

## COFFEE SPATIALIZATION IN THE BRAZILIAN TERRITORY: A GEO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS UNTIL ITS ARRIVAL IN RONDÔNIA



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### ABSTRACT

The spatialization of coffee in the world comes from a political and economic process in the 15th to the mid-20th centuries, from the 1750s onwards it becomes a socio-territorial and economic movement, with an urgency for territorial planning. With emphasis on the spatial trajectory of the coffee rubiaceae, the objective of this article is to present the analysis of the spatialization of coffee and territorial planning in the twentieth century. Use of literary study of the economic dynamics of coffee in the Brazilian territory and by geographers with wisdom to foster discussions about the focus of the territory used and territorial planning. The emphasis is on Brazilian researchers for the analysis of the territory as a system that involves nature and the human being are thought of from the relations of political, economic and social power. It is concluded that coffee was responsible for the economic dynamics and the epicenter of socio-territorial movements in a process of production and commercialization of coffee, even if unintentional, became a strategy of socio-territorial inclusion since its entry into the agricultural productive spatial circuit in Brazil to its arrival in the territory of Rondônia.

**Keywords:** Coffee plantation, Spatialization, Territorial planning, Rondoniense.

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## INTRODUCTION

The many human achievements transformed the landscapes, which made them shape the territories to meet the economic, social and cultural desires of the peoples, who appropriated it and registered its territorial intentionality. Marked by power conflicts, the events that occurred in different geographical spaces are studied by the different sciences, stimulated by the interests of areas of observation, all in search of a truth that helps to understand the dynamics of their category of analysis. Each branch of knowledge has dedicated itself to the study of certain subjects or objects, with its own method and form of study, with its own purpose.

An example of the above is the geographical category the Territory, which can be analyzed from different angles, according to the scientific field of inquiry. Where territorial tensions occur with the "networks and circulation of the use and control of the territory", as the geographer Mónica Arroyo (2015, p. 37) points out. For her, the territory becomes more vulnerable and the circulation of goods becomes essential to understand the economic and socio-territorial dynamics of the productive circuit.

As a geographical category that the Territory is the object of human, environmental, economic, social and cultural studies and connections, sometimes these elements are studied in isolation and others in a transversal way. Since it is on the territory that power relations are drawn. The power over a territory has many lines to be followed, among them that of public policies that exert visible or invisibly influence on the reorganization of the landscape, it is transformed into what Milton Santos determines of a second nature and the territory used is the space experienced.

Among these interventions, this article seeks to explain facts in which coffee is positioned as a protagonist of socio-territorial inclusion of farmers in Brazil. With mishaps that led to the gradual rise in the economy in the Colonial period to the crisis at the end of the Imperial period. The set of truths around the Historical Geography of Brazil, around the productive circuit of Coffee, under different aspects, the observations of scholars from the seventeenth century onwards, interconnected, created concepts, prepositions and the history and the set of them the geo-history of coffee in Brazil.

The predilection for using texts by Brazilian authors who experienced the period studied was due to the fact of valuing those who experienced the various phases of jubilation, its crisis and the resurgence of coffee as a protagonist of the socio-territorial movement in the Brazilian economy. In an absolute sense, knowledge, although considered

as one, has divisions into myriads of sciences, complex and comprehensive. In this line of reflection, the spatialization of Coffee around the World, even if in synthesis, is an investigation in which Geography feeds to help in the understanding of the socio-territorial movements resulting from the cultivation of the coffee rubiaceae, regardless of its species.

At first, arguments are presented about the importance of the geographical study on the dynamics of coffee in the socio-territorial economic and political conception and its spatialization around the world. In the second, he highlights the expansion of coffee towards Brazil in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, in spite of its position as an exotic spice. The third shows the introduction and expansion of coffee in colonial and imperial Brazil, from the rejection to acceptance of the coffee culture to the detriment of other crops such as sugarcane, for example. The fourth, finally, the geographical expansion of coffee throughout the Brazilian territory in the perspective of economic exploitation of the land in the Brazilian Republic (end of the century. XIX and first half of the twentieth century).

Thus, the general objective of the study is to analyze the spatialization of coffee and territorial planning in the twentieth century. to present a synthesis of the territorial use of coffee growing in the state of Rondônia, focusing on the 1980s and 1990s; simultaneous analysis of the first two objectives on the economic and human expansion and territorial planning occurred by the coffee spatialization in Brazilian territory.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The proposed study requires what Milton Santos and Maria Laura Silveira (2001) call periodization, because the territory is one and diverse. It deals with the synthesis of the histories of each of its regions and requires a look beyond the place and the present time. To understand the current situation, it is necessary to make an effort of periodization (SANTOS, 2014a), a complex mission that is asynchronous in its entirety, but synchronized in the regions. Based on Santos (2014c), the periodization was carried out with its characteristics, evolution, identification of trends of the time and socioeconomic consequences.

This research establishes a dialogue with geographers who discuss geography from the appropriation of concepts such as territory, used territory, socio-territorial, territorial planning, among other categories that complement each other. Also, with specialists from related areas of knowledge who work with economics and politics of the expansion of the socio-territorial, economic and financial process on coffee cultivation. It complements each

other, as the dialectical discourse regarding the spatialization of coffee and its socio-territorial inference.

Thus, this text considers the need to understand and discuss geo-historical events with the use of the dialectical method, given the contribution it provides to reflection and scientific works addressed in this article. With the use of this method, the study carried out gives quality to what is presented in quantity, and performs the interpretation of the contradictory. As exposed by Sposito (2004), Becker (2007), Salvador (2012), Ribeiro (2015) it is the negation of negation in which conflicts can be between the lines in the past and present space with the events that actually occurred in a geographical interpretation of them.

To reach the result of this study, the path was long and concentrated study on dialectical geographical bases on the theoretical framework in which geographers such as Antonio Carlos Roberto Moraes; Berta Koiffmann Becker; Iná Elis da Castro; Mônica Arroyo; Milton Santos; Rui Erthal; among other contemporaries cited in this study. The studies of these authors, including the understanding of the importance of Historical Geography, is what motivated this study.

For these geographers, dialectics is necessary from the moment the contradictions are exposed and the researcher takes a position on the subject. In Historical (or Geo-Historical) Geography, Erthal (2003) considers that in the dialectical conception of the past moment it is necessary to take specific care, given the effort of periodization, the historical relations, since its present can only be understood in proportion to its contextualization. With the above, the proper use of dialectics is understood.

The geographer Ligia Maria Tavares da Silva (2007, p. 71) states that "In general, the central problem that historical geography seeks to solve is that of the temporal and spatial delimitation of the phenomenon studied". The term Geo-History appears with historian Fernand Braudel (1996) when he gives different meaning to short time, intermediate time and long time, the latter is what he called Geohistory.

With a view to the milestones of the geographical dynamics of coffee from Africa, to Europe and from there to Central America, until it reached Brazil in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the twentieth century in and as a form of political and economic interest in territorial planning, this article is divided into four parts. This division contemplates the understanding of Geography in line with its object and categories of analysis, in space and time (geohistorical).

The parts presented are anchors for the understanding of the contemporary dynamics of coffee and the description of the socio-territorial movement, in order to instigate the discussion and analysis, a posteriori, of the proposed investigation, in spite of the current moment. This study appropriates the position of Fernandes (2015) regarding the relevance of perceiving how the socio-territorial disposition occurs in the implementation of public and private policies, in the countryside, in the city, or in the forest. For the author, the social movement over the territory ordered by the state, by non-governmental institutions and by private interests.

In this article, the geohistorical study to understand the historical economic, social and territorial dynamics in which in contemporaneity is important to prove the thesis in question. It is corroborated by Moraes (2020), Lima and Amora (2012), Moraes (2011), and Silva (2007) that the study of space-time is important to understand the phenomena of the human relationship with the earth. In this bias the initial study of the spatialization of coffee is concentrated, *pari passu* to the socio-territorial movement.

## **THE STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC DYNAMICS OF COFFEE**

This study is based on the principle that the geographic expansion of the coffee rubiaceae has had a significant participation in the economic change of the producing countries in the last three centuries. In developing countries, such as Brazil, in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, its cultivation began to pulverize the idea that coffee was profitable. Even with the uncertainties and the refusal to comply with the determinations of the King of Portugal, it aroused the interest of farmers to invest in new crops to the detriment of sugar cane, cocoa, cotton and tobacco.

Other crops were maintained for subsistence, but for the international market the "Ouro Verde" was destined, the name given to coffee in the nineteenth century that was extended to the subsequent one (PUPO, 1968). The expansion of coffee cultivation was gradual to the conquests of territory, the socio-territorial movement, the demographic increase and the taste for liquor with aroma, flavor and exotic reactions: coffee. The manifestation of the appropriation of space is revealed before the territory used (SANTOS; SILVEIRA, 2001) by the cultivation of coffee trees.

The historical process of appropriation of territory, as formation, materiality is established with the territorial configuration of the ordering of forms and objects, as Moraes (2020) considers, this process happens with immaterial perspectives of geographic

discourse. The geographer, in this article, considers that in Brazil, given the colonial characteristics of the Iberian Peninsula and the Anglo-Saxon economy, a posteriori, until 2002, the year in which he wrote the work "Territory and History in Brazil", he never allowed Brazil to be thought of as a nation and in territory itself.

The peripheral finding in which Moraes (2005) ponders, about the geographical sentinel, promotes colonial dependence, the condition in which it is bequeathed to the Brazilian territory, in the nineteenth century is one of socioeconomic dependence in which the national ideology was still a project that strengthened and legitimized domination. The condition in which Brazil found itself placed it in a position of socioeconomic and political dependence. The author goes further, placing the territory in the condition of being only an ideological project, a discourse that validates domination.

The geographical descriptions of travelers reported by numerous intellectuals from the eighteenth century onwards are pre-scientific descriptions, in which practice and common sense were reflected on the elements and their meanings (SILVA, 2004). There was no separation of what was pure and unique, as narration or geographical description. However, the narratives were rich in possible details of cartographic production, of reconnaissance of places and regions.

The perception of the works presented that address the Café (Cafeeira), in this chapter, is that the geography perceived and used is that of the laboratory, that is, of the cabinet which makes use of secondary information to achieve a certain end. This geographical way of understanding the world was a constant in the distant past. Although it remains at a lower intensity in the contemporary moment, which is corroborated in this study as elementary to assimilate the phenomena of the human relationship with the environment that surrounds it.

With the aim of reflection and discussion, this investigation incorporates the position that it is necessary to make known how natural forces occur, the accumulation of work and the continuous destinies of places. In other words, the study of the socio-territorial movement in which the reflection on the dynamics of the territory used is raised, pointed out by Santos and Silveira (2001, p. 20) as "[...] synonymous with geographical space", that is, where "things" happen.

The territory as an environment that reserves for itself the human movement and the phenomena that arise over time, is where all social dynamics take place. Santos (1999, 2006; 2011, 2012) considers that human labor relations with the environment that surrounds

it and shape the territory. The addition of Raffestin (2011) is allowed, which ponders the power relations between people themselves and with the environment, with privileges to the hegemonic classes.

The territory used also supports state actions. Based on geopolitics as an element of a certain historical process, geographer Bertha Becker (2009, p. 34) puts on the screen that territory implies "[...] in the relations between power and geographical space, that is, the government of the territory". What Becker points out as "government of territory" is what Foucault (2019) considers as the art or knowing how to govern, in the context of power and territory relations, as to its forms and specifications over time (Geohistory).

European governments supported investment in coffee growing because the product had won over noble consumers. During the period of dissemination of coffee production (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) the initial idea was to commercialize its fruit, but in the nineteenth century, as Porto-Alegre (1879) points out, research proves that all its parts are used: a) Firewood can be used for artifacts and as fuel; b) the leaves are therapeutic resources in fusion with water and has an aromatic liquid; c) the pulp serves as a brandy of excellence; d) fruit peel provides the industry with a large number of potash (potassium carbonate –  $K_2CO_3$ ); and, e) of the liquor known as Coffee.

Over time, as soon as it was settled in the place, elements such as climate and soil began to be considered by farmers for a cost-benefit analysis of the investment. Natural conditions are geographical limits for agricultural production, and make human beings organize themselves with the objective of producing, in addition to coffee, technical conditions for the best way to use the land.

The production and export routes can be defined, however they do not mean that it will be in accordance with the natural conditions of the place, but it will meet the specific interests. The place established by the human being will not always be a place in accordance with natural conditions. To do this, they use other instruments to transport and stimulate production.

To understand the socio-territorial movement, it requires knowledge of human dynamics and, as the French geographer Pierre George (1982) points out, it is necessary to study the Earth's population from the angle of Economic Geography. Geo-historical moments overlap with economic crises, which close and open cycles of life on Earth. Human displacement occurs with political expansion, with the overcoming of conflicts, whatever the route, or technical ones.

The observations described by traveling geographers are evidence that since the days of civilization, economic issues of territorial conquests have been present in the geo-historical context (FERREIRA; SIMÕES, 1994), as well as observed and described by third parties (CASTRO; GOMES; CORRÊA, 2012).

As a result of the interest in the coffee tree, the merchant, from the moment they discover the economic potential of such a shrub, starts to distribute their seeds along the trade routes. It can be seen from the literature presented in this chapter that there is a close connection between the movement unleashed in the fourteenth century of the conquest of new territories with which the seeds of the shrub begin to be propagated throughout all the regions where there were consumers.

An excerpt is necessary to explain that the term "Economic Dynamics" is understood in this text, as suggested by the geographer Lamoso (2011) given the fact that it extends through the incorporation of the territorial dimension of economic activities and not only the activities themselves. The predilection given to the chosen term is justified by its synchrony with the geographical scales (Local; National; Global), which are of paramount importance to study coffee in contemporary times.

Lamoso (2011) explains that the events considered for the analysis, of what is here called Economic Geography, are both natural and historical. In other words, "[...] they are those that provoke changes in content and meaning in economic dynamics" (Ibid., p. 110). The events analyzed are in the human movement on the Earth's surface in line with the distribution of coffee on the Planet and their territorial planning.

Therefore, the definition of territorial planning adopted for this study is by Cavalcante (2012, p. 10) who specifies that "[...] it is the result of management, which through techniques and norms of use and appropriation of the territory, aims at harmonious development, in order to take advantage of the opportunities of the socio-physical system for decisions that may involve the national, regional and local scales".

The events considered are the events that occurred regarding the economic dynamics of coffee in the world from the sixteenth century onwards. Par excellence, Milton Santos (2014b, p. 146) highlights that when considering "[...] the world as a set of possibilities, the event is a vehicle of one or some of these possibilities existing in the world". It can also be a vector of social formation in which scales must be considered as a limited set (place, region, country).



Although doubts may arise about the possibility of geographic analysis of the events that impacted the world economic transformation, especially in the nineteenth century, this research is supported by Milton Santos (2014a), who argues that the study on a local scale (Micro) can be as complex or more complex as on a global scale (Macro). The issue raised by Lamoso (2011) is that it is not a matter of analyzing the same phenomena on different scales, but they are different because they are learned in different conceptions.

Based on a specific question of geography, which deals with why spatial distributions are structured as they are, we seek to identify what happened to coffee. In this sense, studying the structure, its causes and consequences, involves a purified geographical look at the uncertainties of the early studies of the phenomena resulting from human work on the land.

Ferreira and Simões (1994) understand that since the most remote times, human beings have sought to live in groups and move continuously across the Earth in search of subsistence or warlike activities. Geographers consider that the population, since the primitive era, already felt the need to preserve information about the paths traveled and their directions and to transmit it to the rest of the population, that is, to others.

Knowing, obtaining the explanation and interpretation, the reason why events happen is a natural curiosity of intelligence. That is, it is in the nature of intelligence to know the nature of everything. For millennia, human beings have consciously sought to know the essence of things, and this leads them to move on the earth's crust. This movement generates spatial transformations that reconcile with the construction of socio-spatial systems and the implementation of territories, given their need for political structuring.

As the centuries progress, humanity ceases to live an individual relationship with the place and moves on to a new global order. Milton Santos (2006, 2012, 2014c) explains that the global interdependence of places is a reality of the territory. In the temporal perspective, it is observed that the human being sought to record what happens to him and to the wealth accumulated by them. Well-being, although history shows that in its existence there were distinct phases of evolution, little was studied. However, by bringing studies on coffee, it aroused reflection on why certain agricultural products are the economic epicenter of a territory.

It is curious to make a cut and bring the position of Sposito (2004) regarding the discussion about territory. For the geographer in question, it is not possible to discuss Territory apart from history, because there is a whole in the training process that needs to

be worked on, understood and analyzed, before the possible issuance of conclusions. Geographical research requires the historical characterization of the geographical space, for a good interpretation of the concrete reality of the territory used.

For the purposes of the investigation on the coffee rubiacea, it is necessary to bring the light of knowledge, in order to arrive at answers about the questions that led to this study. In this sense, Becker (2006) considers that in order to look at the place it is necessary to look at the totality. It involves here the spatialization of discovery, the beginning of cultivation, commercialization and mercantile policies of territorial appropriation, by the state and private organizations.

The Nation-State, in this context, was a divider, which Santos (2012, p. 138) perceives to be praised in terms of "[...] juridical-political notion of territory, derived from knowledge and the conquest of the world, from the Modern State and the Century of Enlightenment to the era of the valorization of natural resources". The relevance of studying the geographical dynamics of coffee, that is, of the coffee rubiacea, is related given its participation in the formation of socio-territorial spaces in which public policy and the economy take on the meaning and consistency of human participation in the process.

## **RESULTS**

The geo-historical study of the spatialization of coffee growing in Brazil requires a primary contextualization of research on publications made in the twentieth century. Thus, this topic has three subtopics, so that periodization is better understood.

### **THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXPANSION OF COFFEE (CENTURY. A XVIII)**

The world got to know coffee from the reports of travelers, who fed the information of what was happening, and, consequently, their narrations were built on the itineraries experienced. Even if these narratives do not seduce the reader, the emphasis is on what was seen, and sometimes more than what was experienced. For centuries, geography was nourished by the continuous observation of the traveler, his diaries, letters and reports, as Veloso Filho (2012) explains, in which they retained and described the sequences of the environment and time, and here we add the territorial demarcation, through negotiations between kingdoms.

The study presented by Veloso Filho (2012), on European expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, provides an idea of the way in which territorial demarcations were

carried out. Geographical knowledge, as the author points out, until then understood by Ptolemy's Geography is resized and the description of the Earth changes from the vision of Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Cabral, among others.

From this point on, the worldview is understood from an expansionist perspective categorized into territories and scales of action as recognized by Castro (2011; 2017) and which is adopted in this study. By weighing the global, national and regional phenomena, the political and economic cutouts are defined in spite of the conflicting interests of the Governments, to the detriment of the rural population.

The spatialization of coffee in the world, before what Milton Santos (2013) calls the "Scientific Technical Period" is identified here as vernacular. The richness of detail in the topographical narratives contributed to the possibility of identifying the coffee. When studying the authors and works dating from the seventeenth century, although of great value, most of them were the dissemination and benefits of the fruit of this rubiaceae, by travelers of the time. And in subsequent centuries the emphasis shifts to the political-economic aspects.

Travellers, described by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers (PESSANA, 1741; VELOSO, 1800; SUSANO, 1847) highlight in the early days of coffee, the rubiaceae that brings the fruit, which ripe becomes reddish, the coffee tree, grew free (native). Originating in the area between Abyssinia and the great central African lakes, and especially the south of the Negus empire, in the provinces of Kaffa and Enérea located in the central plateau region of Angola. It was in common use among Africans since ancient times, even before the Christian era, however, Veloso (1800) points out that it is a questionable truth. This is what Milton Santos (2014b) and Andrade (1981) consider as the period of the "natural environment".

There is a legendary construction around the discovery of the coffee tree for human use. In the well-known Legend of Kaldi, it is said that a shepherd noticed that his flock of goats on certain occasions was active, with more vivacity. This occurred for some time, when feeding on a certain plant this phenomenon happened. It was possible to identify it because the plants are part of the flora of a given place. Curiosity made the shepherd taste the fruit, and he was struck by willingness, joy, and no longer felt the sleep and fatigue that was common to him when he was at work. (PORTO-ALEGRE, 1879; TAUNAY, 1939; PUPO, 1968; MARTINS, 2019).

The fact would have occurred "[...] around 575 A.D. and, to this day, the 'original' coffee called Arabia is found in the interior of Ethiopia" (ORTEGA; JESUS, 2012, p. 27). It was around the year 1000 that users began to boil along with "[...] cherries in water and drink it for medicinal purposes, which led to the consumption of the stimulating drink. Only in the fourteenth century was the process of roasting the bean employed, resulting in the drink we know today" (Ibid., p. 27).

Its seeds were spread around the world, at first, by pilgrims (travelers) in religious, commercial, adventurous, political or even family caravans. (TAUNAY, 1939; PUPO, 1968; MARTINS, 1990). Taken by the Persians to Arabia, it was elected as the national drink, what is not clear in the literature is that the appreciation of coffee liqueur is on the part of the elite.

Due to the importance that the Arabs gave to coffee production, they then began to control their trade. When delivering the seeds for consumption, they took care to remove the parchment that surrounds it to ensure non-production, because without it fertilization does not occur (ORTEGA; JESUS, 2012). This procedure competes as a commercial strategy, in which the "secrets" of production are reserved and kept confidential.

Geographer Gisela Aquino Pires do Rio (2012) helps to conceive that in each period the market behaves in a different way in economic practice. It happens that the production and commercialization of a product must be studied according to its temporality and geographical scales of manifestation of the process of expansion of production, consumption and distribution activities.

Records brought by Ortega and Jesus (2012) show that production on a commercial scale began in the fourteenth century, in the men, from there it advances through the Arabian Peninsula. In this way, they began to be marketed in Europe as part of the spices of the East (MOTTA SOBRINHO, 1978). Historian Martins (1990) states that the trajectory of the coffee rubiaceae in the world begins in a punctual way in the year 1450.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, perfected, it was used as a drink, just as it is in contemporary times. It was exported through the Red Sea port of Moka, from there to Suez to Alexandria, then distributed to Venice, Genoa, and Marseille. In France, in 1710, the company of S. Malo was established, with profit motives, which began to sell coffee through the Cape of Good Hope. (MOTTA SOBRINHO, 1978; STEIN, 1971).

The qualities of the coffee rubiaceae were praised in the seventeenth century, by scholars, nobles and merchants, considered as a drink that portrays civilization, and

contributed to a double purpose: the first deals with the satisfaction of the human need to live fully; the second refers to the wealth of countries through the commercial transactions established between the producing centers and the consumers. (PORTO-ALEGRE, 1879).

Socioeconomic formation, however, is even more interesting, in the contribution of the production of space and the conquest of territory. It is interesting to note that coffee has a predominant role in the formation of regions in the world. The spice trade took place, for the most part, on subjugated peoples, transformed into slave laborers. The dominated territories were used for the extraction of their natural wealth and the production of foodstuffs.

Power, in this case, deals with the imposition on a people and the territory is formed from the normalized labor forces. The world culture regarding human labor relations is similar in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, watered by feudal, bourgeois power. That is, to the power of those who can do more, of those who have more financial conditions, tradition and fame, a territory presented by Raffestin (2011) as the power of traditional forces; and, of the globalization of money in which Milton Santos (1999) refers in the metamorphosis of the space in which the individual and collective driving force is concentrated.

The historical condition of the spatialization of coffee is directly linked to the expansion of slave labor, *pari passu* the approval of the flavor and aromas of this liqueur that gains the preference of nobles and bourgeois (MARTINS, 1990; 2019). With its infusion around the middle of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century it becomes daily consumption by the English, Dutch, French and Germans. Toledo and Gancho (1992) point out that although there was prejudice due to the Muslim, non-Christian origin, its mild, stimulating and also digestive flavor conquered the European palate.

The commercial concern at the time was more with the acceptance of the product than with the development of agriculture. Even if the geographical view considers the use and occupation of the land (GEORGE, 1967; 1982) and human participation in coffee production, the rulers ignored the need to worry about how and who would work in the plantations, this was the absence of the producers.

The Dutch were pioneers in disseminating the coffee seed in Europe, by introducing this crop in their colonies. Their heyday was in the seventeenth century, a period in which they traded with Arabia Feliz (UKERS, 1935). At the end of this century, trafficking decreases for political reasons. The island of Java (a colony of the Netherlands) starts to

produce coffee on a large scale and in 1719 a full shipment of good quality coffee was delivered to Amsterdam. In 1743 the Netherlands was the largest producer of this spice. (LUNÉ, 1985 apud MARTINS, 1990).

England, in the nineteenth century, began to introduce the coffee culture in Madras (present-day Chennai) in India and other locations, but it did not succeed like Holland. In the same period it was introduced in the Sandwich Islands, in Bourbon and some islands of the French Antilles such as Martinique, Guadeloupe and many others. It was in Saint-Domingos, or Haiti, as it is now known, that the coffee rubiaceae had a good adaptation, which in 1790 became a major exporter. (MARTINS, 1990).

From the French success, Spain and England began to cultivate coffee on the American continent, in their colonies in the Antilles, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. The growth of planted areas spread in Ecuador, Venezuela and Central America (LUNÉ, 1985 apud MARTINS, 1990). With the increase in consumers, there was a need to expand planted areas and for this there was no other solution at the time than to take fertile seeds and seedlings of the coffee tree to the American colonies for their cultivation.

In South America, the coffee rubiaceae was introduced by M. La Motte Aigron, then governor of French Guiana, who took advantage of the movement of the Catholic Church promoted by Spain and Portugal in this hemisphere, with the aim of establishing himself, following the example of the British and French (MARTINS, 1990). It is considered that what interested the rulers was to know how political articulations bring wealth to their country and how they could multiply it.

Geographical elements began to be considered to the detriment of political forces for the production of coffee, although it was not won, but allied to the interests of the State. In this context, it is corroborated by Moraes (2005) regarding the intertwining between State and Territory, in which the former is endowed with a territory. Iná Elias de Castro (2002; 2012a) emphasizes, however, that the use of force to achieve and preserve order is a legitimate prerogative of the public power.

Promoted by the Government, productive spaces, in the eighteenth century, began to be considered due to the economic and political mechanisms of the foreign market, rather than the internal one. This, understood by Andrade (1981, p. 21) as the subjective human production of spaces of "[...] according to the level of development and the dominant economic and social systems". These spaces aim to achieve specific ends, those of interest to the dominant economic-social formation. In Europe, for example, trade served the

interests of the nobles and in the rising society, the bourgeoisie. In the colonies, there was a high percentage of consumers who could not pay, therefore, they were not considered in the trade balance.

It is clear from the literature studied that economic activities are directly linked to the interests of the State and the force of Capital. Back in the 80s of the twentieth century, Andrade (1981, p. 86) already highlighted that "[...] the State loses importance, in the face of the internalization of the economy and the emergence of an international superstructure in which the various States are represented". The observation verbalized by the author remains valid, despite the confirmation that the states with greater wealth expand their areas of economic influence over the territory of others, beyond their political borders.

Rarefied, the economic policy expanding throughout Europe extends to the New World. The borders, still fragile from a newly colonized area, are taken over by the market for grains and other spices. The consolidation of a productive apparatus in the newly discovered tropical lands was an innovative and bold initiative in the eighteenth century that was established in the following century. (MAGNOLI; ARAUJO, 1992).

The expansion of coffee was due to the fact that governments began to seek techniques for agricultural improvement. Recognized as a vital human activity for a country's economy, preservation of power and subsistence conditions (DINIZ, 1986). Knowledge, know-how, is therefore of considerable importance. It was during this period that coffee arrived in Colonial Brazil, when the movement for economic and financial independence took place, and began to contribute to the introduction of the first industrial activities in the Brazilian territory.

## COFFEE IN BRAZIL REPUBLIC (END OF THE CENTURY. XIX AND FIRST HALF OF THE XX)

The geographical and economic reference of the country, the economic archipelago, at the end of the imperial system leads to reflection on the power relations in which governments submit to the power of those who have greater capital. The trade routes, the expansion of agricultural production enters, with the end of imperialism, a new era, in which the large farmers lose part of their prestige along with the loss of a patrimony that was rightfully attributed to them, according to the society of the time.

Geographical evidence regarding the supremacy of the State is found in the literature presented in this chapter, which is in line with Castro's (2012a) premise, in which the

relations between public policies and the population are marked by divergences of interests. Sometimes, these relationships are evidenced in the nature of the normization of the territory, in the socio-territorial planning (ANTAS JUNIOR, 2005; CASTRO, 2012b).

The beginning of the Brazilian Republic was marked by a series of problems, in which the national economic situation was in crisis (CARVALHO, 1901). Given the administrative problems of the farms, caused by the abolition of slavery on May 13, 1888, when the Golden Law was sanctioned. A year before the Proclamation of the Republic, it unleashed discontent with the imperial system and led to the "republican march". (PRADO JUNIOR, 1970).

The economic legacy of the Brazilian Empire was one of a political, economic and social crisis that would remain throughout the twentieth century. In the months leading up to abolition, in anticipation of the nefarious deed, the farmers requested the intervention of the Government with the banking establishments. Sensitive to the situation of the coffee farmers, then deprived of the property of slaves, without compensation, the producers were granted financing (STEIN, 1961).

Deprived of operational conditions to harvest the fruits of the coffee tree, the coffee plantations lay in a lack of labor for harvesting. However, "In the new republican order, politics, society and culture are intertwined with the coffee plantations" (MARTINS, 2019, p. 187). Of the financing available, there were few investments in technology and machinery. Months passed before the migratory event of the former slaves subsided and they decided to work on the farms. In place of "compulsory slavery" comes "consensual slavery".

With the new arrangements in labor relations, landowners needed to pay for the service provided. Some were able to afford wages, others carried out different types of labor contracts, such as exchanging work for a place to sleep and eat, or even as sharecropper work, or settlement. (MARTINS, 1979). The labor relationship in Brazil in the Old Republic was contradictory, since slave labor was prohibited.

Even if acceptable within the new labor standards in the democratic political regime that began with the Old Republic, the work proposals enslaved the worker with the permission of the State. Martins (1979) in "Cativeiro da Terra" discusses lending as a way of tying the worker to the place. This work regime induces the false idea that the subject is an independent producer, but, in reality, he is a captive of the land and of a modality of landlord accepted by the slave and non-slave society.



The French geographer Pierre Denis (1929), in a trip to Brazil, describes the Brazilian landscape and the economic changes of coffee in the State of São Paulo. Even before Martins (1979), Denis (1929) realizes that the remuneration of new workers in Brazil occurred with the coffee harvest itself, as well as among the coffee plantations they began to cultivate corn. This often occurred in the newly planted lands, in addition to occupying space in the domestic market.

In the perception of Denis (1929), the end of the slave labor system leads coffee growers to financial decline, given the fact that they are deprived of low-cost labor. During this period, the immigration of European workers, a priority from Italy, began. To make immigration attractive, the spatialization of cultivation areas occurs with the opening of new lands. This socio-territorial movement leads to the exponential growth of coffee production in the state of São Paulo. Consequently, the other Brazilian regions, such as Minas Gerais and Paraná, are extended years later.

Historians Carone (1970) and Pessamilio (1978) point out that although the predominance of immigration for work in agricultural production (and in the industrial sector) was the Italians, the Portuguese, Spanish, Germans, Russians, and Syrians also immigrated. In the year 1908 7/10 of the coffee workers are Italians and the rest divided between the Portuguese and Spanish.

The salaried European worker in Brazil was essential for the continuity of coffee production in the main coffee centers. In the nineteenth century, Law No. 840, of September 15, 1855 (56/57) in article No. 12, exempts ships transporting settlers to any port in Brazil from the obligation of anchorage taxes, or even reduction in terms of the ton and number of individuals. This, as the Government best judged with this law, was restricted to those from Asia and Africa. (BRAZIL, 1855).

The immigrants were gathered in the Extreme-South region in "[...] nuclei of colonization, as small landowners, identified with the land" (PESSAMILIO, 1978, p. 13). As for the northern region, in the First Republic (Old Republic), the immigration flow was inexpressive "[...] due to the hostile climate and decadent agriculture" (Ibid., p. 13). However, immigrant workers looked for regions that could make use of the land so that they could produce coffee.

The difficulties related to the decadence of the coffee production circuit led the Government to launch a plan to defend coffee in the years 1923 and 1914. Penteado (1923) explains that it was a defensive policy in 1922, given the financial efforts that the

States dismissed the maintenance of transport and other structures for the operationalization of coffee. ROSANELI (2013) considers that the new coffee cities had a new commercial operationalization that proposed the Government's investment in infrastructures,

The regulation of entries and conditions for the acceptance of immigrants appears only in 1931 (PESSAMILIO, 1978). This delay led to a precipitous drop in the number of immigrants in the 1930s, due to the negative effects of government measures, added to the nationalist orientations of European countries, such as Italy, Portugal and Spain (CARONE, 1970). One of the reasons for the first wave of salaried workers was the industry's need for qualified labor, and it was only with the abolition of slavery that coffee became the protagonist.

In the 1930s, Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay (1939) was charged by the then National Coffee Department (Armando Vidal) with propagating the coffee tree in Brazil, in what corresponds to a succinct history in general terms. The author considers that the appreciation of coffee in Brazil is historical and has considerable resistance in its cultivation and commercialization for decades.

Taunay (1939) already mentioned the fact that people with extensive knowledge of the Brazilian economy said "Brazil is still coffee", when Sylvio Lara Pupo (1968), writes that the work: Brazil is still coffee, in which it brings as the "green gold". Pupo points out that for years coffee farms were on the margins of the Brazilian economic and financial scenario. In which the decadence inherited from the nineteenth century had a strong influence on the choice of crops to be adopted by farmers.

In his description, Taunay (1939, p. 8) treats the cultivation of coffee as "[...] one of the most remarkable articles of universal trade and the main support of the Brazilian economy" (original writing). Taunay's statement is the same as that of Teles (1900, p. 3) in the twentieth century, who writes that coffee remained the main force in Brazilian trade "[...] the element on which Brazil depends to live and prosper, to get rid of the great embarrassments in which its finances find themselves". Coffee in almost 40 years remained the driving force of the Brazilian economy.

The pioneering coffee fronts form social and territorial movements. Of the activities that the middle Paraíba basin visited, it was the coffee culture that left the greatest traces and marked the landscapes of the region, with the immigration of workers to the coffee plantations (FRANÇA, 1960). At the present time, coffee is no longer primordial in the

culture of the Paraíba Valley region, but in rare farms there is production of it in small quantities, in totality it is an infrequent crop.

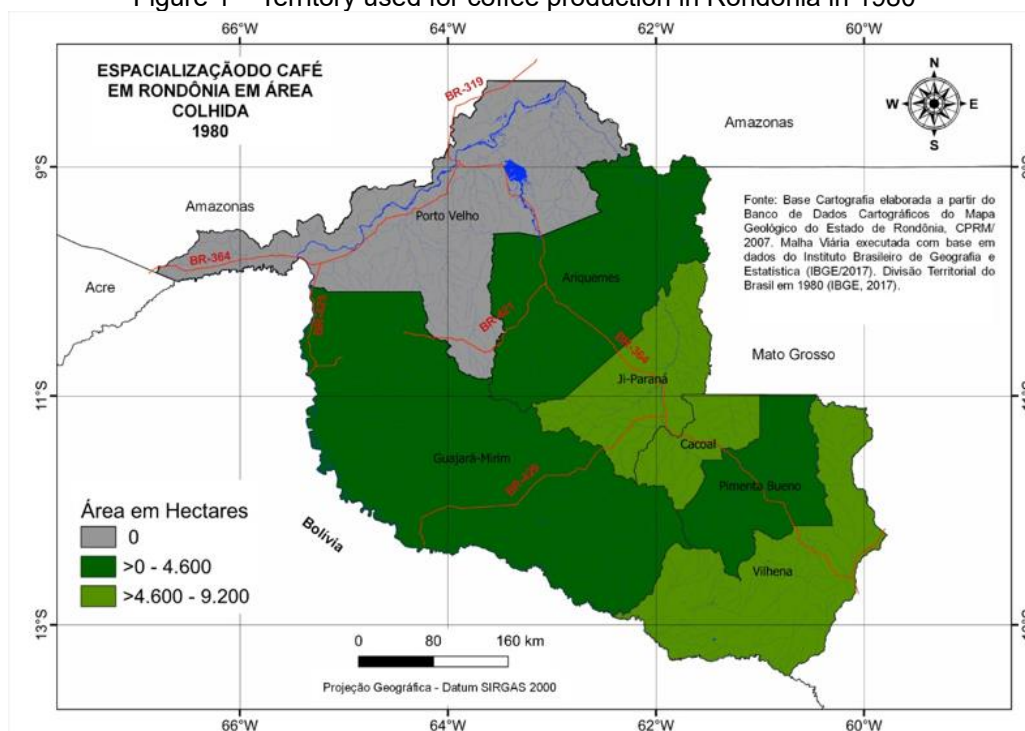
In 1965, its visibility once again took place among the country's greatest riches and Pupo points out that in 1968, the main Brazilian product, a vitalizing force of the Brazilian economy, had already been more than half a century of crisis to the point that tons of coffee had broken down. *Pari passu* to the growth of the country's agricultural production, the cultivation of coffee advances towards the north of Brazil and it all begins with the decision of the Brazilian State to populate the Amazon. In this way, a new commercial era for coffee growers begins.

### **DISCUSSION ABOUT COFFEE IN RONDÔNIA**

Rondônia, by land, is the first state to be crossed by the BR-364 and it was through it that in 1970 the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform – INCRA, recently created by the Government, began to work with colonization. It was in the meantime that the coffee market broke the boundaries of areas traditionally cultivated by coffee growers. In the beginning, coffee planting was not considered commercial, these were done in backyards for their own use. (CERQUEIRA, 2021).

Between the 1970s and 1980s, planting in the state of Rondônia was negligible compared to national production. But in the 1990s, it began to emerge in such a way that the records of the time showed a significant advance in the 1980s. Observe figure 1 in the areas highlighted in green, regarding territorial use in hectares.

Figure 1 – Territory used for coffee production in Rondônia in 1980

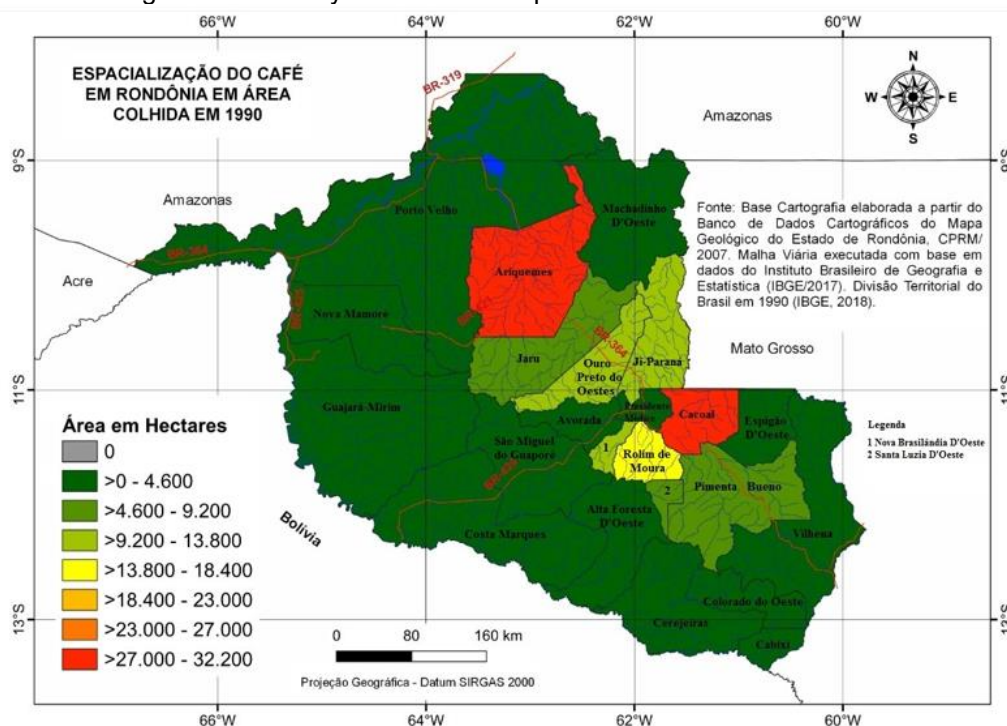


Source: The authors, 2024

The municipalities marked correspond to the administrative geographical division of the Rondônia territory. The scale of hectares used for planting shows that Vilhena, Cacoal and Ji-Paraná were the municipalities that made the most use of their land for coffee planting. Although, years later new frontiers emerged, with territorial cuts. This dynamic, understood based on the discourse of Becker (2006), has its origin in the developmental policy that took place in the Amazon region, which took place in a disorderly way. As much as there have been two major plans such as Polonoroeste and Planaflores, it also occurred in specific periods such as the rubber cycle, mining, timber and so many other situations that led to the formation of Rondônia.

Coffee growing in 1990 already had a new territorial dynamic with cutouts that changed as the settlement occurred in the state. The cut to start the last decade of the twentieth century begins with a new municipality to emerge in coffee production. Together with Cacoal, Arriquemes starts to show promise in this cultivation, figure 2 shows how the new configuration turned out:

Figure 2 – Territory used for coffee production in Rondônia in 1990



Source: The authors, 2024

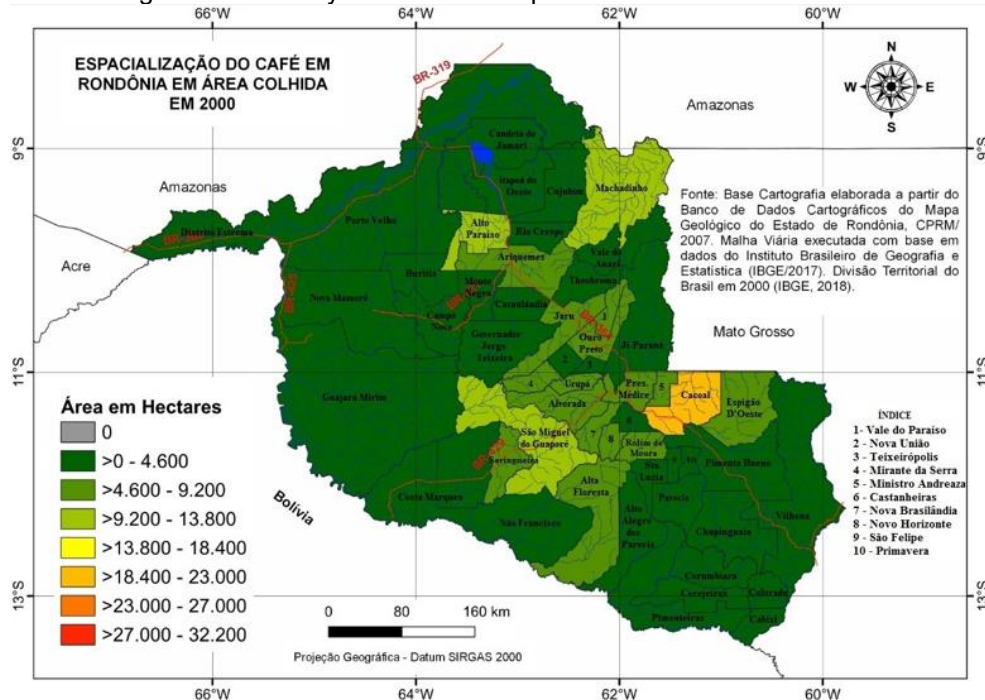
With the new municipal boundaries, some areas have decreased and a new distribution of coffee cultivation per hectare emerges. The municipality of Rolim de Moura is left with lands that belonged to Pimenta Bueno, Cacoal and Guajará Mirim, therefore, all agricultural productions leave one jurisdiction for another, with new borders. At the same time, the environmental appeal for sustainability was on the rise and a quest to stagnate the harmful effects of the colonization of the Polonoroeste and the undirected movements began.

The paradox between the regional development plans implemented in the 1980s and 1990s and the requirement of the national economic conjuncture of sustainable development, shows that sustainable alternatives for land use can be based on the primary needs of human beings. As a biological organism, human beings need to meet their organic or physiological needs, such as hunger and thirst, and then seek to meet capital. The importance of preserving biodiversity is reflected in the metamorphosis that occurred in the space, both inhabited and built with the production of coffee and other crops such as soybeans and cattle raising, present in the development of Rondônia.

The agricultural economy is not new, nor is there any need to put forward a discourse on the importance of caring for the treatment of the land. However, it was only in the second half of the 1990s that the movement to combat deforestation was strengthened,

consequently, the use of land in a sustainable way in Rondônia. In this scenario that the public policies of Operations Arc of Fire and Green Arc emerge, consequently, make official the arc of deforestation in the Legal Amazon and positioned the municipalities of Nova Mamoré, Porto Velho, Machadinho D'Oeste and Pimenta Bueno, as a priority, with the implementation of actions to combat deforestation and environmental preservation in the state of Rondônia. See how land use was at the beginning of 2000 in figure 3:

Figure 3 – Territory used for coffee production in Rondônia in 2000



Source: The authors, 2024

The end of the 1990s, with the current configuration of the administrative boundary of the state of Rondônia (Figure 3), leads to reports on development policies based on the fight against deforestation and fires in the Amazon biome. It is understood that the study of such policies is of paramount importance in the context of this research, due to their colonial characteristics. Colonization itself is recent in the northern region of Brazil and, consequently, the problems remain present in public policies aimed at the state of Rondônia.

In which it values the need to feed a population that increases year by year, to the detriment of the rationality of the elements and substrates of nature. Governments aim to develop public policies in the various management sectors to solve crises. Rios (2012) contemplates this study in stating that economic activities produce spatial differentiations

and inequalities. In the same way that the work relationship in coffee production represents in what Raffestin (2011) highlights is the power that the stronger exerts over the other.

The study of the spatialization of coffee is important in this phase of the research, because the actions practiced in the implementation of public policies have caused the current format of the territory. In view of the complexity of the proposed study, it is worth mentioning Milton Santos (2012, p. 59), who explains that "[...] Society is current, but the landscape, by its forms, is composed of current events of today and the past". The context is about the empowerment of the specific geohistoricity of space.

## **CONCLUSION**

The understanding of the events that occurred during the spatialization of coffee from the moment that it is understood as a potential element of monetary conversion for the countries that adopted it, was possible in this study, based on the readings of authors who described the participation in the Brazilian productive circuit. Under the bias of Historical Geography (Geo-Historical), the discourse employed brings the analysis of the spatialization of coffee, the socio-territorial movements, the territorial ordering focused on the thin line between the power relations that the Brazilian Governments of the colonial, imperial and Republic periods until the middle of the twentieth century, concentrated efforts to organize the cultivation of coffee.

After World War II, there began to be talk of a new multipolar economic conjuncture, which led the Brazilian State to discuss territorial planning. The Federal Government's gaze is accentuated in the Amazon region, with the pioneering fronts of colonization. Immigration decreases in the country and migration takes on a new geographical cut. The regionalization of Brazilian coffee begins and the state of Rondônia was the one that received the most migrants who started to cultivate coffee in the 1970s. It is interesting to consider that the contradictions of the Amazonian settlement do not detract from the geographization of the socio-territorial dynamics and the ordering that this demanded in the territory.

The characteristics of the Brazilian colonization that extended throughout the twentieth century no longer follow the predatory pattern of yesteryear, however, the culture remains that one has to cut down to plant, destroy to rebuild, a vicious circle of felling and burning that has been fought by the three Brazilian spheres of executive power.

Nevertheless, the Legislative and Judiciary powers are called to this responsibility, since the three Powers, despite being autonomous, must work in synergy.



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