(And the three of them exchanged quick, friendly glances. Although they were from different backgrounds, they felt like brothers in money, in the great Freemasonry of those who own, who make gold ring by putting their hand in their pants pocket.)

Passengers from middle and high social classes with strong financial means and established positions in their professions, quickly formed bonds of brotherhood. Their financial strength gave them a certain lifestyle that resonated with their attitudes, habits and how they behaved. They even showing discrimination to those that considered lower class and profession as shown in the below event;

Aussitôt qu'elle fut reconnue, des chuchotements coururent parmi les femmes honnêtes, et les mots de " prostituée ", de " honte publique " furent chuchotés si haut qu'elle leva la tête. Alors elle promena sur ses voisins un regard tellement provocant et hardi qu'un grand silence aussitôt régna, et tout le monde baissa les yeux à l'exception de Loiseau, qui la guettait d'un air émoussillé. Mais bientôt la conversation reprit entre les trois dames, que la présence de cette fille avait rendues subitement amies, presque intimes. Elles devaient faire, leur semblait-il, comme un faisceau de leurs dignités d'épouses en face de cette vendue

sans vergogne; car l'amour légal le prend toujours de haut avec son libre confrère.
(Maupassant, 1907)

(As soon as she was recognized the respectable matrons of the party began to whisper among themselves, and the words "hussy" and "public scandal" were uttered so loudly that Boule de Suif raised her head. She forthwith cast such a challenging, bold look at her neighbors that a sudden silence fell on the company, and all lowered their eyes, with the exception of Loiseau, who watched her with evident interest. But conversation was soon resumed among the three ladies, whom the presence of this girl had suddenly drawn together in the bonds of friendship—one might almost say in those of intimacy. They decided that they ought to combine, as it were, in their dignity as wives in face of this shameless hussy; for legitimized love always despises its easygoing fellow.)

In the phrase “Aussitôt qu'elle fut reconnue, des chuchotements coururent parmi les femmes honnêtes, et les mots de "prostituée", de "honte publique" furent chuchotés si haut qu'elle leva la tête.” shows that Boule de Suif realizes that she is being discussed with the disrespectful labels "prostituée" and "honte publique". In addition, the people who were talking about Boule de Suif (the other 3 female passengers), although initially a little speechless by Boule de Suif's valiant reaction, soon showed more and more of their affinity, showing that they were of a different class to Boule de Suif. Despite the fact that Madame and Monsieur Loiseau also have a bad reputation, as sellers of poor-quality wine, they are still considered classmates and equals. In fact, they regard Monsieur Loiseau as "Il est impayable, ce Loiseau." or a priceless man. Boule de Suif's discriminated position in this situation is being underlined in feminism which conceptualizing intersectionality based on anti-discrimination and social justice. As such, intersectionality is often described as a process of othering rather than being understood as a way of critiquing all formations of identity, including hegemonic ones (Saputra & Qarimah, 2022: 230). The fact that this part of narrative included in two different classifications shows the intersection of the oppressive-discriminative situation Boule de Suif in.

3.3. Gender

The gender-related oppressive phenomenon experienced by Boule de Suif is not specific but interrelated and intersectioned. In the following passage, Maupassant illustrates that Boule de Suif's oppressive situation is firstly because she is a woman and secondly because she works as a call girl. Meanwhile, in terms of the context of power systems and structures, Boule de Suif's location is as a citizen of a country that is at war with another country and is on the losing side. Thus, the domination of power lies with Germany and its soldiers who control the French territory that is the setting of the narrative.

Le comte s'approcha:

— Vous avez tort, madame, car votre refus peut amener des difficultés considérables, non seulement pour vous, mais même pour tous vos compagnons. Il ne faut jamais résister aux gens qui sont les plus forts. Cette démarche assurément ne peut présenter aucun danger; c'est sans doute pour quelque formalité oubliée.

Tout le monde se joignit à lui, on la pria, on la pressa, on la sermonna, et l'on finit par la convaincre; car tous redoutaient les complications qui pourraient résulter d'un coup de tête. Elle dit enfin: ... (Maupassant, 1907: 31)

(The Count approached:

- You are wrong, madame, for your refusal could lead to considerable difficulties, not only for you, but even for all your companions. You must never resist those who are the strongest. Surely this step can present no danger; it's undoubtedly for some forgotten formality.

Everyone joined in, begging her, urging her, lecturing her, and finally convincing her, for they all feared the complications that might result from a sudden impulse. At last she said...)

As explained earlier, an oppressive situation with speculation as the trigger, has a causal factor that is not of singular nature, and can even intersect and overlap with various domains.

In the situation above, the group of refugees fleeing Paris had reached Tôtes, and stopped at an inn. Tôtes had already fallen and was under German occupation. Thus, the inn where Boule de Suif and her companions were staying was filled with German soldiers. Boule de Suif and her party were detained at the inn. Not only Boule de Suif (and her compagnon, the fellow refugees) is dominated by the German troops occupying the inn, she is also oppressed and cornered by men and women of the same citizenship, the losing side in the war. In this perspective, Boule de Suif, mentioned by Cnockaert (2013) in his study, placed in the position of 'the other' by other passengers.

*Loiseau, furibond, voulait livrer " cette misérable " pieds et liés, à l'ennemi. Mais le comte, issu de trois générations d'ambassadeurs, et doué d'un physique de diplomate, était partisan de l'habileté: " Il faudrait la décider ", — dit-il.
Alors on conspira. (Maupassant, 1907: 47)*

(Loiseau, furious, wanted to deliver "this wretch", bound hand and foot, to the enemy. But the Count, the product of three generations of ambassadors, and gifted with the physique of a diplomat, was in favor of skill: "We'll have to decide," he said. So they conspired.)

This time Loiseau actually points to the female gender of Boule de Suif by calling her "cette misérable" (emphasis mine) which translated with same word in English as 'this miserable woman'. The adjective 'woman' comes from gendered adjective 'cette' that directed to feminine gender. Boule de Suif maintains her patriotic spirit but alas appreciated, she is condemned by the other passengers as the sole reason they all cannot continue their journey. With a few exceptions, Cornudet, who although initially thought the same as the other passengers, that it should be okay for Boule de Suif to fulfill the German officer's request because it was her profession, eventually came to understand the patriotic value that Boule de Suif maintained. It is an oppressive situation when someone is forced to do something against their will, even if it is also their professional activity. This situation would not be occurred if Boule de Suif is of different gender (a man). It is as if she has no right to a voice, not even a voice for their own body (Saputra & Qarimah, 2022).

Maupassant ends his short story melancholically, the train continues its journey to Havre thanks to Boule de Suif's sacrifice, with the savior sobbing to herself. French women are portrayed as highly patriotic in the Franco-Prussian war, which was indeed a significant moment for the women's movement. With the self-definition that they were also French citizens, despite not having the right to vote (at that time), they came out of the domestic sphere to actively contribute, providing assistance where needed, in the public sphere, a sphere usually dominated by men (Looft, 2017: 53; Darrow, 2008: 167). Thus as a French woman, Boule de Suif's patriotic spirit was also very strong, and her sacrifices hit hard at the values she upheld. What hurt her the most was that her sacrifice was not

appreciated by her traveling companions. Their attitude didn't change, they still looked down on Boule de Suif, they didn't even offer her the food and drink they brought as provisions.

5. Conclusions

Gender inequality is still an issue in various domains of daily life, both personal and professional, both domestic and public. This real thing has encouraged the research team to put it as the focus of the study with the following results; (1) The oppression described as experienced by the main character from the time her nickname was made the title by Guy de Maupassant until the end of the story is a denial of identity and thus the position of the main character becomes unequal or inequal (2) The inequal position formed causes various actions, situations and oppressive experiences of the main character (3) The causes of the actions, situations and oppressive experiences of the main character are never single but always intertwined with other social locations and even with the system / power structure where interactions occur

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