

**Victims, perpetrators and bystanders: reconceptualising
head shaving in Liberation France and Civil War Spain as
gender-based violence**

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the historical practice of female head shaving, using the *femmes tondues* during the Liberation of France and the *mujeres rapadas* during the Spanish Civil War as comparative case studies. By bringing these cases into dialogue, it uncovers the roles, actions and perspectives of the key actors and it identifies the shared historical discourses surrounding this gendered phenomenon in France and Spain. In particular, this study investigates why head shaving has primarily been understood as gendered punishment rather than as a form of gender-based violence in French and Spanish historiography, and it examines the ambivalent place this historical practice holds in the national memory of the two countries. It focuses not only on the female victims of head shaving, but also on the male perpetrators who led outbreaks, and the bystanders who witnessed these incidents. The research reveals that, despite facing undeniably violent and humiliating practices, the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* have a complicated relationship with victimhood due to enduring patriarchal discourses of female treachery and national disloyalty. Furthermore, while French resisters and Spanish nationalists were perpetrators, this framing is complicated by their role as victors, and national narratives of Resistance heroism in France and narratives of amnesty and reconciliation in Spain have obscured the extent of violence enacted. Additionally, it demonstrates that the two historical case studies are linked by comparative themes of violent post-conflict purges and social contestation regarding the role of women in post-war society, which encouraged the acquiescence of bystanders in acts of head shaving. Within this nexus, bystanders often held an important role in these historical outbreaks, but their involvement is still shrouded in shame and discomfort in France and Spain. By re-reading historical sources and reconceptualising these two case studies of head shaving through the prism of gender-based violence, this thesis reveals that violence against women during conflict can be justified, minimised and silenced if it conflicts with national narratives.

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This thesis has been available from 9 April 2021; revisions have been made to correct errors on pages 52, 84, 175, 252, 254, 261. **Charlotte Walmsley, 13 February 2023**

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List of Abbreviations

ADIV: Archives départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine

AGGCE: Archivo General de la Guerra Civil de España

AGMA: Archivo General Militar de Ávila

AMR: Archives municipales de Rennes

ATMTS: Archivo del Tribunal Militar Territorial Segundo, Sevilla

BNE: Biblioteca Nacional de España

BNF: Bibliothèque National de France

BVPHE: Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Historica de España

FET y de las JONS: Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista

FFI: Forces françaises de l'Intérieur

FTP: Francs-Tireurs et Partisans

LC: La Contemporaine

Note on Translation

All translations of French and Spanish literature and source material in this thesis are my own unless otherwise stated. I have retained certain terms such as *femmes tondues*, *mujeres rapadas*, *pelonas*, *Falange* and *requetés* in original French and Spanish because of their cultural connotations.

Introduction

In 'Re-writing History', Joan Wallach Scott observes that conflict often functions as a 'watershed moment, with clear impacts on both men and women, although they experience these changes differently.'¹ Much has been written about the gendered impacts of twentieth century conflict in terms of social progress; war seemed to provide women with 'new opportunities to demonstrate their capacities' and enabled them to 'challenge prejudices which confined them to a separate sphere'.² However, alongside these opportunities, women also experienced gendered reprisals and violence during twentieth century conflict, particularly as the advent of 'total war'³ blurred the boundaries between the battlefield and civilian zones, thereby rendering women more vulnerable to violence. One such example of wartime reprisals women faced was head shaving, which was used as a means of retribution for women's suspected loyalties or sexual relationships with the enemy. In both Liberation France and Civil War Spain, women faced this seemingly gendered form of shaming, while head shaving was rarely used against men under similar circumstances.⁴ Yannick Ripa was the first and only historian to put these two national case studies of female head shaving into dialogue in a short article published in 1995, in which she noted a strikingly similar logic between these practices which occurred across wartime France and Spain.

Above and below the Pyrenees, shorn women have for a long time been victims of a surprising form of stigmatisation which [...] requires cross-disciplinary study because head

¹ Joan Wallach Scott, 'Re-writing History', in Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, Margaret Collins Weitz (eds.) *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 1987), p.22.

² Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints* (New York and Essex: Pearson Education, 1999), p.11.

³ Paul K. Saint-Amour defines total war as a 'conflict from which nothing and no-one is exempt'. See 'On the Partiality of Total War', *Critical Inquiry*, 40, 2 (2014), p.420.

⁴ Fabrice Virgili highlights that cases of head shaving against men accused of similar disloyalties or inappropriate relationships with the enemy are marginal in France. See *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues a la Libération* (Paris: Payots & Rivages, 2000), p.244. In Spain, documented cases of head shaving against men are also rare. As Fernando Hernández Holgado highlights in *Mujeres encarceladas*, head shaving was not a common practice amongst leftist men in the same way it was against leftist women; 'no tuvieron una correspondencia semejante en el caso de los hombres, al menos en los mismos términos de importancia'. Fernando Hernández Holgado, *Mujeres encarceladas: la prisión de Ventas, de la República al franquismo, 1931-1941* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2003), p.122.

shaving transcends time, space and therefore ideology, thereby designating as its unchanging enemy: women.⁵

As Ripa observes, this phenomenon seemed to cross political divides; women who were targeted for head shaving in France were associated with the Nazi Occupation and collaborationist parties and movements, whereas in Spain, targeted women were linked to the Second Republic and left-wing political parties and movements. It therefore appears that while political backdrops may differ – France was in the throes of liberation from Nazi Occupation and Spain was undergoing radical political transformation from the Second Republic to a military regime – outbreaks of head shaving in these two countries were connected by the way gender inflected events, because the ‘unchanging’ enemies of head shaving were women.

Acts of female head shaving and humiliation mark both the ‘landscape of the Spanish Civil War’⁶ and the ‘fever’ of the Liberation of France.⁷ Both conflicts can be characterised as eras of swift social and political transition and profound collective trauma, and one of the means by which this upheaval was expressed was through the humiliation against women perceived to be enemies or traitors. In France, women who were targeted for head shaving became known as the *femmes tondues*, meaning shorn women. These women faced violent acts of retribution at the hands of the Resistance and their fellow civilians as they were perceived to have ‘betrayed the nation’.⁸ Their alleged crimes included having sexual relationships with the Nazi occupiers, the denunciation of resisters and/or involvement in collaborationist organisations.⁹ Head shaving took place across rural and urban centres in France, affecting an estimated 20,000 women.¹⁰ The vast majority of these cases occurred during the ‘épuration sauvage’ or ‘wildfire purges’, which immediately followed the

⁵ Yannick Ripa, ‘À propos des tondues durant la guerre civile espagnole’, *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* [online], 1 (1995), pp.1-3. Accessed online on 10th October 2016 at <http://journals.openedition.org/cliio/523>. Yannick Ripa explains that ‘En delà ou en deçà des Pyrénées, les tondues ont donc été longtemps victimes d'un ostracisme qui surprend et suffit [...] de croiser les études sur la tonsure qui se rit du temps, de l'espace et donc des idéologies, désignant ainsi son ennemi irréductible : la Femme’, p.1.

⁶ ‘Les femmes tondues appartiennent au paysage de la guerre civile espagnole ; images récurrentes des romans qui mettent en scène cette période,’ *Ibid.*, p.1.

⁷ Marc Bergère explains that head shaving was part of the ‘la fièvre des premiers jours de liberté’, *Une société en épuration : Epuration vécue et perçue en Maine-et-Loire* (Rennes: Pur, 2004), p.325.

⁸ ‘Les femmes furent symboliquement accusées d’avoir « trompé » la nation et de l’avoir « souillée » à travers leur propre corps.’ Alain Brossat, *Les tondues : un carnaval moche* (Levallois-Peret: Manya, 1992), p.18.

⁹ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération* (Paris: Payots & Rivages, 2000), p.23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.7.

Liberation in the summer of 1944, although there were known cases as early as 1943 and as late as 1946.¹¹

In Spain, targeted women became known as the *rapadas* or *pelonas* – names that alluded to their shorn heads. The Spanish *rapadas* faced head shaving as they were suspected of being loyal to the Second Republic, through their familial or romantic relationships, or through their political activism.¹² Targeted women were often understood to be ‘whores and criminals’ by the Nationalist victors during the Spanish Civil War.¹³ Acts of head shaving were led by Nationalist rebels, militias and civilians in zones they had recently taken over during the Civil War (1936-1939). According to historians’ estimates, the practice affected thousands of women during the initial purges of leftists as Spain fell to Francoist control.¹⁴ Acts of head shaving also continued into the 1940s during the resultant Francoist regime in Spain, as evidenced by women’s prison testimonies.¹⁵

In both countries, these reprisals were frequently meted out in public and municipal spaces; women were typically shorn and paraded, often in a state of undress, while a diverse cross section of society looked on as bystanders. This has led many French and Spanish historians to analyse head shaving as an ‘ugly carnival’¹⁶ or public ‘spectacle’¹⁷ of humiliation. Nevertheless, acts of head shaving, humiliation and sexual violence also occurred out of sight in official and makeshift prisons,¹⁸ as well

¹¹ Ibid., p.7.

¹² Arcángel Bedmar, *Los Puños y las Pistolas: La represión en Montilla (1936-44)* (Lucena: Imprenta Caballero, 2009), p.62.

¹³ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge*. (London: Harper Perennial, 2006), p.305.

¹⁴ Maud Joly, ‘Las violencias sexuadas de la guerra civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto,’ *Historia Social*, 61 (2008), pp.92-100. In this article, Maud Joly explains that sources pertaining to Francoist repression are fragmented geographically, chronologically and by gender, but it is estimated that thousands of women were affected by this violent phenomenon.

¹⁵ See Tomasa Cuevas, *Cárcel de mujeres (1939-1945)* (Barcelona: Sirocco, 1985).

¹⁶ Antony Beevor, *D-Day: The Battle for Normandy* (London: Penguin, 2009), p.449.

¹⁷ ‘El espectáculo, quizá por lo ejemplarizante, se extendía por los territorios que los “nacionales” iban ocupando.’ Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2012), p.11. The terms ‘spectacle’ and ‘carnival’ first appear in Alain Brossat’s anthropological analysis of head shaving, published in 1992. See Alain Brossat, *Les tondues : un carnaval moche* (Levallois-Peret: Manya, 1992).

¹⁸ Shirley Mangini discusses how prison life in Spain during the Civil War was ‘distinctly different for women than for men [...] it was customary to punish them by shaving their heads’. See Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women’s Voices from the Spanish Civil War* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995), p.104. In the French case, Fabrice Virgili confirms that head shaving also happened behind prison walls in ‘Les tontes de la Liberation en France’, *Les Cahiers de l’IHTP*, François Rouquet et Danièle Voldman (eds), *Identités féminines et violences politiques (1936-1946)*, 31 (1995), pp.53-66.

as in private and domestic settings.¹⁹ Despite the frequently public and visible nature of head shaving, it has been excluded from national narratives and public memory of the two conflicts; the phenomenon of shorn women remains unacknowledged in national commemorations of the Liberation in France,²⁰ and these women have been referred to as the ‘great forgotten’²¹ in Spain. Despite the visibility of head shaving as a historical practice, which physically marked out women believed to be associated with the enemy, it still seems to be shrouded in silence in contemporary France and Spain. As Laia Quílez Esteve observes, the silence regarding the use of head shaving at the hands of Francoists in Spain was only broken at the end of the twentieth century, when historical studies and cultural representations of the phenomenon began to slowly emerge.²² Likewise, in France, the first study dedicated to head shaving during the Liberation of France was published in 1992: nearly fifty years after the events.²³

The remarkable similarities in the violent way in which women were treated at a time of dramatic political change across France and Spain, alongside both countries’ shared difficulty to acknowledge these historical practices in the present day, suggest that a comparative analysis of these case studies could uncover interesting findings, despite the cases’ different historical and political contexts. This thesis will therefore bring these case studies into dialogue by comparing the waves of head shaving and humiliation unleashed against civilian women during these two periods of conflict and political transition. In particular, this study will contribute to historical and theoretical understandings of the ways in which gender, violence and national memory intersect. It will ask questions regarding how acts of shaming and violence may occur in gender-specific ways during times of national conflict and transition,²⁴ because it appears that head shaving targeted women specifically and that

¹⁹ Marc Bergère highlights that some head shaving incidents occurred within domestic settings and were led by resisters who broke into women’s homes in France. See *Une société en épuration*, p.317. During the Spanish Civil War, women also experienced violence, including head shaving and sexual assault, in their homes as highlighted by Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra: la represión y la guerrilla (1939-1950)*, (Córdoba: Francisco Baena, 1987), p.268.

²⁰ Cecile Bishop, ‘Photography, Race and Invisibility: The Liberation of Paris, in Black and White’, *Photographies*, 11, 2-3 (2018), p.202.

²¹ Ibon Pérez Bárcena refers to the rapadas as ‘las grandes olvidadas’. ‘Las rapadas de Lekeitio: víctimas de la represión franquista’, *Público*, 20 October 2019. Accessed online on 25th October 2019 at <https://www.publico.es/politica/rapadas-lekeitio-victimas-represion-franquista-desentierran-practicas-estigmatizaron-degradaron-matriarcado-vasco.html>.

²² Laia Quílez Esteve, ‘“Pelonas” y rapadas: Imágenes-trofeo e Imágenes-denuncia de la represión de género ejercida durante la Guerra Civil Española’, *Hispanic Review*, 86, 4 (2018), p.488.

²³ See Alain Brossat, *Les tondues : un carnaval moche* (Levallois-Peret: Manya, 1992).

²⁴ Feminist theorists such as Cynthia Cockburn have emphasised the ways in which gender and violence intersect during conflict, as violence is often linked to patriarchal power structures, meaning that women

these outbreaks functioned along gendered lines, with men typically being the perpetrators of such acts. This thesis will also interrogate how violent practices like head shaving may be justified and accepted during periods of upheaval, as many bystanders watched women having their heads shaved in France and Spain, because it often occurred in public spaces. Furthermore, this study will shed light on the ways in which these historical practices continue to be a source of controversy up to the present day as incidents of head shaving of women appear to have been neglected, silenced and shrouded in shame in national narratives in both France and Spain.²⁵

To offer greater grounding for this comparative study of female head shaving and humiliation during the Spanish Civil War and the Liberation of France, the historical and political contexts of the two case studies will firstly be introduced in order to justify the comparative approach adopted. Secondly, existing literature concerning these French and Spanish case studies will be surveyed to show that head shaving occupies an uncertain place in historical study and national narratives in both contexts. This chapter will then identify the key themes and debates which emerge from French and Spanish scholarship. Thirdly, the research questions which guide and structure this comparative historical study will be outlined. The chapter will conclude by summarising the methodological approaches taken to address these key research questions.

1.1 Contextualising the case studies of the *tondues* and the *rapadas*

As a comparative study which analyses outbreaks of head shaving and its uncertain place in national narratives across two different contexts, this study will perform a ‘variation-finding comparison’, wherein the two case studies will be analysed as variations of a shared historical phenomenon.²⁶ Equal weight will be given to the two case studies, and although there will be significant emphasis

are likely to experience violence and conflict in gender-specific ways. See Cynthia Cockburn, ‘The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace’, in Wenona Giles & Jennifer Hyndman (eds.), *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004) pp.1-38.

²⁵ The concept of ‘national narratives’ emerges from the work of Aleida and Jan Assmann in their study of collective memory at a national level. These concepts will be analysed further in section 1.3 Gender, violence and national memory of conflict. See Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory: Individual, Social and Cultural’, in Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008) pp.109-118, Aleida Assmann, ‘Forms of Forgetting’, *Herengracht 401: Research, Art, Dialogue*, 1 October 2014. Accessed online on 10th July 2017 at <https://h401.org/2014/10/forms-of-forgetting/>. Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’. *New German Critique*, 65 (1995), pp.125-33.

²⁶ Stefan Berger, ‘Comparative history’, in Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner and Kevin Passmore (eds.), *Writing History: Theory and Practice* (Second Edition) (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), p.189

on similarities between the *rapadas* and the *tondues*, this study will also draw attention to differences between the two cases, particularly in terms of the divergent national narratives surrounding this shared phenomenon. Furthermore, while the case studies occurred within a decade of each other, it is important to emphasise that the historical analysis is diachronic and that the two historical and political contexts are distinct from each other – the first cases of head shaving in Spain occurred in the first few months of the Civil War in 1936 as zones were taken over by the Nationalist rebels,²⁷ and the final cases of head shaving in liberated France occurred in 1945 and 1946 when survivors of concentration camps and prisoners of war returned to France.²⁸

To acknowledge the two different timeframes and national contexts, this study will emphasise the ‘contextually varied meanings’ of the shared phenomenon of head shaving, by ‘establishing similarities and differences’²⁹ between the two cases and their historical contexts in Liberation France and Civil War Spain. In order to set out the similarities which underpin the justification for bringing these case studies into dialogue, this next section will introduce these historical parallels and the wider context in which head shaving occurred in twentieth century Europe. Common threads that run through Liberation France and Civil War Spain include post-conflict reprisals and purges, political transition, the gendered nature of head shaving and its uncertain place in national memory across the two countries.

Firstly, a key historical parallel that cuts across the two neighbouring countries is that head shaving functioned primarily as a public form of retribution used against women and it visibly marked their bodies in a way that their communities could see. Alongside the visible act of head shaving, common practices which emerged in newly liberated regions in France and zones captured by the Nationalists in Spain include women being publicly paraded and stripped of clothing,³⁰ forced to

²⁷ Incidents of head shaving are reported in the Republican press from October 1936. BNE, José Quilez Vicente, ‘Fascistas y requetés inundan de sangre inocente los pueblos del pirineo aragonés’, *Ahora*, 9 October 1936, pp.6-7.

²⁸ Antony Beevor, ‘An ugly carnival’, *The Guardian*, 4 June 2009. Accessed online on 10th September 2019 at <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2009/jun/05/women-victims-d-day-landings-second-world-war>.

²⁹ Stefan Berger, ‘Comparative history’, p.199.

³⁰ Cecile Bishop notes that in newly liberated Paris, ‘perpetrators would force their victims to walk naked or partially undressed on the street’ in her article ‘Photography, Race and Invisibility: The Liberation of Paris, in Black and White’, p.201.

wear or carry signs, sing political songs or perform salutes³¹ and marked with paint or tar.³² Furthermore, in Spain, many women were also made to consume castor oil to induce vomiting and diarrhoea.³³ In the aftermath of these incidents of public humiliation, source material also points to the imprisonment, execution and extrajudicial murder of these same groups of women across both countries. Although historiographical attention has been paid to the female death toll in Spain,³⁴ this thesis has uncovered evidence showing that the murder and execution of alleged female traitors was not a 'minor phenomenon' in France either.³⁵ As a result, this study locates head shaving within a wider spectrum of violent and humiliating practices used against alleged female 'traitors' and 'collaborators' in municipal, public and prison spaces.

Furthermore, these two case studies belong to a longer history of shaming women viewed as traitors during European conflicts. Head shaving appears to have been framed as a form of punishment or retribution for female traitors and enemies.³⁶ As Antony Beevor notes, forced female head shaving has long historical roots and it reappeared with a vengeance in early-twentieth century Europe at the hands of soldiers, resistance fighters and civilians alike, as a means of shaming dissident women.

In Europe, the practice dated back to the dark ages, with the Visigoths. During the middle ages, this mark of shame, denuding a woman of what was supposed to be her most seductive

³¹ Maud Joly explores the use of other humiliating practices alongside head shaving in the Spanish Civil War, such as forcing women to sing political songs, carry signs or perform salutes as an additional form of spectacle. See 'Las violencias sexuadas de la guerra civil española: paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto', p.102.

³² Julie Desmarais cites numerous example of tarring alongside physical assaults during the Liberation of France, highlighting that the post-war settling of scores was not limited to head shaving. *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes* (Laval, Quebec: Université Laval, 2010), p.29.

³³ In her doctoral thesis, Maud Joly emphasises that head shaving during the Spanish Civil War was frequently coupled with the use of castor oil, as a key 'weapon' in the Francoist 'wartime arsenal', which added to the theatre of humiliation women experienced in public spaces. 'Le Corps de l'Ennemie : Histoire et représentations des violences contre les républicaines en Espagne (1936-63)', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, Centre d'Histoire Sciences Po, 2011), p.142.

³⁴ Increased scholarly interest in the female death toll in Spain can be explained by the context of Civil War and due to the prominence of famous cases of female execution and murder, such as the case of the *trece rosas* (13 roses), *Trece rosas* refers to 13 women killed by Francoist firing squad in 1939. The history and legacy of the *trece rosas* has been explored in Carlos Fonseca's *Trece rosas rojas: La historia más conmovedora de la guerra civil* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2004).

³⁵ 'L'exécution sommaire des femmes à la Libération ne fut pas non plus un fait mineur. 454 au moins furent exécutées.' Françoise Leclerc et Michèle Weindling, 'La répression des femmes coupables d'avoir collaboré pendant l'Occupation', *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* [online], 1 (1995), p.9. Accessed online on 10th May 2017 at <http://journals.openedition.org/clio/519>.

³⁶ Claire Gorrara explains that head shaving was understood as a 'punishment for alleged collaboration' with the enemy during the Second World War. 'Fashion and the *femmes tondues*. Lee Miller, Vogue and representing Liberation France', *French Cultural Studies*, 29, 4 (2018), p.331.

feature, was commonly a punishment for adultery. Shaving women's heads as a mark of retribution and humiliation was reintroduced in the 20th century.³⁷

In Anette Warring's study of Danish women who experienced shearing in the aftermath of the Nazi Occupation, she describes the practice of head shaving as a 'European phenomenon',³⁸ which peaked at the end of the Second World War when countries were liberated from foreign occupation, including France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Norway, Poland and then-Czechoslovakia.³⁹ Furthermore, Andreea Mica Prundeanu notes that the most famous victims of head shaving during this period were the French *femmes tondues* or 'femmes à Boches' (a pejorative term meaning 'women of the Germans'), but these women had multiple counterparts across Europe who were known by similarly misogynistic slurs: 'the "femmes à Boches" finds its equivalent in the Danish "tyskerpiger" and the British "jerrybag"'.⁴⁰

However, before the fall of Nazism, head shaving and public practices of female shaming had also occurred in Hitler's Germany. In 1939, Hitler ordered the shearing of German women who had infringed a 1935 racial law, which criminalised relationships between German women and non-Aryan prisoners of war.⁴¹ Likewise, the First World War had seen similar practices of female shaming and shearing in France; Jean-Yves Le Naour highlights the use of bodily repression against women in 1918 in his study of head shaving incidents across ten French regions which had been previously invaded by German soldiers.⁴² Similarly, incidents of exemplary female shaming, head shaving and sexual violence had occurred within the context of the Irish War of Independence

³⁷ Antony Beevor, 'An ugly carnival', [online].

³⁸ Anette Warring, 'Intimate and Sexual Relations' in *Surviving Hitler and Mussolini: Daily Life in Occupied Europe*, ed. Robert Gildea, Olivier Wieviorka and Anette Warring (Oxford: Berg, 2006), p.88.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Andreea Mica Prundeanu, 'Cutting Delilah's Hair: Sentimental Collaborators and the Politics of Female Sexuality in WWI/II France', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Michigan State University, 2017). 'Tyskerpiger' means 'German girls' in Danish and was used as an insult against women who were suspected of having relationships with German occupiers. 'Jerrybag' was an insult used against women in Jersey who were accused of having affairs with German occupiers. Many of these women faced violent retribution at the end of the war. For example, an incident of shaming is evoked in a 1996 article written by Jojo Moyes for *The Independent*. See 'How Jersey's Nazi children disappeared.' *The Independent*, 23 November 1996. Accessed online on 3rd April 2020 at <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/how-jerseys-nazi-children-disappeared-1353692.html>.

⁴¹ Fabrice Virgili describes this practice in *Naitre ennemi : les enfants de couples franco-allemands nés pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Payots & Rivages, 2009), p.48. Virgili explains that Hitler ordered public shearings of women accused of 'racial crimes' in 1939 and that Himmler further reiterated this measure in a decree on 31st January 1940.

⁴² Jean-Yves Le Naour, 'Femmes tondues et répression des "femmes à boches" en 1918', *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine*, 47, 1, (2000), pp.148-158.

(1919-21) and the Irish Civil War (1922-23). In her recent work, historian Linda Connolly has shed light on the 'widespread' use of 'bobbing' by both British and Irish soldiers to punish women who held opposing loyalties.⁴³

While some European cases of female head shaving and humiliation have garnered more historical attention than others, certain social themes and ideological currents cut across outbreaks. One such theme is political transition; in the case of the Spanish Civil War and the case of the Liberation of France, both societies were wrestling with political upheaval and rapid change. In the summer of 1944, French society had begun the process of purging the Vichy political structure and punishing those who collaborated with the Nazi occupation, in a period that some French historians describe as resembling a civil war.⁴⁴ This period led to around 10,000 estimated deaths in France, 8,000-9,000 of which are estimated to be extrajudicial killings.⁴⁵ Similarly, during the Spanish Civil War, processes of purging occurred against the political infrastructure of the Second Republic in zones newly taken over by the Nationalist rebels; 'terror had been a crucial instrument of the military rebels but to this, Franco added a determination to annihilate as many Republicans as possible.'⁴⁶ These comparative contexts of extrajudicial violence in civilian areas left women particularly vulnerable as they could face reprisals due to their own political allegiances and due to their perceived proximity to the enemy, either in terms of the Nazi occupiers in France or Republican politicians, soldiers or trade unionists in Spain.

One of the least well-known aspects of the repression against civilians carried out by the partisans of Franco's military coup against the Spanish Republic is the scale of their deliberate and systematic persecution of women [...] many women were murdered and thousands of the wives, sisters and mothers of executed leftists were subjected to rape and other sexual abuses, the humiliation of head shaving and public soiling after the forced ingestion of castor oil.⁴⁷

⁴³ Linda Connolly, 'Sexual violence: a dark secret of War of Independence and Civil War', *The Irish Times*. Accessed online on 20th April 2020 at <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/sexual-violence-a-dark-secret-of-war-of-independence-and-civil-war-1.3752556>. See also Linda Connolly 'Sexual violence in the Irish Civil War: a forgotten war crime?' *Women's History Review*, 30, 1 (2020), pp.1-18.

⁴⁴ Henry Rousso, 'L'épuration en France : Une histoire inachevée', *Vingtième siècle*, Revue d'histoire, 33 (1992), p.84.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.95.

⁴⁶ Paul Preston. *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge*, p.306.

⁴⁷ Paul Preston, 'Violence against Women in the Spanish Civil War', *The Volunteer*. 23 August 2018. Accessed online on 17th August 2019 at <https://albavolunteer.org/2018/08/violence-against-women-in-the-spanish-civil-war>.

As Paul Preston notes in his analysis of repression against suspected Republicans and their families in Nationalist rebel zones, women faced 'systematic persecution'. Simply being a wife, sister or mother of a leftist was enough to merit violent retribution, including head shaving, public parading and forced ingestion of castor oil. This widespread targeting of women also occurred in France; for many *femmes tondues*, their only alleged crime was of having maintained some form of inappropriate relationship with the enemy, which could be defined in vague terms such as 'intimate', 'loving' or 'special' relationships.⁴⁸ In their in-depth study of repression against suspected female collaborators in France, Françoise Leclerc and Michèle Weindling also emphasise that women's familial or professional relationships with those suspected of collaboration could represent grounds for repression; they cite an example of a woman who was killed because her husband was wrongly accused of denouncing a Resistance network to Nazi authorities.⁴⁹

In these two divergent contexts of deep civil unrest and swift political transition, it is illuminating to examine how gender appears to shape post-conflict score-settling. In France, resisters and civilians were suddenly able to vent their anger and seek extrajudicial redress against fellow citizens following four years of Nazi Occupation.⁵⁰ In Spain, Nationalist rebels and militias were encouraged to exact revenge against those who supported Republican troops, as part of repression which was framed as 'services for the Fatherland'.⁵¹ These comparative periods of political change and vicious retribution highlight that there is 'no abrupt cut-off between war and post-war' because 'armed conflict is often converted not into constructive political process but into non-specific or sporadic revenge.'⁵² As Ruth Seifert argues, these volatile periods of violence between factions can be highly gendered, particularly as 'orgies of violence' towards women may occur from 'one to two months after a war and then abate.'⁵³ In newly liberated areas in France and newly Nationalist zones in Spain, women appear to have been particularly vulnerable to these initial waves of violent

⁴⁸ These relationships were referred to as 'intimes', 'amoureuses', 'du dodo' or 'd'un genre special' in arrest reports. Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération* p.27.

⁴⁹ Françoise Leclerc et Michèle Weindling, 'La répression des femmes coupables d'avoir collaboré pendant l'Occupation', p.2.

⁵⁰ Julie Desmarais highlights that there was a need felt in the French community to right wrongs that had not been addressed by the judicial system. *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.50.

⁵¹ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-century Spain* (London: Harper Press, 2012), p.156.

⁵² Cynthia Cockburn, 'The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace', p.25.

⁵³ Ruth Seifert, 'The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in War,' *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19 (1996), p.35.

exactions, which primarily occurred in the first few months following military victory. This has led some historians, such as Hanna Diamond, to frame head shaving as a process of scapegoating women which allowed civilians to vent their resentments for wartime suffering.⁵⁴

The two case studies are closely connected by shared themes of policing and punishing women's wartime behaviour. In *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*, Mark Mazower asserts that post-war Europe was marked by governmental appeals to a return to traditional morality and gender roles following the disruption of conflict. Mazower rationalises this cultural emphasis on traditional gender as being due to anxieties regarding national strength, dwindling birth rates and the traumatic return of 'wounded patriarchs' from war.⁵⁵ Within this cultural landscape, head shaving appears to be charged with gendered symbolism; it represented a 'traditional punishment' for adulterous women and prostitutes⁵⁶ as it cleansed women of their hair, which facilitated their 'debauchery'.⁵⁷ The practice of forcibly cutting hair as a means of disciplining women who had infringed community norms, via their political sympathies or relationships with the enemy, also carries with it strong religious echoes of sin, shame and public penitence.

[The victim] would be marked not only by the dispossession of her locks of hair (a feminine attribute according to traditional gender models) but also by the humiliation [...] the consequences of the head shaving lasted until the hair grew back, as a mark of sin and subsequent penitence.⁵⁸

As M. Cinta Ramblado Minero emphasises here, shorn women were 'marked' out as traitors in the eyes of their community through the visible loss of their 'feminine' attributes. In this way, it is made clear that the forced removal of hair actively 'targets' a body part which is associated with sexuality.⁵⁹ The emphasis on the purification of women's wartime 'sin' implies a post-war restoration of traditional modes of morality, heralded by the use of public reprisals against

⁵⁴ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints* (New York and Essex: Pearson Education, 1999), p.135.

⁵⁵ Mark Mazower. *Dark continent: Europe's twentieth century*, (London: Allen Lane 1998), p.78.

⁵⁶ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints* (New York and Essex: Pearson Education, 1999), p.136.

⁵⁷ Claude Gavard, 'Introduction. D'Ève à la présumée coupable', in Fanny Bugnon, Julie Doyon, Pierre Fournié, Michel Porret, Annick Tillier and Fabrice Virgili (eds), *Présumées coupables : les grands procès faits aux femmes* (Paris: Iconoclaste, 2016), p.27.

⁵⁸ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, 'Locks of hair/locks of shame? Women, dissidence, and punishment during Francisco Franco's dictatorship', in Aurora G. Morcillo (ed.), *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War: Realms of oblivion* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), p.424.

⁵⁹ Gemma Clark, 'Violence against women in the Irish Civil War, 1922-3: gender-based harm in global perspective', *Irish Historical Studies*, 44, 165 (2020), p.86.

politically and sexually dissident women. The widespread use of head shaving and practices of humiliation, which were designed to attack victims' honour and femininity, suggests that targeted women were not only facing reprisals because of accusations of wartime support for the enemy, but also for transgressing what was considered acceptable behaviour for women. As Pura Sánchez highlights in her study of post-war female repression led by Nationalists in Andalusia, women's alleged crimes against the nation represented a 'double transgression': they had transgressed social rules due to their association with the enemy and they had transgressed moral rules assigned to women due to what was perceived to be unfeminine behaviour or relationships.⁶⁰ In newly liberated France, practices of head shaving and humiliation also appear to have been understood as a means of punishing women's national and moral transgressions. Claire Gorrara notes that head shaving served as a 'salutary warning' to French women about the consequences of 'undermining the re-establishment of French patriarchy damaged by military defeat.'⁶¹ When placing these two historical case studies into dialogue, this thesis will draw out the gendered implications of head shaving in newly liberated France and newly Francoist Spain, and explore how these two case studies can contribute to understandings of the relationship between gender and violence during conflict.

Increased scholarly engagement with the role of gender in shaping men and women's experiences of violence and conflict owes a debt to the advent of gender history. As highlighted by Joan Wallach Scott in her pivotal 1986 article 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', historical study needs to acknowledge the role of gender as a means of theorising 'relationships of power' between men and women.⁶² By analysing the role of gender at particular moments across different societies, it is possible to both 'make women visible' in historical study and 'provide new perspectives on old questions',⁶³ such as the role of violence against women during conflict. As Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark note in their analysis of the intersections between gender and violence during conflict,

⁶⁰ Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*. (Barcelona: Critica, 2009), p.13.

⁶¹ Claire Gorrara, 'Fashion and the *femmes tondues*: Lee Miller, Vogue and representing Liberation France', p.332.

⁶² Joan Wallach Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis.' *The American Historical Review*, 91, 5 (1986), pp.1066-1067.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.1075.

men and women 'experience violence and conflict differently, both as victims and as perpetrators.'⁶⁴ In line with increased emphasis on the role of gender which shapes experiences of violence and conflict, there has been greater legal recognition of how violence during conflict functions on gendered lines in the late-twentieth century.

Importantly, 'gender-based violence' entered the human rights lexicon in 1993 via a UN Declaration, which acknowledged 'the prevalence of different forms of violence against women' and noted that women are 'especially vulnerable to violence' in situations of armed conflict.⁶⁵ It has been noted from studies of twentieth century conflicts, including the First and Second World Wars, the Rwandan genocide and the Bosnian war, that women are 'disproportionately targeted' for certain types of violence during conflict, such as 'rape and sexualised torture'.⁶⁶ Cynthia Cockburn observes that the gendered nature of violence during conflict means that 'men and women often die different deaths and are tortured and abused in different ways' because of the 'physical differences between the sexes and because of the different meanings culturally ascribed to male and female bodies.'⁶⁷ These gendered differences in terms of experiences of violence and the cultural meanings ascribed to male and female bodies can be seen in these two case studies of head shaving, because hair has different cultural symbolism for women than for men; hair can be seen as 'the symbol of an active feminine sensuality' and 'an element of power for women.'⁶⁸ In this way, forcibly removing women's hair during the Liberation of France and the Spanish Civil War can be framed as a highly gendered attack on women's femininity, and head shaving may therefore be understood as a form of gender-based violence.

Growing interest in gender-based violence during and following twentieth century conflicts has also shone a light on the role of honour and, conversely, shame, as motivating factors for violence

⁶⁴ Caroline O.N Moser and Fiona C. Clark, 'Introduction', in Caroline O.N Moser and Fiona C Clark (eds.) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2001), p.7.

⁶⁵ United Nations, Article 1, 'Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women', General Assembly resolution 48/104, 20 December 1993. Accessed online on 16th March 2020 at <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/ViolenceAgainstWomen.aspx>.

⁶⁶ Marie E. Berry, 'Barriers to Women's Progress After Atrocity: Evidence from Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Gender and Society*, 31, 6 (2017), p.831.

⁶⁷ Cynthia Cockburn, 'The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence', in Caroline O.N Moser and Fiona C Clark (eds) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2001), p.22.

⁶⁸ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.141.

against women, as well as obstacles to studying it. Twentieth century international humanitarian law has historically framed violence against women as ‘attacks against the woman’s and family’s honour’,⁶⁹ in alignment with traditional gendered frameworks which have traditionally regarded female victims as ‘spoils of war’ for male victors. This has contributed to shrouding violence against women in narratives of shame and dishonour. As highlighted by a 1998 UN report by the Special Rapporteur, ‘shame commonly ensues for the victim, who is often viewed by the community as “dirty” or “spoiled” [...] consequently, many women will neither report nor discuss the violence that has been perpetrated against them.’⁷⁰ Therefore, while women’s bodies are widely understood as ‘battlefields’⁷¹ during and following twentieth-century conflicts, ‘methods of investigating and documenting human rights abuses often obscure abuses against women.’⁷² This has led scholars across multiple disciplines, including history, sociology, memory studies and law, to view violence against women during conflict as a neglected topic or even as a ‘forgotten war crime’.⁷³

The historical erasure of women’s experiences of violence during conflict due to gendered notions of shame, stigma and silence has led scholars of conflict to reframe studies of gender-based violence in wartime as a process of historical recovery. This metaphor of recuperation and retrieval has been borrowed from gender history, and women’s history in particular; Michelle Perrot describes the study of women’s history as a process of bringing to light marginal experiences that had been ‘forgotten or lost.’⁷⁴ In the case of head shaving and other forms of humiliation and violence in my chosen case studies, this historical process is referred to as ‘unearthing gendered repression’ in Laura Muñoz-Encinar’s exploration of violence against women at the hands of Francoists during the Spanish Civil War,⁷⁵ or as ‘recovery’ of ‘secret and buried trauma’ in Alison Moore’s analysis of

⁶⁹ Rashida Manjoo and Calleigh McRaith, ‘Gender-Based Violence and Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas’, *Cornell International Law Journal*, 44, 1 (2011), pp.18-19.

⁷⁰ Report of the Special Rapporteur 1998 in Rashida Manjoo and Calleigh McRaith, ‘Gender-Based Violence and Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas’, p.19.

⁷¹ Linda Connolly, ‘Sexual violence: a dark secret of War of Independence and Civil War’, *The Irish Times* [online].

⁷² Judith Gardam and Hilary Charlesworth, ‘Protection of Women in Armed Conflict’, *Human Rights Quarterly*, 22 (2000), p.155.

⁷³ Linda Connolly, ‘Sexual violence in the Irish Civil War: a forgotten war crime?’, p.1.

⁷⁴ Michelle Perrot, ‘Twenty Years of Women’s History in France,’ translated by Felicia Pheasant, in Michelle Perrot and Felicia Pheasant (eds), *Writing Women’s History* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1992), p.4.

⁷⁵ Laura Muñoz-Encinar. ‘Unearthing gendered repression: an analysis of the violence suffered by women during the civil war and Franco’s dictatorship in Southwestern Spain’, *World Archaeology*, 51, 5 (2019), pp.759-777.

French women who faced exemplary violence and humiliation at the hands of resisters during the Liberation of France.⁷⁶ Indeed, violence against women during conflict has been framed by many historians as the ‘most hidden’ form of repression.⁷⁷

Head shaving was largely absent from historical accounts of the Liberation and the Spanish Civil War until the 1990s and the 2000s, which points to the existence of mechanisms of forgetting and obscuring historical repression against women. Theoretical discussions regarding national memory and national narratives may offer context for these tendencies which have been observed in both French and Spanish scholarship of wartime head shaving. As Aleida Assmann highlights in her analysis of memory and forgetting, ‘national memory is usually organized by collective pride’, which means that ‘memories of guilt and responsibility have great difficulty entering the historical conscience and consciousness of a society.’⁷⁸ She highlights that ‘national narratives’ emerge from ‘selective and exclusive memory frames’, and she claims that it was only in the 1990s that a shift could be observed from ‘self-serving narratives to more complex configurations that also integrate negative and shameful aspects into the collective self-image.’⁷⁹ Therefore, it appears that memories of the widespread humiliation of the *femmes tondues* in Liberation France and the *mujeres rapadas* in Civil War Spain may be obscured or even buried, as these memories conflict with narratives of collective pride. Furthermore, while Jan Assmann warned against overemphasising the existence of consensus in national narratives of historical events and conflicts, he suggested that we can observe attempts to ‘stabilise’ a society’s ‘self-image’ in national narratives.⁸⁰

While this study is a comparative history of head shaving across France and Spain rather than a dedicated study to the memorialisation of head shaving, it is clear that history and national memory have a discursive relationship in these case studies, as they are ‘constantly feeding off and speaking to each other’.⁸¹ As a result, this study analyses both the historical phenomenon of head shaving and its uncertain place in national memory in the two contexts. This will offer interesting findings

⁷⁶ Alison Moore. ‘History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the *Tondues*: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women’, *Gender & History*, 17, 3 (2005), p.665.

⁷⁷ José María García Márquez, ‘El Triunfo del golpe militar: el terror en la zona ocupada’, Francisco Espinosa Maestre (ed.), *Violencia roja y azul: España, 1936-1950*, (Barcelona: Critica, 2010), p.93.

⁷⁸ Aleida Assmann, ‘Forms of Forgetting,’ [online].

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’. *New German Critique*, 65 (1995), p.132.

⁸¹ Patrick Finney, *Remembering the Road to World War Two. International History, National Identity, Collective Memory* (London: Routledge, 2011) p.310.

because the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* appear to have a conflictual relationship with French and Spanish national narratives of the two conflicts; head shaving continues to be highly politically sensitive in contemporary France and Spain and it has even been a source of memorial agitation. In both countries, it appears that these gendered reprisals against women have been buried deep in national memory.

As Ruth Kitchens argues, the historical figure of the French *tondue* evokes the ‘ongoing slur and stigma of wartime shame’, which has led to the ‘ongoing marginalisation’ of its victims.⁸² In his pioneering analysis of French cultural memory of the Occupation, Henry Rousso suggests that memorialisation can be more accurately summarised as the ‘organisation of forgetting.’⁸³ As part of this organised forgetting, post-war France ‘constructed its wartime identity as a monolith of anti-fascist resistance’,⁸⁴ and therefore post-war violence against alleged female collaborators jarred with dominant cultural narratives and France’s proud national self-image. Furthermore, this forgetting was enshrined into law as part of the 1951 amnesty, which pardoned low-level collaboration but also blocked attempts to charge resisters for violence against suspected collaborators during the Liberation. In particular, articles 30 and 33 specifically pardoned resisters for ‘acts taken with the intention of contributing to the national liberation’,⁸⁵ thereby excusing acts of retribution against suspected collaborators, including head shaving.

In Spain, the phenomenon of the *mujeres rapadas* is also highly politically sensitive, as it functioned as a form of female repression led by the Nationalist rebels. Due to the longevity of the Francoist military regime following the Spanish Civil War, repression against leftists was not a topic that could be openly discussed or studied until long after Franco’s death in 1975. As Helen Graham highlights, the regime ‘had free rein to shape public discourse in Spain’, which had the result of confining ‘the telling of other histories either to private subterranean spaces inside Spain, or to the

⁸² Ruth Kitchens, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*. (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013), p.67.

⁸³ Henry Rousso, *Le Syndrome de Vichy de 1944 à nos jours* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), p.12.

⁸⁴ Rosemarie Scullion, ‘Unforgettable: History, Memory and the Vichy Syndrome’, *Studies in Twentieth Century Literature*, 23, 1 (1999), p.12.

⁸⁵ ‘Les résistants sont amnistiés pour les actes accomplis dans l’intention de servir la cause de la libération du territoire ou de contribuer à la libération définitive de la France.’ 1951 Amnesty cited in Hubert Hervé, *Condamné au secret 3 – L’histoire des femmes pendues de Monterfil* (Rennes: Editions Mané Huily, 2016), p.51.

confines of exile communities'.⁸⁶ Furthermore, initial attempts to bring Francoist atrocities to light were quickly stymied by the 1977 Amnesty Pact, which was enacted two years after the dictator's death and was commonly referred to as the pact of forgetting or the pact of silence, and was considered unacceptable to many Spaniards.⁸⁷ This amnesty blocked judicial process for the *vencidos* (the defeated) and meant that the true scale of repression enacted during the Civil War at the hands of Nationalists was neglected, in the name of 'peaceful coexistence and reconciliation'.⁸⁸ As Laia Quílez Esteve asserts, female victims of head shaving were shamed into keeping silent, much like other leftist victims of repression during the resultant dictatorship and then into the transition to democracy in the late-twentieth century.⁸⁹

However, accounts of head shaving highlight the physical brutality of the practice, which suggest that this historic phenomenon can certainly be reframed as gender-based violence when drawing from contemporary definitions. Head shaving was a practice which resulted in, or was likely to result in, the 'physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women [...] in public or in private life.'⁹⁰ This 'physical', 'sexual' and 'psychological harm' is evidenced in historical documentation of the practice in newspaper coverage, memoirs, governmental reports, and police and military documentation, as this thesis will show. In the French case, for example, writer Jean Cocteau describes seeing an 'entirely naked woman' left abandoned on the street after she had been pushed, shoved and spat at and left with 'bruises' and a 'shorn head',⁹¹ during the Liberation of Paris. In terms of the Spanish case study, the phenomenon of head shaving is also evoked in Ernest Hemingway's 1940 novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which was inspired by his experiences of the Spanish Civil War. The male protagonist's love interest, Maria, describes the violence she endured at the hands of Nationalist soldiers when her braids were shaved and she was sexually assaulted:

⁸⁶ Helen Graham, 'Writing Spain's Twentieth Century in(to) Europe', in Helen Graham (ed.), *Interrogating Francoism: history and dictatorship in twentieth-century Spain*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), p.6

⁸⁷ Nuria Tesón, 'Esquelas de las dos Españas.' *El País*. 10 September 2006. Accessed online on 5th July 2019 at http://elpais.com/diario/2006/09/10/espana/1157839217_850215.html.

⁸⁸ Ofelia Ferran. *Working Through Memory; Writing and Remembrance in Contemporary Spanish Narrative*. (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press, 2007), p.23.

⁸⁹ Laia Quílez Esteve, "Pelonas" y rapadas: Imágenes-trofeo e Imágenes-denuncia de la represión de género ejercida durante la Guerra Civil Española', p.494.

⁹⁰ United Nations, Article 1, 'Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women.' [online].

⁹¹ 'La femme était toute nue, avenue de la Grande-Armée. On l'écartelait. On la poussait, on la tirait, on lui crachait au visage. Elle avait le crâne rasé. Elle était marbrée de bleus.' Jean Cocteau, *Journal 1942-1945* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), p.542.

Maria recounts that a soldier ‘stood in front of me and struck me across the face with the braids while the other two held me and he said, “This is how we make Red nuns.”’⁹²

A comparative study of these two cases should therefore shed light on the connections between gender and violence during conflict by drawing out the various factors which encouraged and legitimised female head shaving during these two wars. Despite the different historical periods and national backdrops, there are shared themes of civil conflict and political upheaval, alongside a clear trend of gendered symbolism within outbreaks of head shaving in both cases. Similarly, bringing these two national case studies into dialogue will offer interesting findings in terms of how violence against women during conflict may be obscured or forgotten due to shame and friction with national narratives. This is particularly relevant because the phenomenon of the shorn women has not yet been acknowledged or integrated into national commemorations of conflict in contemporary France or Spain. Despite differences between the two historical and national contexts, these important similarities justify a comparative analysis of head shaving against women in Liberation France and Civil War Spain, which will contribute to understandings of the intersections between gender and violence during and following twentieth-century conflict. Similarly, this comparative study will draw attention to the political contestation and shame that appears to surround historic cases of violence against women during war.

1.2 Existing scholarship on the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*

As previously noted, while there is considerable overlap between the two case studies, the *tondues* in France and the *pelonas* in Spain have not been brought into dialogue until now because head shaving has primarily been examined in national and regional studies. This section will explore the body of scholarly research on head shaving in the two different countries, highlighting the terms and concepts this study draws upon from existing French and Spanish historiography. It will also identify existing frameworks for understanding head shaving that this thesis seeks to develop, adapt and challenge.

This section will firstly analyse the study of the *femmes tondues*, as this case has generated a larger body of scholarship and is better known to historians. As Alison Moore asserts, the Liberation of France has become synonymous with post-war female shaming due to the wealth of photography

⁹² Ernest Hemingway. *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (New York: Scribner, 2003), p.352.

of shorn women which has become an object of historical fascination.⁹³ Furthermore, this section will show that some of the historiographical approaches taken by historians of Spain when analysing head shaving during the Civil War appear to have been somewhat inspired by French scholarship of the *tonte* during the Liberation. As a result, this section will take care to draw out shared historical frameworks and understandings of the gender-specific practice when surveying scholarship of the Spanish *rapadas* or *pelonas* after reviewing the historical study of the French *tondues*.

1.2.1 Historiography of the French *tondues*

As is underscored by historical analyses of France's national memory of the Second World War, the Liberation has been largely romanticised.⁹⁴ The Liberation of Paris has even been referred to as 'the most romantic event of World War Two'.⁹⁵ The Liberation therefore continues to be coded positively as a galvanising and glorious moment following Nazi Occupation in French national narratives, which contrasts with accounts of widespread head shaving and reprisals against women suspected of collaboration with the occupiers. The *tondues* appear to be positioned on the periphery as an awkward and unwelcome side note that troubles this heady narrative of national pride. The morally ambiguous history of the *femmes tondues* has therefore been side-stepped in historical study due to associations with the shame of the Occupation and collaboration.

Furthermore, even within historiography of wartime collaboration and post-war retribution, the *femmes tondues* remain on the margins, as head shaving was not located within the official judicial realm of punishment. The 'purges' following the Liberation in France are frequently separated into two categories in historiography: 'l'épuration judiciaire' (judicial purges) and 'l'épuration sauvage' (the wild purges), which are not as well documented due to being largely community-based and outside of official channels. However, some historians, such as Richard Vinen, have argued that a clear-cut division between the wild purges and the restoration of legal process is simplistic, and that

⁹³ As Alison Moore highlights in her article 'History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the *Tondues*: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women', *Gender and History*, 2005, 17, 3, 'the image of the [French] *tondue* was visually memorialised, and implicitly mythologised via this visual archive,' p.664.

⁹⁴ See H.R Kedward 'Introduction: 'Ici commence la France libre'', in H.R Kedward and Nancy Wood (eds.) *The Liberation of France: Image and Event* (Oxford & Washington: Berg Publishers, 1995), pp.1-9.

⁹⁵ Susan Keith, 'Collective Memory and the End of Occupation: Remembering (and Forgetting) the Liberation of Paris in Images', *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 17, 3 (2010), p.134.

resisters and officials did also indulge in the so-called wild purges.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the lack of documentation pertaining to the use of legally questionable punishments, like head shaving, complicates analysis as the chain of command is often unclear, in terms of analysing who ordered head shaving and how it functioned in French society. There have been some notable exceptions however, like Jacques Bounin, the *Commissaire de la République* in Montpellier, who confirmed that he did in fact authorise head shaving.⁹⁷ Therefore, while addressing issues of wartime stigma and gender, the historian also faces difficulty in terms of uncovering primary source material which testifies to events.⁹⁸

The first extensive study of head shaving in post-war France was Alain Brossat's 1992 work *Les tondues: un carnaval moche*. Brossat adopted an anthropological approach by analysing the post-war reprisals against women as an example of the medieval carnivalesque tradition, in which civil actors are empowered to take part in rituals to reunite the community following divisions, in this case, divisions emerging from the war. Such divisions were particularly deep in France given the difficult choices people faced between actively collaborating with the Nazi Occupation, or quietly accommodating the occupiers during an era of extreme hardship and food shortages,⁹⁹ or conversely, supporting the Resistance at considerable personal risk. The idea of the medieval carnivalesque in this case situates the *tondes* as part of community celebrations at the end of the war, in which wartime tensions are played out and catharsis is reached. Head shaving is therefore viewed as part of an inversion of preceding social structures: women who were perceived to have collaborated with the Nazi occupiers and benefitted from the Occupation were punished and humiliated by those who had suffered during this period, either materially or by aligning with the Resistance. In this way, the ceremony of the *tondes* is viewed as part of the social performance of national and symbolic tensions.¹⁰⁰ Brossat presents these acts of violence as a way for the national

⁹⁶ See Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation*. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2006).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.354.

⁹⁸ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile »*, p.19.

⁹⁹ In *France Under the Germans: Collaboration and Compromise*, Phillippe Burrin emphasises that many French people chose to adapt and accommodate the occupier during times of extreme hardship (New York: The New Press, 1995). Furthermore, Hanna Diamond points to the significant food shortages that French citizens faced during the Occupation, which may have contributed to women choosing to collaborate or befriend the occupiers. See *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948*, p.57.

¹⁰⁰ Alain Brossat, *Les tondues: un carnaval moche*, p.18.

community to play out the social conflicts that dogged French society in the immediate post-war period.

Brossat's analogy of the *tontes* as a ceremony, event or spectacle ('cérémonial', 'événement' and 'spectacle')¹⁰¹ is key as it provided a language with which head shaving could be expressed and understood. Furthermore, understandings of the *tonte* as a ceremony which aimed to re-unite the community following the trauma of war had previously been seen in Herbert Lottman's popular history of the purges.¹⁰² However, while Brossat's anthropological analysis of head shaving is illuminating as it points out a longer history of public punishment,¹⁰³ it fails to sufficiently emphasise the violence and trauma of head shaving for the women involved and it neglects the gendered nature of this phenomenon. The emphasis appears to have been placed on national cohesion as motivating factor for head shaving, rather than on the various perspectives of those involved or on the impacts of this gendered strain of violence and humiliation. Furthermore, by using the voyeuristic theoretical language of 'spectacle', Brossat appears to perpetuate the humiliation of targeted women in France, which is critiqued in Alison Moore's analysis of the dehumanising photography of the *femmes tondues*.¹⁰⁴

In contrast, studies such as H.R. Kedward and Nancy Wood's 1995 collection *The Liberation of France: Image and Event* moved away from an anthropological analysis of the *femmes tondues* and instead located head shaving as a phenomenon which was rooted in the Liberation's unique historical context. This particular collection reflected the renewed interest in the *femmes tondues* during the 1990s as a disquieting expression of the moral ambiguities of the Liberation period. Corran Laurens's chapter 'La Femme au Turban': Les Femmes tondues' underscored the historical importance of this gendered phenomenon as it was traditionally used to punish adultery in France,

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p.12.

¹⁰² For example, Herbert Lottman argues that the *tonte* fulfilled a social function and expiated French civilians' sense of rage and injustice, and therefore stopped further violence. See Herbert Lottmann, *L'épuration, 1943-1953* (Paris: Fayard, 1986).

¹⁰³ Michel Foucault's theoretical study of punishment through history draws attention to the slow shift from the visible 'festival' of punishment in medieval society to hidden punishment within institutional spaces from the eighteenth century onwards. This thesis will not use a Foucauldian framework to analyse the two case studies because the role of gender as part of punishment is largely neglected in *Discipline and Punish*. However, as I will discuss in the fourth chapter on bystanders, Foucault's work offers an important contribution to understandings of punishment as a social phenomenon. See Michel Foucault translated by Alan Sheridan, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage Books: New York, 1995 [1977])

¹⁰⁴ See Alison Moore. 'History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the *Tondues*: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women', *Gender & History*, 17, No.3 (2005), pp.139-163.

and it was ‘one of the earliest acts of purging’ during the Liberation period.¹⁰⁵ Laurens also analysed photography, which represents one of the key primary source bases documenting the use of violence against accused female collaborators. Her analysis utilised gender as an analytical category, highlighting the extreme violence of the act and the dehumanisation of female victims, pointing to women’s ‘sacrificial function’¹⁰⁶ during the post-war period. Crucially, this chapter is the first and only time that the French case study has been framed as a form of gender-based violence. However, Laurens still also employs the term ‘punishment’, which implies wrongdoing on the part of shorn women, alongside her use of the term ‘violence’, which emphasises the harm caused by perpetrators to female victims of head shaving. This suggests that understandings of head shaving as a punishment persist in historiography, and can even be seen in studies that identify the violent and gendered nature of the phenomenon.¹⁰⁷

Alongside Laurens’s analysis of the *tontes* which located the phenomenon within the wider social theme of violence and misogyny during the Liberation, Michael Kelly’s chapter ‘The Reconstruction of Masculinity at the Liberation’¹⁰⁸ draws out the motivations for the *tontes* from the perspective of the male perpetrators, again placing a gendered analysis at the forefront of study. Kelly asserted that French men felt compelled to reassert their social dominance via violent retribution against women deemed to be national enemies following the emasculating experience of defeat and Occupation, in conjunction with many French women engaging in relationships with German soldiers. This framework of perpetrators as ‘wounded patriarchs’¹⁰⁹ would later be adopted by Fabrice Virgili in his study *La France « virile » : Des femmes tondues à la Libération*, the title of which emphasises the importance of wounded masculinity as a motivating factor for perpetrators, whether they were resisters or civilians.

As well as gendered analyses, detailed historical articles and monographs emerge, bringing to light a wealth of previously unexplored sources and materials, which have illuminated the different perspectives of bystanders and spectators in particular. For example, Luc Capdevila’s 1995 article

¹⁰⁵ Corran Laurens, ‘La Femme au Turban’: les Femmes tondues’, In H.R Kedward and Nancy Wood (eds) *The Liberation of France: Image and Event* (Berg Publishers: Oxford & Washington, 1995), p.155-156.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.176.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.155.

¹⁰⁸ Michael Kelly, ‘The reconstruction of masculinity at the liberation’ In H.R Kedward and Nancy Wood (eds) *The Liberation of France: Image and Event* (Oxford & Washington: Berg Publishers, 1995), pp.117-128.

¹⁰⁹ Mark Mazower, *Dark continent: Europe's twentieth century*, p.78.

‘La ‘collaboration sentimentale’ : antipatriotisme ou sexualité hors-normes ? (Lorient, mai 1945)’¹¹⁰ and his 1999 study *Les Bretons au lendemain de l’Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d’une sortie de guerre 1944-1945* examines testimony, political tracts, newspaper articles and court documents attesting to the head shaving of women across Brittany.¹¹¹ Capdevila frames the phenomenon of the *tondes* as a means for communities to assimilate the trauma of the war and the bitter resentments of the Occupation.¹¹² As with Brossat’s work, Capdevila emphasises the need for social catharsis following the shame of military defeat and collaboration.¹¹³ However, he develops this further by identifying the importance of gender as part of the justification for head shaving: Capdevila provides a qualitative and quantitative analysis of women targeted in Brittany. He also highlights the systematic nature of head shaving, utilising political tracts and correspondence to illustrate that people were calling for the humiliation of suspected female collaborators long before the Liberation. He also suggests that the widespread use of violence against women was tied to wider national concerns, as the Liberation signalled a need to assert a new French identity and national community, and reject those deemed to have betrayed it: Capdevila discusses the perceived social need to ‘cleanse’ the ‘dirt’ of the Occupation by ‘neutralising dissident elements’.¹¹⁴ Importantly, this study highlights the historical framing of head shaving and analyses the historical perspectives of the various perpetrators and bystanders who, passively or actively, engaged in this form of exemplary violence against women.

Similarly, French historian Fabrice Virgili’s 1995 article ‘Les « tondues » à la Libération : le corps des femmes, enjeu d’une réappropriation’¹¹⁵ and his comprehensive 2000 study *La France « virile » : Des femmes tondues à la Libération* identify important trends and offer in-depth analysis of the enactment of head shaving across France during the Liberation. Virgili emphasises the systematic

¹¹⁰ See Luc Capdevila, ‘La ‘collaboration sentimentale’ : antipatriotisme ou sexualité hors-normes ? (Lorient, mai 1945)’, in François Rouquet et Danièle Voldman (eds.), *Les Cahiers de l’IHTP, Identités féminines et violences politiques (1936-1946)*, 31 (1995), pp.67-82.

¹¹¹ The focus on Brittany is enlightening as Brittany was a region which was particularly strident in its use of judicial and extrajudicial retribution against suspected female collaborators, as highlighted by Capdevila himself. Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l’Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d’une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.149.

¹¹² Ibid., p.12.

¹¹³ Ibid., p.213.

¹¹⁴ Luc Capdevila claims that ‘on retrouve l’idée que la Libération est un seuil à franchir, que les Français doivent se laver de la souillure de l’Occupation en neutralisant les éléments perturbateurs.’ Ibid., p.203.

¹¹⁵ Fabrice Virgili, ‘Les « tondues » à la Libération : le corps des femmes, enjeu d’une réappropriation’, *Clio*, 1 (1995), pp.111-127.

nature of head shaving by detailing its importance on a national scale, thereby assigning increased historical importance to the phenomenon of the *tondues*, who had previously been neglected in historical scholarship of the period or had the violence of their ‘punishment’ minimised. While he shines a light on the methodological difficulties of studying head shaving, citing the difficulty of quantifying the phenomenon or measuring its impact,¹¹⁶ he draws upon an impressive breadth of source material, including newspaper articles, women’s arrest reports and prefects’ reports, to demonstrate how the practice spread across France and how it was justified and understood by those involved as perpetrators and bystanders. He also examines the different demographics of both female victims and male perpetrators, disentangling motivations and justifications for this form of punishment, and identifying key trends. Using a sample of 586 women who had experienced head shaving across France, he identified the primary reasons why women were targeted, revealing that the majority of women who faced head shaving were accused of relationships with the enemy.¹¹⁷ As a result of this key finding, Virgili convincingly argues for the importance of perceived national emasculation as a key motivating factor for this gendered ‘punishment’,¹¹⁸ placing the need for reasserting French virility at the forefront of justifications for head shaving. Crucially, Virgili identifies the perceived need for the reconstruction of French masculinity as a central tenet of the reconstruction of nationhood in the aftermath of Occupation. He therefore emphasises the importance of gender as a historical frame of analysis, particularly when examining violence during the post-war period in France.

Similarly, Ruth Kitchen’s 2013 study, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*, highlights the gender-specific narratives of shame surrounding the *tondues*. Rather than being judged as guilty of war crimes, she suggests that targeted women were ostracised from the community as they had been judged to be morally deficient. This analysis foregrounds the social importance of the *tondes* as a public act of humiliation utilised specifically against women: ‘shame concerns the negative judgment of an individual as a person whereas guilt concerns deliberately committing a forbidden act’.¹¹⁹ This again foregrounds the importance of gender as a means to

¹¹⁶ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile »: Des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.8.

¹¹⁷ Fabrice Virgili highlights that 42.1% of femmes tondues had been accused of having had a sexual relationship with the enemy, compared to 26.7% who had been accused of collaboration in a general sense, 14.6% had been accused of economic collaboration, 8% had been accused of political or military collaboration, 6.% had been accused of denouncing resisters and 2.1% had been targeted due to coming from an Axis country. *Ibid.*, p.23.

¹¹⁸ Fabrice Virgili describes head shaving as a ‘chatiment sexué’. *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹¹⁹ Ruth Kitchen, *A Legacy of Shame*, p.67.

understand the experiences of female victims of head shaving, as well as bystanders and perpetrators. Kitchens argues that by experiencing head shaving, the *femmes tondues* were being judged not just as being guilty of a crime, but rather as being a source of national shame due to their suspected relationships or allegiances. It will therefore be crucial for this thesis to draw out historical and contemporary attitudes towards targeted women and the increased politicisation of women's personal choices, in order to understand the widespread acceptance of head shaving in newly liberated France.

Julie Desmarais's 2010 study regarding changing understandings of the *femmes tondues* through time also has been particularly influential in the development of this thesis as she points to the ongoing contestation surrounding this historical phenomenon. Crucially, she identifies three different interpretative frameworks for the *femmes tondues*: as guilty women, as women in love and as victims.¹²⁰ In this way, she asserts that targeted women were not initially understood as having experienced violence, and that national narratives have instead focused on women's guilt and wrongdoing, in terms of crimes of collaboration, and it is only in recent years that there has been growing engagement with their victimisation in historical scholarship and representations of the Liberation. This particular study has greatly informed this thesis, which will show that understandings of head shaving have evolved through time in France and Spain, as Desmarais's work identifies changing attitudes towards the women who faced head shaving and reprisals during the Liberation, showing that the phenomenon has been a site of ongoing contestation and controversy in national narratives. Furthermore, Desmarais draws attention to the need to examine the perspectives of all historical actors involved in head shaving; she suggests that it is necessary to analyse the ongoing 'silence' regarding women's experiences of violence, which emphasises that the little knowledge we have comes from 'spectators' and those external to the events.¹²¹

By surveying French scholarship of the *tondues*, it appears that head shaving has primarily been understood as a form of punishment, which implies that women were targeted due to their own wrongdoing, rather than being targeted within a context of gender-based violence, despite various studies indicating the violent and gendered nature of the outbreaks. It is only Corran Laurens who partially re-frames head shaving as a form of gender-based violence, rather than seeing the *tondues*

¹²⁰ Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.7.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.5.

through the lens of punishment.¹²² Across other historians' analyses of the phenomenon, the language of gendered punishment predominates, such as in Fabrice Virgili's national study of the *femmes tondues*, which notes the gendered logic of head shaving but does not refer to it as gender-based violence.¹²³ This raises important questions regarding understandings of head shaving during the Liberation of France – why is shearing perceived to be a punishment and not a form of violence by historians? Do similar perceptions of head shaving as a historical punishment also persist in historical scholarship of the Spanish case study?

Alongside notions of head shaving as punishment, the roles of key historical actors emerge in literature of the French case. For example, Alain Brossat draws attention to the role of bystanders in his analysis of head shaving as a public spectacle or medieval carnival; this framework emphasises the importance of the fact that acts of head shaving often occurred in public spaces while crowds of civilians watched. Similarly, Julie Desmarais's study of the *femmes tondues* points to the absence of targeted women's voices in studies of head shaving. Importantly, Desmarais also suggests that shorn women have only recently been viewed as victims, pointing to targeted women's potentially troubled relationship with victimhood. Additionally, Fabrice Virgili and Michael Kelly shed light on the motivations of male perpetrators by identifying discourses of masculinity and virility amongst resisters and French civilians who led these outbreaks. These categories, in terms of targeted women, male perpetrators, and civilian bystanders, offer an interesting route into analysing the phenomenon of head shaving, by identifying the roles and perspectives of the key historical actors involved. The next section, which reviews Spanish scholarship of the *pelonas* or *rapadas*, will interrogate whether these roles also emerge in scholarship of the Spanish case study.

1.2.2 Historiography of the Spanish *rapadas*

In the Spanish context, the phenomenon of head shaving and humiliation has faced considerable obstacles in the struggle for historical analysis and representation. Due to the establishment of Franco's dictatorship in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, women who experienced repression as leftists, anarchists, socialists and republicans, were banished to the margins of national history. Much like in the case of simplistic French representations of the Second World War, a

¹²² Corran Laurens, 'La Femme au Turban': les Femmes tondues', p.155.

¹²³ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Liberation*, p.10. Fabrice Virgili suggests that head shaving highlighted the tensions between men and women during the post-war period, but refers to the act of shearing as a punishment.

stark and unforgiving contrast between the glorious new nation and its defeated enemies emerged: 'in official language, there were only "victors" and "vanquished", "good Spaniards" and "bad Spaniards", "patriots" and "traitors"'.¹²⁴ During the Francoist dictatorship, the consolidation of this exclusionary historical construct was key to cementing its political legitimacy and, as such, the stories of violent excesses of head-shaving, torture and sexualised violence against women perceived to be disloyal to the new Spanish nation had no clear place in public discussion or historical study. Following Franco's death in 1975 and the transition to democracy, the Civil War continued to be seen as a 'time of troubles, to be lamented rather than addressed,' as argued by Mary Vincent in her analysis of 'memory and oblivion' since the Spanish Civil War.¹²⁵

It is only in the late-twentieth century and start of the twenty-first century that the debate surrounding the violence faced by the 'vanquished', and specifically the violent and traumatic experiences of women, emerge in earnest. Nevertheless, there is still only one historical study that uniquely focuses on the phenomenon of head shaving and public violence against women in Spain, which was published in 2012,¹²⁶ and there continues to be a reluctance to face the violence of the Civil War and Francoism, with some politicians making the case for moving forward rather than looking back at the country's troubled past.¹²⁷ The historical study of head shaving and other gender-specific forms of repression during the civil war and the dictatorship therefore took longer to emerge in the Spanish context than it did in France.

The historical study of the Spanish Civil War has largely focused on the experience of male combatants, as most texts exploring post-conflict repression typically centre the male experience. Studies dedicated to women's experiences of the conflict, either as civilians or combatants, only started to emerge in the 1990s, such as Mary Nash's pioneering article 'Women in War: *Milicianas*

¹²⁴ Paul Preston, *The Politics of Revenge: Fascism and the military in 20th century Spain* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p.23.

¹²⁵ Mary Vincent, 'Breaking the silence? Memory and oblivion since the Spanish Civil War', in Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio and Jay Winter (eds.), *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p.48.

¹²⁶ See Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2012)

¹²⁷ Then-President and leader of the *Partido Popular* Mariano Rajoy claimed in 2008 that investigations into Francoist violence served only to 'open old wounds.' See *El País*. 'Rajoy: "Abrir heridas del pasado no conduce a nada."' *El País* [online], 2nd September 2008. Accessed online on 10th August 2018 at https://elpais.com/elpais/2008/09/02/actualidad/1220343425_850215.html.

and Armed Combat in Revolutionary Spain, 1936-1939'¹²⁸ and her comprehensive study *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War*.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, Shirley Mangini's analysis of women's experiences of the Spanish Civil War and the resultant regime emphasises that statistics regarding female repression and incarceration are 'particularly difficult to determine because of the lack of research on the topic.'¹³⁰ In the many historical studies that examine the breadth and depth of Francoist repression in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, the suffering of the *rapadas* appears to be a sidenote; it is often framed as a common form of 'exemplary punishment' but not given particular analytical attention as a widespread gender-specific phenomenon. An example of this can be found in Paul Preston's 2012 historical study *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain*, which focuses uniquely on repression and provides a rich analysis of the use of violence but does not dedicate even a chapter to gender-specific violence or the particular experiences of women as part of the purges. Female experiences of violence are dotted onto the text but not fully disentangled or given a clear focus: 'women were abused and humiliated, subjected to the standard rebel practice of their heads being shaved except for a tuft of hair to which was tied a ribbon with monarchist colours.'¹³¹ Head shaving is viewed as a 'standard practice' but is not assigned any considerable historical significance as a gendered form of violence following conflict.

The first historical text to provide a dedicated analysis of the *rapadas* in Enrique González Duro's 2012 study *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, which analyses the *rapadas* as a cultural and anthropological phenomenon, borrowing from Brossat's vocabulary of 'spectacle' and 'carnival' to describe the widespread use of gender-specific retribution during the Spanish Civil War. González Duro describes head shaving as a spectacle which spread in newly occupied zones.¹³² In this study, he emphasises the dehumanising nature of this form of exemplary violence, in which the community as a whole is implicated as bystanders. Following in the footsteps of Alain Brossat, González Duro's description of head shaving as a spectacle highlights the visual nature of the

¹²⁸ Mary Nash, 'Women in War: Milicianas and Armed Combat in Revolutionary Spain, 1936-1939', *The International History Review*, 15, 2 (1993), pp.269-282. For further research regarding the roles of female combatants, see Lisa Margaret Lines, *Milicianas: Women in Combat in the Spanish Civil War* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington, 2012).

¹²⁹ Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Denver, Colorado: Arden Press, 1995).

¹³⁰ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, p.101.

¹³¹ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, p.164.

¹³² Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.11.

violence, and its intentions to humiliate and shame women. Furthermore, González Duro discusses the social importance of purging those deemed disloyal to the new Francoist Spanish nation, and similarly to the French case, many of the first victims of these purges were women: ‘the enemy was nothing but a pathogenic germ that took root in homes, which had to be taken out to be exterminated [...] women were not to be trusted.’¹³³ This apparent distrust of women by Nationalist rebels underscores the role of social attitudes held by perpetrators and bystanders, which seemed to justify the use of humiliation and violence against leftist women.

Other analyses of historical female repression during the war and the dictatorship include Pura Sánchez’s 2009 study *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, which draws out the social discourses surrounding female morality in the post-war era and examines how these discourses were mobilised to justify the systematic repression of dissident women viewed to be sympathetic or connected to the former Republic. Sánchez draws attention to the gendered nature of repression and violence during and following conflict in Spain, arguing that there were ‘qualitatively different modes of enacting repression’¹³⁴ when comparing male and female experiences. Sánchez highlights that violence is justified as necessary punishment as it is used to reconstruct the nation: women perceived to hold left-wing politics are viewed as holding doubtful public and private morality,¹³⁵ making them a threat to the National Cause, and as such, these dissident women were framed to be in need of violent rehabilitation. This negative archetype of the female traitor is dual in nature: women loyal to the Republic represented a threat to the nation, but also to traditional masculinity due to their perceived moral infractions via their relationships or their political views.

Raquel Osborne’s 2012 edited collection *Mujeres Bajo Sospecha: Memoria y Sexualidad 1930-1980* also provides an in-depth analysis of the wide spectrum of female repression during the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist regime, highlighting how the use of gender-specific forms of violence,

¹³³ ‘El enemigo no era sino un germen patógeno ‘que arraigaba en los hogares, de los que había que hacerle salir para exterminarlo. No se especificaba la represión necesaria según los sexos, pero no había que fiarse mucho de la mujer.’ Ibid., p.18.

¹³⁴ Pura Sánchez emphasises that there were ‘modos cualitativamente diferenciados de ejercer la represión’ between men and women at the hands of Francoists during the Spanish Civil War. *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.12.

¹³⁵ Pura Sánchez argues that the language used to describe leftist women, using terms such as being ‘de dudosa moral pública y privada’, justified the use of repression against women during early Francoism. Ibid.

such head shaving, functioned as a means of ‘social control’.¹³⁶ Essays within this collection highlight the gender-specific ways in which women faced violence comparative to their male counterparts, underscoring that ‘the punishment itself incorporated a high degree of corporality’¹³⁷ and that the use of violence against women often served to publicly humiliate them. Osborne argues that the use of bodily violence and public humiliation served as exemplary punishment,¹³⁸ meaning that it had a social purpose in terms of putting dissident women on display as a warning to other women and the national community at large. This again raises questions about the use of violence against dissident women as a means to control and sanction unacceptable female behaviour. Therefore, much like in France, where female repression often sat on the periphery of legal structures as it was often community-based, this collection suggests that social attitudes and discourses surrounding female treachery are key facilitating factors to gender violence. This is because women accused of the crimes of collaborating with Republicans or defying norms regarding their sexuality or behaviour appear to have been rejected from the new Spanish nation in this post-war period of reconstruction; they were marked via bodily violence, such as shearing, and ostracised from the national community as ‘non-women’.¹³⁹

In ‘Locks of hair/locks of shame? Women, dissidence, and punishment during Francisco Franco’s dictatorship’, M. Cinta Ramblado Minero foregrounds the symbolism and political importance of head shaving. Crucially, she analyses the use of targeted repression against women assumed to be loyal to the republic; she draws attention to the regime’s ‘exclusion of dissident women’ through the ‘dispossession of their humanity and their womanhood.’¹⁴⁰ However, similarly to Enrique González Duro and Pura Sánchez, she utilises the language of punishment rather than violence. Potentially, this is because her focus is on the symbolic narratives of head shaving from the perspective of perpetrators, but the choice to replicate the language of ‘punishment’ nevertheless

¹³⁶ Raquel Osborne highlights that female repression operated as a patriarchal form of ‘control social en el Franquismo.’ ‘Introduction’, in Raquel Osborne (ed.) *Mujeres Bajo Sospecha: Memoria y Sexualidad 1930-1980* (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2012), p.13.

¹³⁷ Pura Sánchez, ‘Individuas de Dudosa Moral’, in Raquel Osborne (ed.) *Mujeres Bajo Sospecha: Memoria y Sexualidad 1930-1980* (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2012), p.105.

¹³⁸ Raquel Osborne, ‘Introduction’, p.13.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, ‘Locks of hair/locks of shame? Women, dissidence, and punishment during Francisco Franco’s dictatorship’, p.411.

cements the idea of head shaving as a reprimand for wrongdoing, and thereby frames targeted women as criminals or traitors rather than victims of a form of gender-based violence.

Conversely, some historians, such as Maud Joly and Sofía Rodríguez López, have employed the language of violence to analyse head shaving, humiliation and other associated acts of gender-specific retribution during the Spanish Civil War. In both her doctoral thesis and her article on the 'gendered violence of the Spanish Civil War', Maud Joly examines the semiotics of violence against women during the conflict.¹⁴¹ She takes a particular focus on the exemplary nature of the spectrum of violence leftist women experienced, and the 'didacticism'¹⁴² of this violence as it delivered a message about what constituted acceptable conduct for women and what would be the consequences for their disobedience. Joly also highlights the historical importance of increased scholarly engagement with the gender-specific experiences of violence women underwent during the Civil War, despite the challenge of finding sources. In particular, Joly emphasises the need to inscribe head shaving into histories of wartime violence as the phenomenon provides significant insights into the symbolic importance of women's bodies during and following conflict.¹⁴³

In a similar vein, Sofía Rodríguez López's chapter, 'Corpus delicti: social imaginaries of gendered violence', analyses gender-specific violence, such as head shaving, as a 'weapon of war and a symbol with political connotations'¹⁴⁴ during the Spanish Civil War. Importantly, while emphasising that gender-specific repression, such as head shaving and humiliation, was a form of gender-specific violence rather than punishment, she also distinguishes between the violence led against women by Republican factions and Nationalist factions. While those affiliated with the Catholic church and those who supported the *Falange* faced humiliation in Republican zones, such as verbal abuse and humiliating tasks such as scrubbing the streets, leftist men and women faced public humiliation, head shaving, forced castor oil ingestion and torture in public and prison settings in Nationalist zones.¹⁴⁵ Sofía Rodríguez López claims that head shaving was the 'symbol, par excellence, of gender

¹⁴¹ Maud Joly, 'Las violencias sexuadas de la guerra civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto,' p.90.

¹⁴² Maud Joly draws attention to the 'didacticismo' of the violent repression enacted by Francoists. Ibid., p.100.

¹⁴³ Maud Joly, 'Le Corps de l'Ennemie : Histoire et représentations des violences contre les républicaines en Espagne (1936-63)', p.16.

¹⁴⁴ Sofía Rodríguez López, 'Corpus delicti: social imaginaries of gendered violence', in Aurora G. Morcillo (ed.) *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War: Realms of oblivion* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), p.359.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.373-376.

violence during the civil war and its aftermath.¹⁴⁶ The choice to use the language of violence appears to speak to an increased willingness to apply the term gender-based violence to the Spanish case, which will be examined in comparison with the French case as part of this thesis.

Furthermore, much like Julie Desmarais in the French historiography, Laia Quílez Esteve points to the changing understandings of shorn women in Spain through time.¹⁴⁷ She shows that women's bodies were transformed into a site of repression during the Spanish Civil War, and that in cultural representations such as films, documentaries and reports, there has been different narrative strategies used to 'vindicate, give voice to and dignify'¹⁴⁸ women who faced head shaving. Examples include the historical framing of shorn women as 'trophies' in photography, as perpetrators wanted to make women's humiliation as public as possible,¹⁴⁹ and, conversely, contemporary representations of shorn women as victims in order to denounce the violence women endured during and immediately following conflict.¹⁵⁰ For example, in the 2003 film *Pelonas*, the experience of head shaving is framed as a violent and traumatic act that needs to be shared with younger generations.¹⁵¹ This illuminating article therefore raises the question of how understandings of historic violence against women evolve through time. What are the historical factors that influence these shifts? Have understandings of head shaving evolved differently in the French and Spanish case studies? Can changes be seen in interpretations of all of the key historical actors, including female victims of head shaving, male perpetrators and civilian bystanders?

In light of this survey of existing scholarship in the Spanish case, it is evident that head shaving has primarily been understood through the lens of punishment. It is therefore important to note that despite the two cases' different national and historical contexts, head shaving appears to be framed in similar ways across French and Spanish scholarship, which raises questions as to why there has been a shared refusal to reframe head shaving as a form of gendered violence across the two countries. Crucially, French and Spanish scholarship both continue to frame head shaving as a

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p.376.

¹⁴⁷ Laia Quílez Esteve, "'Pelonas' y rapadas: Imágenes-trofeo e Imágenes-denuncia de la represión de género ejercida durante la Guerra Civil Española', pp.487-509

¹⁴⁸ 'Desde una clara perspectiva de género, vindicar, dar voz y dignificar a unas mujeres que en otro tiempo fueron brutalmente deshumanizadas.' Ibid., p.487.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.494.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p.494.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.499.

‘sanction’¹⁵² or ‘punishment’¹⁵³ used against women, rather than as a criminal act or a targeted infringement of women’s rights and personal dignity. It is curious to note that although scholarly interest in head shaving has markedly increased since 2000 – evidenced by pioneering national analyses such as Fabrice Virgili’s 2000 study of head shaving in France¹⁵⁴ and Enrique González Duro’s 2012 Spanish study of the phenomenon¹⁵⁵ – there appears to be an ongoing historiographical refusal to apply the term ‘gender-based violence’ to these case studies or to theoretically reframe head shaving as a form of gendered violence.

Although historians of Spain, such as Paul Preston,¹⁵⁶ have noted the gendered logic of head shaving, observing that male perpetrators were encouraged to participate in head shaving due to discourses of nationalism and virility, head shaving has not typically been framed as a strain of gender-based violence. For example, Enrique González Duro’s study of the *rapadas* suggests that bystanders viewed these public displays of head shaving as a punitive spectacle rather than as a form of violence, much like in Alain Brossat’s analysis of the *tontes* as a moment of community cohesion during the Liberation-era purges. Nevertheless, Maud Joly¹⁵⁷ and Sofia Rodríguez López¹⁵⁸ suggest that head shaving should be understood as a form of gender-specific violence during the Spanish Civil War. Furthermore, the work of Laia Quílez Esteve¹⁵⁹ identifies changing representations and understandings of the phenomenon through time in Spain, showing that there has been some reframing of the *pelonas* as victims of violence, rather than traitors in need of punishment. In conjunction, Spanish studies of head shaving speak to an increased willingness to use the language of gender-based violence in comparison to French historiography, which raises interesting questions regarding divergences between the two national contexts.

¹⁵² Fabrice Virgili refers to head shaving as a ‘sanction’ for ‘collaboration’ in *La France « virile »* p.7.

¹⁵³ Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.64.

¹⁵⁴ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, (Paris: Payots & Rivages, 2000)

¹⁵⁵ Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2012).

¹⁵⁶ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-century Spain*, p.159, p.164, p.169. Paul Preston discusses that post-conflict reprisals functioned along gendered lines, targeting women in gender-specific ways, including the use of head shaving, parading and forced castor oil ingestion.

¹⁵⁷ Maud Joly, ‘Las violencias sexuales de la guerra civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto,’ p.90.

¹⁵⁸ Sofia Rodríguez López, ‘Corpus delicti: social imaginaries of gendered violence’, p.359.

¹⁵⁹ Laia Quílez Esteve, ‘“Pelonas” y rapadas: Imágenes-trofeo e Imágenes-denuncia de la represión de género ejercida durante la Guerra Civil Española’, p.487.

Additionally, similar categories emerge in terms of the key historical actors involved in head shaving. Much like the historiography of the *femmes tondues*, we can identify targeted women who have a complex relationship with victimhood due to their association with the enemy, as emphasised by Pura Sánchez's study on female repression in Civil War and Francoist Spain.¹⁶⁰ Similarly, Enrique González Duro's analysis of head shaving identifies the roles and actions of male perpetrators, who appear to have been motivated by discourses of masculinity and nationalism.¹⁶¹ In addition, M. Cinta Ramblado Minero's work on shaming as part of head shaving points to the involvement of bystanders who witnessed and participated in the public 'punishment' of female traitors to varying degrees.¹⁶² This raises questions in terms of whether the roles, perspectives and memorialisation of female victims of head shaving, male perpetrators and bystanders are similar across the two case studies. Furthermore, uncovering the historical discourses surrounding these key actors and analysing how understandings of these figures have changed over time may offer insights in terms of how head shaving was enacted, rationalised and understood across the two countries to the present day. Building from this analysis of the historiography of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*, this chapter will now set out the key research questions that have emerged from this review of existing literature, which will guide this comparative study.

1.3 Research questions

The key research questions which emerge from the existing literature and from an exploration of the conceptual debates to which these cases contribute are as follows. Crucially, this thesis will ask what can bringing these two case studies into dialogue contribute to understandings of head shaving as a gendered historical phenomenon during conflict? As part of this guiding question, this thesis seeks to shine a light on the reasons why head shaving has primarily been understood as a form of punishment rather than as a form of gender-based violence across the French and Spanish case studies. It will ask how head shaving has been framed in historical discourses in the two contexts, and it will interrogate whether its place in national narratives is comparable across the two countries – has the shared historical phenomenon been remembered similarly in France and Spain?

¹⁶⁰ Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.229.

¹⁶¹ Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.18.

¹⁶² M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, 'Locks of hair/locks of shame? Women, dissidence, and punishment during Francisco Franco's dictatorship', pp.423-424.

To bring these two different historical into dialogue in order to answer these key questions, this thesis will identify and analyse the perspectives, roles and memorialisation of the three main groups of actors across both case studies. This approach follows in the footsteps of studies such as Raul Hilberg's *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945*.¹⁶³ Hilberg's analysis of the workings of violence during the Holocaust suggests that victims, perpetrators and bystanders all saw events through their own 'special perspective', and that each group 'harboured a separate set of attitudes and reactions'.¹⁶⁴ An integrated approach, which analyses the perspectives, roles and evolving understandings of victims of head shaving, perpetrators and bystanders, will allow us to better understand how these historical practices functioned, how they spread and how they were retroactively justified, remembered and represented as a semi-official punishment rather than gender-based violence. Utilising diverse source material that speaks to the perspectives and historical discourses surrounding victims, perpetrators and bystanders will therefore allow this study to elaborate deeper understanding of how this gendered phenomenon flourished and why it continues to be a source of shame, discomfort and contestation in both countries today. These categories inform each of the three findings chapters, which analyse the historical roles and national narratives surrounding the key actors, namely female victims of head shaving, male perpetrators of outbreaks and civilian bystanders who witnessed and participated in events.

Furthermore, by paying attention to whether interpretations of these key historical actors have shifted over time France and Spain, this thesis will also offer an analysis of how understandings of this phenomenon have evolved, particularly in terms of whether historical practices of head shaving have been re-framed as a form of gender-based violence up to the present day. Using these historical categories of victims, perpetrators and bystanders as frames of analysis should therefore facilitate the comparative study of head shaving across the two countries, and draw out shared themes across the case studies. Each of the three fieldwork chapters focuses on one of the key categories of historical actors and analyses their roles and their relationship to victimhood, perpetration and bystander behaviours as a means of interrogating gendered historical phenomenon.

¹⁶³ Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993).

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, ix.

The next chapter, which explores the experiences and discourses surrounding victims of head shaving in the two countries, will address the relationship the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* have with victimhood. To what extent have women been understood as victims of a form of gender-based violence, and if not, why not? The third chapter will interrogate how head shaving was rationalised amongst perpetrators, including resisters and Francoists. How have the actions of perpetrators have been understood and remembered across the two contexts? Importantly, are these historical actors even viewed as perpetrators, or are they still viewed as victors? Finally, the fourth chapter will explore the experiences and perspectives of bystanders, in order to address the question of how head shaving was understood by bystanders. Did bystanders view the practice as a socially acceptable form of violence that they could participate in? How have the roles and involvement of bystanders in scenes of head shaving been understood in contemporary France and Spain?

The next section will clarify the methodological approaches which have been adopted during this study. It will set out the available source material across the two countries regarding these outbreaks and explain how these sources have been selected and utilised in order to address the key research questions. This section will also identify the challenges of comparatively analysing head shaving across Liberation France and Civil War Spain and will explain how these challenges have been met throughout the course of this study.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Locating traces: archives and key source bases in France and Spain

Studying outbreaks of head shaving has been framed as a methodological challenge by historians. In her study of gender-specific repression during the Spanish Civil War, Maud Joly emphasised that the figure of the shorn woman is embedded in our collective memory of twentieth century conflict, but that the historical study of this phenomenon has often been dismissed as being ‘doomed to failure’ due to an apparent lack of sources in Spain.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, Alain Brossat writes of the difficulty of finding enduring traces of the *femmes tondues* in France. He claims that this form of violence

¹⁶⁵ ‘La figure de la tonduie appartenait clairement à la mémoire individuelle et collective, comme une « image familière » de la réalité de la guerre, mais son analyse historique était, apparemment, vouée à l’échec, « faute de sources ».’ Maud Joly, ‘Le Corps de l’Ennemie : Histoire et représentations des violences contre les républicaines en Espagne (1936-63)’, p.15.

was easily forgotten in the aftermath: ‘traces are erased [...] the hair grows back, we "forget"’.¹⁶⁶ Head shaving has a problematic relationship with officialdom, which makes identifying victims of head shaving difficult, because there was no official centralised order imposing the use of head shaving in either country,¹⁶⁷ and the practice primarily occurred within the context of regional purges following military victory in specific zones. In Spain, this period of purging or *depuración*, which occurred after zones were captured by the Nationalist rebels, was characterised by unrestrained ‘punitive and preventative’ violence against suspected leftists in the name of the ‘National Cause’.¹⁶⁸ In France, this period of savage or wild purges was marked by public action and widespread violence as part of a collective ‘will for vengeance’ against collaborators and traitors.¹⁶⁹

However, despite the pessimistic prognosis for existing source material regarding outbreaks of head shaving, there are diverse source bases which testify to the use and functioning of head shaving across the two countries. These include judicial, military, police and newspaper archives, alongside memoirs, photographs, testimonies and documentaries, which offer testimonies and accounts of the historical phenomenon which I was able to classify as being from the perspectives of victims, perpetrators and bystanders. Additionally, interviews were conducted with eyewitnesses, descendants of victims, memory activists and local politicians as part of efforts to engage with contemporary national narratives surrounding head shaving, and the complexities of the memory landscape in the two countries (see appendix A for interview summaries). The use of diverse source material has been a necessary approach in order to analyse outbreaks of head shaving in the two

¹⁶⁶ ‘Les traces s’en effacent, les “coiffeurs” retournent à leurs occupations habituelles, les bouches se ferment, les cheveux repoussent, on “oublie”.’ Alain Brossat, *Les femmes tondues: un carnaval moche*, p.10.

¹⁶⁷ Although there were some Resistance authorities such as Jacques Bounin, the Commissaire de la République in Montpellier, who confirmed that they authorised head shaving, there was no centralised order to systematically use violence such as head shaving. Henri Rol-Tanguy, the commander of the FFI in Île-de-France, even tried to stop head shaving from happening by ordering all FFI in Île-de-France to stop shearing women and marking them with swastikas. See Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la libération*, p.134. In Spain, however, practices such as head shaving were not decried or stopped by Francoist authorities, but neither were they centrally organised by any official orders. Head shaving is conversely described as violent and exemplary ‘rituals’, led by troops and militias, which were justified by the demonisation of leftist women as traitors and reds. See Encarnación Barranquero Texeira, *Mujeres en la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo: violencia, silencio y memoria de los tiempos difíciles* (Malaga: CEDMA, 2010), pp.25-33.

¹⁶⁸ Arcángel Bedmar describes the use of violence as ‘punitivo’ and ‘preventivo’, in the name of ‘La Causa Nacional.’ *República, Guerra y Represión: Lucena 1931-1939*. (Lucena: Imprenta Caballero, 2000), pp.144-148.

¹⁶⁹ Philippe Bourdrel emphasises that the purges were viewed by resisters and civilians as being characterised by ‘une juste volonté de vengeance’. *L’Épuration sauvage*. (Paris: Perrin, 2002), p.25.

case studies, because mentions of head shaving tend to be brief and scattered across accounts of the period. This is because these incidents occurred during times of extreme social unrest and ongoing conflict and there was a lack of importance attributed to the phenomenon, because head shaving was not officially understood as a crime in either France or Spain. Instead, head shaving was largely framed as a form of community justice which enabled victors to make an example of internal traitors and enemies, and it was therefore rarely recorded as an incident of note; head shaving served as a gendered form of justice, meted out by new authorities and the community at large, evoking social stigma for traitors.¹⁷⁰

As Fabrice Virgili highlights, the mention of head shaving is haphazard in archival files of the purges,¹⁷¹ which presents methodological challenges in terms of identifying when head shaving occurred and the attitudes towards it by historical actors. Importantly, head shaving was not frequently documented in and of itself; perpetrators who enacted these practices often did not leave behind written records or police reports, and reports of head shaving are therefore dotted throughout different files and reports as supplementary information.¹⁷² Similarly, in Spain, mentions of head shaving are rare across state and military archives, which hold military and judicial files for those accused of crimes against the new state, including women. In her exploration of repression and violence against women in Spain, Pura Sánchez emphasises that much of the violence women experienced was not recorded: ‘not all women who suffered repression and who were judged [by the new authorities] appear in military files’.¹⁷³ This refusal to document the use of repression against women during this period can be attributed to the context of ongoing purges against ‘internal enemies’,¹⁷⁴ which offered a certain degree of impunity to perpetrators.

Despite the time-consuming nature of accessing such a varied range of source materials from seven different archives alongside eleven interviews, it has been invaluable in helping to construct the historical analysis of the two case studies. The wide range of sources made it possible to extract,

¹⁷⁰ María Victoria Martins Rodríguez, ‘Cárceles y mujeres en Galicia durante el franquismo’, *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea*, 29 (2011), p.98.

¹⁷¹ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues a la libération*, p.70.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p.72.

¹⁷³ Pura Sánchez emphasises that ‘no todas las mujeres que sufrieron la represión y fueron juzgadas figuran en las fichas.’ *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.51.

¹⁷⁴ Franco’s speeches and correspondence during the end of the Civil War speak to an obsessive hunt for ‘internal enemies’ during the initial purges. See Fernando Diaz-Plaja, *La España Franquista en sus documentos: la posguerra española en sus documentos* (Barcelona: Esplugas de Llobregat, 1976), pp.9-11.

cross-reference and contextualise the different voices, roles and perspectives of the key historical actors, including victims, perpetrators and bystanders, and elaborate a deeper understanding of the historical discourses mobilised in cases of head shaving, including discourses of female guilt and immorality in sources regarding female victims, discourses of masculinity and duty in sources regarding perpetrators' behaviours, and discourses which framed participating in the purges as a social duty in the case of bystanders' memoirs and accounts. As a result, this thesis has been able to identify and critically analyse the voices, perspectives and understandings of these key historical actors.

In terms of French source material, a mix of national and regional archives, including *Archives Nationales*, the *La Contemporaine* (formerly known as the *Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine*) and the *Archives départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine* were consulted. From the *Archives Nationales*, the source material primarily consisted of documentation of the purges, including information reports which detail judicial and extrajudicial repression during the purges collated by the *Comité d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale* (French Committee for the History of the Second World War or CHOLF) and a selection of judicial files for women condemned for collaborationist crimes, such as 'national indignity',¹⁷⁵ who frequently also experienced head shaving. Identifying female victims of head shaving posed challenges, however, as women's judicial and police files did not routinely identify whether women's heads had been shaved. In order to discover more about women's experiences and how they were treated, including whether they faced violence or humiliation, supplementary reports from neighbours and officials regarding women's behaviour were used, which were also kept within these women's files as an addendum. These additional documents occasionally referred to incidents of head shaving and public reprisals the women had experienced. For example, there were often police reports and testimonies from neighbours and witnesses, attesting to the 'immoral' behaviour of these women and how they faced reprisals during the Liberation, as well as reports and correspondence from the women themselves while arrested or in prison, which sometimes discussed experiences of head shaving and their treatment at the hands of the police and resisters during and following their

¹⁷⁵ Anne Simonin explores the different types of national crimes alleged collaborators could be accused of during the purges, and emphasises the importance of dishonour, indignity and immorality as part of the criminal lexicon, particularly with female collaborators. *Le déshonneur dans la République : une histoire de l'indignité 1791-1958*, (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 2008).

arrest. Analysing these documents made it possible to identify the experiences of victims and how they were understood during the context of the purges, while also locating perpetrators' behaviours.

In *La Contemporaine*, the Robert Aron files, a collection of transcribed interviews and various dossiers as part of his oral history project on the Occupation and the Liberation were consulted. These files included documentation of the purges, such as the testimony of an anonymous *femme tondue*, a dossier about life in women's prisons in Rennes, Paris and Fresnes, and notes from an anonymous nurse about what she saw during the purges. These files helped inform the analysis of victims' experiences, perpetrators' actions and bystanders' understandings of head shaving. However, when drawing out the actions of perpetrators, particularly in terms of resisters, one instance was identified when mentions of head shaving were removed from a transcript of actions taken by a Departmental Liberation Committee as Robert Aron removed references to head shaving by resisters in the neatened final version of his notes.¹⁷⁶ For this reason, it is essential to be critical of documents recounting resisters' actions and it is made clear in the perpetrators chapter that accounts of head shaving may often be sanitised, portraying resisters in a more favourable light. This has been taken into account by drawing attention to and contextualising discursive frameworks for understanding resisters as victors and a source of national pride in France.

Alongside these national archives, the departmental archives in Rennes were consulted because it is well-documented that women faced high levels of judicial and extrajudicial repression in Brittany,¹⁷⁷ including head shaving, which appeared to be most common in the west of France.¹⁷⁸ There are known cases of head shaving before the Liberation and after the Liberation up until 1945 in Brittany.¹⁷⁹ These departmental archives housed prefects' reports, which detailed incidents of head shaving and reprisals against women, police files, which described resisters breaking into women's homes, shaving their heads and assaulting them, judicial files for women accused of

¹⁷⁶ LC, F Delta 1832/30 42 Dubois. In the first set of notes, the use of head shaving against women arrested for relationships with German soldiers by the CDL is referred to as part of resisters' 'incohérente et nerveuse' behaviour during the Liberation. In the second set of Aron's neatened notes, the reference to head shaving is removed.

¹⁷⁷ Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d'une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.149.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life Under Occupation*, p.350.

¹⁷⁹ Christian Bougeard, 'Résistance et épuration sauvage en Bretagne', in Jacqueline Sainclivier and Christian Bougeard (eds.), *La Résistance et les Français : Enjeux stratégiques et environnement social* [online]. (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1995). Accessed online on 14th October 2018 at <http://books.openedition.org/pur/16387>.

collaborationist crimes, who often also experienced head shaving and other forms of violence, and Marie Drouart's prison diary from Camp Margueritte in Rennes, which describes the use of head shaving and sexual violence. While analysing the language used in these documents, it became clear that propagandistic generalisations and negative perceptions of suspected female collaborators infiltrate police reports, judicial files and testimonies. Targeted women were described as women of 'doubtful morality' and 'loose morals', therefore recycling the stigmatising language of the purges led by various Resistance factions and their supporters.¹⁸⁰ It was therefore important to contextualise and problematise the discourses used in these documents when analysing the experiences of victims or the perspectives of perpetrators and bystanders in the fieldwork chapters, particularly when drawing conclusions regarding why head shaving was understood to be a punishment rather than a form of violence.

In Spain, both national and regional archives were consulted, including the *Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española*, the *Archivo General Militar de Ávila* and the *Archivo del Tribunal Militar Territorial Segundo* in Seville. The *Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española* has a troubled history as the Salamanca-based archive was previously used by the Francoist state as a means of safeguarding documentation about 'enemies of the state' and the 'National Movement'.¹⁸¹ Following the death of Franco, the archive became a historical archive, which was open to researchers from 1984, and later became the *Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica* following the passing of the History Memory Law in 2007.¹⁸² In terms of relevant files, the archive houses diverse documentation, such as information reports and correspondence, written by the Republican government and army about the tactics used by Francoists across Spain, testimonies from those who fled zones that had been taken over by the Francoist rebels, which mentions the use of violence against civilian women, and reports from the Red Cross about violence against civilians, including the use of head shaving in Francoist zones. The *Archivo General Militar de Ávila* houses accounts from the Republican 'information service' based in Republican stronghold cities, such as Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid, which reported on what happened in towns and cities taken over by the

¹⁸⁰ Luc Capdevila draws attention to the language used to describe female collaborators in France; they were seen as being 'de moralité douteuse' and 'de mœurs légères.' *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d'une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.156 and p.215.

¹⁸¹ Jean-Louis Guereña draws attention to the role of the archive to document 'enemigos del Estado' and support the 'movimiento nacional.' 'Archivos y memoria de la Guerra Civil. En torno al « Archivo de Salamanca »', *Memorias de la Guerra Civil española: transmisión, reapropiación y uso, Europa-América Latina*, 2 (2011). Accessed online on 17th August 2019 at <https://journals.openedition.org/amnis/1521>.

¹⁸² Ibid.

Francoist army.¹⁸³ These reports describe the terror enacted by fascists, including exemplary violence against women and descriptions of specific incidents across the country.

Finally, the *Archivo del Tribunal Militar Territorial Segundo* holds various military files kept regarding women who were arrested, imprisoned or executed in Andalusia, which, like Brittany, was selected for this study because of its high rates of head shaving and repression against civilian women when zones were captured by the Nationalists early in the war.¹⁸⁴ These archival documents include 'informes de conducta' (behaviour reports), which detailed women's alleged transgressions and their punishment, which includes references to head shaving and extreme violence, including death by garotte in one file.¹⁸⁵ However, despite the relevant information contained within these files, there were challenges using these materials in terms of their condition (see Figure 1). These files had not been well preserved; pages within women's files were frequently torn or information was missing. For this reason, it was time-consuming selecting women's files to analyse in order to illustrate attitudes towards leftist women in Francoist zones as part of the victims chapter. This issue was mitigated with the help of archivists who drew attention to files which were in a better state, and which contained comparatively comprehensive information regarding repression, for example the file of a woman who faced torture at the hands of Francoist troops before execution.¹⁸⁶ Much like French judicial documentation of arrested women, negative assessments of these women are made throughout these files, particularly regarding women's morality. This is because these files have been written by those who were influenced by Francoist propaganda, particularly regarding leftist women's alleged behaviour, morality and lifestyles.¹⁸⁷ These attitudes will be identified, contextualised and problematised in the victims chapter with a view to show how particular women were selected for head shaving, and also in the perpetrators chapter, which will analyse how head shaving was rationalised.

¹⁸³ Hernán Rodríguez Velasco, 'El espionaje militar republicano durante la Guerra Civil Española', *Diacronie* [online], 28, 4 (2016). Accessed online on 20th June 2019 at <https://journals.openedition.org/diacronie/4686>.

¹⁸⁴ Maud Joly highlights that historical sources attest to the 'singular' experience of repression and violence against civilians in Andalusia, and an overrepresentation of head shaving comparative to other regions. See 'Las violencias sexuadas de la guerra civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto,' p.98.

¹⁸⁵ ATMTS L 28 574 1936-7.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Francisca Moya Alcañiz, 'Republicanas condenadas a muerte: analogías y diferencias territoriales y de genero (1936-1945)' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, 2015), p.126.

Figure 1. L 1397-3393, ATMTS, Seville, photograph by author.

In both countries, there is also some limited historical newspaper coverage of outbreaks of head shaving, which can be found in the French and Spanish national libraries (*Bibliothèque nationale de France* and *Biblioteca Nacional de España*) and online databases, such as *Musée de la Résistance* online. While these are few in number, they are informative as they offer descriptions of incidents and testimonies of bystanders while also identifying victims and perpetrators. These also point to the framing of these events, in terms of whether head shaving is supported, decried, minimised or treated with ambivalence in these articles. In France, there are very few newspaper articles that testify to the use of head shaving. These are primarily in the Resistance press and are largely supportive of head shaving, such as *Défense de la France*, *Femmes françaises* and *La Marseillaise*. In the Spanish case, incidents of head shaving were occasionally recorded and roundly condemned in the Republican press, such as *Ahora* and *El Liberal*. Conversely, reports of violence against women in Francoist zones were occasionally angrily refuted in the right-wing press, such as in *El defensor de Córdoba* and *ABC*. In this way, historical newspaper coverage of head shaving in Spain reveals both the functioning of violence, the attitudes towards it and the contestation surrounding it in the two contexts. In this way, these sources can contribute to the analysis of discourses surrounding victims and perpetrators. Contemporary newspaper coverage regarding the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* in France and Spain is also cited, to evidence how head shaving is framed today

in terms of sensitivities surrounding the phenomenon and its uncertain place in national narratives. This coverage in newspapers, such as *L'Express* and *El País*, includes interviews with women who experienced head shaving and discussions of attempts to memorialise and recognise the phenomenon.

This thesis has also drawn from amateur and professional photography to illustrate the importance of public shaming to the functioning of head shaving, such as photography from newspapers like *Ahora*, from known photographers like Robert Capa, and from unknown photographers.¹⁸⁸ These photographs are used to illustrate how head shaving was documented and to analyse how bystanders engaged with the phenomenon. Photographs are analysed as a 'source of cultural-historical information'¹⁸⁹ regarding incidents of head shaving and are cross-referenced with other source material, including bystanders' accounts in memoirs. A few relevant memoirs were chosen to use in this study because they offer detailed descriptions of eyewitnesses' reactions to incidents of head shaving, which were extracted to in order to analyse the language used regarding incidents of head shaving and to examine how bystanders retrospectively perceived their own roles within these moments. This has enabled the contextualisation of the roles, perspectives and understandings of bystanders through time. In the French case, these memoirs include writer Jean Cocteau,¹⁹⁰ Berthe Auroy, a retired teacher,¹⁹¹ writer Flora Groult,¹⁹² and writer Leon Werth,¹⁹³ who all describe the violence of head shaving and express a variety of reactions and attitudes to events, from outrage, to ambivalence, to tacit support. In Spain, relevant memoirs have been identified, which discuss incidents of head shaving and the writer's own response and role within it, including memoirs

¹⁸⁸ Many photographs of head shaving have been taken by unknown photographers, including amateurs. This is particularly common in the Spanish case where there are very few existing photographs of head shaving, and the few that exist were not taken by famous photographers – the most well-known photograph is of a group of women with their heads shaved in Montilla, Andalusia, which had been kept by a local man. This photograph was shared with historian, Francisco Gomez Gómez, for his study *Córdoba en la posguerra: la represión y la guerrilla (1939-1950)* (Cordoba: Francisco Baena, 1987), p.92. Conversely, in France, there is a greater wealth of photography, however, many of these photographers were unknown amateurs. Cecile Bishop highlights that soon after the liberation, photographs of the *tontes* were produced throughout France. See 'Photography, Race and Invisibility: The Liberation of Paris, in *Black and White*', p.201.

¹⁸⁹ Caroline Brothers, *War and Photography: A Cultural History*. (Abingdon: Routledge, 1997), p.216.

¹⁹⁰ Jean Cocteau, *Journal 1942-1945* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989).

¹⁹¹ Berthe Auroy, *Jours de Guerre : Ma vie sous l'Occupation* (Montrouge: Bayard, 2008).

¹⁹² Flora Groult, *Journal à quatre mains* (Paris: Denoel, 1962).

¹⁹³ Léon Werth, *Déposition* (Paris: Grasset 1946).

written by Luciano Suero Serrano, an Andalusian peasant,¹⁹⁴ writer Margarita Nelken,¹⁹⁵ and writer Carlota O'Neill,¹⁹⁶ who describe the process of head shaving in public spaces, and within prisons too in the case of O'Neill. Like French memoirs, they evidence the diverse attitudes held by bystanders towards head shaving, from active participation to quiet horror.

A variety of cultural representations and museum exhibitions were also analysed in order to explore how historical understandings and discourses, such as head shaving representing a punishment and targeted women being traitors, have persisted through time and shaped national narratives of the phenomenon. This contributes to answering the key thesis question in terms of why head shaving has primarily been understood as a form of punishment rather than as a form of gender-based violence, and whether the phenomenon has been remembered similarly in France and Spain. To explore the persistence of historical understandings of head shaving as a means of punishment and an ongoing source of shame, the few cultural representations that exist of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*, such as films, including *Las Pelonas (The Shorn Women)*¹⁹⁷ and *Hiroshima Mon Amour (Hiroshima, My Love)*,¹⁹⁸ were viewed. Documentaries such as 2007 documentary *Les tondues en 44 (Shorn in 44)*¹⁹⁹ and 2006 documentary *Del Olvido a la Memoria: Presas de Franco (From Oblivion to Memory: Female Inmates of Franco)*²⁰⁰ have been studied to examine how head shaving has been portrayed. Museum exhibitions and resultant written collections from exhibitions have been examined in terms of how and why they have represented historical gendered repression during the Liberation and the Spanish Civil War, such as *Présumées Coupables (Presumed Guilty)* (2016-2017) and *Mujeres bajo sospecha (Women under suspicion)* (2012). For this analysis, particular attention was paid in terms of whether these exhibitions replicated, adapted or questioned historical narratives of head shaving as punishment.

¹⁹⁴ Luciano Suero Serrano, *Memorias de un campesino andaluz en la Revolución Española* (Madrid: Queimada Ediciones, 1982).

¹⁹⁵ Margarita Nelken, 'Les hordes fascistes de Franco persécutent et outragent les femmes d'une façon acharnée', *Appel des intellectuels espagnols*, Bruxelles, (193[?]).

¹⁹⁶ Carlota O'Neill, *Una mujer en la guerra de España* (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1979).

¹⁹⁷ Ramon Fontecha and Laly Zambrano. *Pelonas*. (Spain: R de F Producciones, 2003).

¹⁹⁸ Alain Resnais and Marguerite Duras. *Hiroshima, mon amour*. (France: Argos-Films, 1959).

¹⁹⁹ Jean-Pierre Carlon. *Tondues en 44* (France: France Télévisions, 2007).

²⁰⁰ Jorge Montes Salguero. *Del olvido a la memoria. Presas de Franco*. (Spain: La Sexta TV, 2006).

1.4.2 Testimony, interviews and ethics

Alongside archival documentation, newspaper articles and cultural representations of head shaving, which have been analysed to address key questions regarding the perspective of targeted women and their relationship to victimhood, perpetrator behaviours and attitudes, and bystanders' roles and reactions to head shaving, existing collections of testimonies have been analysed and original interviews have been undertaken. These collections and interviews have been used to identify and track different historical and contemporary perspectives on the phenomenon of head shaving, and also address questions regarding how these experiences have been transmitted and memorialised, in order to offer greater context for the ambiguous space this historical phenomenon appears to inhabit in national narratives today.

Testimonies and oral history interviews hold an 'important empirical role to record and document the memories of groups and individuals who have traditionally been silenced',²⁰¹ which is certainly the case of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*. As previously highlighted, the scattered written sources about head shaving in the archives frequently reflect historical attitudes of head shaving as a punishment and they do not typically give voice to targeted women as victims. As is often the case with written archives, they are not neutral spaces, particularly in these case studies as documentation of the purges were taken and collated by the victors, meaning there are 'distortions, omissions, erasures, and silences [...] not every story is told.'²⁰² In the Spanish case, oral history and testimonies have therefore been a particularly important source base due to a lack of written sources regarding female repression; as Enrique González Duro emphasises in his 2012 study of head shaving, acts of violence were barely ever reflected in official documentation.²⁰³ In the French case, testimonies regarding women's experiences of head shaving are also rare but important sources, because in most historical analyses, there has been minimal inclusion of the voices of victims themselves or in-depth analysis of the violence targeted women faced.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Lynn Adams, 'Memory as both source and subject of study: the transformation of oral history', in Bill Niven and Stefan Berger (eds), *Writing the History of Memory* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), p.91.

²⁰² Rodney G.S. Carter, 'Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence', *Archivaria*, 61 (2006), p.216.

²⁰³ Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.37.

²⁰⁴ Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life Under Occupation*, p.350. Vinen highlights that 'strikingly absent from all the discussion of *femmes tondues* is any account by a woman who had her head shaved or, for that matter, any account by someone who did the shaving.'

Helpful collections of testimonies include Dominique François's 2006 study *Femmes tondues : La diabolisation de la femme en 1944, Les bûchers de la Libération*, which humanises the experiences of shorn women by sharing women's anonymous testimonies of their wartime experiences and the treatment they experienced during the Liberation, including head shaving, arrests and physical assault. In the Spanish case, testimonies have been drawn from Tomasa Cuevas's oral history collection *Cárcel de mujeres (1939-1945)* (1985) and *Testimonios de mujeres en las cárceles franquistas* (2005), which gave voice to women's experiences of violence and repression during the Civil War and early Francoism. An illuminating oral testimony has also been selected from Rosette Peschaud, a nurse working with General Leclerc's division during the Liberation who witnessed head shaving. This testimony is part of a collection of oral history interviews by researchers at the Museum of the Liberation of Paris.

In order to supplement a fragmented archival source base with relatively few testimonies, particularly in the French case where testimony is rare regarding the *femmes tondues*, I have also conducted eleven semi-structured interviews (five for the French case study and six for the Spanish case study), spanning from November 2017 to July 2020. These interviews enable this study to engage with perspectives that have been 'hidden from history'²⁰⁵ or neglected from archival documentation. These semi-structured discussions typically lasted between thirty minutes and an hour. Selected interviewees included descendants of victims of head shaving, eyewitnesses to head shaving, memory activists who are involved with informal collectives and formal memory associations which work to recognise historic repression of women during the two conflicts, and museum professionals who have curated exhibitions which represent the *femmes tondues* or the *mujeres rapadas*, and a local government coordinator for historical memory in Andalusia, who contributed to policy change regarding historical memory legislation.

These interviews allowed me to address questions regarding how historical attitudes to head shaving have evolved in contemporary France and Spain, particularly in terms of whether head shaving has been reframed as gender-based violence or whether it continues to be understood as a form of punishment during the purges. As some of these interviewees were eyewitnesses or descendants of victims, they were also able to offer historical insights regarding female victims' experiences and how they passed these memories on, the experiences and roles of bystanders, and

²⁰⁵ Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, 'Introduction', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader* (2nd ed), (Abingdon: Routledge 2006), ix.

the behaviours and attitudes of perpetrators in terms of how violence functioned and was rationalised. Oral history interviews are an illuminating source base in terms of how ‘people make sense of their past, how they connect individual experience and its social context [and] how the past becomes part of the present’.²⁰⁶ For this study, these interviews help provide interesting findings and new perspectives regarding the historical context in which head shaving occurred, while also helping to uncover its ambiguous place in national narratives today. These interviews were obtained through contacting local groups and historians, and using snowballing²⁰⁷ to gain access to other descendants of those who experienced violence, eyewitnesses, memory activists and those involved in representing women’s experiences of repression in culture and heritage sectors.

The benefits of using oral history to supplement understandings of the experiences, roles and changing historical discourses surrounding victims, perpetrators and bystanders is that an oral history interview may ‘reveal unknown aspects of known events’ and ‘cast new light on unexplored areas’.²⁰⁸ The ability to cast new light is particularly key in the case of descendants of victims, as they may provide insights in terms of victims’ experiences and their relationship to these traumatic events; such perspectives are ‘strikingly absent’ from historical analyses of head shaving.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, despite the inherently subjective and personal nature of the data provided, these testimonies can provide ‘thick description’²¹⁰ of events and a richer understanding of a historical phenomenon which has largely been shrouded in secrecy and shame. Despite methodological concerns regarding the generalisability of insights generated through interviews, which were conducted within very specific contexts, for example, I interviewed an informal memory collective based in a village in Brittany who spoke about their fight for recognition of local *tondues* as

²⁰⁶ Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), p.188.

²⁰⁷ Snowballing is a technique used to identify and interview hard-to-reach research subjects. It refers to the process of locating a relevant subject, who then gives the researcher the name of another relevant person, and so on. This process thereby grants the researcher access to a pool of relevant subjects to interview. See Rowland Atkinson and John Flint, ‘Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-Reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies’, *Social Research Update*, 33 (2001), pp.1-4. Accessed online on 23rd March 2018 at <https://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU33.PDF>.

²⁰⁸ Alessandro Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out: History, Memory, and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.67.

²⁰⁹ Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life Under Occupation*, p.350.

²¹⁰ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*. 3rd edition. (New York: Oxford University, 2008), p.378.

innocent victims of the purges, these personal narratives can help contribute to wider debates regarding head shaving.

There are connections to be drawn between ‘personal accounts of the past’ and ‘the shared accounts upon which we all draw to shape our versions of the past’ because ‘remembering is typically conducted using a memory frame.’²¹¹ Therefore, while these interviews provided rich data regarding personal experiences and connections to the historical phenomenon of head shaving, I also analysed interviewees’ relationship with and understanding of memory frames surrounding the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*, for example, national narratives of female punishment and presumed guilt, as well as prevalent narratives of perpetrators as victors. These oral history testimonies have been used alongside pre-existing collections of testimonies and testimonies taken in documentaries, to draw out shared narratives.

However, leading interviews meant that I had to consider my own position within these discussions as oral history is relational as it is co-constructed by the interviewee and the interviewer. Oral testimonies require an ‘active human relationship between historians and their sources’²¹² As Lynn Adams observes, the interviewer may solicit stories and observations from the interviewee ‘not only by asking questions but also through appearance, gesture, accent and a host of other characteristics and actions’, which may result in an interview that may differ markedly from an interview with a different interviewer.²¹³ In terms of my own interactions with interviewees, I noted that my position as an outsider to both national contexts meant that interviewees perceived their input as an important means of transmitting their testimony to an international audience, and they therefore viewed the interaction as a duty. For example, Juan Morillo Lora, a memory activist based in Seville whose mother’s friends had experienced head shaving during the Civil War, emphasised that ‘we do what we can, telling people like you or whoever we can, so that this is not forgotten.’²¹⁴ Similarly, Hubert Hervé, a writer and memory activist based in Rennes, drew attention to my position as an outsider when we were discussing post-war France. He spoke of the need for

²¹¹ Lynn Adams, ‘Memory as both source and subject of study: the transformation of oral history’, in Stefan Berger and Bill Niven (eds.) *Writing the History of Memory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014) p.95.

²¹² Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, ‘Introduction’, in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), x.

²¹³ Lynn Adams, ‘Memory as both source and subject of study: the transformation of oral history’, p.97.

²¹⁴ ‘Hacemos lo que podemos, como podemos, contándolo a personas como tú.’ Interview with Juan Morillo Lora, 17th November 2017.

'reconciliation' after the purges, which meant that head shaving was often forgotten, but he noted the question of post-war reconciliation was not a concern in post-war Great Britain.²¹⁵ My position as an outsider to the two national contexts typically served as an advantage as interviewees felt the need to provide greater explanation of events and their experiences as I was not a member of either national community.

In terms of the moral and ethical dimensions of interviewing, I considered the faith placed in me as the interviewer, who is entrusted with information in order to tell a person's 'story to a wider audience or future generations.'²¹⁶ I took the following practical steps in order to meet ethical guidelines and ensure willing and informed written consent amongst interviewees before interviews. Firstly, in my interactions with interviewees, I provided an information sheet about the PhD project detailing the project and my interest in head shaving across Liberation France and Spain before any interviews took place (see appendix B), and I explained the project in more detail during correspondence, which typically took place in French and Spanish to put participants at ease. I invited questions regarding the project and the interview in emails and phone calls before meeting. Furthermore, I created an informed consent form, based on the anonymous informed consent form template contained in the Modern Languages Research Ethics Policy at Cardiff University. I gave participants the choice to be anonymous or non-anonymous in interviews, and found that all interviewees opted to be named as they wanted their specific experiences attributed to them and inscribed in the historical record. I translated these consent forms in French and Spanish for ease of comprehension amongst interviewees (see appendix C) and I led the interviews in participants' native languages. As the topics of discussion during these semi-structured interviews were sometimes sensitive and some of my interviewees were older than 70, I clarified that participants could end the interview if they felt uncomfortable, and I offered breaks, as well as meeting interviewees in spaces they felt at ease, including cafes and participants' homes. Participants were invited to ask questions during and after the interviews had been conducted, either to myself directly or to my supervisors via email. Furthermore, interviewees were informed that they could contact the School Ethics Officer if they had any questions or concerns about how the interview had been conducted. As clarified by the information sheet, prior correspondence and

²¹⁵ 'Il faut réconcilier un peuple, c'est important. En Grande-Bretagne il n'y a pas ce problème-là.' Interview with Hubert Hervé, 3rd March 2020.

²¹⁶ Valerie Yow, 'Ethics and Interpersonal Relationships in Oral History Research', *The Oral History Review*, 22, 1 (Summer 1995), p.51.

follow-up emails with interviewees, all participants had the option to be informed of the results of the research and to be sent a copy of the thesis and any future publications using data generated, if they so wished. All data stored from these interviews was saved securely to guard against any unauthorised access, in alignment with the 1998 Data Protection Act. All documents containing data from these interviews were stored solely on my drive and were password protected.

1.5 Chapter structure

The three findings chapters (chapters two, three and four) draw upon a mosaic of source material in order to address the key research questions. Each chapter will offer an analysis of what the two case studies in dialogue can tell us about the historical phenomenon of head shaving, paying particular attention to the roles, perspectives and discourses surrounding victims of head shaving, perpetrators of outbreaks and bystanders to these practices. As previously highlighted, this thesis will examine the two case studies of head shaving at a national level, but in terms of primary source material, it has largely drawn from sources in Andalusia in Spain and Brittany in France, due to the increased documentation of head shaving and repression during purges in these regions, as discussed in the methodology.

Chapter two explores the theme of contested victimhood in order to answer the key question of why targeted women were not historically viewed as victims. Firstly, it will review existing literature surrounding victimhood and analyse its complexity as a historical category, arguing that recognition of victimhood is intimately tied to political context and national narratives. This chapter will therefore situate the category of 'victim' as a socially constructed identity, which means that harm and suffering do not necessarily equate to being recognised as a victim of violence²¹⁷ or entitle those who have suffered to social concern.²¹⁸ Source material, including judicial, military and police reports, provides compelling evidence that despite the violence targeted women faced, they were framed as criminals, traitors and collaborators rather than victims of violence. It will conclude by tracking the emergence of targeted women's testimonies in newspapers and documentaries up to the present day, showing increased engagement with women's suffering caused by this historical phenomenon. This chapter will therefore argue that the two case studies'

²¹⁷ Tami Amanda Jacoby, 'A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43, 2 (2015), p.511.

²¹⁸ James E. Bayley, 'The Concept of Victimhood'. In Diane Sank and David I. Caplan. (eds.) *To Be a Victim: Encounters with Crime and Justice* (Boston, Massachusetts: Springer 1991), p.53.

fraught relationship with victimhood is due to the persistence of historical narratives of female guilt. It will also show that these narratives are being questioned in contemporary France and Spain, pointing to the potential to reframe targeted women as victims of a form of gender-based violence.

Chapter three focuses on the role of perpetrators. It offers theoretical grounding for this analysis of perpetrator behaviours, perspectives and roles in national narratives, this chapter will track the emergence of literature regarding perpetrators, stemming primarily from the Holocaust.²¹⁹ The chapter reveals that it was often groups of men who led incidents of head shaving and that they have not typically been understood as perpetrators. In order to address why this is the case, this chapter shows that there continues to be political discomfort regarding the study of resisters and Francoists as perpetrators of historical violence as Resistance figures continue to be understood as national saviours in France, whereas in Spain, this violence is heavily politicised and contravenes dominant views of reconciliation and amnesty. Furthermore, this chapter will problematise views of head shaving as an isolated incident or event, rather than an act located on a spectrum of violence against women. It will draw from prison documents and interviews to show that violence frequently extended beyond the shearing of hair, particularly when away from the eyes of the community. This chapter will show that while there is ongoing discomfort surrounding reframing military victors as perpetrators, source material speaks to a culture of gender-based violence in both contexts, and points to the use of extreme violence including sexual violence, torture and murder alongside head shaving.

Chapter four analyses the roles and perspectives of bystanders in cases of head shaving, which was frequently a public practice. This chapter will first review literature regarding the role of bystanders in historical violence and it will contextualise why bystanders are frequently conceptually neglected. It sets out why bystanders are commonly framed through a lens of passivity. However, this chapter will argue against this view, drawing from memoirs, testimonies, photography and interviews to show that bystander behaviours in cases of head shaving varies from active

²¹⁹ Theoretical debates regarding the role of historical perpetrator stems largely from the study of the Holocaust, such as the debate between whether evil is characterological or contextual. This is evidenced by the work of Daniel Goldhagen who emphasises that perpetrators of violence during the Holocaust were actively willing to commit violence. See *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Final Solution* (New York: Knopf, 1996). Conversely, Christopher R. Browning argues that violence was committed by ordinary men who were habituated to violence due to their social and historical context. See *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (London: Penguin Books, 2001).

participation to quiet revulsion and rebellion. It will also historicise bystander attitudes to the use of head shaving against enemy women by highlighting the social contestation surrounding gender roles and appropriate wartime behaviour for women in France and Spain. It will therefore point to the important role of historical context and prevalent social attitudes as obstacles to reframing head shaving as a form of gender-based violence. Furthermore, this chapter will argue that contemporary bystanders and onlookers continue to have a complex relationship with the historical phenomenon as interviews with heritage practitioners and museum curators suggest that exhibitions and representations of head shaving continue to elicit discomfort, confusion and upset amongst visitors. In conclusion, this chapter will identify themes of ongoing shame and discomfort surrounding the phenomenon in contemporary France and Spain, which complicates the recognition of head shaving as gender-based violence.

The thesis will conclude by showing that the ongoing reticence to reframe head shaving as a form of gender-based violence highlights the importance of historical discourses and national narratives, which have fixed understandings of this contested phenomenon as a form of historical punishment for women. It will argue that female victims have been understood as traitors, collaborators and enemies, and they therefore have not been viewed through a lens of victimhood as their suffering did not elicit social concern. Similarly, male perpetrators of head shaving have been largely viewed as victors rather than perpetrators of a gendered form of violence. This has meant that the violence they enacted was rationalised within the historic contexts of the purges amid political upheaval. Source material suggests that bystanders largely viewed head shaving as socially acceptable or that they felt pressured to participate due to the context of the purges and the contested place of women in post-war society. This widespread acceptance of head shaving amongst historical bystanders has mired this historical phenomenon in shame in national narratives and continues to elicit discomfort in contemporary France and Spain. Furthermore, the conclusion will identify recent developments regarding the place of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* in national narratives to the present day, examining the actions of memory associations and collectives in France and Spain.

Chapter 2

Reconceptualising targeted women as victims in the case of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*

Introduction

As shown by the review of scholarship relating to the *tondues* and the *rapadas*, women who experienced head shaving and other related acts of humiliation during the Liberation of France and the Spanish Civil War have been analysed primarily through a lens of punishment, shame and national betrayal. However, this chapter will argue that the phenomenon of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* should be reconceptualised in terms of gender-based violence and victimhood. At the time of the outbreaks, fellow citizens saw targeted women as ‘infamous creatures’ who had been ‘dishonoured and corrupted by the enemy’.²²⁰ Similarly, in the historiography of the two cases, the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* are evoked as emblems of ‘wartime shame’.²²¹ Head shaving was read as a mark of ‘infamy’,²²² rather than an expression of gender-based violence. In these case studies, overlapping themes of presumed female transgression and national shame are key to understanding the rationalisation of civilian women’s suffering caused by head shaving, humiliation and bodily violence; due to their political affiliations or familial or romantic relationships, targeted women have been viewed as shameful traitors and enemies of the two nations emerging from conflict, rather than victims.

Consequently, women who faced head shaving were not afforded sympathy as victims in their respective historical contexts but were rather read as perpetrators, and this chapter will show that they were not identified as victims either in the political discourses at the time or in the historiography since. This chapter seeks to contextualise the ambivalence and hostility felt towards targeted women, which stems from the two historical contexts and the police and military documentation of events, and persists in national narratives and political discourse in France and Spain. In order to do this, it will show that shared narratives of female shame, guilt and dishonour were mobilised to rationalise the suffering caused by head shaving and further acts of violence

²²⁰ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*, p.138

²²¹ Ruth Kitchen, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*, p.67.

²²² An article in *Voies Nouvelles* (7-8 September 1944) refers to the violence of tarring and head shaving in France as marking women as ‘infamante’.

against civilian women in both countries during these periods of civil unrest. By revisiting police and military documentation of women's arrests for national crimes and the press coverage of the violence that accompanied these arrests, this chapter sets out how these women were viewed by administrators, police and populations during the two conflicts and how their suffering was justified as part of practices such as head shaving. In both case studies, this documentation includes oral and written testimony, witness statements, trial summaries, correspondence and forms; in the French case, these are reports of female collaboration written by the police, to which the local resistance often contributed, whereas in the Spanish case, reports and accounts were taken by soldiers, military police, militia and Francoist troops.

Re-reading key sources through the prism of victimhood and gender-based violence makes it possible to reconceptualise head shaving during the Spanish Civil War and the Liberation of France. It shows that it was impossible for targeted women to be seen as victims at the same time as they were explicitly cast as guilty perpetrators. This reveals how this framing, both at the time of outbreaks and largely since, has prevented these the experiences of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* from being seen in terms of victimhood. By analysing why this perception of has endured, this chapter points to the continued reticence of historians to re-categorise targeted women as victims of violence, due to their troubled political contexts and the prevailing narrative of their presumed guilt.

The chapter will conclude by arguing that there is growing potential for a formal recognition of the trauma and suffering experienced by these women as a result of head shaving. The final section of this chapter will critically engage with sources that have given voice to and memorialised women who faced head shaving, drawing from the post-war period, including attempts to document cases of violence immediately after the purges, and from contemporary sources that have represented and reconstructed women's memories of head shaving. In France, these sources include accounts from the immediate post-war period within French Committee for the History of the Second World War files and Robert Aron files. This final section will also draw from more recent oral testimonies in France, including oral testimonies from *femmes tondues* taken by Dominique François in 2006, memories recounted in Jean Pierre Carlon's 2007 documentary *Les tondues en 44* and women's personal testimonies published in French newspapers in recent years (2000-2020). In Spain, these sources include accounts of violence against women during and immediately following the Francoist takeover of zones, depicted in Republican bulletins, press and information reports. It will

also analyse post-war testimonies of female inmates in Francoist prisons collected by Tomasa Cuevas and first published in 1985, alongside interviews taken as part of Jorge Montes Salguero's 2007 documentary *Del olvido a la memoria: presas de Franco* and women's personal stories published in Spanish newspapers from 2000-2020.

By bringing historical documentation, representation and memorialisation of shorn women in France and Spain into dialogue, this chapter will show that victimhood is not a given but is rather conditional, because it is dependent on social and historical contexts and discourses. It will therefore argue that the conditional nature of victimhood complicates reframing these contested cases of head shaving through the prism of victimhood and gender-based violence. The next section will analyse definitions of victimhood and identify scholarly debates regarding contested victimhood in historical study, in order to offer greater context for the difficulties surrounding reconceptualising the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* as victims of a form of gender-based violence.

2.1 Defining victimhood

When interrogating victimhood in these case studies, it is important to emphasise that the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* were indisputably victims of a targeted form of violence, which included head shaving, bodily marking, physical assault and – in the Spanish case – enforced castor oil ingestion. However, the term 'victim' has rarely been applied to these women either at the time of these outbreaks or in historiography.²²³ This is despite the wealth of historical evidence of their suffering in source materials including photography, police reports, oral and written testimony, and newspaper accounts. In order to contextualise the refusal to apply the term 'victim' to these targeted women in historical studies of the phenomenon, this section will explore scholarship which illustrates the conceptual complexity of victimhood, and the contestation which often surrounds the term.

²²³ As discussed in the introductory chapter, rare exceptions include Julie Desmarais, who suggests that there are signs of a slow shift towards re-framing the *femmes tondues* as victims in France, and Laia Quílez Estéve, who highlights that there has been increased recognition of the suffering of the *pelonas* in the Spanish case. See Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.7, and Laia Quílez Esteve, "'Pelonas' y rapadas: Imágenes-trofeo e Imágenes-denuncia de la represión de género ejercida durante la Guerra Civil Española', p.487.

Victimhood has often been perceived to be a 'fixed property that is relatively immutable' meaning that 'certain individuals and groups are deemed vulnerable, whereas others are not.'²²⁴ Within the context of conflict, victimhood has been understood through the prism of national sacrifice and martyrdom, which has typically limited female victimhood to roles such as 'widows or mothers of shot patriots.'²²⁵ Evidently, the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* do not neatly fit within such narrow definitions, and it is therefore necessary to analyse how victimhood can be an exclusionary concept that is subject to social, political and cultural conditions. In *To Be A Victim: Encounters with Crime and Injustice*, which explores the varied social responses to those affected by crime and injustice at an individual or state level, James E. Bayley offers a definition of victimhood that foregrounds the concept's rigidity and conditionality.

People are victims if and only if (1) they have suffered a loss or some significant decrease in well-being unfairly or undeservedly and in such a manner that they were helpless to prevent the loss; (2) the loss has an identifiable cause; and (3) the legal or moral context of the loss entitles the sufferers of the loss to social concern.²²⁶

This definition suggests that a person is only understood to be a victim if their suffering is viewed as 'unfair' or 'undeserved' by society. Therefore, in order for targeted women in newly liberated France or Francoist Spain to be reframed as victims, they must be entitled to 'social concern', which they were not granted in their respective historical contexts as they were viewed as collaborators, traitors and dissidents. Furthermore, in contemporary France and Spain, the case studies continue to be mired in shame and stigma. Victimhood appears to be socially anchored; if the legal and moral context does not encourage 'social concern' for an individual, group or demographic who face violence, then they may not be viewed as victims. This highlights the potential to exclude those who do not appear to be 'normative victims', which in the case of women can take on a moralistic dimension, as female victims are typically characterised by 'blamelessness, purity/innocence, weakness, and passivity'²²⁷ due to essentialised gender roles. This is particularly important to acknowledge in these historical case studies due to the deployment of highly gendered and

²²⁴ Erinn Cunniff Gilson, 'Vulnerability and Victimization: Rethinking Key Concepts in Feminist Discourses on Sexual Violence'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 42(1), p.74.

²²⁵ Kelly Ricciardi Colvin, *Gender and French Identity after the Second World War, 1944–1954: Engendering Frenchness* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), p.43.

²²⁶ James E Bayley, 'The Concept of Victimhood'. In Diane Sank and David Caplan (eds.) *To Be a Victim: Encounters with Crime and Justice* (Boston, Massachusetts: Springer, 1991), p.53.

²²⁷ Erinn Cunniff Gilson, 'Vulnerability and Victimization: Rethinking Key Concepts in Feminist Discourses on Sexual Violence', p.86.

misogynistic archetypes that rationalised women's suffering: women were targeted to be 'punished' as traitors to the nation, and also as traitors to their gender. By expressing political, personal or sexual autonomy via their relationships or their activism, shorn women faced public opprobrium to such an extent that they have been compared to women accused of witchcraft in the Middle Ages in historical scholarship.²²⁸

In dialogue, these two historical case studies demonstrate the complexities of victimhood as a category by showing how definitions and perceptions of victimhood, and female victimhood in particular, can shift according to time, place and political context. As Tami Amanda Jacoby emphasises in her analysis of victim-based identities, victimhood is a politically constructed identity and it is 'nearly impossible to separate the victim from the politics'.²²⁹ As a result, victimhood cannot be analysed as a self-evident category that is 'prior or external to analysis',²³⁰ because assigning victimhood is a politically contested and conflictual process. David Clarke similarly highlights that the status of victimhood can be granted to those impacted by historical cases of violence, but that this occurs only under favourable political conditions. Clarke therefore talks of 'victimhood claims' rather than positing victimhood as a pre-discursive category or an identity that exists externally to politics; 'the political system does not respond to victimhood claims by merely giving all those who seek acknowledgement of their victim status what they demand [...] victimhood may be one object of memory politics (and its related policies for memory) but that object is constructed by the political system in its own terms'.²³¹ As Vincent Druliolle underscores in his exploration of the hierarchy of victimhood in post-Francoist Spain, victimhood is 'not given' but is 'historically and socially constructed', which does not mean that the harm inflicted was not real, but rather that 'the status of victims in society is not directly related to the harm suffered'.²³² In the case of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*, this raises an important question: how has the harm these women suffered been neglected or even actively rejected by French and Spanish society at the time of the violence and in the present day? The next section will identify the historical discourses of female

²²⁸ Catherine Durant, 'Préface', in Dominique François (ed.), *Femmes tondues : La diabolisation de la femme en 1944, Les bûchers de la Libération*, (Paris: Cheminements, 2006), p.10.

²²⁹ Tami Amanda Jacoby, 'A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43, 2(2015), p.511.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ David Clarke, *Constructions of Victimhood: Remembering the Victims of State Socialism in Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), p.37.

²³² Vincent Druliolle, 'Recovering Historical Memory: A Struggle against Silence and forgetting? The Politics of Victimhood in Spain', p.319.

guilt and treachery which have rationalised shorn women's suffering and blocked their claims to victimhood.

2.2 Head shaving as 'punishment': perceptions of the *tondues* and the *rapadas* as enemies of the nation

In post-war and contemporary France and Spain, there were multiple shared discursive processes that shaped, and continue to shape, views of women who were targeted for head shaving and practices of humiliation during the Liberation and the establishment of the Francoist state. Crucially, a process that can be observed in both countries is the framing of head shaving as punishment for female traitors whose wartime behaviour was perceived to be immoral and criminal. Simply put, if head shaving was socially sanctioned as a legitimate punishment for immoral or criminal acts, then the women who experienced it could not be read as victims, despite the visibility of their suffering, because the punishment was seen to be just. The process of the framing of targeted women as perpetrators is key to understanding transnational outbreaks of head shaving and humiliation.

To uncover the framing of targeted women as perpetrators in need of such bodily punishment, the evidence collected in this chapter shows how misogynistic cultural and religious narratives espousing female guilt and immorality were mobilised as explanation for the practice by the police, the judiciary, the Resistance, the military and militias in women's police and military reports, detailing the reasons for their arrest and punishment. Women affected were not presented as deserving of sympathy and were often further dehumanised in judicial and military documentation of incidents of violence. In Spain, targeted women were stigmatised as 'whores and criminals' in arrest files written by Francoist officials and militias that framed brutal post-war repression as necessary, thereby establishing and legitimising their newfound control during this immediate post-war period.²³³ French women were similarly portrayed as unsympathetic 'women of the Germans' ('*femmes à Boches*') in police files and accounts written by police and resisters, who presented such women as having been 'contaminated' through their proximity to German soldiers.²³⁴

²³³ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* (London: Harper Perennial, 2008), p.305.

²³⁴ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*, p.140

This heavy scrutiny of women's political and social behaviour, personal relationships and moral attitudes was part of a drive to weed out 'anti-national' elements in the aftermath of war in both countries.²³⁵ This drive placed a particularly harsh spotlight on female civilians. French women were particularly vulnerable and visible because of the absence of French men in civilian spaces; many were prisoners of war or active soldiers, meaning that many women seen to be overly friendly with the occupiers were read as adulterers betraying absent men.²³⁶ Similarly, Spanish women were left to face the Francoist rearguard as Republican men continued fighting at the front and as many male leftists in power, such as mayors, activists or local politicians, were swiftly executed when zones were taken over.²³⁷ This left women vulnerable, as they had been 'vilified' by the victorious Francoists and head shaving served as a means undermining the 'dignity of the enemy'.²³⁸

Furthermore, the tendency to understand victimhood through the lens of national sacrifice can be seen in both historical contexts. For example, in Spain, Nationalist troops who died in battle were portrayed as martyrs who died for God and Spain,²³⁹ and in France, Resistance fighters who died fighting the Nazi occupation have been commemorated and mythologised as national heroes.²⁴⁰ This masculinised framework of national sacrifice excludes shorn women, as they were seen to have negated their national identity via their immoral relationships with the enemy. In France, post-war representations of women's roles during the Occupation reinforced 'values of French womanhood'

²³⁵ Anne Simonin draws attention to the ways in which female collaborators were legally framed as antinational, using terms such as 'indignité nationale' and 'propos antinationaux' to describe their alleged behaviour. She highlights that French women were expected to be the 'sauvegarde' of national morality. *Le déshonneur dans la République : une histoire de l'indignité 1791-1958*, p.613.

²³⁶ In *Voies Nouvelles*, 7-8 September 1944, head shaving and processions of shamed women in Périgueux were compared to medieval processions of 'naked female adulterers'. Similarly, Hanna Diamond emphasises that head shaving was 'the traditional punishment for adulterous women', p.136.

²³⁷ Maud Joly explains that prominent male leftists were quickly killed, leaving women open to persecution by the new authorities in 'Las violencias sexuadas de la Guerra Civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto', p.103.

²³⁸ Sofia Rodríguez López explains that acts like head shaving constituted an 'arma de guerra' which aimed to 'acabar con la dignidad del enemigo.' Sofia Rodríguez López, 'La violencia de género como arma de guerra', in Encarnación Barranquero Texeira (ed.) *Mujeres en la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo: violencia, silencio y memoria de los tiempos difíciles* (Malaga: CEDMA, 2010), p.34. Rodríguez López explains that acts like head shaving constituted an 'arma de guerra' which aimed to 'acabar con la dignidad del enemigo.'

²³⁹ Julian Casanova, 'Franco, the Catholic Church and the Martyrs', in Anindya Raychaudhuri (ed.), *The Spanish Civil War: Exhuming a Buried Past* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), p.17. See also Mary Vincent, 'The Martyrs and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade', *History Workshop Journal*, 47, 1 (1999), pp.68-98.

²⁴⁰ See Nathan Bracher, 'Remembering the French Resistance: Ethics and Poetics of the Epic.' *History and Memory*, 19, 1, (2007), pp.39-67.

such as 'passivity, compliance, and nurturing',²⁴¹ and the *femmes tondues* were inversely understood as the 'shameless' and 'debauched'²⁴² counterpart to the self-sacrificing women who supported the Resistance. The *mujeres rapadas* were also viewed as 'red' women or 'dangerous marxists' whose lives were defined by 'vice and depravity'²⁴³ in stark contrast to the celebration of Francoist notions of normative femininity.²⁴⁴ Francoism posited that women's role was to rebuild the nation through 'motherhood and self-sacrifice' as part of the 'eradication of the Republican legacy.'²⁴⁵ Consequently, women in both contexts did not fit within national paradigms of femininity or sacrifice and could not be understood as victims. These restrictive patriarchal frameworks of femininity have therefore obscured and complicated understandings of *femmes tondues* and *mujeres rapadas* as victims of a strain of violence that targeted them as perceived national dissidents and, fundamentally, as dissident women.²⁴⁶

Targeted women in these case studies were therefore not read as victims of gender-based violence because they were framed as internal female enemies and perpetrators of anti-national crimes, which were often exaggerated or based on little evidence. In Spain, women faced ritual humiliation and head shaving due to their connections to the Republic and their relationships with leftists, even if they had not actively participated in the Civil War, as they were considered 'enemies of the regime'²⁴⁷ by extension. French women could also be perceived as enemies of the nation as a result of their proximity to the occupier and were often accused of romantic relationships and denouncing

²⁴¹ Kelly Ricciardi Colvin, *Gender and French Identity after the Second World War, 1944-1954*, p.27.

²⁴² Luc Capdevila cites reports from women's court files during the purges, which describe their behaviour as 'éhonté' and claim that they were living 'une vie de débauche.' 'Les femmes en Bretagne au lendemain de l'occupation allemande, une libération inachevée', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* LXXVII (1999), pp.363-383.

²⁴³ To Francoists, 'las individuos o las rojas o las peligrosas marxistas' were viewed as leading lives characterised by 'vicio y depravación' Pura Sánchez, *Individuos de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.76.

²⁴⁴ Olga Kenyon discusses the discursive formation of traditional femininity under Francoism in her chapter 'Women under Franco and PSOE: The Discrepancy between Discourse and Reality.' In Bernard McGuirk, B and Mark Millington (eds.), *Inequality and Difference in Hispanic and Latin American Cultures*. (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), pp.51-61.

²⁴⁵ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, 'Locks of hair/locks of shame? Women, dissidence, and punishment during Francisco Franco's dictatorship', p.407.

²⁴⁶ As Frances Lannon highlights, women were targeted not only as people who had taken adverse or anti-national political positions, but also fundamentally 'as women', in 'Los cuerpos de las mujeres y el cuerpo político católico: autoridades e identidades en conflicto en España durante las décadas de 1920 a 1930', *Historia Social*, 35 (1999), p.79.

²⁴⁷ María José Giménez Mico describes the 'ostracismo social' that women suspected of leftist sympathies endured, arguing that they were seen as 'enemigos del régimen.' 'Mujeres en la guerra civil y la posguerra,' *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 36, 1, (2011), p.199.

resisters or Jewish people; for many French people, head shaving represented a means of punishing the enemy, or at least, women who were seen to have incarnated the enemy,²⁴⁸ because of their involvement or perceived involvement with German soldiers, even if many allegations were later discovered to be largely unfounded.²⁴⁹ This can be illuminated by what Andrea Mica Prundeanu terms the 'is/appears' ('être/paraître') dichotomy at the heart of the phenomenon in France; the targeting of certain women for head shaving was based on disproportionate perceptions of guilt and latent misogyny rather than verifiable crimes of collaboration.²⁵⁰ Likewise, Pura Sánchez highlights the misogyny and presumption of guilt that lay behind the excessive burden of culpability foisted upon women accused of supporting the Republic; women saw themselves 'obligated like new Eves to carry the weight of the guilt on their shoulders.'²⁵¹ These comparative discourses of female guilt facilitated violence, which was framed as punishment in relation to women in both countries, barring them from any claims to victimhood while these incidents occurred.

It is therefore important to interrogate the functioning of these processes by which certain groups of women were targeted. How was violence and humiliation framed as a legitimate punishment against these women? Selecting individuals or a group for violence or unjust treatment requires justification, and in both France and Spain, this functioned in gender-specific ways. It is possible to identify 'linkages and patterns' in these 'societies under stress,'²⁵² particularly as the comparable contexts of purging were key to enabling, encouraging and justifying misogynistic violence. Acts such as head shaving were located outside of legal parameters as part of the wild purges (*l'épuration sauvage*) in newly liberated France and as part of the early Francoist period of purging (*depuración*). This meant that those who were accused of disloyalty or collaboration were targeted by popular violence in public spaces, generally without trial or legal protections. Women were often the first

²⁴⁸Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.11.

²⁴⁹ Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupables, amoureuses, victimes*, p.36.

²⁵⁰Andrea Mica Prundeanu, 'Cutting Delilah's Hair: Sentimental Collaborators and the Politics of Female Sexuality in WWI/II France' (PhD thesis: Michigan State University. French, Language and Literature, 2017), p.5.

²⁵¹ Women were 'obligadas como nuevas Evas a cargar sobre sus espaldas la culpa.' Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.229.

²⁵² Monica McWilliams, 'Violence Against Women in Societies Under Stress', in Rebecca Emerson Dobash and Russell P. Dobash (eds.) *Rethinking violence against women* (Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage publications, 1998), p.112.

victims of public retribution as zones were taken over; the spectacle of the ‘parades’²⁵³ and the ‘public shearing through the streets’²⁵⁴ often was the first moment of violent contact with the ‘enemy’ for most civilians.²⁵⁵

In the two cases, women were singled out, presumed to be guilty and constructed as perpetrators during the immediate post-conflict period. This process of justifying violence against targeted women can be seen in the language used in police and military documents, which detail the crimes and accusations levelled against shorn women. These accusations provided ‘permission and legitimation’ for acts such as head shaving during the comparative contexts of purges.²⁵⁶ Repression functioned in gender-specific ways: women were retroactively accused of national crimes: of ‘national indignity’²⁵⁷ in France, and of being ‘dangerous for our National Cause’²⁵⁸ in Spain. These constructions of female criminality and national threat appear to serve as a justification for violence in both case studies. In both French and Spanish police and military records, there is a focus on women’s excessive sexuality and immorality, which pathologised them as both a national threat and source of moral degradation, showing how women’s criminality is expressed in moralistic terms. This is most evocatively evidenced through the typology of the ‘fallen woman’ and a shared language of female criminality, immorality and illicit sexuality in the two historical contexts.

In the French case, this rhetoric permeated judicial institutions, legal language and charges; an example of this is article 75, a retroactive law punishing those for perceived national disloyalty, often termed ‘national indignity.’ This article adopted a nationalistic and moralistic dimension: it condemned those who, during the Occupation, had exhibited ‘behaviour that was incompatible

²⁵³ ‘Paseos’ refers to the parading of women who have had their heads shaved, sometimes in a state of undress, who have often been forced to ingest castor oil. These took place in public space, often main streets, to maximise visibility.

²⁵⁴ ‘La tonte publique des « collaboratrices horizontales » [...] à travers les rues de la localité.’ Alain Brossat, *Les tondues : un carnaval moche*, p.10.

²⁵⁵ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.11.

²⁵⁶ Liz Kelly, ‘Wars against Women: Sexual Violence, Sexual Politics and the Militarised State’. In Susie Jacobs, Ruth Jacobson, Jennifer Marchbank (eds.) *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* (London and New York: Zedd Books, 2000), p.55.

²⁵⁷ Women accused of sexual relationships with Nazi soldiers or tacit support for the Occupation could be charged as being ‘coupable d’indignité nationale’. Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.21.

²⁵⁸ Women were described as being ‘peligrosa para la Causa Nacional, de carácter independiente [...] incitadoras de los hombres, negadores de Dios y/o de dudosa moral pública y privada.’ Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.13.

with national duty.²⁵⁹ This framing of anti-national behaviour as a crime was bolstered by the order made on 26 August 1944, condemning all French people who gave ‘direct or indirect aid’ to Germany or its allies, or attacked ‘the unity of the nation’ after 16 June 1940.²⁶⁰ The vague language, such as giving ‘direct or indirect aid’, makes the Penal Code very malleable and enabled the inclusion of perceived moral crimes and anti-national behaviour as a justification for judicial punishment. The intertwining of judicial charges and appeals to morality meant that women could be judged for ‘aggravating factors of morality.’²⁶¹ Such charges included ‘an antinational attitude’, ‘voluntary work in Germany’, ‘pro-German speech’, ‘relations with Germans’, ‘sexual relations with Germans’; some of these charges disproportionately affected women, such as ‘sexual relations with Germans’, for which no men were charged, even men who were known to have slept with women in Germany.²⁶² These claims of national indignity made up 38.1% of judicial charges of collaboration against women and only made up 30.2% of the judicial charges levelled at men.²⁶³ As such, we can see how the expansion of laws that castigated ‘dishonour’, as termed by Anne Simonin, disproportionately affected women as a ‘moralising enterprise.’²⁶⁴ The use of widely encompassing retroactive laws testifies to an atmosphere of intense scrutiny and a desire for retribution against women perceived to be anti-national enemies. Within this hostile environment where anti-national attitudes, behaviour and relationships could represent collaboration and disloyalty, many women faced head shaving without the acts for which they were condemned being verified.²⁶⁵ As such, the veracity and severity of claims against women seem less important than the public perception of their guilt, meaning that head shaving served as a means of punishing women who were ‘considered to be politically and sexually guilty.’²⁶⁶

²⁵⁹ Women were often accused of having had ‘un comportement incompatible avec le devoir national.’ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.20.

²⁶⁰ Virgili clarifies that a French person could be accused of national indignity if they had offered ‘une aide directe ou indirecte à l’Allemagne ou à ses allies, soit porté atteinte à l’unité de la nation ou à la liberté des Français, ou à l’égalité entre les derniers.’ Ibid., p.21.

²⁶¹ ‘Circonstances aggravantes de moralité.’ Anne Simonin, *Le déshonneur dans la République : une histoire de l’indignité 1791-1958*, p.614.

²⁶² Hanna Diamond talks of an example in *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48*, in which a female UFF delegate asked the Toulouse local council if there should be a punishment for a French prisoner-of-war who returned accompanied by a German wife and a child, and the council argued that there should be no punitive outcome for this, p.138.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p.628.

²⁶⁵ Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.11.

²⁶⁶ ‘Femmes considérées politiquement et sexuellement coupables.’ Fabrice Virgili, ‘La tonduée de la Libération : La traîtresse’, in Fanny Bugnon, Julie Doyon, Pierre Fournié, Michel Porret, Annick Tillier and

In his national study of women who faced head shaving during the Liberation of France, Virgili highlights that the motivations for head shaving varied: 26.7% were shorn due to suspected unspecified collaboration, 2.1% due to coming from an Axis country, 42.1% due to suspected 'relations' with the German occupiers, 8% due to political or military support of the German Occupation, such as belonging to a collaborationist organisation, 14.6% due to economic support of the Occupation, such as working for the Occupiers in some capacity, and 6.5% due to suspected denunciation.²⁶⁷ In Brittany, the purges were particularly harsh towards women, who made up 41% of alleged collaborators brought before the *Cour de justice* (Court of Justice).²⁶⁸ This indicates a heightened scrutiny of women's wartime behaviour while zones were being liberated as female criminality in peacetime France sat at 10%.²⁶⁹ This momentous surge in charges against women suggests that a bright spotlight was placed on women's behaviour as part of post-war judicial proceedings. Consequently, head shaving should not be analysed as a spontaneous act as it flourished in a context of heightened judicial and extra-judicial surveillance for women. As early as 1942, threats of head shaving and violence appeared in the underground Resistance newspaper *Défense de la France*.

You will be shorn, so-called French women who give your body to the Germans, shorn with a sign on your back, saying: "sold to the enemy". You will have your hair cut too, young women without honour who simper at the occupants, you will be shorn and whipped. And on your sheared foreheads, with a hot iron, we will imprint a swastika.²⁷⁰

This source is particularly evocative as it accurately predicts and prescribes the process of violence that will later occur, highlighting the importance of visibly marking women's shame on their bodies: 'a sign on your back, saying: "sold to the enemy"' and 'we will print a swastika.' The construction of the female traitor is evoked through the use of misogynistic language, as the text refers to women who were in relationships with German soldiers as 'so-called French females'; 'femelles' ('females') in French is a term used for female animals and therefore these women were

Fabrice Virgili (eds.), *Présumées coupables : les grands procès faits aux femmes*, (Paris: Iconoclaste, 2016), p.268.

²⁶⁷ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.23.

²⁶⁸ Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d'une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.150.

²⁶⁹ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.29.

²⁷⁰ 'Vous serez tondues, femelles dites françaises qui donnez votre corps à l'Allemand, tondue avec un écriteau dans le dos : « vendues à l'ennemi ». Tondues vous aussi, petites sans honneur qui minaudez avec les occupants, tondues et cravachées. Et sur vos fronts, a tondues, au fer rouge, on imprimera une croix gammée.' BNF, *Défense de la France*, 15 February 1942.

presented as bestial. Similarly, the adjective ‘so-called French’ suggests that these women had negated their French identity by sleeping with German soldiers, which was placed in stark contrast to behaviour deemed appropriate for French women. Their alleged sexual activity was framed as an anti-national act while women were vilified due to social perceptions of their sexuality and immorality, which are posited as a threat to French nationhood. This suggests that shorn women were judged on moral grounds and would therefore face violence due ‘the moral condemnation of sexual relations undertaken by French women with the Germans.’²⁷¹

The opposition between the national and anti-national woman can also be seen in 1944 in *Femmes françaises*, a clandestine newspaper targeted at women. Again, head shaving was encouraged as a means of punishing women’s anti-national behaviour, and in this extract, French women were invited to actively participate in the violence.

French mothers, defend your sons against the females of the Gestapo [...] We must fight against the execrable bitches of the Gestapo [...] set a trap for them, punish them severely, cut their hair short, and, finally, take their ID card. The photo will serve to identify and punish them when the time comes.²⁷²

The opposition between ‘French mothers’ and ‘females of the Gestapo’ reveals the tension between the national woman, symbolised through her maternity and traditional role as a defender of children, and the anti-national and bestial ‘female.’ This is further evoked by the misogynistic term ‘execrable bitches’: women who the female reader was invited to severely punish, shear and identify for further punishment at the Liberation. By coding the typical French woman as a mother, valorising conservative notions of femininity, in contrast to the animalistic and uncivilised female traitor, associated with the Gestapo, the construction of the ‘deserving victim’ of violence was clearly mobilised. Crucially, it also predicted the hunt to identify disloyal women for head shaving and retribution during the Liberation by imploring women to steal identity cards to help identify these women later for further humiliation. Violence is clearly framed as ‘severe’ punishment and an act of justice, legitimising practices such as head shaving. In these sources, French readers were actively encouraged to target women associated with the German occupiers, rationalising violence

²⁷¹ ‘La condamnation morale de relations sexuelles entretenues par les femmes françaises avec les Allemands.’ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.39.

²⁷² Mères Françaises défendez vos fils contre les femelles de la Gestapo [...] Il faut se battre contre les exécrales chiennes de la Gestapo [...] leur tendre un piège, les corriger sévèrement, leur couper les cheveux ras, et, enfin, leur prendre leur carte d’identité. La photo servira à les identifier et à les punir l’heure venue.’ BNF, *Femmes Françaises*, no 1, January 1944 .

via misogynistic language and the framing of certain women as internal enemies because of their so-called anti-national behaviour.

The diffusion of discourses which divided French women and anti-national traitors in the Resistance press heralded a period of violence and mass arrests in civilian spaces as they were liberated. This prefects' report from Côtes-du-Nord in Brittany highlights the seeming ubiquity of scenes of violence against women in the summer of 1944.

Scandalous scenes are unfolding everywhere; women are shorn amidst boos; the prison of Saint-Brieuc has more than double the maximum. Without any order to arrest from either the Public Prosecutor or the Commander of the F.F.I, individuals make arrests without even indicating the reasons for imprisonment.²⁷³

In this account by the new prefect in Côtes-du-Nord on 16 August 1944, violence appears to characterise the Liberation, and head shaving in particular was an integral component of these 'scandalous scenes', which occurred against women 'everywhere'. The use of mass arrests, often without clear grounds, led to overcrowding and disorder; it is noted that the prison at Saint-Brieuc had been forced to house double its maximum capacity. The public appetite for physical violence, which had been coded as punishment of alleged female collaborators, seems to be considerable as women's heads are shorn 'amidst boos', evidencing condemnation of the women and public support for head shaving. It appears that the socio-political upheaval of the Liberation and the imposition of a new order in the aftermath of Occupation particularly affected women as it seemed to encourage gender-specific violence, which was framed as a socially acceptable punishment for women's perceived national infractions at a time of generalised score-settling.²⁷⁴ Within this fraught context of purges and retribution, shorn women were far from being understood as victims as head shaving was viewed as a legitimate means of 'sanctioning the guilty'.²⁷⁵

Similarly, the representation of leftist women or women with connections to the Second Republic as national traitors can be traced in social and judicial discourses in Spain. Francoist repression in the early years of the regime utilised exclusionary nationalist rhetoric to justify violence against its

²⁷³ 'Des scènes scandaleuses se déroulent un peu partout ; des femmes sont tondues au milieu des huées ; la prison de Saint-Brieuc comporte plus du double de l'effectif maximum. Sans aucun ordre d'arrestation soit du Procureur de la République, soit du Commandant des F.F.I des individus procèdent à des arrestations sans même indiquer les motifs de l'incarcération.' ADIV, rapport du préfet, 43 W 168, 16/08/1944.

²⁷⁴ Henry Rouso, 'L'épuration en France : Une histoire inachevée', p.86.

²⁷⁵ Fabrice Virgili describes 'le sentiment exclusif de sanctionner une coupable' as part of the *tonte*. *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.293.

perceived internal enemies. Franco's army and its militia claimed they were constructing the 'New Spain' through a 'Glorious National Uprising' or 'Crusade of Liberation.'²⁷⁶ This language of national reconquest, modelled on previous religious reconquests dating back to the Spain of Fernando and Isabel, permeated the judicial lexicon, seemingly justifying the use of violent means to bring about the moral rejuvenation of Spain. This meant that extra-judicial violence against women associated with the Second Republic overlapped with official judicial process. Similarly to the malleability of article 75 in newly liberated France, zones that had been taken over by Francoists adopted a vague and flexible crime terminology, which was weaponised against dissident women. Women were accused of crimes such as being 'dangerous for the National Cause', 'dangerous extremists' or 'dangerous Marxists.'²⁷⁷ This again framed Republican women or women who were merely associated with leftists as anti-national and as a social danger to the nation. Importantly, women could also be retroactively sanctioned for nebulous crimes such as 'encouraging' or 'inciting men to commit crimes and savagery,'²⁷⁸ meaning that women could even be punished for crimes committed by others around them or by leftists generally.

While statistics on female incarceration during this period are often uncertain, at the end of 1942, it is estimated that 7,275 women were incarcerated in Spain simply on the grounds of inciting and participating in the leftist 'rebellion.'²⁷⁹ As Shirley Mangini highlights in her study of female repression in early Francoism, 'often women were denounced for inexplicable reasons [...] during the entire regime.'²⁸⁰ This increased scrutiny of civilians' behaviour, attitudes and associations particularly affected women due to representations of female activists and leftists as 'dishonest' women.²⁸¹ As Giuliana Di Febo notes, simply being a wife, sister or daughter of a leftist provided

²⁷⁶ Pura Sánchez draws attention to the language of the regime: 'Nueva España', 'Glorioso Alzamiento Nacional', 'Cruzada de Liberación' and 'Años Triunfales'. *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.13.

²⁷⁷ In *Individuas de dudosa moral*, Pura Sánchez highlights that a left-wing woman could be referred to as 'peligrosa para la Causa Nacional' (p.13), a 'peligrosa extremista' (p.72) or a 'peligrosa marxista' (p.76), showing that women associated with the left were considered to be a social danger.

²⁷⁸ Women were framed in Francoist political and religious discourse as 'las grandes incitadoras'. *Ibid.*, p.106

²⁷⁹ 'À la fin de l'année 1942, on comptait en Espagne 7 275 femmes internées « pour rébellion ». César Lorenzo Rubio, 'Femmes et mères dans les prisons de Franco : Une approche de l'endoctrinement religieux et des privations matérielles dans le système carcéral espagnol pendant la dictature', *Champ Pénal* [online], Parentalités enfermées/Objets et enfermement/Probation française, XI (2014). Accessed online on 10th August 2018 at <https://journals.openedition.org/champpenal/8750>.

²⁸⁰ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, p.100.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.74.

sufficient grounds for arrest and repression.²⁸² This could be compared to post-war accusations levelled at French women regarding providing direct or indirect aid to Germany or its allies, which enabled prosecutions against women due to their proximity with occupiers, thereby punishing them by proxy for occupiers' behaviour.

In Spain, an atmosphere of heightened scrutiny, nebulous legal concepts and far-reaching blame translated to spikes in female repression, both judicially and extra-judicially, as zones were taken over by Franco's army during the Spanish Civil War. Compared to the French case, estimating the numbers of women affected by head shaving and its related violence is further complicated by a relative lack of documentation by the incoming military dictatorship; the majority of head shaving incidents were not documented in police and military files, but have instead been transmitted orally in memoirs, press or Republican reports, and so it is not possible to provide national statistics on incidents of head shaving and its causes, as Virgili does in his 2000 study *La France « virile »*. However, by examining arrest reports of women during the purges in the early Francoist years, it is easy to see a marked increase in female incarceration, and via available sources, it is possible to confirm that this was accompanied by waves of public violence in tandem with increased judicial repression.²⁸³ In Andalusia, the peak of judicial repression for women directly followed the triumph of Franco in the Civil War: 57.9% of trials against women in the period 1936-1949 took place between April and December 1939. This is a higher percentage than men in the immediate post-war period with only 34.7% of cases against men from 1936-1939 taking place during these months.²⁸⁴ By 1940, there were approximately 30,000 women imprisoned across Spain,²⁸⁵ often on tenuous grounds, such as attending protests, distributing left-wing papers, insulting religious figures and Francoists, leading strikes, inciting men to revolt or simply for being a mother, daughter or sister of a Republican.²⁸⁶ This spike in judicial punishment of women points to the gendered nature

²⁸² Giuliana Di Febo, *Resistencia y movimiento de mujeres en España: 1936-1976* (Icaria: Barcelona, 1979), p.18.

²⁸³ Paloma Seone Amigo. 'La represión franquista contra las mujeres. La Causa General de Madrid', *ARENAL*, 20, 2 (2013), p.397.

²⁸⁴ Pura Sánchez, 'Individuas y sujetas: las mujeres andaluzas represaliadas desde los tribunales militares', *Andalucía en la historia*, Heroínas invisibles. Mujeres entre la represión y la resistencia (1936-1950), 25, 2009, pp.16-19.

²⁸⁵ Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.53.

²⁸⁶ See Jesús Narciso Núñez Calvo, 'La represión y sus directrices sevillanas en la provincia de Cádiz', *Almajar: Revista de Historia, Arqueología y Patrimonio de Villamartín y la Sierra de Cádiz*, 2 (2005), pp.195-208.

of repression during the *depuración*, which also translated to increased extra-judicial retribution such as head shaving.

As such, we can see an emergent narrative in which those associated with the Republic were presented as anti-national and were pathologised as a threat, thereby excluding leftist women from being perceived as victims of violence.

They had destroyed the very substance of our being. The very soul of us as Spaniards and as men [...] The Catholic in Spain had lost his God. The monarchist his king. The aristocrat, his nobility. The soldier, his sword. The employer, his capacity for initiative. The labourer his opportunity to work. The woman, her home. The child, respect for his father.²⁸⁷

In this excerpt from Ernesto Giménez Caballero, a Francoist intellectual, it is argued that the Francoist vision of national unity was threatened by those who had supported the Republic. Crucially, it also suggests that the true Spanish woman had been wrenched from her home as a result of an anti-Spanish ideology. We see a similar opposition emerge to the French case; traditional nationalist women are elevated and valorised, in contrast to politically dissident women who were perceived to be ‘a fount of dirt and corruption.’²⁸⁸ This opposition between the national and anti-national woman justified the use of repression against women who appeared to threaten the nation and ‘the very soul of us as Spaniards’ due to their political affiliations. The construction of the anti-national woman can also be seen in the Catholic press, such as in this excerpt from *Ideales*, which talks about the detention of left-wing women in Lucena, Andalusia.

Arrests are still continuing and this week, the facts about Marxist women have been highlighted, of those who, forgetting their sex and abandoning their roles, have taken six months of feverish activity without missing a day at the Civic Hall, a hub of anarchy; where they had education, health and singing classes, thus preparing them with offerings and deceptions for the day when they rebelled, taking over the town.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, 1938, cited in Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945*, p.3.

²⁸⁸ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006), p.308.

²⁸⁹ ‘Aún continúan las detenciones y en esta semana se han destacado las hechas sobre mujeres marxistas, de aquellas que, olvidando su sexo y abandonando sus labores, han llevado seis meses de actividad febril sin faltar ni un día a la Casa del Pueblo, foco de anarquía; donde se les enseñaban ejercicios de instrucción, de sanidad y de cante, preparándolas así con ofrecimientos y engaños para el día que sublevándose se adueñaran del pueblo.’ *Ideales*, 3 August 1936, cited in Arcángel Bedmar, *República, Guerra y Represión: Lucena 1931-1939*, (Lucena: Imprenta Caballero, 2000), p.176.

In this press extract, the threat posed by leftist women, referred to as ‘Marxist women,’ to the Spanish nation is foregrounded by their subversive politics and their rejection of gender orthodoxy: they have forgotten ‘their sex.’ This evidences the discursive elaboration of the female internal enemy as a socially destabilising figure who requires neutralisation in the form of corrective punishment, for the good of Spain. If not, the article suggested that leftist women will reverse the social order and ‘take over the town’ after being influenced by the ‘deceptions’ of the anarchists; leftist women are therefore shown to be dangerous as they had ignored their correct ‘role’ within Spanish society.

Amid these discourses of female guilt and national threat, extra-judicial violence in the form of head shaving, forced ingestion of castor oil and sexual violence abounds from the beginning of the Spanish Civil War against suspected female leftists. Targeted violence led by the Nationalists against perceived female enemies was so systematic that the International Red Cross included it in a report decrying human rights abuses in newly captured fascist zones, such as the Basque Country.

Accounts of humiliating practices are countless in fascist territories and they persist to this day. There are numerous cases of women whose hair has been cut, and they have been forced to parade in public, carrying signs with messages against their political opinions. This has been confirmed in judicial proceedings by prisoners of war, organised by our troops. Among other humiliations, it is also common to force them to ingest strong doses of castor oil, and to undergo manual tasks against their will, which are completely ridiculous and even impossible to complete.²⁹⁰

In this account, incidents of the head shaving are described as ‘countless’, and they ‘persist’ while the report was being written. Shorn women appear to be political opponents of the rebels, as they are made to carry ‘signs with messages against their political opinions.’ It is important to note that this report is printed in October 1936, which was only three months into the war, which therefore suggests that practices that targeted enemy women proliferated from the moment that Francoists captured Republican zones, pointing to the systematic nature of targeted violence against women from the beginning of the conflict. However, in this report, while Francoist purges are condemned

²⁹⁰ ‘Que las vejaciones a las mujeres son incontables en territorio faccioso, y persisten en el día de la fecha. Son numerosas los casos de mujeres a las que se les han cortado los cabellos, obligándolas a pasearse en público haciendo ostentación de distintivos contrarios a sus opiniones políticas. Este hecho ha sido declarado en procedimientos judiciales por prisioneros de guerra hechos por nuestras tropas. Entre otras vejaciones, también figura la de obligarlas a ingerir fuertes dosis de aceite de ricino, y la de someterse a trabajos contra su voluntad y completamente exagerados y hasta imposibles de realizar.’ AGGCE, ‘La Cruz Roja internacional gestiona del Gobierno de Euzkadi de realizar un acuerdo que inicie la humanización de la guerra.’ *La Cruz Roja Internacional*, 10/10/1936, R.3444 F.A8, 6.

by the International Red Cross, these incidents are not framed as violence, but rather as acts of humiliation, such as forcing them to parade or perform impossible manual tasks. The use of castor oil is also recorded as a common trope of Francoist troops' retribution; this is a particularly degrading act as it serves to literally 'purge' women's bodies, due to its laxative effects, as a means of physically cleansing women of their association with the anti-national Republic.²⁹¹ Consequently, this report from the International Red Cross demonstrates how Francoist discourses and views of women, which configured Republican women as an internal enemy and national threat, contributed to their abuse in the aftermath of conflict.

Rather than viewing violence against these women as spontaneous outbursts, it is therefore important to emphasise that the rationalisation of shorn women's suffering and punishment had begun in earnest before the end of the two conflicts; most evocatively through the construction of the female traitor or enemy, which permeated public discourse. These tropes were later mobilised in speeches, rhetoric and the new criminal lexicon as a means of disgracing female victims and justifying violence against them, as suspected leftists or suspected collaborators. These constructions were built on misogynistic cultural archetypes of dangerous or subversive femininity: the image of the fallen woman and the female traitor, characterised by immorality and excessive sexuality. These archetypes led to binary oppositions between the national and anti-national woman in both France and Spain, thereby encouraging violence against women who were perceived to pose a threat to the post-war nation. These 'anti-national' women were therefore presented in such a way that they were incompatible with victimhood as their suffering was framed as just.

Given the shared discourses of female immorality and national threat across the two cases, it is helpful to locate these views within a longer history of misogyny and the patriarchal framing of women as socially destabilising agents. In her article 'The Disorder of Women,' Carole Pateman traces the emergence of political thought that identifies women as 'a permanently subversive force within the political order,'²⁹² citing Rousseau and Freud. In particular, she quotes Freud's claim in *Civilisation and its Discontents* that a community creates 'its enemy for itself within its own gates

²⁹¹ Manuel Velasco Haro, 'Consecuencias de la ocupación militar en la sierra sur de Sevilla y el noroeste Malagueño', *Memòria Antifranquista del Baix Llobregat*, La represión franquista en Andalucía, 11, 2011, p.12.

²⁹² Carole Pateman, 'The Disorder of Women: Women, Love, and the Sense of Justice', *Ethics*, 91, 1 (1980), p.20.

[in] womankind in general.’²⁹³ This narrative of women as a perpetual internal enemy foregrounds women’s fundamental untrustworthiness and points to the need for women to be contained in order to protect the social order. Similarly, Françoise Banat highlights that although only between 5 to 10% of women globally undergo judicial proceedings and incarceration, women have had to carry the symbolic burden of being the ‘granddaughter of Pandora, of Medea, of Eve and of so many other figures of subversion in the world.’²⁹⁴ This punitive obsession with devious women appears unsurprising when figures of female subversion, criminality and threat litter the European cultural and religious consciousness.

According to this misogynistic logic, women represent social disorder and therefore may appear incompatible with traditional understandings of victimhood, particularly as punishment and social controls placed on women can be justified as a means of safeguarding a society’s future stability. In post-war France and Spain, women were believed to be the linchpins of national revival following the trauma of conflict; they were ‘responsible for the regeneration of the patria’²⁹⁵ which could be facilitated by a return to domesticity, and therefore women believed to have betrayed the nation through their relationships or their politics were viewed as a threat to the social and national order. Punitive violence, such as shaming and head shaving, therefore appears to represent ‘a means of maintaining and reinforcing male power and subjugation of women,’²⁹⁶ as the new male authorities were understood to be the protectors of civilisation, while conversely, dissident women represented social disintegration and disorder due to their ‘essential subversiveness.’²⁹⁷

Similarly, if women were having sexual relationships with the enemy and could potentially fall pregnant, this was at odds with national missions of reconstruction in France and Spain, as the enemy could continue to infiltrate society via their offspring.²⁹⁸ This in turn justified the targeting

²⁹³ Sigmund Freud, *Civilisation and its Discontents*, cited in Carole Pateman, ‘The Disorder of Women: Women, Love, and the Sense of Justice’, p.20.

²⁹⁴ ‘Une femme criminelle est – forcément – un monstre, petite-fille de Pandore, de Médée, d’Eve et de tant d’autres figures de la subversion du monde dont on recherche la marque du diable.’ Françoise Banat, ‘Des vestiges de papier’, in Fanny Bugnon, Julie Doyon, Pierre Fournié, Michel Porret, Annick Tillier and Fabrice Virgili (eds.), *Présumées coupables : les grands procès faits aux femmes*, (Paris: Iconoclaste, 2016), p.4.

²⁹⁵ ‘Las mujeres eran vistas, pues, como las depositarias de la moral, las encargadas de la regeneración de la patria tras la hecatombe republicana.’ Raquel Osborne, ‘Introducción.’ In Raquel Osborne (ed.) *Mujeres bajo sospecha: memoria y sexualidad 1930-1980*, (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2012), p.10.

²⁹⁶ David Ghanim, *Gender and Violence in the Middle East*, (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2009), p.59.

²⁹⁷ Carole Pateman, ‘The Disorder of Women: Women, Love, and the Sense of Justice’, p.20.

²⁹⁸ Nationalist concerns regarding French women having children with the foreign occupier are discussed in Fabrice Virgili’s study *Naitre ennemi : les enfants de couples franco-allemands nés pendant la Seconde*

of pregnant women and women with young children born of their anti-national relationships for violent punishment in both case studies; such as in case of the most emblematic *tondue* in France, depicted in the Robert Capa photograph 'La tondue de Chartres', where the shorn woman is pictured clasping her baby to her chest as a visual marker of her guilt. Such women were often separated from their children for weeks to months during their incarceration, often on dubious grounds.²⁹⁹ Similarly in Spain, there are countless testimonies of violence inflicted on pregnant women and women with young children from their relationships with Republican men, including head shaving, incarceration and execution; young children were sometimes imprisoned with their mothers in female prisons, such as in the infamous female prison Las Ventas in Madrid.³⁰⁰ However, dissident women could also be separated from their children as a means of guaranteeing their moral and religious conversion as part of the Francoist reconstruction of society.³⁰¹ As a result, in the aftermath of the two conflicts, despite political differences, there were remarkably similar tensions in the two countries emerging from the endorsement of socially conservative discourses that represented women as traditional 'mothers of the nation.'³⁰² These attitudes towards women's role in society contributes to explaining the perceived need to punish politically and sexually dissident women as they presented a threat to national reconstruction.

2.3 Who were the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*?

Head shaving cut across all layers of society and occurred in both rural and urban settings. In France, it was widespread to the point that French historian Christine Bard asked the question: which town did not have its own *tondue*?³⁰³ Similarly, Enrique González Duro argues that victims

Guerre mondiale (Paris: Payots & Rivages, 2009). Similarly, in the Spanish case, Mercedes Carbayo-Abengózar analyses the cultural emphasis on Spanish women needing to be 'mothers' of a 'pure nation' during Franco's dictatorship. See Mercedes Carbayo-Abengózar, 'Shaping women: national identity through the use of language in Franco's Spain.' *Nations and Nationalism*, 7, 1 (2001), p.88.

²⁹⁹ The prison correspondence from the infamous 'tondue de Chartres' includes a plea to the judge for her release in March 1946 due to fears for her daughter, who had been left behind when she and her mother were arrested, as she had already spent over 18 months in different camps and prisons due to suspicions of intelligence with the enemy, via her romantic relationships. AN Z5 194 7393.

³⁰⁰ César Lorenzo Rubio, 'Femmes et mères dans les prisons de Franco : Une approche de l'endoctrinement religieux et des privations matérielles dans le système carcéral espagnol pendant la dictature' *Champ pénal/ Penal field*, XI (2014). Accessed online on 10th September 2020 at <http://journals.openedition.org/champpenal/8750>.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Mercedes Carbayo-Abengózar, 'Shaping women: national identity through the use of language in Franco's Spain.' *Nations and Nationalism*, 7, 1 (2001), p.80.

³⁰³ Christine Bard, *Les femmes dans la société française au vingtième siècle*, (Paris: A. Colin, 2001), p.151.

of head shaving are embedded in collective memory of the conflict across Spain: 'the victims [...] remained imprinted in the collective imaginary of the entire population.'³⁰⁴ The clearest commonality is the gender-specific selection of victims; the use of head shaving against men was marginal in France, although there are some recorded instances, but claims of inappropriate relationships were not levelled at men as a justification for head shaving.³⁰⁵ In Spain, there are cases of men having their heads shaved alongside women as a means of humiliation³⁰⁶ and 'in certain cases, Republican men were obliged to shave women from their own side [...] in this way, it was a double humiliation for the enemy'.³⁰⁷ However, the combined practices of head shaving, castor oil ingestion and parading had an undeniably female focus in Spain. As Frances Lannon argues, post-war repression targeted those who had 'behaved in a perverse way, not only as individuals who had taken political stances, but also as women.'³⁰⁸ It is for this reason that the use of head shaving and humiliation unites multiple demographics of women in both countries, cross-cutting generational, professional and class divides.

In France, what is often the only characteristic that unites those targeted for head shaving and humiliation is that they were overwhelmingly women, and that women were generally more likely to have their heads shaved if they found themselves, by chance or volition, in professional or personal proximity with the German occupiers: prominent examples include female traders, teachers, cleaners, nurses, prostitutes and landlords.³⁰⁹ There is not a clear profile: all social and

³⁰⁴ 'Las victimas quedaban marcadas indefiniblemente, aunque no tuvieran secuelas físicas, pero si quedaron grabadas en el imaginario colectivo de toda la población'. Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.45.

³⁰⁵ Virgili highlights that beatings, being partially or fully stripped, and being marked with swastikas also occurred to men, but the motivations differed significantly, and sexual or romantic relationships were not a reason for violence in the case of men. Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, pp.243-244.

³⁰⁶ The only case I have located of men facing head shaving was the case of Joaquin Gutierrez Luque who had his head shaved alongside a group of women who were part of the JSU (Unified Socialist Youth) in Montilla, a small town outside of Cordoba. See Arcángel Bedmar *Los Puños y las Pistolas: La represión en Montilla (1936-44)* (Lucena: Imprenta Caballero, 2009), p.62

³⁰⁷ Joly explains that 'en ciertos casos, los hombres republicanos son obligados a rapar a las mujeres de su propio campo [...] de este modo se humilla doblemente al enemigo.' Maud Joly, 'Las violencias sexuadas de la guerra civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto,' p.98.

³⁰⁸ 'Se habían comportado de forma perversa, no solo como individuos que toman opciones políticas, sino también como mujeres.' Frances Lannon, 'Los cuerpos de las mujeres y el cuerpo político católico: autoridades e identidades en conflicto en España durante las décadas de 1920 a 1930', p.79

³⁰⁹ Dominique François, *Femmes tondues : La diabolisation de la femme en 1944, Les bûchers de la Libération* p.96.

socio-professional categories were affected.³¹⁰ It is also important to note that this extra-judicial violence, such as head shaving and sexualised violence, was often accompanied by judicial process; judicial punishment and extra-judicial violence frequently intersect in the case of the *tondues*. Police records attest that women arrested for the malleable and often moralising crime of ‘national indignity’ often had also faced head shaving and violence, although it is important to note that this violence was only recorded as an extraneous detail within women’s police files as suspected collaborators, and head shaving was not categorised as a crime in itself.

It is commented upon in documentation of the purges that women accused of crimes of collaboration tended to be younger than their male counterparts, they often had families and they occupied varied professional roles. For example, in a report from Haute-Loire it is noted that women are ‘generally younger than their masculine counterparts [...] amongst the women accused, there are some Germans [...] the majority of women are married, often housewives [...] they do not hold very specialised professional roles.’³¹¹ The report goes on to list the occupations of women accused of collaboration, which includes farmers and maids, including one maid who complained to the Germans about the violence she experienced at the hands of her husband,³¹² and other more middle-class women are listed, including the daughter of a vet and the wife of a doctor. Similarly, in a report regarding the purges in Finistère, it is observed that of the women who faced the harshest penalties for collaboration, the majority were aged between 18 and 30 years of age.³¹³ This largely correlates with Virgili’s observation that many of the women who experienced head shaving due to allegations of collaboration had ‘complementary but contradictory’ profiles, which were marked by ‘relative youth’, ‘majority single’ and being ‘employed.’³¹⁴ It is therefore impossible to identify a

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ ‘Elles sont généralement plus jeunes que leurs partenaires masculins. Parmi les accusées, figurent quelques Allemandes [...] La plupart des femmes accusées sont mariées, souvent mères de famille. Sauf exception, elles ne remplissent pas de fonctions professionnelles très spécialisées.’ AN 72AJ 3221, Haute-Loire.

³¹² In Jean-Marc Berlière and Franck Liaigre, *Ainsi finissent les salauds. Séquestrations et exécutions clandestines dans Paris libéré*, (Paris : Éditions Robert Laffont, 2012), Berlière and Liaigre point to the vulnerability of women who had ended relationships with men, who would go on to claim being part of the Resistance. They evoke the case of Roger Milet, who denounced his wife for reporting his violence against her to the German authorities, who would later be arrested following the Liberation for denunciation (pp.84-85).

³¹³ AN 72AJ 2567, Finistère.

³¹⁴ Virgili explains that the profile of the *tondues* has ‘éléments complémentaires, mais contradictoires’, as they were characterised by ‘une relative jeunesse, un célibat majoritaire, une activité professionnelle plus importante mais dans des métiers moins stables.’ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.230.

‘unique profile’, as there are cases of head shaving against different demographics: women and their sisters and mothers, wives of prisoners of war, wives of collaborators, divorced women and single women.³¹⁵ There were varying degrees of alleged collaboration amongst this diverse cohort; some of these women worked for or alongside the occupiers out of necessity, some women fell in love with soldiers, and some women were accused of denouncing neighbours and belonging to collaborationist groups. However, these nuances were lost during the Liberation, when these diverse cohorts of women faced condemnation and extrajudicial violence, regardless of whether they had ‘spent time with the Germans to get a decent square meal or simply to have a good time’ or if they had been ‘in complete agreement with their activities and political ends.’³¹⁶ Similarly, it is important to emphasise that it was only women that faced this degree of scrutiny regarding their wartime behaviour; Desmarais argues that the decisions made by these women, including the infamous ‘horizontal collaborators’, were not fundamentally different to those made and faced by the majority of French people during the Occupation.³¹⁷ The most common age range of women targeted for head shaving was 20 to 25-year-old women, although there are also adolescents and women over 50 included in Virgili’s 586-woman sample, showing the diverse profiles of women who were targeted and the variety of motivations evoked to justify their suffering.

The most visible profile of the *femmes tondues* were women accused of having had relationships with German soldiers, with the most infamous example in the French case being the ‘tondue of Chartres’. In a 2011 study titled *La tondue 1944-1947*,³¹⁸ the woman in question was revealed to be 23-year-old French-German interpreter Simone Touseau who had a child with a German officer. The image was reproduced worldwide as part of Robert Capa’s collection on the Liberation and it has often been used as an emblematic snapshot of the post-war purges in France. Cecile Bishop does however highlight that many of the women who faced head shaving were not accused of having sexual relations with Germans but that the ‘mise-en-scène of their humiliation and punishment’ was often sexualised, as perpetrators would force women ‘to walk naked or partially undressed on the street, inscribe the swastika on their face or body, smear mud over their breasts and genitals.’³¹⁹

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*, p.82.

³¹⁷ Women who slept with German soldiers were frequently referred to as ‘collaboratrices horizontales.’ Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.55.

³¹⁸ Gérard Leray and Philippe Frégné, *La tondue 1944-1947*, (Editions Vendémiaire: Paris, 2011).

³¹⁹ Cecile Bishop, ‘Photography, Race and Invisibility: The Liberation of Paris, in Black and White’, p.201.

This evidences the connection between head shaving and sexualised violence, and the focus on marking women's bodies as part of their public humiliation.

The testimony of Odile de Vasselot, a former resister who was mistakenly arrested as she attempted to leave newly liberated Paris to pass on a message to Amiens, highlights the misogynistic attitudes that drove head shaving and left young women particularly vulnerable to violence. When the 22-year-old member of the Comet Line³²⁰ was arrested by resisters in the outer suburbs of Paris, she claimed that during her multiple interrogations, resisters did not believe her story. They assumed she had had relationships with the Nazi occupiers and that she was fleeing due to fears of reprisals: they repeatedly asked her 'have you done something bad with the Germans?'³²¹ Despite her protestations, she was taken from 'police station to police station' before ending up at the Prefecture, where the FFI commander 'wanted to make her confess' and 'spat on the ground in front of her,' and called her a 'dirty fucking bitch'. Her account details the night she then spent in a cell with other women who had also been arrested for alleged collaboration, many of whom had undergone head shaving.

There were 16 women sat on the floor. Some had already been there for 8 days, since the beginning of the Liberation of Paris. They had been arrested because they had [pause] slept with Germans or because they had done something wrong, I don't know [...] There were some who had been shorn, who even had a swastika painted on their foreheads. There was one who was crying, thinking of her children who had been left all alone at home and who would be completely lost without their mother.³²²

This account evidences the moral hostility³²³ felt towards women accused of relationships or allegiance with Nazi occupiers during this period, and the sexual focus of targeted women's apparent crimes. De Vasselot herself appears to have internalised these narratives as she assumes

³²⁰ The Comet Line (Réseau Comète) was a resistance organization based in France and Belgium, which helped to smuggle out Allied soldiers back to the UK.

³²¹ 'Mais, ma petite dame, pourquoi est-ce que vous voulez aller chez les Allemands ? Les Américains sont à Paris. Est-ce que vous avez fait quelque chose de mal avec les Allemands ?' Interview with Odile de Vasselot, 7th March 2018.

³²² 'Nous étions seize déjà, assises par terre, des femmes assises par terre. Il y en a qui étaient là depuis huit jours déjà, depuis le début de la libération de Paris. On les avait interpellées parce qu'elles avaient [elle hausse les épaules] couché avec les Allemands ou parce qu'elles avaient fait je ne sais pas quoi du mal. Il y en avait qui étaient tondues, qui avaient même une croix gammée peinte sur la peau du crâne. [...] Il y en avait une autre qui pleurait, en pensant à ses enfants qui étaient tous seuls chez elle et qui sont peut-être perdus de ne pas avoir leur maman.' Ibid.

³²³ Annette Warring, 'Aimer l'ennemi au Danemark', in François Rouquet, Fabrice Virgili and Daniele Voldman (eds.) *Amours, guerres et sexualité 1914-1945* (Gallimard: Paris, 2007), p.132.

the shorn women must have 'slept with Germans or [...] done something wrong.' As a young woman, she was presumed guilty of having relationships with German soldiers, meriting insults ('dirty fucking bitch'). This signals the ease with which women could be accused of anti-national crimes and the quick presumption of their culpability. As noted by Hanna Diamond, 'at the Liberation, women who had been seen with Germans were in danger of being punished by the local population.'³²⁴ Certain demographics of women, such as younger women and women who came into contact with German soldiers for professional reasons, were frequently assumed to be in cahoots with the occupiers or to be sleeping with them. Women's personal lives came under the utmost scrutiny during this period: understandings of collaboration 'crystallised' in the image of deviant and deceitful 'female traitors',³²⁵ thereby leaving French women generally vulnerable to public reprisals such as head shaving, while also being excluded from any claim to victimhood.

Similarly, women across Spanish society were targeted for head shaving during and following the Spanish Civil War. While the reason for head shaving was ostensibly a means of publicly punishing leftist women, many of the targeted women had little tangible connection to politics which could be proven. The violence of public head shaving and practices of humiliation were utilised 'as a way of stigmatising and labelling the deviant' and for women, 'head shaving acquires an extra meaning connected to the violation and mutilation of the female body, and with the dispossession of femininity.'³²⁶ As such, while some women may have been targeted for their political ties, such as being actively engaged in the Republican cause, other women were targeted as social 'deviants' who did not adhere to the Francoist paradigm of femininity. Therefore, much like in the French case, women targeted by this practice in Spain were heterogenous and do not fit one simple profile. Like Virgili's theorisation of the diverse demographics affected by head shaving, Joly points out that there are numerous 'contradictory' profiles: '*las mujeres rapadas* constitute a heterogenous group [...] which impedes the elaboration of a rigid typology.'³²⁷ This heterogenous group included wives and partners of the enemy, female teachers, working class women (primarily activists), women

³²⁴ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*, p.82.

³²⁵ 'Une définition à certains égards élastique de ce que signifiait « collaborer » et qui se cristallisa à un moment sur les femmes : les traîtresses.' Fabrice Virgili, 'La tondue de la Libération : La traîtresse', p.231.

³²⁶ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, 'Locks of hair/locks of shame? Women, dissidence, and punishment during Francisco Franco's dictatorship', p.423.

³²⁷ Maud Joly clarifies that '*las mujeres rapadas* constituyen un conjunto heteróclito [...] lo cual impide toda elaboración de una tipología rígida.' 'Las violencias sexuadas de la guerra civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto,' p.96.

engaged in the Republican war effort, mothers of combatants, female intellectuals and the wives of imprisoned men.³²⁸

Much like in the French case, studies of women imprisoned for posing a danger to the state point to a relatively young age range: Matilde Eiroa found that of the 710 women imprisoned in Malaga from the end of the war until 1942, 85% were aged between 21 and 40.³²⁹ Pura Sánchez also notes that the majority of women who faced public violence and prison sentences were typically aged between 20 and 40, married and the majority were illiterate, pointing to a primarily working class cohort in Andalusia.³³⁰ There are also a number of cases of adolescents being arrested and facing violence alongside much older women, such as known cases of head shaving against 16-year-olds and 65-year-olds in Saturrarán prison in the Basque Country.³³¹ Younger and older women alike were targeted due to being family members or partners of known leftists or Republican soldiers: Gregorio Herrero Balsa and Antonio Hernández García evoke an incident in Soria as part of their exploration of post-conflict repression in which two young women ‘Soledad Pesquera (16) and miss Hernández (whose brother Victor was in jail) [...] had their heads shaved’ and were forced to go daily to the local government building, rendering them ‘targets of mockery and ridicule.’³³² Similarly, left-wing newspaper *El Liberal* recounts an incident of an elderly woman having her head shaved in Seville in October 1936, suggesting that she was targeted as she was the mother of a well-known Republican fighter.³³³ The vulnerability of women connected to the left is highlighted in this information report from Extremadura in December 1936, which included statements from leftists who had escaped following the Francoist takeover: ‘they are killing leftists for insignificant reasons [...] women whose husbands had fled were threatened with rape and

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Matilde Eiroa San Francisco, *Viva Franco. Hambre, racionamiento, falangismo. Málaga, 1939-1942*, (Málaga: Artes Gráf. Aprisa, 1995), p.244.

³³⁰ Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.90.

³³¹ Eva Jiménez Martín, Ander León Nanclares, Izaskun Orbegoza Oronoz, Laura Pego Otero, Ana Isabel Pérez Machío, Laura Vozmediano Sanz, *Situación penitenciaria de las mujeres presas en la cárcel de Saturrarán durante la guerra civil española y la primera posguerra: Hacia la recuperación de su memoria* (Guipúzcoa: Instituto Vasco de Criminología, 2012), p.175.

³³² ‘Soledad Pesquera (16 años), señorita Hernández (su hermano Víctor estaba en la cárcel) y dos peluqueras (que desde entonces fueron conocidas por el apodo de ‘las Pelonas’) fueron rapadas al cero, obligándoseles a presentarse diariamente en el Gobierno Civil, siendo muchas veces objeto de mofa y escarnio durante el trayecto.’ Gregorio Herrero Balsa and Antonio Hernández García, *La represión en Soria durante la guerra civil*. (Soria: Ingrabel, 1982), p.15.

³³³ BVPHE, *El Liberal*, ‘Un paso trágico en Sevilla’, 24 October 1936.

insulted with words and shameful acts.³³⁴ It appears that women often served as a proxy for violence against the Republic and women were particularly vulnerable when Republican men were in battle or had been forced to flee, which was common in newly fascist zones; municipalities in Andalusia, such as Montilla, were described as being a town of only women because the majority of men were forced to flee during the conflict.³³⁵ One of most well-known photographs of women who faced head shaving in Spain points to the use of head shaving against civilian women of various ages and backgrounds, alongside the head shaving of political activists and female militants. The photograph taken in the small town of Oropesa, Toledo, shows four women of varying ages in dresses and shawls with shaven heads, one of whom is holding a small child to her chest.³³⁶

It is therefore important to emphasise that many of the women affected by head shaving and accusations of national crimes were not necessarily engaged in politics, much in the same way that many women who faced head shaving and accusations of collaboration in France were not necessarily active in collaborationist movements in France. Hanna Diamond notes that the view that ‘all women who spent time with Germans were necessarily displaying an in-depth commitment to collaboration would be to oversimplify women’s motivations.’³³⁷ Similarly, Spanish women were often targeted as a means of humiliating the enemy or because their personal lives and behaviour did not fit the image of femininity proposed by the Francoists and the emergent Women’s Section of the *Falange (Sección Femenina)*, which promoted traditional values and female subservience: a woman was expected to obey and teach other women to obey through her example.³³⁸ Shirley Mangini draws from a testimony from Carmen Camaño, a university student who was imprisoned at the end of the Spanish Civil War, to show how women who deviated from the Francoist model of traditional femininity were perceived to be ‘Red whores’ and they could face physical assault, sexual violence and humiliation: ‘the first thing the police did when a woman entered jail was to try to take advantage of her [...] if that was impossible – beatings, head shaving,

³³⁴ ‘Asesinan gente de izquierdas por causas insignificantes. Que las mujeres que tiene (sic) sus maridos huidos las amenazan con violarlas y las maltraten con palabras, y hechos vergonzosos.’ AGGCE, Sección de Información “Informes sobre frentes”, 731, Incorporados, 8.3 Declaraciones de evadidos.

³³⁵ Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra: la represión y la guerrilla (1939-1950)*, (Francisco Baena: Cordoba, 1987), p.94.

³³⁶ ‘Cuatro mujeres rapadas por los franquistas en Oropesa (Toledo) por ser familiares de republicanos.’ Fundación Pablo Iglesias. ‘Dos familiares de una desaparecida declaran por la investigación argentina sobre la represión franquista contra las mujeres’, *El Diario*, 19 June 2019. Accessed online on 22nd July 2019 at https://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/investigacion-argentina-represion-franquista-mujeres_1_1499497.html.

³³⁷ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*, p.83

³³⁸ Olga Kenyon, ‘Women under Franco and PSOE: The Discrepancy between Discourse and Reality’, p.54.

cod liver oil; if she was easy, she was discredited for the rest of her life [...] anyone who wasn't the Virgin Mary type was a tart.³³⁹ This testimony highlights that despite the violent behaviour of the Francoist authorities, it was the women whose reputations were questioned and they were further 'discredited' by the violence they endured.

The testimony of María Dolores Sánchez Sánchez, the great-granddaughter of Ramona Navarro Ibañez, who was killed in her early twenties alongside 16 other women from Guillena who also faced head shaving at the hands of the *Falange* in 1937, highlights that women were often targeted for other reasons than their own political activity.

The most important thing you can say about them [the 17 women] is that they did not have any link to political parties, trade unions or an active political life [...] It was simply that they were connected romantically or by blood with men who were involved with trade unions or leftist parties. We officially know that only one of them [pause] we did find documentation proving that one of them was a member of the Communist party. The rest, as I said, were targeted due to a romantic or family link or for knowing how to read.

Those are the reasons and the murders occurred at the end of 1937 after they had been incarcerated [...] and after they had been humiliated in the church, some of them had been shaved, and they had taken [pause] been forced to take castor oil, then they were killed by members of the *Falange* in the town of Gerena.³⁴⁰

Here, María Dolores Sánchez Sánchez emphasises that many of the women who were targeted did not pose a political or military threat, but were rather connected 'romantically or by blood' to male leftists. Traditional norms of domestic femininity were also evoked as a means of justifying punishment: one of the women was supposedly targeted for being able to read. This may be a particularity of Andalusia, which had high rates of female illiteracy during this period.³⁴¹ Women

³³⁹ Carmen Camaño, cited in Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, pp.105-106.

³⁴⁰ 'Lo más importante que se pueda decir de ellas es que no tenían ninguna vinculación a partidos políticos sindicatos o una vida política activa, ¿vale? [...] Simplemente era que estaban relacionadas o sentimentalmente o familiarmente con hombres que sí tenían una actividad sindical o [pausa] o política. Que, sepamos oficialmente solamente una de ellas [pause] sí hemos encontrado documentación que sí estaba afiliada al Partido Comunista. El resto ya digo, era por vinculación familiar o sentimental y por saber leer por ejemplo también.

Esos son los, digamos, los motivos y estos asesinatos ocurrieron a las finales de 1937 después de haber estado encarcelada en los calabozos que había antes en esa época en el Ayuntamiento del pueblo y después de haber sido humilladas en la iglesia, rapadas algunas, y después de haber tomado [pausa] obligadas a tomar aceite de ricino, fueron asesinadas por falangistas en el pueblo de Gerena.' Interview with María Dolores Sánchez Sánchez, 13th November 2017.

³⁴¹ In 1931, illiteracy in Spain still stood at 40%, but Second Republic reforms aimed to improve education, with the plan of creating 27,000 new schools. See José Álvarez Junco, 'Education and the Limits of Liberalism,'

in many of the towns and villages in Andalusia were illiterate and typically worked at home, in the fields or in jobs that were specific to each town during this period.³⁴²

In contrast to working-class women in civilian zones, female militants (*milicianas*) and women actively engaged with the Republican cause also faced head shaving if they were captured by the Francoists. Famed *miliciana*, Mika Etchebéhère, who headed the POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) militia and was active in *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women – an anarchist women's organisation), highlighted that head shaving was a feared punishment of many female fighters. She claimed that her friend Nati 'used to have long pigtails' but had 'cut them off, because you know, if we fall into the hands of the fascists they'll shave our heads, so it's better to have short hair.'³⁴³ Here, Etchebéhère suggests that head shaving was used as a standard practice against female fighters, which women took active steps to avoid. Much like in newly liberated France, it is clear that many different demographics of women were targeted by head shaving, humiliation and other associated acts of violence, including politically active women and women who were related to or suspected of having sympathies for the enemy. As Carlota O'Neill, a writer imprisoned during the Civil War, recounts in her memoir: 'in the street, they were talking of "female reds", of lawless women, of condemned and lost women.'³⁴⁴ Therefore, much like the narrative of the female collaborator as a 'traitor' which was evoked in France, a comparative discourse of the treacherous female 'red' was evoked to justify the targeting of diverse groups of Spanish women. In this way, we can see that women were targeted in similar ways across the two case studies. The ways in which these targeted women were subsequently represented in police reports, documentation and press accounts will be analysed in the following section.

in Helen Graham, and Jo Labanyi, (eds.). *Spanish Cultural Studies : An Introduction : The Struggle for Modernity*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.45-52.

³⁴² Encarnación Barranquero Texeira, 'Mujeres malagueñas en la represión franquista a través de las fuentes escritas y orales', *HAOL*, no. 12, Winter (2007), p.87.

³⁴³ Mika Etchebéhère cited in Lisa Lines, 'Female Combatants in the Spanish Civil War: Milicianas on the Front Lines and in the Rearguard', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, Volume 10, Issue 4, May 2009, p.181.

³⁴⁴ 'En la calle se hablaba de las "rojas", de las mujeres sin ley, de las mujeres condenadas y perdidas.' Carlota O'Neill, *Una mujer en la guerra de España*, p.61.

2.4 Subsequent framing of targeted women in police reports, military documentation and press accounts

While targeted women were presented as a national threat in the press and public discourse before incidents occurred, as a means of mobilising violence framed as punishment, it is illuminating to explore how these perceptions filtered into the accounts and police and military documentation of particular women's cases and the reporting of incidents. This will cast light on how targeted women were viewed by the new authorities in the two countries in the form of police, judicial and military officials.

Press coverage and accounts of the punishment of female 'traitors' are particularly instructive in terms of understanding how violence against these women was understood and legitimised, alongside the judicial process. As previously highlighted, not all women who faced violence such as head shaving also faced imprisonment and trial. However, the intersection between judicial and extra-judicial punishment is considerable enough in both cases for an examination of these judicial sources to be illuminating, particularly as there is little official documentation of extra-judicial violence in the Spanish context. As Yannick Ripa explains, most official Francoist documentation of female punishment has been manipulated.³⁴⁵ In some cases, we see references to head shaving, either in terms of notes taken by the police or military, or in terms of the women's own testimony or press reports written by the Republicans. In this way, we can explore how attitudes towards enemy women are expressed, and how violence against these women is understood.

Highly gendered and often explicitly misogynistic language is littered throughout police and military documentation in both cases, vacillating between tropes of excessive sexuality and national threat. In France, this is particularly evident in judicial documentation of women accused of having romantic or sexual relationships with German soldiers; the French police filed and categorised arrest reports against these women under 'horizontal collaboration'³⁴⁶, a euphemistic term evoking the sexual nature of their apparent crimes, and at the Parisian police headquarters, women's criminal files were filed under the subcategory 'mistresses of the Germans,'³⁴⁷ evidencing the tight

³⁴⁵ 'En dépit des problèmes posés par les sources, manipulées par le franquisme et en partie détruites, il est possible d'affirmer que la tonte est contemporaine du soulèvement nationaliste, qu'elle accompagne la marche des forces nationalistes, qu'elle touche toute l'Espagne et se poursuit, la victoire acquise.' Yannick Ripa, 'À propos des tondues durant la guerre civile espagnole', p.2.

³⁴⁶ AN Collaboration Horizontale, BB18 7133.

³⁴⁷ APP Police Judiciaire, 114 W 10.

interweaving between criminality and female sexuality. This prurient interest into women's private lives and sexuality is replicated throughout arrest reports and witness statements, framing women's allegedly excessive sexual desires as criminal: one woman was accused of being engaged to a lieutenant in the German army, is described as having 'loose morals',³⁴⁸ another is accused of having relationships with German soldiers, is described as a 'woman [...] leading a bad life'³⁴⁹ and another was accused of having a relationship with a German soldier, is depicted in her arrest report as having displayed 'scandalous behaviour'³⁵⁰ during the Occupation. Beyond this moralising and stigmatising language, which evokes views of excessive female sexuality, there are also instances of neighbours and acquaintances offering salacious stories to add weight to allegations of female collaboration: one woman was accused of having received lots of German soldiers at her hotel and to have potentially contributed to the black market, is described by a neighbour as having 'encouraged the deplorable attitude of her daughter in the intimate relationships she entertained with German soldiers' and having arranged 'orgies until the latest hours of the night.'³⁵¹ Allegations of immorality or an exaggerated interest in sex pepper police reports investigating claims of female collaboration, suggesting that women's sexuality was key to their perceived anti-national behaviour.

The moralistic focus on women's sexual behaviour in police and judicial documentation evidences the blurring of the division between public and private life for women during the Liberation. Similarly, it testifies to the infiltration of misogynistic discourses of female treachery and deviant sexuality into the judicial realm during the purges. This shines a light on the subsequent process of shaming dissident women through acts such as head shaving. As Ruth Kitchens highlights, shame has a more powerful social function than guilt: 'shame concerns the negative judgment of an individual as a person whereas guilt concerns deliberately committing a forbidden act.'³⁵² In this way, women were not simply perceived as guilty of committing a legal infraction, but were rather stigmatised as shameful individuals, illustrated by judicial documentation which evokes vague crimes, such as 'direct or indirect aid to Germany', and focuses on their immorality, evoked by their

³⁴⁸ She is described as having 'mœurs légères' in a report signed by the local police commissioner. AN Z6 41 701.

³⁴⁹ She is described as a 'femme [...] de mauvaise vie' in a report signed by the local police commissioner. ADIV 214 W 55.

³⁵⁰ Her 'conduite scandaleuse' was emphasised in a transcript of police hearing. ADIV 214 W 55.

³⁵¹ 'Elle a encouragé l'attitude déplorable de sa fille [...] dans les relations intimes qu'elle entretenait avec les soldats Allemands' and allegedly organised 'orgies jusqu'aux heures les plus tardives de la nuit.' AN Z5 33 1317.

³⁵² Ruth Kitchen, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*, p.67.

illicit sexual behaviour. This melding of judicial and moral judgements against women can be seen through the language of ‘national degradation’ and ‘national indignity’, evoking a sense of moral decay during the Occupation, which is further bolstered by depictions of French women as sexual libertines. Here, we can see the process of targeted violence against these women being retrospectively justified, as women are presented as sexual collaborators and immoral traitors. In this same vein, the head shaving of a 20-year-old is curtly explained and justified by the Mayor of Bréhat in her police file: ‘[she] had her head shaved because she was reproached for having slept with German soldiers.’³⁵³ In this example, a local official presents a young woman’s sexual behaviour as an explanation for head shaving, without any note of condemnation for the act itself. Furthermore, the incident of head shaving was recorded in the document not as a crime, but rather as an addendum to her own criminal charges, meaning that despite being targeted for head shaving, she is understood to be a criminal and not a victim.

While sexuality formed the basis of many women’s perceived infractions, the narrative of the sexually deviant female collaborator also leaks into cases of suspected collaboration which were not explicitly sexual in nature. An example of a *tonte* in Paris is particularly evocative in this regard. A 36-year-old woman who ran a bar in Paris was accused of having pro-German sympathies and favouring German customers, based on one denunciation. However, despite the tenuous nature of the accusation, she had her head and pubic hair shaved before being paraded naked through the streets.³⁵⁴ The description of her ‘punishment’ by an FFI resister who collected her from her house, reveals the sexual stigmatisation of female collaborators, even if their alleged crimes were not overtly sexual: ‘[they] stripped her and walked her through the streets; she let it happen, without saying a word, she did not even blush.’³⁵⁵ During this undeniably brutal ordeal led by the FFI, the woman is depicted as having no shame. According to the account, she let it happen and was not ashamed when dragged through the streets naked, thereby blaming her for the violence she endured. This account implies the dehumanisation of the *femmes tondues* via the explicit weaponising of sexual shame and stigma. As Ruth Kitchens highlights, ‘there is no way of being rehabilitated from shame [...] it is not possible to make reparations for being a shameful person.’³⁵⁶

³⁵³ ‘La demoiselle [...] a été tonduée parce qu’on lui reprochait d’avoir couché avec les soldats Allemands.’ ADIV 214 W 55.

³⁵⁴ AN Z 6SN 104 40420.

³⁵⁵ ‘[Ils] l’ont déshabillée et promenée dans la rue ; elle s’est laissée faire, sans rien dire ; elle n’a même pas rougi.’ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ruth Kitchens, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*, p.68.

In this case, she did not exhibit the appropriate feminine shame response while she underwent this ordeal, according to resisters, and she is therefore further stigmatised by the violence she endured in her judicial file.

The stigmatisation of certain women and the logic of head shaving as a corrective violence is also seen in the framing of these incidents in the Resistance press. An article entitled ‘The real women of France’ in the *La Marseillaise*³⁵⁷ which was published at the height of the purging fervour of the Liberation, seemed to not only justify but also celebrate violence against female ‘traitors’ who had been seen with German soldiers.

They have been arrested by our valiant FFIs, who have shaved their heads. They are therefore **publicly** wearing the mark of their infamy [...]

Doubly prostituted, they are [...] rejected from the heart of the French Nation because, due to FEAR or PERSONAL GAIN, they agreed to SERVE the enemy.³⁵⁸

Crucially, this article unabashedly frames women who faced head shaving as ‘prostitutes’; it highlights that targeted women’s ‘crime’ was sexual in nature, and signals that they were ‘rejected from the heart of the French Nation’ and were ‘publicly’ marked by their infamy via head shaving. Similarly, the sardonic headline, ‘The real women of France’, perpetuates discourses of shorn women as anti-national and marks a distinction between the *femmes tondues* and ‘true French women’, who had bravely resisted the German Occupation. Later in the article, the example of a 16-year-old girl who faced torture at the hands of the Gestapo and refused to give up names of resisters is evoked as an example of feminine self-sacrifice for the nation.³⁵⁹ Furthermore, the male perpetrators of the head shaving are valorised as ‘valiant FFI’ and ‘patriots’, underscoring the lines of exclusion between France’s proud male patriots and its depraved female enemies, who are characterised by ‘cowardice’ and ‘lack of conscience.’ This approach is replicated in *Assaut*, an FTP

³⁵⁷ A communist paper founded in 1943.

³⁵⁸ ‘Elles ont été arrêtées par nos vaillants F.F.I., qui leur ont rasé la tête. – Elles portent ainsi **publiquement**, la marque de leur infamie. [...]

Doublement prostituées, elles [...] rejetés du sein de la Nation Française, tous ceux, hommes et femmes, qui, par PEUR ou par INTERET, ont consenti à SERVIR l’ennemi.’ ADBR, Conseil départemental 13, 419 PHI 1, ‘Les vraies femmes de France’, *La Marseillaise*, 25 August 1944. This article is also available online at the *Musée de la Résistance en ligne 1940-1945* at: <https://museedelaresistanceenligne.org/media8616-Article-Les-vraies-femmes-de-France-i-La-Marseillaise-i-25-aot-1944>

³⁵⁹ Kelly Ricciardi Colvin discusses how women were celebrated for their silence, propriety and self-sacrifice during the Occupation in *Gender and French Identity after the Second World War, 1944–1954: Engendering Frenchness*, p.39.

weekly paper, which on 25th September 1944 demanded that the town of Tournon have its own *tondes*: 'the town of Tournon deserves its own *tondues* too [...] justice has just been done.'³⁶⁰ Head shaving and exemplary violence against women is therefore framed as a celebration of justice and an affirmation of local, as well as national, identity following the Occupation, rather than as outbreaks of gender-based violence. Consequently, we can see the cultural fixing of the *femmes tondues* as figures of wartime shame and, as such, their suffering is justified and any claim to victimhood is undermined, as violence is framed as a just punishment.

Similarly, stigmatising and misogynistic language permeates Francoist documentation of repressed and incarcerated women. Pura Sánchez's in-depth study of female repression in Andalusia in the aftermath of the Civil War and the role of the *Patronato de Protección a la Mujer* (The Board for the Protection of Women), a Francoist institution that emerged in the early post-war years to correct the behaviour of 'fallen women,'³⁶¹ elucidates the interweaving themes of perceived female immorality and judicial and extra-judicial violence. She pays particular attention to the role of gendered language used to describe women in military arrest reports, highlighting the most evocative Francoist terms, such as 'individuals of doubtful morality.'³⁶² This language of female immorality can be traced to Francoism's use of Manichean Catholicism, with its rhetoric of rebirth through violent sacrifice and its binary approach to morality, which branded those outside of its tightly controlled borders as 'permanent enemies, separated from society because they did not share the values on which the Francoist state was being built.'³⁶³ This had particular implications for Spanish women as female immorality and treachery was evoked when female leftists faced judicial or extra-judicial punishment; 'the repression exercised after the female social subject during the war and the immediate post-war was qualitatively different' and one of the ways in which this was expressed was through a stigmatising 'repressive language, destined to contain, to restrain, to

³⁶⁰ 'La ville de Tournon se devait aussi d'avoir ses tondues [...] justice vient d'être faite.' *Assaut*, 25 September 1944, cited in Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.90.

³⁶¹ María Zuñil, 'El Patronato, la cárcel de la moral franquista para adolescentes: "Era como la Gestapo"', *El Confidencial*, 8 July 2018. Accessed online on 10th July 2018 at https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2018-07-08/patronato-proteccion-mujer-franquismo-gestapo_1586930/.

³⁶² Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.1.

³⁶³ Paul Preston, *Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge*. (London: Harper Perennial, 2006), p.319.

shame.³⁶⁴ This repressive gendered language worked in a similar way as in newly liberated France by focusing on notions of moral deviance, often utilising the same tropes of hypersexuality. What is particular, however, about the case of Francoist Spain is the blending of traditional Catholic narratives of female immorality and psychiatric research into female deviance as a means of explaining the behaviour of ‘red’ women. Francoist psychologist Dr Antonio Vallejo-Najera, who conducted research on leftist women in prisons in Malaga, theorised that leftist women were politically deviant due to their ‘latent sexual appetites.’³⁶⁵ As such, women were judged not only for their political beliefs and affiliations but their private behaviour and morality, again pointing to the blurring of the distinction between the public and private spheres in newly Francoist zones, much like in France. This is reflected in the terminology used in women’s arrest reports which often designated women as being of ‘doubtful public and private morality.’³⁶⁶

Female leftists are therefore portrayed as national criminals that threaten to destabilise the newly emergent Spain. A rhetoric of national redemption litters arrest reports, referring to the Francoist coup as ‘the Glorious Movement’³⁶⁷ and 1939, the year marking the beginning of the national Francoist dictatorship, is referred to as ‘the Year of Victory.’³⁶⁸ Conversely, tropes of female criminality, immorality and threat are evidenced in women’s military arrest reports, framing them as being in need of violent punishment and elevating the military coup as a means of national and moral salvation. For example, a 57-year-old woman was arrested in 1939 for her unconditional support for Marxism is described as having an ‘appalling personal and political background’, in contrast to the Francoist movement, which fights to protect ‘God, Spain and its revolution.’³⁶⁹ Equally, a 24-year-old woman who had ‘intimate relations’ with a Republican captain, is referred

³⁶⁴ ‘Un lenguaje represivo, destinado a contener, a refrenar, a culpabilizar y a condenar toda una serie de actuaciones sociales y políticas.’ Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.19.

³⁶⁵ Antonio Nadal Sánchez highlights that leftist women’s interest in politics was viewed by Francoists as being a means to ‘satisfacer su apetencias sexuales latentes.’ ‘Experiencias psíquicas sobre mujeres marxistas malagueñas – Málaga 1939’, in Ministerio de Cultura, *Las mujeres y la guerra civil española* (Salamanca: Servicios gráficos colomina, S.A., 1989), p.341.

³⁶⁶ A woman associated with the left could be deemed as a ‘persona de dudosa moral pública y privada.’ Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.49.

³⁶⁷ ‘El Glorioso Movimiento.’ ATMTS, L 215 9067 BIS, 1939.

³⁶⁸ ‘El Año de la Victoria’. ATMTS, L 48 1895 1939.

³⁶⁹ She is described as having ‘pésimos antecedentes personales y políticos’, in contrast to the Francoist ‘nacionalsindicalista’ movement, which fights to protect ‘Dios, España y su revolución.’ Ibid.

to as both a 'prostitute' and a 'propagandist', as part of the 'red domination',³⁷⁰ again replicating misogynistic tropes of leftist women as a national and sexual threat. Owing to the highly politicised nature of military documentation during the purges and the heavy use of propagandistic language in support of the emergent Francoist military dictatorship, I have only been able to locate one official Francoist military document that explicitly mentions the use of head shaving as a punishment, as part of a brief arrest report for a female leftist.³⁷¹

In another arrest report, the 35-year-old leftist and wife of a well-known trade unionist and a political activist in her own right, is described as a threat to the 'uprising of salvation'.³⁷² Furthermore, leftist women in Marchena, located in the outskirts of Seville, are described as being 'worse than the men'.³⁷³ The female leftist and other female inhabitants of Marchena are depicted as a threat to national stability by 'encouraging the men' to commit crimes.³⁷⁴ In this way, women are framed as enemies in need of punishment because of inciting violence, despite not even enacting it themselves, which again portrays women as a threat to the social order and assigning them disproportionate guilt. At the end of the document, someone has scribbled 'was shaved by the Falange' in the margins of her file, acknowledging that she had her head shaved by Francoist militias.³⁷⁵ However, this acknowledgement is only a hand-written sidenote to her typed-up crimes of 'inciting rebellion'; a vague crime that blames women for violent conflict, again reflecting misogynistic notions of women as treacherous. This handwritten addendum to her file reflects that the use of head shaving was not understood as gendered violence and thus evades categorisation and official recording. According to testimonies, she was taken through Marchena after having her head shaved by members of the *Falange* and then imprisoned for seven years, under the crime of 'inciting' rebellion.³⁷⁶ The feminised crime of 'inciting' rebellion again signals the additional culpability women carried due to restrictive notions of women as guardians of the nation's moral

³⁷⁰ It is claimed that she had 'relaciones íntimas' with a Republican captain, that she was a 'prostituta' and a 'propagandista', and that she had participated in the 'dominación roja.' ATMTS, L 77 3107.

³⁷¹ Ficha, Delegación de Información e Investigación de Marchena, 1938, cited in Pura Sánchez, 'Individuas de dudosa moral', in Raquel Osborne (ed.), *Mujeres bajo sospecho: Memoria y sexualidad 1930 -1980* (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2012), p.107.

³⁷² 'El alzamiento salvador de España.' Ibid.

³⁷³ 'Peores que los hombres.' Ibid.

³⁷⁴ 'Alentando a los varones.' Ibid.

³⁷⁵ 'Fue pelada por los falangistas.' Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Jose Gavira Gil, *En busca de una historia oculta: la guerra civil en Marchena* (Sevilla: Asociacion Dignidad y Memoria, 2007), p.76.

health, which meant that women were charged with transmitting traditional values.³⁷⁷ In this example, women's experiences of violence is literally side-lined as supplementary information in the margins of an official arrest report, in which she is stigmatised as a violent threat to newly Francoist Spain. This therefore negates any claims to victimhood and minimises the trauma of the violence she endured.

Similar language of immorality and threat is seen in the case of the 38-year-old president of the woman's section of the General Union of Workers (Unión General de Trabajadores) in Seville, accused of being a 'propagandist' for the left and more generally as an 'author of the crime of Military Rebellion.'³⁷⁸ She was sentenced to death in 1937; her sentence reflects 'the perversity and social danger' she posed.³⁷⁹ This language of perversity and danger evokes the perceived social, sexual and national threat embodied by women associated with the Republic in newly Francoist Spain. She was killed in 1938 by garrotte³⁸⁰ and according to testimonies released by memory activists in Seville, she had her head shaved as an exemplary punishment.³⁸¹ As such, the violence París García underwent at the hands of the Francoist state indicates the impact of social discourses that shamed and victimised enemy women to such an extent that it was perceived to be impossible for them to be re-integrated into Spanish society.³⁸² In post-conflict Spain, the female leftist was perceived to be 'a degenerate being, full of ferocity and criminal features,'³⁸³ and thus violent corrective punishment, such as head shaving, or in extreme cases, socially preventative execution following torture and head shaving could be justified as a means of protecting the body politic. These tropes of female degeneration are also tied to fears of the Republican 'modern woman', who advocated for liberal and socially progressive causes, such as education and greater gender equality.³⁸⁴ These women evoked social change and were perceived as a threaten in Francoist

³⁷⁷ Aurora G. Morcillo. *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain*, (Northern Illinois University Press: Dekalb, 2000) p.54.

³⁷⁸ She is depicted as a 'propagandista' and an 'autora de un delito de Rebelión Militar.' ATMTS, L 28 574 1936-7.

³⁷⁹ 'La perversidad y peligrosidad social de su autor.' Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Queralt Sole, 'Executed Women, Assassinated Women: Gender Repression in the Spanish Civil War and the Violence of the Rebels'. In: Ofelia Ferran and Lisa Hilbink (eds.) *Legacies of Violence in Contemporary Spain: Exhuming the Past, Understanding the Present* (New York and London: Routledge, 2017), p.79.

³⁸¹ Olivia Carballar, 'Así asesinaron a Ana París', *Foro por la memoria*, 15 May 2012. Accessed online on 16th November 2017 at <http://www.foroporlamemoria.info/2012/05/asi-asesinaron-a-ana-paris/>.

³⁸² Ruth Kitchen, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*, p.68.

³⁸³ 'Un ser degenerado, lleno de ferocidad y rasgos criminales.' Antonio Nadal Sánchez, 'Experiencias psíquicas sobre mujeres marxistas malagueñas – Málaga 1939', p.340.

³⁸⁴ See: Shirley Mangini, *Las modernas de Madrid. Las grandes intelectuales españolas de vanguardia*

political discourse. In the military file, we do not simply see a ‘fallen woman’, but rather a socially irredeemable woman, thereby negating her suffering and denying any claim to victimhood. What is interesting, however, is that the use of humiliation via head shaving appears to have still been enforced although she was going to be executed, pointing to its symbolic importance within Francoist justice.

In terms of how these discourses filtered into the framing of violence against women in the press, in contrast to newly liberated France where there is no vindicating representation of the *femmes tondues* as victims, representation of the Spanish *rapadas* as victims of violence can be found in the Republican press in the early years of the war. However, these representations are highly partisan and propagandistic, utilising victimhood to score political points against the Nationalists. A 1936 article in *Ahora*, a leftist newspaper, decries the violence of fascist troops in Aragon, drawing from the experiences of women who were targeted as they were wives of Republicans.³⁸⁵ and thus were suspected of having leftist sympathies.

In this article, head shaving is described as an example of Francoist ‘ferocity’³⁸⁶ and women targeted are painted unequivocally as innocent victims: they are referred to as ‘innocent women who had not committed any other crime than being daughters, sisters of mothers of citizens who had sacrificed everything for their love and loyalty to the Republic’.³⁸⁷ While it is true that many women were targeted simply due to their connections, this reduces women’s status to ‘innocents’ and denies their agency as potential activists and combatants. Equally, this frames their suffering propagandistically as part of the Republican cause and centres male Republican bravery (‘citizens who had sacrificed everything for their love and loyalty to the Republic’)³⁸⁸ rather than women’s suffering. Head shaving and associated violence is mobilised to denounce Francoist brutality; condemning the ‘killings’ and the spilling of ‘innocent blood’.³⁸⁹ In summary, while female victimhood is emphasised to some degree, it is nevertheless secondary to male victimhood and

(Barcelona: Península, 2001) and Matilde Eiroa San Francisco and José María Sanmartí Rose, ‘Spanish women in defense of the 2nd Republic’, *Observatorio*, 5, 3 (2011), pp.25-44.

³⁸⁵ BNE, José Quilez Vicente, ‘Fascistas y requetés inundan de sangre inocente los pueblos del pirineo aragonés.’, pp.6-7.

³⁸⁶ ‘Ferocidad.’ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ ‘Inocentes mujeres que no habían cometido más delito que ser hijas, hermanas o mujeres de ciudadanos que todo lo han sacrificado por su amor y lealtad a la república.’ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ ‘Ciudadanos que todo lo han sacrificado por su amor y lealtad a la república’. Ibid.

³⁸⁹ ‘Matanzas’ and the spilling of ‘sangre inocente’. Ibid.

sacrifice. Furthermore, head shaving is not understood as a specific form of gender-based violence in and of itself, but it is rather seen as an extension of Francoist violence against the Republic, which is evoked in the press as a means of galvanising the Republican war effort.

In contrast, in the right-wing press, the use of violence against women was frequently denied or deflected by critiquing claims made by the Republican press. In the *Gaceta de Tenerife*, claims of violence against Republican women were roundly denied in March 1937: 'Radio Barcelona cowardly claims that fascists enjoy themselves by parading defenceless women with shaved heads through the cities they dominate [...] correspondents and foreign tourists have seen how all women walk the streets freely, including wives of reds who have fled.'³⁹⁰ Similarly, in right-wing newspaper *El defensor de Córdoba*, a Catholic daily newspaper, an article published in 1937 quotes Francoist General Queipo de Llano, decrying the 'embarrassing propaganda' depicting violence against women that has been espoused by the 'reds' and fed to the 'foreign press': 'everyone knows the difference there is between red Spain and liberated Spain [...] everyone knows that here justice and order reign and in red Spain, crime and fires are a day-to-day occurrence.'³⁹¹ In this way, Francoist zones are presented as 'liberated' and a haven of 'justice and order,' which again frames violent acts as necessary justice in order to vaccinate society from the criminality of 'red Spain.' Consequently, any claims to female trauma or victimhood are dismissed. In dialogue, the Francoist press and the Republican press highlight the social and political contingencies of victimhood in the case of women targeted by head shaving; shorn women are either propagandistically mobilised by the Republican cause as the innocent wives of brave male militants, or they are condemned as perpetrators of violence when framed as national traitors in the Francoist press and military documentation.

Framing shorn women as victims in either case study is therefore undermined by the deployment of highly gendered and often misogynistic archetypes: women who were targeted were not just targeted as traitors to the nation, but also traitors to their gender due to their personal, political or

³⁹⁰ 'Radio Barcelona dice canallescamente que los fascistas se complacen en pasear por las calles de las ciudades que dominan a mujeres indefensas con la cabeza rapada [...] han visto los corresponsales y turistas extranjeros como se pasean tranquilamente todas las mujeres, incluso aquellas que son familiares de huidos rojos.' BVPHE, 'Charla del general Queipo de Llano', *La Gaceta de Tenerife: diario católico de información*, 14 March 1937, p.4.

³⁹¹ 'Todos saben la diferencia que hay de la España roja a la España liberada. Todos saben que en esta reina el orden y la justicia, y que en la roja, el robo, el crimen y el incendio son el pan nuestro de cada día.' BVPHE, *El defensor de Córdoba: diario católico*, 'Habla Quiiepo de Llano', 27 April 1937, p.1.

sexual autonomy. By analysing the language used in both cases to describe women who were arrested due to their suspected national crimes, and by examining the reasons for their imprisonment, we can see how these women are framed by the judicial system in both contexts. These targeted women are not seen as victims, but rather as traitors, enemies and, fundamentally, as perpetrators. Across both contexts, there are shared tropes, such as female immorality, excessive sexuality and threat, alongside similar language and terms used to describe French and Spanish female prisoners as being of 'doubtful morality' in judicial and military documents and files,³⁹² highlighting the commonalities in the perception of women perceived to be internal enemies in these two contexts.

The gendered nature of post-war repression is underscored in both cases. In his study of Francoist repression, Jesús Narciso Núñez-Calvo emphasises that instances of violence against women in Civil War Spain had a clear gendered character³⁹³ and, similarly, in her exploration of head shaving in newly liberated France, Dominique François highlights that head shaving was a specific 'punishment for women.'³⁹⁴ This heightened visibility extended to women's personal lives in both cases: details of women's private lives were seen to be relevant in ways that men's private lives were not.³⁹⁵ In this way, in both post-conflict contexts, women faced an increasingly hostile environment in which they were disproportionately targeted. Critically, women could be punished not only for their actions, but for the actions of men to whom they were connected. In a biblical sense, like Eve, they could be blamed for actions they were perceived to have encouraged, including the violence of the occupier in France or the violence of the Republican army during the Spanish Civil War. Via their connections to the Nazi Occupation or the Spanish Second Republic, women were viewed as disloyal to their nation, but rather than simply being framed as collaborators, women were specifically framed as 'female traitors'³⁹⁶ or 'transgressors.'³⁹⁷ These misogynistic tropes as a source of violence and social threat pervade both of these European societies under stress, seemingly legitimising the use of aggression against dissident women to ensure the survival of the regenerating

³⁹² Both Pura Sánchez (*Individuas de dudosa moral*, p.1) and Fabrice Virgili (*La France « virile »: des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.50) argue that women were perceived to have 'doubtful' morality, drawing from examples of court documents using this language of female immorality.

³⁹³ Jesús Narciso Núñez Calvo, 'La represión y sus directrices sevillanas en la provincia de Cádiz', p.200.

³⁹⁴ Dominique François, *Femmes tondues : La diabolisation de la femme en 1944, Les bûchers de la Libération*, (Paris : Cheminements, 2006), p.96.

³⁹⁵ Jesús Narciso Núñez Calvo, 'La represión y sus directrices sevillanas en la provincia de Cádiz', p.200.

³⁹⁶ 'Traïtresses.' Fabrice Virgili, 'La tonduie de la Libération : La traitresse', p.231.

³⁹⁷ 'Transgresoras.' Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de Dudosa Moral*, p.85.

national body. This framing of head shaving as corrective has complicated attempts to analyse head shaving through the prism of victimhood because these harmful gendered frameworks continue to deny targeted women any visibility as victims of violence, in favour of representation of them as female traitors, dissidents and deviants.

2.5 Changing understandings of *femmes tondues* and *mujeres rapadas* and the reclamation of victimhood

In contrast to these processes of shaming and stigmatisation in documentation, accounts and historical press coverage, which presented targeted women as deserving of violent punishment in the period preceding outbreaks of head shaving, and then consequently framed them as undeserving of sympathy in the aftermath, there has been a growing push from the late 20th into the 21st century to assert a degree of female victimhood in these cases. As Marc Bergère highlights, more sympathetic readings of the violence of head shaving and the figure of the *femme tondue* have appeared in French scholarship from the end of the 20th century, thanks to researchers interested in women's history and women's distinct experiences of the Occupation, Liberation and post-war purges.³⁹⁸ Similarly, in Spain, the end of the 20th century and the start of the 21st century heralded greater awareness of the *mujeres rapadas* as part of growing interest in prisons, women and Francoist repression, thanks to the hard work of local historians and the opening of archives relating to this painful period in Spanish history.³⁹⁹ This shift can also be seen in the increased representation of affected women's experiences in press coverage, documentaries and commemorations which have humanised the *femmes tondues* and *mujeres rapadas* by exploring the traumatic impact of gender-specific repression and presenting women's stories from their own perspective.

The emergence of a more nuanced understanding of these two case studies reflects a global shift towards the recognition of gender-based violence, which draws upon contemporary transnational discourses of human rights, and women's rights in particular. For example, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) were ground-breaking in terms of legal and social understandings of gender-based violations of human rights during conflict. These tribunals marked the first time that victims of

³⁹⁸ Marc Bergère, *Une société en épuration : Épuration vécue et perçue en Maine-et-Loire*, p.311.

³⁹⁹ Encarnación Barranquero Texeira and Matilde Eiroa San Francisco. 'La cárcel de mujeres de Málaga en "La paz de Franco"', *Studia historica. Historia contemporánea*, 29, (2011) pp.121-122.

gender-based violence in conflict were internationally recognised as such. Legal recognition of the ways in which violence can be gendered and gender-specific, and related scholarship on gender-based violence in conflict have advanced understandings of female victimhood in conflict beyond wartime notions of ‘martyrdom in the service of the nation,’⁴⁰⁰ most notably by casting light on the way conflict is experienced in civilian spaces and the specific ramifications for women and girls. However, the targeted women in these particular case studies were so persistently vilified as perpetrators and the violence against them legitimised as criminal punishment in historical documentation, testimonies and press coverage, it remains challenging, and even controversial, to retrospectively grant these women the status of victimhood in national memory, and to categorise head shaving as an expression of gender-based violence.

Despite the relative newness of gender-based violence as a legal term, an enduring cultural concept that intersects with legal understandings of violence against women is female honour and its opposite, female shame. The 1949 Geneva Convention highlights the ways in which women can be victimised in particular ways by violence intended to attack their honour and shame them: ‘women will be particularly protected against all attacks against their honour, and notably against rape.’⁴⁰¹ This interweaving of violence against women and cultural understandings of honour is key to the logic of head shaving as the public nature of the practice and the act of bodily marking as a means of ostracising certain women hinges upon a ‘denial of [women’s] dignity’ as it intends to humiliate the women and their male relatives in the eyes of the community in a public display of shame.⁴⁰² These notions of shaming underpin both the enactment of head shaving and its associated acts of humiliation but also the difficulty to articulate it in its aftermath in order to inscribe it in national narratives; the violence itself is shaming and degrading, and similarly afterwards, women often

⁴⁰⁰ David Clarke, 2018. ‘Constructing victimhood in divided Germany’. *Memory Studies* 11(4), p.422.

⁴⁰¹ ‘Les femmes seront spécialement protégées contre toute atteinte à leur honneur, et notamment contre le viol.’ Raphaëlle Branche, Isabelle Delpla, John Horne, Pieter Lagrou, Daniel Palmieri and Fabrice Virgili, ‘Introduction : Ecrire l’histoire des viols en temps de guerre’, in Raphaëlle Branche and Fabrice Virgili (eds.) *Les viols en temps de guerre* (Payot: Paris, 2011), p.14.

⁴⁰² ‘Los desfiles públicos, una vez consumado alguno de los dos castigos anteriores, o ambos a la vez, se pueden encuadrar en la negación de la dignidad.’ Eva Jiménez Martín, Ander León Nanclares, Izaskun Orbegozo Oronoz, Laura Pego Otero, Ana Isabel Pérez Machío, Laura Vozmediano Sanz, *Situación penitenciaria de las mujeres presas en la cárcel de Saturrarán durante la guerra civil española y la primera posguerra: Hacia la recuperación de su memoria* p.43.

faced the choice between ‘silence and stigma’⁴⁰³ when considering whether to talk about their memories and their fight for social recognition of their suffering. This is shown by the lack of judicial recognition of women as victims of head shaving or associated acts of sexual or physical violence; very few women felt comfortable to file police reports regarding their experiences of head shaving and violence in post-war France,⁴⁰⁴ and in Spain, there was no legal recourse for victims to pursue under the Francoist dictatorship.

Furthermore, as explored in the literature review, and as the evidence in this chapter has shown, head shaving continues to be framed in historiography as a form of gendered punishment rather than violence.⁴⁰⁵ While the term ‘gendered punishment’ is somewhat helpful in a theoretical sense, because it foregrounds the gendered nature of the phenomenon, it nevertheless replicates the language of punishment used in institutional documentation, women’s judicial files and newspaper articles by those who accepted, supported and participated in the practice. Unfortunately, this framework of ‘punishment’ evokes a sense of justice rather than violence; head shaving is framed as a legitimate punishment for a crime, thereby placing emphasis on women’s behaviour or criminality rather than on the violence of the practice. As such, scholarship of the two cases has not unequivocally identified women affected as victims of gender-based violence. In these cases, these definitions of what head shaving represents constitute a site of political contestation. In contemporary Spanish political discourse, the violence of head shaving, humiliation and other gender-specific acts of repression is framed as ‘forgotten’ and in need of ‘recuperation’ efforts in order to combat the prevailing ‘public silence.’⁴⁰⁶ Likewise, in France, shorn women are

⁴⁰³ Liz Kelly, ‘Wars against Women: Sexual Violence, Sexual Politics and the Militarised State’. In Susie Jacobs, Ruth Jacobson, Jennifer Marchbank (eds.) *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* (London and New York: Zedd Books, 2000), p.54.

⁴⁰⁴ Fabrice Virgili, ‘Víctimas, culpables y silenciosas: memorias de las mujeres rapadas en la Francia de la posguerra’, in Julio Aróstegui and François Godicheau (eds) *Guerra Civil. Mito y memoria*. (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2006), p.363.

⁴⁰⁵ As discussed in the literature review in the introductory chapter, a notable example of this is French historian Fabrice Virgili, who refers to head shaving as the gendered punishment for collaboration, which highlights that head shaving was gender-specific and that female collaboration was understood differently than male collaboration. See *La France « virile »: des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.56. Similarly, terms such as ‘punishment’ and ‘exemplary punishment’ are utilised in Pura Sánchez’s analysis of the workings of gender in post-war repression in Spain. See *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.64.

⁴⁰⁶ The language of forgetting and the recuperation of women’s memories of violence can be seen in multiple regional studies of post-war repression in Spain. A key example of this is the publication of *A memoria esquecida: peladas, presas, paseadas* (La Coruña: Servicio Galego de Igualdade, 2006), which

unsurprisingly absent from national commemorations, as they represent a ‘regrettable aspect of the Liberation’.⁴⁰⁷

The voices of women affected, both in historical archives and in contemporary France and Spain, are difficult to locate, due to the persistence of shame and stigma. Nevertheless, by drawing from and revisiting available archival and contemporary sources to engage with women’s experiences from their perspective, this discussion will go on to show that perceptions of women’s victimhood have shifted in the two case studies. This shift has enabled more women and family members of women affected to articulate their memories of violence in France and Spain today.

In post-war France, there initially appeared to be little space for women to talk about the trauma of head shaving, particularly as it was still considered a mark of infamy. As Luc Capdevila notes, there was a sense that the Liberation offered an opportunity for French people to ‘cleanse themselves of the dirt of the Occupation by neutralising disruptive elements’ as a means of aiming for a ‘new France.’⁴⁰⁸ This future-facing post-war paradigm left the Occupation mired in shame and left little space for women to voice their experiences of head shaving and social stigmatisation. Equally, many women were still bound by the conditions of their ‘interdiction de séjour’: a legal restriction placed upon female collaborators that banned them from returning to live in the same area as before, even if they had only been accused of ‘horizontal collaboration.’⁴⁰⁹ An example of this is the case of a woman who was unable to return to her home in Angers or the surrounding area in 1945, alongside her loss of civic rights, despite only being guilty of ‘habitually receiving German soldiers at her home and having sexual relations with them’, according to the Civic Courts.⁴¹⁰ According to correspondence with the Ministry of Justice in 1952, there were claims that 640 women were still detained due to their relationships with German soldiers, or more specifically,

explores the role of head shaving and humiliation in Galicia. The text refers to the public silence surrounding women’s trauma during the early Francoist period.

⁴⁰⁷ Cecile Bishop, ‘Photography, Race and Invisibility: The Liberation of Paris, in Black and White’, p.202.

⁴⁰⁸ Capdevila describes the Liberation as a time when French people could ‘se laver de la souillure de l’Occupation en neutralisant les éléments perturbateurs’. *Les Bretons au lendemain de l’Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d’une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.203.

⁴⁰⁹ Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life Under the Occupation* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2006), p.346.

⁴¹⁰ ‘[Elle] était accusée d’avoir apporté sciemment une aide directe ou indirecte à l’Allemagne, notamment en recevant habituellement à son domicile des soldats allemands et en ayant des rapports sexuels avec eux.’ AN BB18 7133, 8BL/1182, 1945.

due to their marriages with German soldiers.⁴¹¹ Within this context, it is unsurprising that women did not freely communicate or document their experiences of head shaving, humiliation and physical and sexual violence.

Similarly in Spain, post-war repression continued to oppress female citizens into the first years of the Francoist dictatorship; thousands of women remained in jails due to anti-national crimes and humiliating practices and severe repression against women continued until the end of the 1940s.⁴¹² There was no opportunity or recourse for women to denounce or openly voice these experiences as women were largely relegated to the domestic sphere; the Franco regime 'institutionalized a version of female identity rooted in women's exclusive role in the patriarchal family,'⁴¹³ through workplace reforms that dismissed married women from employment.⁴¹⁴ As leftist women had suffered a 'process of satanisation'⁴¹⁵ during the war, and violence such as head shaving functioned as a 'purging ritual' that marked a return to public, political and gendered order.⁴¹⁶ This meant that women affected by violence had been degraded in a way that discredited them and their voices: many of these women therefore suffered a form of repression that remained silent.⁴¹⁷ As Maud Joly highlights, 'the disfiguration [of head shaving] operates as a form of violent exclusion: an exclusion from the community of women worthy of belonging to the developing society.'⁴¹⁸ Therefore, the violence was not only legitimised as a valid punishment, it further ostracised its victims in the aftermath, as these women did not 'belong' within Francoist society. In this hostile post-war

⁴¹¹ AN BB18 7133, 8BL/1182, 1952.

⁴¹² Pura Sánchez, 'Individuas y sujetas: las mujeres andaluzas represaliadas desde los tribunales militares', p.106-107.

⁴¹³ Pamela Radcliff, 'Citizens and Housewives: The Problem of Female Citizenship in Spain's Transition to Democracy', *Journal of Social History*, 36, 1 (2002), p.77.

⁴¹⁴ In 1942, Francoist labour regulation stipulated that married women would leave the workplace. This is explored in Helen Graham 'Gender and the State: Women in the 1940s' in Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, (eds.), *Spanish Cultural Studies An Introduction : The Struggle for Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.192-195.

⁴¹⁵ 'Un proceso de satanización como "mujeres públicas"'. Sofia Rodríguez López, 'La violencia de género como arma de guerra,' p.29.

⁴¹⁶ 'Los rituales depuratorios a los que se sometieron las vencidas, trataban de afirmar un retorno al orden público-político y sexuado.' *Ibid.*, p.33.

⁴¹⁷ 'La retaguardia, hecha mujer, sufrirá una represión silenciosa.' *Ibid.*, p.46.

⁴¹⁸ Joly explains that 'la desfiguración opera primero como una exclusión violenta: una exclusión de la comunidad de las mujeres dignas de pertenecer a la sociedad en desarrollo.' Maud Joly, 'Las violencias sexuales de la guerra civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto,' p.97.

environment, it is therefore unsurprising that very few testimonies came to light during the war or the resultant dictatorship.

However, this is not to say that women's voices are completely absent from the archive, as there are some examples in which women's experiences of violence are articulated in both French and Spanish contexts. In the French Committee for the History of the Second World War (CHOLF) files in France, the concept of victimhood is toyed with when analysing the 'excesses' of the purges. An example of this is a short excerpt titled "'Victims" of the Liberation'⁴¹⁹, which included mentions of overzealous FFI and FTP arrests and the need to 'regularise' such incidents.⁴²⁰ While this represents an attempt to understand the impact of violence and arrests, the use of quotation marks around the term 'victims' highlights the discomfort with the term being applied to those affected by extrajudicial violence during the purges in France. Like in Francoist documentation, women who undergo head shaving are categorised as criminals in police files while the violence used against them is not classed as a crime.

However, within women's arrest reports and files, there are occasionally descriptions of the head shaving that points to targeted women's experiences, albeit not always in the words of the women themselves as they are relayed through resisters, police officials and witnesses. They are nevertheless illuminating in terms of negotiating victimhood, such as in the anonymous case file of 'Mademoiselle X': 'an anonymous testimony of a young woman arrested for collaboration and shorn at the Liberation.'⁴²¹ While the file documents her arrest, due to belonging to fascist organisation *Jeunes de l'Europe Nouvelle*, her experience of violence is evidenced and she is shown to be vulnerable, although this is unlikely to have been the intention of the resisters documenting arrests of collaborators. The grounds for her arrest appear highly questionable to the contemporary reader; the activities of the youth collaborationist group she belonged to include 'forest hikes, occasional anti-communist parades, meetings',⁴²² rather than organised collaboration that would have

⁴¹⁹ "'Victimes" de la Libération' AN 72AJ 2567, Finistère.

⁴²⁰ 'L'enquête entreprise est d'autant plus délicate que beaucoup d'arrestations de gens suspects de collaboration au moment de la libération ont été effectuées en dehors même de la police et de la gendarmerie par des groupes de maquisards F.F.I. ou F.T.P. locaux. Pour régulariser des arrestations, parfois arbitraires, les Préfets ont pris des arrêtés d'internement, mais souvent il n'y avait qu'une enquête sommaire relatant des accusations dont certaines n'étaient pas justifiées.' Ibid.

⁴²¹ 'Un témoignage anonyme d'une jeune fille arrêtée et tondu à la Libération.' LC F delta 1832/16 (1).

⁴²² 'Promenades en forêt. De temps en temps, manifestations au moment du départ de la Legion anti-bolchevique.' Ibid.

endangered the French nation. It is noted that she was denounced by an unnamed neighbour, following a local announcement on 25th August which encouraged civilians to ‘denounce traitors.’ During the interrogation, she calls denunciation ‘disgusting’ and vehemently denies any involvement with German authorities; evidence for such claims or names of those suspected of being denounced by Mademoiselle X are not provided in the dossier. Her interrogator, who is described only as a communist, admits that he believes her but that the community needed to exact ‘a little revenge.’⁴²³ In the documentation of the exchange, she is humanised by her youthful and flippant tone.

She was interrogated:

“Sold to the Germans”

She responded that she must not have cost very much.

“Shut your mouth or you’ll see what will happen to you.”⁴²⁴

Revisiting this source, in spite of the doubtful significance of her apparent collaboration, the violent nature of this unnamed young woman’s interrogation is evidenced, as are her own small expressions of agency in her recorded responses (‘She responded that must not have cost very much’). After she has her head shaved and is paraded for a ‘good hour and a half’, Mademoiselle X meets her parents back at the prison. It is noted that she does not ‘cry’ or ‘shout’, which is interpreted as stoicism, but this could also be read by the contemporary reader as a resigned response to the traumatic experience of public humiliation and arrest. It is also noted that her family home has been ransacked and jewellery has been stolen, and that her mother decided to stay with her, presumably due to her young age. Before the family are taken to their next destination – the *Institut Dentaire*, a notorious make-shift prison for alleged collaborators during the Liberation⁴²⁵ – it is reported that two FFI shake the young woman’s hand for her courage in enduring the public ‘vengeance’, suggesting they held a begrudging respect for her, despite participating in her humiliation.⁴²⁶ While this file was

⁴²³ ‘Il lui dit qu’il la croyait, mais qu’il ne pouvait rien faire pour elle : « Ils ont besoin de prendre une petite revanche.’ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ ‘Elle a été interrogée :

« Vendue aux Allemands »

Elle répondit qu’elle n’avait pas dû coûter bien cher.

« Ferme ta gueule ou tu vas voir ce qui va t’arriver. » Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Jean-Marc Berlière and Franck Liaigre, *Ainsi finissent les salauds. Séquestrations et exécutions clandestines dans Paris libéré* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 2012), p.158.

⁴²⁶ ‘Ils se sont donc serré la main. Elle n’avait pas pleuré ni hurlé.’ LC F delta 1832/16 (1).

not necessarily intended to reflect the young woman's personal experience of the event, it offers a rare insight into the violence of the practice, the shaky evidential basis for arrests, and the emotional reactions of shorn women, who were often young and vulnerable.

Following these initial tentative negotiations with female victimhood in the immediate post-war period in France, attitudes considerably shifted in the late-20th century and more women have felt able to articulate their experiences of head shaving. Articles depicting women's testimonies of having their heads shaved have emerged in the French press, such as a 2004 article in centrist weekly newspaper *L'Express*, titled 'For the love of a German'.⁴²⁷ The piece tells the story of a young and enamoured Renée who faced the humiliating practice at the hands of her fellow citizens. Her innocence is evoked in the title, which emphasises the ill-fated love story rather than the political implications of their union, suggesting that she was a victim of misfortune. This emphasis on romance rather than political collaboration follows in the footsteps of 1959 Resnais film *Hiroshima Mon Amour*, which depicts a dialogue between a French woman and her Japanese lover regarding the Second World War.⁴²⁸ The French woman, who is simply referred to as 'Elle' (she), confesses to having her head shaved during the Liberation as punishment for her relationship with a German soldier, and the Japanese man, known only as 'Lui' (him), speaks about the trauma of the nuclear blast in his native Hiroshima. The political implications of the French woman's relationship with the German soldier are side-lined in favour of a narrative of young love cruelly extinguished when she is violently disgraced and he is killed. While her head shaving and social ostracisation are presented as a traumatic experience, the event is portrayed as a romantic tragedy rather than an example of violence against women. Within this framework, the *femmes tondues* are primarily presented as star-crossed and ill-fated 'women in love,' who were driven by 'their femininity, their sexuality and their romantic desires.'⁴²⁹ This shows a clear shift away from their previous iteration as 'guilty women' due to their presumed criminality and immorality. Furthermore, this supports Julie Desmarais's view of the changing social constructions of the *femmes tondues*, from guilty women ('coupables') to women in love ('amoureuses') in the aftermath of the war, as their

⁴²⁷ Delphine Saubaber, 'Pour l'amour d'un boche', *L'Express*, 31 May 2004. Accessed online on 12th May 2017 at https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/pour-l-amour-d-un-boche_489486.html.

⁴²⁸ Alain Resnais and Marguerite Duras. *Hiroshima, mon amour*. (France: Argos-Films, 1959).

⁴²⁹ 'C'est l'histoire de femmes qui vont privilégier la sphère de l'intime, qui choisissent de vivre leur féminité, leur sexualité, leurs pulsions amoureuses.' Catherine Durand, 'Préface' in Dominique François, *Femmes tondues : La diabolisation de la femme en 1944* (Coudray-Macouard, Cheminements 2006), pp.9-10

relationships with the occupiers started to be framed as purely romantic rather than political in the latter half of the twentieth century.⁴³⁰

Similarly, Dominique François's collection of testimonies from *femmes tondues*, published in 2006, evidences attempts to renegotiate previous representation of targeted women in France by humanising their stories and shining a light on the ways in which they had been stigmatised: the title refers to the demonisation of women in 1944.⁴³¹ Some of the testimonies highlight the dubious reasons for which the women were publicly condemned as 'scapegoats' for the Occupation: for being rude to a customer who would later denounce her to the new authorities; for being seen to be overly pleasant to German soldiers, and for a love affair.⁴³² It is, however, important to emphasise that while these testimonies mark a shift in popular memory and a greater openness to recognising targeted women's victimhood, these testimonies remained anonymous in the collection and identifying features were often cut for this purpose. Similarly, Jean Pierre Carlon's 2007 documentary *Les tondues en 44* draws from women's memories of head shaving via recorded interviews, but some of these women still did not want to show their faces or reveal their names, evidencing the continued stigma attached to having been a *femme tondu*.⁴³³ One of the women who chose to remain anonymous admits that she is still afraid and that she has never 'healed' from the trauma of the experience. For some of the women affected, the trauma suffered remained fresh enough that in interviews with the family members, one daughter confesses that her mother still struggles to 'express herself' about what happened, so great was the humiliation she endured. While these wounds remain open, it is hard to envisage a confident affirmation of suffering and victimhood from the former *femmes tondues* and their families. The desire for anonymity evidences the ongoing uncertainty surrounding reframing targeted women as victims of an act of gender-based violence, rather than as female traitors and collaborators who faced just punishment. The burden of shame attached to being a shorn women persists to such a degree in contemporary France that it hampers attempts to view women's suffering as unjust or re-appraise head shaving as a form of gender-based violence.

⁴³⁰ Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.81.

⁴³¹ See Dominique François, *Femmes tondues : la diabolisation de la femme en 1944, les bûchers de la libération* (Paris : Cheminements, 2006).

⁴³² Dominique François, *Femmes tondues : la diabolisation de la femme en 1944, les bûchers de la libération*, p.10.

⁴³³ Jean-Pierre Carlon. *Tondues en 44*. (France: France Télévisions, 2007).

In Spanish archives documenting the civil war and its aftermath, there was no recognition of leftist female victimhood in Francoist military or judicial files, but there was a limited recognition of women's victimhood in Republican bulletins, press and information reports. However, as with the French case, women's experiences were relayed through intermediaries, and therefore their suffering can be reframed, minimised or mobilised for political ends. Revisiting these sources in an attempt to extract their voices can nevertheless be illuminating in terms of drawing out women's experiences of violence and the changing attitudes towards these women in contemporary Spain. An example of head shaving and female trauma can be found within an account circulated in a Republican information report about the rearguard in Huelva, entitled: '12-year-old boy fell victim to fascist ferocity.'⁴³⁴ Immediately, the suffering of the boy's mother is secondary to the death of her son, as she is not mentioned in the title, and the Republican information report instead positions the violence faced by the young boy at the forefront. The account recounts an incident in which a bedraggled and distressed woman has been shorn and marked with the fascist colours before being abandoned, and is left crying and begging for help to find her missing husband.

[She was] emaciated, covered in bites, swollen and bleeding bare feet [...] and on her shaved head, a small tuft of hair was tied with a ribbon showing the monarchist flag.

She approached suddenly, staring with big, demented eyes, and started an anxious interrogation: "Have you seen my husband on the path?"⁴³⁵

The encounter reveals that the woman had been left to wander the roads in the search for her husband and her son, who had been taken by the *Falange*. While the physical and mental impact of her assault are evident in the evocation of her trauma, mania and visible wounds, the woman's suffering and experience is still not placed at the centre of this account and instead appears incidental to the likely death of the Republican father and the son: '[the Nationalists] took the boy [...] beforehand, they had cut the hair of the poor woman.'⁴³⁶ While there is some sympathy for the

⁴³⁴ 'Un muchacho de doce años víctima de la ferocidad fascista.' AGMA 24 3 1 116-117. 'Los facciosos, a su paso por las aldeas de la provincia de Huelva'. Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1937.

⁴³⁵ Demacrada, cubierta de harapos, descalzos los pies hinchados y sangrantes, ostentaba, como estridente nota grotesca, en su cabeza rapada, un mechón de pelo en el que llevaba prendida una pringosa cinta con los colores de la bandera monárquica.

Se le acercó súbita, mirándole con desorbitados ojos de demento, y lo expresó una interrogación anhelosa; - ¿Ha visto usted a mi marido por este camino?' Ibid.

⁴³⁶ 'Con ellos, se llevaron al muchacho. Antes, habían cortado el cabello a la infeliz [...] la pobre señora.' Ibid.

woman's plight ('poor woman'), she adopts the role of the messenger in the story, and little attention is paid to her own experience and trauma. In contemporary scholarship of post-conflict gendered violence and repression in Spain, it is highlighted that the 'symbolic load of the process itself [of head shaving] was conceived as an attack on women's identity by the destruction of their femininity',⁴³⁷ and, in this example, the unnamed woman has been forcibly divested of her hair as a feminine attribute alongside the loss of her family and potentially even her senses. However, while the violence of this incident is not denied, it appears that the significance of the violence she endured has been side-lined and is not a point of interest. While it is clear that women experienced violence, women are not framed as the protagonists in narratives of suffering. In this way, the impact of the violence and women's experiences are frequently minimised or neglected, even by fellow leftists. This has contributed to the historiographical and commemorative 'invisibility'⁴³⁸ of women within discussions and studies of Francoist repression, due to the widespread disregard of the qualitative differences in terms of the violence women faced in comparison with their male counterparts.⁴³⁹

However, the erasure and marginalisation of women's voices as victims has since been increasingly addressed in contemporary Spain, stemming from the late 20th century, following the death of Franco. Ambitious collections of women's testimonies of post-war repression, such as Tomasa Cuevas's pioneering oral history collections *Cárcel de mujeres (1939-1945)* (1985) and *Testimonios de mujeres en las cárceles franquistas* (2005), placed women's experiences at the centre of their historical analysis of Francoist repression. Alongside framing women's experiences of post-war repression through the lens of injustice and female victimhood, these testimonies also represented a space for the humanisation of 'red women' and expressions of female agency and resistance.

Soledad Villa arrived with her head shaved and the letters UHP⁴⁴⁰ written on her scalp. I lived with her for a while, when they took us to other jails [...] In general, all of us told each other the reasons for our detention. Lola's reason was very simple: she had married at the time the war began. Her husband was at the front, much like her brothers. She was

⁴³⁷ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, 'Locks of hair/locks of shame? Women, dissidence, and punishment during Francisco Franco's dictatorship', p.423.

⁴³⁸ Paloma Seone Amigo discusses the 'invisibilidad femenina' in terms of historical studies of Francoist repression. 'La represión franquista contra las mujeres. La Causa General de Madrid', p.395.

⁴³⁹ Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.12.

⁴⁴⁰ Uníón Hermanos Proletarios (United Brothers of the Proletariat) was a Republican organisation.

pregnant and in the nine months of pregnancy and afterwards with the little one, she had nothing to do with politics.⁴⁴¹

In this excerpt, women are identified either by their full name ('Soledad Villa') or even affectionate nicknames ('Lola'), humanising them and their experiences; they are not anonymous women reduced to what they had endured, but rather identifiable individuals with marked identities. Furthermore, their innocence is evoked, undermining Francoist claims of their political criminality and personal deviance; in this extract, it is explained that Lola was targeted for head shaving, body marking and imprisonment simply as a result of her marriage to a Republican ('She had nothing to do with politics'). Simultaneously, the prison is shown to be a space where women can transmit their memories and share their stories amongst themselves, thereby fighting against a climate that aimed to violently exclude them: 'all of us told each other the reasons for our detention.' Despite a hostile post-war context characterised by violent repression, there is a nascent sense of solidarity between the women that offers hope for future memory activism and an elaboration of a shared political identity. As Paloma Seone Amigo highlights, prisons were saturated with Republican women who were further demonised by the repressive discourse used in their prison files. However, their 'stories, testimonies and memoirs', which were firstly shared in prison cells and the privacy of family homes, helped to elaborate alternative narratives of 'anti-Francoist resistance.'⁴⁴²

Literary and cinematic adaptations of women's testimonies of historical violence have also gained prominence in Spain. In 2003, the fictional short *Las Pelonas* (*The Shorn Women*), directed by Laly Zambrano and Ramón de Fontecha, was released.⁴⁴³ The short film depicts the hidden wounds left by head shaving through the story of an elderly woman at a hair salon who is confronted by her past trauma as she sees a young woman ask to have her head shaved. According to Laly Zambrano, the story of the elderly protagonist was inspired by the historical testimony of Maria Vergara Leal, who faced head-shaving in the post-war period in La Roda, Albacete.⁴⁴⁴ In the film, the older

⁴⁴¹ 'Soledad Villa venia con la cabeza rapada y escritas con alquitrán llevaba las letras UHP sobre el cráneo. Con ella conviví algún tiempo, cuando nos llevaron a otros penales [...] en general, todas nosotras nos contábamos las causas de nuestras detenciones. La de Lola era muy simple: se había casado casi enseguida de empezar la guerra. El marido estaba en el frente, igual que sus hermanos. Ella se quedó en estado y entre los nueve meses de embarazo y después con el pequeñín, no había tenido ninguna actividad política.' Tomasa Cuevas, *Cárcel de Mujeres (1939-1945)*, p.55.

⁴⁴² Paloma Seone Amigo's article shows that 'relatos' and 'testimonies' can be analysed through a prism of 'resistencia antifranquista.' 'La represión franquista contra las mujeres. La Causa General de Madrid', p.395.

⁴⁴³ Ramon Fontecha and Laly Zambrano. *Pelonas*. (Spain: R de F Producciones, 2003).

⁴⁴⁴ Laia Quílez Esteve, "'Pelonas' y rapadas: Imágenes-trofeo e Imágenes-denuncia de La Represión de Género ejercida Durante la Guerra Civil Española.' p.498.

woman's internalised revisiting of her trauma at having her head shaved by the *Falange* is contrasted with the young woman's wilful rebellion in shaving her full head of hair. In a gentle exchange with the young woman, the protagonist confesses that she too had her head shaved, but in very different circumstances and she recalls feeling 'fear, a lot of fear.' The film underscores the potential for intergenerational transmission of memory and for dignity for women who felt traumatised by their experience,⁴⁴⁵ suggesting a significant shift towards reclassifying affected women through the lens of victimhood.

Another key example is Dulce Chacón's 2002 historical novel *La voz dormida*. It tells the story of women imprisoned in the infamous female prison Las Ventas in Madrid in the immediate aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, drawing from interviews with various women across Spain as inspiration.⁴⁴⁶ The title of the book itself emphasises the obscuring and silencing of leftist women's dormant voices. However, by weaving together and dramatizing these testimonies, Chacón was able to create a 'hybrid' text, made up of multiple voices and memories from women of various ages and origins.⁴⁴⁷ The post-war use of repression, such as head shaving and torture, is unequivocally framed as gender-based violence and the women who faced it as victims; through characters such as Elvira who underwent head shaving in prison, Chacón wanted to show 'the dark, hidden and silenced side of the post-war period.'⁴⁴⁸

In comparison with the French case, there has been more open assertions of female victimhood in contemporary Spain; unlike in Dominique François's collection, women appear to be more comfortable with being identified as having experienced head shaving, as their names and identifying features are used in documentaries and collections. This is also evidenced by newspaper articles such as 'The tale of the *Pelona*', published in left-wing newspaper *El País* in 2010. It recounts

⁴⁴⁵ See Maria de la Cinta and M. Cinta Ramblado Minero. "Cine y documentales sobre las mujeres en el franquismo: transmitiendo la memoria en femenino." in Mary Nash (ed.) *Represión, resistencias, memoria: las mujeres bajo la dictadura franquista* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2013), pp.159–78.

⁴⁴⁶ Dulce Chacón. *La voz dormida*. (Madrid: Santillana Ediciones Generales, 2011 [2002]).

⁴⁴⁷ Jose F Colmeiro. 'Re-collecting Women's Voices from Prison: The Hybridization of Memories in Dulce Chacón's *La voz dormida*', in Kathleen M. Glenn and Kathleen Mc Nerney, (eds). *Visions and Revisions: Women's Narrative in Twentieth-century Spain* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), p.192.

⁴⁴⁸ 'He querido explorar el lado oscuro, oculto y silenciado de la posguerra.' Dulce Chacón in José Andrés Rojo, 'He querido explorar el lado oscuro, oculto y silenciado de la posguerra'. *El País*, 6 September 2002. Accessed online on 17th April 2018 at http://elpais.com/diario/2002/09/06/cultura/1031263201_850215.html.

the story of Ana Macías, who poses for a photograph and offers her full name and story as a victim of head shaving.

She laughs about being shaved by Francoists when she was 18-years-old, that she was forced to drink castor oil to purge her soul of left-wing ideas, and that she had to parade through the centre of her village for the amusement of her neighbours. She laughs because her attackers are dead.

Ana did not belong to any party, but never agreed with the Falangist ideology. In 1936, she was the maid to the mayor, who was a Republican: that was her crime. At 91, she recites songs without fear and walks animatedly through the streets of Los Corrales in Seville. "I had bad luck," she says.⁴⁴⁹

This short excerpt highlights the fact that not only could Macías now openly talk about her experience of violence at the youthful age of 18, but it was also possible for her to articulate a sense of wry vindication due to the demise of her attackers. Her innocence at the time of the attack is foregrounded; the article clarifies that she was not politically active but was rather targeted due to the misfortune of being the servant of a Republican. In this context, there appears to be little need for Macías to make defensive proclamations of her own lack of involvement in the war, which still structure the narratives of the *femmes tondues* in France. Conversely, the article is structured around Macías's own narrative and her emotional response to the trauma; she is even able to indulge dark humour when recounting her experience ('She laughs because her attackers are dead'). While the newspaper's centre-left political alignment will have certainly impacted this portrayal, the article nevertheless points to a changing cultural climate where targeted women appear to be able to talk more openly about their experiences; it is noted that Macías sang Republican songs 'without fear,' evidencing a shift from the repression and silencing of leftists during the dictatorship and in its immediate aftermath.

Similarly, documentaries such as Jorge Montes Salguero's 2006 documentary *Del Olvido a la Memoria: Presas de Franco* recount women's varied experiences of post-war repression. Crucially,

⁴⁴⁹ 'Ana Macías suelta una carcajada. Eso era lo que gritaban, hace 70 años, las vendedoras ambulantes para ofrecer alcaparras. Se ríe de que fue rapada por los sublevados franquistas cuando tenía 18 años; de que la obligaron a beber aceite de ricino para purgar su alma de izquierdas, y de que la pasearon por el centro de su pueblo para mofa de sus vecinos. Se ríe porque sus agresores están muertos.

Ana no pertenecía a ningún partido, pero nunca comulgó con el ideario falangista. En 1936, era la sirvienta del alcalde, un republicano, ese fue su delito. Con 91 años, recita coplillas sin miedo y camina vivaracha por las calles de Los Corrales (Sevilla). "Tuve mala suerte." Elsa Cabra, 'La copla de la pelona', *El País*, 17 May 2010. Accessed online on 12th May 2017 at https://elpais.com/diario/2010/05/17/andalucia/1274048530_850215.html.

women give their full names and speak to the camera as part of their testimonies, in stark contrast to *Tondues en 44*, which uses anonymity and even obscures some women's faces while they recount their experiences. The women in Salguero's documentary recount in detail the violence they endured and speak openly of their trauma, which for many, 'left them with life-long scars.'⁴⁵⁰ However, their openness regarding their suffering is framed as a historical duty, as the documentary argues that post-war violence is a 'part of Spanish history.'⁴⁵¹ As such, within these documentary interviews, a shared sense of victimhood is claimed through the re-inscribing of women's experiences of suffering into national narratives.

In both post-war contexts, we can see growing interest in these cases over time and an increasing openness to the reclassification of *mujeres rapadas* and *femmes tondues* as victims of violence and, more specifically, as victims of gender-based violence. However, the spectre of shame continues to loom large in the case of the French *femmes tondues*, as targeted women still seek anonymity when sharing their stories, such as in the Dominique François 2006 collection of testimonies and in Jean Pierre Carlon's 2007 documentary. Similarly, certain cultural representations, while more sympathetic to women's suffering, have not necessarily reframed women as victims or recategorised head shaving as a form of gender-based violence. These examples include the star-crossed lovers narrative espoused in the French newspaper article 'For the Love of a German' in 2004, which seemed to have replicated representations of the *tondues* as women in love, following in the footsteps of 1959 film *Hiroshima Mon Amour*. This sentimental narrative focuses on the tragedy of the ill-fated romance between some *femmes tondues* and their German lovers, rather than on the violence of head shaving or women's suffering in post-war society. Furthermore, this narrative ignores the suffering of shorn women who did not have romantic relationships with German soldiers. In the Spanish context, it is suggested that some women who faced head shaving still feel silenced due to fears about expressing their post-war trauma, as evidenced by the anxiety of the older female protagonist in 2003 film *Pelonas*, who struggles to voice her experience to those around. Equally, targeted women's desires to reclaim space and attention within Spanish national memory, which are expressed in the 2006 *Presas de Franco* documentary, arguably stem from the lesser attention paid to leftist women's experiences during the early Francoist period and the silencing that has resulted from the 1977 Amnesty Law. This speaks to ongoing efforts to integrate

⁴⁵⁰ 'Les han dejado séquelas para toda la vida.' Jorge Montes Salguero. *Del olvido a la memoria. Presas de Franco*. (Spain: La Sexta TV, 2006).

⁴⁵¹ 'Parte de la historia de España.' Ibid.

women's experiences of repression into the public domain due to its previous historical erasure, rather than a sense of closure with the past.

As Aleida Assmann highlights, national memory is a by-product of a process of 'remembering and forgetting' and these 'shades of forgetting' include 'neglecting, overlooking, ignoring'⁴⁵² memories that can unsettle national narratives. These national narratives are often 'organized by collective pride,' which means that 'memories of guilt and responsibility have great difficulty entering the historical conscience and consciousness of a society.'⁴⁵³ The integration of the case studies of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* into national narratives therefore appears to be a politically fraught process, and re-framing targeted women as victims rather than traitors or perpetrators can be particularly problematic.

In French historiography, head shaving is acknowledged as a widespread practice, but these acts of retribution remain controversial: the period of post-Liberation purging continues to be seen by some as too violent and by others as too lenient,⁴⁵⁴ leaving shorn women with no clear space in national memory. On 9 May 2010, Victory in Europe Day, a feminist activist laid roses at a local war memorial in Montauban, with the aim of marking and commemorating the violence women faced during the Liberation, commenting in an interview that 'not all of them [the shorn women] were collaborators.'⁴⁵⁵ This small gesture quickly caught the attention of the local press and the rage of former combatants in the town, showing that even reframing *some* shorn women as victims rather than perpetrators remains controversial, and even unacceptable, to many in contemporary France.

Comparatively, in Spanish historiography, head shaving fits within a catalogue of post-war violence and repression which continues to be shrouded in silence: 'in the mid-1960s the Civil War was reframed as a period of violence for which all Spaniards should be blamed, paving the way for the

⁴⁵² Aleida Assmann, 'Forms of Forgetting,' [online].

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili, 'L'épuration dans tous ses états', *L'Histoire*, No. 445, March 2018, pp.59-60.

⁴⁵⁵ 'Elles n'étaient pas toutes des collaboratrices. On leur a infligé des humiliations corporelles'. Sabine Bernède, 'Montauban « On a tondu ma mère à la Libération »', *La Dépêche*, 6 June 2010. Accessed online on 10th October 2019 at <https://www.ladepeche.fr/article/2010/06/06/849484-montauban-on-a-tondu-ma-mere-a-la-liberation.html>.

so-called pact of silence.⁴⁵⁶ The ongoing refusal to recognise the specificity of repression against leftists, and particularly leftist women, can be seen in a recent controversy provoked by comments made by the general-secretary of extreme-right party Vox, Javier Ortega Smith. In a now infamous exchange in late-2019, Ortega Smith dismissed the need for historical memory laws that recognise the violence faced by those connected to the Second Republic. More specifically, Ortega Smith referred to the infamous case of the *trece rosas*, 13 young women who belonged to the JSU (United Socialist Youth) who were executed by Francoists following torture, which included head shaving.⁴⁵⁷ Ortega Smith dismissed the commemoration of these young women as martyrs, making the spurious claim that the women were guilty of torture, murder and rape,⁴⁵⁸ thereby continuing to frame the women as guilty perpetrators rather than victims of a gendered form of violence.

In both cases, despite significant shifts in national memory and national narratives, the enduring power of silence, stigma and shame is still evident. As Ann Rigney highlights, ‘trauma and the relative inability to give expression to memories can be taken as paradigmatic for all our dealings with the past [...] collective remembrance in practice is the end product of tensions between limitations of various sorts.’⁴⁵⁹ The limitations to the expression of suffering in the case of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* are numerous. In both cases, women affected have not had recourse to justice through the judicial system due to amnesties, and they have not been entirely rehabilitated in national memory, evidenced by their representation in documentaries, press and fiction. These cases show how contrasting narratives of female shame can be ‘a dangerous ethic for women’ because in patriarchal societies ‘women who seek to escape this strict code or who inadvertently fall or are dragged from it’ may face violence ‘with impunity.’⁴⁶⁰ This ultimately suggests that, despite changing understandings of gender-based violence evidenced by international tribunals and new UN definitions, enduring cultural narratives of national disloyalty and

⁴⁵⁶ Vincent Druliolle, ‘Recovering Historical Memory: A Struggle against Silence and forgetting? The Politics of Victimhood in Spain’, *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 9 (2015), p.327.

⁴⁵⁷ See: Carlos Fonseca, *Trece Rosas rojas: La historia más conmovedora de la guerra civil* (Madrid: Historia Viva, 2007).

⁴⁵⁸ Aurora Intxausti, ‘Ortega Smith acusa a las 13 Rosas de Madrid de “torturar, asesinar y violar”’, *El País*, 7 October 2019. Accessed online on 10th October 2019 at https://elpais.com/ccaa/2019/10/04/madrid/1570186964_169166.html.

⁴⁵⁹ Ann Rigney, ‘Plenitude, scarcity and the circulation of cultural memory.’ *Journal of European Studies*, 35, 1 (2005), p.21.

⁴⁶⁰ Cynthia Cockburn, *The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, in Caroline O.N Moser and Fiona C Clark (eds.) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (London and New York: Zed books, 2001), p.19.

besmirched female honour, alongside a continued lack of engagement with women's historical suffering, continue to delegitimise and undermine targeted women's claims for recognition as victims of violence.

Conclusion

This chapter has set out the complexities of reframing these historical cases of head shaving, humiliation and assault against women through the prism of victimhood and gender-based violence. Firstly, it has identified the ways in which targeted women in both contexts were framed as perpetrators rather than victims by the Resistance and by Francoists, meaning that these women were viewed as undeserving of sympathy while the phenomenon raged through post-war France and Spain. As highlighted by women's arrest reports and documentation of the purges, the suffering caused by head shaving and humiliation was rationalised during the two periods of political purges; targeted women were framed as 'a threat to public morality'⁴⁶¹ and as anti-national, either as women of the German soldiers in France, known pejoratively as 'women of the Germans',⁴⁶² or as bestial female communists in Spain.⁴⁶³ Analysing excerpts from military reports, arrest reports and testimonies, it is evident that these heavily gendered constructions were reproduced in the accounts of incidents, and that comparative discourses of female guilt, shame and immorality were replicated in targeted women's police, judicial and military files in the aftermath of head shaving, humiliation and other acts of violence. This institutional framing of targeted women as deserving of violence is key to understanding how 'social interests and power structures' are 'active in shaping and framing individual memories',⁴⁶⁴ and how these institutional frames continue to negate and undermine any claims to victimhood in the aftermath of head shaving. In both contexts, the patriarchal social construction of the female traitor is mobilised by Francoists and resisters. This construct frames head shaving as a legitimate and necessary punishment that was meted out to contain the perceived

⁴⁶¹ 'Las rojas habían subvertido el orden natural, atentando contra la moral pública.' Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.16.

⁴⁶² 'Les femmes à boches.' Fabrice Virgili, 'Víctimas, culpables y silenciosas: memorias de las mujeres rapadas en la Francia de la posguerra', in Julio Aróstegui and François Godicheau (eds.) *Guerra Civil. Mito y memoria*. (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2006), p.363.

⁴⁶³ Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.16.

⁴⁶⁴ Jan Assmann, 'Communicative and Cultural Memory: Memory: Individual, Social and Cultural.' In Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.) *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2008), p.111.

national threat posed by women who had real or imagined connections to the Nazi occupiers in France or to leftist movements in Spain.

This chapter has also tracked increased engagement with women's experiences of head shaving beyond narratives of shame and punishment, drawing from sources that have given voice to the women who faced head shaving: from archival sources from the post-war period to contemporary sources in the press, fiction and documentaries which have tried to reconstruct and represent targeted women's experiences. The ongoing process of interrogating the shame and stigma surrounding the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*, to which this thesis seeks to contribute, acknowledges the trauma and suffering caused to women by post-war practices of head shaving and humiliation, thereby recognising the phenomenon as a gendered form of violence. However, while such efforts point to the potential to reclassify targeted women as victims and to reframe this post-war practice as a form of gender-based violence, it is nevertheless important to acknowledge the enduring political discomfort and ambivalence surrounding the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* in French and Spanish national narratives.

In dialogue, these cases indicate that it is important to recognise the problematic potential of victimhood as a historical category, as the process of granting victimhood has been shown to be highly ambiguous and changeable in France and Spain. These cases evidence the conditional, and potentially exclusionary, nature of victimhood as it depends on politics, discourses and attitudes. This offers insight into how and why targeted women in these case studies were not historically read as victims but rather as 'guilty' women, because public shaming has historically functioned as a means of 'separating "good" women from "bad,"'⁴⁶⁵ such as in the public witch trials in Early Modern Europe⁴⁶⁶ or the public punishment of prostitutes under the *Ancien Regime* in France, which included hair clipping and public exposure.⁴⁶⁷ Consequently, the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* continue to have a troubled relationship with restrictive understandings of victimhood, as exemplified by Bayley's narrow definition, precisely because they do not neatly fit within the categories of those entitled to 'social concern.'⁴⁶⁸ These women were understood as

⁴⁶⁵ Bonnie Morris. 'A Separate Violence: The Politics of Shaming', *NWSA Journal*, 4, 2 (1992), p.203.

⁴⁶⁶ Claude Gavard, 'Introduction. D'Ève à la présumée coupable.' In Eds. Fanny Bugnon, Julie Doyon, Pierre Fournié, Michel Porret, Annick Tillier and Fabrice Virgili, *Présumées coupables : les grands procès faits aux femmes*, (Iconoclaste: Paris, 2016), p.27.

⁴⁶⁷ Jean-Yves Le Naour. 'Femmes tondues et répression des 'femmes à boches' en 1918.', p.157.

⁴⁶⁸ James E Bayley, 'The Concept of Victimhood', p.53.

perpetrators and a source of national dishonour at the time of incidents and in political discourse and national memory in the resulting decades; it is only in recent years that there has been a slow cultural shift towards reclassifying them as victims of gender-based violence, regardless of their wartime behaviour, relationships or connections. These case studies therefore highlight that it can be problematic to apply victimhood as a framework for understanding violence against women more generally. They evidence how perceptions of targeted and vilified women can evolve through different time periods and spaces, but that, fundamentally, suffering does not equal victimhood. This is because victimhood hinges on social recognition and concern, and it does not necessarily correlate to the harm inflicted. This confirms Tami Amanda Jacoby's assertion that victimhood is not 'prior or external to analysis' as it is rather a 'socially constructed identity'.⁴⁶⁹

In both cases, outbreaks of violence against women were 'products of gendered social processes and interactions',⁴⁷⁰ such as comparative discourses of female disloyalty and treachery that dehumanised certain groups of women and rationalised the use of violence against them. The fact that historical studies of the phenomenon in both cases still do not unequivocally designate these acts as a strain of socially sanctioned gender-based violence and continue to utilise the language of gendered punishment into the 21st century evidences the enduring influence of this cultural narrative. In this way, these case studies reflect a disquieting inconsistency at re-framing head shaving as a form of gender-based violence rather than punishment: the facilitation of violence hinged upon the demonisation of certain women, in order to rationalise their suffering. Nevertheless, in doing so, these targeted women were categorised as unworthy of social concern and it is therefore a difficult process for the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* to articulate their experiences of trauma and successfully make claims for victimhood. In short, these two case studies speak to the difficulty of re-inscribing victimhood and social concern on female bodies deemed deserving of violence and humiliation.

To conclude, this chapter has drawn attention to the importance of theorising the contestation surrounding victimhood, particularly in regard to heavily politicised case studies, because victimhood has been shown to be a conditional and fundamentally unstable social category. It is

⁴⁶⁹ Tami Amanda Jacoby, 'A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity', pp.511-513.

⁴⁷⁰ Cilja Harders, 'Gender Relations, Violence and Conflict Transformation.' In: Beatrix Austin, Martina Fischer and Hans-Joachim Giessmann (eds.) *Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II*. (Opladen/Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2011) p.136.

impossible to identify and analyse the complexities of reclassifying the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* as victims of gender-based violence without offering historical, social and political context for the ongoing contestation and ambivalence that surround these case studies and their place in national memory and political discourse. This shows that the memorialisation of traumatic periods and our relationship to these historical events is not fixed, it is constantly shifting. Nowhere is this clearer than with politicised notions of victimhood and disputed definitions of gender-based violence, as the meaning of practices of head shaving have changed considerably since the 1930s and 1940s. However, these shifts are still limited by enduring institutional narratives of targeted women as female traitors, which have hampered attempts to unequivocally identify these women as victims of violence. These narratives certainly contributed to the rationalisation of violence by perpetrators, which will be explored in the next chapter in an analysis of the roles, behaviours and understandings of those who led and participated in head shaving and other associated acts of gender-specific violence and humiliation during the Liberation in France and the Spanish Civil War.

Chapter 3

Unmasking victors as perpetrators: masculinity, nationhood and violence

Introduction

As explored in the previous chapter on contested victimhood, outbreaks of head shaving have primarily been understood by historians as a ‘gendered punishment’⁴⁷¹ and an expression of popular retribution against female dissidents, rather than as a form of gender-based violence. In this dominant historiographical model used to explain the phenomenon of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*, the figure of the perpetrator has yet to be fully unmasked. This erasure can be explained by the historiographical focus on the selection of women to be punished, due to their alleged ‘crimes’, rather than on those who organised and enacted practices of head shaving and humiliation. This chapter will seek to deepen understandings of the phenomenon by offering new insights into the roles and perspectives of the various perpetrators of head shaving in Liberation France and Civil War Spain, by reframing shearing as a form of violence which operated in a gender-specific way, as it was typically enacted by groups of men, including resisters, Francoists, soldiers and civilians, against women. This chapter will identify the roles of perpetrators and interrogate how the practice was rationalised and enacted. Corran Laurens, whose work was discussed in the introductory chapter, posits that historical explanations for head shaving have tended to ‘subordinate’ its key feature: namely, the ‘enactment of a gender-based violence inflicted by men on the bodies of women.’⁴⁷² Building from this argumentation, this chapter will situate head shaving on a spectrum of gender-based violence committed against women during and following these two conflicts, and it will reconceptualise the men who led and participated in these outbreaks as perpetrators.

To offer theoretical grounding to its discussion of historical perpetrators of violence against women, this chapter will explore the emergence of scholarship on perpetrators, which has developed as an interdisciplinary area of study that borrows from history, psychology, and anthropology. In *The Routledge International Handbook of Perpetrator Studies*, Susanne Knittel and Zachery Goldberg

⁴⁷¹ As explored in the first chapter regarding victims, the language of ‘gendered punishment’ proliferates in existing literature exploring both the French and Spanish case studies, such as Fabrice Virgili’s *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.7 and Enrique González Duro’s *Las mujeres rapadas*, p.45.

⁴⁷² Corran Laurens, ‘La Femme au Turban’: images of women in France at the Liberation’, p.155.

highlight that, while listening to the victims and survivors of violence is of considerable historical importance, it is impossible to identify ‘the root causes of such injustice’ without drawing attention to ‘the actors who carry out or are complicit in such acts.’⁴⁷³ In order to bring the two case studies into dialogue, it is therefore important to analyse the actions, attitudes and understandings of perpetrators of head shaving.

Furthermore, interrogating the roles and actions of perpetrators is crucial to understanding how head shaving spread across the two countries as incidents appear to have been purposefully coordinated and organised as a ‘repressive spectacle’, which provoked social ‘rejection and repulsion’.⁴⁷⁴ Outbreaks required some degree of coordinated action by various perpetrators; these practices relied upon the participation of diverse groups, which were largely made up of male resisters, soldiers, militias, police and civilians. Additionally, although head shaving was not a legally mandated punishment, it was often accompanied by judicial forms of punishment, such as imprisonment, and it was sometimes documented in arrest reports and police and military files, lending it a certain degree of institutional legitimacy. Due to the practice’s ambiguous relationship with legality in both France and Spain, locating the roles of perpetrators within it deepens understandings of the phenomenon by illustrating how it was enacted as an organised and semi-official form of humiliation, often administered with the knowledge and, in some cases, the active participation of public authorities.⁴⁷⁵ As a result, exploring the roles of different perpetrators in coordinating head shaving, and the social discourses that motivated them, opens up hitherto unexplored avenues of analysis.

Crucially, this chapter will contextualise the gendered dimension of head shaving from the perspectives of those orchestrating and participating in violence. The role of gender as a motivating

⁴⁷³ Susanne C. Knittel and Zachery J. Goldberg, ‘Introduction’, in Susanne C. Knittel and Zachery J. Goldberg (eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Perpetrator Studies* (London: Routledge, 2019), p.1.

⁴⁷⁴ ‘Se ejerció en todo el territorio nacional y se acompañó de la ingestión de un purgante provocando una auténtico “espectáculo represivo” de cuerpos desnudos que provocaban el rechazo y la repulsión, cuando no burla y mofa’. Francisca Moya Alcañiz, *Republicanas condenadas a muerte: analogías y diferencias territoriales y de género (1936-1945)*, p.150.

⁴⁷⁵ François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili highlight that head shaving was frequently organised by new local authorities during the Liberation of France, and this organisation sometimes occurred at a regional level, such as in Languedoc. *Les Françaises, les Français et l’Épuration*, p.327. Similarly, Paul Preston highlights that military authorities could have stopped excesses of violence led by militias, but they frequently encouraged violence against leftists as part of a ‘dirty war’ once zones were captured. *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge*, p.307.

factor for violence is key because perpetrators tended to be militarised or semi-militarised groups of men. The different demographics of perpetrators of head shaving will be identified alongside the discourses of masculinity, nationalism and violence which provided a rationale for these practices. In the scholarship of the French case, Michael Kelly suggests that violence against women perceived to have been traitors by resisters, soldiers and civilians was justified and rationalised by discourses of 'reconstruction' of masculine pride and dominance, following the 'humiliation' of occupation and military defeat.⁴⁷⁶ Maud Joly similarly argues that Francoist soldiers and militias in the Spanish rearguard drew from 'discourses of virility,' which framed enemy women as 'spoils of war' and legitimised the use of exemplary violence as a means of re-establishing traditional gender roles.⁴⁷⁷ Within this analysis of historical gender dynamics, the role of Francoist or Resistance leadership and authorities in encouraging or, conversely, restraining the use of this heavily symbolic violence against women will also be analysed, to offer a clear picture of the contextual factors that facilitated violence against women by groups of resisters or Francoists. When bringing these French and Spanish case studies into dialogue, it is therefore key to draw out shared themes in terms of the two post-war settings and the different individuals and groups involved, in order to isolate and analyse the 'ecosystem of violence'⁴⁷⁸ that rationalised perpetrators' actions in the two case studies.

This chapter will also identify and analyse source material, including reports and testimonies, which indicate the use of more severe violence beyond the use of head shaving, including sexual assault, torture and murder, at the hands of resisters and Francoists. At a first glance, it may seem provocative, particularly to a French reader, to compare resisters and Francoist militias as perpetrators of violence against women, but both groups were intrinsically tied to the perpetration of public and private reprisals against women, including head shaving and other more extreme acts of violence. These acts of violence appeared to have occurred in tandem with the visible act of head shaving, pointing to a broader 'continuum'⁴⁷⁹ of gender-specific violence committed by some

⁴⁷⁶ Michael Kelly, 'The Reconstruction of Masculinity at the Liberation,' in H.R. Kedward and Nancy Woods (eds.), *The Liberation of France: Image and Event* (Oxford & Washington, 1995), pp.117-119.

⁴⁷⁷ Maud Joly explains that women were viewed as 'botín de guerra' and for male perpetrators, "el discurso de la virilidad" constituyó un componente de su retórica guerrera.' 'Las violencias sexuadas de la Guerra Civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto', pp.99-100.

⁴⁷⁸ This is a term used by Katerina Clark in her exploration of Stalinist violence during the 1930s in *Petersburg: Crucible of Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), ix-x. Clark highlighted the specific contextual and social factors in Russia and wider transnational trends regarding modernisation as key to the use of violence.

⁴⁷⁹ In Liz Kelly's 'The Continuum of Sexual Violence', she discusses how sexual violence and other forms of gender-based violence exists on a spectrum or continuum. Within these case studies, this is a helpful term

perpetrators in the two cases, strengthening the argument for defining head shaving along a spectrum of gender-based violence. These acts of humiliation and violence have typically been minimised in historiography and national narratives due to the moral authority claimed by the Resistance and Francoist troops as victors in their respective conflicts; incidents of sexual assault, torture and murder jar with notions of head shaving as a ‘deserved punishment’⁴⁸⁰ instead of a form of violence against women. Similarly, these incidents frequently occurred away from the eyes of the community, for example in makeshift and official prisons, camps and domestic spaces, and have therefore been less visible in historical sources. This thesis seeks to rectify this oversight by incorporating these acts of violence, which have been neglected within memorialisation and scholarship, into discussions around perpetration. This omission may be because of the greater visibility of head shaving as a means of marking enemy women or female traitors.⁴⁸¹

This is a key difference in the historiography and memorialisation of the phenomenon of head shaving between the two case studies. In the Spanish case, head shaving is often analysed in conjunction with further acts of humiliation, torture and execution, like in the work of Pura Sánchez,⁴⁸² Enrique González Duro⁴⁸³ and Maud Joly.⁴⁸⁴ However, in the French case, head shaving typically commands greater attention in studies of post-war violence and is frequently recognised and analysed as a standalone phenomenon, due to the abundance of photography of the *femmes tondues*, and further acts of violence enacted by perpetrators tend to be minimised or neglected in scholarship and representation. This has led to some historians of France, such as Peter Novick, to

as it allows us to contextualise head shaving as one act of gender-specific violence, which often co-existed with other forms of violence, such as castor oil ingested, forced nudity, and sexual and physical assaults. See Liz Kelly’s ‘The Continuum of Sexual Violence’, in Jalna Hanmer and Mary Maynard (eds.), *Women, Violence and Social Control. Explorations in Sociology* (British Sociological Association Conference Volume series). (Palgrave Macmillan: London, 1987), pp.46-60.

⁴⁸⁰ Corran Laurens, ‘La Femme au Turban’: images of women in France at the Liberation’, p.156.

⁴⁸¹ In her analysis of the visual memorialisation of head shaving, Cecile Bishop highlights that photographic images of shorn women were ‘an integral part of the violence and humiliation,’ however, away from the camera lens, these same women were also being ‘sexually abused or killed’, ‘Photography, Race and Invisibility: The liberation of Paris, in black and white’, p.201. Similarly, in his study of head shaving during the Spanish Civil War, Enrique González Duro clarifies that although head shaving was a ‘violencia visible’, which verged on ‘exhibicionista’ in photography and parades, it also accompanied other forms of reprisals against enemy women, including further humiliation, torture and execution, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.37.

⁴⁸² Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.227.

⁴⁸³ Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.12.

⁴⁸⁴ Maud Joly, ‘Le Corps de l’Ennemie : Histoire et représentations des violences contre les républicaines en Espagne (1936-63)’, pp.324-370.

claim that head shaving served to stop further violence and executions because the practice 'appeased fellow citizens' rage.'⁴⁸⁵ This chapter seeks to oppose this view by citing acts of further violence experienced by the *femmes tondues* in France, much like the *mujeres rapadas* in Spain, which have gained prominence thanks to post-war documentation and testimonies. This chapter will therefore analyse head shaving in the two case studies within a wider spectrum of violence faced by targeted women, which may be less visible in historical source material and national narratives, to enable us to better understand the roles of perpetrators in incidents of head shaving.

However, much like the social contestation surrounding notions of victimhood explored in the second chapter, analysing head shaving and its associated practices of humiliation through the historical category of the perpetrator is not without controversy. Much like the resistance to viewing the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* through the lens of victimhood, there is an ongoing reluctance to reframe those who led or participated in practices of head shaving as perpetrators in contemporary France and Spain. As historian Lynne Viola notes, the 'very notion of the historical perpetrator comes directly from literature on the Holocaust',⁴⁸⁶ and, in contrast, these two case studies are of violent practices being led by those who were victorious in the conflict and who were celebrated in the aftermath. In French national narratives, resisters have been framed as 'soldiers in the shadows' who wanted to liberate the country; they are often evoked as a source of national pride in political discourse, which presents resisters as being driven by a 'sense of national solidarity', 'pride' and 'honour.'⁴⁸⁷ Similarly, the actions of Nationalist rebels under Franco were represented in the post-war years as soldiers who fought valiantly in the 'crusade' against the Republic, which symbolised 'decadence, immorality and irreligion', granting Francoists 'moral authority as well as military might.'⁴⁸⁸ Therefore, in both contexts, there was a sense of moral legitimisation that accompanied victory by the Resistance and the Francoists, and these notions persist to the present day. The assignation of moral authority to the victors in the two contexts

⁴⁸⁵ 'De la même façon que les exécutions, ces actes de violence mineure répondaient, de la part d'une population qui depuis quatre ans avait dû avaler son ressentiment, au besoin profond de donner libre cours à l'émotion.' Peter Novick, *L'épuration française 1944-1949* (Paris: Balland, 1985), p.123.

⁴⁸⁶ Lynne Viola. 'The Question of the Perpetrator in Soviet History,' *Slavic Review*, 72, 1 (2013), p.1.

⁴⁸⁷ Henri Michel, 'The Psychology of the Resister.' *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5, 3 (1970), p.168.

⁴⁸⁸ Mary Vincent, 'The Martyrs and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade', *History Workshop Journal*, 47, 1 (1999), pp.69-70.

facilitates interpretations of head shaving as a justifiable punitive act against female dissidents, rather than as an act of gender-specific violence.

Against this backdrop of favourable national narratives which have insulated historical actors from responsibility or condemnation, this chapter will reconceptualise those who led outbreaks of head shaving in the two cases as perpetrators of violence by re-reading source material, such as press accounts and broadcasts, information reports, women's police and military files and testimonies to understand participants' roles, behaviour and perspectives. These sources have been drawn from national, military and regional archives, to give a broader picture of how perpetrators' behaviours and roles were documented across the two national case studies. Unfortunately, 'ego documents',⁴⁸⁹ in which perpetrators explain their own behaviour, motivations and involvement in head shaving, humiliation and associated acts of violence are enormously rare in these case studies due to the institutional positioning of perpetrators as victors. Unlike perpetrators of violence in the Holocaust, for example, there was little need for perpetrators of head shaving and other associated acts to defend themselves and justify their actions in post-war France or Spain.⁴⁹⁰ In Spain, records of violence against leftists have largely been 'manipulated or destroyed',⁴⁹¹ while the judicial and extra-judicial repression of women by Francoists was characterised by 'carelessness and impunity'⁴⁹² for the resulting decades. Conversely, Franco's government ordered an investigation called the *Causa General* (General Cause) in 1942, the objective of which was to gather evidence of Republican crimes during the war, thereby deflecting any claims against Nationalist troops as perpetrators of

⁴⁸⁹ The term 'ego document' stems from the work of Dutch historian Jacob Presser in 1958, as part of his research on Dutch Jews' experiences of the Occupation in the Netherlands, in which he drew from personal accounts and reports from both victims and perpetrators. For more about the history of the term, see Kaspar von Greyerz, 'Ego-Documents: The Last word?' *German History*, 28, 3 (2010), pp.273–282.

⁴⁹⁰ In Raul Hilberg's *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945*, he explores the roles of perpetrators during the Holocaust and their perceptions of their own involvement in anti-Jewish violence, which emphasise how they viewed themselves as part of a larger system and often did not hold themselves personally responsible. Jürgen Matthäus explores the rich historiography and source material derived from the Nuremberg trials of low and high-ranking perpetrators during the Holocaust, where they had to defend themselves and explain their actions. This often led to defendants attempting to prove that they themselves had been victims 'of their superiors and unfortunate circumstances' as part of their defence in court trials. 'Historiography and the Perpetrators of the Holocaust', in Dan Stone (ed.) *The Historiography of the Holocaust* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.197-199.

⁴⁹¹ 'Des problèmes posés par les sources, manipulées par le franquisme et en partie détruites.' Yannick Ripa, 'À propos des tondues durant la guerre civile espagnole', p.2.

⁴⁹² 'El descuido y la impunidad con la que actuaban los tribunales franquistas.' Ángeles Ágido León, 'Memoria de la represión: nombres femeninos para la historia,' *Arenal: Revista de historia de mujeres*, 24, 2 (2017), p.519.

violence. As Paul Preston highlights, the material used for this investigation ranged from 'documents to unsubstantiated hearsay' and allowed Nationalists to 'vent their desire for revenge'⁴⁹³ against leftists. Therefore, the only available source material which openly describes the violence of the Nationalists can be found in Republican information reports and press. In contrast, women's military files, the right-wing press and broadcasts often deny Nationalist violence, or make attempts to justify it. In France, accounts of violence by resisters during the purges were documented in CHOLF files and in histories collected by resisters, such as in the Robert Aron files. However, these files do not place resisters' violence against women at the forefront, and accounts were often sanitised in terms of use of head shaving, humiliation and other associated acts. For example, in a set of transcripts regarding the actions of the Departmental Liberation Committee in Caen, Robert Aron removes references to head shaving by resisters in the neatened final version of his notes.⁴⁹⁴ Furthermore, in some resisters' testimonies and memoirs, the involvement of 'true' resisters in practices of head shaving and humiliation is denied or downplayed, such as in Serge Ravel's memoir, in which he argues that resisters only witnessed these acts, which had 'nothing to do with the Resistance.'⁴⁹⁵

Consequently, when reframing those who participated in head shaving as perpetrators of a gendered form of violence, it is important to highlight there were no judicial proceedings or unequivocal statements of condemnation against those involved, as the French Resistance and the Francoists in Spain were framed as victors and heroes in post-war national narratives. Within this chapter's analysis of perpetrators, it will seek to contextualise the political contention that surrounds designating resisters and Francoists as perpetrators. It will also draw from source material to make the argument that head shaving existed on a spectrum of violence against women during

⁴⁹³ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge*. (London: Harper Perennial, 2006), p.9.

⁴⁹⁴ LC, F Delta 1832/30 42 Dubois. In the first set of notes, the use of head shaving against women arrested for relationships with German soldiers by the CDL is referred to as part of resisters' 'incoherent and nervous' behaviour during the Liberation: 'le CDL agissait d'une manière incohérente et nerveuse. Lorsqu'il a relâché les femmes arrêtées pour relations avec les soldats allemands, il lui a été demandé si, toutefois, on pouvait les tondre. Les tondre, M. Dubois voulait bien accorder cette satisfaction au CDL mais pas d'emprisonnement.' In the second set of Aron's neatened notes, the reference to head shaving is removed.

⁴⁹⁵ 'On tondait ces femmes. On les transportait nues dans des charrettes, exposées aux regards et aux cris de la foule. Avec parfois, des croix gammées peintes sur le corps. Des Résistants m'ont raconté comment ils avaient assisté à de telles scènes, remplis de honte, impuissants face à une population déchainée. Cela n'avait rien à voir avec la Résistance.' Serge Ravel, *L'Esprit de Résistance* (Paris: Seuil, 1995), p.444.'

the two conflicts, which was rationalised and enacted with a considerable degree of impunity by these historical actors.

3.1 Critical approaches to perpetrators of historical violence

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the study of perpetrators of violence as historical figures has largely centred on identifying motivations and mentalities as a means of explaining participation in large-scale violence during conflict. This area of analysis has focused particularly on the Holocaust as an emblematic example of organised widespread violence. This has led to the emergence of two key schools of thought regarding participation in violence; perpetrators are either motivated to commit acts of violence due to pre-existing character traits,⁴⁹⁶ or perpetrators are driven to violence by structural or situational factors.⁴⁹⁷ These two dominant schools of thought, which either point to the existence of perpetrator mentalities or to the importance of social context, have encouraged fierce debate. In the realm of Holocaust studies, historian Daniel Goldhagen has suggested that the Nazis were ‘willing executioners,’⁴⁹⁸ whereas Christopher Browning has argued that perpetrators were ‘ordinary men’ who became habituated to violence.⁴⁹⁹ The conflict between predisposition and habituation as explanations for violent behaviour has extended beyond the Holocaust, and has opened up a complex debate regarding perpetrators and their relationship to their particular political and historical context or milieu. Some theorists have tried to elaborate a synthesis of these seemingly opposing approaches, such as John Steiner’s notion of the perpetrator as a ‘sleeper’; Steiner asserts that perpetrators are defined by having a pre-disposition to violence

⁴⁹⁶ Psychologists and sociologists from various fields have tried to sketch out the definitive profile of a typical perpetrator, based on the premise that involvement in violence can be explained by an individual’s character or personality traits. The most notable example of this is Theodor Adorno’s authoritarian personality, which implies that certain qualities and attitudes increase an individual’s likelihood of participation in prejudice and violence: such as submission to authority figures and hostility towards those who defy rules and conventions. See Theodor W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, R. Nevitt Sanford, *The authoritarian personality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950).

⁴⁹⁷ In opposition to this personality-based approach, other theorists, such as Paul A. Roth have tried to explain perpetrator behaviours through a lens of structural or situational factors, which emphasise the wider ideological context and the political structures in place.⁴⁹⁷ According to such approaches, it is believed that contextual social factors may help to ‘anesthetise’ perpetrators from the implications of their involvement in violence and therefore encourage their participation. See Paul A. Roth. ‘Hearts of darkness: ‘Perpetrator history’ and why there is no why.’ *History of the Human Sciences*, 17, 2/3 (2004), p.216.

⁴⁹⁸ Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Final Solution* (New York: Knopf, 1996).

⁴⁹⁹ Christopher R. Browning. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (London: Penguin Books, 2001).

that lays dormant until activated by certain social and situational conditions.⁵⁰⁰ Most explorations of perpetrators' behaviour in various situations of conflict highlight the necessity of an environment that is conducive to violence, suggesting that 'cruelty is social in its origin much more than it is characterological.'⁵⁰¹

As a result, pathologizing perpetrators by isolating a personality type or alluding to notions of a national personality, such as in Daniel Goldhagen's examination of Nazi Germany, appears overly deterministic. Such methods of inquiry typically neglect the importance of multiple other contextual factors that contributed to the perpetration and widespread acceptance of violence, such as social and political structures and prevalent ideologies and discourses and the role of obedience to authority as a factor in accepting and participating in violence.⁵⁰² When bringing these two case studies of targeted humiliation and violence against women into dialogue, it will therefore be crucial to draw out shared themes in terms of comparative social discourses which rationalised and legitimised acts, such as head shaving.

In order to draw out shared discourses and attitudes in France and Spain that illustrate how 'ordinary men' were pulled into the process of perpetration,⁵⁰³ it is important to explore the interweaving themes of masculinity and nationalism as motivating factors for violence in both contexts. The connection between masculinity and violence in post-conflict contexts is a fertile field of study, with historians and sociologists alike pointing to the re-assertion of dominant and

⁵⁰⁰ John Steiner, 'The SS Yesterday and Today: A Sociopsychological View', in Joel E. Dimsdale (ed.), *Survivors, Victims, and Perpetrators: Essays on the Nazi Holocaust* (Washington: Hemisphere Publishing, 1980), pp.431-434.

⁵⁰¹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p.166. This aligns with Hannah Arendt's frequently cited view of the 'banality of evil' in the aftermath of the infamous Eichmann trial in Jerusalem; Arendt proposed that violence cannot be explained by an individual's disposition, but rather by an inculcated obedience to authority, rendering violent acts banal and perpetration contextual. Hannah Arendt, 1963, cited in Stefano Passini, 'From the banality of evil to the complicity of indifference: The effects on intergroup relationships', *New Ideas in Psychology*, 47 (2017), p.24.

⁵⁰² Such factors are discussed in Kerrilee Hollows and Katarina Fritzon, "'Ordinary Men' or 'Evil Monsters'?: An Action Systems Model of Genocidal Actions and Characteristics of Perpetrators,' *Law and Human Behaviour*, 35, 5 (2012), pp.458-467. Drawing from data regarding perpetrators of genocidal violence in countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo, Hollows and Fritzon develop a more nuanced perpetrator typology, which considers obedience, prevailing social structures and ideology, racial and cultural prejudices and individual personality factors. They identify four distinctive types of perpetrator, including those who adapt to and obey orders, those who have absorbed prejudice, those who are individually unstable, and those who participate in violence due to perceived social injustice.

⁵⁰³ Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, p.159.

militarised masculinities following perceived emasculation or crisis as an explanation for increased sexual and domestic violence after conflict.⁵⁰⁴ Within this nexus, post-war trends of patriarchal violence, such as head shaving and public humiliation that targeted politically and sexually dissident women, can be analysed as a means of showing ‘women and children their proper place’, in response to ‘the battering inflicted by total war upon Europe’s traditional patriarchal family.’⁵⁰⁵ These shared ideological currents of emasculation neatly interweave with a perceived sense of precarious or threatened nationhood. As highlighted in the previous chapter on victimhood, women were targeted for various reasons in France and Spain, such as their affiliations or relationships, but what connects all targeted women is that they had been framed as traitors to their respective countries due to their ‘antinational’ behaviour.⁵⁰⁶ As such, women who had dissented from the national community’s norms, either in terms of their political or sexual choices, seem to have been perceived to be fair game, and the perpetration of violence against them was considered by most to be legitimate punishment.

Consequently, in order to explore the roles and perspectives of perpetrators and the ways in which head shaving and acts of violence and humiliation were orchestrated against women, it is important to consider the contextual factors and the social discourses that enabled and encouraged diverse perpetrators within the two historical contexts. It appears that many perpetrators in the two cases could be more aptly described as ‘ordinary men’ who became habituated to violence, rather than ‘evil monsters.’⁵⁰⁷ Careful nuancing of the term ‘perpetrator’ is necessary in both case studies due to the term’s overtones of moral condemnation and its associations with the study of the Holocaust and other historical genocides. Crucially, the use of the term ‘perpetrator’ in this chapter does not signify moral condemnation but rather refers to involvement in specific acts of gender-based violence by individuals and groups in the two case studies. What renders the use of the term particularly complex is that ‘perpetrator’ typically signifies criminality, and in neither France nor Spain were those involved in head shaving and its associated violence viewed as criminals; the act itself was not viewed as a crime, but an expression of justice, and those meting it out were aligned

⁵⁰⁴ Cilja Harders, ‘Gender Relations, Violence and Conflict Transformation’, p.143.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ This is explored in the French case by Anne Simonin in *Le déshonneur dans la République : une histoire de l’indignité 1791-1958*, and Pura Sánchez in *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)* in the Spanish case.

⁵⁰⁷ Kerrilee Hollows and Katarina Fritzon, “‘Ordinary Men’ or “‘Evil Monsters’?: An Action Systems Model of Genocidal Actions and Characteristics of Perpetrators,” p.458.

with the new post-war authorities. In this way, the two contexts, characterised by civil war or liberation from occupation, appear to have relativised the use of violence against women deemed to be enemies within their shared contexts of civilian conflict. Similarly, individuals' belonging in their respective groups, in terms of Francoist militias and troops or French resisters and soldiers, may have even been concretised by their involvement in violence such as head shaving and, by extension, their ties to the two nations emerging from conflict were also strengthened.

3.2 Masculinity, militarisation and nationhood as motivating factors for violence

Head shaving functioned on gendered lines and was characterised by the widespread involvement, acceptance and participation of new public authorities and civil society. Archival documentation, including police and military reports, press and information bulletins, attest to perpetrators coming from a diverse cross-section of French and Spanish society. In France, perpetrators included militias, armed resisters, barbers and enthusiastic civilians.⁵⁰⁸ Those involved in head shaving in Spain range from landowners, *Falange*, Carlist *requetés*, Civil Guards, to domestic and foreign troops. In her collection of targeted women's testimonies in Spain, Tomasa Cuevas also points to the role of barbers; some of whom participated voluntarily, and some of whom were obliged to participate in violence by local *Falange* members.⁵⁰⁹ Fabrice Virgili similarly mentions the role of local barbers in head shaving in France⁵¹⁰ and Luc Capdevila highlights that in the majority of press and judicial accounts, head shaving is described as having been orchestrated by men associated with various resistance factions, including FFI, FTP, FN and CDLL,⁵¹¹ alongside some cases of civilians and unnamed men leading violence.⁵¹² As such, we can see clear similarities between the two case studies in terms of perpetrators, as there is not one definitive type of perpetrator who clearly emerges in either case study. Furthermore, these outbreaks may be more aptly described as a form of group-based violence; there are not only multiple typologies of targeted women, there are also

⁵⁰⁸ Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, pp.23-27.

⁵⁰⁹ Tomasa Cuevas, *Cárcel de mujeres (1939-1945)*, p.91.

⁵¹⁰ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.90.

⁵¹¹ There are various factions and pockets of resistance across France, which were divided ideologically. The FFI stands for *Forces Françaises De L'Intérieur (FFI)*, which was the umbrella term used by Charles de Gaulle to formally designate various Resistance factions. As such, many documents simply name the perpetrators of head shaving as FFI, without specifying any further affiliations. The FTP refers to *Francois Tireurs et Partisans*, which were the armed communist forces of the Resistance. The FN (*Front National*) led by Pierre Villon was the political representative of the leftist FTP and organised propaganda and clandestine organisations. The CDLL refers to *Ceux de la Libération*, a right-wing French Resistance movement.

⁵¹² Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation: Imaginaires et comportements d'une sortie de guerre (1944/1945)*, p.149.

multiple kinds of perpetrators involved, sometimes belonging to differing groups with divergent ideologies, such as in the case of head shavings led by various resistance movements in France and those led by various different militias and armies in Spain.

Historians such as Fabrice Virgili have highlighted the importance of masculinity and nationhood in his study of the *femmes tondues* in France, most evocatively in the title *La France « virile »*. In this study, Virgili asserts that head shaving represented male perpetrators' desire to re-establish national honour and masculine pride in the aftermath of a shameful military defeat in 1940 followed by a foreign occupation.⁵¹³ As a result, it is easy to see how resisters' violence against French women who were seen to collaborate with the German occupier may have been encouraged and accepted during the immediate chaos of the Liberation, despite more recent historical analyses which emphasise that many French people had to adapt to living under an Occupation in order to survive.⁵¹⁴ At the time of outbreaks, however, these women were seen to have been 'physically contaminated' by their contact with German men.⁵¹⁵ Such violence was framed as necessary for national reconstruction, which relied upon the 'liberation of the territory but also and above all the disappearance and punishment of the Vichy regime and its accomplices.'⁵¹⁶ Consequently, violence against the 'accomplices' of Vichy was framed as a patriotic duty for resisters and civilian alike in France, while also fostering a renewed sense of national and masculine pride.

Similar themes of masculinity and nationalism emerge in historical examinations of violence in newly Francoist Spain, notably in Paul Preston's *The Politics of Revenge: Fascism and the military in 20th century*. The term 'politics of revenge' refers to right-wing factions' unifying narrative, which justified the initial military coup and the resultant repression of leftist civilians; Francoists aimed to 'save their country from the breakdown of law and order, the disintegration of national

⁵¹³ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.299.

⁵¹⁴ Philippe Burin's study *France Under the Germans: Collaboration and Compromise*, translated by Janet Lloyd (New York: The New Press, 1995) explores how 'accommodation' with the German occupiers was largely necessary for survival, drawing a distinction between adapting to life under occupation and active collaboration.

⁵¹⁵ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.140.

⁵¹⁶ Philippe Bourdrel refers to the language used by resisters in communiqués during the Liberation: 'la crise décisive qui doit amener non seulement la libération du territoire mais encore et surtout la disparition et le châtement du régime du Vichy et de ses complices.' *L'épuration sauvage* (Perrin: Paris, 2002), p.24.

unity and waves of proletarian godlessness provoked by foreign agents.⁵¹⁷ Following the loss of empire in 1898⁵¹⁸ and the rise of the Second Spanish Republic, which was presented as a foreign or anti-Spanish ‘interval in a modern history dominated by the right,’⁵¹⁹ Francoists presented Spain as ‘a masculine body sapped of its lifeblood.’⁵²⁰ Consequently, Spaniards who committed acts of violence against women with personal or political affiliations with the Republic and other leftist groups were framed as protectors of the ‘National Cause’ of Spain.⁵²¹ Therefore, in both case studies, shared notions of emasculation and a perceived need to restore national honour infiltrate accounts of head shaving and will be analysed as contributing motivating factors.

Alongside shared discourses of virility and masculinised nationalism, a context of widespread militarisation across civilian spaces is also integral to the perpetration of head shaving against women. In Spain, men were militarised to varying degrees: head shaving was led by Italian troops,⁵²² Moroccan troops,⁵²³ Spanish troops and various right-wing militias. These soldiers and militia men were, in varying degrees, part of the rearguard, who, in the words of General Mola, was newly empowered to target and imprison ‘all leaders of political parties, groups or syndicates who are not part of the Movement, applying exemplary punishments.’⁵²⁴ This empowerment of various

⁵¹⁷ Paul Preston. *The Politics of Revenge: Fascism and the military in 20th century Spain* (London: Routledge, 2003) p.3.

⁵¹⁸ Paul Preston notes that when Franco entered the military, Franco observed the ‘fetid hostility to liberal politicians’ who had been blamed for the loss of empire marked by the loss of Cuba in 1898 (Paul Preston, General Franco as a military leader. *The Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1994, Sixth series, 4, 23).

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, xiii.

⁵²⁰ Gisela Brinkler-Gabler and Sidonie Smith. *Writing New Identities: Gender, Nation, and Immigration in Contemporary Europe*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) p.15.

⁵²¹ ‘La Causa Nacional’, Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.13.

⁵²² Tomasa Cuevas cites the role of Italian troops in head shaving and violence against women in *Mujeres de Resistencia* (Barcelona: Siroco, 1986), p.97. Francisco Moreno Gomez also notes that it was believed that the practice of head shaving in Spain was imported from Italian fascism. *Córdoba en la posguerra: la represión y la guerilla (1939-1950)*, p.93.

⁵²³ In the testimony of a Republican sergeant who fled the fascist zone, he notes that ‘the Moors are recruited with the promises of "the spoils" and taking advantage (sic) of women’, AGGCE, Incorporados Caja 728, Informes personales, 5.8.6, 6/3/37, Declaración, actuación y observaciones del Sargento Rafael Castellanos Gonzales, refugiado del campo faccioso., p.2. The racialised focus on ‘Franco’s moors’ in Republican accounts and songs during the war has been explored by scholars such as Carmen T. Sotomayor Blazquez in ‘El moro traidor, el moro enganado: variants del estereotipo en el Romancero republicano’. ‘The Moorish Traitor, the Betrayed Moorish: Variants of the Stereotype in the Republican Balladry of the Spanish Civil War’, *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes*, 16 (2005), pp.233-249.

⁵²⁴ ‘Serán encarcelados todos los directivos de los partidos políticos, sociedades o sindicatos no afectos al Movimiento, aplicándoles castigos ejemplares a dichos individuos para estrangular los movimientos de rebeldía o huelgas.’ General Mola signs this directive in May 1936 on the cusp of the coup, cited in Gabriel

Francoist groups to lead repression and re-establish order as a military imperative facilitates male violence, under the guise of being soldiers⁵²⁵ or even 'liberating forces'⁵²⁶ of Spain. Militarisation is also key to enabling acts of violence against women in France; an estimated 80% of known instances of head shaving in Brittany were led by various Resistance factions, with the remaining 20% of perpetrators being identified as masked, armed individuals, young men, crowds, militias or were not otherwise identified.⁵²⁷ During this period of insurrection and liberation in France, violence thrived 'without constraint and without sanction' due to political and social demands for purging the vestiges of Vichy and the infrastructure of the Nazi Occupation.⁵²⁸ However, similarly to Spain, these militarised Resistance factions were presented as soldiers,⁵²⁹ thereby conferring authority to those involved and legitimating their acts of violence as part of a military strategy. In this way, we can see that, alongside comparable nationalistic narratives of reconstruction as a response to perceived emasculation due to the Occupation or the rise of the Second Republic, both contexts undergo considerable militarisation in civilian zones, via armed militias, troops or armed resistance groups. As such, head shaving and the humiliation of women flourishes as a form of group-based violence which is specifically led by militarised or semi-militarised men, either in Nationalist militias or in armed movements, such as various Resistance networks. Violence is therefore encouraged by discourses of masculinised nationalism, while also being facilitated by the empowerment and arming of various male groups ordered to take control of civilian spaces and purge 'foreign' enemies.

In order to understand the use of head shaving and humiliation as an expression of group-based violence led by militarised young men, it is necessary to contextualise and compare the roles of the multiple Francoist militias and the various Resistance factions during and following conflict. Beyond comparatively large young male demographics, there are certain shared themes, particularly in terms of their roles as a semi-official army and a shared struggle to control excesses

de Consuegra Muñoz, Fernando López López and Ángel López López, *La repression en Pozoblanco (Guerra civil y posguerra)*, (Cordoba: Grafiten, 1989), p.56.

⁵²⁵ Julián Casanova, *La Iglesia de Franco* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2001), p.249.

⁵²⁶ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, p.169.

⁵²⁷ Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation: Imaginaires et comportements d'une sortie de guerre (1944/1945)*, p.149.

⁵²⁸ 'Tous les excès s'accomplissent sans frein et sans sanction : c'est le temps des règlements de compte et des meurtres au coin des bois.' Robert Aron, *Histoire de l'Épuration : de l'indulgence aux massacres* (novembre 1942- septembre 1944) (Paris: Fayard, 1967), p.434.

⁵²⁹ Philippe Bourdrel, *L'Épuration Sauvage*, p.137.

of violence and banditry in the post-war period. As previously highlighted in the introduction, it may seem initially seem incendiary to compare the French Resistance and Spanish Francoists, but source material shows that both groups led public reprisals against women, including head shaving and other acts of humiliation and violence. This is not to say that all French resisters were actively involved in and supportive of head shaving, but in photography, film footage and eye-witness accounts, young male resisters have a persistent presence. As Hanna Diamond notes, most of those responsible for head shaving were ‘young *maquisards* who were anxious to prove their allegiance to the Resistance.’⁵³⁰ Within this analysis, however, it is important to note that resisters came from a ‘rainbow of different milieux’⁵³¹ and therefore are driven by diverse motivations. French historians, such as Robert Gildea, have emphasised that it is more accurate to speak of resistance factions in France, rather than a unified French Resistance.⁵³² As such, documentation of the Liberation highlights that it was often hard for central bodies, such as the National Council of the Resistance (CNR), to control outbreaks of violence, including head shaving. A local FFI leader in Finistère describes the difficulty of distinguishing between rogue bandits and resisters in the summer of 1944.

All punitive actions currently being undertaken risk us being mixed up with armed bandits who are acting of their own account.

These bandits are profiting from our current circumstances in order to pillage, ransack and terrorise populations.

THIS MUST STOP. We are not terrorists, but soldiers. The only people who should be punished from now on should be traitors or bandits.⁵³³

This call to end pillaging and excess violence highlights the tensions amongst different factions during the Liberation, while attempting to affirm the official nature of the Resistance as ‘soldiers’ and not ‘terrorists.’ The difficulty of clearly demarcating between ‘official’ resisters and ‘last-

⁵³⁰ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.137.

⁵³¹ Robert Gildea. *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance*, p.16.

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ ‘Des actions punitives, entreprises actuellement, risquerait de nous faire confondre dans l’esprit des Français avec certaines bandes armées agissant pour leur propre compte. Ces bandits mettent à profit les circonstances pour piller, rançonner et terroriser les populations.

Il faut que cela cesse. Nous ne sommes pas des terroristes, mais des soldats. Seuls doivent être châtiés désormais les traitres et les bandits.’ AN, 72AJ, 2567.

minute' resisters when exploring extrajudicial violence is underscored here.⁵³⁴ While a distinction between 'bandits' and Resistance 'soldiers' is emphasised, there remains a fundamental ambiguity regarding the righteous use of violence against 'traitors' and 'bandits.' The line between acceptable and unacceptable violence remains blurred. This tension is also seen in examples taken from police records which demonstrate how some FFI leaders were supportive of and complicit with violence against civilians, such as head shaving undertaken by groups of male resisters.

One particularly violent case recorded in Quimper in Brittany evidences the struggle to contain post-war outbreaks of gender-specific violence at the hands of the Resistance, and in this case the FFI. In the October that followed the Liberation in 1944, eight local members of the FFI broke into a 22-year-old woman's house. According to the police report, her hair was cut and four of the men raped her inside her home. The group were later arrested but, even following their arrest, a group of FFI tried to get the men released, including an FFI captain, ultimately to no avail, however.⁵³⁵ While this is not necessarily a representative example of head shaving, as it occurred within the domestic sphere rather than in a public setting, it points to a culture of permissiveness that pervaded the period as the FFI's actions were defended by some and their eventual arrest was contested. Violence against female civilians accused of anti-national behaviour clearly occupied an ambiguous space at this time; while some Resistance leaders did try to regulate and curtail excesses, others did not, like in this example. It appears that lawlessness on the part of resisters was difficult to contain, as delayed attempts to discourage violence fly in the face of an enduring bellicose rhetoric that enthusiastically encouraged the 'punishment' of 'traitors' during the Occupation and into the Liberation.

Similarly, in Spain, the rapid militarisation of diverse right-wing groups alongside the advance of Spanish, Italian and Moroccan troops, fomented an atmosphere of instability conducive to violence against civilian women in newly captured zones. Crucially, those in support of the military coup

⁵³⁴ Fabrice Grenard discusses the complexity of distinguishing between 'true' and 'false' resisters in *Maquis noirs et faux maquisards* (Paris: Vendémiaire, 2013).

⁵³⁵ 'Dans la nuit du 15 au 16 courant, 8 membres des F.F.I. ont coupé les cheveux de Mademoiselle [...] âgée de 22 ans, demeurant à Audierne. Ensuite 4 d'entre eux l'ont violée. Consécutivement à l'arrestation des coupables, un attroupement hostile s'était formé devant la caserne dans la soirée du 16, et qui dura jusqu'à l'intervention du Lieutenant-Colonel Berthaud, Chef départemental des F.F.I., qui arriva sur les lieux vers 22 heures. Des interventions pour faire libérer les coupables eurent lieu de la part du Capitaine Finot des F.F.I. de M.M. Olier, Minou et Brelivet Pierre, mais le Chef de brigade a refusé de leur céder.' ADIV, 43 W 218.

were not a unified group with a shared ideology. Stanley Payne notes that the Spanish right's 'ideological content was usually less definitive than its emotional tone,'⁵³⁶ thereby creating friction between different factions and a struggle for power. The number of militias in Spain in 1936 sat at 65,248, which represented 35% of the total Nationalist troops in Spain, and these militias represented different ideologies: 56% were members of the *Falange*, 34% were ultraconservative Carlist *requetés* and 10% represented various other positions, such as monarchists or *CEDistas*.⁵³⁷ These militias primarily made up the ever-expanding rearguard, which meant that 'the divisions between 'military' and 'civilian' were blurred.'⁵³⁸ Militias were quickly taken under the wing of the army, and, in doing so, military leaders attempted to assert authority and unity. In 1937, these militias merged to become *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista* (Spanish Traditionalist Phalanx and Assemblies of the National-Syndicalist Offensive). However, as Sheelagh Ellwood highlights, 'militants still felt themselves to be – and, what was more important, recognised each other as being – members of the *Falange*, Carlists, Alphonsine monarchists, *CEDistas*.'⁵³⁹ Republican intelligence reports from April 1937 attest to these tensions amongst the growing number of militias, and the impacts of such tensions on the civilian population in newly captured zones. In this report, a connection is made between the struggle for power amongst the militias and an increased use of violence against civilians as a means of asserting authority and domination, thereby facilitating the use of head shaving and humiliation of women suspected of leftist sympathies.

There exists a clear rivalry between the *requetés* and the *falangistas*. They are at loggerheads. However, the *requetés* dominate and they exercise their authority aggressively over the populace.⁵⁴⁰

Lawlessness and banditry is foregrounded in reports and testimonies describing the widespread militarisation of these right-wing groups of young men across Spain. In a similar intelligence report later in the same month, it is lamented that 'no-one can live peacefully in the province' and 'across

⁵³⁶ Stanley Payne, *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, London: Oxford University Press, 1962), vii.

⁵³⁷ Rafael Casas de la Vega, 1974, cited in Sheelagh Ellwood, *Spanish fascism in the Franco era: Falange española de las Jons, 1936-76*, (Houndmills and London: Macmillan, 1987) p.33.

⁵³⁸ Sheelagh Ellwood, *Spanish fascism in the Franco era: Falange española de las Jons, 1936-76*, p.34.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.57.

⁵⁴⁰ 'Existe una clara y profunda rivalidad entre *requetés* y *falangistas* [...] pero dominan los *requetés*, que ejercen su autoridad de manera agresiva, sobre el pueblo.' AGMA 21 6 1 133. 'La inhumana obra fascista. Cómo procede el fascismo en los pueblos de Vizcaya que domina.' Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1937.

all of the coastal zone there are a considerable number of women, typically aged between 20 and 25, who have had their heads shaved.⁵⁴¹ The report goes on to describe the militarisation of young right-wing men and boys: ‘boys from the age of five are militarised, they join groups [...] and parade daily.’⁵⁴² Many of the young recruits to Francoist militias were voluntary members who ‘found themselves without any alternative channel for their desire to be politically active.’⁵⁴³ Within this nexus, the act of head shaving is framed as the enactment of a political punishment and thus those meting it out are taking on an authoritative role and signalling their allegiance to Francoism. The political overtones of violent acts in the rebel zone are made clear in a 1937 article published in left-wing paper *La Voz*, which described the situation in Leon.

To the rebels, no leftist is Spanish and shaving the heads of women suspected of left-wing sympathies is a common thing. Fascists draw monarchist symbols on the shaven heads of women and make them parade through the streets as an example.⁵⁴⁴

Within this context of inter-group rivalries and the extensive militarisation of young men, it appears that there is no clear authority or expression of a political will to curb violence against women who were associated with the Republic, particularly as such violence represents a means for militias to ‘exercise their authority’ and be ‘politically active.’

This fertile intersection between masculinity, militarisation and nationhood is an illuminating point of entry for addressing the roles of perpetrators in post-war outbreaks of head shaving. As Cynthia Enloe notes, ‘nationalism has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope’⁵⁴⁵. In these cases, all three elements are integral. Among perpetrators in France and Spain, there are appeals to masculinized memories of nationhood, bitter wounds evoked from humiliation and emasculation, and masculinised hope to reconstruct an idealised nation through purges, which included violence that targeted women. During the

⁵⁴¹ ‘No hay quien vive tranquilo en la provincia’ and ‘hay en toda esa zona de la costa gran cantidad de mujeres, en su mayoría muchachas de 20 a 25 años con el pelo rapado.’ AGMA 23 4 1 83. ‘Guipúzcoa bajo el fascismo’ Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1937.

⁵⁴² ‘Los niños desde los cinco años que forman los grupos de “Flechas” – falangistas – y “Pelayos” = del requeté – y que desfilan diariamente.’ Ibid.

⁵⁴³ Sheelagh Ellwood, *Spanish fascism in the Franco era: Falange española de las Jons, 1936-76*, p.60.

⁵⁴⁴ ‘Para los rebeldes, ningún izquierdista es español, y el rapar la cabeza a las mujeres sospechosas de izquierdismo es cosa corriente. Los fascistas dibujan signos monárquicos en las cabezas afeitadas y hacen desfilar a las mujeres por las calles para dar el ejemplo.’ BNE, ‘Ningún izquierdista es español’, *La Voz*, 29 April 1937, p.1.

⁵⁴⁵ Cynthia Enloe, 1990, cited in Joanne Nagel ‘Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21, 2 (1990), p.244.

Liberation of France, themes of emasculation and national redemption through militarised violence emerge in accounts of head shaving led by armed resisters.

An evocative example of the justification of violence due to nationalist and masculinised militarism can be seen in accounts of head shaving against a family, who lived in the coastal village of Lannion in Brittany. In August 1944, one of the daughters was caught hiding a German officer a fortnight following the liberation. She was caught by local FFI who searched her home, following complaints regarding her ‘provocative attitude’ and the fact that both the young woman and her sister had ‘frequently frequented the Germans.’⁵⁴⁶ Both sisters and their mother had their heads shaved in the public square before being interned in Langueux prison for six months. The police report filed by the *Gendarmerie Nationale* regarding the family’s alleged national crimes relays the process, as recounted to them by the vice-president of the local *Front National*.

Before leaving their small village, they had their heads shaved in the village square. In regard to the denunciations made by patriots, I do not believe that they are guilty of these charges. I do not believe that they were part of any pro-German group either; they simply were hoping to derive personal advantages [from their relationship with German soldiers].⁵⁴⁷

In this report, it is suggested that the FFI had been rash in their apprehension of the family, as the family did not appear to have been active collaborators, but rather had developed personal relationships with the German soldiers. However, the head shaving led by ‘patriots’ is not condemned and is described in a dispassionate manner, as if the use of public head shaving were simply part and parcel of the arrest process led by the FFI. Additionally, the individual perpetrators are not identified, and we are only aware that the violence was led by a group of resisters; the violence is described using the passive voice in the account. Furthermore, when perpetrators are identified, they are described only as ‘patriots’, affirming the nationalistic role of the resisters as soldiers of France and therefore legitimating their use of extra-legal violence against the three women in the eyes of the authorities. This is further confirmed in a complaint raised by the local president of the *Front National* in April 1945 following the family’s release. The president claimed

⁵⁴⁶ She was described as having an ‘attitude provocante’ and both daughters had been known to ‘fréquenter les Allemands.’ ADIV, 214W 55.

⁵⁴⁷ ‘Avant de quitter le hameau après leur arrestation ces trois femmes avaient été tondues sur la place du village. Quant aux dénonciations de patriotes, je ne pense pas qu’elle se soient rendues coupables de tels faits. Je ne crois pas non plus qu’elles aient fait partie au groupement pro-allemand quelconque ; elles ont simplement cherché leurs avantages personnels.’ ADIV, 214W 55.

that there was ‘protest’ from the local committee in terms of the ‘minimal sanctions’ they had taken against the women, which serves to minimise the FFI’s use of violence against the woman in question. However, he raises a complaint about the young woman insulting and threatening ‘patriots’ and undermining their ‘safety’ since she had left prison. The letter concludes that the FN demands a ‘quick investigation’ from the police into her behaviour, in the hope that this will ‘remind her that the justice system is now French and is led by French people, whose rights she seems to have forgotten.’⁵⁴⁸ This weaves together themes of revived masculine nationalism as a motivating force for resisters who participated in head shaving, from the local FFI to the local president of the FN. Similarly, the president of the local FN sees no incompatibility with the French justice system and the use of extra-legal violence, which is deemed to be ‘minimal sanctions’, despite the use of head shaving and six months’ imprisonment for a family based on dubious allegations and without a judicial trial.

As Marc Bergère explains, the FFI operated ‘veritable sweeping operations of local areas in order to find women to shear.’⁵⁴⁹ Similarly, Fabrice Virgili points to the existence of the circulation of lists of women to shave.⁵⁵⁰ In the police file of a 38-year-old woman, they had left a sign which had been placed on her front door by persons unknown. The woman had been a member of the *Parti Populaire Français*, a fascist and collaborationist party, and had allegedly hosted German soldiers in her house. Her house is marked as being out of bounds for French people and she is marked as a ‘remnant’ or ‘remainder’ of the German occupation, evoked by the pejorative ‘boche’, thereby justifying that she is ‘ready to be sheared.’ This consolidates the narrative of nationalism as a motivating factor for perpetrators of the *tonte*.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁸ ‘1. Une protestation du Comité local de Penvénan au sujet des sanctions minimales prises.

2. Une plainte contre [...] qui, profitant d’une liberté récente, s’arroge le droit de provoquer des incidents contre des Patriotes et proférer des menaces portant atteinte à leur sûreté.

Nous demandons qu’une enquête rapide soit menée pour que la fille [...] se souvienne que la justice est aujourd’hui française et menée par des Français dont elle semble avoir complètement oublié les droits.’ ADIV, 214W 55.

⁵⁴⁹ ‘Les FFI opèrent un véritable ratissage des communes environnantes à la recherche de femmes à tondre Marc Bergère, *Une société en épuration. Épuration vécue et perçue en Maine-et-Loire. De la Libération au début des années 50*, p.314.

⁵⁵⁰ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.293.

⁵⁵¹ AN Z 5 4 399.

Figure 2. Unknown, 'Bon à tondre', c.1944, sign, AN, Paris, Z 5 4 399.

Perpetration in the French case is shown to be organised primarily by groups of men empowered by their status as militants and the permissive context of the purges. Women connected to the Nazi Occupation, and even women merely suspected of connections to the Occupation, were viewed as fair game due to their perceived proximity to the enemy. Whereas resisters were hailed as 'brave', 'valiant' and even 'glorious' patriots,⁵⁵² the women who faced head shaving were viewed as traitors deserving of the violence they faced, as reminders of the 'boches.' As Robert Gildea highlights, the prevailing narrative of the FFI is that of a band of 'merry men'⁵⁵³ despite their role in 'arresting, humiliating, sometimes killing collaborators, informers, black marketeers, girlfriends of the Boche, and other enemies of the Resistance, little different from the bandits denounced by enemies of the Resistance.'⁵⁵⁴ This shows the ways in which these perpetrators were elevated to heroic status due to their role in restoring national honour, while the women they victimised were consistently vilified.

As areas were taken over by the Francoists in Spain, similar themes of national revival through militarised violence can be seen in testimonies and accounts of violence. Many of these accounts were collected for the Republican 'information service' based in Republican stronghold cities, such as Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid. These information bulletins were part of the Second Republic's security and surveillance infrastructure and were collated by civilian or military volunteers, with the aim of reporting on the Francoist takeover of towns and cities following the coup.⁵⁵⁵ As such, these accounts are condemnatory in tone and often refer to the 'bestial' nature of Francoists at the rearguard,⁵⁵⁶ referencing the use of targeted violence against women associated with the Second Republic in particular. One such report in February 1938 in Andalusia details the use of head shaving against young women, under the heading 'Andalusian fascists kill young women after

⁵⁵² Fabrice Virgili draws attention the language used to describe resisters such as the FFI ('vaillants' 'courageux' and 'glorieux') despite the fact that the FFI typically made up 'le premier cercle autour de la tondué'. *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.304.

⁵⁵³ Robert Gildea, *Marianne in Chains: Daily Life in the Heart of France During the German Occupation* (New York: Picador, 2004) p.323.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Hernán Rodríguez Velasco, 'El espionaje militar republicano durante la Guerra Civil Española', [online].

⁵⁵⁶ AGMA 38 5 1 10 'Los fascistas andaluces asesinan a las muchachas, después de cortarles el pelo y pasearlas, en camiones por las calles.' Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1938.

cutting off their hair and parading them in trucks through the streets.⁵⁵⁷ The report details the violence led by the fascist camp, referencing a recent incident in which young girls who were suspected of having relationships with antifascists were humiliated before being shot.

Recently they arrested some girls in a town close to Gibraltar. They suspected them of being in relationships with antifascists who had managed to flee to Gibraltar. As a result of this suspicion, they were humiliated, martyred and killed afterwards.

After cutting off their hair, they were taken through the streets on a small truck before they were shot.

These are not the only murders. Many more have been committed. Mothers of young girls live in constant fear [...] the fear fascists have inspired in the locals is insurmountable.⁵⁵⁸

While the tone of this information report can be characterised by moral outrage, as it is written by those loyal to the Republic, it testifies to the normalised use of head shaving and more extreme acts of violence against women suspected of personal or political affiliations with leftists: 'these are not the only murders.' The information summary of the local situation in southern Andalusia confirms the existence of a climate of fear created by the empowered and militarised rearguard, particularly amongst women: 'mothers of young girls live in constant fear.' As such, the widespread targeting of leftist women who did not embody the 'values of the new Spanish society'⁵⁵⁹ by Francoist militias is confirmed. The description of Francoists' displaying women targeted by head shaving in public spaces before their deaths also draws attention to perpetrators' use of ritual and exemplary shaming as part of their pattern of violence against leftist women. It appears that head shaving is employed to purge women's suspected sins against 'masculine' notions of 'national honour'; as part of Francoists' military crusade, head shaving was viewed as a 'purifying treatment.'⁵⁶⁰ Unlike some other information reports, specific names of perpetrators are not given, nor are distinctions made

⁵⁵⁷ 'Los fascistas andaluces asesinan a las muchachas, después de cortarles el pelo y pasearlas, en camiones por las calles.' Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ 'No hace mucho tiempo detuvieron en una población próxima a Gibraltar a unas muchachas, por sospecharse que estaban en relación con algunos elementos antifascistas que habían logrado huir a la plaza inglesa. Y por esa sospecha únicamente, las humillaron y martirizaron y las asesinaron luego. Después de cortarles el pelo las pasearon por las calles en una camioneta, para terminar fusilándolas. Y no son estos los únicos asesinatos. Se cometen muchos más. Las madres que tienen hijas mozas en sus familias viven en constante temor [...] el terror que a los vecindarios inspiran los facciosos es algo insuperable.' Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ Enrique González Duro explains that the *mujeres rapadas* did not embody 'los valores de la nueva sociedad española' as they did not fit the mould of 'la imagen de la mujer ejemplar.' *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.27.

⁵⁶⁰ Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain*, p.57.

between different armed factions, such as Spanish troops, *Falange* or *requetés*; they are simply described as ‘Andalusian fascists’, suggesting that, much like in the French case, violence typically occurs in groups, often from the surrounding areas.

The interweaving of masculinity, nationalism and honour as a motivating force in violent outbreaks against leftist women across Spain is also evidenced by Republican government information reports from April 1937, summarising local incidents of ‘fascist terror’ across various regions of the Basque Country.⁵⁶¹ As part of a report entitled ‘The Basque Country under fascist terror’, the informant highlights that fascists, including members of the *Falange* and *requetés*, are wary that ‘there still has not been a true cleanse’ of leftists in the Basque Country. In San Sebastian, informants have been told that Francoists are trying to ‘make every Red seed disappear,’ evidenced by their ‘continuous parades’ and expulsion of locals. Within this narrative of cleansing, violence, such as head shaving, is steeped in a perceived national duty to protect Spain from anti-Spanish elements. As Paul Preston argues, Francoists viewed such acts of violence as ‘services for the Fatherland.’⁵⁶²

In the same report, informants provide further details regarding the widespread use of head shaving, humiliation and violence against women the newly Francoist Basque Country, focusing on Zarauz.⁵⁶³ In this report, alongside descriptions of common practices used when areas are taken over, such as enforced manual labour for women and children, a member of the military police, the Guardia Civil, is identified as a prolific perpetrator against women.

A Civil Guard, whose surname is García, has committed all sorts of atrocities. Twenty-nine women have been arrested [...] they have cut the hair off the boss’s daughter at the Bank of Guipúzcoa. She did not ingest the dose of castor oil that they gave her because she fainted in apprehension.⁵⁶⁴

In this description of targeted violence led by the Civil Guard, one particularly overzealous officer is put at the forefront (‘A Civil Guard whose surname is Garcia, has committed all sorts of

⁵⁶¹ ‘El País Vasco bajo el terror fascista.’ AGMA 21 6 1 9. Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1937.

⁵⁶² Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain*, p.159.

⁵⁶³ ‘En Zarauz, los bandidos fascistas, practican detenciones en masa.’ AGMA 21 6 1 10. ‘El País Vasco bajo el terror fascista.’ Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1937.

⁵⁶⁴ ‘Un Guardia Civil, apellidado García, ha cometido toda suerte de atrocidades. Han sido detenidas veintinueve mujeres. Se obliga a los hombres a trabajar. Cortaron los cabellos a la hija del gerente del Banco de Guipúzcoa, y que no ingirió la dosis de aceite de ricino que lo administraron, porque se desvaneció de aprensión.’ Ibid.

atrocities'), but when a specific instance of head shaving and enforced drinking of castor oil is evoked, the incident is portrayed as being a collective act of violence, perpetrated by a group rather than an individual: 'they have cut the hair off.' In this excerpt, we see that while enthusiasm for violence may vary, Francoists as a collective tend to be implicated in acts like head shaving. Head shaving is frequently committed by groups, shown by the consistent use of the pronoun 'they' when describing incidents of violence against leftist women in similar information reports and press articles.

The report also suggests that head shaving was a collective act, due to the use of the passive form: 'two female Basque nationalists have had their heads shaved.'⁵⁶⁵ This recounting of head shaving against the two Basque women in the passive takes the emphasis away from perpetrators as individuals. The incident is expressed in an almost mechanical fashion: who shaved the two women's heads is unimportant, the emphasis is placed on the result of the two Basque nationalists having had their heads shaved. The lack of detail given to the incident itself and the unemotive and prosaic tone used in the Republican information report suggests that such incidents were unremarkable and required little explanation or description of the particular actors involved, as head shaving and violence against women was an everyday occurrence in Francoist zones. This may be because Francoists were quick to seek out women with connections to the left in the immediate post-war period, thereby asserting and confirming the political shift and the power of the new authorities. Testimonies affirm that, much like the FFI, Francoist militias were empowered and encouraged to scour towns for Republican women; the leftist newspaper *La Libertad* reported in May 1937 that 'los señoritos falangistas' (young male *Falange* members) targeted wives and children of leftists, and even wrote down women's names in lists to more systematically identify those who should be sheared.⁵⁶⁶ This again highlights the group-based nature of violence as there is little description of individual perpetrators and this article simply mentions that violence was led by a group of young male Francoists. Consequently, head shaving as an 'expiatory punishment' appears to fall within Francoists' post-war remit of asserting and imposing the 'new norms of the new

⁵⁶⁵ 'A dos mujeres nacionalistas vascas les han cortado el pelo.' AGMA 21 6 1 12. 'El País Vasco bajo el terror fascista.' Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1937.

⁵⁶⁶ 'Cuentan y no acaban de lo que ocurre en Riaza bajo la furia de los señoritos falangistas. Cuando estos se convencieron de que eran inútiles sus esfuerzos para "echar el guante" a José Joaquín Carballo, se dedicaron a hacer sufrir a su mujer y a sus hijos. Los sitiaron por hambre, y las mujeres fueron incluidas en una lista para cortarles el pelo.' BNE, 'Relatos de la guerra: una familia de Riaza, evadida.' *La Libertad*, 27 May 1936, p.1.

regime.⁵⁶⁷ This suggests that there was considerable normalisation of gender-specific violence by unnamed male militias working within the 'repressive machinery' of Francoism.⁵⁶⁸

In both case studies, therefore, head shaving is normalised as a 'punitive and patriotic spectacle',⁵⁶⁹ which was organised and conducted by militarised male groups with a national purpose in mind. In this way, while such acts as head shaving, enforced castor oil ingestion and sexual assault are inherently violent, they are downplayed with the two contexts of punitive purges on behalf of the nation. Fundamentally, resisters and Francoists express masculinised patriotism through organised and targeted violence against suspected female traitors. Furthermore, archival documents, such as judicial reports or information reports, affirm the importance of male group dynamics in the enactment of violence in both case studies. Perpetrators are rarely if ever identified individually and are typically subsumed into their political factions in accounts, asserting the importance of their membership to these groups to the process of perpetration. This suggests that participation in violence may have served to bolster men's belonging to the group, and by extension, the nation. As Sven Reichardt explains in his analysis of male group dynamics amongst Nazi stormtroopers, 'bloody deeds created new social communities.'⁵⁷⁰ Group male dynamics in the enactment of nationalist and misogynist violence in these two case studies is evidenced by the frequent use of impersonal forms and collective pronouns in accounts of incidents. Such dynamics can be explained by the shared historical context of widespread militarisation of different factions and groups, who were empowered to act as patriots and protectors of the post-war nation.

3.3 Authority and legality

When analysing the perpetration of violence, historians and sociologists alike have identified obedience to perceived authority as an important facilitating factor. This focus on obedience has its roots in Stanley Milgram's research regarding the harmful implications of obedience to authority;

⁵⁶⁷ María José Palma Borrego, 'Violencia y cuerpos traumatizados: duelo y melancolía en los testimonios orales de mujeres durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939) y la posguerra', *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos* [online], Debates, 31 May 2009. Accessed online on 5th October 2017 at <https://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/56118>.

⁵⁶⁸ Paul Preston, *The Politics of Revenge*, p.11.

⁵⁶⁹ 'La tonte est un spectacle punitif et patriotique auquel le plus grand nombre doit participer.' Fabrice Virgili, 'La tondu de la Libération : La traîtresse', in Eds Fanny Bugnon, Julie Doyon, Pierre Fournié, Michel Porret, Annick Tillier and Fabrice Virgili, *Présumées coupables : les grands procès faits aux femmes*, (Paris: Iconoclaste, 2016), p.253.

⁵⁷⁰ Sven Reichardt, 'Violence and Community: A Micro-Study on Nazi Storm Troopers,' *Central European History*, 46 (2013), p.289.

Milgram's notorious experiment tested whether participants would deliver electric shocks of increasing strength to a fellow participant if ordered to by an authority figure as part of learning task.⁵⁷¹ The results of this infamous experiment pointed to a lapse in moral restraint when orders are given by an authority figure. However, in these two case studies, violence spiked when political authority was more nebulous during the immediate post-conflict period: when zones were liberated from the Occupation or taken over by Francoists. In Spain, the leftist press shows a spike in coverage of head shaving by Francoists in 1936 and 1937, during which time articles point to the use of head shaving in the immediate aftermath of zones being taken over by Francoists.⁵⁷² Similarly, in his study of repression in Andalusia, Fernando Romero points to 1936–1937 as the most punitive phase of Francoist repression.⁵⁷³ Correspondingly, in France, head shaving experienced a sharp spike in the summer of the Liberation and it quickly waned in the aftermath. In his exploration of press coverage of the *femmes tondues* in France, Fabrice Virgili identifies that 67.6% of incidents occurred during the days of the Liberation in the summer of 1944.⁵⁷⁴ Robert Aron in his study of the post-war purges also points to the initial Liberation period as the most violent for women who associated with the Nazi occupiers.⁵⁷⁵

As previously highlighted, head shaving has a particularly slippery relationship with authority and officialdom; in neither France nor Spain was there an official directive that advocated the use of head shaving and humiliation as a punishment. However, some threats alluding to head shaving for women having affairs with German soldiers did circulate in the Resistance press in France; examples include *Défense de la France* in 1942 and less formal channels, such as tracts and rumours.⁵⁷⁶ In Spain, there were no threats relating to head shaving as a punishment specifically, the use of castor oil against national criminals as a punishment is mentioned in a Francoist newspaper *Azul* in 1936 as a means of 'medicating' Spain by purging dissidents.⁵⁷⁷ If there was no

⁵⁷¹ Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to authority: An experimental view*. (New York: Harper Collins, 1974).

⁵⁷² *Ahora* and *El Liberal* publish news stories regarding head shaving led by right-wing factions as areas in Castile are taken over in 1936, and *La Libertad* and *La voz del combatiente* publish stories regarding head shaving in 1937.

⁵⁷³ Fernando Romero Romero, 'La represión fascista en la provincia de Cadiz', *Memoria antifranquista del Baix Llobregat*, 11, 7, 2011, p.21.

⁵⁷⁴ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.89.

⁵⁷⁵ Robert Aron, *Histoire de l'Épuration : de l'indulgence aux massacres, Novembre 1942 – Septembre 1944* p.491.

⁵⁷⁶ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.94.

⁵⁷⁷ This is explored in more depth by Francisco Moreno Gómez in *La guerra civil en Córdoba* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1985), p.325.

centralised order in either case study, where was power and authority located? How was the perpetration of violent acts authorised, so that head shaving became a widespread phenomenon?

In France, the period of the Liberation can be characterised as a time of ‘extreme disorder’ due to a ‘power vacuum, caused by the disappearance of the Vichy regime and the appointment of a provisional government made up of the newly free French and resisters.’⁵⁷⁸ This power vacuum had a considerable impact on the spread of head shaving, notably in terms of a struggle to contain outbreaks and curb further violence. While there was no order compelling resisters to participate in head shaving, it was a popular and common practice. On 4 September 1944, Colonel Rol-Tanguy, the commander of the FFI in Île-de-France, warned other leaders in Resistance newspaper *Combat* that the practice of women being ‘taken to commissariats and town halls completely shaven and covered in swastikas’ needed to stop and that there could be sanctions for such proceedings.⁵⁷⁹ However, this warning against the use of head shaving was too late for many women as the majority of incidents of head shaving occurred during the summer of the Liberation, particularly in Paris. Nevertheless, this speaks to the conflict amongst resisters and authorities in terms of the acceptability of head shaving and its associated violence, including bodily marking and arrests on dubious grounds. Rol-Tanguy’s opposition to the practice clashes with FFI documents from Cruzille that utilise and record head shaving as an official punishment as part of its courts in Boulogne during the summer of 1944. In these listed cases, the justice meted out to women appears inconsistent: a woman has her head shaved due to having had relationships with Germans but was released afterwards, whereas others are released for the same alleged crime without having to face head shaving.⁵⁸⁰ This does, however, reveal a certain formalisation and institutionalisation around head shaving in France; it was not only an expression of ‘popular fury’,⁵⁸¹ it was also presented and administered as a seemingly official punishment by some resisters.

This struggle to contain violence against women is evidenced in the documentation of the purges during the Liberation, recorded by the French Committee for the History of the Second World

⁵⁷⁸ ‘L’extrême désordre qui s’instaure dans un certain nombre de régions de France à l’occasion de la vacuité du pouvoir, entre la disparition du régime de Vichy et l’installation de celui du Gouvernement provisoire issu de la France libre et de la Résistance.’ Philippe Bourdrel, *L’Épuration sauvage*, p.647.

⁵⁷⁹ Colonel Rol-Tanguy in *Combat*, 1944, cited in Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.134.

⁵⁸⁰ LC, F delta 0420/2.

⁵⁸¹ ‘La fureur populaire.’ Marc Bergère, *Une société en épuration. Épuration vécue et perçue en Maine-et-Loire. De la Libération au début des années 50*, p.311.

War. These documents attest to the public desire for violence during this period, in contrast to Rol-Tanguy's plea. In Finistère, Brittany, the public appetite for violence is alluded to: 'they wanted to see traitors punished, such as black marketeers and even women who have collaborated too "tenderly."⁵⁸² This was in spite of public awareness of violent excesses: 'of course, errors were made, there were some abuses.'⁵⁸³ In this way, we can see that the FFI may have commanded the support of the general public, despite 'errors' and 'abuses' of power. Similarly, in some ways, the FFI and FTP commanded more power and authority due to the weakening of traditional criminal justice systems in the immediate aftermath of the Liberation: Marc Bergère cites cases such as Fontevrault where head shaving was 'quasi-legal' as local gendarmes regulated this public violence.⁵⁸⁴

Consequently, due to this power vacuum and lack of meaningful accountability, resisters were empowered to continue participating in head shaving and other forms of violence after Rol-Tanguy's warning to FFI leaders. An example of this can be seen in Finistère, Brittany where a teenage girl had her head shaved by FFI from Pont-Croix, a nearby commune, on 20 September, nearly a fully month after the Liberation. In her account, she describes that she had been targeted previously and her sister had had her head shaved by 'patriots' in the winter of 1943. She hypothesises that personal vengeance may have motivated this harassment. She explains in her account to police that she had been accused of collaboration with German soldiers due to the fact that her family ran a café, where she had to interact with soldiers while conducting business. Her testimony as part of her police file describes an atmosphere of ongoing permissiveness to head shaving and further violence.

I was arrested on 20 September and taken away by the FFI from Pont-Croix. That same night they shaved my head after mistreating me, and on the 21st, they took me to Saint-Charles.

I have the impression that all of the trouble we have endured, my family and I, stems from a personal vengeance rather than political quarrel. In fact, my dad has never hidden his left-wing political opinions.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸² 'A la Libération, l'enthousiasme de la population n'eut d'égal que le désir de voir châtier les traitres, les trafiquants et même les femmes ayant trop « tendrement » collaboré.' AN, 72AJ, 2567, Finistère.

⁵⁸³ 'Bien sûr, des erreurs furent commises, il y eu des abus.' Ibid.

⁵⁸⁴ Marc Bergère highlights that head shaving was 'quasi legalisé'. *Une société en épuration. Épuration vécue et perçue en Maine-et-Loire. De la Libération au début des années 50*, p.316.

⁵⁸⁵ 'J'ai été arrêtée le 20 septembre écoulé par les F.F.I. de Pont-Croix. Le soir même ils me coupaient les cheveux après m'avoir maltraitée, et le 21 ils me conduisaient à Saint-Charles.

This account highlights the ways in which the FFI could place themselves above the law; on this particular occasion, the resisters abducted and ‘mistreated’ the young girl, which could mean anything from verbal, physical or sexual abuse, before shaving her head and taking her back home the next day. She would later be given an ‘interdiction de séjour’ (a legal ban on staying in the area),⁵⁸⁶ forcing her to relocate due to her suspected collaboration, thereby prolonging the social ‘exclusion’ forced upon the *femmes tondues*.⁵⁸⁷ However, there are no investigations into the conduct of the FFI emerging from this report in her police file. In this way, we see the apparent reticence of authorities to control and curb the behaviour of some members of the FFI in the aftermath of the ‘licensed violence’⁵⁸⁸ of head shaving during the Liberation. This begs the question, asked by French historian, Marc Bergère: ‘in these troubled times, who holds authority?’⁵⁸⁹

During the Civil War, Spain was similarly characterised by chaotic leadership across newly captured zones, although this quickly changed depending on the region as the war went on. As Enrique González Duro affirms, the initial takeover of certain cities and areas by Francoist troops and militias was chaotic due to wartime instability, and, as such, the use of repression in captured areas was not initially uniform across regions: ‘the repression led by the Francoist rearguard could not be standardised across all towns and cities due to wartime instability, particularly in the early weeks of the military coup.’⁵⁹⁰ However, as the Francoists consolidated their hold over certain areas, particularly in regions within Andalusia, repression became more systematic in terms of enforcing

J’ai l’impression que tous les ennuis que nous avons subis, ma famille et moi, découlent d’une vengeance personnelle ou plutôt de querelles politiques. Mon père, en effet, n’a jamais caché ses opinions politiques qui sont à gauche. ‘ADIV, 215 W 71.

⁵⁸⁶ As Weindling and Leclerc explain, the use of an ‘interdiction de séjour’ was a common punishment for ‘indignité nationale’, alongside confiscation of goods and fines. The archives at the *Préfecture de Police* in Paris, which contain dossiers on women arrested for various allegations of collaboration, including suspected relationships with German soldiers, highlight the common use of ‘interdiction de séjour’ during the immediate post-war period. 114 W, 10 is a collection of judicial dossiers filed under the title ‘maitresses d’Allemands’, of whom many were subject to an ‘interdiction de séjour’ into the 1950s. See ‘La répression des femmes coupables d’avoir collaboré pendant l’Occupation’, p.12.

⁵⁸⁷ Fabrice Virgili draws attention to the fact that internment and restrictions such as the ‘interdiction de séjour’ prolonged the ‘exclusion’ that alleged female collaborators faced. *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.294.

⁵⁸⁸ H.R Kedward, ‘Introduction’, p.7.

⁵⁸⁹ ‘Dans les heures troublées, qui détient l’autorité?’ Marc Bergère, *Une société en épuration. Épuration vécue et perçue en Maine-et-Loire. De la Libération au début des années 50*, p.316.

⁵⁹⁰ ‘La represión en la retaguardia franquista no podía estar rígidamente normativizada para todos los pueblos y ciudades por la inestabilidad de la situación bélica, sobre todo durante las primeras semanas siguientes al golpe militar.’ Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.48.

the *limpieza*, the task of cleansing Spain of leftists and dissidents.⁵⁹¹ Francoist authority over areas was primarily established through violent repression and purges, and evocatively through the humiliation of leftist women, incorporating the use of castor oil ‘to purge communism from the body’ alongside head shaving.⁵⁹² However, in contrast to the French post-conflict context, there were more transparent directives inciting violence from above and, as such, this explains the context of increased permissiveness and encouragement from authorities to participate in varying degrees of violence.

One such invitation to violence was provided by General Queipo de Llano, who led the Nationalist military rebellion in Sevilla. In his now infamous *ABC Sevilla* broadcast on 25 July 1936, Queipo de Llano encouraged retribution against leftists as the city fell to the right-wing rebels.

Our brave legionaries and regular troops have taught the Reds what it is to be a man. Incidentally, they have also taught the wives of the Reds. After all, these communists and anarchists deserve it, have they not been practising free love? Now at least, they will have finally met real men, and not queer militiamen. They will not escape however much they struggle and kick.⁵⁹³

This infamous speech incites violence against leftists and also reinforces strict heteronormative gender roles; the speech points to the necessary ‘reconquest’ of Spain,⁵⁹⁴ whilst also affirming the need to reconstruct a ‘macho and patriarchal society’⁵⁹⁵ as Queipo de Llano quips that Reds do not know what it means to be a man, in militaristic or sexual terms. Simultaneously, this broadcast carries an unveiled rape threat against leftist women, who are portrayed as being deserving of sexual violence: ‘have they not been practising free love?’ Violent acts against leftist women are therefore presented as being more overtly acceptable and are even promoted in some cases, such as in this example, where women were objectified and targeted, while the perpetrators were evidencing their

⁵⁹¹ Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra: la represión y la guerrilla (1939-1950)*, p.92

⁵⁹² ‘Arrojar el comunismo del cuerpo.’ Arcángel Bedmar González, *Los Puños y las Pistolas: La represión en Montilla (1936-44)*, p.62.

⁵⁹³ ‘Nuestros valientes legionarios y regulares han demostrado a los rojos cobardes lo que significa ser hombres de verdad. Y de paso también a sus mujeres. Esto está totalmente justificado porque estas comunistas y anarquistas practican el amor libre. Ahora por lo menos sabrán lo que son hombres y no milicianos maricones. No se van a librar, por mucho que berreen y pataleen.’ General Queipo de Llano, *ABC Sevilla*, 1936, cited in Ian Gibson, *Queipo de Llano, Sevilla, verano 1936*. (Barcelona: Gribaljo, 1986), p.175.

⁵⁹⁴ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain*, p.48.

⁵⁹⁵ Pura Sánchez points to Francoist desires for ‘una sociedad machista y patriarcal’. ‘Individuas de dudosa moral.’ p.105.

masculinity through violent vengeance. This demonstrates the 'double repression' leftist women face, both as 'the vanquished' and as women.⁵⁹⁶

In contrast to the French context, however, there seems to be no evidence of head shaving being framed or documented as a semi-official punishment, thereby legitimising its use, such as in the FFI files or arrest reports. As discussed in the previous chapter, the only evidence of head shaving in official Francoist documentation in Spain is a handwritten scrawl on a woman's arrest report in Andalusia. At the end of the document, describing her arrest and alleged crimes, someone has scribbled 'she had her head shaved by members of the *Falange*.'⁵⁹⁷ In this way, it could be suggested that head shaving is understood by perpetrators to be closer to an act of war than a judicial punishment. As the term 'exemplary punishment' comes from language used by multiple generals, including General Mola in his directives, we can see how violence in the rearguard is framed militarily, in terms of the destruction of the enemy: Mola recommended the use of 'terror' to give the impression of 'absolute dominion' over newly captured zones⁵⁹⁸. This further situates the use of head shaving and humiliation in the realm of official military action in the Spanish case study.

The use of head shaving as part of orders to 'overpower' the enemy is highlighted in this account published in *La Libertad* in 1937 from a family that had fled Riaza in Segovia when it was overrun by 'fascist tyranny.'

We have seen [...] processions of workers' wives with their hair shaved off, with just a small tuft left behind with a red ribbon around it. They were made to parade through the streets, doing a fascist salute while music was playing.

The groups destined to lead the shooting were from the *Falange* and were justifying their crimes by affirming that they were obeying the orders of the rich people in the town.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁶ 'El doble nivel de represión [...] primero, en tanto que mujeres y, segundo, en tanto que vencidas,' Pura Sánchez, *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.43.

⁵⁹⁷ 'Fue pelada por los falangistas.' Ficha de Marchena, 29 July 1938, in Pura Sánchez, 'Individuas de dudosa moral.' p.107.

⁵⁹⁸ 'Mola ha recomendado extender el terror y dar la sensación de dominio absoluto.' Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.9. castigos ejemplares a dichos individuos para estrangular los movimientos de rebeldía o huelgas.'

⁵⁹⁹ 'Hemos visto [...] procesiones de mujeres de obreros con la cabeza rapada. Les dejaban solo un mechoncito de pelo, y en él les ponían un lazo rojo. Las obligaban a desfilar por las calles haciendo el saludo del fascismo y acompañadas de la música. Los piquetes destinados a realizar los fusilamientos eran falangistas, y justificaban sus crímenes afirmando que obedecían los órdenes de los ricos del pueblo.' BNE, *La Libertad*, 'Relatos de la guerra: Una familia de Riaza, evadida', 21 May 1937, p.1.

This account underscores the role of head shaving, demoralisation and humiliation of leftist women as part of Francoist repression when overpowering the enemy. By forcing these women to wear a red ribbon and give a fascist salute, this connects to Nationalist aims for Spain to be ‘brutally remade’ and ‘homogenised’ by the violent exclusion of the defeated.⁶⁰⁰ What is also illuminating is that the role of authority and obedience is foregrounded here as an explanation of involvement: ‘the groups [...] were justifying their crimes by affirming that they were obeying the orders.’ The increased clarity of authority and the use of top-down orders to facilitate purges in this case is not surprising, given Francoism’s ideological proximity to fascism. As Francisco Moreno argues, once the war ended, the continuation of the repression against the vanquished long after the Nationalists’ victory suggests that Francoism orchestrated repression at a state-level.⁶⁰¹ This contrasts with the French case where the repression of women perceived to be traitors proliferated for a comparatively short period of time, and did not feature in state-level discourse or policy in the long-term.

3.4 A continuum of gender-based violence in France and Spain

While frequently minimised as an act of punishment in historiography and national narratives, head shaving is undeniably violent in nature; it was designed to humiliate women by signalling their otherness to the local community and the national community at large. As Deborah Pergament reflects in her 1999 article ‘It’s not just hair’, shearing signified segregation from the rest of the community and was an expression of control.⁶⁰² It is important to note, however, that in these case studies, the act of shearing and parading was also frequently accompanied by other forms of physical assault (kicking, hitting and spitting), bodily marking and forced nudity in front of friends, neighbours, troops and police. As confirmed by testimonies and reports across both case studies, ‘the violence [of head shaving] was physical in nature.’⁶⁰³ Nevertheless, in contemporary France in particular, the violence of head shaving has frequently been minimised and side-lined, even in dedicated studies of the phenomenon. This absence has had the effect of minimising the roles and

⁶⁰⁰ Helen Graham, ‘The Memory of Murder: Mass Killing, Incarceration and the Making of Francoism’, in Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, Roberta Quance and Anne L. Walsh (eds.), *Guerra y memoria en la España contemporánea*. (Madrid: Verbum Ensayo, 2009), p.38.

⁶⁰¹ Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra: la represión y la guerrilla (1939-1950)*, p.314.

⁶⁰² Deborah Pergament, ‘It’s not just hair: Historical and cultural considerations for an emerging technology,’ *Chicago Kent Law Review*, 75, (1999), pp.41-59.

⁶⁰³ ‘La violence est aussi d’ordre physique.’ Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.33

actions of resisters as perpetrators of violence, and has contributed to the persistence of the narrative of head shaving as punishment, rather than gender-based violence.

In his detailed study of the *femmes tondues*, Fabrice Virgili describes the violence of head shaving as 'derisory' in the context of the Second World War, and he does not explore the differing 'degree[s] of violence' beyond a brief mention of the rarity of executions of *femmes tondues*.⁶⁰⁴ In Spain, head shaving has not been minimised in the same way, however, due to links made by historians between head shaving and the use of torture and execution during the Civil War. Head shaving and humiliation is therefore understood in conjunction with other examples of gender-based violence as part of a 'continuum of violence'.⁶⁰⁵ As Paul Preston explains in his study of Francoist repression, 'many women were murdered and thousands of the wives, sisters and mothers of executed leftists were subjected to rape and other sexual abuses, the humiliation of head shaving and public soiling after the forced ingestion of castor oil.'⁶⁰⁶ Although Preston still replicates the language of punishment rather than violence, head shaving is understood as part of a wider spectrum of gender-specific repression against women ('murder, torture and rape'), rather than as an isolated incident of public punishment, like in French scholarship.

While head shaving was the most visible and public form of violence common to both case studies, as we have seen, the use of other forms of physical and sexual violence by perpetrators should not be diminished. It is therefore helpful to draw from Liz Kelly's pioneering theorisation of the 'continuum of sexual violence', which connects women's varied experiences of sexual violence by identifying a 'common character' that binds them.⁶⁰⁷ These interconnections are often a 'variety of forms of abuse, coercion and force in order to control women', enabling women to locate their experiences within the 'category of sexual violence.'⁶⁰⁸ It is helpful to use the notion of a 'spectrum' to understand the interconnections and linkages between different acts of humiliation and violence against women across the two case studies, including shearing, bodily marking, physical and sexual assault, as these primarily functioned as a means of shaming enemy women across the two contexts.

⁶⁰⁴ 'Le degré de violence des tontes – au regard de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, il est dérisoire.' Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.173

⁶⁰⁵ Liz Kelly 'The Continuum of Sexual Violence', pp.46-60

⁶⁰⁶ Paul Preston, 'Violence against Women in the Spanish Civil War'.

⁶⁰⁷ Liz Kelly, 'The Continuum of Sexual Violence', p.47.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

The interconnections between different acts of violence against suspected female traitors and dissidents are more deeply theorised in the historiography of the Spanish Civil War due to the well-cited and documented use of additional violence, such as the use of castor oil and execution which run through accounts of head shaving across different regions. Forced castor oil ingestion is even referred to in the local press of the *Falange* in Cordoba in 1936: ‘everyone knows the practice of administering laxatives to those about to undergo an operation, and sometimes afterwards [...] our beloved Fatherland had not been purged before [...] but the Spanish *Falange* will now administer a dose of castor oil.’⁶⁰⁹ This metaphor of purging via the laxative effects of castor oil neatly ties together the Nationalists’ aim for political cleansing of Spain with the physical cleansing of dissident bodies through castor oil.⁶¹⁰ For example, the *Heraldo de Castellón* describes the use of head shaving and forced castor oil ingestion alongside execution in Galicia in 1937: ‘murders of Republicans, socialists, communists, trade unionists and anarchists: castor oil, parades of women with their heads shaved, extermination of entire families.’⁶¹¹ It is clear that links are drawn between the different acts of violence; they are understood to be connected and to have a shared purpose. In the left-wing press, execution is not viewed as a separate phenomenon but is instead understood as an extension of the violence of head shaving; head shaving is seen to lead to execution in many cases. The mention of ‘extermination of entire families’ attests to the extension of violence, including head

⁶⁰⁹ ‘Es de todos conocida la práctica de administrar purgantes a los operados antes de serlo y a veces después. Nuestra amada Patria no fue purgada antes por esta a cuidado una taifa inmundada de curanderos sin ciencia [...] Pero Falange Española le va a aplicar esta dosis de aceite de ricino por el que siente especial predilección.’ *Azul*, ‘Medicinando a España’, 09 October 1936, cited in Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra - la represión y la guerrilla, 1939-1950*, p.325.

⁶¹⁰ In her memoir, Tere Medina-Navascués, a left-wing activist and writer who fled to Mexico in 1939, describes witnessing head shaving and forced castor oil ingestion, used in conjunction to enhance the humiliation of leftist women: ‘detienen a las chicas de izquierdas [...] se las rapan toda la cabeza, menos un mechoncito en lo alto, en el que les ponen un lacito con la bandera republicana [...] se las atizan un litro de aceite de ricino [...] y se las echan a recorrer las calles.’ This account highlights that castor oil ingestion commonly followed head shaving as a continuation of the themes of purging, cleansing and humiliation that characterised these parades. See Tere Medina-Navascués. *Sobre mis escombros. Estampas de la guerra civil española* (Madrid: Mono Azul Editorial, 2006), p.76

⁶¹¹ ‘Asesinatos de republicanos, de socialistas, comunistas, sindicalistas y anarquistas; ricino, exhibición de mujeres con la cabeza rapada, exterminio de familias enteras.’ BVPHE, ‘En Galicia ya no quedan hombres porque mueren en Asturias’, *Heraldo de Castellón*, 11 March 1937, p.4. The combination of head shaving and enforced castor oil ingestion is explored in depth in Maud Joly’s unpublished doctoral thesis ‘Le Corps de l’Ennemie : Histoire et représentations des violences contre les républicaines en Espagne (1936-63).’ Joly cites multiple articles from the left-wing press highlighting the common use of castor oil as a ‘constitutive gesture’ of gender violence.

shaving and execution, from militants and activists themselves to their female family members, including daughters, wives and mothers.

One such case of combined head shaving, castor oil ingestion and execution in Sevilla is evoked in the left-wing paper *El Liberal* in the first few months of the Civil War.

A tragic “parade” in Seville.

They took the mother of comrade Barneto in a car through the streets of the city. They made her carry a jar of oil in one hand and some rags in another. They shaved the old woman’s head and left three small tufts of hair to which they attached three ribbons: two red and one yellow. This was a new form of parade in a city known for its processions. Young ladies laughed from the balconies and, a day later, the martyr was shot.⁶¹²

This distressing story was told as part of an article that decried the violence of the ‘fascist vanguard’ in the early takeover of Andalusia, therefore evidencing how head shaving occupied a key place on the continuum of post-conflict gender violence led by Francoists in Spain. In many ways, this account fits within the key coordinates of gender-specific humiliation and violence during the Spanish Civil War: the *Falange* targeted a woman who was connected to the Republic, her head was shaved and she was publicly humiliated by being forced to drink castor oil and wear the colours of the Francoist flag, before eventual execution. While this is an extreme example of violence, an example which was presumably chosen by the leftist press in order to invite condemnation of the Nationalist coup as the elderly victim is portrayed as a ‘martyr’, it shows that Nationalists committed acts of further violence, including castor oil ingestion and execution, alongside head shaving as zones were taken over.⁶¹³

⁶¹² ‘Un “paso” trágico en Sevilla

A la madre del camarada Barneto la pasearon en un coche por las calles de la ciudad. La obligaron a llevar un tarro de aceite de ricino en una mano y unas rebanadas en la otra. Había sido rapada la cabeza de la anciana y lucía tres pequeños mechones de pelo con tres lazos, dos rojos y uno amarillo. Era un “paso” nuevo en la ciudad de las procesiones. Reían las damiselas en los balcones, y la mártir, al día siguiente, fue fusilada.’ BVPHE, *El Liberal*, 24 October 1936, p.3.

⁶¹³ In terms of locating this particular incident, it is important to note that Seville was overpowered by Queipo de Llano’s forces on 18 July 1936, therefore there was little armed combat in the city and instead there was swift and violent repression, which included the targeting of leftist women. Paul Preston discusses the harsh repression enacted in Andalusia as part of his exploration of Queipo’s terror and the purging of the south in *The Spanish holocaust: Inquisition and extermination in twentieth-century Spain*, pp.131-178.

Executions of women, alongside head shaving and other forms of bodily humiliation, clearly occupied a key place as part of the Francoist 'regime of terror' against leftists.⁶¹⁴ Unlike in France, there were no institutional efforts to record such executions, due to the imposition of the Francoist dictatorship which was to remain until his death in 1975. However, there have been evolving estimates of the death toll in the early years of Francoism, thanks largely to local studies of repression. Julian Casanova et al's 2002 edited volume *Morir, matar, sobrevivir. La violencia en la dictadura de Franco*, which brings together local studies to draw out national trends, suggests that there were 50,000 deaths as part of post-war repression.⁶¹⁵ In terms of summary executions as zones were taken over by Francoists during the conflict, Helen Graham contends that there were around 150,000 summary killings.⁶¹⁶ Unfortunately, however, these estimates often do not distinguish between the gender of victims, and therefore exact numbers regarding the execution of women are hard to determine, as Shirley Mangini highlights.⁶¹⁷ Furthermore, many case studies draw from oral testimonies rather than written documents, due to the lack of records kept of Francoist violence, and therefore the exact number of executions in different areas are often uncertain.⁶¹⁸

In order to contextualise the use of execution alongside head shaving and acts of humiliation, it is therefore helpful to draw on local case studies. The province of Seville is noted for its high levels of Francoist repression; according to Francisco Espinosa, Seville had the highest number of executions, with 12,507 estimated victims.⁶¹⁹ In terms of the number of women killed in the province, there were at least 727 female victims of repression, or 6%.⁶²⁰ In Extremadura, for example, *El Proyecto de Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica en Extremadura* (The Project for the Recuperation of Historical Memory in Extremadura) has collected data regarding the number of male and female victims of Francoist repression in the region of Badajoz, differentiating between those killed

⁶¹⁴ 'Bajo un régimen de terror, de silencio y de delación. Se obliga a trabajar a hombres, mujeres y niños.' 'En Zarauz, los bandidos fascistas, practican detenciones en masa.' AGMA 21 6 1 10. Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1937.

⁶¹⁵ Julian Casanova et al., *Morir, matar, sobrevivir. La violencia en la dictadura de Franco* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2004), p.8.

⁶¹⁶ Helen Graham, 'The Memory of Murder: Mass Killing, Incarceration and the Making of Francoism', p.39.

⁶¹⁷ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, p.101

⁶¹⁸ For example, Jesús Narciso Núñez Calvo cites a case in Ecija in Andalusia in which a number of women had had their heads shaved in front of the Santa Inés convent, before being shot, but the exact figure is unknown as the women do not appear in any written register. 'La represión y sus directrices sevillanas en la provincia de Cádiz', p.69.

⁶¹⁹ Francisco Espinosa. *Violencia roja y azul. España, 1936-1950*. (Barcelona: Crítica, 2010), p.77.

⁶²⁰ José María García Márquez. *Las víctimas de la represión militar en la provincia de Sevilla, 1936-1963*. (Seville: Aconcagua Libros, 2012), pp.161-168.

following *paseos*, those killed in summary executions, those who disappeared, those killed during guerrilla action and all other known deaths between 1936 and 1950. Women made up 8% of these deaths (783 women to 9309 men), but what is particularly striking is that 90% of women's deaths (707) occurred during *paseos* compared to 77% of men's deaths (7249).⁶²¹ This suggests that the vast majority of female executions were intricately tied to parades where head shaving, castor oil ingestion and humiliation were commonplace. In her wide-ranging exploration of bodily violence against female Republicans, Maud Joly explains that the combination of head shaving, castor oil ingestion and execution were key to the shared 'grammar of violence'⁶²² deployed by Francoists as a means of reconquering Spain and annihilating the enemy; they constituted an 'new grammar of degradation of women's bodies, composed of an economy of terror.'⁶²³ In the Spanish case study, therefore, the historical press, contemporary historiography and testimonies frame head shaving as part of a wider phenomenon of gender-based violence, which included execution.

In France, however, the act of shearing by resisters has taken precedence over other associated acts of violence, rather than being understood as part of on a continuum of violence against women during the Liberation. The focus on head shaving as particularly visible form of violence at the expense of other associated acts of violence is underscored by the use of the term 'la tonte' (the shearing) as a means of conceptualising violence led by resisters and civilians; Alain Brossat refers to the 'shearing event'⁶²⁴ and Fabrice Virgili refers to cases of violence simply as 'tontes.'⁶²⁵ This is not merely a retrospective focus taken by historians, however, it was also currency at the time. The singular focus on the 'act of shearing' by resisters is discussed in a memoir of the Liberation written by Ferdinand Dupuy, a police chief secretary: 'the act of shearing only represents one part of what the women have to endure [...] shorn women are marked with painted swastikas, with tar or oil paint, on their foreheads or on their chests.'⁶²⁶ This memoir highlights that other forms of violence,

⁶²¹ Julián Chaves Palacios et al., *Proyecto de la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica en Extremadura: Balance de una década (2003-2013)*. (Investigación de la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo: Badajoz, PREMHEX, 2014)

⁶²² 'Cette grammaire de l'énonciation de la violence de la guerre.' Maud Joly, 'Le Corps de l'Ennemie : Histoire et représentations des violences contre les républicaines en Espagne (1936-63)', p.355

⁶²³ 'Une grammaire inédite de la dégradation des corps féminins, composante de l'économie de la terreur, naît dans cette guerre civile.' Ibid., p.573

⁶²⁴ Alain Brossat refers to the tonte as an "un événement." *Les tondues : un carnaval moche*, p.173

⁶²⁵ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.8

⁶²⁶ 'L'acte de tondre ne représente qu'une partie de ce que les femmes doivent subir. Les femmes tondues peuvent être marquées par des swastikas peintes, avec du goudron ou de la peinture à l'huile, sur leurs fronts ou sur leurs poitrines.' Ferdinand Dupuy, *La Libération de Paris vue d'un commissariat de police*, (Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1944), p.43.

such as marking and tarring, were used by resisters and civilians to further humiliate shorn women. In this way, the term 'tonte' appears insufficient as a means of capturing the full extent of violence committed.

Other examples of violence and humiliation litter accounts of 'tontes', including physical assault,⁶²⁷ throwing stones at women,⁶²⁸ and forced nudity.⁶²⁹ Furthermore, historians have noted that there are known incidents of rape accompanying head shaving, but reports, press accounts and oral and written testimonies typically remain silent on this aspect, so it is difficult to know how frequently sexual violence accompanied head shaving.⁶³⁰ Nevertheless, in terms of more visible acts which occurred alongside shearing, Fabrice Virgili and François Rouquet draw attention to the bodily nature of these humiliating scenes of violence in public spaces: 'shaving hair, partially ripping women's clothes and sometimes stripping them entirely were practices that became established in a bodily *mise en scène*.'⁶³¹ Much like Maud Joly's notion of a 'grammar of violence'⁶³² led by the Nationalists against women during the Spanish Civil War, this description of head shaving as a 'bodily *mise en scène*'⁶³³ points to the co-existence of multiple acts of violence perpetrated against women by resisters, often used in conjunction. Furthermore, Philippe Bourdrel cites an extreme example from an interview with an anonymous soldier,⁶³⁴ who describes the aftermath of a particularly brutal case of head shaving: 'she was unconscious, in a lamentable physical state [...] she had shorn hair, tufts had been ripped off in handfuls, she was bleeding [...] her breasts were

⁶²⁷ Henri Amouroux, *Joies et douleurs du peuple libéré : 6 juin-1^{er} septembre 1944* (Paris : Robert Laffont, 1988), p.538.

⁶²⁸ Georgette Elgey, *La fenêtre ouverte* (Paris: Fayard, 1973), p.21.

⁶²⁹ Jean Cocteau, *Journal 1942-1945*, p.535.

⁶³⁰ Luc Capdevila, cites cases of rape in Châteaulin and Audierne in Brittany at the hands of the FFI. See *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d'une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.101. Fabrice Virgili also mentions that rape was known to occur when men broke into suspected collaborator's houses and he cites an incident of rape following an arrest by the FFI. However, Virgili emphasises that the scale of sexual violence during the Liberation is unknown and has not been studied in depth. See *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.245.

⁶³¹ 'Tondre les cheveux, déchirer partiellement les vêtements des femmes parfois en les dénudant totalement sont des pratiques qui s'érigent en une mise en scène du corps.' François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili, *Les Françaises, les Français et l'Épuration*, (Paris: Gallimard, 2018) p.117.

⁶³² 'Cette grammaire de l'énonciation de la violence.' Maud Joly, 'Le Corps de l'Ennemie : Histoire et représentations des violences contre les républicaines en Espagne (1936-63)', p.355.

⁶³³ 'Une mise en scène du corps.' François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili, *Les Françaises, les Français et l'Épuration*, p.117.

⁶³⁴ In terms of identifying features, Bourdrel only mentions that the soldier had fought during the war as part of the Second Armoured Division, headed by General Leclerc.

exposed and covered in bruises and trails of blood.⁶³⁵ This harrowing testimony does not foreground head shaving as a standalone act of violence; it is rather understood as part of a wider assault committed by the FFI in this case, as part of the wider phenomenon of targeting women suspected of collaboration. In this testimony, the woman, who was aged between twenty-five and thirty-years-old, according to the soldier, had been targeted by the FFI as she had been a secretary at the local *Kommandatur*. No further details were provided in terms of any suspected crimes.

Executions of women accused of collaboration are portrayed as a rare occurrence in newly liberated zones in France in comparison to newly taken over areas in Spain, but examples can be found of resisters and crowds executing women. For example, Richard Vinen hints at the use of execution in the case of the *femmes tondues*: ‘women might be tripped, tarred and feathered or, in the worst circumstances, executed.’⁶³⁶ While executions represent the ‘worst circumstances’, there are certainly documented cases of executions of shorn women across the country.⁶³⁷ In Robert Aron files regarding the purges, there is an account of an execution of a female cleaner who had worked for the Nazis at the local *Soldatenheim* in Alfortville in Val-de-Marne.

She was arrested by the local FTP and the FFI and then taken to Drancy. While there, she stood before the commission who found that there was no proof of any wrongdoing on her part and let her go [...] Furious that she had been freed, the FTP decided that justice had been poorly executed and decided the fate of the “good woman” themselves. They judged her and condemned her to death.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ ‘Elle était inconsciente, dans un état physique effrayant. Elle avait les cheveux rasés, des touffes lui avaient été arrachées par poignées, elle saignait [...] Sa figure était noirâtre, mâchurée par les coups de poing et de griffes qu’elle avait reçus. Son corsage déchiré, elle avait les seins à nu, pleins de bleus et couverts de trainées sanguinolentes.’ Philippe Bourdrel, *L’épuration sauvage*, p.77.

⁶³⁶ Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life Under the Occupation*, p.352.

⁶³⁷ There are multiple documented cases of head shaving in combination with physical assaults and execution. These include Marcelle Polge in Nîmes, who was accused of sharing intelligence with the enemy due to her relationships with German soldiers; Polge had her head shaved, captured in an infamous photograph in which her face and hair is held up to the camera by zealous resisters, and was later shot. See Alain Frèrejean and Claire l’Hoër, *Libération : la joie et les larmes : Acteurs et témoins racontent* (1944-1945), (Paris: L’Archipel, 2019), pp.275-276. Another example is Josette Azema, who was allegedly the mistress of the head of the Gestapo in Toulouse; she had her head shaved, her clothing was removed and she had swastikas painted across her chest and stomach before being shot the next day. See Hanna Diamond, *Women’s Experience during and after World War Two in the Toulouse area 1939-1948: choices and constraints* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 1992), p.198.

⁶³⁸ ‘Elle est arrêtée par les F.T.P. et F.F.I locaux et menée ensuite à Drancy. Là, elle passe devant une commission de criblage qui ne voyant rien à lui reprocher, la relâche [...] les F.T.P. furieux de la voir libre, estiment que la justice est mal faite et décident de régler le sort de la « bonne femme » eux-mêmes. Ils la jugent et la condamnent à mort.’ F delta res 1832/31.

The account also details that after being released from Drancy without charge, the FTP had broken into her home and found money, which she had told the panel was inheritance when she was brought before them for a second time. This account emphasises the very real threat of execution faced by suspected female collaborators; violence extended beyond the threat of head shaving and humiliation to forced entry into women's homes and extrajudicial execution by resisters. The persistence of the FTP when the female cleaner was released without charge suggests that for 'justice' to be done, punishment could often require physical violence against women suspected of collaborationist crimes, including extrajudicial execution without the need for evidence of wrongdoing. Understanding the true scale of executions of women under such circumstances is difficult, however, due to the uncertainty surrounding the exact figures of executions during this period.⁶³⁹

Drawing from CHOLF files in the immediate aftermath of the Liberation, executions of men and women are detailed across the different departments,⁶⁴⁰ but the circumstances surrounding these deaths are not always provided. Across all regions in Finistère in Brittany, 72 men and 35 women were killed in 1944; women therefore make up 32% of known executions in 1944 (preceding, during and following the Liberation).⁶⁴¹ The national average provided by Françoise Leclerc and Michèle Weindling, drawn from available data on executions across France during the period, concludes that 21% of executions led by resisters during the Liberation period were against women,⁶⁴² which is certainly not an insignificant percentage. Therefore, despite views that head shaving was a 'derisory'⁶⁴³ violence and that the practice may have even stopped further bloodshed by appeasing the 'fury of fellow citizens,'⁶⁴⁴ evidence suggests that the execution of women,

⁶³⁹ The estimated figures of the total number of collaborators and suspected collaborators executed is contested. In 1981, the *Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent* (Institute for the History of the Present) estimated that the total number of executions was under 10,000. However, these figures are uncertain due to the difficulty of defining 'summary execution', 'court martial' and 'popular justice.' See: Gregor Dallas, *1945: The War that Never Ended* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2005), p.316.

⁶⁴⁰ As Françoise Leclerc et Michèle Weindling discuss in their detailed analysis of female repression in newly liberated France, not all departments provide information regarding extrajudicial deaths. Out of 90 departments, 6 do not provide the number of deaths, these include L'Hérault, Les Landes, le Loiret, la Loire-Atlantique, le Lot-et-Garonne and l'Oise, 'La répression des femmes coupables d'avoir collaboré pendant l'Occupation', p.2.

⁶⁴¹ AN 72AJ 2567 - Finistère

⁶⁴² Françoise Leclerc et Michèle Weindling, 'La répression des femmes coupables d'avoir collaboré pendant l'Occupation', p.2.

⁶⁴³ Fabrice Virgili describes the violence of head shaving as 'derisoire.' *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.173.

⁶⁴⁴ 'La fureur des citoyens.' Herbert Lottman, *L'Épuration 1943-53*, (Paris: Fayard, 1986), p.93.

alongside head shaving and other acts of humiliation, also occurred in France.⁶⁴⁵ While execution of women in Spain was more common than in France, it is still illuminating to understand the role of head shaving as part of a 'continuum' of violence, in order to analyse the full scale of perpetrators' behaviours.

Furthermore, while public head shaving and parades are relatively well documented and analysed in press, photography, testimonies and historiography, the use of more extreme forms of violence by resisters away from the eyes of the community in spaces such as prisons, has received less attention in studies and in memorialisation. As discussed in the previous chapter, many of the women who faced head shaving and humiliation in the community also faced 'official' forms of punishment; so imprisonment and unofficial practices, such as head shaving, tend to overlap in both countries. As a result, accounts of women's time spent in prisons in France and Spain also point to the use of head shaving, torture and sexual violence by resisters and Francoists within these spaces. It is therefore important to include such incidents which took place away from the eyes of the community in make-shift prisons, camps and in domestic settings⁶⁴⁶ as part of an analysis of perpetrator behaviours and the rationalisation of head shaving and other acts of violence and humiliation in both case studies.

Within a context of intense scrutiny against those perceived to have collaborated with either the Republicans or the Nazi occupation, the female prison population grew dramatically in France and Spain in the aftermath of the two conflicts. Many of these imprisoned women had previously faced head shaving and the trauma of humiliating parades in front of municipal buildings and through the main streets of cities, towns and villages. In the initial post-war period following such incidents, many of these women were then placed in cramped women's prisons that far exceeded capacity, such as Las Ventas in Spain,⁶⁴⁷ and in former deportation camps, such as Drancy and Fresnes in

⁶⁴⁵ Françoise Leclerc et Michèle Weindling, 'La répression des femmes coupables d'avoir collaboré pendant l'Occupation', p.9.

⁶⁴⁶ Robert Aron writes about the violence faced by alleged collaborators during the period of mass arrests during the Liberation, who were taken to official and make-shift prisons and camps. *Histoire de l'Épuration : de l'indulgence aux massacres, Novembre 1942 – Septembre 1944*, p.573-601.

⁶⁴⁷ The infamous women's prison Las Ventas in Madrid became synonymous with the post-war repression of leftist women in Spain. In a bitter twist of fate, it had originally been constructed under the Second Republic by then Minister for Prisons, Victoria Kent, as a women's prison with a Republican ethos and an emphasis on rehabilitation, but it was transformed into a mass prison by Nationalists due to spikes in female imprisonment during and immediately following the Civil War. As Fernando Hernández-Holgado explains, 'a prison that had been intended to hold 500 women ended up housing more than 5,000 female inmates.' See *Mujeres*

France.⁶⁴⁸ In fact, two new camps had to be opened uniquely for women by 1946 in France due to the pressures exerted on the carceral system in the post-war period.⁶⁴⁹ Many women were initially imprisoned in make-shift prisons across Spain, such as schools or nursing homes, which quickly became overcrowded.⁶⁵⁰ In such conditions of disarray, chaos and overcrowding, the use of head shaving and further violence against women by resisters and Francoists occurred in carceral spaces in both case studies.

According to testimonies in Spain, it was common for head shaving to occur in prisons if women had not already faced shearing as part of the *paseos*; in fact, women sometimes faced head shaving upon entry into prisons. Within women's prisons, there were a variety of different groups who came into contact with female inmates: from the *Falange* and Civil Guards to priests and nuns, who were involved to varying degrees with the use of violence framed as punishment, including head shaving.⁶⁵¹ According to studies and testimonies, head shaving was used in women's prisons as one

encarceladas. La prisión de Ventas: de la República al franquismo, 1931-1941. (Madrid: Marcial Pons 2003), p.19.

⁶⁴⁸ According to Françoise Leclerc and Michele Weindling, between 1 September 1944 and 18 August 1954, 3,800 women were held at Fresnes for charges of collaboration. The last woman to be interned at Fresnes for charges of collaboration started her sentence on 18 August 1954, following her sentence in 1953. This shows both the scale of imprisonment and how sentencing continued into the 1950s. 'La répression des femmes coupables d'avoir collaboré pendant l'Occupation', p.4.

⁶⁴⁹ In January 1946, when the number of imprisoned collaborators was at its highest in France, women made up 21% of the 29,401 inmates imprisoned for collaborationist crimes. Of the entire female prison population at this time, 54% were imprisoned due to alleged crimes of collaboration compared to 45.9% of the male prison population. See Françoise Leclerc and Michèle Weindling, 'La répression des femmes coupables d'avoir collaboré pendant l'Occupation', p.3. Similarly, by 1940 in Spain, it is estimated that 30,000 women were imprisoned for collaborating with the Second Republic. See Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945*, p.53. In Encarnación Barranquero Teixeira and Matilde Eiroa San Francisco's study of female prisons in Malaga, it is noted that 54.8% of women were imprisoned due to 'crimes against the security of the state', which referred to collaboration, participation or ideological affiliation with the Second Republic. (See Encarnación Barranquero Teixeira and Matilde Eiroa San Francisco, 'La cárcel de mujeres de Málaga en la paz de Franco,' *Studia historica. Historia contemporánea*, 29 (2011), p.128.

⁶⁴⁹ Many women were initially imprisoned in make-shift prisons across Spain, such as schools or nursing homes, which quickly became overcrowded.

⁶⁵⁰ See Tomasa Cuevas, *Carcel de Mujeres 1939-1945*, (Sirocco: Barcelona, 1985), p.55, and Tomasa Cuevas, *Testimonios de mujeres en las cárceles franquistas* (Huesca: Instituto de estudios altoaragoneses, 2004), p.402.

⁶⁵¹ Nuns were often integral to the running of women's prisons. Alongside the *Seccion Femenina*, nuns were expected to help reform female 'rebels'. In Dulce Chacon's historical novel *La voz dormida*, based on testimonies collected from survivors of Francoist prisons, an incident of a nun hitting Tomasa, a female inmate, for her lack of obedience during a religious service is described (p.154). Similarly, incidents of nuns isolating female prisoners for bad behaviour and denying them their correspondence from family members is explored in Alexandra Macsutovici Ignat's 2019 article 'Mujeres en las cárceles franquistas: la práctica de la escritura y lectura en la obra de Tomasa Cuevas y Juana Doña', *Vegueta. Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia*, 19 (2019), p.301.

of the various means of ensuring compliance.⁶⁵² Head shaving is presented as an important means of ensuring prisoners' obedience and stifling dissent in many prison memoirs and adapted testimonies, such as the novelised testimony of Juana Doña and Josefa Collado's diaries, which both describe the use of violence by Francoist prison guards during their time spent in various women's prisons across the country, including Alcalá de Henares and Saturrarán.⁶⁵³ Josefa Collado's testimony highlights that many of the 3000 female inmates at Saturrarán faced beatings, sexual assault,⁶⁵⁴ head shaving and castor oil ingestion at the hands of guards. As argued by Sofia Rodríguez López in her analysis of repression against women in post-war Spain, testimonies illustrate how prisons forced leftist women to live in a context of 'gender repression' at the hands of the Francoist state, both 'inside and outside prisons' via physical violence and ever-present threat.⁶⁵⁵

In Tomasa Cuevas's collection of testimonies from women who had been incarcerated during or following the war, head shaving at the hands of prison guards and the *Falange* is presented as a relatively common occurrence. Accounts of three women imprisoned in Guadalajara in Castile draw out the logic of leading head shaving within the confines of women's prison.

In the courtyard [of the prison] many women had shaved heads, particularly the young women; they had come from nearby villages; all of us from Guadalajara still had our hair. One day a new group of women arrived and all of them had been well and truly sheared. The *Falange* joked that the same standards must apply to all, so either all of the women should be bald or all of the women should have hair, and as they can't put hair back onto the bald women, they had to shave the women who still had hair.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵² As Anna Aguado and Vicenta Verdugo explain in their study of women's prisons in Valencia, 'se trataba de imponer el nacional-catolicismo a través del miedo y las represalias, pues negarse podía suponer pasar a estar incomunicada, no poder contactar con los familiares ni recibir paquetes, el rapado del pelo, la amenaza del destierro o el traslado a otras prisiones.' Ana Aguado and Vicenta Verdugo, 'Las cárceles franquistas de mujeres en Valencia: Castigar, Purificar y Reeducar', *Studia historica. Historia contemporánea*, 29 (2011), p.71.

⁶⁵³ See Juana Doña, *Desde la noche y la niebla: mujeres en las cárceles franquistas*. (Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1978). Similarly, Sofia Rodríguez López cites Josefa Collado's memories of imprisonment in her exploration of women's experiences in Almería between 1936 and 1939. See Sofia Rodríguez López, *Mujeres en Guerra: Almería, 1936-1939* (Sevilla: Arcaez Editores, 2003), p.172.

⁶⁵⁴ Sexual violence is a particularly common theme in women's testimonies of their time in Francoist prisons. Juana Doña describes the use of rape by the *Falange* in prisons and during arrests of leftist women. *Desde la noche y la niebla: mujeres en las cárceles franquistas*, pp.242-243.

⁶⁵⁵ 'La tragedia personal que suponía la represión de género del estado franquista, dentro y fuera de las cárceles.' Sofia Rodríguez López, *Mujeres en Guerra: Almería, 1936-1939*, p.171

⁶⁵⁶ 'En el patio muchas mujeres, sobre todo jóvenes tenían la cabeza rapada; venían así ya de los pueblos; las de Guadalajara todas teníamos nuestra cabellera. Un día llegó una expedición de un pueblo y todas venían bien rapaditas. Los falangistas, muy guasones, dijeron que eso era la ley del embudo, que o todas pelonas o

In this excerpt, head shaving is shown to have been more prevalent in Castilian villages than in its larger urban centres, such as Guadalajara, but this is quickly rectified in the prison itself due to the opportunism of the *Falange*. The *Falange* view of head shaving as a form of dehumanisation and humiliation is foregrounded by the suggestion that they were enjoying their power over the female inmates ('they joked' 'they can't put hair back onto the bald women, so they had to shave the women who still had hair'). This suggests that head shaving was not simply rationalised as a form of socially corrective shaming in the heart of the local community, but rather that these incidents were also motivated by sadism and even entertainment for the *Falange* in prison spaces. In this particular example, two of the women who still had their hair upon entry to the prison in Guadalajara asked the male barbers, who were also imprisoned leftists, to shave their heads before they were called up, so that the women would 'not give them the satisfaction of watching them be shaved.'⁶⁵⁷ Their choice to opt for pre-emptive shaving suggests that some women were concerned about facing humiliation at the hands of the *Falange*, even within the confines of the prison. Head shaving still appears to function as a form of sadistic entertainment within the institutional context of the prison, even without the surrounding *paseo* in the heart of the community. Consequently, head shaving appears to not only be motivated by perpetrators' desires to assert their authority in public space, but also by desires to degrade and disempower women in order to break their spirit, as part of leftist women's 're-education'.⁶⁵⁸ The institutionalised nature of head shaving is clear in this excerpt as it is asserted that the *Falange* expected uniformity amongst female inmates ('the same standards must apply to all'), thereby pointing to the standardisation of the practice. As Shirley Mangini highlights, female prisons aimed to 'punish' and 'humiliate' leftist women during the post-war consolidation of Francoist power structures.⁶⁵⁹ Here, head shaving is rationalised by perpetrators as a standardised 'punishment' for all female inmates, which marks them as prisoners and criminals, whilst also providing entertainment for the *Falange* who watched over the proceedings.

In other testimonies, such as Nieves Torres's account of her prison sentence in *Del Olvido a la Memoria: Presas de Franco*, head shaving is recounted as just one form of corporal punishment used

todas con pelo, y como a las pelonas no las podían poner el pelo, había que pelar a las que llevaban pelo.' Tomasa Cuevas, *Cárcel de mujeres (1939-1945)*, p.91.

⁶⁵⁷ 'No les dimos el gustazo de vernos rapar.' Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ Helen Graham, 'Gender and the State: Women in the 1940s', p.184.

⁶⁵⁹ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, p.99.

in prison by Francoists, alongside other acts of bodily violence, including torture and sexual violence. Torres recounts that she was lucky to have only faced head shaving while imprisoned, thereby showing awareness of the use of other forms of violence in prisons: ‘fortunately, they did not touch me [...] they thought that the hair was enough, they left me completely bald.’⁶⁶⁰ In this way, head shaving is understood as one means of punishing and inflicting pain on women alongside other forms of violence, rather than head shaving being viewed as a singular act of shaming and degradation. The use of torture in interrogations reoccurs across prison testimonies and accounts. In a feature article on women’s experiences in Francoist prisons for *El País* in 2002, Dulce Chacón recounts the experiences of Remedios Montero, who faced various forms of physical torture while imprisoned:

She felt rage as they administered electric shocks, when she felt splinters under her nails, when they made her stand on her knees on a table covered in chickpeas, salt and rice, and when the chickpeas perforated her knees, and when she fainted, and when they woke her up with buckets of water.⁶⁶¹

In this interview, Remedios Montero would go on to say that she was left unable to have children due to damage caused by prolonged beatings and torture at the hands of Francoist guards. While extreme, this graphic account of the twenty days of torture Montero endured at the hands of Francoists was not an isolated anomaly. Maria Salvo “Cionin”, who was sentenced to thirty years in prison for conspiring against the state due to her left-wing activism in the CNT and UGT, describes being ‘unconscious due to the pain’ of various forms of torture while imprisoned, including the use of electric shocks on her breasts.⁶⁶² This use of heavily gendered electric shock torture is also cited as part of a testimony given by Manolita del Arco, who describes how electric shocks were administered to female inmates’ breasts during interrogations.⁶⁶³ While torture was also used against male inmates, it is evident that the prison violence was administered in a ‘distinctly different’ way

⁶⁶⁰ ‘Afortunadamente, a mí, no me tocaron [...] pensaron que con el pelo era suficiente, me dejaron rapadita.’ Nieves Torres, in Jorge Montes Salguero. *Del olvido a la memoria. Presas de Franco*. (Spain: La Sexta TV, 2006).

⁶⁶¹ ‘Rabia dice que sentía cuando le administraban corriente, cuando sentía las astillas en las uñas, cuando la obligaban a arrodillarse en una tabla llena de garbanzos, sal y arroz, y los garbanzos le perforaban las rodillas; y se desmayaba, y la despertaban con cubos de agua. La rabia, dice, le ayudó a soportar las torturas durante 20 días.’ Dulce Chacón, ‘Las mujeres que perdieron la guerra.’ *El País Semanal*, 1 September 2002, p.48.

⁶⁶² Maria Salvo “Cionin” in Jorge Montes Salguero, *Del olvido a la memoria. Presas de Franco* (Spain: La Sexta TV, 2006).

⁶⁶³ Tomasa Cuevas, *Cárcel de mujeres (1939-1945)*, p.145.

for women.⁶⁶⁴ Themes of bodily degradation and humiliation run through female victims' accounts of their perpetrators, which suggests that head shaving occupied a key position on the continuum of prison violence led by Francoist prison guards and the *Falange*. Crucially, the violence enacted by perpetrators clearly extends beyond shearing into torture and sexual and psychological violence in prisons, pointing to the need to analyse head shaving within a broader continuum of heavily gendered violence perpetrated by those who were part of the Nationalist infrastructure, either on the streets or in official institutions. As Ana Aguado Higón and Vicenta Verdugo Martí note in their analysis of Francoist female prisons in Valencia, the violent torture of women was a common practice by military authorities, police, and members of the *Falange*,⁶⁶⁵ which suggests that head shaving was often only the visible tip of the iceberg in terms of gender-specific violence perpetrated by Nationalist rebels following the Spanish Civil War. These accounts therefore point to a certain systematisation of head shaving and corporal violence by perpetrators in interrogations and in prisons.

In France, the initial chaos of the Liberation and the demand for the punishment of traitors meant that violence such as head shaving, torture and sexual assaults against women in prisons spread the country. Peter Novick observes that the descent into violence during this fractious period was the result of an occupation that had given rise to 'hatred and resentments' which often 'erupted into violence', for which Novick cites the example of Brittany, where German troops had executed French prisoners the day before the Liberation, which provoked swift reprisals suspected collaborators by resisters and those sympathetic to difference resistance organisations during the Liberation.⁶⁶⁶

The same logic of revenge as a motivating factor for resisters who enacted violence against women in carceral spaces is therefore unsurprising, particularly as the scale and extent of the torture and execution of resisters at the hands of the German occupiers during the Occupation was quickly

⁶⁶⁴ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, p.104

⁶⁶⁵ Ana Aguado and Vicenta Verdugo cite the case of Rosa Estruch who was so viciously tortured at a police station in Valencia that she was left paralysed. 'Las cárceles franquistas de mujeres en Valencia: Castigar, Purificar y Reeducar,' p.71.

⁶⁶⁶ 'L'Occupation avait fait naître des haines et des ressentiments que l'on ne pouvait pas toujours empêcher d'éclater sous forme de violence.' Peter Novick, *L'épuration française 1944-1949*, p.122.

coming to light during the Liberation.⁶⁶⁷ Adding further weight to the logic of revenge as a motivating factor for violence, many of the prisons where suspected collaborators were held were sites where resisters themselves had been previously imprisoned, tortured and executed. Examples of this quick turnaround of prisoners include Fresnes and Camp Margueritte, where many suspected female collaborators were held, alongside internment camps from which Jews and political prisoners had been deported, such as Drancy.⁶⁶⁸ Accordingly, during the score-settling of the purges, there are documented examples of head shaving, humiliation and torture in these prisons and camps; Drancy is noted for its 'brutality' and 'abuses' against suspected female collaborators.⁶⁶⁹ Furthermore, according to a report written by a doctor working at Drancy in 1944, which details the injuries of 49 inmates, there are multiple incidents of violence against women by resisters and police during their time spent at police stations before they even arrived at Drancy, including head and pubic shaving, partial head shaving and evidence of severe beating by FFI in a hotel, and the administration of vaginal and anal electric shocks.⁶⁷⁰ These scattered incidents of violence and humiliation before arrests, during arrests and following imprisonment show that violence against suspected female collaborators flourished during this period in police stations, prisons and makeshift prisons alike, with a wide range of perpetrators involved.

Similarly, at Fresnes, a women's prison in the outskirts of Paris, accounts of extreme physical violence peppered reports and testimonies. According to Albert Naud, a resister interviewed by Robert Aron, it was common for women's breasts to be burnt with cigarettes.⁶⁷¹ Naud also mentioned hearing about a violent practice called the 'boiled hen', which in French has the double entendre of 'poule' (hen), a pejorative term for suspected female collaborators, who were insultingly referred to as 'poules à Boches' (women of the Boches or Germans).⁶⁷² This practice allegedly

⁶⁶⁷ AN 72 AJ 2147. Preceding the Liberation, bodies of nine men and two women resisters were found at Fort Romainville on 21 August 1944 following the Nazi soldiers' exit on 18 August. On 24 August, *Ce Soir* showed a photograph of the bodies as part of its coverage of the Liberation.

⁶⁶⁸As Christian Delacampagne explains, 'Drancy internment camp remains an indelible scar of the collective conscience of France'. See Christian Delacampagne, 'Anti-Semitism in France: Overcoming the Past?' in: John J Michalczyk (ed.), *Resisters, Rescuers and Refugees: Historical and Ethical Issues* (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1997), pp.9-18.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Drancy avait connu les brutalités et les sévices, voire les séances de torture.' Philippe Bourdrel, *L'épuration sauvage*, p.109.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., pp.112-113.

⁶⁷¹ 'Une atrocité [...] que M. Naud a pu vérifier, c'est celle qui consistait à brûler les seins des femmes avec des cigarettes.' LC, F delta 1832/31 Naud.

⁶⁷² François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili, *Les Françaises, les Français et l'Épuration*, p.116.

involved a woman being stripped, tied up and put in a bath of cold water, which would be heated up from below, hence ‘boiled.’⁶⁷³ Examples of violent practices in women’s prisons, from shaving to torture, point to the use and rationalisation of violence against women suspected of collaboration by resisters and prison guards, beyond the social shaming of the public *tonte*. These incidents occurred in spaces hidden from public view where resisters had themselves been imprisoned, suggesting that these acts also served to fulfil a ‘desire for vengeance’.⁶⁷⁴ Furthermore, the use of violence beyond head shaving, including extremes of humiliating torture such as pubic shaving, intimate administration of electric shocks and cigarette burns, speaks to an increasing scale of sadism and a loss of restraint amongst newly empowered resisters within hidden spaces.

Alongside violence in institutional spaces by resisters, it is important to examine the role of clandestine and makeshift prisons as hidden and semi-institutional sites that facilitated gender-based violence. An example cited by Jacky Tronel is from the barracks of the 35th Regiment of Divisionary Artillery, whose treatment of suspected female collaborators was critiqued, due to the use of ‘bodily violence’, by Maxime Roux, then-prefect of Dordogne, citing the ‘suicide of a female inmate.’ It transpired that the woman in question rushed out of a window and died as she was trying to escape from attempted rape.⁶⁷⁵ The threat of sexual assault against female prisoners at the hands of soldiers and resisters within hastily converted prisons for collaborators is also described within a testimony in the Robert Aron files, in which a suspected collaborator shares a cell with a woman and is pressured by the FFI guards to rape her.

They forced me to have sex with her, I couldn’t do it. They did it instead. The poor girl. At the time, I was facing the wall with my hands in the air. I looked back to see what they were doing and I was kicked in the behind.⁶⁷⁶

This testimony from an eyewitness who was pressured to comply with FFI violence points to the role of sadism and opportunism in perpetration, beyond the use of exemplary violence as ‘patriotic

⁶⁷³ ‘La « poule bouillie ».’ LC, F delta 1832/31 Naud.

⁶⁷⁴ ‘Une juste volonté de vengeance.’ Philippe Bourdrel, *L’épuration sauvage*, p.25.

⁶⁷⁵ Jacky Tronel, ‘L’épuration en Dordogne et les femmes tondues’, *Esprit de Pays*, 17 June 2015. Accessed online on 10th June 2017 at <http://espritdepays.com/dordogne/histoire/epuration-femmes-en-dordogne-1944-1951-2e-partie>.

⁶⁷⁶ ‘Ils m’obligent à la baiser, je ne puis pas. Eux le font à ma place, pauvre fille. Pendant ce temps, je suis face au mur, les en l’air. Je ne retourne pour voir ce qu’ils font, je reçois un grand coup au derrière.’ LC, F delta 1832 16/2.

retaliation.⁶⁷⁷ The sexual violence described in this account appears opportunistic, due to the vulnerability of the incarcerated woman, who is described as a ‘young waitress.’⁶⁷⁸ Presumably, the unnamed woman may have been arrested for suspected relationships with soldiers from the occupying forces due to her role in hospitality.⁶⁷⁹ Furthermore, there is a clear current of sadism and degradation in this encounter before the sexual assault takes place, as the men attempt to force the male prisoner to rape the waitress in front of them. In accounts of such violence against women in prison spaces at the hands of resisters, we see clear examples of how ‘hatred, a desire for vengeance and misogyny coexisted with a passion for freedom’⁶⁸⁰ as part of the historical moment of the Liberation, giving a greater licence for violent acts against women suspected of collaboration.

Other examples of makeshift prisons that became synonymous with violence include the *Institut Dentaire* in Paris, previously known as the *Institut Georges Eastman*. It became a makeshift prison for suspected collaborators led by the FFI and local captain Bernard from the end of August 1944. It held approximately 150 inmates, of which there were an estimated 50 women, who made up a third of inmates at this notoriously violent semi-official prison.⁶⁸¹ Many of these women had their heads shaved and were marked with swastikas in tar, as prison accounts attest.⁶⁸² According to Jean-Marc Berlière and Franck Liaigre’s study of unauthorised executions and torture in the Institut Dentaire, the makeshift prison was characterised by ‘scenes of barbarism’ and ‘humiliation.’⁶⁸³ The initial Liberation period saw the emergence of many clandestine prisons of this ilk,⁶⁸⁴ thereby creating an environment that invited and enabled violence due to the disarray and allowing resisters from various factions, including the FFI and FTP, to participate in settling scores and murders that

⁶⁷⁷ François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili refer to June to October 1944 as a period of ‘revanche patriotique.’ *Les Françaises, les Français et l’Épuration*, p.98.

⁶⁷⁸ ‘Une jeune fille serveuse.’ LC, F delta 1832 16/2.

⁶⁷⁹ Fabrice Virgili highlights that women from such professions typically had more contact with German soldiers and were frequently suspected of ‘fraternising with the enemy’ during the Liberation. *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.45.

⁶⁸⁰ ‘La haine, le désir de vengeance, la misogynie ont coexisté avec la passion de la liberté.’ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.15.

⁶⁸¹ LC, F delta 1832 16/1.

⁶⁸² Ibid.

⁶⁸³ ‘Aux sévices et tortures, aux scènes de barbarie, aux exécutions, aux nuits de folie paroxystique, il faut ajouter les humiliations permanentes et brimades multiples imposées aux prisonniers et d’abord aux femmes.’ Jean-Marc Berlière and Franck Liaigre, *Ainsi finissent les salauds. Séquestrations et exécutions clandestines dans Paris libéré*, (Paris : Éditions Robert Laffont), pp.198.

⁶⁸⁴ Philippe Bourdrel, *L’épuration sauvage*, p.114.

could not claim any correspondence with the logic of war including torture, sexual violence and head shaving.⁶⁸⁵

A particularly evocative case study that reveals resisters' violent behaviour and poor treatment of women imprisoned in such semi-institutional spaces is the case of a woman who was arrested due to her husband collaboration as part of the *Rassemblement National Populaire*, a French fascist and collaborationist party founded by Marcel Déat. While imprisoned, the woman was separated from her baby, who later died, which she was only told fifteen days afterwards. She faced torture while imprisoned by the FFI, as an attempt to glean information about her husband's whereabouts, as documented in these notes in her file.

She was interrogated. She was beaten with a belt, using the buckle side, and she was burnt with cigarettes. She fainted three or four times. She was woken up with slaps, with a revolver placed in her mouth. Then, realising that she could not say anything, she was taken to the *Institut Dentaire*.⁶⁸⁶

This summary of the interrogation evidences the climate of violence in prison settings and reveals how women were treated by resisters within these contexts. In her case, the FFI were faced with a young wife and mother whose sole crime was being married to a prominent collaborationist politician and yet she was 'woken up with slaps' and a 'revolver placed in her mouth' each time she fainted from being beaten and burnt. Her torture lasted a day, during which she was 'semi-naked,' again evidencing the key role of humiliation in the use of violence against women by resisters.⁶⁸⁷ The violence she endured is documented without attributing certain acts to particular perpetrators, however. The use of torture in her interrogation is described impersonally using the neutral 'on' (one or we) form, which therefore evades giving certain FFI members accountability for their actions and suggests it was a collective form of violence with multiple participants and no clear ringleaders. Perpetrators' identities therefore appear to have been afforded a degree of protection within their institutional documentation of arrests. While these sources do not obscure the violent actions of resisters within prisons and makeshift prisons, we have no access to the motivations of

⁶⁸⁵ Jean-Marc Berlière and Franck Liaigre, *Ainsi finissent les salauds*, p.18.

⁶⁸⁶ 'On l'a interrogée. Ils l'ont battue avec un ceinturon du côté de la boucle, l'ont brûlée avec des cigarettes. Elle s'est évanoui 3 o 4 fois. On l'a ranimée à coups de gifles, le revolver dans la bouche. Puis, voyant qu'elle ne pouvait rien dire, ils l'ont conduite à l'Institut Dentaire.' LC, F delta 1832/16/1.

⁶⁸⁷ 'Comme elle refusait de parler, ils la mirent à demi nue.' Philippe Bourdrel, *L'épuration sauvage*, p.95.

perpetrators, only their abridged version of accounts, which does not assign blame or individual responsibility. In these sources and testimonies, it is clear that violence against women during the Liberation and the purges functioned along a spectrum of violence, including shearing, torture, sexual assault and execution – much like in instances of Francoist violence against leftist women, albeit with fewer executions. The overlapping logic of political vengeance, misogyny and humiliation that encouraged the perpetration of head shaving against female collaborators by groups of resisters and ‘patriots’,⁶⁸⁸ also appears to have fuelled further violence against the same women in prison settings, away from the eyes of the community.

3.5 Reframing victors as perpetrators in contemporary France and Spain

Despite the emergence of testimonies and studies which testify to the aggressive and, in some instances, sadistic behaviour of those who participated in incidents of head shaving and other associated acts of violence against women, the Resistance and Francoists continue to be framed as victors rather than perpetrators of gender-specific violence. Although compelling evidence from source material indicates that head shaving was located along a spectrum of post-war violence against women, which also included battery, torture, sexual violence and execution in both public and carceral spaces, those who orchestrated these practices continue to enjoy protected status in both countries. Narratives of victory, virility and vengeance continue to obscure the historical violence enacted by perpetrators and absolve them of responsibility in the aftermath. In newly liberated France, violence against suspected female collaborators has been rationalised as women’s anti-national behaviour or relationships were of ‘public interest’ and they ‘had to be punished from a patriotic point of view’,⁶⁸⁹ thereby empowering resisters, soldiers and prison guards to exercise their newfound authority and act with a certain degree of impunity. Similarly, in Civil War Spain, violence against leftist women has been rationalised as part of the national ‘crusade against communism’⁶⁹⁰, which led to exemplary gender-based violence that had considerable ‘symbolic

⁶⁸⁸ The language of ‘patriots’ litters written reports of head shaving, such as in the article ADBR 419 PHI 1 ‘Les vraies femmes de France’, *La Marseillaise*, 25 August 1944. This article is also available online at the *Musée de la Résistance en ligne 1940-1945* at: <https://museedelaresistanceenligne.org/media8616-Article-Les-vraies-femmes-de-France-i-La-Marseillaise-i-25-aot-1944>

⁶⁸⁹ ‘Alors que la sexualité des hommes collaborateurs n’intéresse personne, car elle demeure une affaire privée, celle des collaboratrices est une affaire publique qui doit être châtiée d’un point de vue patriotique.’ Fabrice Virgili, ‘La tondu de la Libération : la traîtresse’, p.240.

⁶⁹⁰ Mary Vincent, ‘The Martyrs and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade’, p.72.

value'⁶⁹¹, as it signified that Francoists had claimed victory over the left and 'saved' Spain. These historic narratives have filtered into contemporary understandings of head shaving as punishment, which continue to legitimise the violent actions of perpetrators in the two case studies.

In France, the continued discomfort around viewing resisters as perpetrators of violence against women stems from the continued evocation of Resistance figures as national saviours and liberators in public discourse. In 2012, then-President François Hollande claimed that the Resistance defended France's honour as a 'shadow army that would not resign itself to shame and defeat'⁶⁹² and in 2020, President Emmanuel Macron evoked the ongoing 'spirit of the Resistance' in France as part of commemorations of the 1940 Battle of Montcornet amid the coronavirus crisis.⁶⁹³ The continued political utility of the Resistance and the powerful mythology of Gaullist *résistancialisme*, as termed by Henry Rousso,⁶⁹⁴ renders critical discussion of the Resistance divisive and contentious, due to the negative implications for France's national self-image. Within this dominant national narrative of wartime pride, the Liberation has particular cultural and symbolic importance in France as the traumatic military defeat of 1940 was 'expunged from memory by the mythical victory of 1944'.⁶⁹⁵ Therefore, reframing resisters as perpetrators of gender-based violence rather than victors who administered punishment to dissident women during this period of 'mythical victory' jars with national narratives and historical understandings. Furthermore, there may be a reluctance to reframe resisters as perpetrators of violence because, historically, the rejection of 'heroic' narratives of the Resistance and the condemnation of the purges has been associated with right-wing defenders of Vichy and Pétain.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹¹ Pura Sánchez highlights the 'gran valor simbólico' that head shaving had during the Spanish Civil War. *Individuas de dudosa moral: la represión de las mujeres en Andalucía (1936-1958)*, p.20.

⁶⁹² François Hollande, 'The 'Crime Committed in France, by France' *NYRDaily*, 22 July 2012. Accessed online on 10th September 2017 at <https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2012/08/18/france-hollande-crime-vel-d-hiv/>.

⁶⁹³ Emmanuel Macron cited in Grégoire Poussielgue, 'Macron célèbre de Gaulle et « l'esprit de résistance » français' *Les Echos*, 17 May 2020. Accessed online on 20th May 2020 at <https://www.lesechos.fr/politique-societe/emmanuel-macron-president/macron-celebre-de-gaulle-et-lesprit-de-resistance-francais-1203641>.

⁶⁹⁴ Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991), p.18.

⁶⁹⁵ Philippe Buton, 'Occupation, Liberation, Purges: the Changing Landscape of French Memory' in Andrew Knapp (ed.), *The Uncertain Foundation: France at the Liberation 1944-47* (Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p.239.

⁶⁹⁶ See Joan Tumblety's chapter 'The contested memorial cultures of post-Liberation France: Polemical responses to the legal purge of collaborators, 1944-c.1954', in Joan Tumblety (ed.) *Memory and History: Understanding Memory as Source and Subject*. (Abingdon: Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources, 2013), pp.107-122. In this chapter, Tumblety discusses the fixing of 'memorial cultures' and 'public

However, following the Liberation in France, violence during the purges was studied by historians as part of the work of the Historical Commission of the Occupation and Liberation of France (CHOLF), but any judicial proceedings were quickly stymied by the passing of amnesties in 1947, 1951 and 1955. These amnesties marked an end to any official discussions of resisters as perpetrators of violence, including in the context of head shaving and violence against suspected female collaborators.⁶⁹⁷ Similarly, in the immediate aftermath of the Nationalist rebels' victory in Spain in 1939, Francoist authorities promoted an official narrative that conflict and repression was necessary as a way of saving Spain from foreign enemies, represented by the Second Republic and left-wing parties and organisations,⁶⁹⁸ thereby excusing any use of violence against women associated with the left.

Furthermore, the term 'perpetrator' may be particularly polemical in France as the Resistance is so tightly woven into contemporary national identity as a historical source of pride; Robert Gildea describes resisters as being viewed not simply as 'patriots' in France, but also as 'symbols of humanity.'⁶⁹⁹ The enduring symbolism of the Resistance in national memory is exemplified by a defensive statement made by Jacques Chaban-Delmas, a general of brigade in the Resistance who went on to become prime minister under Georges Pompidou. Chaban-Delmas argued during the trial of Klaus Barbie⁷⁰⁰ in 1987 that it was crucial for young people in France to know that 'French people behaved honourably' during the Second World War and that they do not have to 'blush about France or about the conduct of their fellow citizens.'⁷⁰¹ As a result, resisters' involvement in violence against women, such as head shaving, public shaming and attacks, during the post-war period clashes with the 'historical paradigm of the opposition between resistance and

commemorations' of the Occupation and Liberation in France and draws attention to those who 'rejected the orthodox commemoration of the war', such as Jacques Isorni who defended Pétain and critiqued the purges, pp.107-111.

⁶⁹⁷ As highlighted in the introductory chapter, the 1951 amnesty blocked attempts to charge resisters for violence against suspected collaborators during the Liberation; articles 30 and 33 pardoned resisters for 'acts taken with the intention of contributing to the national liberation.' See Hubert Hervé, *Condamné au secret 3 – L'histoire des femmes pendues de Monterfil*, p.51.

⁶⁹⁸ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, 'Locks of hair/locks of shame? Women, dissidence, and punishment during Francisco Franco's dictatorship', p.405.

⁶⁹⁹ Robert Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance*, p.1.

⁷⁰⁰ Klaus Barbie was chief of the Gestapo in Lyon and was most famously known as the butcher of Lyon. He would later be charged with crimes against humanity in 1987.

⁷⁰¹ Jacques Chaban-Delmas defended the honour of the Resistance during the Klaus Barbie trial in 1987, quoted in Robert Gildea 2015, p.7.

collaboration⁷⁰² which has assigned a sense of moral superiority to the former category and has thus shaped understandings of the period. According to this framework, resisters were characterised by their ‘nobility’, and the post-Liberation purges and its associated excesses were presented as ‘even-handed and necessary justice’ against collaborators.⁷⁰³ Although there is an awareness among historians, such as Luc Capdevila,⁷⁰⁴ that the distinction between Resistance heroes and perpetrators of violence during the purges is not so clear-cut, this has not filtered into public discourses or national narratives of the conflict.

There are also considerable political tensions that surround reframing Nationalist rebels and their supporters as perpetrators of gender-based violence in contemporary Spain. Following the transition to democracy after Franco’s death in 1975, categorising Francoists as perpetrators continued to be highly controversial because the resultant era of amnesty proved incompatible with a focus on violence perpetrated by the victors. Following the transition to democracy in Spain, there was an ‘implicit agreement not to use the past in political discourse for fear that this might reproduce the divisions that led to the Civil War’, which resulted in widespread ‘reluctance to deal with Franco’s crimes’,⁷⁰⁵ including head shaving against leftist women. Attempts to shine a light on gender-specific repression carried out by Francoists have led to judicial and political pushback, such as in the case of Judge Baltasar Garzón who tried to investigate violence by Francoists as crimes against humanity in 2008. Garzón was ultimately blocked by the Spanish Supreme Court, in line with the 1977 Amnesty Law, and accused of abusing his power and sowing division, although he was later cleared of these charges.⁷⁰⁶ Furthermore, the growing popularity of far-right party Vox in recent years attests to widespread rejection of claims to bring to light cases of Nationalist violence; in 2018, Eugenio Moltó, a Vox MP from Malaga, even went as far as to deny that Francoism was a

⁷⁰² Lindsey Dodd, ‘Small fish, big pond: using a single oral history narrative to reveal broader social change’, in Joan Tumblety (ed.), *Memory and History: Understanding Memory as Source and Subject*, (Routledge: Abingdon, 2013), p.47.

⁷⁰³ Joan Tumblety, ‘The contested memorial cultures of post-Liberation France: polemical responses to the legal purge of collaborators, 1944-c.1954.’, p.113.

⁷⁰⁴ Luc Capdevila’s research highlights that during the Liberation-era purges in Brittany, the vast majority of head shaving incidents have been attributed to men aligned with different Resistance movements (FFI, FTP, CLL and FN). *Les Bretons au lendemain de l’Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d’une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.149.

⁷⁰⁵ Vincent Druliolle, ‘Recovering Historical Memory: A Struggle against Silence and forgetting? The Politics of Victimhood in Spain’, p.318.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.316.

dictatorship.⁷⁰⁷ Within this fractious political context, reframing those who participated in head shaving as perpetrators and viewing head shaving through the prism of gender-based violence rather than punishment is highly divisive.

While it appears more socially acceptable to draw attention to violence perpetrated against women led by Francoists in contemporary Spain, particularly following the passing of the Law of Historical Memory in 2007 that initiated a process of state funding for the exhumation of mass graves, the memory of Franco and his adherents still remains divided in Spain. An example of the ongoing acceptability of support and nostalgia for Francoism has been the resistance in some right-wing circles to the exhumation of the dictator's remains from the *Valle de los Caídos* (Valley of the Fallen); a 'pantheon of heroes' built by leftist forced labour in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, to honour those who had 'fallen for God and Spain.'⁷⁰⁸ The Valley of the Fallen continues to be popular to international tourists and Spaniards alike, welcoming nearly 379,000 visitors in 2018: a 34% increase from 2017, which has been attributed to the extra interest following debates about Franco's impending exhumation.⁷⁰⁹ Within this fraught memory landscape, the violence of post-war purges and head shaving has been attributed to a general context of civil war brutality in which Republicans were also implicated, thereby minimising the role of Francoists as perpetrators and the impact of this particular strain of gender-based violence. Paul Preston highlights the fallacy of the false equivalence drawn between the two sides by highlighting that recorded repression was around three-times higher in Rebel zones,⁷¹⁰ which included the 'systematic persecution of women'⁷¹¹ exemplified by humiliation, head shaving and sexual violence. Although there are reported incidents of gender-based violence enacted by Republican troops, such as sexual violence used

⁷⁰⁷ Eugenio Molto, 'El cabeza de lista de Vox por Málaga, preguntado por el franquismo: "Creo que no fue una dictadura"' *El Diario*, 28 November 2018. Accessed online on 2nd June 2019 at https://www.eldiario.es/rastreador/vox-malaga-preguntado-franquismo-dictadura_132_1812830.html. The debate over whether the Francoist regime was a dictatorship was waged in the Spanish Royal Academy of History's Dictionary of Spanish Biographies in 2011, when Franco was not described as a dictator. This has since been amended in the 2015 online version, but this omission was a source of considerable controversy and heated political debate. See Helen Graham, 'Writing Spain's Twentieth Century in(to) Europe', in Helen Graham (ed.), *Interrogating Francoism: history and dictatorship in twentieth-century Spain*, p.11.

⁷⁰⁸ Julian Casanova, 'Franco, the Catholic Church and the Martyrs', p.17.

⁷⁰⁹ Ander Aspiroz, 'Prior of Valle de los Caídos refuses to allow Franco's remains to be removed', *Sur*, 4 January 2019. Accessed online on 14th August 2019 at <http://www.surinenglish.com/national/201901/04/prior-valle-caidos-refuses-20190104105700-v.html>.

⁷¹⁰ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain*, xviii.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, xix.

against nuns,⁷¹² there appears to be ‘little equivalent abuse of women’⁷¹³ and head shaving in particular has not been noted as being a pervasive problem as it was in newly Francoist zones.

These tensions surrounding reframing resisters and Francoists as perpetrators play out in interesting ways when families and descendants of victims have attempted to draw public attention to the historical violence enacted by the victors. Interviews with memory activists in France and Spain show that the violent actions of resisters and Francoists during the purges in France and Spain have been neglected in memorialisation and national narratives. However, while the violence committed against the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* has been minimised to varying degrees in both countries, differences between the two national contexts do come to the fore in terms of memorialising and recognising perpetrators’ actions. Due to the resultant dictatorship which emerged from the Spanish Civil War, there has been increased national and international pressure on the Spanish government in the years following the country’s transition to democracy to recognise repression led by Francoists. For example, Argentinian judge María Servini opened an investigation regarding allegations of gender-specific crimes against women committed by Francoists, which included head shaving, torture and sexual violence,⁷¹⁴ thereby drawing attention to Spain’s ongoing refusal to recognise historic violence committed during the Spanish Civil War.⁷¹⁵ No such pressures have been placed on the French government to recognise Liberation-era violence, however, and the narrative of heroic resisters continues to hold considerable weight and the stigma of having being accused of collaboration persists. For example, in late-2020, a radio programme on *France Inter* followed the story of the famous *tondue* photographed by Robert Capa, using the title ‘La Tondue de Chartres : la photographie de la honte’ (‘The Shorn Woman of Chartres: the photograph of shame’) as part of a series on ‘affaires sensibles’ (sensitive topics), showing that this historic violence continues to be shrouded in shame and sensitivity in France.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹² Preston highlights that records suggest that around 296 nuns were killed by Republican troops and there are reports of around a dozen rapes against nuns. *Ibid.*, xix.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, xix.

⁷¹⁴ Alejandro Torrus, ‘Argentina investigará los crímenes del franquismo contra las mujeres’, *El Público*, 16 October 2018. Accessed online on 18th July 2019 at <https://www.publico.es/politica/franquismo-argentina-investigara-crmenes-franquismo-mujeres.html>.

⁷¹⁵ See also Sonya Dowsett and Emma Pinedo, ‘Spaniards seek justice in Argentina for Franco-era crimes’, *Reuters*, 26 September 2013. Accessed online on 7 January 2019 at <https://uk.reuters.com/article/us-spain-franco/spaniards-see-justice-in-argentina-for-franco-era-crimes-idINBRE98P0SL20130926>.

⁷¹⁶ Fabrice Drouelle, ‘La Tondue de Chartres : la photographie de la honte’, *France Inter* [online], 18 December 2020. Accessed online on 19th December 2020 at <https://www.franceinter.fr/emissions/affaires-sensibles/affaires-sensibles-18-decembre-2020>.

However, despite the differences between the two national contexts, there is a comparable sense of resistance to remembering the violence led by perpetrators in both France and Spain.

During an interview with Juan Morillo Lora, a left-wing memory activist who is part of the *Unidad Cívica Andaluza por la República* and Republican theatre collective *El Gallo Rojo*, he emphasised that incidents of head shaving, sexual assault and murder at the hands of Francoist militias in Spain had primarily been preserved in whispered conversations in private settings, rather than in political discourse, historical studies or commemoration. In particular, Morillo Lora references the extrajudicial violence experienced by his mother's friends in Fuentes de Andalucía at the hands of the *Falange*, one of whom had her head shaved and another five women were murdered following sexual violence.⁷¹⁷ He describes how these memories of Francoist violence were transmitted behind closed doors due to a climate of fear and denial in post-war Spain.

My mother told me about it, she told me every grey afternoon, when the weather clouded over, she told me the story of her friends who had been murdered in the Aguaucho farmhouse. So when I got a little older and remembered the story that my mother told me over and over again, I began to talk with the elderly people in the village and neighbours about what had happened in the village.

These things had happened not long ago, so the memories were very vivid then. But now, my parents and those neighbours have died. What we are left with is the memory of them. We do what we can, telling people like you or whoever we can, so that this is not forgotten. In Spain we still have considerable difficulties with archives related to this period.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁷ In August 1936, five young women had their heads shaved and experienced sexual violence before being murdered by local members of the *Falange* at Aguaucho. In 2017, there were attempts by the local council to excavate the bodies of the women, but these efforts were unfortunately unsuccessful. See Manuel Rodríguez, 'Fuentes de Andalucía empieza a cerrar la cicatriz del Aguaucho', *El Correo de Andalucía*, 10 October 2017. Accessed online on 17th November 2019 at <https://elcorreoweb.es/provincia/fuentes-de-andalucia-empieza-a-cerrar-la-cicatriz-del-aguaucho-CM3428884>.

⁷¹⁸ 'A mí me lo contaba mi madre, me contaba cada vez que la tarde se ponía tiempo un poquito triste, algunas nubes y tal, pues ella me contaba la historia de sus amigas a las que habían asesinado en el cortijo del Aguaucho. Entonces ya cuando yo me hice un poco mayor y tomé conciencia de aquella historia que me contaba mi madre una y otra vez, comencé a hablar con los mayores, los vecinos en el pueblo, y las personas mayores me fueron contando lo que había ocurrido en el pueblo.

Hacía muy poquito tiempo que esas cosas habían ocurrido entonces los recuerdos estaban muy vivos. Esta persona ya desapareció, todos mis padres ya murieron, estos vecinos, de los que te hablo, también murieron. Entonces, lo que nos queda es el recuerdo de ellos. Hacemos lo que podemos, como podemos, contándolo a personas como tu o allí donde nosotros podamos para que esto no se olvide. En España todavía tenemos una gran dificultad con esos archivos relacionados con este tiempo.' Interview with Juan Morillo Lora, 17th November 2017.

Morillo Lora's account of local violence emphasises that the actions of the Francoists were solely preserved in the living memory of his neighbours and his mother who had experienced the trauma of the Civil War. In a 2017 article in the local newspaper, *El Correo de Andalucía*, this particular incident was referred to as a 'scar' on the village.⁷¹⁹ Furthermore, Morillo Lora points to the difficulties gaining access to archives related to Francoist repression and the lack of documentation of extrajudicial violence during the Civil War; until Franco's death, it was impossible to make reliable estimates regarding the scale of Nationalist violence and historical study of repression was only possible for researchers outside of Spain.⁷²⁰ However, even following the death of Franco, historian Julius Ruiz highlights that historians often could not gain access to surviving documents due to the amnesty pact, and then even in 1985, when laws regularised access to Spanish archives, case files regarding 'military rebellion' remained closed to historians.⁷²¹ For this reason, memory activists like Morillo Lora feel compelled to share these memories as part of local activism, theatre performances and visits to local schools ('we do what we can [...] so that this is not forgotten').

In France, there is greater documentation of violence led by resisters in official CHOLF files regarding the purges, which are readily available to researchers at the French *Archives Nationales*. However, memory activists have been quick to point out that there continues to be little recognition of extreme acts of violence led by resisters during the purges. This refusal to recognise historic violence can be seen in the case of three women based in Monterfil and Iffendic, Brittany, who had their heads shaved before being tortured and eventually hung in a nearby woods in Iffendic in August 1944. Their deaths are documented in a CHOLF report regarding extrajudicial violence in Ile-et-Vilaine, although there are inaccuracies and omissions in the brief information provided: 'three people were hung in Gahard (in the north of Rennes) [...] the same phenomenon occurred in Monterfil (to the west of Rennes) to two young women rumoured to have denounced others.'⁷²² However, thanks to local testimony and commemorative efforts in Monterfil and Iffendic, we now know that there were in fact three women killed in this incident (Suzanne Lesourd, Marie and Germaine Guillard) and we also know that their heads had been shaved before

⁷¹⁹ Manuel Rodríguez, 'Fuentes de Andalucía empieza a cerrar la cicatriz del Aguaucho' [online].

⁷²⁰ Julius Ruiz, 'Seventy Years on: Historians and Repression during and after the Spanish Civil War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44, 3 (2009), p.451-453.

⁷²¹ Ibid., p.455.

⁷²² 'Trois personnes ont été pendues a Gahard (au nord de Rennes) [...] le même phénomène s'est produit à Monterfil (à l'ouest de Rennes) à l'égard de deux jeunes filles accusées de dénonciation par la « rumeur publique ».' AN 72AJ 2567.

they were hung: a detail which is omitted from the file.⁷²³ In an interview with a collective of memory activists in Brittany who organised a march in Monterfil in 2014 in honour of the three women, Rémi Robin described how the story was solely preserved in the living memory of the local community.

As I said earlier, I am from the area where it happened, a small town called Treffendel near Monterfil. So I had known about this case since my childhood, but we only knew what others had told us, and obviously we didn't dare speak about it.⁷²⁴

It appears that much like in Spain, the memory of atrocities led by the victors were retained primarily in hushed exchanges amongst local people, rather than in official documentation or political discourse. Rémi Robin also points to the culture of silence and discomfort surrounding what had happened: 'we didn't dare speak about it.' Despite the collective's success in pushing for local government funding for a plaque for the three murdered women in 2016, writer Hubert Hervé, suggested that their march had initially provoked discomfort amongst the local government who had suggested that they not make speeches during the event.⁷²⁵ This discomfort points to the existence of what François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili term as 'a troubling pact of silence', sealed after the Liberation, which has continued to hamper attempts to recognise incidents of extrajudicial violence led by resisters during the purges in contemporary France.⁷²⁶

In dialogue, these case studies therefore evidence the complexities of bringing to light incidents of violence led by victors who had been elevated to the status of national heroes in the aftermath of conflict. As Rod Kedward explains in his study of Occupied France, the Resistance and Gaullism in particular have been subject to a certain kind of 'myth-making' in terms of its 'exceptional achievements',⁷²⁷ but this has left little space for the discussion of resisters' roles and involvement

⁷²³ Nathalie Flochlay. 'Un hommage officiel aux « pendues de Monterfil »'. *Ouest-France*, 9 May 2016. Accessed online on 7th May 2019 at <https://www.ouest-france.fr/bretagne/ille-et-vilaine/un-hommage-officiel-aux-pendues-de-monterfil-4220348>.

⁷²⁴ 'Moi, comme je disais tout à l'heure, je suis du secteur où ça s'est passé, donc une petite commune Treffendel a côté de Monterfil. Donc je connaissais cette affaire depuis ma jeunesse mais tout était oral et puis bon, évidemment on n'osait pas dire la vérité.' Interview with Rémi Robin, 3rd March 2020.

⁷²⁵ 'Il faut dire que les autorités locales ont freiné de quatre fers [their planned march] Ils ont, dans un premier temps, en tout cas, voulu interdire la marche [...] mais elle était autorisée par la préfecture. [...] Et la préfecture l'a autorisé en demandant qu'il n'y a pas de prise de parole,' Interview with Hubert Hervé, 3rd March 2020.

⁷²⁶ 'Le troublant pacte de silence qui se scelle des octobre 1944.' François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili, *Les Françaises, les Français et l'Épuration*, p.123.

⁷²⁷ H.R. Kedward, *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance 1940-44* (Oxford: Blackwell, [1985] 1999), p.80.

in violence against female civilians during the Liberation. As a 2014 *France 3* article highlights, the violence of the *tontes* remains largely taboo in contemporary France, as it is a subject which is frequently sidestepped in historical study and in resisters' testimonies.⁷²⁸ Similarly, in Spain, the crimes of Francoists have often been neglected due to the hagiographic commemoration of Nationalists who died for 'God and Spain,' which underlines the connections between the dictatorship and the Catholic Church 'both institutionally and ideologically,' from which the regime garnered moral authority in the post-war years.⁷²⁹ For example, in contemporary Spain, when memory associations and left-wing parties push for greater recognition of Francoist violence against leftist women during the Civil War and the resultant dictatorship, right-wing parties often respond by drawing attention to Republican violence during the Civil War, such as in a 2019 article in *ABC* which critiqued the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) for not also fighting for memorialisation of Republican anti-clerical violence against priests and nuns.⁷³⁰ Nevertheless, local activism, such as in Brittany and Andalusia, and recent historical research has drawn greater attention to historic violence against women led by the victors in the two cases. However, these efforts continue to attract controversy due to the privileged and protected space perpetrators continue to occupy in national narratives and political discourse.

Conclusion

In conclusion, uncovering the roles, actions and attitudes of perpetrators of head shaving in Liberation France and Civil War Spain shows that simplistic understandings of perpetrators as 'evil or monstrous'⁷³¹ are insufficient. These historical case studies have demonstrated that 'ordinary people', and even those lauded as heroes and victors, may 'participate [...] often quite willingly'⁷³² in violent acts. Analysing the perpetration of acts of violence against women in post-conflict

⁷²⁸ *France 3 Bretagne*, 'Femmes tondues en Bretagne, les boucs émissaires', 12 August 2014. Accessed online on 10th September 2019 at <https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/bretagne/2014/08/12/femmes-tondues-en-bretagne-les-boucs-emissaires-531044.html>.

⁷²⁹ Vincent Druliolle, 'Recovering Historical Memory: A Struggle against Silence and forgetting? The Politics of Victimhood in Spain', p.326.

⁷³⁰ Israel Viana, 'Las «7.000 rosas» asesinadas durante la represión republicana de las que el PSOE no se acuerda', *ABC*, 7 August 2019. Accessed online on 10th September 2019 at https://www.abc.es/historia/abci-7000-rosas-asesinadas-durante-represión-republicana-psoe-no-acuerda-201908070108_noticia.html. In this article, the journalist even refers to the victims of anti-clerical violence as 'roses' as a counter example to the 13 roses, the infamous case of 13 leftist women killed by Francoists in 1939.

⁷³¹ Susanne C. Knittel and Zachery J. Goldberg, 'Introduction', p.2.

⁷³² *Ibid.*

contexts in France and Spain has provided multiple insights in this regard, as head shaving and its associated acts of humiliation and violence were often organised and committed in groups in public and institutional spaces, thereby requiring the active involvement of a large and diverse number of people, including officials, the military and militias. Perpetration in these case studies of post-war violence cannot be easily explained in reference to a 'proposed psychopathology of perpetrators, or on their alleged extraordinary personalities,'⁷³³ it is rather explained by a combination of shared contextual factors that 'habituated' perpetrators to violence.⁷³⁴

Such contextual factors which motivated and rationalised violence across the two case studies include discourses of virility, nationalism and violence, the empowerment and militarisation of groups of young men, including resisters and militias, and a permissive climate where authority was unclear and violence could be enacted without perpetrators necessarily facing reproach or judicial consequences. Within both contexts, source material including reports, newspaper articles and testimonies, provides compelling evidence that violence was enacted in a highly gender-specific way through the humiliation of women associated with the enemy at the hands of male militias and resisters.

Furthermore, perpetration was collective and social in nature and it occurred within a particular 'ecosystem of violence' in both countries.⁷³⁵ The individual motivations, responsibility and accountability of perpetrators are rarely evoked by authorities or eye-witnesses in either case; head shaving was typically a communal practice among groups of militarised and semi-militarised men against women in public and carceral spaces, meaning that the responsibility and guilt was 'borne on many shoulders, rendering it individually bearable and at the same time social glue.'⁷³⁶ Crucially, in both historical contexts, soldiers, resisters, militias and police enjoyed increased authority and minimised accountability amid the social disorder of post-conflict purges as zones were taken over by Francoists in Spain or liberated from the Nazi Occupation in France.

Similarly, although head shaving and its associated violence occupied the outskirts of legality, authorities had an ambivalent relationship with it: from Queipo de Llano's plea for violence against

⁷³³ Paul Roth, 'Hearts of darkness: 'perpetrator history' and why there is no why', p.236.

⁷³⁴ Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, p.85.

⁷³⁵ Katerina Clark, *Petersburg: Crucible of Cultural Revolution*, ix.

⁷³⁶ Sven Reichardt, 'Violence and Community: A Micro-Study on Nazi Storm Troopers,' p.289.

female leftists in Andalusia to Colonel Rol-Tanguy's ban on shearing long after it had taken hold across Paris. In France, the Liberation has been framed as 'redemptive suffering' by Charles de Gaulle,⁷³⁷ who characterised the civilian conflicts and reprisals engendered by the Liberation as a fight between 'a patriotic camp' and 'a camp of traitors.'⁷³⁸ In this way, by participating in head shaving, resisters were able to assert their 'recovered virility'⁷³⁹ following the humiliation of the Occupation and mark their allegiance to a 'new France'⁷⁴⁰ by punishing female traitors. Likewise, in Spain, Francoists and right-wing soldiers and militias believed that they were 'saving Spain'⁷⁴¹ in their crusade against the "inorganic democracy" of the lay and anti-Spanish Republic.⁷⁴² Violence was therefore promoted as a necessary evil to cleanse the "alien" Republican nation⁷⁴³ and reconstruct the country by asserting Francoist values of 'virility, courage, heroism, phalangist militarism and nationalism.'⁷⁴⁴

Additionally, while head shaving was often the most visible form of violence women faced, as it typically occurred in the heart of the community, this chapter has shown that perpetrators' rationalisation of head shaving also exposed the same cohort of women to sexual violence, torture and execution away from the eyes of the community in official and make-shift prisons, camps and domestic settings. Although female torture and execution was more rampant in post-war Spain, this thesis has brought to light the fact that similar incidents are also documented across France, thereby evidencing the benefit of analysing perpetrators' actions along a continuum of gender-based violence, borrowing from the theoretical language of Liz Kelly,⁷⁴⁵ rather than approaching head shaving as a standalone punishment. By bringing these two case studies into dialogue, this chapter has contributed to understandings of head shaving in Liberation France and Civil War Spain by

⁷³⁷ Charles de Gaulle cited in Kelly Ricciardi Colvin, *Gender and French Identity after the Second World War, 1944-1954: Engendering Frenchness*, p.9.

⁷³⁸ 'Un camp patriotique et un camp de trahison.' Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation: Imaginaires et comportements d'une sortie de guerre (1944/1945)*, p.42.

⁷³⁹ Fabrice Virgili suggests that head shaving promoted a sense of 'virilité retrouvée' amongst French men. *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.299.

⁷⁴⁰ 'La Libération n'est pas perçue comme une fin, mais comme un redémarrage vers une « France neuve ».' Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation: Imaginaires et comportements d'une sortie de guerre (1944/1945)*, p.210.

⁷⁴¹ Paul Preston, *The Politics of Revenge*, p.7.

⁷⁴² Aurora G. Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: the Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic*. (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 2010), p.16.

⁷⁴³ Helen Graham, 'The Memory of Murder: Mass Killing, Incarceration and the Making of Francoism,' p.47.

⁷⁴⁴ Tatjana Pavlovic, *Despotic Bodies and Transgressive Bodies: Spanish Culture from Francisco Franco to Jesus Franco*. (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2012), p.23.

⁷⁴⁵ Liz Kelly, 'The Continuum of Sexual Violence', pp.46-60.

showing that head shaving was often not an isolated act, as sources show that it was frequently accompanied by additional acts of gender-specific violence against women. While there is a greater awareness of the connections between head shaving and other forms of gendered violence in Spanish historiography, these links had not explicitly been made in French scholarship of the *tondues* before this study. This chapter has therefore shown that, together, these case studies strengthen the argument for reframing head shaving along a spectrum of gender-based violence, which also included humiliation, torture and murder, thereby contradicting views of head shaving as a 'minor' form of abuse or punishment.⁷⁴⁶

To conclude, this discussion has demonstrated that the historical category of the perpetrator is tied to historical contexts, political discourses and prevalent national narratives, as highlighted by the reticence to reframe resisters and Francoists as perpetrators of gender-based violence. In France and Spain, resisters and Francoists who participated in head shaving and other associated acts of humiliation and violence against women did not face judicial proceedings due to post-war amnesties and they did not have to justify their actions due to their protected status as victors. As argued by Paul Preston, memorialising Nationalist violence during the Spanish Civil War requires chipping away at 'the wall of silence and fear built by the Franco regime, which survived the transition to democracy.'⁷⁴⁷ While there was no comparative dictatorship in France following the war, incidents of violence against women at the hands of resisters during the Liberation have been shrouded in silence and discomfort due to the heavily policed discourse of the purges in France and the heroic status of the Resistance in France today. Silences and frameworks of masculine heroism have persisted in national narratives in the decades following conflict in both France and Spain, stifling open discussion of head shaving and complicating efforts by memory activists to seek greater recognition of this heavily gendered form of violence led by victors. Evolving attitudes towards head shaving, humiliation and further acts of gender-based violence in France and Spain will be examined further in the following chapter, which will analyse the diverse roles occupied by bystanders, as well as their responses to violence during a time of popular retribution.

⁷⁴⁶ Fabrice Virgili qualifies head shaving as a 'minor' form of violence in comparison to the violence of the Second World War in France: "la tonte" constitue indéniablement une violence moindre.' *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.11.

⁷⁴⁷ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge*, p.304.

Chapter 4

A socially acceptable violence? Roles and responses of bystanders

Introduction

As evidenced in the previous chapter on perpetrators and the rationalisation of violence, head shaving and its associated acts of humiliation mostly occurred in public spaces during or following women's arrest for 'anti-national' crimes. French and Spanish historians of the *tondues* and the *rapadas* have therefore drawn attention to the considerable number of bystanders who were present when head shaving took place, including crowds of civilians, resisters, officials, Francoists and militias. French historian Claire Duchen calls attention to the role of crowds and onlookers as both a facilitator and an audience during the *tontes*: 'the crowd provides a compelling sight of collective sadism, taking vicious and petty pleasure in the proceedings.'⁷⁴⁸ In Spanish scholarship, M. Cinta Ramblado Minero highlights that crowds of neighbours and townspeople observed head shaving and associated practices, such as forced castor oil ingestion. She claims that female victims of head shaving were 'displayed among the population of their village or town' while being stripped of their 'locks of hair' and marked by 'the humiliation of defecting helplessly in front of [their] peers.'⁷⁴⁹

Consequently, bystanders held an important role in outbreaks of head shaving as spectatorship and community participation were key components to the practice in both countries. This chapter will therefore locate and analyse the roles of historical actors involved in head shaving beyond those who were victims and perpetrators. By analysing the varied behaviours and attitudes of bystanders, this chapter will seek to theorise the ways in which acts of head shaving, humiliation and assault were legitimated, sanctioned and, in some rare cases, rejected by civil society in newly liberated France or newly Francoist Spain. This chapter argues that these case studies challenge reductive notions of bystanders as passive or unimportant historical figures, because bystanders were key to the logic and functioning of head shaving, undermining the presumed 'detachment' often ascribed

⁷⁴⁸ Claire Duchen, 'Crime and Punishment in Liberated France: The case of *les femmes tondues*', in Claire Duchen and Irene Bandhauer-Schoffmann (eds.) *When the War Was Over: Women, War, and Peace in Europe, 1940-1956*, (Leicester University Press: London and New York, 2000), p.245.

⁷⁴⁹ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, 'Locks of hair/locks of shame? Women, dissidence, and punishment during Francisco Franco's dictatorship', in Aurora G Morcillo (ed.) *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War: Realms of Oblivion* (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2014), p.424.

to bystanders.⁷⁵⁰ This will facilitate a wider understanding of how head shaving was viewed by bystanders in the two countries in conflict, thereby addressing the question as to why the phenomenon has not typically been framed as gender-based violence in historiography or in contemporary France and Spain. This raises multiple questions: did bystanders understand head shaving to be a socially acceptable form of violence and did they want to participate in it? How did they view head shaving? How are the roles of these bystanders understood in contemporary France and Spain?

This chapter will draw from a variety of sources which describe and engage with bystanders' roles, involvement and attitudes towards head shaving and other associated acts of humiliation. These include newspaper accounts which describe incidents of head shaving in public and municipal spaces, drawing from the Resistance press, such as *La Marseillaise* and *Combat*, in France, and the Republican and Nationalist press in Spain, including *Ahora* and *El Defensor de Córdoba*. It will also utilise written and oral testimonies from bystanders, which have been selected from interviews and accounts related to the purges in France and Spain. For example, it will analyse interviews taken with resisters at the Museum of the Liberation in Paris and a testimony from an anonymous nurse in the Robert Aron files in France. In the Spanish case, this chapter uses written testimonies from the International Red Cross and from Republican information reports regarding purges, alongside historical collections of oral histories.⁷⁵¹ In order to access bystanders' voices, I have extracted accounts from various written memoirs of the two conflicts, which discuss bystanders' personal responses to head shaving and the behaviours of crowds. These memoirs include civilian bystanders, such as Luciano Suero Serrano, a miner in Andalusia, and Berthe Auroy, a retired teacher in Paris, alongside accounts from writers, such as Léon Werth and Margarita Nelken. As photography is a 'key site of collective memory'⁷⁵² of head shaving, I have also selected photographs of public head shaving taken by journalists and correspondents, including Robert Capa in France and photojournalists from Spanish newspaper *Ahora*, alongside amateur photographs of head shaving in Brittany and Andalusia. Examining these different source bases through the lens of bystander

⁷⁵⁰ Victoria J Barnett, *Bystanders: Conscience and Complicity During the Holocaust*, xv.

⁷⁵¹ These include oral testimonies taken by María Concepción González Gutiérrez and Carlos Gutiérrez Gutiérrez in 'La represión durante la guerra civil y la postguerra: entre el miedo y el odio', in Ayuntamiento de Camargo (ed.), *Historia y memoria colectiva: La vida en el Valle de Camargo entre la II República y el primer Franquismo* (Santander: I.C.E Universidad de Cantabria, 1993), pp.219-282. I have also cited testimonies taken by Fernando Romero Romero and Pepa Zambrana Atienza, 'La matanza de El Gastor: Represión fascista en la Sierra de Cádiz', *Cuadernos para el diálogo*, 52 (2010), pp.26-33.

⁷⁵² Cecile Bishop, *Photography, race and invisibility: The Liberation of Paris, in black and white*, p.194.

behaviour will answer the central question of whether head shaving was socially sanctioned and widely accepted as an appropriate course of action, rather than being understood as a form of gender-specific violence in these two historical case studies.

By drawing from these accounts and photographs of civilians who witnessed these events, this chapter will highlight common threads and themes in terms of the roles, attitudes and responses of bystanders presented in these sources. This is not to say that these written, visual or oral accounts of practices of violence against dissident women in France and Spain will be treated as ‘transparent windows onto past worlds,’⁷⁵³ but rather they will be used to analyse shared social discourses around head shaving and humiliation, and the bystanders’ particular framing of events, which will take into account the different positionalities of various bystanders. Furthermore, this chapter will locate and explore the plurality of roles occupied by bystanders and spectators in terms of their complicity, involvement or resistance to acts of violence against suspected female traitors and enemies, contributing to ongoing historiographical debates about whether head shaving was understood by bystanders as socially acceptable.⁷⁵⁴

This chapter’s analysis of bystanders’ roles and reactions sits within the framework of the changing place of French and Spanish women within their respective societies. This provides the discussion of bystanders’ responses with historical grounding for the hypervisibility of dissident women in their local and national communities during the purges and the apparent support for exactions against these women amongst those who watched these reprisals. Many historians have suggested that this era can be characterised as a period of significant social contestation surrounding the place of women in post-war society, and potentially even an era of backlash to the greater freedoms women enjoyed during the instability of war. As Mark Mazower highlights, the post-war period in Europe promoted a return to traditional notions of gender and family roles, and women’s patriotic post-war duty was represented as reproduction and motherhood.⁷⁵⁵ As Helen Graham has suggested, the ‘fear and loathing of emancipated women’ appeared to legitimise the public

⁷⁵³ Joan Tumblety, ‘Introduction’, in Joan Tumblety (ed.) *Memory and history: Understanding memory as source and subject* (London: Routledge, 2013), p.3.

⁷⁵⁴ Such approaches have predominated amongst cultural and anthropological theorists, such as Alain Brossat, who argued that head shaving could best be summarised as ‘scene of war’ among communities in turmoil. See Alain Brossat, *Les tondues : un carnaval moche*, p.10.

⁷⁵⁵ Mark Mazower. *Dark continent: Europe's twentieth century*. (London: Allen Lane, 1998), p.78.

humiliation of women in Spain.⁷⁵⁶ A similar argument has been made by Hanna Diamond, who asserts that ‘women had to be made to realize that the male patriarchal order was being re-established’, and that head shaving served as a warning against any ‘diversion from [women’s] prescribed role’ following the French Liberation.⁷⁵⁷ By highlighting women’s changing social positioning during this period in France and Spain, this chapter will suggest that this may have filtered into bystanders’ attitudes towards head shaving and other humiliating practices against female dissidents.

This chapter will conclude by demonstrating that understandings of this historical violence and bystanders’ roles within it have shifted, by drawing from recent museum exhibitions which explore head shaving, and leading interviews with museum experts and cultural practitioners in contemporary France and Spain. Exhibitions such as *Mujeres bajo sospecha* (Women under suspicion) (2009) and *Présumées Coupables* (Presumed guilty) (2016) have been selected as they explicitly engage with the experiences and attitudes of bystanders and can influence how visitors interact with and understand these case studies and the roles of bystanders within them. This chapter will contribute to one of the central aims of the thesis, which is to uncover historical and contemporary attitudes towards head shaving, by identifying and evaluating the multiple social meanings ascribed to head shaving by drawing from accounts of bystanders and witnesses. By analysing historical and contemporary source material, this chapter seeks to address the key question of whether head shaving was viewed by bystanders as a socially acceptable form of violence during these two periods of upheaval and transition. This chapter will conclude by uncovering how understandings of bystanders’ roles and responsibility in acts of head shaving and humiliation have shifted through time, in terms of increased emphasis on bystanders’ involvement within the historical practice of head shaving.

4.1 Identifying bystanders in the landscape of violence

Before locating the roles and responses of bystanders to head shaving in these two case studies, this section will analyse how the historical figure of the bystander has been studied, identifying key themes of complicity, passivity and ambiguity. Firstly, it is important to note that the bystander is

⁷⁵⁶ Helen Graham, ‘The Spanish Civil War, 1936-2003: The Return of Republican Memory’, *Science and Society*, 68, 3 (2004), p.315.

⁷⁵⁷ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.141.

often nebulous and ill-defined in historical study; bystanders typically remain in the shadows as ‘not-so-distant witnesses to horror’⁷⁵⁸ and therefore the implication and involvement of bystanders as part of these acts are frequently neglected in scholarship. Furthermore, legal frameworks have been used to understand the logic and functioning of violence in conflict, but as these approaches focus on the designation of perpetrators and victims,⁷⁵⁹ the role of the bystander is often lost, minimised or obscured. As Victoria Barnett highlights, bystanders are often presented as problematic figures in historical study, because there is an ‘inherent tension’ in ‘legal, political and academic approaches to the bystander problem.’⁷⁶⁰ It seems that a curtain has been drawn around the ‘zone[s] of ambiguity’⁷⁶¹ that bystanders, witnesses and members of civil society inhabit in situations of repression and violence.

By neglecting to analyse bystanders’ different responses to violence and repression, we are narrowing our vision of historical events and limiting our view of the social and cultural context in which they occurred. As Raul Hilberg’s asserts in his study of the Holocaust, ‘the category of the bystander encompassed an extraordinarily wide range of actors and behaviours.’⁷⁶² However, the diverse actions and behaviours of the many different figures who occupy the ambiguous spaces between victimhood and perpetration are commonly not given the same importance or visibility in historical and theoretical frameworks. Rather, the term ‘bystander’ is often associated with inactivity: it is claimed that bystanders ‘have great potential power to influence events [...] [but] they frequently remain passive.’⁷⁶³ Hannah Arendt used the term ‘bystander’ as a synonym for inertia and apathy when she wrote that she was ‘no longer of the opinion that one can simply be a bystander’⁷⁶⁴ when faced with growing political violence. Here, Arendt draws a clear opposition

⁷⁵⁸ Victoria J Barnett, *Bystanders: Conscience and Complicity During the Holocaust*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing, 1999), xvi.

⁷⁵⁹ The sole emphasis on designating victims and perpetrators has been critiqued for promoting a rigid ‘victim-perpetrator dichotomy’, which can be highly ‘limited’ as a concept as it neglects and excludes more nuanced experiences, and the perspectives of those who do not neatly fall into the two categories. See Margarida Hourmat, ‘Victim-Perpetrator Dichotomy in Transitional Justice: The Case of Post-Genocide Rwanda’, *Narrative and Conflict: Explorations of Theory and Practice*, 4, 1 (2016), p.44.

⁷⁶⁰ Victoria J. Barnett, ‘The Changing View of the “Bystander” in Holocaust Scholarship: Historical, Ethical, and Political Implications’, *Utah Law Review*, 1, 4 (2017), p.633.

⁷⁶¹ Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved* (New York: Vintage, 1989), p.58.

⁷⁶² Victoria J. Barnett, ‘The Changing View of the “Bystander” in Holocaust Scholarship: Historical, Ethical, and Political Implications’, p.636.

⁷⁶³ Ervin Staub. *The Psychology of Good and Evil: Why children, adults and groups help and harm others*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.292.

⁷⁶⁴ Hannah Arendt, *Essays in Understanding 1930– 1954* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1994), pp.4-5.

between agency and bystander behaviour, thereby framing bystanders as powerless witnesses to violence.

However, in contemporary scholarship, growing interest in the complexity and ambiguity of this historical category suggests that the multiple roles inhabited by bystanders, that is to say, those who are not directly perpetrators of violence or victims of it, can be understood through a lens of responsibility, obedience and complicity with violence, rather than merely passivity.⁷⁶⁵ For example, Robert Goldberg has gone as far as to say that being a bystander inherently reflects a choice and an expression of personal will; he claimed that historical bystanders often ‘stood by and chose inert obedience and passivity over power and justice.’⁷⁶⁶ While this foregrounds agency and choice as part of bystander behaviour, such a bold claim of choosing obedience and passivity appears simplistic. To suggest that bystanders are unilaterally characterised by a choice to be passive is to neglect the multiplicity of social responses to atrocity. Furthermore, such an approach minimises the role and influence played by wider civil society in conflict and acts of violence, particularly as ‘all of us are bystanders to many events – neither actors nor victims but witnesses.’⁷⁶⁷ As witnesses to violence and repression, there are many bystander behaviours and attitudes that historical actors may adopt and, as such, bystanders cannot be defined as ‘a trait or as a personality type.’⁷⁶⁸

The term ‘bystander’ is therefore inherently morally ambiguous and unstable, as it does not represent a particular position on violence. Bystanders’ behaviours and reactions may actively resist or legitimate violence, or even occupy a middle ground between these two poles, and these behaviours must be contextualised in order to understand the functioning of violence and social attitudes towards it. Consequently, there is the potential for individual and group agency as bystanders, witnesses and spectators. In his far-reaching exploration of ‘everyday bystanders’, Stephen Esquith highlights the importance of acknowledging the ‘shared political responsibilities of bystanders who are neither perpetrators nor victims of severe violence.’⁷⁶⁹ While bystanders are

⁷⁶⁵ See Bronwyn Leebaw, ‘Justice and the faithless: the demand for disobedience in international criminal law’, *European Journal of International Relations*, 24, 2, 2018, pp.344-366, and Stephen L. Esquith, *The Political Responsibilities of Everyday Bystanders* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).

⁷⁶⁶ Robert A Goldberg, ‘The Bystander During the Holocaust’, *Utah Law Review*, 2, 4 (2017), p.650.

⁷⁶⁷ Ervin Staub, *The Psychology of Good and Evil: Why children, adults and groups help and harm others*, p.292.

⁷⁶⁸ Dan Bar-On, ‘The Bystander in Relation to the Victim and the Perpetrator: Today and During the Holocaust’, *Social Justice Research*, 14, 2 (2001), p.130.

⁷⁶⁹ Stephen L. Esquith, *The Political Responsibilities of Everyday Bystanders*, p.11.

not 'as legally responsible for the atrocious acts of victimisers', perpetrators could not inflict violence without 'the silent (sometimes even quite active) support of many who stand by.'⁷⁷⁰

Academic interest in the ambivalent historical figure of the bystander has grown considerably in recent years, exemplified by European Research Council-funded project 'Illuminating the 'Grey Zone': Addressing Complex Complicity in Human Rights Violations' (2015-2019), led by Mihaela Mihai, who aims to shine a light on the 'grey zone of bystanders, collaborators and beneficiaries of violence'.⁷⁷¹ By 'moving beyond the dominant victim-perpetrator paradigm'⁷⁷² and analysing a greater multiplicity of historical voices, there can be increased acknowledgement of how 'the boundary between just and unjust, good and evil, good citizens and perpetrators, is fragile and shifting.'⁷⁷³ This recognition of ambivalence and ambiguity points to a changeable 'continuum' between victims and perpetrators, which 'has many shades of grey.'⁷⁷⁴ In the context of these case studies of head shaving, humiliation and violence against women, bystanders may occupy multiple potential positions within these shifting shades of grey; they may loudly or quietly support head shaving and humiliation, they may oppose it to various degrees or they may even uphold it as a practice and participate in it. Bystanders' involvement, acquiescence or rejection of these practices highlight social understandings of these widespread outbreaks across France and Spain, and by locating bystanders' differing social responses expressed in accounts, memoirs and reports, it is possible to track changing attitudes to this phenomenon and understand how it spread in these two historical contexts.

Public reprisals against suspected traitors and enemies, which invite onlookers and cultivate a culture of denunciation, have long roots in both countries' histories. The violence of the initial period of purging and public retribution during the Spanish Civil War has been likened to the Spanish Inquisition. For example, Shirley Mangini explains the deluge of baseless denunciations against women suspected of Republican sympathies as being a result of 'the inquisitorial fanaticism

⁷⁷⁰ Dan Bar-On, 'The Bystander in Relation to the Victim and the Perpetrator: Today and During the Holocaust', p.131.

⁷⁷¹ Mihaela Mihai, 'Illuminating the 'Grey Zone': Addressing Complex Complicity in Human Rights Violations', *Just World Institute*, University of Edinburgh. Accessed online on 10th June 2018 at http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/jwi/research/current_projects/illuminating_the_grey_zone_addressing_complex_complicity_in_human_rights_violations.

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Bernhard Giesen, *Triumph and Trauma*. (New Haven, Connecticut: Paradigm Publishers, 2004), p.63.

⁷⁷⁴ Vincent Drulliole, 'Recovering Historical Memory: A Struggle against Silence and forgetting? The Politics of Victimhood in Spain', p.320.

that reigned in Spain in varying degrees during the entire regime.⁷⁷⁵ Additionally, Paul Preston alludes to the prevailing atmosphere of inquisition in his study of the Civil War and the post-war period *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*. In her collection of testimonies from women under Francoism, Juana Salabert also nods to the Inquisition as a means of understanding the atmosphere of extreme social scrutiny and score-settling during this period in Spain: ‘the bellicose and atrocious post-war period of incarcerations, summary shootings, hunger, inquisitorial censorship, fear.’⁷⁷⁶ Similarly, in France, historians have drawn interesting comparisons between the chaotic, punitive fervour of the Liberation and the French Revolution: Luc Capdevila refers to the Liberation as a ‘quasi-revolutionary period’⁷⁷⁷ and Rod Kedward suggests that the concept of a ‘revolution’ overlapped with ‘notions of liberation.’⁷⁷⁸ This revolution necessitated violence against enemies, and threats of execution were made against suspected collaborators in widely circulated tracts,⁷⁷⁹ leading to ‘baying’ crowds expressing an ‘atavistic desire for revenge’⁷⁸⁰ when the Liberation finally came. In terms of the role of crowds in the photographs taken at the Liberation, Hanna Diamond has argued that the important role of crowd is deeply anchored in French Republican symbolism, harking back to the revolutionary era; those who watched scenes of Liberation were portrayed as a ‘national crowd, shaped by a national sense of place and tradition.’⁷⁸¹

Furthermore, the public shaming of women has a long global history; public shaming has served to warn ‘rebellious women of the fate awaiting them’ and, due to traditional notions of ‘female modesty’, it serves as a deterrent against rebellion.⁷⁸² In both case studies, head shaving and other associated practices of humiliation appear to have made an example of female traitors: it represented

⁷⁷⁵ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, p.100.

⁷⁷⁶ ‘Esa bélica y atroz posguerra de los encarcelamientos, los fusilamientos por condena sumarásimas, el hambre, la censura inquisitorial, el miedo.’ Juana Salabert, *Hijas de la ira: Vidas rotas por la guerra civil* (Random House Mondadori: Barcelona, 2005), p.12.

⁷⁷⁷ ‘Une période quasi révolutionnaire.’ Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l’Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d’une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.10.

⁷⁷⁸ H.R. Kedward, ‘Introduction’, p.3.

⁷⁷⁹ Francois Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili use the example of an anticollaborationist tract that threatened death by hanging to a suspected collaborator, using illustrations (Archives départementales du Calvados, 19 19W/4) in ‘l’Epuración dans tous ses états’, pp.56-63.

⁷⁸⁰ Matthew Cobb, *Eleven Days in August: The Liberation of Paris in 1944* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2013), p.280.

⁷⁸¹ Jeffrey T. Schnapp and Matthew Tiews, 2006, cited in Hanna Diamond, ‘The Return of the Republic: Crowd Photography and the Liberation in Toulouse, 1944–1945’, *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 37, 1 (2019), p.98.

⁷⁸² Bonnie Morris. ‘A Separate Violence: The Politics of Shaming’, *NWSA Journal*, 4, 2 (1992), p.203.

a warning to bystanders and the community at large, and particularly to women in the community, that dissidents would face public retribution, shaming and social exclusion. In Spain, Francoists arranged the 'parades' to occur in towns and villages when the greatest number of civilians would be able to witness them: 'they were paraded through the streets at times where there was the highest footfall for public derision.'⁷⁸³ In France, head shaving was also highly visible as it integrated 'the community in the repressive process'⁷⁸⁴ and, as such, it often occurred in the most visible public spaces, such as in town squares or in front of municipal buildings, like city halls.⁷⁸⁵ In this way, the 'humiliation' required the presence and engagement of bystanders, and often a considerable number of bystanders, in order to complete its function as a form of socially corrective shaming: women were shamed for the 'amusement of neighbours and as a distinguishing feature so that they could be differentiated from the rest of the population.'⁷⁸⁶ It served to simultaneously humiliate and mark female enemies as outsiders to the nation. Dissident women in France and Spain were differentiated from the rest of the civilian population as 'other': a distinction that operated as a means of social control during both of these periods of transition, and as a means of forging and consolidating a new national identity by targeting, punishing and excluding female traitors following the trauma of occupation and civil conflict.

Bystanders and civil society were therefore an integral and essential component to head shaving; they were implicated passively, as incidents typically occur in public and civic spaces, and also actively, as they were encouraged to contribute to the exemplary punishment of women, in order to amplify victims' humiliation by bearing witness, shouting abuse and even participating in violence. Furthermore, bystanders were important not only to the application of violence, but they were also the targets of the social and cultural messages conveyed by the act itself. However, despite the importance of bystanders to the functioning and logic of head shaving, their roles, attitudes and experiences have often been neglected in the historiography of the two case studies. This is because emphasis has largely been placed either on the perpetrators of head shaving and narratives of virility

⁷⁸³ 'Se las paseaba por la calle en las horas de mayor concurrencia para escarnio público.' Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra (la represión y la guerrilla, 1939-1950)*, (Córdoba, Francisco Baena, 1987), p.325.

⁷⁸⁴ 'La collectivité dans le processus répressif.' Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d'une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.163.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., p.160.

⁷⁸⁶ 'Burla de los vecinos de los pueblos y como distintivo para diferenciarlas del resto de la población.' Encarnación Barranquero Texeira, 'Mujeres malagueñas en la represión franquista a través de las fuentes escritas y orales', *HAOL*, 12 (2007), p.88.

and violence,⁷⁸⁷ or women's alleged crimes and the systematisation of repression against them during the two conflicts.⁷⁸⁸

Some historical analyses, such as Luc Capdevila's 1999 study *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation* and Raquel Osborne's 2012 edited collection *Mujeres bajo sospecha*, have explored the social meanings ascribed to violence during the post-war period, but the concept of the bystander is not examined in depth as a means of unearthing attitudes, involvement and complicity with head shaving, humiliation and other forms of associated violence. Interrogating the roles, attitudes and reactions of bystanders in these two case studies therefore offers a new avenue of analysis; it enables us to explore how and why this gendered form of violence occurred in public and civic spaces and it allows us to examine the extent to which civil society viewed head shaving as socially acceptable in the context of post-war purges. One potential explanation for the lack of visibility given to bystanders in scholarship is that, given the public nature of head shaving, bystanders are so numerous and there is no clear profile or demographic of the typical bystander in either case: they are hazy figures in historiography, in comparison to the highly visible and visual image of the shaven women paraded through the streets and immortalised in photography. In contrast, accounts, photographs, testimonies and press coverage attest to the varied demographic of bystanders as on-lookers are part of crowds that include combatants and civilians, of which there are men, women and children.

As Marc Bergère argues in his study of post-war repression in Maine-et-Loire in France, head shaving should be viewed in terms of 'co-action' as it required 'all or part of the community in these scenes.'⁷⁸⁹ Spanish historian Maud Joly also points to the collective nature of head shaving, as a 'wave of fear' that passed through communities, orchestrated by the 'rearguard' who ensured the 'visibility of humiliation'⁷⁹⁰ amongst the local community. When analysing the process of head

⁷⁸⁷ For example, Fabrice Virgili's *La France « virile »: des femmes tondues a la Liberation* takes as its central premise the idea that head shaving was a reaction against perceived national emasculation during the Occupation.

⁷⁸⁸ Enrique González Duro's 2012 psychosocial study *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, analyses the systematic use of violent repression against women during early Francoism.

⁷⁸⁹ 'La réalité sociale des tontes est plus complexe: par la désignation des « coupables » à châtier et la participation de tout ou partie de la communauté à ces scènes et manifestation publique, il serait plus juste de parler de co-action.' Marc Bergère, *Une société en épuration. Épuration vécue et perçue en Maine-et-Loire. De la Libération au début des années 50*, p.317.

⁷⁹⁰ 'Esta dimensión pública, "espectacular" y escatológica de la violencia sexualizada alimenta el relato del "espectáculo de la humillación" en expansión, como una oleada de miedo, de una localidad a otra.' Maud

shaving in France, references are made to crowds ('la foule'), made up of men and women, participating in a form of 'communal' violence.⁷⁹¹ Similarly, in Spain, it was not just Francoist militias and Nationalist soldiers who participated in acts of head shaving and humiliation. Civilians, young and old alike, witnessed the implementation of Francoist justice in public spaces in Spain: 'shorn women formed part of the urban landscape of cities and towns across Spain, and within these landscapes, all Spaniards appear in one form or another.'⁷⁹² In this way, we can see that the organised communal violence that the *femmes tondues* and the *rapadas* faced infiltrated public and civic spaces across both nations, meaning that bystanders cut across all demographics. The widespread involvement of the wider civilian community in acts of head shaving and public humiliation has been well documented and is taken by some historians, such as François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili, as a sign of the popularity and success of the phenomenon.⁷⁹³ Alongside resisters and members of the *Falange*, members of the *Guardia Civil* (Spanish military police) and the French police were often present. Spanish accounts attest to the active involvement of the military police in incidents of head shaving and forced drinking of castor oil⁷⁹⁴ and French accounts mention that the police sometimes helped to regulate and control the crowds during ceremonies of public head shaving.⁷⁹⁵ Therefore, given the wide net of involvement and complicity, the participation and roles of bystanders in these acts appears to have varied considerably: some bystanders may have solely been spectators, and some may have participated in the shaming, via name-calling and other acts of aggression.

4.2 Re-establishing social order through violence

In order to analyse bystanders' experiences, involvement and agency in acts of public violence, it is necessary to contextualise social discourses of purges and justice in both France and Spain, which emphasised retribution as a means of re-ordering social space and exacting vengeance against perceived enemies. In newly liberated zones in France and newly Francoist zones in Spain, social discourses of national liberation and reconstruction were organised around two key tropes that initially appear to be in opposition but ultimately intertwine: national rebirth and violent

Joly, 'Las violencias sexuadas de la Guerra Civil Española: Paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto', p.103.

⁷⁹¹ Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupables, amoureuses, victimes*, p.32.

⁷⁹² Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.38.

⁷⁹³ François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili, *Les Françaises, les Français et l'Épuration*, p.327.

⁷⁹⁴ Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra (la represión y la guerrilla, 1939-1950)*, p.92.

⁷⁹⁵ Marc Bergère, *Une société en épuration. Épuration vécue et perçue en Maine-et-Loire*, p.315.

retribution. In France, the Liberation represented the hope of a ‘new dawn’ embodied by the recreation of ‘free France,’⁷⁹⁶ following the ‘dark years’ of the Occupation.⁷⁹⁷ However, while this celebratory discourse reflected the joy and optimism of national reconstruction, exemplified by author Albert Camus’s elated account of a newly free Paris characterised by ‘cries’ and ‘public joy’ in *Combat*⁷⁹⁸ and retired school teacher Berthe Auroy’s description of the feverish ‘effervescence’ and ‘gaiety’ of street celebrations,⁷⁹⁹ it was accompanied by a discourse of violence deemed to be a necessary step in the rebuilding of the French nation. This fusing of national euphoria and calls for popular vengeance translated into a dual discourse that suggested that national rebirth could only be achieved through punishment and bloodshed. As Albert Merglen notes in his memoir, beneath the general elation at the ending of the occupation, lurked a darker undercurrent of violence against women: ‘amid the boos, the jeers and the laughs, surrounded by resisters, women walked by with their heads shaved for having overly intimate relations with yesterday’s victors.’⁸⁰⁰ Due process for those accused of being traitors and criminals appeared to have been replaced by a form of popular justice that was no stranger to violent outbursts. As argued by Henry Rousso, the Liberation was ‘an exceptional moment where happiness, popular violence and anguish combined.’⁸⁰¹ As such, the joy of liberation and the appetite for popular violence coexist during this period of transition; the rebirth of the newly free French nation was intimately tied to the cathartic violence of the ‘savage purges.’

In Spain, it is also possible to trace the emergence of a corresponding dual narrative of national reconstruction and public vengeance. As Franco beseeched allies in the army and the church to support the military uprising in July 1936, he mobilised the nation at large: ‘the nation calls you to its defence.’⁸⁰² As part of the Francoist narrative of national rebuilding and unity, embodied by the

⁷⁹⁶ H.R Kedward, ‘Introduction’, p.2.

⁷⁹⁷ Henri Rousso, *Les années noires : Vivre sous l’Occupation*, (Paris: Gallimard, 2009).

⁷⁹⁸ ‘La nuit de la vérité’, *Combat*, 25 August 1944.

⁷⁹⁹ Berthe Auroy evokes the ‘effervescence’ and ‘gaieté’ of the Liberation in *Jours de Guerre : Ma vie sous l’Occupation*, (Montrouge : Bayard, 2008), p.325.

⁸⁰⁰ ‘Sous les huées, les quolibets et les rires, passaient, encadrées de maquisards, des filles tondues pour relations trop intimes avec les vainqueurs d’hier.’ Albert Merglen, *Mission Speciale en France* (Grenoble: Arthaud, 1945).

⁸⁰¹ ‘Un moment exceptionnel où se mêlèrent allégresse, violence populaire et angoisse.’ Henry Rousso, ‘L’épuration en France : une histoire inachevée’, p.80.

⁸⁰² ‘La nación os llama a su defensa.’ Francisco Franco, 1936, cited in *El Periódico*, ‘Franco: “No abandonemos a España a los enemigos de la Patria”, 19 July 2016. Accessed online on 10th September 2018 at <https://www.elperiodico.com/es/politica/20160716/18-julio-franco-enemigos-patria-5272352>.

motto of ‘Spain, one, great and free,’⁸⁰³ there were also thinly veiled calls to violence: right-wing newspaper *ABC* praised Franco’s army and its supporters as ‘liberating forces’ who applied ‘exemplary punishment’ to national traitors and leftists.⁸⁰⁴ This melded imagery of liberation and violence exemplifies the Francoist double discourse of national reconstruction combined with the ruthless destruction of its enemies. It was widely believed that through blood sacrifice, Spain would be liberated and thus reborn.⁸⁰⁵ The language of ‘the National Cause’ was intimately tied to purges, which implicated right-wing civilians in violent retribution against those associated with the Republic.⁸⁰⁶ In order to re-establish national order, it was viewed as necessary to impose public and exemplary violence, framed as punishment, for traitors. As Franco explained, ‘the reestablishment of the principle of authority, forgotten in recent years, inexcusably demands that the punishments are exemplary [...] without hesitation or vacillation.’⁸⁰⁷ Public violence was therefore framed as a necessary step in the reconstruction of the nation during the traumatic aftermath of the Civil War.

Within this nexus of national reconstruction via popular retribution, bystanders in both contexts were actively invited to participate, either in the Francoist righteous ‘crusade’ against leftists⁸⁰⁸ or in the ‘violence’ of the French Liberation which allowed the country to ‘act collectively.’⁸⁰⁹ In both contexts, fears were mobilised around national security, and violence against traitors, enemies and dissidents was promoted as a means of safeguarding the nation in the aftermath of military conflict. As a 1939 Francoist radio bulletin warned, ‘Spain continues to fight in arms against all interior enemies,’⁸¹⁰ suggesting that the country still needed to purge internal traitors. Similarly, Capdevila emphasises that in France, the threat posed by internal enemies was frequently evoked by resisters

⁸⁰³ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge*, p.320.

⁸⁰⁴ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain*, pp.168-169.

⁸⁰⁵ Julius Ruiz, *The “Red Terror” and the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.59.

⁸⁰⁶ Arcángel Bedmar, *República, Guerra y Represión: Lucena 1931-1939*, p.144.

⁸⁰⁷ ‘El restablecimiento de este principio de autoridad, olvidado en los últimos años, exige inexcusablemente que los castigos sean ejemplares [...] sin titubeos ni vacilaciones.’ Servicio Histórico Militar, *Partes Oficiales de Guerra, 1936-1939*, in Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *La España franquista en sus documentos: la posguerra española en sus documentos*, p.1.

⁸⁰⁸ Julian Casanova, ‘Franco, the Catholic Church and the Martyrs’, p.9.

⁸⁰⁹ François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili emphasise that public reprisals enabled ‘[le] plus grand nombre (les enfants sont là aussi) d’agir collectivement.’ *Les Françaises, les Français et l’Epuración*, p.115.

⁸¹⁰ ‘España sigue en pie de guerra contra todo enemigo del interior.’ Radio española 1939, cited in Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *La España franquista en sus documentos: la posguerra española en sus documentos*, p.9.

as a means of justifying repression as part of the purges: ‘the hunt for and then the denunciation of the interior enemy [became] obsessive.’⁸¹¹

4.3 Head shaving as a social spectacle

As previously highlighted, the public nature of violence against women during the Francoist takeover of zones in Spain and during the liberation of occupied zones in France is not incidental; humiliation formed part of the act of head shaving itself and it served as a means of social control in which bystanders were passively and actively implicated as spectators and enforcers of the new order. For this reason, the use of public violence during these two periods of political transition and upheaval has been widely understood by historians as a communal event or ceremony. Alain Brossat utilised the language of spectacle to understand the social nature of head shaving during the Liberation; Brossat described the process of head shaving primarily as a ‘ceremony’, which had been organised down to the ‘smallest details.’⁸¹² It was designed to be highly visible and theatrical: head shaving was organised in public spaces as ‘to be observed by all and at a national scale.’⁸¹³ The public violence of head shaving seems to have been designed specifically with spectators in mind, as it was framed by perpetrators as a public punishment, as examined in the previous chapter.

While this thesis argues that viewing these case studies through the prism of gender-based violence provides a more nuanced analysis of the roles and perspectives of the various historical actors involved, it is illuminating to draw from Michel Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish* in order to understand how head shaving may have also been seen as a punishment by historical bystanders as well as perpetrators of head shaving. Foucault suggests that punishment is understood to have a ‘complex social function,’⁸¹⁴ which primarily serves as a means of exercising power. This is relevant to historical bystanders in these two contexts as French and Spanish societies were experiencing an unstable and bloody transition of power, either from an occupation to a republic or from a republic to a regime. While Foucault argues that societies have moved away from the ‘gloomy festival of punishment’ since the eighteenth century, he suggests that these historical practices can ‘flicker

⁸¹¹ ‘La recherche puis la dénonciation d’un ennemi intérieur [devenaient] obsessionnelle.’ Luc Capdevila, *Les Bretons au lendemain de l’Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d’une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.44

⁸¹² Alain Brossat described the tonte as a ‘cérémonial’, which is organised down to ‘ses moindres détails.’ *Les tondues : un carnaval moche*, p.12.

⁸¹³ It was ‘una violencia visible, porque tenía que ser observada por todos y a escala nacional.’ Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.37.

⁸¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, p.23.

momentarily into life.⁸¹⁵ The intensely public and visible nature of head shaving may have represented such a 'flicker' to bystanders in France and Spain. These two cases certainly evidence the 'political investment' in bodies, as dissident women's bodies were visibly violated and displayed in public space, often in very theatrical ways. The process of violence may have been understood as a punitive social spectacle by bystanders as they were invited to watch and participate by perpetrators, thereby enforcing the new power structure, be it Francoism or renewed French Republicanism.

The specific symbolism of the sanction of head shaving is key to understanding these cases of communal violence. When analysing the implication and attitudes of bystanders, it is important to understand that head shaving or an enforced cutting of hair has traditionally functioned across different societies and historical periods as a means of conveying 'contempt and degradation' or 'an extreme reduction in status.'⁸¹⁶ Head shaving has therefore been framed as a historical punishment, which has been meted out to both genders; it has been utilised against heretics, criminals and prisoners.⁸¹⁷ When used against women, it typically signified social shame and disapproval, particularly against perceived female immorality; head shaving has historically been used as a means of shaming adulterous women and women who 'sinned through seduction.'⁸¹⁸ As Henry Rousso suggests, head shaving has its roots in practices of shaming for women who contravened community norms: '[head shaving] goes back to an ancestral tradition, that of the adulterous woman formerly exposed and paraded through the streets of the town, often on a horse or a donkey.'⁸¹⁹ Head shaving and its associated practices of humiliation should therefore be understood in reference to the wider involvement and acquiescence of bystanders, as head shaving marked targeted women as criminals or outsiders to their communities, reflecting their deviation from social or political norms and their resultant reduction in social status. As González-Duro highlights, while hair may grow back, these shorn women would remain 'engraved in the collective imaginary

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., p.8.

⁸¹⁶ Raymond Firth, *Symbols: Public and Private* (Routledge: New York, 1973), p.289.

⁸¹⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, p.8.

⁸¹⁸ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.136.

⁸¹⁹ '[La tonte] remonte à une tradition ancestrale, celle de la femme adultère jadis exposée et promenée dans les rues de la ville, souvent sur un cheval ou sur un âne.' Henry Rousso, 'L'épuration en France : une histoire inachevée', p.85.

in all of the population,⁸²⁰ via their public humiliation in this highly theatrical violence. In these case studies, head shaving marked out women perceived to be outsiders as they had been targeted due to perceptions of their personal morality or their political allegiances. As such, head shaving may have been as understood by bystanders as a means of marking outsiders and consolidating new norms, both moral and political, of French and Spanish society.

In both cases, there was a recognisable pattern and organising logic. Maria Jose Palma Borrego identifies three key stages of the violence in Francoist zones, which all occur in front of multiple bystanders. Firstly, the dehumanisation of the victim began with nudity ('the process of dehumanisation is that which is fuller of symbolic and erotic charge: the nudity of the prisoner'), before physical violence, such as hitting, ('slaps [...] to disfigure their identity'), concluding with head shaving or bodily marking ('the cutting of hair to the scalp' as a 'cultural and state violence').⁸²¹ These humiliating organised attacks on the bodies and dignity of perceived female traitors are clearly designed with bystanders in mind, marking these women as criminals and diminishing their status in their communities. This is evidenced by reports detailing the organisation of public retribution against women and children, in this case in the Basque Country specifically, which was quickly taken over by the Francoists in 1936.

1. The total cutting of women's hair, forcing them to display themselves in the most public places to be an object of mockery and scorn.
2. Force women to ingest strong doses of castor oil.
3. Force them to wear insignias of the opposite ideology to their own and shout slogans and make political declarations in their favour.
4. Force them to do manual tasks, which are often impossible.⁸²²

⁸²⁰ Shorn women would remain 'grabadas en el imaginario colectivo de toda la población.' Enrique Gonzalez Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.45.

⁸²¹ 'El proceso de deshumanización es el que está más lleno de carga simbólica y erótica: la desnudez de la presa', before physical violence, such as 'las bofetadas [...] para desfigurar la identidad', concluding with 'el corte de pelo al cero' as a 'violencia cultural y estatal'. María José Palma Borrego, 'Violencia y cuerpos traumatizados: duelo y melancolía en los testimonios orales de mujeres durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939) y la posguerra' [online].

⁸²² '1º El corte total del cabello a la mujer, obligándole además a exhibirse en los lugares más públicos del pueblo de su residencia para ser objeto de mofa y escarnio.

2º Obligar a las mujeres a ingerir fuertes dosis de aceite de ricino.

3º Obligarlas a llevar insignias de ideología contraria a la suya y a pronunciar gritos y a hacer declaraciones en un sentido político determinado.

Here, we can see that the public and theatrical nature of the violence is key to its social utility and function, and that it directly implicated bystanders in the process: ‘the most public places in their towns of residence’ are chosen as a means to shame and display deviant women in front of their fellow countrymen. Victims were publicly shamed for the entertainment of bystanders: by undergoing this violence, women became an ‘object of mockery and scorn’ for others. This violence is clearly socially minded and functions as a means of consolidating borders of inclusion and exclusion in newly Francoist Spain; society was in the process of being ‘brutally remade, “homogenised” by the violent exclusion of the defeated.’⁸²³ As part of this orchestrated process of public violence, bodily humiliation was then further emphasised via the enforced ingestion of castor oil, the wearing of fascist insignia and the chanting of Francoist mottos. Women were then forced to attempt to complete work as a means of public atonement. Accounts frequently evoke the selection of humiliating tasks for the seemingly sadistic entertainment of bystanders, such as cleaning public spaces, like churches, or even public toilets.

According to a Republican government information report from Toledo, dated 10 April 1937, three young women had their heads shaved while civilians watched – one was shorn because of her communist leanings and the other two because of their support for Basque nationalism. Following the head shaving, they were forced to clean toilets before being ‘paraded through the streets between *Falange* members,’⁸²⁴ illustrating the theatricality of the violence.

Humiliations, insults and persecutions occurred. To celebrate the taking of Toledo, they cut the hair of a young communist [...] who the town called “La Pasionaria”⁸²⁵ and two Basque nationalists [...]. They forced [two of them] to clean the toilets and their work was watched and they were shown no mercy by the ladies of the town. The three anti-fascists were paraded through the streets between *Falange* members.⁸²⁶

4º Forzarlas a trabajos, a veces imposibles.’ AGGCE, ‘Documentos relativos a la guerra civil, La conducta de los facciosos ante la iniciativa de la Cruz Roja Internacional por la humanización de la guerra: El trato a las mujeres y niños’, F.A.7 Gobierno Provisional de Euzkadi.

⁸²³ Helen Graham, ‘The Memory of Murder: Mass Killing, Incarceration and the Making of Francoism’, p.38.

⁸²⁴ Women were forced to ‘hacer la limpieza de los retretes’ before being ‘paseadas por las calles entre falangistas.’ ‘Vejeciones, insultos y persecuciones’. AGMA 21 6 1 135. Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1937

⁸²⁵ ‘La Pasionaria’ was the name given to Dolores Ibárruri, a Spanish Republican icon and communist from the Basque Country. She popularised the rallying cry and anti-Francoist slogan ‘¡No Pasarán!’ (‘they will not pass!’), during the Battle for Madrid.

⁸²⁶ ‘Las vejaciones, los insultos y las persecuciones se suceden. Para celebrar la toma de Toledo cortaron el pelo a una joven comunista [...] a la que el pueblo llama “La Pasionaria”, y a dos nacionalistas vascas [...]. A [dos de ellas] las obligaban a hacer la limpieza de los retretes y a ver su trabajo y a ensañarse con ellas iban las

The theme of public retribution for women's political opposition to Francoism is foregrounded: 'humiliations, insults and persecutions occurred', suggesting that bystanders were invited to participate in the shaming of female dissidents, along with the *Falange*. It appears that bystanders could facilitate shaming as witnesses to the 'humiliations' while also being actively implicated, by shouting 'insults' to those being shamed. In these shaming rituals, targeted women became an object of public 'mockery' and 'scorn.'⁸²⁷ Additionally, it is mentioned that local women ('the ladies of the town') also observed, suggesting that both men and women were witnesses. These sources suggest civilian bystanders were implicated either as overseers or active participants in these scenes of violence; bystanders were invited to participate via their spectatorship or via their active participation in the shaming ritual itself.

Similarly, in France, there are recurrent tropes of humiliation which characterise the process of violence, which was often coded as a public event. Julie Desmarais argues that the act of head shaving was often accompanied by other public practices of humiliation, to heighten the visibility of the violence and to further punish and dehumanise victims. The public's appetite for vengeance was often not satiated by head shaving alone ('the event is not limited to the act of shaving hair'), there are rather a series of 'acts', which united the crowd, those leading the head shaving and the public authorities in attendance, thereby rendering the process 'even more humiliating for the shorn women.'⁸²⁸ Here, Desmarais shines a light on the centrality of the bystander in the punishment: 'neighbours, friends as well as family are sometimes present [...] shorn women have to also live with the looks of those close to them after the Liberation.'⁸²⁹ The local population, including neighbours, friends and families, all attended these public scenes. As such, the gaze of the bystander as a spectator to their public shaming must be considered as a means of maximising the humiliation. Methods of rendering the process more humiliating include commonalities with the Spanish case study, such as enforced nudity (Jean Cocteau describes a Parisian scene of Liberation

señoritas del pueblo. Estas tres antifascistas eran paseadas por las calles entre falangistas.' 'Vejeciones, insultos y persecuciones' AGMA 21 6 1 135. Zona Republicana, Ministerio de Propaganda, Boletines de Información. 1937.

⁸²⁷ Shorn women were objects of 'mofa' and 'escarnio.' Enrique González Duro, *Las rapadas: el franquismo contra la mujer*, p.37.

⁸²⁸ Julie Desmarais explains that 'l'évènement ne se limite pas à l'acte de la tonte des cheveux', there were rather a series of 'gestes', which would 'rendre le processus encore plus humiliant pour les femmes tondues.' Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.28.

⁸²⁹ 'Les voisins, les amis, de même que les familles sont parfois présents [...] les femmes tondues doivent aussi vivre avec le regard de leurs proches après la Libération.' Ibid.

in late August 1944, highlighting that he saw ‘shorn women, completely naked’),⁸³⁰ and physical assaults (‘blows, which are often brusque and violent, can break skin on the scalp and cause blood to spill’).⁸³¹

An anonymous nurse from Thiers, France, describes the conditions of internment for suspected collaborators and emphasises that head shaving was orchestrated as a public event in order to implicate bystanders and amplify targeted women’s shame.

To these lived events, I include the spectacle of the raging public, which was very sad and left a bitterness in the heart and soul that was difficult to wash away, but there was also a grotesque, if not “humorous”, side, which was all the shorn women at the square by City Hall, in the middle of a shouting, swarming, menacing and railing crowd. It was not pretty to look at!⁸³²

This first-hand account foregrounds the active involvement of civilian bystanders in these scenes of violence, highlighting their loss of inhibition and restraint; they are described as a ‘raging public’, suggesting that the use of public humiliation and violence against women had been socially sanctioned in this hostile post-conflict environment. The violence is described by the unnamed nurse in terms of the reactions it evokes in the bystanders: head shaving was framed as ‘humorous’, emphasising that sadistic amusement was derived from these events by fellow civilians and onlookers, pointing to their enjoyment of this humiliating spectacle. Much like in Spain, this emphasises that the head shaving and humiliation of dissident women served a social purpose and was organised with bystanders in mind, as it was understood by bystanders to be a ‘sanction for all women for collaboration.’⁸³³ This evidences the perceived need for public expiation among targeted women. The crowd is not framed as passive in these acts of violence but are shown to be ‘menacing’ as collective instigators, who aggravate and worsen the violence: the crowd is ‘shouting’, ‘swarming’ and ‘railing’. The nurse’s own implication as a bystander to the violence is also subtly expressed;

⁸³⁰ ‘Les femmes tondues, toutes nues.’ Jean Cocteau, *Journal 1942-1945*, p.535.

⁸³¹ ‘Les coups, quelquefois brusques et violents, peuvent déchirer la peau des cranes et faire couler du sang’. Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.29.

⁸³² ‘Sur ces faits vécus, j’ajoute que le spectacle de cette populace déchainée, était bien triste, et laissée dans les esprits et les cœurs, pendant longtemps, une amertume difficile à effacer, mais il y eut le côté grotesque, sinon « humoristique », de toutes ces femmes tondues sur la place de la Mairie, au milieu d’une foule hurlante, grouillante, menaçant et vociférant. Ce n’était pas bien beau à voir !’ LC, Dossier « Vie en prison », Témoignage anonyme d’une infirmière de Thiers (septembre 1963) sur les conditions d’internement en août 1944, F Delta 1832/16 (2).

⁸³³ ‘Une sanction à toutes les femmes de collaboration.’ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : Des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.7.

she too is a spectator in these events, and passively participates in the dehumanisation of these women by describing the sight as 'grotesque'. Her spectatorship is also underscored by her admission that she watched as events unfolded, contributing to the public humiliation of the *femmes tondues*: she admits that 'it was not pretty to look at!' However, according to the account, her involvement is limited to her role as an uncomfortable witness, potentially due to her social role as a nurse, with its attendant expectations of care and social responsibility.

The involvement of bystanders from across different groups of civil society is further emphasised in an article published in *La Marseillaise* on 4 September 1944, in the immediate aftermath of the Liberation and its associated public violence. The article, entitled 'Epilogue', discusses the phenomenon of head shaving and the severity of the impact of the social humiliation for women affected.

Young men [...] had thought fit to punish a woman supposed to have denounced resistant patriots to the Germans [...] the woman in question committed suicide [...] was she guilty, therefore?

Perhaps. Unless [...] she could not survive the shame [...] before the peaceful population of the district who were unanimous in condemning them.⁸³⁴

This article is particularly illuminating in terms of the ambivalent and changeable role of bystanders; it suggests that a thin and movable line exists between bystanders and perpetrators. In this particular instance, young male bystanders became active perpetrators of head shaving, thinking it to be their social duty to enact 'punishment': the men 'had thought fit to punish a woman', potentially due to the widespread acceptance of the practice. This points to the social significance of these violent spectacles across France; bystanders may not have only felt compelled to witness them as onlookers, they potentially also felt a sense of social pressure to participate in and even organise such incidents as they were sympathetic to the cause of the purges. The impact of this public humiliation is described as being so personally devastating that the victim could not

⁸³⁴ 'de jeunes gens [...] avaient cru devoir châtier une femme supposée d'avoir dénoncé aux Allemands des patriotes réfractaires [...] la femme en question s'est suicidée [...] Elle s'est donc reconnue coupable ?

Peut-être. A moins que [...] elle n'ait pu survivre à la honte [...] ni devant la population paisible du quartier, unanime à condamner ces derniers.' ADBR 419 PHI 1 'Epilogue', *La Marseillaise*, 4 September 1944. This article is also available online at the *Musée de la Résistance en ligne 1940-1945* at: <https://museedelaresistanceenligne.org/media8612-Article-de-presse-intitul-Epilogue-i-La-Marseillaise-i-4-septembre-1944>

survive ‘the shame’ of facing the population, who are described as ‘peaceful’ and ‘unanimous in condemning them’. The tone of the article itself is revealing in regard to bystander attitudes and behaviours: the horror of head shaving seems to have been condemned in the emotive language used (‘instances unbecoming of a civilised people’). However, the writer also appears to suggest that the female victim was likely guilty of some form of collaboration by dint of her suicide, and thus deserved punishment; this is seen in the use of the question ‘was she guilty, therefore? Perhaps.’ Bystanders’ attitudes to these scenes of violence are shown to be highly ambivalent; head shaving is simultaneously described as undignified and ‘unbecoming’, and yet, the female victim’s guilt and need for social punishment is still affirmed, subtly supporting the legitimacy of popular retribution.

The involvement of bystanders as witnesses and active participants therefore points to the social importance of post-war justice or, at least, the importance of being seen to be involved in reprisals against traitors. As previously argued, both Liberation France and Civil War Spain were characterised by conflict, political transition and social upheaval, during which time ordinary citizens felt pressured to actively demonstrate and mark their allegiance to the new power structure, particularly in the context of violent purges, for fear that their own national loyalty may come into question. In the context of newly liberated France, Fabrice Virgili clarifies that French civilians felt the need to consolidate their new group identity, using violent punishment of traitors as a central objective: ‘united by space, time and action, the population will inscribe the three priorities of the hour: vanquish, punish and reconstruct.’⁸³⁵ The place of the *tonte* within this is clear: ‘shearing permits the population to find its unity and place within the French nation.’⁸³⁶ The spectacle of public shaming therefore seemed to strengthen community identity, and, by extension, national identity by offering ‘a representation of an united and active village community.’⁸³⁷ In their study of the *épuration sauvage*, François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili emphasise that bystanders’ involvement, whether it was passive or active, can be explained by the emotive need to have ‘participated in this unique historical moment’ and to have ‘struck blows against the enemy.’⁸³⁸ The perceived political necessity of having been involved or, at least, having been seen by others as

⁸³⁵ ‘La population va inscrire dans une unité de lieu, de temps et d’action les trois priorités de l’heure : vaincre, punir et reconstruire.’ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : Des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.219.

⁸³⁶ ‘La tonte permet à la population de trouver son unité et sa place dans la Nation française.’ Ibid.

⁸³⁷ ‘Une représentation de la communauté villageoise unie et agissante.’ Ibid.

⁸³⁸ ‘Cette poignée de cheveux témoigne de l’importance d’avoir participé à ce moment unique et d’avoir infligé aussi des « coups » à l’ennemi.’ François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili, *Les Françaises, les Français et l’Épuration*, p.113.

involved and in support of head shaving, helps to explain the resultant 'climate of violence' during the Liberation of France.⁸³⁹ Bystanders may have feared for their own personal safety and felt obliged to prove their political allegiance to France and the Resistance via their participation in these rituals of violence.

Similarly, in Spain, the need to have been seen to have participated in the process of public punishment and the shaming of traitors was equally important for bystanders. Ordinary citizens were encouraged to help in the 'reconquest' of Spain, which necessitated the violent exclusion of those deemed to represent the 'anti-Spain' in order to resuscitate the ailing nation. Franco's rhetoric of violent redemption was reflected by the 1939 Law of Political Responsibilities that justified the punishment of those who 'contributed to the creation or aggravation of the subversion of any kind of which Spain was made a victim [...] with concrete acts or serious passivity.'⁸⁴⁰ As such, civilians could be punished for fomenting or aggravating left-wing subversion, either in their action or in their inaction. The political imperative to participate in the reconstruction of Spain led to a climate of denunciation, suspicion and violence: it was enough for someone to walk into a police station 'vaguely denouncing the ideas or actions of someone, for that person to be detained, mistreated, and sent to rot in prison.'⁸⁴¹ Active or passive participation in the process of head shaving therefore appears to have been a relatively expedient way of expressing political allegiance to the Francoist cause. This contributed to the widespread scrutiny of women loosely associated with the Second Republic: 'the crime or the cause did not matter, only the connection to the Republican cause.'⁸⁴² In this way, the spectacle of head shaving enabled the community to be 'brought together' and 'project its own collective commitment to the new Franco state under construction'⁸⁴³ by participating in the public vilification of women who served as scapegoats for Spanish Republicanism.

⁸³⁹ Henry Rousso describes the 'climat de violence' during the Libération in 'L'épuration en France : Une histoire inachevée », p.80.

⁸⁴⁰ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain*, p.502.

⁸⁴¹ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, p.100.

⁸⁴² 'No importaba el delito ni la causa, solo su vinculación a la causa republicana.' Paloma Seone Amigo, 'La represión franquista contra las mujeres. La Causa General de Madrid', p.397.

⁸⁴³ Michael Richards, 'Stories for after a War: Social Memory and the Making of Urban and Industrial Transition in 1960s Spain', in Helen Graham (ed.), *Interrogating Francoism: History and Dictatorship in Twentieth Century Spain* (Bloomsbury: London and New York, 2016), p.184.

4.4 Locating bystanders' voices in accounts

As previously discussed, bystanders have frequently been viewed through a lens of detachment and passivity in studies of violence, and, as a result, their roles and their voices are often not given the same importance as those of victims and perpetrators in historical analysis. However, bystanders were integral to the spectacle and function of head shaving, sometimes as spectators and sometimes as active participants, and it is therefore particularly important to foreground the private voices of bystanders, located in memoirs, accounts and testimonies, as a means of understanding the attitudes and involvement of “ordinary” citizens”⁸⁴⁴ in France and Spain. While this chapter has analysed the political pressure on bystanders to participate in head shaving, humiliation and violence, analysing bystanders' experiences in their own words sheds light on their personal reactions to these incidents. Although the spectacle of violence necessitated the performance of public adherence to the new power structure, accounts suggest that some bystanders privately felt fear, shame and horror at these scenes of violence. This shame and horror expressed in these accounts may be retrospective, however, as some of these accounts were published in memoirs in the decades following the war. However, source material and accounts also show that some bystanders expressed private agreement or approval of these incidents, pointing to the enduring power of discourses of violent public retribution during the Liberation and early Francoism.

Themes of shame were key to the enactment of head shaving and therefore the humiliation associated with public acts of head shaving, enforced nudity and physical violence also seeps into bystanders' recollections of the period, meaning that mentions and allusions to the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* are often brief and marginalised in memoirs, accounts and testimonies of the French Liberation and the Francoist victory in Spain. As Ruth Kitchens argues, memories of the *femme tondues* evoked the ‘collective shame’ of collaboration in the post-war years.⁸⁴⁵ Similarly, in Spain, memories of the *rapadas* were shrouded in shame as ‘those who lost the war were condemned to silence’, which often subsumed people’s memories of humiliations suffered by women associated with the Republic.⁸⁴⁶ Regardless, references to head shaving and female repression still dot the

⁸⁴⁴ Victoria J Barnett, *Bystanders: Conscience and Complicity During the Holocaust*, xiv.

⁸⁴⁵ Ruth Kitchen, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*, p.73.

⁸⁴⁶ ‘Los que perdieron la guerra fueron condenados al silencio, impuesto por la dictadura y consensuado por la democracia. Y esa condena conserva aún el eco del miedo a hablar.’ Dulce Chacón, ‘Las mujeres que perdieron la guerra’, p.46.

memory landscape of the period, illustrating both the systematic nature of the violence and the widespread public knowledge of it.

Attitudes towards head shaving are multifaceted, complex and ambivalent in memoirs across the two case studies: sometimes horror and condemnation are evoked and sometimes acceptance and support are expressed, but often what connects bystanders' accounts is the perceived predictability and ubiquity of these attacks. In the war diary of Berthe Auroy, a retired teacher based in Paris, the use of head shaving during the Liberation is presented as a common and predictable occurrence:

It appears that agents of the Resistance came to bring home a girl with her hair shaved by a negro⁸⁴⁷ and tattooed on the front of a swastika. People say that this is how women who have displayed themselves with the Germans are to be punished. A mane of hair remains, and the negroes claim the honour of completing the operation, having particularly suffered from the denunciations of these women without shame. People say: "Go and see the town hall at Batignolles, there is hair hanging on the grates. And, not to be outdone, someone else said: "There is also hair left at the town hall of Montmartre."⁸⁴⁸

This account of the Liberation shows that seeing shaved women paraded and humiliated was an everyday occurrence: Auroy mentions that there were shaven women seen in front of town halls in Batignolles and Montmartre, as well as where she is writing from, on rue Tholozé. The social sanctioning of head shaving is emphasised by her claim that 'people say that this is how women who have displayed themselves with the Germans are to be punished': the use of 'people' implicates the wider community and alludes to the widespread support for head shaving, rather than just focusing on the perpetrators who organised it. This accepting and matter-of-fact tone used to justify the practice of head shaving is frequently employed across memoirs and diaries.⁸⁴⁹ Furthermore,

⁸⁴⁷ Cecile Bishop's article 'Photography, race and invisibility: The Liberation of Paris, in black and white' explores how black soldiers were typically excluded from official photography of the Liberation, but blackness appeared to be an 'object of curiosity' for Parisians. The racialised dynamics of encounters between black soldiers and white *femme tondues* is beyond the scope of this thesis, but certainly represents an interesting avenue of analysis for further research.

⁸⁴⁸ 'Des agents de la Resistance viennent, parait-il, de ramener à son domicile une fille à la chevelure rasée par un nègre et tatouée sur le front d'une croix gammée. C'est ainsi, dit-on, qu'on châtie les femmes qui se sont affichées avec des Allemands. La tignasse y passe, et les nègres revendiquent l'honneur de faire l'opération, ayant particulièrement eu à souffrir des dénonciations de ces femmes sans honte. Les gens racontent : « Allez donc voir à la mairie des Batignolles, il y a des chevelures accrochées aux grilles. » Et quelqu'un pour ne pas être en reste : « Il y en a aussi à la mairie de Montmartre. »' Berthe Auroy, *Jours de guerre : Ma vie sous l'Occupation*, p.324.

⁸⁴⁹ It is also seen in Edith Thomas's published diary in which she briefly describes witnessing a woman having her head shaved in August, without expressing any fear or sympathy for the woman targeted, instead she simply describes what has been done to her and the crowd's desire to lynch her. See Edith Thomas, *Pages de journal 1939-1944* (Paris: Viviane Hamy, 1995), p.219.

Berthe Auroy replicates perpetrators' language of dishonour when describing shorn women: targeted women are referred to as 'women without shame.' The language of female shame appears to legitimise the use of violent retribution against women perceived to have betrayed the nation and brought shame upon their community. In this way, we can see how bystanders may contribute to a culture of complicity in their quiet support for the humiliation of perceived female dissidents.

Writer Flora Groult also describes head shaving as a commonplace occurrence during the Liberation: 'women who have 'sinned' with the Germans are having their heads shaved, their foreheads marked with swastikas and being paraded through the streets naked to the waist [...] I hope I do not meet any of the women. I could neither hate them nor be sorry for them.'⁸⁵⁰ The lack of specificity given to her account of these events suggests that shearing parades were an ordinary occurrence and were potentially viewed as socially acceptable during this period of transition. The writer's own ambivalence to the events is foregrounded; Groult expresses discomfort in her hope not to meet 'any of the women', followed by a reticence to personally implicate herself in the violence as she could not 'hate them', and yet, she feels no sadness or empathy for these 'women who have 'sinned'' either. This evidences the moral ambivalence and uncertainty surrounding reprisals against women perceived to have behaved sinfully during the Occupation by ordinary citizens and wider civil society.

In some bystander accounts, however, targeted women are humanised and seem to elicit sympathy from on-lookers, despite the context of revenge and retribution. One example is writer Léon Werth's published diary, which chronicles life in Vichy France. Within his account of the Liberation, Werth describes a scene of head shaving and focuses on the terror of the women affected.

Hair has fallen in a stream. The four women will be paraded through the streets. A procession follows them, with a sort of quiet dignity. But an old man spits in their faces and wants to hit them. We stop it. The shaven heads of these women [...] one of them had a face covered in dirt and her eyes were dilated.⁸⁵¹

⁸⁵⁰ Flora Groult, 1965, cited in Matthew Cobb, *Eleven Days in August: The Liberation of Paris in 1944*, p.314.

⁸⁵¹ 'Les chevelures sont dans le ruisseau. Ces quatre femmes, on va les promener par les rues. Un cortège les accompagne, avec une sorte de dignité, sans cris. Mais un vieux leur crache au visage et veut les frapper. On

This account evidences the range of bystanders' emotions and reactions to public shaming in the streets. The parade itself appears sombre and organised, again showing the theatrical nature of the public shaming ('a procession follows them, with a sort of quiet dignity'). However, the threat of escalating violence is clear: a bystander spits at the women and wants to hit them. It is interesting that it is an older man who reacts violently in this account, testifying to the widespread rage across different levels and generations of civil society. However, the old man is stopped, suggesting that in some cases, violence was regulated by the presence of bystanders. Head shaving and public humiliation appear to be socially accepted, but physical assault was not always necessarily accepted, which may explain why incidents of torture and further violence often occurred within private or hidden spaces, such as makeshift prisons, as explored in chapter three. Werth, however, humanises the *femmes tondues* by describing the fearful expression of one of the women, focusing on her dilated pupils, evidencing a sense of bystander empathy, despite the writer's apparent acceptance of events.

Similarly, the limits of bystander acceptance are pushed too far in an oral testimony from Rosette Peschaud, a nurse working with General Leclerc's division during the Liberation, who describes the aftermath of an incident of head shaving.

They came to get me, telling me that they needed me in the square. I thought that someone must have been injured. In fact, there was a woman there, who was naked and had her head shaved, and they wanted me to slap her or spit on her. I don't know. I said no, that that wasn't at all [...] I hadn't joined up for that, it wasn't anything to do with me. I perhaps may not have been as brave, but seeing men, in clothes, abuse a woman in such a way, I find it [...] I found it absolutely shameful [...] I waited and then I left.⁸⁵²

This testimony draws attention to the discomfort experienced by some bystanders when faced with head shaving; Peschaud found the incident to be 'shameful' and gestures to the potential for bystander resistance and agency in such moments. The fact that the unnamed men encouraged her, as a female nurse, to participate by hitting or spitting on the naked shorn woman suggests that

l'en empêche. Les têtes rasées de ces femmes... Et l'une d'elles avait le visage terreux et les yeux dilatés.' Léon Werth, *Déposition*, p.130.

⁸⁵² 'On est venu me chercher en me disant qu'on avait besoin de vous sur la place. J'ai cru qu'il y avait un blessé. En vérité, il y avait une femme qui était là et qui était nue et rasée, et on voulait que je la gifle ou que je lui crache dessus. Je n'en sais rien. Et j'ai dit non, ça c'est pas du tout ... je me suis pas engagée pour ça, ce n'était pas du tout mon affaire. J'ai peut-être pas été assez courageuse parce que voir les hommes tous habillés outrager une femme de cette façon, je trouve ça ... j'ai trouvé ça absolument honteux [...] j'attendais et je suis partie.' *Musée du Général Leclerc de Hauteclouque et de la Libération de Paris - Musée Jean-Moulin*, Interview with Rosette Peschaud, 11th August 1992.

respected members of society, including those working to help the wounded during the Liberation, were pressured to take part in these events. This again points to the social pressure for bystanders to conform and participate in shearing and shaming. However, Peschaud's claims of moral indignation and refusal shows that there were limits to bystander acquiescence. She alludes to her role as a nurse as justification for her refusal to participate: 'I hadn't joined up for that' and 'it wasn't anything to do with me.' The social positioning of Peschaud in this case may mean that her recounted experience is not representative of bystanders who had not undertaken medical duties during the Liberation. However, it does point to the potential for resistance to violence.

Instances of head shaving, humiliation and violence are also described in bystanders' memoirs of the Francoist takeover of Republican zones during the Spanish Civil War. Similar themes of acceptance, moral ambivalence and horror are expressed, evidencing the complexity of bystander responses to these incidents. The ubiquity of head shaving in newly Francoist zones is described in the memoir of Luciano Suero Serrano, a former secretary of the left-wing CNT syndicate for miners in Andalusia.

Every day, and for several months, the fascist authorities summoned the wives of the fugitives or the sisters or mothers of those who had already died, to clean the church for free, and under the threat of being raped.

As part of this process of terror, they made the wives of the leftists and fugitives take the classic castor oil laxative, around half a litre, and after having them completely shaved, they were forced to walk the streets, causing them to defecate over their feet as they walked.⁸⁵³

In this excerpt, the systematisation of this 'process of terror' is foregrounded: violent reprisals against women affiliated with the Republic, via their relationships with Republican men as 'wives', 'sisters' or 'mothers', are claimed to have occurred on a daily basis during the initial months of Francoist repression in southern Spain ('every day, and for several months'). This violence included humiliation, such as parading, cleaning churches and threats of sexual violence. The tone of the text also attributes a certain predictability to the violence: women are given 'the classic castor oil

⁸⁵³ 'Todos los días, y durante varios meses, las autoridades fascistas citaban a las mujeres de los fugitivos, hermanas o madres de los que ya habían muerto, para que limpiaran la iglesia gratis, y bajo la amenaza de ser violadas.

Por el procedimiento del terror, les hacían tomar a las mujeres de los de izquierdas y fugitivos el clásico purgante de aceite de ricino, en la cantidad de medio litro, y después de haberlas pelado al cero, las obligaban a pasear por las calles, haciéndose las evacuaciones de pies y andando.' Luciano Suero Serrano, *Memorias de un campesino andaluz en la Revolución Española*, p.83.

laxative’, suggesting that this was a commonly used method. Equally, the use of public violence is framed as a ‘process’, which had the aim of terrorising and controlling the local population, and women in particular. This points to Suero Serrano’s understanding of his own passive role as a witness to this hyper-visible form of retribution, as he presents himself as powerless in the face of this organised violence. His self-perception as a bystander who is forced to watch the systematic shaming of women again evidences the implication of ordinary citizens in head shaving, but importantly also points to bystanders’ perceptions of their own limited agency. The graphic description of the after-effects of castor oil and head shaving in public spaces demonstrates the conspicuous nature of the violence (‘after having them completely shaved, they were forced to walk the streets, causing them to defecate over their feet as they walked’), and suggests that outbreaks of such violence were common knowledge amongst civilians as they would have witnessed these barbaric parades.

A testimony taken from an anonymous bystander, who was a child at the time of the Civil war, also alludes to a climate of impunity and normalisation in terms of the public use of violence against women in El Gastor, a village in Cadiz, Andalusia:

“They’re already bringing them! They’re already bringing them!” said my cousins from behind the curtains [...] I saw a large line of women in strange clothes, and men shouting at them and pushing them. None had hair, they had shaved heads. Many were vomiting and were almost unable to speak.⁸⁵⁴

The exclamatory tone of the children suggests that bystanders actively watched and potentially even derived enjoyment or entertainment from these processions of punished women: ‘they’re already bringing them!’ However, these young bystanders may have not fully understood the implications of the violence and they were watching the procession from their window, potentially evidencing the climate of fear during the purges and bystanders’ anxieties about drawing attention to themselves. Equally, as children, they may have been forced to stay inside by protective guardians. The active involvement of ordinary citizens is alluded to in the reference to the shouting and shoving of men: ‘men shouting at them and pushing them.’ The bystander does not clarify if

⁸⁵⁴ ‘¡Ya las traen! ¡Ya las traen!» decían mis primas detrás de los visillos de las ventanas [...] vi una gran fila de mujeres con extrañas ropas, y hombres que les gritaban empujándolas. Ninguna tenía pelo, llevaban las cabezas rapadas. Muchas iban vomitando y casi sin poder hablar.’ Anonymous testimony collected by Fernando Romero Romero and Pepa Zambrana Atienza, cited in Enrique González-Duro, *Las rapadas: El franquismo contra la mujer*, p.68.

these men are Francoists, soldiers or civilians, they are simply referred to as ‘men’ (‘hombres’), suggesting that those involved represented a cross-section of the local community, much like the generic ‘we’ used to describe events in the diary of Berthe Auroy.⁸⁵⁵ The tone of the testimony is one of confusion rather than empathy; female victims are solely described in terms of their bodies and the after-effects of the violence (‘strange clothes’, ‘shaved heads’ and ‘many were vomiting’), signalling their degradation.

The dehumanising nature of head shaving is also emphasised in a letter written by Margarita Nelken, a Republican politician, who describes how women were forcibly sheared, leaving behind only a tuft, and were forced to parade shouting Francoist slogans, such as ‘¡Arriba España!’⁸⁵⁶ each Sunday on the streets of Vitoria in the Basque country. She describes how ‘people of order’ shouted, spat and threw objects at the women, who were often ‘wives, daughters and sisters’ of leftists, pointing to the widespread participation of bystanders. It is significant that she mentions ‘people of order’ were involved, as this suggests it was not just unruly mobs, but rather politicians and the upper and middle classes watched and were implicated in these acts. The description of spitting, throwing and shouting highlights bystanders’ loss of inhibition and restraint in response to the apparent social sanctioning of violence against targeted women, which she describes as a ‘spectacle’, again signalling the organised nature of these events, which had been designed with bystanders in mind.

However, some bystanders’ accounts express empathy for women targeted for public violence in the Spanish case study, in spite of their visible degradation. This oral testimony from Valentina Alonso reflects the horror and moral discomfort felt by a bystander.

⁸⁵⁵ Berthe Auroy, *Jours de Guerre : Ma vie sous l’Occupation*, p.324.

⁸⁵⁶ ‘[C]haque dimanche on peut assister, dans les rues principales de Vitoria, à la « procession » des prisonnières que l’on conduit à la messe. La « procession » consiste en un défilé de toutes les femmes, filles et soeurs des « rouges », c’est-à-dire aussi bien des républicains les plus modérés et des nationalistes catholiques, que des socialistes ou communistes, ou simples adhérentes aux syndicats. Ces femmes, tête rasée, mais avec un petit toupet sur le front, noué grotesquement, aux anciennes couleurs monarchistes, sont obligées d’avancer le bras tendu, faisant le salut fasciste, en criant sans arrêt cet « ¡Arriba España ! », au cri duquel furent fusillés les leurs, et « À bas la Russie ». Sur le trottoir, la foule des « personnes d’ordre », qui raille, insulte et lance sur ces malheureuses, quand cela lui plaît, crachats ou objets.’ Margarita Nelken (193[?]), *Les hordes fascistes de Franco persécutent et outragent les femmes d’une façon acharnée*, *Appel des intellectuels espagnols*, Bruxelles, cited in Maud Joly, ‘Dire la guerre et les violences : femmes et récits pendant la guerre d’Espagne,’ *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 3, 2 (2007), pp.199-220.

They mistreated women [...] they gave them several beatings and they shaved their heads completely and left them there with a small tuft, that they called the ‘tuft of Azaña’⁸⁵⁷ They took one girl and as the scissors did not cut well, they grabbed her by the hair and lifted her up with the scissors, cutting her hair like that. Horrific!⁸⁵⁸

Here, the bystander recalling the incident identifies the ritual shaming of women as abuse (‘they mistreated women’), mentioning the use of physical assault (‘they gave them several beatings’) alongside forced shaving. She describes the dehumanisation of leftist women, as they are rendered objects of public scorn, left with only a small ‘tuft’ of hair, named after Republican prime minister and later president, Manuel Azaña. This highlights their status as political enemies and marks their bodies as politically dissident to the wider community. The physical aggression that accompanied head shaving evokes horror as she describes an incident a young girl being violently shorn as ‘horrific’, emphasising bystanders’ fear in the face of these brutal and degrading acts.

Despite evidence of empathy felt for women who faced public humiliation, there are no examples of intervention on behalf of bystanders in Spain. Alongside certain bystanders’ complicity and support for practices of head shaving and humiliation, this can also be partly explained by a reigning climate of fear. In an interview with María Dolores Sánchez Sánchez, a descendant of one of the seventeen women from Guillena who faced head shaving, humiliation and sexual violence before summary execution in 1937, she describes the reigning climate of terror during the early Francoist period.

Everything was made public [...] to create panic and to show that justice is us [the Francoists]; we are the ones in the right and if we decide that these women have to be killed and humiliated, no-one can tell us that we are committing an injustice by doing what we are doing.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁷ Manuel Azaña Díaz was the last president of the Second Republic in Spain, before the military coup.

⁸⁵⁸ ‘A las mujeres, las maltrataban [...] las daban unas palizas y las cortaban el pelo al rape y las dejaban aquí como un plumerito, que le llamaban el “plumero de Azaña.” A una chica la llevaron y como las tijeras no cortaban bien, entonces, la agarraron ahí de los pelos y la levantaban con las tijeras, cortándola el pelo. ¡Horroroso!’ Valentina Alonso, cited in María Concepción González Gutiérrez and Carlos Gutiérrez Gutiérrez, ‘La represión durante la guerra civil y la postguerra’, in: *Historia y memoria colectiva: La vida en el Valle de Camargo entre la II República y el primer Franquismo*, p.259.

⁸⁵⁹ ‘Pues evidentemente todo se hacía público [...] para crear el pánico y para decir que la justicia somos nosotros, nosotros somos los que tenemos razón y si decidimos que estas mujeres tienen que ser asesinadas y vejadas, no hay nadie que nos digan que, por hacerlo, estamos haciendo una injusticia.’ Interview with María Dolores Sánchez Sánchez, 13th November 2017.

In this way, we see how public violence was utilised not only as a punishment for dissidents, but also as a means of consolidating the regime and frightening the civil population into obedience. As such, while bystanders may have been horrified by the violence, they may have feared for their own personal safety, which may have dissuaded any potential intervention. In this context, the *Falange* and right-wing mobs were granted such authority that they could seemingly not be questioned ('no-one can tell us that we are committing an injustice'). Within the transition of power from the Second Republic to the Francoists, the use of violence against perceived dissidents in public space communicated to bystanders and the community that Francoists represented the new system of 'justice.' This public affirmation of power points to the limited agency of bystanders in terms of outwardly dissenting to head shaving and other associated acts of violence against women.

The multiplicity of bystanders' reactions and levels of involvement in the violence evidenced by these accounts, memoirs and testimonies speaks to the complex role of the wider community in these outbreaks of head shaving. While some accounts reveal the extent to which bystanders accepted the practice and participated in it, some also evidence bystanders' moral discomfort and horror in the face of these incidents. Although there are relatively few testimonies of intervention and refusal, this can be explained by the climate of fear and bystanders' concerns for their personal safety. In the case of Rosette Peschaud, for example, which is a rare case of a bystander actively refusing to participate in the degradation of a shorn woman, her expression of agency may be explained by her comparative position of power and social responsibility as a nurse involved with the Resistance. Conversely, other accounts demonstrate the complexity and ambivalence of social attitudes to head shaving; some bystanders quietly believed the practice had gone too far, whereas some were actively involved, shouting, hitting and spitting at targeted women. What cuts across these varied experiences is that head shaving is presented as a coordinated affair that was designed to implicate bystanders, either passively or actively, in the process of social shaming, and that many bystanders viewed themselves as powerless to intervene.

4.5 Bystanders in photography

Another vital source base that facilitates a deeper analysis of bystanders' involvement, attitudes and experiences of head shaving is photography. Many instances of head shaving, humiliation and assault against women were captured on camera, predominately in stills, but also on film in the French case. These photographs were taken by a multitude of actors: from civilians, to professional

photographers, to soldiers. Photography is a more abundant source in the French case, as there is a wealth of professional photography of the Liberation, taken by correspondents and photographers, alongside military photography, predominately taken by G.I.s and British troops, and amateur photography, taken in the streets by civilians with cameras who wanted to immortalise moments from the Liberation. Photography has become a 'key site of collective memory' as photography played an important role in 'constructing the Liberation as a symbol of France's restored freedom and national unity' and has been 'circulated widely and frequently.'⁸⁶⁰ However, while there are fewer photographs documenting head shaving in the Spanish case, photography of the *rapadas* are similarly revealing in terms of the functioning of violence as a public spectacle. The rare known photographs of head shaving in Spain visually illustrate the impact of Francoist discourses of 'cleansing' and 'punishing Marxists' by displaying the shorn heads of female leftists as a 'stamp of fascism', in the words of Francisco Gómez,⁸⁶¹ who located a now-infamous photograph of shorn women who were forced to do a Francoist salute in Montilla, Cordoba.

The discrepancy in source material between the two cases is due to the varied demographic of photographers and their eagerness to capture moments during the Liberation across France, compared to photographers' increased interest in photography of the battlefield in the Spanish Civil War; the most frequently circulated photographs of the Civil War are of the battlefield as they evoked the 'worldwide struggle between democracy and fascism.'⁸⁶² Furthermore, much of the photography taken of the *femmes tondues* in France was taken by foreign photographers and soldiers during the Liberation as the German occupiers were evacuated or fled the country. Such famous photographers included Robert Capa, who also photographed the Spanish Civil War but did not capture the aftermath of Francoist violence in civilian spaces, and Lee Miller, a war correspondent for *Vogue*, who captured a series of 'empathic' portraits of women in the aftermath of head shaving, in contrast to the many dehumanising and voyeuristic photos of half-naked women dragged through the streets.⁸⁶³ In comparison, foreign photographers and soldiers typically fled Spain before the end of the conflict as Francoist authorities captured civilians and soldiers in the

⁸⁶⁰ Cecile Bishop, 'Photography, race and invisibility: The Liberation of Paris, in black and white', p.194.

⁸⁶¹ 'Una estampa de fascismo.' Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra (la represión y la guerrilla, 1939-1950)*, p.92.

⁸⁶² Cary Nelson, 'The Aura of the Cause: Photographs from the Spanish Civil War', *The Antioch Review*, 55, 3 (1997), Telling: Writer as Chef, p.315.

⁸⁶³ Claire Gorrara, 'Fashion and the *femmes tondues*: Lee Miller, *Vogue* and representing Liberation France', *French Cultural Studies*, p.330.

remaining Republican zones; photographers were aware of the dangers they faced as Franco's 'fascist cavalry' started to take over.⁸⁶⁴

Photography is particularly illuminating in terms of accessing bystanders' involvement in the violence for multiple reasons. Crucially, the act of photographing parades and shearing could be interpreted as an integral part of the violence, as a means of immortalising the visual spectacle of female humiliation and public atonement. These photographs represent 'images of humiliation, popular retribution, implicitly sexualised but muted corporeal violence', making them 'striking, arresting and confounding to scholars'.⁸⁶⁵ As previously discussed, the visible humiliation of head shaving was key to its logic, and municipal and public spaces were chosen as locations, to implicate civil society in the violence; 'we often see photographs of crowds gathered around women whose heads were being shaved [...] often people in the crowds seem to be laughing or grinning'.⁸⁶⁶ Photography can also be analysed as an extension of the violence as it exponentially increased the number of potential bystanders and witnesses to the humiliation and violence by preserving the image of suspected female traitors in popular memory: the ritual or spectacle was 'above all enacted specifically for the eye of the camera and thus the photographs form as much part of their theatre as they are [a] record'.⁸⁶⁷ In this way, photography appears to commemorate the theatre of violence, leaving behind a tangible record of events from various bystanders, whether they were a professional photographer or an eager amateur, evidencing the visual and visible nature of head shaving within communities at both a national and local level through time.

However, it is important to carefully analyse photography as a historical document as photographs may present a self-consciously curated message or story. In *On Photography*, Susan Sontag warns of the dangers of using photography as a source due to it being a 'duplicitous' and 'reductive' medium.⁸⁶⁸ In these case studies, photography captures a momentary snapshot of public retribution, suggesting that the photographs may be 'overconstructed'.⁸⁶⁹ This is particularly true in these cases as they present a curated image of a highly organised and structured cultural moment, laden with

⁸⁶⁴ Cary Nelson, 'The Aura of the Cause: Photographs from the Spanish Civil War', p.307.

⁸⁶⁵ Alison M Moore, 'History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the *Tondues*: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women', p.657.

⁸⁶⁶ Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life Under the Occupation*, p.353.

⁸⁶⁷ Alison M Moore, 'History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the *Tondues*: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women', p.664.

⁸⁶⁸ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

⁸⁶⁹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).

social significance as an act which marked women as outsiders and traitors to the community. However, while these photographs should not be deployed uncritically as a window onto events, they can help us access some of the social meanings ascribed to the violence by exploring how these women and their experiences are presented, and by considering common themes of humiliation, bystander participation and voyeurism.

Some of the most recognisable images of head shaving have been widely circulated in the international press and have since been viewed as emblematic of the suffering and humiliation suffered by shorn women in France and Spain. As mentioned briefly in the first chapter, the most famous photograph of head shaving in the case of France is Capa's famous *Tondue de Chartres* photograph of Simone Touseau (Figure 3). Placed at the epicentre of a braying crowd, Touseau clasps her baby to her chest as proof of her 'sin' and national betrayal through her relationship with a German officer. Capa's artful rendering of the *tonte* points to importance ascribed to the public shaming of alleged collaborators, alongside contrasting scenes of celebration. Members of the public, from young children to the elderly, can be seen following Touseau in a parade through the town; bystanders' bodies are turned towards her as she walks through the streets, emphasising her role as the centrepiece of this display of public humiliation. The gaze of bystanders on Touseau alludes to the function of head shaving as a visual spectacle for communities. Although Capa took this photograph while capturing the post-war purges in liberated Chartres alongside journalist Charles Wertenbaker for *Life* magazine,⁸⁷⁰ it is important to recognise that it is a relatively sanitised image. In this particular example, it may be that Capa chose to provide a sanitised image of the *tontes* for commercial reasons, as he was capturing scenes of the Liberation for a magazine audience. Unlike many accounts and photographs of the *tonte*, this iconic photograph includes 'no nudity, no apparent sexual violation, no physical damage or forceful coercion', which were common tropes.⁸⁷¹ This means that there are still limits to what we are permitted to see, suggesting that many photographic narratives may have been sanitised through a process of selection.

⁸⁷⁰ Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life Under the Occupation*, p.347.

⁸⁷¹ Alison M. Moore, 'History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the *Tondues*: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women', p.675.

Figure 3. Robert Capa/Magnum Photo, 'La tondu de Chartres', 18 August 1944, photograph, BNF, Paris.

In contrast, the photographs of shorn Spanish women which reached the international press often evoked the aftermath of the violence, rather than process of the shearing or parading itself. A famous example is a 1936 photograph of women who had suffered head shaving at the hands of Francoists at an unnamed location. This photograph gained traction and was circulated internationally, including in the November 1936 edition of *Femmes dans l'action mondiale*⁸⁷² in France (Figure 4). This arresting photograph of two shorn women testifies to the traumatic aftershock of public violence. The two women are looking directly into the camera, in contrast to many photographs of the *femmes tondues* in which women are typically looking down or away, seemingly too ashamed or distracted to meet the eye of the camera. While continuing the voyeuristic theme of capturing this visible form of humiliation and marking, this photograph does not show all of the violence that the women underwent, as it did not capture the moments of the women being shorn and shamed. The caption under the picture ('Two victims of Spanish fascist savagery') tries to fill in these visual blanks, explaining that the women experienced violence or 'savagery' at the hands of the fascists. The magazine also offered greater context for these incidents, explaining that shorn women were 'undressed', their hair was 'shaved', and they were forced to 'go through villages'. It also mentioned that women were often killed after this ritualistic humiliation.⁸⁷³

Figure 4. *Femmes dans l'action mondiale*, 'Ci-dessus deux victimes de la sauvagerie fasciste espagnole.' c. 1936, photograph, BNF, Paris.

⁸⁷² 'Ci-dessus deux victimes de la sauvagerie fasciste espagnole.' BNF, *Femmes dans l'action mondiale*, 6 – 20 November 1936, Numéro 29. *Femmes dans l'action mondiale* was a monthly women's magazine set up in 1934 by Gabrielle Duchêne, who was associated with the French Communist Party (Parti communiste français). It combined articles on traditional feminine themes, such as motherhood and cooking, with articles on international politics, including features on the Spanish Civil War.

⁸⁷³ 'Les femmes prises les armes à la main par les fascistes sont déshabillées. Leurs cheveux sont coupés à ras. Seule une petite mèche est laissée devant à laquelle est attaché un ruban rouge. Un écriteau est suspendu à leur cou. Puis, revêtues d'un cache-sexe, les mains nouées derrière le dos, elles doivent traverser les villages. Après quoi elles sont fusillées. Civilisation tout à fait raffinée ! ... n'est-ce pas !' Ibid.

Both examples of widely circulated photographs serve as testimony to the visible and public nature of violence, and the morbid fascination it provoked in historical bystanders. However, photography of the French case tends to crystallise the moment of head shaving, whereas there tends to be a greater temporal gap from the act itself in photography of the *mujeres rapadas*, as these photographs more frequently capture the aftermath. Photography of the *femmes tondues* in France, which spans multiple regions across the country, evokes three common themes: hypervisibility, the active involvement of bystanders and crowds, and the dehumanisation of victims. Such photographs vary in professionalism and theatricality: some photographs are taken by on-lookers and amateurs, and others by foreign soldiers⁸⁷⁴ or professional photographers, such as Robert Capa. These photographs had material afterlives following the Liberation: photographs of the *femmes tondues* were made into postcards and some were sold as mementos of the events, pointing to the widespread acceptance of head shaving during this period in France.⁸⁷⁵ Furthermore, it speaks to a desire amongst some bystanders to relive and revisit these moments from the Liberation. Throughout these different photographic sources, the spectacle of shearing is foregrounded: women are often placed on platforms to give bystanders a more complete view of events. Furthermore, targeted women were frequently taken through the streets, either by foot or even on a truck, such as in the famous case of Cherbourg in Normandy,⁸⁷⁶ and they were often placed in front of municipal buildings, as was the case in Rennes.⁸⁷⁷

Photographs taken by amateur André Costard during the Liberation of Rennes (Figures 5 and 6),⁸⁷⁸ evoke the role of voyeurism in these events: targeted women are paraded through the streets, placed at the centre of the photograph amid throngs of onlookers, thereby locating these women at the

⁸⁷⁴ Claire Gorrara explains that British Army photographers photographed shorn women in newly liberated areas, thereby capturing ‘images of another France, that of collaboration, in all instances gendered and marked as female’. See ‘What the Liberator Saw: British War Photography, Picture Post and the Normandy Campaign’, *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, 9, 4 (2016), p.311.

⁸⁷⁵ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile »: des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.117.

⁸⁷⁶ The US Navy captured photographs of shorn women in Cherbourg who were taken through the town on the back of a truck. See 13.NAV.3001 ‘Femmes tondues à la Libération’, *Mémoire Normande*. Accessed online on 15th October 2019 at <https://www.memoirenormande.fr/M%C3%A9dias-Femmes-tondues-%C3%A0-la-Lib%C3%A9ration-614-53396-258-0.html>.

⁸⁷⁷ The photography of André Costard depicts head shaving in the streets of Rennes, in front of the town hall. See Archives Municipales de Rennes, Fonds André Costard. Breton historian Kristian Hamon draws from local archival sources and photography to analyse the use of head shaving during the Liberation in Rennes in ‘Les tondues de Rennes dans l’objectif de Lee Miller’, *Kristian Hamon*, 9 September 2017. Accessed online on 10th October 2018 at <https://kristianhamon.blogspot.com/2017/09/les-tondues-de-rennes-dans-lobjectif-de.html>.

⁸⁷⁸ AMR, Fonds André Costard, 10 Z 290.

epicentre of public rage. In the second photograph, the shorn women were forced to pose, complete with painted-on swastikas, to heighten their humiliation. Interestingly, there appears to be a suspected male collaborator in a suit beside the women, similarly marked with paint. This potentially represents a comparatively rare example of a male victim of head shaving. As highlighted by Fabrice Virgili, comparable treatment of suspected male collaborators was rare, although there have been documented incidents of head shaving and bodily marking with swastikas.⁸⁷⁹ The shorn women have all been assembled on their knees, facing the camera directly, evidencing their submission and awareness of the photograph being taken. Three of the women have their hands placed forward, as if they have been told to pose for the photograph. In contrast, the crowd surrounding them, which includes uniformed soldiers and civilians, appear to be smiling and laughing, evidencing their complicity in acts of head shaving. One man appears to be touching a woman's newly shaved head, suggesting a sense of entitlement felt by bystanders over targeted women's displayed bodies.

Figure 5. André Costard, *Tondues* during the Liberation of Rennes, c.1944, photograph, AMR, Rennes, 10 Z 290 (1).

Figure 6. André Costard, *Tondues* during the Liberation of Rennes, c.1944, photograph, AMR, Rennes, 10 Z 290 (2).

Bystanders are shown to be active participants in these French photographic sources; crowds of onlookers swarm around the *femmes tondues* to watch as they are shamed and paraded. Similarly, bystanders appear to actively take photographs and want mementos, thereby confirming the impulse to commemorate these events. These documented behaviours testify to the complexity of bystander attitudes during the Liberation of France as diverse members of civil society were drawn into the public humiliation and violence, not only as witnesses but also as participants and

⁸⁷⁹ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, pp.243-244. Virgili cites the documented use of head shaving, marking and public humiliation of men in Troyes. However, he underscores that comparable treatment of men and women suspected of crimes of collaboration are rare as male sexual behaviour was not of public interest in the same way as women's, so the nature of men and women's punishment often differed, highlighting the gender-specific nature of head shaving.

photographers. As Alison M Moore argues, the photographic documentation of the *femmes tondues* depict themes of ‘humiliation, popular retribution, implicitly sexualised but muted corporeal violence’⁸⁸⁰ at the hands of both perpetrators and bystanders. Similarly, in his study of the French wildfire purges, Philippe Bourdrel emphasises that Liberation-era violence should be understood as a ‘mass uprising’, in which the whole communication was implicated, armed only with a ‘desire for vengeance’.⁸⁸¹ These photographs attest to the desire for participation, vengeance and collective action amongst bystanders. Therefore, while we cannot access bystanders and photographers’ motivations for watching or documenting these moments in these sources, bystanders typically appear to participate, in varying degrees of enthusiasm, in the voyeuristic spectacle of humiliation by acting as witnesses to women’s shame and immortalising these highly symbolic moments.

The desire for public retribution and community participation in vengeance is also evidenced in the few known photographs of the *mujeres rapadas* in Spain. As previously highlighted, photography of the *pelonas* tend to have been taken in the aftermath and so they tend to be less graphic and degrading than some of the photography taken in the French case; often photographs of female victims were taken by Republican photographers and were used as testimony of Francoist violence in the Republican press, such as in *Ahora* and *El Popular*. However, despite the relative lack of photographs that corroborate witness accounts of the theatricality of violence described in bystanders’ testimonies and accounts – such as incidents involving women being taken through towns on trucks, donkeys or by foot⁸⁸² – some striking photographic images have emerged.

One such image is of a group of shorn women from a small town called Montilla, outside Cordoba in Andalusia. This photograph (Figure 7) evokes the shared themes of public degradation and visual spectacle, despite bystanders not being pictured. Crucially, the photograph, which was first published in Francisco Moreno Gómez 1985 study,⁸⁸³ was taken in front of the municipal town hall of Montilla, evidencing the use of civic space for this form of gender-specific violence and the social

⁸⁸⁰ Alison M Moore, , ‘History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the *Tondues*: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women’, p.657.

⁸⁸¹ Philippe Bourdrel cites reports from the *Comité central des mouvements de résistance français zone Nord et zone Sud* (COMAC) to show that the Libération was viewed by resisters as a ‘soulèvement de masse, armé d’une juste volonté de vengeance.’ *L’Epuración Sauvage 1944-1945*, p.25.

⁸⁸² In his study *Las rapadas: El franquismo contra la mujer*, Enrique Gonzalez Duro describes the parades of women being taken through the streets on trucks and donkeys while bystanders watched. For example, he cites a particularly evocative incident when a young woman who was part of the UGT (General Union of Workers) was forced to ingest castor oil and taken through the streets in Andalusia, p.58.

⁸⁸³ Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra (la represión y la guerrilla, 1939-1950)*, p.92.

and political legitimacy given to these incidents. In the photograph, there are twenty women pictured and one man in the centre; some of the women look to be in their teens, suggesting that the practice was not just reserved for high-profile Republicans, but also women with loose connections to the leftist cause, including family connections or rumoured affiliations, as previously highlighted by Shirley Mangini's analysis of female repression during the Civil War and early Francoism.⁸⁸⁴ Some of the women pictured were as young as thirteen, meaning that potentially they were daughters or sisters of known leftists.⁸⁸⁵ Many of those pictured belong to the United Socialist Youth (*Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas*) or were family members of leftists, according to testimonies.⁸⁸⁶ Paul Preston emphasises that the practice of head shaving was intended to ridicule victims and often left behind a small tuft of hair, to which ribbons in monarchist colours were attached while women were paraded,⁸⁸⁷ which is evidenced here as many of the women have a small patch of hair remaining. Curiously, one woman on the far-right of the second row has not had her head shaved, which may mean that she is a bystander posing with the shorn women, or perhaps she had not yet had her turn. There is also a man pictured, Joaquín Gutiérrez Luque, a leftist musician who often sang at the socialist town hall. Much like in the French context, men also faced public humiliation in parades, yet it was less common for them to face the highly gendered violence of head shaving. Secondly, the photograph appears to have been carefully orchestrated: they are raising their arms in unison, replicating a fascist salute to heighten their humiliation as leftists.

However, it is important to note that not all of those pictured are doing the salute correctly with their arms fully raised; some appear quite half-hearted in their salute and their body language suggests a sense of defeat. Simultaneously, this may be a subtle act of resistance and a mark of their refusal to meaningfully pledge their allegiance to Francoism. The woman at the centre of the bottom row is slightly smiling; potentially this could be read as an awkward reflex to the camera, or maybe as a refusal to participate in the sadistic spectacle by appearing defeated and downtrodden. Equally, in the first row, one woman is refusing face the camera and is instead facing down,

⁸⁸⁴ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, pp.104-5.

⁸⁸⁵ Arcángel Bedmar, cited in Juan Luis Valenzuela, 'Una de las tres únicas fotografías de las mujeres rapadas por el franquismo', *El Plural*, 7 January 2018. Accessed online on 10th March 2018 at https://www.elplural.com/politica/una-de-las-tres-unicas-fotografias-de-las-mujeres-rapadas-por-el-franquismo_117064102.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁷ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain*, p.178.

potentially marking a subtle act of defiance to bystanders, or conversely showing her fear and discomfort. While many elements of the photographic narrative presented are ambiguous and unclear, this photograph as a historical source demonstrates the heavily theatricalised nature of violence, which clearly had spectators and bystanders in mind.

As a carefully constructed tableau, the photograph evidences the desire to memorialise these incidents of vengeance for posterity and for the enjoyment of bystanders. Testimonies affirm that after this photograph was taken, victims were made to walk through the streets, singing the fascist anthem *Cara al Sol*, to assert authority and entertain the community.⁸⁸⁸ Much like with French photography of the *femmes tondues*, the public nature of violence is foregrounded as this photograph was taken in front of a key civic building, pointing to the legitimacy and widespread acceptance of these visual and visible acts of violence.

Figure 7. Unknown, a group of *rapadas* in Montilla, c. 1938, photograph, from *Córdoba en la posguerra: la represión y la guerilla (1939-1950)* (Cordoba: Francisco Baena, 1987).

However, as previously discussed, most photographs of the *rapadas* in circulation show the results of head shaving, rather than the moment of violence itself. Photographs used in pro-Republic *Ahora* in 1936⁸⁸⁹ depict the aftermath of head shaving with photographs of three women who were shorn in Aragon due to their familial and romantic connections (figure 8). The use of photographs of these targeted women in leftist newspapers emphasises their propagandistic role; they appeared to serve as evidence of the violence led by Francoists and right-wing mobs against female civilians as zones were taken over from Republicans. The ways in which the three pictured women interact with the camera points to the after-effects of head shaving in terms of personal degradation and social shame. Two of the three women, whose names are printed beneath their photographs, are looking away from the camera, potentially demonstrating discomfort at the limelight they have been thrust into and pointing to the traumatic nature of head shaving. The one woman (centre) who is looking directly at the camera has the visual markings of being more materially comfortable; she is wearing a collar and a dress with a pattern, whereas the other two women are wearing simpler clothes,

⁸⁸⁸ Arcángel Bedmar, cited in Juan Luis Valenzuela, 'Una de las tres únicas fotografías de las mujeres rapadas por el franquismo' [online].

⁸⁸⁹ BNE, José Quílez Vicente, 'Fascistas y requetés inundan de sangre inocente los pueblos del pirineo aragonés.', pp.6-7.

possibly indicating more humble origins. This points to the use of violence against women across different classes, while offering a quiet nod to the particular vulnerability of working-class women during this period. These photographs appeal to bystanders in a different way than the photograph of shamed leftists in Montilla; these photographs decry the violence occurring in civilian spaces across Spain in an attempt to mobilise leftist support amongst readers. This exemplifies the complex politics of head shaving in Spain; it represented an exemplary form of violence against suspected traitors and leftists, but in this particular example, photographs of the three unfortunate *rapadas* were being used by the Republican press to contradict Francoist narratives of national unity in zones that had recently been taken over.⁸⁹⁰

Figure 8. *Ahora*, 'Pilar Franco Sarasa, Matilde Paños Pachén y Lucía Estallo Ascaso', 9 October 1936, photograph, BNE, Madrid.

In a similar case, a photograph of a young woman who had her head shaved in Ronda, Malaga, was disseminated in local leftist paper *El Popular* in October 1936 (Figure 9). The woman in question, Encarnación Castillo Velasco, who was eighteen years old, faced head shaving as she was denounced based on rumours of her leftist sympathies from a local man.⁸⁹¹ The photograph shows her at the centre of a group of Republican soldiers and sympathisers. In this way, while she is voyeuristically displayed as evidence of Francoist violence, again for propagandistic purposes, there is also an expression of bystander solidarity as the men solemnly stand beside her in the photograph. The shame of the incident is still evidenced, however, by her downward gaze, much like the women captured in *Ahora*. Her story points to the multiplicity of bystander responses as she was denounced by a local man to Francoists, evidencing the social pressures placed on civilians to participate in and facilitate reprisals, while the use of the photograph itself in *El Popular* testifies to Republican sympathy and solidarity.⁸⁹² In both cases, photography serves as illuminating source material as it offers unique insights into the construction of the spectacle of head shaving and the different attitudes of bystanders towards targeted women, varying from scorn to sympathy, whilst also

⁸⁹⁰ In the Francoist press, journalists emphasised that captured zones were characterised by order and civility, despite claims from the Republican press and information reports. This is seen in an article in *El defensor de Córdoba : diario católico*. BVPHE, 27 April 1937, where the journalist refers to Francoist zones as 'zonas liberadas', praising the 'orden y justicia' brought by Francoist troops.

⁸⁹¹ Manuel Almisas Albéndiz, 'Las mujeres rapadas por la represión franquista a través de la prensa republicana malagueña.' *Todos los nombres*, 2017, p.3.

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, pp.3-4.

demonstrating how victims were immortalised in community memory, either by professional photographers, amateurs or participants in the violence.

Figure 9. *El Popular*, a *rapada* in Ronda, 16 October 1936, photograph, from ‘Las mujeres rapadas por la represión franquista a través de la prensa republicana malagueña’
<<http://www.todoslosnombres.org/content/materiales/las-mujeres-rapadas-la-represion-franquista-traves-la-prensa-republicana>> [accessed online on 10th October 2018].

4.6 Contextualising bystanders’ attitudes towards women: the ambiguous social position of women in post-war France and Spain

As previously argued, head shaving often required bystander spectatorship and participation; it simultaneously shamed female dissidents and consolidated the authority of the new political power structure by reclaiming public space. As part of this reclamation of public and municipal space by the victors, bystanders faced pressure to express their political allegiance to either Francoism or the renewed French Republic through their involvement in public retribution against suspected female traitors. In the case of newly Liberated France, Fabrice Virgili underscores that the ‘punishment’ of traitors represented a moment of ‘national communion’,⁸⁹³ thereby suggesting that community involvement in acts of head shaving solidified a sense of national belonging for bystanders. In his analysis of Francoist repression across Spain, Paul Preston similarly suggests that exemplary retribution against traitors was framed as a just punishment and a national duty; it was a ‘service’ to the ‘Fatherland.’⁸⁹⁴ By framing participation in exactions as a national duty and a means of punishing female traitors suggests that many bystanders may have accepted and relativised the use of violence during these two periods of political transition and social upheaval. It is therefore important to contextualise the widespread acceptance and participation of bystanders in head shaving by examining how these incidents may have reflected historical attitudes regarding women and their place in French and Spanish society.

⁸⁹³ ‘L’exercice de la violence constitue un moment de communion nationale Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.11.

⁸⁹⁴ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, p.156.

As highlighted by chapter two, the violent humiliation of women had a prominent role in the purges in both countries. Historians Claire Duchén⁸⁹⁵ and Mary Nash⁸⁹⁶ have both argued that the emphasis on ‘punishing’ enemy women during the purges can be explained by the promotion of traditional gender roles as part of national regeneration following conflict. The use of exemplary violence against women perceived to have contravened national and community norms was evidence of a ‘broader process of confinement’ for women during this period.⁸⁹⁷ Therefore, to understand the widespread social acceptance of public violence against women, it is helpful to consider this acceptance within the context of public debates around women’s changing social and gender roles.

As Vera Tolz and Stephanie Booth highlight in *Nation and Gender in Contemporary Europe*, women have traditionally been understood as ‘markers of nationhood’⁸⁹⁸ and as physical and cultural reproducers of the nation. Within national-political discourses, women figure as ‘symbols of the nation’ and as the ‘nation’s biological regenerator.’⁸⁹⁹ In Francoist discourses, the ‘wife/mother’ and ‘angel of the hearth’ model of femininity was celebrated as a source of ‘national pride.’⁹⁰⁰ In France, while certain historians have argued that some women gained increased autonomy during the war, in its aftermath they were encouraged to ‘return to the home and re-embrace the accepted pre-war notions of what they should do and how they should behave.’⁹⁰¹ Despite political differences between newly Republican France and newly Francoist Spain, it appears that socially conservative visions of women’s role in society were espoused in both countries. These restrictive visions and discourses regarding the place of women in post-war society

⁸⁹⁵ See Claire Duchén, *Women’s Rights and Women’s Lives 1944 – 1968* (Routledge: New York and London, 1994).

⁸⁹⁶ See Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Arden Press: Colorado, 1995).

⁸⁹⁷ Claire Gorrara, ‘Fashion and the femmes tondues: Lee Miller, Vogue and representing Liberation France’, p.332.

⁸⁹⁸ V. Spike Peterson, ‘The politics of identification in the context of globalization’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 19 (1996), p.7.

⁸⁹⁹ Vera Tolz and Stephanie Booth, ‘Introduction’ in Vera Tolz and Stephanie Booth (eds.), *Nation and Gender in Contemporary Europe*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p.4.

⁹⁰⁰ Raquel Osborne emphasises that the cultural model of the ‘mujer madre’ and ‘ángel del hogar’ was celebrated as a source of ‘orgullo nacional’. ‘Introducción’, p.29.

⁹⁰¹ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.134.

offer context to bystanders' hostility to targeted women, and they may have contributed to legitimising the use of head shaving as a socially acceptable practice.

Due to the persistence of patriarchal discourses that promoted restrictive gender roles, there is a marked tension between traditional conceptions of women as mothers of the nation⁹⁰² and 'modern' women,⁹⁰³ who embodied growing calls for greater political and sexual autonomy. In his exploration of European social trends following conflict in the early twentieth century, Mark Mazower highlights that 'fears for national strength were reinforced by the long-term decline in birth rates which had set in before the First World War [...] people were encouraged and exhorted to have more babies, while abortion and contraception were discouraged or criminalised.'⁹⁰⁴ As a result, during the Second World War, there was a 'struggle to define the relationship between the community as a whole, the individual citizen and social policy.'⁹⁰⁵ This is also marked during the Spanish Civil War as women who deviated from the Francoist paradigm of the 'pure, submissive, woman-as-mother'⁹⁰⁶ were posited as other and in need of rehabilitation. Consequently, by expressing their sexual and political autonomy in their involvement or connection with the enemy, shorn women may have been perceived by bystanders as dishonourable as they had deviated from their prescribed role as dutiful female citizens and mothers of the nation.

However, prior to the Civil War, Spanish women had made considerable civic gains under the Second Republic: divorce and abortion were legalised and a women's suffrage law was passed in 1931.⁹⁰⁷ With the Francoist victory, this progress was quickly reversed as Francoism imposed a singular vision of femininity; female sexuality was limited to procreation, leading to the criminalisation of both contraception and abortion,⁹⁰⁸ and democratic gains were lost as Spain transitioned into a military dictatorship. Francoism consolidated its control over gender boundaries through the nullification of the progressive Spanish Constitution of 1931 and the restoration of the Penal Code of 1899, which maintained the importance of female subservience to their husbands

⁹⁰² Helen Graham, 'Gender and the State: Women in the 1940s', in Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (eds.), *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction. The Struggle for Modernity*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.187.

⁹⁰³ Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilisation without sexes : reconstructing gender in postwar France 1917-1927* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1994), p.9.

⁹⁰⁴ Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*, p.78.

⁹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.79.

⁹⁰⁶ Helen Graham, 'Gender and the State: Women in the 1940s', p.184.

⁹⁰⁷ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, p.131

⁹⁰⁸ Olga Kenyon, 'Women under Franco and PSOE: The Discrepancy between Discourse and Reality', p.51.

and fathers and made married women minors in the eyes of the law.⁹⁰⁹ This enforced 'patria potestad' ('the authority of the father'), which constitutionally granted husbands and fathers legal power over and responsibility for wives and daughters, meaning that women were largely confined to the home and idealised as obedient 'indoor heroines'.⁹¹⁰ The establishment of the *Sección Femenina* in 1934, the female branch of the *Falange*, led by Pilar Primo de Rivera, similarly instilled traditional notions of women as part of the new Spanish nation, emphasising traditional feminine virtues of duty and subservience; a woman was expected to obey and, through her example, teach others to obey.⁹¹¹

In contrast, women in France gained the right to vote in 1944, in the same year as the first wave of head shaving, evidencing the ambivalent place women occupied in French society during this period. However, as Joan Scott highlights, increased civic rights after the Occupation made women men's equals as subjects before the law only 'in a formal, procedural sense' but did not succeed in giving women 'social, economic or subjective' autonomy.⁹¹² Much like Spain, post-war France reinforced 'traditional values of French womanhood', such as 'passivity, compliance, and nurturing passivity'⁹¹³. Although abortion was no longer a capital offence in France, as it had been under Vichy, in the post-war period, it was nevertheless severely suppressed.⁹¹⁴ France returned to the 1920 law that remained in place until 1975, and alongside this strict regulation of women's reproductive choices, pro-natalist thought persisted as having babies was thought to be a 'general cure-all for women and the nation'.⁹¹⁵ Pro-natalist propaganda continued in the years after the defeat of Vichy, as exemplified by Mother's Day, which had been revived under the regime and awarded medals and subsidies to prolific mothers. Famously, the story of a mother of quadruplets in La Celle-Saint-Cloud in Seine-et-Oise in 1948 made front-page news in *Le Figaro* and the local

⁹⁰⁹ Irene Murillo Aced. *En defensa de mi hogar y mi pan: estrategias femeninas de resistencia civil y cotidiana en la Zaragoza de posguerra, 1936-1945*. (Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2012), p.15.

⁹¹⁰ Mercedes Carbayo-Abengózar. 'Shaping women: national identity through the use of language in Franco's Spain.' *Nations and Nationalism*, 7, 1 (2001), p.75.

⁹¹¹ Olga Kenyon, 'Women under Franco and PSOE: The Discrepancy between Discourse and Reality', p.54

⁹¹² Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp.169-170.

⁹¹³ Kelly Ricciardi Colvin, *Gender and French Identity after the Second World War, 1944-1954: Engendering Frenchness*, p.27.

⁹¹⁴ Cheryl A. Koos, "'On les aura!": The gendered politics of abortion and the *Alliance nationale contre la dépopulation, 1938-1944*', *Modern and Contemporary France*, 7, 1 (1999), pp.21-33.

⁹¹⁵ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.163.

prefect visited the mother personally to congratulate her.⁹¹⁶ Within this socially conservative context, contraception remained illegal until 1967,⁹¹⁷ and prostitution was strictly regulated, evocatively exemplified by the closure of 1,500 official brothels throughout France following the Liberation.⁹¹⁸

In both French and Spanish societies, women's social roles in their respective nations were constrained by traditional gender paradigms in the period immediately following conflict. Despite the stark differences in political structures between the two societies, social and political discourses suggest that women were valued according to the extent to which they adhered to their traditionally prescribed roles as 'guardians of the home,'⁹¹⁹ and by extension, guardians and caretakers of the nation. Underpinning this cultural focus on pro-natalism, domesticity and traditional family structures was a backdrop of heightened regulation for women, particularly in terms of their bodies, their private lives and their civic rights. For example, while Spanish women faced the disappointment of losing political strides made under the Second Republic, French women were also threatened by the loss of their newly gained civic rights, showing female citizenship to be tenuous and conditional. For example, if a woman was accused of a host of vague crimes during and following the Liberation, such as 'sharing intelligence with the enemy' or offering 'indirect aid to the enemy', which could mean simply having had romantic, professional or platonic relationships with German soldiers, such women could face imprisonment or the imposition of 'national indignity.'⁹²⁰ Facing questionable accusations could mean that women would then be unable to exercise their hard-won civic rights. The imposition of 'national indignity' meant

⁹¹⁶ Kelly Ricciardi Colvin, *Gender and French Identity after the Second World War, 1944-1954: Engendering Frenchness*, p.75.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., p.73.

⁹¹⁸ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.167.

⁹¹⁹ Eva Jiménez Martín, Ander León Nanclares, Izaskun Orbegozo Oronoz, Laura Pego Otero, Ana Isabel Pérez Machío, Laura Vozmediano Sanz, *Situación penitenciaria de las mujeres presas en la cárcel de Saturrarán durante la guerra civil española y la primera posguerra: Hacia la recuperación de su memoria*, p.42.

⁹²⁰ Anne Simonin, *Le déshonneur dans la République : une histoire de l'indignité 1791-1958*, p.622. Here, Simonin uses the example of Madame N, who was known to have had a relationship with a German soldier due to the Occupation, and due to her having enough money to have been considered suspect, she was condemned to twenty years of 'dégradation nationale'.

that women could easily be stripped of their right to vote, which was paternalistically framed as a reward of women's 'spirit of valour and sacrifice during the war.'⁹²¹

As Pamela Radcliff suggests in her exploration of changing female citizenship in 20th century Spain, 'periods of political and social transition offer a fertile space for the (re)construction of citizenship practices and ideals [...] individuals' relationships to the state and to each other can be questioned and sometimes re-negotiated.'⁹²² In these cases, however, renegotiations of women's place in civil society after conflict seem to be marked by themes of regression and patriarchal continuity, as traditional conceptions of women's roles within national and familial structures were reasserted following war. In this way, we can theorise that public retribution against women can be understood as a means of making an example of dissident women and promoting traditional ideals.

The tensions surrounding the place of women in French and Spanish society can therefore be understood as a backlash to women's growing autonomy preceding and during conflict. In both countries, the context of national reconstruction was coupled with violent repression of those deemed to have betrayed the nation. Furthermore, given the hypervisibility and symbolic importance of women as mothers of the nation, women were doubly vulnerable as they could face public retribution for national crimes and for perceived gender infractions. Both case studies represent two highly volatile civil contexts. In Spain, lines of inclusion and exclusion were drawn between the 'patria' and the 'anti-patria' as Francoists attempted to excise the vestiges of the 'anti-Spanish Republic'.⁹²³ Similarly, in France public spaces were similarly characterised by a 'climate of civil war' as civilians are divided into 'patriotic camp' and 'a camp of traitors'.⁹²⁴

As part of this violent separation of patriots and traitors via public retribution, women often appear to have been viewed as scapegoats amid a context of social instability and civil upheaval. In her exploration of head shaving during the Liberation, Corran Laurens highlights that women had a 'sacrificial function' as 'this new era seems to have required women's more general devalorisation'

⁹²¹ Joan Tumblety, 'Responses to Women's Enfranchisement in France, 1944-1945' *Women's Studies International Forum*, 26, 5 (2003) p.484.

⁹²² Pamela Radcliff, 'Citizens and Housewives: The Problem of Female Citizenship in Spain's Transition to Democracy', p.77.

⁹²³ Aurora G. Morcillo. *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic*, p.16.

⁹²⁴ Luc Capdevila describes the 'climate de guerre civile', which brought 'un camp patriotique' against 'un camp de la trahison' in the eyes of resisters. *Les Bretons au lendemain de l'Occupation : Imaginaire et comportement d'une sortie de guerre 1944-1945*, p.42.

due to the perceived threat of women's growing independence during wartime.⁹²⁵ As such, the use of violent acts such as head shaving against women perceived to have betrayed the nation via their relationships with the enemy or via their expression of political, social or sexual autonomy was likely to have been viewed as acceptable to bystanders due to prevailing attitudes regarding gender roles and society. In Robert Aron's study of the 'savage purges', he notes that amid the generalised context of public violence during the Liberation, 'women who had been with Germans suffered the most.'⁹²⁶ Similarly, in Spain, Republican women or women with suspected connections to the Second Republic were also disproportionately scapegoated by other civilians in public displays of violence due to their gender: 'the politically active woman paid for her militancy in the same way that her male counterpart was: torture, beatings, judgements and brutal sentences [...] and, as a woman, her dignity was also attacked.'⁹²⁷ The scapegoating, humiliation and social exclusion of women seen to have defied their assigned roles within post-conflict national reconstruction therefore tie into prevalent social tensions regarding women's changing civic roles in Europe, and can offer insight into the widespread involvement and acquiescence of historical bystanders during incidents of head shaving, humiliation and violence.

4.7 Bystanders and changing understandings of head shaving over time

As highlighted by the previous section, there appears to have been a sense of national communion achieved through vengeance against female traitors at a local and national level, alongside a narrative of national duty which encouraged bystanders' active or passive participation in reprisals within the context of the purges. However, in the aftermath of the Liberation in France and the Francoist victory in Spain, did bystanders continue to view head shaving, humiliation and other associated acts in the same light outside of the context of post-conflict social upheaval? How have our perceptions of these historical bystanders changed? How do French and Spanish people interact respond to representations of these historical outbreaks today?

⁹²⁵ Corran Laurens, 'La Femme au Turban': les Femmes tondues', p.176.

⁹²⁶ 'Les femmes qui ont été avec les Allemands souffrent le plus.' Robert Aron, *Histoire de l'Épuration : de l'indulgence aux massacres, Novembre 1942 – Septembre 1944* (Paris : Fayard, 1967), p.491.

⁹²⁷ 'La mujer politizada pagó por su militancia lo mismo que les estaba destinado a sus compañeros varones: torturas, apaleamientos, juicios y condenas brutales [...] y además, por ser mujer, es agredida también en su dignidad.' Soledad Real López, Margarita Abril and Isabel Vicente, 'Las mujeres en la inmediata posguerra', in Ministerio de Trabajo e inmigración, Instituto de la Mujer (ed.), *Las Mujeres y la Guerra Civil Española/ III Jornadas de Estudios Monográficos* (Salamanca: Servicios gráficos colomina, 1991), p.319.

In her study of post-war France, Claire Duchen suggests that attitudes to head shaving shifted considerably outside of the immediate post-conflict context in France: 'the contemporary viewer is made profoundly uncomfortable by witnessing the scene [...] spectators are turned into voyeurs, looking at an image of a public yet intimate act.'⁹²⁸ Equally, Alison M Moore suggests that our contemporary gaze can render shorn women 'mute objects'⁹²⁹ and the continued circulation of photographs of *femmes tondues* can be likened to a 'sort of pornography.'⁹³⁰ Similarly, in Spain, there is a sense of discomfort surrounding Francoist-era violence against women. For example, some historians have asserted that violence against women, such as head shaving, functioned as a weapon of war during this period.⁹³¹ However, other historians, such as José Luis Ledesma and Javier Rodrigo, have pointed to a persistent relativisation of violence during the Civil War and the early years of the dictatorship.⁹³² This relativisation of violence has meant that supporters of General Franco and his regime 'enjoy a relatively good press' in contemporary Spain, thereby evading condemnation.⁹³³

Nevertheless, despite the divergent cultural contexts of post-war France and Spain, there were negative reactions to and denunciations of humiliating 'punishments' imposed on dissident women in both countries, and even some attempts at reparation in the aftermath of incidents. In France, this shift against the acceptability of head shaving was relatively quick; during the Liberation in the summer of 1944, the *tonte* was presented as a 'duty', but during the autumn of 1944, there was growing discomfort with the use of the violence,⁹³⁴ although there were further incidents as late as early 1946.⁹³⁵ A key example of the growing unease surround head shaving and associated acts of violence against women is the Paul Éluard poem 'Comprenne qui voudra' ('Go figure why'), published in December 1944, which starts with a condemnatory epigraph: 'In those times, to not

⁹²⁸ Claire Duchen, 'Crime and Punishment in Liberated France: The case of *les femmes tondues*', p.245.

⁹²⁹ Alison M Moore, 'History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the Tondues: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women', p.659.

⁹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.671.

⁹³¹ Sofía Rodríguez López, 'La violencia de género como arma de guerra', p.23.

⁹³² José Luis Ledesma and Javier Rodrigo, 'Caídos por España, mártires de la libertad. Víctimas y conmemoración de la Guerra Civil en la España posbélica (1939-2006)', *Ayer*, 63, 3 (2006), p.248.

⁹³³ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, xii.

⁹³⁴ Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, pp.305-306.

⁹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.7. Fabrice Virgili highlights there were multiple waves of exactions; there were incidents as early as 1943 during the Occupation, during the Liberation in 1944 and in 1945 to the beginning of 1946 when concentration camp victims returned from Germany.

punish the guilty, they mistreated the girls [...] they even went as far as to shear them.⁹³⁶ The poem then points to the widespread acceptance of the ritual of head shaving during the Liberation, as Éluard describes a shorn woman left on the pavement for all to see. However, he frames the shearing as a shameful act and undermines claims that head shaving was a righteous act of justice; Éluard even calls the young woman a victim.

Additionally, in the months following the initial social fervour for head shaving, there were rare instances of attempts at reparation and recognition by women who had faced violence in France. In late-October 1944, Resistance newspaper *Combat* published a short article on its front page describing how two accused female collaborators in Versailles were demanding 1,000 francs in damages from the local leader of the FFI after they experienced head shaving.⁹³⁷ While the tone of the article appears almost incredulous, given its use of an exclamation mark in the title (“Female collaborators” shorn by the FFI demand damages!), the fact that these women were able to protest against their mistreatment points to a changing social atmosphere, where the legitimacy of violent post-war exactions was starting to come under question, rather than being largely socially accepted by bystanders and civil society at large. Similarly, the use of quotation marks around “Female collaborators” highlights a climate of greater scrutiny and uncertainty regarding allegations of collaboration, comparative to the initial fervour of the purges in which women were presumed guilty.⁹³⁸

In Spain, there was not such a swift shift to shame and discomfort amongst bystanders who were supportive of Franco and the Nationalists. However, this is unsurprising because repression, such as head shaving, continued into the 1940s; Aurora Morcillo points to the post-war popularity of the song ‘La Pelona’ (‘The woman with a shaved head’) about a woman who sold her four remaining hairs on the black market in order to make ends meet after the war.⁹³⁹ Similarly, it is documented that the infamous female prison Las Ventas in Madrid, there was a well-known prisoners’ song

⁹³⁶ ‘En ce temps-là, pour ne pas châtier les coupables, on maltraitait des filles. On allait même jusqu’à les tondre.’ Paul Eluard, 1944, cited in Fabrice Virgili, ‘Víctimas, culpables y silenciosas: memorias de las mujeres rapadas en la Francia de la posguerra’, in Julio Aróstegui and François Godicheau (eds.), *Guerra Civil. Mito y memoria* (Marcial Pons: Madrid, 2006), p.363.

⁹³⁷ ‘Des “collaboratrices” tondues par les F.F.I. réclament des dommages et intérêts !’, *Combat*, 20 October 1944, p.1.

⁹³⁸ Richard Vinen notes that the few women who made complaints about head shaving and the way they were treated were typically older and had the ‘resources and confidence’ to undertake such proceedings. See *The Unfree French: Life Under the Occupation*, p.356.

⁹³⁹ Aurora G Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain*, p.55.

about 'triste pelona mia' ('my sad hairless one').⁹⁴⁰ Therefore, while the practice was not condemned amongst supporters of the new Francoist regime, sympathy and solidarity was evoked amongst leftist women. As previously discussed in the analysis of the Republican press, the left roundly condemned the practice, as it had primarily been used against the wives, daughters and mothers of leftists; such violence was framed as 'barbarism'⁹⁴¹ and a means of sowing terror in left-wing newspapers such as *El Liberal*. However, the violence of the Francoist rearguard was often denied in the right-wing press; an article in the *Defensor de Cordoba* in 1937 condemns the 'dishonest propaganda'⁹⁴² spread by the left regarding the treatment of women in Nationalist zones, including allusions to head shaving, which were dismissed as false claims.

Nevertheless, there has been considerable attitude shifts in terms of how contemporary spectators and onlookers interact with bystanders' images, accounts and testimonies of head shaving in France and Spain. In contemporary France, the *femmes tondues* are generally considered 'a regrettable aspect'⁹⁴³ of the post-war period, marking the discomfort felt about these acts of community justice and humiliation. Similarly, following Franco's death in 1975, women who faced similar repression in Spain have been largely negated and obscured in commemoration, which has necessitated significant 'recuperation' efforts to bring these repressed experiences to light.⁹⁴⁴ Within this context of regret and recuperation, it is illuminating to draw upon museum exhibitions and cultural and educational efforts that have shed light on the use of practices such as head shaving in the heart of communities during the Liberation in France and the Spanish Civil War, to explore how contemporary onlookers respond to the phenomenon and analyse how they understand the roles of historical bystanders to violence.

Between November 2016 and March 2017, the *Archives Nationales* in Paris housed an exhibition titled *Présumées Coupables*, which offered a critical analysis of women and the justice system in France throughout history, drawing from case studies such as witch trials, child murderers and the *femmes tondues*. In bringing these transhistorical case studies into dialogue, the exhibition sought

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁴¹ 'Se conocen detalles de la barbarie desencadenada por los requetés y los fascistas en los pueblos', BVPHE, *El Liberal*, 10 October 1936.

⁹⁴² 'La propaganda embustera que en ellas hacen los rojos sobre la situación de España.' BVPHE, *El defensor de Córdoba: diario católico*, 27 April 1937.

⁹⁴³ Cecile Bishop, 'Photography, race and invisibility: The Liberation of Paris, in black and white', p.202.

⁹⁴⁴ 'Hemos hecho un gran esfuerzo de recuperación de esta historia.' Raquel Osborne, 'Introducción', p.11.

to highlight how gender-based violence, such as 'bodily humiliation'⁹⁴⁵, had been accepted by bystanders. Fanny Bugnon, one of the head curators of *Présumées Coupables*, explained the theme of the exhibition: women 'are ultimately presumed to be guilty before they are even judged,'⁹⁴⁶ in contrast to the legal presumption of innocence. The *femmes tondues* were a central case study: 'it was not possible to *not* refer to the *femmes tondues*, knowing that they had their heads shaved without necessarily facing judicial charges.'⁹⁴⁷ This again points to communities' and bystanders' widespread acceptance of the use of head shaving against women, despite the lack of judicial charges or evidence of guilt against them. The negative social perception of alleged female collaborators appeared to have been sufficiently convincing so as to justify and legitimise the use of humiliation and violence. In terms of how contemporary viewers reacted to this exhibition, Fanny Bugnon claimed that there were various visitor responses, including emotive reactions to the suffering of the *femmes tondues* and the enthusiastic participation of communities in acts of shaming. Some visitors even cried at the images used to illustrate the phenomenon. These reactions amongst contemporary onlookers point to significant shifts in understandings of head shaving, suggesting that support for head shaving may have been ephemeral and tied to the historical context of the purges.

It was quite a silent exhibition [...] many visitors took the time to watch, to read the documents [...] then they could be overwhelmed with emotion [...] we know that some people cried during the exhibition and some who were very affected by the workings of justice, or popular justice.⁹⁴⁸

Similarly, in the new *Musée de la Libération de Paris*, which re-opened in a new location in August 2019 to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Liberation, permanent exhibitions feature the *tonde* and the role of bystanders as part of the wildfire purges. Sylvie Zaidman, the museum director,

⁹⁴⁵ 'Mais outre l'exécution de la sentence, on ajoute une peine particulière à leur sexe : l'humiliation des corps, par leur représentation dénudée et/ou obscène.' Elisabeth Badinter, 'Préface' in Fanny Bugnon, Julie Doyon, Pierre Fournié, Michel Porret, Annick Tillier and Fabrice Virgili (eds.), *Présumées coupables : les grands procès faits aux femmes* (Paris: Iconoclaste, 2016), p.3.

⁹⁴⁶ 'Elles sont finalement présumées coupables avant même d'être jugées.' Interview with Fanny Bugnon, 17th October 2019.

⁹⁴⁷ 'On ne pouvait pas ne pas évoquer les femmes tondues tout en sachant que ces femmes qui ont été tondues elles l'ont été sans forcément avoir fait l'objet de condamnations judiciaires.' Ibid.

⁹⁴⁸ 'C'était une exposition relativement silencieuse. C'est que les visiteurs, en particulier dans la dernière pièce qui était consacrée aux femmes tondues et traîtresses à la nation [...] beaucoup de visiteurs prenaient le temps de regarder, de lire les documents et de se concentrer sur les documents puis ils pouvaient aussi être saisis par l'émotion, par l'effroi qui se dégageait de cette exposition et des documents. On sait qu'il y a des personnes qui ont pleuré dans cette exposition aussi et qui ont été très, très affectés par le fonctionnement de la justice ou d'une justice populaire.' Ibid.

explained that by including the darker moments of the Liberation in the exhibition, she hoped to show the ‘pleasure and joy’ of the period, without hiding ‘the violence’⁹⁴⁹ in civic spaces which accompanied the Liberation. In this statement, Zaidman suggests that head shaving should be understood as part of the Liberation-era violence, rather than as a just punishment, thereby marking a significant reframing of the practice and its social acceptability. Community participation in head shaving is represented in the exhibition using film footage of the public shaving of *femmes tondues* amid crowds of cheering bystanders. In terms of onlookers’ reactions to this part of the exhibition, Sylvie Zaidman explained that ‘the reactions of visitors vary [...] there are some who are uncomfortable with the images and who leave, but there are also some who watch all of the clips, glued to the screen or disgusted by these acts of humiliation.’⁹⁵⁰ This testifies to a variety of reactions amongst contemporary viewers, from fascination, horror to disgust, showing that this historical phenomenon continues to elicit varying emotive reactions.

Crucially, she explains that social attitudes to head shaving have shifted considerably since the Liberation period, in comparison to the attitudes demonstrated by bystanders at the time of these outbreaks.

When we see these images [...] we understand that during the fever of the Liberation, it was an act of collective vengeance in which everyone participated [...] little by little, the emphasis has changed [...] and there is now discomfort at the memory of these events. Now people are convinced that it was ultimately violence against women.⁹⁵¹

Within this section of the permanent exhibition on the Liberation and the *femmes tondues*, the overall role of bystanders is understood to be one of participation in an ‘act of collective vengeance’: head shaving therefore functioned as a public form of retribution in which all those present ‘participated.’ However, attitudes towards the phenomenon have now shifted to ‘discomfort’ and shame among contemporary spectators, evidenced by the reactions of some museum visitors who

⁹⁴⁹ ‘Je voulais montrer le plaisir et la joie suscités par la Libération, mais aussi la violence de cette période.’ Interview with Sylvie Zaidman, 1st October 2019.

⁹⁵⁰ ‘Les réactions des visiteurs face aux films d’archives varient : il y a des visiteurs qui sont gênés par ces images et s’en vont, mais il y a aussi des visiteurs qui regardent tous les clips, pétrifiés ou dégoûtés par ces humiliations.’ Ibid.

⁹⁵¹ ‘Lorsqu’on voit les images des femmes tondues, on comprend que dans la fièvre de la Libération, il s’agissait d’un acte de revanche collective, et tout le monde y participe. Petit à petit, le regard a changé et les témoignages de résistants conservés au musée montrent que dans les années 1990, le malaise s’installait au souvenir de ces agissements. Aujourd’hui, les gens sont convaincus qu’il s’agissait réellement une violence contre les femmes.’ Ibid.

quickly leave the section or appear 'disgusted' by the footage. Furthermore, Sylvie Zaidman suggests that visitors recognise head shaving as an act of violence against women, thereby evidencing evolving attitudes towards the historical practice.

In the last twenty years in Spain, there have also been multiple publicly funded studies and exhibitions exploring the widespread use and social acceptance of violence against leftist women. One example includes the Galician study *A memoria esquecida: peladas, presas, paseadas (Obscured memory: shorn women, incarcerated women, paraded women)* in 2006. The study, funded by the regional government's Institute for Equality highlighted the 'spectacle' of violence and offered examples, photographs and testimonies of leftist women's mistreatment by troops, militias and bystanders in civil society during the transition to dictatorship. The important roles played by bystanders are included within this study, which describes the reigning culture of 'machismo' in public spaces amongst soldiers and civilian supporters.⁹⁵² This regional study therefore suggests that head shaving should be understood through the critical lens of gender and violence; it is argued that machismo, rather than a sense of national duty, motivated participation in violence amongst bystanders. This therefore suggests that the widespread acceptance of head shaving and parading by historical bystanders was tied to the historical context of the purges, and the behaviour and attitudes of bystanders are now being understood through a more critical lens.

Similarly, Raquel Osborne led an exhibition regarding female repression, gender roles and sexuality during the Civil War and Francoism, entitled *Mujeres bajo sospecha (Women under suspicion)*. The exhibition ran in Madrid, Granada and Seville in 2009, and later became a study and a documentary in 2012. The title of the exhibition itself signals the way in which women's behaviour was placed under a microscope during the Civil War and the resultant dictatorship; women were treated with suspicion by officials, neighbours and the national community at large. Crucially, this exhibition highlighted the important social role played by gender-specific repression, both as a means of keeping the Spanish population submissive and as a way of maintaining a traditional gender hierarchy in Francoist society.

⁹⁵² Consello de redacción de *Andaina*. 'Limiar' in Servizo Galego de Igualdade. *A memoria esquecida: peladas, presas, paseadas* (Xunta de Galiza: La Coruña, 2006), ii.

In an interview with Raquel Osborne, she emphasised that the exhibition explored ‘forms of repression [...] at the hands of the nation.’⁹⁵³ Osborne also notes that the social shame of public head shaving endured in community memory long after targeted women’s hair grew back: ‘hair grows back, shame remains’,⁹⁵⁴ highlighting that targeted women were indelibly marked in the eyes of the community long after the violence occurred. She argues that the stigma surrounding the widespread complicity with Francoist repression across communities persists to the present day in Spain, affirming that ‘it is very difficult to face up to the shame in order to bring to light these difficult issues.’⁹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the exhibition fought to make these historical experiences of socially acceptable violence visible, as they may have otherwise remained ‘contested and hidden’.⁹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the exhibition was popular with the public despite its short run, eliciting great interest and engagement amongst visitors, despite the sensitive themes of the exhibition. Although the museum only ran the exhibition for a month in Madrid, Osborne emphasised that there were regularly queues outside of the venue.

The exhibition and study included a section on Pura Sánchez’s research regarding the humiliation and widespread incarceration of leftist women during the immediate post-war period, based on *Individuas de dudosa moral*, her 2009 study of violence against women in Andalusia. The role of civil society as part of these acts of violence is underscored alongside a discussion of women’s individual experiences. By bringing to light women’s experiences of violence, humiliation and incarceration within newly Francoist zones, the exhibition and its presented findings was framed as an educational and ‘ethical’ task for ‘the vanquished’ and for ‘society in general.’⁹⁵⁷ Pura Sánchez explains that the reaction to the exhibition was largely positive, pointing to increased engagement and interest in this divisive period of the nation’s history: ‘the best response was the warm welcome from the public’, evidencing the ‘falsehood’ that there ‘lacks interest in questions related to

⁹⁵³ ‘Las formas de represión, sobre todo por la parte específica del pueblo.’ Interview with Raquel Osborne, 12th July 2020.

⁹⁵⁴ ‘El pelo crece, pero la vergüenza permanece.’ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁵ ‘Es que el estigma sigue, la vergüenza permanece y es muy difícil afrontarse a la vergüenza para poder sacar a la luz temas difíciles.’ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁶ ‘Estamos logrando, pues, la visibilización de unas situaciones que de otro modo hubieran permanecido negadas y oscurecidas.’ Raquel Osborne, ‘Introducción’, p.11.

⁹⁵⁷ ‘Lo mejor sin duda fue la acogida del público. En Sevilla, se alargó dos semanas el tiempo previsto, que era, en principio, de un mes. En Madrid resultó también muy visitada.’ Interview with Pura Sánchez, 16th December 2019.

historical memory.⁹⁵⁸ This speaks to growing academic and cultural engagement with bystanders' widespread support for and complicity in violence against women during this period in Spain, despite such topics often being perceived as 'controversial' and 'difficult to tackle' amongst educators.⁹⁵⁹

Beyond her involvement with this exhibition, Pura Sánchez also visits schools to lead educational workshops with secondary school students about the repression of women during this period. She recounts that 'in general, students react really well and with a lot of interest [...] they show themselves to be very receptive and engaged.'⁹⁶⁰ However, Sánchez also cites backlash from teachers who do 'not see the necessity of talking about these themes, which they consider to be 'controversial', 'difficult to approach' or 'inappropriate' for students'.⁹⁶¹ She claims that some educators view teaching students about female repression during the war and the dictatorship as being akin to 'taking a political stance', showing that this phenomenon continues to be politicised, and that engaging with the widespread complicity and social acceptance of violence against women during this period is a topic that many prefer to avoid. Nevertheless, social attitudes regarding the acceptability of shearing and other associated practices have shifted considerably in contemporary Spain, as part of an ongoing historical and ethical 'duty' to the vanquished,⁹⁶² exemplified by the emergence of exhibitions, studies and educational outreach programmes. However, there still appears to be a degree of discomfort and a sense of political sensitivity evoked when contemporary Spaniards engage with widespread involvement in acts of gender-specific violence and retribution during the Spanish Civil War and early Francoism.

Conclusion

Despite the persistence of reductive notions of bystanders as silent witnesses, characterised by 'passivity and non-involvement',⁹⁶³ which have emerged from studies of the Holocaust, this chapter

⁹⁵⁸ 'Esto desmiente la afirmación de que falta interés por las cuestiones relacionadas con la memoria histórica.' Ibid.

⁹⁵⁹ 'La gran mayoría del profesorado sigue sin ver la necesidad o sin querer hablar de estos temas, que considera "controvertidos", difíciles de abordar o "inapropiados".' Ibid.

⁹⁶⁰ 'En general, el alumnado reacciona muy bien, con mucho interés [...] el alumnado se muestra muy receptivo y participativo.' Ibid.

⁹⁶¹ "'Controvertidos", difíciles de abordar o "inapropiados".' Ibid.

⁹⁶² 'El trabajo de memoria histórica como un compromiso ético, para con los y las vencidas y para la sociedad en general.' Ibid.

⁹⁶³ Victoria J Barnett, 'The Changing View of the "Bystander" in Holocaust Scholarship: Historical, Ethical, and Political Implications', p.639.

has emphasised the complexity and multiplicity of bystander roles and responses to head shaving. The roles of bystanders are crucial to understanding how these public reprisals were framed as a visual spectacle, which often took place in the heart of the community, requiring the involvement and participation of bystanders as spectators to women's humiliation. As such, this thesis calls for the inclusion of bystanders in analyses of head shaving in France and Spain, and argues for scholars to move beyond traditional conceptions of bystander passivity in order to explain why this phenomenon was met with such widespread complicity and why it implicated populations across communities in the two countries.

Given the widespread and systematic nature of head shaving and humiliation across both national contexts, there is no one clear bystander experience or attitude presented in the press, oral and written testimonies, memoirs and photographs; the reactions and experiences of bystanders were ambivalent, diverse and changeable through time. This chapter has shown that in accounts, photography and memoirs, there are examples of acceptance and fear, alongside a few examples of refusal amongst bystanders. However, what is clear is that violence was deliberately visible and charged with political meaning; participation in these events was a performance in political allegiance to the victors in the conflict, either in terms of the Resistance in France or the Francoists in Spain. As Pura Sánchez argues, severe repression was used 'systematically' in civilian spaces in Spain, with the aim making the defeated population 'submissive', due to fears that the public were not yet 'sufficiently convinced' of the Francoist enterprise.⁹⁶⁴ In France, expressions of extrajudicial violence, such as head shaving, 'respond[ed] to a need, expressed by the community'⁹⁶⁵ to punish and purge those considered to have been disloyal to the French nation, and for the population to work through their own shame following Occupation.⁹⁶⁶ As such, we can see how a web of complicity was spun across French and Spanish society, implicating bystanders from across diverse demographics, men and women and young and old alike. Within these contexts of post-conflict purges, there were limited opportunities for the expression of resistance amongst bystanders, and

⁹⁶⁴ 'La aplicación de una severa represión, ejercida sistemáticamente con el fin de mantener sometida tanto a una amplia población vencida, pero quizás no suficientemente convencida.' Pura Sánchez, 'Individuas de dudosa moral', p.106.

⁹⁶⁵ 'L'épuration extra-judiciaire répond à un besoin, exprimé par la communauté, de corriger les "manques" des instances juridiques et elle ne vise pas une forme de collaboration particulière.' Julie Desmarais, *Femmes tondues France – Libération : Coupable, amoureuses, victimes*, p.50.

⁹⁶⁶ Alain Brossat, *Les tondues : un carnaval moche*, p.191.

the rarity of accounts of refusal and resistance must therefore be understood in relation to a reigning climate of fear, denunciation and suspicion.

Importantly, in both France and Spain, head shaving also signalled a backlash to women's growing autonomy and promoted a return to more traditional gender roles in these post-war society, showing that the bystander was not only implicated as a spectator, but also as a target of cultural messages regarding the social and civic positioning of women in the two nations emerging from conflict. As Claire Gorrara emphasises in her analysis of representations of the *femmes tondues*, 'women were carriers of multiple messages about war, liberation and reconstruction' during this period following conflict.⁹⁶⁷ Furthermore, Julian Casanova points to the 'desire to impose rigid gender norms in Franco's Spain', enforced by the regime's 'institutionalisation of terror' in public, municipal and carceral spaces.⁹⁶⁸ Across both case studies, the patriarchal function of gender-specific violence and humiliation is evidenced; even by passively watching the spectacle of head shaving, bystanders were implicated in the process of shaming women who infringed national norms, showing that, in the disciplining of women, 'the disciplinarian is everyone and yet no-one in particular.'⁹⁶⁹

However, growing engagement with the historical role and involvement of bystanders within this troubling phenomenon, exemplified by contemporary exhibitions and cultural studies, marks a hopeful departure from themes of shame and quiet acceptance. In recent years, there has been greater critical engagement with the 'brutality' of these scenes of community violence against women in France and Spain, which have been made visible by images, film, testimonies and documents in the public domain.⁹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, discomfort, avoidance and distress exhibited by contemporary onlookers suggests that bystanders' involvement in head shaving and associated acts of violence and humiliation continues to occupy an uncertain space in national narratives. Therefore, while these practices were historically understood as an 'exhibitionist' and 'cathartic'

⁹⁶⁷ Claire Gorrara, 'Fashion and the *femmes tondues*: Lee Miller, *Vogue* and representing Liberation France', p.333.

⁹⁶⁸ Julian Casanova, 'Disremembering Francoism: What is at Stake in Spain's Memory Wars?', in Helen Graham (ed.), *Interrogating Francoism: history and dictatorship in twentieth-century Spain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), translated from Spanish by Linda Palfreeman and Helen Graham, p.212.

⁹⁶⁹ Sandra Bartky, 'Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power', in Rose Weitz (ed.), *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance and Behaviour* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.36.

⁹⁷⁰ Fanny Bugnon emphasised that the 'brutalité des scènes' of head shaving was evident when made 'visibles' to museum visitors. Interview with Fanny Bugnon, 17th October 2019.

enterprise,⁹⁷¹ these scenes of shaming continue to ‘eat away at collective memory’ in the two countries.⁹⁷² Locating bystanders within this phenomenon offers deeper insights into why the label of violence, and more specifically gender-based violence, is only reluctantly and partially applied to these case studies in France and Spain today. Head shaving was widely framed as a socially acceptable ‘punishment’ against so-called enemy women, and it actively implicated whole communities across France and Spain as bystanders and spectators in the ‘shameful score-settling’,⁹⁷³ thereby leading to a sense of discomfort and disintegration in national narratives in the present day.⁹⁷⁴ The implication and involvement of bystanders within the landscape of violence during the French Liberation and the Spanish Civil War demonstrates that violent practices against women, such as head shaving and humiliation, can be minimised, relativised and even justified within certain contexts of conflict. This has lent a certain degree of legitimacy to these practices and has contributed to discomfort at contemporary reframing of these acts as a form of gender-based violence. The thesis conclusion will now analyse how bringing these two case studies into dialogue by re-framing head shaving as gender-based violence rather than punishment offers more nuanced insights into how this phenomenon spread and how it is remembered today. It will also argue that analysing the roles, experiences and memorialisation of the varied historical actors across the two case studies, including victims, perpetrators and bystanders, illuminates the ongoing political contestation, shame and silence that surrounds historical practices of head shaving in France and Spain.

⁹⁷¹ Enrique González Duro describes head shaving during the Spanish Civil War as having ‘una dimension catártica, exhibicionista.’ *Las rapadas: El franquismo contra la mujer*, p.37.

⁹⁷² Marc Bergère describes how the *tonte* continues to ‘ronger la mémoire collective.’ *Une société en épuration. Épuration vécue et perçue en Maine-et-Loire. De la Libération au début des années 50*, p.311.

⁹⁷³ Matthew Cobb, *The Resistance: The French fight against the Nazis*, p.280.

⁹⁷⁴ Ruth Kitchen, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*, p.67.

Conclusion

This study has brought case studies of head shaving during the French Liberation and Spanish Civil War into dialogue by focusing on the roles, perspectives and changing understandings of the key historical actors, including victims, perpetrators and bystanders. This has offered a wider vision of how this historical phenomenon functioned across the two contexts, how it was understood, justified and framed by different historical actors, and how understandings of the phenomenon have shifted to the present day. By analysing the women who were targeted, the groups of men who led these practices of head shaving and humiliation, and the diverse communities who witnessed these incidents, this study has provided key insights into why the heavily gendered phenomenon of head shaving has not been reframed or re-interpreted as gender-based violence in either country. It has instead shown that head shaving and associated practices, such as parading, forced nudity, castor oil ingestion and physical and sexual assault, continue to be framed as a form of gendered punishment in historiography⁹⁷⁵ and that these historical practices are still shrouded in silence and shame in national narratives.⁹⁷⁶

This thesis has argued that the view of head shaving as ‘punishment’, which is utilised across French and Spanish historiography, is insufficient in terms of understanding this complex historical phenomenon. This framework of head shaving as punishment uncritically replicates historical and institutional discourses of post-war ‘punishment’ against ‘traitors’ and ‘collaborators’ seen in military and police reports during the purges in two case studies.⁹⁷⁷ The term ‘punishment’ also serves to erase the nuances and complexities of the experiences of the key actors. For example, the language of ‘punishment’ assumes guilt and criminality on the part of female victims of head

⁹⁷⁵ See Fabrice Virgili *La France « virile » : des femmes tondues à la Libération*, p.7, and Enrique González Duro's *Las mujeres rapadas*, p.45.

⁹⁷⁶ Ruth Kitchen describes the ‘marginalisation’ and ‘shame’ surrounding the purges and the phenomenon of the *femmes tondues* in *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*, p.67. Similarly, Jorge Marco discusses the ‘paradigm of silence’ which surrounds Francoist repression in contemporary Spain. See: Helen Graham, Jo Labanyi, Jorge Marco, Paul Preston & Michael Richard, ‘Paul Preston, *The Spanish holocaust: inquisition and extermination in twentieth-century Spain* (London: Harper Collins, 2012)’, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 16, 1 (2014), pp.157-158.

⁹⁷⁷ In French scholarship, Henry Rousso highlights that the wildfire purges created an atmosphere akin to a Civil War, as the hunt for internal traitors and enemies motivated civilian violence and public reprisals. See ‘L'épuration en France : Une histoire inachevée’, p.84. Similarly, Paul Preston draws attention to the purges against suspected leftists as Francoists took over Republican zones in Spain, which led to ‘bloody repression’ as part of the post-war ‘pact of blood.’ See *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge*, p.3.

shaving, which serves to further stigmatise and silence targeted women. Furthermore, source material, such as prefects' reports, information reports, newspaper articles and women's police and military files, reveals that women were frequently targeted for head shaving based on their relationships and due to questionable claims, which were frequently unsubstantiated, thereby putting their presumed guilt into question.

Additionally, the narrative of head shaving as 'punishment' rationalises the use of bodily violence by male perpetrators as a just and legitimate act, thereby erasing the true extent of violence enacted by Francoists and resisters. This discussion has brought to light the sanitisation of incidents of head shaving and the erasure of incidents of extreme violence in historical study and commemoration by drawing from interviews, oral and written testimonies, police and military reports, CHOLF documentation of the purges in France and Republican information reports in Spain. Together, these sources draw attention to perpetrators' widespread use of sexual violence, torture and murder, alongside practices of shearing. Moreover, while the language of 'punishment' illuminates the social function of head shaving, as it united communities through the violent exclusion of 'traitors', it also suggests that the practice enjoyed complete social legitimacy amongst bystanders who are characterised only by their lack of involvement or action. This thesis demonstrates that framing head shaving in terms of punishment is therefore inadequate as it does not take into account the wide range of roles and responses taken by bystanders, and their varying involvement in these outbreaks, which are evoked in memoirs, press accounts and photography. For example, some bystanders did not consider head shaving to be a socially acceptable form of punishment, but they were fearful of facing reprisals themselves and therefore participated in these events out of a sense of national duty and self-preservation. Notions of punishment in relation to head shaving fail to conceptualise the complexity of historical actors' roles and responses, and they neglect to critically interrogate the politically charged and conflictual contexts in which it emerged as a practice.

This thesis has gone on to show how this conceptualisation of head shaving as a type of punishment has hindered the recognition of head shaving as a form of gender-based violence. It has highlighted the importance of historical discourses and national narratives which have fixed understandings of this contested phenomenon up to the present day. This is despite compelling evidence this discussion has drawn on, from a wide range of source material which shows that the practice was characterised by gender-specific violence and humiliation. This thesis has therefore shone a light on the historical sensitivities and the political contestation surrounding the two case studies and

their ambiguous place in national narratives today. Crucially, it has shown that understandings of this historical phenomenon cannot be separated from its historical and political contexts, because in both case studies, these historical discourses continue to permeate frameworks for understanding head shaving, blocking attempts to re-frame it as a form of gender-specific violence that targeted women.

Chapter two analysed how victimhood continues to be contested in the case of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*, making the case that these women have been understood as traitors and enemies rather than victims, due to their alleged relationships or political affiliation with the enemy, either in terms of the Nazi occupiers in France or the Second Republic in Spain. This chapter traced shared gendered discourses of female shame, guilt and dishonour across the two case studies, which were reflected in the institutional documentation of events, including police, military and information reports, women's files, and press coverage of head shaving. Furthermore, it analysed the 'stigma'⁹⁷⁸ carried by the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*, and the silence that shrouded their suffering until the slow emergence of women's testimonies at the end of the twentieth century. This shift is marked by the publication of women's accounts of head shaving in various collections, such as Tomasa Cuevas's 1985 collection of leftist women's prison testimonies in Spain⁹⁷⁹ and Dominique François's collection of shorn women's testimonies from across France.⁹⁸⁰ Changing views of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* can also be seen by increased cultural engagement with women's wartime suffering in documentaries, including *Les tondues en 44*⁹⁸¹ and *Del olvido a la memoria: presas de Franco*.⁹⁸² By re-reading source material and contemporary representations of shorn women through the prism of violence and victimhood, this chapter offered historical grounding for the contemporary contestation surrounding re-framing targeted women as victims rather than traitors and enemies, showing that victimhood is a social category which is tied to political and historical contexts. This chapter therefore indicated that enduring historical narratives of women's presumed wartime guilt, which have filtered into political discourse and national narratives, continue to complicate attempts to reframe targeted women as victims and to reconceptualise head shaving as violence rather than punishment.

⁹⁷⁸ Ruth Kitchen, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of the War and Occupation*, p.67.

⁹⁷⁹ Tomasa Cuevas, *Cárcel de mujeres (1939-1945)* (Barcelona: Sirocco, 1985).

⁹⁸⁰ Dominique François, *Femmes tondues : La diabolisation de la femme en 1944, Les bûchers de la Libération*, (Paris: Cheminements, 2006).

⁹⁸¹ Jean-Pierre Carlon. *Tondues en 44*. (France: France Télévisions, 2007).

⁹⁸² Jorge Montes Salguero. *Del olvido a la memoria. Presas de Franco*. (Spain: La Sexta TV, 2006).

Crucially, if the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* are not viewed as victims, and continue to be considered as female traitors and criminals, then head shaving remains an act of punishment rather than an act of gender-based violence in national memory.

Chapter three evaluated the various roles, attitudes and understandings of perpetrators of head shaving, making the argument that it continues to be divisive to re-frame Francoists and resisters as perpetrators of gender-based violence. This is because both groups had been understood as victors and a source of national pride during the immediate post-war years. This chapter analysed varied source material, including press accounts and broadcasts, information reports, women's police and military files and testimonies, to evaluate perpetrators' behaviours and perspectives, highlighting heavily gendered discourses of virility, militarism and nationalism which contributed to motivating and rationalising the use of head shaving and other forms of violence at the hands of militarised and semi-militarised groups of men, including resisters, soldiers and militias. Furthermore, this chapter offered greater context in terms of how head shaving spread across France and Spain during conflict, drawing attention to the ambivalent role of authorities who often did not condemn the practice and, in some cases, actively encouraged it. Importantly, this chapter made the case that head shaving should be located on a 'continuum' of gender-based violence,⁹⁸³ as further acts of violence, such as bodily marking, torture, sexual violence and execution, are cited in source material from both cases, including in official and make-shift prisons, away from the eyes of the community. Drawing from interviews with French and Spanish memory activists who have tried to draw attention to the violence perpetrated by victors, this chapter concluded by highlighting the political tensions surrounding re-interpreting resisters and Francoists as perpetrators of gender-based violence, as well as being victors. These tensions emerge from the persistence of favourable national narratives of the Resistance and of Francoism, and from the imposition of amnesties in post-war France and Spain. These have had the effect of silencing victims, their descendants and memory activists, while insulating perpetrators from responsibility and recycling historical narratives of head shaving as a just punishment meted out by victors.

Chapter four shed light on the 'zone[s] of ambiguity'⁹⁸⁴ that bystanders inhabited in incidents of head shaving in France and Spain, making the argument that viewing bystanders through a lens of passivity is not sufficient, as bystanders were central to the logic and functioning of incidents. These

⁹⁸³ Liz Kelly, 'The Continuum of Sexual Violence', p.47.

⁹⁸⁴ Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, p.58.

practices were frequently conducted in public and municipal spaces while bystanders were invited to watch the repressive ‘spectacle.’⁹⁸⁵ By evaluating the discourses of vengeance and punishment evoked during the purges in both countries, this chapter contests that bystanders felt pressure to perform their political allegiance to the victors, either in terms of the Francoists or the Resistance, by participating in these communal reprisals against suspected female traitors and enemies. Furthermore, bystanders were the target of ‘cultural messages’⁹⁸⁶ expressed by the public humiliation of female dissidents, which warned women of the price to be paid for not returning to their ‘pre-established patriarchally defined roles’⁹⁸⁷ following the upheaval of conflict. Source material, including memoirs, testimonies, reports and photography, evidence a wide range of bystander reactions, from fascination, enthusiasm to horror, but typically point to widespread complicity and acceptance of head shaving amongst bystanders. However, since 2000, museum exhibitions and studies have critically engaged with the social role played by public female repression during the purges and the active involvement of bystanders in these troubling scenes. Interviews with museum curators and cultural practitioners identified changing contemporary attitudes towards bystanders’ roles in cases of head shaving, but their descriptions of visitors’ reactions point to ongoing discomfort with the historical phenomenon. This chapter concluded that bystanders’ widespread acceptance of head shaving has created obstacles to reframing head shaving as gender-based violence, as the practice was historically relativised as a public form of punishment, and it continues to be shrouded in shame and discomfort in contemporary France and Spain.

The integrated framework of victims, perpetrators and bystanders has therefore enabled increased engagement with the wider social contexts in which these practices emerged, and it has offered historical grounding for the ambiguous and contested space these case studies continue to occupy in national narratives and memory today. This approach aligns with recent theoretical developments in historical and memory studies in terms of agonistic memory approaches, which promote scholarly engagement with heavily politicised or contested historical events by drawing from the testimonies, perspectives and discourses of all actors involved, which may be in conflict

⁹⁸⁵ As discussed in the literature review in the introductory chapter, Alain Brossat utilised the language of carnival, spectacle and ceremony to understand the communal nature of head shaving during the Liberation. See Alain Brossat, *Les tondues : un carnaval moche*, p.12.

⁹⁸⁶ Claire Gorrara, ‘Fashion and the *femmes tondues*: Lee Miller, *Vogue* and representing Liberation France’, p.333.

⁹⁸⁷ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.141.

with each other, including ‘perpetrators and victims, as well as witnesses, bystanders, spies and traitors.’⁹⁸⁸ By adopting a similar wide-lens approach, this thesis has generated deeper insights regarding ‘the socio-political context’ in which head shaving and further acts of humiliation and violence occurred in France and Spain, taking into account the ‘individual/collective narratives’ which contributed to ‘crimes being committed’.⁹⁸⁹ This thesis contends that the politicisation and social contestation surrounding the two case studies has blocked attempts to reframe head shaving as a form of violence in France and Spain, whereas the same phenomenon has been officially reframed as unlawful violence in Norway when the Prime Minister, Erna Solberg, condemned the treatment of Norway’s shorn women in an official apology at the 70th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 2018.⁹⁹⁰ This study concludes that the absence of such a condemnation in France and Spain is because the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas* have no clear place within national post-war narratives, because these experiences of gender-specific repression undermine existing narratives of national heroism or post-war amnesty, and therefore these case studies continue to evoke shame and discomfort in their respective contexts.

In France, the phenomenon of head shaving at the hands of resisters, soldiers and officials conflicts with proud national narratives about the victory of France and the Resistance, where ‘Resistance history and Gaullism’ have received ‘epic treatment’⁹⁹¹ in the decades following the war. Likewise, head shaving clashes with the ongoing silence and shame surrounding wartime collaboration with the Nazis during the Occupation, which the *femmes tondues* directly evoke. For example, the Occupation and the Vichy regime has been framed by French historians, such as Henry Rousso, as a ‘blocked, frozen memory’.⁹⁹² Similarly, the use of head shaving against suspected female collaborators has been understood as a ‘shameful episode’,⁹⁹³ which continues to generate embarrassment in contemporary France. It is feared that the study and discussion of reprisals during

⁹⁸⁸ Anna Cento Bull and Hans Lauge Hansen, ‘On agonistic memory’, *Memory Studies*, 9, 4 (2015), p.399.

⁹⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁰ Iliana Magra, ‘Norway Apologizes, 70 Years Later, to Women Who Had Relationships With WWII Germans,’ *The New York Times*, 19 October 2018. Accessed on 10th March 2019 at <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/19/world/europe/norway-lebensborn-german-girls.html>.

⁹⁹¹ H.R Kedward, *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1944*, p.80.

⁹⁹² Henry Rousso, 1987, cited in Alison M. Moore, ‘History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the Tondues: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women,’ p.663.

⁹⁹³ Henry Rousso describes the *tonte* as an ‘épisode honteux’ in ‘L’épuration en France : une histoire inachevée’, p.85.

the purges would ‘open old wounds’,⁹⁹⁴ as argued by François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili in their analysis of histories of post-war repression. Head shaving therefore has no positive political message and no clear space within national narratives; it does not fit within post-war understandings of the Resistance as national heroes and it also ruptures the silence surrounding the so-called ‘shameful’ period of the purges.

Furthermore, head shaving is enormously politically divisive in Spain because addressing the question of Francoist repression is often framed as a partisan issue, which exacerbates ongoing political tensions. In the words of Jorge Marco, memory activism and studies of Francoist repression have deepened ‘social fractures in Spain, plunging the traumatic past into the centre of political and public debate.’⁹⁹⁵ Similarly, Mary Vincent highlights that there was a keen awareness of the importance of promoting narratives of ‘unity, order and harmony’⁹⁹⁶ amongst Francoist authorities during the immediate post-war years, exemplified by promotion of political discourses of Franco bringing ‘peace’ to Spain following the Civil War.⁹⁹⁷ The forceful eruption of Civil War-era repression into public discourse therefore jars with these pre-existing narratives held by the political right in Spain, amongst whom the Francoist regime continues to enjoy relatively good press due to the ‘record and legacy’ of the dictatorship, which emerged ‘victorious to rule the country for four decades.’⁹⁹⁸ As a result, drawing attention to incidents of head shaving and humiliation against female leftists appears highly partisan, and such accounts do not easily fit within these positive post-war narratives. The open discussion of these incidents contravenes the post-war culture of amnesty, and it signals Spain’s ‘failure to come to terms with the national past’,⁹⁹⁹ thereby contributing to friction between different political factions.

Nevertheless, since the advent of this study, there have been key developments in the cases of the *femmes tondues* and the *mujeres rapadas*, which raise further questions regarding how these

⁹⁹⁴ François Rouquet and Fabrice Virgili explain that ‘évoquer l’épuration, c’était prendre le risque de réveiller de vieilles fractures’. See *Les Françaises, les Français et l’Épuration*, p.27.

⁹⁹⁵ Jorge Marco, ‘Paul Preston, *The Spanish holocaust: inquisition and extermination in twentieth-century Spain* (London: Harper Collins, 2012)’, pp.157-158.

⁹⁹⁶ Mary Vincent, ‘Breaking the silence? Memory and oblivion since the Spanish Civil War’, p.52.

⁹⁹⁷ See Mary Vincent, ‘La paz de Franco: el concepto de jerarquía en la España de la posguerra’, in Carolyn Boyd (ed.), *Religión y política en la España contemporánea* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2007), pp.83–105.

⁹⁹⁸ Helen Graham, ‘Writing Spain’s Twentieth Century in(to) Europe’, p.1.

⁹⁹⁹ Jorge Marco, ‘Paul Preston, *The Spanish holocaust: inquisition and extermination in twentieth-century Spain* (London: Harper Collins, 2012)’, p.164.

complex and divisive case studies continue to be engaged with and memorialised in France and Spain today. These developments evidence the emergence of two distinctive models of engagement with head shaving in the two countries; in France, there appears to be a model of denial and limited, defensive remembrance of head shaving, and in Spain, there appears to be a politically divided and partisan model of remembrance of head shaving.

5.1 France: a defensive model of remembrance

The integration of head shaving and female repression into France's national memory of the Second World War and the Liberation continues to be difficult to envisage. The Liberation continues to be coded in national memory as a moment of 'deliverance' from a traumatic and violent occupation, and as a source of 'renewed pride' for France; it continues to be marked by celebrations and press coverage in contemporary France, such as during the recent 75th anniversary in 2019.¹⁰⁰⁰ Furthermore, when wartime and post-war 'score-settling' between resisters and suspected collaborators is evoked, this is typically framed in terms of 'fratricidal violence',¹⁰⁰¹ which therefore marginalises incidents of violence against women. The *femmes tondues* are rarely assigned particular historical significance in commemorations of the Second World War in France. As Fabrice Virgili indicates in his analysis of post-war memorialisation of the *tonte*, head shaving and related exactions against women continue to be characterised by its marginality and absence from commemorations of the conflict and the Liberation across the country.

[Incidents of head shaving] have not formed part of the historical memory of the Liberation. No commemoration, no victims' associations, no revindication or remorse; these accounts are marginal in a process of memorialisation divided between remembering and forgetting, noise and silence.¹⁰⁰²

¹⁰⁰⁰ Charles de Saint Sauveur and Julie Vitaline describe describes the Liberation as a moment of 'délivrance' and 'fierté retrouvée.' '75 ans de la Libération : récit de la semaine folle où Paris a reconquis sa liberté', *Le Parisien*, 19 August 2019. Accessed online on 10th September 2020 at <https://www.leparisien.fr/politique/75-ans-de-la-liberation-recit-de-la-semaine-folle-ou-paris-a-reconquis-sa-liberte-19-08-2019-8135454.php>.

¹⁰⁰¹ Olivier Wieviorka evokes 'fratricidal' conflict as part of the Second World War experience in France, he talks of 'une France plongée, à la Libération, dans des affrontements fratricides.' 'Guerre civile à la française ? Le cas des années sombres (1940-1945)', *Vingtième Siècle, Revue d'histoire*, 85, 1 (2005), p.19.

¹⁰⁰² Fabrice Virgili, "Víctimas, culpables y silenciosas: memorias de las mujeres rapadas en la Francia de la posguerra", in Julio Aróstegui and François Godicheau (eds.), *Guerra Civil. Mito y memoria*. (Madrid, 2006). 'Los rapados no han sido objeto de un conflicto en el terreno de la memoria, ni participan de una política pública sobre el pasado, como tampoco han formado parte de la memoria histórica de la liberación. Ni

This struggle between ‘remembering and forgetting’ in France speaks to the tension between the hypervisibility of the practice, in photographs and accounts of the Liberation, and its uncertain place in national memory, as discussed in the bystanders chapter. Virgili also points to a lack of ‘remorse’ regarding the use of head shaving, again indicating that outbreaks have been largely rationalised and justified, rather than re-interpreted as acts of violence, as suggested in the perpetrators chapter. Furthermore, Virgili observes that there is no commemoration of the *tonte* and no victims’ associations for those who suffered this exemplary form of violence in contemporary France, again pointing to the contested victimhood of the *femmes tondues*, as discussed in chapter two.

In line with Virgili’s argumentation, I could only locate one group of memory activists who have fought to commemorate and recognise the *femmes tondues* as victims of violence in France. The informal collective, composed of writers, local historians and villagers, campaigned for greater visibility and local recognition for women based in Monterfil and Iffendic, Brittany who had had their heads shaved, before being publicly tortured and eventually hung in the woods in August 1944. This informal collective led a *marche blanche* (white march)¹⁰⁰³ through Monterfil to the woods in Iffendic in 2014 to demand recognition for the three women killed and their suffering after having been ‘shorn, exposed and martyred, without having faced trial.’¹⁰⁰⁴ Their aim for this march was to gain ‘rehabilitation’ for the women, in terms of proving their innocence against claims of collaboration and denunciation.¹⁰⁰⁵ This is a notable development as the only protest in favour of

conmemoración, ni asociaciones de víctimas, ni más reivindicación que arrepentimiento; esos hechos son un objeto marginal del recuerdo cruelmente dividido entre memoria y olvido, ruido y silencio’, p.361

¹⁰⁰³ Christian Godin explains the emergence of the *marche blanche* as a means of rendering homage to murder victims, road accident victims, victims of score-settling or victims killed in robberies. This model of protest is modelled from a popular movement born in Belgium after the ‘Dutroux affair’, as a means of remembering the child victims of Marc Dutroux, a serial killer and paedophile, and demanding better protection for children. See Christian Godin, ‘La marche blanche, un nouveau fait de société’, *Cités*, 59, Marx politique (2014), pp.171-179.

¹⁰⁰⁴ The women are described as having been ‘exhibées, martyrisées et pendues sans avoir été jugées.’ *France 3 Bretagne*, ‘Monterfil (35) : une marche blanche en hommage à trois femmes pendues à la libération’, *France 3*, 5 August 2014. Accessed online on 10th June 2019 at <https://pic-france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/bretagne/2014/08/04/monterfil-35-une-marche-blanche-en-hommage-trois-femmes-pendues-la-liberation-527504.html>.

¹⁰⁰⁵ During my interview, Remi Robin, a member of the Monterfil collective explained that ‘rehabilitation’ required research to clear the women’s names and prove that they did not denounce anyone. Remi explains that none of the women’s names appear in gestapo documents. ‘La réhabilitation a supposé des recherches aussi [...] aujourd’hui il y a des gens qui sont allés faire les recherches sur les gens qui ont fait partie de la gestapo et il n’y a aucun nom de ces femmes qui figure.’ Interview with Remi Robin, 3rd March 2020.

recognising the suffering of the *femmes tondues* and re-framing them as victims of violence rather than punishment.

During my interview, Hubert Hervé, a member of the collective who wrote a crime novel inspired by the history of Monterfil alongside a short history of the incident itself,¹⁰⁰⁶ emphasised that the local government was not initially in favour of the march. Hervé explained that he sent the mayor his book but did not hear back and that ‘when we wanted to organise the march to demand the rehabilitation of the three women, they wanted to stop the march, initially at least.’¹⁰⁰⁷ Despite this apparent ambivalence towards the actions of the collective, on 8 May 2016, the local government in Brittany offered ‘official rehabilitation’ to the three women. The mayor even offered an apology for the incident, perhaps due to the increased visibility given to the case across France.¹⁰⁰⁸ The three women were officially recognised as ‘innocent victims’ of the purges, and ‘rehabilitated’ in local memory.¹⁰⁰⁹ In an interview, François Lesourd, the grandson of Suzanne Lesourd, one of the victims, explained the meaning of ‘rehabilitation’ within the French context.

The collective and the families have always talked about rehabilitation, which has a very strong meaning in France. Rehabilitation means to put an official end to contempt, suspicion, errors of judgment [...] and thereby restore the esteem of the people to a citizen who had unjustly lost it.¹⁰¹⁰

This explanation of rehabilitation evokes two key themes. Firstly, the importance of the national context in terms of memorialisation; the concept of ‘rehabilitation’ appears to be deeply anchored in French culture as it has ‘a very strong meaning in France’. Secondly, rehabilitation appears to signify defending targeted women and restoring their personal honour and social standing. This speaks to the ongoing stigmatisation of the *femmes tondues*, as they continue to be viewed as having

¹⁰⁰⁶ See Hubert Hervé, *In nomine patris* (Rennes: Mané Huily, 2013) and Hubert Hervé, *Condamné au secret 3 – L’histoire des femmes pendues de Monterfil* (Rennes: Mané Huily, 2016).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Interview with Hubert Hervé, 3 March 2020. ‘Je lui ai envoyé mon livre, et puis je n’ai jamais eu des nouvelles et par la suite lorsqu’on a voulu faire cette marche demandant la réhabilitation de ces trois femmes, ils ont, dans un premier temps en tout cas, voulu interdire la marche [...] mais elle était autorisée par la préfecture.’

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Le Point*, ‘8 Mai : un village breton rend hommage à trois femmes assassinées’, 8 May 2016. Accessed online on 18th November 2019 at https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/8-mai-un-village-breton-rend-hommage-a-trois-femmes-assassinees-08-05-2016-2037761_23.php#.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁰ ‘Le collectif et les familles ont toujours parlé que de réhabilitation qui a un sens très fort en France. La réhabilitation c’est mettre un terme de façon officiel aux mépris, aux soupçons, aux erreurs de jugement [...] et de ce fait redonner l’estime du peuple à un citoyen qui l’avait injustement perdue.’ Interview with François Lesourd, 6th March 2020.

been ‘dishonoured and corrupted by the enemy’.¹⁰¹¹ It also highlights the importance of confirming the innocence of these three women in the eyes of their local community. Lucette Goubeau, a local activist whose father had witnessed the public shaming of the three women, affirmed that rehabilitation signified ‘moral rehabilitation’ and not necessarily ‘judicial rehabilitation’,¹⁰¹² suggesting that the collective hoped to redeem the women in the eyes of the community and challenge the enduring historical discourses of female immorality and treachery evoked as part of the *tonte*.

Despite the effective defence of these three women’s innocence, the collective held pessimistic views of applying this model more widely, or of an official apology being offered to the *femmes tondues* and their descendants at a national level, such as in the case of Norway.¹⁰¹³ Their pessimism was to be proven correct. At the end of March 2020, the French National Assembly rejected politician Jean-Luc Lagleize’s appeal for an official apology to the *femmes tondues*, modelled upon Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg’s official apology to Norway’s shorn women. In a short statement which argued that ‘the diversity of situations does not allow for an unequivocal explanation of the phenomenon of the *femmes tondues*’, the Assembly asserted that ‘punitive actions’ against targeted women did not warrant an ‘official apology’.¹⁰¹⁴ This government response signals the enduring narrative of head shaving as ‘punishment’ (‘punitive actions’) rather than violence, and there is even the subtle suggestion that some women may have deserved punishment; there is a defensive rejection of any ‘unequivocal explanation’ of the phenomenon.

The French contemporary context continues to be hostile to the *femmes tondues* and to readings of the practice as violent or as something to be condemned unequivocally. In the case of the Monterfil and Iffendic collective, the driving force was to defend the three local women’s honour via their ‘moral rehabilitation’. In France, there appears to be a defensive mode of remembrance regarding head shaving, such as ‘rehabilitation’ activism, alongside a culture of denial, evoked by

¹⁰¹¹ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*, p.138.

¹⁰¹² ‘Ce n’est pas une réhabilitation juridique, c’est une réhabilitation morale.’ Interview with Lucette Goubeau, 3 March 2020.

¹⁰¹³ Interview with Suzanne Heleine, 3 March 2020. Suzanne Heleine claimed that she could not imagine an official apology to the *femmes tondues* being approved in France: ‘J’imagine très mal en France.’

¹⁰¹⁴ The response to Lagleize’s demand highlighted that ‘la diversité des situations interdit toute explication univoque du phénomène des femmes tondues’ and claimed that such ‘actions punitives’ did not require ‘excuses officielles’. *Assemblée nationale*, ‘Question écrite N°26059 de M. Jean-Luc Lagleize’, 24 March 2020. Accessed online on 10th April 2020 at <http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/questions/detail/15/QE/26059>.

local government's apparent initial wariness of the Monterfil march and, more recently, by the refusal of the National Assembly to condemn the practice of head shaving during the Liberation.

5.2 Spain: a politically partisan model of remembrance

In Spain, integrating head shaving and female repression into national narratives and commemoration of the Spanish Civil War is fraught with political tension. Acknowledgement of repression against civilians by Francoists during Civil War itself continues to be divisive and has often been neglected by national governments; Spain has consistently ignored calls from the UN to investigate the human rights abuses perpetrated by the Francoist dictatorship.¹⁰¹⁵ This has translated into a widespread lack of awareness regarding extrajudicial violence during the Civil War. Jo Labanyi notes that it is a common belief amongst many Spaniards that the Civil War is 'best forgotten', and, consequently, there appears to be greater awareness in Spain of extrajudicial violence in Argentina and Chile than of extrajudicial violence in Spain, despite the estimated number of victims of 'Francoist terror' being significantly higher than estimates of victims in Argentina or Chile.¹⁰¹⁶ However, despite disengagement with historical repression at the hands of Francoists, it is important to highlight the rising number of memory associations across Spain, which are primarily organised and led by descendants of victims and leftists. Since the 1990s, civil society began to 'mobilise' in Spain, creating associations for the 'recovery of historical memory' with the aim of publicly questioning 'what had happened [and] why this story of death and humiliation had been hidden'¹⁰¹⁷ after the death of Franco in 1975.

This has led to a politically divided memory landscape; in contemporary Spain, there are 'contrasting images of the past' amongst 'different sections of [the] population', and these differences typically run along political lines.¹⁰¹⁸ Despite the emergence of a large number memory associations, which advocate for greater recognition of violence, including head shaving and

¹⁰¹⁵ Helen Graham, 'Writing Spain's Twentieth Century in(to) Europe', p.12.

¹⁰¹⁶ Jo Labanyi claims that 'there is more awareness, both in Spain and elsewhere, of the extra-judicial killings under the military in Argentina and Chile—where the documented figures are 8,960 and 2,279 respectively—than there is of the estimated 150,000 victims of the Francoist terror.' 'Paul Preston, *The Spanish holocaust: inquisition and extermination in twentieth-century Spain* (London: Harper Collins, 2012)', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 16, 1 (2014), p.141.

¹⁰¹⁷ Julian Casanova, 'Disremembering Francoism: What is at stake in Spain's memory wars?', p.207.

¹⁰¹⁸ Helen Graham, 'Writing Spain's Twentieth Century in(to) Europe', p.10.

reprisals against women in particular, there appear to be ‘two different memories’ in Spain, as noted by Julian Casanova.¹⁰¹⁹

The absence of national consensus has meant that commemoration of head shaving and gender-specific forms of violence has varied across regions, largely depending on the political leaning of local governments. For example, under a left-wing local government coalition, Andalusia approved a motion in 2010 which officially recognised victims of head shaving and provided a one-off payment of 1,800 euros as reparations for the psychological scars left by this public form of violence and humiliation.¹⁰²⁰ In an interview with Miguel Ángel Melero Vargas, an advisor to the local governmental board for historical memory in Andalusia, he emphasised the hard work of the local government in Andalusia who strove to be at the ‘vanguard’ in terms of developing public memory policies.¹⁰²¹ He also observed that these measures were ‘the result of collaboration between many parties, but most importantly, the result of the positive pressure of Andalusian citizens.’¹⁰²² It is notable that measures are positively attributed to the pressure exerted by activists, evidencing the appetite for greater recognition of Francoist-era violence amongst many Spanish people.

Importantly, these gender-specific decrees and reparations in Andalusia officially reframed women who experienced head shaving and other forms of retribution at the hands of Francoists as victims: ‘decrees are also being created for women, such as Decree 372/2010, which establishes compensation for women who had been persecuted, imprisoned or whose honour has been attacked.’¹⁰²³ Here, the suffering women experienced is foregrounded, using emotive and emphatic language (‘persecuted’), pointing to the recognition of shorn women’s suffering. Furthermore, the role of head shaving as an attack on women’s honour is emphasised (‘women [...] whose honour has been attacked’), which highlights the stigmatising nature of head shaving and an understanding of how targeted women lost their social standing, which had the effect of mirroring these incidents in shame and silence in the past. Nevertheless, despite this important development in terms of the

¹⁰¹⁹ Julian Casanova, ‘Disremembering Francoism: What is at stake in Spain’s memory wars?’, p.209.

¹⁰²⁰ Isabel Pedrote, ‘Indemnización a las mujeres vejadas’, *El País*, 21 September 2010. Accessed online on 21st September 2018 at https://elpais.com/diario/2010/09/21/andalucia/1285021323_850215.html.

¹⁰²¹ He praises the work of the local government in Andalusia, as being at the ‘vanguardia en el desarrollo de políticas públicas de memoria.’ Interview with Miguel Ángel Melero Vargas, 17 November 2017.

¹⁰²² He describes local government measures as ‘el resultado de la colaboración entre muchas partes, pero fundamentalmente de la presión positiva de la ciudadanía andaluza y de las víctimas.’ Ibid.

¹⁰²³ He explains that ‘se van creando también decretos y normativas específicas hacia las mujeres como el Decreto 372/2010, en el que se establecen indemnizaciones a mujeres que habían sido perseguidas, presas o vejadas en su honor.’ Ibid.

recognition of head shaving as violence, the local government's decision to grant recognition to targeted women in Andalusia as victims was not without controversy. The right-wing press argued that the recognition of leftist women who experienced violence was 'demagoguery' and a means of scoring political points against the right,¹⁰²⁴ underscoring how remembrance of this phenomenon remains highly politically partisan and divisive in contemporary Spain.

The continued controversy surrounding recognising acts of repression and humiliation during the Civil War period has been consistently evoked by memory activists. In an interview with Paqui Maqueda, a memory activist who leads an association named *Nuestra memoria* (Our memory), she affirmed that activism regarding Francoist repression continues to be divisive.

Yes, it is controversial [...] if it were not, grandchildren and great-grandchildren [of victims] would not have had to organise ourselves into a social or citizen-based movement and demand that different government administrations include historical memory as part of the political agenda.¹⁰²⁵

Similarly, María Dolores Sánchez Sánchez, an activist who has fought for greater recognition for women who were publicly shamed and executed in Andalusia, emphasised the ongoing contestation surrounding the recognition of those impacted by repression as victims. She attributed developments, such as reparations, to political pressure exerted by activists and descendants on local governments: 'it is because of the pressure that family members have applied, not because the politicians have come to them and have said that the time has come to help.'¹⁰²⁶ The more prominent role of memory associations in Spain in comparison to France can be explained by an increased sense of historical vindication for women associated with the Second Republic and Spain's

¹⁰²⁴ An article in *ABC España* critiques the 2010 decision to offer recognition and financial reparations to victims of head shaving as it claims that this ignores women who may have faced similar treatment by those loyal to the Republic and it claims it is a means of scoring political points: 'ni incluye a las mujeres que también pudieran haber sido vejadas, violadas o maltratadas por individuos del Frente Popular. Desde muchos ámbitos se ha calificado esta decisión de la Junta de demagógica y electoralista.' See *ABC España*, 'Andalucía comienza a indemnizar a las vejadas por el franquismo', 14 January 2011. Accessed online on 13th September 2018 at https://www.abc.es/espana/abci-andalucia-201101140000_noticia.html.

¹⁰²⁵ 'Sí, es controvertido. Seguramente sí, si no lo fuera, los nietos y los bisnietos de una persona no hubiéramos tenido que organizarnos en un movimiento social o de base ciudadana y reivindicar a las distintas administraciones de nuestro país que incluya la memoria histórica en la agenda política.' Interview with Paqui Maqueda, 10 November 2017.

¹⁰²⁶ 'Si algo se ha hecho bien, es por la presión que los familiares hemos hecho, no porque a los políticos les haya venido y ha dicho que hoy ha llegado el momento de ayudar a esta persona, no. Esto ha sido por muchos años de presión de los familiares a esos políticos.' Interview with María Dolores Sánchez Sánchez, 13 November 2017.

democratic system of government, in comparison to women associated with the Nazi Occupation and fascist organisations in France. Nevertheless, the *mujeres rapadas* still appear to hold an ambiguous place in Spanish national narratives due to the political tensions surrounding historical memory and the highly partisan nature of recognising Francoist-era repression.

Under the current left-wing coalition in Spain, there have been recent proposals to enhance memory legislation at a national level, as part of an upcoming Democratic Memory Bill,¹⁰²⁷ which is designed to augment ‘knowledge of Spain’s democratic history’ and offer ‘recognition, redress, dignity and justice for the victims of the dictatorship and the repression.’¹⁰²⁸ This bill would impact the memorialisation of gender-specific repression, such as head shaving, in multiple ways: it would officially reframe Francoist tribunals and courts as illegitimate,¹⁰²⁹ thereby undermining the claims and charges made against leftist women which justified their ‘punishment’, and it would provide increased recognition of female victims of gender-specific violence, as part of aims to offer ‘reparations’ for the ‘particular forms of repression or violence’ women experienced during the conflict.¹⁰³⁰ However, governmental attempts to recognise historic violence and repression in contemporary Spain have generated mounting controversy, as right-wing parties are critical of current proposals. The Popular Party have argued that the new proposals ‘re-write history’, and the party have attempted to put forward alternative legislation, the ‘law of concord’, which would include Franco supporters killed by leftists as victims¹⁰³¹ and end ‘sectarian’ re-readings of history.¹⁰³² Furthermore, Javier Moroto, a spokesperson for the Popular Party, has claimed that

¹⁰²⁷ Carlos E. Cue, ‘Spain drafts bill against remaining legacy of Franco era’, *El País*, 15 September 2020. Accessed online on 18th October 2020 at https://english.elpais.com/spanish_news/2020-09-15/spain-drafts-bill-against-remaining-legacy-of-franco-era.html.

¹⁰²⁸ *La Moncloa*, ‘Government approves draft bill of Democratic Memory Act’, 15 September 2020 Accessed online on 30th September 2020 at <https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/gobierno/councilministers/Paginas/2020/20200915council.aspx>.

¹⁰²⁹ Ángel Munarriz, ‘Todos los detalles de la Ley de Memoria: el Estado hará una auditoría del expolio franquista y anulará su justicia represiva’, *Info Libre*, 9 September 2020. Accessed online on 10th October 2020 at https://www.infolibre.es/noticias/politica/2020/09/09/todos_los_detalle_nueva_ley_memoria_estado_abrira_fosas_oficio_auditar_a_expolio_franquista_110760_1012.html.

¹⁰³⁰ Ángel Munarriz explains that the government hopes to ‘reparar las formas especiales de represión o violencia de cualquier tipo sufrida por las mujeres’. Ibid.

¹⁰³¹ Iñigo Aduriz, ‘El PP ultima un proyecto de Ley de Concordia para intentar derogar la de Memoria Histórica’, *El Diario*, 15 November 2020. Accessed online on 20th November 2020 at https://www.eldiario.es/politica/pp-propondra-ley-concordia-derogar-memoria-historica_1_6411166.html.

¹⁰³² Since Pablo Casado became leader of the Popular Party in 2018, he has pushed for a ‘ley de concordia’, which would substitute aspects of the 2007 Law of Historical Memory. Carmen del Riego, ‘Casado propone sustituir la memoria histórica con una ley de concordia’, *La Vanguardia*, 2 September 2018. Accessed online

whenever Prime Minister Sánchez ‘is in trouble, he brings out Franco’, suggesting that memory legislation serves as a political distraction.¹⁰³³ Within this deeply divided and politically partisan memory landscape, the integration of head shaving and other forms of gender-specific repression into national narratives in Spain continues to be highly contentious, and gains made in terms of recognition and commemoration quickly generate political backlash.

5.3 ‘It is always women who pay’: gender, violence and national memory

By bringing these two national case studies into dialogue, this thesis has uncovered the violent and gendered nature of head shaving. It has revealed that female victims were targeted for exemplary violence due to the patriarchal social construction of the female traitor, while male perpetrators were motivated by discourses of masculinised nationalism to ‘punish’ female enemies. Similarly, bystanders were encouraged to participate in the spectacle of head shaving in order to play their part in re-establishing the national and gendered order following the instability of conflict. By viewing head shaving through the prism of gender-based violence, this thesis has drawn attention to the gender-specific scapegoating of women during times of political transition, military conflict and social upheaval in twentieth century Europe.¹⁰³⁴ As noted by one of my interviewees, French author Hubert Hervé: ‘it is always women who pay.’¹⁰³⁵

While there has been greater recognition of head shaving and other forms of gender-specific repression in contemporary Spain, where scholars and memory associations have endeavoured to shine a light on the fact that numerous women were ‘victims of physical and psychological violence’,¹⁰³⁶ the phenomenon of the *mujeres rapadas* continues to be a source of political debate, backlash and partisanship. Conversely, in France, only one scholar has referred to head shaving as

on 20th November 2020 at <https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20180902/451580252125/pablo-casado-ley-de-memoria-historica-ley-de-concordia.html>.

¹⁰³³ Daniel Dombey, ‘Legislation to confront Franco era sparks heated debate in Spain’, *The Financial Times*, 15 September 2020. Accessed online on 21st September 2020 at <https://www.ft.com/content/be8f9b71-c869-48f0-be9a-9c17b2659ea9>.

¹⁰³⁴ Hanna Diamond discusses how the *femmes tondues* served as ‘scapegoats’ during the purges in France, diverting attention away from widespread collaboration during the Occupation. *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints*, p.135. Paul Preston also highlights that women faced a double burden in newly Francoist zones in Spain, as both ‘reds’ generally and as ‘red whores’, pointing to the misogynistic scapegoating which occurred during the purges in Civil War Spain. *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, p.169.

¹⁰³⁵ ‘C’est toujours les femmes qui paient.’ Interview with Hubert Hervé, 3 March 2020.

¹⁰³⁶ Laura Muñoz-Encinar, ‘Unearthing gendered repression: an analysis of the violence suffered by women during the civil war and Franco’s dictatorship in Southwestern Spain’, p.772.

a form of gender-based violence rather than punishment prior to this study,¹⁰³⁷ and there is only one known collective of memory activists in France fighting to recognise the violence shorn women experienced during the Liberation. Furthermore, this informal collective focused on the moral rehabilitation of three local women, showing that memorialisation of the *femmes tondues* continues to be defensive.

As Liz Kelly and Jill Radford observe, definitions of violence against women often ‘constitute arenas of political struggle.’¹⁰³⁸ By analysing the voices, roles and national memorialisation of victims, perpetrators and bystanders, this thesis has shown that head shaving in Liberation France and Civil War Spain constitutes an arena of political struggle and contestation in both national contexts. This study has demonstrated that whether or not an act is considered to be violent is not defined solely by the harm or suffering inflicted, but rather by the historical and national memory discourses surrounding it. In these case studies of head shaving, targeted women have not been unequivocally reframed as victims due to persisting narratives of their presumed guilt. In contrast, perpetrators continue to be framed as victors and have been insulated from responsibility by narratives of the heroic Resistance in the case of France or by narratives of reconciliation in Spain. Additionally, despite the important role of bystanders in these outbreaks, bystanders’ involvement in head shaving continues to elicit discomfort and shame in both countries.

A further facet to consider in this framing is the role of the academy. As Linda Connolly argues, ‘gender and women’s studies scholars are not bystanders either’,¹⁰³⁹ suggesting that scholars also take an active role in shaping historical and political narratives and integrating understandings of women’s different historical roles, perspectives and experiences. By reconceptualising female head shaving during the Spanish Civil War and the Liberation of France as a form of gender-based violence, this study has sought to contribute to scholarly understandings of the conceptual complexities and political sensitivities of recognising historical violence against women and integrating it into national narratives. In dialogue, these case studies have revealed that historical

¹⁰³⁷ Corran Laurens, ‘La Femme au Turban’: images of women in France at the Liberation’, p.155.

¹⁰³⁸ Liz Kelly and Jill Radford, ‘Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls – An approach to an International Overview’, in Rebecca Emerson and Russell P. Dobash (eds.), *Re-thinking Violence against Women* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998), p.56.

¹⁰³⁹ Linda Connolly, ‘Introduction: Women in Ireland’s Revolution, 1917-1923: Marginal or Constitutive?’ in Linda Connolly (ed.), *Women and the Irish Revolution* (Newbridge, Co. Kildare: Irish Academic Press, 2020), p.8.

cases of gender-based violence during conflict may be minimised, silenced or contested if these memories are not regarded as 'politically correct' or 'usable for the construction of national identity.'¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰⁴⁰ Sylvia Paletschek and Sylvia Schraut, 'Introduction: Gender and Memory Culture in Europe — female representations in historical perspective', in Sylvia Paletschek and Sylvia Schraut (eds.), *The Gender of Memory: Cultures of Remembrance in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century-Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008), p.19.

Appendix

Appendix A

Interview summaries

Interview with Fanny Bugnon, Rennes, 17th October 2019.

This interview focused on Fanny Bugnon's work as a curator for the *Présumées Coupables* (Presumed Guilty) (2016-2017) exhibition, with a focus on her decision to include the *femmes tondues* as part of this exhibition. I asked about the development of the exhibition, the reactions of visitors to the exhibition and the overall reception. I also asked about changing perceptions and understanding of the *femmes tondues* in France today.

Interview with Odile de Vasselot, Paris, 7th March 2018.

This interview was based on Odile de Vasselot's experience as a resister who was mistakenly arrested during the Liberation of France. She was interrogated by resisters and left in a cell with women who had experienced head shaving. I asked her about her memories of the Liberation and her views about the *femmes tondues* and the women she met when she was arrested. I also asked about whether she felt that understandings of head shaving have changed over time in France.

Interview with François Lesourd, Soissons, 6th March 2020.

This interview explored François Lesourd's experience of discovering that his grandmother had experienced head shaving during the Liberation before she was murdered by local resisters in Monterfil, Brittany. We discussed the decision of the local government to officially 'rehabilitate' Suzanne Lesourd and his role within this ceremony. I asked about his understanding of 'rehabilitation' as a concept and I asked for his opinion regarding whether views of the purges and head shaving in particular have evolved over time in France.

Interview with Juan Morillo Lora, Seville, 17th November 2017.

This interview explored Juan Morillo Lora's role in memory activism in Seville and his involvement in a Republican theatre group, *El Gallo Rojo* (The Red Rooster), which regularly performs a play about the repression of women during the Spanish Civil War and Francoism called 'El Romance Del Aguaucho' (The Ballad of El Aguaucho). I also asked him about his memories of growing up in Fuentes de Andalucía, where a group of leftist women had been murdered by nationalists during the war. I asked him about the role of memory activism in Spain today and posed questions regarding contemporary attitudes and general awareness of the historical repression of women in Spain.

Interview with María Dolores Sánchez Sánchez, Guillena, 13th November 2017.

This interview examined María Dolores Sánchez Sánchez's involvement in memory activism as part of the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica 19 Mujeres de Guillena* (Association

for the Recovery of the History Memory of the 19 women of Guillena), and her experience of fighting to find the remains of her great-grandmother who was murdered by the *Falange* in 1937. We spoke about the use of gender-specific violence and humiliation during the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship. I also asked her about the role of local government as part of historical memory and we discussed how the war continues to be a source of controversy and division in Spain.

Interview with Miguel Ángel Melero Vargas, Seville, 17th November 2017.

Miguel Ángel Melero Vargas is an advisor to the local governmental board for historical memory in Andalusia, so this interview interrogated the role of government in recognising historical violence and its work with victims and their families in Spain. We discussed the passing of memory legislation in 2010 in Andalusia, which offered reparations to women who experienced head shaving during the Civil War.

Interview with Monterfil and Iffendic collective, Hubert Hervé, Rémi Robin, Suzanne Heleine, Lucette Goubeau and Marie-Hélène Découard, Rennes, 3rd March 2020.

This interview was held with the informal collective in Monterfil and Iffendic, who led the white march in 2014 which initiated the process of obtaining local recognition for the murder and head shaving of three women during the Liberation. This collective pushed for an official ceremony led by the local mayor, condemning what had happened and officially pardoning the three women, which took place in 2016. I asked each of the members of the collective the same questions, which focused on what had drawn each of them to memory activism and their views on the historical phenomenon of head shaving in France.

Interview with Paqui Máqueda, Seville, 10th November 2017.

This interview focused on Paqui Máqueda's work as a memory activist who leads an association named *Nuestra memoria* (Our memory) and her views on the politics surrounding memory activism in Spain. I asked her about what had drawn her to activism and her views on the differences between repression used against men during the Spanish Civil War and the repressive tactics used against women during the same period. We also discussed local initiatives and historical exhibitions, and I asked her about their reception by the general public in Seville.

Interview with Pura Sánchez, Seville, 16th December 2019.

This interview explored Pura Sánchez's work as a historical researcher and her research project *Individuas de dudosa moral* (2009), which examined the judicial and extrajudicial repression of leftist women in Andalusia during the Civil War and the dictatorship. I asked her about her involvement in the museum exhibition *Mujeres bajo sospecha* (Women under suspicion) (2012), which showcased her research on gender-specific violence, including head shaving, and I posed questions regarding the public's reception to this exhibition. We also discussed her role working with schools as a historical memory consultant and her experience of teaching students about the Spanish Civil War.

Interview with Raquel Osborne, Madrid, 12th July 2020.

This interview concentrated on Raquel Osborne's work as a historical research and curator of *Mujeres bajo sospecha* (Women under suspicion) (2012). We discussed how the project came to fruition and her decision to include head shaving and gender-specific repression within the exhibition. I also posed questions regarding the public's reception to the exhibition, and her views on the historical phenomenon of head shaving and how it has been remembered in Spain.

Interview with Sylvie Zaidman, Paris, 1st October 2019.

This interview focused on Sylvie Zaidman's role as museum director for the *Musée de la Libération de Paris - musée du Général Leclerc - musée Jean Moulin*, and the changes made to the permanent exhibitions in 2019. These changes included greater focus on the *femmes tondues*. I asked about the decision to include head shaving within the permanent exhibition, and I asked her about visitors' reactions to these changes.

Appendix B

Information Sheet for Participants

This research project examines the use of violence against women in France and Spain during conflict in the 1930s and 1940s. It focuses on the use of head shaving, public violence, and humiliation against women during this time period across these two countries. It will also look at how these cases have been remembered in contemporary France and Spain.

Your interview will be used to support ideas in the thesis. Information given will be used in the thesis to contribute to understandings of violence against women following 20th century conflict, and how perceptions of these events have changed over time. Answers you give will be used to analyse the historical context of this violence, and the impact it has had on French and Spanish society.

During the interview, you will be taped digitally using a recording device. This recording will then be downloaded to the secure h-drive of Cardiff University. The researcher will then transcribe these interviews. All of these data files (both recordings and transcribed interviews) will then be stored on the university h-drive. Data will not be anonymised as it is directly relevant to participants' experience and work.

Questions before, during, and after this interview are welcomed, and participants have the right to withdraw from the interview at any point. Additionally, you are welcome to be accompanied by a family member during the interview if you would prefer. If you would like to see the completed transcript of your interview after it has taken place, the researcher will send you across the transcribed interview for you to read before using information in the written thesis.

This thesis will be accessible to read by other academics, postgraduate students and undergraduate students. Information taken during these interviews may also later be used for other academic publications.

If you would like to receive more information about this project or have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact Charlotte Walmsley (WalmsleyC@cardiff.ac.uk), Professor Hanna Diamond (DiamondH@cardiff.ac.uk) or Research Manager Tina Woods (woodst1@cardiff.ac.uk).

Appendix C

Research ethics consent form for non-anonymous data

I understand that my participation in this project will involve an interview about acts of head shaving and public violence against women which occurred during the Liberation of France and during the Spanish Civil War. This interview will require approximately half an hour of my time.

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time, and if for any reason I experience discomfort during participation in this project, I am free to withdraw.

I understand that the information provided by me will not be held anonymously as the interview will focus on my work, my experience or my family history. I understand that, in accordance with the Data Protection Act, this information may be retained indefinitely.

I, _____ (name) consent to participate in the study conducted by Charlotte Walmsley from Cardiff School of Modern Languages, with the supervision of Professor Hanna Diamond and Professor Nuria Capdevila Argüelles.

Date of approval:

Signed:.....

Date:.....

Formulaire de consentement pour données non anonymes

Je comprends que ma participation à ce projet impliquera une interview sur des actes de rasage de tête et de violence publique contre les femmes lors de la libération de la France. Cette entrevue nécessitera environ une demi-heure de mon temps.

Je comprends que la participation à cette étude est entièrement volontaire et que je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment sans donner de raison.

Je comprends que je suis libre de poser des questions à tout moment, et si, pour une raison quelconque, je ressens de l'inconfort pendant la participation à ce projet, je suis libre de me retirer.

Je comprends que les informations fournies par moi seront gardées de manière non anonyme, parce que je parlerai de mon travail, mes expériences ou l'histoire de ma famille. Je comprends que, conformément à la Loi sur la protection des données en Angleterre, ces informations peuvent être conservées indéfiniment.

Je, _____ (Nom et prénom) consens à participer à l'étude menée par Charlotte Walmsley de l'École de langues modernes de Cardiff, sous la supervision de la professeure Hanna Diamond et la professeure Nuria Capdevila-Argüelles.

Date d'approbation:

Signature :

Date :

Formulario de consentimiento para datos no anónimos

Entiendo que mi participación en este proyecto supondrá una entrevista sobre la violencia contra mujeres durante y después de la Guerra Civil en España. Esta entrevista requerirá aproximadamente media hora de mi tiempo.

Entiendo que mi participación en este proyecto es completamente voluntaria y que puedo revocar mi consentimiento en cualquier momento.

Entiendo que puedo hacer preguntas en cualquier momento, y si me siento incomodo/a, puedo retirar mi participación.

Reconozco que toda información proporcionada por mí no se mantendría anónima porque la entrevista es sobre mi trabajo, mis experiencias o mi historia familiar. Entiendo que, de conformidad con la Ley de Protección de Datos, esta información puede guardarse de forma indefinida.

Yo, _____ (Nombre y apellidos), doy mi consentimiento para participar en este estudio dirigido por Charlotte Walmsley, Universidad de Cardiff, bajo la supervisión de Dr Hanna Diamond y Dr Nuria Capdevila-Arguelles.

Fecha de aprobación:

Firmado/a:

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