

ist text by Guillaume Apollinaire. The 1957 *Dialogues des Carmélites*, about a group of nuns condemned to death in the French Revolution, is one of the few operas of the second half of the twentieth century to have secured a place in the repertory. Poulenc also wrote concertos for various combinations of instruments, incidental music for plays and films, the Mass in G (1937), and the famous "Gloria" (1959).

Although the composer is said to have had some flings with Arab boys in North Africa, during the latter part of his life he lived in an essentially spousal relationship with Bernac. Apparently he had no difficulty reconciling this liaison with his return to the Catholic faith. Often marked by witty sallies, his music was highly regarded as the outstanding exemplar in his time of the distinctive French tradition of *mélodie*. Poulenc influenced composers of many nations, including the American gay composer and diarist Ned Rorem.

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PREJUDICE

The term prejudice and its equivalents in many European languages refer primarily to a negative prejudgment reached before the pertinent information has been collected or examined and therefore based on insufficient or even imaginary evidence. As a rule, prejudice entails a negative attitude and an element of emotional charge; in addition there is usually, though not invariably, a readiness to express in deeds the rejection of others. The resulting actions are also described as embodying various degrees of **discrimination**. In practice the term prejudice has been applied primarily, if not exclusively, to populations distinguished by race, ethnic identity, language, or any combination of these. It denotes a negative evaluation of human groups perceived as different in

genetic origin or in significant behavioral traits from one's own.

In his classic study of the nature of prejudice, Gordon W. Allport stated that "Prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge." This principle implies that some irrational, unconscious determinant is shaping the feelings and opinions of the subject. The hostility which prejudice (as an umbrella term for antipathies of all kinds) engendered and the discrimination to which it may inspire the dominant segment of the population have caused so much harm and suffering (the Hitler era is the supreme example) that many investigators in the social sciences have directed their energies toward understanding and controlling what they interpreted as a form of social pathology. A crucial aspect of the maintenance of prejudice is the transmission of **stereotypes** about members of the group—beliefs that may be true in regard to a small number, but are projected onto one and all. These notions may be supported by more elaborate **myths and fabrications**, such as the fable of the destruction of **Sodom** because of the sexual indulgence of its inhabitants.

Prejudice is not a monopoly of any group, as oppressed **minorities** can develop their own ethos that includes a rejection of anything associated with the race and culture of the oppressor. Yet it would be wrong to assume that prejudice is a normal and ineradicable phenomenon of social life; its absence in young children who have not undergone acculturation argues that learning rather than nature is the crucial factor in its development.

Sexual Aspects. Sexuality plays a leading role in the maintenance of prejudice. The restriction of legitimate sexual expression to indissoluble monogamous marriage had its counterpart in the fantasies of unbridled sexual aggression, of demonic instincts lurking in tabooed, outsider groups which could at the same time be sexually exploited by the domi-

nant one, as when its younger members were forced to become concubines, kept boys, or prostitutes serving the erotic needs of the male members of the dominant group. Pervasive fear of aggression on the part of male homosexuals (but not lesbians) underlies the accusation that homosexuals will seduce or molest anyone whom they encounter. Public opinion polls in the United States have found that 59 percent of those questioned believed that "homosexuals have unusually strong sex drives," and 35 percent agreed that "frustrated homosexuals seek out children for sexual purposes." Employers deny homosexuals jobs on the ground that they will approach fellow employees with lewd propositions.

At the same time a secret glamor attaches to the forbidden conduct; the pleasure derived from tabooed sexuality is believed more intense, more addicting than ordinary heterosexual coitus. The lure of uninhibited, promiscuous sexual gratification hovers over the gay subculture with its far more relaxed norms of sexual contact. The outgroup represents a threat to the moral values of Christian society, a force undermining civilization and leading to its downfall, and a violation of the order of nature. Also, the homosexual is linked with a vast conspiracy, an international freemasonry from which the "normal" citizen is excluded—to his professional and economic detriment—and which (so it is believed) secretly decides the fate of crucial institutions or even of the whole society.

Although an extensive literature on prejudice was produced between the 1930s and the 1960s, in no small part in reaction to the policies of Nazi Germany, the subject of antipathy to homosexuals was scarcely mentioned. Even toward the end of that time the gay movement was tiny and semi-clandestine, and those who advocated a minimum of toleration often had to mouth the traditional defamatory clichés. The fact that the Communist movement had disowned sexual reform endeavors in the mid-1930s also dimin-

ished concern with the attitudes toward sexual "deviates." Toward the end of the 1960s terms such as *racism* and *sexism* tended to replace the notion of prejudice. The counterpart to this in the gay movement was the expression *heterosexism*, which has achieved only a limited acceptance, and the more widely used *homophobia*. The word prejudice by contrast seemed too weak and indefinite an expression, and the role of ethnic minorities, particularly of Third World origin, in shaping the new political ambience contributed to the terminological shift.

Another relevant point is that analysts of prejudice in Western Europe and the United States tended toward interpretations derived from depth psychology, which was officially banned in the Soviet Union and little known in the revolutionary Third World. Marxism itself favors a simplistic, strongly economic explanation of social phenomena, which cannot easily be transposed onto the situation of the homosexual in a culture whose tradition of intolerance stems from the later Middle Ages. The feminist notions of "patriarchy" and "male domination" have been evoked to explain the hostility visited upon the homosexual in Western culture; but conversely the notion of "homosexuality" was itself created in Western Europe in the late nineteenth century as a political response to the definitions of certain forms of sexual activity in theology and law. The particular intensity with which the taboo on homosexual activity was enforced—the imposition of compulsory heterosexuality—went so far beyond ethnic or racial prejudice, which could never deny the existence of the object of the hatred, as to be in another class of psychological phenomena altogether. Hence the term prejudice finds little application in the current discussion of the attitude of Western society toward homosexual behavior and those identified by themselves or others as homosexual.

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PRESS, GAY

A minority group such as homosexuals needs a press of its own for particular reasons. Only at the end of the nineteenth century did periodicals meant primarily or exclusively for a homosexual or lesbian readership come into being. Such publications supplemented the mass media addressed to a general readership by providing news, commentary, advertisements, and later personal columns for individuals with special needs or interests. Thus the gay press cannot be compared to a Chinese-language or Russian-language periodical in the United States, or to an English-language newspaper in Buenos Aires or Jerusalem, which provides general news and information to a public that cannot read the idiom of the country. In other respects, however, it has had problems similar to those of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian speech communities in Tsarist Russia, which before 1905 were not allowed to have publications in their own language; these were printed in East Prussia and Austrian Galicia and smuggled across the border. Publishing houses in Paris and elsewhere on the Continent performed an analogous function by issuing books in English with homosexual themes, though it was only in the early 1950s that the Swiss monthly *Der Kreis/Le Cercle* began to include English articles on its pages.

Pioneers. The earliest serial publication of this kind was the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, edited by Magnus Hirschfeld in Berlin from 1899 to 1923. Modeled on an academic journal, the *Jahrbuch* featured long and sometimes ponderous articles abounding in footnotes and learned references; it also carried a remarkable annual bibliography of new

books and articles compiled by Eugen Wilhelm under the pseudonym of Numa Praetorius. A second major journal was *Der Eigene*, which had originally been devoted to the arts but became the organ of the pederastic wing of the German homosexual movement, the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*; it was a de luxe publication on fine paper with illustrations in black and white, in sepia, and in color that imitated such foreign models as the *Yellow Book*. On its pages the adolescent male nude played a prominent role. With a number of significant interruptions, *Der Eigene* appeared from 1898 to 1930.

France had only two publications in the period before World War II: *Akademios*, which was issued monthly during 1909 in Paris by Count Adelswärd Fersen, and *Inversions*, which appeared briefly in 1925 before it was suppressed by the police at the instigation of clerical members of the Chamber of Deputies. Because of the intolerance that prevailed in the English-speaking world, no counterpart could be published. In the mid-1920s a few issues of *Friendship and Freedom* were produced by Henry Gerber, who was promptly arraigned for having created a homophile organization. Later, in 1934, he and Jacob Houser issued a mimeographed newsletter entitled *Chanteclair*. At this time only semi-clandestine newsletters and similar ephemeral publications could exist in the United States, while the German movement of the 1920s had a whole set of journals, from *Freundschaft und Freiheit* to *Freundin* (for lesbians).

In Switzerland a bilingual monthly called *Der Kreis/Le Cercle* began to appear in the mid-1930s, when the National Socialist seizure of power had obliterated the gay press in Germany proper. None of these early publications could appeal to a mass readership; most existed in the shadows of the world of journalism, dreading the intervention of the authorities under one pretext or another, as the sacred freedom of the press