

gay businesses, in whose premises the papers are often distributed free. Clinics and counseling services have sprung up that address themselves specifically to the needs of gay and lesbian clients.

While gay radicals decry many of these commercial activities as mere mimicry of the capitalist norms of the larger society, the strength of the gay community may well lie more in the economic activities that it is able to support than in the political power which it is largely unable to wield because its members are so thinly dispersed over the territory of most self-governing political units. The *Gayyellow Pages* for the USA and Canada and the *Spartacus Guide* now published in West Berlin furnish a fairly reliable annual index to this growing network of enterprises and services in many countries. Organizations of gay businessmen have been formed in a number of cities as well.

This web of commercial activity also explains the failure of a gay movement to arise in countries where state socialism precludes the creation of an economic power base, and where in turn there are no independent media in which group identity and solidarity could be cultivated. In the past enterprises catering to a gay clientele often fell under the control of the underworld because respectable businessmen wanted nothing to do with them and because of the need for protection from police harassment. With the lessening of the stigma, the economic development of the gay community is only a matter of time and of the prosperity of the nation in whose midst it resides. Moreover, the ability to convert economic power into political power may well be the key to the ultimate success of the movement for homosexual emancipation.

Warren Johansson

EDUCATION

Recent perspectives have focused on the place in our educational system of students and teachers who happen to be homosexual. Responding to the emergence

of a broad-based gay and lesbian movement, some of these individuals have joined organizations for mutual support and defense against discrimination. There is, however, an older tradition that holds that homoerotic attraction itself has a significant place in the educational experience: the pedagogic eros.

Rationale. To understand the continuing role of same-sex patterns in education, it is useful to suspend, at least for the sake of argument, initial objections. In this light the rationale for a homoerotic component in education may be set forth in the following terms. The adolescent often has a homosexual phase of development that precedes the heterosexual one—a kind of "dry run" for the sexuality of adulthood that permits him or her to experience erotic stimulation and pleasure without incurring the danger of pregnancy. This homosexual phase may have as its object an adult who is not just the lover of the adolescent, but also a role model—appropriately of the same sex. A heterosexual liaison, apart from the unwanted reproductive aspect, would be discordant because the male youth can only mature into an adult man, the female into an adult woman.

If this reasoning is valid, the homosexual character of the initiatory process thus flows from biological and social constraints quite as logically as does the heterosexual character of the reproductive process. Every society has an objective need for the biological reproduction of its members—its demographic base—that far transcends the ephemeral attraction of a man and a woman for one another. In the same way it has an objective need for the reproduction of its traditions and values—its cultural base—that far transcends the ephemeral attraction of an adult and an adolescent of the same sex for each other. The shorter time-span of the pederastic attachment—conditioned as it is by biological stimuli—as compared with the heterosexual one is justified by its role in the service of the *eros paida-*

gogikos (the child-educating eros), which if successful must end in the maturing of the younger party and his or her emancipation from the transitory homoerotic and educational phase to enter the world of adulthood as a full-fledged member of society; while the heterosexual attachment serves the *eros paidopoios* (the child-begetting eros), which is followed by responsibility for rearing the children from infancy to adulthood. The two expressions of the sexual drive are thus complementary and non-antagonistic in character; they represent the evolutionary underpinning of the social relationships obligatory for the twofold continuity of the human community, the biological and the cultural.

That the Judeo-Christian tradition has defamed the homoerotic urge and driven it underground does not alter the evolutionary legacy which is intimately linked with man's survival as a time-binding animal—one that does not simply reproduce its kind as the consequence of an irrational compulsion to procreate, but also must in each generation recapitulate the acquisition of the cultural heritage which must be *learned*, as much by the genius as by the mediocre or even talentless student.

The effort to suppress the homosexual component of education is unlikely ever completely to succeed, no matter what the means employed or the amount of pain and sorrow inflicted on those who violate the taboo. If the above reasoning be true, an educational program cognizant of the findings of modern psychology would do well to accept this phenomenon as a potentially serviceable part of the process of learning. Yet even if modern opinion were able to discard its prejudices, rehabilitation of the pedagogic eros would still face obstacles. To be sure, many would concede that the teacher requires some special appreciation of his or her pupils to muster—year in, year out—the instructional fervor needed to overcome their natural recalcitrance to learning. Yet, with

the best will in the world, introduction of erotic bonds may conclude by retarding the process of maturation that for the student is the essential dynamic of the educational endeavor. While over the years the teacher has become accustomed to transferring his interest from one pupil cohort to another, the student—as a “first-timer”—may become fixated in the pattern of a relationship, which by its own character can only be transitory. It is also said that the pedagogic eros is asymmetrical, since the teacher is more powerful than the student. Yet many, perhaps most, human relationships are asymmetrical. This is true of education itself, whether one views it as a process of introjection—that is, the teacher helping the student progress by inspiration—or of elucidation, the Socratic midwifery whereby the teacher encourages the student to bring forth knowledge from inner resources.

Antiquity. The ancient Greeks were the first to practice and explore the full range of relations between homophilia and education. Although the origins of the institution of **pederasty** are lost in the mists of early Hellenic society, when it first emerges into view it is essentially initiatory, the paradigm being that of the older man who takes an adolescent under his wing to train him in military and manly virtues. In the course of time, and depending on the locality, this relationship became simplified into a merely erotic one. **Sappho's** school on the island of Lesbos shows that in some communities of ancient Greece a parallel pedagogic-erotic tradition existed for women and girls.

In Athens in the fifth century, however, with its high regard for education in the modern sense, the initiatory process was retained and reshaped so as to focus no longer on purely military virtues but on education in the modern sense, including—for the most gifted—**philosophy**. It is this conception that is recorded in **Plato's** dialogues. These writings also idealize a chaste kind of pederastic guidance in which the beauty of the boy is

cherished, but physical expression of the admiration is resisted. Nonetheless, it seems clear that many pederastic teachers did not resist. The direction of Plato's Academy was itself conducted for several generations according to a succession from *erastes* to *eromenos*—lover to beloved—and these relationships do not seem all to have been without sexual expression. The heritage was taken up by the Stoic thinkers who recommended not so much total abstinence as moderation.

Eclipse of the Pedagogic Eros. The link between pedagogy and pederasty, which had become almost second nature to the Greeks, was not indigenous to the Romans, where it emerged among them it was thanks to philhellenism. It was Christianity, however, that finally severed the connection—or so it would seem. For by developing monasticism, by definition a same-sex community consisting of individuals of different ages, Christianity created a new set of temptations. The texts of the various Rules and penitentials contain instructions on how to avoid temptations. Nonetheless, it seems clear that in monasteries and nunneries there developed deeply rooted traditions of “particular friendships” that were passed on, in due course, to the same-sex elite schools of modern Europe.

The Italian Renaissance restored classical culture to a place of honor, and some thinkers, such as the Florentine Marsilio Ficino, began to advance cautious arguments in favor of restoring the link between pedagogy and eros. In the sixteenth century Camillo Scroffa wrote his *Cantici di Fidenzio* about the unrequited love of a Paduan pedant for his student, while in the *Alcibiade fanciullo a scola* (ca. 1652) Antonio Rocco set forth a bold plea for sexual enjoyment as the culmination of the student-teacher relationship.

Educational reformers of the eighteenth century recognized that segregating adolescents in same-sex schools created a hot-house climate for homosexual sentiments and actions, and in time

these were replaced by the “healthier environment” of today's coeducational schools. The nineteenth-century English public school remained sex-segregated and, in conjunction with the reading of the Greek classics, led to the “higher homoeroticism” as found, for example, among the Cambridge Apostles.

The Twentieth Century. In the two decades preceding World War I, Central Europe was the scene of several important trends for social and sexual change. The youth movement known as the Wandervogelbewegung generated, as a byproduct, the book of Hans Blüher, *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen* (1912), a work that forthrightly defended erotic relationships between men and boys as a positive contribution to the consolidation of social bonds. More elitist was the contemporary Stefan George circle, which sought to recruit a small group of highly gifted young men, who were also notable for their good looks. Educational in the more narrow institutional sense was the Free School Community founded at Wickersdorf near Weimar in 1906 by Gustav Wyneken (1875–1964). Wyneken advocated a new version of Greek *paiderasteia* as an educational procedure for the initiation of privileged youth into art and culture. Unfortunately, Wyneken's experiment was shattered by a series of charges and countercharges in 1920.

It is significant that the free-school movement of the Anglo-Saxon world—as seen, for example, at the famous Summerhill in England—never dared permit any sexual component. And in the United States, the “life adjustment” trend, which was not to peak until the 1940s, was strictly an adjustment to the heterosexual norm. In the 1940s and 1950s American teachers and college professors whose homosexuality was exposed were subject to instant dismissal in mid-semester, even if there had been no overt sexuality with students. Academic freedom or no, any academic who dared to write about homosexuality had to assume a posture of stern disap-

proval, or else conceal his identity behind an impermeable pseudonym.

The Ferment of Change. Change was not to come until the 1960s when demographic and social trends, catalyzed by the growth of the **Counterculture** and opposition to the Vietnam War, caused a loosening of traditional attitudes. The new educational theories seemed to bring life into the placid—sometimes almost comatose—purlieu of educational theory. Yet this shakeup was less novel than it was assumed, going back to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's eighteenth-century critique of authoritarianism in education. A number of the 1960s reformers were themselves gay. The most notable of these was Paul Goodman (1911–1972) who, largely self-educated, sought to bring an anarchist perspective to the theory of education.

In 1966 Stephen Donaldson founded the first gay student organization on the campus of Columbia University in New York City. Despite much opposition on the part of administrations, similar organizations sprang up in hundreds of North American college campuses. Shortly thereafter, but more cautiously, gay and lesbian teachers' associations, usually comprising those in the primary and secondary schools rather than college teachers, appeared in a number of localities.

In 1973 the Gay Academic Union (GAU) was formed in New York City to bring institutional change and foster the development of gay studies programs in academia. In keeping with the liberationist ideas of the time, GAU expected that many faculty members would "come out" by acknowledging their homosexuality, and that some of these would offer courses in gay and lesbian studies. Yet by the end of the eighties there were probably fewer than fifty openly gay and lesbian tenured professors in an American university system that boasted more than 2000 campuses. Moreover, these faculty members tend to be concentrated in schools of second rank rather than in the Ivy League and the great state universities. The caution of

many established teachers, combined with a covert "tracking system" that tended to shunt overtly gay faculty to the sidelines, served to reduce the number of "out" teachers. The situation with gay studies has been even more discouraging. No coordinated programs, such as those for women's studies and black studies, took root, and there was even a dearth of individual courses. Much research and teaching has had to be organized in parallel, private institutions, such as Los Angeles's ONE, Inc. Finally, in the 1980s the emergence of a more conservative social climate and the AIDS crisis have caused gay and lesbian students, especially in secondary schools, to assume a lower profile.

In short, the bottle is half empty, but it is also half full. It is unlikely that there will be a return to the atmosphere of clandestinity and open contempt with which gay members of the college community had to contend in the 1950s. Many university administrations acknowledge the need to support gay and lesbian student organizations, and few are willing to tolerate antigay violence on campus. Gay studies courses may be scarce, but special campus events in what is often termed "gay pride week" offer informative lectures. Although faculty still find little encouragement in their efforts to expand teaching and research in this realm, an increasing number of serious scholars are writing and publishing on homosexuality in their own disciplines.

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Ward Houser

EDWARD II (1284–1327)

Plantagenet king of England. Born at Caernarvon, Edward was the first English Prince of Wales. Said by one four-