

THE DICTATORSHIP OF MACHISMO:  
MALE HOMOSOCIALITY AND THE TRAFFIC  
IN WOMEN IN MARIO VARGAS LLOSA'S  
*THE FEAST OF THE GOAT*\*

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the connections between machismo and dictatorship through Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Feast of the Goat*, which depicts male homosociality and the traffic in women as two central components of the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic (1930-1961). Beginning with a review of the key literature on male homosocial relations, which highlights the general connections between male homosociality and the traffic in women, the paper continues with a more specific discussion of the traffic in women in conflict situations and totalitarian states, where they become particularly vulnerable to sexual abuse and oppression. So as to illustrate women's special vulnerability to sexual trafficking under militarization and dictatorships, the article goes on to analyze Vargas Llosa's novel.

KEY WORDS: machismo, dictatorship, male homosociality, traffic in women, Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, Dominican Republic, Mario Vargas Llosa, *The Feast of the Goat*.

RESUMEN

Este artículo explora las conexiones entre el machismo y la dictadura a través de *La fiesta del Chivo* de Mario Vargas Llosa, que retrata la homosocialidad masculina y el tráfico de mujeres como dos componentes fundamentales de la dictadura de Trujillo en la República Dominicana (1930-1961). Comenzando con una revisión de la literatura básica sobre relaciones homosociales entre varones, que subraya los vínculos generales entre la homosocialidad masculina y el tráfico de mujeres, el trabajo continúa con una discusión más específica del tráfico de mujeres en situaciones de conflicto y estados totalitarios, donde éstas devienen particularmente vulnerables al abuso y opresión sexuales. Con el fin de ilustrar la especial vulnerabilidad de las mujeres al tráfico sexual en contextos militarizados y dictatoriales, el artículo procede a analizar la novela de Vargas Llosa.

PALABRAS CLAVE: machismo, dictadura, homosocialidad masculina, tráfico de mujeres, Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, República Dominicana, Mario Vargas Llosa, *La fiesta del Chivo*.



## BETWEEN MEN: MALE HOMOSOCIALITY AND THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

Most discussions about the exchange of women between men go back to Lévi-Strauss' 1949 volume *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, where he argues that the essence of kinship systems resides in an exchange of women between men, thus proposing an implicit theory of sex oppression. Central to this exchange is, according to him, the concept of the «gift». Defining gift giving as the most primitive mechanism of social linkage and reciprocity, Lévi-Strauss contends that marriages are a most basic way of gift exchange, where women are the most precious gifts. The gift of women is more important than any other because it establishes a relationship not only of reciprocity but also of kinship, converting the exchange partners into affines. If it is women who are being transacted, then it is men who give and receive them who are linked, the woman functioning simply as a conduit of the relationship rather than a partner to it. While women are the gifts, men are the exchange partners, thus becoming the beneficiaries of the product of such exchanges—social organization. It is the partners, not the presents, who are socially linked by the reciprocal exchange. According to Lévi-Strauss, it is this gender inequality—the asymmetry between exchanger and exchanged—that is at the roots of the male monopoly over female sexuality<sup>1</sup>. As Gayle Rubin notes, «our sex/gender system is still organized by the principles outlined by Lévi-Strauss, despite the entirely nonmodern character of his data base»<sup>2</sup>.

Herself borrowing from Lévi-Strauss' structuralist work, Gayle Rubin's influential essay «The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex» (1975) elaborates on the idea of kinship and marriage as parts of total social systems, suggesting that a woman's marriage is always linked to larger economic and political arrangements. Exploring the «political economy» of sex, Rubin insists that a woman's marriage is part of a political system, showing how bridewealth is often transformed into something else, like political prestige. Because there is a mutual interdependence of sexuality, economics, and politics, marriage systems remain indissolubly linked to political processes, money-making, group formations, and endogamy. In Rubin's own words:

Marriage systems intersect with large-scale political processes like state-making. Marriage systems might be implicated in a number of ways: in the accumulation of wealth and the maintenance of differential access to political and economic resources; in the building of alliances; in the consolidation of high-ranking persons into a single closed strata of endogamous kin<sup>3</sup>.

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\* I would like to thank Professor Lynne Segal (Birkbeck College, University of London) for suggesting most of the bibliography on gender and/in states of conflict used for this article.

<sup>1</sup> C. LÉVI-STRAUSS, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Boston, Beacon, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> G. RUBIN, «The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex», in R. REITER (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1975, pp. 157-210, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

Following Rubin, other scholars have kept studying the recurrent exchange of women between men which defines patriarchal societies. In *This Sex Which Is Not One* (1977), Luce Irigaray, for example, argues that the use, consumption, and circulation of women's bodies among men is the very condition that makes (patriarchal) culture possible. The production of women as commodities is always referred back to men (when a man buys a girl, he «pays» the father or the brother, not the mother) and they always pass from one man to another, particularly from one group of men to another. In Irigaray's own words, «the law that orders our society is the exclusive valorization of men's needs/desires, of exchanges among men»<sup>4</sup>. Thus, society is organized by what Irigaray calls masculine *hom(m)o-sexuality*, not as an «immediate» (sexual) practice, but as a «social» mediation functioning in the mode of «semblance». In patriarchal society, man begets man as his own likeness, and wives, daughters, and sisters have value only in that they promote male homosocial relations, that is, relations among men. Provokingly, Irigaray thus suggests that the use of and traffic in women are the very foundations of masculine *hom(m)o-sexuality*, even though its real practice is deferred by speculations, mirror games, identifications, and rivalries. In her own words:

Reigning everywhere, although prohibited in practice, *hom(m)o-sexuality* is played out through the bodies of women, matter, or signs, and heterosexuality has been up to now just an alibi for the smooth workings of man's relations with himself, of relations among men<sup>5</sup>.

According to Irigaray, then, women are «mirror of value of and for man», that is, they have value only in that they can be exchanged between men<sup>6</sup>. As commodities, their differences and specificities are reduced to their common character as products of man's labor and desire. In exchanges, women become objects, that is, the manifestation and the circulation of a phallic power, facilitating relationships of men with each other. Woman's body in patriarchal society is thus appropriated by the father or his substitutes, and this appropriation is marked by women's submission to a standardization system, the proper name representing the father's monopoly of power. This transformation of woman's body into exchange value defines her as social object, thus inaugurating the male-dominated symbolic order<sup>7</sup>. Because the exchanges upon which patriarchal societies are based take place exclusively among men, the social order requires *hom(m)o-sexuality* as its organizing principle. Heterosexuality functions as the assignment of economic roles: there are producer subjects and agents of exchange (male), on the one hand, and productive earth and commodities (female), on the other hand. However, in patriarchal cul-

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<sup>4</sup> L. IRIGARAY, *This Sex Which Is Not One*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1985, p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 177.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 189.





ture, the only sex or sexes are those needed to keep relationships among men running smoothly and, therefore, all social, political, and economic structure is hom(m)osexual. As Irigaray herself concluded: «All economic organization is homosexual. That of desire as well, even the desire for women. Woman exists only as an occasion for mediation, transaction, transition, transference between man and his fellow man, indeed between man and himself»<sup>8</sup>. In a similar vein, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985), which focuses on male homosociality in British literature from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, illustrates a continuum between homosocial and homosexual, thus associating homosociality with the world of desire, of the potentially erotic. Borrowing from René Girard's *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel*, a fundamental work on male homosocial bonds throughout the heterosexual European canon, Sedgwick sets out to explore male homosocial desire within the structural context of triangular, heterosexual desire. Taking up Girard's ideas, she argues that in any erotic rivalry between two men competing for a woman, the bond that links the two rivals is as strong as the bond that links either of the rivals to the beloved: «that the bonds of 'rivalry' and 'love', differently as they are experienced, are equally powerful and in many senses equivalent»<sup>9</sup>. In fact, she insists that the bond between rivals in an erotic triangle often proves «even stronger, more heavily determinant of actions and choices, than anything in the bond between either of the lovers and the beloved»<sup>10</sup>. Like Irigaray, then, Sedgwick not only underlines the continuum between homosocial and homosexual but also posits the special relevance of male homosociality, including homosexuality, to the patriarchal order. In her view, in any male-dominated society there is a strong connection between patriarchal power and male homosociality<sup>11</sup>, whereas heterosexuality is simply used to reinforce the more important homosocial-homosexual relations between men. In Sedgwick's own words, «it [heterosexuality] is the use of women as exchangeable, perhaps symbolic, property for the primary purpose of cementing the bonds of men with men»<sup>12</sup>.

## 1. GENDERING TERROR: WOMEN IN STATES OF CONFLICT

Following Sedgwick's path-breaking work, homosociality and the traffic in women have begun to be analyzed by a growing number of scholars. Whereas much

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> E.K. SEDGWICK, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1985, p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> Actually, Heidi Hartmann has defined *patriarchy* as a male homosocial monopoly over women. In her own words, patriarchy may be described as «relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women» (qtd. in SEDGWICK, *op. cit.*, p. 3).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 25-26.

of Michael Kimmel's *Manhood in America* (1996), for example, is devoted to exploring the central role played by homosociality in American cultural history<sup>13</sup>, many other scholars have focused on literary representations of male bonding. If John Crowley, for instance, has studied homosocial attachments between men in Victorian American culture and literature<sup>14</sup>, David Leverenz has explored the homosocial attachments between mid-nineteenth-century American writers like Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville<sup>15</sup>, while Donald Greiner has centered on more recent images of male bonding in the American fiction of the 1980s<sup>16</sup>. Nevertheless, these studies have tended to emphasize individual and interpersonal, rather than political and institutional, representations of male bonding and homosociality, usually concentrating on (literary) friendships and homoerotic relationships between two men. As Sedgwick herself acknowledged,

The erotic and individualistic bias of literature itself, and the relative ease-not to mention the genuine pleasure-of using feminist theoretical paradigms to write about eros and sex, have led to a relative deemphasis of the many, crucially important male homosocial bonds that are less glamorous to talk about-such as the institutional, bureaucratic, and military<sup>17</sup>.

This paper is thus devoted to exploring the «less glamorous» side of homosociality, focusing on its institutional, political, and military aspects. In particular, this section will center on gendering conflict situations and states, including dictatorships, where masculinity and male homosociality tend to be exaggerated, with women becoming particularly vulnerable, as we shall see, to sexual trafficking and abuse. This introduction to the role played by gender in militarized and repressive states should be helpful to analyze the links between machismo and dictatorship during the Trujillo Era in the Dominican Republic, which will be illustrated through Mario Vargas Llosa's novel in the following section of this paper.

Much of the available work on gender and violence seems to suggest that the pervasive violence that characterizes conflict situations has a strong influence on gender arrangements, usually exaggerating masculinity and increasing sex trafficking in women and children<sup>18</sup> (Enloe, 1988, 2000; Jacobs, Jacobson, and Marchbank, 2000;

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<sup>13</sup> M. KIMMEL, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York, The Free Press, 1996.

<sup>14</sup> J. CROWLEY, «Howells, Stoddard, and Male Homosocial Attachment in Victorian America», in H. BROD (ed.), *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, Boston, Allen and Unwin, pp. 301-324.

<sup>15</sup> D. LEVERENZ, *Manhood and the American Renaissance*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1989.

<sup>16</sup> D. GREINER, *Women Enter the Wilderness: Male Bonding and the American Novel of the 1980s*, Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

<sup>17</sup> SEDGWICK, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> C. ENLOE, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives*. London, Pandora, 1988 and *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000; S. JACOBS, R. JACOBSON, and J. MARCHBANK (eds.), *States of Conflict: Gender,*



Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2002; Nelson, 2003; Adelman, 2003). While most studies on gender and violence have focused on «domestic» violence, thus analyzing violent behavior as a result of personal rather than political causes, recent scholarship has underlined the necessity of establishing causal connections between personal-level and global-level structures and behaviors, both of which are marked by gender<sup>19</sup>. Indeed, understanding the role played by structural violence seems essential not only to analyze the complex and multifaceted causality of violence against women, but also to develop more effective social responses and prevention measures to it in any society, and in a society under stress in particular. It is crucial, in other words, to relate individual to larger structural causes, thus establishing micro/macro linkages (Brownmiller, 1976; Griffin, 1982; Dworkin, 1987; Estrich, 1987; Ellis, 1989; MacKinnon, 1995; Nussbaum, 1999).<sup>20</sup> The impact of macrosocial changes on economic and gender structures are particularly important to take into consideration when women's vulnerability to violence is considered. It has been proven, for example, that in most societies affected by large-scale violence, oppression rather than domination of men is a contributing factor to male violence in the home. Because structural violence oppresses men in a way that they are unable to perform the expected male role, the gender order produces violence by shaming them for failing to live up to the dominant ideal of masculinity. In this way, structural violence contributes to gendered interpersonal violence. As Nikolic-Ristanovic herself concludes, «patriarchy, structural violence brought by capitalism and macroviolence may be considered the main macrostructural factors which affect women's vulnerability to violence»<sup>21</sup>.

Despite the close links between gender and structural violence, the connection between violence at an inter-personal level and the larger disruption of war and militarism has not yet been made properly. While a gender analysis of conflict thus remains largely absent, such an analysis, as Judy El-Bushra reminds us<sup>22</sup>, could help

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*Violence and Resistance*. London and New York, Zed Books, 2000; V. NIKOLIC-RISTANOVIC, *Social Change, Gender and Violence: Post-Communist and War Affected Societies*. Dordrecht, Boston, and London, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002; D. NELSON, «Relating to Terror: Gender, Anthropology, Law, and Some September Elevenths». *Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy*, vol. 10 (2003), pp. 195-210; M. ADELMAN, «The Military, Militarism, and the Militarization of Domestic Violence». *Violence Against Women*, vol. 9 (2003), pp. 1.118-1.152.

<sup>19</sup> NIKOLIC-RISTANOVIC, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-175.

<sup>20</sup> S. BROWNMILLER, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, Rape*. Hardmondsworth, Penguin, 1976; S. GRIFFIN, *Made from This Earth: Selections from Her Writings, 1967-1982*. London, The Women's Press, 1982; A. DWORKIN, *Intercourse*. New York, The Free Press, 1987; S. ESTRICH, *Real Rape*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1987; L. ELLIS, *Theories of Rape: Inquiries into the Causes of Sexual Aggression*. New York, Hemisphere, 1989; C. MACKINNON, «Sex and Violence: A Perspective», in P. SEARLES and R. BERGER (eds.), *Rape and Society: Readings on the Problem of Sexual Assault*. Boulder, Westview Press, 1995, pp. 28-34; M. NUSSBAUM, *Sex and Social Justice*. New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 213-239.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>22</sup> J. EL-BUSHRA, «Transforming Conflict: Some Thoughts on a Gendered Understanding of Conflict Processes», in S. JACOBS, R. JACOBSON & J. MARCHBANK (eds.), *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*, London and New York, Zed Books, 2000, pp. 66-86.



articulate linkages between the personal dimension, on the one hand, and institutions at local, national, and international levels, on the other. After all, the propensity for uncontrolled conflict stems from individuals, communities, and societies, which are not gender-neutral<sup>23</sup>. It becomes especially urgent, therefore, to address the specific ways in which gender, particularly the construction of masculinity, intersects with violence, especially sexual violence, during states of conflict. More specifically, more attention needs to be paid to the connections between acts of individual male violence and institutionalized state violence, to see how this is gendered. In other words, focus must be given to the linkage between the violence which is an essential part of a conflict situation and gender relations in order to understand how and why such violence is often transformed into a particular form of brutalized masculinity against women.

In order to try to answer these questions, one must bear in mind two different but interrelated factors. First of all, structural violence is usually executed by the military, which, both in terms of troops and policy, has traditionally been a masculine preserve. Second, it remains an institution which re-creates traditional gender relations locally and internationally<sup>24</sup>. Thus, state institutions for organized violence have historically and cross-culturally been dependent on maleness, using militarized masculinity as the common denominator for overriding class, status, and ethnic differences between troops and officers. Moreover, this commonality between men has been built upon sexist attitudes, including the institutionalization of sexual harassment of female members as part of organizational culture<sup>25</sup>. Thus, the military remains both fiercely homosocial and (hetero)sexist, asserting a violent model of masculinity through the subordination of women and the feminine. As Kelly herself has concluded, «What is being enacted in most of these settings are reinforcements of the primacy of relationships between men, and the accompanying subordination of women which underpins male supremacy. Men affirm one another as men through the exclusion, humiliation and objectification of women»<sup>26</sup>. Given this context, states of conflict like wars and armed conflicts simply accentuate both the construction of a brutalized masculinity and a suspension of the protections from violation afforded to women at other times. The vast majority of troops are men, and militarized masculinity rests on the assumption that, when necessary, troops will use violence against other human beings. Moreover, the centrality of masculinity, politics, and nationhood to armed conflicts often displaces and silences women's experiences of violation, which become considered of second-

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> C. ENLOE, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990; L. KELLY, «Wars Against Women: Sexual Violence, Sexual Politics and the Militarised State», en S. JACOBS, R. JACOBSON & J. MARCHBANK (eds.), *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*, London and New York, Zed Books, 2000, p. 49.

<sup>25</sup> KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 57.

ary importance<sup>27</sup>. Thus, women become doubly victimized as women by both war and sexual violence. As Kelly insists:

Any attempt to make sense of state-sanctioned violence...which fails to include and take account of sexual violence in 'war' and 'peacetime' does a profound injustice to women, further contributes to the silencing of their voices, experiences and insights and reinforces the stigma which accompanies being a victim of sexual violence<sup>28</sup>.

The use of «state-sanctioned» violence against women has been proven to increase not only in war situations but also in societies under stress, including dictatorships. Since the military is an essential part of nation-state building, dictatorial regimes have usually made heavy use of militarization, which Adelman defines as «a habituated worldview that legitimates and venerates organized violence as the means to obtain political goals»<sup>29</sup>. Moreover, militarization is indissolubly linked not only to the increase in the size of armies but also to the growth of militant fundamentalisms and dictatorial regimes, which are particularly oppressive of women. Actually, feminists across the globe have posited a relationship between militarism and violence against women, associating militarism and its gender hierarchies and inequalities with men's violence against women, including rape. While some scholars suggest that violence starts from the domestic sphere where it is tolerated and then moves to the public-political arena where it is idealized and celebrated<sup>30</sup>, others argue that the culture of violence that develops as a result of political repression is then replicated in rape and domestic violence<sup>31</sup>. So, analysts of the link between states of conflict and violence against women begin at opposite starting points, although they all agree that militarism is linked to fundamental hierarchies of gender, sexuality, and nation, «based in part on men's entitlement to control women»<sup>32</sup>. It could be argued, then, that there is a close relationship between state repression and militarized masculinity, both of which are intimately connected with sexual oppression. Most of the available evidence<sup>33</sup> does indeed appear to suggest that militarized masculin-

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<sup>27</sup> In an interesting article on the militarization of domestic violence in Israel, Adelman, for example, has argued that antimilitarist feminists who link domestic violence in Israel with critiques of Israeli militarism risk political marginalization within the Israeli polity. As she elaborates, «militarized citizenship in Israel translates into the marginalization and/or exclusion of 'women's issues,' such as domestic violence, from full political consideration» (ADELMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 1.141).

<sup>28</sup> KELLY, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>29</sup> ADELMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 1122.

<sup>30</sup> V. MOGHADAM, «Globalization, Militarism and Women's Collective Action». *National Women's Studies Association Journal*, vol. 13 (2001), pp. 60-67.

<sup>31</sup> G. RABRENOVIC & L. ROSKOS, «Introduction: Civil Society, Feminism, and the Gendered Politics of War and Peace». *National Women's Studies Association Journal*, vol. 13 (2001), p. 50.

<sup>32</sup> ADELMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 1.132.

<sup>33</sup> M. COOKE & A. WOOLLACOTT (eds.), *Gendering War Talk*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993; D. GROSSMAN, *On Killing: The Psychological Costs of Learning to Kill in War and*

ity, a defining feature of dictatorships and politically repressive states, is characterized by dominance, violence, and control that sustain the myth of «manly protection» and that obscures and legitimates «warlike abuse» of women. Central to militarized masculinity are the absence of women and men's separation from anything considered feminine. While men are trained to perform masculinity through military sacrifice for the nation, women in the «national security state» are militarized and arranged in a hierarchy through their work as prostitutes, wives, or mothers, «as they perform services for and/or reproduce men for the nation»<sup>34</sup>. It would seem, then, that violence against women is intimately connected with notions of militarized masculinity and political violence by the State.

Given this connection, it is no wonder that Ximena Bunster-Burrotto, who has long worked with survivors of State terror in Latin America, calls the military State «the most perfect expression of machismo»<sup>35</sup>. While representing legitimacy and the rule of the law, States have committed most terror acts throughout the second half of the twentieth century. In all of those places, bodies, as Diane M. Nelson elaborates, are used by terror (as they are used by sexism and racism) as «a canvas, the clay, the material to form their message»<sup>36</sup>. In theory, the State differentiates the woman, the home, and the family (all sites of kin relationality) from masculinity, the public, and politics. In practice, however, it constantly undermines that differentiation for terror. As Nelson herself concludes, «it [terror] invades the home, destroys the family, penetrates the intimate spaces of the body through rape and torture, feminizes men's bodies and makes women feel like 'whores'»<sup>37</sup>. It is precisely this imposed cancellation of the distinctions between the private and the public, family and politics, sexuality and nationhood that characterized, as we shall see, the State of terror founded by Trujillo during his dictatorship in the Dominican Republic.

## 2. THE DICTATORSHIP OF MACHISMO IN *THE FEAST OF THE GOAT*

*The Feast of the Goat* focuses on Urania Cabral, a Dominican woman who was part of an influential family during the Trujillo Era and who left the country all of a sudden when she was fourteen, to live and continue her studies in the United

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*Society*. Boston, Little Brown, 1995; J. McBRIDE, *War, Battering, and Other Sports: The Gulf Between American Men and Women*. Atlantic Highlands, Humanities Press, 1995; S. FALUDI, *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*. New York, Harper, 2000.

<sup>34</sup> ADELMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 1.133.

<sup>35</sup> X. BUNSTER-BUROTTO, «Surviving Beyond Fear: Women and Torture in Latin America», in J. NASH & H. SAFA (eds.), *Women and Change in Latin America*, South Hadley, Bergin & Garvey, 1986, p. 229.

<sup>36</sup> NELSON, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 207.



States. Having become a successful lawyer in New York City, she only returns to Santo Domingo many years later, when she is forty-nine. The chapters of the novel combine three different narrative lenses: those of Urania; those of El Chivo-Trujillo-himself; and those of a group of conspirators who finally manage to assassinate the dictator.

Throughout Urania's narrative, we learn that her father was a key member of Trujillo's government, who, as was usual under Trujillo's rule, fell inexplicably into disgrace and disrepute. In a desperate attempt to recover his power, he offered the Benefactor his fourteen-year-old daughter, knowing Trujillo's lust for women, in general, and young virgins, in particular. However, Urania's encounter with El Chivo ends catastrophically as the aging ruler becomes enraged by his inability to possess her due to his sexual impotence. A few days later she leaves the country thanks to a group of nuns who realize her dangerous situation, and shortly thereafter Trujillo is assassinated. Urania returns to Santo Domingo thirty-five years later, hoping to confront her father, who is paralyzed by a stroke. During her stay, she confesses her secret to three generations of women in her father's family: her elderly aunt Adelina, her cousins, and her young niece.

Much of *The Feast of the Goat*, then, revolves around Urania Cabral's traumatic experience as a victim of a political exchange between two men, which will also be the focus of the remainder of this article. Actually, this section aims to achieve three different albeit complementary objectives. First of all, it applies the theoretical ideas about male homosociality and sexual trafficking in women from the two previous sections in order to illustrate the intimate connections between political and sexual repression during the Trujillo regime. Second, it analyzes Urania Cabral's rape as an example for the recurrent (con-)fusion between State and sexual violence during the Era.<sup>38</sup> Finally, it concludes by emphasizing the novel's more subversive components, which, ironically, ends up undermining Trujillo's phallic power by depicting the fall of the dictator alongside his problems with sexual impotence.

The concept of male homosociality, as defined in the previous sections, has been shown to rely on the objectification of women for promoting men's relations to one another. While Lévi-Strauss saw the «gift» of women as converting the exchange partners into affines, Gayle Rubin showed marriage systems to contribute to group formations and endogamy, often intersecting with large-scale political processes like state-making. Luce Irigaray and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick went even further, underlining the centrality of the link between homosociality and homosexuality to patriarchal society, and relegating heterosexuality to a secondary, purely (re-)productive role. In recent years, a number of scholars have also begun to explore the central role played by machismo in societies under stress, including militarized and dictatorial States, where masculinity and male homosociality tend to be exaggerated, with women becoming particularly vulnerable, as has been argued, to

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<sup>38</sup> In history books, the Trujillo dictatorship is often referred to as the Era.

sexual trafficking and abuse. These theoretical ideas may prove particularly helpful, as we shall see, to understand the (gendered) dynamics of the Trujillo dictatorship, which was also based on a male homosocial monopoly that kept reinforcing the connections between State and sexual abuse in the Dominican Republic for more than thirty years.

If one concurs with Sedgwick's definition of (male homosocial) desire as an «affective or social force, the glue, even when its manifestation is hostility or hatred or something less emotively charged, that shapes an important relationship»<sup>39</sup>, then it is not difficult to see the relationship between Trujillo and his political collaborators as also marked by male homosocial «desire». In *The Feast of the Goat*, the handsome Manuel Alfonso, for example, one of Trujillo's closest collaborators, goes as far as to sacrifice his own sexual appetites for his more important homosocial relationship with the Chief. Realizing that he owes everything to Trujillo, who made him ambassador in Washington when he was starving in New York, Manuel Alfonso prefers giving beautiful women to the Chief to keeping them for himself. «When I see a real beauty, ...I don't think of myself. I think of the Chief. Yes, of him. Would he like to hold her in his arms, make love to her? ...for me, he always comes first, even in this». Insisting that he sacrifices his own sexual appetites out of love and admiration for Trujillo, Manuel Alfonso would even consider a privilege to give one of his own daughters to the Chief, as he already has «the privilege of being at his side, watching him act, collaborating with him»<sup>40</sup>. In Manuel Alfonso's view, then, women are exchangeable for political privileges and prestige.

While some men were thus willing to sacrifice women and sexuality for the regime, others were obliged to do so as a proof of their loyalty. In *The Feast of the Goat*, Lieutenant García Guerrero, for instance, is asked by Trujillo himself to break off his engagement to the beautiful Luisa Gil, who is defined by the Benefactor as the sister of a Communist and, therefore, as an enemy of the regime. After proving his devotion to the Chief, Amadito is rewarded with a promotion «for distinguished military and civic service»<sup>41</sup>. One of the dictator's most common (and cruel) ways of testing his collaborators was by sleeping with his ministers' wives and daughters. When the Generalissimo paid visits to their wives, ministers could only resign themselves to wearing horns. Actually, Trujillo's capacity to distort normal social (including gender) relations was such that, over the years, Dominican women, and even their husbands, came to feel honored and grateful when the Chief deigned to make love to them. As Chancellor of the Republic, Don Froilán Arala, for example, went on worshipping the Chief after learning that he had enjoyed his wife<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> SEDGWICK, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> M. VARGAS LLOSA, *The Feast of the Goat*. New York, Picador, 2001, pp. 266-268. «Cuando veo una belleza, una real hembra, una de esas que te viran la cabeza, yo no pienso en mí. Sino en el Jefe. Sí, en él. ¿Le gustaría apretarla en sus brazos, amarla?...para mí, ha sido siempre el primero, incluso en eso» (*La Fiesta del Chivo*. Madrid, Alfaguara, 2000, p. 345).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 37. «Por sus méritos militares y cívicos» (*Fiesta*, p. 55).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 54 (*Fiesta*, p. 74).



While this seems totally impossible, it becomes essential to understand that, as a dictator, Trujillo had absolute power and control over the whole nation. Those who escorted him during his evening walks along the sea were considered privileged persons and were envied by those who had not been granted that honor<sup>43</sup>. Trujillo's power was such that he was even associated with divinity. For example, Peynado, one of his political collaborators, placed a large luminous sign on the door of his house, which read «God and Trujillo». «And then identical signs began to be displayed on many homes in the capital city and in the interior»<sup>44</sup>. Given his absolute power, Trujillo was idolatrized by his collaborators, who were made to undergo harsh trials, often involving sex, to prove their total submission and obedience to the Chief's mandates. During the Era, Trujillo was particularly fond of (ab)using women not (only) for pleasure but (also) as a proof of loyalty from his political collaborators. Thus, women and sex were utilized as the political means of cementing male homosocial relations, relations among men. As Mario Vargas Llosa himself has explained:

[Trujillo] se acostaba con las mujeres de sus ministros, pero muchas veces uno tiene la sensación de que se acostaba no tanto porque esas señoras le gustaran, sino porque era una manera de comprobar si sus ministros estaban dispuestos a hacerle esa ofrenda y sacrificio... Ministros a los que humilló de esta manera fueron hasta el final, e incluso después de muerto Trujillo, trujillistas absolutamente convencidos<sup>45</sup>.

While the Trujillo dictatorship terrorized all Dominicans, it thus had a particularly detrimental effect on Dominican women, who were doubly oppressed by both totalitarianism and machismo. Indeed, machismo became a central component not only of Dominican life but also of Trujillo's repressive political system, which always used sexuality as a mechanism of oppression. Hence Trujillo's nickname, *El Chivo* (*The Goat*). Some people, especially from the lower classes, showed their respect to the Chief offering him what was most valued within their patriarchal culture: the virginity of their daughters. While researching the Trujillo dictatorship for his novel, Mario Vargas Llosa himself was told by one of Trujillo's former secretaries that during the dictator's visits to rural areas of the Dominican Republic he was often approached by local farmers who wanted to present him with their own daughters. As the writer himself recounts: «Él me dijo: 'Era un problema, porque el jefe naturalmente no podía recibir todos estos regalos, y entonces cómo no herir la susceptibilidad de estas gentes generosas que querían mostrarle respeto, cariño, admiración al superhombre'»<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 283 (*Fiesta*, p. 368).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 225: «'Dios y Trujillo'. Desde entonces, enseññas idénticas lucían en muchos hogares de la ciudad capital y del interior» (*Fiesta*, p. 294).

<sup>45</sup> M. VARGAS LLOSA, «Conversación entre Mario Vargas Llosa y Enrique Krauze: la seducción del poder». *Letras libres*, vol. 2, núm. 19 (2000), pp. 22-26, p. 23.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25.

Clearly, then, the Trujillo dictatorship blurred all distinctions between the public and the private, corrupting and penetrating into all spheres of life, even the most intimate, inside the homes. Using sexuality as a coercive force, the Chief controlled both the public and private spheres of Dominican life and society. In other words, Trujillo sexualized violence to display his phallic power and control over a whole nation, transforming sexual violence into political violence. As Vargas Llosa himself insists, «No era tonta esa ceremonia que obligaba a los dominicanos a tener dentro de su casa ese pequeño cartel que decía ‘En esta familia Trujillo es el jefe’»<sup>47</sup>.

In *The Feast of the Goat*, Vargas Llosa is thus centrally concerned with exploring the intimate connections between political and sexual violence during the Trujillo dictatorship, depicting Urania Cabral as the victim of a political exchange between men. After serving the Chief with devotion and loyalty for more than thirty years, Senator Agustín Cabral falls inexplicably into disgrace. In a desperate attempt to regain favor, he presents the Benefactor with a most delicate «gift»: his fourteen-year-old daughter. While Cabral sacrifices his own daughter hoping to get reintegrated into the political sphere, the Chief accepts the gift simply to convince himself of his own virility. Rather than love or pleasure, then, what the Goat expects of Urania is a proof and reassertion of his phallic prowess. Thus, Urania's rape constitutes not simply a sexual act but a crime of violence designed to reassure Trujillo of his own masculinity and virility. As Vargas Llosa writes:

He had agreed to the young daughter of Senator Agustín Cabral coming to Mahogany House only to prove that Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, despite his seventy years, despite his prostate problems, despite his headaches with priests, Yankees, Venezuelans, conspirators, was still a real man, a stud with a prick that could still get hard and break all the virgin cherries that came his way<sup>48</sup>.

Interestingly, the Chief seems particularly interested in deflowering a virgin girl. «To feel satisfied», as the novelist elaborates, «it was enough for her to have an intact cherry that he could break, making her moan-howl, scream-in pain, with his battering ram of a prick inside her, squeezed tight by the walls of the newly violated intimate place»<sup>49</sup>. His Excellency's obsession with female virginity would thus seem to illustrate Luce Irigaray's description of the virginal woman as «pure exchange value» in patriarchal society. While the incest taboo elevates mothers to private property, excluding them from exchange, the virginal woman plays the central role

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>48</sup> VARGAS LLOSA, *Feast*, p. 396: «Había aceptado que la hijita del senador Agustín Cabral viniera a la Casa de Caoba sólo para comprobar que Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina era todavía, pese a sus setenta años, pese a sus problemas de próstata, pese a los dolores de cabeza que le daban los curas, los yanquis, los venezolanos, los conspiradores, un macho cabal, un chivo con un güevo todavía capaz de ponerse tieso y de romper los coñitos vírgenes que le pusieran delante» (*Fiesta*, pp. 507-508).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*: «Para sentirse colmado, le bastaba que tuviera el coñito cerrado y él pudiera abrírselo, haciéndola gemir —aullar, gritar— de dolor, con su güevo magullado y feliz allí adentro, apretadito en las valvas de esa intimidad recién hollada» (*Fiesta*, p. 507).





in exchanges among men. In Irigaray's own words, «she is nothing but the possibility, the place, the sign of relations among men»<sup>50</sup>. If Mama Julia, the Sublime Patriarch, progenitor of the Benefactor, is worshipped by the entire country on Mother's Day as «the example and symbol of Dominican motherhood»<sup>51</sup>, Urania, as a virgin girl, is considered a highly valuable sexual object by her patriarchal culture. Rather than sex, then, the violation of Urania Cabral's virginity is a transaction. Moreover, such a transaction is mainly concerned with men, not women. As a gift between two men, Urania functions simply as a conduit of the male homosocial relationship rather than as a partner to it. As Rojas-Trempe notes, «Cabral reduce a su hija a un papel de hembra conciliadora entre dos machos»<sup>52</sup>. Subjected to a phallogocentric dictatorship, women —wives, daughters, and sisters— had value only in that they promoted male homosocial relations, that is, relations among men. Like many other dictatorial and heavily militarized States, the Dominican Republic during the Trujillo dictatorship was significantly «masculinised», that is, masculinity and male homosocial relations tended to be exaggerated, with women becoming particularly vulnerable to sexual trafficking and abuse. In this sense, then, the crime against Urania Cabral in *The Feast of the Goat* may be seen to function as a metonymy, that is, as a reflection of a larger political (dis-)order based on Trujillo's phallic power. Focused on the phallus, the Goat's aggressive power would thus end up consolidating the association between machismo and Trujillismo for more than thirty years. «De tal manera», as Rojas-Trempe notes, «el reino del misoginismo político-militar se impuso en la comunidad trujillana atacada de pánico, intimidación, ceguera y complicidad con el dictador Trujillo»<sup>53</sup>.

As Vargas Llosa shows in *The Feast of the Goat*, Trujillo's obsession with deflowering virgin girls was inherited by his heir Ramfis, who, like his progenitor, was often carried away by his «frenzied fornicating, his need to take women to bed to convince himself of his own virility»<sup>54</sup>. Copying his father, Ramfis and his friends mercilessly abuse Colonel Perdomo's virginal daughter, the beautiful Rosalía, who, with her blond hair, blue eyes, and translucent skin, plays the part of the Virgin Mary in Passion plays, «shedding tears like a genuine Mater Dolorosa when her Son expires»<sup>55</sup>. Then, at the height of their fun, Rosalía Perdomo starts hemorrhaging, they abandon her, bleeding, at the hospital door. As Urania herself recalls, «They say poor Colonel Perdomo never recovers from the shock of knowing that Ramfis

<sup>50</sup> IRIGARAY, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>51</sup> VARGAS LLOSA, *Feast*, p. 11: «Espejo y símbolo de la madre quisqueyana» (*Fiesta*, 20).

<sup>52</sup> L. ROJAS-TREMPE, «Violencia político-sexual del Estado, trauma y la historia de una víctima en *La fiesta del Chivo*», in R. FORGUES (ed.), *Mario Vargas Llosa: Escritor, ensayista, ciudadano y político*, Lima, Librería editorial Minerva Miraflores, 2001, p. 549.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 549.

<sup>54</sup> VARGAS LLOSA, *Feast*, p. 96. «...el frenesí fornicatorio, la necesidad de tumbar muchachas en la cama para convencerse de su virilidad» (*Fiesta*, p. 129).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 100: «...derramando lágrimas como una genuina Dolorosa cuando su Hijo espira» (*Fiesta*, p. 135).

Trujillo and his friends happily violated his beloved daughter, between lunch and supper, as if they were killing time to watch a movie. Her mother, devastated by shame and grief, never goes out again»<sup>56</sup>.

While much of Vargas Llosa's novel thus focuses on depicting machismo and dictatorship, as well as their interaction, it finally reveals as illusory the phallic power which seemed to characterize the Trujillo Era. If the handsome Ramfis is portrayed as a mentally disturbed man who uses sex and alcohol to try to deal with his madness and fits of depression, both of which end up undermining his manly image, the dictator's phallic power is ironically threatened by his own sexual impotence. Upon visiting Mahogany House to attend «the feast of the Goat», Urania becomes an eyewitness of the Generalissimo's failure to perform. As Urania herself explains to her family, «Something was happening to him, I mean down below. He couldn't»<sup>57</sup>. Enraged by his own failure, the dictator forces Uranita to fellate him, but his penis remains «soft, soft»<sup>58</sup>. The aging dictator thus becomes a pathetic figure who, having only a dead penis, must use his fingers to penetrate Urania, which eventually causes him to cry over his sexual impotence. «His Excellency lay on his back again and covered his eyes... He wasn't sleeping. He let out a sob. He began to cry... Not for me... For his enlarged prostate, his dead prick, for having to fuck virgins with his fingers»<sup>59</sup>. If, as it seems, the Trujillo regime established a strong connection between machismo and dictatorship, often associating political with sexual repression, then it is not difficult to see Trujillo's sexual impotence as a symbol of the defeat of his phallic power as a dictator. As Urania herself recalls, «He seemed half crazed with despair. Now I know why. Because the prick that had broken so many cherries wouldn't stand up anymore. That's what made the titan cry. Laughable, isn't it?»<sup>60</sup>. Witnessing the dictator's inner weakness, then, Urania Cabral reveals phallic power as nothing but an illusion. A cruel instance of poetic justice, the violation of the innocent girl becomes itself a mirror reflecting Trujillo's own phallic defeat. If the Trujillo dictatorship was based on the repressive use of physical force, using the phallus as a political symbol of masculine power, then Trujillo's sexual impotence may be read as a metaphor for his double defeat not only as a man but also as a dictator. As Rojas-Trempe has concluded in this respect:

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 101: «Dicen que el pobre coronel Perdomo nunca se recupera de la impresión de saber que a su hija adorada Ramfis Trujillo y sus amigos la ultrajan alegremente, entre el almuerzo y la cena, con quien mata su tiempo viendo una película. u madre no vuelve a pisar la calle, malograda de la vergüenza y el dolor» (*Fiesta*, p. 136).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 396: «Algo le sucedía, quiero decir ahí abajo. No podía» (*Fiesta*, 508).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 396: «Blando, blando» (*Fiesta*, 508).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 397: «Su Excelencia volvió a tenderse de espaldas, a cubrirse los ojos... No estaba dormido. Se le escapó un sollozo. Empezó a llorar... No por mí... Por su próstata hinchada, por su güevo muerto, por tener que tirarse a las doncellitas con los dedos» (*Fiesta*, 509).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 398: «Parecía medio loco, de desesperación. Ahora sé por qué. Porque ese güevo que había roto tantos coñitos, ya no se paraba. Eso hacía llorar al titán. ¿Para reírse, verdad?» (*Fiesta* 510).



No existe mayor ironía cruel en la novela de Mario Vargas Llosa que la que Urania descubre cuando acude a la fiesta que conmemora la muerte de la inocencia femenina y presencia la derrota fálica del mito Trujillo... Esta venganza narrativa mueve a risa y nos reconcilia con el triunfo de la vida sobre las muertes injustas, la esperanza sobre el caos y la confesión sobre la impunidad... El cuerpo juvenil de Urania fue el espejo puro y límpido que le reflejó al macho cabrío su incapacidad eréctil, su incontinenencia urinaria y su impotencia política-sexual<sup>61</sup>.

Admittedly, the Chief's sexual crime is shown to exact the highest price on Urania herself, who still feels empty and full of fear, incapable of living a normal sexual life as an adult woman. While she pretends to have a boyfriend, she finally confesses her real situation to her family. «No man has ever laid a hand on me since that time...Papa and His Excellency turned me into a desert»<sup>62</sup>, she painfully declares. Urania's sense of alienation is augmented by the fact that she was offered as a gift to the Chief by her own father, which made her experience even more traumatic. As Adelman notes, «it is more difficult for...women to confront their victimization at the hands of intimates than to articulate a critique of the victimization perpetrated at the hands of an external enemy»<sup>63</sup>. Nevertheless, Urania's body is itself transformed into a site of resistance to dictatorship and terror. While most dictatorships and states of conflict are characterized by an exaggerated gender differentiation, an unintended effect of gender differentiation is that what is supposed to become a site of passive masochism, held in place by sanctioned ignorance or the repressive system of fear, often turns into a site of resistance, opposition, and challenge. It is true that most repressive acts committed by States have used bodies for terror. However, it is equally true, as Diane M. Nelson insists<sup>64</sup>, that those very bodies have also been used to make contrary claims on those States, to challenge ways of knowing, sanctioned ignorance, power inequalities naturalized as everyday life. In this sense, then, Urania's body, confronting the dictator with his own sexual impotence, becomes itself a symbol of resistance to both sexual and political abuse. While victimized by rape, she thus comes to represent the courage and dignity of Dominican womanhood, which Vargas Llosa pits against Trujillo's phallic dictatorship. Moreover, Urania transforms her trauma into a story, using narrative power as a cure. By talking to her aunt, her cousins, her niece, her father, and herself, she can come to terms with her victimhood, which she transforms into a healing narrative, or what Judith Herman defines as a «talking cure»<sup>65</sup>. If a victim of rape tells a close person about her experience, the trauma itself may be transformed: the repressive power of the secret is diminished and the narrative becomes the first step for the

<sup>61</sup> ROJAS-TREMPE, *op. cit.*, pp. 550-551.

<sup>62</sup> VARGAS LLOSA, *Feast*, p. 400: «Más nunca un hombre me volvió a poner la mano, desde aquella vez... A mí, Papá y Su Excelencia me volvieron un desierto» (*Fiesta* 513).

<sup>63</sup> ADELMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 1.144.

<sup>64</sup> NELSON, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>65</sup> J. HERMAN, *Trauma and Recovery*. New York, Basic Books, 1997.

victim to recover her love for herself and for her body. Transforming a traumatic event into a narrative thus facilitates the mourning process and helps the victim move on. As Urania herself tells her family, «I hope it's done me good, telling you this cruel story»<sup>66</sup>. While continuing to struggle with her trauma, she thus resorts to story-telling to initiate her healing process. As Rojas-Trempe has concluded, «Con su vida de víctima, que se vuelve relato, Urania reconstruye una historia fatal que la traumatizó cuando apenas entraba en la adolescencia; y puede iniciar su curación»<sup>67</sup>. At novel's end, after finishing her story, Vargas Llosa's protagonist seems ready, therefore, to put an end to her long period of severe depression and emotional isolation, allowing her niece to bring her back to life and to human connection. «'If Marianita writes to me, I'll answer all her letters', she decides»<sup>68</sup>. While focusing on the terror infused by Trujillo's phallic dictatorship, then, *The Feast of the Goat* seems finally illuminated, even if only briefly, by the flare of meaningful connection between two female characters, thus adding «an unexpected element of hope to what in other respects is perhaps the bleakest of all Vargas Llosa's books»<sup>69</sup>.

From what has been argued here, it seems possible to conclude, then, that the Trujillo regime established a strong connection between the ideologies of machismo and dictatorship, often using women as objects of political exchange between men. In so doing, the Trujillo years had a particularly detrimental effect on women, who were doubly victimized by a male homosocial order which promoted both political and sexual oppression. Focused on a female victim of the dictator's lust, Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Feast of the Goat* not only explores the relationship between public and private repressive practices during the Era but also uses Urania Cabral to deconstruct Trujillo's phallic power, which is undermined by his own sexual impotence. If, as it seems, Trujillo's government was founded on machismo and phallocentrism, then Vargas Llosa's emphasis on the aging dictator's sexual impotence may be read as a highly subversive metaphor, as we have seen, for the erosion of his own phallic power as a dictator, his failed sexual performance coinciding with the decadence and fall of his own political regime. Today, when so many dictatorial and imperialistic governments, both Eastern and Western, continue to thrive on images of phallic power, it seems more necessary than ever to look back at history so as to remember the always illusory nature of the phallus as a symbol of infinite power and omnipotence. Only then will we be able to fully understand the historical intersections between gender and politics, revealing masculinity as a masquerade for specific cultural, historical, and political reasons.

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<sup>66</sup> VARGAS LLOSA, *Feast*, p. 400: «Espero que me haya hecho bien, contarles esta historia truculenta» (*Fiesta*, 512).

<sup>67</sup> ROJAS-TREMPE, *op. cit.*, p. 548.

<sup>68</sup> VARGAS LLOSA, *Feast*, 404: «'Si Marianita me escribe, le contestaré todas las cartas', decide» (*Fiesta*, 518).

<sup>69</sup> L. WALFORD, «Vargas Llosa's Leading Ladies», in Y. FUENTES & M. PARKER (eds.), *Leading Ladies: Mujeres en la Literatura Hispana y en las Artes*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2006, p. 77.

