

psychologist studying the issues of identity formation, functioning, and public opinion on the subject. Also, the campus-bound inertia of many psychologists makes the base of their investigations too narrow and too divorced from everyday life. College sophomores figure in small print as the subjects in paper after paper, hence the findings apply to this upwardly mobile, middle-class population. Public opinion sampling has addressed the issue of constructing representative groups of respondents who accurately reflect the range of attitudes within a heterogeneous society, but also of ascertaining regional and class dimensions of political and social belief. These inquiries, however, often lack the precision and depth of the psychologist's elaborately constructed and administered questionnaire or interview.

The number of papers and dissertations in which homosexuality figures in one connection or another continues to grow, and the stigma that once attached even to the academic investigator of the subject is waning. So psychology will in the future confront the problem of homosexuality with all the issues that arise from the subject's interaction with the special areas of investigation that comprise the discipline.

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Warren Johansson

PSYCHOTHERAPY

The effort to treat mental or emotional disorders by psychiatric means,

sometimes accompanied by drugs and surgery, is a characteristic modern phenomenon, stemming originally from a "social engineering" belief system—the idea that societal ills may be attacked and banished in the same way as public health problems such as epidemics and poor sanitation. Recent experience indicates that more modest expectations are in order.

History and Rationale. Medieval and early modern society regarded the insane as simply irretrievable, and relegated them permanently to the margins of society. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, however, a new group of alienists, influenced by the **Enlightenment**, sought to cure the insane by humane treatments. Their success in this recuperative effort, qualified as it was, nonetheless contributed to the growth of the idea that there was no sharp break between the insane and the mentally healthy, but rather a continuum, with various states of neurosis occupying the zones between the two poles. Human hypochondria being what it is, the spread of this nuanced view had the unfortunate side effect of causing many functioning human beings to regard themselves as neurotic and to seek psychotherapy. Also, many individuals whose problems were essentially ones of morale—an indefinable malaise, lack of purpose in life, boredom at work, the drying up of the creative impulse—sought relief from the psychotherapist as if their difficulties were medical, although they were suffering from no known clinical entity.

Recent social critiques distinguish sharply between coercive and voluntary psychotherapy. It is recognized that coercive therapy, which ranged from family-compelled visits to the therapist to such brutal treatments as psychiatrist-ordered electric shock, has been overused. Even with voluntary treatments, however, clients were kept attending sessions for years, being bled white of their money and developing a crippling emotional dependence on the therapist. To all intents and purposes, the psychotherapist had taken

the place of the priest or astrologer of former times, but with such a heavy baggage of medical and pseudomedical assumptions that consultation of the priest or astrologer might have been more effective. Many now recognize the limitations of psychotherapy, and shorter, result-oriented programs are more common. For the individual seeking voluntary treatment today, however, a bewildering variety of therapies—as many as 250 according to one account—are available.

Homosexuals and Psychotherapy. During the height of the modern coercive therapy trend in the first half of the twentieth century, many homosexuals were treated against their will. Such barbarous treatments as lobotomy and electroshock were widely practiced. In many instances the victims of these procedures were young people who had been committed by their parents or guardians. In keeping with the law in some American states homosexuals were even castrated. Even when these steps were not actually taken, dread that they would be applied, often accompanied by open threats, served to reduce many to the status of miserable accomplices in their own degradation. Adverse publicity and the abandonment of the idea that homosexuality is an illness eventually greatly reduced the prevalence of these appalling punitive practices. Yet incarcerated pedophiles are still subjected to a variety of involuntary treatments—some amounting to chemical castration.

The subjection of homosexuals to barbaric therapies, an accepted procedure within living memory, is one of the factors that have caused a healthy skepticism of the ethics of psychotherapy. In most countries of the First World greater sensitivity is found among professionals. In countries of the Soviet bloc and many Third World nations arbitrary use of coercive psychotherapy persists as a way of coping with political dissent.

Over the years there have undoubtedly been many closeted homosexual therapists, professionals who concealed

their orientation in order to retain their positions. The most famous example is Harry Stack Sullivan (1892–1949), who headed the William Allenson White Foundation in New York City. Because of this factor of professional concealment, homosexuals could be undertaking treatment from another homosexual without realizing it. Apart from this problem, many earlier treatment programs were simply exercises in futility with the patient agreeing pro forma to the goal of change of orientation, but in fact continuing to cherish his deeply rooted wishes and desires.

Realism requires one to concede that even overt identity of the client's sexual orientation with that of the therapist offers no guarantee of a satisfactory outcome—or even inception. Today, however, there are many affirmative gay and lesbian therapists who are concerned not with changing the client's orientation but with making possible a richer and more rewarding life within that orientation. Many hold that a lesbian should seek a lesbian therapist, a gay man a gay male therapist. The main point is that the procedures should be affirmative and constructive in the best sense. To this end, client and therapist should achieve a firm understanding of goals and commitments, including costs, before undertaking work together. It should be recognized that other complications, such as **alcoholism** and family relations, may need to be taken into account. Even so, therapy is at best an art, not a science, and no exaggerated hopes should be entertained of any major personality transformation. The most that therapy is likely to achieve is to permit the client more effectively "to play the hand he or she is dealt."

Under the editorship of Professor David Scasta (Temple University Medical School), a *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy* was founded in 1989 (Haworth Press).

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Wayne R. Dynes

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This is the British name for the private secondary schools that educate, for sizable fees, upper-class and upwardly mobile middle-class children between the ages of twelve and eighteen—the future elite of the nation. Their educational methods and the environment in which adolescents spend the formative years of their adolescence have done much to shape British character. Although some of them were founded in the mid-fourteenth century beginning with Winchester in 1378, whose statutes, enacted in 1400, governed it until 1857, they took on their present character only with the reforms of Thomas Arnold (father of Matthew) toward the middle of the nineteenth century, but during the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth the study of Latin and Greek formed practically the entire curriculum.

Basic Features. Traditionally boarding schools with harsh living conditions (including physical discomfort and corporal punishment for misdemeanors), public schools permitted a good deal of autonomy, allowing the adolescent subculture—with all its cruelty and demand for conformity—to dominate the lives of the boys. The curriculum introduced by Arnold was strongly classical, Latin and Greek being the principal subjects; but public schools also emphasized athletics and teamwork that made for success on the playing field. At the same time Victorian evangelism invested the schools with

the pietistic ideal of creating “Christian gentlemen.” Graduates of the “public schools,” the best secondary institutions in the country, have an enormous advantage in competing for admission to the leading universities—**Cambridge and Oxford** as well as London, or to Sandhurst or the Royal Naval College. And to boot, access to the nine great public schools, led by Eton and Harrow, was limited to the sons of alumni, who had to be registered with the school at the time of their birth.

Homosocial and Homosexual Aspects. The public schools have a homoerotic ambiance that may not find overt expression; but confined as they are with members of their own sex, at what is for many the “homosexual phase,” and approaching the peak of their physical beauty, the boys are perforce involved in intense friendships that amount to love affairs. The degree of acceptance of these attachments has varied over the decades, but there is abundant evidence for homosexual affairs between public school boys and between them and their teachers, who are in some instances homosexuals of the pederastic type—attracted solely to boys of that age, not to adults.

At the same time the public schools inculcate an ethos of duty, of loyalty, of service to king and country that amounts to an initiation into what Hans Blüher called the “male society,” the form of social organization based on male bonding that is the foundation of the state and of its administrative and military apparatus. And the public schools, whatever defects their curriculum may have had, did train and instill in the men who governed the Empire the virtues requisite for ruling.

Evidence for homosexual activity within the public schools is slight from the early modern period, although Nicholas Udall, the headmaster of Eton, was in 1543 exposed as a result of an unsuccessful attempt of two of his pupils implicated in the theft of silver objects to blackmail him into silence. The death penalty for buggery