



The construction of LGBT+ identities as deviant: an analysis of the (re)pathologization of homosexuality in Brazil

A construção das identidades LGBT + como desviantes: uma análise da (re)patologização da homossexualidade no Brasil

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Abstract: The aim of this article was to understand, from the sociology of deviation, the processes of (re)pathologization of homosexualities in Brazil, present in the event "gay cure". Data were collected through bibliographic research and materials published in digital media. The construction of the concept of deviation is discussed, in the light of Howard Becker's theoretical framework, seeking to identify how such a conceptual apparatus can explain homosexuality as a deviant category. Ahead, it reflects on the distinction between the concepts of sex and sexuality, in order to understand their

historical expressions in the construction of sexual identities and in the medical and social discourses of pathologization of homosexualities. Within this view, it addresses how pathological theories were built about LGBT + identities, and how this reality permeates the Brazilian history and experience of struggles of LGBT + movements. In this perspective, it points out how the reactions to the (re) pathologization discourse in Brazil were, evidencing the event popularly known as “gay cure”. Finally, it shows how all these situations contributed to a marginal look at LGBT + identities, with the reaffirmation of prejudices about them. It is argued that the idea of “gay healing” is a hybrid of religious, moral, social, cultural, political discourses, armed against LGBT + identities; despite reactively triggering processes of resistance and strengthening of individuals and LGBT + movements. The label of deviants attributed to homosexuals engenders their reaction in not accepting such a mistake, organizing themselves in social groups that demarcate and build the constant criticism of the imposed labels.

Key words: Deviation. LGBT+. Gay cure. Pathologization. Sexuality. Evangelical people.

Resumo: Objetivou-se neste artigo compreender, a partir da sociologia do desvio, os processos de (re)patologização das homossexualidades no Brasil, presentes no evento “cura gay”. Os dados para a elaboração do estudo foram coletados por meio de pesquisa bibliográfica e de materiais publicados em meios digitais. Discute-se a construção do conceito de desvio, a luz do marco teórico de Howard Becker, buscando identificar como tal aparato conceitual pode explicar a homossexualidade como uma categoria desviante. Adiante, reflete-se sobre a distinção entre os conceitos de sexo e sexualidade, de modo a compreender suas expressões históricas na construção das identidades sexuais e nos discursos médicos e sociais de patologização das homossexualidades. Dentro dessa visão, aborda-se como foram construídas as teorias patológicas a respeito das identidades LGBT+, e como essa realidade perpassa a história e vivência brasileira de lutas dos movimentos LGBT+. Nessa perspectiva, aponta-se como foram as reações ao discurso da (re)patologização no Brasil, evidenciando o evento conhecido popularmente como “cura gay”. Por fim, mostra-se como todas essas conjunturas contribuíram para um olhar marginal das identidades LGBT+, com a reafirmação de preconceitos a respeito delas. Defende-se que a ideia de “cura gay” é um híbrido de discursos religiosos, morais, sociais, culturais, políticos, armados contra as identidades LGBT+; não obstante desencadearem reativamente processos de resistências e fortalecimento dos indivíduos e dos movimentos LGBT+. O rótulo de desviantes imputado aos homossexuais engendra a reação desses em não aceitarem tal pecha, organizando-se em grupos sociais que demarcam e constroem a constante crítica aos rótulos impostos.

Palavras-chave: Desvio. LGBT+. Cura Gay. Patologização. Sexualidade. Evangélicos.

1. Introduction

The question that arises with this study is: how was the discourse of (re)pathologization of LGBT+ identities historically constructed in Brazil? And, how do these identities resist pathologization? Therefore, the objective of this work is to understand, from the sociology of deviation, the processes of (re)pathologization of homosexualities in Brazil, present in the event "gay cure".

We used in the article on the sociological concept of deviants/outside from the perspective of Becker (2008); situating homosexuality conceptually and historically within this idea; understand how the construction and categorization of deviation contributed to pathological approaches to LGBT+ identities; and, finally, carry out a historical rescue of the process of construction of the pathologization of LGBT+ identities in Brazil, in an attempt to demonstrate how this possible marginalization contributed both to their union as a deviant group and to the construction of a vision about their way of being, as well as presenting the State's contribution to the marginalization of LGBT+ identities, through actions that subjugated their experiences in the Brazilian context.

The issue of homosexuality as a pathology dates from much before the existence of Brazil and, here, it was built with a history marked by the notion of deviation and pathology that are revealed in several events. One of the most recent is what was called "Gay Cure" in the media – the focus of this study.

Despite the innumerable advances in society and the discourse of diversity having gained space, especially in the 21st century, several studies and conservative ideas still corroborate the view of abnormality of LGBT+ identities. Recently, in Brazil, the discussion on psychological treatments for LGBT+'s was approached again. Through a lawsuit, a group of psychologists pleaded and had their request granted by the judge challenging part of Resolution 001/1999, which establishes rules of action for psychologists in relation to sexual orientation issues, taking the discourse on homosexuality to biological and behavioral. Furthermore, such discourse defines what is normal and seeks to punish or even cure, which is considered a deviation, legitimizing actions of discrimination and prejudice.

2. Theoretical Reference

2.1. The outsider concept

Studies on the idea of “deviation” bring a new approach to understanding social relationships. However, the problem of deviation was inserted in these studies through a vision that, at times, carried out an approach that reduced the pathology and proved unable to overcome prejudices and intolerances (Velho, 1974). This vision went on for a long time, bringing medical arguments that intended solely and exclusively to face deviation as a medical dysfunction that, in turn, should be combated and treated. Still based on Velho (1974), it is argued that the traditional view associates the deviant individual with “abnormal” characteristics and behaviors and, therefore, must be diagnosed and treated.

Gradually, these ideas were being opposed, although not overcome, from the advent of sociology as a science that intended to understand individuals as subjects and their social interaction. Giddens (1984, p. 210), when discussing the deviation, started from the perspective of deviation “as what is not in accordance with a certain set of norms accepted by a significant number of people in a community or society”. In the author's view, the labeling of individuals as deviants is fundamental for the creation of the categories of deviation and, in turn, express the power structure of society, in the sense that, through this structure, those who exercise it are responsible by labeling individuals. In this sense,

People who represent the forces of law and order, or who are able to impose definitions of conventional morality on others, are the main agents of labeling. The labels applied in the creation of deviation categories, then, express the power structure of a given society. In general, the rules that define deviation and the contexts in which they are applied are established by the rich for the poor, men for women, the elderly for the youngest and the ethnic majority for minorities (Giddens, 2008, p. 228).

Becker (2008) treats the formulation of the concept of outsiders more densely. For him, these social rules created by groups form the basis for thinking about the concept of deviation and the imposition of right and wrong of acts and things and, in turn, define what an outsider/deviant is. Thus, Becker (2008) points out that social groups create the rules and try to impose them. Such rules make up a specific behavioral pattern, which classifies attitudes as "right" or "wrong" and the individual who does not act according to the rules is considered an outsider.

Thus, the deviation will face different conceptions. However, all are guided by the idea of the power that such a group has over the individual to whom it characterizes as deviant. Therefore, Becker maintains that:

Social groups create deviation by making rules whose infraction constitutes deviation, and by applying those rules to private individuals and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviation is not a quality of the act that the person commits, but a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender". The deviant is someone to whom this label has been successfully applied; deviant behavior is what people label as such (Becker, 2008, p.22).

However, the labeling of an individual as deviant affects not only the way in which this individual is seen by others, but also, the idea that he will have of himself to the extent that in order to escape or not be perceived by the inquisitor, the individual himself perceiving deviant or within your anonymity starts to question yourself.

In either case, being caught or marked as a deviant has important consequences for the individual's broader social participation and self-image. The most important is the drastic change in your public identity. Committing the improper act and being caught gives you a new status. He turned out to be a different type of person than he was supposed to be. He is labeled "fag", "addicted" or "crazy", and treated as such (Becker 2008, p.44).

Deviation is, therefore, a creation of the reaction of social groups towards those who escape their rules. Through the labeling of behavior, they consider as outsiders all those who escape their "normality" and its rules. These constraints imposed on the outsider subject will bring consequences both in their daily experience, as well as in the recognition of themselves, of rights and belonging – especially if this labeling permeates the sphere of sexuality – to a society, insofar as they feel they belong to something or some group is fundamental to belonging to society.

2.2. Homosexuality as deviation

To think about homosexuality is to think about the trajectory of human sexuality in its general context. According to Okita (2007, p. 22) "Sexuality has always been an integral part of the human experience, but its attitudes vary according to the time, society and material conditions". In this sense, historically, homosexuality has been present as a category of the sexual expression of individuals, however, with the change of social and individual parameters of society, it has acquired other ways of being seen.

Sexuality, says Foucault (1988), is a historical device, that is, for him, sexuality is a social invention, as it is historically constituted, based on the discourse about sex. Therefore, the author maintains that:

[...] sexuality is the name that can be given to a historical device: not to the underground reality that is apprehended with difficulty, but to the great network of the surface where the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of

pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of knowledge, the reinforcement of controls and resistance, are linked to each other, according to some great strategies of knowledge and power (Foucault, 1988, p.100).

There is, therefore, the stigma of deviation headed by the fine line between power and obedience and a normatization of sexualities that, according to Foucault (1988), occurs through power relations. Sexuality is produced through the discourse imposed on it and the hegemonic discourse translated by the institutions of power is heterosexuality. This reality flows into what is discussed about deviation, starting in the 19th century and in developing societies in the west, with the emergence of the homosexual category and its understanding as an identity. According to Miskolci (2007), during this period, sexual relations between men are no longer criminalized and homosexuals are treated as a deviated “species”, subject to medico-legal control.

An optics of social deviation was established from the perspective of homosexuality as a pathology, reinforcing the control discourse that, later in history, would be reinforced to fit the rules of social institutions. Although now inserted within a group, homosexual subjects are still categorized as deviant, as both their practices and their identity are considered “abnormal” because they do not reflect the normativity of the hegemonic group. Alves (2006, p. 22) states that, although these individuals have their conceptualized identities, these “concepts of homo, hetero, or transsexual have been built throughout history to meet the demands for control”. This control, to some extent, is similar to what Bauman (2005) classified as the negation of the experience of identities.

In this sense, homosexuality inserted as a deviation gains ground from the moment its expression, called “outside the rule”, is used to define it as a deviant identity. As if homosexuality were “contagious”, a resistance of approximation to other individuals is created (Louro, 2018) and, consequently, there is a limitation of social adherence to homosexualities. It is necessary, therefore, to understand this construction in order to understand the limitations imposed on homosexual subjects and the extent to which these actions were and are legitimized by a heteronormative discourse. This premise is exposed by Louro (2004), when he states that the binary logic, in which the body identified as male or female determines the gender (male or female), which, in turn, determines the desire specifically directed to the opposite sex, if translates into the sex-gender-sexuality relationship. This logic and the rigidity

it carry will be decisive for the understanding of homosexuality as deviant, insofar as, by not seeing in individuals the male and female consonance expressed by the majority, these subjects will be considered deviant.

In this sense, analyzing homosexualities considered as deviation goes far beyond understanding the social exclusion by which LGBT+ identities are inserted, it also consists in understanding their relationship and expression as individual and social subjects, and in how their categorization as deviants they leave the margin. It is talking about the individuals that Butler (2010, p. 155) classifies as abject beings, that is, “the abject designates here precisely those 'inhospitable' and 'uninhabitable' areas of social life, which are nevertheless densely populated by those of subject status, but whose dwelling under the sign of 'uninhabitable' is necessary for the domain of the subject to be circumscribed”. That in the eyes of normality they cannot or should not exist, as transvestites and transsexuals, and that, on countless occasions, they have their access to basic rights and activities of society, suppressed solely and exclusively, for being who they are.

2.3. The State discourse about sexuality

The assumptions of control, surveillance and punishment gained consonance in the State's actions. And with that, he was historically also an active agent in reaffirming this view of homosexual subjects as deviants. The changes occur very slowly.

The advancement in the effectiveness and prevalence of Human Rights aimed at sexual minorities, from the middle of the 19th century (Menezes, 2017), appears as a positive step in the attempt to realize rights, promote preventive actions and directed to the LGBT+ population in order to adopt measures capable of being effective against the constant attacks suffered by this population. Sociocultural issues that demanded openness to discussions of social relations of gender and sexual orientation gained ground “[...] especially from the 1960s, worldwide, and from 1970 onwards in Brazil, through social movements and their struggles for recognition and regulation in the field of law” (Santos, 2009, p. 65).

In Brazil, “the 1964 coup was one of the factors that prevented and repressed the appearance of homosexuals' claims for more than a decade longer” (Okita, 2007, p. 98). In this context, the State and its organs often assume the role of a direct agent

of repression against homosexualities, as well as the family, education and the church are also considered agents.

The considerations about deviation mentioned in the previous sections assume important outlines in how the State will see homosexual subjects, insofar as they reverberate in their individual and collective experiences. Realizing this vision allows us to understand what is the State's participation in the lives of these subjects and in the development of society towards diversity, considering that, in the Brazilian context, politics and religion are increasingly intertwined, given the increase representatives of the so-called "Bancada Evangélica", who sow religious conservatism in political decisions.

The incorporation of this discourse of religious political overtones gains more significant outlines in the current Brazilian political context. The increase in speeches and actions that show intolerant views with LGBT+ experiences and identities gained more significant outlines after the 2018 elections. As an example, the minister of the Ministry of Women, Racial Equality and Human Rights (MMIRDH), Damares Alves, in his speech she categorized and differentiated male and female patterns, linking them to the colors blue and pink, respectively. She received in her office representatives of the group of Ex-Gays of Brazil (group of people who say they are "cured" of homosexuality) and psychologists who claim the right to "gay cure" therapies, in addition to that, provisional measure nº 870/19 signed by the President of the Republic Jair Bolsonaro upon taking office, removing the LGBT+ population from the list of policies and guidelines aimed at promoting human rights, turns on a warning light on how the State will work on identity and gender issues.

Now, if the ministry is now titled as Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights, and LGBT+ identities are not included in it, it is important to ask what is the possibility of these individuals who do not fit into the family conceptions adopted by the Government current state are part of public policies?

3. Research methodology

The methodological approach of the research is descriptive and qualitative in nature. The descriptive methodological use was brought up with the objective of describing the reality of the themes of deviation, pathologization and the "gay cure" event as the

focus of study. We sought to identify from readings of books, periodicals and research on internet sites, speeches, concerns, propositions and actions carried out by different actors who contributed to the interpretation of these positions within the proposal of the studied theme.

With regard to qualitative research, it was concerned with deepening the understanding of the groups and social actors involved, as the objective to explain the reason for things, as a way of producing information that is in-depth and illustrative for a better understanding of the problems and objectives proposed by the work.

The study was divided into two stages. In the first, it was decided to make a theoretical survey about the term deviation in the context of sociology, in the light of the concepts of sociologists Anthony Giddens, Michel Foucault and Howard Becker. In addition, there was a survey of theoretical data about the emergence of the term homosexuality, going through historical contexts beginning in the 17th century until the 20th century, having Michael Foucault's studies as its source. In a second step, it was willing to identify, also through a theoretical approach, the relations between State and homosexualities. Chart 1 shows the main sources.

Chart 1 - Bibliographic material.

Bibliographic material	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Howard Saul Becker – Outsiders; • Michel Foucault – The History of Sexuality I: The Will to Knowledge; • Michel Foucault – Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison; • Anthony Giddens – Sociologia; • Guacira Lopes Louro – O Corpo: Pedagogias da Sexualidade • Guacida Lopes Louro – Um corpo estranho: ensaios sobre sexualidade e a teoria queer • Zygmunt Bauman – Identity; • Hiro Okita – Homosexuality; • Gilberto Velho – Desvio e Divergência; • Vera Lúcia Ribeiro dos Santos – Psicologia e Diversidade Sexual.
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Source: Made by the authors.

Then, we delimited the event “Gay cure” to understand, from the sociology of deviation, the processes of (re)pathologization of homosexualities in Brazil. He was chosen for his representativeness in terms of the debate on homosexuality in Brazil. For this, we collected different data, from documents to messages on the internet, according to Chart 2.

Chart 2 - Material about “Gay Cure”.

Produced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illegal acts – resolution 01/99/ Public censorship of the psychologist
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material about the “Gay Cure”	Rozângela Justino/ Popular Action contradicts the resolution 01/99/ Merit decision on Popular Action nº 1011189-79/2017; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newspaper articles as: O globo; Folha de São Paulo; Pragmatismo Político, Veja Online and Fórum; • Post on Facebook, Twitter and Google Plus; • Produced videos to the digital platform YouTube; • Online magazine Lado A; • Lampião da Esquina Newspaper
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Source: Made by the authors.

The analysis was made from the interpretation of the material (Gil, 2008). The interpretation was carried out in the light of the concept of deviation. To this end, it started with a more general discussion about how the actors debate the concepts of sex and sexuality in Brazil and, subsequently, the pathologization processes. In another moment, it is shown that there was resistance throughout the period illustrated by social movements.

This process was important to show the contextual and historical relationship in which the “Gay Cure” event is inserted. After the interpretation of this and the different materials (written, audiovisual, etc.) that emerged from it, it ends with the results, indicating the pertinence of using the concept of deviation and how the (re)pathologization was configured.

4. Results and discussions

4.1. The doctor discourse about homosexuality in Brazil

In the 19th century, discussions of the pathological character of homosexuality crossed the sacred sphere and established themselves on the foundations of medicine and psychiatry, occupying a significant space in the medical discourse on sexuality. In this context, the psychiatrist Krafft-Ebing, responsible for the publication of a work that classified homosexuality as a disease, is an exponent in medical studies of homosexuality. In his work entitled *Psychopathia Sexualis*, the psychiatrist treats homosexuality as a congenital neuropsychic degeneration. Mesquita and Perucchi (2016) state that Sigmund Freud, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Magnus Hirschfeld and Richard von Krafft-Ebing represent the main voices that brought the debate to the scientific field.

The Freudian perspective, although it did not classify homosexuality as a disease, when shifting from the idea of criminality, highlights that homosexuality is linked to the drives and unconscious forces of sexual desire. In this sense,

“homosexuality, for Freud, is a psychopathological invention that belongs to the obsessive phase of humanity” (Berlinck, 1998, p. 22). It is worth mentioning that the discussion about Freud, homosexuality and sexual reorientation therapies is quite wide, as shown by Timothy (1992).

In the Brazilian context, doctor Leonídio Ribeiro associated homosexuality with a series of disorders. In his article *Homosexualism and endocrinology*, initially published by the Brazilian magazine *Synthesis of the International Moment*, in 1935, the doctor used Freud to validate his arguments. However, for the doctor Leonídio, homosexuality would have its causes in pathological changes in the glands. Thus, he states: “[...] proved that homosexualism is, in a large number of cases, a consequence of disturbances in the functioning of the internal secretion glands, the possibility of its treatment soon arose. It was another social problem to be solved by medicine” (Ribeiro, 2010, p. 507).

Homosexuality, therefore, when gaining status as a psychic disease, becomes a new way of controlling deviant sexuality. The pathologization and assumption of cure for homosexuality becomes the great key for the labeling and monitoring of those who escape the “natural order” established by society. This social monitoring is often translated into violence from the moment that those who are in power try to impose it at all costs. This violence is translated in several ways, for example, in threats such as those in Figure 1 found in the bathrooms of the USC (Universidade do Sagrado Coração) on the campus of Bauru in the interior of São Paulo.

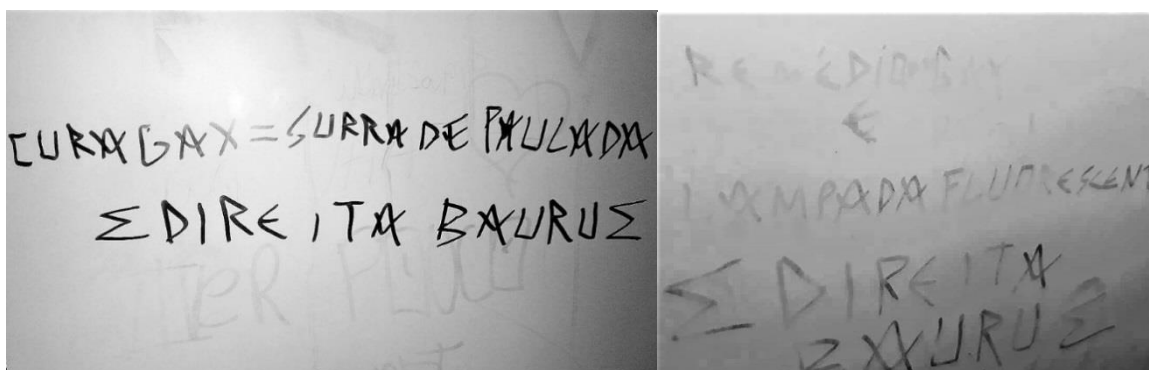


Figure 1 - Written violence on the wall.

Note: To the left reads “Gay cure = clubbing”, signed by Direita Bauru. To the right reads “Gay medicine is fluorescent lamp”.

Source: Garrido (2018).

The plurality of treatments as we have evidenced is diverse, and the theories that support it are also diverse, and often, divergent ideas on the same theme. Therefore, practices such as castration, lobotomy, sexual reversion and sexual reorientation have been practices developed over the years to repress what doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists defined as “homosexual tendencies”.

4.2. Resistance as existence

It is important to note that all this persecution and the processes (of criminalization, pathologization, exclusion from public life, etc.) experienced by homosexuals in Brazil, especially by gay men who were more in evidence, were not passively assisted by the LGBT+ subjects of the time.

Before there was an organized homosexual movement, networks of sociability developed that gradually outlined a set of traits that would later be associated with a “gay identity”, normally linked to the urban environment and the growth of cities. (Facchini, 2011, p. 11).

Resistance movements became more evident when the COC (Center for Culture and Recreation) was created in Amsterdam in the 1940s, the first organization designed to deconstruct a negative image of homosexuality. With the growth of repression and the emergence of new forms of treatment, ten years later the Mattachine Society appears with the objective of establishing a field of dialogue and campaigns to combat discrimination against homosexuals, in addition to promoting lectures with doctors and psychiatrists on homosexuality (Santos, 2009).

The struggle for space in society, and, consequently, for the recognition of rights, intensified when the movements started to organize themselves as political

subjects and to strengthen themselves in the face of the atrocities that had been going through the years. The therapeutic reality attributed to homosexuality begins to change with the advent of the Gay Pride social movements in the 1960s and 1970s, which also appear as a reaction to the countless violence and discrimination experienced by the LGBT+ population in their daily lives.

The claim for rights and acceptance gains strength and reconfigures the assertions of medical organs about homosexuality. In 1973, the American Psychiatric Association removed the concept of homosexuality from its list of mental disorders, and soon after, the American Psychological Association also did, although accompaniments of sexual reorientation were still developed by religious communities.

In Brazil, pathological theories about homosexuality have persisted for a long time. Living in a harsh reality of military dictatorship, the right conquests in Brazil were late. Only in the mid-1970s did the feminist movement gain visibility and, a few years later, the first organizations of the homosexual movement in Brazil emerged: Somos - Grupo de Afirmação Homossexual (Facchini, 2011).

Within this context, the appearance of the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina* is a significant milestone in the organization and voice of the LGBT+ movement in Brazil between the 1970s and 1980s. The newspaper brought discussions about the experience of homosexuals at the time and reports of acts against LGBT+. Nationally, *Lampião da Esquina* is recognized as one of the great historical sources that tell the trajectory and struggles of the LGBT+ movement (Figure 2).



Figure 2 - Newspaper articles of Jornal Lâmpião da Esquina, created in 1978.

Note: To the left reads “Fagots Carnival is the biggest in the world/Geni is the mother/The transvestite: this unknown/Buenos Aires: in a city in panic, the gays resist/Naked men”. To the right reads “From Sodom to Auschwitz: The homosexual’s killing/This woman is lesbian! (because of that accuse her of murder)”.

Source: Grupo Dignidade (n.d.).

However, with the HIV/AIDS epidemic in 1980, LGBT+ movements around the world suffered from the countless cases of infected gay men, which led to a political resignification of the movement in dealing with yet another label from the community. Homosexuals have the stigma of having a disease that could plague society at the time, newspapers reported the HIV/AIDS epidemic as “the gay plague” (Figure 3).



Figure 3 - Newspaper new HIV/AIDS as “gay plague”.

Note: report “AIDS: The terrible gay plague may have reached the West”.

Source: Nosso Tempo Digital (n.d.).

It was in this context that neo-Pentecostal religions began to manifest themselves more openly in opposition to homosexuals and to use religious discourse to spread ideas of healing and salvation to them. The context of fear and social panic was the ground for the pastors to intensify their speeches, such as, for example, R. R Soares, who in 1987 published in the newspaper O Globo propagating the “cure” (Figure 4).



Figure 4 - The missionary advertising R. R. Soares propagating the homosexuality cure.

Note: It's reads "A God's man who fights for you/The homosexuality has cure: It is big the number of people who suffer of homosexuality. They live miserably with your consciousness accusing them. To some of them, the problem is genetic. Others consider it as a culture issue. I say that the evil is spiritual. I have treated many people with this disturb, and I have seen countless healing case. You can also be freed. Come make a strong current. Come became free completely. This Friday, at 8p.m. in the old cinema Holliday, Alaska gallery, Copacabana Avenue 1241. Watch me from Monday to Friday, at 9:30p.m. on TV Record. / Write me and I'll send you free a study about Homosexuality – The Gay Phenomenon."

Source: Os sombrios anos da "Peste gay" (2012).

The consequences of these stigmas/labeling gave a new meaning to the movement. With a more institutional and political character, Grupo Gay da Bahia – a non-governmental organization dedicated to the defense of the rights of homosexuals in Brazil – and the Triângulo Rosa, which together take the lead in the movement in Brazil in search of demands more linked to the public power to combat prejudice and avoid the association of the epidemic with individuals and the homosexual experience (Antunes, 2018). This mobilization was important and revived the scenario of organizations of LGBT+ groups in Brazil, especially with regard to demands within the political scope of the Triângulo Rosa Group, which defended the inclusion of the term sexual orientation in the 1987 Constitution (Antunes, 2018).

Along with the new configurations of the LGBT+ movements in Brazil, in 1985, given the international and national manifestations, the Federal Council of Psychology removes homosexuality from its list of pathology. In 1990, with the growth of LGBT+ movements worldwide, the World Health Organization finally

removed sexual orientation from its international classification of diseases by removing the suffix “ism” and started to attribute the term homosexuality when referring to LGBT + subjects.

With greater visibility, in 1995, the 17th Conference of the International Association of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Trans and Intersex took place in Rio de Janeiro, with a small march at the end, which motivated the emergence of a larger movement that became known as “Gay Pride Parade”, later updated to “LGBT Pride Parade”. Currently, the event is national and receives millions of people in various states of the country, who together take to the streets to expose the existence of LGBT+ identities, claim public policies aimed at sexual minorities and fight against prejudice (Figure 5):



Figure 5 - Propagation of LGBT Pride Parade from SP considered the biggest parade of the country.

Note: It is reads “SP Parade: Association of LGBT Pride Parade”.

Source: Associação da Parada do Orgulho LGBT [Association LGBT Pride Parade] (n.d.).

The trajectory of the LGBT+ movement, therefore, cannot be thought unconnected with the countless historical contexts experienced by its subjects and by society. The countless religious, medical and social persecutions have forged the struggle and resistance of the LGBT+ community.

4.3. Reliving the past: the “Cure Gay” event

For conservatives, establishing heteronormative hegemony is the central point in the fight against homosexuality, and it is basically on this background that discussions about the treatment of homosexuality arise. The World Health Organization (WHO)

has opposed this issue, understanding that homosexuality is a natural variation of human sexuality, and the Conselho Federal de Psicologia (CFP) has prohibited professionals in the field from participating in any type of therapy to change the orientation sexual. The achievements and advances brought here have not prevented psychologists, psychiatrists, conservative politicians and part of civil society from starting to discuss the resumption of a possible treatment for homosexuality.

In a historical resumption, it is seen that, in 1998, shortly after the prohibitions and pronouncements about the de patologization of homosexualities, the Gay Group of Bahia made a complaint to the Conselho de Psicologia de São Paulo warning that psychologists continued to offer treatment to homosexuals (Kahhale, 2011). The CFP identified that the treatment was still part of an arrangement of the psychotherapeutic functioning and organization of some psychologists, especially when they were linked to some religious connection. It was then up to the entity to set up a commission to study and give a definitive opinion on treatments aimed at curing homosexualities, which culminated in Resolution CFP n. 001, of March 22, 1999.

This regulation was edited to guide the performance of professionals. It is based on principles such as non-discrimination and equality (Arts. 3 and 5 of the Constitution). The Resolution reaffirms the understanding that sexuality, and therefore homosexuality, is part of the subject's identity, which must be understood in its entirety without a pathological character. The norm states, then, that "homosexuality is not a disease, a disorder or a perversion" (Projeto de Decreto Legislativo nº 234, 2011). In Article 3, it is provided that:

Art. 3 - the psychologists will not take any action that favors the pathologization of homoerotic behaviors or practices, nor will they adopt coercive action aimed at guiding homosexuals towards unsolicited treatments.

Sole paragraph - Psychologists will not collaborate with events and services that propose treatment and cure for homosexuality. (Projeto de Decreto Legislativo nº 234, 2011).

However, a number of psychologists questioned and questioned this Resolution, stating that it is the duty of their profession to provide due care to subjects who seek them out wanting to treat their homosexuality. Furthermore, they argue that this regulation is an act of curbing the performance of their profession. An exponent of this line, the presbyterian psychologist, therapist and missionary, Rozângela Alves Justino, ignoring Resolution 001, treated homosexuals in her office.

In 2007, Rozângela Justino was denounced to the Conselho Regional de Psicologia do Rio de Janeiro by an NGO for the defense of the rights of homosexuals, based in Nova Iguaçu – RJ. The NGO asked for the removal of its registration, but the Council decided for public censorship. The psychologist turned to the CFP, which (in 2009) maintained public censorship as a punishment for the psychologist (Passarinho, 2009). The psychologist went so far as to say that she had religious experience and that she would not deny that “Everything I do outside the office is permeated by the religious. I feel directed by God to help people who are homosexual” (Galvão, 2009). She still considered homosexuality a disorder, caused mainly by abuse and trauma suffered during childhood.

The case reported above has gained national repercussion. In November of the same year, the psychologist reversed her decision and decided to end the appointments, as she felt threatened. However, she continued to advocate treatment. In an interview she stated:

Many people who have sexual suffering also have an obsessive-compulsive disorder or a disorder of sexual preference, such as sadomasochism, in which they feel pleasure with a pain that the other causes in them and that they cause in the other. Pedophilia itself, exhibitionism, voyeurism can be linked to homosexuality. When we use the techniques to minimize these problems, the homosexual issue is minimal, it ends up regressing. (Da redação, 2017).

The statements and actions developed by Rozângela returned to the surface in August 2019 when she, together with a group of psychologists launched a candidacy for a new direction of directors of the Conselho Federal de Psicologia (CFP), with the support of Heloisa Bolsonaro, psychologist and coach, and also wife of deputy Eduardo Bolsonaro, son of the current president of the Republic Jair Bolsonaro (Balloussier, 2019).

Despite the support and having gained significant repercussions to again bring the topic of “gay cure” to the news and social networks, Rozângela was not successful in the candidacy being defeated. However, it is important to realize that psychologists and doctors are not the only path to a pathological view of homosexuality in Brazil. The vision for what became known as “gay cure” has been gaining stronger and stronger allies also in the political sphere, especially with the exponential growth of evangelical and conservative groups in the national political scene.

In 2011, Federal Deputy João Campos (PSDB-GO) filed a Legislative Decree Bill, PDC no. 234/2011, which proposed to delete the CFP Resolution on the subject. Evangelical pastor, João Campos was known for his fiery and conservative speeches in defense of the family, morals and good customs. The Deputy, when filing the project with the Legislative, maintained the idea that the positioning of the CFP would be undermining the right to the free exercise of the work of psychology professionals. In the bill, the parliamentarian proposed the suspension of articles 3 and 4, which establish norms for the performance of psychologists in matters of sexual orientation.

With broad support from the evangelical parliamentary front, the parliamentary front in defense of the family - headed by the then senator Magno Malta - and from the Catholic bench, the project passed through the Chamber's Human Rights Commission until 2013. It became widely known as “gay cure project” (Figure 6).



Figure 6 - Press spread the approval of the project “gay cure” by the Human Rights Commission.

Note: To the left reads “Human Rights Commission approves authorization for ‘gay cure’: bill must still pass by two commissions in Chamber and Senate. In session, only two militants manifest against the approval.”. To the right reads “Human Rights Commission approves ‘gay cure’ project: The proposal allows psychologists treat the homosexuality as illness, contradicting Conselho Federal de Psicologia’s resolution.”.

Source: Costa (2013) and Torres (2013).

One of his most daring supporters, the Deputy and evangelical pastor Marco Feliciano – (PSC-SP), then president of the Chamber's Human Rights Commission – did everything to ensure that the project was brought to the plenary. Feliciano even

threatened “rebellion”, if the project was stopped, in view of the position of the Minister of Human Rights, Maria do Rosário, contrary to the approval.

Despite all the repercussions of PDC 234 having taken shape in 2013, in 2012, Deputy Jean Wyllys, a member of the LGBT+ Movement, had already signaled his disagreement and dissatisfaction with the progress of the project. Deputy Erika Kokay and Wyllys, along with other parliamentarians and representatives of society who participated in hearings in the Chamber of Deputies, supported the idea that the project was an imposition by conservative and prejudiced religious politicians. Despite the opposite position, the project continued to take shape in 2013, when it was approved by the Human Rights Commission.

Upon gaining visibility, the debate was not restricted to the halls of the Chamber of Deputies. Discussions about the “gay cure” won the streets and social media. Driven by the political change movement that later became known as “Jornadas de Junho”, protests across Brazil gained strength calling for the archiving of the “gay cure project” (Figure7).



Figure 7. Newspapers bring headlines of the opposites protests to the “project gay cure”.

Note: To the left reads “With single staff, at least 4.000 protest against ‘gay cure’ and close Paulista Av./This time didn’t appear posters against the corruption or for the Impeachment of Dilma Rousseff.

The National anthem, sung to exhaustion in the last days, was also left aside. In the manifestation realized in this Friday night (21) in São Paulo, the multiplicity of guidelines which took care of the last protests in the country gave place to an only revindication: the not approval of ‘gay cure’, name given

to the law project approved on Tuesday (18) by the Human Rights Commission of the Deputy's Chamber, chaired by the church pastor Marco Feliciano (PSC-SP). The law project drops resolutions of Conselho Federal de Psicologia which forbid the professionals participate of therapies to change the sexual identity of the patient or treat the homosexuality as an ill. The proposal needs to be approved by the Comissão de Constituição e Justiça (CCJ) before being voted in plenary.". To the right reads "Protesters manifest against 'gay cure' for more than 4 hours in Rio: Act got together about a thousand people in the downtown. The concentration was on Candelária Church and ended in front of the Chamber."

Source: Bauza (2013) and Souza (2013).

The protests called for the termination of PDC 234/11 and criticized Deputy Marco Feliciano, chairman of the Human Rights Commission. The demonstrations also brought a character of struggle for LGBT+ movements to recognize their identities. Posters and speeches carried statements against the political onslaught of "gay healing" and reaffirms that homosexuality is not a disease. The images below portray this movement of the streets towards the end of PDC 234/11 (Figure 8).



Figure 8 - Protesters on streets against the PDC 234/11.

Note: It is reads "My mothers don't need cure! #Feliciano, you don't represent my family!", "There is no cure for who isn't sick.", "Ministry of Church Pastor warns: laic State isn't intere\$ting" and "We have proud, we don't have sickness. Feliciano doesn't represent ourselves. Dilma, so it doesn't work! Criminalization of homophobia, right now!".

Source: Redação Lado A (2017).

Altogether, the demonstrations took effect and, on July 2, 2013, along with pressure from the party itself, Deputy João Campos submitted to the Chamber of Deputies the request to withdraw the project. Upon hearing of the withdrawal of the project, Deputy Marco Feliciano spoke in an intimidating manner on social networks and stated: "In

the next legislature, the evangelical bench is folded, and we come with full strength” (Soares, 2013).

The dispute over the “gay cure” project, however, had not ended with the fall of PDC 234/11. In 2017, psychologist Rozângela Justino made a new push in her fight for “gay cure” with a popular action contesting Resolution 01/99. In response to the action, the federal judge of Brasília-DF, Waldemar Cláudio de Carvalho, decreed an injunction that partially complied with the request for popular action, determining the CFP not to interpret it that prevents psychologists from promoting studies and assisting sexual (re)orientation.

With this positioning, the preliminary injunction ensured sexual reorientation treatments, in cases where the patient seeks him, leaving treatment free in offices and for debates and research in the academic field, considering that the patient is inserted in what psychologists classify as sexual orientation egodistonic (a condition experienced by an individual who is aware of his sexual orientation, but who wants a different one due to psychological and behavioral disorders associated with his sexuality. However, it is noteworthy, that in its dictionary the WHO reaffirms that homosexuality, bisexuality and transsexuality they cannot be cured because they are not a disorder or disease).

The Federal Council of Psychology (CFP) soon positioned itself stating that the injunction was a danger and that the Judiciary's favorable consideration of popular action, “by disregarding the ethical guideline that underlies the resolution, which is to recognize non-heteronormative sexual orientations as legitimate without criminalizing or pathologizing them. The judge's decision, using psychiatric manuals, reintroduces the pathological perspective, hurting the heart of Resolution 01/99” (Conselho Federal de Psicologia, 2017).

The popular and LGBT+ movements' reaction to the injunction was immediate. If in 2013 the streets were the scene of protests against Deputy João Campos' project, in 2017 social networks were the driving force of the demonstrations of the resumption of the “gay cure”. There were also demonstrations by LGBT+ collectives and artists who spoke out against the “gay cure” (Figure 9).



Figure 9 - Manifest contradicts the "gay cure" on Twitter.

Note: In the first picture, it is reads "1940- Kill in the name of pure race and 'gay cure'/2017- Kill 'in the name of God' and 'gay cure'/Did time help anything?". In the second picture, "On this Saturday, has a public hearing about the 'gay cure'. Participate!/Act for LGTB life". In the third, "After the judge decision of #DF, famous manifest against the 'gay cure'".

Source: Parada LGBT de SP, Portal Gay and Suave Arthur on Twitter.

Members of LGBT+ movements, religious leaders, artists and society in general found a way to expose their views on social networks. Despite innumerable controversies and manifestations contrary to the judicial decision, in a decision on the merits the judge maintained the injunction, ensuring that consultations and research in the area of sexual orientation were carried out. Movements related to LGBT+ causes and the CFP itself filed appeals asking for a review of the decision. In April 2019, Minister Cármen Lúcia, of the Supreme Federal Court (STF), ordered the suspension of the procedure of popular action in the Federal Court of the Federal District, being prohibited the action and collaboration of psychologists in "events and services that propose treatment and cure homosexualities", the so-called "gay cure".

Despite all the repercussions of the case and the discontent of several people with the positions of those involved in the "gay cure", Deputy Sóstenes Cavalcante linked to pastor Silas Malafaia – a staunch opponent of what he classifies as "gay dictatorship" – has maintained since 2017 in its staff of secretaries in a "special position" psychologist Rozângela Justino.

4.4. (Re)pathologization of homosexuality in Brazil

As a synthesis, a "gay cure" timeline was built with some central moments (Chart 3), demonstrating that the "gay cure" event is part of a long-term trajectory of understanding homosexuality as a deviation.

Chart 3 - Timeline of "gay cure".

Date	Description
1870	The Westphal article defines the idea of homosexuality.
1886	Richard von Krafft-Ebing publish an work which classifies the homosexualism as an illness.

1973	Psychiatry American Council says that homosexuality is not a mental disorder.
1985	Conselho Federal de Psicologia Brasileiro removes homosexuality from your pathology list.
1990	World Health Organization removes sexual orientation from your classification of disease.
1998	Grupo Gay da Bahia made a complaint to São Paulo's CP alerting that psychologists continued offering treatment to homosexuals.
1999	CFP sends a resolution reaffirming that, the homosexuality is not a disease and guiding the psychologists proceeding.
2007	Rozângela Justino is denounced to RJ's CRP for keep treatments of sexual reorientation.
2009	Condemns Rozângela and makes a public censorship as punishment to the psychologist.
2011	The federal deputy João Campos protocols in the Deputy's Chamber a Project of Legislative Decree which proposed delete the resolution 01/99 as known as "gay cure".
2013	"Gay cure project" is taken to voting in the Human Rights Commission Deputy Marco Feliciano and has favorable feedback.
	Protesters against the PDC 234 go to the streets asking the withdrawal of the "gay cure project" processing.
	"Gay cure project" is withdrawn from processing due the popular pressure and counter parties.
2017	New opening for "gay cure". The psychologist Rozângela Justino and others psychologists get in with the popular action contesting the 01/99 resolution.
	The Judge Waldemar Cláudio de Carvalho decrees injunction partially complying the popular action request, and determining to the CPF the not interpretation that stops psychologists of promote studies and treatment to sexual (re)orientation.
	The injunction gets social medias with protests against and in favor of the injunction.
	Conselho Federal de Psicologia and LGBT+ Movements get in with resource to drop down the injunction.
2018	Contrary resources are yet not judged and injunction remains in effect.
2019	Cármen Lúcia ministry, from the Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF), determined the suspension of processing of the popular action from the Distrito Federal's Justiça Federal which seeks to sustain the resolution 1/1999 effects from the Conselho Federal de Psicologia (CFP).

Source: Made by the authors.

It is important to realize that the narratives about the pathological theories of homosexualities raise a question that goes beyond the arguments raised about the

rights of psychologists to exercise their profession or the right of LGBT+ to seek clinical help. The discourse linked to this narrative converges to the concept of order and power (Foucault, 1987) that it establishes with social actors and their groups. And in the terms discussed here from Becker (2008) they label homosexuals in different ways. This social construction of homosexual identities as deviants (Becker, 2008) has impacts on physical health (namely, with countless cases of physical violence) and mental health, on inclusion in different social fields and on their self-image.

The various interventions that have been proposed here to analyze offer a panorama to identify how the subjects act on the other subjects in what Foucault (1987) defines as games of power that delineate the diversity of trajectories and tensions experienced by a society. The "gay cure" as it became known in Brazil due to the pathologization of LGBT+ identities are a reflection of subjects who constantly need to fight for the assertion of their existence as "normal". They face moral and religious conceptions that label them constantly. It is not for nothing that most of the actors involved in the pathologization attempts are linked to religious and political institutions such as the deputies and the psychologist Rozângela Justino, who has a strong connection with significant national evangelical leaders and who together enjoy the power and strength that have the institutions that are inserted to legitimize their speeches and actions.

However, it is important to note that this imposition of labels made against LGBT+ was not accepted passively. By organizing themselves socially as a group and campaigning against "gay healing", LGBT+ movements are asserting their position as subjects that do not fit the standards defined by the heteronormative society that are inserted and much less accept the label of deviants or patients.

Finally, a set of discourses that converge to the notion of homosexuality as a deviation when designing a discursive plot that aims to maintain socially established and accepted standards by the majority was perceived around the construction of "gay cure". It is worth mentioning that this "cure", whether by religious or psychotherapeutic means, follows a discursive pattern that absorbs all the discourses developed by the group (heteronormativity, religious morality, political power play, psychopathological view), being the junction of all these discourses which produces

the idea of “cure”, which will become a social rule of the group and imposed on homosexual individuals (Figure 10):



Figure 10 - Discursive plot of “gay cure”.
Source: Made by the authors.

The idea of “gay cure” is, therefore, a hybrid of the different discourses that together form the social, cultural and political battle against LGBT+ identities. As social life is also a field of forces, the search for (re)pathologization also had consequences in strengthening LGBT+ subjects, groups and movements in affirming their existence. In other words, when imputing the label of deviants to homosexuals, more resistance to the labeling of individuals who emerge and in the search for a free life they pressure public and political agents to give answers to their struggles and demands, as was the case with criminalization of homophobia by the Supreme Court in June 2019.

5 Conclusion

The study of sexuality is important, as it occupies space in a field that Foucault (1987) classifies as the expression of the power relationship. The growing moral, religious, heteronormative and conservative discourse (which marked the election of Jair Bolsonaro) that operationalizes all political debates and summarizes them the call for “good citizens”, to guarantee morality and “good customs” is a danger to democracy especially when we are dealing with so-called minority issues such as

those dealt with in this work, because it evokes division, making hatred a virtue, exclusion a merit and combating the other a duty.

With regard specifically to the pathology and specifically to the phenomenon of “gay cure”, as the initiatives for the treatment of LGBT+ identities in Brazil became known, since this is a relatively recent issue, there are still no in-depth studies of the consequences of this initiative control and imposition of labels, through psychology and the State and, therefore, it limited itself to providing an overview of how the actors involved related to the theme.

In the surveys, countless reports were found scattered on the internet about the consequences of treatments on the concrete lives of LGBT+. Following the line of reasoning undertaken by the work, a question that raises, especially in the Brazilian case of “gay cure”, is for whom homosexualities are characterized as a deviation and pathology? The answer to this question is the evident permanence throughout the process of actors involved in religious institutions and closely linked to the conservative wing of politics, which, in its origin, is marked by discourse intolerant of diversity and of the different.

The approach adopted here, with a historical analysis of this phenomenon from the perspective of the interactionist theories of deviation and labeling studied by Howard Becker, has a limitation, given that, although homosexuality as a deviation is mentioned in his studies, it did not have a deepening significant, as there were other issues related to social deviation such as crime. However, it encourages us to reflect on this and other cases that involve this process of labeling LGBT+ subjects in the face of a paradoxically unstable society when dealing with diversity.

And as amazing as this subject is, it is increasingly alive in the structure of Brazilian society. Measures that propose to “transform” or “change” the sexual orientation of individuals are on the agenda in the most diverse ways, whether through State agents, religious institutions or civil society, which signals the urgency of seriously debating about this subject. A set of discourses that converge to the notion of homosexuality as a deviation when designing a discursive plot that aims to maintain socially established and accepted standards by the majority was perceived around the construction of “gay cure”. These discourses establish the homosexual and homosexuality (experience, identity and practice) as a deviation from the

established rule, with the "cure" as the sole and exclusive source of readaptation to the rule.

In hatred and intolerance there is no room for the different, there is no reconciliation. Anyone who deviates from the rule is seen as a nuisance, an error, and as a result, has lost the right to social interaction, "disappear", for example, to be healed) is the only way out of contaminating the natural order of things. It is necessary to be attentive to new discourses disguised as opinion and freedom of expression. The prejudice against sexual differences is real, and projects and measures of sexual (re)orientation and intolerance are present in society and their existence signals the urgent need to debate on the subject.

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