

non-law-abiding working-class male (and especially of the prostitutes, small-time criminals, and members of the armed forces who are most likely to be involved in such relationships) provides the spice of perceived danger to heighten sexual tension.

For the working-class male, there is in addition to financial incentives also the satisfaction of at least temporary domination—in a sphere which is a critical part of his self-imagery—of the otherwise loftily superior aristocrat, and moreover the adventure of obtaining glimpses of an otherwise fabled but unobtainable lifestyle. Psychologically, there is often, on the part of working-class men who remain in what they see as the “male” role, a sense of contempt for the “weak” aristocrat, which serves as compensation for the socially-propagated sense of inferiority of the class as a whole, and feelings of conquest which support a sense of masculinity and therefore help justify participation in homosexual acts.

In America there is a related phenomenon between members of the vast middle class and the working class, and to some extent between layers of the middle class itself. This motif is seen most prominently in the eroticization of such working-class occupations as construction worker, truck driver, cowboy, farmhand, enlisted serviceman, stock clerk, as reflected in gay-oriented art, **pornography**, and the like. It is also a factor in many if not most interracial relationships. An ironic twist to this theme has been the simulation of working-class play roles by members of the educated upper middle class when they dress for social encounters in gay bars; blue-collar work **clothes** are perceived as sexy, whereas tailored business suits are not.

There is some debate as to the extent of sexual democratization in the homosexual **subculture**. Observers have little doubt that non-commercial sexual liaisons cross class lines far more frequently than in heterosexual circles, and that an attractive young son of the work-

ing class can parlay his looks into upward mobility in a way known to the heterosexual culture only for a select few females. On the other hand, there is a question as to how many of these cross-class connections lead to long-lasting relationships; in the long run non-sexual affinities and differences may prove more powerful than the sexual stimulus of an interclass encounter. Even short-term relationships, however, provide exposure to differing class mores and economic situations, and it is at least arguable that these links have led to more political support for the working class among middle-class homosexuals than would otherwise be expected.

These class-crossing associations may be said to be part of a larger phenomenon whereby opposites attract. The parallel—and overlap—with interracial relations has been noted above. Other phenomena that may be psychologically related are intergenerational eroticism and the sexual pursuit of simpletons sometimes termed morophilia.

See also Fiedler Thesis.

Stephen Donaldson

WYNEKEN, GUSTAV (1875–1964)

German educator and pedagogical theorist. Born in Stade near Hamburg as the son of a Lutheran minister, Wyneken endured unpleasant experiences at the Ilfeld Boarding School that were one source of his impetus for educational reform. Through Hermann Lietz (1868–1919), the founder of the first Country Home School at Ilsenburg in 1898, he made contact with the educational reform movement. But after some years at Ilsenburg, Wyneken and a group of adherents, among them Paul Geheeb, split off in 1906 to form the Wickersdorfer Freie Schulgemeinde (Wickersdorf Free School Community). Located near the village of Wickersdorf in the Thuringian Forest, the school with its 140 pupils was an example of the pedagogical island: a nascent society of adolescents

detached from the larger adult society around them, but possessing a *Jugendkultur* (youth culture) of its own that could be the nucleus of a future social order different from the existing one. But in contrast with the Wandervogelbewegung (the German equivalent of the Boy Scout movement) and the Country Home School Movement, the Wickersdorf community was not nationalist or pietistic in its ideology. It professed an international outlook, since Wyneken taught that the nation does not exist for itself alone, but as part of the higher division of labor within the world community; that if the nation possesses a specific genetic, historical, and cultural heritage, these have meaning only insofar as they outstandingly or uniquely fit it to perform certain of the eternal tasks of mankind as a whole. He rejected as a thing of the past the narrow, chauvinistic education that taught the pupil to hate and despise foreign nations and their cultures.

In the life of the school *Kameradschaften* (comradeships) between teacher and pupil served to institutionalize the pedagogical eros. It was a freely chosen relationship that entailed fidelity, veneration and love. The teacher-leader and pupil-friend addressed each other in the familiar *Du* form and on a first-name basis. The older friend bore in every respect the responsibility for the pupils under his charge. But though these bonds were an integral part of the school's functioning now and then they gave rise to tension and rivalry, in part because the attachments were exclusive and emotionally demanding and could lead to intense possessiveness and an unwillingness to accept the transitory character of the union.

In the fall of 1920 Wyneken became the center of a scandal inside the Wickersdorf School Community. Some of his fellow teachers accused him of having committed homosexual acts with boys in his friendship circle, and even of twice

having embraced pupils while nude. Wyneken had to resign as leader of the school to avert possible closing by the government, though a committee of inquiry appointed by the school itself concluded that his conduct did not imply homosexual relations. But a libel suit filed against a teacher named Kurt Hoffmann backfired when the public prosecutor in nearby Rudolstadt brought charges against Wyneken for violating Paragraph 174, Section 1 of the Penal Code (indecent acts with minors), and in the trial that took place behind closed doors on August 30, 1921 he was found guilty and sentenced to one year in prison. Wyneken appealed his conviction and defended his conduct in a book entitled *Eros* (1921), in which he dissociated his behavior from modern homosexuality and likened it to the pedagogical eros of Greek antiquity, to a "new Hellenism."

A great controversy ensued in which the main wing of the homophile movement which championed the theories of Magnus Hirschfeld was at odds with those who defended *paideraestia* as superior to modern homosexuality, while those who sought to classify homosexual relationships with minors as pathological denounced Wyneken for "attempting to rationalize homosexuality"—an accusation he rejected. A *roman à clef* about the affair was even written by Erich Ebermeyer under the title *Kampf um Odilienberg* (Struggle for Odilienberg). Even though Wyneken championed a concept of pedagogical eros in which the sensual element was overtly denied, the fate of his experiment was noted by other champions of "free schools," in Germany and elsewhere, who thereafter tried to exclude every scintilla of erotic content from their institutions.

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