5. An approach to winemaking in Colombia from the perspective of tourism and culture.

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1. Introduction

From a classical look at the geography of wine production in the world, we find that the best conditions, mainly weather conditions, such as temperature, hours of sunlight, humidity and wind, but also soil and topography, for growing grapes, are distributed between the parallels 30 and 50 in the northern hemisphere and 30 and 40-45 in the southern hemisphere. Generally speaking, winemaking is mainly located in the Mediterranean region, with outstanding production and trade in countries such as Italy, France and Spain, as well as in Portugal, Germany, Hungary, Greece, among others. Outside Europe and with the same level of importance, vineyards, wine production and trade are identified in the United States, Chile, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, South Africa, and even countries that culturally do not have a wine tradition in their history, such as China (Thorpe, 2009). According to Almanza, by 2011, most of the wine-growing area was located in the Northern hemisphere, accounting for 89.9% of the world's vineyards; the remaining 10.1% is located in South America, South Africa and Oceania. This is a trend that is still continuing today.

In the case of Colombia, it is a country that is outside of the geographical areas described above, therefore, in order to talk about grape growing and wine production in this country, it is necessary to refer to a more

contemporary theory, that of the Geography of Wine in the tropics. To do so, it is necessary to remember that winemaking arrived in America during the Colonial period, thanks to the needs of the religious orders, the colonizers and the Spanish and Portuguese imperial armies, who brought their supplies but who also managed to successfully develop grape growing and, consequently, to produce wine. Archaeological and anthropological texts speak of the possible use of grapes for the production and consumption of wine before the arrival of the colonizers (Dozier, Kim and Russell, 2020), however, in this work, reference is made to winemaking in our region as a modern, clearly economic and globalized activity, with interests that are also in dialogue with the cultural.

With the diaspora of winemaking towards the territories that were under the control of the two empires, at the time, Spain and Portugal, this activity, in some countries such as Argentina and Chile, would develop very well and would gain a lot of strength, among other things, because of the good acclimatization of the vines, but also due to the Phylloxera (Dactylosphaera vitifoliae), an insect that would drastically attack the vineyards during the second half of the 19th century (and which would turn the attention of producers to the American vineyards) (Unwin, 1991). In other cases, such as Colombia, it is possible that the Jesuits managed to produce a good quality wine (Henao, 2004) and that its premature interruption was due to the decline of the Spanish wine trade, which raised doubts in the Royal House about the self-sufficiency of the new territories, leading Philip II of Spain to order the end of wine production in the New World in 1595 (Quijano, 2006), to protect the revenue of Spanish wines (Winkler et al. 1974; Sempat, 1983); achieving that, the activity, at least in this country, would disappear completely.

In Colombia, as in other tropical countries located between 10° South and 10° North of the Equator, except for Mexico and Peru³⁰, which have maintained their production since colonial times (Lacoste, 2004), and Brazil, where the activity gained momentum with the immigration of Germans and Italians in the 19th century (Pires and Sueli, 2021; Falcade, 2016), in Colombia, winemaking began to take off in the second half of the 20th century. It is a region characterized by its diversity of climates, soils and topographies, and consequently, ecosystems, with altitudes ranging from sea level to perpetual snow, and with the possibility of finding inside it, some areas with the climatic, soil and topographic conditions to grow grapes for wine production, practically all year round, which allows scheduling harvests, mainly in relation to the weather, the dynamics of the market and the use of technology (Almanza, Serrano and Fischer, 2012). According to Almanza (2011), in Colombia, the cultivation of grapes for winemaking began in 1982, in the Department of Boyacá, at altitudes between 2,200 and 2,600 meters above sea level, mainly in two areas: the Valle del Sol with the Loma de Puntalarga vineyard (Quijano, 2004), in the municipality of Nobsa, and the municipality of Villa de Leyva, through the German Technical Cooperation group (GTZ), establishing, in both cases, the concept of low volume but high-quality production. According to Henao (2004), this concept contrasts with the production developed in the department of Valle del Cauca, which has a more important trajectory but is aimed at a less demanding public 31. In addition to the two

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³⁰ According to Nodari and Frank (2019), the importation of grapevines to New Spain made by Cortez in the 1520s represents the first evidence of viticulture in Mexico. Similarly, the Spanish conquests in the Inca Empire, as well as the Jesuit presence and religious rituals, influenced the expansion of winemaking in Latin America.

Although grape growing in Colombia began commercially at the beginning of the 20th century, first in the department of Valle del Cauca and then in Antioquia, Santander, Tolima and near the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (Almanza, 2011); and that since 1945 winemaking was promoted in

departments where the initial production took place, small areas are located in the departments of Antioquia and Santander.

Moreover, studies conducted by the Walloon Agency for imports and foreign investment in Bogota - Awex Colombia (2020), and by Euromonitor International (2020), regarding alcohol consumption trends in Colombia, show a per capita increase between 2011 and 2019 of 46% in terms of wine consumption, rising from 0.2 liters to 2 liters. Additionally, according to data from Éxito Group³², in 2020, during the pandemic, the wine category grew, for example, by 22% compared to the period January-September 2019, representing sales of USD 29 million in wine, in other words, the trade of 3.8 million bottles. The aim of the above is to suggest that Colombia is an attractive market for investors and foreign wine and commercial companies, which are already positioned in the country's large retail outlets.

As mentioned above, wine producers in Colombia, with the exception of a few cases, have concentrated on the production of quality wines, but they do not produce them in large quantities, which would allow them to compete in the main wholesale trading areas of the country and in international scenarios with producers and marketers from other countries with a wine tradition; among other things, because their prices are not competitive. In three of the most well-known vineyards in Colombia, wines are mainly sold on site and by order, in price ranges that vary between: Vineyard Ain Karim, Boyacá, 15 and 20 USD; Vineyard

the country, particularly in the municipality of La Unión, Valle del Cauca; it was only in 1982 that vineyards began to be planted for the production of dry wine, since the only wine produced up to that time was sweet wine.

³² It was not possible to retrieve data directly from Grupo Éxito, a Colombian multi-Latin retail company. Instead, Colombian newspapers specializing in the economy, such as Portafolio, Semana, El Universal, among others, were used.

Puntalarga, Boyacá, and Vineyard Sicilia, Antioquia, between 25 and 35 USD; while in large commercial surfaces, chain stores and online shops, wines are available from 4 USD and higher qualities, from 15 USD. From the point of view of the selling price of wine, this can be interpreted as a problem for Colombian producers, but from the point of view of the trend of increasing per capita wine consumption in the country, it can be seen as an opportunity, or even as a particularity of wine making in the country. In this way, this paper aims to propose that, in the case of Colombia, besides seeking the best climatic, soil and topographical conditions, as well as workforce, among others, wine producers, mainly those of the younger vineyards (or of a second wave), defined the spatial location of production in relation to the opportunities to market their products, not in the domestic market, where it is not possible for them to compete, but in situ, diversifying their activity towards services related to tourism. In the case of the pioneer producers (or of a first wave), in the impossibility of following this model or the lack of desire or the impossibility of relocating or "reterritorializing" (Haesbaert, 2013) their production, they found it was urgent to diversify their activities and also turn to leisure and tourism; some with better opportunities than others, in relation to the distance between their vineyards and the places of origin of a certain type of tourists, or of attractions and the development of tourist practices.

In this way, the reintroduction of winemaking in the territories beginning in the 1980s can be considered as the reintroduction of a cultural element that is part of their history, but which until then was unknown, and which builds in them a (new) identity mark. This process, which can be understood as the recreation of culture in the territory³³, shapes, more or

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As Lourdes Arizpe pointed out during her speech on 3 June 2012 at the Maison des Cultures du Monde in Paris, "we must look at culture as a process and not as a finished product, since these are not fixed, closed and crystallized containers, but rather are creations that transcend borders and are shared with the whole world". Concerning the above, the inhabitants of a territory that is now

less unconsciously for the producer, an input to generate a territorial development project through tourism.

This document is presented as a first progress of the research on the geography of wine in Colombia, a subject that has been addressed in the country, mainly but not abundantly, from agronomic and chemical science, although not from a multidisciplinary and comprehensive view, which is intended to be advanced from geographic science. The work began in 2021, in the context of the Covid-19 virus pandemic, so visits to specialized reference centers and fieldwork have been limited. For this reason, this chapter is the result of a documentary review of the texts that have been produced, from different areas of knowledge, on winemaking in Colombia and that are available on the internet; a search of the grey literature, videos and two observation trips to the vineyards of Ain Karim and Puntalarga in Boyacá. There is no data on the number of tourist visits and their characterization of the country's vineyards. For this reason, the research activities that will continue this initial work will link zoning, identification and description of cultivation and production practices, community involvement, as well as a tourism activity in these places, among others.

The paper is organized in four parts, of which this introduction corresponds to the first. In the second and third parts, the results and discussion are presented. Thus, the second part presents the trajectory of grape and wine production in Colombia, proposing two waves in terms of

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again winegrowing, who maintain sympathy and a feeling of cooperation with a certain number of basic institutions such as morals, family organization, leisure activities, among others, also do so with a productive/agro-industrial project that is inserted in their territory, in economic but also political terms. The reintroduction of winemaking in the territories can be considered as the capacity of their inhabitants to adapt and (re)create new cultural references, which allow them to dialogue with the past, reconstruct memory and contribute to the process of reinventing the original identity (Mejía, 2014).

the emergence of vineyards; and, following this dynamic, the third part explains the reasons for the location of vineyards from the particularities of consumption trends and wine marketing in the country, which will make sense when related to tourism and culture, as inputs to think about territorial development projects in the regions where this activity takes place. In the fourth part, rather than conclusions, ideas are proposed that will guide the continuation of this research.

2. Moments of wine production in Colombia

Colombia is a country located in the northern part of South America, bordering five countries on its territorial frontiers: Venezuela, Panama, Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil; and 11 countries on its maritime borders: Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, among others. With a surface area of 2,070,408 km², divided into a continental area of 1,141,748 km² and a maritime area of 928,660 km², in which six natural regions are identified: Andean, Caribbean, Pacific, Orinoco, Amazonian and Insular, with a diversity of thermal floors and ecosystems. In terms of administration, the country is divided into 32 departments and 1122 municipalities; its capital is the city of Bogotá, with a population of approximately 7.2 million people and located in the center of the country, in the Andean region, which is the most populated, dynamic and diverse in terms of economic activity. According to the latest census conducted by the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE, 2018), the estimated population of the country is 48.2 million inhabitants, of which 12 million currently live in rural areas, many of them indigenous peoples, Afro-Colombians and peasants. Historically, the economy has been based on the extractivism of minerals such as gold and oil, metals and coal, the

agriculture of coffee, sugar cane, potatoes, bananas, among many other products, and the cattle ranching of milk and meat. The country has also lived in a constant war, mainly in its rural areas, a conflict that has its origins in bipartisan wars, exclusion, poverty and the abandonment of the population by the state, which favored the emergence of peasant guerrillas, liberal guerrillas and later Marxist guerrillas. The conflict became more complex in the late 1970s, with the beginning of drug dealing and the emergence of drug cartels, in the 1990s with the flourishing of the phenomenon of paramilitarism, and since 2000, it has become even more complex with the emergence of criminal gangs and organized crime groups, which are distributed and dominate around a large part of the rural national territory, although today, it is very noticeable in urban areas. In September 2016, the Colombian government signed a Peace Agreement³⁴, with the country's oldest guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia FARC-EP, achieving the demobilization, disarmament and clearance of regions previously unknown to the population, as they were former war zones. As for tourism, this activity began in an organized manner in the middle of the last century, mainly in the Caribbean and Insular regions. With the arrival of the new millennium and seen as an opportunity for development, tourism spread to all regions of Colombia, offering a diversity of attractions and natural spaces, especially since the signing of the Peace Agreement; and cultural attractions, the latter being where winemaking comes into play in the country.

The first record of winemaking in Colombia is the experience of Bodegas del Rhin, founded in 1937 in Bogotá, with the goal of producing wines

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For more information on the Peace Agreement signed between the Colombian Government and the FARC-EP guerrillas, click on: https://www.jep.gov.co/Normativa/Paginas/Acuerdo-Final.aspx.

from musts imported from Argentina and Chile, and marketing them along with other national and imported wines and spirits. The winery has received international recognition for its work, such as the Gold Medal at the Spanish Wine Festival. Currently, it has diversified its activities and offers a tour to visit the facilities and production processes and to learn about historical liqueurs in Colombia and experience the tasting of national wines (Image 1).

In terms of vine cultivation, although the appearance of vineyards in Colombia was recorded at the beginning of the 20th century in the department of Valle del Cauca, this production was not destined for wine production, but for the table grape market. During the first half of that century, this activity was also developed in the departments of Antioquia, Santander, Tolima and near the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (Almanza, 2011)³⁵.

³⁵ Currently, the departments of Valle del Cauca and Huila account for 97% of table grape production in Colombia.

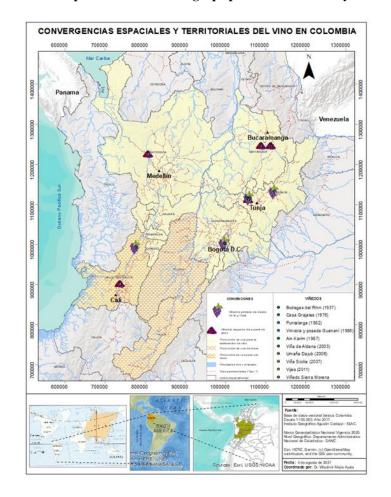


Image 1. Spatial and temporal distribution of grape production and vineyards in Colombia.

Source: Own elaboration.

The first vine cultivations for the production of wine also appeared in the department of Valle del Cauca, as a consecutive phase to what was already being developed. The grape production in this department is mainly focused on the municipality of La Unión, which is located at 4º 33' north latitude, at 1000 m above sea level, with a temperature of 24ºC. The grape varieties produced are Isabella and Thompson, so the resulting wine is sherry or sweet wine. Currently, the cultivation area is 2231 ha and the

production is industrial with the use of cutting-edge technology. Two harvests are achieved per year, obtaining 6 million liters of wine. The company is called Casa Grajales and has diversified its activity, venturing into the tourism and leisure industry, by making its vineyard and winemaking cellars available for visits, as well as the wine production process in general. In addition, the place has the Grape and Wine Museum, as well as the National Grape Park.

In relation to the year in which the winemaking activity in the Department of Valle was recorded, 1976, and together with two of the vineyards located in the Department of Boyacá that appeared in 1982 and 1986, to which we will refer below, these three experiences can be recognized as the pioneers or the first wave of vineyards destined for the production and commercialization of wine in Colombia.

In 1982, in the rural area of the municipality of Nobsa, Boyacá, with the purchase of the Loma de Puntalarga by Mr. Marco Quijano, a chemist by profession and a native of the region, the wine project Marques de Puntalarga was started, which consists of producing a dry wine from high altitude tropics and cold climate, at altitudes between 2,400 and 2,700 meters above sea level, 16°C and an annual rainfall of 750 m3. Initially, 33 grape varieties from Geisenheim, Germany, and Burgundy, France, were planted (Quijano, 2004).

Currently, varieties such as Riesling White Rhine and crosses of Riesling and Pinot Noir, among others, are grown. Today, Puntalarga is the main site for the collection and production of wines, as it is a regional project, given that there are 70 grape producers linked to it, who are peasants who became winegrowers, and who are spread over 18 municipalities in the Department of Boyacá, occupying a production area of around 400 ha.

In 1986, the Guananí winery was founded by Joachim Hezberg, an agronomist engineer of German origin, associated at that time with the

German Technical Cooperation Agency GTZ. Guananí is a winegrowing experience developed in the municipality of Villa de Leyva, Boyacá, at an altitude of 2150 meters above sea level, with the adaptation of Chardonnay and Cabernet Sauvignon varieties for white and red wine, respectively (Henao, 2004). Today, however, it is almost exclusively responsible for the production of wines for chapels throughout the country, using the Isabella variety.

From 1996 to 2011, a second wave of vineyards emerged in Colombia. The first recorded experience, which corresponds, in the first instance, to the year 1987, which can be understood by its history/behavior, rather as a transition between the first wave and the second wave, is that of the Ain Karim Vineyard, located in the municipality of Sutamarchán, Boyacá, at 2100 meters above sea level, a temperature between 18° and 26°C and with clay soils. The founder is Mr. Pablo Toro, an architect and mechanical engineer born in the department of Caldas, with a diploma in enology from the University of Davis, California.

The location of the Ain Karim vineyard is the result of the work of a group of French researchers who, together with its founder, sought the best conditions for cultivation; the varieties were also imported from France, such as Cabernet Sauvignon and Sauvignon Blanc, and grafts of Chardonnay from California (Gómez-Sierra, 2012). With the death of Mr. Pablo Toro, its founder, in 2008, and with the new management, there is no interest in exporting or increasing production, but rather in spreading the wine culture but also achieving a financial break-even point, thinking of the vineyard as a business. To this end, the activities in the vineyard were diversified, focusing on tourism of discovery and events (Martínez, 2016). The vineyard occupies an area of 12 ha and produces 20,000 bottles of dry wine per year that are sold in the departments of Boyacá and Cundinamarca.

The second experience of this new wave is located in the department of Santander, in the municipality of Los Santos, in the village of Tabacal, and was established in 2003 under the name of Aldana vineyard. It is a planting area of only 2 hectares, at 1650 meters above sea level, with a production of 3000 bottles per year, using the Isabela variety. The wine produced there is sweet and semi-sweet, which is only consumed and marketed in the vineyard, where they also offer the service of an ecological inn, a wine tour and experiential tourism activities related to grape growing, production and wine tasting. With similar characteristics in terms of offering the public, more than a quality wine, an experience of discovery tourism, the Umaña Dajub vineyard appeared in 2006 in the municipality of Villa de Leyva, Boyacá, at 2100 meters above sea level, and in the department of Santander, at 1720 meters above sea level, in the municipality of Zapatoca, the Sierra Morena vineyard.

An emblematic example of this second wave in the emergence of vineyards in Colombia is Viña Sicilia, located in the department of Antioquia, on the banks of the Cauca River, in the municipality of Olaya. Carlos Bravo, its owner, a plastic surgeon by profession, carried out agronomic and winemaking research to find the right weather, soil and topographical conditions for the production of grapes destined for quality wines. The grapes are grown organically with varieties such as Nero d'Avola, Malbec, Sira, Chardonnay, Catarato and Grillo. The quality of Viña Sicilia's wines has been recognized with world medals. In addition, the vineyard has a themed hotel with a spa and is intended, in relation to the local community, as a project that offers opportunities to improve the living conditions of the population.

The last experience of this second wave is located in the municipality of Vijes, Valle del Cauca, at an altitude of 1000 m above sea level and an average temperature of 27°C. There is not much information about this

vineyard, only its founders, Emilio Sardi and the enologist Edgardo Escalera from Argentina, they have been producing Syrah, Sauvignon Blanc and Merlot grapes since 2011 (Table 1).

Table 1. Characteristics of vineyards in Colombia.

Name	Location	Start of the activity	Area of vineyard (ha)	Strains	Services	Nearby tourist or emitting places
Bodegas del Rhin	Bogotá DC	1937			Site visit	Bogotá
Casa Grajales	La Unión, Valle del Cauca	1976	2231	Isabella and Thompson	Wine tour, hotels, Grape and Wine Museum, Grape National Park, Eolo Park, canopy	Cali
Punta Larga	Nobsa, Boyacá	1982	400	Rhine White Riesling and crosses of Riesling with Black Pinot	Restaurant, wine tour, events	Paipa Tunja Bogotá
Vinícola y posada Guananí	Villa de Leyva, Boyacá	1986	± 30	Isabella, Chardonnay and Cabernet Sauvignon	Rooms and cabins, swimming pool, wine tour, restaurant, pets	Villa de Leyva Tunja Bogotá
Ain Karin	Sutamarchán, Boyacá	1996	12	Sauvignon Blanc, Merlot and Cabernet Sauvignon	Event and wedding hall, restaurant, wine tour	Villa de Leyva Tunja Bogotá
Viña de Aldana	El Tabacal, Santander	2003	2	Isabela	Hostel, restaurant and wine tour	Alto de los Santos Chicamocha National Park Bucaramanga
Umaña Dajub	Zaquencipa Valley, Boyacá	2006			Wine tour, tasting, tasting and pairing courses	Villa de Leyva Tunja Bogotá
Viña Sicilia	Olaya, Antioquia	2007	12	Nero D'Aavola, Grillo, Nerello Frappato, Catarratto, Malbec, Syrah, Chardonnay	Boutique hotel, spa, swimming pools, restaurant, wine tour, cosmetic products	Santa Fe de Antioquia Medellín
Vijes	Vijes, Valle del Cauca	2011		Syrah, Sauvignon blanc, Carmenere and Merlot		Cali
Vineyard Sierra Morena	Zapatoca, Santander				Hostel, restaurant and wine tour	Chicamocha National Park Bucaramanga

Source: Own elaboration.

3. Why wine making and tourism are interrelated

The idea of identifying two waves in terms of the emergence of vineyards in the country is related to the attempt to propose, based on three factors that will be described below, an exploratory spatial model that accounts for the location of these vineyards and their relationship with tourism.

The first factor, already mentioned in the introduction to this text, has to do with trends in wine consumption in Colombia. In principle, it would be a luxury product or social differentiation, due to its price in relation to other alcoholic beverages traditionally consumed in the country, such as beer, aguardiente and even whisky (Gennari and Estrella, 2015). However, the study conducted by Awex (2020) shows that wine is the second most consumed alcoholic beverage after beer. Thus, in the retail trade, wine represents 21% of sales, which makes it a product in greater demand than Whisky (17%) and Aguardiente (14%). In the same study, it is pointed out that the emergence of new distribution wineries has led to competition between producers/marketers and, consequently, to a fall in prices, which benefits the consumer.

On the other hand, the study conducted by Euromonitor (2020), shows that in April 2019, Colombian household expenses on alcoholic beverages increased by 8.1% compared to 2018 and while it was expected that sales of alcoholic beverages in commerce would experience a drop in 2020 due to the health and socioeconomic crisis caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, on the contrary, for the months of April, June and July of that year, wine consumption reached a growth of 20.3% in the general market, with the exception of the Éxito Group, which managed to grow almost 12 points above this figure, reaching 32%. For this large surface market chain, online wine sales recorded an increase of 14% in 2020, compared to 7% in 2019.

The steady growth of wine consumption in recent years in Colombia is due to various socio-economic and cultural aspects, such as the increase in per capita income, the emergence of an average class with greater purchasing power (approximately 30% of the population), and the growing desire of Colombian consumers to discover new products linked to the development of the leisure and recreation industry, among these, the gastronomic offer. In view of the above, the study carried out by Euromonitor (2020) shows that 82% of the restaurants located in the capital of the country offer national and foreign wines on their menus, however, of this percentage, 75% favor the sale of international wines due to the profit margin that these leave them and the choice of consumers who, although interested, focus on their previous knowledge or their regular habits. In other words, there is a general lack of knowledge about wine production in Colombia.

Given the above, the second factor identified is the characteristics of the wines produced in the country. Thus, we found that the sweet wine made from the Isabella variety is the main product in four of the five vineyards registered above (Casa Grajales, Vinícola Guananí, Viña de Aldana, and Vineyard Sierra Morena) and it turns out to be the most marketed due to its volume and cost of production³⁶, in relation to the mainly dry wines produced in the other vineyards. From Vineyard Vijes, it has not been possible, until now, to have more information about the type of wines produced. However, dry wine production has been identified in the vineyards of Umaña Dajub, Aim Karin and Puntalarga, in Boyacá, and Viña Sicilia in Antioquia. These are characterized by vineyards of no more

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Out of the 2,700 hectares registered in Colombia for wine production, more than 2,300 are destined for the production of Isabella grapes. Sweet wine has traditionally been consumed in Colombia, consumption associated with older people and special occasions (Gennari and Estrella, 2015), closely associated with the Judeo-Christian tradition: Christmas and New Year, first communions, marriages, among others, 15th birthday parties, etc.

than 40 hectares, except in the case of Puntalarga, which has the participation of several terroirs from different owners, occupying an area of 400 hectares. This shows that this is a new economic activity from which small, medium and large producers can benefit, and in this way, unblock regions that are in a marginal or peripheral situation.

On the other hand, if we take into account that, unlike countries within the classic geographical ranges of wine production (see Introduction), where 15 tons of grapes per hectare are produced, in countries that do not experience seasonal changes in climate, production is no more than 4 tons per hectare, except in the departments where the Isabella variety is produced (Andrade, 2017: 34). This characteristic is a factor that increases the cost of production. In this regard, of the four vineyards that produce dry wines, the case of Puntalarga is the only one that is presented as a project that seeks to expand its cultivation area in order to increase its production.

The third factor has to do with history, especially with the fact that since colonial times it has been known that it is possible to produce good quality wine in the tropics, both in the lowlands and in the highlands, thanks, above all, to the experiences of the religious missions in America. As a complement to the above, the dry wines produced in the vineyards of Puntalarga, Villa Sicilia and Ain Karim have been recognized with international medals for their quality. Behind these vineyards, there is research work with significant investments of time and resources, carried out to identify the most appropriate land for the cultivation of vines; likewise, their owners and founders, some with roots in their land, are professionals in different areas, who have specialized in winemaking, being advised by European and North American researchers.

Taking into account the three factors described above: 1. An increase in wine consumption by part of the Colombian population, but a lack of

knowledge of the national product; 2. Small areas of cultivation and low production volumes per hectare; 3. Obtaining a quality wine but with a high production cost; it is proposed that the winegrowers belonging to the second wave, besides looking for the ideal conditions in terms of weather, soils, topography, among other physical factors, as well as the proximity to the necessary workforce for the cultivation and processing of the vine, and being aware of the difficulties to market their products on a profitable manner, also took into account, to locate their vineyards, the distance and tourism factors, in the following way:

a. Locate the vineyard near a large city or an intermediate city, which has an important infrastructure in terms of mobility and accommodation, with a national and/or international airport. This city may itself be a tourist destination or a place of transit for national and international tourists on their way to other tourist destinations. These places may even be part of the tourist area of the big city.

b. Locate the vineyard near at least one important tourist site in the region and/or in the country, in other words, that, taking advantage of the neighborhood effect, its frequentation is guaranteed at the level of national and international tourists, as well as tourists of proximity or that type of tourism that is practiced near the tourist's place of residence (explorers, double residences, weekends, locatourism, among others), double residences, weekends, locatourism, among others), in the case of Colombia, being in the same municipality, department in which the municipality is located or neighboring departments, and which includes diverse practices of discovery, meeting, play, shopping, among others. As for the latter, the big city or the intermediate city could be considered as places of origin for this type of tourists.

c. In addition to the previous point, the big city or intermediate city must contain and be contained by an economically dynamic and diverse society, within which there is a sector or urban middle class with the capacity to spend and travel, more or less a constant consumer or new consumer of wine³⁷.

Regarding the former, we find, for example, that Bogotá is the first national tourist destination³⁸, a city with the main international airport in the country. In the case of the vineyards of Ain Karim, Guananí and Umaña Dajub, Bogotá represents that great city of proximity that is a source of tourists and visitors who are members of a very economically active and diverse social class. In addition, these three vineyards, being located in the neighboring Department of Boyacá, are located within what can be thought of as the tourist area of Bogotá, which includes places such as Villa de Leyva, Lago de Tota and Paipa. For the Villa Sicilia vineyard, we find the city of Medellín, which is one of the main tourist destinations in the country and which includes Santa Fe de Antioquia, an important destination within this activity, very close to Villa Sicilia. With similar characteristics, we find for other vineyards the cities of Cali and Bucaramanga (see Image 2).

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³⁷ According to data from the Éxito Group for 2020, the cities that account for 63% of wine consumption in the country are: Bogotá (45%) and Medellín (18%), with the remaining 37% distributed among other urban centers.

³⁸ According to the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism (2020), in 2019, the arrival of non-resident visitors to Colombia was 4,515,932 people, with an increase of 2.7% compared to 2018, 57.8 hotel occupancy. Taking domestic tourism into account, the total number of tourists arriving in the city of Bogotá was 12,923,975 people. Bogotá is the first national tourist destination (Bogotá Chamber of Commerce, 2021). The city of Medellín is located in the fourth most visited region nationally, Antioquia, with 927,453 international traveler arrivals in 2019, 13% more than in 2018, of which 543,579 were Colombians from abroad and 383,874 foreigners, 19% more than in 2018. Taking domestic tourism into account, around 2.5 million tourists arrived to Medellín in 2019.

As a result, within the need for diversification and the search for positioning in a competitive market, it is possible to consider vineyards as emerging places in Colombian tourist activity. The type of tourism developed in these places corresponds to wine tourism or enotourism. As Elias (2006) points out, this type of tourism falls into the category of cultural tourism, since the project of the traveler includes the search for knowledge and appreciation of non-tangible resources and manifestations. Likewise, due to the location of the vineyards, wine tourism is also a section of rural tourism, linked to the observation and development of activities in nature, with knowledge about traditional culture, and so it has a formative facet, being tourism of exploration, cultural and didactic, gastronomic by linking the pleasure of the senses in tasting and perception, differentiated, minoritarian and, in a certain way, luxury. Concerning the wine tourist in Colombia, for this paper, the proposal of Colmenero (2007) is considered appropriate, who identifies three profiles: a) the wine lover: for whom the main reason for traveling is the vineyards, the wines and the processes associated with their production, and who has professional knowledge or knowledge associated with personal experience on the subject; b) the wine enthusiast: for whom the wines and what is related to them does not represent their main reason for traveling, but who has important knowledge about them, so they can be considered with a potential repeat visitor; c) the wine curious: who corresponds to that individual who, not being familiar with wine, within their tourism project does not have as main motivation the discovery of vineyards, wineries and processes, as well as the meeting of actors, therefore, their visit is occasional. On the contrary, he/she may know about wine and thus consider vineyards as a tourist attraction.

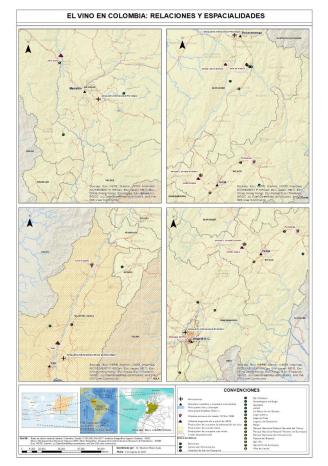


Image 2. Distance factor and location of vineyards in Colombia.

Source: own elaboration.

4. In conclusion

From the above, a partial conclusion can be drawn: the shorter the distance between the location of the vineyard and the emitting and tourist places, the smaller the cultivation areas, with a low production volume but diversification in terms of the tourist services offered. On the contrary, the greater the distance between the location of the vineyard and the cities or tourist destinations, the larger the cultivation area, and consequently,

the greater the inclusion of the local society, beyond the simple workforce which, in many cases, is unskilled.

This makes sense in view of the difficulty or impossibility experienced by national winegrowers in marketing their products in the country's chain supermarkets and large retail outlets since it is not possible to compete either in price or volume with imported wines. For this reason, the marketing of their products is done *in situ* (and by shipment on request, in a smaller percentage), in other words, to bring to the place of production the consumer - international, domestic and/or proximity tourist: mobile urban middle-class individual with spending capacity and eager to access/consume/discover gastronomic novelties, regional cultural particularities, landscapes or simple *commodities*³⁹.

It is also proposed that the second wave of vineyards differs from the first because it recognizes that in most cases the local community if it participates at all, does so as a technical or unskilled workforce. However, in relation to the history of winemaking in the country (see the Introduction), the reintroduction/recreation of this activity as a cultural element can be conceived as a hallmark of identity, being for these territories, possibly unconsciously for the producer, an input that participates in the socio-economic dynamization of the regions, and in this way, it can be conceived, as proposed by Sueli and Frank (2019), as an important *commodity* that conquers international prizes, increases its visibility and its consumers, rather than as an enterprise of small rural farmers.

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³⁹ Cultural expressions estimated in terms of their exchange value, specifically in the context of cultural tourism, thus becoming cultural goods or objects that can be traded by the tourism industry. This is a contradictory process since, while it can lead to the degradation of a locality's culture, it also generates economic benefits for the local inhabitants (Chambers, 2010).

As we have seen, the above is also put into operation through tourism, since, in addition to producing wine, these places offer the possibility of visiting the vineyards, the wineries and learning about the different processes linked to its production, tasting, and organizing wine tastings, offering accommodation with wet areas and spa services, restaurants with national and international menus and rooms for events, all focused on the discovery and the wine experience.

As for the pioneers or owners of the vineyards corresponding to the first wave, who have managed to develop their passion for winemaking and produce quality wines, as shown by the medals and awards obtained at an international level, they have sought to recreate and encourage the wine culture in Colombia. Thus, the cases of the Puntalarga and Ain Karim vineyards stand out. These projects were developed at a time when there was no significant consumption of wine in the country, so it was not only a question of opening up opportunities in a possibly non-existent market but, consequently, of creating that market; additionally, they had to do so and continue to do so without the support of the State. Later on, with the increase in wine consumption and imports, they found it necessary to diversify their activities by implementing and offering tourism-related services, similar to those offered by the second wave vineyards; some with better opportunities than others, in view of the impossibility of deterritorializing/re-territorializing their production, in order to get closer or closer to the consumer.

During the visit to the Puntalarga vineyard in the municipality of Nobsa, Boyacá, on July 8 of this year, it was possible to verify during an interview with its owner and founder, Mr. Marcos Quijano, that the project is seen as an opportunity for territorial development. The fact that the region has a high potential in terms of physical characteristics conducive to grape growing, allows us to think of the possibility of expanding the cultivation

area, including more farmers as producers (including more terroirs and strengthening the existing consortium), which would consequently lead to lower wine production costs - currently, the cost of grape production in the region is very high - and thus be able to compete in the national and international market with a high quality wine, such as the one produced today. As proposed by Magnaghi (2013), the idea would be to bring together the places of production and the places of life, and give a central place to agriculture and the nourishing landscapes it produces, thinking of the territory as a common good.

The main consumer of the product is the local, in view of the fact that Puntalarga has managed to reintroduce the wine culture in the region and today it is recognized as one of its cultural particularities, confused among others that are identified in the daily life of peasants and new peasants, from their heterogeneity and their relationship with the environment, in the rural area of the municipality of Nobsa. This is how these short circuits represent ways to value people, products, cultural identities and information of each place and territory, through a constant process of information, but also of mobilization, struggle and resistance to hegemonic political and cultural agents (Saquet, 2017).

In terms of tourism, the vineyard is visited by local, domestic and international tourists. However, in terms of local development, it is necessary to think of this activity differently: tourism as a means and not as an end. Beyond its development at all costs from "everything is tourism", it must be thought from the grassroots, with, from and for the people of the region, and from an awareness of place, as proposed by Magnaghi (2013), building the reappropriation of economic processes by the local population, in search of deep political changes with the emergence of bottom-up modes of action.

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