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Reorienting Everydayness: Social Performances of Female Parisians in Émile Zola's *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir*

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Declaration

I, Wassachol Sirichanthanun, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "Reorienting Everydayness: Social Performances of Female Parisians in Émile Zola's *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir*", submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within this text of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the bibliography.

I declare that the written (printed and bound) and the electronic copy of the submitted MA thesis are identical.

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Abstract

Grand concepts regarding capitalism, consumerism, and class consciousness have been the leading trends in the field of social history for decades. The common people such as the protagonists of Émile Zola's *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir* have a part in preserving their culture and social reality, as well as projecting such things into the future. However, many scholars are more interested in analyzing the social structure and the influences of the above-mentioned grand concepts on the nineteenth-century French society.

Hence, I attempt to study performative behaviors in the everydayness of the two female Parisians in relation to the cultural stimuli embedded in their social settings. To interpret their performances, I combine Erving Goffman's dramaturgy analysis with the verb-oriented method, coined and used by the researchers of the Gender and Work project at Uppsala University. Despite that both methods have only been used to study common people's everyday practices in reality, it is also possible to use them to study those practices in fictional texts.

After applying both methods to the data, the interpretation is that the social performances of the two protagonists for the most part were stimulated by culture-based concepts: social values, division of labor, and violation of rights. In addition, even though the verb phrases related to male characters are not included in the dataset, their influential roles are still evident. This observation implies that gender is another motivation behind the social performances of the two female protagonists.

Keywords: *Émile Zola, The Ladies' Paradise, L'Assommoir, social performance, performative turn, verb-oriented method, nineteenth-century Paris*

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Introduction

Émile Zola (1840-1902) is the author of *Les Rougon-Macquart*, a series of 20 novels based on the lives of one family member of several generations. He became one of the most significant novelists in nineteenth-century France, having identified himself as a pioneer and a part of Naturalist movement. In this sense, Zola's Naturalism refers to the style of fictional writings in which the authors aim to observe, describe, and represent the environment people live in and the social changes people experience without judgment. Moreover, Zola and other Naturalist authors believe in the impact genetics has on human beings and their behaviors[1], reflecting the reason why all characters in *Les Rougon-Macquart* series are genetically related. The characters lived far away from one another and encountered different social problems in various settings e.g. coal mine in the north of France in *Germinal*, rural farm in the center of France in *La Terre*, and urban Paris in *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir*, which are the main object of study in this thesis.

Apart from my interest in women's everyday practices and Zola's works in general, I decided to work with these two novels because both protagonists are of the same gender, live in urban Paris, and seem to be a part of socio-cultural institutions as unaccounted individuals who do not have the power to make any change to major events or social structure at large. In Zola's view, these individuals are lacked of autonomy and self-determination since their destinies are predetermined by their genetics and environments. Concerning this notion, this thesis would suggest that genetics and material settings are not as influential as social settings which usually have other socio-cultural concepts embedded. I hereby argue that to study the social performances of the female protagonists, socio-cultural concepts could possibly take us further than politico-economic concepts that usually lead us to the widely accepted conclusion about grand events in that specific time period.

Since both protagonists were working women living among male characters who influenced their course of actions, I am curious about how they live their everyday lives, what are their coping strategies, and how they acknowledge their everydayness. I especially interested in the protagonists as the subject that concurrently carried out verb phrases, not

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[1] Émile Zola, "Introduction," in *The Ladies' Paradise*, trans. Brian Nelson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), vii.

the object used merely as a tool to promote the notion of genetics and the impact of material settings. I also consider the protagonists a reflection of human being since they bear some similarities with Zola and the readers and vice versa.

Apart from studying the protagonists' social performances, another objective of this thesis is to carry out an experiment by applying a historical research method, that is the verb-oriented method, to the interpretation of fictional writings in order to add up other aspects to people's perceptions of the real world. Because of the distance between history and fictional writings, the acknowledgment of history makes us understand fictional writings better, and the analysis of fictional writings allows us to see the reality from another dimension. Moreover, this experiment is also an attempt to combine literary criticism and social history with a hope to come up with new findings.

In conclusion, I divided the text into four chapters to achieve the goals: (1) theoretical background, laying the foundation about social history, performative turn, Erving Goffman's dramaturgy analysis, and the verb oriented method; (2) historical context, discussing the material settings that are one of the main actors of both novels; (3) data presentation, accumulating the verb phrases that were collected and categorized and; (4) qualitative interpretation, utilizing the data in the dataset as a springboard to scrutinize a number of all-embracing socio-cultural concepts that stimulated the social performances of the two female protagonists in both novels.

Chapter 1
Theoretical Background

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the idea of 'work' has usually been scrutinized by many theorists through the lens of Historical Materialism and eventually Marxism. The general sense of 'work' is profoundly affected by the concept of capital and labor, that is, workers labor for capitalists to gain money and make a living. On the other hand, work is also perceived by another group of academics as a set of everyday practices and performances. According to the interpretation in this thesis, workers seem to carry out their daily tasks to pursue social values rather than economic ones.

Therefore, if the wants to meet certain social values determine a person's decision to work, we could possibly come to an argument that the historical turn might not be an ultimate approach to the analysis of social reality and human behaviors. In this chapter, I would like to suggest that the performative turn might be another plausible approach that could explain working as a 'performance', that is, individual's actions take place in particular 'settings' such as workplaces, workshops and neighborhoods, and in front of 'audiences' such as bosses, customers, colleagues, and neighbors.

However, before we explore people's performances in this thesis, it is essential to look at preceding turns in the study of social history that inform the development of the performative turn and the theory of Erving Goffman, the main advocate of the turn, in relation to the verb-oriented method first coined by the Gender and Work project at Uppsala University.

I.   Social history and performative turn

Choosing between historical and cultural turn has never been straightforward for researchers. In 1995, Patrick Joyce's article entitled "The end of social history?" was published in the Journal of Social History. Joyce argued that 'social history,' as being widely studied during the time, whereas class structure, Marxist theory, and historical materialism were the main constituents of the analysis and criticism of 'society', were simply dead. As an advocate of post-modernism, Joyce renounced this modernist

worldview as narrow and obsolete and called out to all historians not to look at history as such but focus on the 'representation of history' instead.[2]

A few months later, Geoff Eley and Keith Nield published a striking article reprimanding Joyce's stance in the same journal. The article is called "Starting over: the present, the post-modern and the moment of social history". While Joyce stood firm on his ground, Eley and Nield confronted him criticizing that he was shallow and lacked insight into the definitions of Marxism. The two claimed that Joyce did not offer any alternatives or any practical postmodernist ways of acquiring the gist of history, nor did he illuminate the 'representation of history' that he previously mentioned in the article.

However, Joyce's greatest error, in Eley and Nield's view, is that he looked at Marxism as a single discourse while the two considered it as a plural discourse—a flawless prism. The worldview that there is only one explanation to Marxism could be seen as a "negligence" [3] of possibilities. This negligence, Eley and Nield argued, blinded him from seeing the "obsolete" historical turn as necessary and beneficial to the study of social history. They claimed that even though historians whose perspectives were different from Joyce were not to blame, Marxism still did not simply fall into the gap of time as it never existed.[4] This is only one of the countless quarrels in academia regarding the old and the new social history during the last three decades of the twentieth century. The clash was later known in academia as the cultural turn.

However, before we investigate how the cultural turn had shaped and changed the way social historians look at society, it might be useful to remind ourselves that social history is not only the study of the macro-history of societies or economic systems, but also the micro-history of their citizens, the common people.

First of all, the fact that political history possesses a vast area of historical studies and determines how people perceive history in general are the results of the denial of the potential of common people's actions and practices in transforming their social landscape. Political history as the study of power relations often suggests that only monumental political events or people of authority can dictate the future of a state and its counterparts. At the same time, these people are not only the objects of study, but they are also the ones

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[2] Patrick Joyce, "The End of Social History?," *Social History* 20, no. 1 (1995): 73-91, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4286248.
[3] Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, "Starting Over: The Present, the Post-Modern and the Moment of Social History," *Social History* 20, no. 3 (1995): 357, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4286297.
[4] Ibid.

who have the actual power to underline their importance in history. Examining social history from the point of the common people, therefore, appear as an alternative to the mainstream approach of historical studies in general.

The principle of social history from the point if the common people as widely acknowledged is the study of everyday life and everyday practices of the common population. But what are the actions that we can count as practices? What is the criteria that we can use to determine which practices are significant enough to be investigated? These two questions lead to the conceptualization of social history.

Professor of History at the University of Manchester John Breuilly argued that social history is an evolutionary principle; since the principle originated in the 1960s its definition has always been transformed by criticism and debate in academia.[5] Breuilly argued that there are three main conceptions of social history. These conceptions, as simple as they are, paved the way to the understanding of the historical turn in opposition to the cultural turn. According to Breuilly, the first conception is that social history equals "residual history of assorted activities,"[6] encompassing specific activities and practices of the common people that are not directly associated with economic situations, political landscapes, power structures, wars or ideologies. In other words, the first conception is the study of objects and how they reflect a society, but not how they transform it.

By comparison, the second conception, based on the belief that society is the main subject of study while economics, politics, wars and ideologies, are the lenses in which historians use to look at society at large. Therefore, this conception can be called "societal history" or "history of society"[7]. This conception, however, has a drawback; historians may come up with the concept of an agricultural society, an industrial society, or an urban society while abandoning society as such. Hence, society in this regard became mode of production.

"The history of social experience"[8] is Breuilly's third conception of social history. This conception is not the study of society as a whole, but the study of experiences of individuals in the society, which often assembled into a group of people who have similar or even equivalent identity. The identity derives from individual experiences under or

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[5] "What is Social History?," History Today, accessed April 1, 2018, http://www.historytoday.com/raphael-samuel/what-social-history.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

outside of their roles. This conception also has a pitfall: when we focus on the role of an individual and the fact that he usually responds to or, to some extent, attacks his agency or the institution that assigns his roles, the aim of the study will shift from social roles of individuals to their psychological state or self-identification. This conception of social history had shed a light on cultural turn, which was considered progressive after the discussions in the last three decades of the twentieth century. By embracing this new approach and challenging the old one, the prestigious status of Marxist theory, social class, and social structure were at stake. Cultural turn proposed a new perspective; while the advocates of historical turn believe that one's practice is the 'end product' of one's assigned status in a fixed social structure under agencies or mode of production, the advocates of cultural turn believe that one's status and the social structure is the 'end product' of one's practices.

This new approach paved a way to the concept of impression management the sociologist Erving Goffman (1922-1982) presented in his important work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1956). Unlike old social historians, Goffman as a sociologist pressed on the concept of social interaction whereas two people encounter face-to-face. The first person will try to acquire information about the other person in order to, in Goffman's words, *gauge* the situation. Then, he will react in the way that creates as little embarrassment as possible. Meanwhile, the other person will act in the way he or she wishes to be perceived in order to, also in his words, *control* the situation. Social interaction in this sense can be counted as 'performances'.

To be more specific, the writer of "Performing History: The Importance of Occasions" Peter Burke argued that performances are always scripted but not necessarily by the performers themselves.[9] Hence, a person cannot choose the plot but act accordingly as if plotted. Plus, he wrote that these performances can be considered as collective behaviors of different social groups, which will eventually form their collective identity.[10]

The nature of this interdisciplinary approach, which had been widely accepted in the last decades of the twentieth century, confirms the possibility of using performative turn as the main method in this cross-disciplinary thesis. I would like to refer to and adopt Goffman's dramaturgy analysis to prove the potentiality of performative turn in explaining

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[9] Peter Burke, "Performing History: The Importance of Occasions," *The Journal of Theory and Practice* 9, no.1 (2005): 35-52.
[10] Ibid.

work as a performance that will eventually create a social phenomenon in Émile Zola's novels *The Ladies Paradise* and *L'Assommoir*.

II.   Erving Goffman's social reality in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*

Erving Goffman did not write authentic and perplexing proses in order to confuse the readers, but the American sociologist had the ability and contention to, at the end of each section of his writings, make sense of all the traps he had laid down in front of us to reveal the centrality of his idea and allow us to step into the social reality he has created. Entering his social reality, we almost feel like being one of the actors in his theatrical play, that is a metaphorical representation of society not as an organized system but a stage. The idea of emphasizing the word 'actors' and 'play' is not at all foreign in sociology, anthropology, psychology or history. As a matter of fact, it is even more essential in the writings of advocates of performative turn such as Victor Turner, Kenneth Burke, and Erving Goffman.

Concerning Goffman, Black Hawk Hancock and Roberta Garner drew on several interpretations of his concepts as being coherent with 'postmodern theorizing', and considered him "an early exponent of the postmodern discovery that everything is shifting, fragmentary, performed, and perspectival."[11] Apart from *Stigma*, *Asylums*, and *Behavior in Public Places*, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* is unarguably one of Goffman's most influential books and it has influenced the study of human behaviors on quite a large scale during the mid-twentieth century. On the one hand, several mid-twentieth-century sociologists and thinkers such as Max Weber, Charles Wright Mills, and Daniel Bell had their sociological researches on human's self-conceptualization and self-presentation stemmed from Marxist theory and Institutionalism. On the other hand, Goffman's *The Presentation* is based on his well-known dramaturgy analysis of different cultural norms that were instilled in the consciousness of each member of the communities he therein empirically conducted his ethnographic researches.[12]

In *The Presentation*, he referred to several elements of theatrical play such as actors, performers, props, costumes, events, and audiences. He also used the process behind

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[11] Black Hawk Hancock and Roberta Garner, "Erving Goffman: Theorizing the Self in the Age of Advanced Consumer Capitalism," *Journal for the theory of Social Behavior* 45, no.2 (2014): 167, https://doi.org/10.1111/jtsb.12062.
[12] David Shulman, *The Presentation of Self in Contemporary Social Life*. (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2017), 80.

theatre-making like scriptwriting, directing, and rehearsing to explain performances of a person both as an individual, who acknowledges one's place in the society and one's autonomy, and a team. By 'team', he means "a grouping not in relation to a social structure or social organization but rather in relation to an interaction or series of interactions in which the relevant definition of the situation is maintained."[13] In this sense, person's performance are always "socialized, molded, and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society in which it is presented."[14] Therefore, he or she will play the roles they want, perform in the way they want to be received in those settings,[15] and "tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society."[16] In other words, Marxism-influenced theorists argued that an individual's self-identification and autonomy will be destroyed when he or she is suppressed by social conditions. According to Goffman, the fact that an individual considers oneself as a social member and adopts dramaturgical strategies to perform their everyday practices points that this mechanism of socialization is operating under the new conception of history.[17]

To describe the mechanism of socialization or social interaction, Goffman argued that there are at least three categories of sign vehicles that a person uses to represent his or her character on the front stages, that is, the place "behind which actors gathered their egotistical resources and upon which they displayed the 'standardized expressive equipment' necessary to gain results."[18] The first category of sign vehicles is 'setting', including props, furniture, spaces, and events. The second one is 'appearance', including sex, age, body size, and costume. The last one is 'manner', including posture, facial expression, gesture, and speech. On the other hand, back stage is where one performs in front of a very small number of audiences or does not perform in front of any audience but still interacts with oneself as if he is being watched.

The speculation that person's self-presentation on front stage and back stage often differs leads to Goffman's statement in *The Presentation* that human is not simply a person but persons. Efrat Tseëlon wrote accordingly that Goffman's actor "has no interior or

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[13] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. (London: Penguin Books, 1990),104.
[14] Ibid, 35.
[15] Simon Gunn, 2001
[16] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, 35.
[17] Hancock and Garner, "Erving Goffman: Theorizing the Self in the Age of Advanced Consumer Capitalism," 183.
[18] Jeffrey C. Alexander, *Performance and Power*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), 13.

exterior"[19] since "s/he has a different repertoire of 'faces' each activated in front of a different audience, for the purpose of creating and maintaining the definition of a situation."[20] Thus, one does not need to be a liar to pertain to many roles and choose to play the role that suits particular occasion in order to create or maintain self-image and avoid embarrassment that usually turns up in social interaction, which is a face-to-face interaction between two enterprises that takes place both on front stage and back stage. To avoid embarrassment as said, Goffman explained that a person will learn to use impression management, which is his thesis in *The Presentation*, as a survival strategy when he or she engages in a social interaction. Impression is generally and widely understood as feelings and inner thoughts toward various stimuli in the society. Impressions are always repressed and unexposed up until the point that a person decides to express and act, either intentionally or unintentionally, in a social interaction.

III.   Practices in everyday life and the verb-oriented method

To begin with, many scholars in old social history and social studies tend to scale down the results of the complicated development of history into a mere consequence of grand events. However, they overlooked the small details of everyday life, which in fact directly affect the lives of millions and play a huge role in releasing the trigger of the coming phase of history. Even the claim that grand events is the cause of social dynamics has become epidemic, it does not necessarily mean that grand events alone can determine the way individuals choose to perform in their everyday life.

There were a number of mid twentieth-century sociologists who studied people's performances in everyday life exhaustively without treating grand event as a downright causation. Many of them explain everyday life as a framework for the understanding of enormous social institution, which consists of smaller institutions like couples, families, communities, societies, cities, and eventually nations. For instance, the legendary German sociologist Jürgen Habermas came up with the concept of 'lifeworld' (*Lebenswelt*), which is "the space within a person's reach, which includes the allocation of time to the *performance* of the daily routine; as well as of the social, which, beginning with reference

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[19] Efrat Tseëlon, "Is the presented self sincere? Goffman, impression management and the Postmodern Self. *Theory*," *Culture & Society 9* (1992): 116.
[20] Ibid.

groups and the family, extends to the community, the nation, and world society."[21] Meanwhile in the USA, George Herbert Mead also studied everyday life and concentrated on human relations, describing "how the self is formed in family interaction and broadens to fit into the rule-governed games that make up social life."[22]

Moreover, everyday life itself allows researchers to delve into the field of study from various perspective that many sociologists "approach the domain of the everyday as a *focus* of interest that is basically indifferent to the macro-dynamics which frame all fields of sociological interest."[23] Considering this argument as the point of departure, we may see that Goffman is among the sociologists who look at everyday life from another perspective, adopting the dramaturgical framework in order to suggest that performances 'frame all fields of sociological interest.' While some sociologists believe that society changes drastically because of the new economic system and the rising of capital power, for instance, Goffman believes that a society changes because of the cultural impacts that affect their everyday practices. The practices are human activities, which are rendered in a similar manner and under a similar circumstance somewhat repetitively[24], so repetitive that one may feel like certain kinds of activities have become a necessary part of his or her everydayness.

Apart from the mid-twentieth-century sociologists previously mentioned, we may find that there are many social historians in the twentieth-first century who still study people's everyday life. Led by Professor of History Maria Ågren, the Gender and Work research and digitization project at the Department of History at Uppsala University, Sweden, is one of the research groups that treats everyday life as 'a *focus* of interest' and at the same time does not abandon other factors that influenced people's practices in everyday life. Their main research method is the verb-oriented method, which was inspired by the method that Professor of Economic History at the University of Cambridge Sheilagh Ogilvie used in her book *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany*, where she inspected verb phrases in her selected materials and analyzed those phrases. The Gender and Work researchers decided to develop Ogilvie's method and called it the verb-oriented method for the first time in their book *Making a Living, Making*

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[21] Devorah Kalekin-Fishman, "Sociology of everyday life," *Current Sociology Review* 61, no.5-6 (2013): 716, http://doi.org/10.1177/0011392113482112.
[22] Ibid, 717.
[23] Ibid, 718.
[24] Ibid, 719.

a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society, which is the culminative result of their decade-long study.

To apply the method, which is the combination of quantitative and qualitative research, the researchers work with both statistics from the Gender and Work database, which contains more than twenty thousand verb phrases collected from court cases, petitions, letters, and diaries, and varieties of interpretations of the verb phrases. By interpreting the verb phrases, the researchers link a task with the person who did that task to identify the work pattern as well as social interaction that take place between the actors. The qualitative aspect of the research is also present in the book; the writers told many stories regarding 'work' as everyday practices alongside the detailed description of residence and working venue where those practices took place. For instance, in the first chapter, the writers wrote about the origin of Swedish worker Erik Svensson and explain in detail what he did as a 'helper' (*hantlangare*) in a manor house in Södermanland, not far from Stockholm. The story implies that assigned positions, or occupational titles as usually referred to in Swedish history, cannot tell what kind of tasks one performs. In contrast, verb phrases can reveal the basics of the tasks, the characteristics of the working venues, and the power relation between the ones who take orders and the ones who received orders, etcetera.

Based on the collection, categorization, interpretation of verb phrases, and case studies, the method had eventually disclosed what Swedish people in the early modern period did for a living. The results that the researchers had acquired proved the two-supporter model against the male-breadwinner model, which means both men and women work to maintain households. They also suggested that there was no separate sphere between the two sexes during early modern period. This statement does not indicate that men and women in the past could equally enter both private and public sphere since the boundary between both spheres had collided, but rather implies that both spheres did not exist at all. Therefore, the researchers argued that sex did not determine their everyday activities and social status as much as age, marital status, and household position. For example, they found out that married and ever-married women had higher social status than single women, and not only women but also men usually benefitted from marriage. Upon learning about the verb-oriented method and its results, it is exhilarating to promote the study of everyday practices, not to take for granted the generalized idea that common

people's practices are determined by one factor alone, no matter which factor it is, and not to believe that those practices have singular meaning. *Making a Living* and the Gender and Work project itself suggested that a more thorough study of everyday practices can reveal several meanings to action and interaction depending on one's interpretation.

In many cases, including the interpretation of the main female characters' social performances in *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir* in this thesis, person's everyday practices become his/her decisions to act or not to act 'in order to' achieve certain wants or desires.[25] Through the study of everyday practices, one realizes the power of oneself in constructing the meaning and delivering statements concerning their self-actualization and, therefore, become an active citizen. However, it should not be confused that every single individual is automatically counted as an active citizen; what defines active citizens is the action performed under decision and determination of individuals, not the collective identity that is forced-imprinted on them. In a narrower sense, a more plausible way to count someone as an active citizen when studying a text is to concentrate on 'verbs' (actions) instead of 'subjects' (persons). By analyzing verbs, we are also allowed to see several patterns of common people's everyday practices and many external factors—often consequential effects of grand events, undeniably—that gradually change those patterns. In other words, grand events are not the direct causation of individual's decision to act or to perform history-changing actions. They indeed affect the settings in which those individuals live their everyday life, but other miniature factors—so miniature that one can easily overlook—play a huge role in changing individual's pattern of everyday practices as well.

Lastly, I argue that a big picture of common people's everyday life and various patterns of their everyday practices could be seen clearly not through the lens of old social history, which tend to pay attention to the impacts of grand events, but through the meticulous observation of details, which could be executed in many ways. In the next chapters, I would like to propose that, in parallel with the study of everyday practices including work, fiction as the parallel universe of social reality also "goes into areas of life that are left unexplored by science, philosophy, religion, or politics"[26] and provides human, authors and characters alike, the power to give several meanings to their own identity. That

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[25] Ibid, 717.
[26] Gregory Castle, *The Literary Theory Handbook* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 7.

is to say that while over-emphasizing the influence of grand events and historical contexts could possibly invalidate common people's autonomy and lessen their potentiality to act like an active citizen, the study of everyday life as the state of normality, which could also be observed in fiction, stresses on people's ability to engage in the process of self-actualization and realize that they are allowed to be active in the society.

Chapter 2
Historical Context

In contradiction to Historical Materialism, Erving Goffman's vision illustrated in the previous chapter entails that setting or environment does not dictate human behaviors and social performances. Apart from the cultural aspect of social settings which form people's everyday practices, I admit that materialistic innovation within neighborhood is nonetheless one of the factors that influenced their behaviors and performances.

The objectives of this chapter are to explain the features of the neighborhood in which the main female characters of *The Ladies Paradise* and *L'Assommoir* spent their daily lives. The two-century-long process of urban development in Paris, which was driven by urban planning had shaped the social milieu and the changing environment in the nineteenth-century Paris. The consequential effects of this development, which can be traced in both novels, that is, the birth of mass merchandising and the worsening living condition will be discussed in this chapter respectively.

However, the description below is not the main argument or supporting information of the main argument, but the historical context that are both similar and contrasting to the social settings and the protagonists' behaviors in both novels. Hence, it is to be informed that this set of information will not validate the qualitative interpretation in the fourth chapter.

I. Urban planning and free mobility

Paris as we know today is not a medieval city with dark, poor, crummy alleyways that are interconnected like a huge spider web, but a modern city with bright street lights, rings of boulevards, wide walking streets, multistory buildings, huge public gardens, a countless number of cafés, and convenient public transportation system. Paris in this sense is widely perceived as the creation of the Prefect of Seine or Georges-Eugène Haussmann, who worked closely with Louis-Napoléon III in the latter half of the nineteenth century in transforming the city through the construction of city wall, the replacement of neighborhood with new boulevards and public spaces, and the dislocation of poor people to suburban areas. Apart from the fact that Haussmannization, which took place during the

Second Empire, had brought about social segregation and other socio-economic issues, Paris after the development became much more modern and extravagant than ever.

Scholars often argue that Haussmannization is a major phenomenon that gave a refreshingly modern look to urban Paris. Yet most of them also acknowledge that urban planning of Paris was not a single event but an extremely long process of reconstructions and experiments.[27] The city had gone through so many stages of development from the first decades of the seventeenth century to the celebration of Haussmann's masterpiece in the late nineteenth century, while the enactment of the 1660 decree of Louis XIV and the 1852 planning law of Louis-Napoléon III have been used only as pinpoints of this long-time of development.

The whole process can be divided into three phases: the seventeenth, the eighteenth, and the nineteenth century. During the first phase, Paris had not yet been realized as single entity, but as an aggregation of separate organisms that were combined into one city and brought into improvement. Yet, it "still lacked any official comprehensive plan for urbanism."[28] Apart from the well-known long, large boulevards used during the reign of Henri IV to facilitate the new planning in the later decades, many essential infrastructures were constructed for the people's convenience and hygienic living condition. For examples, the city had a pump installed to receive water from the Seine River to feed the city, a canal designed to obtain water from rivers, oil-reflector lamps added, new sidewalks constructed, and big piazzas established.[29] These infrastructures were added to the city not to urbanize Paris but to fix certain issues.

Since Paris back then was still a medieval city with alleyways that ease people's excursion in their neighborhoods[30], the 1660 decree had, therefore, revealed Louis XIV's signature of opening Paris up.[31] The decree allowed Louis XIV to demolish the city fortifications in order to turn narrow alleyways into wide streets that led to the city's landmarks, and add long rows of elms as an annexation to *cours*, which were walking spaces situated in the city's peripheries.[32] The term *cours* defined in *Dictionnaire universel*

[27] Joan DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: The Invention of the Modern* City (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 19.
[28] Nicholas Papayanis, *Planning Paris before Haussmann* (Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 18.
[29] Ibid, 15.
[30] DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: The Invention of the Modern* City, 99.
[31] Ibid, 98.
[32] Ibid, 97

of Furetière as "a pleasant place where the elegant people stroll at some hours of the day"[33] had appeared as early as 1616 when Marie de Médicis founded *Cours la Reine*, a 1500 meter-long space outside Paris reserved for nobles to enjoy their leisure activities such as riding in carriages.[34] The term continued to be used to name several spaces with similar functions such as *Cours Mirabeau*, a public promenade built in Aix-en-Provence in the 1640s, and other *cours* in Marseille, Nîmes, Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Nantes, which were established soon later.[35] The use of the word *cours* in the first decades of the seventeenth century implies that the idea of creating this kind of space as well as their actual construction had begun even before the 1660 decree was enacted in Paris. While the decree was not the mere beginning of the urban planning process, however, the royal mission of opening up Paris that was succeeded by 1700 had indeed played a big role in transforming the innermost part of the city into a pivot of communal walking streets and public spaces that helped embolden the character of the city as being receptive to latest global trends as well as creating and spearheading the trends itself.

The planning strategies in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century could not, however, be easily distinguished[36]; urban planners and critics in both phases focused more on the big picture i.e. the concept of urbanism. The vision which had changed the mentality of the people at the moment[37] was guided by three main thinkers who in the second half of the eighteenth century published their exhaustive opinions on the urban planning of Paris: Voltaire, Marc-Antoine Laugier, and Pierre Patte. In his 1749 writings, Voltaire "emphasized issues of daily living over monuments," calling for the improvement of Paris' material conditions, infrastructural amenities, public markets, wider streets, fountains, and crossroads to help the traffic flows.[38] Architectural theorist Marc-Antoine Laugier went further in his 1753 publications criticizing the city's disorder, dampness, uncleanliness, and inconvenience, and proposing the idea of using gardens as a dummy for the city. "Paris streets and avenues," added Nicholas Papayanis, "were central to Laugier's project."[39] A decade later, French architect Pierre Patte wrote about cities at large and proposed a model

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[33] Michaël Darin, "Designating urban forms: French *boulevards* and *avenues*," Planning Perspectives 19 (2004): 137.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Papayanis, *Planning Paris before Haussmann*, 17.
[37] Ibid, 16.
[38] Ibid, 19.
[39] Ibid, 21.

for ideal cities. He was the one who first stated the belief that Paris should be made "into an organic entity"[40] and called for Paris to be entirely reconstructed, "save for the great monuments and elegant private houses."[41]

The visions of these three figures appeared before the idea of urban Paris as single entity and a city that encouraged free mobility was gradually put into action at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The implementation concluded in the 1852 planning law of Louis-Napoléon III and the demolition of several neighborhoods in the inner parts of the city by Haussmann. Apart from the first and the second phase, the 1830 and 1848 revolutions that happened also suggested that a new security and the renovation of the city plan are needed.

After the streets in Paris were widened and the city became more open, the period of free mobility had begun. Joan DeJean claimed that while the outsiders could travel to Paris by coach, Parisians did not have the opportunity to travel freely in their city yet, and all they could do was to roam the streets by foot. Carriages were available to the upper class who could afford the luxury in 1639 and became widely accessible in the mid-seventeenth century during the civil war. A change, however, occurred in 1662, when Pascal and Roannez had obtained the permission from Louis XIV to be the only company to operate carriage line in Paris. As the first ever public transportation in the city, the first carriage line became so successful that the number of line had increased to three in two months.[42] Unfortunately, Pascal and Roannez had to end the company in 1691 since Parisians became poorer after the civil war had ended and hence could not afford any luxury.[43] Since then, Paris had become a city without any public transportation until a century later when another version of carriages called omnibuses were brought on the streets in 1828, tramways added in 1870s, and the first metro line constructed after 1900.

II.   Mass merchandising and the rise of *grand magasins*

Paris had become the European capital of luxury goods since the seventeenth century[44], not because of the effort of the old financial establishments and the guilds, who

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[40] Ibid, 24.
[41] Ibid, 25.
[42] DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: The Invention of the Modern* City, 128.
[43] Ibid, 132.
[44] Ibid, 170.

always set a minimum price for the products in the industry, but because of the rise of *financiers* or businessmen from outside the city, who were non-native Parisians.[45] Since then, commerce and the flow of money had become the characters of Paris that subsequently disclosed inequality between the rich and the poor, which was apparent in, for instance, the poor's inability to afford beautiful, luxurious goods displayed in the fancy shop windows, stores, and boutiques.[46] Hence, it was argued that the European-wide classification of people according to their financial status had its root in this economic affluence of Paris.

Nevertheless, Paris is not the first European city whose economic situation was evidently opulent; it was London that instigated Paris to receive the concepts like industry, commerce, consumption, and economic expansion.[47] The fact that Parisians embraced these concepts and applied them to their socio-economic milieu had brought about into Paris what was called 'luxury'. The term was realized in the proto-industrial France as the growth of production of light and dry consumer goods such as textiles, clothes, bonnets, shoes, parasols, and jewelries. There was a big demand of crafted luxury products made by the French from European elites and, because of this, France had eventually, by the end of the seventeenth century, become the country that exported these luxury products all over Europe and, in the meantime, attracted foreigners to come to its capital to purchase the products.

Upon entering Paris, it was not medieval streets but grand boulevards that led them to shopping arcades in the seventeenth century, fancy stores that sold fixed-price products called *magasins de modes* at the end of the eighteenth century, bigger stores with several departments called *magasins de nouveautés* in the 1840s, and a complete version of department stores called *grand magasins* in the 1860s. One difference is that shopping arcades often sold food products, while the *magasins* only sold dry goods like fashion products and clothing accessories. Another fundamental difference was that the latter did not only serve Parisians' needs to purchase the products that were necessary to their daily lives but also, and most importantly, their desire to stroll around for pleasure.

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[45] Ibid, 171.
[46] Ibid, 172.
[47] Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (USA: The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2003), 12.

As soon as *magasins de nouveautés* and *grand magasins* started to gain popularity in the nineteenth century, Parisians and visitors began to ignore the old-style boutiques and drapery shops that owned the market share in the previous decades. This particular change towards their consuming behavior occurred in the same period as other important transformations in the country's economic sphere.[48] Unlike *magasins de modes* which sold only a specific stuff such as coats, night gowns, parasols, and boots, the kinds of products sold in overwhelmingly diverse *magasins de nouveautés* and *grand magasins* were distributed to several departments[49] like in present-day department stores. These *magasins* bought products in bulk quantity in wholesale price from suppliers, which were "labour-intensive industries consisting of small and medium firms"[50] so they could sell the products to the customers in the price that was lower than those in the boutiques. Because of this, they could very often have a control over manufacturers and had the power to determine the supply themselves. Also, it was very often that they added to their business features concerning reliability and additional services, providing customers with comfortability and luxury. Furthermore, these *magasins* also used fixed-price system so that bargaining was not needed. The *grand magasins* were usually fully equipped with facilities and iron and glass interior to underline the high-end character of their products and to allow natural light to enter the building through the roof to enhance the elegance of their product displays.

Last but not least, *grand magasins* often used the power of advertisements to call the customers in; they began to publish brochures, placards, and advertisements in magazine like *The Mercure galant*[51] to inform the Parisians about their specialty, promotions, and sale event in the 1830s. In the next decade, advertisements were no longer questionable but instead was "welcomed as a valuable sales tool,"[52] and the strategy was widely adopted in the capital by the 1860s. These findings explain their sky-high sale volume and the revolution of mass merchandising and retailing of major *grand magasins* in the nineteenth-century Paris such as The Bon Marché, The Louvre, and The Ville de Paris, as well as the growth of fashion trends in other large cities throughout the country.[53]

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[48] Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 31.

[49] Ibid, 34.

[50] Ibid, 55.

[51] DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: The Invention of the Modern* City, 153.

[52] Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920*, 26.

[53] DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: The Invention of the Modern* City, 168.

III. Overpopulation and the worsening living condition

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Paris' population had doubled from 547,000 to a million.[54] Regardless of the people who entered the city during the 1789 Revolution, the surging number in immigration rate brought on an overpopulation crisis, becoming one of the most critical and problematic social issues in the first half of nineteenth-century Paris. The first signs of overpopulation in Paris can be dated back to the late middle ages when residential buildings were described as densely populated and the streets extremely narrow because "landlords wanted to extract profit from every available inch."[55] Also, in the 1650s several "architects, engineers, and urban historians pointed out how many residences of four, five, six, and even seven floors were found in Paris."[56]

Despite the need for more housings, construction of new residential buildings was of no interest to most Parisian entrepreneurs during the first decade of the nineteenth century, which was right after the 1789 Revolution. Though a large number of entrepreneurs started housing projects development during the restoration period, the new properties were mostly expensive apartments for the wealthy in the upper-class quarters. Moreover, the growing popularity of *grand magasins* did encourage the expansion of the job market in Paris. The phenomenon drew a large number of people from provincial areas into an already overpopulated Paris. Additionally, the opening-up of the city and the tearing-down of neighborhoods also meant that what was left of an already small number of accommodation for the fortunate ones was cleared away for the cleanliness and beautification of the city. So, for decades, dozens of poorer city dwellers had no choice but to live together in the same building under substandard infrastructural management and lack of open public spaces, resulting in the worsening living condition.

The condition can be well-represented by two kinds of so-called social dismalness: deteriorated water supply system and excessive alcohol consumption. Regarding water supply system in Paris, the fundamental problems were (1) inadequate water distribution which led to water deprivation and dehydration in several households in the neighborhoods; (2) absence of public access to water like fountains, bathhouses, and washhouses; (3) the fact that water came from a contaminated source and; (4) stagnation of water which allowed bacteria to grow. The deepest nationwide trouble regarding the inefficient and

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[54] Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920*, 35.
[55] Luc Sante, *The Other Paris* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2015), 44.
[56] DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: The Invention of the Modern* City, 12.

unsanitary water supply system was the plague, which occurred for the first time in Paris in 1348.[57] The transmission of leprosy in the middle ages, syphilis in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, and measles in the nineteenth century, and cholera in the second half of the nineteenth century[58] had pointed to the inadequacy and quality of water in slums and poor neighborhood since it is evident that all the victims were from lower class.[59]

It is inevitable that the administrative wing was deemed responsible for the whole crisis. As a consequence, several engineers in the nineteenth century suggested that the government should have improved the city's infrastructure and sanitary condition instead of simply tearing down the slums. Civil engineer Stephane Flachat presented several projects in response to the frequent cholera outbreaks, requesting "constant circulation of water in and out of the capital, above and below ground, movement that would guarantee health."[60] Unfortunately, his effort to put forth the program had failed, and Haussmann's project was soon implemented.

Another social problem in Paris was excessive alcohol consumption, which for centuries had led many poor Parisians to alcoholism. Public drinking culture in Paris could be dated back to wine consumption in the middle ages; Parisians bought from a *marchand de vin* red wine, white wine, and a liqueur made from sediments left in wine called marc. Soon, these wine sellers began to sell other alcoholic beverages imported from other regions and abroad like beer, rum, absinthe, whiskey, madeira, and the like to their customers. By the end of the eighteenth century, public drinking venues of every rank had clearly become available to Parisians from all walk of life. Later, Thomas Brennan wrote that in the nineteenth century the pattern of alcohol consumption in France had changed drastically in two ways: more people drank, and more people entered the market because they drank.[61] This scenario implies that alcohol was then a popular beverage as much as it was an up-and-coming commodity. Brennan also added that "the urbanization of the nineteenth century took many peasants out of the countryside and put them in cities where they had greater access to the market and acquired urban patterns of drinking."[62]

[57] Sante, *The Other Paris*, 92.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid, 93.
[60] Papayanis, *Planning Paris before Haussmann*, 149.
[61] Thomas Brennan, "Towards the Cultural History of Alcohol in France." *Journal of Social History* 23, no.1 (1989), 77, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3787565.
[62] Ibid.

In addition to the urbanization that Brennan suggested, the surging supply of industrial alcohol like spirits was another factor that gradually changed people's drinking behavior at the time[63] since its cheaper price allowed poor city dwellers to consume varieties of alcohol. Also, the number of public drinking venues had increased dramatically in the nineteenth century. But, similar to the living condition in the neighborhood previously mentioned, the condition in some public drinking venues were not very pleasant; a writer from the period describe a tavern as "a smoky, dark, low, humid, airless cellar that the sun has never been bold enough to visit."[64]

Nevertheless, the case here is alcoholism; a finding indicates that the amount of pure alcohol consumption had increased gradually among nineteenth-century Parisians. "On per capita basis," the finding claims, "Parisians drank about 2.9 liters of pure alcohol from spirits in the early 1800s, but the figure rose to 5.1 liters in 1840s and 7.3 liters at the end of the century."[65] The administrative wing and the better-off Parisians considered alcoholism a threat to the society, scrutinizing poorer drinkers for their sluggishness, destructive behaviors, engagement with crimes, and defamation to the whole working class. On the contrary, according to Brennan, the condemnation is full of prejudices and presumption, and therefore "not reliable evidence for the reality of the working-class experience of alcohol."[66] That is, despite its downside, the possibility to consume alcohol and the availability of public drinking venues did give poorer city dwellers an opportunity to socialize with their fellows like well-to-do Parisians did and most importantly to take a break from their daily exhaustion from work. In other words, while the excessive alcohol consumption of in the nineteenth century very much speaks for the deteriorated quality of life, it also reveals the lifestyle and coping strategies of the poorer Parisians during the period.

To conclude, even though the opening-up of the city during the eighteenth and the nineteenth century had made central Paris cleaner, tidier, safer, and more accessible to outsiders, the process also allowed the administrative section to dislocate poor people from the center to the peripheries or else wait for them to dislocate themselves when they could

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[63] Ibid, 74.
[64] Sante, *The Other Paris*, 137.
[65] Rod Phillips, *Alcohol: A History* (USA: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 292.
[66] Brennan, "Towards the Cultural History of Alcohol in France," 83.

not afford the rent in the center any longer and had to leave behind their tight communities in the quarters. But while the worsening living condition were widely acknowledged, these quarters did have an upside: they had an ecosystem of their own.[67] They had so many kinds of shops and services available to the dwellers that one did not have to leave the quarter unless necessary. Bakery, pharmacy, laundry, hospital, and dram shops, for instance, were available in every quarter in Paris arrondissements. Crumbling down these neighborhoods in the name of urbanization means tearing down their family-like relationships altogether.

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[67] Sante, *The Other Paris*, 7.

Chapter 3
Data Presentation

After we have discussed in the second chapter about the settings namely grand magasins and poor neighborhood in nineteenth-century Paris, I would like to argue in this chapter that when *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir* are put side by side, they form a correlative force in shaping the argument that social settings in these novels, which have social construction and cultural norms, lurking behind. These complex social settings have a strong impact on the main female characters' *impressions*, and these impressions consequently dictate their *actions*, while their *expressions* are determined by specific events, incidents, or their interaction with other characters. It is indeed because of the impressions, expressions, and actions performed by these women, the nineteenth-century urban society in Paris depicted in both novels as a business and a cultural hub were able to operate.

To prove the arguments, I will first explain data collection and categorization process that I used to acquire a set of data from both novels. Next, I will clarify, compare, and contrast the fundamental terms namely *impression*, *expression*, and *action*, which are used throughout the data collection and categorization process, and include examples of verb phrases obtained from the data. By referring to the collected and categorized data, I will answer the questions that arose from quantitative and qualitative point of view: (1) what are the stimuli that determined the protagonists' impressions? (2) how and to what extent did the protagonists' impressions dictate their actions? (3) what are the social interactions that influenced them to engage in certain expressions?

Lastly, even though I refer to verb phrases, this process is not a linguistic analysis but the analysis of the actions that took place in the novels. I use language only as a tool to understand the meanings of the female characters' actions, which were set in the nineteenth century. In sum, this process is by design an analysis of Émile Zola's conceptualized past.

I. Data collection and categorization process

In *The Ladies' Paradise*, female protagonist Denise Baudu came to Paris for the first time with her younger brothers Jean and Pépé. After their father passed away, they were put in an inconvenient situation. So, they had to visit their uncle Baudu in Paris and

ask for job and a place to stay, but Uncle Baudu who ran a drapery shop did not welcome them. Denise later ended up working as a salesgirl in the up-and-coming grand magasin called The Ladies' Paradise. While almost all salesmen in the grand magasin were depicted as irresponsible bachelors, Denise worked hard and went through hardship, obstacles, and challenges throughout the years. She was fired, moved to another shop, came back to The Ladies' Paradise, and was promoted to higher positions by the director of the grand magasin Octave Mouret, who found her lovable and attractive. In the meantime, the grand magasin became very popular and Mouret started to buy up old houses and declining shops in the neighborhood. At the very end of the novel, Mouret pursued Denise and she eventually accepted his marriage proposal.

In the meantime, female protagonist Gervaise Macquart in *L'Assommoir* came to Paris with her lover Lantier and started to work as a washerwoman in a crummy neighborhood. Lantier later left for another woman while Gervaise met a roof engineer Coupeau, married him in a fancy ceremony, opened her own laundry shop, and became financially stable. Unfortunately, her life change drastically when Coupeau accidentally fell from the roof at his construction site. After he was injured, he became inert and was devoured by alcohol. His heavy consumption of alcohol, his disinterest to find a job, and his aggressiveness forced Gervaise to work harder to maintain the household and take care of her three children as well as her mother-in-law. Her efforts had failed so many times that she, too, became an alcoholic and eventually died in tragedy alongside Coupeau.

From the synopses of *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir*, it can be observed that both Denise and Gervaise performed routine works in the grand magasin and the run-down neighborhood respectively to maintain and uphold a well-being of their households, while male characters in the same settings are a portrayal of men living a carefree life, not engaging in the act of hardworking. In order to illustrate the impact of genetics and social milieu on human's life decisions, Zola made both female protagonists who are genetically related encounter many successes and downfalls throughout the novels while most of the characters maintained their status quo.

As a result, the character arcs of Denise and Gervaise are very dynamic. It can be observed from their actions in the data set that the protagonists successes and downfalls depend for the most part on social values, division of labor, and violation of rights. According to Zola's belief in determinism, which was influenced by French critic

Hippolyte Taine[68] who coined the notion of *race*, *milieu*, and *moment*[69], the protagonists were not able to resist the power of these concepts whether they emerge from their innermost thoughts or other external factors.

To prove these observations, I combine the verb-oriented method coined and used by Gender and Work research project at Uppsala University[70], which encompasses quantitative and qualitative aspect, with Erving Goffman's concepts concerning human behavior and impression management in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. First, I read the novels and listed out active sentences undertook by the two female's protagonists. Next, I categorized all sentences into three groups, that are impressions, expressions, and actions, and, like the Gender and Work researchers[71], picked out the verb phrases in each sentence. Since some sentences were written in a complicated structure, I carefully paraphrased them into a simpler form to smoothen the categorization process. For example, I simplified verb phrase like 'burst into tears' into 'cried'. Lastly, I categorized the verb phrases in each group into several subgroups, which will facilitate the analysis of the female protagonists' performances. The definitions and features of impression, expression, and action will be given alongside the data presentation.

II.   Examination of impressions, expressions, and actions

The common ground of impression, expression, and action is the fact that they concurrently form human behaviors.[72] However, the features of each key term ought to be examined separately mostly because of their highly distinctive characteristics, which will be explained below. In this section, after defining and clarifying the elements of each key term, I attempt to disclose the interconnection and causal relations that prevail. This web of interconnectedness will show that there were various stimuli behind 'settings'—the term realized socially, not geographically—that encourage the female protagonists to feel, think, express, and act in several ways throughout *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir*, the

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[68] Hilary S. Nias, "Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893)," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism Volume 6: The Nineteenth Century, c. 1830-1914*, ed. M.A.R. Habib (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 8.
[69] Ibid, 396.
[70] Maria Ågren, ed. Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
[71] One of the Gender and Work researchers' main processes is to pick out verb phrases that appear in historical accounts they obtained. See https://www.facebook.com/gaw.hist.uu.se/videos/886529438194547.
[72] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

novels that can reveal the potentiality of women's performances like no other in Zola's *Les Rougon-Macquart* series.

(i)   Impression

The term 'impression' applies to feelings and thoughts, which transpire in one's mind after he encounters settings, objects, other individuals, other teams, and social interactions. According to Goffman, the belief that such encounters often lead to awkwardness brings about the concept of impression management, which assumes that one performs a specific kind of expression to avoid awkwardness during face-to-face interactions. Meanwhile, one perform actions on a basis of idealized social values that form their understanding of society.[73]

Since both stories are narrated in a linear timeline, the events are rendered from the older past to the newer past throughout the novels. The comparison of Denise's and Gervaise's impressions could grant us a platform to analyze the change that happened in their way of thinking and explain to what extent their thoughts were determined by the power of settings as represented by their own 'actions' in the data set, which will be examined in another subsection.

Therefore, the features and influences of the following three types of impressions extracted from both novels will be discussed respectively. Table 1.1 contains verb phrases from *The Ladies' Paradise* and Table 1.2 from *L'Assommoir*. According to my observation, I divided both protagonists' impressions into three subgroups: insecurity, poverty, and unfairness. One remark is that Gervaise has an additional impression that appears once almost every chapter, that is confidence.

Chapter	Insecurity	Poverty	Unfairness
1	astonished nervous shy awkward shocked overwhelmed	N/A	disappointed
2	terrified	N/A	N/A
3	N/A	N/A	N/A
4	astonished weary sad	thought about money exhausted confused (by customers)	violated defenseless naked hurt

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[73] Ibid, 35.

			felt like being attacked shocked at unfairness
5	cold anxiety of authority interested in love-affairs excited (to see Hutin) overwhelmed ashamed embarrassed embarrassed cold weak embarrassed	exhausted suffered fatigue curious of Parisian life filled with desire felt the flame of passions thought about her childhood	thought "people were entitled to arrange their lived as they thought fit"
6	insignificant suffered feared (of Mouret) hopeless	afraid of being fired despair anxious about money lost temper about money suffered	disappointed sad panicked terrified shocked
7	did not want to burden her uncle dreamed of Hutin tormented did not want to argue wanted to avoid Mouret	wondered where to go wanted to leave the area had no plan racked by anxiety experienced hunger ashamed of her house missed the shop experience poverty depressed grateful to have something to eat desired to work elsewhere suffered from hot weather confused which side to take	suffered embarrassed
8	fainted lost a courage to live	wanted to live in the countryside	felt the sense of sadness embarrassed embarrassed pitied hated the big shop filled with rage ashamed filled with compassion do nothing wrong
9	feared (of Mouret)	N/A	sad to hear the gossip
10		absorbed in her work	embarrassed shocked confused upset about the gossip felt like being undressed
11	N/A	N/A	couldn't bear lost her patience
12	embarrassed suffered	N/A	shocked pitied
13	sleepless thought about Mouret sleepless	imagined herself in places anxiety fatigue	worried despair pitied embarrassed sad confused worried pitied

| 14 | irritated
would not want to leave
   Mouret | N/A | upset |

Table 1.1 Denise's impressions in *The Ladies' Paradise*

Chapter	Insecurity	Poverty	Unfairness
1	afraid felt fainted lost all hope shocked felt the world had forsaken her	suffocating	angry

2	believed Lantier was with
	   another girl
	did not want to
	afraid
	curious
	dreamed of living with
	   decent people
	felt uneasy
	solemn
	soft-hearted
	unguarded
	afraid
	agitated
	excited
	awkward
	disappointed
	bothered
	felt she could take no
	more
	decided to leave
	upset
		wanted to see
		thought
		thought
		felt the heat
		suffocated
			N/A

3	did not want a fancy wedding felt bashful down-hearted anxious ashamed feared	N/A	felt the recriminations felt offended
4	afraid afraid sad upset hoped felt immense weariness felt like she was dead felt it was appropriate agitated terrified worried afraid	hated the old place dreamed wanted to rent worshipped her furniture broken-hearted seeing a scratch shocked when she banged into the furniture dreamed put the thought off wanted to finish the work wanted to get up early to work obsessed by ambitious dream could not sleep wanted to set up a business thought about living in the	spunky furious

		country thought about what she would do thought about her shop thought about buying a shop unsure about buying a shop exhausted depressed wanted to rent the shop obsessed about the shop dreamed about the shop unhappy that she could not start the shop elated that she could start the shop	
5	worried felt she was flinging into the heart of a machine nonplussed intrigued by the shops felt uncomfortable	felt good to live in an enormous building sensed the struggle against hunger wanted wanted wanted afraid that her apprentice would wreck the stove felt the space in front of her shop was important to her recalled her dream felt like melting felt like she was roasting	angry calmed down realized she was wrong to treat them so well thought it was shameful that Maman Coupeau was abandoned sensed her outrage calmed down full of rage stopped caring respected
6	uncertain felt something was being hammered into her heart hesitated upset ashamed felt mistrust thought Virginie might be pretending She thought about bringing up Lantier's issue imagined herself mentioning Lantier embarrassed wondered wanted to stop the conversation did not want to feel imagined Lantier coming back imagined she could feel his hands in her waist was in despair felt the cold	tired wanted something good to eat pleased when she could make ends meet felt that her arms hurt worried about the debt imagined she was in the country happy to laze about felt the heat	imagined getting the mackerel right in Virginie's face felt the need to be polite thought she must be nice if Virginie was nice to her troubled by the whispers angry that Madame Bijard was hurt
7	hoped did not want Coupeau to know about Lantier	fancied classy food decided to cook veal thought about what kind of	greedier couldn't decide who to invite

	upset that Madame Goujet couldn't come felt subdued ashamed tormented felt that the song was for her feared	vegetables to cook decided to lay the table in the shop	
8	uncomfortable troubled felt her stomach was burning thought about Lantier thought about the past afraid thought Virginie might have a plan ashamed unsure of her feeling for Lantier	bothered by dirty washings dreamed of making a lot of money	wanted to tell Goujet what Lantier did to her determined not to let Lantier touch her
9	guilty and disgusted with herself inured about washing herself embarrassed upset uneasy upset	unhappy thought about borrowing more money weakening exhausted	ashamed of using Goujet's friendship pissed that the Lorilleux did not brought flowers for Maman Coupeau
10	sick at heart felt strange felt her stomach was burning bitter feared afraid terrified wanted to have Lalie's courage tried to learn from Lalie imagined Coupeau being aggressive frightened appalled exasperated thought the Lorilleux planned something against her undecided felt dazed hesitated wanted to smell the spirit	felt worn and shabby used to the new way of life suffered felt worse suffered suffocated	pitied Père Bru pitied Lalie furious full of rage
11	could not accept befuddled did not want to lose Nana	N/A	N/A
12	frightened relieved after knocking the door felt fainted	felt cold hoped Coupeau would bring money angry	N/A

	felt alone and abandoned felt emptier upset recalled her good times felt empty embarrassed distressed confused was in distress	planned what she would get for dinner wanted to kill herself decided to ask strangers for money worn out weary fancied the country and open sky wanted to live in the country	
13	scared	N/A	N/A

Table 1.2 Gervaise's impressions in *L'Assommoir*

a.   **Insecurity**

To answer how the impressions of the protagonists were owing to the power of settings, I will pair the protagonists' impressions with the settings in *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir*, respectively. These settings are not only material settings but social settings that brought many cultural stimuli along with it.

In *The Ladies' Paradise*, the main settings are (1) urban Paris; (2) the grand magasin The Ladies' Paradise and; (3) the smaller boutiques. Concerning urban Paris, most of Denise's impressions in the first chapter of the novel, represented by verb phrases like 'astonished', 'nervous', 'shy', 'awkward', 'shocked', and 'overwhelmed', show that the city's hugeness and grandeur played a part in stimulating the feelings of insecurity and insignificance, and highlighting her inability to act, as indicated in Table and 3.1.

The second setting is the grand magasin, Denise's workplace from the fourth to the last chapter, with an exception of the seventh chapter. Most of the data in the first column of Table 1.1 indicates that her relationship with the employee and interaction between her and other employees made Denise felt insecure, insignificant, and indecisive. Some verb phrases from the impressions that Denise experienced when facing Mouret, the director of the shop, i.e. 'embarrassed', 'suffered', and 'feared' were mentioned several times. Other verb phrases that suggested her fear of authority are, for example, 'tormented', 'ashamed', 'anxiety', 'insignificant', and 'weak'.

Nevertheless, Denise's impressions towards these settings are not static. It is noticeable in the novel that when and she gained more experiences, she seemed to have no feeling of insecurity towards the small boutiques and the audiences in those boutiques. This is simply because she was trying to adjust herself to the new social setting, put the new setting in a higher position, and in turn considered herself as situated in a higher status quo. Plus, she became so accustomed to the part of the city that public space like Tuileries

Garden became one of her sanctuaries. This signifies that material settings might not be the only factor that stimulated the protagonists' impressions, but it is the social determinants behind these settings that turned 'material settings' into 'social settings'.

To come to the observation regarding Gervaise's impressions, the verb phrases Table 1.2 that suggest the protagonist's insecurity are, for example, 'afraid', 'feared', 'terrified', 'appalled', 'exasperated', 'frightened', 'down-hearted', 'soft-hearted', 'unguarded', 'embarrassed', 'tormented', 'lost all hope', and 'sick at heart'. However, the implication regarding impressions changed slightly when turning towards Gervaise in *L'Assommoir*. First, all material settings in the novel, that are (1) Hotel Boncoeur; (2) Gervaise's laundry shop and home; (3) the flat in the Rue de la Goutte d'Or and; (4) the bar L'Assommoir du père Colombe, were situated in the same neighborhood. Unlike Denise who was influenced by each material settings in different ways, Gervaise seems to be affected by the environment of the neighborhood as a whole. Nevertheless, it is to be mentioned that the bar L'Assommoir du père Colombe was the place that had the biggest impact on her in the latter chapters.

Second, even though the protagonist also felt insecure throughout the novel, she indeed had a feeling of confidence, knowing her wants as well as acknowledging her thoughts and decisions, as remarked at the bottom of Table 1.2. Some examples that are noticeable are 'wanted to', 'did not want to', 'though that', 'serious', 'determined', 'certain', 'satisfied', 'felt the pride', 'disapproved', 'accepted', 'did not pay attention', 'decided', 'ignored', and 'did not care'. These impressions explain her excessive amount of expressions and actions in Table 2.2 and 3.2.

b.   Poverty

The second column in Table 1.1 and 1.2 are dedicated to the protagonists' impressions towards poverty. The verb phrases that were used repetitively throughout both novels are associated with money/poverty/hunger, exhaustion/fatigue, and passion/desire. One observation here is that the impressions of Denise and Gervaise render in an opposite direction due to the story arches of each novel.

After Denise came back to work at the grand magasin at the beginning of the eight chapter and was promoted to an Assistant Buyer of the ladieswear department, the verb phrases regarding her concern about money seems to vanish and are replaced by the desires

to live in the peaceful countryside where she came from. Meanwhile, Gervaise dreamed and planned to set up a business in the very first chapters, but when she sold her laundry shop and plunged into promiscuities and alcoholism in the last quarter of the novel, the verb phrases regarding money/poverty/hunger seem to appear more repetitively. The critical turning points of both protagonists were influenced by the determinative change in their professional position when Denise was promoted from a salesgirl to an Assistant Buyer, and Gervaise lost her position as a business owner, turned into a wage earner, and sunk into alcoholism. In sum, it is to say that the destiny of both women went into a completely different direction.

c.   Unfairness

There are several abusive circumstances that happened towards both protagonists and other people around them. In *The Ladies' Paradise*, for example, Denise was sexually harassed twice, and the owners of small boutiques were strong-armed by Mouret to sell the lands to the grand magasin. The verb phrases in the third column of Table 1.1 that associated with Denise feeling 'sad', 'embarrassed', 'pitied' appear for several times, and 'shocked' appear repetitively. One remark is that her feelings of sadness and embarrassment in this subcategory are different from the ones in the first subcategory that is insecurity. The feelings of sadness and embarrassment related to insecurity occurred when she felt little and insignificant, while the ones related to unfairness derived from her opinion that a person should not be treated in an abusive way. Hence, the latter kind of sadness and embarrassment serves as a motivation for some of the actions presented in Table 3.1. Another remark is that, despite Denise's own sadness and embarrassment towards abusive events, she tended to 'pity' other people since she started to climb up the hierarchy ladder and became financially stable in the twelfth and thirteenth chapter. Those people include the owners of the small shops in the neighborhood and the staffs in the grand magasin.

In comparison, Gervaise in *L'Assommoir* also had negative impressions towards several threatening circumstances she thought should not have happened, that are herself being cheated on and sexually harassed, Maman Coupeau being abandoned and treated disrespectfully, Madame Bijard and Lalie being beaten to death, and Père Bru living in a dirty tiny hole. Moreover, while Denise felt 'sad' and 'embarrassed' that those events

happened, Gervaise felt 'angry', 'furious', and 'full of rage'. The environment in the neighborhood and Gervaise's social interactions with greedy audiences in the setting seem to allow her to confront the people she considered enemy, as shown in Table 2.2, and even took revenge at times, as shown in Table 3.2. Lastly, Gervaise also 'pitied' those people who were physically abused, but hierarchical system seems to have no effect on her impressions in this regard.

(ii)   Expression

The term 'expression' applies to what take place by means of facial expression, gestures, and speech acts. Expression does not necessarily have to comply with true impressions; a performer can also perform false expression regardless of his/her intention to avoid conflicts in the situation. In the meantime, an audience may or may not know that the expression meant or unmeant, so they might misunderstand its real meaning.[74]

Apart from automatic physical reflexes that are almost impossible to control, expressions are usually manipulated by the performer's disposition towards what kind of expression is right and improper to be carried out in each setting, widely conceptualized as 'appropriateness'. Therefore, according to Goffman, expressions that are appropriate fundamentally serves as a tool to ward off social awkwardness in face-to-face interaction and prevent conflicts that could arise from the awkwardness.[75]

In the following part, Zola's descriptions of character's behaviors are divided into two types of expression. The two types of expression as collected, that are avoidance and confrontation, are presented into two columns. Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 show the lists of Denise's and Gervaise's expressions, respectively.

Chapter	Avoidance	Confrontation
1	said that she would go away	uttered
2	Did not dare to enter stood for a long time revealed her shyness did not dare to take a seat showed her embarrassment, fright, and anxiety did not know how to leave	N/A
3	N/A	N/A
4	stood still did not know how to adjust her uniform revealed confusion, intimidation, over-	N/A

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[74] Ibid, 51.
[75] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

	sensitiveness, and passive obedience motionless became pale stared vacantly collapsed sobbed	
5	trembled stood erect look serious and pale kept going, smiling, and erect smile put on gracious manner curl up in bed cried shook hands smile blushed making detour trembled glanced gracefully denied taking revenge showed a calm obstinacy hesitated flushed smiled breathed deeply cried dizzy refrained turned pale gave a sigh of relief remain silent went forward quietly cried consoled shame	showed great courage stammered out an explanation confided in Pauline took her hands away
6	became pale stopped replying did not complain tried to smile flushed cried went away without a word	tried to be brave tried to explain stammered and asked for a reason
7	kept crossing the road wandered about traced her steps sobbed trembled embarrassed trembled listened in silence flushed fell silent tried to say goodbye blushed embarrassed agreed to give Bourras a message fell silent	revolted slammed the door told Bourras to accept Mouret's offer defended herself said cheerfully refused to go confided in Mouret gave examples showed that she knew said goodbye

	walk alongside Mouret went back in the shadows looked into distance waited until Bourras calmed down cried blushed kissed	
8	apologized kissed shivered smiled embarrassingly lied cried shook because of angriness became pale	N/A
9	blushed agreed to take Madame Desforges consoled her irritation indirectly asked blushed stepped back	murmured with surprise told Mouret he should have promoted others thanked
10	fixed her eyes on the light hid the letter cried sobbed tried to stop crying raised her head when she heard the murmur told Pauline she was not angry remained composed maintained her respectful attitude allowed Mouret to hold her hands hung to the handrail	fixed her eyes on Mouret gave Mouret a slight start turned down Mouret's invitation refused to go stood up look straight at Mouret refused to take luxury uttered a faint cry freed herself mentioned Clara and Madame Desforges told Mouret to open the door
11	stood erect became pale almost kneeled down indirectly stated cried left flushed	said she could do no more burst out threw the pins
12	blushed laughed about Deloche look around anxiously gazed into distance smiled tried to stop Deloche from crying apologized Mouret for chatting at work stunned stood erect did not say a word blushed welcomed the friendship sobbed	said she had to take the authority said she wanted to stay free told Mouret not to beg swore to Mouret asked to leave joked with Mouret denied
13	could not utter bent down kissed consoled lied kissed	N/A

	tried not to cry cried	
14	remained silent smiled became pale cried	answered confirmed joked with Pauline thanked said she could not marry continued to refuse Mouret confessed that she loved Mouret

Table 2.1 Denise's expressions in *The Ladies' Paradise*

Chapter	Avoidance	Confrontation
1	cried cried could not control her tears stuffed a handkerchief into her mouth lied lied cried sunk back cried kissed lied wiped her forehead put her hands to her cheeks and temples leaned against her tub sighed heavily cried lifted her hands from her face trembled with anger cried	tried to smile had a friendly conversation told asked quieted the children revealed nodded shouted to reply told said Paris water was hard admitted resisted her tears tried to ignore talked looked at Virginie told Virginie to shut up screamed threw a tub fought took a step back tried to free herself grabbed a beater tried to beat beat slipped her arm back into the sleeve fastened her skirt hugged
2	wore said goodbye trembled dressed up caught her breath hung her head poked her toes turned red cried	agreed laughed joked talked told told said refused asked stopped let Coupeau hold her hand denied flattery refused accepted agreed smiled
3	sighed	promised

	led the way stood before the altar did not know walked very fast could not hide her anxiety said nothing agreed to leave could not keep up flattened herself retreated further	nudged chatted quietly asked reminded took her children on her knees caressed and kissed her children
4	left sat down stuck both fists in her mouth sweated cried heavily could not make it to bed collapsed on the floor lay and twisted lay on the bed did not dare white-faced knelt sobbed reached her hand out checked cried stunned	asked said got worked up called instructions smiled agreed complained became friendly said refused to explain claimed asked did not want to hide asked chatted smiled insisted repeated pretended showed tried to smile never grumbled refused to borrow money
5	shivered rolled her sleeves up sweated stepped back sighed	smiled sent treats to thank the Boches smiled panted with pleasure showed her joy bought the Boches some treats drank with the Boches stood calm smiled and greeted talked nicely told pretended not to hear smiled did not allow shouted relaxed kissed told Coupeau to stop told Coupeau to stop put her hand over Coupeau's mouth said sorry said she forgave Coupeau gave the Boches some treats stopped giving the Boches presents did not knocked on the door

			spoke sarcastically

		spoke sarcastically
		banged the door
		said good morning
6	panted	entered
	flushed	pretended
	left quickly	asked
	breathed easily	asked
	apologized	smiled
	became lethargic	thanked
	became pale	chatted
	gave a faint cry	went into Virginie's place
	sat straight	told
	flushed	called Virginie Madame Poisson
		said
		shouted
7	became white	allowed
	wore	talked
	apologized	told
	trembled	laughed
	became pale	smiled
	lied	kissed
	trembled	hugged
	looked worried	accepted Virginie's help
	glanced quickly	rushed up
	cried	exclaimed
	could not move	talked in a friendly manner
	clasped her head in her hands	said
		laughed
		screamed
		smiled
		said
		said
		offered more food
		asked
8	trembled	smiled faintly
	shaken	clinked glasses
	turned pale	smiled slightly
	did not dare	smiled and winked
	trembled	tried to free herself
	did not dare	refused
	did not dare	chatted
	did not dare	tried to show that she did not care
	did not dare	refused
	walked beside Goujet	complained
	sat under the dead tree with Goujet	said
	cried	took her hands away
	turned pale	struggled in refusal
	clasped her hands together	tried to get away
	became serious	
	blushed	
	unable to say	
	leaned on a tree	
	shrugged her shoulders	
	could not stand still	
	shivered	
9	washed her hands	defended herself
	made herself very submissive	mentioned other promiscuities
	gave a little shudder	went to see Goujet

	turned pale	asked
	closed the door slowly	said good night
	dreamt	said
	wandered around	went back to her room
	got dressed	complained
	sobbed	told
	sat half asleep	said
	sobbed	knelt and kissed Maman Coupeau
	almost cried	asked Goujet to join
	clasped her hands	said sorry
	huddled	shouted
	went white	
	drawn away	
	cried	
	pressed her handkerchief against her eyes	
	stunned	
	said nothing	
	sat in daze	
10	cried	tried not to lose temper
	went very pale	muttered pushed Coupeau away
	pressed her lips together	tried to protect things
	banged on the partition	interrupted
	turned pale	behave funnily
	bit her lips	called
	did not dare	told
	shivered	bought two oranges
	moved away	asked
	sat down not to attract attention	laughed
	had a snooty expression	said
	dropped her chin on to her hands	fought
	remained face to face	talked
	stepped back	thanked
	trembled	approached
		said calmly
		denied
		said ironically
		drank
		laughed
11	murmured	called Nana little slut
	did not say anything	said
	did not move	repeated
	nodded	tried not to recognize Nana
	stepped over building materials	threatened
	trembled	stammered
12	jumped to her feet	showed courage
	sat with her hand between her thighs	stammered
	cried	explained
	squeezed her stomach	tried not to tell
	rocked her body back to and fro	knelt beside Lalie
	stamped	said prayers
	did not reply	thanked
	nodded	allowed Goujet to kiss her
	did not know what to do	refused Goujet
	walked fast	said goodbye
	murmured	knelt down
	cried	
	breathed loudly	
	wept	

	cried laughed nastily	
13	did not dare became pale trembled caught her breath stuttered clasped her hand touched his shoulder rambled	said good bye denied her drinking habit asked

Table 2.2 Gervaise's expressions in *L'Assommoir*

a.   Avoidance

To ward off awkwardness, one expresses in a certain way to avoid face-to-face conflicts or get away from the situation that takes place in the front stage and let the impression out in the back stage.[76]

As indicated in the first column of Table 2.1, Denise expressed through (1) facial expressions such as 'became pale', 'blushed', and 'flushed'; (2) front stage gestures such as 'stood still', 'stared vacantly', 'remained silent', and 'went away without a word', 'did not dare', 'did not know how', 'did not complain', 'kept going', 'smiling', 'put on gracious manner', 'maintained respectful attitude', 'shook hands', 'glanced gracefully', 'hesitated' and 'refrained'; (3) back stage gestures such as 'collapsed', 'sobbed', 'cried', and 'curled up in bed' and; (4) speech acts such as 'apologized', 'lied', and 'indirectly asked'.

Moreover, as indicated in the first column of Table 2.2, Gervaise also had (1) facial expressions such as 'became pale', 'became white', 'became red', and 'flushed'; (2) front stage gestures such as 'wiped her forehead', 'put her hands to her cheeks and temple', 'hung her head', 'poked her toes', 'stuck both fists in her mouth', 'sat straight', 'glanced quickly', ' clasped her hands', 'bit her lips', 'pressed her handkerchief against her eyes', and 'pressed her lips'; (3) back stage gestures such as 'cried', 'sobbed', 'collapsed on the floor', and 'squeezed her stomach' and; (4) speech acts such as 'lied', and 'apologized'.

b.   Confrontation

In other cases, one engaged in face-to-face interactions with caution.[77] In the second column of Table 2.1, Denise performed various gestures and speech acts to (1) show courage; (2) state viewpoints and; (3) allow friendships.

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[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.

First, to show courage when she encountered demanding situations, Denise, for example, 'tried to be brave', 'look straight', 'revolted', 'freed herself', 'asked to leave', 'defended herself', 'refused', and 'denied'. Second, to state her viewpoints, she 'stammered out an explanation', 'tried to explain', 'burst out', 'told Mouret he should have promoted others', 'told Bourras to accept the offer', 'said she had to take the authority', 'said she wanted to stay free', and 'said she could not marry'. Lastly, to allow friendships to grow, she performed expressions like 'thanked', 'joked', 'answer', 'confirmed', 'swore', 'confided', 'fixed her eyes', 'gave a slight start', and 'said cheerfully'.

As for *L'Assommoir*, what Gervaise did to show courage are 'tried to smile', 'resisted her tears', 'tried to ignore', 'fought with Virginie', 'got worked up', 'pretended', 'tried to free herself', and 'struggled in refusal'. Then, to state her viewpoints, she 'agreed', 'denied', 'complained', 'defended herself', 'stammered', and 'refused'. Lastly, to allow friendships, she 'had a friendly conversation', 'let Coupeau hold her hand', 'became friendly', 'smiled and greeted', 'talked in a friendly manner', 'laughed', and 'clinked glasses'.

From the mentioned verb phrases, it can be asserted that both Denise and Gervaise, as a construction of Zola, performed the acts of confrontation to defend what they considered appropriate for each situation, and beneficial to herself and others.

(iii) Action

While the term 'expression' focuses on physical reflexes and social interactions, the term 'action' applies to one's decision to act or not to act on front stage and back stage with no regard of audiences.[78] The female protagonists in the novels acted in accordance to the social values that are annexed to their impressions. To attain values that are related to insecurity, poverty, and unfairness, Denise in *The Ladies' Paradise* tried to eliminate fear by acting appropriately in front of authority, get away from poverty by working very hard, and tackle unfairness by standing up for herself and other staffs in the grand magasin, respectively. Meanwhile, Gervaise in *L'Assommoir* tried to lessen her feelings of insignificance by appearing decisive and careless, get away from poverty also by working very hard, and acted with a high hand by taking revenge.

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[78] Ibid.

Chapter	Response to insecurity	Response to poverty	Response to unfairness
1	observed observed	came to Paris	N/A
2	observed introduced herself	N/A	N/A
3	N/A	N/A	N/A
4	N/A	organized a pile of clothes followed the order	N/A
5	carried on cheerfully made very little fuss went straight to her goal ignored all obstacles learned to cope smiled played the part of the well- dress girl kept a pleasant manner walked around shut herself in her room had a heart-to-heart talk talked accepted invitation introduced herself talked requested wandered about the fields watched the life of the river	worked very hard proved herself repaired her clothes mended her underwear darned her night-dress patched her shoes washed things avoided spending sewed clothes washed clothes worked 13 hours a day waited for customers obtained a fixed salary did up her old dress made a bonnet-shaped hat decorated the hat	N/A
6	hid Jean's letter lied	had extra work sewed neckties	collected her wages after being fired
7	examined examined tidied herself up went out sometimes went for a long walk drank a cup of milk went to Tuileries Garden gave Mouret's message begged Bourras to accept	settled in took <u>Pépé</u> to live with her applied for jobs lived in poverty got a tiny job finished work stitched some silk mended some lace asked for a job washed a shirt mended a blouse take care of <u>Pépé</u> always stayed up until midnight cleaned her room had no time to comb her hair	N/A

8	N/A	went back to work with The
		    Ladies' Paradise
			went to Uncle Baudu
			stated her view
			asked for opinion
			asked if Geneviève was not
			    right
			unfastened Geneviève's dress
			picked up Geneviève's hair
			brought a jug of water
			gave Jean money
			checked in with Geneviève
			told Bourras she was going
			    back to The Ladies'
			    Paradise

			talked to Colomban
9	N/A	asked Madame Desforges took travel coats presented latest models unfolded the garments folded up the garments brought more designs presented the design carried foulard handed the foulard followed the customers	N/A
10	stayed in her room stayed in one of the biggest rooms gave herself some luxuries walked around the room held on to the furniture declined Uncle Baudu's invitation went to bed early took Pauline to common room told Pauline her foot was better showed the letter said she wanted to work	came down to work at 8 o'clock entered the number of silk garments compared two lists talked politely to a customer gave the list to Mouret carried the coat helped Madame Desforges into the coat put pins in the coat stuck in the pins	told Mouret she would go to her room went downstairs
11	dressed simply	N/A	stood for half an hour stood up
12	followed Mouret looked up at Madame Hédouin's portrait had a long friendly conversation with Mouret confessed to Pauline	N/A	called Clara over blamed Clara for chatting emphasized that she was respectable proposed a system of leave planned to create a mutual aid society supported the idea of forming a staff band pushed the idea of entrusting special midwife
13	got into the carriage	N/A	asked about Geneviève said she would see Geneviève told Uncle Baudu not to accuse himself asked Geneviève told Geneviève the truth came to the funeral early looked for Jean begged Bourras to accept the offer took Uncle Baudu and Jean home picked up Pépé visited her uncle approached the suicidal gave the policeman

			Robineau's name
			Followed Robineau to the chemist's shop
			informed Madame Robineau
			stopped Madame Robineau
			lowered the metal shutters
			told Gaujean
			offered Bourras compensation
			visited her uncle
			offered her uncle a job
14	decided to leave the shop resigned told Mouret she had no idea for a new job planned to rest in Valognes	asked a customer about the coat looked for a salesman	told Pépé to study hard told Jean to be more sensible gave Jean money took Jean to ladieswear department walked her brothers through the crowd asked her brother about the product he wanted walked her brothers through

Table 3.1 Denise's actions in *The Ladies' Paradise*

Chapter	Response to insecurity	Response to poverty	Response to unfairness
1	waited up sat half-dressed looked around the room walked to the window saw a group of butchers saw a long ribbon-like avenue looked toward the line of the octroi wall leaned towards the window looked at Colombe's bar stayed behind the window observed people held her children dressed her children up looked down to the streets	tidied the room made the bed swept the floor dusted the furniture had a wash hurried to work made a bundle of dirty clothes went to the pawnshop left for the washhouse entered the washhouse asked for her wooden beater and scrubbing brush took her number undid her bundle sorted the clothes separated colored clothes filled her tub put the white clothes in rolled up her sleeves cleaned the clothes beat the clothes washed the clothes washed her colored clothes hung her washing	blamed Lantier for not being able to maintain the household blamed Lantier for not being responsible blamed Lantier had a row with Lantier
2	had a drink with Coupeau refused Coupeau's proposal looked through the window observed people listened to Coupeau promised herself	carried customer's laundry	explained to Coupeau about maintaining a household stated her thought said that she only wanted to work in peace

	went along listened studied the façade preferred to wait went to the concierge's lodge looked up looked up noticed read the names observed the making looked at the building		
3	went to the Louvre entered to the Louvre took refuge beside Maman Coupeau	worked extra hours remade an old dress cleaned everything	bought a silk cape, colton gloves, a rose for her bonnet, and shoes
4	bought second-hand furniture moved in gazed solemnly named the baby Nana slept for ten hours refused to go back to bed hid her saving book went out with the Goujets drew a plan of the rooms talked the plan looked into her saving book held Nana watched Coupeau agreed to sleep agreed to sleep asked to pay in installments checked how much money she had rushed over spent a lot of money did her sums finally accepted the money	worked 12 hours a day kept her home clean fed her family members dusted furniture put Étienne's bed in the room ironed curtains tried to make stew peeled potatoes browned the mutton stirred the gravy laid a place on the table ran to the kitchen ironed petticoats banged away with her irons carried a custard tart did not miss more than two days a week at work worked as a slave supported Coupeau to walk went back to work rented the shop	sent Claude to study sent Étienne to school devoted herself to Coupeau defended Coupeau
5	bought some cakes worked herself up moved in sat down looked at her ten irons knelt to have a look woke Coupeau up gazed glanced obliged to people enjoyed a laze behaved nicely gave Coupeau money said she did not want took of his shoes undressed Coupeau put him in bed	signed the lease stayed in the wallpaper shop did sums did washing filled the store full of coke dipped clothes into the water put them in the basket handed the basket over asked her apprentice repeated her request ironed a bonnet prepared some hot water starch said piles the dirty clothes together counted the items made her assistant count the items	quarreled went to see Maman Coupeau tried to appeal to their feelings moved Maman Coupeau in

	slapped Nana
	discussed arguments
		identified whose items are they
		begged her assistant
		banked down the fire
		hung sheets
		finished Madame Boche's
		    bonnet
		concentrated on the work
		worked silently and carefully
		ironed the ruffles
		went back to work
		went on ironing until three in
		the
		    morning
		filled water	

6	walked slowly went down called Goujet described her journey waited for Goujet made a detour moved closer followed Goujet went to Goujet's workshop went to see Goujet sought refuge in Goujet stayed at the workshop	delivered some washing emptied her basket put the linen on the bed charged called out all the items managed to serve coffee told her assistant to stop managed to serve coffee poured coffee served Virginie some coffee washed the coffee stain	asked why people didn't know Étienne discussed debt tried to stop Bijard lifted Madame Bijard up

7	spent a lot of money
	added imaginary special
	    days
	talked about setting up a
	    party
	discussed
	asked Maman Coupeau
	asked Madame Lerat
	told everyone
	told Nana to just slap
	    Augustine
	looking on the pavement
	stared at Coupeau and
	    Lantier
		started cooking
		cooked for the party
		took measurement
		stirred noodle soup
		poured glasses of wine
		served noodle soups
		She took care of the children
		took the goose out
		carried the goose
		took the bottles of wine out
		served coffee
		poured Lantier a cup of coffee
			discussed the Lorilleux
			tried to fix the seats
			looked after Père Bru
			begged Coupeau not to do
			bad
			    things

8	pushed Étienne to Lantier
	tried to find a place for
	    Lantier to live
	spoke to the landlord
	behaved like she did not
	    have money issue
	tried to explain
	told Goujet about Madame
	    Bijard
	stared at Goujet
	waited for Coupeau
	went to Colombe's bar
	looked for Coupeau
	begged Maman Coupeau
	asked Lantier
	spent a pleasant evening
	tried to step over Coupeau
	allowed Lantier to take her
		poured Lantier a drink
		ironed a dress
		fetched a bottle of drink and
		    some glasses
		filled the glasses with wine
		worked to feed two men
		lit a candle
			explained to Goujet
			explained
			mentioned the debt
			begged Lantier to leave her
			    alone

	in bed		

9	was not behaving very well
	tricked people
	began sleeping with both
	    men
	kept those bad customers
	mounted up debts
	became maniac on
	pawning
	    things
	sent Maman Coupeau to
	    buy booze
	drank with Maman
	    Coupeau
	stared about her wild-eyed
	did her best to find a
	    modest measure of
	    happiness
	slept with Lantier
	told Lantier Maman
	    Coupeau was dead
	told Nana to get up
	borrowed more money
	from
	    Goujet
	stayed to close up the shop
	swallowed bread and
	cheese
		was rough to the household
		gave Madame Goujet a shirt
		gave Madame Goujet a shirt
		had to cook dishes for both men
		brought the skirt back
		stayed to close up the shopc
			burst out to Lantier
			revolted against Lantier's
			plan
			dressed Maman Coupeau
			looked for a little crucifix
			suggested they should do a
			    proper funeral
			argued with Madame
			Lorilleux
			told her landlord

10	waited for Coupeau
	told Coupeau to stop
	    drinking
	went with Coupeau to the
	    hospital
	went to the asylum
	stayed with Coupeau
	went home
	visited Coupeau
	told Coupeau the doctor
	    was right
	took Coupeau back by
	    omnibus
	stayed away from laundry
	left stuff untidy
	took things easy
	never swept the floor
	did as she pleased
	hunted for Coupeau
	went to fetch Coupeau
	went back to see Coupeau
	looked at what the guys
	    were drinking
	noticed other two men
	    drinking at the counter
	stared seriously
	glanced at the machine
	had the second glass
		cluttered up the floor space
		found ironing job
		washed a bonnet
		dealt with a hole in her dress
			gave Père Bru some bread
			    crust
			kept an eye on Lalie
			tried to help Lalie
			rushed in to help Lalie
			tried to attack Bijard
			wiped the blood

11	told Nana to stop	noted the time on the clock started working again	blamed Coupeau waited for money

	told Coupeau to leave Nana
	    alone
	drank
	sat hunched up
	gazed vacantly
	asked Nana
	drank for three days
	stopped working
	waited for the news about
	    Nana
	stared into space
	went out of the shop
	drank
	went into the Grand Salon
	tried to calm Coupeau
	down
	went around the edge of
	the
	    dance floor
	told Coupeau to look at
	    Nana
	whispered to Coupeau
	calmed Coupeau down
	fetched Nana
	beat Nana
	shook Nana to wake her up
	threw water at Nana
		cleaned Virginie's shop
		obeyed Virginie's order
		scrubbed the floor
		knelt on the floor
		scrubbed the floor
		clutched the wooden back of the
		    brush
		pushed a pool of filthy water
		rinsed the floor
		wiped the floor
		washed the dishes
		polished a plate
		climbed back upstairs
		told Coupeau about Nana	

12	lay on the mattress
	sold the wool
	sold the bed cover
	sold the pillow
	sold the bolster
	sold the bed
	huddled up in her dress
	stared at the bare walls
	sold kitchen utensils
	tried to find something to
	    sell
	borrowed money
	asked to borrow some
	    money
	asked for money
	showed her hand
	left the Lorilleux
	went out of the room
	went to Coupeau's
	    workshop
	begged God
	looked at shops
	dragged herself out
	asked money
	asked money
	looked at buildings
	stood in front of the bar
	looked around for guys
	kept asking money
	stared at Père Bru
		N/A	comforted Lalie
			pulled the bed sheet down
			covered Lalie up

	went away without a word kept walking moved away followed Goujet went into Goujet's room ate with her fingers kept eating told Goujet climbed the stairs told Bazouge begged Bazouge threw herself on the mattress		
13	asked what happened gazed at Coupeau followed the doctor told the doctor told Madame Lerat spent money on drink slept beside Père Bru	made a stew ate the stew alone had a little meal did disgusting job	asked to be left alone

Table 3.2 Gervaise's actions in *L'Assommoir*

a.   **Response to insecurity**

As a response to the impressions previously mentioned, Denise decided to perform actions in several ways to ease the feelings of insecurity as listed in the first column of Table 3.1; she (1) observed the environment; (2) made herself at ease and; (3) acted appropriately.

The act of observing the environment is represented by verb phrases namely 'observed', 'examined', 'walked around', and 'looked at'. The act of making herself at ease is represented by some of the verb phrases that appeared repetitively such as 'stayed in her room', 'had a heart-to-heart talk', 'went out for a walk', 'get herself some luxuries', and 'planned to rest'. The act of acting appropriately is represented by verb phrases such as 'introduced herself', 'made very little fuss', 'ignore obstacles', 'learned to cope', 'played a part of a well-dressed girl', 'kept a pleasant manner', and 'dressed simply'. All the actions in this subcategory took place in no specific point in time and tends to have no relation to the protagonist's character development. However, Denise only made herself at ease in the back stage and act appropriately in the front stage, while she observed the environment without further actions in both sites. Her decision to act or not to act suggests that she considered some actions appropriate to perform in front of audiences of both genders, especially in public spaces like workplace.

Following the same criteria, Gervaise 'looked', 'observed', 'gazed', 'watched', and 'glanced' in order to observe the environment in her neighborhood. To make herself at ease, she 'had a drink', 'went to see Goujet', 'sought refuge', 'spend a lot of money', 'behave like she did not have money issue', 'spent a pleasant evening', 'went to Colombe's bar', 'did as she pleased', and 'went into the Grand Salon'. Then, to act appropriately, she 'listened', 'asked', 'obliged', 'behave nicely', and 'begged'.

In contrast to Denise, Gervaise's character development is evident; most of her observations appears in the first five chapters of the novel, while she started to make herself at ease since the beginning of the sixth chapter towards the end. In Gervaise's case, a possible implication is that she had developed her self-confidence after being cheated on by Lantier and began to treat herself after starting up the laundry shop, and her self-confidence fell miserably when she got engaged with alcohol despite her hatred towards it at the beginning. Another implication is the fact that there was no separate sphere between household and workplace in Gervaise's residence explains why the concept of appropriateness in *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir* are rendered differently.

b.   Response to poverty

To examine the protagonists' actions as a response to poverty, I divided her actions from the second column of Table 3.1 into two types: (1) paid work and (2) unpaid work.

As for Denise, the actions concerning *productive* or paid work, which means acts of working in which the performer received wages or salaries, occur since the beginning of the novel until the end of the ninth chapter when she was promoted to Assistant Buyer.[79] The verb phrases that reflect her tasks and responsibilities in the grand magasin are 'organized a pile of clothes', 'followed the order', 'worked thirteen hours a day', 'waited for customers', 'took travel coats', 'presented latest models', 'unfolded the garments', 'folded up the garments', 'brought more designs', 'presented the design', 'carried foulard', 'handed the foulard', 'followed the customers', 'came down to work at 8 o'clock', 'entered the number of silk garments', and 'compared the lists'. The other verb phrases that pointed to paid works outside the grand magasin are 'had extra work', 'got a tiny job', 'sewed neckties', 'stitched some silk', and 'mended some lace'. In the meantime, Denise also spend a lot of

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[79] It is to be noted that it does not mean that she did not work after the ninth chapter; it is only that Zola did not emphasize her act of working but instead focused on her act against unfairness, which I am going to discussed in the next subsection.

her times in the first half of the novel engaging in unpaid work or *reproductive* house chore, which is exemplified by verb phrases such as 'repaired her clothes', 'mended her underwear', 'darned her night-dress', 'patched her shoes', 'washed clothes', 'sewed clothes', 'did up her old dress', 'mended a blouse', 'cleaned her room', and 'take care of her brother'.

Similar to Denise, Gervaise did *productive* work as shown in the second column of Table 3.2 such as 'carried customers' laundry', 'worked extra hours', 'worked 12 hours a day', 'worked as a slave', 'dipped clothes in the water', 'ironed', 'identified items', 'concentrated on the work', 'went on ironing until three in the morning', 'delivered some washings', 'scrubbed the floor', 'rinsed the floor', 'polished a plate', and 'did disgusting job'. An enormous amount of *reproductive* house chores also took a lot of Gervaise's time; she 'tidied the room', 'made the bed', 'swept the floor', 'dusted the furniture', 'sorted the clothes', 'remade an old dress', 'fed her family members', 'cooked', 'served coffee', and 'pour a drink', for instance.

The actions regarding paid work made it obvious that both protagonists worked hard because they treated money as an ultimate key to a comfortable life. One difference is that while Denise determined to save money from her paid work, Gervaise eventually failed at saving. It cannot be refused that Gervaise's life ended horribly because of her spending behavior and Coupeau's destructive drinking habit, which in turn devour her to sell herself for the drink. However, other factors that prevented her from saving money are evident. The fact that reproductive house chores and family-related events such as marriage and funeral usually come at a cost and consume a lot of time and energy is one of the factors.

c.   **Response to unfairness**

Despite of three inactive actions, as a response to unfairness that happened to her and people around her, Denise (1) acted out of empathy and (2) acted out of concern for rights. Because of her feeling that people around her deserved better, she 'visited Uncle Baudu', 'took care of Geneviève', 'checked in with Geneviève', 'gave Jean money', 'told Uncle Baudu not to accuse himself', 'came to the funeral early', and 'approached the suicidal', for instance. In other situations where unfairness was found, she acted out of concern for her and other's rights. The verb phrases found in those actions are, for instance, 'stated her view', 'asked for opinion', 'talked to Colomban about Geneviève', 'told Mouret

she would go to her room', 'emphasized that she was respectable', 'proposed a system of leave', 'planned to create a mutual aid society', 'supported the idea of forming a staff band', 'pushed the idea of entrusting special midwife', 'offered Bouras compensation', and 'offer her uncle a job'.

As for Gervaise, the verb phrases that reflect her empathy towards the ones around her are 'devoted herself to Coupeau', 'defended Coupeau', 'went to see Maman Coupeau', 'moved Maman Coupeau in', 'tried to stop Bijard from beating his wife', 'lift Madame Bijard up', 'looked after Père Bru', 'tried to help Lalie', and 'tried to attack Bijard'. Additionally, Gervaise's concern for rights is mostly related to gender roles and her standpoint concerning the role, power, and responsibilities of a husband; she 'blamed Lantier for not being able to maintain the household', 'blamed Lantier for not being responsible', 'had a row with Lantier', 'explained Coupeau about maintaining a household', 'burst out to Lantier', and 'revolted against Lantier's plan'.

In conclusion, the data presentation suggests several cultural stimuli did motivate the protagonists' impressions, and shaped their expressions and actions. The socio-cultural concepts, namely (1) social values; (2) division of labor; (3) violation of rights, will be discussed in the next chapter alongside the protagonist's social performances.

Chapter 4
Qualitative Interpretation

Through the collection, categorization, and presentation of the items in the dataset, we learned the behaviors and everyday practices of the two female protagonists. Therefore, in this chapter, I attempt to analyze the psychological development of both characters using the criteria obtained from the study of Erving Goffman's dramaturgy analysis, including impressions, expressions, and actions. It is to be emphasized that the findings shown in the previous chapter cannot be applied to the entire population of poor female Parisians in the nineteenth century since the items were gathered from fictional writings, not from historical accounts. The reason that fictional characters were chosen as the subject of study instead of people in reality is that they have one unique potentiality: both people in reality and fictional characters can preserve their culture if they keep carrying on their practices, but only fictional character in famous novels can project and transpire those cultures to people in future generations *on a large scale*.

Even though we cannot deduce from the dataset the mutual behaviors of the poor female Parisians, the social settings in the novel still *partially* coincide with the historical context presented in the second chapter. For example, as explained in the section regarding insecurity, each of the main settings in *The Ladies'* Paradise, whose features and development were discussed, allows a specific kind of impressions; the city's hugeness and grandeur make Denise feel nervous and awkward, the unequal status embedded in the grand magasin underlines her fear, and familiarity in the small boutique encourages her to feel secure. As for Gervaise who lived in the poor neighborhood throughout her character arc, her impressions represented by verb phrases such as 'down-hearted', 'unguarded', and 'sick at heart' signify hopelessness, which the environment seems to carry.

In addition, the data set suggest a changing impressions of the two protagonists, which I argue as being influenced by general yet timeless socio-cultural stimuli in the social settings. The mentioned attendant cultural stimuli in both novel tend to be non-economic values, division of labor, and violations of rights, which in turn played a huge role in inducing the protagonists to act like they did. Hence, I attempt to use the graphs to present the data to open doors to qualitative analysis in this chapter, which is aimed to answer the following questions: (1) What are the cultural stimuli that brought about the protagonists'

impressions, which consequently motivated their expressions and actions? (2) What is the power of social institutions, i.e. family and grand magasin, and what are the consequential effects of the power being exercised? (3) What are the protagonists' contribution to the nineteenth-century Parisian society?

Due to the intention to apply and try on the verb-oriented method, I decided to use several line graphs to illustrate the ration between verb phrases in each subcategories and the relations between the protagonists' impressions and actions. Moreover, to step out from most quantitative approaches to literary criticism, which often focus on literary style and authorship, I would like to test out other alternatives as David L. Hoover suggested that quantitative approaches "can also be used to investigate larger interpretive issue like plot, theme, genre, period, tone, and modality."[80]

Therefore, in this study, I will refer to the graphs to investigate the protagonists' personality and performances, which transform in accordance with each plot points. It is to be mentioned that the graphs themselves may not lead us to multidimensional result, which incorporate historical, political, social, and economic context of, in this case, the nineteenth-century Paris, since "all too often quantitative studies fail to address problems of real literary significance, ignore the subject-specific background, or concentrate too heavily on technology or software."[81] But at any rate, I believe that it allows us to see twofold result, including the protagonists' social performances.

Regarding the interpretation itself, the graphs will be presented alongside character arcs, plot points, and the protagonists' pre-assigned identities. I plan to enact this process at an early stage of the interpretation because the protagonists' impressions and actions (with an exception of expressions) after each plot points varies due to their pre-assigned identities, which are causally subjected to social settings. Next, I will present the graphs that represent a direct variation between impressions and actions, and examine the verb phrases that were used. After that, since the protagonists' impressions seems to have no significant relation to their expressions, I will move on to the graphs regarding expressions and analyze the data using Goffman's standards, that are politeness and decorum, as a criteria.

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[80] David L. Hoover, "Quantitative Analysis and Literary Studies," in *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies*, ed. Ray Siemens and Susan Schreibman (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 517.
[81] In this case, the terms 'technology' or 'software' that Hoover mentioned represent various technological tools or digital procedures that researchers use to collect the data, not technology in the sense of materialism.

I.   Correlations between impressions and actions

I observe that in both novels, Zola assigned the protagonists to several identities, which therefore transpired them to comply with or disobey the pre-existed roles of those identities. Once the protagonists were identified by Zola as, for example, a jobless girl, an abandoned women, and a mother, they had to behave according to the roles attached to those identities. Thereafter, they started to feel insecure, acknowledged their poverty, and realized that they were treated unfairly.

In this chapter, I separate the analysis and interpretation of impression and action from expression, and suggest in accordance with the graphs below that expressions are standard-laden, while actions are mostly influenced by impressions. By this, I mean I will look at the correlation between impression and action through hypothetical imperative as I argued before that impressions intertwine tightly with actions i.e. one feels or thinks, then one acts. On the contrary, expressions are *not* determined by impressions as much as social standards and social construction as a whole. According to Goffman, social standards are divided into 'politeness' and 'decorum'. The former refers to the kind of verbal expressions and gestures a performer uses to communicate with an audience. The latter refers to the way a performer comports oneself while being present in a social settings.[82] In sum, even though I can use other criteria to support this decision, I choose to hold on to Goffman's notion as initially intended.

Therefore, in this section, I will discuss the correlation between impression and action by using quantitative data to interpret it qualitatively, referring to the noticeable trend in the graphs, which will be presented below. The analysis and interpretation of expressions will be discussed in the next section.

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[82] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, 107.

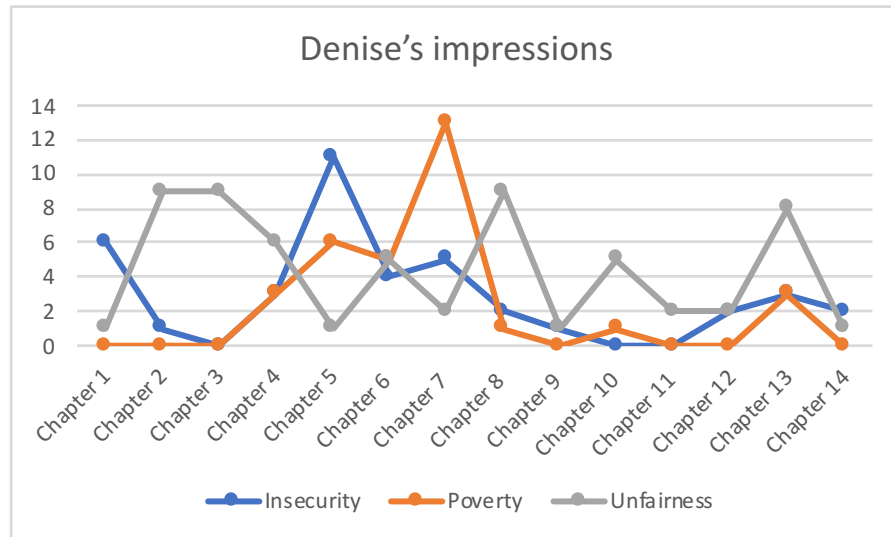**(i)   Denise's impressions and actions**
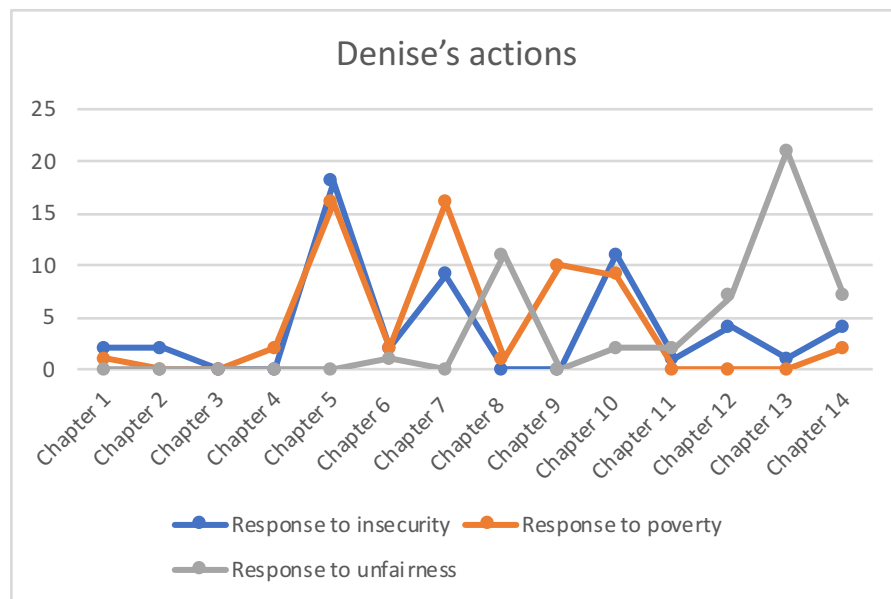

Figure 1.1 Denise's impressions

Figure 1.2 Denise's actions

In the case of Denise, I will refer to five plot points in her character arc and her pre-assigned identities, which will be presented in italics, as well as the graphs that indicated her impressions and actions. First, in the beginning of the first chapter, Denise moved from the countryside to inner Paris as *a jobless girl*. She felt insecure, scared, frightened, ashamed, and not confident because of the unfamiliar environment, as presented in the subsection regarding insecurity in the previous chapter. According to Figure 1.1, we can

notice an descending blue line which indicates that Denise felt less insecure when she finally got a job and became more familiar with the environment in the third chapter. As for an ascending orange line in Figure 1.1, it can be seen as the indication of her financial status, which was lower than her expectation and made her feel impoverished. Regarding the feeling of unfairness, we can link an ascending grey line to the fact that Denise were abandoned by Uncle Baudu, whom she expected to be helping her to get by in Paris.

Second, in the beginning of the fifth chapter, Denise became *a salesgirl* who could earn money. Because she had to work hard and received orders, she felt tired and hopeless. Also, she struggled to adapt and tried to be brave to fulfill the attendant roles. According to Figure 1.1, we can notice an descending blue line between the fifth and the seventh chapter, indicating that she feel more secure after she got a job and started to hang out with a friend and started to blend in the community. Because of this, she started to take interest in romantic relationships and felt familiar with Parisian way of life. However, the ascending orange line in Figure 1.2 indicates that she worked hard because she worried about being fired, since laying off employees during the low season occurred annually during that time. Moreover, we can assume that the grey peak in the sixth chapter represents Denise's feeling of unfairness when she was fired without plausible reason.

Third, the ascending orange line between the sixth and the seventh chapter in Figure 1.1 shows that her feelings of poverty intensified after she was fired, and the orange peak in the seventh chapter in Figure 1.2 represents her action of working harder to make ends meet. Fortunately, in the beginning of the eighth chapter, she became *an employee in a small boutique* and began to gain money again, as indicated in the descending orange line between the seventh and the eighth chapter in Figure 1.1. Moreover, she started to empathize the boutiques that are crumbling down. During the eighth chapter, she thought that they were exploited and therefore started to have opinions and act accordingly, as seen in the grey peak in Figure 1.2.

Lastly, from the tenth chapter onwards, she went back to the grand magasin and became *an assistant buyer* and then *a buyer*. The fact that the blue, orange, and grey line in Figure 1.1 stay lower than in the middle of the story indicates that that she finally had less impressions concerning poverty, felt like she could give orders, became confident, and dared to do what she wanted. Moreover, she felt more insecure in the thirteenth chapter

when she fell in love with Mouret. This is another plot point that makes the blue line in both figures ascends.

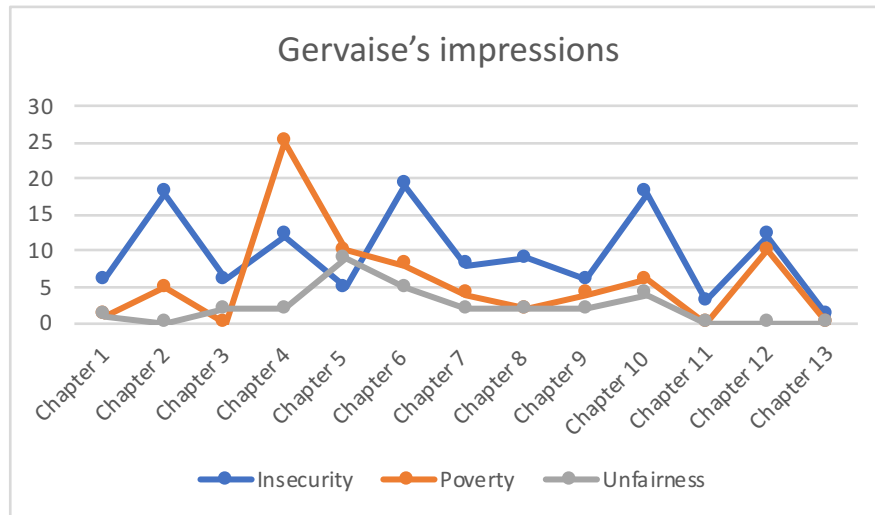**(ii)   Gervaise's impressions and actions**
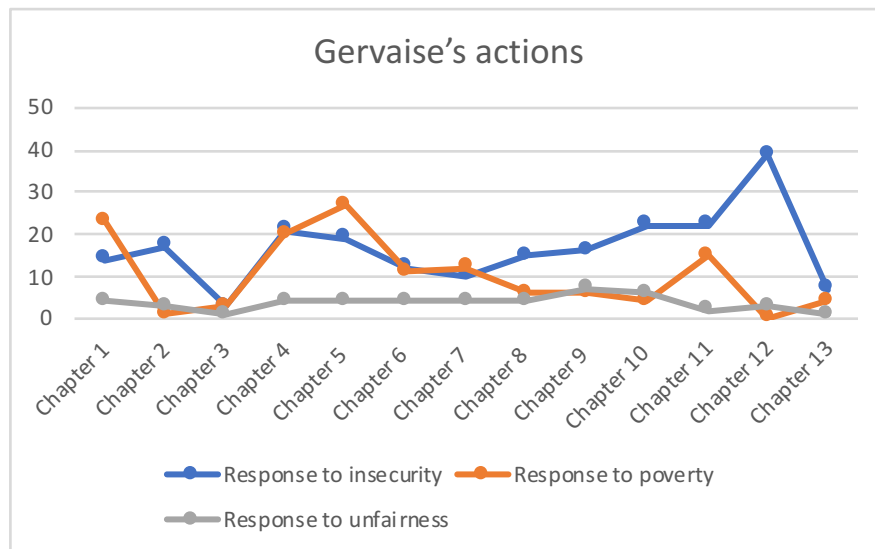

Figure 1.3 Gervaise's impressions

Figure 1.4 Gervaise's actions

To follow the same process we did with Denise's impressions and actions, the five main plot points and Gervaise's changing pre-assigned identities will be presented below. To start with the first plot point, Gervaise was introduced into the first chapter as *a single woman with a child born out of wedlock*, cohabiting with a guy named Lantier, and became

desperate after he left her for his then-lover. During those times, she was an employee, working as a washerwoman and laundress, and was pursued by a diligent guy named Coupeau so much that she felt insecure and unguarded, as the first peak points on the blue line in Figure 1.3 shows.

The second plot point arises when she married to Coupeau and was about to start her own household business, becoming *a married woman*, *mother*, and *employer*. At this point, we can observe in Figure 1.3 and Figure 1.4 that all the points of every colors in the third chapter are in a lowest position, which means that the amount of verb phrases in the chapter is relatively low; in the third chapter, there is no verb phrase in the poverty category and there are only three verb phrases related to her responses to poverty. To interpret the scenario quantitatively, Gervaise did not seem to feel insecure, impoverished, or exploited, and hence she acted less than in other chapters and all of her actions in the chapter are only related to the preparation of her marriage and the ceremony.

The third plot point was when her business was starting to go downhill in the ninth chapter as we can notice that the orange line in Figure 1.3, which indicates her feeling related to poverty, begins to ascend. In the beginning of the tenth chapter, Gervaise transformed from a successful and highly-respected employer into *an unemployed*, sometimes worked as a cleaning woman for the sake of daily wages and consequently became the poorest of all as the third peak point on the blue line in Figure 1.3 shows. The fourth plot point represents her final downfall, which starts from the tenth chapter and continues through the latter chapters when she became *the poorest of all*, begging people on the street for money. The fifth plot point occurs in the beginning of the twelfth chapter when she felt most vulnerable as *a dying woman*, as the last peak point on the blue line in Figure 1.3 illustrates. Regarding her actions in the latter chapters, the amount of verb phrases is significantly low despite her negative impressions. It is arguable that the plausible reason of this passivity is her deteriorated physical and mental state as a result of her being unemployed, her drinking behavior, and the death of her alcoholic husband Coupeau. The only exception is the significantly high amount of verb phrases regarding her response to insecurity in the twelfth chapter, as shown in Figure 1.4. However, when I examine these verb phrases, I realized that they were all about her impoverishment and desperation such as selling furnitures in her room, trying to find a little amount of money to feed herself day-by-day, and borrowing money from people just to stay alive.

(iii)   Correlations

Thus, I will move on to the three kinds of impression, the three kinds of action, and the correlation between them. Regarding insecurity, poverty, and unfairness, the interpretation will be based respectively on values, division of labor, and violation of rights.
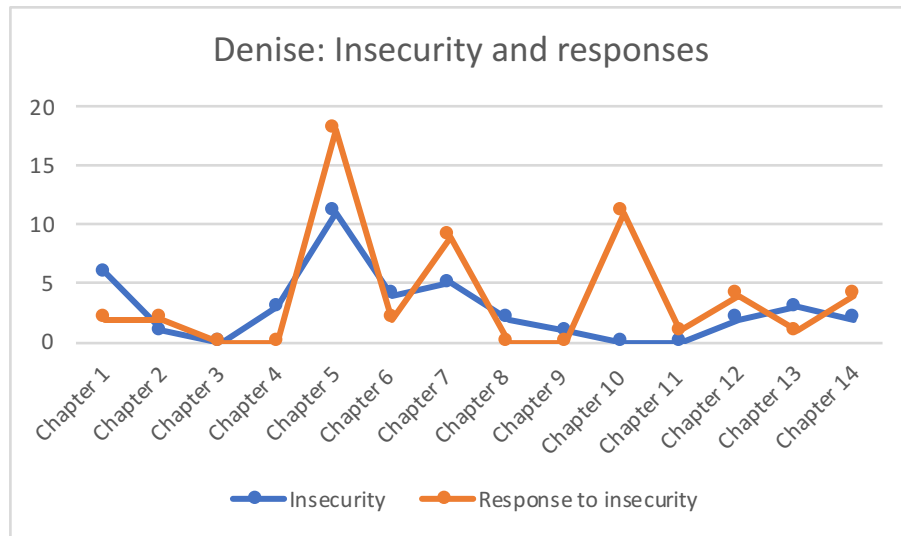
a.   Insecurity and responses
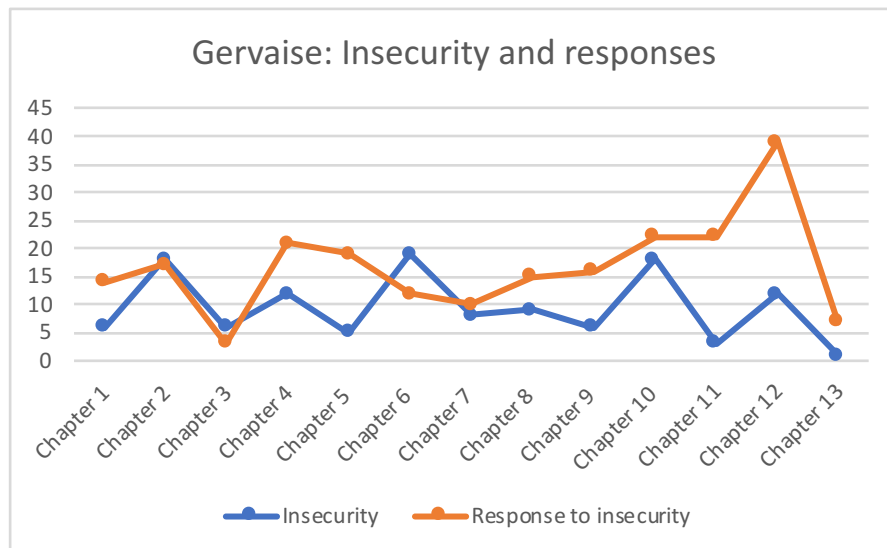

Figure 2.1 Denise: Insecurity and responses

Figure 2.2 Gervaise: Insecurity and responses

While we shall see in the latter sections that the protagonists' feelings regarding poverty and unfairness came from division of labor and violation of rights, the protagonists' feelings regarding insecurity came from a totally different concept, that is 'values'. By scrutinizing the protagonists' verb phrases regarding impressions in Table 1.1 and Table 1.2, I suggest that (1) the root of Denise's insecurity is the lack of authority as shown in the fifth plot point when she became a salesgirl, and (2) the roots of Gervaise's insecurity are the lack of luxuries when she tried to set up her own shop in the fourth chapter, the fear of domestic violence when she witnessed Bijard's violence in the tenth chapter, and the fear of starvation when she begged for money in the twelfth chapter. Both women used value-laden actions that are relatively connected with their impressions as a coping strategy towards undesirable environment.

In *Value: anthropological theories of* value, David Graeber discusses the concept of value in terms of anthropology as well as other principles. He began with his definition of value by comparing two common conceptions of value, that are 'value' and 'economic value', and noted that they are two different sides of the same thing. Despite of that, Graeber explained that for anthropologists, sociologists, and philosophers, values "begin precisely where (economic) 'value' ends."[83] This observation implies that Kluckhohn's conceptions of value as "things in which people are interested—things that they want, desire to be or become, feel as obligatory, worship, enjoy"[84]—was and is still widely accepted.

Furthermore, Kluckhohn also warned that to say that one desires a thing does not mean that one simply wants it; one also determined whether the desires are legitimate and worthwhile.[85] For that matter, even though the values we discuss seem to be related to economic or financial status, the protagonists did not want to gain money for the sake of having money. They want to have authority, luxury, peaceful domestic life, and supply for food, yet having money is a significant factor in achieving the Kluckhohnian 'conceptions of desirable' as remarked.

In the third chapter of this thesis, the verb phrases regarding insecurity were categorized by social settings where the protagonists reside. Denise appeared in three social

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[83] David Graeber. "Value: anthropological theories of value," in *A handbook of economic anthropology* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2005), 444.
[84] Robert Wuthnow, "The Sociological Study of Value," *Sociological Forum* 23, no.2 (June 2008): 334.
[85] Graeber, "Value: anthropological theories of value," 439.

settings: urban Paris, the grand magasin, and the small boutiques, and Gervaise appeared only in the poor neighborhood on Goutte-d'Or. Therefore, the question to be raised here is: what in those settings construct the 'non-economic values' of the two protagonists? I argue that those values were not initially attached in the settings. The characters and features of each setting did not construct those values, but they rather stimulated the protagonists' impressions. The negative impressions presented in the dataset forced the protagonists to come up with coping strategies, which turned out to be the act of 'clinging onto something'. Upon admitting that 'value' and 'economic value' are distinguishable, I consider the values the protagonists chose to cling on and act accordingly are mostly non-economic ones. I suggest that Denise was clinging onto authority, and Gervaise onto luxury, peaceful domestic life, and supply for food.

To clarify the relation between the settings and the verb phrases, my first speculation is that the characters and features of social settings stimulate the protagonists' negative impressions. First, hugeness and grandeur of urban Paris stimulate Denise's astonishment, nervousness, shyness, awkwardness, and shock. Second, hierarchy and authority in the grand magasin stimulate Denise's embarrassment, suffering, fear, torment, shame, anxiety, insignificance, and weakness. Third, frugality, violence, starvation in the poor neighborhood stimulate Gervaise's fear, terror, dismay, exasperation, fright, down-heartedness, soft-heartedness, unguardedness, embarrassment, torment, hopelessness, and mental weakness. The second speculation is that the protagonists clung onto non-economic values to cope with negative impressions, and engaged in different types of actions as indicated in the data categorization as I will discuss forthwith.

As for Denise, she felt insecure because she encountered the authority. As a consequence, she acted in accordance with the norms of her pre-assigned identity. Her actions as presented in the dataset point that she only made herself at ease in the back stage and acted appropriately in the front stage. This scenario implies that she considered manner management her main task as an ideal salesgirl and potential boss, and an essential process in reaching the non-economic value she desired. Once she owned authority at the end of the novel, she had no need to suffer from those insecurities anymore. According to the verb phrases, she did not want to exploit others in the workplace but seemed to use authority as a tool to achieve comfortability, respect, and friendship rather than appreciate authoritative position per se. The only time Denise exercised her authority to gain respect was when she

'called Clara over' and 'blamed Clara for chatting' in the twelfth chapter because Clara's behavior contradicted her duty as a salesgirl. Another layer is that Clara usually gossiped about Denise when they were in the same professional position. For this matter, it can be assumed that her actions of calling Clara over and blaming her was a kind of revenge. To conclude, though there is no verb phrases that point to her desire for authority, she indeed made use of authority that was bestowed upon her.

On the contrary, Gervaise felt insecure because she longed for comfortability, witnessed domestic violence in the neighborhood, and almost starved to death. As a result, she valued luxury, peaceful domestic life, and supply for food. By this, I would like to discuss respectively her non-economic values in relation to her social performances. Regarding luxury, Sarah Maza wrote that the present-day scholars "duly noted the growth of commerce and consumerism, but what they called luxury was not associated with any discrete social group,"[86] and usually consider luxury "a disease affecting all of society and whose main symptom was the alarming confusion of social conditions."[87] For all that, Maza noted that luxury might not be as repulsive as perceived before the 1789 revolution; luxury after that period was not a social crisis and did not destroy the social foundation, since the state had no control to loss anymore.[88]

Despite of Maza's comment that luxury was later perceived as a neutral concept, Zola tends to blame luxury only when it becomes the object of desirable of the have-nots. When Denise was still an ordinary salesgirl, she was portrayed as a respected one because she tried not to spend money. But when she was promoted and gained more money, her act of consuming luxury was approved. On the contrary, Gervaise's desires for luxury and comfortability was portrayed through several verb phrases in the first column of Table 1.2 e.g. 'felt immense weariness', 'felt like she was dead', 'intrigued by the shops', and 'felt uncomfortable'. During the time she had been paid for work, she 'bought a second hand furniture', 'went out with the Goujets', 'spent a lot of money', 'enjoyed a laze', 'added imaginary special days', and 'talked about setting up a party'. By observing some of these verb phrases, it seems clear that the author disapproved her act of spending despite her nonstop hardworking.

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[86] Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary*, 34.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid, 55-57.

Apart from luxury, peaceful domestic life and supply for food fall into the same category, that is the stake concerning life and death. Regarding the former value, Gervaise 'dreamed of living with decent people', 'wanted to have Lalie's courage', 'tried to learn from Lalie', 'imagined Coupeau being aggressive', and 'wanted to stop the conversation with Coupeau'. Regarding the latter value, which I consider an economic one, the verb phrase 'felt her stomach was burning' appear twice. Consequently, she 'sold the housewares', 'sold the kitchen utensils', and 'borrowed money' to fill up her stomach.

Moreover, the male characters seems to be the root of Gervaise's insecurity; she was uncomfortable because her husband Coupeau did not work and help her feed the household, scared of domestic violence because her neighbor Bijard beat Madame Bijard and Lalie to death, and almost died because she had nothing to eat after the downfall of alcoholic Coupeau. The interesting aspect is that she did not follow the role of good wife and ideal woman who surrender herself to the norms, but pursued her autonomy and acted as an individual regardless of her gender. That is, the stake of Denise not following the roles of her pre-assigned identity is unemployment. On the contrary, Gervaise not following the roles of her pre-assigned identity has no stake; she will not be poorer, be beaten by her husband, or starve to death because she did not play the role of good wife or good mother. According to the novel, the worst thing that happened to her because her ignorance to play those roles is being gossiped about. Unlike Denise, she could make herself at ease in the front stage for this reason. Plus, while Denise act in accordance to her role, Gervaise acting appropriately has no significant implication.

Lastly, there is a minor observation regarding other female characters in both novels. Though other salesgirls in the grand magasin resided in the same social settings with Denise, their social performances were different. They might as well have the fear of authority, but they did not act in the exact same way and received the same treatment as Denise did. Meanwhile, other women in Goutte-d'Or also resided in the same neighborhood as Gervaise, but they did not choose to spoil themselves as Gervaise did in the latter half of the novel. This observation leads to the assumption that social settings impacted each characters differently. As a result, they valued different things and, therefore, act differently to come closer to their desired values.

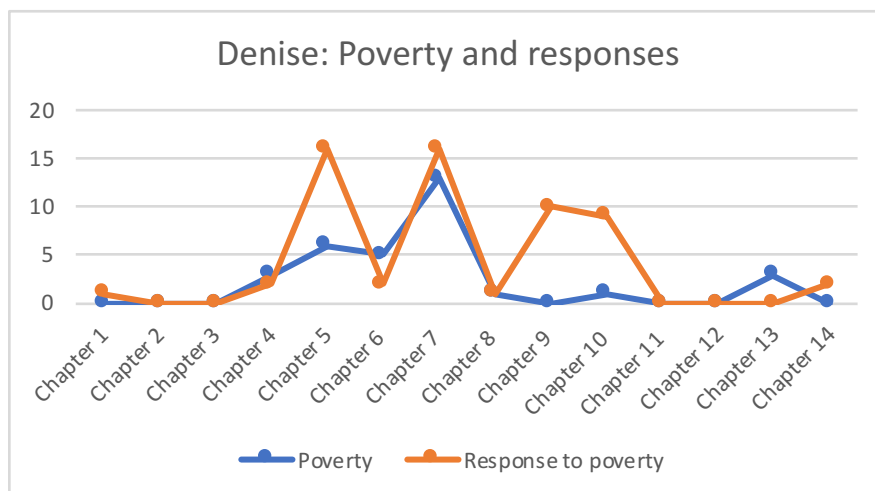**b.   Poverty and responses**

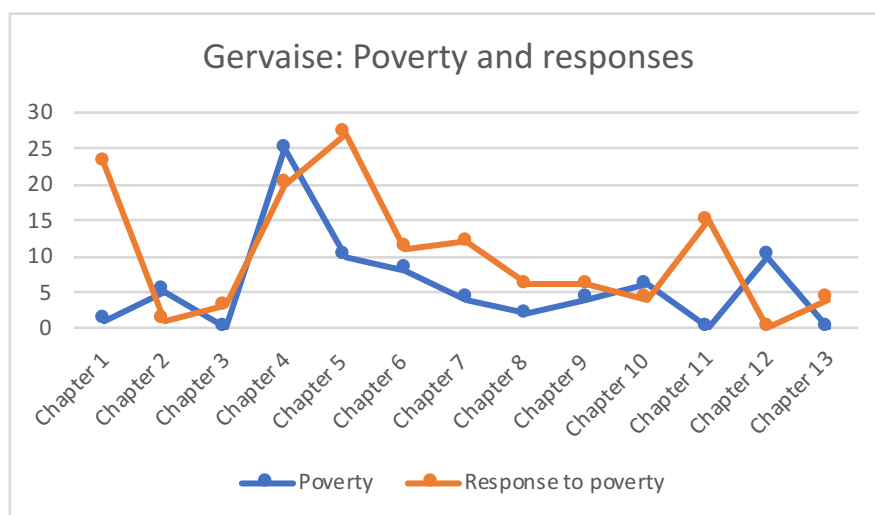

Figure 2.3 Denise: Poverty and responses

Figure 2.4 Gervaise: Poverty and responses

From what was mentioned in the data presentation, I notice that both protagonists have the same kind of turning points during the story arcs, that is the determinative change in their professional position, which is shown in several peak points in Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4. Nevertheless, even Denise was promoted and able to climb professional ladder, and Gervaise as an employed laundress became a laundry shop owner, it was still hard and sometimes troublesome for most women to enter the sphere of skilled jobs, which was occupied by men. In other words, their professional opportunities were often limited by

gendered division of labor, which sometimes allowed women to gain higher wages but still prohibited them to fill in men's position in the skilled job market.

Gendered division of labor as a norm plays a part in determining individuals' occupation in both simple and multi-department organization. The scenario is visible in the organization of workforce in the grand magasin in *The Ladies' Paradise*, that is, Denise entered a new workplace that can be counted as an institution which has its own culture, tradition, disciplines, and a specific kind of division of labor. In the novel, we can notice that men occupied occupations such as owner of both grand magasin and small boutiques, secretary, cashier, and salesman, while women occupied occupations such as buyer, assistant buyer, and salesgirl. Similar to the situation in the case studies we will hereby present, traditional gendered division of labor in the nineteenth-century France is sometimes flexible and changes according to economic and life situation. However, most of the occupations in the novels, which are set in inner Paris, are not interchangeable between two sexes. For *The Ladies' Paradise*, despite the fact that Madame Hédouin's position as the owner of the grand magasin was replaced by her husband Octave Mouret when she died, the other occupations in the organization seems to be fixed in term of gender regardless of economic situation. For *L'Assommoir*, it is obvious that trading and construction jobs were occupied by men, while laundry, handicraft, and cleaning jobs were occupied by women.

Gendered division of labor existed since pre-historic time. But considering the division of labor during the adjoining period, one of the case studies from rural areas in France appeared in Gay L. Gullickson's *The Sexual Division of Labor in Cottage Industry and Agriculture in the Pays de Caux: Auffay, 1750-1850*. Gullickson explained that in Auffay, it was known and accepted that women were responsible for spinning and men weaving, and this tradition remained until the end of the eighteenth century.[89] His main observation is that the shift of occupation was possible whenever there is economic concern. For example, Gullickson found that even the official records in the period pointed to a rigid gendered division of labor; women and men unofficially did some works of both spinning and weaving, and they usually taught spinning to their children of both sexes.[90] Also, women had to feed the household and take care of their husbands' works when he

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[89] Gay L. Gullickson, "The Sexual Division of Labor in Cottage Industry and Agriculture in the Pays de Caux: Auffay, 1750-1850," *French Historical Studies* 12, no.2 (Autumn 1981): 181.
[90] Ibid, 183.

was away to join the army, for instance. Economic situation became a concern in 1808 when a demand for male weavers became so high that the agricultural industry lacked male workers. Farmers decided to increase wages, so they could attract those men.[91] Women, whose amount of jobs decreased, not only because of "a diversification of female occupations but also a worsening of employment opportunities,"[92] started to work as weavers and dressmaking after men shifted to agriculture.

By the end of eighteenth century, many women and men especially the ones in guilds became merchants and were able to use new machines and technology.[93] The working sites that topped homes and workshops were bigger workplaces that held many departments and offers many occupations to employees. Nonetheless, it needs to be clarified that industrialization was not the origin of women's oppression during the age of industrial capitalism in terms of division of labor. The conflict arose since the early nineteenth century when male artisans and skilled workers were afraid that their higher economic status and their patriarchal power will be threatened.[94] Hence, women had less access to resources and were lacked of training[95], and in turn the employment of women have been limited and associated with domestic position as "the characteristics of women's work already conformed to those of a secondary labour market where employment were largely unskilled, or low status, poorly paid, casual, seasonal, and irregular."[96] Moreover, French politicians Jules Simon commented on the roles of mothers during the Second Empire and "insisted that women's primary duties lay as wives and mothers, not as workers in factories."[97]

Unlike the situation in Auffay, male workers in both novels seems to gain higher wages and have more freedom to choose a job, while the female protagonists did not seem to have the same opportunities. Because workers of both sexes played different roles and were responsible for different tasks, they also received poorer social welfare and had lower

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[91] Ibid, 189.
[92] Ibid, 192.
[93] Daryl M. Hafter, *Women at Work in Preindustrial France*. (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 4.
[94] Katrina Honeyman and Jordan Goodman, "Women's work, gender conflict, and labour markets in Europe, 1500-1900," *The Economic History Review New Series* 44, no. 4 (November 1991): 608.
[95] Daryl M. Hafter, *Women at Work in Preindustrial France*, 54.
[96] Honeyman and Goodman, "Women's work, gender conflict, and labour markets in Europe, 1500-1900", 610.
[97] Rachel G. Fuchs. *Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the Nineteenth Century*. (New Jersey, Rutgers University Press,1992), 52.

social position. Once female workers like Denise and other salesgirls were recognized as people from a lower social position who lived a simpler lifestyle comparing to the male workers in the grand magasin, these women especially Denise tended to work very hard, not only to make ends meet but also to stabilize their financial status and uplift their social position in order to get used to a new lifestyle and blend in into the community. In trying to achieve these goals, it was possible that these women were motivated to work hard and compete with each other in order to be promoted, resonating with the strategy The Bon Marché's owner used to build up "the competitive spirit" among the employees in the organization.[98]

Gendered division of labor in small boutiques was much less complicated than the one in grand magasin. In the small boutiques in the novel can be counted as household business where men were leaders and women supporters. Most of the women in the small boutiques including Denise did not have to worry about upholding their social status, living an extravagant lifestyle, competing with colleagues for commissions[99], and considering the matter of day-to-day survival, due to better welfare and fixed salary[100] in the boutiques. What is common between the two settings, that are the grand magasin and the boutiques, is that it is male owners who were responsible for maintaining the financial stability of the business.

The protagonists' impressions relating to poverty in each situation and setting are of significant difference, depends on their social positions and gender roles. As Denise was identified as a single women and employee, Gervaise was identified as a business owner, married woman, and mother throughout her story arc. Therefore, she was responsible for both productive and reproductive work, while her husband Coupeau ended up doing nothing because he was not able to work due to his physical disability, and did not have to take care of the home and their children due to the pre-determined gender roles.

According to the graphs in Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4, it is to be observed that the protagonists' impressions towards own's poverty heightened when they cannot obtain their desired identity as Zola designed. The peak points in both figures represent the points in time not when Denise and Gervaise were poorest but when they felt impoverished the most. The peak point in Figure 2.3 is when Denise lost her job and he identity as a salesgirl and

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[98] Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920*, 82.
[99] Ibid, 82.
[100] Ibid, 81.

employee in the seventh chapter, and the one in Figure 2.4 is when Gervaise was making money to start her own business in the fourth chapter, dangling between two identities, that are employee and employer. Both protagonists felt bad about their life condition due to their expectation regarding their jobs, their status in the industry and their position in the whole job market. For Denise, it was more about feeding herself and her brothers, while for Gervaise it was more about working to meet her own expectation. At the end, both protagonists cannot manage to do so.

To focus on Denise's impressions, we will notice that apart from the verb phrases in Table 1.1, that is 'experienced hunger', 'experienced poverty', and 'grateful to have something to eat', which are straightforward and explain from a qualitative point of view how the blue line during the seventh and the eighth chapter ascends. Furthermore, there are other interesting verb phrases such as 'ashamed of her house', which means the dirt poor room she rented; 'missed the shop', which means the grand magasin; and 'desired to work elsewhere', which directed to the fact that she had to work in an old and rotten umbrella boutique. In the other hand, Gervaise in the fourth chapter did not response to poverty per se, but instead response to the wish to escape the poverty. According to Table 1.2, Gervaise seriously considered about opening the laundry and own a business; she thought, dreamt and worried about it so much that half of the verb phrases in the category obviously had 'the shop' as their objects.

All of Denise's work-related actions in the seventh chapter and Gervaise's in the fourth chapter have a direct variation with their impressions. From the quantitative point of view, it can be seen in Figure 2.3 that in the fifth and the seventh chapter, Denise's verb phrases regarding impressions and actions are of similar amount. By this, Denise engaged in verb-related actions because she felt impoverished. As for Gervaise, she engaged a lot in work-related actions such as 'worked 12 hours a day', 'did not miss more than two days at work', and 'worked as a slave'. What is worth mentioning about Gervaise is her role as a married woman and mother, which suggests that most of the actions in the fourth chapter are that of reproductive and hidden works like house chores and child-raising, which had always been referred to as the duties of wives and mothers. Gervaise might spend about the same amount of time on both kinds of work, but reproductive works appeared more frequently and were described in a more detailed and meticulous way as revealed through the responses to poverty in Table 3.2.

In this regard, the similarity between Denise's and Gervaise's responses to poverty are the fact that their works were unskilled ones, which made them gain less money and lower social status than men, and in turn intensifies their feeling of being poor and their wish to eliminate this feeling and gain the desired identities.
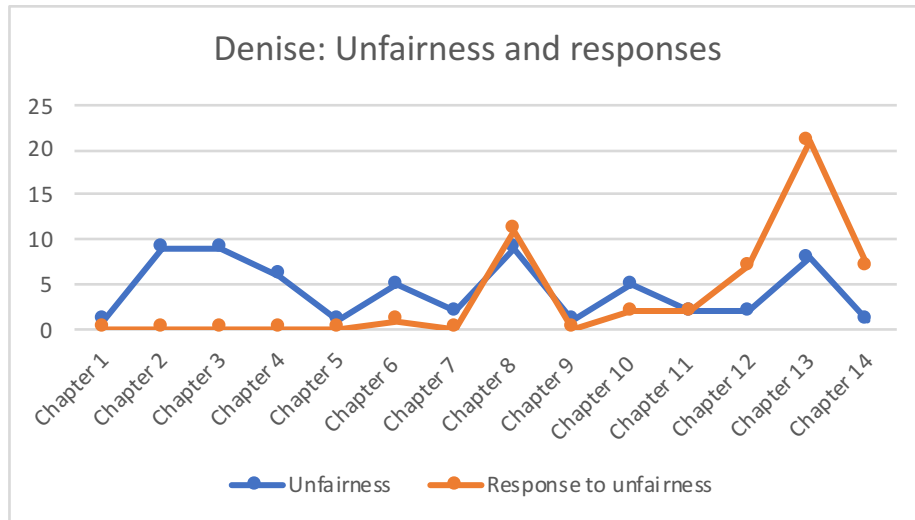
c.   Unfairness and responses
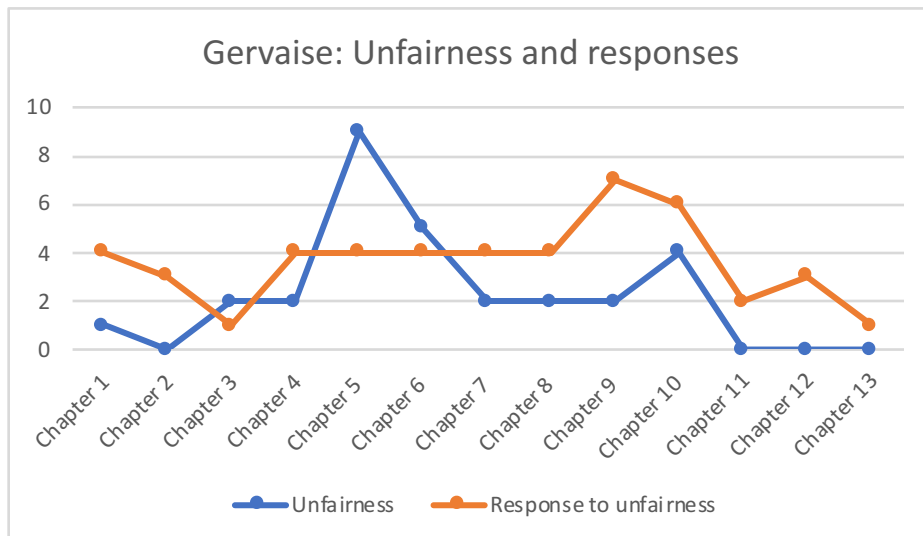

Figure 2.5 Denise: Unfairness and responses

Figure 2.6 Gervaise: Unfairness and responses

From Figure 2.5 and Figure 2.6, both protagonists can live with the feeling of unfairness for quite a long time. For Denise, it was presented with the orange line in Figure 2.5 that the amount of her actions or responses to unfairness from the first to the seventh chapter are significantly lower than the amount of her impressions regarding unfairness. Despite her patience and inaction towards her feelings in the first half of the novel, she started to responded toward unfairness in the eighth and the thirteenth chapter. Both peaks in the two chapters were triggered by the same conflict, that is the decline of small boutiques in the neighborhood.

In the eight chapter, Denise visited sickening Geneviève, had a long conversation with owners of small boutiques about the rise of grand magasins, and eventually understood their hardship. In the thirteenth chapter, she witnessed Robineau's attempt suicide, Geneviève's death, and the festival of remorse, and sympathized the people who were not associated with the grand magasins. As for Gervaise's impressions in Figure 2.6, it was not until the the ninth chapter that she had a strong empathy and compassion towards her close ones i.e. Maman Coupeau, Madame Bijard, Lalie, and Père Bru. In those cases, she acted in response to all the abuses and maltreatment by defending Maman Coupeau's honor, helped Madame Bijard and Lalie when they were beaten to death, and feed Père Bru when she had a chance.

Apart from the first similarity that both of them did not response to any kind of unfairness until the latter half of the novels, another similarity is that they did not consider the unfairness that hit them as serious or worth taking action as the ones that hit their loved ones. Both the protagonists and the readers can notice that some characters were violated and exploited. Most of the time, the protagonists could not see the violation that was carried out upon them as clear as the one that were carried out upon their closed ones. When Denise was fired, she did not seem to blame the organization or take it personally. In contrast, she had a lot of feelings about the small boutiques crumbling down. Gervaise gave way to her ex-husband Lantier after he harassed her in her own home. Surprisingly, she recognized and acted against another kind of domestic abuse in Bijard's home. What triggered the protagonists to act like they did is that they perceived and consequently fathomed the evident and long-term miserableness of their close ones, which had destructive impacts on those people's lives in a very high degree. The fact that the

protagonists had realized this enduring miserableness stimulated them to act out of empathy and compassion.

Despite their unawareness, the happening violation and exploitation had changed their apprehension of the society. In other words, their concern about other people being treated badly reflects their perceptions of those particular social settings both in an individualistic and a collective sense. In the individualistic sense, even though both protagonists decided not to counterattack the ones that violated their rights, they still believed that they themselves should not be violated or exploited, as showed through their negative impressions towards those incidents. Henceforth, they hoped that others could avoid the violation and tried to help those people in various ways. These actions in turn reflects their concern for rights in a larger sense of the word. Moreover, they usually thought about escaping from Paris and hoped to enjoy the perks of countryside without giving a specific reason, implying that they perceived their social settings as uncomfortable, distressed, or even repulsive.

According to the data in the dataset, however, both women did not perceive the social settings in which they resided as a presentation of society at large. The term 'society' was nothing to them and they did not give away their opinion regarding society or politics per se. For example, Denise as a matter of fact shared her opinions about the rise of grand magasins and later provided better welfare in the organization, but did not provide any criticism through verb phrases when it comes to unfairness or exploitation in a larger scale. For this reason, I suggest that it was Zola who put forth these messages. The readers may notice some kinds of perceptions of those particular social settings, but those perceptions were not of the protagonists but of Zola, who persistently inserted his point of views. Both protagonists were portrayed in the novels as not having solid or radical political consciousness, since they were not made to have one.
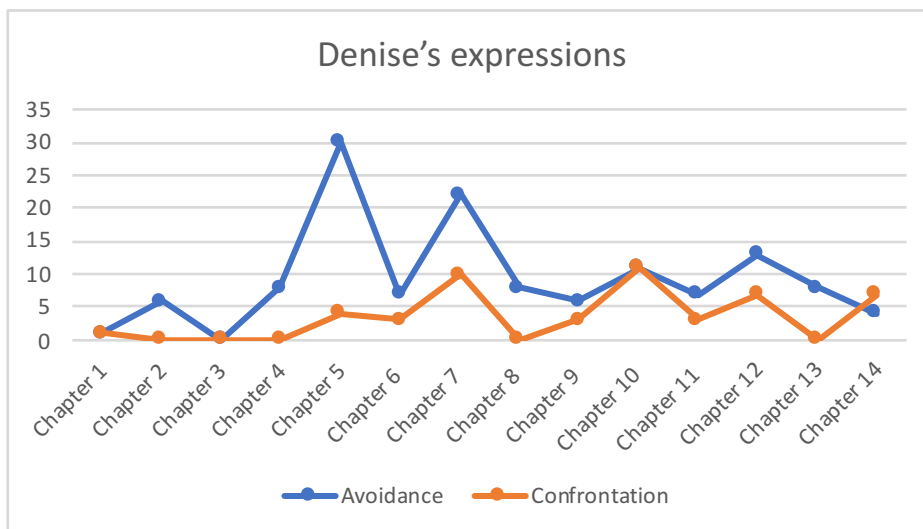
Expressions and the concept of familiarity

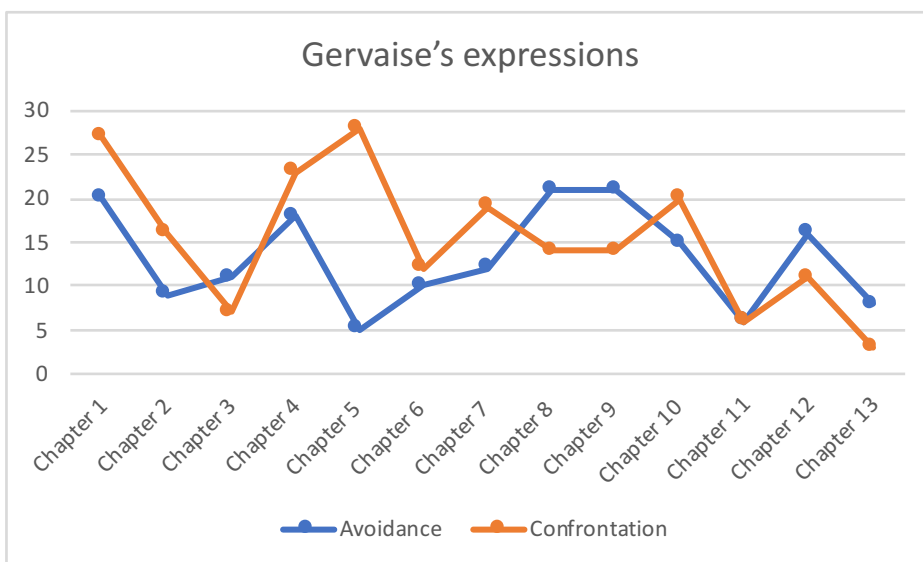Figure 3.1 Denise's expressions

Figure 3.2 Gervaise's expressions

In this section, the 'trends' of the graphs in Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2 will be used as a point of departure in analyzing the protagonists' expressions. The graphs in both figures have a distinguishable trend; Denise's graph are simple and easy to understand, while Gervaise's are quite complicated and keep fluctuating throughout the story arc, which contains a number of subplots. According to this observation, I would like to distinguish these two trends in order to interpret the concept of 'familiarity', which occurred to the

protagonists' daily lives. In other words, the concept of familiarity in the novels can be realized through the difference between Denise's *non-native* status and Gervaise's *quasi-native* status in their neighborhoods. Denise's non-nativeness and Gervaise's quasi-nativeness determined the amount of time they spent in blending in and getting used to the environment, and relatively influenced their disposition in social interaction. To be specific, Denise's and Gervaise's decisions to avoid or confront depend on their sense of belonging or not belonging to a particular neighborhood, not their genetics, personalities, or psychological state. This familiarity or non-familiarity during each point in time determine their course of expressions.

The observation and the analysis of the 'trends' of both graphs will explain why Denise was more likely to avoid conflicts, while Gervaise was more likely to confront or counterattack her counterparts in social interactions. The first point I would like to make is that the blue line that represents Denise's avoidance in Figure 3.1 has a descending trend considering the fifth chapter onwards. Meanwhile, the orange line that represents Denise's confrontation has an ascending trend, which means that she confronted conflicts more often. Even the trend seems insignificant, it is plausible to count it as a transformation that began after she had lived in the neighborhood as a non-native for the first four chapters. By observing Denise's expressions after the tenth chapter when she became a quasi-native and had totally blended in in the social settings, it is noticeable that the graph in Figure 3.1 starts to render in a constant trend. When comparing this phase with quasi-native Gervaise's whole timeline in Figure 3.2, it shows that the blue and the orange line also render in a constant trend and seems to have a direct variation, which means that the number of verb phrases related to avoidance and confrontation in each point in time are almost equal.

Additionally, there are two different spheres in both neighborhoods, that are professional and domestic sphere. So, if one would like to argue that the protagonists' neighborhoods and, consequently, social settings influenced their disposition in social interaction, it might be necessary to divide the verb phrases in both avoidance and confrontation category into two subcategories. Nevertheless, the boundary between these two spheres is quite blurry. Both protagonists lived and worked in the same building and associated with the same social settings i.e. Denise lived in employees' dormitory and Gervaise worked in her own home. For that reason, a more plausible way is to use

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Goffman's 'front stage' and 'back stage' to interpret their expressions. After I have already explained the graphs and analyzed their expressions through quantitative aspect, I would like to interpret them qualitatively to find out why the protagonists decided to avoid or confront their counterparts in different situations.

As for avoidance, I noticed that the expressions that occurred back stage are all about 'unleashing' their weaknesses and frustration, while the ones that occurred front stage are all about 'concealing' their weakness and frustration. The roots of their weakness and frustration is that they needed to follow the rules, disciplines, and concept of appropriateness of certain institutions i.e. grand magasin and family. In the back stage, they performed very little amount of confrontations. Some of those are their attempts to encourage and instigate inner conversations.

On the other hand, they confronted in the front stage only when certain kinds of incidents took place. The first kind is 'harrassment', referring to the time Denise was sexually harassed by a male neighbor, approached by Mouret, and bullied by Madame Desforges, and Gervaise fought with Virginie and approached by Coupeau and Lantier, for example. The second kind is 'disagreement', referring to Denise's argument with Uncle Baudu about the rise of grand magasin and Gervaise's attempt to deny Lantier moving in and engage in promiscuity, which Zola portrayed as a demolition of family value. The third kind is 'companionship', referring to Denise's friendly interaction with Mouret and another salesgirl Pauline, and Gervaise's friendship with the Boches and Goujet. In sum, while the protagonists' actions were determined by their impressions, their expressions were triggered by specific events and served as social interactions.

Based on what have been interpreted previously, the historical context alone does not seem to explain the protagonists' social performances exhaustively enough. Though, it is essential to include the context in this thesis because the descriptions of the material settings, i.e. urban Paris, grand magasins, and poor neighborhood, could help laying the background or the set decoration of the stage. By this, the readers will get used to the environment of both novels. The study of these material settings indeed explains the protagonists' social performances to some extent, since they were a part of the population. Nonetheless, it could not be assumed that material setting is the only factor that stimulate their social performances. Those material settings are considered a subset of social settings;

what are beyond are socio-cultural concepts such as values, division of labor, violation of rights, and familiarity, which did not emerge from the innovations of specific era, but existed in society from time immemorial. The presented social performances are not limited to the two women, but open to people in reality as well.

Conclusion

Upon studying everyday practices of the two female protagonists in Émile Zola's *The Ladies' Paradise* and *L'Assommoir*, I realized that it is a complicated task using historical methods normally used with reality to interpret everyday practices of fictional characters. Despite the limitations, I learned that the combination of Erving Goffman's dramaturgy analysis and the verb-oriented method can offer some interesting observations and yield useful results.

To summarize, it is found that what determined the protagonists' impressions are indeed the characters and features of the *social* settings, not the *material* ones. After those social settings affected the protagonists' feelings and thoughts, they started to develop their own coping strategies, that are the act of clinging onto something. Apart from their life choices, which undeniably influenced by their impressions, they were also dictated by gendered division of labor. This division of labor conditioned the determinative change in their professional position, whether they intended to change it all by themselves or not. Due to the gender-based norm, they did not get the most out of their work-related actions. Also, the violation of rights that occurred in the whole scene made them sympathize those whose rights were exploited and take some actions to help them. The last matter is that their expressions were influenced by certain social interactions, i.e. harassment, disagreement, and companionship, meaning that they expressed in front of audiences only when these social interactions took place.

Meanwhile, the characters' mentality and attitudes did serve as a projection of social structure and cultural norms after the novels were published. I consider the protagonists' behaviors, attitudes, and perceptions of the world both a 'reflection' and a 'projection' of the nineteenth-century Parisian society. This implication, which was illustrated in the fourth chapter, does not perfectly align with the historical context described in the second chapter e.g. there are many factors other than "the growth of cities, industry, and the increase in urban working population."[101]

The other objective of this thesis concerns the assertion of performative turn into literary criticism. What advocates of performative turn, as a part of cultural turn, attempt to do is to promote the history of common people and bring history back to the people through

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[101] Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, 40.

several methods such as Goffman's dramaturgy analysis. Though this thesis did not study the social performances of people in reality, it tried to contribute to performative turn in literary criticism by suggesting that despite Zola's intention to assert the impact of particular material settings and time-specific environment into the novels, there are other timeless socio-cultural concepts that played a par. Those concepts are less related to social class and grand concepts, and in turn focus more on the behaviors of individuals.

Concerning the protagonists' behaviors, it is obvious that there are many critical turns throughout the character arcs, and those turns occur according to the plot points in some important chapters and the pre-assigned identities. However, we do not know to what extent that Zola's social settings shaped his vision and we cannot simply assume that he meticulously planned the protagonists' pattern of behaviors or not. One can therefore wonder whether Zola came up with the story himself, wrote from his observation as a middle-class author, or portrayed the story under the influence of social construction, being unaware of the overwhelming power of hid own social settings that previously and concurrently shaped his mentality. If we were to believe in the last possibility, it is to be assumed that he did in fact uphold the pre-existing social structure and cultural norms, which had influenced him from the beginning.

Therefore, what I concern is the question of autonomy. Who designed and controlled the nature of this scheme? Was Zola the mastermind or the victim of social structure? I myself believe that in the context of this thesis, it is more plausible to state that Zola was in a way a victim. It means that the autonomy that was bestowed upon him might have been destroyed by the social settings in which he resided. In other words, Zola is the author and the one who wrote those verb phrases, but it does not mean that he has utmost autonomy over the whole scheme.

To conclude, I truly hope that by underlining the human nature of the fictional characters in Émile Zola's *The Ladies Paradise* and *L'Assommoir*, this thesis will contribute another dimension to the performative aspect of social history, and embolden the potential of everyday practices of both fictional and corporeal individuals in preserving and projecting of their own culture. I will also appreciate if this experiment would inspire other students and researchers to apply historical method with literary criticism and vice versa, in order to see other possible correlations and intersections between fiction and reality.

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