

COFFEE TERRITORIALIZATION IN CAPARAÓ CAPIXABA

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Abstract

Brazil has several regions shaped by the insertion of the coffee economy, an arrangement that highlights the coffee production chain as a structuring element of the territory. This article aims to characterize the territorialization of the coffee production chain in the Caparaó Capixaba region. The qualitative, exploratory, descriptive, and ethnographic research is divided into three stages: bibliographic, fieldwork and interviews. The field research lasted from November 2020 to January 2021. The interviews, conducted online, occurred between September and November 2021. The respondents were 15 coffee producers in the municipalities of Iúna and Irupi, in Caparaó Capixaba, Brazil. Consequently, the formation of Caparaó territoriality from the region's historic coffee culture is evident. Thus, the study increases the understanding of the production, consumption, and commercialization of the region's coffee. Some essential factors considered are the appropriation of space by producers, resignification of practices and territory through work, reinforcement of local identity, formation of the coffee landscape and subsequent productive differentiation through the focus on specialty coffees. Finally, visibility is given to coffee growers' protagonism in a region neglected in recent decades due to low quantitative productivity but which boasts expressive results in agroecological, family and specialty coffee production.

Keywords: Appropriation. Identity. Work. Landscape Coffee Production.

Resumo / Resumen

TERRITORIALIZAÇÃO DO CAFÉ NO CAPARAÓ CAPIXABA

O Brasil apresenta diversas regiões moldadas pela inserção da economia cafeeira. Esta conformação evidencia a cadeia produtiva do café como um elemento estruturante do território. Como objetivo, este artigo buscou caracterizar a territorialização da cadeia produtiva do café na região do Caparaó Capixaba. Para isto, a pesquisa apresentou caráter qualitativo, exploratório, descritivo e cunho etnográfico, contando com três etapas: bibliográfica, campo e entrevistas. A pesquisa de campo teve duração de novembro de 2020 a janeiro de 2021. Já as entrevistas, realizadas de forma online, ocorreram entre os meses de setembro e novembro de 2021. Os sujeitos da pesquisa foram 15 produtores de café no recorte geográfico do estudo, os municípios de Iúna e Irupi, no Caparaó Capixaba. Como resultados, é evidente a formação da territorialidade do Caparaó a partir da história da região em consonância com a cultura do café. Assim, acrescenta ao debate apontamentos sobre produção, consumo e comercialização do café da região. Os fatores basilares de análise foram apoderamento do espaço pelos produtores, ressignificação das práticas e do território por meio do trabalho, reforço da identidade local, formação da paisagem do café e, consequentemente, diferenciação produtiva por meio do foco em cafés especiais. Por fim, possibilita visibilizar o protagonismo dos cafeicultores em uma região negligenciada nas últimas décadas pela baixa produtividade em parâmetros quantitativos, mas que ostenta expressivos resultados na produção agroecológica, familiar e padrão especial.

Palavras-chave: Apoderamento. Identidade. Trabalho. Paisagem. Cafeicultura.

TERRITORIALIZACIÓN DEL CAFÉ EN EL CAPARAÓ CAPIXABA

Brasil tiene varias regiones moldeadas por la inserción de la economía cafetalera. Esta conformación destaca la cadena productiva del café como elemento estructurador del territorio. Este artículo busca caracterizar la territorialización de la cadena productiva del café en la región de Caparaó Capixaba. Para eso, la investigación tiene un carácter cualitativo, exploratorio, descriptivo y etnográfico, con tres etapas: bibliográfica, trabajo de campo y entrevistas. La investigación de campo tuvo una duración de noviembre de 2020 a enero de 2021. Las entrevistas, realizadas en línea, se realizaron entre septiembre y noviembre de 2021. Los sujetos de la investigación fueron 15 productores de café del área geográfica de estudio, los municipios de Iúna e Irupi, en Caparaó Capixaba. Como resultado, la formación de la territorialidad de Caparaó es evidente a partir de la historia en línea de la región con la cultura del café. Así, suma al debate notas sobre la producción, consumo y comercialización del café en la región. Los factores básicos de análisis fueron la apropiación del espacio por parte de los productores, la redefinición de prácticas y territorio a través del trabajo, el reforzamiento de la identidad local, la formación del paisaje cafetero y, en consecuencia, la diferenciación productiva a través de su enfoque en cafés especiales. Finalmente, permite visualizar el protagonismo de los cafeicultores en una región que ha sido desatendida en las últimas décadas por su baja productividad en parámetros cuantitativos, pero que ostenta expresivos resultados en la producción agroecológica, familiar y especial.

Palabras-clave: Empoderamiento. Identidad. Trabajo. Paisaje. Cultivo de café.

INTRODUCTION

The production, commercialization and consumption of coffee have resulted in its historical, cultural and economic importance. In Brazil, coffee farming enjoys international prestige (ANDRADE et al., 2015), conferring the title of the largest producer in the world on the country since the mid-eighteenth century (FIGUEIREDO; ALVES, 2022). This status is also reflected in the country's position as the second largest consumer of coffee (ICO, 2021), totalling 15% of global production (EMI, 2019). The high productivity and constant improvements in the beverage's sensory quality reinforce coffee as a potent Brazilian cultural symbol (CASCUDO, 2004). According to Ianni (2004), coffee is established as an economic organization in the country, corresponding to a commercial culture driven by international demand and interest. However, the increase in domestic production and external competition has demanded new technological investments and changes in traditional production dynamics (PEREIRA, BARTHOLO; GUIMARÃES, 2004). Thus, it is evident that a coffee culture exists, motivated by the production, consumption and landscapes associated with rural and urban territories involved in the commodity's production and commercial chains (ARGOLLO FERRÃO, 2004).

Introducing new production techniques and improving beverage consumption habits are primarily associated with new "waves of consumption" (GUIMARÃES; DE CASTRO JÚNIOR; ANDRADE, 2016), indicating the added value attributed to quality and the link with the origin of foods. Higher production costs and, consequently, the higher final value for the consumer have not repressed the growth of quality coffee consumption in the domestic market. This growth results from a heightened perception of the beverage's quality and awareness of environmentally and socially sustainable consumption (ANDRADE et al., 2015). In addition, it reflects the proximity to the origin of production and the producing families, recognizing the diversity of quality coffee-producing regions in the country. The Caparaó region is one of the 33 producer regions recognized by the Brazilian Specialty Coffee Association (BSCA, 2021) in the country. Located in the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo, its selection in this research is justified by its current prominence in the production of specialty coffee, the output of family farming (SANTOS, 2013; SIMÃO et al., 2017; MASSINI; VALE, 2018; TAVARES, 2022; TAVARES; ARGOLLO FERRÃO, 2022). The region is also recognized in quality competitions, such as Coffee of the Year (COY) (SIC, 2021), and by processes valuing patrimony, such as the Caparaó Coffee Geographical Indication (INPI, 2021).

Therefore, the construction of coffee territories results from the seizure of space in rural regions for agricultural production directed to coffee that has transformed or has been transforming landscapes throughout the country (ARGOLLO FERRÃO, 2004, 2016; MONTES, 2016). Consequently, this study aims to characterize the coffee production chain's territorialization in the Caparaó Capixaba.

Following this Introduction, the main concepts are addressed in the Theoretical Framework, followed by the Methodological Framework, which describes the techniques, methodological procedures and the methodological path applied in this study. Subsequently, the research data obtained from the selected territorial analytical categories are exposed and analyzed in the Results and Discussions section. The Final Considerations weigh the achievement of the objective, the contributions made, and the potential for expanding the research.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGICAL

The research required collecting basic Geographical concepts such as identity, space, territory, place and landscape, as well as their direct influences on agricultural life and production in the rural environment.

The concept of identity is present in the others mentioned above; therefore, it was selected as an emphasis and the starting point of this theoretical framework. Several authors have contributed to the concept of identity, highlighting it as complex, fluid and plural, endowed with social and political partiality (BATISTA, 2005; ALAOU; ABAKOUY, 2017; REQUIER-DESJARDINS, 2021). López (2018) emphasizes that identities are not immovable representations, but cultural processes endowed

with movement. Hence, it can be understood as the perception of individuals about themselves and others in society (BRADLEY, 1996). It does not correspond directly to being but to existing, representing, or assuming, playing a representational role developed to relate to the other through a social construction (ALAOUI; ABAKOUY, 2017; REQUIER-DESJARDINS, 2021).

Although close and interdependent, the concepts of space and territory have different meanings. The first is initial, previous and inherent to the earthly portion, while the second results from the projection of human actions on space, materializing work and empowerment (RAFFESTIN, 1993; HAESBAERT, 2007). From the political, cultural, economic and symbolic perspectives, the manifestation of power relations exercises individuals' control over space, its resources and other elements that are part of communities through empowerment.

Therefore, the contiguity between individuals considers these factors to exemplify the intensity and proximity of those involved in seizing a territory (BRENNAN; ALTER, 2013). The concept of empowerment also involves the social competence to control resources, promote putting down roots and reinforce a community's identity (RÍOS, 2020).

The presence of human action strengthens the different possible symbolic manifestations in a geographical space, including the affectivities that reinforce feelings of identity and belonging (TUAN, 1990). Associating identities with territory promotes the manifestation of social groups' characteristics that historically take control, inhabit and enjoy land but are still subject to transformations and multiple interpretations (ZAGO, 2016; VALENCIA-GALVEZ, 2017; LÓPEZ, 2018). The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan highlights how individuals relate to space, emphasizing belonging through ethnic, territorial and cultural characteristics in a locality's traditions, memories and knowledge. Thus, the concept of place emerges in a complex way, endowed with signs and symbols constructed by the senses and the human experience of space, enabling active and passive ways of knowing its world, approaching the contemporary dynamics of production, consumption and appropriation, in addition to being permeated by culture, social relations and the landscape (TUAN, 1977, 1990, 2018).

For different authors, landscapes are complex and dynamic realities resulting from the interaction of natural and cultural elements of geographical space (BERQUE, 1994; COSGROVE, 2004; CAUQUELIN, 2004). They manifest elements of space, territory and place reflected in the experiences and the individuals themselves, marked by memories, histories and culture (TUAN, 1990; ANDREOTTI, 2013). Thus, "it resides not only in the object, nor only in the subject, but in the complex interaction of the two" (BERQUE, 1994, p. 5), configuring the social product of the relationship between individuals with the environment. Thus, as a manifestation of space, a reflection of reality and human actions, the landscape marks and is marked by culture (BERQUE, 1994).

Understanding the landscape through the look and memory of individuals demands a combination of materiality and human subjectivity; Kozel (2012) reinforces the importance of sensibility in defining this set. Besse (2014, p. 47) justifies this as the landscape "is first experienced and then, perhaps, spoken, the word seeking, above all here, to prolong life, or rather, the living that makes the landscape an experience". Kozel (2012) agrees with Tuan (1990) on the importance of the human senses in the immersion and perception of the landscape through visual, aural, olfactory and tactile elements.

Highlighting this investigation's fundamental and guiding geographical concepts, it is noteworthy that this research has a qualitative, exploratory, descriptive and ethnographic approach (GEERTZ, 1989; GIL, 1999; MAGNANI, 2002) to producers of Café do Caparaó.

The map below (Figure 1) identifies the geographical cutout of the study, showing the sixteen municipalities, divided between the states of Espírito Santo and Minas Gerais, in addition to the Caparaó National Park, a Conservation Unit (UC) of great relevance to regional biodiversity. The region is heavily involved in environmental preservation, rural living, regional gastronomy and coffee culture. This research selected the product due to its recent registration by the Geographical Indication (GI) in the Denomination of Origin (DO) modality in 2021.

The total territorial area of the region shown on the map is 4,754.63 km². The municipalities of Iúna and Irupi were selected as the spatial cutout for this study, representing the Caparaó portion of Minas Gerais state. Together, these municipalities total 645,329 km², about 13.6% of the total Caparaó area.

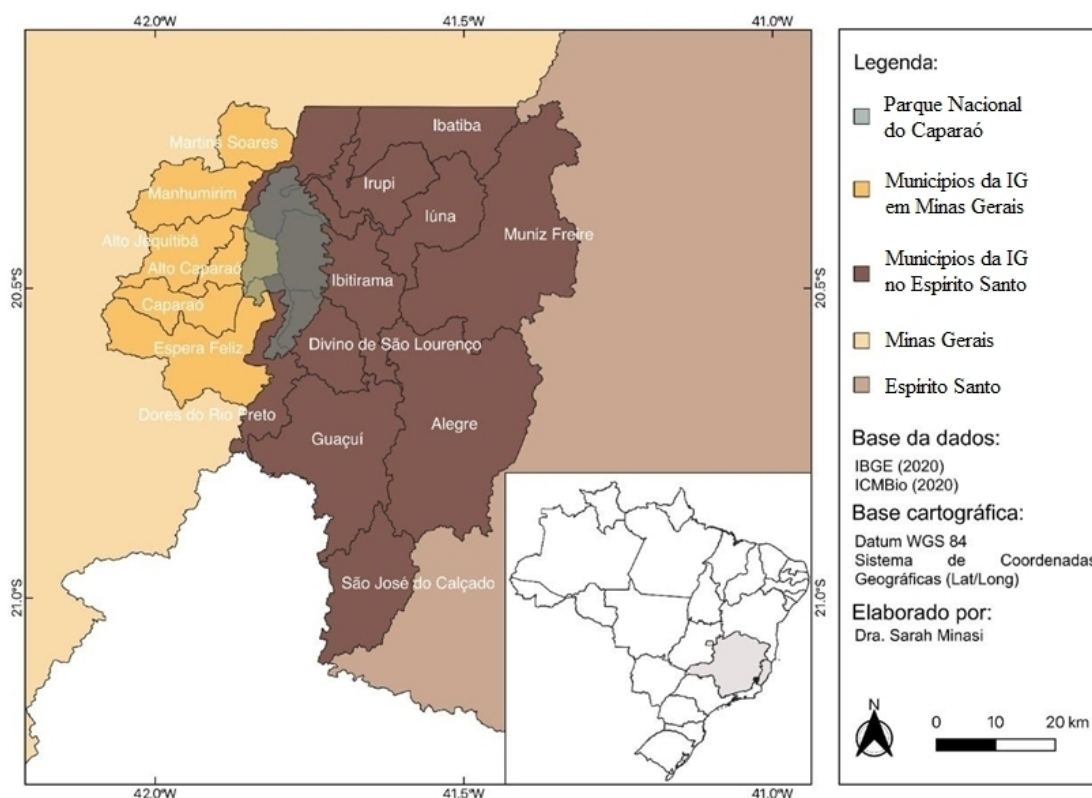


Figure 1 - Map of the Caparaó region, Brazil. Source: Minasi (2021 apud TAVARES, 2022).

This geographical limit is due to the size needed for the feeling of belonging and personal identification that, according to Tuan (1990, p. 116), should be "reduced to man's biological needs and the limited capacities of the senses".

There were three research stages. First was the bibliographic investigation, which occurred between October and December 2020, reviewing and systemizing the existing literature on the subject. This research was followed by a field study from November 2020 to January 2021. The most notable techniques were the participant and external observations used to understand the reality of the target group and the integration of productive activities with the local social dynamics. Between September and November 2021, the third stage was composed of online interviews. Among the selection criteria for interviewees, preference was given to involvement with family farming, recognition of the production of quality coffee, and insertion in one of the two municipalities. Accordingly, there was a sample of fifteen individuals for the interviews, thirteen producers from Iúna and two from Irupi. All are native to the region and primarily work with coffee production, although they occasionally work with other products to diversify their income. Additional factors such as gender and age were not taken into account; however, these demographic factors had a wide distribution among the participants.

The interviews were interpreted by systematizing the transcribed discourses and the interview notes with support from the NVivo qualitative research analysis software. The results were subsequently submitted to content analysis, according to Bardin's (1977) propositions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The territorialization of coffee production follows the general lines of its implementation in Brazil (ARGOLLO FERRÃO, 2004; IANNI, 2004; PEREIRA; BARTHOLO; GUIMARÃES, 2004). The Caparaó region comprises a few small urban centers; however, most of the space is rural, emphasizing family coffee production (MASSINI; VALE, 2018). It is a late settlement, based on European immigrants and their descendants, from the end of the nineteenth century (SANTOS, 2013). The context

of representative family farming in the region's coffee production deviates from the commodity profile due to differing harvesting, processing and roasting possibilities.

The region's specific physiographic characteristics are the mountainous relief that makes mechanization impossible, the cold climate and the organic-rich soil, alongside the human and cultural factors of family farming that advocate family succession and quality production (INPI, 2021). Thus, it is noteworthy for its suitability for agricultural production requiring specific manual processes, such as selective harvesting, manual sieves, hand-picking for defects and impurities, a preference for natural drying in conventional or suspended terraces, manual pulping of micro-lots and fermentation techniques (SIMÃO et al., 2017; INPI, 2021).

The region's natural heritage, represented by the native Atlantic Forest preserved by the UC, is complemented by the diversity of the existing cultural heritage, which is formed by structured ruralities, consolidated identities and a feeling of affection and belonging to the place (TUAN, 1990), such as local gastronomy and coffee with a certified origin.

The relationship between Geography and the territorial manifestations in the coffee production chain in the Caparaó Capixaba region revealed the existence of different dynamics of interaction with the territory and with production by producers. The impressions obtained in the immersion in the field and the interviews were fundamental in understanding the relationship of belonging and empowerment present in traditions, memories and productive daily life.

The results were analyzed based on the territorial analytical categories developed by Argollo Ferrão (2004), as shown in figure 2:

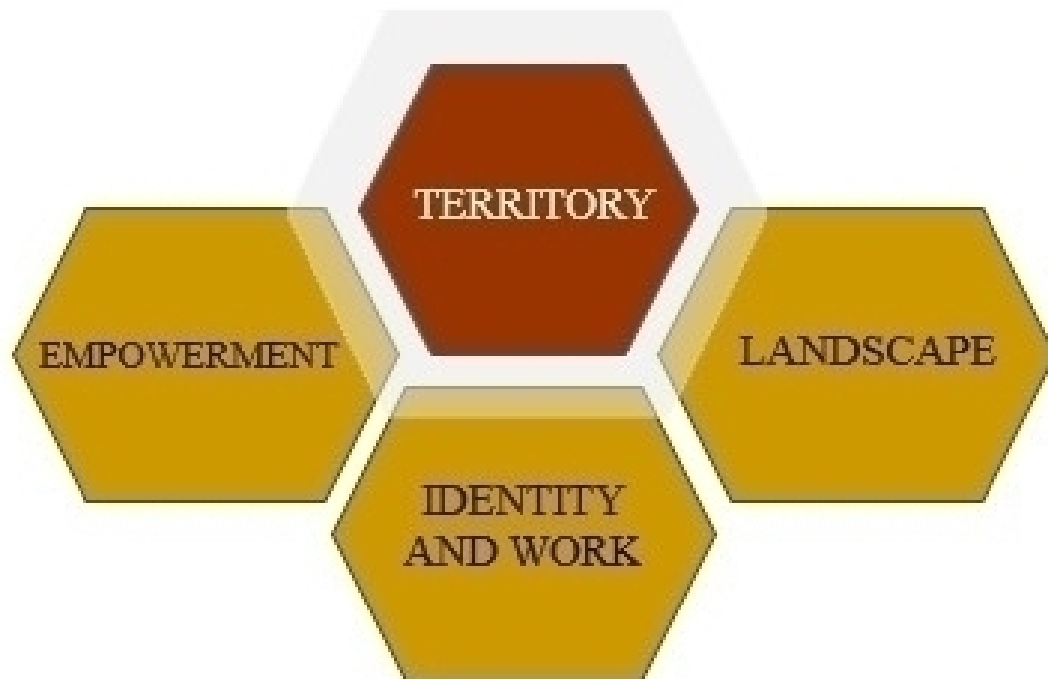


Figure 2 – Diagram of analytical categories. Source: Developed by the authors.

Based on these categories, the survey's principal information is consolidated and presented in the following table (Chart 1).

TERRITORIAL COFFEE COMPONENTS OF CAPARAO CAPIXABA			
SEIZURE	IDENTITY	WORK	LANDSCAPE
(INSERTION) Affection, attachment and idealization of the territory Family memories of the farm and the production process Affective inheritance Maintenance of tradition, mainly by the men of the family	(IDENTITY) Guided by fieldwork and linked to regional and community belonging Associated with affectivity and the construction of family and generational feelings Constantly reinforced and validated by external recognition from the community and consumers		(FORMATION) The visual expression of the place by natural, cultural and structural elements Natural elements: Caparaó National Park Cultural elements: interference from agriculture/coffee growing Structural elements: coffee plantations, seasonal production, consortium production, architectural structures, equipment, etc.
(BELONGING) Agricultural exploitation of the region, with an emphasis on coffee Family and generational involvement. Action to improve the image of coffee production on site The recent trajectory of the majority, with structuring and formalization of the brand	(ROUTINE) Differences between conventional and specialty production Traditional farming has seasonal work concentrated in the harvest period Specialty coffee farming has intense and focused work all year round The activity of the commercialization cycle can occasionally be concentrated in one property but outsourced to partner producers -		(PERCEPTION) Direct actuation of human senses Vision: the elements present in the formation of the landscape Hearing: sounds of nature, machines, or human contact Touch: Contact with the earth, planting fruit and drink Taste: a vital component for tasting the beverage and other associated elements Smell: the most characteristic component, regardless of whether or not the drink is appreciated.
(PRODUCTIVE DIFFERENCES) Recognition of the region's uniqueness Attention to local biodiversity <i>Terroir</i> of Caparaó Improved techniques Technical-scientific training Perception of sensory quality	(SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR) Stratification of activities by gender Accumulation of functions and working hours Productive activities (coffee), domestic and/or external work, care activities, hospitality, etc. Women's need for recognition The flexibility of female presence in the business associated with management, finance and marketing Different academic interests between men and women in areas that are related or not		

Chart 1 - Territorial Coffee Components of Caparaó Capixaba. Source: Developed by the authors.

Concerning the empowerment category, it was possible to highlight the interviewees' involvement with their territory through their insertion and exploitation through agricultural production. In analyzing the territorialization of a productive chain and its practices, it is crucial to recognize the practices of empowerment conducted by individuals in space from political, cultural, and symbolic perspectives (RAFFESTIN, 1993).

From the communities' point of view, power is present and necessary but often decentralized and dispersed. It demands the coordination of objectives to promote autonomy, self-sufficiency and participation (BRENNAN; ALTER, 2013; RÍOS, 2020). These practices need constant renewal to maintain cohesive social relationships in communities (RÍOS, 2020). Thus, the research exemplifies the initial seizure of the territory through the search for agricultural land and directed them to coffee production in Caparaó. This constant seizure process occurs as they reinforce their identity through insertion in coffee production. Collective appropriation actions related to local natural resources and the identity character of residents will be partially addressed in this first topic of analysis of the results.

Insertion was the first common element identified among the interviewees. The connection with the region and involvement with coffee farming was present in all cases, regardless of experiences, age, gender and the number of generations present in coffee production. The producers emphasize this manifestation when highlighting the family and generational character of the properties of Iúna and Irupi. Some families' presence is intertwined with the history of the region's seizure at the end of the nineteenth century, an occupation of more than five generations, thus establishing a link with the territory before the popularization of coffee planting in Caparaó. More recent cases are related to three generations of coffee production during the Capixaba government's incentives to planting in the mid-twentieth century. Its manifestations have the characteristics of social groups that have historically

taken hold, inhabited and enjoyed the space, although they can be transformed and adjusted over time (ZAGO, 2016; VALENCIA-GALVEZ, 2017; LÓPEZ, 2018).

The involvement with coffee production, whether direct or indirect, is unequal among respondents. Due to the pandemic, some producers have a recent commercial trajectory, creating a brand of roasted specialty coffees. In addition, younger producers have experience in specialized production and have professional and academic qualifications in areas related to the rural environment, such as Agronomy, Engineering and Administration. Other producers have less production and focus on the commercialization of green coffee for cooperatives or batch composition of other regional producers. Nevertheless, all demonstrate involvement and affection with the activity as a natural process since "the will to produce coffee comes from the cradle" and is "in the blood".

The evident feeling of belonging is visible in everyone's reality, exploring accounts that express affection, attachment and idealization of the territory, mainly related to family and affective memories around the crop and the coffee production process. Family succession is inserted in this context from the choices made by subsequent generations, which reflect affection and belonging to the place (TUAN, 1990). Most men chose to maintain family traditions in agriculture to the detriment of academic professionalization in popular professions. On the other hand, the younger women of these families join the labor market mainly in areas outside of coffee farming.

Productive differences were another element considered. The uniqueness of the region's product is praised, first and foremost, for the properties' familial characteristics, which are endowed with affection, dedication and respect for biodiversity. Besides the features related to the different terroir of the numerous Brazilian regions, particularities of the Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo territories are also emphasized. The work, although arduous due to the natural characteristics of the region and coffee farming, is proudly praised by producers as one of the attributes of product quality. The difficulty of access, the mountainous relief and the impossibility of mechanizing the processes make it impossible to produce the same quantity as flat and mechanized regions, such as the South of Minas Gerais. However, it adds quality to the product because it requires manual and often selective harvesting. These natural aspects impact human factors by influencing the improvement of production techniques and product processing, thus adapting local traditions with the acquisition of technical-scientific knowledge.

The association of these particularities makes Caparaó coffee diverse in aromas and flavors, as well as work and stories, adding symbolic value to the product's consumer market through the perception of objective and subjective quality. These attributes promote the product and the region's attractiveness through the direct trade movement, emphasizing narratives, values and processes that empower producers and their affectivities.

Next, the categories of identity and work were analyzed together, given their essential interrelationship in coffee territories. Although diverse and impermanent (LÓPEZ, 2018), the manifestations of identity are related to the territory, memory and productive activities to approach or differentiate individuals.

Although similar, the producers' realities point to two distinct manifestations of belonging - the community and the regional, which do not overlap but differ in each interviewee's discourse. In their communities and throughout the region, the search to understand their identity also accompanies expressions of material and immaterial heritage, wishing to comprehend how these reflect and are reflected by the agricultural reality and the producers' daily lives.

From the daily life and personal perception experienced during the field studies and interviews, the affective bond, belonging and work in the identity formation of producers concerning coffee and the Caparaó region were evident. Recognizing quality production and relevance in the coffee context of the region indicates the importance of love, care and dedication in the quality of work and in forming the identity of Caparaó's coffee growers.

The commitment of the family nucleus around the coffee production chain and the product's quality has won important recognition in the national and international markets. The feeling of belonging and affection related to work and the region are emphasized as fruits of this identity mirrored in tourist activity and perceived by all who visit the property, learn the history and taste the coffee. When telling their story, the subjects emphasize that the affection for working with coffee farming and producing specialty coffees overlap with the investment of time, energy and resources necessary for

production. In addition, families' affection and respect for coffee are highlighted, inspiring the work and maintaining the bond with the land through family traditions. This affective family characteristic is notable for its reinforcement of the farmers' identity, the collective recognition of the experience and the authority of those who are "born handling coffee" and whose "identity is molded in coffee".

The producers gave information about the routine in their daily lives at various times. Unlike the work profile in conventional coffee farming associated with periodical picking in the harvest period and periods of off-season idleness, producing quality coffee demands constant involvement, with few breaks for rest or recreation. However, they reinforce that although tiring, the work is pleasurable and rewarding. Still, differences in activities and work intensity according to coffee seasonality were reported in all cases, starting earlier and ending later during the harvest period. The biennial¹ nature of the coffee planting and yearly climatic manifestations influence the existence of a single crop, which in this region usually occurs between June and September, or a second crop, also called "late harvest", the result of rains after the primary harvest that induce a new flowering.

Another noteworthy point regarding the difference in work in the daily life of coffee production is the relationship between commodity and specialty coffee production. Producers focused on specialty coffees report a daily life of intense months of work divided between the crop, terraces, greenhouses, dryers and roasters. The selective and exclusive harvesting of mature grains increases the need for labor in the productive period, requiring the presence of the entire family nucleus and, sometimes, neighbors or contracted acquaintances. On the other hand, producers of commodity coffee or in transition to specialty coffee production describe a more simplified harvesting process with lower human demand, as they use the *derriça*, which consists of manual or partially mechanized harvesting that removes all fruits from the same branch without considering their degree of maturation.

The gender-based division of labor was another striking feature in the family's involvement with work. Women in these communities are involved in different activities, stratified or not by gender, including coffee harvesting, domestic and external work, care activities, and the reception of visitors. Each respondent in this research emphasized a different reality, highlighting the presence of women in agriculture in the domestic and professional environment. On the one hand, the division of labor involved recognizing the female figure as a rural worker and producer of quality coffee by selecting the best-rated micro-lots to create their own line of coffees with a female identity. On the other hand, women's presence in the field is more flexible; they are more involved in management and hospitality, domestic activities, or external work. In these cases, the presence of women in the crop is intermittent and associated with "help", especially during the harvest period.

The Landscape category aimed to point out the elements of formation and perception of the landscape of the municipalities analyzed in the context of coffee production. Understanding the landscape through the look and memory of individuals requires a combination of materiality with human subjectivity, permeated by the sensitive (KOZEL, 2012). In Brazil, the structuring of coffee cultural landscapes in the different producing regions of the country can be based on local productive particularities, such as family, generational and historical work; international recognition of local coffee culture; strategic social capital related to an institution or association; and the relationship between tradition and technology to promote a product with quality and sustainability.

The landscape's formation considers the association of environmental and human elements that manifest themselves in the analyzed territory, relating the characteristics promoted by the surroundings of the Caparaó National Park with the interference of agriculture and coffee farming in the place. The coffee plantation is the evident element in forming coffee landscapes, constructing the imagery of farms with typical designs and conformations of corridors of low to medium-sized trees in mountainous or flat regions. In Caparaó, the landscapes formed by the coexistence of downslope plantations on a level curve at an altitude above 1100 meters stand out. The lanes between the plots also characterize the rural scenario and enable the flow of harvested fruits to the processing spaces.

The intercropping of agriculture with the native forest preserved by the Caparaó National Park also enables new configurations for the Brazilian coffee landscape. In addition to the traditional form planted in full sun, coffee production in this locality can also occur in regions shaded by larger trees, partially or fully integrated with the forest in the Agroforestry Systems (SAF). Rivers and waterfalls also harmonize with forest cover over properties in different municipal communities, influencing the

landscape, climate, high altitude and product quality. On the other hand, elements such as flowers and fruits are seasonal additions to the landscape that express the vitality and productivity of the coffee plant. Furthermore, the human senses can influence the landscape for their perception and appreciation. Experiencing the landscape through the senses reinforces its experiential character (BESSE, 2014). Therefore, it builds and is built subjectively by gathering personal and collective affections related to the appreciation of food produced on-site (ANDREOTTI, 2013). Everyday activities in this environment can explore the senses, such as the visual aspects of the plant (vision), its aroma (smell), the sounds of guans, bees and other birds or insects (hearing), the coffees harvested from the plant (touch), and the taste of fresh fruits or the infusion of their flowers (taste).

A specific rural landscape cannot be interpreted visually in different ways because it is static in the present moment, but the affective link between the person and the place makes it more symbolic or trite. In the case of tourism, visualizing a landscape full of coffee plantations around the mountains and riparian forests can give a sense of belonging to local residents and producers, awareness-raising of tourists and researchers, or even a mere scenario for less interested visitors. On the other hand, hearing is explored through the sounds of nature mixed with the possible sounds of animals, agricultural machines, or even a prevailing silence. Moreover, when coffee-promoted hospitality is added to the context, the sounds of human interaction can also be expected, such as children running, casual conversations, the clatter of saucepans, and coffee beans being ground, among others.

As Tuan (2018) proposed, the other senses are assembled as a record of external sensations and stimuli, which are affected by thought and manifest in a particular way. These mainly involve the sensations most used in the perception activities for the professional environment of coffee. Touch expresses contact with the land, with planting, and the fruit itself; however, it is also exemplified by professional tasters and baristas through the beverage's characteristic "body", which is responsible for the sensation of tactile contact between the drink and the mouth and can be described as velvety, creamy or full-bodied (PINHEIRO, 2019). The palate is one of the principal sensations targeted in gastronomy and food tourism, regardless of its featured product and rural or urban focus. In the context of this research, it is notable in the tourists' contact with nature and agricultural production, as well as the aggregated components in the rural experience promoted in a coffee-producing farm, such as the drink itself in its various forms and options, accompanied by attractive elements of regional cuisine including bread, cakes, cookies, and sweets. Finally, it is possible to highlight smell as the most characteristic affective link of the coffee-based experience, which evokes taste memories albeit remotely, highlighting the drink's aromatic component in the appreciation between consumers and non-consumers. Furthermore, it is associated with domestic hospitality and commensality in Brazilian food practices (CASCUDO, 2004).

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to give visibility to the processes of territorialization of the coffee production chain in the coffee territories from the reality of family coffee farmers in the municipalities of Iúna and Irupi in Caparaó Capixaba. The questions raised were answered according to the selected geographical cut and gave center stage to the experiences of the research subjects, the communities and the producers. The territoriality of Caparaó has been addressed in recent literature from different perspectives, such as Agronomy, Ecology and Biology. Thus, this study adds to the debate on the history of production, consumption and commercialization of coffee in the region, based on factors such as the appropriation of space by producers, resignification of practices and territory through work, reinforcement of local identity, formation of the coffee landscape and consequently productive differentiation through the focus on specialty coffee. The research data contributes to the recognition of the coffee production chain as a structuring element of the territory in rural regions historically shaped by the insertion of the coffee economy. Furthermore, it gives visibility to a region neglected in recent decades by low productivity according to quantitative parameters but which boasts significant results in agroecological, family and specialty production. The compilation of coffee farmers' discourses highlights and popularizes their protagonism of the activity and the territory in this context. The study has the potential to expand both in the region itself and in other coffee territories made invisible by monocultural production and the expansion of agribusiness.

NOTE

1 - The biennial is a natural characteristic of the coffee tree that consists of biannual productive alternation, enabling the recovery of the plant after intense flowering and harvesting (CONAB, 2021).

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Machado, M. B. T. - The author reviewed the analyses and assisted in writing and revising the results.

Valduga, V. - The author reviewed the analyses and assisted in writing and reviewing the results.

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