

The creation of Itaipu Lake as a river territory of practices and discourses of canonical and deviant leisure¹

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to analyze how the construction of Usina Binacional de Itaipu produced practices and discourses able to constitute deviant leisure activities. The limitation of territory use resulted in the use of leisure as a apparatus by different agents. The removal of the dwelling place, the sensation of loss of freedom to access to the river, the transformation of the fluvial region into a tourist and market center, the desire to venture and satisfaction for transgression can be read as factors leading to deviant leisure.

Keywords: leisure; apparatus; territory.

Alexandre Paulo Loro

PhD in Physical Education from the Universidade Estadual de Maringá - UEM. Professor at the Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul - UFFS. Brazil

alexandre.loro@uffs.edu.br
lattes.cnpq.br/6110225167735475
orcid.org/0000-0002-4207-7642

Giuliano Gomes de Assis Pimentel

PhD in Physical Education from the Universidade Estadual de Campinas - UNICAMP. Professor at the Universidade Estadual de Maringá - UEM. Brazil

ggapimentel@uem.br
lattes.cnpq.br/5074388036246808
orcid.org/0000-0003-1242-9296

To cite this article:

LORO, Alexandre Paulo; PIMENTEL, Giuliano Gomes de Assis. The creation of Itaipu Lake as a river territory of practices and discourses of canonical and deviant leisure. **PerCursos**, Florianópolis, v. 24, e0309, 2023.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.5965/19847246242023e0309>

¹ This article is a clipping of the Master's Dissertation entitled "Práticas corporais, lazer desviante e territorialidade", defended in 2017 at the Universidade Estadual de Maringá - UEM, by Alexandre Paulo Loro, author of this article.

The creation of Itaipu Lake as a river territory of practices and discourses of canonical and deviant leisure
Alexandre Paulo Loro, Giuliano Gomes de Assis Pimentel

A criação do Lago de Itaipu como território fluvial de práticas e discursos de lazer canônico e desviante

Resumo

O objetivo desse artigo é analisar como a construção da Usina Binacional de Itaipu produziu práticas e discursos capazes de constituir lazeres desviantes. A limitação do uso do território resultou na utilização do lazer como dispositivo por diferentes agentes. A retirada do local de moradia, a sensação de perda da liberdade de acesso ao rio, a transformação da região fluvial em centro turístico e mercadológico, o desejo de aventurar-se e a satisfação pela transgressão podem ser lidos como fatores associados ao lazer desviante no território fluvial.

Palavras-chave: lazer; dispositivo; território.

1 Introduction

Every process of leisure management aims, to a certain extent, the production of services and products that meet human recreational needs, in a legalized way. This we call canonical leisure, for it is socially accepted. However, the governance of territories can produce exclusion of practices and groups, encouraging the production of resistance to established management. Hence, on the margins of the canonical, we observe the deviant leisure, which is the object of repression, but should also be an indicator of public management problems.

We postulate in this article that power relations are not effects of legislation, but of the infinite ways of adapting the legal body to the diverse situations that arise in a given social sphere. Moreover, normalization refers to the process of regulating the lives of individuals and populations, after all, modern societies are societies of normalization and control.

The regulation and control of the population in modern societies involve not only the relation number of inhabitants/territory, but the relations of coexistence that are established between individuals who inhabit the same territory and its conditions of existence, leisure from a central theme: the Biopoder (Foucault, 2008, 2002). The genesis of a political knowledge, aimed at controlling the population by nuanced regulatory mechanisms in the Biopower, implies strategies that have at the core of their concerns the regulation of the population.

The notion of government can be analyzed from two axes: 1) government as a relationship between subjects (social control); and 2) government as a relationship with itself (self-control) (Castro, 2009). In the first sense, government is a set of actions on possible actions, which works with a field of possibilities, in which the behavior of the subjects who act is inscribed: induces, diverts, facilitates, hinders, limits, obliges or prevents absolutely. In the second sense, the government aims at establishing and maintaining discipline in the domain of pleasures and desires. This means that the modes of objectification-subjection are crucial points for the analysis of mechanisms of repression and control (devices).

It is understood as a device the provision of a series of practices and mechanisms in order to cope with an urgency to obtain an effect. It is a very broad and multilinear concept, which strategically articulates fields of knowledge, power relations and modes of subjectivation. The device translates how the movement and structure of the world, in terms of power networks and their visibility regimes, are updated (Foucault, 1999).

The subject is not an autonomous and transparent source of knowledge, but is built on networks of social practices that always incorporate relations of power and exclusion (Oksala, 2011). There is, therefore, a circular effect in the power relations established and in the forms of knowledge capable of creating subjects, capable of building the subjective experience, but are not always identified by themselves in a transparent way.

Leisure practices are socially constructed discursive creations, proliferated and historically consolidated in truth regime, so they cannot be naturalized. On the contrary. It is emergent to denaturalize leisure, to expose other ways of thinking and perceiving it, is to call attention to the ways of living, the power relations and identities that emerged from a network of contingent human practices.

In dealing with the subversion of playfulness and deviant leisure practices, Pimentel (2010) emphasizes that even if there was no system of formal and legal rules for their control and punishment, still it would be possible to identify mechanisms of power in the way people restrict their leisure time and morally condemn excesses and other deviations from the normality instituted by the idea of leisure. It means that deviant leisure practices are inhibited by a set of rules that aim to control and punish individuals, associated with other mechanisms of power. On the other hand, we must consider the ambiguity of institutions, because they not only repress deviant practices, but also produce and encourage individuals to create and invent deviations

Power is not centered on a single point, but is diluted everywhere. This movement demonstrates the coexistence of different points of view. Between canonical leisure and deviant leisure there is a negotiation zone composed of layers in which the level of

tolerance will allow diving depth, especially in regions where states have different mechanisms for this effect.

The objective of this article is to analyze how the construction of the Itaipu Binational Power Plant produced practices and disagreements capable of creating deviant leisure. The approach takes the creation of Lake Itaipu as a constitution of an event, that is, as a set of conditions that make a discourse possible - as the emergence of a new discursive regularity that puts into play the discursive event with nondiscursive events (Foucault, 2009).

This fact is triggering new relations of forces, in which what is deviant leisure and canonical leisure will be composed in a tenuous relationship in the river territory, intertwined not only in the change of dimension and course of the river, but also in the mobility of borders. Itaipu Lake created a new legitimate dispute of discourses for the use of leisure from the establishment of that attraction, favorable scenario for the production of diversive leisure in the region of the Triple Border (Brazil-Paraguay-Argentina).

When investigating the Itaipu Lake we also reached the rivers in the border region. The empirical led us to analyze in greater depth the relationship between the population and the leisure that involves the waters, in addition to the contact that residents establish with other individuals, emerging a particular type of sociability and appropriation of spaces since different social actors play specific roles in the dynamics of deviant leisure. In this complex context, we find the following problem: how did the construction of the Itaipu Binational Power Plant produce practices and discussions capable of constituting canonical and deviant leisure?

2 Methodology

The research is based on the articulated relationship between conceptualization, methodology, and data collection instruments, associating information from different social actors to sketch a portrait of reality, which we know will always be incomplete, after all the theme requires the consideration of leisure in relation to people, places, and local realities, without losing sight of the wider context. Dealing with a sketchy object of

study, one founded on an open-system research methodology and multisituated data is challenging. In this sense, any procedures of analysis on deviant leisure practices could not be universal and/or globalized.

The methodological study procedures consisted of the combination of techniques for data collection: interviews and non-participant observation (recorded in a field diary). The contents described in the diary contextualized the activities developed in the field incursions, of descriptive-analytical character (Triviños, 1987). The notes made during the month of July, in the period 2015-2017, facilitated the description and reflection of the routines of the working days, which contained: date, time, place, planning, action, objectives of the action, subjects involved, activity development and evaluation; while the exploratory approach included the collaboration of different agents: Mateus (advisor to Itaipu Binacional), Aluísio and Suzana (journalists), Gabriel and Nadir (farmers), Joel (politician), Marcos (community leader) and Lilian (legal agent), all resident in the border region².

The instruments served as bridges to individuals so that it was possible to identify/analyze different perspectives. Hence, we used a set of procedures based on the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (DA) and native categories of what the field revealed. We envisioned the dimensions of leisure in the waterways after the formation of the Itaipu Lake, as well as the existence of different discourses in the water use in the region.

3 The Itaipu Lake as na occurrence in the production of leisure

One of the most important identity traits in the Triple Frontier region is cultural diversity. In this territory, Brazilians, Paraguayans and Argentines transit daily, added to tourists and immigrants from various parts of the world, attracted by tourism and business. For Sachet (2007), the relations between the different social dimensions of the territory (territorial processes, territorialities and re-territorialities) complement each other incessantly, providing dizzying growth.

² Municipalities of Foz do Iguaçu, São Miguel do Iguaçu and Santa Terezinha de Itaipu.

Specifically, the Brazilian city of Foz do Iguaçu - Paraná, was practically stagnant in terms of growth between 1963 and 1973. In 1974, the year of construction of Itaipu, Foz do Iguaçu had only two public squares to serve, in terms of leisure, its urban population, and were the same since 1963. The urban concentration, in geographical limits, was very narrow, which allowed exchange between families, keeping the sociability around the few places of leisure that existed there, such as the cinema, the casino (Paraguay), the fishing and the community festivals. That same year, the first workers for the Itaipu Power Plant began to arrive in the region. Without infrastructure capable of absorbing the large contingent of workers, the accelerated and disorderly growth occurred, outside the control of the public power (Catta, 2022).

The construction of Itaipu, associated with the tourism to the Falls, the boost in commerce, and the agricultural expansion led to a vertiginous development, but also generated innumerable inequalities in broad segments of society, making labor and leisure relations more precarious. The establishment of this project represented a new planning of space, responsible for resizing the frontier. In this process, the city readjusted itself quickly in its ways of life, in face of the new rhythm that remodeled it to meet the demands of the enterprises, which became more and more complex. The social remodeling, driven by the company, caused the region to create other cultural identities in a short period of time. In addition to the changes in the physical, aesthetic, and spatial aspects, the perspectives have also changed - the references were no longer only the Falls, but Itaipu itself. The construction of Itaipu reinvented the organization of social life and spaces, not only for the construction workers, but it spread throughout society.

The inner life at Itaipu can be analyzed in at least two complementary aspects, as far as the creation of mechanisms is concerned: the invention of a way of life of its own, created by the company to make it efficient and controllable, and its unfoldings, absorbed by the city's population. The social control carried out by the company has become a recurring practice inside and outside the company. Via dialogues, the subjects were constructed and, gradually, their relations with society were shaped. The transformation process has formed a structure of control over society, whose power is exercised to repress any deviations that may occur.

While trying to standardize the population or to fit it into a homogeneous group of people could make life more practical for the productive world, the imposition of a socioeconomic order did not correspond exactly to the population's expectations, generating inevitable movements of deviation. The region's growth forced sectors of society to develop survival strategies to gain access to basic living conditions, among which is leisure in the waterways, in a constant swing that oscillates between control and deviation.

On this subject, we can identify in the speeches of an advisor of Itaipu Binacional the elaboration of a narrative to meet the institutional policies, which aim to contemplate the regional community. Mateus reported that the visits to Itaipu Binacional were initially institutional; later on, they started being offered to the cities located around the park and to tourists from Brazil and the world. By changing its mission, tourism has taken on a new level of importance, and the responsibility passes from the public relations team to the Itaipu Technology Park Foundation. During the transition phase, free visits were encouraged to the community, divided into two segments: institutional visits - managed by Itaipu Binacional's public relations department, which include a technical visit or a visit inside the power plant or to the outside; and tourist visits.

According to advisor Mateus, although part of the rides is paid for in Itaipu Lake, this aspect has not hindered the population's access to this new space. On the contrary, the traditional forms of leisure were strengthened, resulting from an efficient policy of community inclusion. The narratives constructed by the advisor are sophisticated strategies to justify the developments. The ways of enunciation make it possible to identify leisure as a device for disciplining the consumer society - an attempt to standardize leisure practices. Power here is understood as a vast technology that permeates the set of social relations, embedded in the bodies of individuals, and which is present in every individual relationship. According to this logic, power is spread daily through infinite social mechanisms and practices that, when active, always produce a set of asymmetrical mobile relations (Gerlero, 2007, p. 56). Furthermore, the advent of the Itaipu Lake not only generated new forms of leisure but also made other dynamics and other conflicts possible. The residents don't always visit or are even aware of, the leisure

areas created by Itaipu Binacional. For example, the low-income population, which lives in remote regions, has difficulty in getting around and/or prefers to frequent the banks of rivers close to their residences. The gratuity and special rates of the rides did not necessarily ensure the assimilation of certain devices and the reproduction of the same speeches.

Regarding leisure appropriations and experiences in Foz do Iguaçu, specifically in urban rivers, Narita (2015) has observed in his studies that leisure appropriations and experiences in this region have become punctual as urbanistic and natural environment changes have sidelined the integrative sense between the city and the river environment. By interviewing fishermen, Narita (2015) realized that the deponents signify the rivers, especially in the scope of territorial struggles for survival and illegal practices. On the other hand, they also imprint meaning through playful, contemplative interactive, and spiritual experiences with the waters. Leisure fishing and adventure sports practices associated with urban transformations are analyzed, interweaving the historical, environmental, sociopolitical, and cultural contexts of Foz do Iguaçu, leading to the perception of the existence of different discussions and clashes of different classes, which enter into disputes for the city's order. It also points out that there was a choice in the city that privileges the tourist, which impacts the public and democratic spaces of leisure for the residents.

Commercial rationality disputes space with the common use-value and the socio-cultural encounters of different identities. A similar phenomenon could also be observed in other locations, according to recent studies by Jorge (2016), when referring to the creation of the dam in Santo Amaro, São Paulo. In this case, the construction of the dam accelerated the process of urbanization, predatory and speculative, marked by social inequality.

In both cases, we realize that the rivers are not only a spatial reference, but also constitute a river territory that integrates the daily life and history of individuals, which explains the people's refusal to abandon them. For the population that lived in these places, the location is indispensable, exactly because of the water. For the low-income population, the river supplied drinking water, remembering that at that time there was

no distribution of piped water; it supplied food, through fishing; it was the place to wash clothes; it allowed the plantation of food because the area is humid and allows irrigation; and free leisure, to swim and play. These waters were essential for survival, hence the proximity of the population to this environment. This routine lasted until the mid-1990s when conflicts arose and intensified as a result of the removal of slums from the river banks. The reasons for this removal are presented, especially under the pretext of combating smuggling and embezzlement, while the goal was to transform the riverbanks into commercial and tourist circuits.

The environment ceases to be interactive and becomes commercial and contemplative, as stated by Marcos, a community leader born in Foz do Iguaçu and a resident of Bairro Cidade Nova II. He reports that he was removed from the Jardim Paraná neighborhood, located in the ravine of the Mathias Almada River, a tributary of the Paraná River because his former home was destined to the construction of a closed community.

[...] there was a working-class neighborhood there, the people who worked in the quarry. The quarry owned the houses and now it's a club for horse riding, so it's private, but, like this... we cut through the same way until today they never said anything. Then you make a nice trail, like this, and you go to the waterfalls, there are two of them, and from there the trail goes to the Paraná River that leads you near Jupira (Jardim Jupira neighborhood) to the Paraná River, near the Friendship Bridge, like this, near the Island (Acará) [...] (Marcos, community leader.

According to Marcos, the creation of gated residential communities and private clubs is guided by the safety and tourism development discourses. The city's tourism projects, which involve the appropriation of the river, are also presented under the aegis of environmental preservation - recovery of the watershed and creation of new leisure areas. This is not an isolated case, since a similar phenomenon also occurs in other locations.

In the Vila C neighborhood, located near the Brasília stream, the irregular residents are being removed and the area fenced. In this sense, Marcos' account contradicts the arguments of the Itaipu Binacional advisor:

[...] [...] there are about three people that are farmers that resisted, that are still there, including a man that always took care of the springs that are there. If it wasn't for him, there wouldn't be any more springs, most of them died. He took care of one of the springs of the stream Brasília, but Itaipu surrounded it with a fence, put up some conservation area signs, and since then it has been closed. They made a little patch on the side and will kind of include in the tourist circuit of the Biological Refuge³, which is next to there. Will go through this preservation the river, but is in works, so this process. There was removed the galley and scattered throughout Foz. A little is in a neighborhood next door, a little came to New Town. In Jardim Paraná they also had this excuse of recovering the river, but then they built another condominium in front of it, a gated community [...] (Marcos, community leader).

The economic and political power of the companies and institutions met with temporary resistance. The residents are momentarily opposed, but eventually yield, because they do not want to live in precarious conditions that are prone to flooding. Part of the complaints is based on compensation or agreements that are partially fulfilled. On the other hand, the residents are included in popular housing programs, yet some return to the site, perpetuating the movement. People change their residences, are relocated, and the expectation of a new life is created, but the territoriality of those who were raised near the rivers, of those who identify with that place and today can no longer access it, must be emphasized. To enter these spaces has become a transgression.

For Becker (2008), deviance is "the infraction of some accepted rule," the product of an "enterprise" directed by those who create the norms, who undertake a "crusade" toward reforming the ways of life; and by those who enforce norms, who are the institutional agents charged with enforcing the newly established laws. In other words, it is at the threshold of limit and transgression that the role of agents becomes central to

³ The Biological Refuge is an environmental protection unit, created and maintained by Itaipu on the Paraguayan and Brazilian coast and open to tourist visitation.

The creation of Itaipu Lake as a river territory of practices and discourses of canonical and deviant leisure
Alexandre Paulo Loro, Giuliano Gomes de Assis Pimentel

the definition of deviance, and the adherence of individuals to deviant behavior traits involves not only isolated acts but rather specific learnings.

However, the redirection of the spaces does not void the use of the river by the residents for leisure practices since, even though entry is forbidden, they still go trekking, fishing, and camping:

My neighbor is a fisherman. The other day we went camping and fishing with him on the Paraná River. He knows the circuit of the rivers where there are fish, but in Itaipu, he has problems fishing in the lake: he has to hide. The guys don't mind, but we had guys shooting back, these crazy things, seizing fishing gear, even though it was amateur fishing (Marcos, community leader).

Leisure may stimulate individuals to develop their critical and questioning capacity by reflecting on their realities, helping them to appreciate the various socio-cultural ludic manifestations. In this situation, it can be seen that the population does not always agree with the given places and types of leisure. Some regulars of waterfalls resent the sale of nature as a tourist product, possibly because in this leisure the chains that bind them to these places are relaxed and released (Rojek, 2011).

In the bordering region, flows of people, goods, and meanings are articulated whose circulation and permanence are based on the existing asymmetries between the cities and countries that converge in it. In the periphery, leisure alternatives emerge from the city's traditional visiting points. The economic intervention in the natural environment does not encompass everyone; they are different ways of life. The interplay between external discourses and local counter-discourses takes on specific forms, therefore producing particular localities.

I like the public beach, which doesn't have much interference because they put cement all over everything! You want to go to the woods, then you go to the woods and you get there and there is a guard post at the entrance. There is cement here, they build there..., then it becomes more like a ballroom. In Três Lagoas, which is (an artificial beach) on the lake

here in Foz, they go to the dances and so on. They built a giant stomp. I go there to be in nature. Ah, man, no way! (Marcos, community leader).

Through Marcos' words, we highlight the criticism of the institutional attempt of canonical leisure given the minority practice. The concrete on the lake beach is a way for the government to affirm that there is civilization in this territory and that it is exercising Bio-power, inculcating canonical practices through processes of subjectification. Moreover, from Marcos' account, the artificial beaches of the lake have provided unappealing leisure policies. Not all community members feel that way, as they appreciate natural environments and desire the pleasure of the river that passes next to their homes.

In the process of urban planning in Foz do Iguaçu there was intense concern about the future visitors who, attracted by tourism, would become a lucrative source of income. As traditionally happens in these situations, the lower classes were relocated to distant places, without the existence of an effective policy to meet the recreational needs of these classes, such as, for example, the creation of common plazas as daily spaces for sociability. As time went by, the sanitization process of the central areas of the city would take charge of the disadvantaged population, with the intervention of the public administration and the repression apparatus, serving the desires of the real estate speculation that profited from its remodeling (Catta, 2009).

On the lakeshores and riversides, private clubs and country houses multiplied; high-end hotels and condominiums were installed. The "camarotization" forced the dislocation of the former residents or their visitors to other areas, some of them poor. Those who don't have access to social clubs or any other type of inexpensive and easily accessible leisure, as consumers, became transgressors. Whether it is private property, or areas located along the rivers that belong to the Union, the population would not be able to access them without prior authorization. However, the community uses them, the trails, goes climbing, bathes in the rivers, has barbecues, uses boats, fishes and hunts. In many cases, the population builds and establishes housing, especially along the banks. The poor population, without resources to pay rent or buy a piece of land, ends up

deforesting and occupying riverside areas, forming villages that shelter a contingent of people that continuously arrive in the city.

The surrounding waters and the waters themselves are disputed by various social groups, including in the leisure field. The different forms of appropriation of these spaces reveal contrasts of the different interests involved, such as, for example, the creation of private condominiums, which fostered deviations as it disregarded the territoriality of the traditional fishermen groups.

This property that I told you about before, they got tired of putting padlocks, they even built a wall and they kept on breaking it, it is as if they said: this is ours, we were here before you, so we want a path! I think that they continue entering from the side. It seems that they will not stop until they put a guardhouse with a watchman (Lilian, Legal Agent).

In this situation, the dimensions of the construction of new technologies of subjectivation and the different monitoring devices (Gomes, 2009) are partially applicable, as individuals submit themselves in the way they perceive the river territory for leisure.

Ordinary life and violating activities are more subtle than we might imagine. We can move towards lawbreaking forms of activities by adopting some common life rules and transgressing them (Rojek, 2011). In the situation mentioned above, some residents obtained the registration and the fisherman's license; those who didn't continue in informality. However, access is not always interrupted. In some places, this can be negotiated. Establishing verbal and monetary agreements can result in situations that are "good for everyone," as occurs in a riverbank parking lot by a former sailor, who allows access unofficially:

There is a place on the Paraná River, very close, that you can get in. But you have to pay to park your car there. It's like an official port, next to the Navy. There is a "sailor" there, an older guy, a nice guy. He says: "Look, you can park here, pay ten reais and feel free to do whatever you

want. Okay, but is this allowed or not? He didn't want to say that, [...] he has an agreement with the Navy, that he was in the Navy, they leave him there to take care of the place, but it is a good neighbor policy (Suzana, journalist).

Controlling access is a way to discipline the individual, apparently a normal phenomenon; however, the individual is spontaneously incorrigible, which demands the creation of technologies for his reeducation and regulation, a form of "over-correction" that allows him to live in a society (Foucault, 2001). Not everyone complies with the rules or wants to/can submit to the payment of fees - they want freedom of access and free of charge. Even though there are speeches that evoke safety, comfort, and good service provision, there are individuals who do not fit in - they wish to enjoy the river on their own:

We wanted just that, to be there with freedom, without a script. On the other hand, people are closing themselves off. That is the problem, when you see it, it is illegal. The place there, you can't get in, or you have to go through the hotels, but you have to negotiate: - Can we enter or not? Then you ask the guy who takes care of it and he says: "Yes, now we are exploiting, you have to come here and do this" (Suzana, journalist).

In some spots of the rivers, to obtain passage through private properties, informal agreements are signed with the owners. The latter, in exchange for payment, tries to maintain control of the flow, allowing only those they know to cross. The screening, justified because of the burglaries that have occurred, is not always effective, because even when the area is enclosed, the population ends up hiking next to it. This requires discretion, after all, when many people circulate, the owners appear. Even so, it is possible to bargain, as evidenced in two reports: "[...] if you humbly ask" and say: - I want to access the river. Because normally we wouldn't have to pay, right? Because the river is free (Daniel, Adventure Guide). "Next to the Iguaçu Park, there is a camping area. If you are a friend of the guard, and have known him since you were a kid, he lets you in. It's like that" (Lilian, Legal Agent).

With the knowledge that the "friends of the king" have privileges, transgressions seem to acquire naturalness - those who do not evade inspection coexists in agreement with them, in a kind of hazy blurring of the boundaries between legal and illegal, formal and informal. In this contrasting cartography of the circulation of goods and people, people are living in illegality, to a greater or lesser degree. The majority of arrests are for smuggling and embezzlement. The outcome of this is usually the serving of short sentences or community service, which result in their return to the same activities because, according to Lilian, they understand that this is not wrong and think that they are not committing crimes - they are just living, working and earning a living, these are the norms.

4 The formation of the Itaipu Lake and the constant dispute over river territory

The Paraná River is pristine, and its strong and violent waters are favorable for the breeding of the Dourado. However, the construction of the power plant and the creation of the Itaipu Lake on the Paraná River have impacted fishing:

With the flooding of the lake, our landscape changed. [...]. Fishing on the lake continued, but not with the same fish that we used to catch. Dourado, pintado and surubi no longer exist. So we started fishing other fish that are suitable for still water [...] (Joel, politician and retired employee from Itaipu).

Besides the changes related to fishing, the creation of the Itaipu Lake represented a new format in smuggling and drug trafficking from Paraguay, and the towns that are now on the shores of the lake are no longer peaceful. The number of people being recruited in the neighboring cities has steeply grown, the inspection of the highway (BR 277) has intensified, and the lake has become the main route. The lake formed ramifications and with them came the resorts. Almost all the neighboring municipalities have created artificial beaches. This particularity changed the entertainment in the

region, previously concentrated in the city. With the change in the landscape, customs have also changed, creating other habits in the region.

[...] it is clear that people don't have the same peace of mind as before, but it hasn't reached the point to say: "Are we camping at the little beach? Oh, no, we are not going because it is dangerous! No, that hasn't happened yet! People set up camp, stay there, those who are going to handle drugs, they will pass by but they won't do anything to you. [...] The little beach of Entre Rios, now, there are drug and weapons trafficking [...]" (Joel, retired political agent and employee from Itaipu).

The cities on the shores of the lake became routes for smuggling and embezzlement, considering the proximity with Paraguay. On the one hand, the construction of the power plant has made access to the river more accessible, if we consider that before the construction of the dam, the population had its back to the river, looking in another direction, toward distant urban centers. However, the perception of the population changes from the moment they begin to turn toward the river and look at it head-on. This turning point occurs at the moment when the river is tamed and domesticated, with the advent of the lake.

Once, the river was an obstacle among the Argentines and Paraguayans. We saw the river as an obstruction and as deep water, where there wasn't many possibilities of leisure on the river. The river was not suitable for leisure, but rather a barrier and a danger, except for the fishermen, who lived off the river and still do today (Aluísio, journalist).

Itaipu is a driver of social development and the extension of the chains of interdependence and, therefore, of new social dynamics. As a result, the "arms" of the lake appear and the recreational options are expanded, providing the local population with other alternatives - the artificial beaches. Now, with greater security, it also changes the perception and functionality concerning the Paraná River. Families are starting to attend the many beaches and leisure clubs on the lake. The alternatives for sport fishing and nautical rides are expanded. Speed boats, boats, and jet skis are becoming

increasingly common. Everything that until then was unimaginable that the waters could provide in terms of leisure now can be found in Itaipu Lake.

Leisure activities are not limited to the power plant site, but extend to nearby locations, as the reservoir water level remains practically unchanged throughout the year, providing regular use of the coastline with beach resorts and marinas. These, however, require investments, as the construction of facilities in their vicinity for nautical and fishing sports, hotels, camping areas, and country clubs. These enterprises end up constituting economic activities that promote consumption, stimulated by the continuous circulation along the reservoir's shore.

As mentioned before, the damming has resulted in the creation of fixed bathing spots and restricted the residents' mobility to its waters, since the banks of the Itaipu Lake are Permanent Preservation Areas (PPA), and the ostensive monitoring of this area is the responsibility not only of the Military Police and the Navy but also of Itaipu Binacional's private surveillance⁴.

In Santa Rosa do Ocoí, a district in the interior of the municipality bordering São Miguel do Iguaçu, some spots on the lake are still frequented illegally. For example, in one of the points, there is a warning sign that warns about restricted access.

Down there [...] at the fishing spot, we were prohibited from bathing. We couldn't even go in. Nobody can enter, but if the company Itaipu comes, and if we are swimming there, they won't throw us out, but it's forbidden. They won't expel because I think sometimes it is not worth it for them. But if had a little party going on down there, about twenty or thirty people taking a bath, they'd just send everybody though. Now, one or two, they wouldn't say anything. If I had a class, partying, they would take the class, not only from the water, but from the fishing spot. (Gabriel, farmer).

⁴ According to the Attorney General's Office, Itaipu Binacional is a private international organization with a corporate nature that arose from a bilateral international treaty, with the participation of Brazilian and Paraguayan capital, in absolutely equal and equivalent conditions. Opinions available at: <<http://www.mpf.mp.br/>>. Accessed on: 12 Feb. 2019.

A policy of coexistence between security agents and the local population regarding the use of the river is implicit in the farmer's speech. The context brings into discussion the implications of shifting the boundaries between the canonical and the deviant; this means that we must take the discourses themselves as the starting point of analysis. Individuals expertly navigate the tenuous boundaries of the canonical and the deviant, because they know how to deal with the codes on both sides and play with the diverse identities that refer to the overlapping and shuffled universes in everyday circumstances. This cultural characteristic has always been found in the border region, but such practices are constantly being redefined as mechanisms emerge that try to contain the expansion of leisure activities.

The creation of its norms establishes the limits allowed, sometimes bypassed or bargained with the control agents. There are specific fishing spots, with wooden houses for professional fishermen. If the inspectors arrive, they will require the presentation of the fisherman's card. After checking, if the documentation is not up to date, they may turn a blind eye. Along the lake shores, tents are also set up for camping at night, although this is not a very common practice. When this happens and the inspector finds it, he will order the collection of the equipment.

Although spontaneous recreation on the riverbank has become increasingly difficult, lunches and picnics continue to take place, as they have not been eliminated. Small groups or families that do not attract attention are tolerated; in some cases, the rules are relaxed:

[...] If you don't have a fishing license, we are expelled from that area. Of course, if there are only two or three of us and Itaipu comes along inspecting they will not expel us, but if there is a big group they will because it is common sense, there is flexibility, but it is forbidden. In the old days, this didn't exist, if you wanted to have a party, twenty or thirty people, you did it, you were on your land (Gabriel, farmer).

People try to access in a hidden way the best areas for leisure on the shores of the Itaipu Lake, generally known and limited because in many places there are tree stumps

and branches. Considering that this is an infraction, they hide when necessary, but they are aware that this is a consensual transgression because there is the "common sense" of the authorities.

The Itaipu, the Environmental Institute of Paraná, and the Green Force (Environmental Police) are in favor of closing the spots and prohibiting entry into these waters. This position leads us to think that

[...] leisure can generate experiences of openness marked by an attitude that disrupts and transgresses what is lawful and permitted, often placing itself at the margins of what is socially suitable and accepted. This highlights one of the great dangers that leisure represents for the maintenance of the status quo (Elizalde; Gomes, 2012, p. 84).

The population understands that nobody is a "criminal", but citizens that are just spending their leisure days with family or friends. Despite this, the biggest concern of the enforcement agencies is related to depredation, "turning a blind eye" when the subject is leisure because they understand the cultural aspect of the region. Besides, they do not want confrontation with the population, because this would create "discomfort".

The sudden appearance of the big lake shifted the landscape of the region, which was radically transformed. The population' relationship with the Ocoí River⁵, for example, went beyond leisure, since it supplied subsistence (fish), drinking water, and was used for laundry, as expressed in the nostalgic account of the pioneer farmer:

[...] this mine (water source) that is down there, Sunday before we were there. Me and Cinésio. In 75 (1975), I found this mine. Our land it was weak of water, then we looked for water of bottle down there, took bath down. You see, Sunday Cinésio said: - let's see, let's go find this mine?! I had at the time put a plastic pipe, and is there until today. And let's clean the mine again. That's beautiful stuff! There we washed our clothes. There we fetched water. She fell in a little river, and that little river fell in Rio Ocoí [...]. Let's clean it again, Tomemo water, but it's a beautiful

⁵ The Ocoí River is a tributary of the Paraná River that flows directly into the Itaipu dam. He captured several smaller rivers that disappeared with the damming of Itaipu and, consequently, many of its waterfalls and water eyes. When Itaipu closed the dam, it was possible to identify it only ten kilometers above.

thing. This could not finish. And so had enough mine, but were sunk, the lake covered. Waterfall, then! Everything! [...] On this Ocoí River there was a waterfall! Down this road from Guaíra, there was a power plant that they built in the old days, to produce electricity, you know. It sank. The school that was there at the time, only the windows were removed, the rest was under water (Nadir, retired farmer and pioneer of the region).

In the "Paranazão" (Paraná River), before the dam was built, there were large fish, such as surubis of up to six kilograms, that could be caught in the "linhada". Fishing, whether for leisure or subsistence, demanded a lot of physical effort. The boats were heavy because they were made of wood, which required strength to row, manual labor. There were abundant fish and fishing was not exploitative, but for consumption, since there was no means to preserve the fish, as it was not common to have electricity in the houses. Not being able to keep it frozen, the only option was to fry and eat it. Today the volume of water is larger, but the quantity and size of the fish are smaller. The fishermen have become professionalized, have well-equipped boats, with engines and technologies capable of accurately tracking shoals, and nets in scales that meet commercial demands. Today, however, young people have not shown much interest in such practices:

Me and my relationship with the bush, with this little river over there, was very intense. I went fishing, a lot. Today my children don't go anymore, they will go only if I go along, but they won't go alone, not on their own, they don't even have the experience to do this. We were aged seven, eight years old and we went fishing alone, in the middle of these woods, we didn't need anyone to go with us (Gabriel, farmer).

This tells of the opportunity that the children had during their childhood to fish alone in the small Ocoí River. On rainy days, several groups of children would go fishing. Today this scenario is rare, practices have changed, the individual's relationship with the river has changed dramatically with the creation of the Itaipu Power Plant. Even though the river passes by the inhabitants' property, they can no longer interact as before. The waters that rose and covered the land also hid part of the small Ocoí River, which resulted in the disappearance of some leisure spots and the creation of others. As a

countermeasure, artificial beaches were created, which from time to time fall into decay, since the infrastructure requires permanent investment, added to the advent of new values and ways of life. Besides the artificial beaches, the number of private water parks has grown, which, to operate, requires a license from the Environmental Institute of Paraná. Even with the artificial beaches and private clubs, the population is still attracted to the river, since this relationship is natural:

Previously it was open to the public, it didn't have designated spots, it wasn't economically exploited like the resorts are now. It was just jumping in the water, taking a bath, and barbecuing meat [...]. There wasn't a fixed point. At the time there was no such thing as a specific place for bathing" (Nadir, retired farmer and pioneer of the region).

Leisure resistances appear, most of the time, as both spontaneous and individual practices and, to a lesser extent, as organized and collective ones. In this interview, the "specific place" is understood as the artificial beaches, intended for the population, which is clear that these are the official bathing spaces since the access to the river has been limited. Admission for residents is free, while it is paid for by outsiders, monitored by checking the vehicle's license plate.

This context brings us to the permanent articulation of power and knowledge. The daily routines of life are supported by multiple social relations, in which power is based; leisure, consequently, does not escape its influence. This implies that leisure can be yet another disciplinary device among those that operate in the normalized society. Prior to the damming of the Paraná River and expansion of the Itaipu Lake, farmers accessed other tributaries besides the Ocoí River, but they disappeared. Paths were flooded and few people knew exactly where the new homes would be built. The reservoir occupied a large rural area, forcing many landowners to leave their land unwillingly, or not always agreeing to the amount that would be paid for it. In some cases, the dam split properties, increasing the distance between neighborhoods and families.

In synthesis, the creation of the Itaipu Lake has introduced new conflicts in the developing societal dynamics and leisure is one of those spheres intertwined with this

dynamic, becoming a paradigm for the reading of the changes caused during the post-creation period of Binational Itaipu. In light of these findings, we have identified the following discourses in the dynamics of the conflicts between those who govern and those who resist: (1) risks/threats of deviant uses of leisure to people and territories; (2) production of speeches that identify the deviant subject; (3) the optimization of forms of government to manage the commuting distances between canonical and deviant leisure.

5 Pendulum: Leisure – deviant

The infractions of the individuals are movements of cunning and creativity, because they know the limits and, even so, they create strategies to circumvent the surveillance systems. In the case of the use of water for leisure practices, practitioners monitor surveillance so that they are not caught. To do so, it is necessary to observe the best time, the places, the periods and the control agents (when surveillance is less or non-existent). To some extent, these subjects learn to see also the gaps that the system itself gives, as a calculated relaxation of the rules:

Everyone knows well that laws were made by some and imposed on others. But it seems we can take a step further. Illegality is not an accident, an imperfection more or less inevitable. It is an absolutely positive element of social functioning, the function of which is provided for in the general strategy of society. Every legislative device has provided protected and profitable spaces where the law can be violated; others, where it can be ignored; others, finally, where infractions are sanctioned. At the limit, I would say, at will, that the law was not made to prevent one or another type of behavior, but to differentiate the ways to deviate from the law itself (Foucault, 2012, p. 224-225).

We can consider that in the border region there are numerous control devices on the individual. In many cases, regulators are relatively flexible with border agents (residents), provided that their conduct does not pose a risk to the power established. In the context highlighted, the State eventually exercises less rigorous control, since there is a certain naturalization of deviant practices. On the other hand, individuals appropriate

the local norms of the border region, which have distinct dynamics, to enjoy social behaviors that eventually extrapolate the laws, existing an interrelated dynamics between motivation, location and context, whose transgression is practically inevitable.

When considering certain deviant leisure practices, individuals have the opportunity for differentiated experiences. However, the mechanisms and control devices imbricated by society refer to self-control and self-vigilance. Even if the individual is aware that some experiences are allowed, they can generate innumerable feelings, as if stivesse infringing some law, arising from the control of the State exerted on the body.

Constantly the Brazilian State reformulates the control mechanisms of the individual (new legislation, bilateral agreements, ostensible policing, electronic and mechanical technology, intelligence service, revitalization of spaces, among others) and determines the behaviors and types of leisure practices that can be experienced. The attempt to control is exercised, but the population has shown that power is not something centralized, restricted only to institutions, because leisure is an integral part of the multiple social relations on which power is based.

The diversification of containment systems in the form of integrated networks: the State over individuals, applied in different spheres (Municipal, State and Federal); and the individual's control over the individual and introjected self-control, has shown that certain aspects are beyond control and regulation. Individuals reinvent strategies and circumvent surveillance devices, generating constant displacement. The government's strategy has been to create stimulus, because prohibition has not been effective. Nevertheless, in a foucaultian perspective, power takes an aspect that is much more to stimulate than to prohibit deviation

The peculiarity of the Triple Frontier region revealed a dynamic environment, in which ambiguities are constitutive of social relations and leisure in the river territory. Rivers create natural boundaries that can be circumvented, with the creation of devices to make some leisure practices viable, while others are unfeasible. When it comes to access to watercourses by the population, we find that, even with the normativity of canonical leisure and the strong dominance of regional tourism, strategies to overcome

them emerge - deviations are not eliminated, at most, silenced, because the population builds resistance, is knowledgeable of malice and strategies. It has the keys of access, dribbles the control mechanisms and makes the confrontation. It is the fluidity of leisure in the flow of the river!

The usufruct of rivers for leisure practices in the border region, punctually in the area of National Security (Itaipu Binacional), has a direct relationship with the process of appropriation and institutionalization, resignifying leisure practices. In this process, there is a work of self-control (self-control), although the monitoring devices do not necessarily correspond to a logic of submission of the individual to external devices, issuers of rules and norms. On the contrary, they stimulate the process of extending these rules and norms, making them broader than the external norms that are issued by the control bodies. Gradually, the playful enjoyment of the river territory is being hindered concomitantly to its commercialization as attractive. Reaching the waters has been a behavior of resistance and diversion as users pass through private properties or preservation areas without authorization, despite the occasional sighting of police and/or smugglers, who have become the monsters of the lake. In river territory, who is monster to whom? We need, then, to consider the participation of multiple realities in a power game, which involves in unequal ways various components.

The creation of Itaipu Lake forced users to move to other tributaries, less targeted. The state and the private sector try to delimit and direct the watercourses as an attempt to impose the control of bodies in leisure and create subjectivities. By defining what are the practices and places of leisure where individuals may or may not have fun, they induce the creation of processes of subjectivation and the culture of leisure consumption. Lands and rivers are no longer available, free, nor the individual. Everything is watched, controlled and spied on in the name of national security. Life is exposed and explored under the discourse of security and social welfare, engendered in a financial game that does not always benefit the regional population.

The water market regulation modes are characterized as a set of socio-political practices and devices open to a fluid geometry of relations, involving deviant and canonical leisure. We are dealing with the configuration of force fields, surrounded by

practices that oscillate between veiled agreements and open negotiations in the dispute for territories and for the means of capital appropriation that circulate in these markets.

The creation of canonical leisure routes and the implementation of various control apparatuses are not enough to stop individuals, who reorganize themselves and find alternative ways to appropriate the waters, since they are constitutive parts of their lives. The relationship of power (correlation of forces) puts into dispute different subjects in the determination of which are the "true" uses of the waters. In a tense and dynamic game of oppositions, tolerances, and alliances, the use of waterways for leisure is contested, in which each social actor defends this use based on their interests, elaborating different arguments.

So, leisure practices operate as local devices for the management of order, which goes through protocols, mediations, and negotiations. In this plan, through the ways of bypassing the law itself, one can see the weave of power practices and devices. In the shifting and uncertain border territories, the rules and power games are constantly redefining themselves, reestablishing nexuses that are structured sometimes in fields of tension and conflict, sometimes in factual agreements. Therefore, we assume the theoretical point of view that these power relations are dynamic, they are not stiff, they happen all the time. They constitute a social construction that results in inseparable forms of leisure.

In this regard there is growing concern about the conflicts generated by the occupation of tourist areas. They can be caused by commercial disputes between formal operators and independent receptive groups for the most profitable sites (Buhalis, 2000). But the most pressing issue is, especially in protected areas, the disobedience of the local population with their traditional practices against the standardization of spaces and the possibility of reconciling tourism-sports exploitation with their preservation (Lopes *et al.*, 2015). This way, it can be seen that the cause of the conflicts needs to be objectively evaluated and it is possible to absorb the deviation in the norm.

In this direction, we can bring the reflections coming from the Olympic Education regarding the values "of" and "in" sport (Gomes; Santos; Silva, 2014), being the ecological

issue, the respect for norms, and the fight against inequality all of their flags of Olympism. In fact, according to the discussed and analyzed practices, deviant leisure can be the object of democratic management and educational measures, as exemplified by the synergy between sports, tourism, and preservationist purposes in the environmental protection areas. The more subtle strategies of government (social control) identify the focuses of tension between canonical x deviant leisure, contributing to the evolution of self-government to the extent that rights and duties are the objects of joint management of the river territories.

6 Final consideration

The analyses and contributions of this study demonstrate that the transformations in the social dynamics of the region have provided a remarkable expansion of the validity of the devices involving the Itaipu Lake, as well as the waterways in the region. Leisure is, therefore, a paradigmatic and creative response in the spare time arena, capable of generating both negative and positive experiences, in close relationship with social dilemmas and the creation of discourses.

Given these conclusions, the practices and discourses that constitute deviant leisure in the river territory of the Triple Border (Brazil-Argentina-Paraguay) are related to the contextual dynamics that encompass a field of disputes in constant displacement and delimitation, which is configured amid order and disorder, the canonical and the deviant, satisfaction and repression. The construction of the Itaipu Binational Power Plant produced limits to the use of the territory and, with it, dissatisfaction: of residents, fishermen, and visitors.

The perception of having been deprived of their homes, the feeling of losing the freedom of access to the river, the transformation of the river region into a major tourist and marketing center, the desire to venture out (individually or collectively), and the satisfaction for transgression can be read as factors that lead to deviant leisure, which deserve further investigation and development of democratic forms of governance of the river territory.

The creation of Itaipu Lake as a river territory of practices and discourses of canonical and deviant leisure
Alexandre Paulo Loro, Giuliano Gomes de Assis Pimentel

References

BECKER, Howard Saul. **Outsiders: estudos de sociologia do desvio**. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor Ltda, 2008.

BUHALIS, Dimitrios. Relationships in the distribution channel of tourism: Conflicts between hoteliers and tour operators in the mediterranean region. **International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration**, Londres, v. 1, n. 1, p. 113-139, 2000.

CASTRO, Edgardo. **Vocabulário de Foucault: um percurso pelos seus temas, conceitos e autores**. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2009.

CATTA, Luiz Eduardo. **A face da desordem: pobreza e estratégias de sobrevivência em uma cidade de fronteira (Foz do Iguaçu/1964-1992)**. São Paulo: Blucher Acadêmico, 2009.

CATTA, Luiz Eduardo. **O cotidiano de uma fronteira: a perversidade da modernidade**. Cascavel: Edunioeste, 2002.

ELIZALDE, Rodrigo; GOMES, Christianne Luce. **Horizontes latino-americanos do lazer**. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2012.

FOUCAULT, Michel. **Ditos e escritos VIII: segurança, penalidade, prisão**. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 2012.

FOUCAULT, Michel. **A arqueologia do saber**. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 2009.

FOUCAULT, Michel. **Segurança, território, população: curso no Collège de France (1977-1978)**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2008.

FOUCAULT, Michel. **Vigiar e punir: nascimento da prisão**. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2002.

FOUCAULT, Michel. **Os anormais**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2001.

FOUCAULT, Michel. **História da sexualidade I: a vontade de saber**. 13. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Graal, 1999.

GERLERO, Julia C. Las formas de residencia en la recreación. **Cuadernos de ocio y sociedad**. Medellín, Colômbia: Soluciones Editoriales, v. 1, n. 3, p. 49-62, 2007..

The creation of Itaipu Lake as a river territory of practices and discourses of canonical and deviant leisure
Alexandre Paulo Loro, Giuliano Gomes de Assis Pimentel

GOMES, Marta C.; SANTOS, Leonardo J. M.; SILVA, Paulo R. P. Educação olímpica para quê? Educação olímpica para quem? Representações e práticas para uma pedagogia crítica do olimpismo em tópicos especiais - o doping entre escolares. **Podium: sport, leisure and tourism review**, São Paulo, v. 3, p. 38-47, 2014.

GOMES, Rui Machado. A política da vida e a transparência do corpo. In: GOMES, Rui Machado (org.). **O corpo e a política da vida**. Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Biocinéticos, 2009. p. 52-82.

JORGE, Janes. A represa do Guarapiranga e os esportes na região de São Paulo (1905-1963). In: SOAREZ, Carmen Lúcia (org.). **Uma educação pela natureza**. Campinas: Autores Associados, 2016. p. 181-204.

LOPES, Priscila Fabiana M.; PACHECO, Shirley. CLAUZET, Mariana; SILVANO, Renato A. M.; BEGOSSI, Alpina. Fisheries, tourism, and marine protected areas: conflicting or synergistic interactions? **Ecosystem Services**, Amsterdã, v. 16, p. 333-340, 2015.

NARITA, Sandra Akemi. **Apropriações sociais e vivências de lazer nos rios urbanos de Foz do Iguaçu e suas margens**. 2015. 147 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Estudos do Lazer) – Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2015.

OKSALA, Johanna. **Como ler Foucault**. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2011.

PIMENTEL, Giuliano Gomes de Assis. Sobre os desvios no lazer: questões para se pensar a corrupção no lúdico. In: LARA, Larissa Michelle (org.). **As abordagens socioculturais em educação física**. Maringá: Eduem, 2010. p. 81-112.

ROJEK, Chris. O lado obscuro do lazer: formas anormais. In: FORTINI, Janice Lúce Martins; GOMES, Christianne L.; ELIZALDE, Rodrigo. **Desafios e perspectivas da educação para o lazer**. Belo Horizonte: Editorial SESC/Otium, 2011. p. 137-148.

SAQUET, Marcos Aurelio. As diferentes abordagens do território e a apreensão do movimento e da (i)materialidade. **Geosul**, Florianópolis, v. 22, n. 43, p. 55-76, jan./jun. 2007.

TRIVIÑOS, Augusto Nivaldo Silva. **Introdução à pesquisa em ciências sociais: a pesquisa qualitativa em educação**. São Paulo: Atlas, 1987.

The creation of Itaipu Lake as a river territory of practices and discourses of canonical and deviant leisure
Alexandre Paulo Loro, Giuliano Gomes de Assis Pimentel

Authorship contribution

Alexandre Paulo Loro: conceptualization; formal analysis; investigation; methodology; visualization; writing - original draft; writing - analysis and editing.

Giuliano Gomes de Assis Pimentel: conceptualization; formal analysis; methodology; project management; supervision; validation; writing - analysis and editing.

Received on: 07/03/2022

Approved on: 25/10/2023

Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina – UDESC
Centro de Ciências Humanas e da Educação – FAED

PerCursos

Volume 24 - Ano 2023

revistapercursos.faed@udesc.br