ANALYSIS OF SANTA CATARINA'S PORT INFRASTRUCTURE IN THE XXTH CENTURY¹

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ABSTRACT

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The state of Santa Catarina (located in the south of Brazil) stands out in the Brazilian economy due to its precociousness and dynamism of the industrialization and exportation of industrialized products. Until the beginning of the 1970's, the exportations from Santa Catarina were predominantly composed by lumber mostly original from the forests of the plateau, whose outflow happened mainly via railroad to the Atlantic ports of São Francisco do Sul and Itajaí, or via river in the countryside of the south American territory (Uruguai river) up to the Prata basin. Gradually the industrialized products started to appear on the agenda of state exportations and nowadays the state presents important international industrial insertion, helped by a strategic regional organization of the network of transport infrastructure (sea, land and air). The research characterizes the evolution of the ports in Santa Catarina throughout the XXth century, aiming at finding evidence of the relation existing between the port network system and the exporting industrial areas original from the centers of European immigrants. For that purpose, the category of socio-spatial formation (M.Santos) and the interpretations of the Brazilian economic development of I. Rangel, as well as the studies of Santa Catarina's geography of A. Mamigonian e V. Peluso Jr were used. The field surveys carried out on the port areas in Santa Catarina enabled the construction of a data bank associated with regional thematic maps that raised the main problems existing nowadays. The port infrastructure of Santa Catarina was slowly determined, since the colonial period, through the existence of various ports. This process was inserted in the context of settlement

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of the Atlantic slope of the state by the diversity of regional life, combining the natural scene of compartmented valleys with little communication among each other, to a complex human scene, of different cultural origins and historical occupation moments. As the technical evolution of the means of transportation and the economic development of Santa Catarina itself, integrated the areas in a growing way via land, the specialization of some ports occurred, and the port functions were centered in the cities of São Francisco do Sul, Itajaí and Imbituba, leading to the growth of the importance of those ports and to the gradual abandonment of others such as Florianópolis and Laguna. The conclusion of BR-101 in the 1970's and the accentuated urbanization of the coastline conclude this scene. The highway and its intersections act with the port areas as a preferential axis of the development of the coastline region, specially the stretch that links Joinville to Florianopolis, the two biggest cities in the state. The analysis of the port infrastructure evolution in Santa Catarina allows establishing important relations on national level with the Brazilian economic development dynamics itself. This development was characterized by industrialization steps associated with the replacements of the importations, and by times when the participation of Brazil on the international division of labor increases.

Keywords: Infrastructure; Ports; Santa Catarina

Ports and settlement of Santa Catarina

The historical evolution of one port is also the history of the economic development of its hinterland, which transforms the port infrastructure according to logistic needs of the companies that build installations to keep or improve its products. They pressure for the enlargement of the shipment capacity for improvements in the system of transportation up to the port and so on.

The perception of the state of the strategic character of the transport infrastructure, in which is inserted the port network, tends, on the same way, to dream up modifications in this space through engineering works aiming at the modernization and enlargement of the structure. The state also tries, through these works, to adapt the ports to the constant technological evolution that happens in the ship engineering. Such engineering works would allow the increasing of the vessels' capacity, enlarging, consequently, its length and draft. The importance of the port system seems evident for the national development, because it is known that the sea transport is the modal used in not less than 90% of the operations of international trade in the world (Vieira, 2003).

In Santa Catarina the port system responded historically to the facts verified in national and global level, but it also responded in very direct way to the regional development. The ports are an inseparable part of the situation that allowed making this state, throughout the XXth century, proportionally, one of the regions most industrialized in Brazil, overcoming the

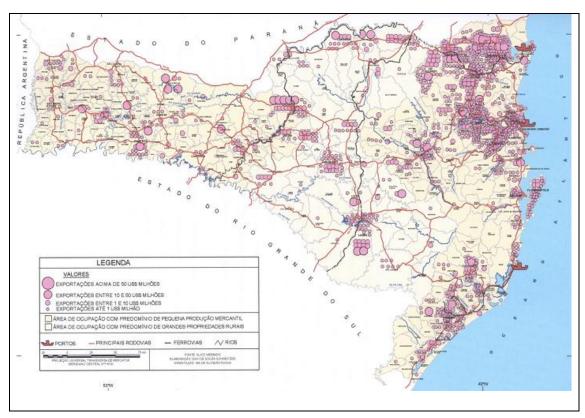
situation of a marginal economy connected to the supplying of the national market that came from the colonial period, thanks to the exporting dynamism of its industries originated from a small mercantile production (Rocha, 2005).

Since late XIXth century the kind of social formation existing in some areas of Santa Catarina, mainly in the Atlantic valleys that received groups of European immigrants on the condition of free settlers, enabled the precocious appearance of industrial activities. The genesis of these activities and its link with the social differentiation process related to the existence of a small mercantile production, are facts broadly studied since the pioneer works, still in the 1960's, of Armen Mamigonian for the areas of Blumenau and Brusque; until the studies that have recently confirmed the validity of these thesis and updated its implications (Rocha, 1997; Silva, 1999; and others). Briefly, we can say that the starting point for the "industrial vocation" of these areas was:

the settlement of thousands of independent small farmers, craftsmen, workers, businessmen, who already practiced a significant social division of labor (for instance the farmers used to buy fabric, working tools, etc.) since the European origin, already in its industrialization process (Mamigonian, 2000).

Although the discussion of the nature of the genesis of Santa Catarina's industrialization evolution during this period is not the aim of the present paper, it is interesting to understand here that this social basis allowed the development of a diversified industrial park in the following decades, though there is a tendency of concentration of some activities in certain areas.

The analysis of the spatial evolution of the ports and their vicinities, helps to uncover this process and understand a little more about the present dynamics of the socio-spatial formation of the coastline in Santa Catarina (Bastos, 2007 and Pereira, 2007), in which the transport infrastructure that is the final destination for most part of our exporting logistic net, is inserted. (Picture 1)



Picture 1 - Exporting companies in Santa Catarina (2003). Extract of Rocha (2004)

The configuration of the ports in Santa Catarina

During the passage to the XXth century the ports maintained the function that, up to then, have historically fulfilled in Santa Catarina's economy: main communication way of this state with the rest of the country – due to the precariousness of the land roads at that time. Consequently, the trade of the areas of the Atlantic slope basically depended on the sea way. The close and almost exclusive relation with the supplying of regional economy, however, started to be relative by the usage of the ports in the northeast state for the outflow of lumber and mate tea, which was greatly exported for the countries of the Prata. Besides the trade, the preference for the sea transportation was also verified for the transportation of passengers, because in the beginning of the century the fastest and most comfortable way of reaching destinations as the countries' capital, for instance, was taking one of the regular lines that operated the cabotage all over Santa Catarina's shore.

Santa Catarina counted on a great number of ports. That is due not only to the physical characteristics of the shore cut through by protected bays and coves (Peluso Júnior, 1952), but also to the existence of a unity on the economic life of its territory marked by the diversity of regional life (Mamigonian, 1966). This diversity is caused by the combination of social

factors – with the overlapping of distinct occupation historical moments – by the natural scene, where the compartmentalization of the relief acted as an important factor in the isolation of the initial centers of settlement. On the Atlantic Slope, the hydrographic bays divide the coastline into compartments of individualized and well established valleys (except for the stretch begun on the South of Santa Marta's Cape). The rivers that run through the valleys also played important role in the transportation system, and the main European settlements were located along its route in XIXth century. Among the sea ports, São Francisco, Florianópolis, Imbituba and Laguna developed on the mouth of the valleys of Itajaí and the Tijucas River among others. Even acquiring new functions from the XIXth on, because of its dynamic economy brought by the groups of European immigrants and because of the beginning national economic development, they already had older port functions related to the moments of the occupation of the settlers from São Vicente (Portuguese origin), of the Azorean settlement (Azores Island) and the colonial monopoly of whale fishing, the specific case of Imbituba.

The picture described here was drastically altered during the XXth century. Already in the first decades, the industrial development acceleration, together with the more intense exploration of natural resources of the state, made room for the specialization of some ports. Thus the installations of Itajaí and São Francisco do Sul adapted to the great amount that was becoming lumber and mate tea exporting, while the Imbituba Port, up to then of little expression, radically transformed to meet the growing national demand for coal. It was happening while Florianópolis maintained its traditional function of trade warehouse responsible for the supplying of the coastal cities, which enabled the enrichment of the businessmen class linked to the port activity such as Carl Hoepcke, who got to install a shipyard in the Port of Florianópolis destined to the maintenance of his fleet of three steam boats that operated the transport lines of passengers from the Capital.

But, if on the one hand the development of the Italian and German settlements in the valleys promoted the reorganization of the port structure by means of diversifying economic activities associated with them, on the other hand the precocious industrialization of the area demanded better land connections with the rest of the country (Bastos, 2007), and even among the cities on the urban network, developing in the state's countryside. This situation, which determined the slowly abandonment of the sea and river transportations as options for the usage of the road network system, was inserted in the national context inaugurated by the 1930's Revolution. According to José Messias Bastos:

The configuration of the new Brazilian socio-economic structure begun in the world crisis of the last decades of the XIXth century and crystallized with the 1930's Revolution, which in part came as a consequence of the Crash in New York's stock market, will impress a radical transformation on the spatial organization with priority to cargo transportation via road network as opposed to cabotage. The ways of transportations depart from Brazil's economic center (São Paulo) towards to the great Brazilian

12th WCTR, July 11-15, 2010 – Lisbon, Portugal

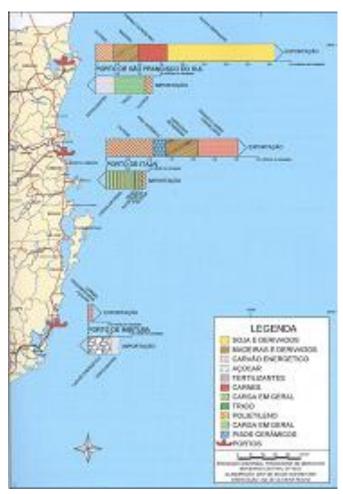
regions, configuring a radial-concentric system. The port cities of São Francisco do Sul, Florianópolis and Laguna, trapped in their economic relations to the cabotage, were the most affected in Santa Catarina (Bastos, 2007, p.3)

Besides the three cited ports, we should also mention that the city of Tijucas ended up losing its port function, as well as Florianópolis right after that. Laguna also passed through slow agony up to defining itself as an exclusively fishing port, thus São Francisco do Sul was the only one of the three initial cores of the coastline occupation to keep a port with diverse functions, associated to the industrial dynamism of Santa Catarina's northeast.

The case of Florianópolis is the best example to the relation existing between the decadence of the ports and the development of the highways network, which, as seen, determined the extinction of those that were not directly associated to the exporting areas. Without a doubt the local geographic situation itself was important to determine the inactivity of this port now that the progresses of ship construction in the XXth century increased the capacity and, consequently, the draft of the vessels of international cargo transportation (Vieira, 2003), making the entrance of such vessels impracticable in the shallow waters of both bays that separate Santa Catarina Island from the continent. However, pointing out this only reason for the end of the port activity in the capital is not enough, for a more dynamic port would have justified the dredging works, maintenance of the access canal etc; moreover if we consider the natural depth of 30 m that occur in the canal of the Southern mouth of Florianópolis Bay. What in fact determines the decadence of the capital's port is the growing importance of road transportation for the supplying of the economy on the Santa Catarina Island (Peluso Júnior, 1991) ending up with the conclusion of BR-101 in 1970 and, right after that, the Colombo Sales Bridge. It happened to the point that the city was given the right to, in the following years, literally bury its port, exchanging it, together with all the shore of the central area, for the present landscapes of highways and landfills.

So, while the economic development of Santa Catarina – together with the general development of the means of communication and transportation itself- was acting towards overcoming the isolation of the economic regions of the state, integrating them more and more, the structure of the ports network adapted to the new needs.

Here we pass to a situation in which the port activity, before disseminated in several centers, concentrated in four: Imbituba, Itajaí-Navegantes and São Francisco. (Picture 2)



Picture 2 – Santa Catarina: exports and ports (2003). Extract of Rocha (2004).

Imbituba

The occupation of the area of Imbituba happened around XVIIIth century, with the presence of a population original from Azores in Vila Nova and in Lagoa Mirrim. But its effective insertion in the colonial economy has as a landmark the year of 1796, when the most southern whale tackle of the Brazilian coast was built on the beach where later the port would be located. That happened in the royal monopoly system where the Portuguese crown gave it to the businessman that organized the cetacean fishing, extracting and processing its valuable and precious oil.

But it was in association with coal that Imbituba appeared as a modern port, in the beginning of the XXth century, specialized in the transportation of such mineral. Since the second half of the XIXth century, the potential of the deposits that occur in some of the sedimentary layers in the south of Santa Catarina was known. The Imperial government had already hired foreign geologists to analyze the possibility of its exploration. This soon interested an English

group that got the concession for the mining and also for the construction of a railroad that connected the productive area to the ports of Imbituba and Laguna: The Teresa Cristina Railway, concluded in 1884. But there was no national market at the time that justified the enterprise, and due to the difficulties to outflow the coal via sea, especially because of the improper port infrastructure of the area, the mining company bankrupted, harming the mineral extraction.

During the First World War, the shortage of raw material occurred in Brazil, which was at that time living its first industrial boom. This fact led to the retake of the interest for the coal in Santa Catarina, and its production reorganization initiative was done to a group of businessmen from Rio de Janeiro led by the cabotage navigation carrier Henrique Lage, whose family had lands in the area of Imbituba. Already in 1917 the improvements for the outflow of the coal production started, and in 1919 a factory of ceramic that produced china for the ships of Lage Group was installed. The group's boilers at this time, were already supplied by the coal from Santa Catarina. The success of Henrique Lage's enterprises and the degree of development reached by the region justified, in 1923, the emancipation of Inbituba, so far Laguna's district. The first mayor was Álvaro Catão, right-hand man of Henrique Lage and administrator of the port that would later belong to him as a result of Lage's death.

As it is evident, the close association between port's business (depending on the coal) and the destinies of the city, was sealed since the genesis of Imbituba city and up to now is verified, for example, in the words of a port worker with whom we had the opportunity of talking, who declared informally that "In Imbituba is like that: if the port goes well, the city goes well; if the port goes badly". Márcia Fernandes Neu, author of the study about Imbituba's Port, summarizes the issue this way: "The problems related to the lack of diversification of the productive activity made this city dependant on only one product, coal, and on a group of businessmen". (Neu, 2003, p.47)

The dependence *on only one product* did not decrease with the death of Henrique Lage in 1942, followed by the expropriation of the companies by Getúlio Vargas. On the contrary, the installation of the National Steel Company in Volta Redonda (Rio de Janeiro), at the same time, made the national demand for coal explode, growing the mineral mining and, consequently, its shipping on Imbituba's port. Although this moment had generated some capital accumulation in the production areas (mostly Criciúma), starting the formation of an important industrial pole around it and making the fortune of some business groups, Imbituba did not benefit significantly from this process.

The diversification of cargos, when took place, happened from the industrialization of coal reject (fertilizing production) by ICC (Santa Catarina's Coal Chemical Industry) – state company created in Geisel's government – which put together new infrastructure and drove the port area, keeping though the dependence on the government and mining activity.

The neoliberal policies were devastating for Imbituba. First with the retreat of the subsidy to the national coal in Collor's Government and, right after, with the selling of ICC decided by Itamar Franco (Neu, 2003). Such measures determined the drastic reduction on the port's business with immediate effect on the economic life of the city that is inseparable from the port's activity, generating a more visible social effect: unemployment.

Despite its excellent natural condition of draft for vessels and port vicinity available for occasional increasing of the activities, Imbituba's port rarely appears as an exporting alternative among the companies in Santa Catarina. They mainly allege the lack of international lines operating there, provoking a relative isolation associated with the fact of having the most precarious road connections, being served with the stretch of BR 101 that is not duplicated. On the other hand, the port still suffers with the deep crisis it entered with de decline of the mining activity and the disassembling of the initial attempt of a local chemical industry, represented by Santa Catarina's Coal Chemical. The railroad connection of the port is limited by the disarticulation of the Teresa Cristina Railroad to the rest of the national railway network. In fact, even industries close to Imbituba, as the ones of the ceramic pole in Criciúma that formed an obvious hinterland for this port, end up choosing to outflow their production through Itajaí/Navegantes or São Francisco, more modern and with a much bigger offer of lines, carried out by the big international carrier companies.

Itajaí and Navegantes

The history of Itajaí's Port is connected to the history of the occupation of the valley of the river with the same name, in which mouth it is located. The Itajaí-Açú river was the gate of entrance for big part of the European colonization in Santa Catarina, the city of Blumenau being highlighted as a gathering pole for the population of Germanic origin. So, it was with the contact of the colonies of the Itajaí valley, especially from 1880 on, that the port activity flourished. According to Goularti Filho

At that time, big part of the Itajaí's Valley colonies' production had its outflow through the port of Itajaí. The contact of Blumenau with the port was made by the Itajaí-Açu river. The river, the port and the Ville of Itajaí served as communication route and base of transportation for the colonies in the valley. Besides exportation base, through the port also arrived the immigrants and the products and tools needed for settlement (Goularti Filho, 2008).

So, it was predictable that the prosperity of the settlements established in the Valley of Itajaí, on the time of origin and growth of the industrial capital (Rocha, 2004) would be followed by the prosperity of the port whose hinterland was formed by such area: Itajaí. However, the extraordinary development experimented by the Itajaí Port is not initially explained by the transformation of the manufactures of the valley by the industries more and more complex, but is mostly due to another factor: lumber.

12th WCTR, July 11-15, 2010 - Lisbon, Portugal

In the first decades of the century Santa Catarina's Plateau started to be occupied in a more intense way and its vast forest resources are explored in an accelerated way. Starting with the installation of American Company Lumber in the area of the plateau, in 1912, the lumber extraction continued strong up to the 1960's and the port of Itajaí was used as outflow for great part of the production. Besides the plateau, the High Valley of Itajaí became an important lumber area, especially during the 1940's, 50's and 60's. For having an idea of this importance, lumber got to participate with 79% of the exportations from Santa Catarina in the year of 1965 (Goularti Filho, 2008). This scene generated the specialization of the port in this product, with the construction of specific warehouses to keep the logs destined to exportation.

The drive acquired by the port motivated the federal investment on works that could solve some problems caused by the geographic location of the river's mouth: an instable environment in which the natural features are given by the delicate balance of the dynamic river-sea. Already in 1927 works were initiated for the first time, aiming at correcting the canal of the mouth. The growing importance of the lumber exportation in pos-1945 stimulated bigger works for the increasing of the mooring lines and improvement of general port infrastructure.

In 1966 Itajaí's Port is declared by decree an "organized port", what meant in fact its integration to the national port network and its insertion in the strategic plan of Brazil's state, starting to be part of DNPVN (Port and Navigable Waterways National Department), later called PORTOBRAS. The date of second half of the 1960's is also the beginning of the decline of the lumber cycle and the productive diversification boom of Santa Catarina's industry. This facts allowed the Itajaí's Port, due to its privileged geographic position, to follow the transformations lived by regional economy, being fully inserted in the new productive cycles that were opening.

One should mention that it was also in this period that the fishing terminal of Itajaí was amplified, which caused the city to be the biggest center of fishing industry in Brazil.

In 1990, on the first Day of Fernando Collor's term of office, PORTOBRAS was extinct, in the neoliberal context of strategic national policies disassembling and scraping of the planning and infrastructure sectors. The period of economic opening also established a profound restructuration of the productive sector of Santa Catarina having reflexes on the port activities. A period of administrative uncertainty followed the extinction of PORTOBRAS, when, in 1995, the administration of the Port passed to the hands of the city council. After that the lease of the mooring line 1 and of three more areas of containers to TECONVI S.A. what in fact, implies the privatization of big part of the Port that passes to the hands of a company of opened capital, but represents, as well as its similes (TECON in Imbituba, Docas de Santos, etc.), the interests of the great international carrier companies. Another important private company that invested in infrastructure in the Port was Seara Alimentos (Seara

Foods) controlled by the multinational Cargill.

The crisis in the 1990's, however, did not have the same impact in Itajaí than in Imbituba. A reason for that is that the port, despite the difficulties that it faced, got to specialize with great success, and precociously, in the sector of containered cargo getting to be, before the catastrophe of the flood that affected it in 2008, the second port in container movement in Brazil.

The strong torrents that happened in November 2008, brought some uncertainty as to the future of Itajaí's Public Port, whose structure, and consequently the shipping capacity, was seriously affected by the disaster. The slowness of the federal government in relation to the works for normalization of the port activities have caused apprehension on the productive sector and makes many companies take their cargos to the private terminal of Navegantes, to São Francisco do Sul or even to Paranaguá, in the neighbor state. Another obstacle to the expansion of the port activity in Itajaí is the insertion of itself in the middle of an urban center densely populated, fact that complicates the creation of new surrounding areas for containers.

With the inauguration of the private terminals run by Portonave company on the right bank of Itajaí-Açu's mouth, this traditional port area was in a singular situation of being separated into a public sector, in the traditional port area located on the right bank of the river (although there are important private concessions); and another private on the opposite bank, named Port of Navegantes. Well, although run by different legal systems, it is, from the spatial point of view, the same port area, sharing the mouth of the same river and even having to coordinate between each other the vessels traffic, for the so called "evolution basin" (area used by the ships for their mooring and departure maneuvers) is the same. It is also remarkable the fact that the private enterprise of Portonave equally benefits from the constant and expensive dredging works on the access canal mouth demanded by the unstable dynamic of the river and the sea and the great amount of sediments of Itajaí-Açu, made with public money in favor of the Puplic Port of Itajaí. This fact makes even clearer the great influence that the big carrier companies have in the reality of the ports in Santa Catarina. The situation in Itajai/Navegantes reflects a case of direct competition between two big in the sector. On the one hand the Norwegian Maersk controls the biggest of the private terminals of Itajaí, while Portonave is capitalized by Mediterrean Shipping Company (MSC).

Anyway, the port of Itajaí/Navegantes continues to be the main way for the exportations in Santa Catarina, presenting great specialization in containered cargo of bigger value added.

São Francisco do Sul

Although the calm waters of Babitonga Bay had offered shelter to different kinds of vessels since the XVIth century and the Island of São Francisco had been the first center of occupation on Santa Catarina's shoreline on the XVIth century, it was only during the

12th WCTR, July 11-15, 2010 – Lisbon, Portugal

passage to the XXth century that he Port is organized and assumes an important role in Santa Catarina's economy. This is due to the conclusion of important connections of this coastal area with the region of the North Plateau. First, the Dona Francisca Road, built "under machetes" by the immigrants' labor in the end of the XIXth century, and, decades later, the rail branch line Mafra-São Francisco. In the first case, the road served as an outflow of growing exportations of mate tea from Paraná and Santa Catarina. The railroad, on the other hand, greatly served to the outflow of lumber extracted from the North Plateau by Lumber and Colonization Company, a company with American capital.

So, the Port of São Francisco started to have an important function to the economy in Santa Catarina, even before having adequate installations to the new scene. This fact triggered the first port improvement works planned by The Canals, Rivers and Ports Federal Inspection Office in 1921. Little was done, however, until the Port became, in 1955, a state governmental agency: the São Francisco do Sul Port Administration, which delivered, in July of the same year, two new mooring lines and installed 4000 m² of warehouses. The lumber exportation in Santa Catarina lived, then, a great time and determined strong specialization of the port in this sector.

The 1960's mark the diversification and expansion of the industries in the state, and the proximity of the port with Joinville, the biggest industrial center of the stated, beneficed São Francisco do Sul. On the following decade the port verified the expansion of its hinterland for the soybean productive area, with the installation of important infrastructures destined to the stocking and benefiting the grain. This generated the so called "exportation corridor" on the primary zone of the port, because it is characterized for being one of the terminal points of the railroad network that, run by the ALL (America Latina Logistics) concessionaire, connects the port area with the soybean productive areas of Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná's northeast. For this reason the landscape of the port area is marked by the presence of large grain warehouses and tanks for oil storage, which are property of: Supplying State Company (CIDASC) the first, and the multinational Bunge and TERLOGS S.A., mixed capital company, the second. The capital of TERLOGS is mainly composed by big national agriculture producers in association with marine agencies and Japanese capital.

Conclusions

As seen here, Santa Catarina's economic dynamics itself led to the specialization of some ports. It happened while the development of commercial navigation generated a trend of increasing the size of the ships and reducing of stops by the marine companies. This fact reduced to a selected group the ports able to actively participate in the international trade, demanding investments in infrastructure and diversification of the services. Unfortunately, Brazil took off late in the reformulation of this competitive and vital sector of national economy. The moment when the technological modernization and containerization are felt at global level, the 1980's and 1990's, there was the disassembling of the neoliberal system.

The most remarkable example of this time in our state is the Imbituba port, when the sudden withdrawal of subsidy for the national coal brought deep crisis for the port until toady struggling to get out of it. The only response of the government in this period facing the issue of port modernization, is the denial of the labor rights of the port laborers category, who start to be seen, by the dominant speech, as a privileged class responsible for the high cost of port services in Brazil.

The development of the ports infrastructure is direct function of the development of its hinterland productive capacity, which was verified on de development of the port system in Santa Catarina through the XXth century. It does not imply, however, softening of the state's role, nor, as seen on the neoliberal thought, that the state agents represent an obstacle to port development and modernization. Many times this criticism comes, in fact, from sectors not hindered on their productive development, but in their monopolistic intentions. Fortunately neoliberal directions, which marked the crisis on our ports during the 1990's, have been loosing power and what is seen presently is a timid but important retaken of the state investment in infrastructure, exemplified by the so called Growth Acceleration Plan (PAC).

In the case of Santa Catarina, the density of its ports network can be considered as one of the factors responsible by the strong insertion of the companies from this state in the international trade, giving a strategic aspect to these ports' modernization and to the regional development. (Figure 1)

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