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Safeguarding Agricultural Heritage: The Case of Colombia 's Coffee Cultural Landscape

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Abstract

The Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia exemplifies the historical, cultural, economic, ecological, and symbolic heritage values of an agricultural landscape. Its inscription as a World Heritage Site elucidates the complexity of safeguarding traditional agro-ecological systems of production threatened by changes in land use, urbanization, farming techniques, and environmental change. Coffee has been the quintessential crop sustaining rural livelihood in Colombia and a main driver behind the country 's development. It is a national symbol, and an internationally recognized high-value commodity. The Coffee Cultural Landscape has the ideal environmental conditions and knowledge to continue producing some of the best coffee in the world; however, the cultural and ecological values of traditional farming practices have yet to be articulated and incorporated into the site 's management.

This study proposes a framework for assessing the heritage values of small-scale farms in the Cultural Landscape based on conditions, adjacencies, and connectivity. It considers three different scales for understanding agricultural areas as their function and public benefits change in relation to their surrounding context. Articulating the cultural and ecological values of cultivated lands should serve as a platform for fostering stewardship and responsibility, and for creating incentives and constraints to ensure the continuity and vitality of the Coffee Cultural Landscape.

Keywords

cultural landscape, world heritage, Columbia, agriculture, coffee

Disciplines

Agricultural and Resource Economics | Historic Preservation and Conservation | Landscape Architecture | Sociology of Culture

Comments

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SAFEGUARDING AGRICULTURAL HERITAGE: THE CASE OF COLOMBIA'S
COFFEE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Catherine Blair Winter

A THESIS

in

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2015

Advisor and Program Chair
Randall F. Mason
Associate Professor

Dedication

To all the people who see the land destroyed

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my family for teaching me life

My friends for sharing and movement

My teachers for guidance and inspiration

The generosity of strangers for revealing the world

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Figure 1- The Cloud Forest of the Coffee Cultural Landscape

1 Introduction

The primacy of coffee as Colombia's quintessential crop is the result of the propitious confluence of capitalist expansion and rural farming with ideal environmental conditions to generate a high value commodity. Coffee cultivation and exchange became the bloodline for rural livelihood in Colombia's Andean highlands from the 1880s to the 1980s.¹ As one of the main sources of foreign reserves, it became a key driver behind the country's modernization. In

¹ The rise and importance of coffee cultivation in Colombia has been the focus of multiple studies. The most comprehensive studies are: Marco Palacios. *Coffee in Colombia, 1850-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980; and Marco Palacios. *Entre la Legitimidad y La Violencia: Colombia 1875-1994*. Santa Fé de Bogotá: Editorial Norma, 1995.

its initial phases, the diffusion of coffee as a sound enterprise entailed a radical transformation of the natural landscape, with tropical forests being cleared for cultivation, farms and planted trees marking unprecedented patterns on steep slopes, hill-tops leveled for town centers, and movement of people and goods impressing new networks of connectivity. Meanwhile, international demand for Colombia's high-quality arabica beans along with scarcely populated territories facilitated the settlement of new arrivals and the eventual formation of communities with a distinctive culture. The unique heritage arising from activities revolving around coffee cultivation is today celebrated in the World Heritage Site (WHS) listing of the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (CCLC).²

Of the many areas where coffee is grown, the areas designated in the CCLC exemplify the outstanding cultural values associated with coffee cultivation as a living heritage. The continuity of traditional agricultural practices with the small farm as the main unit of production is the foundation of the coffee landscape, and should be the focus of its preservation.³ It is also the aspect most threatened by changing land uses and price fluctuations. Preserving a living heritage is a question of managing and directing change so that valuable knowledge and practices developed over generations continue into the future. Traditional agro-ecological systems create unique cultural landscapes that are models of environmental sustainability, repositories of knowledge intrinsically connected to a community's identity and worldview, and a home and livelihood for rural societies.⁴ Agricultural heritage around the world is particularly at risk because of development pressures, competition from agroindustry, environmental degradation, and climate change. While the continuity and vitality of traditional agriculture

² "Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia," UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 1 April 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1121>.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Michael Hough, *Out of Place: Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 57-58.

depends on economic, social, and environmental stability, these factors need to be understood within their current and historical contexts, and valorized in forward-looking management and planning that benefit stakeholders while protecting its multiple values.⁵

The cultural landscape approach to heritage preservation can provide a needed framework to address the plurality of values that need protection within a traditional agro-ecological system. By identifying character traits that underpin the significance of a place, conditions and change can be monitored and analyzed to inform management plans and policies accordingly. The cultural landscape approach presupposes a holistic understanding of a place, where strategies and interventions are weighed in terms of the effects on its component parts. Considering how a landscape functions at different scales can ensure that its layers of complexity are properly accounted for in its conservation.

⁵ On assessing and incorporating heritage values, stakeholder participation, management frameworks, and sustainability principles into heritage conservation, see Randall Mason, "Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices," in *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report*, ed. Marta de la Torre (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), 5-30.



Figure 2- The Coffee Growing Areas in Colombia⁶

⁶ Original Map: Gerencia Técnica. Oficina de Estudios y Proyectos Básicos Cafeteros. Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. Web. 5 April, 2015. http://www.cafedecolombia.com/particulares/es/la_tierra_del_cafe/la_gente_del_cafe/

Since its inscription in 2011, the World Heritage listing of the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia has been used to promote the Coffee Axis region as a vibrant and exciting destination featuring exuberant nature, picturesque towns, and rich traditions. The limelight on the region has translated into attracting tourists, real estate development, and recognition of specialty coffees, but has yet to define a strategy for protecting heritage values in its cultivated areas, and help traditional farmers affected by falling prices. While development can bring in money to the region, it can also be detrimental to the cultural landscape if its impacts on heritage values are not properly considered and mitigated. The task of heritage professionals and its institutions is to provide viable alternatives that ensure that interventions enhance and contribute to the heritage values of a place. The cultural landscape framework is meant to bring together different stakeholders and disciplines towards informing and designing a viable direction for a prosperous and sustainable future. Efforts to curb urban expansion and industrialized agriculture, as well as ways to diversify and improve local economies, are core challenges facing traditional agricultural societies around the world.

In 2011, 18 urban centers and 24, 000 farms scattered across four states in Colombia's central western Andes became enlisted as a World Heritage Site. The Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (CCLC) celebrates the heritage, resilience, and prosperity of farmers who settled the province of Antioquia's steep slopes to grow coffee in the second half of the 19th century.⁷ The designation highlight the production derived from single-family plots where the coffee was shade-grown and handpicked. Although some examples of traditionally grown coffee remain, most of the coffee-producing region is today a patchwork of cultivated fields, expanding provincial towns, pastures for cattle, ravines, and nature reserves. Over a century later, coffee farmers and their product have become symbols of national identity and international

⁷ "Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia"

appreciation respectively. The cultural landscape UNESCO designation of the CCLC contextualizes the social and economic history of Colombian coffee production within its geographic and environmental setting in an effort to promote the region and protect its cultural and natural resources. However, promotion has focused on the CCLC's charismatic heritage and has yet to address the protection of its traditional agro-ecological system- the historical basis for the designation, the middle ground merging cultural and natural values, and the area most threatened by changing land uses.

Since its adoption in 1972, the World Heritage Convention has enlisted various kinds of properties nominated for their outstanding natural or cultural universal values. The category of cultural landscapes brings together culture and nature by emphasizing the interrelationship between societies and their environment, and how these shape each other over time. The inclusion of agricultural landscapes in the list of World Heritage Sites demonstrates an appreciation for traditional land uses while recognizing their vulnerability. The nomination for the CCLC explicitly cites economic pressures resulting from the fluctuation in the international coffee market prices, and the negative effects of gold mining activities as threats to the landscape.⁸ Efforts to preserve rural livelihoods, including the intangible heritage in their farming methods and their value as examples of sustainability, must highlight the need to contain urbanization, changes in land use, and loss of biodiversity. Once ordinary, traditionally cultivated areas are becoming extraordinary. Though small farm production continues within the Coffee Axis, traditional methods of farming under shade-grown canopies have largely been replaced by sun-grown monocultures that erode soils, require chemical fertilizers, and destroy natural habitats for bird, insect, and small mammals. Thus, the preservation of productive cultural landscapes, where their period of significance is not only a historical backdrop but also a

⁸ "Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia"

reality on the ground, implies preserving their uses and functions within the society and ecological system they have shaped and are intrinsically a part of.

Agricultural-based landscapes with Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) often exemplify a harmonious utilization of limited natural resources and a creative adaptation to environmental conditions.⁹ As such, they represent models of sustainability and site-specific diversity in an increasingly homogenizing world. As productive landscapes, they are the source of livelihood and residence for farming communities, habitats for biodiversity, repositories of knowledge and memory, and a source of culture and identity.¹⁰ As fertile lands, they are high commodities with contested visions for their future; as living heritage, their continuity and vitality depends primarily on human activities. How people use and interact with a landscape is a combination of choices, knowledge and aspirations. Preservation efforts must provide meaningful alternatives and directions that enhance the heritage attributes of a place.

The understanding of values attributed to a specific cultural landscape can influence the way people participate in its protection and benefit from its heritage. Bringing out the unique heritage values of traditional agricultural practices in the CCLC is the first step towards their protection. The built patrimony of coffee farms, or *fincas*, are valued for their typologies, construction techniques, aesthetic value, as well as the associated locations for coffee processing and drying. However, the heritage literature on the CCLC does not inform about how and why people farmed in certain ways, how movement across the landscape gave shape to

⁹ Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is a term developed by the World Heritage Committee to define eligibility for World Heritage listing. The OUV will be particular to each property, and fall into at least one of ten criteria for selection. See, "The Criteria for Selection," UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 1 April 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>

¹⁰ On the relation between heritage, memory, history, and identity, see François Hartog, "Time and Heritage," *International Museum* 227, September (2005): 9-10. Web. 17 February 2015. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001409/140957e.pdf>

networks of exchange, how plots were subdivided and changed usage, how the ecology of the landscape has gradually change, etc.

The management of a cultural landscape requires a nuanced approach to how the landscape functions and the various processes unfolding within it. As a social, cultural, ecological, and economic system in constant flux, the different components within a landscape affect each other and the whole. Identifying attributes that sustain and strengthen a healthy working system can serve as a framework for preserving its function and integrity. These attributes are manifest in the physical setting that allows for a community to flourish, in the cultural practices and daily activities that shape an environment, in historical layers that inform about changes and adaptation through time, and in the narratives and experiences that capture and transform the perception and memories of a place. Attributes in a landscape can serve to reveal context, to identify strengths and weaknesses within its working system, and to see how a cultural and natural system performs under different pressures. Identifying desirable traits as a standard against which properties contribute or detract from the values of a historic landscape can provide a necessary framework for legislation and incentives, and a medium through which conditions and integrity are monitored and managed. Looking into how the coffee growing areas of the CCLC function as single farms, as part of a neighborhood mosaic with varying land uses, and as a World Heritage Site can help determine policies, incentives, and interventions to protect and promote their heritage values.

The following work is divided into four chapters:

Chapter Two traces the evolution of cultural heritage policies, initiatives, and terminology that led to the valorization of rural heritage, and the nomination of agricultural-based landscapes as World Heritage Sites. It pays particular attention to ideas of environmental

and economic sustainability, as well as geographical and ecological diversity, and the need for a holistic approach towards managing the complex processes within a living heritage site.

Chapter Three delves into the history of coffee growing in Colombia, and the current conditions of the CCLC. It looks into the effects of the “Antioquian Colonization”¹¹ as an economic venture that radically transformed the landscape, the limits and uses of idealized nation-building narratives, and the primacy of coffee in Colombia’s economy. It also presents contextual information on the establishment and role of the Colombian National Coffee Federation, the Denomination of Origin status conferred on Colombian coffee, and a description and analysis of the contemporary landscape and its management.

Chapter Four addresses the need for a framework to protect agricultural heritage. It outlines the importance of character defining traits and functions for articulating and understanding processes. It suggests approaching the landscape from different scales for gathering data, monitoring change, developing management plans, and implementing preservation strategies.

Chapter Five proposes a series of recommendations on how to use the World Heritage designation for ensuring continuity of traditional agricultural cultivation. It suggests regulations and incentives to curtail threats to agricultural areas, and to enhance their valorization and protection. Emphasis is placed on interventions that strengthen sustainable livelihoods, improve public spaces, educate locals and visitors, and improve the economy and quality of the cultural landscape as a whole.

¹¹ “The Antioquian Colonization” (Colonización Antioqueña in Spanish) is the name given to a large movement of people and goods that settled into Colombia’s central western mountains to grow coffee in the second half of the 19th century.



Figure 3- The Central Plaza of Filandia

2 Cultural Landscapes

2.1 The World Heritage Approach to Cultural Landscapes

2.1.1 Word Heritage Definition of Cultural Landscapes

Cultural landscapes are a way of perceiving and understanding heritage as a palimpsest of historical layers and activities shaping the physical setting and lives of a community. A cultural landscape approach to heritage recognizes the need to situate cultural manifestations within their greater historical and physical context. It represents a shift from understanding heritage as objects to valuing heritage as relationships, and from particular periods of significance to ongoing processes. The World Heritage Convention incorporated the category of cultural

landscapes in 1992, stated in Article 1 as representing “the combined works of nature and man.”¹² The World Heritage Center describes cultural landscapes as:

illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.¹³

The addition of the cultural landscape category presented a cultural equivalent to the already existing concept of natural heritage sites, placing particular emphasis on the way people have used and adapted to their environments. World Heritage arises with UNESCO’s adoption of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.¹⁴

Underlying the idea of a cultural landscape is a harmonious relationship between humans and their environment. While landscapes are constantly changing and have periods of prosperity and degradation, aiming towards greater ecological sustainability is a constant goal that all societies should strive for as resource depletion and economic disparity increase. The World Heritage Convention, from its outset in 1972, declared cultural and natural heritage as irreplaceable assets for humanity, and regards the protection and conservation of heritage as significantly contributing to sustainable development.¹⁵ The ecological side to sustainability would become a major concern in the next two decades. An international awareness and concern towards environmental loss and destruction of natural habitats culminated in the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development of 1992, the same year that cultural landscapes became a category for World Heritage properties. The Rio Declaration articulates, in its

¹² Article 1, “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 March 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/#1>

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.”

¹⁵ Article 6, "2013 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf#annex3>

preamble, the integral and interdependent nature of the Earth and proclaims, as its first principle, that human beings are “entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature.”¹⁶ It also places responsibility on states to not cause damage to the environment; links sustainable development to environmental protection; affirms that eradication of poverty is indispensable for sustainable development; and asserts the vital role indigenous communities play in environmental management because of their knowledge and traditional practices.¹⁷ Addressing heritage in terms of cultural landscapes links the social and environmental requirements for sustainable development with the protection of cultural resources.

Enlisting rural landscapes as sites with Outstanding Universal Value, the main criteria behind World Heritage designation, highlights the relevance traditional livelihoods and practices have in addressing global ecological problems. Endowing the countryside with the role and significance of sustaining rich cultural and natural heritage opens an important channel for legislation and protection against the destruction of human and natural habitats; nonetheless, this opportunity is not always acted upon when it comes to protecting traditional agricultural systems.

While World Heritage Sites specifically refer to properties, the cultural landscape approach recognizes multiple manifestations of culture, including tangible, intangible and natural heritage, within one site. In this way, it constitutes a paradigm shift away from objects to landscapes as repositories of heritage values. The implications of this shift are manifold: it opens the recognition of OUV to non-monumental forms of heritage and, consequently, to a larger geographic representation in the World Heritage listing; it allows for multi-varied properties and

¹⁶ “1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development.” United Nations Environment Programme UN Doc. A/CONF.151/26 (vol. I) / 31 ILM 874 (1992). Web. 3 January 2015.

<http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?documentid=78&articleid=1163>

¹⁷ Ibid.

heritage across national boundaries to be enlisted as one property; it links intangible heritage to specific geographical locations; and positions collective human activity as the protagonist of cultural production without detaching it from its physical setting.

2.1.2 Criteria for Classifying and Enlisting Cultural Landscapes

The World Heritage Center acknowledges three general categories of cultural landscapes: designed, organically evolved, and associative.¹⁸ The first category refers to intentionally designed spaces on the land, such as The Persian Garden and The Medici Villas and Gardens in Tuscany.¹⁹ The second category refers to landscapes that have developed over an evolutionary process “in association with and in response to their natural environment”- a process reflected “in their form and component features.”²⁰ The last category refers to landscapes associated with “powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence.”²¹ These include landscapes such as the Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia,²² an Aboriginal sacred site enlisted as both a natural and cultural landscape, and the Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range in Japan.²³

Within the second category of World Heritage cultural landscapes, organically evolved landscapes are differentiated as relict or continuing. For relict or fossil landscapes, the

¹⁸ “Categories and Subcategories.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/#2>

¹⁹ “The Persian Garden.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1372>, and “The Medici Villas and Gardens in Tuscany.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/175>

²⁰ “Categories and Subcategories.”

²¹ Ibid.

²² “Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/447>

²³ “Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1142>

evolutionary process between people and their environment terminated in the past; in a continuing landscape, the evolution continues in the present, as is the case with productive landscapes like the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia. Examples of relict cultural landscapes include the Ancient City of Tauric Chersonese and its Chora in Ukraine,²⁴ an ancient Greek urban complex, and the Ancient Villages of Northern Syria, a series of abandoned Byzantine villages.²⁵ Continuing landscapes are the main focus of this study as agricultural landscapes fall within this classification, but the category also includes landscapes where the focus of their designation is tied to other values, such as human settlement or sea-use, as is the case with the Saloum Delta in Senegal.²⁶ Because they are living heritage, continuing landscapes cannot be separated from the social context of the people that inhabit and use the properties:

[A] continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.²⁷

While cultural landscapes are subdivided into categories according to their inscribed universal value, most will likely have a combination of designed, relict, continuing, and associative qualities within their properties, albeit with different levels of significance.

Nominated World Heritage Sites must meet at least one of ten criteria for inscription, six of which are cultural (criteria i-vi) and four natural (criteria vii-x).²⁸ Although a range and

²⁴ "Ancient City of Tauric Chersonese and its Chora in Ukraine." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1411>

²⁵ "Ancient Villages of Northern Syria." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1348>

²⁶ "Saloum Delta." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1359>

²⁷ "Categories and Subcategories."

²⁸ Roman numerals are utilized to designate specific criteria in consistence with the annotation used by the World Heritage Center.

combination of criteria are present in different properties, criteria iii-vi are the most prevalent in continuing cultural landscapes. They are described by the World Heritage Convention as follows:

Criterion iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.

Criterion iv) to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.

Criterion v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.

Criterion vi) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.²⁹

The Coffee Cultural Landscape is designated under criteria v and vi, for the use of steep slopes for coffee cultivation (v) and for the traditions that arose around coffee production (vi).

2.1.3 Diversity and Representation in World Heritage

As an organizational body representing the protection of the cultural and natural treasures of the world, the World Heritage Committee constantly reviews and incorporates strategies to make the WHS list representative of the diversity and variety of heritage and regions around the world. In 1994, the WHC launched an on-going Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List after a global study by ICOMOS (The International Council for Monuments and Sites) revealed that traditional cultures were underrepresented.³⁰ During the same year, the Nara Document on Authenticity brought attention to the need for cultural relativity in assessing heritage value and authenticity, “the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must [be] considered and judged

²⁹ “The Criteria for Selection.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015.
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>

³⁰ “Global Strategy.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015.
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>

within the cultural contexts to which they belong.”³¹ The document asserts that all cultural and heritage diversity is “an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind... [Whose] protection and enhancement should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development.”³²

A seminal contribution to expanding understanding and perception of heritage is the Burra Charter. Originally written in 1979 and revised in 1999, the Burra Charter was Australia’s ICOMOS adoption of the Venice Charters recommendations on the preservation and conservation of monuments. While the Venice Charter of 1964 set out professional guidelines for interventions, its focus on built heritage limited its applicability to other kinds of heritage. As a country with rich intangible and natural heritage, Australian professionals sought ways to define standards of practice for their cultural resources. The Burra Charter approaches heritage interventions from a broadly defined reading of the cultural significance of places. According to the Charter, “*Conservation* is based on a respect for the existing *fabric, use, associations and meanings.*”³³ The focus on cultural significance beyond fabric lends flexibility to the interpretation of heritage values and, as such, can be applied to various types of places and properties with multiple layers of significance. The Burra Charter’s approach to management acknowledges the context affecting a place from different angles, which is particularly relevant to the preservation of cultural landscapes: “Policy development should also include consideration of other factors affecting the future of a *place* such as the owner’s needs, resources, external constraints and its physical condition.”³⁴

³¹ “Nara Document on Authenticity.” WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.008. UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/nara94.htm>, Article 11.

³² Ibid, Article 5.

³³ “The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 2013.” Australia ICOMOS Incorporated. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf>, Article 3.1

³⁴ Ibid, Article 6.3

In sum, the incorporation of new categories of World Heritage Sites as a means for greater geographic representation in enlisted properties, the revision and reinterpretation of preservation terminology and concepts for the sake of greater authenticity and respect for cultural diversity, and the attention given to living heritage attest to an on-going dialogue and a commitment on how to best protect the outstanding heritage of the world. In 1995, the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras became the first continuing cultural landscape to meet World Heritage criteria. The policies outlined above paved the way for the recognition of traditional land uses and their associated cultural manifestations as properties with Outstanding Universal Value. With the designation of the Rice Terraces, the challenge to preserve agricultural landscapes begins.

2.1.4 Cultural Landscapes as Vulnerable Natural Areas

Equally important to the appreciation for cultural diversity outlined above is the realization of rapid natural habitat loss around the world. No rural landscape can be said to thrive if natural areas, resource quality, and biodiversity are constantly diminishing. The loss of culture is usually accompanied by the loss of nature in non-urban areas. Continuing landscapes where human evolution is, by definition, an on-going organic process in relation to its environment are particularly vulnerable to urbanization and changes in land use. By protecting large swaths of territory, World Heritage designations can ideally curb the impact of change on traditional life forms. The environmental concerns expressed in the Rio Declaration have a social counterpart in the Nara Document of Authenticity, which describes the world in its preamble as “increasingly subject to the forces of globalization and homogenization.”³⁵

³⁵ “Nara Document on Authenticity.” Article 4.

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) works in tandem with the WHC on assessing and monitoring natural heritage for properties that overlap in significance. The IUCN category V of protected areas refers to landscapes or seascapes, and is similar to the WHC's designation of cultural landscapes:

A protected area where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values.³⁶

While the IUCN's focus is on nature preservation, category V differs from their other categories of protected areas by emphasizing the interaction between people and nature over time, and the need to protect this interaction as a means to sustaining the nature of the area. In this way, the safeguarding of a landscape or seascape's nature is intrinsically tied to the activities of its inhabitants. The IUCN acknowledges the social dimension to conserving these landscapes and sets out as its primary objective for this category to protect and sustain "through traditional management practices."³⁷

The interest and attention on protecting and managing cultural landscapes has led to the launching of the World Rural Landscapes initiative by the International Scientific Committee on Cultural Landscape (ISCCL), a partnership between ICOMOS and the International Federation of Landscape Architects (IFLA). The Rural Landscapes Initiative seeks to "promote worldwide cooperation in the protection, understanding and management of rural landscapes."³⁸ ICOMOS-IFLA (ISCCL) initiatives for safeguarding and managing cultural landscapes feed into the policies of the WHC, IUCN, and other international organizations. What is worth noting is the current

³⁶ "Protected Areas Category V." IUCN 2012. Web. 3 January 2015.
https://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/gpap_home/gpap_quality/gpap_pacategories/gpap_category5/

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ "The ICOMOS/IFLA International Scientific Committee on Cultural Landscape (ISCCL)." World Rural Landscapes. Web. 20 November 2014. <http://www.worldrurallandscapes.org/english/about-us/>

focus on the rural quality of landscapes as “threatened by huge changes due to pressures of development and increased urban population, resulting in the abandonment of the land, intensive agricultural practices and the loss of traditional and local knowledge.”³⁹ The document on Rural Landscapes from 2013 reveals the need for collaboration across disciplines and sectors for initiatives to be effective, and sets out the definition of terminology, principles, and operational guidelines as its primary objectives.⁴⁰ Though these ideas are clearly articulated in policy, they have yet to be incorporated into the strategic management of the Coffee Cultural Landscape.

The Rural Landscape initiative follows in line with the Florence Declaration on Landscape from 2012, which called upon UN programs, conventions, agencies, programs and NGOs to collaborate in the safeguarding of landscapes after expressing deep concern over their degradation worldwide, citing “industrialization, rapid urbanization, intensification of agricultural processes and other threats and risks cause by global change.”⁴¹ The Florence Declaration, the ISCCL initiative, and the IUCN confirm the commitment to collaborative efforts from various fronts to effectively protect and manage landscapes. At the same time, they reveal the long path ahead for the realization of this goal.

2.1.5 The Inscription of the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (CCLC)

Enlisting a property as a World Heritage Site usually entails several years of preparing a nomination, where the result is an agreement between multiple stakeholders. Behind the

³⁹ “World Rural Landscapes: A Worldwide Initiative for Global Conservation and Management of Rural Landscapes.” International Scientific Committee on Cultural Landscapes ICOMOS/IFLA (ISCCL) Coordinator: Lionella Scazzosi, October 2013, 3. Web. 20 November 2014. <http://www.worldrurallandscapes.org/english/about-the-initiative/>

⁴⁰ Ibid., 3-6.

⁴¹ “Florence Declaration on Landscape, 2012.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. whc.unesco.org/document/123336

inscription of the CCLC are environmental, political, and economic interests. The nomination of the Coffee Landscape began as an initiative by academics and environmentalists concerned with the preservation of the built patrimony and the effects of large-scale mining contracts in the region. After decades of global isolation and internal divisions caused by drug-related violence, Colombia entered a phase of stability and recovery in the early 2000s that augments by the year. By that time, Colombian coffee already enjoyed a privileged status as a premium product in the world market and as a profit generating resource for its population. The Coffee Cultural Landscape designation is a mechanism for Colombia to rebrand itself nationally and internationally as a welcoming destination with rich cultural and natural heritage. The stunning geography of lofty forests on the steep mountain slopes of the Cordillera de los Andes, combined with colorful provincial towns with a lively outdoor culture and temperate climate, make of the CCLC an attractive destination for nationals and foreigners alike.



Figure 4- Inscribed Municipalities and Departments of the Coffee Cultural Landscape

El Eje Cafetero, or Coffee Axis, is a region associated with economic prosperity. It is a large geographical area including the states of Caldas, Quindio, and Risaralda. The UNESCO designated properties include the most representative areas of the heritage arising from coffee production in these three states and the Valle del Cauca (Figure 4). Because its coffee beans have primarily been traded abroad, the region enjoyed greater stability than other regions in the county during the economic and political turbulence during the second half of the 20th century; nonetheless, small-plot farmers, without the means to invest in new methods, became increasingly impoverished as coffee production shifted towards intensive, highly productive

techniques.⁴² The primacy Colombian coffee enjoyed in previous decades is jeopardized by increased coffee production around the world. Colombian coffee is still considered one of the best in the world, but output from countries with lower production costs have brought down world prices significantly, and several other high-quality coffee producers have entered the market.⁴³

In the UNESCO designation, the prosperity of the CCLC is attributed to the hard work and resilience of self-made farmers who transformed the landscape by making it productive. Colombia's National Coffee Federation, la Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia (FNC), has played a pivotal role as the main coffee buyer and service provider for the region. Colombian Coffee, as traded on the stock market, is a brand owned by the Coffee Federation. The Federation sets a standard purchasing price for coffee that does not differentiate between qualities of bean or kind of production, an unfavorable policy for traditional farmers who contribute to the environment and cultural identity through sustainable practices.

The area designated as the CCLC involves various histories, actors, and trends influencing its shape, condition, and future. How these different influences and stakeholders can come together to create a robust culture with a productive landscape that preserves and gives continuity to the site's heritage values is a task that management plans need to consider and address. In order to do so, it is worth reviewing literature and examples that illustrate the different values attributed to cultural landscapes, and how these are negotiated by different stakeholders and preservation professionals with sustainability as their goal.

⁴² Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 230-231.

⁴³ See, for example, Catherine M. Tucker. *Changing Forests: Collective Action, Common Property, and Coffee in Honduras*. Heidelberg: Springer, 2008. p. 163-165



Figure 5- The Coffee Cultural Landscape and Colombia's Largest Cities

The Coffee Axis enjoys a strategic location in the middle of Colombia's three largest cities (Figure 5), and rich natural resources. However, without a conscious and strategic move towards preserving natural and cultural resources beyond their charismatic and promotional value, the World Heritage status can backfire if the concept of safeguarding patrimony is not backed up by prudent interventions.

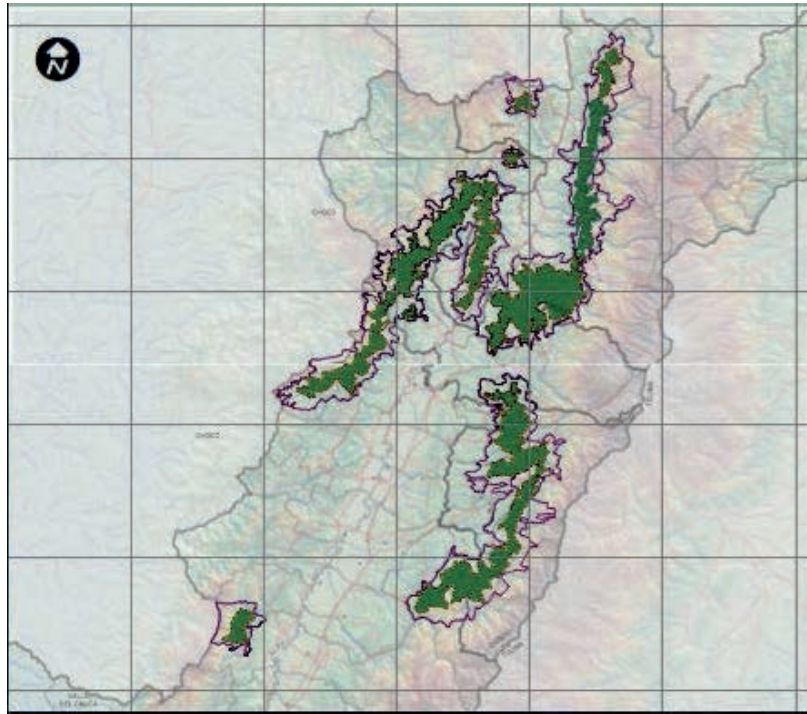


Figure 6- Map Showing the Properties Enlisted in the World Heritage Nomination

The Cultural Landscape designation is an opportunity to establish a comprehensive management plan to protect the region's cultural and natural values. Because it is a vast and varied non-contiguous site (Figure 6), a clear vision is needed of what that landscape means and what it should be in the future. Enlisting the CCLC as World Heritage has the potential to serve as catalyst for putting into action goals for sustainable livelihood.

2.2 The Multiple Qualities of a Cultural Landscape

Cultural landscapes, as all World Heritage Sites, involve local, national, and international spheres, but because of their size and scope, involve a multiplicity of meanings and possibilities.⁴⁴ They represent a celebration of outstanding value deemed important for all of

⁴⁴ On meanings of landscape, see Denis E. Cosgrove. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble Books, 1984), 13-33. Yi-fu Tuan. *Topophilia: a Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 3, 56, 133. Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild

humanity, yet are tied to a specific location. With landscapes we are confronted with spaces that are physical and conceptual, personal and collective, historic and contemporary, sensory and imaginary. Their definition varies across disciplines and depending on the perspective referred to, but all landscapes have specific attributes, qualities, and forms that can, to a certain degree, be read, understood, interpreted, and shared. In essence, a landscape is a space where different activities unfold, and where its component parts are understood in relation to each other. It involves a surface, an environment, and a human presence that give subsistence to its constant motion.

The word culture is an equally multivalent term, which combined with landscape gives a sense of collective making and ownership of a place.⁴⁵ An organically evolved cultural landscape traces that relationship through people's shaping of their physical environment over time and how that process, in turn, has shaped the way communities organize their world- their activities, rhythms, and constructions. In this way, a cultural landscape is a dynamic system where all parts are connected to each other. It has a logic based on continuity of function and the degree to which human needs can be satisfied.

2.2.1 Meanings of Cultural Landscape

The meaning of the term landscape is ambiguous and flexible. The etymology of the word is a combination of the "land" and "shape". It emerged as a description used for 16th century Dutch painters' depictions of scenic natural areas. Naturalistic representations of a territory and its people, whether in painting, mapping, photography, literature or other media,

Ruggles. "Landscape and Vision." in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, ed. Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2007), 12-17.

⁴⁵ On perceptions of space and place, see Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Palce: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1977). Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berekeley: University of California Press, 1984).

are cultural productions that involve a viewer and an audience but do not necessarily include the subject of representation in its production or appreciation. While the word landscape can imply a 2-dimensional or static capturing of a place, the geographical meaning ascribed to the term refers to a 3-dimensional inclusive perspective, where the position of the observer is surpassed by tools or the imagination that capture physical and anthropogenic details beyond sensory perception. And the 4th dimension of time, as expressed by constant movement and change, instinctual and voluntary, in rhythms that shape a landscape and give it a distinct character. Cultural landscape preservation reconciles these three approaches with its own proposition: a defined perspective is not effaced nor privileged but multiplied through involving various stakeholders and interpretations. Aesthetic appeal and scientific data, as important but not exclusive drivers behind the protection of a landscape, are weighed in and incorporated along with the imprints, change, and threats that only the passage of time reveals.

In *The Morphology of Landscape*, Carl Sauer presents an eloquent and systematic approach to the study of landscapes with clear terminology to differentiate between kinds of geographic inquiries. He provides a foundation for the study of geography by stressing the interdependence of phenomena that make up an area as constituting the reality of a landscape. He ascribes to the geographer the task of discovering the connection and order of these phenomena to grasp the meaning of “the varied terrestrial scene.”⁴⁶ A landscape is not a scene but a composite of several individual scenes where their interdependent forms determine function and structure.⁴⁷ Sauer underlines that a range of data contributes to studying a landscape, data that does not stand on its own but becomes coherent in association with other

⁴⁶ Carl Ortwin Sauer, “The Morphology of Landscape,” in *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writing of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, ed. John Leighly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 318 and 320.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 321-322

data found in an area.⁴⁸ Viewed at a larger scale, a landscape has its own identity and a position within a larger system.⁴⁹

Sauer defines a cultural landscape as fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group where “culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, and the cultural landscape the result,”⁵⁰ a widely cited and accepted definition within the preservation literature. A cultural landscape is hence the product of an organic relation where land and life are interdependent.⁵¹ Sauer sees culture as a geographic impress on a physical area, and humans as using, ignoring or exploiting the available natural resources, though without the power to add to them.⁵² This last point does not necessarily contradict the idea of ecological restoration, only that Sauer might have considered interventions for natural resource recovery as a cultural work rather than part of the natural landscape.

As a concept that embraces a combination of material and abstract features, a landscape cannot be easily defined. Nonetheless, its meaning as a setting with its own internal logic and character is a useful and graspable concept, as evidenced by its common usage. On the proliferation of words deriving from landscape, such as cityscape or political landscape, J. B. Jackson re the need for terms to indicate settings that give vividness to thoughts, events, or relationships as shared concrete realities.⁵³ Landscapes to Jackson are synthetic spaces of human layers superimposed on the natural features of an environment that function and evolve

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 321.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 343

⁵¹ Ibid., 322.

⁵² Ibid., 326.

⁵³ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “The Word Itself,” in *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America*, ed. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 301-302.

according to collective needs.⁵⁴ In this sense, his definition of landscape is akin to what we call cultural landscapes.

Emphasizing relationships within a landscape became a necessary shift for studying landscapes as living social systems rather than detached objects. In the introduction to *Landscapes and Power*, W. J. T. Mitchell asks readers to think of landscape “not as an object to be seen or a text to be read, but as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed.”⁵⁵ For Mitchell, a landscape is an instrument of cultural power and a media of representation where processes between humans and their environment and amongst each other are naturalized.⁵⁶ Mitchell’s quote above touches upon three different levels of engagement in a landscape: as an outsider, where a landscape is perceived as an object—something to view, move across, own, or control; as a traveler or researcher, where a landscape is read, its meanings deciphered, and qualities explored; and as an insider, where the landscape is a home, a primary reference point that gives meaning to reality, and a source of identity. These synchronic levels of perception are important when managing and planning for change in designated cultural landscapes that attract various kinds of people.

To the dialectic between internal and external experiencing of a landscape and the natural and social processes it shapes, we can add the relationship between outsiders and insiders as a mutual influence and sensory experiencing of landscapes beyond the visual.

In *Negotiating Landscape and Rural Tourism*, Karoline Doughstad elaborates on how tourists in rural areas in Norway and host communities adapt to each other’s needs and interests. The power dynamic between clients and service providers is transformed by tourists partaking in the

⁵⁴ Ibid., 305.

⁵⁵ W. J. T. Mitchell, “Introduction”, in *Landscape and Power*, ed. by W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994) 1.

⁵⁶ Ibid 1-2.

activities of a working farm, and farmers having a stronger voice as stewards of a mutually valued landscape.⁵⁷ The multi-sensory experience of a landscape has replaced the static visual frame the term originally denoted. Combined with its multi-disciplinary nature, a landscape approach is especially fitting to address the complexities and interrelations affecting the different layers that make up heritage.

2.2.2 Use of Landscape in Heritage Preservation

If cultural landscapes are understood as human layers over the natural surface of the Earth, practically all spaces in the world could fall into this category. What sets certain cultural landscapes apart is the legibility and information extracted from the layers of human presence in their particular setting. Designated cultural landscapes stand out as exemplary physical records of a chronology of human activities. Culture can be thought of as the record of time marking and modifying a physical space. Preserving evolutionary heritage is, therefore, an exercise of reading, interpreting and protecting traces of time on the landscape as well as the setting that allows traditions to continue.

Several inscribed World Heritage Sites could classify as cultural landscapes, even if they were inscribed under different categories. Historic cities, for instance, are usually dependent on the geographic setting that sustains their prosperity over time. The city of Damascus, the longest continuously inhabited urban center in the world, has historically subsisted from the Ghouta- its adjacent orchards. In some contexts, the term cultural landscape may come off as a tautology; in others, it may require additional explanation if a translation for the word does not exist, as is

⁵⁷ Karoline Doughstad, "Negotiating Landscape and Rural Tourism," in *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol. 35, No. 2 (2008): 409-413.

the case with Chinese.⁵⁸ In 2002, the WHC held a workshop for cultural landscape planning and management in Ferrara. Two of the directions from that workshop included reassessing already inscribed sites for potential re-nomination of cultural landscapes if appropriate, and extending the concept of cultural landscapes from a rural focus to include cityscapes, seascapes and industrial landscapes.⁵⁹

Several countries have their own designations for nationally registered cultural landscapes, usually combining resource conservation with tourism, with an interest in protecting unique characteristics, histories, and processes. A seminal work for valorizing the multiple landscapes within a country is William George Hoskins *The Making of the English Landscape*, where the author describes physical sights along with interpretations of history and feelings that places inspire.⁶⁰ Regional initiatives, such as the Kent Wildlife Trust, manage some of the country's living landscapes.⁶¹ Under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service in the United States, a range of cultural landscapes are managed and preserved; Their *Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports* facilitates the registration and monitoring of cultural landscapes.⁶² The Tourism Secretariat in Mexico has developed the category of "Pueblos Mágicos" (Magical Towns) to promote the culture and history of some of Mexico's most picturesque towns to national and international tourism.⁶³

⁵⁸ Jane L. Lennon, "Cultural Landscape Management: International Issues," in *Managing Cultural Landscapes*, ed. Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon (New York: Routledge, 2012) 51.

⁵⁹ "Cultural Landscapes: The Challenges of Conservation, Ferrara, 2002." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015.

<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/websites/venice2002/workshops/pdf/ferrara.pdf>

⁶⁰ William George Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977).

⁶¹ "Living Landscapes." Kent Wildlife Trust. Web. 3 January 2015.

<http://www.kentwildlifetrust.org.uk/what-we-do/living-landscapes>

⁶² Robert R. Page, Cathy A. Gilbert, Susan A. Dolan. "A *Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques*." National Park Service. Web. 20 November 2014.

http://www.nps.gov/cultural_landscapes/Documents/Guide_to_Cultural_Landscapes.pdf

⁶³ "Pueblos Mágicos de México." Pueblosmexico.com.mx. Web. 20 November 2014.

http://www.pueblosmexico.com.mx/pueblos_magicos_mexico.php

A recent approach to managing heritage, adopted by UNESCO in 2011, is the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL), designed to address the preservation of historic cities within an increasingly urban setting. Its approach and strategies demonstrate an increasing tendency towards managing heritage from a landscape scale and perspective. As urbanization is one of the main threats to rural landscapes, the HUL recommendations are also applicable to agricultural settings. The HUL approach aims to support development and adaptation while retaining values connected to history, collective memory, and the environment.⁶⁴ As with cultural landscapes, HUL considers living heritage, cultural diversity, socio-economic dynamics, and environmental sustainability as necessary components to heritage management.⁶⁵ It also contextualizes heritage within the spectrum of layers contributing to the meaning and functioning of a place. In *The Historic Urban Landscape*, Bandarin and van Oers's provide a toolkit for managing urban environments that includes regulations, technical and financial tools, and community engagement.⁶⁶

2.2.3 The Multi-Valent Quality of Cultural Landscape Designations

Heritage sites are increasingly understood as possessing a combination of qualities that give them a particular character and significance beyond their physical fabric. Downtown revitalization projects are no longer focused on historic buildings alone, but pay attention to how a place is experienced, with categories such as walkability, light quality, and mixed-income housing valued as contributing assets to the economy of a place.

⁶⁴ "Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, Including a Glossary of Definitions, s2011." Paragraph 15. Web. 20 November 2014. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=48857&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

⁶⁵ Francesco Bandarin and Ron van Oers. *The Historic Urban Landscape* (Ames, Iowa: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012) 68-69.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 143-174.

Managing a place at a cultural landscape scale allows for a plurality of stakeholders to participate, have a say, negotiate, and be informed about decisions pertaining to their surroundings. A values-based approach to historic preservation is a way of increasing stewardship through involvement and dialogue that touches upon various, and at times conflicting, values.⁶⁷ The appropriation and claim over heritage resources by different sectors of the population calls for a more integral approach to assessing interventions and resolving disputes in favor of a collective good. Heritage professionals and organizations must act as ethical and fair arbiters providing direction to strengthening the heritage values of a place based on clear and communicable information. A cultural landscape approach is also an inclusive way of incorporating tangible, intangible, spatial, and abstract values into one strategy. Ordinary practices not usually accounted for in a site's preservation such as language, gesture, movement, and routines can be linked to specific locations to reveal an evolution of culture in a landscape.

Showcasing culture and tradition can be an important source of pride and revenue for communities and countries alike. Local and national interests in promoting heritage, however, do not always align. The rural countryside, especially when productive and picturesque, is often used a symbol of autochthonous livelihood and the genius loci supporting the construction of a national identity. This was especially true of European countries seeking a distinct separation from their neighbors. When local farming or fishing populations become representative of a national character they are, to a certain degree, expected to uphold and maintaining that

⁶⁷ See Mason, "Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices," 5-30, and Randall Mason, "Be Interested and Beware: Joining Economic Valuation and Heritage Conservation". *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14:4 (2008): 303-318.

heritage. Whether the association with a national character is a benefit or detriment to a community depends primarily on how it affects people's lives. When heritage is tied to a national project, it runs the risk of fixing an image of a place and giving precedence to economic growth over community needs. In the case of Colombia, decades of negative associations with cocaine, violence, and sex tourism have isolated and tarnished the reputation of the country. Rebranding the country as an exciting destination with rich biodiversity and heritage is at the heart of the Coffee Cultural Landscape's promotion nationally and internationally.

Framing heritage significance under nationalist rhetoric can also be a strategy for preserving sites whose historic value is otherwise threatened. Tiina Peil, in *Estonian Heritage Connections- People, Past and Place: The Pakri Peninsula*, explores the use of Estonia's rural heritage in the service of political projects. Under the homogenizing force of the Soviet Union, where cultural diversity and regional identity were seen to challenge communist ideals, creating a link to Soviet history permitted the survival of Estonian folk traditions.⁶⁸ An Estonian farm could be preserved as a site of a meeting of the Estonian Communist Party through a process that lends greater value to interpretation and mental constructs than material culture.⁶⁹ But all interventions have their effects, and Peil points out that the process resulted in further separation between objects and subjects from their environment: monuments could be preserved out of context, and natural areas as off-limit reserves.⁷⁰ In post-Soviet Estonia, Eastern heritage is minimized in favor of a more distant and Western European connected past, once again realigning with the political direction of the country.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Tiina Peil, "Estonian Heritage Connections- People, Past and Place: The Pakri Peninsula," in *The Nature of Cultural Heritage, and the Culture of Natural Heritage- Northern Perspectives on a Contested Patrimony*, ed. by Kenneth R. Olwig and David Lowenthal (New York: Routledge, 2006), 54.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 55.

As Colombia continues to open up to the world and attract investment and visitors, framing the value of agricultural heritage in economic, social, and environmental terms will be decisive for advocating for its protection. Articulating the values embodied in the cultivated areas of the CCLC through clear terminology and with supporting data will be essential for this task. A framework for studying, monitoring and measuring value and change are presented in the third chapter. In order to understand the heritage of a place, it is necessary to look back at its historical development to inform how coffee culture was forged in the southwestern Andean mountains of Colombia.



Figure 7- Coffee Farms on the Outskirts of Manizales

3 The Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia

3.1 A Historical Overview of Coffee Cultivation and Commercialization in Colombia

The history of Colombia is intrinsically tied to the cultivation of coffee. The Andean Mountains crossing Colombia's territory have ideal conditions for the cultivation of this tropical tree: soft, rich volcanic soils with two rainy seasons, abundant water resources and sunshine, insects that control pests, plant varieties to provide shade and soil cover, and the range of altitude (between 3600-6300 feet) required for its growth (Figure 8). Colombia is today the third largest producer of coffee in the world, after Brazil and Vietnam, and has been one of the top exporters for over a century.⁷² Coffee is Colombia's 5th largest export (after crude petroleum,

⁷² "Exporting Countries: Total Production," International Coffee Organization. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://www.ico.org/prices/po.htm>

coal, refined petroleum, and gold) and accounts for 3.3% of its total exports.⁷³ The arabica coffee varieties grown in Colombia, referred to as Colombian milds, are considered some of the best in the world due to their smooth and rich flavors. Because of its high quality yield, coffee has remained Colombia's primary agricultural activity for over a century.⁷⁴

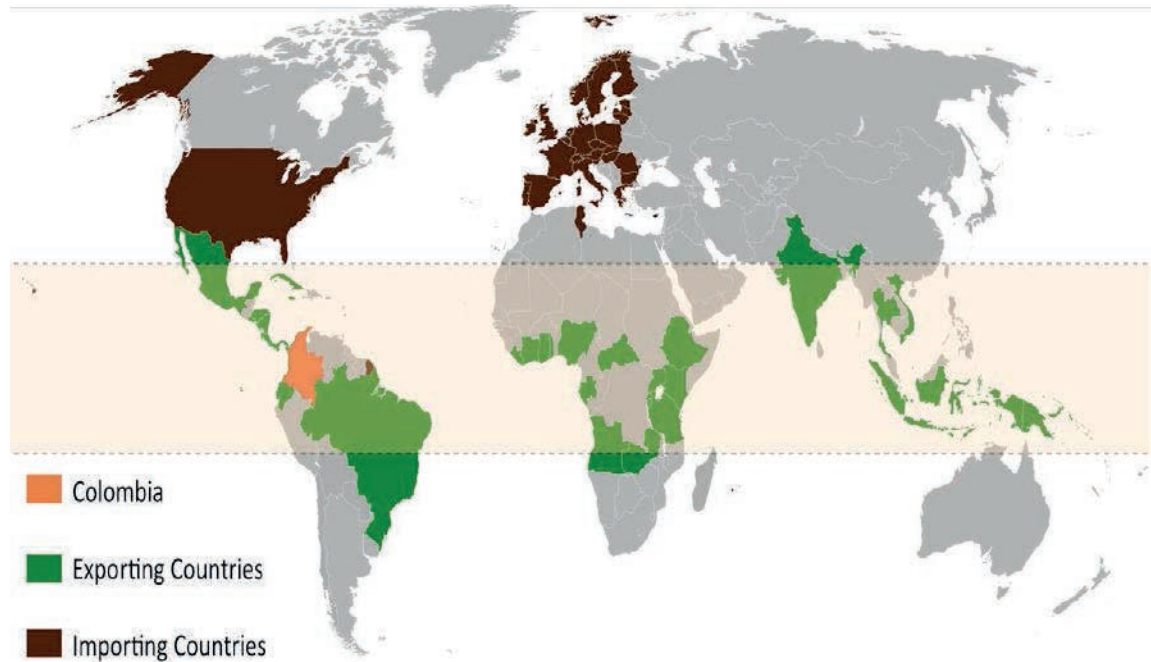


Figure 8- Map of Members of the International Coffee Organization

Coffee cultivation in Colombia began in the mid 19th century. Its success on steep slopes otherwise impractical for food crops and cattle precipitated a vast expansion into unsettled mountainous territories in the central Andean highlands. A boom in world coffee trade starting in the 1830s radically transformed the landscape and societies of this region of Colombia and several other places in Latin America. Tropical forests were rapidly replaced with coffee

⁷³ "Country Profiles: Colombia." Observatory of Economic Complexity by Alexander Simoes. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://atlas.media.mit.edu/profile/country/col/>

⁷⁴ Ximena Rueda and Eric F. Lambin, "Linking Globalization to Local Land Uses: How Eco-Consumers and Gourmands are Changing the Colombian Coffee Landscapes," In *World Development* 41 (2013): 287, 292.

cultivation, farms, and settlements where new identities were eventually forged.⁷⁵ With the exception of treasure hunters in search of pre-Hispanic gold from the Quimbaya civilization or wild rubber, few people inhabited the areas included in the CCLC WHS designation at the time that the Antioquian Colonization began.⁷⁶



Figure 9- Friends Enjoying Coffee in Circasia

⁷⁵ William Roseberry, "Introduction," in *Coffee, Society and Power in Latin America*. Ed. by William Roseberry, Lowell Gudmundson, and Mario Samper Kutschbach (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) 3.

⁷⁶ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 161.

3.1.1 The Antioquian Colonization

Antioquia is a state in the central western part of Colombia. Its capital city, Medellín, became an economic center and the country's second city by the middle of the 19th century, concentrating goods that were shipped abroad through its Caribbean port and through the more traditional Río Magdalena route. An economy of extraction funded by foreign investors and administered by local elites paved the way for the region's development. Gold was the primary export until coffee surpassed it in the 1890s.⁷⁷ Coffee was to become the quintessential crop as it traded in foreign currency and was destined exclusively for markets in Europe and the United States. As one of the main sources of foreign reserves, coffee became a key driver behind the country's modernization.

The Colombian coffee venture, known as the Antioquian Colonization, is portrayed as a success story of peasants transforming unsettled land into bountiful farms through their dedicated labor and courageous spirit. Its frontier conquering fervor is reminiscent of the Manifest Destiny western expansion in the United States or the Israeli state's foundation myth of inhabiting a land without people, stories where the natural backdrop is presented as a blank slate awaiting the newcomer's arrival. The Antioquian Colonization was not accompanied by the violent removal of native populations as these were virtually annihilated by Spanish colonizers, and differs from the exploitative feudal project that turned Brazil into the world's largest coffee producer. It did, however, radically transform the natural landscape and create a new economic project with its own culture developing around it. The success of Colombian coffee production as a triumphant bottom up establishment echoed in the CCLC's World Heritage nomination is an idealized reading of the past.

Different historians, primarily Marco Palacios in *Coffee in Colombia, 1850-1970*, have

⁷⁷ Ibid., 12.

refuted the veracity of the Antioquian Colonization as headed by self-made small-scale farmers.⁷⁸ Urban elites from Medellín funded expeditions into southern territories as lucrative commercial enterprises where frontier settlements and large plantations were established as launching points for further expansion. Medellín businessmen and their foreign trading partners provided credit and supplies to colonizers, along with political and legal support to ensure control of their property.⁷⁹ People of different social classes and regions joined the expansion in search of work opportunities as the colonizers had capital to invest and hire laborers. Most people at the time lived in impoverished conditions in densely populated areas trying to earn a living working in plantations or mining.

For the most part, colonizers for claimed the newly conquered lands for plantations, though sometimes allocated small land holdings to workers in exchange for labor.⁸⁰ Settlers acquired land titles through legal concessions of public lands, special concessions given to colonizers, transfers of title of land owned by commercial companies, and by extra-legal occupation, as was likely the case of poor colonists.⁸¹

Along with colonizers and farmers came a group of administrators and people with enough funds to work commercially and independently. Merchants settled the different towns dotting the landscape, and acted as intermediaries linking internal agriculture with external markets. While the colonizers and plantation owners responded to their creditors in Medellín, small farmers likewise depended on urban middlemen as a market for their crops, for processing

⁷⁸ William Rosenberg, for example, warns against treating small holders as the basis of a rural democracy. See Rosenberg, 20. Several scholars critique the populist image of the Colombian coffee industry. See Robert H. Bates. *The Political Economy of the World Coffee Trade* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997) 79. The Antioquian Colonization is the topic of James J. Parsons detailed description of the changing geography of the region brought from the coffee bonanza. See James J. Parson. *Antioqueño Colonization in Western Colombia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).

⁷⁹ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 162.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 98. Margarita Jiménez and Sandro Sideri. *Historia del Desarrollo Regional en Colombia*. Bogotá: CIDER : Fondo Editorial CEREC, 1985) 126.

⁸¹ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 165.

services, and for funds given on credit.⁸²

Palacios traces three waves of expansion: the first one, from 1780 to 1810, was financed by the Medellin elite; the second one, from 1835 to 1850, was headed by the emerging settler elite from the first wave of colonizers, after they had accumulated capital and land and power; in the third wave from 1875 to 1910, the settler elite, in conflict with commercial concessions backed by Medellin companies, attempted to colonize the Quindio.⁸³

It is only in this last wave of colonization that we begin to see the emergence of the family-unit independent farm characterized in the CCLC designation. By then, several different kinds of people from different regions were colonizing land through various means, suggesting a weakening of the commercial elites, a more heterogeneous society, and a more democratic colonization. Many peasants in the Quindio were not recorded, meaning they did not have land titles. Years later, during the violent uprisings of the 1930s, people in the Quindio confiscated the land of absentee owners.⁸⁴

To cultivate coffee, initial capital is needed to prepare the land and wait at least five years for a tree's first harvest. Upon arriving to new territories, farmers first cleared the forests by burning and then grew food crops to provide for themselves and prepare the land. Sugarcane, maize, plantains, kidney beans and yucca were planted, as well as grasses once livestock was introduced.⁸⁵ After harvesting food crops, seedling coffee trees were planted alongside shade trees where the food crops had been. The shade trees eventually formed a secondary forest producing the "coffee-tree microclimate", where the shade canopy maintained

⁸² Rosenberry, 17, 20.

⁸³ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 162.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 85-86, 164.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 12, 92.

even levels of humidity and temperature, and protected the coffee plant and top soil.⁸⁶ Arabica coffee grows at temperatures between 62 and 77 degrees Fahrenheit, but does best at a constant temperature of about 68 degrees,⁸⁷ so the addition of a shade canopy ensures the most favorable conditions. After three or four years, large plantations would dedicate areas exclusively to coffee, whereas small producers continued planting food crops alongside coffee trees. If a plantation was remote, grazing land to sustain a large mule herd was also necessary.⁸⁸

Cultivating, harvesting and processing coffee involve several laborious steps. Coffee trees produce two crops per year and tend to have a two-year rhythm where strong crops are followed by weaker ones. Annual weeding and pruning are carried out with hoes and machetes. Mules are essential for moving goods along the steep incline of the Andean slopes. Harvesting and processing coffee takes place during the rainy seasons and must be carried out in a short period of time,⁸⁹ where the fruit, or “cherries” given their red color, are hand picked and accumulated for processing. Because production is labor intensive, entire families were involved in the endeavor, though the family unit was not necessarily a self-enclosed unit of production.

The two seeds inside the ripe cherry are processed either by drying the fruit in the sun and threshing it afterwards, or with a depulping machine that crushes the cherries and separates the fruit from the heavier seeds.⁹⁰ Colombian coffee is processed using the latter method as it produces a better flavor and because threshing requires expensive machinery.⁹¹ After depulping, the seeds are soaked overnight in water to ferment and so the thin mucilaginous coating of the seed can be washed off the next day, then the seeds are

⁸⁶ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 92.

⁸⁷ John M. Talbot, *Grounds for Agreement: The Political Economy of the Coffee Commodity Chain* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004) 31.

⁸⁸ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 93, 95.

⁸⁹ Rosenberry, 17.

⁹⁰ Talbot, 33.

⁹¹ Talbot, 34.

immediately dried in the sun or in dryers.⁹² Coffee at this stage of production is called parchment coffee and is what small farmers sold to middlemen.

The parchment is removed to produce green coffee beans, which is the preferable state for export as beans are much lighter than parchment coffee. Parchment coffee and green coffee beans can be stored for years under proper conditions without losing their quality.⁹³ Because of the processing involved, colonizers set up their plantations where water was readily available, and within access to wood from high forests (at altitudes of about 6000 feet) for drying the beans.⁹⁴ A small farmer would need to contract the use of processing services from a larger farm to produce parchment as coffee cherries have to be depulped within twenty-four hours of picking.⁹⁵

The economy of the small producer changed dramatically with the introduction of regionally made hand-cranked depulping machines in the 1860s. Instead of taking the coffee to a plantation for this procedure, farmers could depulp their own goods using an affordable device. The simple depulping machines did not produce a high quality coffee and wasted many beans; however, farmers could sell their processed crop directly to small-town middlemen instead of contracting this services from coffee companies.⁹⁶ In the production of a marketable product without the need of third parties, we begin to discern the appearance of the independent and self-sufficient farmer of the CCLC.

Palacios states that the agricultural machinery produced by foundries in Caldas for 'the simple classes' was decisive in consolidating the family unit of coffee production.⁹⁷ In 1915,

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Talbot, 33.

⁹⁴ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 93.

⁹⁵ Talbot, 33.

⁹⁶ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 152.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

there were 0.70 depulpers per finca and by 1922, 0.97.⁹⁸ Simple gas powered depulpers became available in later years. In Osorio Lizarazo's novel *La Cosecha* (The Harvest), there is a passage where two women are cleaning cherries after the harvest using a depulper that barely works after years of use:

That machine was the last residue of Rafael's wellbeing. He'd bought it with the product of his first harvest year back. There was none like it in the vicinity and the right to its use had been sold along with the last remains of his farm.⁹⁹

Trade was a fiercely contested domain inaccessible to small-scale buyers and producers. In the early 1900s, Antioquian firms fought for control of the coffee trade through subterfuge and buying out competitors. For farmers, it meant that coffee companies fixed the purchasing price in the municipal markets, administered the threshing plants, rented the bags for transporting coffee, and manipulated the rates of the mule freight.¹⁰⁰ By the 1920s, roasters and wholesale distributors became increasingly concentrated in a few commercial houses that exported predominately to the United States. The United States had become the largest market for Colombian coffee by 1903, and by 1915 it received 91% of its production.¹⁰¹

As a high value commodity, the movement of coffee was accompanied with infrastructure developed for commercial expediency. Coffee was transported to Antioquia's ports in the Caribbean close to the Panama Canal, from where shipments could move towards both oceans. In the 1920s, the Pacific railway linked Quindio and Caldas to the port of Buenaventura on the northern Pacific coast, from where shipments were sent off directly to San Francisco, New Orleans and New York, without having to pass through Antioquia.¹⁰² Large profits and international demand, however, benefited the chain of intermediaries involved in

⁹⁸ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 153.

⁹⁹ J. A. Osorio Lizarazo. *La Cosecha* (Manizales: Arturo Zapata, 1935) 185-186.

¹⁰⁰ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 155-156.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 153, 212.

¹⁰² Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 153.

transportation and commercialization rather than farmers. Consequently, a significant rural middle class with purchasing power did not develop.¹⁰³

It should by now be clear that the Antioquian colonization was far from an egalitarian utopia of prosperity arising from the coffee bonanza. As commercial houses became more powerful, peasants became increasingly exploited as expectations for output rose. As mentioned previously, many small land farmers were dependent on larger estates, worked in exploitative conditions, and had very little production of their own. The authority exerted by plantation owners and managers over workers infiltrated into their private life, especially through sexual abuse of peasant women.¹⁰⁴

By the 1920s, the coffee regions were populated by a heterogeneous society from different geographical provenances, social classes, and cultural backgrounds creating new meanings to their world and adopting different roles in the work force.¹⁰⁵ In the late 1920s and 1930s, central Colombia's rural poor formed leagues and unions that fought for reduced labor obligations, higher recompense, and property ownership.¹⁰⁶ During this period, the Colombian Coffee Federation was established to represent the interest of small producers. This organization, discussed in detail below, would eventually dominate coffee production and determine the future of the country.

A sharp ideological clash between conservative Catholics and liberal thinkers, rather than class or labor animosity, would ultimately prove to be the greatest conflict in the region. Societies throughout the country were split down creed-based alliances that were at war against each other. Seizures of agricultural land between opposing sides led to a decade long civil war

¹⁰³ Ibid., 196-7.

¹⁰⁴ Jimenez and Sideri, 124.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 123-124.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 126, 131.

from 1948-1958 known as “La Violencia.” One result of La Violencia, especially in Quindio, was a forced redistribution of property, where new entrepreneurs consolidated large holdings after stripping many small farmers of their land, destining them to become day laborers.¹⁰⁷

3.1.2 The National Coffee Federation of Colombia

Colombian coffee’s commercialization as a differentiated product and brand in the world market is the direct result of the National Coffee Federation of Colombia’s (FNC) negotiating and administering external trade and internal production as a unified and unique commodity. The Federation was originally established in 1927 to represent small producers vis-à-vis the powerful commercial firms. It began as a guild-like independent organization, but over the decades grew to control and regulate the entire coffee sector in Colombia, including foreign trade, internal purchasing prices, excess supplies, branding, and production. Although technically an NGO, the Federation acts as a quasi-governmental body providing services as varied as banking and credit, elementary schools, road infrastructure, capacity building, and agricultural supplies to the coffee growing regions. Needless to say, the FNC has paramount leverage in directing coffee policies, and is a key stakeholder in the UNESCO declaration of the Coffee Cultural Landscape.

The FNC’s policies are the main influence directing the course of change in Colombian coffee production. In the 1930s, they set up processing plants in the busiest coffee-trading centers to improve quality.¹⁰⁸ As early as the 1940, the FNC controlled the marketing of Colombian coffee and monopolized exports.¹⁰⁹ In the 1950s, it gained advantage over its

¹⁰⁷ Frank Safford and Marco Palacios. *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 278.

¹⁰⁸ Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 223.

¹⁰⁹ Safford and Palacios, 270.

competitors in the transport, financing and storing of coffee, cutting out some of the intermediary store owners that had traditionally provided these services, while strengthening the power of others.¹¹⁰ In 1963, for instance, the Coffee Federation invested in a central depulping station in Quindio to improve the quality of parchment of local producers.¹¹¹

About the National Coffee Federation in the early 1960s Rowe writes the following:

the Colombian coffee industry today is a government controlled industry, and the Federation is the controlling government department, and not really a federation of coffee farmers in any realistic use of the term... it now virtually controls the whole industry at home and Colombia's general policy as regards the export trade.¹¹²

In spite of its vast power nearing that of a monopoly, the FNC enjoys a respectable reputation as an institution that has secured a high status for Colombian coffee in the world market and has improved the lives of rural farmers. Membership in the Federation is voluntary and non-binding, though farmers must sell at the set price the FNC determines. The Federation claims to represent over half a million coffee growing families (not farmers) throughout the country.¹¹³ Its official rhetoric and marketing paint a picture of small-scale rural production imbued with tradition and pride, an image exemplified by the figure of Juan Valdez as the archetypical personification of the Colombian farmer. The FNC created Juan Valdez and his mule Conchita in the 1960s as a marketing tool connecting product with production. Juan Valdez is presented as the face of Colombian coffee growers,¹¹⁴ and over the decades has become synonymous with coffee farming and a national icon in itself. We must wonder whether the small farmer celebrated in the CCLC is a historical character or a more recent mimesis.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Rowe, J. W. F. *The World's Coffee: A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Coffee Industries of Certain Countries and of the International Problem* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1963) 68.

¹¹² Rowe, 68

¹¹³ "Quiénes Somos". Federación Nacional de Cafeteros 2010-2014. Web. 3 January 2015.

http://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/es/quienes_somos

¹¹⁴ "My history." Juan Valdez. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://www.juanvaldez.com/en/#/gettoknowme/>

The FNC's perception of the small farmer has shifted over the years with regard to how they benefit their commercial interests. According to Safford and Palacios, the coffee census of 1932 revealed the high production from small holders, so the Federation "exalted the small growers of the western coffee belt as a rural democracy, models of tenacity in their capacity to survive the adversities of the world market".¹¹⁵ They attributed small farmers' success to equal land distribution and a diversification of crops. By the mid-1950s, the small farmers' production had dropped and their land been subdivided into unprofitably small plots. The farmer who could invest in technology and effectively increase production to meet world demand became the exemplary model the FNC supported rather than the small unit producers. With the inscription of the coffee cultural landscape, the Federation has returned to a glorified vision of the small farmer, but how that translates into maintaining traditional production is something we need to consider.

In the 1970s, Colombian coffee underwent a "green revolution" where the Federation shifted towards industrialized production and transformed the landscape once again. Industrialization meant a large-scale investment in improved seeds and high yielding varieties of trees along with credit for farmers, machinery and marketing that increased production.¹¹⁶ Structured production improved the condition of workers, especially seasonal peasants, and brought steady income and investment to the countryside, abridging the difference between urban and rural areas.¹¹⁷ It also left many farmers unemployed, resulting in mass migration to cities. But it also was accompanied by environmentally destructive practices such as a massive

¹¹⁵ Safford and Palacios, 278.

¹¹⁶ Talbot, 117.

¹¹⁷ Palacios, *Entre la Legitimidad y La Violencia*, 305-306.

use of fertilizers and pesticides, the removal of shade canopies, the indiscriminate extraction and use of water in cultivation, and the continuous urbanization of fertile lands.¹¹⁸

J. W. F. Rowe's book *The World's Coffee* captures an overview of coffee production before it became industrialized. In the 1960s, 90% of Colombian farmers depulped and cleaned their own crops, and only 10% sold their coffee cherries to neighbors to depulp or paid a commission for preparation. The rustic production using hand depulpers, wooden boxes for washing, and wooden trays for drying produced about 50-60% of good quality parchment, though it was not up to the standards for sale of the Coffee Federation. Farmers with properties larger than 5 hectares tended to have a more sophisticated set-up: built covered structures housed a mechanically driven depulper that discharged into a concrete tank for soaking and washing; the parchment was then spread on large trays with wheels running on rails that could be stacked under a roof to dry.¹¹⁹ Though a more efficient production method, production was still below the FNC's standards.

Production in larger farms had better washing mechanisms and spaces where the parchment was spread out for partial drying and then dried artificially in revolving drums. They produced 70-80% parchment that met the Federation's standards.¹²⁰ Because coffee harvesting in Colombia happens during the rainy seasons, trays where parchment was laid out to dry was moved around in the course of the day to catch sun and protect it from the rain. Houses had open verandas where these were placed. With time, innovative designs with movable roofs were developed for rapidly covering drying trays.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 304, 306.

¹¹⁹ Rowe, 67.

¹²⁰ Ibid.



Figure 10- *Finca* with Slidable Roofs to Cover Coffee Drying in the Courtyard

As expected, coffee cultivation increased with industrialization and the small farmer continued to play an important role in national production. Yet a key policy augmenting Colombia's revenue came from signing of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) in 1962, a decision from coffee exporting countries to satisfy world quotas while regulating world supplies to secure high prices. In the early 1960s, there were about 200, 000 small farmers in Colombia with a relatively low standard of living.¹²¹ In 1970, about 25% of the land in coffee growing areas was dedicated to coffee, and the mean farm size was 15 hectares.¹²² In the late 1970s, there were about 300, 000 coffee farms, two-thirds of which were less than 11 hectares and

¹²¹ Rowe, 77.

¹²² Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*, 227.

accounted for 60% of the country's output.¹²³ About 10% of the population's livelihood depended solely on coffee,¹²⁴ and it is probable that improved output favored landholders but conditions for laborers, now working in the sun and with pesticides, may have worsened.

A terrible frost in 1975 ruined much of Brazil's coffee output, by far the largest producer in the world. Brazil's coffee cultivation has historically been massive single crop plantations of sun grown robusta varieties, which grow at lower altitudes than arabicas and are of a harsher and more acidic flavor.¹²⁵ With a dramatic reduction of world coffee supply coinciding with increasing production, Colombia was in a privileged position to reap the benefits: the price of its coffee rose dramatically in the last years of the decade, with profits significantly impacting the income of the poorest workers. The FNC invested earnings in replacing trees with the higher-yielding and faster growing *caturre* variety of arabica coffee. In 1980, coffee production was 50% higher than in 1975.¹²⁶

With increased market value and production and the loss of a shade canopy, the shaded microclimate and crop diversity that once characterized the region became monocultures predominantly. Sun exposed coffee grows faster but also subjects the soil to faster erosion. The removal of leguminous shade trees, for example, was recommended by the FNC as a method for pest reduction, but their removal signified a depletion in soil nutrients.

The ICA regulations substantially benefited Colombian coffee, especially as consumer preference turned towards higher quality milds. It also expanded the sphere of influence and legitimacy of the National Coffee Federation as they were able to invest in local infrastructure

¹²³ Richard Lucier. *The International Political Economy of Coffee: From Juan Valdez to Yank's Diner* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988) 219.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ The robusta variety grows at lower altitudes, so has a wider geographical range for its cultivation. See, for example, Rueda and Lambin, 287.

¹²⁶ Lucier, 223.

and international branding. This lasted until 1989, when the ICA agreement of 1962 collapsed and exporting member countries like Colombia lost the control of the world market. With new players and international surplus, prices plunged and the hegemony of the FNC diminished.

3.1.3 Denomination of Origin

Although historical facts discredit the myth of the independent peasant achieving prosperity through coffee cultivation, it cannot be denied that the adaptation of coffee to Colombian terrain has been a transformative force for the country and opened much needed sources of livelihood for rural communities and peasant populations. Before coffee cultivation, mining and sugar-plantations were the country's main commercial activities. Slavery was not abolished until 1851 and the indigenous populations had by then been mixed and displaced from their original locations. In a country that has yet to have an agrarian reform, the Antioqueñan Colonization might be the closest approximation to a grassroots nation building narrative.

Though originally destined for foreign palette, Colombians developed a coffee drinking culture and made it a symbol of national identity. The FNC can be credited with stimulating an internal market for coffee consumption by making available a range of products, including instant coffee.¹²⁷ But as an activity that employed generations across different geographical regions of the country, coffee cultivation was a reality many people had encountered directly or knew about.

Not surprisingly, coffee landscapes feature as the backdrop to different literary works. Carlos Trujillo Restrepo's novel *Del Café a la Coca* describes in detail the daily activities and lives

¹²⁷ Palacios, *Entre la Legitimidad y La Violencia*, 139.

of coffee farmers struggling to make a living. Upon returning to the coffee growing region after being abroad, his protagonist narrates the following:

My entire childhood and adolescence were permeated by coffee. For generations, the name of my family has been involved with coffee cultivation and coffee commerce. My favorite childhood games were amongst coffee trees and for me, as for a good half of my countrymen, nation is: coffee plantations, the aroma of coffee and its white flowers, threshing and milling of coffee, coffee people and everything pervaded by coffee.¹²⁸

But along with the reminiscence and communal ties of the landscape and people are the hardships of debt with its high interest rates, the arduous labor and submission to orders, the inequality of government subsidies benefiting the large landholders rather than the small farmers who contributed more to the national economy, and distrust of the Coffee Federation's policies.¹²⁹

Colombian coffee enjoys an advantageous status as a top quality commodity that has been successfully marketed as a national product. The presence of the Federation as an agglutinating force for the entire coffee sector allowed it to brand Colombian exports under the "100% Café de Colombia" trademark, certifying that all the coffee with this label is high-quality Arabica. Because Colombian coffee is considered of the best varieties in the world, guaranteeing the authenticity and purity of its coffee is in the interest of the FNC, the growers, and the country. Moreover, the brand Café de Colombia links the product to traditional cultivation and geographic provenance; the trademark's logo features the iconic Juan Valdez and his mule with mountains in the background, alluding to its rural provenance. At the time that the Coffee Federation embarked on the Juan Valdez marketing campaign, it developed a scientific program

¹²⁸ Carlos A. Trujillo Restrepo. *Del Café a la Coca: Vivencias alrededor de una Metamorfosis* (Cali, Colombia: Car Tres, 1996) 119.

¹²⁹ See, for example, Trujillo Restrepo 3, 127, 143, 150-151, and J. A. Osorio Lizarazo, *La Coshecha* (Manizales: Arturo Zapata, 1935) 196.

to lay the groundwork for developing specific standards for denomination of origin certification.¹³⁰

Colombia has several different Denomination of Origin certifications bestowed by the Federation to producers that can reference certifications as proof of origin of their beans.¹³¹ Amongst them are brands named after their geographical provenance, further connecting quality to precise locations.¹³² A noteworthy distinction is the Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) status conferred by the European Union. The PGI certifies authenticity in the quality, origin, and on-site elaboration of a product, allowing Colombian coffee to sell as a specialty product to select markets.¹³³ Furthermore, Colombian coffee was the first foreign PGI accepted by Switzerland, the center of coffee trade worldwide.¹³⁴

The Coffee Federation has a highly structured and efficient system, but one that limits alternatives for people outside of the Federation. It controls the large-scale processing and exporting of the coffee it buys from thousands of farmers throughout the country. The internal purchasing price is set by the FNC, though it fluctuates according to trading price in the New

¹³⁰ Thomas Oberthür et al. "Regional relationships between inherent coffee quality and growing environment for denomination of origin labels in Nariño and Cauca, Colombia", in *Food Policy*, 36 (2011): 784.

¹³¹ Accepted international certifications include ISO 9000 (a quality management system), ISO 14000 (environmental management standards), BMP (Best Management Practices, addressing water pollution), and HACCP (Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points, addressing food safety). See "Formulario de Inscripción para Obtener la Autorización de Uso de la Denominación de Origen Protegida (DOP) 'Café de Colombia' en Colombia y los Países de la Comunidad Andina." Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. Web. 3 March 2015.

[http://www.cafedecolombia.com/static/files/Formulario_\(Manifestacion_de_Interes\)_DOP_Colombia.pdf](http://www.cafedecolombia.com/static/files/Formulario_(Manifestacion_de_Interes)_DOP_Colombia.pdf)

¹³² Specific regions in Colombia, such as the Cauca and Nariño, have their own Denomination of Origin brand, See "Nariño: Denominación de Origen." Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia 2010. Web. 3 March 2015. http://narino.cafedecolombia.com/es/narino/el_departamento/sitios_de_interes/ and "Colombian Coffee Denomination of Origin." Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia 2010. Web. 3 March 2015.

http://www.cafedecolombia.com/particulares/en/indicaciones_geograficas/Denominacion_de_Origen/

¹³³ "Geographical Indications and Traditional Specialities." European Commission: Agriculture and Rural Development. Web. 3 March 2015. http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/schemes/index_en.htm

¹³⁴ "Café de Colombia, Primera Denominación de Origen Aceptada en Suiza, *El País*, 29 May, 2013. Ediciones El País S.L. Web. 3 March 2015.

http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2013/05/29/agencias/1369844091_821130.html

York Stock Exchange. Pricing is transparent and readily available. A vast presence throughout Colombia allows farmers to join the Federation and sell their parchment to the FNC directly. Farmers belonging to the Federation are issued ID's to administer commercial transactions, voting in local committees, and access to subsidies, financial services, and training programs.¹³⁵ The Federation's ID is a Visa card that incorporates rural communities into a regularized banking system, with access to credit and savings accounts.

The achievements and success of the National Coffee Federation in positioning Colombian coffee as a high-value commodity in the international market cannot be disputed, but it should be questioned as the model for the future and for the Coffee Cultural Landscape specifically. The Federation's buying price has fallen with the increase of world supply, and the tree varieties they promote require more pesticides, fertilizers, and have a lower productive life span. Coffee farmers went on strike in March of 2013, after a 34% price drop, demanding that the government increase internal price of and subsidies, and restrict imports.¹³⁶ According to farmers in Circasia, the cost of production is at times higher than its market value. This has led farmers to leave the Federation and search for alternative markets. To what extent should the future direction and management of Colombia's Coffee Cultural Landscape be determined by a national project and the policies of the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros will be explored ahead.

3.2 The Cultivated Areas of the Coffee Cultural Landscape

3.2.1 Outstanding Universal Values of the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia

¹³⁵ "Cédula Cafetera Inteligente." Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia 2010. Web. 3 March 2015.

http://www.federaciondefcafeteros.org/caficultores/es/servicios_para_el_cafetero/cedula_cafetera/

¹³⁶ Elizabeth Reyes L., "Los Productores de Café Ponen en Jaque al Gobierno Colombiano", *El País*, March 2, 2013. Ediciones El País S.L. Web. 3 March 2015.

http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2013/03/02/actualidad/1362183557_281835.html

The statement for inscription on the World Heritage List a series of attributes that justify the CCLC's Outstanding Universal Value. These include historical and physical attributes: natural patrimony, availability of water, architectural patrimony, archaeological patrimony, density of population and fragmented properties, and urban patrimony; and attributes related to coffee production: mountain coffee, the prevalence of coffee, cultivation on slopes, age of coffee culture, institutional character of coffee and its networks, modernization influence, historic traditions of coffee production, small-plot farming as system of land ownership, and multiple crops, technology, and forms of sustainable production in the coffee production chain.¹³⁷ The attributes cited are a list that begs for examples within the landscape and further explanation to understand how they appear today, and what significance they have.



Figure 11- Sun-grown Coffee on the Outskirts of Circasia, Quindio

¹³⁷ Ministerio de Cultura República de Colombia. "Metodología Utilizada para la Definición de los Valores del PCC." in *Paisaje Cultural Cafetero: Un Paisaje Productivo en Permanente Desarrollo* (Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura, 2011) 47-48. Web. 7 January 2015. <http://paisajeculturalcafetero.org.co/static/files/cartillaministerio.pdf.pdf>

The justification for OUV in the actual nomination document continues in a similar vein but gives more attention to process. It lists the following factors, here summarized:

- 1) Outstanding example of human adaptation to difficult geography that led to the establishment of coffee production.
- 2) Collective action in overcoming challenging economic circumstances in isolated landscape.
- 3) An exceptional productive system that has proven to be sustainable in economic, social, and environmental terms.
- 4) The evolution of the coffee trade with traditional production methods has opened the path for the production of a coffee of exceptional quality.
- 5) The life of the region pivots around coffee, generating a wealth of cultural manifestations passed from generation to generation.¹³⁸

Of the five points mentioned above, the first one can be challenged by the fact that coffee attracted settlement, rather than the other way around. The second one is a characteristic of most rural societies, so specifying the way in which these challenges were overcome in unique ways. The third one is the most important as it claims to be a lasting example of sustainability. Brining out the knowledge and development behind this sustainability would shed light on how people adapted and creatively used the natural landscape. The fourth one suggests a commercial and productive development, yet to what extent the methods of production are traditional or industrialized, and what defines the standards of quality should be elaborated. Lastly, contextualizing the way culture is passed on and transformed can help

¹³⁸ "Coffee Cultural Landscape: An Exceptional Fusion of Nature, Collective Human Effort and Culture." Nomination File. UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1121.pdf>

understand its presence and relation to generational aspirations.

The Coffee Landscape for World Heritage is nominated under criteria v, as an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement representative of a culture or human interaction with the environment, and criterion vi, for being directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions.¹³⁹ For criterion v, the nomination document emphasizes the role of the peasant (campesino) families and their knowledge in producing high quality coffee:

The Coffee Cultural Landscape is an exceptional example of a sustainable and productive cultural landscape; it is the result of the effort of several generations of campesino families who, for more than 100 years, have accumulated knowledge of how to adapt coffee cultivation to small plots of land and to the difficult conditions of their surroundings. They have created a strong, unparalleled cultural identity, not to mention having produced one of the finest coffees in the world...¹⁴⁰

For criterion vi, the nomination document highlights the cultural associations arising from coffee production:

The 100 year old coffee tradition makes for an associated culture that is ... one of the most representative symbols of national culture in Colombia and abroad. The activity determines the lifestyle here. It has led to a rich cultural tradition of tangible and intangible manifestations in the territory, the architecture, and the landscape ... The PCC [CCLC] stands out for its deeply instilled rural culture of exceptional characteristics, with social, political, religious, and artistic referents that are the result of the interrelation of two phenomena: the historical occupation and land exploitation process known as the Antioquian colonization and the development of coffee production as the region's main productive activity.¹⁴¹

The two criteria demonstrate two dramatically different associations and interpretations for the value of the CCLC. In the first one, the farmer is the protagonist in shaping the cultural landscape. Knowledge on how to produce quality coffee arises through labor, while the labor and presence on the land start giving a unique shape to the surroundings emerging in a unique cultural landscape. The second one is about the shaping of a national

¹³⁹ "The Criteria for Selection."

¹⁴⁰ "Coffee Cultural Landscape: An Exceptional Fusion of Nature, Collective Human Effort and Culture," 19.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

identity using the success of coffee cultivation and the Antioquian Colonization to define an image of the country and its culture. They both represent important aspects about the Coffee Landscape, but one is actually based on the place whereas the other one is based on the idea of the place. Recognizing the differences between these contrasting views is important because of the difference of power within them, and because traditional farmers depend on their physical surroundings for viability, while collective imaginaries can draw from charismatic expressions of culture and narratives to uphold an image or idea without the need of a site's integrity or authenticity.

The inscription of the Coffee Landscape is an opportunity to merge the different meanings and perspectives of landscape. There is a power dimension that needs to be addressed if the heritage expounded in the UNESCO nomination is to have meaning and persistence in the future. Improving the socio-economic condition of rural farmers while maintaining ecologically and culturally sustainable practices needs the support and commitment of government entities and the Coffee Federation. The cultural significance of the site needs to move from generalizations to specific locations and how they connect to each other so its threats are mitigated and its values enhanced. Approaching the agricultural areas of the CCLC from different scales can reveal some of the issues and complexities within its changing mosaic. A general description is presented looking at three scales: small coffee producing farms, cultivated areas within their surrounding context, and the function of cultivated areas within a larger system.



Figure 12- Location of Circasia, Quindío

3.3 Descriptive and Critical Analysis of the Contemporary Landscape, Based on Research and Field Observation

From January 30 to February 6, 2014, a group of students from the School of Design of the University of Pennsylvania and the Facultad de Ciencias del Hábitat from the Universidad de la Salle in Bogota traveled to Quindío, Colombia, to learn about the Coffee Cultural Landscape, and propose design interventions for its future development. Students visited the towns of Circasia, Filandia, and Salento; the cities of Armenia and Manizales; an active coffee *finca* and the Valle del Cocora National Reserve; the Río Roble and El Silencio in Circasia, and experienced the landscape at different speeds and across different geographies.

A series of presentations from different governmental authorities, representatives of the Coffee Federation, community leaders, and local coffee growers informed the group on the different values of the CCLC. Community charrettes, workshops, and time during visits afforded an opportunity to learn about local perspectives and concerns regarding the future of their cultural landscape. The following is a series of impressions based on research and observation.

3.3.1 Small Coffee Producing Farms

A basis for the heritage value of the CCLC is that it represents the tenacity of the small farms as a viable source of livelihood and the foundation for a rich cultural tradition. The small sized plot, or family unit, is usually less than 5 hectares. The nomination for the UNESCO site states the following: “small and medium coffee farms are the principal components of this cultural landscape and include coffee plantations, family houses, mountains, forests, grasslands, and other elements vital for the home, such as areas for cultivating subsistence crops.”¹⁴² Nonetheless, coffee within the CCLC appears to be cultivated primarily in open fields under the sun (Figure 11). The coffee trees grown in rows, and patches of different aged trees are visually discernible by their height and color within one property (Figure 13).

On the steep inclines on the outskirts of Manizales and Circasia, belonging to the departments of Caldas and Quindio respectively, in what appear to be small land-holdings based on the distribution of single farms, the second most prevalent visible species are banana or plantain varieties, grown in dense rows acting as live fences. A single big tree occasionally rises amongst the coffee, perhaps serving as a station for mules. It is only on edges sloping into ravines where different plant species grow, including *guadua*, a type of bamboo widely used in

¹⁴² “Nomination Document for the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia.” UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015: 224. Web. 1 April 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1121.pdf>

construction due to its mechanical properties. The *guadua* constructions of famed Colombian architect Simon Velez have internationalized and promoted the material's use (Figure 14).



Figure 13- Coffee Trees at Different Phases of Growth in the Outskirts of Manizales



Figure 14- Coffee Grown in Partial Shade with Mixed Plant Species

What this picture conveys is that even in the areas deemed the most representative of the Colombian coffee growing tradition, coffee is not grown under a shade canopy. A word of caution must be added to this general assessment, since properties were not surveyed and coffee grown under a rich canopy can be camouflaged or confused with tropical forests to the uneducated eye. Nonetheless, it does reveal a discrepancy between the UNESCO's characterization of the integrity and authenticity of the CCLC properties and the reality on the ground. The nomination asserts:

the landscape revealed intense deforestation, but the varieties of coffee plantations produced a different type of tree coverage, now characteristic of the region. This still exists, as a salient percentage, and is different from the coverage associated to primary forests.¹⁴³

Later on, the nomination cites percentages of coffee cultivation by type for each of the four

¹⁴³"Nomination Document for the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia," 148.

departments comprising the UNESCO site. Together, these average out to 11% grown under full shade, 18% under partial shade, and 70 % under sun.¹⁴⁴

Colombian coffee production is frequently described as a tradition that has not changed over the decades. The basis for this association is that Colombian coffee is harvested and sorted by hand; to ensure the best flavor, cherries are picked at an exact ripeness, meaning that harvest seasons are extremely labor intensive. The combination of timely picking and steep muddy gradients, where machinery is inoperable, impede an economy of scale. Notwithstanding, various schemes have been developed to produce higher yields, such as the introduction of new plant varieties, fertilizers, pesticides, and new methods for planting, including the removal of the shade canopy.



Figure 15- Coffee Tree

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 264 Table 4.



Figure 16- Regional Cities

Cultivation in the CCLC does not appear to continue the growing technique of early Antioquian settlers, where various tree species comprised the dense multi-levelled shade canopy. Rice and Ward elucidate the values of a shade canopy as follows:

Traditionally, the structural profile of a coffee farm in northern Latin America has resembled that of a forest. With coffee as the understory shrub, a mixed shade cover of fruit trees, banana plants, and towering hardwood species forms a forest-like

agroecosystem. Such an agroforestry structure results in a fairly stable production system, providing protection from soil erosion, favorable local temperature and humidity regimes, constant replenishment of the soil organic matter via leaf litter production, and home to an array of beneficial insects that can act to control potential economic pests without the use of toxic chemicals. Traditional coffee, in fact, has been cited as the region's most environmentally benign and ecologically stable agroecosystem.¹⁴⁵

Only through documenting, assessing, and monitoring the conditions of the 18,000 farms within the UNESCO site can we get a clear understanding of their change over time, the degree to which current farming practices are a continuation or break from tradition, the threats they face, and their resilience.

3.3.2 Cultivated Areas within their Surrounding Context

Coffee farming has traditionally been the source of livelihood for the Coffee Axis region. Today, it is one of several different economic activities, yet still maintains primacy in the collective imagination as the roots and foundation of the place. The regional capitals of Manizales, Pereira, and Armenia are medium sized cities with a population ranging from about 250, 000 to 350, 000 people, and are some of the fastest growing cities in the country (Figure 16). Regional towns are densely populated and sprawling towards the capitals. A good highway infrastructure, especially with the Autopista del Café (the Coffee Highway) further connects the urban centers of the Coffee Axis. Their road structure is one of the best in the country, acknowledged as a valuable asset, and a source of pride amongst the people of Circasia (Figure 17). It also easy to predict the direction of urban sprawl along main country roads connecting

¹⁴⁵ Robert Rice and Justin Ward, "Coffee, Conservation, and Commerce in the Western Hemisphere: How Individuals and Institutions can Promote Ecologically Sound Farming and Forest Management in Northern Latin America" (Washington and New York: Natural Resources Defense Council and Smithsonian Migratory Bird Center, 1996): 9.

town centers with their urban centers, such as the roads from Circasia to Armenia, only 15 km away.



Figure 17- Roads Leading into Circasia



Figure 18- Edge of Circasia

Coffee plantations, along with clearings for cattle, patches of forest, and urban sprawl, conform the mosaic of the countryside of the UNESCO landscape. It is not an area with visual continuity or with a single predominant land usage: homes and small businesses are concentrated on the sides of the roads and eventually merge into urban centers; coffee is found on steeper topography with smaller plantings interspersed amongst the town peripheries, sometimes blending into the lush green concentrations alongside ravines and creeks; forested areas are scattered around the top and sides of mountains, usually interrupted by cleared grazing land or coffee farms, though a few nature reserves give their presence more substance.



Figure 19- Outskirts of Circasia

Of the various typologies on the land, cattle pastures stand out because the large landholdings appear to be single properties and their full extension is readily visible. Pastures adjoin ecologically sensitive areas such as the Barbas Bremen and the Valle del Cocora nature reserves in Quindio as well as water sources such as the Río Roble (Figure 18 and 19). They flank countryside roads, dividing residential pockets in the process, and have replaced areas once dedicated to coffee. Despite their vast extension, few cows appear to graze the pastures of the Coffee Axis. Absent in the landscape are areas dedicated to food crops, though some families, including those living in the historic centers, have kitchen gardens.

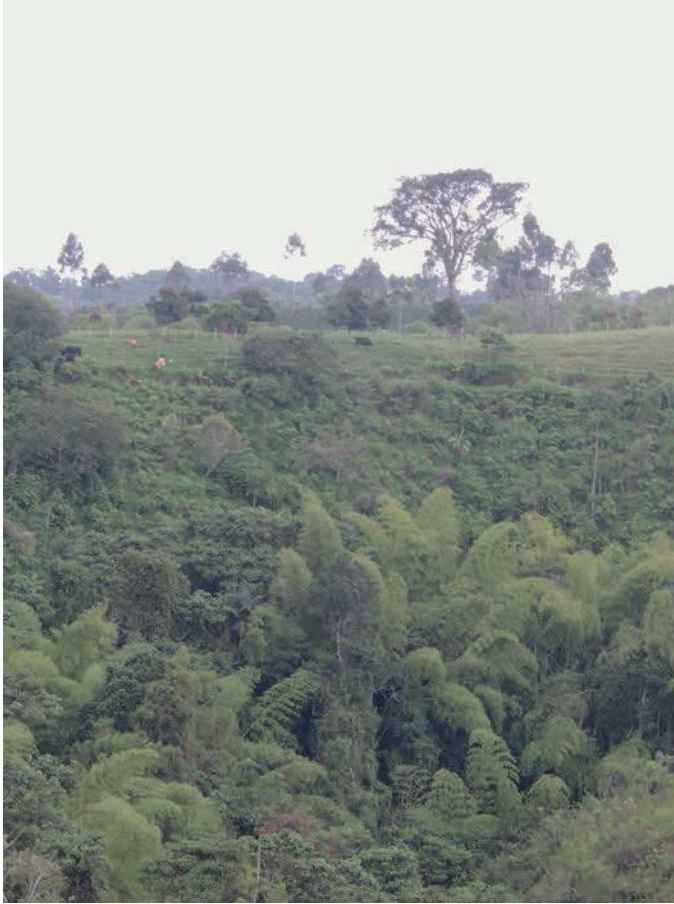


Figure 20- Coffee Crops Flanked by Cattle Grazing

Cultivated fields act as a middle space between urban and natural areas. Protection of natural areas has gained wider acceptance and has a better framework than the protection of agricultural areas. Understanding the function that agricultural areas provide as a buffer to natural areas is a key argument that will be taken up in later chapters. Tropical forests have some of the highest biodiversity around the globe, and the traditional coffee growing system maintains that biodiversity at a high degree.¹⁴⁶

Pasture lands function in an opposite way, destroying habitats for biodiversity and polluting natural areas. Thus, the protection of agricultural areas is essential to the protection of natural areas.

¹⁴⁶ Rice, 5-6.

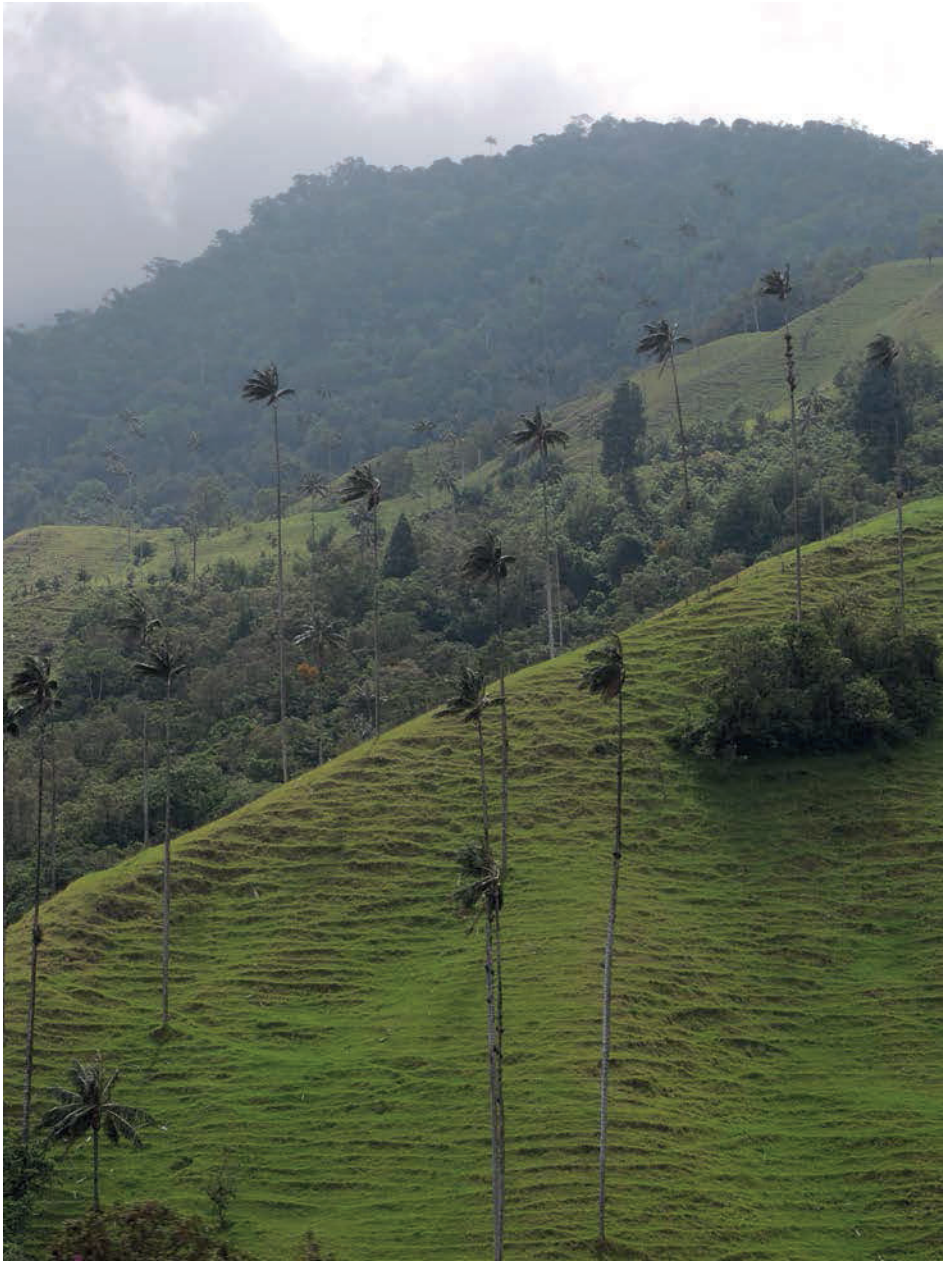


Figure 21- Valle del Cocora Nature Reserve with Cattle Grazing



Figure 22- Pasture Presumably Converted from Coffee

Turning agricultural land into pastureland is not only a loss of biodiversity, heritage, and environmental quality, but also results in a loss of employment. It is important to remember that coffee farms provide both livelihood and residence to farming families and seasonal workers. According to farmers in Quindio, cattle farming provides between 1/6th and 1/8th of the jobs per acreage that coffee cultivation. Measuring the social value of traditional coffee farming as a source of employment should factor into any policies for future development of the region. Comparing job creation from traditional farming to sun grown coffee also needs to be considered. Colombia has a large and impoverished peasant population. Urban poverty, guerilla warfare, and coca production have been major destabilizers in Colombia's history. Traditional agricultural farming should be valued as a stable and dignified practice, and one that should be

subsidized over other activities, especially as agroindustry employs fewer people in arguably worse conditions, as high exposure to chemical pesticides and fertilizers are detrimental to human health.

In 2012, the Council of State passed a decree suspending all exploration of hydrocarbons in the state of Quindio, part of the designated property. The decree came in response to landowners' concern for environmental deterioration and land access from exploration headed by the National Agency of Hydrocarbons and the Drilling 2010 consortium.¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, in a community charrette hosted by the Municipality of Circasia with students from the University of Pennsylvania and the Universidad de la Salle in Bogota, coffee farmers expressed tremendous concern about subsurface exploration projects, claiming that 76 concessions had been approved and 400 others were in process.¹⁴⁸

The Coffee Axis is an agricultural area where farmers, though not necessarily wealthy, enjoy a higher standard of living than other places in the country. For example, many of the farmers within the region classify in the upper bracket under the country's national System for the Selection of Beneficiaries for Social Programs (SISBEN). The SISBEN assigns citizens with a number from 1-6, where 1-3 are lower income and more eligible for subsidies and social services, and 4-6 are higher income and pay more for services such as electricity. Many of the small coffee producers classify as level 4. According to farmers in Circassia, the SISBEN classification was done at a time when the region enjoyed greater prosperity from coffee

¹⁴⁷ "Exploration of Hydrocarbons has been suspended on the Coffee Cultural Landscape, Colombia." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/844/>

¹⁴⁸ Federal concessions for the installation of electric towers across protected areas in Quindio are fiercely contested by local governments and residents. See Andrés Bermúdez Liévano, "El Pueblo que se Levanta por sus Barbas," *La Silla Vacía*, 23 August, 2014. Web. 29 March 2015. <http://lasillavacia.com/historia/el-pueblo-que-se-levanta-por-sus-barbas-48458>

revenues. Today, their standard of living has decreased though their SISBEN classification remains.

The fact that Colombia has never undergone an agrarian reform means that the social-economic disparity between landless poor and massive private landholding is extreme even to this day. Economic disparity and the need for an agrarian reform have been the main causes behind civil unrest and violence, and continue to be a chief demand in the peace negotiations between FARC militias and Colombian president Juan Manuel Santos.¹⁴⁹ The core of Colombia's problems is attributed to its rural economy,¹⁵⁰ so fostering systems where various sectors of the population can earn a dignified living should be a national priority. Traditional forms of farming are one way of doing so.

3.3.3 The Function of Cultivated Areas within a Larger System

The Coffee Axis is an area strategically located between Colombia's three largest cities: Bogota, Medellin, and Cali (Figure 16). It is an area that has enjoyed economic prosperity and political stability during some of the country's worst decades of violence in the 1980s. In this way, the Coffee Axis provided a destination for people wanting to travel outside of the main cities, especially as travel to the coast became unsafe. Tourism in the region has boomed in the last two decades, where towns such as Salento have gone from small rural villages to main tourist attractions. National and international tourists alike are attracted to Salento's picturesque and colorful downtown, and use it as a gateway to explore the Valle del Cocora

¹⁴⁹ Christian Voelkel, "Three Reasons why Colombia's Land Reform Deal is Significant," May 28, 2013. International Crisis Group. Web. 29 April 2015. <http://blog.crisisgroup.org/latin-america/2013/05/28/three-reasons-why-colombias-land-reform-deal-is-significant/>

¹⁵⁰ Nazih Richani, "Latest UNDP Report on Colombia: 'It's the Rural Economy, Stupid,'" September 26, 2011. The North American Congress on Latin America 2014. Web. 29 April 2015. <https://nacla.org/blog/2011/9/26/latest-undp-report-colombia-its-rural-economy-stupid>

National Park. While road and airport infrastructure in the Coffee Axis is far superior to many parts of the country, tourism concentrated in few locations and on special dates overwhelms local capacity.



Figure 23- Side Street in Salento

The inscription of the Coffee Landscape has served as an opportunity to attract tourism and real estate investment. Weekend vacation homes in the countryside, or *fincas*, are a common destination for elite urban families. The Coffee Landscape has several *fincas* that function as Bed and Breakfasts, weekend rentals, or small hotels. In fact, some of the most representative rural architectural homes within the CCLC no longer function as residences. It is not uncommon to see a *finca* with a swimming pool and ornamental plants on a mowed lawn, rather than as the homestead of a working farm. Many of the *fincas* are well kept and brightly

painted, and contribute to the architectural values of the UNESCO site. Nonetheless, it is worth evaluating how the influx of hospitality services contributes or detracts from the more holistic values of the cultural landscape. If traditional coffee farming and plant species are being eliminated or reduced, these extent of these consequences to the culture, economy, and ecology of the World Heritage Site need to be rectified.

Integrating housing in town peripheries into a municipal network is in the interest of local governments as property taxes and services are a main source of revenue. Upper class suburban housing complexes are springing up around Circasia off the Coffee Highway, but some of these are in close proximity to the Barbas Bremen nature reserve and the Río Roble. While attracting wealthier real estate development is desirable to the government, the areas allocated for building need to be evaluated carefully in respect to the natural values of the landscape, and curbed accordingly. Working with good design can ensure that growth is contained and that natural and agricultural properties contribute to real estate value by protecting their presence and quality.

Low-income housing, traffic flow, and transport linking villages are factors being considered at the local level within the designated departments. In Circasia, for instance, there was an architectural contest for sustainable low income housing proposals, and urban planners are rethinking circulation to ease congestion and increase walkability in its downtown. Talk of a new bus station away from the city center but still serving the commercial hub was on the table in February of 2014. Many of these projects are designed to give a better image of the urban town and make it a more attractive destination to visitors. While this is a worthy goal, interventions in favor of the city center should not result in harm to its peripheries. A well-located bus station can radically transform the area directly around it, so proposals should be weighed against the values of the cultural landscape.



Figure 24- Downtown Circasia



Figure 25- Downtown Filandia

The town centers are often on flattened land and have a plaza in the middle with an orthogonal city grid, following the Spanish tradition (Figures 24 and 25). In some places, this results in open vistas and sharp inclines after a few blocks. Ravines break up the urban grid and social grid. They are usually considered undesirable places as people throw garbage and there is no lighting. Landscape architecture students from the University of Pennsylvania working in Circasia proposed ways to reintegrate these spaces into functional and attractive areas to give the city more fluidity and security. These measures, along with proper zoning and strategies for constraining urban sprawl, are essential to protecting the agricultural and natural areas of the cultural landscape.

The Coffee Landscape is an area of rich natural beauty and biodiversity, with endemic species attracting migrating species. The wax palm, for example, is one of the main selling points for visiting the Cocora Valley. Natural heritage is a valuable commodity worth administering carefully. Tropical forests have immense scientific value to the world. Similarly, the archaeological record and traces of the people that inhabited the region in pre-Hispanic times are important to all of humanity.

In sum, the Outstanding Universal Value of the Coffee Landscape needs to be understood and protected holistically. There is a strong emphasis on focusing the UNESCO designation on the most visible features without necessarily addressing their context. Colorful bird species, unique plants, picturesque architecture, festivals, outdoor life, traditional hats, etc. are all integral characteristics of the Coffee Landscape. Promoting them as symbols of the UNESCO site can be an effective strategy to attract tourist; however, much more attention needs to be given to preserving the context from which these visible characteristics arise, and from which many Colombian farmers still make a living. Protecting agricultural areas should be a priority not only because they are the foundation behind the coffee culture that has become

synonymous with Colombian identity, but also because they buffer natural areas from urban growth, create a green belt for urban spaces, and provide a working socio-economic realm for a large sector of the population. Policies and interventions, at any scale within the CCLC, ought to be measured against these essential functions, and designed to strengthen them as overarching public benefits for the immediate present and all future generations to come.

The Coffee Landscape is a benefit to local farmers and workers as a source of livelihoods and continuity of traditions; to residents of the villages, towns, and cities of region as green spaces, identity, and memory; to visitors as an attractive area of rich cultural and natural diversity; and to the country as a positive contribution to its image.

3.4 Management of the Coffee Cultural Landscape

Two sources inform us on the vision and direction the management of the Coffee Landscape is taking today. The first one is a document submitted by Colombia, as a UNESCO member state, to the World Heritage Committee as an example of best management practices.¹⁵¹ The second one is a summarized report on management objectives and indicators published in December of 2014 by the steering and regional technical committees of the Coffee Cultural Landscape.¹⁵² Both of these echo values set forth in the nomination for World Heritage status, but do little to protect heritage values in cultivated properties, focusing instead on increased coffee production.

¹⁵¹ "Submission Form on Best Practices from the Coffee Cultural Landscape." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015.

<http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/sites/bestpractice2012/1121.pdf>

¹⁵² Comité Directivo y Comité Técnico Regional del Paisaje Cultural Cafetero. "Informe Resultado de Indicadores: Plan de Manejo, Paisaje Cultural Cafetero, 2012-2014." Web. 3 January 2015.

<http://paisajeculturalcafetero.org.co/static/files/plandemanejo.pdf>

3.4.1 The Current Management for the Coffee Cultural Landscape

The document on Best Practices presents the direction of management for the CCLC, a strategy worth scrutinizing as it aligns the management of the CCLC with the Coffee Federation's Strategic Plan.¹⁵³ Unexplainably, the justification for OUV is distilled into four vague values that serve as the framework for administering the WHS:

- I) Human, family, generational, and historical effort put into sustainable production of quality coffee
- II) Coffee culture for the world
- III) Strategic social capital built around its institutions
- IV) Combining tradition and technology to guarantee product quality and sustainability¹⁵⁴

The first value focuses on producing a more competitive coffee and developing the coffee community. This objective is measured through participation in programs led by the Federation, local governments, and the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism. Indicators include the replacement of coffee trees with the varieties developed by the Federation, training in business administration and coffee related capacity building, products integrated into the Federation's certification, etc.¹⁵⁵ In other words, it is a business plan for the CCLC.

The second value focuses on conserving, revitalizing, and promoting the cultural patrimony within the development of the region. It is administered by the Ministry of Culture, state and regional governments, and universities within the designated site. Indicators to meet its objectives include the number of research projects related to cultural patrimony, number of

¹⁵³ "Submission Form on Best Practices from the Coffee Cultural Landscape," 3.

¹⁵⁴ "Coffee Cultural Landscape: An Exceptional Fusion of Nature, Collective Human Effort and Culture," 18

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 5.

cultural properties with interventions and realized projects, inventories of cultural properties (Figures 26 and 27), outreach activities promoting cultural patrimony, management for archaeological sites, and involvement in urban planning and zoning.¹⁵⁶ This value focuses on the management of cultural heritage, and reveals the capacity and know-how for protecting cultural heritage sites.



Figure 26- Historic Urban Houses

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 13.



Figure 27- Historic Rural Structure

The third value's objectives are to strengthen the social capital of coffee growers through capacity building carried out by the Federation, and promote leadership through sustainable tourism projects headed by the Federation and Ministry of Culture.¹⁵⁷ It focuses on tourism.

The fourth value aims to support productive and environmental sustainability. Its indicators are measures through the number of hectares participating in programs headed by the Federation, Cenicafé, regional corporations, and the degree to which new technologies fostering quality and sustainability are adapted. This value directly concerns agricultural practices, yet it does not consider values associated with traditional livelihoods.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 22.

The document on Best Practices elucidates the managerial structure of the Coffee Landscape, revealing the predominant role of the Coffee Federation seconded by governmental authorities. With the exception of the second value, where management includes various stakeholders, the document on Best Practices reveals a marked bottom-down approach that seems at odds with the small-plot farmer basis to the site's designation.¹⁵⁸ In terms of addressing the needs of local stakeholders and enabling their participation, the examples of best practices given are a "profound brand development," as well as opportunities for social and economic progress and democratic participation through the FNC's locally elected representatives.¹⁵⁹

While Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) are a widely promoted strategy in preservation literature for the long-term sustainability of a heritage site, we must question whether this is the best management direction for the Coffee Landscape, and what it means to have a PPP administer an entire landscape. A comparison between the management of built heritage and agricultural heritage sheds light on the different approaches towards preserving these different assets, and efforts should be taken for agricultural areas to be managed as the cultural sites that they are, and protected for their natural values, too. Protecting the boundaries of the site, for example, is carried out by informing elected officials on norms to standardize the use of land in the region,¹⁶⁰ a policy that hardly seems to consider the multiple dynamics in a landscape or its inhabitants.

From the break up of objectives, indicators, and administering agencies of the four values stated above, it is evident that the Coffee Federation heads the management of the productive and environmental sectors (values I, III, and IV). In fact, the management is an

¹⁵⁸ "Submission Form on Best Practices from the Coffee Cultural Landscape," 7, 9.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

extension of the Federation's existing policies in other parts of the country. While this course of action may result in increased coffee output, it does not address the preservation of cultural heritage as expressed through the cultivation of coffee. The Federation and Cenicafé can be credited with designing programs to increase production and crop resilience in the face of severe threats such as coffee rust; however, these solutions need to be weighed in relation to the heritage values of the place. Focus on managing the CCLC need to turn towards the agro-ecological system that early farmers developed, the shape and character cultivation gave to the landscape, the social relations and memories connected to its spaces, and how all these factors together led to the production of one of the best coffees in the world through a harmonious relation with nature.

The four-value framework places the FNC as an integral component of the OUV, while paying little attention to the purported unique, continuous, and sustainable agricultural practices widely disseminated in literature pertaining to the CCLC. A continuous cultural landscape needs to focus on preserving its sustainability based on the knowledge developed through human interaction with their landscape, not on market demand. The best course of action is to uphold significance stated on the CCLC's official web site:

Social adaptation to a **unique use of land** and the development of highly specific cultural traditions, **in both agricultural practices** and particular settlement arrangements, contribute to the image of a **continuing, productive and living landscape**. Land tenure is based on a **small farm production system** which reflects an **economic, social and environmentally sustainably coffee growing model**¹⁶¹ [emphasis added]

¹⁶¹ "Coffee Cultural Landscape: Description." 2012 Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. Web. 1 March 2015. <http://paisajeculturalcafetero.org.co/en/contenido/descripcion>

3.4.2 Alternative Management for the Cultivated Areas of the Coffee Landscape

The specificity of the Coffee landscape, its *genus locii*, does not seem to factor into the strategic planning for its future, a situation that puts into question the basis of the World Heritage nomination and runs the risk of diminishing the meaning of a WHS. If the cultural landscape is going to be administered as other properties in the country, what is the point of giving them a heritage designation? Protection of a WHS needs to emanate from the values embodied in the site, and a management strategy tailored according to a detailed reading and understanding of its conditions, functions, and changes over time. Only with clear data can its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats be assessed and acted upon.

Cultural landscape is a flexible and ambiguous term, and it is the task of heritage professionals to work with local parties to develop a framework for articulating the values that underpin a site's significance. A clear vocabulary that captures the essence and meaning of cultivated areas is necessary for stakeholders to agree on a shared vision. Cultural landscapes include tangible and intangible qualities as well as complexities of scale, relations, patterns, and rhythms that give them meaning and singularity. Defining character traits is an exercise of classifying and ordering layers of activities over times on a three-dimensional plane. One cannot expect a management plan to track conditions and protect the values of a landscape if its character and function have not been enunciated. Likewise, the information gathered of a site will depend on the questions asked and the goals in mind.

Working on designing and implementing a new perspective towards managing the agricultural heritage of the CCLC would not originate in a vacuum, rather it would draw from the existing work already being carried out, local skills, and the community's knowledge. The presence of students and academics from regional universities (including graduate programs in architecture, environmental sciences, and archaeology), governmental entities, community

organizations, and heritage professionals can serve as the intellectual and technical platform for acquiring meaningful data on cultivated areas, both past and present. Through fieldwork, farmers can become involved in the preservation process if they are not already, and efforts should be taken to elicit their perspective, knowledge, and vision for the landscape.

The team working on the third value mentioned previously, involved in cultural heritage management, has challenged the CCLC's zoning plans as not agreeing with the values and attributes declared as OUV. It has called for an intervention in the zoning process to guarantee the conservation and sustainability of the CCLC, and an urban development that does not infringe on the natural and cultivated areas of the CCLC.¹⁶² Their structured approach to the preservation of the built heritage can serve as a model to initiate work on protecting and valorizing agricultural heritage. The built patrimony within the cultivated lands is already being accounted for through the registry of historic buildings.¹⁶³ Working in tandem with the preservation of built heritage can facilitate a fuller understanding and better management of farms in their entirety. Eight different universities within the Coffee Axis have forged an alliance with the goal of a sustainable future for the CCLC. The Universidad Nacional de Colombia, campus Manizales, has dedicated workshops on integrated heritage management backed by the Ministry of Culture and sponsored by UNESCO.¹⁶⁴

Continuity of tradition and innovation need to constantly be measured and evaluated in relation to the values and objectives behind a protected heritage site. A significant example comes from the prohibition of mining within the CCLC property, where Colombian president

¹⁶²Comité Directivo y Comité Técnico Regional del Paisaje Cultural Cafetero, 19.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 16.

¹⁶⁴ "Observatorio para la Sostenibilidad del Patrimonio en Paisajes." Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Web. 1 March 2015. <http://www.fadmon.unal.edu.co/menu/extension/observatorio-opp.html>, and "Qué es la Cátedra Unesco." Universidad Nacional de Manizales. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://catedraunesco.manizales.unal.edu.co/secundaria.php?val=7&titulo=1>

Santos acted upon UNESCO's recommendation soon after it gained World Heritage status in 2011.¹⁶⁵ The nomination of the UNESCO site warned against the negative effect from gold mining activities on the integrity of the Coffee Landscape.¹⁶⁶ Gold mining antecedes coffee growing, existed in pre-Hispanic times, and was the principle economy for the region before coffee surpassed it. Gold mining is a source of livelihood with many historical layers on the landscape; nonetheless, the meaning and importance of the activity had to be reevaluated, and eventually abandoned, to protect the heritage values of the place. The decree entrails the search for alternative sources of income for those affected by the change, and potential environmental restoration, with the prospect of long-term public benefits in mind. Similarly, a shift away from the policies on sun-grown coffee with new seed varieties might result in loses in parchment revenue, and may require environmental reparations, for the sake of longer-term benefits.

¹⁶⁵ El País, Federaciondecafeteros.org, Unesco. "Prohiben Minería en Municipios Cafeteros de Colombia." *Observatorio de Conflictos Mineros de América Latina*. September 5, 2011. Web. 22 February, 2015. <http://www.conflictosmineros.net/contenidos/10-colombia/8327-prohiben-mineria-en-municipios-cafeteros-de-colombia>

¹⁶⁶ "Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia"



Figure 28- Parceling of Small-Scale Farms

4 Managing the Cultivated Areas of the Coffee Cultural Landscape

The narrative of the Antioquian Colonization represents a yeomen ideal of independent farmers achieving self-sufficiency and a prosperous livelihood through working the land. Though grounded in historical developments, the fiction of the story is the merging of the business venture and the peasant farmer into a single person or product. It is a useful narrative inasmuch as it solidifies community bonds and creates an image for nation building; It is problematic, however, if an idealized reading of history distorts our understanding of the work and struggles endured by small-scale farmers. In terms of cultural preservation, the dignified status conferred upon coffee cultivation in the Colombian national consciousness, where the product, the

producer, and production are all valorized and even incorporated into a collective identity, allows preservation efforts to move beyond a general appreciation for the Coffee Landscape's significance to managing and protecting its specific heritage values.

In the Antioquian Colonization, ambition and tradition come together as the protagonists behind the success of coffee cultivation and the shaping of its landscape. These forces have a physical and phenomenological manifestation: the entrepreneurial spirit of expansion opens onto new spaces through introduction and exchange, whereas permanent settlement gives form and meaning to places. While occurring concurrently in all societies, differentiating these forces is important as their rhythm of change and subsequent impact on the natural environment varies significantly. The heritage of the Coffee Landscape is intrinsically connected to the complementary dynamics of market and production, yet we cannot afford to have the market alone determine the shape and form of production because of the rapid and radical transformation of the landscape it entails. The National Coffee Federation and Cenicafé are promoting a dramatic reordering of the country's productive lands, but when it comes to protecting a World Heritage cultural landscape, the focus needs to be on strengthening its traditions and, when necessary, curtailing certain ambitions. To do so, we need a clear framework to identify change over time and manage the future of the CCLC's agricultural areas.

Claiming that traditional coffee cultivation in Colombia's Andean highlands has been an economic and environmentally sustainable practice requires more than a nation building narrative to substantiate it and a World Heritage listing to perpetuate it. The charged symbolism of coffee cultivation as the backdrop behind the development of the country and the creation of a Colombian identity, both internally and abroad, imbues it with unique heritage values. The WHS designation crystalizes the narrative of the Antioquian Colonization by embedding it into a specific location, one in constant flux because of changing land uses. Coffee cultivation is taken

for granted as a homogenous and generalized background that upholds heritage. And although small farms and traditional methods continue to exist, an actual evaluation of their condition, their neighborhood function, and their role as World Heritage are not being thoroughly considered. In order to protect, preserve and enhance the value of cultivated areas in the CCLC, a clearer understanding of the role of agriculture as an evolving living heritage with significant benefits for humans, ecology, and biodiversity must be placed at the forefront of the site's strategic management.



Figure 29- Flower



Figure 30- Bird

In the age of agroindustry, the economic viability of traditional farming practices is questioned and often discredited. But in a World Heritage Site whose values rest on the continuity of the culture and landscape shaped by humans' relation to their natural environment, preserving traditional farming practices is fundamental. Agriculture is the ultimate manifestation of nature and culture coming together: it is each one of these as well as something entirely different. Cultivated land can be considered a natural and a cultural resource. While it can be valued in terms of how it contributes to one or the other or both, it is also important to valorize it in its own right. Culture is often appreciated through its overt manifestations, whereas nature as an encompassing whole. Agriculture fits somewhere in the middle as a process without cessation and with subtle, though explicit, transformation. Even though we appreciate the specific characteristics of produce or a vista opening onto cultivated

fields, the process behind their making and shaping is increasingly invisible, and its rhythms and complexities rarely experienced or discernable to urban dwellers. When it comes to agricultural heritage, it is not the product, historical moment, or built and industrial remnants alone that need to be preserved, but the entire process leading to production and the markers of its cycles on the landscape. The viability and significance of the Coffee Cultural Landscape depends on its traditionally farmed fields as they are the locus of the region's heritage, and contain the knowledge and imprint of the relationships and evolution between humans and their surroundings.

4.1 A Framework for Agricultural Heritage

Agriculture is the art of transforming nature; it is a craft dependent on adroit labor and a science concentrating various forms of knowledge. It is no surprise that worldviews and identities are forged through agricultural practices, as they are intrinsically collective and cyclical. The adaptation of humans to their environment is recognized in UNESCO's category of organically evolved cultural landscapes as heritage of global significance. These landscapes contain invaluable knowledge on human evolution and sustainable land-uses, and in many cases support biological diversity.¹⁶⁷ The challenge in protecting this type of landscape, as opposed to relic landscapes, is linked to the reality of socio-economic inequality and resource depletion affecting traditional farming societies around the world, the advantage given to business over livelihood, and limited legal channels to defend collective rights. By nominating agricultural-based World Heritage Sites, the contribution of farmers in sustaining cultural and natural heritage is being recognized, though this recognition may not necessarily transfer into policies to

¹⁶⁷ "History and Terminology." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/#2>

support their practices. Colombia's Coffee Cultural Landscape is a case in point where a framework to preserve and strengthen its agricultural assets could substantially improve its longevity.

One of the most devastating and widespread forms of social and economic violence is the collapse of traditional livelihoods brought about by the destruction and depletion of natural resources by external actors. When rural communities can no longer live off the resources at their disposal, they are left with few choices other than to find employment elsewhere or sell their land. The effect of extractive industries and massive infrastructure projects on rural landscapes is akin to war. We live in a world of grossly variable scales and perspectives, where the cause and effect, and the costs and benefits of human interventions on the environment are met with markedly divergent interpretations. UNESCO is entrusted with defending the educational, scientific, and cultural resources of communities around the world; its cultural landscape WHS category can serve as a powerful tool to protect vulnerable populations and fragile ecosystems under the frame of heritage preservation.

The Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia proclaims its agricultural character in its title. Other World Heritage Sites that do so are the Land of Olives and Vines in Palestine, the Agave Landscape in Mexico, the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras, the Alto Douro Wine Region in Portugal, and the Tokaj Wine Region in Hungary.¹⁶⁸ Several other WHS have an agricultural component, and different kinds of agriculturally related designations exist in various countries. The European Union, for instance, stimulates production and preservation of

¹⁶⁸ "Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1492>, "Agave Landscape and Ancient Industrial Facilities of Tequila." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1209>, "the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras," "the Alto Douro Wine Region." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1046>. "The Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape in Hungary." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 3 January 2015. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1063/documents/>

traditionally farmed landscapes through subsidizing farmers. Governments have a vested interest in maintaining cultural landscapes for their local character and regional identity.¹⁶⁹ The Rice Terraces, the Agave Landscape, and the Land of Olives and Vines provide useful references for Colombia's Coffee Landscape as the governments and citizens of these countries have less experience and funds for protecting designated landscapes.

The Rice Terraces in the Philippines were the first organically evolved cultural landscape listed as a World Heritage Site, in 1995. Also known as the Ifugao Rice Terraces, the site is valued for its water and terracing technology that has sustained wet rice cultivation over millennia, its stunning visual composition, and the community's culture and farming practices arising from a detailed knowledge of the region's agro-ecosystem.¹⁷⁰ Yet the site suffered in recent decades as living off rice cultivation became nearly impossible, terracing was given other uses, and younger generations moved to cities, eventually leading to its listing as World Heritage in Danger, in 2001.¹⁷¹ Augusto Villalón cites the difficulty locals and officials have had in grasping the notion of the site's vulnerability as a landscape because they see the problem as one of environmental sustainability without considering the human factor. Furthermore, stakeholders view their landscapes as an ordinary place, and are not aware that its special qualities merit protection.¹⁷² On the other hand, the WHS status has turned the site into a national symbol that all young people learn about, helping them understand its value, at the same time that conservation of culture and tradition has become associated with the conservation of the terraces.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ See, for example, "European Landscape Convention." Council of Europe 2014. Web. 3 January 2015. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/Landscape/default_en.asp

¹⁷⁰ "Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras"

¹⁷¹ Augusto Villalón, "*Continuing Living Traditions to Protect the Rice Terraces*", in *Managing Cultural Landscapes*, ed. Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon, (New York: Routledge, 2012) 299.

¹⁷² *Ibid* p.291-293.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*

The inscriptions of the CCLC and Battir's Land of Olives and Vines in Palestine,¹⁷⁴ in 2011 and 2014 respectively, point towards a holistic understanding of heritage imbedded in a diversity of cultural and natural layers. Both inscriptions represent a victory of environmentalists, academics, and public officials coming together to protect natural and cultural resources. Moreover, these inscriptions were fundamental in diverting national projects with devastating social and environmental consequences: in Colombia, safeguarding the Coffee Landscape from subsurface exploration and gold mining; in Palestine, preventing the Israeli Defense Forces from constructing the Separation Barrier (also known as the Apartheid Wall), which cuts across Palestinian agricultural land, and would have deprived Battir's farmers of their sustenance.¹⁷⁵ Though Israeli Forces and settlers have systematically occupied Palestinian territory and destroyed the livelihood of farmers, Battir, in spite of being a little known village, gained nomination for World Heritage before renowned sites such as Jericho and the area where the Dead Sea Scrolls were found.¹⁷⁶ The example cited is not intended to belittle the values of Battir, rather to highlight the expansion of heritage beyond the monumental, and its use as a tool with social and political leverage, both of which are essential to the valorization and protection of agro-ecological systems.

Gustavo Araoz writes about a new heritage paradigm characterized by heritage's changing role as a public commodity with economic value, and by how it is used and

¹⁷⁴ "Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir"

¹⁷⁵ "Israeli Supreme Court rules against separation wall in Battir," *Ma'an News Agency*. January 4, 2015.

Web. 29 March 2015. <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=751709>

¹⁷⁶ "Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 8 January 2015.

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5704/> and "Qumran: the Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015. Web. 8 January 2015.

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5704/> have been on the World Heritage tentative list as of 2012. It is important to remember that Battir faced an imminent threat, leading to its listing as a World Heritage Site in Danger. See <http://whc.unesco.org/en/danger/>

appropriated by different sectors of society.¹⁷⁷ In the CCLC, we clearly see heritage in the service of regional development projects designed to attract tourism and real estate revenue. For Battir, joint efforts with Israeli advocacy strengthen the legal case against the Israeli Defense Forces.¹⁷⁸ In contrast, the adjacent town of al-Walajah, despite claiming the oldest olive tree in the world, will lose about 85% of its agricultural land if the Barrier continues as planned.¹⁷⁹ Integrity in a cultural landscape cannot be conceived of as a static collection of character traits in a generalized natural setting, but must carefully address the social complexities of a place. Or as Araoz states: “the requirement to manage social processes deemed integral to the significance of a place.”¹⁸⁰

The great danger of heritage designations being administered solely as economic magnets or nature reserves is if the impact on local people’s lives proves more detrimental than beneficial. Especially relevant to agricultural areas is the role of farmers and their participation in a heritage they uphold yet others administer. Battir’s agricultural traditions, which include collective work and community division of water, run the risk of ceasing within a generation as

¹⁷⁷ Gustavo Araoz, "Preserving heritage Places under a New Paradigm", *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 1 (2011) 55. See also Nora Mitchell and Robert Z. Melnick, "Shifting Paradigms: New Directions in Cultural Landscape Conservation for a Twenty-First-Century America," in *Managing Cultural Landscapes*, ed. Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon (New York: Routledge, 2012) 232-252.

¹⁷⁸ See "Battir Village Profile", The Applied Research Institute – Jerusalem, 2010. Web. 8 April 2015. http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/opt_arij_villageprofile_battir.pdf, and *Isaac, Jad and Walid Halayqa, Jane Hilal, Anwar Qubaja Manal El-Butmah & Nael Jubran*, "The Environmental Impacts Assessment of The Israeli Segregation Plan on Battir Village," The Applied Research Institute – Jerusalem, 2005. Web. 8 April 2015. <http://www.arij.org/files/admin/2005/2005%20the%20environmental%20impacts%20assessment%20of%20the%20israeli%20segregation%20plan%20on%20battir%20village.pdf>

¹⁷⁹ Anne Paq, "In photos: al-Walaja Village Faces 'Slow Death' as Israel Takes its Land," *The Electronic Intifada* 24 March, 2014. Web. 8 April 2015. <http://electronicintifada.net/content/photos-al-walaja-village-faces-slow-death-israel-takes-its-land/13264>

¹⁸⁰ Araoz, 55.

fewer people farm due to the danger of being attacked by settlers in open fields.¹⁸¹ If the security of Battir's people is not addressed, the knowledge, the heritage that characterizes its cultural landscape, inherited and evolved over millennia, will be lost even if the Roman traces and green areas remain. Battir was listed as an endangered site when inscribed, and protecting it has garnered supports from human rights activists around the world, hopefully heralding the next trend in heritage preservation.¹⁸² The coffee growers in the Coffee Axis are not in a perilous situation, but traditional agricultural practices may be if their social values are not brought to the forefront of the CCLC's management.

The Agave Landscape in Mexico is an example of an agricultural based heritage designation negotiated and achieved by governmental authorities without including local farmers. People that work the land learned about the World Heritage status after it was conferred, and are not mentioned in the nomination document, though the pre-Hispanic heritage is central to the argument put forth for OUV.¹⁸³ The full title of the property is "The Agave Landscape and the Ancient Industrial Facilities of Tequila." The designation focuses on the historic processing of a product that, as coffee in Colombia, has become a national symbol, as well as on the visual qualities of the landscape. The rows of greenish-blue agaves are a striking scene to behold, or as the nomination document claims: "This atavistic landscape of penetrating aesthetic attractiveness has no parallel in the world."¹⁸⁴ The landscape provides an attractive background for visitors to learn about the beverage through visiting *haciendas* and sampling its

¹⁸¹ AFP, "Palestinian Farmers Denied Access to their Land for Autumn's Harvest," *Al-Akhbar English*. Web. 8 January 2015. <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/22235>

¹⁸² See, for example, Samia Ayyash and Phil Weiss, "UNESCO Group Votes to Protect Ancient Palestinian Terraces from Israel's Wall," *Mondoweiss*, June 20, 2014. Web. 8 April 2015. <http://mondoweiss.net/2014/06/palestinian-terraces-israels>

¹⁸³ Hernández López writes that farmers learned about designation when it was announced on TV as a national symbol. José de Jesús Hernández López, *Paisaje y Creación de Valor: La Transformación de los Paisajes Culturales del Agave y del Tequila* (Zamora, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán A.C., 2013) 277.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

varieties. As with Colombian coffee, the designation helps promote tequila recognition, but it additionally ensures continued production by intensifying and expanding agave cultivation and restricting other crops.¹⁸⁵ Hernández López argues that the designation translates into a monopoly of land use where the principal beneficiaries are the big tequila houses. Restrictions place further limits to sustainable livelihood for impoverished peasants, and little indicates that they benefit from the designation.¹⁸⁶

By promoting the process of tequila distillation at the same time that the processes leading up to it are ignored, the UNESCO designation is employed as a tool that renders the hard labor and traditional knowledge of farmers invisible,¹⁸⁷ violating its mandate as representing the peoples of the world and upholding their cultural values. The appropriation of management by governmental authorities is a dangerous precedent if it is not combined with grass roots representation. Nowhere is this more relevant than with agricultural societies, as the economic and social disparity of traditional farmers places them at a disadvantage in controlling their resources and designing their future. That farmers have trouble understanding why their ordinary surroundings are suddenly considered valuable and worthy of protection, a common occurrence with cultural landscape designations, is less about the abstractness of the term and

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 281, The nomination document cites a study by the Government of Jalisco that lists the need or tendency of farmers to expand their non-agave cultivation areas as a negative aspect for the Tequila Landscape. Centro del Patrimonio Mundial UNESCO, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, CONACULTA/INAH, and Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco. "Expediente Técnico de Postulación para la inscripción en la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial de El Paisaje Agavero y las Antiguas Instalaciones de Tequila, México 2006." UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015: 694. Web. 3 January 2015.

whc.unesco.org/document/123336p. <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1209.pdf>

¹⁸⁶ Expert recommendation to the nomination document suggested that the Management Plan deliver benefits to local communities and farmers in particular. Advisory Body Evaluation, 2006. "Recommendations," UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015: 166. Web. 8 April 2015 http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/1209.pdf, and the need for collaborative management between small scale farmers and multinational companies. "Protection and Management," UNESCO World Heritage Center 1992-2015: 164. Web. 8 April

2015 http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/1209.pdf

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 270.

more about the overall social marginalization, lack of appreciation, ignorance, and prejudice towards rural livelihood as antithetical to progress. Long-term protection of cultural and natural resources will depend on educating society on cycles of production.

4.1.1 A Public Good with Socio-Economic Implications

A World Heritage Site designation is an opportunity to protect valuable resources from development pressures, destruction, and environmental degradation in ways that strengthen their resilience and benefit the general public. Avrami, Mason and de la Torre assert that cultural heritage is a social construction, and its preservation a highly politicized process, emphasizing the need to integrate and contextualize ever-changing social processes into preservation practice.¹⁸⁸ Avrami et al continue: “As social and cultural change intensifies, greater demands are made to conserve heritage as a brake against unwanted change and even as a means of effecting change.”¹⁸⁹ The potential of heritage as a tool to transform spaces, improve social relations, create healthier environments, and raise people’s standard of living should not be underestimated. For traditionally cultivated areas, these potentials can only be realized through a valorization of manual labor and rural livelihood. Unfortunately, there is little appreciation for these in societies the world over. Framing the value of traditional agriculture in terms of its contribution to environmental and cultural sustainability can attract support for its conservation and protection.

The right to culture and to natural resources, such as clean air and water, are increasingly considered inalienable rights. Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: “Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community,

¹⁸⁸ Avrami, Mason, and de la Torre, “Report on Research,” in *Values and Heritage Conservation* (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2000) 6.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.”¹⁹⁰ Other human rights of direct relevance to agricultural landscapes include: the right to freedom of movement, expressed in the safe movement across a community’s surroundings;¹⁹¹ the right to not be arbitrarily deprived of one’s property,¹⁹² here interpreted in relation to externalities that may deprive farmers of earning a livelihood from their lands, as can be the case with pollution or restricted access to vital resources, such as water and physical connectivity to other locations; the right to leisure,¹⁹³ where natural and beautiful spaces provide a much needed respite from urban life; the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of a person and his/her family,¹⁹⁴ especially when agriculture provides one of the only sources of sustenance to peasant populations; the right to education,¹⁹⁵ including traditional knowledge that is learned *in situ* and by gesture in a landscape; and duties to one’s community,¹⁹⁶ interpreted as the responsibility to care for public resources.

The conservation of cultural and natural resources should serve as a platform for improving the life of all people. Rural farmers need to be brought into the preservation process not only as participating stakeholders but also as active decision makers. In deeply hierarchical societies, it is not uncommon for community-generated proposals to remain at the conversation level if government entities are not willing to implement pluralistic decisions. Farmers may have a voice, but no power. Coffee farmers in the CCLC have a history of liberal thinking, community organization, and a level of relative economic prosperity and educational that places them in an advantageous position to take the lead in designing and implementing a management plan for

¹⁹⁰ “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” Article 27. United Nations. Web. 5 April 2015.

<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a27>

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Article 13

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, Article 17

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, Article 24

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Article 25

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Article 26

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Article 29

their areas. This is not to say that they will act on their own. Rather, they can inform other stakeholders on the nuances, threats, and unique characteristics that set the Coffee Landscape apart to work towards a common goal.

The shift towards heritage as a source of profit has changed the objectives of its protection.¹⁹⁷ Though economic viability is necessary, it should not replace the values of cultural and natural resources. UNESCO represents the voices of the different peoples in the world and World Heritage listings must serve as examples that uphold and strengthen heritage as a public and sharable good. The livelihood of traditional farmers is threatened around the world as their crops can rarely compete with agroindustry, and income is centered in urban activities. In the case of Colombia, agriculture centers on high-value commodities for the global North, and International demand for quality coffee is unlikely to diminish. Obtaining appropriate compensation for culturally and economically sustainable coffee, however, will require stipulations that truly protect the agro-ecological system, a marketing strategy directed at conscientious consumers, and the backing of government and private entities invested in the preservation of the cultural landscape.

4.1.2 Environmental Sustainability

Framing the need to protect traditional agriculture in terms of environmental sustainability is probably the most compelling argument to garner support that can transfer into policy. The effects of environmental loss and climate change are in the public eye, and many people living today have personally experienced the transformation of spaces from small cities, provincial towns, or villages to urban conglomerates and metropolitan areas. Central to the

¹⁹⁷ Pablo Alonso González. *Cultural Parks and National Heritage Areas: Assembling Cultural Heritage, Development and Spatial Planning* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013) 95.

argument for environmental sustainability is the notion of the public good, including social and economic benefits, an argument that can also be made for preserving culture. As such, interventions in cultural landscapes must be guided by ethical principles that benefit people and biodiversity.¹⁹⁸

Cultural Landscapes can be examples of sustainability because of the way traditional societies use scarce resources. Though an understanding of the environmental cycles combined with manual labor does not lend itself to waste or excess, farmers have depended on chemical fertilizers and pest-control to sustain productivity. Even with economic growth, a place cannot be seen as prospering if biodiversity is being lost, pollution increasing, transit is unsafe, and children have limited spaces to move in. Because financial gains are a necessary measure for project feasibility, translating the benefits and contributions of traditional agriculture into monetary referents can strengthen advocacy for their preservation. This is especially relevant for the frequently overlooked social value of agriculture as providing employment, shelter, and relative security to underserved communities.

Environmental sustainability can be envisioned as the element of time balancing the impact of commercial output with the vitality of the agro-ecological system as a whole. If maximum output is the sole consideration, most ecological systems will eventually collapse. Striking a balance between increased agricultural production and a system's ability to sustain it over time depends on a careful knowledge of its internal workings and rhythms. Though different factors -such as limited technology, scale, and remoteness- contribute to the low impact of traditional farming on the environment, it is the knowledge from direct experience and passed on over generations that gives farmers unique insight into identifying problems in a

¹⁹⁸ Monica Luengo, "Foreword," in *Conserving Cultural Landscapes: Challenges and New Directions*, ed. Ken Taylor, Archer St. Clair, and Nora J. Mitchell (New York: Routledge, 2015) xvi.

system, and the background to address them. Communities that historically have worked the land usually have precise knowledge of current conditions as well as an understanding of changing cycles over longer time spans, invaluable assets that need to be tapped into for managing and monitoring change over time.

Colombian coffee farmers are described in the WHS nomination as a resilient community that has endured and adapted to hardships. In the words of Gee and Burkhard, the underlying principle of resilience is: “the capacity of ecological and societal systems to experience shocks while retaining essentially the same function, structure and feedbacks, which ... describes the system’s ability to retain a particular identity.”¹⁹⁹ The ability of societies and other creatures to withstand hardships will depend on their innate strengths as well as their environment’s capacity to shelter change. Though coffee farmers may have unwavering steadfastness in continuing production and adapting new farming techniques to do so, the question is how well can the natural environment and other species adapt to the impact from these changes, and how are they affected by other land uses. In other words, what are the limits of acceptable change for the agro-ecological system as a whole?

The value and resilience of communal responses to the environment of people living in World Heritage landscapes is the subject of Susan Denyer’s *“Sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes”*.²⁰⁰ The author explains that benefits such as a sense of place, identity, sustainable production of food, commodities, and services are rooted in the complex social-cultural-economic systems of a community. Once lost, these

¹⁹⁹ Kira Gee and Benjamin Burkhard, “Offshore Wind Farming on Germany’s North Sea Coast,” in *Resilience and the Cultural Landscape: Understanding and Managing Change in Human-Shaped Environments*. Ed. Tobias Plieniger and Claudia Bieling (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 187.

²⁰⁰ Susan Denyer. *“Sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes”*. *Conserving Cultural Landscapes: Challenges and New Directions*.

systems are difficult or impossible to recreate.²⁰¹ On the function of these systems, she asserts the following:

landscapes ... display order as a form of dynamic stability but they are also susceptible to chaotic and sometimes unprecedented and rapid interventions. The social systems are a constant dance to adjust the line between order and chaos, allowing the community to survive. They have enough stability to store knowledge and information and maintain local rules, and sufficient flexibility to allow them to communicate rapidly in the face of new circumstances.²⁰²

The importance of strengthening the structure and functioning order of a community, while allowing its own dynamic processes to flow, is a necessary balance that preservation planning must consider and constantly reevaluate for the CCLC. Denyer believes a protective framework must integrate these systems into wider regional and national planning and economic strategies,²⁰³ a needed approach for the Coffee Landscape.

4.1.3 Preservation Planning

In order to acquire a more comprehensive understanding of how the coffee landscape functions, a framework to study its component parts can help identify the strengths, weaknesses, meanings and relations between its different layers. Much as a historic building may be approached as a single organism by conservators, a landscape must be understood as a complex and living system where each part exerts an effect on the whole, even if not immediately evident. Defining a series of character traits that underpin the heritage values of the cultural landscape can be used to collect data for measuring and monitoring change, and as a baseline for designing management plans and evaluating preservation initiatives.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 47.

²⁰² Ibid., 51.

²⁰³ Ibid., 52-53.

Cultural heritage preservation originates from the discipline of building conservation, and has only expanded to a landscape scale in recent decades. The experience of heritage professionals can serve as a useful platform for defining a model for planning, managing, and intervening in a cultural landscape. The Getty Conservation Institute, for example, has developed thematic frameworks to engage people in building conservation by communicating significance, showing values beyond the aesthetic and architectural, providing carefully researched and tested information on how to conserve, and explaining the steps and consequences of interventions and non-interventions.²⁰⁴ Emphasizing this last point is critical as development pressures can be indomitable if they are not reined in ahead of time.

As with building and nature conservation, investing in the most exemplary and representative specimens is a logical starting point for setting a preservation plan in motion. By investing in farms that can become model references, the qualities deemed desirable in a productive landscape can be better comprehended and preservation professionals can test the effectiveness of their intentions. Projects will be met with moments of uncertainty and unexpected turns, so working in a sequence and with prudent steps can create a sufficient lap to evaluate and tweak preservation and management along the way.²⁰⁵

The methods for studying a cultural landscape will vary depending on the landscape itself, the information one has about it, and what questions and goals guide the research. The study of a relict cultural landscape, for example, may begin with ground surveying and analyzing aerial photography, but will require the analysis of archaeological material for precise dating and sequencing of events. The history of coffee in Colombia belongs to a more recent past, and appears to have been studied in written documents and personal accounts more so than on the

²⁰⁴ Susan MacDonald, "Somewhere between History and Current Events" (lecture presented at PennDesign, in the University of Pennsylvania, Feb 27, 2015).

²⁰⁵ Susan MacDonald, "Somewhere between History and Current Events"

land. Certainly, Cenicafé, the Coffee Federation, regional universities, and government entities have useful data that contributes to an understanding of changing conditions on the landscape.

4.2 Character Traits and Heritage Values

Appreciation for culture and nature can draw support from various walks of life across distant geographies, and conservation efforts have come a long way to channel support towards protecting the context that allows specific artistic expressions and plant and animal species to exist. Agricultural heritage is at a disadvantage because its production is an everyday commodity that can be outsourced, and its cultivated fields an ordinary sight. As areas urbanize, agriculture may look out of place rather than as something that deserves safeguarding, especially if valued as property alone. Unless the cultural and ecological worth of cultivated areas is intelligible to a wide group of people, agricultural areas may be seen as dispensable. Making the case for protecting traditionally cultivated areas; therefore, requires an evaluation and strengthening of their various functions. These differ in relation to scale. Three general scales to consider for the CCLC are: the level of individual farms, functioning as a socio-economic, productive, and ecological unit; at the neighborhood level, as a buffer between urban life and natural resources, contributing to the quality and sustainability of both; and at the regional level, as a model to emulate for coffee growing areas and agriculturally-based World Heritage Sites.

A combination of social, environmental, and economic factors determine the viability of a crop's growth in a specific location. The agricultural activities on a landscape respond to these factors and to the geographical characteristics of a place. Through the act of cultivating the land, the function and shape of the landscape is transformed. These transformations are most apparent when visually recognizable, such as architectural typologies, land boundaries, or irrigation canals, but agricultural landscape have several other less discernable characteristics,

such as soil composition, movement through the landscape, or the health of a crop. In order to understand historical change, predict future directions, and propose interventions in the CCLC, a detailed understanding of how the landscape functions and changes is necessary. What is recorded on a landscape depends on the focus of the discipline and its goals. For preserving agricultural heritage, monitoring change and proposing feasible strategies to maintain productivity, while preserving the cultural and natural values of the place, is the central goal.

A central problem with protecting agriculture in the CCLC is that change in cultivation methods is not monitored. Attention to coffee farms is mainly centered on tangible features; for example, how rural architecture responded to the steep terrain by developing a typology that rested on brick and *guadua* supports, and the work and processing stations developed for the different phases of parchment preparation.²⁰⁶ To capture change in agricultural methods, information on production and socio-economic conditions needs to be recorded and analyzed to inform on the stability and resilience of small-scale farms. Having a better understanding of how farmers adapt to new techniques, how they deal with resource depletion and external threats, and what knowledge informs their decisions is essential for understanding their culture.

Landscape can be seen as the arrangement of artifacts and activities in a physical space.²⁰⁷ What is deemed worth preserving depends on whose interests are taken into account, and spaces that are not built are sometimes ignored as containing heritage value. For example, the inventories of historic homes in the towns of the CCLC do not register their back yards,

²⁰⁶ For a thorough documentation of rural homes in the Coffee Axis, see Lorenzo Fonseca Martínez and Alberto Saldarriaga Roa. *La Arquitectura de la Vivienda Rural en Colombia. Vol. 2 Minifundio Cafetero en Antioquia, Caldas, Quindío y Risaralda* (Bogotá: Centro de Estudios Ambientales, 1984). Fonseca and Roa's study, based on surveyed properties, also gathered information on size, demographics, family income, and modifications to rural homes. They also recorded changes from an economy of self-sufficiency to one dependent on external financing. Fonseca and Saldarriaga, 164-169.

²⁰⁷ James S. Duncan Jr., "Landscape and the Communication of Social Identity," in *The Mutual Interaction of People and Their Built Environment: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Ed. Amos Rapoport (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1976) 391-392.

where people traditionally had kitchen gardens, or the empty lots in the vicinity, even if these are adjacent to exemplary historic buildings. What can be gathered from these examples is that non-built spaces tend to be seen as empty spaces, regardless of their function. The danger with this approach is that empty spaces are seen as available for development, potentially posing a major threat to the integrity and heritage values of an area.

The palimpsest in a cultural landscape has layers of encounter where natural phenomena and species share and influence the same space, with a human presence predominating at times and a natural one at others. A landscape can be divided into a horizontal aspect that emphasizes spatial organization over a geographical plane, and a vertical aspect that emphasizes process interactions in a particular place.²⁰⁸ Recording of conditions tends to focus on this first aspect. It is important that sufficient attention is also given to process in understanding and protecting agricultural heritage, as it is not only human settlement and land use, but the activities, movement, and creation of a vertical dimension, through growing crops, that shape and give character to a place. The spatial layout, flow, and movement from activities in and around natural, cultivated, and built artifacts are imprinted on the landscape (Figure 28). Together, these imprints shape the character and life that unfolds in a place. Working on understanding how people and other species interact in certain spaces can help protect their intangible characteristics.

Developing a set of criteria for what constitutes heritage value in agricultural practices and assessing current conditions are crucial steps for protecting and perpetuating the integrity of the CCLC. Agricultural landscape preservation must acknowledge changing environmental conditions and threats, and evaluate the value of scientific and technical developments when in

²⁰⁸ John A. Matthews and David T. Herbert, "Introduction to Part V: Landscape, the Face of Geography," in *Unifying Geography: Common Heritage, Shared Future*. Ed. John A. Matthews and David T. Herbert (New York: Routledge, 2004) 217-218.

relation to integrity. Criteria should not necessarily prevent the introduction of cures for devastating plagues or the use of new processing technologies, but it should serve to evaluate the cost and benefits that interventions will have on the integrity of its heritage and its long-term sustainability. Environmentalist David Orr conceives of the imprint of humans on the landscape as an evolutionary design process and writes the following:

What can be learned from well-used landscapes and settled societies wherever they exist is the importance of local culture as the mediator between human intentions and nature ... The process by which cultures and communities evolve over long periods of time in particular places is manifest not so much in discrete and spectacular things as it is in overall stability and long-term prosperity ... Design in such places is a cultural process extending over many centuries that has certain identifiable characteristics.²⁰⁹

Preserving traditional agricultural practices is not an argument towards a return to primitive farming; rather, it calls to assess the environmental and cultural values of traditional agriculture as a sustainable system. The underlying principle behind a continuing cultural landscape is that over generations, communities have learned how to make the best use of the natural resources at their disposal to allow for a robust and rich culture to flourish. The idea of a traditional agri-ecological system may evoke a notion of autonomy and self-sufficiency that ignores the exchange of surplus goods and a diversification of products. In establishing character defining traits for the CCLC cultivated areas, the goal is for farmers to continue to produce a high-standard and competitive product that contributes, rather than detracts, to the site's protection, continuity, and vitality.

²⁰⁹ David Orr. *The Nature of Design: Ecology, Nature, and Human Intention* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 8.

4.3 Preserving Function in Cultivated Areas

James Duncan and David Ley, in their introduction to *Place/Culture/Representation*, expound on different theoretical approaches to mapping and geographical representation, warning against the purported neutrality of topographical surveys. Representing social formations as visible on the surface of the Earth is a practice in the service of power intertwined with the social, cultural, and political webs of a society.²¹⁰ Because historic preservationists look for change over time and human agency in a landscape, we are perhaps less likely to see geographical features as natural or fixed objects. Nonetheless, when it comes to representing the features in a landscape, especially as a management strategy, decisions on what is being recorded and for what purpose must be constantly reiterated and reevaluated. How to include various perspectives to avoid a detached commanding gaze is a challenge that requires turning to social sciences to elicit different readings and understandings of a place.

Developing better methods to do this from a heritage perspective is especially needed for rural landscapes. A landscape assessment should provide a general overview of the key characteristics of the area in terms of the landscape elements that are present, and their spatial distribution.²¹¹ Though an increasingly widespread and shared language, representing space in two-dimensional maps, in more sophisticated topographic and aerial maps, or as navigation designed for movement by car are an ordering and understanding of space that may obfuscate the semiotics of a community's landscape. Capturing the way communities refer to their surroundings can reveal important information about values and usage. Doing this effectively

²¹⁰ James Duncan and David Ley, "Introduction: Representing the Place of Culture," in *Place/Culture/Representation*, ed. James Duncan and David Ley (New York: Routledge, 1997) 1-24.

²¹¹ Peter McCrone Peter McCorne, "Maintenance and Enhancement: The Management of Environmentally Sensitive Areas," in *Managing the Historic Rural Landscape*, ed. Jane Grenville (New York: Routledge, 1999) 64.

and consistently for an inscribed cultural landscape can aid in preserving its chorology as unique character traits.

Mapping intangible heritage is a challenge that cultural landscape preservationist must address as scientific tools can be grossly inadequate for capturing a detailed knowledge and sequence of a place, where volume and local events determine coordinates and direction. Places are named and described in all societies, even if that language has a limited reach. Specific trees and rocks, ownership or settlement, myths and events, and patterns of usage are some of the many markers articulating shared locators of a place, which may be as prominent or more significant than features identified on two-dimensional planes.

Denis Cosgrove and Mona Domosh describe culture as the capacity to shape and share meaning, and geographers as tracing “the production and communication of cultural meanings in spatial organization, conduct and the landscape.”²¹² Tracing spatial organization, buildings, and activities on the CCLC is one of the goals for understanding how the site functions and how its significance can be preserved. Cosgrove and Domosh, however, warn that cultural studies of landscape are deceptive as they re-present individual and intersubjective experiences rather than a single reality. Cultural landscapes are three-dimensional mosaics with constant movement yet marked patterns. Capturing movement and usage of the terrain is not intended as a mimetic or complete representation of the landscape, but as a tool for gathering data on function and change.

The existence and function of heritage values must be understood in relation to context. The goal of a sustainable cultural landscape needs to be inclusive in its understanding of processes, influences, and threats as affecting the whole, even if only parts are fully comprehensible. A framework is proposed based on three kinds of relationships: conditions,

²¹² Denis Cosgrove and Mona Domosh, “Author and Authority” in *Place/Culture/Representation*, p. 29

adjacencies, and linkage can help understand the function of coffee cultivated areas within the CCLC. In conjunction, the information gathered should inform on the integrity and robustness of the cultural landscape, and provide a baseline for assessing its current state and planning for its future. In order to manage agricultural land with heritage value, we must consider its changing complexities and dynamics by paying particular attention to how it performs socially, economically, and environmentally. In the current management plan of the CCLC, there are no clear indications that information on historical and current conditions is currently being gathered.

Cultural landscapes are designated with the intent of preserving their cultural and natural diversity. Single target projects, such as attracting tourism, real estate investment, combating coffee rust, or meeting international coffee quotas, need to be assessed in terms of the heritage values of the site. Replacing crops with the FNC's sun-grown *Castillo* variety, as the current management plan proposes,²¹³ may accelerate the demise of bean and plant diversity, and weaken ecological resilience if unexpected vulnerabilities arise, as they tend to do, over time. Instead, studying the conditions of crops that resisted coffee rust and environmentally sustainable method for pest resistance should be the focus for lands within the World Heritage designation.

The economic benefits of growing the *Castillo* variety need to be measured not only in parchment, but also in the cost of replacing and replanting trees along with other relevant expenditures. The seven-year lifespan of *Castillo* is half that of traditional varieties, implying an increase in labor costs for crop replacement. Additionally, farmers do not control the seeds, so cannot maintain their own cycle of seedling preparation and planting, limiting their self-sufficiency. It can be argued that pest resistant crops contribute to the environment by reducing

²¹³ "Metodología Utilizada para la Definición de los Valores del PCC," 42.

the use of toxic fertilizers; nevertheless, reducing toxic fertilizers is a severe problem that needs to be addressed in its own right rather than as a side effect to other policies.

Lakshman Yapa argues for developing innovations that are sustainable and ecologically benign, require little capital and material, and maximize the use values of nature, as these will be accessible to the general population. He also expounds on the dangers of high-yield crops. In relation to the “Green Revolution” in Mexico, where agriculture became industrialized in the mid-20th century, he writes the following:

Whenever high-yielding seeds were adopted, the following effects ensued: the contamination of groundwater from pesticides and fertilizers, elimination of nontarget populations from chemical poisoning, deterioration in soil structure and increase in soil erosion resulting from the increased use of chemical fertilizer and reduction in the use of organic matter, the elimination of practices such as crop rotation and the growing of leguminous crops, and the loss of biological diversity in plants resulting from the cultivation of genetically uniform plants.²¹⁴

Efforts to protect crop varieties from a heritage perspective tend to focus on endemic and autochthonous species, especially as subsistence crops are replaced by engineered varieties. This has led to cultural entities engaging in initiatives to protect corn varieties in Mexico and potato varieties in Peru. Although coffee originated in Ethiopia and varieties introduced to Colombia had a long geographical and evolutionary trajectory before reaching the New World, preserving plant diversity should still be a priority for the CCLC. For comestible products, distinctive taste and aroma can be extremely valuable traits. Reaping benefit from distinction depends on investment in creative uses and value-added products, a worthy

²¹⁴ Lakshman Yapa, “Innovation and Diffusion and Paradigms of Development,” in *Concepts in Human Geography*, ed. by Carville Earle, Kent Mathewson, and Martin S. Kenzer (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1996) 250.

initiative for the CCLC. In fact, the value of biodiversity and well-functioning ecosystems has placed them at the forefront of poverty reduction and sustainable development strategies.²¹⁵

What we see in the management of the CCLC is a strategy that directly aligns with the Coffee Federation's nationwide goals with little consideration for the distinctive qualities and Outstanding Universal Value of this World Heritage Site. Around the world, the shift from traditional to technological production has resulted in a homogenized landscape and the disappearance of singular landscape features.²¹⁶ The World Heritage designation is the opportunity to curtail this force in favor of rich layers of diversity, character, and flavor. Interventions should respond to a more nuanced knowledge and deeper appreciation for the qualities of the Coffee Landscape's agricultural worth.

²¹⁵ See, for example, Nicholas P. Lapham and Rebeca J. Livermore, "Striking a Balance: Ensuring Conservation's Place on the International Biodiversity Assistance Agenda" in *The Earthscan Reader in Poverty and Biodiversity Conservation*. Ed. Dilys Roe and Joanna Elliott (London: Earthscan, 2010) 78-103.

²¹⁶ Alonso González, 96



Figure 31- Coffee Beans Drying

5 Recommendations for Preserving Function in Cultivated Areas

Agricultural societies that have sustained production over time depend on a balanced and creative use of the natural resources at their disposal. Though the Coffee Landscape presents examples of traditional agro-ecological systems, these are not self-sufficient or self-contained, since sustained production depends on a crop's market value and on a network of exchange. Colombian coffee production is in a privileged position as a high value commodity with an established international demand. Although there are serious environmental threats to production, such as the coffee rust disease and soil erosion from prolonged rainy seasons, the region of the Coffee Axis continues to enjoy the conditions for on-going production. As a

practice arising from a rich heritage, coffee cultivation should not be seen solely as responding to market demand and environmental opportunity, but needs to be valued for its cultural significance as an invaluable contribution and investment for the region as a whole.

The designation of Colombia's actively cultivated coffee areas as a WHS is an opportunity to protect fertile soils, biodiversity, traditional livelihoods, and local knowledge in a rapidly urbanizing and dramatically changing world. New developments within the CCLC must be assessed in relation to how they benefit the cultural and environment of the region; meanwhile, coffee farms need to be strengthened as models of environmental sustainability for the good of the general public, and become examples to emulate in different coffee producing regions and agricultural-based World Heritage Sites. A joint effort and shared vision for the role of coffee cultivation as an active repository of heritage from which the fundamental values of the cultural landscape emanate is still missing from the management plans for the CCLC.

To maintain and enhance the continuity and vitality of the Coffee Landscape's evolving heritage, strategies must be considered in relation to different scales on the site. Considering the role of traditional agriculture at different scales elucidates their functions and values in the cultural landscape, helps determine strengths and weaknesses as well as moderate change, and allows for incentives and regulations to be designed in accordance with spheres of influence and scales of impact. The landscape ecology framework proposed by Richard T. T. Forman conceptualizes landscapes as mosaics composed of patches, corridors, and matrices, known as the patch-corridor-matrix model.²¹⁷ Every point in space, affirms Forman, is either within a patch, a corridor, or a background matrix regardless of the composition of the land mosaic.²¹⁸ Other landscape elements include nodes (patches attached to a corridor), boundaries

²¹⁷ Richard T. T. Forman. *Land Mosaics: The Ecology of Landscapes and Regions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 3-6.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 6

(separating spatial elements), and spatial variation in movements and flows.²¹⁹ The patch-corridor-matrix model is useful inasmuch that it shows relations between patches and corridors and how these impress on the composition of the matrix.

The cultural significance of cultivated areas within the CCLC varies depending on scale, so its integrity needs to be assessed in relation to its contextual placement and function within the larger landscape. For the CCLC, a conceptual division of scale must combine elements of landscape ecology as well as social-cultural divisions of space usage. Three general scales can be used to study and monitor change and value in agricultural areas: the farm, as a unit of production with an internal socio-economic and productive dynamic; the neighborhood, as a mosaic of changing land uses; and the region as a World Heritage Site, with attributes and responsibilities conferred on the entirety of the designated property. These relate to Forman's spatial elements to the extent that the farm is a patch and the inscribed WHS is a matrix. At the neighborhoods scale, looking at adjacencies is essential to track how agricultural properties are affected by changing land uses in close proximity. The idea of adjacencies includes corridors, boundaries, movement, and flows, and brings these together as externalities affecting cultivated lands. Strategies to diminish threats and promote traditional farming practices involve not just individual properties, but depend on their direct surroundings for success. The prestigious backing of World Heritage and the access to professional expertise needs to translate into a robust and sustainable model of traditional coffee cultivation for small-scale farmers, for the population and workers of the Coffee Axis, for Colombia as a country reinventing itself, and for the world as a model of cultural and environmental sustainability.

²¹⁹ Ibid, p. 7

5.1 Individual Farms

The significance of small farms, of less than five hectares, as models of success and resilience is amply cited throughout the Coffee Landscape literature. Yet only an individual assessment of the current condition of these farms can shed light on their future success and resilience. A thick description of the social-economic, environmental, agricultural, and physical conditions and changes of these farms is needed to manage their cultural and ecological values, and to evaluate the impact of policies and initiatives led by the National Coffee Federation over the decades. Studying the condition of farms will require the joint effort of historians, sociologists, biologists, geographers, landscape preservationists, agricultural experts, etc. to collect clear data that informs on the following: how the land was and is cultivated and used; the different cultivation methods that have been adopted, and what their environmental, social, and economic outcomes have been; species planted and their densities and configurations; plant replanting and rotation; the spatial distribution of cultivation and production activities within and outside of the farm, and how these have changed by externalities; the condition of soil, water, and runoff; methods for seed selection and pest control; the diversity of coffee, plant, and animal species within a property; living standard and earnings; wages and provenance of hired labor; financing options; access to market; and the main factors effecting change and threatening continuity.

All data relevant to coffee cultivation properties within the CCLC should be compiled to identify patterns, strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats within each property, the neighborhood, and the larger landscape. Though it may sound like a daunting task, an inventory of properties should draw from existing local, national, cultural, and academic sources. The CCLC should take advantage of open-access software designed for heritage management and geo-referenced inventories, such as Arches, developed by the Getty

Conservation Institute and World Monument Funds for that express purpose.²²⁰ Amongst these are the work carried out in preparation for the WHS nomination, the inventory of historic farms, and municipal records; Colombia's National Geographic Institute (Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi), has records on cadastral maps, soil surveys, and cartography;²²¹ the National Department of Statistics (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística) collects statistics on economic, social, and environmental change;²²² the Coffee Federation has information on introduced crops, fertilizers, and pest-controls they supply, as well as on the economy and output of farmers within their organization; and academics and scientists from the region and abroad have carried out various studies related to the area in question.²²³

The management of the CCLC can involve students from regional universities in contributing to the task of gathering, compiling, and analyzing data as a way of building capacity in professional skills and involving them in the valorization and protection of the CCLC. Some information may be sensitive and not for the general public, such as information on living conditions for hired labor or the location of archaeological vestiges. Working with heritage professionals with a clear focus on cultural and natural preservation can help guide the data acquisition phase of protecting agricultural heritage.

²²⁰ "Arches: Heritage Inventory and Management Systems." J. Paul Getty Trust and World Monuments Fund. Web. 2 May, 2015. <http://archesproject.org>

²²¹ See, for example, "Listado de Visores Geográfico." Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi 2010. Web. 2 May, 2015. <http://www.igac.gov.co/geoportal>

²²² See, for examples, "Estadísticas Asociadas al Desarrollo Sostenible," Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística. Web. 2 May, 2015. <http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/medio-ambiente/estadisticas-asociadas-al-desarrollo-sostenible-ceads>

²²³ See, for example, John Terborgh and Blair Winter. "A Method for Siting Parks and Reserves with Special Reference to Colombia and Ecuador." *Biological Conservation* 27 (1983): 45-58.

5.1.1 Promoting and Restoring Traditional Cultivation

Surprisingly, a case for encouraging shade-grown coffee does not seem to be a sought out strategy for the CCLC despite being the practice that epitomizes a harmonious relation between human works and nature.²²⁴ Strategies for agricultural areas must be drawn up following World Heritage and environmental guidelines. The susceptibility to damaging fungi for plants is a serious challenge that needs to be addressed yet resorting to cutting down all the trees to farm in the sun is an extreme measure with dire consequences to the entire agro-ecological system. Although this dramatic change on the landscape has already occurred, with about 68% of Colombia's cultivation shifting to sun-grown coffee in the 1970s,²²⁵ it is worth considering to what degree and in what ways introducing new species can contribute to improving crop resilience, soil fertility, and biodiversity. Most importantly, restoration efforts should rescue traditional knowledge acquired through generations of farming and engaging with the landscape, as these may go further back than the Antioquian Colonization. Crops that are grown under shade and without chemical fertilizers should be the focus of preservation efforts, and serve as the standard of integrity for the coffee areas of the CCLC.

Traditionally cultivated farms need a unique status as protected and productive areas with high scientific and cultural value. There seems to be no status or indicators differentiating between levels of integrity and authenticity within the CCLC's properties. This does little to recognize the work of farmers who maintain traditional practices, potentially favoring loss

²²⁴ Several studies document the environmental benefits of shade-grown coffee over sun-grown coffee. For a thorough evaluation of the cultural and ecological benefits of shade-grown coffee, see Patricia Moguel, "Café y Biodiversidad en México: ¿Porqué Deben Conservarse los Cafetales Bajo Sombra?," in *La Biodiversidad de México: Inventarios, Manejos, Usos, Informática, Conservación e Importancia Cultural*, ed. Toledo, Victor M. (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultural Económica, 2010) 193-210, and Patricia Moguel and Victor Toledo, "Biodiversity Conservation in Traditional Coffee Systems of México," in *Conservation Biology*, 13 (1999), 11–21. For the value of shade-grown coffee to bird species, for example, Rice and Ward.

²²⁵ Gavin Fridell. *Coffee* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014) 69.

rather than preservation. Ironically, the greatest threat to the integrity of traditionally cultivated areas in the CCLC seems to be the policies promoted by the National Coffee Federation, as these are sun-grown monocultures. A hierarchy of what kind of cultivation has heritage value should serve as encouragement and direction to embrace sustainable practices.

A system of benefits and rewards should serve as incentives for moving away from polluting practices and monocultures. Europe, for instance, created the Environmentally Sensitive Areas (ESA) scheme to protect archaeological and environmental resources threatened by agricultural practices. One of the ESA's main concerns is farming that has changed or is likely to change in ways that threaten the environment.²²⁶ The ESA scheme paid participating farmers to shift towards environmentally friendly farming methods, and adapt proposed management plans over a ten-year commitment.²²⁷ The project involved establishing a baseline record of conditions for comparison and evaluation of the program, and was refined to protect and enhance the special landscape character of an area, its wildlife, and historic interests by encouraging appropriate farming systems.²²⁸ The ESA scheme also set specific targets to achieve within five-years, and monitored through random sampling. Some of the management plans are not complicated and have significant effects; for instance, farmers were trained on how to retain higher water levels on their properties, which encourages the breeding of birds and stimulates the growth of rich grasslands.²²⁹

Similar schemes could be devised for the CCLC that focus on long-term environmental restoration, sustainable agriculture, and quality of life. Even inactive traditional coffee properties should be protected for their option value as fertile and clean volcanic soils.

²²⁶ McCorne, 58-60.

²²⁷ Ibid., 58, 60.

²²⁸ Ibid., 64

²²⁹ Ibid

Continuing to plant diverse arabica varieties, albeit on a small scale, is in the interest of perpetuating the evolutionary process of coffee *in situ*, fostering genetic diversity, and studying resistance to disease. At the same time, the knowledge behind seed-selection can be passed onto future generations. The over-reliance on high producing trees has resulted in a limited gene stock of arabica varieties that is highly susceptible to coffee rust and coffee berry borer worm.²³⁰ The FNC's response to disease is the *Castillo* variety, yet other channels for building crop resilience need to be explored and tested as alternatives as resilience is tied to diversity.

5.1.2 Incentives

Efforts to encourage traditional farming require funding, legislation, and expertise to back them up. If the Coffee Federation were to focus towards natural and cultural resource preservation for the CCLC, surely its scientific, technical, and administrative capacities would have a substantial effect in creating sustainable production systems. Support for traditional farming must be accompanied with financial stimulus in the form of access to markets, value-added certifications, subsidies, and licenses to use traditional farms as tourist destinations and branding of the region. Rewards must be earned through compliance to sustainable practices rather than constructed. Coffee that does not meet heritage standards should not enjoy the recognition of a World Heritage provenance. Heritage and environmental regulations for coffee production should not diminish existing coffee production; nonetheless, they should provide a better choice that strengthens and encourages ecologically responsible agriculture. Support from municipal governments, World Heritage committees, and the National Planning Department (Departamento Nacional de Planeación) with loans, subsidies, or tax-breaks is necessary for fostering a shift in agricultural methods.

²³⁰ Gavin Fridell. *Coffee*, (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2014), 31, 127.

5.1.3 Added Value

Added value to agricultural commodities depends on catering to niche clienteles and having access to market channels. Although Colombia has managed to commercialize its coffee as a differentiated product in the international market, further room for products that sustain heritage values must be created and promoted. Certifications with high standards that respond to social justice, such as Fair Trade, and ecological standards, such as Organic and Bird Friendly certifications,²³¹ should become the minimum standard for coffee grown in a World Heritage cultural landscape. At the same time, the standard establish should respond to local needs and values. A future goal can be the production of a Denomination of Origin for the CCLC that targets cultural, environmental, and socially conscious markets. One concern is that the proliferation of specialized certifications results in reduced standards, and consumer confusion about what certifications mean. Moreover, certified coffees can place significant pressure and added costs on the producers despite reaching high premiums.²³² A heritage label will require clarity on what the standards for traditional production are, and how the sales of coffee stimulate the preservation of the CCLC.

The FNC is entrusted with bestowing the Denomination of Origin status to coffee producers that can reference certifications as proof of origin of their production.²³³ Because the market is saturated with specialized coffees, distinguishing traditional cultivated coffee will

²³¹ Laura T. Reynolds, Douglas Murray and Andrew Heller, "Regulating Sustainability in the Coffee Sector: A Comparative Analysis of Third-Party Environmental and Social Certification Initiatives," in *Agriculture and Human Values* 24 (2007): 159

²³² Daniele Giovannucci and Andres Villalobos. "The State of Organic Coffee: 2007 US Update" (San Jose, Costa Rica: Sustainable Markets Intelligence Center, 2007) 5, Fridell, 109.

²³³ Accepted international certifications by the FNC include ISO 9000 (a quality management system), ISO 14000 (environmental management standards), BMP (Best Management Practices, addressing water pollution), and HACCP (Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points, addressing food safety). See "Formulario de Inscripción para Obtener la Autorización de Uso de la Denominación de Origen Protegida (DOP) "Café de Colombia" en Colombia y los Países de la Comunidad Andina," 2012 Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. Web. 1 March 2015.
[http://www.cafedecolombia.com/static/files/Formulario_\(Manifestacion_de_Interes\)_DOP_Colombia.pdf](http://www.cafedecolombia.com/static/files/Formulario_(Manifestacion_de_Interes)_DOP_Colombia.pdf)

require an investment in quality control and marketing of the symbolic and heritage aspects of the landscape. One advantage to branding cultural heritage coffee is that it is not a widespread association in differentiated consumables, and audiences used to supporting culture tend to recognize the representative value of objects. The environmental conditions within the CCLC are ideal for growing superb coffee. Additionally, heirloom species will likely have distinctive tastes that can be capitalized if carefully discerned and marketed. Colombian coffees enjoy a range of flavor due to soil type, length of growing season, and the temperature under which it ripens.²³⁴ Roasting is another essential determinant of coffee flavor, a step that is often outsourced. Investing in producing a top-quality finished product could significantly contribute to perpetuating the continuity and independence of small-scale farmers.

²³⁴ Bates, p. 62.



Figure 32- Mosaic of Land Uses with Pastures Anticipating Urban Sprawl

5.2 Neighborhood Scale

The Coffee Landscape is a changing mosaic where coffee cultivation once predominated, but is increasingly reduced to patches through urbanization and cattle farms. Similarly, forests are increasingly limited to mountain tops, with only occasional patches dotting the settled areas of the CCLC. A geography of steep ravines and creeks breaks up urban growth, creating green fingers alongside densely populated areas. Because of this strategies to protect agricultural areas need to consider their intermediary relation between urban and natural areas, and work with policy makers to contain urban expansion, and reduce cattle farms for the survival of the CCLC. Historically, coffee farming moved into tropical forests when the opportunities allow it.

Protection of natural areas has rightly gained support, and setting boundaries on agriculture can prevent further loss. Nonetheless, as temperatures rise with global warming, higher altitudes may be needed to grow arabica milds. At the same time, Armenia, Pereira, and Manizales are three of the largest growing cities in the country, and the WHS designation is heralding an era of investment. Contingency plans for climatic change, urban development, and tourism infrastructure need to be weighed in relation to traditionally farmed lands as the balancing and most vulnerable force within the CCLC.



Figure 33- Adjacent Properties with Different Land Use

5.2.1 Assessing through Adjacencies

The agro-ecological system of traditional shade-grown coffee provides a transition between a human and natural landscape where tree, animal, insect, and human species coexist. The presence of industrial agriculture, cattle farming, and tourism infrastructure that radically break from the agro-ecological system affects the health and resilience of the system as a whole, and creates irreversible damage to its resources. At the same time, people from the countryside constantly migrate to cities in search of better opportunities. The UNESCO nomination has no meaning if it cannot protect the natural and cultural values of the CCLC. The responsibility of protecting the values of the site needs to be assessed in terms of how properties affect each other. By focusing on adjacencies, properties should be evaluated not only by what happens within their boundaries but also by the effects they have on their surroundings. If not, efforts to create sustainable systems can be easily damaged by activities in neighboring properties.



Figure 34- Urban Sprawl and Cattle Grazing Reduce Vegetation to Ravines

Cattle raising is an activity that does not contribute to the nature or culture of the Coffee Landscape. Though it is an important economic activity, efforts to replace it with sustainable practices need to be put on the table. Cattle farming is usually highly polluting to water sources, it eliminates biodiversity and plant species, and compresses and erodes the soil, limiting its future use for years to come. Cattle farms also employ much fewer people than agriculture, and in this way it does not contribute to social capital. From the perspective of cultural heritage, they are a destructive force as they replace traditional systems altogether, and weaken the properties that remain.

The allure of *fincas* as vacation rental properties can be a useful means of bringing in additional revenue to coffee farms and promoting the agricultural heritage of the CCLC. Unfortunately, many rental properties detract rather than contribute to the integrity of the CCLC, a situation that is only exacerbated by the promotion of these properties as representing the World Heritage destination. Though some are exemplary and charming specimens of the local architectural style, their grounds are often lawns with swimming pools and ornamental plants. While changes in land use are a natural occurrence, working within parameters of what constitutes heritage value can ensure that newfound uses are compatible with the values of the site. Preventing the runoff from swimming pools and fertilizers onto an organic coffee farm needs a legislative framework. Vacation rentals can also be a gateway towards the suburbanization of rural areas. Instead, licenses for vacation rentals should be tied to compliance to the values of the CCLC, where visitor infrastructure is designed to promote and protect the heritage of the region.

Protecting horizontal and peripheral vistas- the viewsheds and the composition of tropical vegetation of varying heights and forms- should be valued as a unique trait of the Coffee Landscape. The value of a property can be greatly diminished if instead of looking onto lush

vegetation they open onto pastures or buildings. These kinds of externalities need to be measured when changes in land use are granted, and suggested improvements made available that are not only aesthetic but actually contribute to biodiversity, soil nutrition, and water cleansing.



Figure 35- Under a *Yarumo*

5.2.2 Strategies for Containment

Protecting natural resources has become a mainstream idea that is best represented by the proliferation of nature parks and reserves, yet these tend to have marked property boundaries with radically different uses in its adjacencies. A case in point is the Barbas Bremen nature reserve, which is flanked by large extensions of cattle grazing territory. In the Valle del Cocora, next to the endemic wax palms are cattle grazing areas that have decimated the tropical

vegetation on entire mountainsides. The value of shade-grown coffee as a buffer from tropical forests cannot be emphasized enough. In fact, it should be a policy for protection that all forests be lined with sustainable coffee cultivation when the conditions allow it.



Figure 36- Coffee Buffering the Forest from Armenia's Edge.

In tandem with nature conservation is the need to contain urban expansion. As regional cities in the Coffee Axis grow and the Coffee Highway allows faster movement across distances, upper income suburban homes are springing up in the northern parts of Circasia in Quindio. While real estate development is an important source of revenue for the town, care needs to be given into the geographical characteristics of the properties that are being developed. Encroachment towards the Barbas Bremen reserve and upstream of the Rio Roble, the main water source for Circasia and Montenegro, can have devastating effects on the ecology and agriculture of the region if sustainable measures are not considered. Properties in proximity to high value natural resources should be appraised through their adjacencies. Development rights ought to be inextricably tied to responsibilities towards natural resource protection on the grounds that their property's value benefits from it. Urban expansion can be contained and guided through design interventions that make better use of its ravines, and anchor settlement so it does not infringe on agricultural areas. In the case of isolated houses in close proximity to natural resources, purchasing those properties may be the best strategy for protection followed by developmental restrictions.



Figure 37- Forests in the Distance with Pastures Encroaching

Lastly, planning for change and anticipating developing should take the form of design interventions and zoning. Rivers, ravines, and agricultural areas can serve as spatial organizers for future public spaces that bring together communities and create a relationship and, ideally, stewardship of green spaces.²³⁵ A Transfer of Development Rights (TDR) scheme for agricultural lands can ensure that properties designated for coffee cultivation do not change uses. A TDR scheme is especially needed for the outskirts of the cities of Manizales, Pereira, and Armenia, where only areas with steep topographical inclines retain their agricultural usage.

²³⁵ David Gouverneur. *Planning and Design for Future Informal Settlements* (New York: Routledge, 2015) 127.

5.3 World Heritage Site and Regional Scale

When planning for landscape preservation we need to consider the various social, political, economic, and environmental factors that influence the usage and function of territories. With agricultural based heritage designations, the protection of the land and celebration of a culture do not ensure that agricultural production will continue as it is subject to the demands of the market and the aspirations of its inhabitants. Throughout the world we see areas where traditional farming is a dying activity because of the hard manual labor required, the low or unpredictable economic returns of non-industrial crops, and the low social status associated with rural livelihoods. On the other hand, traditional farming areas are increasingly appreciated for having an authentic and distinctive character, as destinations that provide a respite from city life and connection to nature, or as exciting new places to discover. Heritage designations can bring visibility to a place and economic opportunities for locals catering to visitors. But a fine balance must be struck between attracting new markets and transforming a place for new markets, and recognizing the ineluctable global trends of increasing population and urbanization.

The prospect of revenue from visitors should be used as leverage for compliance with preservation goals. License to rent properties, provide accommodation, food, and transport services should be designed in ways that add to the valorization of the CCLC and contribute to its preservation. At a local level, the right to new business and real estate development should depend on a heritage impact evaluation.²³⁶ Incentives for compliance should extend to existing

²³⁶ See "Guidance on Heritage Impact Assessments for Cultural World Heritage Properties: A Publication of the International Council on Monuments and Sites." ICOMOS, 2011. Web. 3 May 2015. http://www.icomos.org/world_heritage/HIA_20110201.pdf

establishments, both private and public, to include social and economic benefits. Compliance needs to be seen as a laudable and desirable contribution to a community rather than a restrictive imposition that creates animosity towards heritage designations. In order for that to happen, the benefits of compliance need to be publicly perceived and alternatives made available. For instance, if someone would like to develop property next to the river, design proposals can be suggested or the choice of other land be considered. Creating feasible choices requires the financial and legal backing of government officials, so working towards creating funds with the stated purpose of managing heritage needs to be a priority for the CCLC.

5.3.1 Overlapping Designations and Transitional Zones

As a way of safeguarding agro-ecological systems, overlapping designations can guarantee that the multiple values of a cultural landscape are monitored and protected. The edges of the buffer zone for the World Heritage that abut nature reserves should be managed in conjunction. Similarly, the relation between cultural developments and the use of natural resources should be made evident to visitors of towns, farms, and nature reserves alike. The harsh transition from urban to coffee crops or nature reserve to cattle grazing should be minimized through landscaping that promotes biodiversity, is useful for locals, creates attractive destinations, and elicits responsible behavior from residents and visitors.

Landscape designations cannot be reduced to simple titles of appreciation, but need to be accompanied by parameters and techniques for protection. Though territorial management plans are developed by some of the municipalities of the Coffee Axis, they tend to fragment the landscape into separate uses and characteristics with little attention to overlapping or complementary ecologies. The environmental assessment for the territorial planning of Quindio

establishes permitted, limited, and incompatible uses for different areas; it also suggests cattle uses according to geographical characteristics, meaning that cattle is proposed for flat areas alongside nature conservation and reforestation on adjacent slopes.²³⁷ Although there is a danger of lack of consensus and shred goals if different entities are responsible for safeguarding the same properties, the minimal hope is that zoning policies are enacted. Fairclough warns of fragmentation resulting from separate legislations, where only the best or most representative samples are protected.²³⁸

The Coffee Cultural Landscape's World Heritage status is indeed a management challenge that must address all its spaces in one comprehensive plan. In relation to the Rice Terraces of the Philippines, Villalón explains that even though the government had pledged support, it was unrealistic to expect government investment in non-priority projects, and few entities understood the approach intended in the management plan. Only after the local government took over the management responsibility did positive change begin.²³⁹ Successful management for the CCLC will depend on planning, and on creating an integrative vision for a sustainable landscape. All interventions, regardless of scale, should be designed to enhance the quality and valorization of the CCLC.

²³⁷ Oficina Asesora de Planeación y Direccionamiento Estratégico. "Determinantes Ambientales para el Ordenamiento Territorial Municipal en el Departamento del Quindío," (Armenia, Colombia: Corporación Autónoma Regional del Quindío, 2010) 106-108. Web. 1 May 2015.

<https://www.crq.gov.co/Documentos/SIGAM/Determinantes%20Ambientales.pdf>

²³⁸ Graham Fairclough, "Protecting the Cultural Landscape: National Designation and Local Character, in *Managing the Historic Rural Landscape*. Edited by Jane Grenville, 57-72. New York: Routledge, 1999) 28.

²³⁹ Villalón, 300-301.



Figure 38- The Coffee Cultural Landscape Mosaic

5.3.2 Engaging with the Landscape

The Coffee Cultural Landscape can be used as an open classroom for people of all ages and provenances to learn about sustainable agriculture, tropical forests and biodiversity, and traditional architectural techniques. Urban development and tourism infrastructure should consider ways of experiencing the landscape at different rhythms, crossing distinct terrains and locations, and having a variety of routes to chose from. Designed pedestrian and bike trails that connect different villages and farms can serve as alternative forms of transport. Municipal towns experience severe congestion as transport routes and commercial activities are centralized. Students from the vicinity commute into towns for school on a daily basis. Social

bonds that make up the fabric of the Coffee Landscape can be fomented through moving across the countryside. For visitors, it can provide a unique and direct perspective of the various layers that compose the cultural landscape.

Moving across routes that trace historic networks over long distances is a stimulating way of understanding historical change on the landscape, learning about specific species, and understanding change. A system's interrelated parts, threats, diversity, and beauty are best appreciated through direct experience, while its complexities can best be learned about *in situ*. The aspirations of most societies are directed towards urban centers, yet city dwellers also seek the countryside as a counterbalance to oversaturation.

The location of the CCLC between Colombia's three largest cities positions it as the ideal destination for people in need of a respite. The CCLC should be seen as a green lung for the middle of the county. Reducing noise, air, and light pollution will only prolong its value as a destination. At the same time, bridging the educational gap between urban and rural should be a priority for the CCLC. School programs should engage students in sustainable practices and teach them about agriculture. Towns such as Circasia can be attractive destinations for foreign students to learn a series of skills including language study, social sciences, and environmental studies. Attracting visitors for longer stays is an investment in the region as they are more likely to return and advocate for its protection. On the other hand, the rush to capture tourists without proper preparation can erode the qualities of a site.²⁴⁰ Preventing this common occurrence can be mitigated through planning, careful review, and involving various stakeholders in designing appropriate infrastructure for the CCLC that enhances the site and spreads revenue across different sectors.

²⁴⁰ Araoz, 56

Destinations, trails, and rituals can be created to bring people into the landscape, and to understand how coffee areas function. Art, especially sculpture, can create an attraction where getting to it is tied to an element of discovery and adventure. In the age of digital technology and mass tourism, creating alternative experiences can extend and attract visitation. Organized treks where visitors cross long distances over the course of a few days, and stop at different farms along the route for meals and to sleep is a desirable way of having a direct experience with a place. Colombia is a prime destination for foreign and national tourism off the beaten path. Trails across the countryside of the CCLC can combine the cultural experience of coffee culture with nature, bird-watching, and botany tours, and leave significant revenues to participating farmers. Creating harvesting rituals and celebrations could be explored as a way of enticing people to participate in moments when additional hands are most needed, and as a way of passing on knowledge and awareness to future generations.

Finally, utilizing agricultural fields for crops that can supply local needs can add to the resilience of the agro-ecological system and the income of farmers. *Guadua* is grown, especially in the sloping ravines, of coffee plantations. Encouraging the use of local *guadua* in construction and common objects can add character to the region, while stimulating production and creative design. Traditionally, coffee was grown alongside a variety of edible and firewood trees that supplied and sustained rural livelihood. Plantains, maize, sugar cane, beans, fruits, and vegetables were planted to feed owners and workers.²⁴¹ Although the needs of farmers today are different, edible plants and firewood can always be used in food and to create a unique ambiance that enhances a visitor's experience. Trees planted for shade canopy can benefit the economic and ecological stability of rural areas as well as providing alternatives to

²⁴¹ Bates, 73.

deforestation.²⁴² Design is a profession that is booming in Colombia; investing in innovation, promoting the use of natural materials, and involving creative people in designing harmonious and sustainable solutions to protect the agricultural heritage of the cultural landscape is a risk worth taking.

Conclusion

The Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia encapsulates the opportunities and challenges of managing a site with a large territorial extension and various land uses. As an agricultural-based heritage designation, planning and policies need to protect agricultural land and encourage sustainable practices. The basis for the designation of the Coffee Landscape is primarily a historical narrative of nation building. The acceptance of coffee farming as a national symbol should serve as a catalyst to garner support for protecting and enhancing traditional cultivation. Traditionally grown crops function as agro-ecological systems in compatibility with tropical forests. They are also habitats for migrating birds, small mammals, insects, and people. Moreover, agricultural areas function as a protective barrier between natural and urban areas and, as such, are essential to the quality of life and future of the region.

Understanding and managing the Coffee Landscape through assessing conditions in relation to adjacencies and linkages can ensure that problems are treated comprehensively and opportunities maximized across the landscape. Approaching the landscape by scales affords both a nuanced and an inter-connected assessment of its cultural and natural values.

²⁴² Robert A. Rice and Justin R. Ward. "Coffee, Conservation, and Commerce in the Western Hemisphere: How Individuals and Institutions Can Promote Ecologically Sound Farming and Forest Management in Northern Latin America." Washington, D.C.: Natural Resources Defense Council and Smithsonian Migratory Bird Center, 1996. P. 17 https://biodiversityandcoffee.files.wordpress.com/2008/05/shade-coffee_whitepaper.pdf

The immediate threat to coffee farmers and the falling international prices; however, the long term threat to the Coffee Landscape and its farmers is the lack of regulations and incentives aimed towards greater cultural and ecological sustainability. The cultivated areas in the CCLC need to shift from a background historical narrative to the central focus of the World Heritage designation. The flexibility of the “cultural landscape” designation is an opportunity to manage the interrelated layers and functions within a landscape. For years, it was a reality without a name, but unless a clear framework for managing and protecting traditionally grown coffee is established and applied, the cultural landscape World Heritage designation runs the risk of becoming a name with a meaning. As David Lowenthal stated: “History is enlarged by being disseminated; heritage is diminished and despoiled by export.”²⁴³ Working on strengthening the agricultural heritage from within will ensure that its value flourishes.

²⁴³ Lowenthal, David. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.128

Abbreviations

CCLC	Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (from the Spanish “Paisaje Cultural Cafetero de Colombia”)
Cenicafé	The FNC’s National Coffee Research Center
FNC	National Federation of Coffee Growers of Colombia (from the Spanish “Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia”)
HUL	Historic Urban Landscape
ICA	International Coffee Agreement
ICOMOS	International Council for Monuments and Sites
IUCN	The International Union for the Conservation of Nature
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
TDR	Transfer of Development Rights
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHC	World Heritage Center
WHS	World Heritage Site

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