

# The Caboclo Population of the Araucaria Forest of Santa Catarina: Common Use of Land, Expropriation and Marginalization

Marlon Brandt<sup>1</sup>, Samira Peruchi Moretto<sup>2</sup>

## ABSTRACT

From the end of the eighteenth century, a substantial portion of Santa Catarina state's population settled in its region of Mixed Ombrophilous Forest or Araucaria Forest. Known as *Caboclos*, these people lived on the margins of the cattle ranches in the Grasslands region. Their basic source of income was subsistence farming and other practices linked to the exploration of common forest resources, such as breeding free-range pigs and harvesting yerba mate. Like land ownership and social life, access to these resources was regulated by a set of practices, norms and customs consistent and sustainable with this environment, which also served as a kind of territorial delimitation of these populations. The aim of this article is to analyze how the private appropriation of land – represented by colonization and the activities of the timber industry, which devastated the region's forests, especially from the first two decades of the twentieth century onwards – led to the disintegration of spaces of common use, increased the instances of expropriation, and exacerbated the marginalization of this *Caboclo* population.

**Keywords:** caboclo population; colonization; timber industry; araucaria forest; environmental justice.

---

<sup>1</sup> Doutor em História pela Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC). Professor de Geografia da Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul (UFFS), do Programa de Pós-graduação em História e do Programa de Pós-graduação em História da Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul (UFFS). ORCID: 0000-0002-0392-4167. E-mail: marlon.brandt@uffs.edu.br

<sup>2</sup> Doutora em História pela Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC). Professora de História da Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul (UFFS) e do Programa de Pós-graduação em História da Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul (UFFS) e da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina. ORCID: 0000-0002-5276-2512. E-mail: samira.moretto@uffs.edu.br

The aim of this article is to discuss how the private appropriation of land – represented by colonization and the activities of the timber industry, which devastated the region’s forests – led to the disintegration of spaces of common use, increased the instances of expropriation and exacerbated the marginalization of the *Caboclo* population living in the Mixed Ombrophilous Forest (MOF) or Araucaria Forest region of Santa Catarina state, between the 1920s and 1950s.

The concept of ‘*Caboclo*’ has no single definition and indeed varies according to the region of Brazil concerned. According to Lima (1999, p. 5), who analyzed the historical construction of the term *Caboclo* in relation to social structures and representations in rural Amazonia, the term, in that region, refers to a category of ‘racial mixture,’ the children born from white and indigenous parents. In other regions of the country, however, these groups also became miscegenated with enslaved Africans, initially called Mamelucos and slowly receiving diverse ethnocentric labels such as *Sertanejos*, *Caipiras*, *Caiçaras* or *Caboclos*, depending on the region or determined sociocultural aspects. Until the 1980s, the term *Caboclo* was generally associated with negative characteristics such as poverty, social isolation, laziness or crime. One example of this association is that, historically, *Caboclos* have been understood as destroyers of nature due to their common use of fire in agriculture, based around slash-burn techniques practiced ancestrally by indigenous groups. Here we take *Caboclos* to mean people who have been living in the region since prior to the occupation by colonizers of German and Italian origins after the 1920’s. Even though, as Machado (2004, p. 48) points out, ‘there is no ethnic connotation to this word, frequently the *Caboclo* was a *mestiço* [mixed-race], very often black. But the main characteristic of this word is that it distinguishes a social and cultural condition: in other words, *Caboclos* are poor men, small tenant farmers, settlers [*posseiros*] or farmworkers.’ In sum, people defined by the land or their lack thereof.

These inhabitants – who began to occupy the region from the first half of the nineteenth century in a process of populating the interior of the state that radiated out from the Grasslands region, whose historically older occupation had been focused on cattle ranching – settled in the forest where they lived off subsistence agriculture

and practices involving common use of the land, based on harvesting yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*) and breeding animals, especially pigs, both for internal consumption and for sale in nearby villages and towns.

Activities related to the common use of land and natural resources have been disseminated across the planet for the generation of mutual benefits, as McKean & Ostrom (2001) point out. In Brazil, these practices are distributed in a wide variety of forms across the country. Related to the natural resources, the use of these practices, Almeida (2004, p. 12) writes, appears 'combined with both ownership and tenure, whether permanent or temporary' and involves a variety of productive activities such as extractivism, farming and livestock breeding. Building through these practices what can be comprehended, in the case of the MOF region in Santa Catarina, as a 'Caboclo landscape' (*paisagens caboclas*) (Brandt 2015a, Moretto & Brandt 2019). Analyzed from a geographic viewpoint, the landscape is materialized human action in space, composing 'the set of forms that, at a given moment, express the legacies that represent the successive relations between humans and nature' (Santos 2006, p. 103-104). Determined by the pre-existing forms, the landscape is thus the outcome of an entangled relationship that involves different objects and actions at diverse temporal scales.

Although McKean & Ostrom (2001) stress that many of these practices of common use of land and its natural resources have disappeared or assumed new functions because of new environmental relations or technological changes, many of these practices in Brazil have also been adversely affected by legislation, which has failed to consider this form of ownership regime or use of land (Campos, 2011). The interference or insertion of elements from outside a particular community or region, by appropriating the space in question, have led in almost every case to the disintegration of the local social networks, whether through enclosure, environmental destruction, or the expropriation of the inhabitants themselves. This process has culminated not only in the dissolution of common spaces of land use, but also sometimes in their complete destruction, along with other collective social practices.

In the spaces referred to as the Araucaria Forest region of Santa Catarina, the private appropriation of land, followed by eviction of Caboclo families (often making

use of excessive force), colonization and devastation of the forest to clear space for crops and for timber extraction, were the main elements leading to the breaking up of common spaces and to the marginalization of this pre-existing population, whose access to land and natural resources was impeded as this process advanced. The concept of environmental justice can be defined as the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people, regardless of race, color, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies (EPA, 2021). Consequently, we understand that the form through which expropriation occurred, as well as the expulsion of the *Caboclos* from their common area of habitation and their place of subsistence, constitute a serious aggression.

To study the *Caboclo* population that inhabits the MOF region in the south of Brazil, this article examines three important historical-geographic periods in the trajectory of this population. In chronological order, the first period seeks to demonstrate the main characteristics of the process of populating this frontier space from the nineteenth century on, spreading out from the cattle ranches in the grasslands towards the forests, constructing a landscape primarily characterized by the ‘*Caboclo* farm.’ This topic is analyzed in the following item, which discusses how this form of land use shaped and morphologically conserved the forest landscape. In the final part, we discuss how the transformed landscape caused by the introduction of outside elements, such as the private appropriation of land, deforestation and timber extraction, led to a series of ruptures and the breaking up of the spaces where practices linked to the common use and access to the forest had been possible. This also led this population, which can be understood as the most environmentally and socially affected by this process, to become segregated and marginalized.

## **1. BETWEEN GRASSLAND AND FOREST: DUALITY IN THE SETTLING OF WESTERN SANTA CATARINA**

Identified by Waibel (1949), the duality between the grassland and the forest is one of the major characteristics of the settlement of the southern region of Brazil. In Santa Catarina, this duality emerges emblematically in the relation between the Grasslands and MOF regions. Known variably as Araucaria Forest, Araucaria

Woodland or Pine Woodland given the predominance of the Brazilian pine (*Araucaria angustifolia*), the MOF is also home to diverse species of laurels with a high commercial value, myrtles and aquifoliales like yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*). Additionally, the forest contains subformations and subforests with different species, whose prevalence varies according to area, depending on factors such as climate and relief, forming two distinct groups of communities, as Leite and Klein (1990) study. In the former group, which runs westwards from the northern portion of the Santa Catarina plateau and the upper Rio do Peixe Valley, the Brazilian pine is distributed more sparsely in woodland composed between 70-90% by trees of the same species, like imbuia (*Ocotea porosa*), the most representative species. Other species include sweetwood plants like *canela-amarela* (*Nectandra lanceolata*) and *canela-preta* (*Nectandra megapotamica*), *canela-fogo* or *canela-pururuca* (*Cryptocarya aschersoniana*), accompanied by other species like *sacopema* (*Sloanea monosperma*), *guabirobeira* (*Campomanesia xanthocarpa*) and yerba mate. In the other group, located between the southern portion of the Rio do Peixe Valley and the region of Lages municipality to the east, highlighted in Figure 1, Brazilian pine forms a fairly dense upper stratum, covering a stratum 60-80% occupied by species like *canela-lageana* (*Ocotea pulchella*), the dominant species, *canela-amarela* (*Nectandra lanceolata*), *canela-guaicá* (*Ocotea puberula*), *canela-fedida* (*Nectandra grandiflora*), *guabirobeira* (*Campomanesia xanthocarpa*) and diverse species of myrtles and aquifoliales.

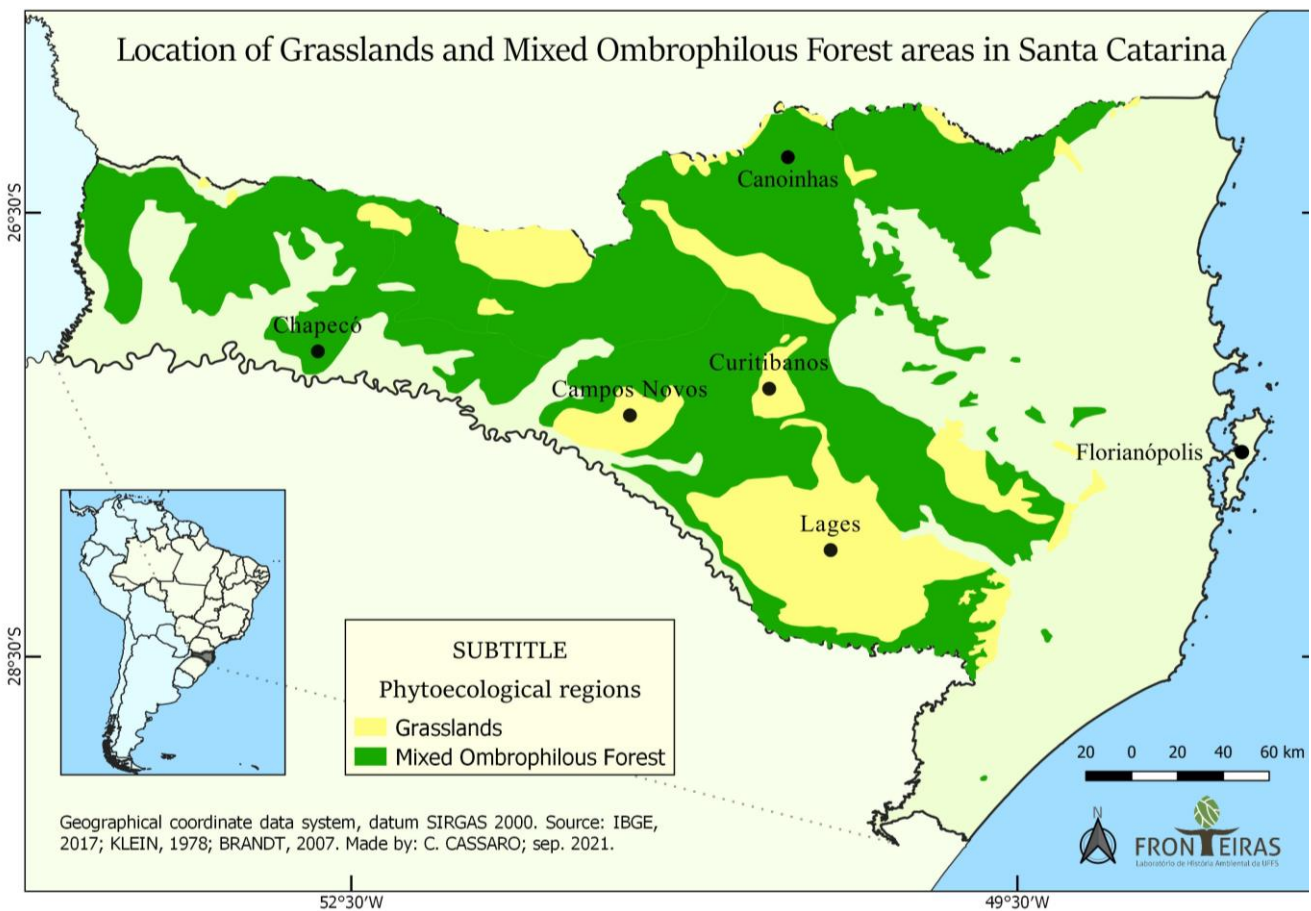
The Grasslands (Campos) region is located on the plateau, comprised by the basalt flows responsible for forming the *Serra Geral*, and on the Sedimentary Plateau with altitudes that frequently exceed 1000 meters, forming what Klein (1978) calls *Campos do Planalto* (Plateau Grasslands).<sup>3</sup> Also found in the Grasslands region are *capões*, which consist of woodlands located amid the grasslands, riparian and gallery forests whose composition is identical to that of the MOF. In many cases, the grasslands cover extensive areas, especially in the regions of present-day

---

3 Although the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) classifies the Campos grasslands as 'Steppes,' researchers such as Lindmann (1974), Rambo (2010), Klein (1978), Pillar (1997) and Overbeck (2007), prefer to refer to this vegetation simply as *Campos*, also employing terms like *campo limpo* (clear grassland) and *campo sujo* (rough grassland). In the text this regional formation is described as Grasslands, upper case, while grassland, lower case, is used to indicate the type of landscape.

municipalities of São Joaquim, Lages, Curitibanos, Campos Novos, Matos Costa and the northern part of the Rio do Peixe Valley, including part of ‘*Campos de Palmas*,’ the largest area of which is situated in Paraná state. Smaller patches of grassland can also be found elsewhere. The map in Figure 1 shows the distribution of the MOF and the main grassland areas within the Atlantic Forest biome in Santa Catarina.

**Figure 1. Santa Catarina: location of Grasslands and Mixed Ombrophilous Forest**



Source: C. Cassaro, 2021.

This duality between grasslands and forests led to different forms of occupation and relationship with this landscape. Far from exemplifying an idea of a pristine nature or ‘wilderness,’ these grasslands and forests were used and managed in diverse forms by the populations that first began to occupy these spaces more than 12,000 years ago (Lino, 2016), forming a ‘vegetational mosaic of past human uses that overlap in varying frequency and very often leave behind traces’ (Oliveira, Fraga &

Berck 2011, p. 288). This evidence of human occupation, discovered through archaeological research, studies of carbon particles and palynological analyses carried out on sedimentological profiles has demonstrated the use and management of the resources of the grasslands and forests in activities like hunting and gathering (Silva, Brandt & Moretto, 2018). A larger record of the presence of indigenous populations, as well as their relationship between these landscapes, is recorded mainly from the nineteenth century. As Brighenti (2015) points out, though, these records contain little information on the natural resource management practiced by these groups, with the records focusing mainly on locational and physical aspects. Only recently has research revealed new evidence relating to the use and management of the natural resources, including hunting and fishing, as well as the existence of agricultural practices where small swiddens were cleared in the forest. Lithic artifacts, such as tools found in archaeological excavations, indicate the uses made of resources and give an idea of what the hunting and gathering practices of these groups, including their interaction with the land, were like (Brighenti, 2015).

From the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, the first European incursions on the southern Brazilian plateau are recorded, principally by Jesuits founding missions and by the *bandeirantes* (adventurers). The latter, in addition to capturing and enslaving indigenous people, had the mission to explore the territory and search for natural riches. European settlements would expand from the eighteenth century on with the capture and exploitation of the cattle (*Bos taurus*) introduced by the Jesuits in the grasslands of Rio Grande do Sul. The paths taken by these livestock as they were driven to the Southeast gave rise to diverse farms for resting and breeding along the way, taking advantage of the immense grassland areas (*Campos*) that opened up among the forests, later forming the region's first towns and villages. The characteristics of the local flora and relief were essential to the choice of these farmsteads and guided the paths of the drovers, since dense woodland hindered penetration and the Campos region – especially in the higher watershed areas, which facilitated river crossings – proved more welcoming.

While cattle ranching dominated the economy and landscape of the grasslands, the forests represented a marginal space. It was these forests and small

patches of grassland that became a target for occupation from the end of the first half of the nineteenth century by many people still then linked to cattle breeding. Actively involved in this spatial expansion were former slaves, freed black people, *agregados*, farmworkers and farmers in search of new lands, often avoiding those areas near the indigenous territories of the Kaingáng, for example, setting out primarily from areas either situated to the east in the grasslands of Lages, Curitibanos and Campos Novos, or from the northwest and west, spreading out from the grasslands of Guarapuava and Palmas in Paraná state. In the west of Santa Catarina, harvesting of yerba mate, which has taken place since the end of the nineteenth century (Paraná, 1899), also attracted settlers both from Brazil and from Argentina and Paraguay (Corrêa, 1970).

In this context of occupation, grasslands and forests are not only distinct landscapes but also the possibility of independence from the connections previously tying people to the ranches. This population could live from livestock breeding, while the phytophysiology favored the harvesting of yerba mate, hunting, fishing and subsistence agriculture. They formed what Queiroz (1981) called the *roça cabocla*, the *Caboclo* farm, characterized, as Arlene Renk (2006, p. 107) writes, by 'a customary practice of spatially dividing lands into lands for planting and lands for breeding.' This division can be used as the main characteristic for identifying the presence of the *Caboclo* landscape in the MOF region.

## 2. CABOCLO LANDSCAPES

The '*Caboclo* farm' constituted the main characteristic of the *Caboclo* landscape and in those spaces where yerba mate was scarcer; it replaced 'the harvesting of mate wherever the plants were rarer. In other places, it became almost a compulsory complement to extractive activity' (Queiroz, 1981, p. 35). The '*Caboclo* farm' involved a spatial division between the crop fields, which composed the 'lands for planting,' and the livestock, which grazed on the 'lands for breeding,' as Renk (2004, p. 10) puts it.

On the 'lands for planting,' slash-and-burn cultivation was adopted, a system of land rotation where the swidden was formed after felling and burning part of the forest. On these lands, maize provided the main crop and the food staple along with



beans. Other crops included watermelon, pumpkin and other plants (Queiroz, 1981). Usually, the plantation was located some distance from the house and those without a barn harvested the produce whenever it was needed (Queiroz, 1981; Renk, 2006).

On the 'lands for breeding,' livestock roamed freely, sharing the forest with neighboring breeders. The livestock bred in the spaces dominated by forest were basically pigs (*Sus scrofa domesticus*). These, due to their rustic nature and the fact of being omnivorous, feeding on roots, small animals and seeds, notably pine nuts, abundant in the cold months, ended up the most common livestock bred by *Caboclo* families. Pig breeding had been common in Brazil from the colonial period, with this form of livestock husbandry being one of the factors responsible for conservation of the forest vegetation, although it could have impacts on local wildlife, competing for food and space with native species (Dean, 1995). In the south of Brazil, the dissemination of pigs may have accompanied the forming of the first cattle breeding ranches in the grasslands, later dispersing with the human occupation of the forests. The favorable environment, with trees providing food for the animals, allowed many *Caboclo* families to turn pig breeding into their main source of income, especially those families without large areas of open fields on their lands.

When the swine had to be captured in the forest, mutual help was commonly practiced, rounding up the animals was facilitated by the close contact among inhabitants, in many cases assisted in the task by dogs. After capture, the pigs would be consumed as part of the family's subsistence or, if they were to be sold, would be kept in a fenced maize field planted in the middle of the forest or in an enclosed mango grove to continue to fatten. From there they were taken to be sold at a commercial establishment, slaughterhouse, lard factory or a small meat packing plant, generally found in the small colonies located next or close to the São Paulo – Rio Grande Railway, opened in 1910 (Correa, 1970; Renk, 2006; Ferrari, 2011; Brandt, 2015b).

It was also on the 'lands for breeding' that yerba mate was harvested. This production normally took place in the winter months, the work involving the family labor force, where joint exploration of the species found on unclaimed lands was also common (Brandt & Silva, 2014). Harvesting yerba mate did not demand large material investments, making it an opportunity for the forest inhabitants to obtain some extra

income to purchase consumer goods or work tools (Gerhardt, 2016). The presence and importance of yerba mate in these regions was such that it was used locally as a currency – bartered with local traders – some of whom were yerba mate cultivators (*ervateiros*) too – for food items or other consumer products not produced on their lands, like fabrics, salt, sugar, coffee, gunpowder and the like. Many inhabitants also worked as employees or temporary workers harvesting yerba mate for the various companies that set up in the region from the second half of the nineteenth century (Ferrari, 2011).

The yerba mate produced in the Santa Catarina MOF had various destinations, depending on where it originated. Further west, close to the Argentinean border, produce was sent to the Argentinean yerba mate companies located on the frontier or local traders and branches of Paraná yerba mate companies located in the Porto União region. From there, the produce would travel by railway to the ports of Paraná and Santa Catarina. The São Paulo – Rio Grande Railway, completed at the start of the twentieth century, its route following the course of the Rio do Peixe, dynamized yerba mate production in nearby areas, attracting yerba mate cultivators and traders who dispatched it to the countries of the Rio da Prata and Rio Grande do Sul (Paraná, 1899; Corrêa, 1970; Goularti Filho, 2012).

Yerba mate harvesting and joint extensive breeding of livestock without the use of fences was a practice made possible in this space with a low demographic occupation and vast tracts of forest. The development and continued application of such practices of common use of land by the *Caboclo* population gave rise to relationship and social networks, which played a fundamental role in the construction/development of habits, customs, and norms. In the words of Almeida (2004, p.10), such norms were “followed consensually in the intricate social relationships established among the various family groups making up a social unit.”. Hence it can be stated, as Brandt (2015b) argues, that the ‘*Caboclo* farm’ with its separation between ‘lands for planting’ and ‘lands for breeding’ shaped the landscape of the Santa Catarina MOF in some spaces for more than a century. The ‘*Caboclo* farm’ is what Furlan (2006, p. 4-5) called a ‘cultural forest’, where the knowledge of the forest and its resources, historically constructed by the population, are utilized in

shared form, with the development of practices consistent and sustainable with the environment, which established a significant degree of dependence on its maintenance. Based on a set of social, spatial and economic practices, grounded in tradition and memory, these also served as a kind of territorial delimitation of these populations (Brandt & Nodari, 2011). This landscape did not represent, then, ‘just the occurrence of a plant species or a “patch,” as might be said in cartographic terms, but [also] an expression of identity, translated into territorial expanses of belonging’ (Almeida 2004, p. 28). The ‘*Caboclo* farm’ acts as a form in conjunction with other social relations, such as religious festivals and mutual help practices, in the life of these inhabitants, where, as Tomporoski (2006, p. 25) writes, ‘the people who live there perceive that portion of land as ‘their’ locale, resulting in the construction of a feeling of belonging [...] thereby cultivating their unity.’

In the same way as yerba mate harvesting, the breeding of free-range pigs depended on the forest and required ample areas of land. Corrêa (1970), in his study of the Paraná Southwest prior to colonization, indicates, based on his field research in the region, that each animal would need around five hectares of forest. This low occupancy meant that this form of breeding could not coexist with dense occupation, making the practice incompatible with the colonization that took place in the Paraná forests, similarly to what happened in the Santa Catarina MOF as colonization and timber extraction advanced.

### 3. COLONIZATION AND DEVASTATION OF THE FOREST

Though promulgated in 1850, the impact of the Santa Catarina Land Law would only be felt more intensely with the transfer of unsettled lands to the states in 1891. As Machado (2004, p. 139) writes, land policy in Santa Catarina was ‘linked to stimulating European, focused on the development of commercial agriculture – subject to the interests of market capital and the private companies specialized in land speculation’. Just like indigenous peoples, the *Caboclo* populations were excluded from this process. These lands were officially regarded as ‘demographic vacuums’, in other words, an opportunity to make the *Caboclo* and indigenous population invisible, as they were seen as unwanted by the authorities, since they represented an obstacle

to future projects of colonization and economic integration of this territory. From then on, these vast forests became the target of policies based on the private ownership of land, making it increasingly difficult for the *Caboclo* population to access and use the land. This process led to a series of sociospatial transformations in land issue, engendering numerous disputes over its ownership, culminating in the Contestado War (1912-1916), which would become the principal landmark in the *Caboclo* population's resistance.

The rising value of yerba mate at the end of the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth led to the expansion of private appropriation of lands rich in native yerba mate, specifically in those areas close to transport routes that allowed the produce to reach distant markets. The private appropriation of land resulted not only in the expulsion of many *Caboclo* families from their properties, but also prevented access for many families to harvest the yerba mate on state-granted land or areas of yerba mate (*ervais*) leased to private individuals. This can be seen, for example, in a Santa Catarina Law that sought to introduce measures to regulate yerba mate harvesting. One of the articles concerns the concession of yerba mate areas to private individuals, as expressed in Article 1 of State Law n. 700, 27 October 1906, which sets out 'provisions on yerba mate':

Article 1: On lands owned by the State that, under the terms of the Law, have been entrusted to private individuals, as well as those in municipal and private ownership, yerba mate can only be harvested if the following requirements are observed:

- a) Pruning can only be undertaken between 1 May 1 and 30 September.
  - b) Mate trees can only be pruned three (3) years after the previous pruning.
- § Sole paragraph. Offenders will have to pay a fine of 10,000 (ten thousand) reais per 15 kilos of yerba mate harvested in compliance with this article (Santa Catarina 1906).

The ban on harvesting yerba mate and even other activities pursued in common by the *Caboclo* population, such as the clearing of swiddens by third parties on public unclaimed lands, can also be seen, for instance, in a notice published by the *Vanguarda* (1910, p. 3) newspaper from Campos Novos. This public notice, dated 27 May 1910, written by Bonifácio Ricardo da Silva, then inspector of exportation,

harvesting and processing of yerba mate in Campos Novos, contains the following message:

I make it known to all inhabitants of this town that the State Governor, having leased to Cel. Manoel Fabrício Vieira all the yerba mate areas located on unsettled lands in this municipality, has banned any harvesting and processing of yerba mate on these lands except where proof exists of authorization to do so from the lessee.

I also make it public that it is expressly forbidden to clear forest, make swiddens, etc. on national lands, by cutting down palms or any other trees.

In the lands further to the north, in the region of Canoinhas and Três Barras, conceded to the Brazil Railway Company and the Southern Brazil Lumber and Colonization Company, the increasing precariousness of the *Caboclo* population's access to the yerba mate can be observed in two reports published in the newspaper *O Município* of Valões, in 1923, concerning a situation involving the Lumber company and settlers (*posseiros*) from the region. The report states that one of the company's employees began to charge a fee to harvest the company's areas of yerba mate, provoking outrage among the settlers. After interviewing Abrahão Patruni, a 'long-term settler of considerable prestige among our *Caboclo* [community] here,' the newspaper reported that 'Dr Plinio de Barros, along with another employee and a man who was not employed by Lumber, went into the mountains fully armed and demanded, with a degree of arrogance, that the settlers pay a lease for the yerba mate.' Further on, Abrahão remarks on the possibility of around 400 settlers taking it up with the governor to resolve this issue with Lumber (*O Município* 1923a, p. 1). The report, which continued in the following edition, concluded by claiming 'that the settlers pay no lease on the yerba mate in part because the company makes little issue of it' (*O Município* 1923b, p. 2). This situation, at least in terms of the demand that the settler population still be able to access and harvest the areas of yerba mate, serves to demonstrate their political strength and legitimacy in relation to the use of the land. The angle taken by the report itself shows this, treating the settlers as peaceful workers, collaborating with the reestablishment of the region's commercial relations after the *Contestado* War.

However, the exploration of timber at industrial scale by Lumber began to cause serious damage to the yerba mate due to the techniques employed to fell and

transport the wood. The use of large cranes to drag the felled pine and imbuia logs destroyed any yerba mate trees located on their path (Auras, 2001).

In the areas further to the west of the Rio do Peixe Valley, following the definition of the state boundaries between Paraná and Santa Catarina agreed in 1916 and the creation of the municipalities of Chapecó and Cruzeiro, today Joaçaba, in 1917, colonization began to be encouraged by the Santa Catarina government. Thereafter, this space began to receive migrants of European descent, coming from other colonies, mainly from Rio Grande do Sul, in search of lands for cultivation. The state government granted unsettled lands to some Colonizing companies, which were tasked with dividing these lands into lots to be sold to the colonists. The state's interest lay in stimulating the arrival of migrants as a form of guaranteeing the legitimacy of its ownership of the region, which had previously been disputed by both Argentina and the state of Paraná. Most of these colonists were 'German and Italian immigrants and descendants of colonists already established in Rio Grande do Sul, where they had already demonstrated their capacity to colonize and had shown themselves to be orderly and hardworking,' side-lining the presence of indigenous and *Caboclo* communities (Nodari, 2012, p. 39).

Colonization introduced outside values throughout the region, leaving the local population with two alternatives: adapt or be excluded. The disruption of their previous way of life led, in Renk's words (2006), to a disorganization of the 'morphological basis of the group of settlers [and] altered diverse levels of the life of this group' (Renk 2006, p. 118). These alternatives were imposed by the disruption of the existing way and pace of life caused by the different uses of land of the *Caboclo* population and the colonizers. Inhabitants who possessed their land under the regime of tenure (*posse*) became the target of expropriation of the lands granted to the Colonization companies, while those who managed to legalize part of the land in their possession or were faced with the colonized lands began to feel the impacts of this new logic of land use. Many of these expropriations resorted to violence or fear. It can also be stated that the frontier situation itself, with the existence of forests further to the North, in the State of Paraná, where colonization had yet to arrive, drove many of the possessing families to sell their improved lands, in this case, the felled forest, to

make room for crops, and moved to the neighboring state. (Breves, 1985; Werlang, 2006; Brandt, 2013; Ferrari, 2015). As well as the different conceptions of land ownership, the tense situations and conflicts were related to the incompatibility between the sociospatial practices of the *Caboclo* population, such as the custom of breeding free-range livestock and common sharing of the forest, and the contrary use of the land made by colonists, as Renk (1997, p. 107-108) points out:

The conflicts came about for two reasons. First, due to the depreciation in the real estate market of the lands close to those of the intruders with free-range breeding [...]. The company was interested in the end of this practice. The second reason, at the level of attitudes, was the utilization of the lands, that is, the rotating agriculture. A more 'rational' usage would enable diverse families [...] to make use of the area with results that, from the viewpoint of the colonizer, would undoubtedly be better.

Figure 2. Map showing the colonies for sale by *Empresa Colonizadora Irmãos Lunardi*, no date.



Source: CEOM/Unochapecó.

The demographic shock caused by the system of colonization – based on small properties with an area comprising around 25 hectares (250,000 m<sup>2</sup>) arranged in

adjacent plots following one main line, as can be seen in Figure 2, which shows an advertising map for the sale of colony terrains – generated a series of impacts on the way that the *Caboclo* population bred livestock by promoting an increased use of land for agricultural activities. The latter assumed the main role in the economic production of the colonists arriving in the region.

The conflict situation involving colonizers and the *Caboclo* population can be seen, for example, in the accounts produced by Wenceslau Breves (1985) in the work *O Chapecó que Eu Conheci*. Breves worked between 1920 and 1924, initially as an assistant of the Land Discrimination Technical Commission, demarcating the lands granted to the Empresa Colonizadora Bertaso, Maia & Cia, and later as a Land Agent of the 8<sup>th</sup> District, which encompassed the municipalities of Cruzeiro (today Joaçaba) and Chapecó. In this work, Breves sought to record ‘some data to judge the people who inhabit it, their mentality, their habits and customs, certain types who flourish there, their first resistance to colonization, the defects and qualities of the primitive and wild folk of Chapecó’ (Breves, 1985, p. 9). In his work we can glimpse what Renk (2006, p. 114) calls the ‘ethnocentric gaze of the colonizer,’ focused on the disqualification of the temporalities and spatialities of the *Caboclos*, seen as a symbol of backwardness with irrational and anti-economic practices, as can be discerned in his remarks about the ‘*Caboclo* farm,’ which he calls the ‘Brazilian system’:

Most of these *Caboclos* have their ranches in places already devastated, transformed into grasslands. But they would make their farms by the shore of a stream or river leagues away. Consequently, they would not be obliged to build fences and could keep their horses and cattle (when they had them) close to home.

This meant that the *Caboclo*’s dwelling was a desolate place: not even a stalk of maize, or a fruit tree, or a kale plant. Sometimes a few chickens and a few pigs roaming free, nothing else. (Breves 1985, p. 21-22)

Breves not only acted in the demarcation of lands but also later became a colonizer (Brandt, 2013), which explains his criticisms of the *Caboclo* population, their ways of using the land and their ownership regime, seen as intrusion. In his view, intrusion was advantageous for these families, which is why they preferred it since ‘they did not pay taxes, they did not feel obliged to make a good house or a good farm, given that they would be there temporarily and could easily move when they wished, something they liked to do a lot’ (Breves 1985, p. 32).



Another criticism of the way of life of the *Caboclo* population can be encountered in Maria Pasqualli Hirsh's book describing the life of the colonizer Ernesto Bertaso. Commenting on his arrival in the *Passo dos Índios* region, present-day Chapecó, in 1918, he emphasized the abundance and wealth of nature in contrast to the indigence of the *Caboclo*:

There is much yerba mate, the vegetation is less thick and, from time to time, hovels are encountered, without a vegetable garden or a fruit tree nearby. The pine trees, which could already be seen on the peak of the mountain, begin to appear more and more – their green canopies are several meters high, as though they were an arbor! Some pines would take four men to embrace, or more! (Hirsh 2005, p. 49).

The presence of the yerba mate trees and the immense Brazilian pines was also a propaganda element in the sale of lands to the colonizers. In the advertisement presented by the Colonization Company *Ângelo de Carli, Irmão & Cia*, which sold the lots of the colonies of *Irany and Ressaca*, where today the Ponte Serrada municipality is located, the region and the infrastructure existing there are described:

The lands of the Ressaca and Irany farms are mostly covered in Mata Branca adaptable to the cultivation of all the colonial food crops, and one of the most famous yerba mate areas still to be found in this region. As well as the paved roads constructed by us, our lands are crossed from one end to the other by the only state highways in this zone, conserved and continually improved by the state government, since most of the commercial produce from the municipalities of Chapecó and Cruzeiro is transported along this same highway as far as Herval station. Important wholesalers, who export directly to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, are located there. The center of Ponte Serrada, which just one year after opening already has a well-equipped sawmill, various commercial stores that buy any product, an excellent school run by a competent teacher, a telegraph station, and a church under construction. (...) (Advertisement by Colonização *Ângelo de Carli, Irmão & Cia.*, no date)

These advertisements emphasized the qualities of the locality, such as the existence of some infrastructure or company, the presence of a sawmill, which would demonstrate the logging potential and the possibility of selling timber in the region. It was nevertheless common for the colonization companies to omit or mask a lot of pejorative information, such as the issue of the settler population or even the topography of the terrains, aiming not to put off potential buyers.

The presence of native yerba mate was not, however, sufficient to avert the felling of the forests. If, at first, families of colonists were also observed harvesting yerba mate, the tendency with the declining value of the crop would be to clear the trees. The depreciation of yerba mate was also related to the economic context of

Argentina, as well as the beginning of the cultivation of the plant in the neighboring country, making the Misiones province one of the country's main producers from the 1930s on (Ferrari 2011, p. 147). This regional impact can be seen, for example, in a report published in 1940 in the newspaper *A Voz de Chapecó*, which contained information on the decline in yerba mate production in the Canoinhas region:

The progressive and forward-looking city in the north of the state, which is a major producer of mate, is presently experiencing what Chapecó, which rivalled Canoinhas in the yerba mate industry, has already experienced. Already experienced because for us yerba mate today remains only a wistful memory of the past. (...) The economic laws of production, consumption and distribution of wealth very often evade human action. Canoinhas's situation is bad but there is still hope there, dreams and illusions. And Chapecó? We'll skip this topic to avoid becoming sad. (*A Voz de Chapecó*, 1940, p. 1)

The yerba mate production in Argentinean territory, accompanied by domestic policies of import substitution, led to a drop in production and participation in the Santa Catarina economy, becoming simultaneously replaced in the region by logging activity (Goularti Filho, 2012). This meant that timber exploration, concomitantly with the conversion of forests into lands for agriculture, as Maristela Ferrari (2011, p. 222) writes, accounted for the disappearance of a large portion of the native yerba mate in the western region over a span of approximately thirty years. The author emphasizes that in the case of the border region with Argentina, it was the yerba mate cultivators themselves who, faced with the fall in production, began to sell timber, taking advantage of the same circuits already structured by the flow of yerba mate production.

Logging was given a fresh impetus in the 1940s. In 1947, out of 2,250 sawmills in Santa Catarina 736 cut logs of Brazilian pine. As well as the extraction of timber for sale, the woods were also cleared to make room for agriculture and cattle breeding, a practice that became known as woodland clearance (*limpeza das matas*). Over time, logging intensified as new technologies were introduced into the timber industry. Nodari (2012, p. 256) identifies the peak of exploration between the 1960s and 1970s when the use of chainsaws greatly facilitated tree felling. The construction of new roads and improvements to the existing network also contributed to transportation of the product, given that, initially, logs for export were transported along the Uruguay River on rafts during the rainy seasons when river levels were high. In 1969, logging

accounted for '38.2% of the value of western production, losing out only to the food industry (slaughterhouse, etc) which represented 56.1%' (Folha d'Oeste, 1969, p. 1)

The opening and improvement of the communication routes, combined with the gradual technological enhancement of the sawmills with the economic development of activities, were important factors in the transformation of the landscape once dominated by the MOF. As Claval (2007, p. 48) emphasizes, the widespread use of electric and combustion engines afforded 'access to concentrated forms of energy, which provoked a brutal rationalization of work', promoting not only the transformation but also the acceleration in the process of devastating the forests previously occupied by diverse *Caboclo* families, or used in common for breeding livestock and harvesting yerba mate.

This acceleration in the pace of transformation of the MOF landscape, converting forest into areas of crops and pasture, can be seen in Table 1. In these, the option was taken to maintain the regional division of the physiographic zones adopted between the 1940s and 1960s, which allows the combined observation of a relatively equal-sized area over a period of three decades. Table 1 shows the percentage ratios for the composition in woods, forests, cropland and pastures between 1920 and 1960.

**Table 1. Santa Catarina: percentage of forest, crops and pastures in the physiographic zones of Campos de Lages, Canoinhas Plateau, Rio do Peixe and Oeste, 1920-1960**

		1920	1940	1950	1960
Forest*	Zone of Campos de Lages	36,69%	24,18%	25,20%	25,70%
	Zone of Planalto de Canoinhas	43,60%	17,22%	19,93%	19,62%
	Zone of Rio do Peixe	72,49%	37,27%	28,59%	31,00%
	Zone of Oeste	79,87%	52,50%	62,18%	45,11%
Crops	Zone of Campos de Lages	0,55%	4,59%	4,01%	5,79%
	Zone of Planalto de Canoinhas	2,06%	8,66%	11,98%	15,69%
	Zone of Rio do Peixe	14,68%	14,29%	21,38%	22,85%
	Zone of Oeste	0,50%	7,50%	13,08%	26,94%
Pastures **	Zone of Campos de Lages	-	57,01%	59,12%	58,59%
	Zone of Planalto de Canoinhas	-	46,41%	39,93%	36,92%
	Zone of Rio do Peixe	-	26,52%	28,01%	27,08%
	Zone of Oeste	-	23,02%	14,00%	13,84%

Source: Brandt, Cassaro and Naibo (2021), based on the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Trade (1920, p. 113-114) and Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (1940, p. 235; 1950, p. 39; 1960, p.120-125).

\*Area of the properties occupied by woods and forests, both wild and reforested, destined for logging or conserved as reserves.

\*\*Data referring to the area used for farming but not discriminated in terms of activity in the 1920 census.

An analysis of the table above clearly shows enthronization of the areas previously occupied by natural areas in the physiographic zones of Planalto de Canoinhas, Oeste and Rio do Peixe, where colonization was in the process of expanding and consolidating. This growth was accompanied by an increased use of farming compared to Campos de Lages, for example, where for more than a century and a half cattle ranching had remained predominant in the grasslands and remained relatively stable over these three decades. In this region, it is especially from the 1960s when mechanized farming – initially for wheat and maize and later for soybeans and the expansion of forestry practices with exogenous species of pine (*Pinus sp.*) – became more widely used. This conversion of forests into cropland and pasture, promoted by colonization and by the timber industry, was responsible, over a period of approximately a century, for the reduction of the area dominated by FOM to just 3% of its original coverage (Carvalho 2006; Bertoncello, Petry & Martinez 2018).

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of *Caboclos* were left with two options: adapt or be excluded because of the disruption of their past way of life, based on a ‘breathing space,’ a ‘latitude,’ and on the ‘*Caboclo* farm,’ and by the new structures imposed by the colonizers. Existence in the rural environment persisted in marginalized form for diverse *Caboclo* families, who began to live in areas considered of little value by the colonizers and colonists, mostly located on the slopes of rivers and in places difficult to access. At the same time, this population was also subject to disqualification of their forms of accessing and using land, while the virtues of the colonists, principally of German and Italian origin, were exalted in terms of the quality of their labor and their agricultural practices. For the others, landless, or without access to land for the reproduction of customary practices of forest use for breeding livestock or harvesting yerba mate, there remained wage labor in the sawmills that opened in the region, in some local yerba mate company that harvested the remaining areas of the plant, or the search for more distant lands where private land ownership had yet to arrive.

Marked by exclusion, their descendants began to make up a significant portion of the residents of the periphery of various towns and cities in the region. Without professional qualifications or job opportunities, many find themselves unemployed or seeking to make a living from temporary work, also comprising a considerable portion of those in MST (Landless Workers' Movement) encampments and settlements in the region (Pertile, 2013; Renk, 2009) Furthermore, adaptation practices were not unique, but permeated by resistance movements.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Financial support: Federal University of Fronteira Sul, Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa e Inovação do Estado de Santa Catarina (FAPESC – UNI2020121000338, 12/2022 – FAB2022191000001 and 16/2021 – UFF2021331000005) and Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq -409340/2021-9; 310850/2021-5 and 401533/2022-0).

#### REFERENCES

A Voz de Chapecó (Chapecó, SC), April 14, 1940, 1.

Alceu Antônio Werlang, “Disputas e ocupação do espaço no Oeste catarinense”. (Chapecó: Argos, 2006).

Alcides Goularti Filho, “Complexo ervateiro e a pequena produção mercantil em Santa Catarina”, *Diálogos* 16, (jan-apr. 2012): 179-215.

Alexandre Assis Tomporoski, “O pessoal da Lumber! Um estudo acerca dos trabalhadores da Southern Brazil Lumber and Colonization Company e sua atuação no planalto norte de Santa Catarina, 1910-1929”. (MSc diss., Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2006).

Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, “Terras tradicionalmente ocupadas: processos de territorialização e movimentos sociais”, *Revista de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 6, 1 (May 2004): 9-32.

Arlene Anélia Renk, *A luta da erva: um ofício étnico no oeste catarinense*. (Chapecó: Argos, 1997).

Arlene Anélia Renk, *A luta da erva: um ofício étnico no oeste catarinense*. 2. ed. (Chapecó: Argos, 2006).

Arlene Anélia Renk, “Expropriação do campesinato do oeste catarinense”. In *Diversidade do campesinato: expressões e categorias: construções identitárias e sociabilidades*, edited by Emilia Piafratesa de Godoi, Marilda Aparecida de Menezes and Rosa Acevedo Marin, v.1. (São Paulo: Editora Unesp/Brasília: Núcleo de Estudos Agrários e Desenvolvimento Rural, 2009): 297-310.

Carl Axel Magnus Lindmann, *A vegetação do Rio Grande do Sul* (Belo Horizonte: Ed. Itatiaia; São Paulo: Ed. da USP, 1974).

Claiton Márcio da Silva, Marlon Brandt and Samira Peruchi Moretto “Transformando a paisagem: uma história ambiental de Chapecó”, in *Chapecó 100 anos: histórias plurais*. 2.ed, edited by Mirian, André Luiz Onghero, Arlene Renk and Ademir Miguel Salini Carbonera (Chapecó: Argos, 2018): 181-214.

Clóvis Antônio Brighenti. “Processos de colonização e povos indígenas no Oeste catarinense”, in *Colonização, conflitos e convivências nas fronteiras do Brasil, da Argentina e do Paraguai*, edited by Delmir José Valentini and Valmir Francisco Muraro (Chapecó: Ed. da UFFS; Porto Alegre: Letra e Vida, 2015): 191-220.

Deborah Magalhães Lima, “A construção histórica do termo *caboclo*. Sobre estruturas e representações sociais no meio rural Amazônico” *Novos Cadernos NAEA* 2, 2 (1999): 5-32. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5801/ncn.v2i2.107>

Eunice Sueli Nodari. “As florestas do sul do Brasil: entre discursos de preservação e ações de devastação”. Em *História Ambiental: fronteiras, recursos naturais e conservação da natureza*, edited by José Luiz de Andrade Franco, Sandro Dutra e Silva, José Augusto Drummond e Giovana Galvão Tavares (Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2012): 241-260.

Folha d'Oeste (Chapecó, SC). April 19, 1969, 1,

Gerhard Ernest Overbeck. *et. al*, “Brazil’s neglected biome: The South Brazilian Campos”, *Perspectives in Plant Ecology, Evolution and Systematics*. 9, 9 (2007): 101-116.

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil* (1st September, 1940). Série Regional, parte XIX – Santa Catarina. Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1952.

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Estado de Santa Catarina: censos econômicos*. Série Regional, v. XXVII, Tomo II. Rio de Janeiro: [s.n], 1956.

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Censo Agrícola de 1960: Paraná e Santa Catarina*. VII Recenseamento Geral do Brasil. V. II, Tomo XII, 1ª parte. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1967.

Jaisson Teixeira Lino, “O povoamento indígena no Sul do Brasil: as contribuições da arqueologia e da história”, in: *História da Fronteira Sul*, edited by José Carlos Radin, Delmir José Valentini and Paulo Afonso Zarth (Chapecó: Ed. UFFS, 2016): 92-108.

<https://www-mgm.uffs.edu.br/institucional/reitoria/editora-uffs/repositorio-de-e-books/historia-da-fronteira-sul-pdf>

Leo Waibel, “Princípios da colonização européia no Sul do Brasil”. *Revista Brasileira de Geografia*, Rio de Janeiro 12, 2, (Apr./Jun. 1949): 159-222.

Luiz Fernando Ferrari, “Intrusão e desintrusão nas terras da Companhia Territorial Sul Brasil”. (Porto Alegre: Letra & Vida, 2015).

Marcos Gerhardt, “Imagens, natureza e colonização no Sul do Brasil” *Natureza, fronteiras e territórios: imagens e narrativas*, edited by Gilmar Arruda (Londrina: Eduel, 2005): 77-96.

Marcos Gerhardt. “Extrativismo e transformação na Mata Atlântica Meridional”. In: *Metamorfoses florestais: culturas, ecologias e as transformações históricas da Mata Atlântica*, edited by Diogo de Carvalho Cabral and Ana Goulart Bustamante (Curitiba: Primas, 2016): 367-386.

Margaret A. McKean and Elinor Ostrom, “Regimes de propriedade comum em florestas: somente uma relíquia do passado?”, in: *Espaços e recursos naturais de uso comum*, edited by Antônio Carlos Diegues and André de Castro Moreira (São Paulo: Nupaub/Usf, 2001): 79-95.

Maria Adelaide Pasquali Hirsch, *De Verona a Chapecó* (Chapecó: Argos, 2005).

Maristela Ferrari, “Interações transfronteiriças na zona de fronteira Brasil-Argentina: o Extremo-Oeste de Santa Catarina e Paraná e Província de Misiones (Século XX e XIX)” (PhD. diss., Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2011).

Marli Auras, *Guerra do Contestado: a organização da irmandade cabocla*. 4. ed. (Florianópolis: Ufsc, 2001).

Marlon Brandt, *Apropriação/expropriação de terras no pós-Contestado: um estudo sobre a concessão da Fazenda Butiá Verde (1929)*. In: *O espaço rural de Santa Catarina: novos estudos*, edited by Nazareno José de Campos, Marlon Brandt e Janete Webler Cancelier (Florianópolis: Ed. da UFSC, 2013): 35-60.

Marlon Brandt, *Paisagens caboclas no oeste de Santa Catarina: colonização e rupturas*. In: *Oeste de Santa Catarina: território, ambiente e paisagem*, edited by Marlon Brandt and Ederson Nascimento (São Carlos: Pedro e João, 2015a): 11-40.

Marlon Brandt, *Criação de porcos “à solta” na Floresta Ombrófila Mista de Santa Catarina: paisagem e uso comum da terra*. *História*, 34 (Jan./Jun. 2015b): 303-322. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1980-436920150001000051>

Marlon Brandt and Eunice Sueli Nodari. “Comunidades tradicionais da Floresta de Araucária de Santa Catarina: territorialidade e memória” *História Unisinos*. São Leopoldo 15, 1 (Jan./Jun. 2011): 80-90. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4013/htu.2011.151.09>

Marlon Brandt and Naiara Sampaio da Silva. “A coleta da erva-mate pela população cabocla do Vale do Rio do Peixe e Oeste de Santa Catarina: apropriação privada da terra e rupturas (décadas de 1900 a 1940)”, *Sociedade & Natureza* 26, 3 (Sep/Nov. 2014):459-469. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1982-451320140305>

Marlon Brandt, Clóvis Alceu Cassaro and Gerson Junior Naibo. “População cabocla em um espaço de fronteira: paisagem e uso comum da terra na Floresta Ombrófila Mista de Santa Catarina (Séculos XIX e XX)”. *Caminhos de Geografia*, Uberlândia, 22, 81 (Jun. 2021): 217-234. <https://doi.org/10.14393/RCG228155425>

Maurício Vinhas de Queiroz, *Messianismo e conflito social: a guerra sertaneja do Contestado (1912-1916)*. 3. ed. (São Paulo: Ática, 1981).

Miguel Mundstock Xavier de. “O desmatamento das florestas de araucária e o Médio Vale do Iguaçu: uma história de riqueza madeireira e colonizações”. (MSc diss., Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2006).

Nazareno José de Campos, *Terras de uso comum no Brasil: abordagem histórico-sócio-espacial* (Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC, 2011).

Noeli Pertile, “Espacialidade das ações humanas: o trabalho cotidiano na agricultura familiar do Oeste catarinense”. In: *O espaço rural de Santa Catarina: novos estudos*, edited by Nazareno José de Campos, Marlon Brandt e Janete Webler Cancelier (Florianópolis: Ed. da UFSC, 2013): 143-158.

Paulo Pinheiro Machado, *Lideranças do Contestado: a formação e a atuação das chefias caboclas (1912-1916)* (Campinas: Unicamp, 2004).

O Município (Valões, SC), June 21, 1923, 1.

O Município (Valões, SC), June 7, 1923, 2.

Paul Claval, *Geografia cultural*. 3.ed. (Florianópolis: Ed. da UFSC, 2007).

Paulo Fernando Lago, *Gente da terra catarinense – desenvolvimento e educação ambiental* (Florianópolis: Ufsc/FCC/Lunardelli/Udesc, 1988).

Pedro Furtado Leite and Roberto Miguel Klein, “Vegetação”, in *Geografia do Brasil: região Sul*, 2 (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1990): 113-187.

“Propaganda de Colonização Ângelo de Carli, Irmão & Cia. Colônias Irany e Ressaca” (Porto Alegre: Oficinas. Gráficas da Livraria do Globo, s. d.)

Roberto Lobato Corrêa, “O sudoeste paranaense antes da colonização”, *Revista Brasileira de Geografia*, 1, 32, (Jan/Mar., 1970): 87-98.

Roberto Miguel Klein, “Mapa Fitogeográfico do Estado de Santa Catarina” (Florianópolis: Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 1978).



Rogério Ribeiro de Oliveira, Joana Stingel Fraga and Dean Eric Berck. “Uma floresta de vestígios: metabolismo social e a atividade dos carvoeiros nos séculos XIX e XX no Rio de Janeiro, RJ”, *Interthesis*, Florianópolis 8, 2,(2011): 286-315.

Samira Peruchi Moretto and Marlon Brandt, *Das pequenas produções à agroindústria: suinocultura e transformações na paisagem rural em Chapecó, SC. Tempo e Argumento* 11, 26 (Jan./Apr. 2019): p. 229-254. <https://doi.org/10.5965/2175180311262019229>

Santa Catarina, Law n. 700, 27 October 1906. *Colecção de Leis do Estado de Santa Catharina*. Florianópolis: Gab. Typographico d’O Dia, 1906, p. 15-16.

Sebastião Paraná, *Chorographia do Paraná* (Curitiba: Typ. Da Livraria Econômica, 1899).

Sueli Ângelo Furlan, “Florestas culturais: manejo sociocultural, territorialidades e sustentabilidade”, *Agrária* 3 (2006):3-15. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.1808-1150.v0i3p3-15>

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency EPA. Available in: <https://www.epa.gov/environmentaljustice> Access on July 20, 2021.

Valério de Patta Pillar and Fernando L. F. De Quadros, “Grassland–forest boundaries in southern Brazil”, *Coenoses*, 12, 1-2 (1997):119-126.

Vanessa Lando Bortoncello, Claudia Petry and Jaime Martinez, “A exploração da floresta de araucária: um enfoque da história ambiental”, *Fronteiras: Journal of Social, Technological and Environmental Science* 7, 3 (2018): 275-294. <https://doi.org/10.21664/2238-8869.2018v7i3>.

Vanguarda (Campos Novos, SC), June 1, 1910, 3.

Dean, Warren. “With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest”. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Wenceslau de Souza Breves, “O Chapecó que eu conheci” *Revista do IHGSC*, 6 (1985): 7-73.

## La Población *Caboclo* del Bosque de Araucaria de Santa Catarina: Uso Común de la Tierra, Expropiación y Marginación

### RESUMEN

Desde finales del siglo XVIII, una parte sustancial de la población del estado de Santa Catarina se asentó en su región de *Floresta Ombrófila Mista* o Bosque de Araucarias. Conocidos como *Caboclos*, estas personas vivían en los márgenes de los ranchos ganaderos en la región de Pastizales. Su fuente básica de ingresos era la agricultura de subsistencia y otras prácticas vinculadas a la exploración de recursos forestales comunes, como la cría de cerdos campestres y la recolección de yerba mate. Al igual que la propiedad de la tierra y la vida social, el acceso a estos recursos estaba regulado por un conjunto de prácticas, normas y costumbres consistentes y sostenibles con este entorno, que también sirvió como una especie de delimitación territorial de estas poblaciones. El objetivo de este artículo es analizar cómo la apropiación privada de la tierra -representada por la colonización y las actividades de la industria maderera, que devastó los bosques de la región, especialmente a partir de las dos primeras décadas del siglo XX- llevó a la desintegración de los espacios de uso común, aumentó las instancias de expropiación y exacerbó la marginación de esta población *caboclo*.

**Palabra clave:** población *caboclo*; colonización; industria de la madera; bosque de Araucaria; la justicia ambiental.

Recibido: 04/09/2021

Aprobado: 18/11/2021