

sympathetic) psychoanalytic studies. Among the minor gay literary figures of this time were Emil Mario Vacano, Karl Michael Freiherr von Lewetzow, Joseph Kitir, and Emerich Graf Stadion, who published in the journal *Poetische Flugblättern*, edited by Kitir.

In 1901 the writer Minna Wettstein-Adelt published under the pseudonym Aimée Duc a novel entitled *Sind es Frauen!* [Are They Women?] that depicts a circle of self-consciously lesbian women in Geneva, the center of which is a Russian named Minotschka Fernandoff. The feminist Marie von Najmajer (1844–1904), born in Hungary, saluted the new century with a "Hymn to the Daughters of the Twentieth Century" that had strong lesbian overtones. Yet the lesbian subculture of Vienna took little interest in the literary treatment of the natives of the city; it preferred works showing the Viennese lesbian abroad or the foreign lesbian drawn to the Austrian capital. Compared with the network of enterprises catering to the male homosexual the lesbian subculture remained small and marginal.

One of the myths that later circulated abroad was that the Viennese of the early decades of the century were sexually repressed to the point of neuroticism, when in fact the capital had much the same ambiance in contrast with the provinces as did Paris in relation to the rest of France. As the focal point of the homosexual emancipation movement, Berlin garnered more than its share of attention, but Vienna until 1918 was the cosmopolitan center of a multi-national empire where erotic pleasure was always sought—and frequently found. Ludwig Wittgenstein cruised the Prater, where the ferris wheel is located, during the 1920s, and often went to a classy café, a chess club with newspapers by day and a flaming gay club at night. After the 1938 Anschluss, which joined Austria to Hitler's Reich, a number of the country's homosexuals became victims of the holocaust.

The strength of the Catholic church in Austria, particularly the state that remained after the Treaty of Saint-Germain, kept law reform from occurring until 1971, two years after the Federal Republic of Germany amended Paragraph 175. There is a higher age of consent for male homosexuals (18) than for heterosexuals and lesbians (14). Moreover, article 220 of the 1971 penal code provides for up to six months imprisonment for anyone who advocates or states approval of homosexuality, while article 221 stipulates the same penalty for anyone belonging to an organization that "favors homosexual lewdness." These provisions have never been enforced. The major gay organizations Homosexuelle Initiative (HOSI) operate quite successfully under the shadow of this legislation, while gathering data about gay people in the Warsaw pact nations of Eastern Europe. From 1979 this information has been recorded in the quarterly *Lambda Nachrichten* (HOSI Wien), which even received an official press subsidy in 1987. Vienna also has a gay and lesbian community center, Rosa Lila Villa.

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AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY

The concept of the authoritarian personality was introduced to social psychology by the work of Theodor Wiesen- grund Adorno and his associates in a major study published in 1950. According to this model the authoritarian personality accepts middle-class conventionality because it enjoys widespread acceptance and support, but has not internalized the meaning of the accompanying social norms; is hostile and aggressive toward outsider groups, especially ethnic minorities and relatively powerless, marginalized deviant groups; and glorifies its own authority

figures. Adorno had been a member of the Frankfurt school of sociology which the Nazi seizure of power exiled to the United States, and the formulation of the notion had begun in Germany through analysis of the mass psychology of the fateful years of the early 1930s, when authoritarian and democratic creeds contended for rule. Originally the contrasting democratic personality type was labeled the "socialist personality," revealing the leftist bias that hovered over the creation of the antinomy. And indeed one problem with the idea of the authoritarian personality is the difficulty that many researchers have in acknowledging that authoritarianism is found as much on the left as on the right. Put another way, the notion of the authoritarian personality, though not devoid of content, bonds all too easily with the left-liberal prejudices and folklore of the contemporary intelligentsia, serving to confirm its disdain of conservatives of every stripe and to suggest that beliefs linked with the right stem from a character disorder that occludes a "correct" perception of reality.

Academic psychology had until the 1950s failed to discover any correlation between personality structure and political attitudes. The contribution of Adorno and his associates was to trace a common denominator between ethnic chauvinism, political and economic conservatism, anti-Semitism, and authoritarianism. As an indirect measure of prejudice and a measure of "prefascism" in the personality, they developed the F scale soliciting expressions of agreement or disagreement with 29 broadly phrased assertions. Continuing review and criticism of the early work and its theoretical presuppositions have led to the development of new scales and also to debates among professional psychologists. For example, there has even been academic controversy over whether left-wing authoritarianism exists, when any insightful observer of the left knows that this is the watershed between Communists and So-

cial Democrats. The overarching problem is to determine how it is that myths and fabrications and stereotypes come to be entertained in sets, so that if one or two are acquired the others are likely to follow.

A hallmark of the authoritarian personality is preoccupation with deviations from the norm of sexual conduct and advocacy of harsh penalties for "perverts" and the like. While certain issues that elicited sharp contrasts between authoritarian and democratic personality types in the 1940s have become irrelevant because the political controversy surrounding them has faded, the rise of a militant gay liberation movement after 1969 has made one's tolerance of homosexuality a clear index of personality. A recently developed tool called the Attitudes Toward Homosexuals (ATH) scale asks agreement or disagreement with such statements as "Homosexuals should be locked up to protect society" and "In many ways, the AIDS disease currently killing homosexuals is just what they deserve." Authoritarianism accounted for 29% of the variation in the subjects' hostility toward homosexuals; fear and self-righteousness supplied nearly all the rest. Fear of a dangerous world—and of homosexual assertiveness in it—and self-righteousness justifying punitive sanctions are what trigger the authoritarian's rage and vindictiveness. The growing role of anti-homosexual themes in the propaganda of conservative and clerical social movements attests to the significance of homophobia for the mass psychology of the present day.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

See Biography and Autobiography.