

Symbols of Gay Male Individuation in *The Wizard of Oz*

by Robert H. Hopcke

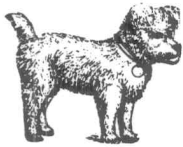
The Wizard of Oz is a movie that has enjoyed nearly universal popularity since its 1939 release, and within the American gay community, the movie is regarded with special affection and delight. "Somewhere Over the Rainbow," the song perhaps most identified with the film has long served at Gay Pride Celebrations and parades as an unofficial anthem, and the use of the rainbow flag as a Gay Pride symbol appears to be partly derived from this association. The phrase "Dorothy's friends" is commonly heard slang used among some gay men to refer to other gay men.

Various lines, episodes, and characters from the movie have become part of gay culture. For instance, during a San Francisco mayoral campaign in which Dianne Feinstein was clearly the front runner, one tongue-in-cheek candidate in the race was Sister Boom-Boom, a member of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, a group of transvestite "nuns" well known in San Francisco. One of Boom-Boom's posters showed her on a broomstick in the sky writing in large black smoke letters "Surrender Dianne." A gay bar in Madison, Wisconsin, has a mural at its entrance that depicts Dorothy and Toto arriving in Oz, with her famous line, "Toto, I have a feeling we're not in Kansas anymore" written ironically underneath. A comic advertisement is currently running in various publications of the gay community for a record album entitled "Miss Gulch Returns"—promising by implication that parodies of the film's songs will be performed by the Margaret Hamilton drag look-alike who appears in the ad, complete with sneer and picnic basket. However, one sure way to see the collective gay male response to the movie would be to attend a showing of the film in a gay neighborhood, where one could virtually count on a very vocal sort of audience participation.

The enduring popularity of any work of art suggests the presence of dynamic, collective factors at work psychologically. In modern times, given

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the decline of written and oral tradition, the rise of mass culture, and the advent of previously unimagined mobility, motion pictures have often served as modern myths, with performers becoming projection screens for archetypal contents. One need only consider the near-religious fervor that grips the fans of Marilyn Monroe or Elvis Presley to realize the connection between the adoration of film stars and the collective unconscious. Therapists, and Jungians specifically, can attest to the prevalence of motion picture imagery in their patients' dreams.

Because of its special place in the heart of the gay male community, one is drawn to the thesis that *The Wizard of Oz* must represent personified archetypal elements of great significance to gay men. In other words, the film serves as a myth that represents in symbolic form some essential part of gay men's experiences. This thesis, of course, need not imply that *The Wizard of Oz* story is the only myth operant in the gay male community or even the most central. Obviously, other movies whose lines or characters have worked their way into contemporary gay culture—for example, *Sunset Boulevard* or *Mommie Dearest*—may also serve a mythic function. Nor does this thesis imply that *The Wizard of Oz* is a myth for gay men as opposed to lesbians. Gay men and lesbians share many common experiences in this culture because of their homosexuality; however, in many significant ways their experiences can be vastly different. I will therefore concentrate here on the meaning of the film for gay men, acknowledging that this symbolic analysis may also at times speak to the experiences of lesbians.

Of course, the popularity of the film is not exclusive to the gay community, and a Jungian analysis of the film provided by Ann Belford Ulanov in her book *The Feminine* suggests that the movie is a symbolic representation of animus integration in the process of feminine individuation.¹ Ulanov's accurate and insightful analysis raises many interesting questions of interpretation when one turns to explore the film's meaning for gay men. How does this myth of feminine development speak to the souls of gay men? Must one look at *The Wizard of Oz* from another angle entirely to understand the gay male community's response to the film? And, if so, what is the relationship between Ulanov's analysis of the Feminine and the meaning of the movie for gay men?

If one is to grasp the psychological meaning of *The Wizard of Oz* for gay men, one must take into account the psychosocial context of gay men's development, namely, those sexual mores and attitudes that dominate contemporary Western culture. These sexual mores and attitudes share two salient characteristics. The first is best described by the term "patriarchy." Patriarchal values identify particular personal characteristics as exclusively

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male or female, and assign social roles largely in terms of gender; in general, the characteristics and roles assigned to men are valued over those assigned to women.² The second characteristic is one that gay liberationists have termed "heterosexism." A heterosexist culture views heterosexuality as the only normal, and therefore acceptable, means of fulfilling human relationships. Accordingly, all other forms of sexual relationship are considered either subordinate to or perversions of heterosexual relationships. The primacy of heterosexuality over same-sex or inter-sex relationships enjoys wide support from nearly every important cultural institution—from the church to the government to the scientific establishment—and has a long but by no means monolithic history.³

Whether patriarchal or heterosexist assumptions are either adequate or useful in understanding the real, lived experience of contemporary people is an important question. The increasing visibility of individuals and relationships that do not fit conventional molds has at least suggested the one-sidedness of prevailing Western mores. And a growing body of knowledge on the completely different value systems that exist in other cultures, for example, among traditional Native Americans or in certain Polynesian societies, challenges the Western belief that only patriarchal or heterosexist values work to promote human happiness or social order.⁴ Nonetheless, the psychosocial context of gay male individuation is formed by the values that currently exist in the United States.

The patriarchalism and heterosexual bias of modern Western culture appears to create two different but interrelated psychological tasks for a gay man as he becomes aware, consciously or subconsciously, of being attracted primarily to other men. The first task facing him is conditioned by the patriarchal view that sexual attraction toward men is characteristic exclusively of "women," a gender category that is defined by anatomy and supported by the value placed on heterosexual relationships. For the man who loves men, therefore, the only culturally available self-definition given to him, at least initially, is a "feminine" one.⁵ How well a gay man comes to terms with this "femininity" in some positive, individual way determines, for good or ill, his degree of psychological maturity.

Heterosexual men are hardly exempt from the need to integrate their own contrasexuality, and this insight still remains one of Jung's most far-reaching. However, a heterosexual man's "femininity" is not understood socially to determine his identity as a man, whereas the gay man's "femininity" is understood as his identity, both socially and psychologically, because of his sexual attraction to other men. A gay man's individuation process, therefore, begins with a completely different relationship to the psychosocial definitions of masculinity and femininity than is required

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of a heterosexual man, and it will unfold in ways that sometimes resemble and sometimes differ from the heterosexual male individuation process.

The gay individuation process not only has a different point of departure, but different psychological hurdles to clear. The second psychological task for gay people in a heterosexual world is the process of "coming out." Unlike heterosexuals, gay people have no models of self-image or relationship in the culture at large to support a growing awareness of their homosexuality. This lack of external cultural supports for their sexual and emotional development creates a peculiar and frequently destructive psychosocial vacuum for gay people, who often have a difficult time acknowledging their gay feelings and identity.⁶ Until quite recently, what seemed to be manifestations of pathology within homosexually oriented persons were understood as characteristics of homosexuality *per se*, rather than unfortunate adaptive responses to the fierce prejudice, horror, and hatred shown toward homosexuality in Western societies. By removing "homosexuality" from their list of mental disorders in 1973, and in the latest revision eliminating even "ego-dystonic homosexuality" as a mental disorder, the American Psychiatric Association has at last acknowledged that social hatred, rather than same-sex love, is the true element of pathology in gay people's lives.

Given the two tasks characteristic of gay male development in this culture, one finds that symbolic analysis of *The Wizard of Oz* as a myth of feminine development is quite relevant to gay men, specifically because of the way in which gay male sexual orientation has been designated as "feminine." In addition, the movie has another symbolic theme that speaks directly to the task of "coming out," a theme best summed up by noting that "all is not what it seems to be" in Dorothy's visit to the merry old land of Oz. Thus, the movie touches on another motif relevant to the lives of gay men, the theme of persona creation and development.

The Wizard of Oz offers gay men a myth of masculine integration and feminine redemption.

Gay Male Individuation and the Feminine

That the gay male community responds so intensely and affectionately to a myth of animus-integration should hardly be a cause for wonder. Given the Western identification of male homosexuality with psychological femininity, an identification that some gay men have internalized to the detriment of their sense of masculinity, *The Wizard of Oz* offers gay men a myth of masculine integration and feminine redemption. Once one understands that gay men's psychological "femininity" is not an outgrowth of intrinsic pathology or immaturity, but rather the result of internalizing Western sex-role definitions, one is astonished to see how applicable Ulanov's analysis of the movie is to gay male individuation. Dorothy's

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adventures in the movie give image to many gay male psychodynamics and thereby represent symbolically a way to wholeness.

As Ulanov has pointed out, the film's initial symbols represent elements as necessary to women's individuation as to male psychological maturity: the tornado-like storm of feeling that gathers at puberty around Dorothy and her best friend, the instinctive Toto ("whole" in Latin); Dorothy's need to leave home and find her own path; her unwitting and even unwanted journey into Oz, the technicolor realm of her unconscious life. In so far as gay men have internalized a feminine self-definition, they need to set out on the same journey as Dorothy toward the Wizard, a masculine source of power.

For women, as for gay men, the journey begins by slaying the Wicked Witch of the East, the power-ridden feminine force that has subjugated Munchkinland, the land of the "little people."⁷ Dorothy's arrival in the realm of the unconscious breaks the Witch's stranglehold and serves to constellate the conflict around the Feminine in a more differentiated and active way. The now explicit rivalry between Glinda the Good Witch and the Wicked Witch of the West is the symbol of this greater differentiation.

Here the focus of the struggle, the ruby-red slippers, is important to note. Ulanov sees in these shoes a symbol of Dorothy's own ego standpoint, but this symbol might be amplified further by their redness, which is obviously associated with both passion and feeling.

To find one's ego standpoint is a task incumbent on all individuals. Gay men, however, often start with a self-definition largely drawn from patriarchal and pejorative images of femininity. To preserve their sexual passion and feeling as a source of power, gay men often find themselves at the center of an archetypally tinged struggle between good and evil. When understood in this light, one can see why those powerful ruby-red slippers are what the Witch covets, what Glinda protects, and what Dorothy must use to find her way forward down the Yellow Brick Road.

Ulanov identifies Dorothy's companions on the road as conventional images of the so-called positive animus to be integrated into a woman's sense of self. These initially undeveloped animus fragments in the form of the Scarecrow, Tin Woodsman, and the Cowardly Lion lack brains, heart, and courage, and Dorothy regards the Wizard as the potential source of these attributes. The quaternity that this group forms is the familiar 3 + 1 pattern often found in fairytales and points to the psychological task at hand for Dorothy, a search for completion.

Once again, women and gay men find themselves on the same psychological path: women because the patriarchal sex-role assignments rob them of a natural ability to see such "masculine" qualities as available to them

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as *women*; gay men because patriarchy and heterosexism rob them of a natural ability to see such qualities available to them as *gay* men. Interestingly, the phrase "Dorothy's friends," as a euphemism for gay men, holds in tension two different images: In and of themselves, Dorothy's companions are inadequate male figures, but they are also the source of Dorothy's eventual wholeness. The salvation and completion of inner masculinity through the integration of such personal qualities as activity, intelligence, fearlessness, and discrimination—qualities identified in Western patriarchal societies with the heterosexual male—is as important a task for women to accomplish as it is for gay men. Ulanov's analysis rings true. The development of a positive, differentiated inner masculinity is the point of Dorothy's tale, and so the movie possesses undeniable psychological significance for women and gay men alike.

The dangers along the way to the Emerald City are familiar ones from fairytales and myths. An attack ensues when the Scarecrow attempts to eat apples from the trees of Oz. Too early an appropriation of unconscious contents as personal possessions can lead to indigestion and psychological backlash from the autonomous underworld. The delectable and soporific poppy field represents another kind of danger in working with unconscious material—the temptation to fall into its swoon and sleep, abandoning one's awareness and direction. These images speak more of typical collective dangers of the *nekylia* than to particular experiences of gay men or women. What is relevant to this discussion is to notice how an undeveloped psychological masculinity might tend toward either greed or indolence without a connection to the self. Persephone's myth gives image to just this kind of masculinity in the image of Hades, the rapacious hidden god of the shadow realm.

Getting into the Emerald City proves more difficult than imagined, but once Dorothy and her friends gain entry, the Wizard, an awesome figure, assigns precisely that task which one might expect. Dorothy and her friends are to wrest the phallic broomstick from the clutches of the Witch. In interpreting this element of the tale, a difference appears between its meaning for gay men and its meaning for women. For women, the negative Feminine and her phallic powers are in some way archetypal elements of fundamental feminine identity and must be depotentiated for further growth to occur. The archetypal Witch within must be put in her place and her power relativized. For gay men, however, the Witch might be better understood as a symbol of the constricting withering, destructive power of society's identification of gay men as "feminine." The Witch and her phallic broomstick are certainly inner figures, archetypal dominants of collective experience. For gay men, though, the wresting away of the Witch's broom-



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stick may mean both a depotentiation of this inferior femininity and a re-appropriation of the phallic masculinity that has been denied them as gay men. The Witch is, therefore, an apt symbol for the spiritual paralysis that occurs when patriarchal attitudes project a negative, witch-like image of feminine voracity upon gay male sexuality. The fact that gay men all too often internalize and act out this sort of femininity is thus psychologically understandable. The historical importance of drag within gay communities, especially transvestite portrayals of witchy, bitchy, larger-than-life phallic females, such as Joan Crawford, Bette Davis, and Mae West (and not, for example, Loretta Young, Carole Lombard, Doris Day, or Mary Pickford), can be seen as a manifestation of this internalization. Yet, clearly such transvestite portrayals are attempts to do exactly what Dorothy does in her journey: to lay claim to the phallic power held hostage by an evil, stultifying, and one-sided femininity. To grab the Witch's power for oneself is to break her spell.

This interpretation makes sense of the weapon that Dorothy uses to defeat the Witch: water. As a symbol archetypally identified with spirit, but also with flexibility, fluidity, motion, and depth, water would obviously be lethal to this priapically phallic Witch-Bitch, whose rigidity precludes spirit, motion, or life. For gay men, water as a symbol of flexibility has special significance, because flexibility is the best defense against any identification of themselves as exclusively, pathologically feminine. Flexibility and fluidity in self, in love, and in sexual attraction, though anathema to patriarchal attitudes, are the very source and gift of gay sexuality.

As the Witch is deflated, so, too, the Wizard and his ideal of Wise Old Man masculinity is eventually revealed as fraudulent. For Dorothy and for women, it seems, an overvaluation of the Masculine must be worked through, and this interpretation is supported by the details of the Wizard's exposure in the movie. Dorothy's instincts, personified in Toto, show her idealized projection to be just that—a projection. Indeed, the Wizard is literally a projection that Dorothy has seen on a screen. Intimate involvement pulls back the curtain of the projection booth to reveal the real person whom one meets in passion and companionship. The inflationary image of the Wizard ballooning off into the sky is the direct result of withdrawing this idealized projection. Projecting saviorhood onto men is a dead end and leaves one abandoned.

For gay men, the Wizard's idealized aspects and his eventual exposure may represent much the same psychodynamic situation. After shaking off the tyranny of a feminine self-identification and appropriating to themselves the phallic energy once given away or denied, many gay men fall prey to a frantic search for the ideal man who will constitute for them, in a magi-

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cal, wizardly way, the powerful active masculinity that has been the end of their long individual search. The myth of the "perfect lover" is one that anyone who has worked with gay men clinically can affirm as both an enduring and nearly universal fantasy that appears at one point or another in the gay male individuation process. Like Dorothy in her relationship to the Wizard, the real person with his faults, his fumbling, incompetence, age, and weakness must be uncovered and disclosed if a true relationship is to be found and a true sense of self to be consolidated.

Gay Male Individuation and the Persona

As mentioned, another consistent theme that runs through the movie and forms an important subtext to Dorothy's adventures is that "all is not what it seems to be." Clearly, the transformative recognition that "all is not what it seems" is the very heart of coming out as a gay person. In addition to representing the *content* of gay male development, the movie's archetypal imagery also depicts perhaps the important dynamic in the *process* of gay male development.

The film is saturated on many levels with this conflict between appearances and reality. The cinematic structure of the movie, reinforced by the startling switch from a black-and-white Kansas to a vivid, technicolor Oz and back again, is one in which Dorothy's external life has correspondences to an inner world. This inner/outer correspondence is taken further when the persons of Dorothy's external life appear as transmogrified personages in her inner world. The Kansas farmhands are her Oz companions. The traveling professor is the Wizard of Emerald City. The nasty Miss Gulch (whose last name is a sure tip-off to her archetypal role in the tale) could only be the Wicked Witch. The movie as a whole is not simply about Dorothy's adventures in Oz, but explicitly framed by both technique and character to show that Dorothy actually lives in two worlds. These worlds are different from each other, but also mysteriously, delightfully, and frighteningly interconnected.

The same theme is recapitulated within Oz, because each Oz character is fundamentally not what he or she seems. The Scarecrow scares no one. The Tin Woodsman is rusted. The Cowardly Lion is an oxymoron. Glinda and the Wicked Witch have two aspects. The beneficent Glinda has withheld important information from Dorothy on how to use the slippers' power to get home to Kansas; and the Witch of the West is but one half of a nefarious pair. Even the Witch's fierce palace guards are half-human, half-monkey, turning out to be hapless victims more than evil monsters. Dorothy is confounded throughout Oz, confronted with flowers that talk and trees that fight back. Appearances in Oz continually belie the reality beneath.

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Naturally, the capital of this dynamic interplay between "what is" and "what seems" is the Emerald City. The foursome's entry into the city is immediately followed by a carriage ride behind a chameleon-like "horse of a different color," which actually changes color from shot to shot in the film sequence. Before seeing the Wizard, Dorothy and her friends must undergo an elaborate make-over in a busy Art Deco-style beauty salon. The gifts the Wizard bestows upon the Scarecrow, Tinman, and Lion are but external tokens of inner qualities—a diploma for intelligence, an honorific heart-watch (ticker) for love, a medal for courage. In this way, the gifts ironically point up the Wizard's ineffectuality and, as Ulanov notes, the necessity of inner development rather than outer achievement.

This counterpoint between appearances and reality is basic to the movie's thematic and visual structure, and the psychological factor at issue in this counterpoint is one of Jung's distinctive contributions to psychology, the persona. Jung used the term "persona" to denote the part of the personality that an individual presents to others in a social context: the external face or mask determined by one's role, one's external attributes, or one's professional activities. For this reason—because the persona is formed and conditioned by collective expectations and values—Jung considered it a segment of the collective psyche and spoke of it in somewhat derogatory terms:

It is, as its name implies, only a mask of the collective psyche, a mask that feigns individuality, making others and oneself believe that one is individual, whereas one is simply acting a role through which the collective psyche speaks.

When we analyze the persona, we strip off the mask—and discover that what had seemed to be individual is at bottom collective. In other words, we realize that the persona was only a mask of the collective psyche. Fundamentally, the persona is nothing real: it is a compromise between individual and society as to what one should appear to be. One takes a name, earns a title, exercises a function, one is this or that. In a certain sense all this is real, yet in relation to the essential individuality of the person concerned, it is only a secondary reality, a compromise formation, in the making of which others often have a greater share than oneself. The persona is a semblance, a two-dimensional reality, to give it a nickname. (CW 7, pp. 157–158)

Jung did recognize, however, that a suitable persona is a psychic necessity, and he also acknowledged that the choice of the persona might be more complex and individually determined than one might at first think. Nevertheless, due perhaps to his own introversion or perhaps to his concern with inner individuality, Jung invariably described the persona in negative terms: as a means of concealment, a hindrance, a sacrifice to the

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external world, and a divisive element in consciousness (CW 7, pp. 192–193).

Jung considered the persona a mediator between the ego and the external world of consciousness, much in the way that the anima or animus serves as mediator between the ego and the unconscious. Jolande Jacobi writes that the positive function of the persona is to “build up a relatively stable facade adapted to the demands of present-day civilization. An elastic persona that ‘fits well’ belongs to the psychic wardrobe of the adult man, and its lack or its rigidity is an indication of psychic maldevelopment.”⁸ This split view of the persona permeates Jungian thought on the subject. The persona is necessary for psychic functioning, and yet false, a hindrance to true individuation. It is a psychic formation that stabilizes and protects, but also needs to be stripped before inner work can begin. Such ambivalence about the persona might account for the scarcity of any extended discussion of the subject in Jungian literature, especially concerning its helpful or positive function.

This ambivalence is a drawback when attempting to examine the psychological development of individuals whose social position is one of being an “outsider,” as with gay people. Gay people face persona issues more directly than other perceived outsiders. The persona is the place in the personality in which a compromise must be forged between collective values and individual needs. Because gay men’s inner homosexual feelings develop at odds with collective expectations of heterosexual masculinity, these feelings are generally hidden or denied. Thus, one of the basic themes of Dorothy’s myth is the essential psychological situation for gay men: “All is not what it seems” for gay men beneath society’s ill-fitting mask of heterosexual sex roles.

The predominance of heterosexual sex roles as an unconscious psychosocial assumption in Western culture creates a mask of collective expectation that binds and restricts a gay man, distorts the true movements of Eros that he experiences, and serves to hide his real individuality even from himself. The suffering experienced by a gay man in this gulf between “what is” and “what seems” often serves the interests of his real self, much as Dorothy’s tornado, picking him up and putting him down on the Yellow Brick Road to individual authenticity.

To fail as a gay man in shucking off society’s persona, to fail to come out and affirm one’s homosexuality inwardly and outwardly is to retain the collective armor of social convention, often to deleterious effect. The creation of a suitable persona—a persona that represents and contains one’s inner life, but does not conceal, a persona that protects while remaining flexible and resilient—such persona creation is one of the most important

psychological tasks facing gay men in a homophobic society. Accordingly, the gay male community reflects and supports this central concern in myriad, rich ways.

Leather, especially black leather, as *the* pre-eminent, post-Gay Liberation clothing material, seems very much related to persona dynamics. After all, what better physical symbol for the kind of persona that gay people need in a homophobic society than the revealing, but protective sheath of a second skin whose flexibility is matched only by its strength? What better focus for community celebration than the twin feasts of Halloween and Carnival, where persona-creation and persona-exhibition has become an enacted ritual of archetypal masks and flamboyant costuming? What better field of human endeavor for gay people than the arts, where the dialogue between form and content lies at the heart of all creation? What community of people loves camp, irony, and sarcasm more than the gay community, delighting in exposing "what is" unseemly or laughable behind "what seems"? What better and more enduring cultural institution than transvestism to express these issues? This is an important point. In contrast to transvestism as an individual sexual behavior, whose practitioners, research has shown, are predominantly heterosexual, cross-dressing has historically been, as mentioned, a *cultural* act for gay people. The decline in respect for "drag queens" within the gay community is due to the rise of a more sophisticated political analysis of anti-gay prejudice. Such analysis recommends that prejudice be opposed through more authentic visibility, so as to create healthy, rather than defensive, personae for gay people in society and thereby assure psychological and social freedom.

Obviously, the popularity of Dorothy's story among gay men is evidence that this myth of persona creation strikes a deep chord within the souls of gay men. The persona task for Dorothy in the movie is to see beneath "what seems" in Kansas in order to know more fully "what is" in Oz. The movie, which is the tale of her stripping off her persona to find her soul, is a symbol of transformation. Kansas, once stifling, has new depth and richness on her return home. During her sojourn in Oz, she must see beneath the ineffectuality of her male companions to aid them in developing true intelligence, heart, and fearlessness. She must unmask the Wizard, find the Witch's vulnerability, and go beneath Glinda's bright surface to uncover the wisdom that will bring her home. All these tasks have deep symbolic resonance for gay men, who must, in Malcom Boyd's words, "take off the masks" and journey between the inhospitable outer face of convention to find the color, life, and power of their sexuality within. Dorothy's search symbolizes gay men's own attempt to work through the falseness of who they "seem" and to fashion a mediating persona that will reflect who they

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“are.” Gay men *are* Dorothy’s friends in that they, too, must find their way home to a true self in the world. And as with Dorothy, the forces that set this search in motion are often autonomous. Dorothy didn’t decide to go to Oz; she left the security of home and was quite suddenly blown over the rainbow, where she had to find her way back or be lost forever.

For gay men, the persona themes in the movie are intimately connected to the film’s other mythic theme, the relationship between masculinity and femininity. By coming to terms with Oz and finding her way home again, Dorothy succeeds in finding a standpoint of self in a world where nothing is what it seems and everyone has two faces. In transforming both her inner and outer reality, she brings reality closer to appearances and, consequently, appearances closer to reality. By reconciling the opposites of masculinity and femininity, by finding her true individual self between appearance and reality, between Kansas and Oz, Dorothy provides more for gay people than a simple representation of an inner psychological process. She provides a message of hope that they, too, can accomplish the same reconciliation: find their own point of reality in a house of social mirrors, create a home for themselves based on their own individuality and their own history, and affirm outwardly the life of Eros they live within their souls.

Robert H. Hopcke is the author of *Jung, Jungians, and Homosexuality* and *A Guided Tour of the Collected Works of C. G. Jung*. He has written numerous articles on homosexuality and men’s issues for Jungian journals worldwide. In addition to his private psychotherapy practice in Berkeley, California, he is the director of the AIDS Prevention Program at Operation Concern, a gay and lesbian counseling agency in San Francisco.

Notes

- 1 Ann Belford Ulanovsky, *The Wizard of Oz* (Evanston: North Western University Press, 1965).
- 2 Carol Tavris and Richard A. Levinson, *The Rainbow* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975).
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