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Maps of un-development: critiques of the cartographic representation of productive space for monoculture expansion in northern Espírito Santo

Mapas do des-envolvimento: críticas à representação cartográfica do espaço produtivo para a expansão dos monocultivos no norte do Espírito Santo

Mapas del desarrollo: críticas a la representación cartográfica del espacio productivo para la expansión de los monocultivos en el norte del Espíritu Santo

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Abstract: This article is dedicated to deepening the study of the narrative of geohistoriographical deconstruction and its ideological composition in the territorial occupation of the northern region of the state of Espírito Santo. We began with a cartographic survey to understand maps as material sources of the colonialist economic valorization process. Maps are used as historical sources that contribute to the analysis of territorial planning and formation—that is, as documents that help reveal the historical logic of productive spatiality and its signs of power (such as authors, sources, scales, and technical knowledge embedded in maps). Subsequently, we develop a critique of this narrative, unveiling what has been concealed from history through cartographic representations. From this perspective, we propose to analyze maps in their ideological composition related to the territorial formation of northern Espírito Santo from the 1960s onward, particularly those linked to eucalyptus monocultures for industrial purposes.

Keywords: Cartography, Monocultures, Territorial formation, Representation of space.

Resumo: Este artigo se dedicou a apresentar o estudo crítico à narrativa desenvolvimentista e sua composição ideológica para a ocupação territorial do norte do estado do Espírito Santo. Partimos de um levantamento cartográfico para entender os mapas como fonte material do processo de valorização econômica colonialista. Usamos mapas como fontes históricas que compõem a análise do planejamento e a formação territorial, ou seja, documentos que ajudam a entender a lógica histórica da espacialidade produtiva e seus signos de poder (o saber técnico nos mapas). E, em sequência, a crítica a essa narrativa, revelando o que foi ocultado da história nos mapas. Nesta perspectiva, propomos analisar mapas em sua composição ideológica para a formação territorial do norte do Espírito Santo a partir dos anos 1960, especialmente, aqueles direcionados aos monocultivos de eucalipto para fins industriais.

Palavras-chave: Cartografia, Monocultivos, Formação Territorial, Representação do espaço.

Resumen: Este artículo se dedicó a presentar el estudio crítico a la narrativa de desarrollo y su composición ideológica para la ocupación territorial del norte del estado del Espíritu Santo. Partimos de un levantamiento cartográfico para entender los mapas como fuente material del proceso de valorización económica colonialista. Usamos mapas como fuentes históricas que componen el análisis de la planificación y la formación territorial, o sea, documentos que ayudan a entender la lógica histórica de la espacialidad productiva y sus signos de poder (el saber técnico en los mapas). Y, en secuencia, la crítica a esa narrativa, revelando lo que fue ocultado de la historia en los mapas. En esta perspectiva, proponemos analizar mapas en su composición ideológica para la formación territorial del norte del Espíritu Santo a partir de los años 1960, especialmente aquellos dirigidos a los monocultivos de eucalipto para fines industriales.

Palabras clave: Cartografía, Monocultivos, Formación Territorial, Representación del espacio.

1. Introduction and theoretical basis

This article proposes the study of maps as documents that tell us stories. And the history we seek to analyze, is expressed in the constitution of the productive expansion of eucalyptus monocultures for industrial purposes in the territory of Sapê do Norte, in the north of the state of Espírito Santo. This history makes the use of the map a political expression of space thinking and an object by which the desire of the territory as a means is revealed. These mappings are elaborated and produced under the supervision of private companies, the state government and research institutions, so they are constituted as sources that reveal geographical ideologies in the development of maps as products of spatial thought. Thus, it is possible to identify how the maps acted in a structuring way in the discourse of productive spatiality in the process of territorial economic formation in the north of Espírito Santo, invisibilizing other spellings produced by the subjects of the territory.

We chose to analyze maps that translate different historical times, but that seek to meet the logic of space as a means and economic interest, are: Image of the map of the Province of Espírito Santo (1868), Map of the Zone Indicated for “reforestation” on an economic scale (ECOTEC - 1967), and the Classification Map of the Potential for Eucalyptus Silviculture (GEDAGRO - 2022).

For Girardi (2000) the maps, besides reflecting the worldview of its creator, also present themselves as “the significant face of ideology”.

Thus, in order to be able to read, through the map, the society that produces and consumes it, the values that are at stake and, consequently, the power of representation, it is necessary to identify, in the first place, the components of the literal or denoted image, that is, the iconic, linguistic, spatial, temporal aspects and the way they are articulated in the “discourse” or, in other words, to understand its meaning (Girardi, 2000, p. 48-49).

Crampton and Krygier (2008) take up the thought proposed by Harley (1989) in which maps should be understood as sociological documents captured on a historical context and, thus, are in line with the producers of maps to the responsibilities for their effects. Thus, when analyzed from the perspective of Girardi (2000) and the methodology proposed by Harley (1989), the maps discussed here denote a discursive force for the economic spatialization of the monoculture in the northern state of Espírito Santo. They present the scientific and technological apparatus that is needed to induce a “domain of apparently neutral and scientific production” (Crampton and Krygier, 2008, p. 90), which must be understood as unique truth about the place that is represented.

We think of the deconstruction of the power relations of these maps, made by a critical reading of geographical ideologies at the service of economic expansion. From this it is revealed that the cartographic productions analyzed work for "a highly partial intervention, often in favor of the interests of the state" (Crampton and Krygier, 2008, p. 90), under the designs of hegemonic actors of the capixaba economy. It follows that, between 1960 and 1980, there was an increase of 585% and 1.174% of the planted area of eucalyptus in the municipalities of São Mateus and Conceição da Barra, respectively, according to data from the Agricultural Census. Currently, MapBIOMAS and the indicator Production of Vegetable and Forestry Extraction (PEVS) estimate on average about 45,000 hectares of eucalyptus monocultures in each municipality that, in the case of Conceição da Barra, represents more than half of the municipality's agricultural area.

Table 01 - Evolution of the planted area of eucalyptus (in hectares)

Municipality	**1960**	**1975**	**1980**	**1995**	**2017**
Conceição da Barra	2,634,00	11.509.77	30,910.74	33,685,29	41,996,00
St. Matthew	9.252.00	36,534,60	54.134,13	52.152.78	40,443.00

Source: Agricultural Censuses.

Map interpretation forms a basis of knowledge from the images they create about the world. Therefore, what is the significance of the maps in technical and official studies on northern capixaba? What truths and power relations are displayed on official maps? Are there other truths?

We know that the map carries intentionalities of its formulators, the maps that are brought here are also part of our choice, selected for the most emblematic cases and that dialogue with the theme now proposed, while problematizing the hegemonic forms of production of space as merchandise, through the territorialization of capital, in the form of eucalyptus monoculture. All the elements of the maps (title, scale, orientation, among others), if analyzed critically, reveal the intentionalities of their formulators and are increasingly impregnated by automated production techniques.

Printing coloniality on the map.

In many critical studies on the geohistoriographical narrative of Espírito Santo, terms such as "sertão", "demographic voids", "economic vocation", are problematized and compose the so-called developmental ideology, propagated by the business sector and government institutions (see Bernardo Neto, 2017; Daré, 2014; Ferreira, 2009; Nascimento 2016; Scarim, 2009; Andrade, 2020). Such studies were based on historiographical materials, technical reports

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and government planning, and exposes the developmental nature of its proposition. In this line, we propose to make a critical analysis of the developmental narrative based on some cartographic materials.

Starting with the map of the province of Espírito Santo of 1868, similar to that published in 1796 (Figure 1). Although it was produced and published in the colonial period, it exposes the ideological meaning of the term sertão, understood in that period under two meanings: a spatial, from the interior; and a social, from a sparsely populated region (Lima, 1998, p. 2). It also presents a racist generalization of the indigenous peoples present in the northern region of Espírito Santo, giving a coloniality on official maps that are re-signified in later periods.

This map composed the atlas of the Brazilian Empire, organized by then Senator Candido Mendes de Almeida, former professor of Geography and History of Liceo de São Luiz, in the province of Maranhão. Not only because he was a professor of Geography and a member of the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute, Candido Mendes published the first Atlas of Brazil, considered at the time a milestone for Brazilian cartography, where he showed a concern in defining Brazilian borders, both in relation to other countries and in relation to the provinces themselves. Thus, he bet on cartographic language in order to create an image of the Brazilian space in order to consolidate the limits proposed by him (GUERRA, dos SANTOS, 2011). Second, Lima, A. (2013):

The work already impresses by the wealth of the sources used, listed in an inventory with almost everything that had been produced on the Brazilian territory: maps of all times and origins; diplomatic treaties; legislation; parliamentary debates; official reports; itineraries and reports of travelers; road projects and other works; geography, history and statistics books; chronicles of settlers and missionaries; studies of the demarcating committees. As the author reveals in the thanks, access to sources involved political and personal contacts with those who kept documents then inaccessible. They opened their doors both scientists and scholars, as high officials of the state bureaucracy — of these especially diplomats and military, traditional holders of knowledge about the territory.

Figure 1 – Province of the Holy Spirit (1868).

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Source: Atlas of the Brazilian Empire.

The terms sertão and empty demographics were also present in the maps of other provinces, as presented by Cavenaghi (2008) in relation to the province of São Paulo, which defined the west of São Paulo as “unpopulated land”. For the author, this expression would serve to attract immigrants and thus idealize the conquest of the territory in its administrative totality.

On the map indicated, the expression “Unpopulated Lands” assumes ideological support based on the direct needs of the constituted State. To the newly arrived immigrant, even though

still taken by local difficulties, as well as by cultural and linguistic barriers, the existence of an official document attesting to the non-existence of "official" owners in the territories shown, would ensure a necessary impetus for their movement to the region (idem, p. 395).

According to Cavenaghi (2008), Candido Mendes "wanted the maintenance of the political and economic status quo, showing that cartography, traditionally defined as a technical and positivist science, served to directly support the constituted political power" (idem, p. 392). Thus, the areas of expansion of modern-coloniality were mapped by qualifying them as unknown hinterland and unpopulated land, while the state need to define internal and external borders emerged, as well as projecting the areas of occupation and expansion of the globalized capitalist economy.

In 1909, another important atlas of Brazil was launched, under Baron Man of Mello and Dr. Francisco Man of Mello. It is noted that both Atlas of Brazil are oriented towards their use in teaching, as a teaching resource in geography teaching. They are also exalted as a synthetic method, as opposed to an analytical and descriptive method, which, in the preface and for the authors, was a transformative method, but which was shown as a propagant of a cartesian and rigid cartography, by which it was oriented to the teaching of latitudes, longitudes, numerical and graphical scales, hypsometry, political-administrative limits, among other attributes that make up the Cartesian mapping system.

One can observe the presence of terminologies such as "unexplored land", "unknown mates", "sertões", and a more detailed level of information regarding the previous atlas, including the definition of internal and external borders, which is acceptable in view of the advance in these definitions that took place in the four decades that separated them.

In fact, these terminology are not empty of content, since it is accompanied by a series of discourse present in the work, with emphasis on the idea of progress and economic development:

(...) the economic development of Brazil needed to be presented, not only for the Brazilians to know the wealth of their vast father, but also so that foreigners could evaluate the many resources that their activity could find in this portentous region. (Man of Melo, 1912, p. 15).

The first two atlases also supported the production of Geography-Atlas (1912), Historical Atlas of Brazil (initiated in 1939) and the Historical School Atlas (1956). Another important fact to highlight is the performance of these geographers and cartographers as Candido de Mendes and Baron de Mello in the Historical and Geographic Institute of Brazil.

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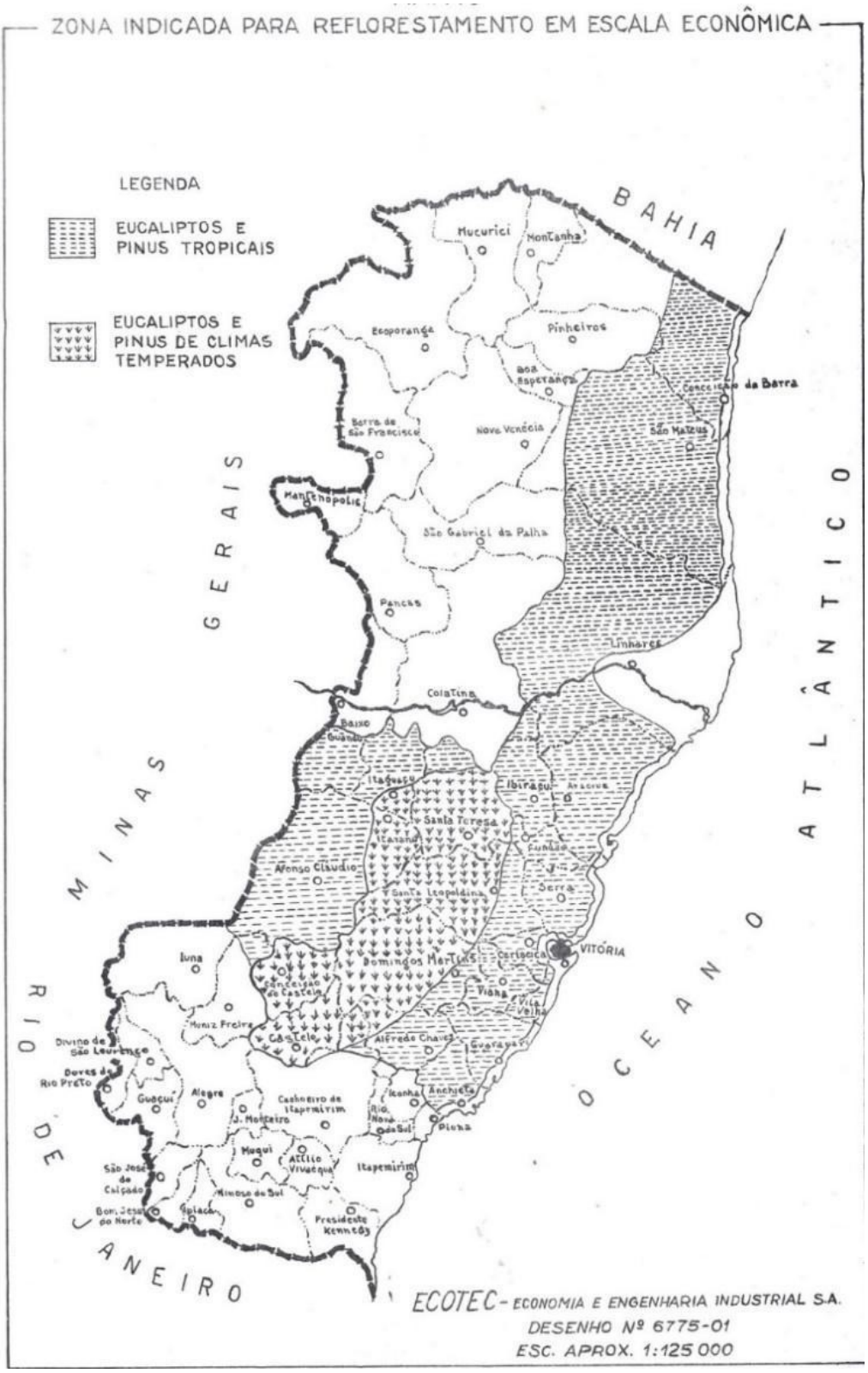
Although the maps served to teach geography, they also acted to support a geographical discourse permeated by the notion of progress. These maps did not have the technical-scientific load of the maps produced in the following decades. However, the technological innovations from World War II served as a basis for the consolidation of a cartesian cartography, but now with the precision of satellites. This modernization of cartographic instruments did not derive from the coloniality of knowledge, it became a credential to support scientific knowledge in cartography articulating, increasingly, global projects on local scales.

Maps and territorialization of eucalyptus monocultures in northern ES

Modern cartography exposes its colonialist content by continuing its use in supporting the discourse of overcoming the delay and seeking progress, so that it will serve the technical studies suggested by the conjuncture of economic and regional planning.

Figure 2 – Zone indicated for “reforestation” on an economic scale – ECOTEC (1967)

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Source: ECOTEC, 1967.

The map entitled "Zona Indicada para Reforestamento em Escala Econômica (FIGURA 2) of the State Economic Development Study, is presented after an analysis of the evolution and demographic projection capixaba and the forest potential of the state. In this second part, it

is important to note the predominance of geographers as a reference in the characterization of the area, among them: Pierre Deffontaines, Silvio Frois de Abreu, Lisa Maria Cavalcante Bernardes, Cicero Moraes, among others. The geographical characterization was based on the studies of these geographers, through regional divisions, analysis of topographic and climatic conditions, as well as forest composition (Atlantic Forest and Tabular Forest). Thus, it presents the conditions of the state forests at that time, their native and cultivated species, their degree of exploitation and devastation to then offer an analysis of the forest potential susceptible to immediate exploitation presenting the commercial species, namely: pine for Atlantic Forests, and eucalyptus for the Tabular Forest.

This map presents the areas of the state of Espírito Santo identified as of great potential for forestry. Certainly, as indicated in the study, the climatic and geomorphological conditions are favorable factors for the choice of the area: the large water availability of the coastal plains and the humid atmospheric condition of the Atlantic air mass are fundamental for the implementation of projects of this nature. Thus, the document assesses that due to the rapid exhaustion of forests by opening new areas and grazing, a targeted reforestation policy is needed, provided that:

rationalise the deployment of the remaining reserves;

to prevent downfalls for farming and pasture formation;

If measures to stimulate reforestation are implemented, not only for the recovery of native species, but also for the formation of homogeneous forests in areas already devastated, the State of Espírito Santo can overcome the crisis that is coming and definitively consolidate its position as a permanent wood producer (ECOTEC, 1967, p. 54).

From then on, the areas of the forest-friendly regions are presented, considering an alternative to the outflow of the crisis imposed by the eradication of coffee plantations by the Executive Group of Economic Recovery (GERCA), and this cultivation, that of coffee, is one of the main responsible for the devastation of the capixaba forests.

Having been the generalized eradication in all regions of the State of Espírito Santo and may be the reforestation carried out in all areas released, it is concluded that forestry can be implemented throughout the capixaba territory, provided that the necessary conditions are created (ECOTEC, 1967, p. 61).

When considering the indication factors of the areas of “reforestation”, the author considers the size and type of property that, in the case of the small farmer, much of his area will be used for agricultural production. However, another factor draws our attention: the price of land and the size of available areas. For them, these factors are “economic reasons for the

location of forest crops" and concludes: "It is noted that these conditions are found in the region, especially in the tertiary plateau, covering Aracruz, Linhares, São Mateus and Conceição da Barra, where there are already some forest projects, but in the embryonic form (ECOTEC, 1967, p. 64).

A factor of great relevance is added, in addition to the physiographic conditions, which was not indicated in the study: the presence of traditional peoples and communities that historically occupy these areas. Indigenous, quilombolas, riverside, squatters, peasants, among other peoples who, for the most part, had no title of ownership of the land, become hostage to this capitalist valorization of space that subdued their territories and ways of life for the purposes of capitalist reproduction and, for this, are not identified in the "economic scale" as it is called in the title of the map. The choice of this "economic" scale reveals the intentionality and ideological bias of the map, disregarding all territorial practices historically carried out in these areas by traditional peoples and communities, such as agriculture, fishing, hunting, animal breeding, extractivism, leisure, among others.

Even more knowing that there is, in this State, a good percentage of lands whose current use has no economic-social significance and that, according to the rules of rational use, indicated for reforestation (ECOTEC, 1967, p. 61).

The use of cartography to support geographical ideologies and territorial developmental policies in Espírito Santo is highlighted. The area qualified as potential for forestry was materialized through incentives policies for the industrial pulp and paper sector, from the 1960s onwards with the incentive programs for the implementation of the Aracruz Florestal. Expropriations, violence, crickets, and political agreements caused the exit and reduction of the population of quilombos, squatters and riverside. According to the conflict map organized by the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (FIOCRUZ), it is estimated that the Sapê do Norte housed about 12,000 families, reduced to 1,200 today - a 90% reduction in the population.

The advance of eucalyptus monocultures in the northern region of Espírito Santo follows a pattern in which the rationality of the Euclidean space and the discourse of progress based on the use of nature as a resource stand out. Girardi (2007) highlights the role of map production as a tool of economic domination, so "both old Portulan maps and the current orbital images of submetric resolution are responses to the demands for knowledge for productive incorporation within the current economic system" (Girardi. 2007. p. 48). This shows how it is possible to create an agrarian development policy, more specifically for forestry, based on the discourse of "forestry" fitness in the maps. The geographies that take place in the territory and that do not adapt to this logic are invisible, and the map is the instrument of this process.

The map, therefore, reveals information according to the objectives for which it was traced. On the other hand, it hides geographical ideologies, which need to be revealed by a critical analysis of their production, starting with the organizer and map designer, the sources used, their title and scale.

Technological advances in the media and information reach cartography and intensifies the technical culture with the greatest detail of geographic information, which will also support the following maps, elaborated for agricultural planning purposes of the state, including the Map of Aptitude of Agricultural Lands in Espírito Santo (1979) and the Map of Forest Aptitude (1992). They highlight the need not only to evaluate the use of new technologies for agricultural activities with a view to productive and rational increase, but also to make use of it in planning itself.

The Map of Agricultural Aptitude of the Lands of Espírito Santo, launched by the National Secretariat of Agricultural Planning (SUPLAN) in 1979, offers an interpretation of the soils aiming at a "rational use of this natural resource in agriculture and other sectors that use the soil as an integral element of their activities" (SUPLAN, 1979).

Thus, interpretations can be performed for agricultural activities, classifying the land according to its suitability for various crops, under different conditions of management and feasibility of improvement through new technologies. Interpretation can also be considered the needs of fertilizers and correctives, enabling the evaluation of the potential demand of these inputs according to the cultivated area of the country. All these interpretations are elaborated based on technical classifications, with well-defined purposes that portray the technological level of the moment when they are made (Idem, p. 51).

The study resulted in an evaluation of the agricultural fitness of the lands of Espírito Santo for crops (short and long cycles), pasture (planted and natural) and forestry, considering its level of management, divided into three different technological levels, in order to evaluate fertility and agricultural correctives, conservation practices, possibilities of mechanization.

However, the study of Forest Aptitude of the Lands of the State of Espírito Santo, published by the State Secretariat of Economic Development in 1992, and conducted by the Forest Industry Working Group, under the coordination of Aracruz Celulose S.A, reveals how close the state planning policy remained to business economic interests. Therefore, not only in the spread of the ideology of backwardness and demographic voids that promote the installation of the pulp industry and the expansion of monocultures, but also in its maintenance both in the military regime and in the neoliberal policy of the 1990s, under the justification of the need to meet the demands of forest products at the regional, national and international level.

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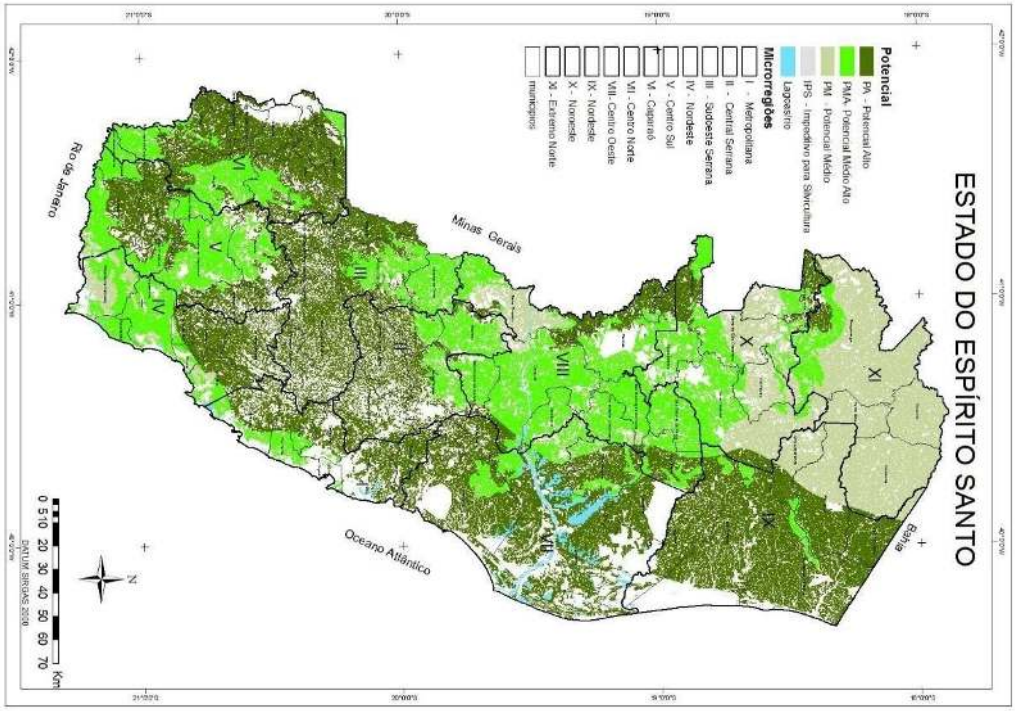
Therefore, “the planning of land use is necessary, which will support the correct implementation of the projects” (Barbosa et al, 1992, p. 5). For this purpose, the areas of aptitude to forestry were strategicd in exclusive areas, preferential, non-preferential and areas without aptitude for forestry. Being the exclusive and preferential areas to those with high slope and soil more prone to erosion, therefore, forestry has an environmental importance, as required by the Forest Code for areas with slope between 45 and 75%. Thus, non-preferential areas for forestry would be focused primarily on agricultural activities, due to priority in food demand. The areas considered “non-preferential” for forestry are in the North Coastal Mesoregion, covering 71.24% of the “non-preferential” areas suitable for forestry (Barbosa et al, 1992, p. 12).

This non-preferential area overlaps with the area of “reforestation” proposed by ECOTEC in 1967, and by which the monocultures of eucalyptus for pulp industry were expanded. Thus, it is understood that the study of forest fitness was based on the reforestation of slopes with high slope, in which the economic sense is secondary to forest planting. However, for an economic activity such as the monoculture of eucalyptus for industrial purposes, the non-preferential areas are the most suitable for this activity, in view of their edaphoclimatic and topographic potential, besides the possibility of using machinery and fertilizers.

This also shows us the Map of classification of the potential for eucalyptus forestry (Figure 3), published in 2022 by the Center for Agribusiness Development (CEDAGRO). The areas considered by the study of Forest Aptitude as non-preferential, appear on the map below as areas of high natural potential for eucalyptus forestry, since “it has better adaptation to adverse natural conditions and offers greater protection to the soil”, “low restriction of the logistical question, income of forestry compatible or superior to other crops”, “presence of conflicts regarding the use of water, a condition that favors eucalyptus forestry because it does not normally use irrigation technology” (CEDAGRO, 2015).

Figure 3 - Map of classification of the potential for eucalyptus forestry

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Source: CEDAGRO, 2022.

Although there are two studies on aptitude to forestry, different criteria for fitness classification are presented. However, the map presented in the study of CEDAGRO has an economic bias for forestry much more striking, since it limits the forestry of eucalyptus. However, this business vision of forestry will remain present in all other studies of economic planning of Espírito Santo.

At the turn of the century, faced with a reorganization of political and business actors in Espírito Santo, the planning policy intensified with the Strategic Plans for the Development of Agriculture Capixaba: the PEDEAGs, published by the Secretariat of Agriculture of Espírito Santo. The first launched in 2003 under Paulo Hartung's government sought to "develop in the state a competitive, diversified and sustainable agriculture", while the second PEDEAG, launched in 2008, sought to update the first in order to incorporate a regionalized vision of planning. Finally, the third PEDEAAG, launched in 2016 with goals until 2030, opted for the incorporation of the term agribusiness, encompassing all and any agricultural activities in the state, in order to relate them to innovation and sustainability as transversal themes.

PEDEAAG is an instrument for analyzing the current and future scenario that aims to establish strategies and initiatives that can be planned, managed and implemented, focusing on generating better results for the capixaba agribusiness. It is a tool that has been placing the state as a pioneer in the planning and public management of agribusiness. (...) being used as the main agricultural sector planning tool in the state (SEAG, 2016, p. 13).

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Cartography is redefined through other mappings, sometimes more technical and directly associated with the planning instrument. These are autonomous maps, called “strategic maps”, in which information is not spatialized on a conventional political-administrative cartographic basis, but make up an information map:

The global conceptual model is the map of the strategy for transforming the agribusiness capixaba supported by the pillars of innovation and sustainability. All this modeling allowed us to visualize strategic information and extract priorities for the development of agribusiness (SEAG, 2016, p.25).

For this, the plan used SWOT analysis to “understand the environment of agribusiness capixaba” and elaborate the “PEDEAG 3 strategic decision map”, with a view to (1) recognizing the situation and current scenario of value chains; (2) recognizing the current situation and scenario of agribusiness capixaba; (3) defining future evolution and scenario of value chains; and (4) defining future evolution and scenario of agribusiness capixaba. The elaboration of these first four decision maps served as a basis for the elaboration of a “Global Conceptual Model” (Figure 7), which “should be understood as the map of the strategy for the evolution of agribusiness capixaba” (SEAG, 2016, p. 23).

Figure 4 – Map of decisions: PEDEAG 3.

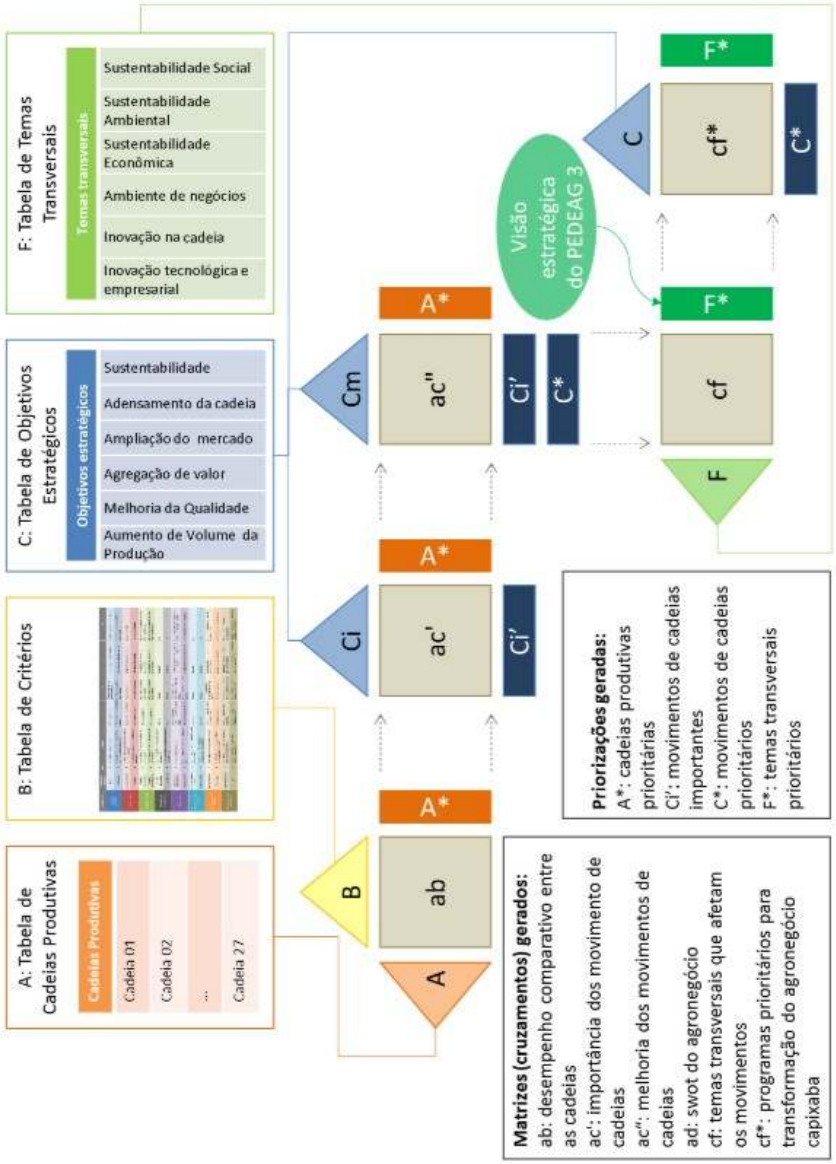


Figura 12 – MAPA DE DECISÕES v: Modelo Conceitual Global

Source: SEAG, 2016.

Certainly, most of the reader, when faced with this map of decisions, will have enormous difficulties in their interpretation, conditioned by a lot of letters, numbers and symbols, which requires an in-depth reading of the adopted methodology. Thus, through more sophisticated data and information collection methodology, the “strategic” and “decision” maps maintain the diagnostic process and supports territorial policies for the advancement of agribusiness production chains. There are 27 production chains considered in the III PEDEAG. We highlight the analysis made via SWOT for the silviculture chain that is somehow presented in the map of decisions now exposed.

With regard to strengths, two points have drawn our attention: (ii) the vocation to forest production, (iii) the availability of areas for expansion. The maintenance of the idea of vocation

attributed to studies such as forest aptitude implies a natural and spontaneous disposition to business activities and monocultures that, in the case of biodiversity, is harmful to any ecosystem, especially the intensive use of agrochemicals and machinery, as well as the historical process of violence and expropriation to traditional peoples historically despised in the planning processes, empirical and/or scientific. Regarding the availability of areas for expansion, the sites, types and sizes of properties available for such expansion, only the existence of areas suitable for planting, were not reported in the plan.

Regarding the opportunities for the forestry chain, "(ii) the certification of forest productions to meet demanding markets" stands out, which has led the main pulp company to seek adequacy with regard to socio-environmental relations. However, such certifications are issued even with the constant disputes and conflicting relationship between the company and the communities, which generates a profound contradiction, since one of the criteria (Principle 4 - Relationship with the Community) of the main international certification company in the sector - Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), establishes that forest management must guarantee the rights, well-being and engagement of local and traditional communities. Generally, certification companies accept that projects developed by the company with some members of the surrounding area are sufficient to characterize a "good neighborhood", thus meeting the criteria for certification.

Regarding weaknesses, the III PEDEAG identified twelve points, some related to forestry activity by private individuals and others related to business activities. But what caught attention is the last point: (xii) negative image about eucalyptus cultivation. Studies conducted at the beginning of the century on the expansion of eucalyptus and the installation of the pulp factory denounced the socio-environmental impacts caused by monocultures, among them: water scarcity, the consequent decrease in food from agriculture, fishing, hunting and biodiversity as a whole. Many efforts have been made to improve this image, in order to delegitimize the studies of the impacts of eucalyptus, however, these efforts do not materialize because, empirically, the water crisis in the surroundings and production areas is noticeable: disappearance of streams, inadequate manilament structure, dams resulting from ill-planned roads, etc.

Finally, regarding threats to the forestry sector in Espírito Santo, the studies of the III PEDEAAG identified "(i) legal uncertainty about the right of planting and harvesting forest production". This point seems to be very linked to the processes of territorial disputes between traditional communities and eucalyptus monoculture companies, especially under the processes

of resumption of territories that, in a practical way, eliminate eucalyptus from the areas historically occupied by these populations.

It is necessary to distinguish which forestry the study refers, since it mixes with the production of wood in particular properties and even in areas of protection with the production of eucalyptus by cellulose companies, this mix is justified by the assumed concept of "agribusiness". However, legal insecurity, treated as a threat, is related to eucalyptus forestry, or rather to eucalyptus monocultures for cellulose. When dealing with historical aspects, the document does not even present the implementation of these monocultures and the denial of the rights of the peoples and communities inhabitants of the regions where monocultures were expanded. Legal uncertainty is not one-sided. Traditional communities, such as quilombolas, are experiencing this insecurity because they do not have their territories approved, even those already recognized.

In fact, in none of the more than 200 pages that make up the III PEDEAG the term traditional communities, quilombolas, riverside, indigenous, peasant. The developmental model maintains one of the main features of modern-coloniality: the colonialism of power, as Quijano warns us (2005), and the consequent invisibility of native and traditional peoples, their experiences and epistems.

Final Considerations

Based on the analyses carried out in this study, it is demonstrated that maps are not only technical and neutral representations of space, but are political constructions that materialize power projects by spreading developmental ideology. Throughout different historical periods, official and institutional cartographies about the north of Espírito Santo acted as instruments to legitimize the expansion of modern-colonial projects, (re)producing spatial narratives that silence and invisibilize other ways of inhabiting the territory.

There are two evidences in the analysis of the selected maps: on the one hand, they reveal the ideological face of the territorialization of capital by eucalyptus monocultures; on the other hand, their critical reading allows to reveal the processes of sustaining economic spatialization of monocultures. Thus, the importance of questioning the truths established by official cartographies, the intentionalities of its formulators and the social and environmental consequences of its application is reaffirmed.

It is concluded, therefore, that the study of maps as historical and political documents makes it possible not only to understand the territorial economic formation marked by the territorialization of capital through monocultures, but also to make room to think about other possible cartographies, which express the plurality of knowledge and experiences of the

subjects of the territory. In this sense, the critical deconstruction of geographical ideologies inscribed on the maps is also an invitation to the construction of spatial narratives that recognize and value the ways of life that resist and persist in the Sapê do Norte.

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