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Application Summary - Engaged Research Grant

Thank you for submitting your application to the Wenner-Gren Foundation. Your application summary is below.

Are you registered in a Doctoral Degree program in Anthropology or do you hold a Doctorate or equivalent degree in Anthropology or closely related discipline?: Yes

Engaged Research Grants support research partnerships that empower members of communities that have historically been among those researched in anthropology, rather than researchers themselves. Although your project may involve collaboration with other academics, your partnership should extend much further to involve interlocutors from settings other than universities. Does your project fit this profile?: Yes

Name and Institution

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Language

Is English your Scholarly Language?: false

Portuguese

Academic History

Highest Degree Awarded: Ph.D

Year Doctorate Awarded: 2014

Expected Date to Receive Doctorate:

Institution that Awarded the Degree: EHESS - Paris

Language of Doctorate-Awarding Institution

Is English the scholarly language of this institution?: false

Primary Scholarly Language of Doctorate-Awarding Institution: Portuguese

Personal Information (optional)

Are you willing to provide us with further information about yourself: true

Which of the following gender identities best describes you: Man

Are you transgender: No

What are your pronouns: He/Him

How would you describe your sexual identity: Heterosexual/straight

Do you have any disabilities: No

Do you have caregiving responsibilities: Yes

What is the highest level of education obtained by any of your parents: Ph.D. or D. Phil.

Are you experiencing income insecurity: No

Which of the following categories best describes you:

Please describe your specific ethnicities:

Are you a member of a group historically marginalized or minoritized in a country other than the US: No

Please explain why you selected yes:

Are you a member of a Tribal nation or other Indigenous group or community: No

If so, to what group or groups do you belong:

How did you find out about this Wenner-Gren award: Your peers or friends;Internet search

Where did you find guidance in applying for this Wenner-Gren award: Your peers or friends

Initial Information

Engaged Research Project Title: Territories of the Pataxó retaking: reconstructing the Pataxó Indigenous Museum of Coroa Vermelha (Bahia, Brazil)

Requested Funding for Engaged Research Grant (in US\$): 25000.00

Start Date:

End Date: 2025-10-31

Project abstract:

This research aims to continue the collaboration initiated in 2021 with the Pataxó indigenous people around the reconstruction of the Pataxó Museum of the Coroa Vermelha Indigenous Territory (Porto Seguro, Bahia, Brazil). The museum was built in the late 1990s to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the "Discovery" of Brazil. After the celebration of the event in 2000, the museum was abandoned by the authorities, with the exception of the community itself that kept it open until 2018, when it closed its doors. Due to its affective appeal, the community decided to rebuild it and is doing so from other epistemological frameworks. After almost two years of collaboration, the museum's regulations were drawn up. Now the second stage of the project begins: to carry out curatorial research for the design of the museum's long-term exhibition and its assembly to reopen the museum. How do the Pataxó elaborate their self-narratives? What is the importance of these discourses of indigenous authorship for thinking about the territories of the Pataxó retaking? What lessons can be learned from this process?

Please list the country location(s) where this project will be carried out.(Briefly offer reasons for this selection.):

Brazil

Coding

Please help us identify your project by subfield and research area.

Subfield: SOCIAL-CULTURAL

Geographic Region: South America

Topical Area:

Collaborators

Collaborator 1 Name: João Pacheco de Oliveira

Role: advisor

Affiliation: Museu Nacional, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

Academic Personnel

Resubmission?: false

Longform Questions

This program supports research that combats inequality and promotes the flourishing of human and non-human worlds through the mutual production of anthropological knowledge with goal of informing policy, benefiting communities, and producing positive change. Describe the purpose of the research you and your partners will undertake. What will be the focus of your investigation? What is your main research question? What other questions will you need to answer to address it?:

This project aims to continue a collaboration that has already begun, since the end of 2021, around the reconstruction of a community Indigenous Museum, located in the Indigenous Territory of Coroa Vermelha. This territory, regularized in the 1990s on behalf of the Pataxó indigenous people, is located in Porto Seguro and Santa Cruz Cabrália, municipalities located in the southern region of the State of Bahia.

In Brazil, these municipalities are true "places of memory" (Nora, 1984). They occupy a unique place in history and official national memory (Agostinho, 1980; César, 2011; Carvalho, 2009; Sampaio, 2010, Cancela, 2020). Because Pedro Álvares Cabral landed on its coast in 1500, there are frequent symbolic and political uses that fabricate an image of the place as the cradle of the Nation and the origin of the first inhabitants of Brazil (Hartog & Revel, 2001).

It is not possible to understand the creation of the Pataxó Museum of Coroa Vermelha if we do not place it in this broader context. Its construction was part of a larger project. From the mid-1990s, the region was the scene of a series of investments made in partnership between the private sector and the federal and state governments. These investments sought to boost mass tourism in a region of beautiful beaches by reconstructing scenes of the "Discovery" in public spaces (construction of monuments, naming of streets etc.).

In 2000, the five hundredth anniversary of the "Discovery" of Brazil was finally celebrated. Due to the haste in its construction and the lack of medium and long-term planning, after the celebration of the event the museum was progressively abandoned by the authorities. The only exception was the community itself, which kept it running until 2018, mainly thanks to the efforts of the Coroa Vermelha Indigenous Park Merchants Association (ACPICV), the main partner of this project. They decided to close the museum for tourist visits, as there were no more conditions to maintain the building and the pieces of the collection. Due to the community's affective bonding, and even commercial appeal (tourists were charged a symbolic fee), the community of Coroa Vermelha, through the ACPICV, is seeking to resume the museum on a new basis.

It is essential to emphasize this last point. Despite the authoritarian way in which the museum was built (hastily, without dialogues with the community), the museum was and still remains an important place of belonging for the community. Brazilian indigenist legislation, especially after the re-democratization in the mid-1980s, attaches some rights to ethnic diversity. The museum played an important role in organizing the political movement for Pataxó cultural affirmation, which has been consolidating since the 1970s. Ademário Pataxó, director of the Coroa Vermelha Municipal School, during one of the workshops we held in 2022 stated that the first Pataxó cultural groups were born in the museum, giving visibility for the State to recognize the Pataxó ethnic identity and, therefore, their territorial, educational and health rights (Internal Regulations, 2023).

The willingness of the Pataxó to rebuild the museum from new epistemological bases must be understood both in the local context and more broadly. Broadly, because methodological reflection is growing worldwide that seeks to deconstruct a certain museological illusion about indigenous peoples and, finally, to propose other memory regimes that seek to contribute to a greater appreciation of the indigenous world and the creative work of its contemporary artists (Oliveira & Santos, 2019). This broader discussion resonates locally. This was evident from the first conversations we had with the Pataxó. For them, it was not possible to rebuild the museum in the exotic molds that marked the narrative of the old exhibition. On the one hand, the axis of the exhibition could no longer be the "Discovery". The Indians appeared generically as supporting actors in the colonial encounter (Sommer, 1991). On the other hand, the pieces that made up the old collection came almost exclusively from Amazonian indigenous peoples, considered in the national imaginary - and often in the anthropological imaginary as well - as more authentic than the Pataxó of the region. Now, the Pataxó community of Coroa Vermelha intends to be at the forefront of this reconstruction process.

At the end of 2021, the ACPICV approached us, proposing to us to collaborate on this initiative. Throughout 2022, we held a series of workshops in Coroa Vermelha to draw up the museum's Internal Regulations (an important document for the officialization of museums within the scope of national legislation). In the last workshop held, the Internal Regulations were approved. We also outlined the next steps of the collaboration. First, the development of a museographic project for the museum's new long-term exhibition. Second, the assembly of the exhibition itself, aiming for its reopening in 2025.

To develop the exhibition's museographic project, it will be necessary to form a curatorial team to carry out ethnographic, historical and linguistic research with Pataxó partners, including the artist and researcher Oiti Pataxó. This research will seek to interrogate some questions that will serve as a guiding thread for the narrative of the new exhibition. How do the indigenous Pataxó of southern Bahia elaborate self-narratives about themselves and their history? Does the Pataxó historical chronology coincide with the national historical chronology? Which events, places and artifacts are remarkable in their trajectory? Which human and non-human characters should be remembered? Finally, what is the importance of these discourses of indigenous authorship in the context of their political struggles to regain their territories and their culture, aiming to strengthen their identity? What lessons can be learned from all this? From the local population, which is still partly racist, to the tourists who invade the region to visit the site of the "Birth" of Brazil and its first inhabitants? Not forgetting of course some anthropologists who still seek authenticity among the indigenous people? These are some of the questions that will guide this new stage of the project to rebuild the Pataxó Indigenous Museum of Coroa Vermelha.

How does your research combine inspiration from insights from anthropology, other academic disciplines, and non-academic sources? Whose thought will you be building on? Give specific examples of the various lines of work with which you are in dialogue, both within and beyond existing scholarship, and which you are seeking to advance:

My academic and professional activities have for years revolved around the attempt to bring into dialogue various disciplinary fields, such as anthropology, history, memory and indigenous rights, especially their territorial and cultural rights. The need for an interdisciplinary anthropological approach stemmed from a very early unease, when I was still an undergraduate at Nanterre (France), a university that provides a very traditional training in anthropology. Some professors transmitted a knowledge that sustained their authority by maintaining a radical distance between Them and Us (Fabian, 1983; Favret-Saada, 2005; Bensa, 2006). Perhaps because I was a foreigner at this university, I felt a great distance between the Americanism taught on the benches of Nanterre and the concrete situation of indigenous people in the violent daily life of Brazil (expropriation, deforestation, murders, etc.). Theoretical readings that better situated the social contexts of knowledge production (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Bazin, 2008; Comarrof & Comarrof, 2010; Agier, 1997) and recent changes in the Brazilian university scenario, which allowed the entry of indigenous students, led me to try to practice an anthropology that was not only more engaged, but also increasingly collaborative.

Having said this, I would now like to highlight the importance of the indigenous peoples of the northeast region of Brazil, including the Pataxó, with whom I have been collaborating, for the renewal of certain paradigms of Americanism in general. In a text that is now a classic in Brazilian anthropological literature, published in the late 1990s, Oliveira outlines a very thought-provoking panorama for reflecting on this renewal (Oliveira, 1998). Due to the historical depth of colonial contact (dating back to the 16th century), the situation of the indigenous peoples of the Northeast is quite distinct from the indigenous situation of a certain indigenous Amazon, idealized by the more classical Americanism (Amselle, 1979). For this same reason, the theoretical-methodological tools used to reflect on the so-called South American Lowlands do not serve to reflect on the indigenous Northeast.

Oliveira pointed to a seeming contradiction: the resurgence, in the second half of the 20th century, of indigenous peoples already considered extinct. In 1950, the Brazilian State recognized the existence of only ten indigenous ethnic groups in the northeast region. In 1994, however, this number jumped to twenty-three ethnic groups and has continued to increase. To the point that today, in the state of Bahia alone, the Movement of Indigenous Peoples of Bahia lists more than thirty indigenous people (MUPOIBA, 2023). How to make sense of this apparent contradiction between the reappearance of people already considered extinct?

On the one hand, it is one of the most diverse facets of the historical process of silencing the identities of indigenous peoples in the Northeast, both by the State and by anthropology itself (Oliveira, 2016). Influenced (until not so long ago) by the so-called "acculturation theory" (Souza Lima, 2002), anthropology and the employees of the State's indigenous agencies, guided by the theories of culture elaborated by anthropologists themselves, did not know how to think of the indigenous peoples of the Northeast in their own historicity. Thus, they ended up classifying them pejoratively as "mixed peoples", "false", relegating them to a position of second-class citizens and to an anthropological object of residual interest, less legitimate because they were not "authentic" enough in their eyes. That is, because they are not as "pure" as the "idealized" indigenous peoples of an idealized indigenous Amazon.

The significant increase in the number of indigenous people in the Northeast is, above all, the result of a dynamic of their own in search of greater civil, historical, cultural, political recognition and rights. Academia has called this dynamic a process of "revitalization" or "ethnogenesis" (Oliveira, 1998). The Pataxó, in turn, prefers to call this same movement resistance, cultural affirmation or, more recently, retaking (Bomfim Pataxó, 2017). Interlocution with the partners of this research has shown that the idea of Territories of the retaking, in this case Territories of the Pataxó retaking, can be an appropriate metaphor precisely because it highlights their heterogeneity and complexity. The idea of territories is intended to encompass various forms of retaking that are articulated with each other.

Many Pataxó people say that for a long time their culture was "asleep" and "invisible". They say that the very fact of being indigenous was a cause of great discrimination and persecution (Pataxó, 2022). In this context, many Pataxó people, as they lost their land, moved to neighboring towns or farms, "mixing" with the regional population as a kind of "daily resistance" (De Certeau 1980; Scott 1987; 1992). However, since Brazil's re-democratization process began in the late 1980s, the Pataxó have begun to "awaken" through the political movement of "retakings" (Pataxó, 2022).

In order to reclaim the territories from which they had been expelled, they had to prove their cultural distinctiveness to the state - and first to anthropologists. Therefore, in order to reclaim their territory, they first had to reclaim their culture. In turn, in order to regain their culture, they had to regain several other "territories" of which they had been dispossessed over time, such as language, history, rituals, memory and, above all, the very self-esteem of being Pataxó (Grunewald, 2001).

For certain Americanists, the importance of younger indigenous generations in the transmission of "tradition" might seem counterintuitive. "Tradition" would be the monopoly of the elders and should therefore be taught by them and only by them. However, among the Pataxó, young people have played and continue to play a fundamental role in transmission. It was the children of the "sleeping" generation who "woke up". And it was they who made their parents "wake up" together. They were the ones who organized themselves and tried to research, document and gather the knowledge of their elders (especially their grandparents) to reconnect with their history and culture, reaffirming their Pataxó identity and avoiding its disappearance. Today, it is common to hear among the Pataxó that the children of this generation have already been "born into the culture" and, in a kind of boomerang effect, are teaching their grandparents the Pataxó "culture" from which they had moved away (Costa, 2023).

It is interesting to note that the text by Oliveira was published in the same year as the creation of the Pataxó research group called Atxohã: Pataxó Language and History, created, in turn, as a counter-discourse to the great events and celebrations surrounding the so-called five hundred years of the "Discovery". Established by Pataxó leaders and educators, the main concern of Atxohã was - and still is - to strengthen the process of cultural affirmation or the retaking of their people. One of the strategies used by them to do this is precisely to research and gather written and oral documentation about their people in order to (re)interpret it in a Pataxó authorial key (César, 2011; Cardoso, 2016).

This non-academic research group (and this is fundamental to highlight) has a very consolidated trajectory in the southern region of the State of Bahia, with a strong presence in the more than forty indigenous communities spread throughout the Pataxó territory of the south and extreme south of Bahia. In this sense, the production of the members of Atxohã (2011) will play a central role in the entire curatorial research process that aims to serve as a basis for elaborating the narrative and composing the collection of the exhibition that will reopen the new Pataxó Museum of Coroa Vermelha.

The most important practice that guided the research carried out by Atxohã was always consultation with elders through the use of oral history. Thus, they reflected on the recovery and revitalization of the Pataxó language, local rituals and the recovery of traditional object-making techniques through a reinterpretation by contemporary Pataxó artists. As a result, this process has facilitated the fight for land, the claiming of rights through the occupation of places of political representation, and the search for their own education.

In this way, the dialogue between a historical, critical and engaged approach to anthropology and the local production of Pataxó intellectuals will serve as a compass for reflecting on the reconstruction of the new Pataxó museum. Above all, on the importance of the contemporary political process of struggle to regain their culture, their history among other concrete and symbolic territories.

So far I have briefly discussed the engaged dimension of my anthropological practice and the importance of studies on the indigenous peoples of the Northeast for the renewal of certain classical paradigms of Americanism. I have also tried to bring in the importance of the Pataxós themselves in reflecting on their own culture. However, in the case of a project related to the construction of a museum, it is important to say that the present proposal also falls within the so-called social museology. That is, it has as its core the defense that the museum be appropriated as a tool for community and participatory use, so that people research, understand, safeguard and disseminate their own stories on their own terms (Oliveira & Santos, 2019).

Describe your collaboration. Who are the partners? What constituencies do they represent? How did they decide to undertake this research? Who will be responsible for completing the different phases of the project? Describe the process used to identify the research question and design methods for addressing it. As part of this application, we require you to provide documentary evidence of commitment from the stakeholders involved in the collaboration. Please explain why the evidence you are providing is appropriate, given local norms:

My collaboration with the indigenous Merchants Association (ACPICV) dates back to the end of 2021. On this occasion, I was invited to attend a meeting by the then president of ACPICV. The meeting took place at the museum itself, which was already closed. In addition to the president of the association and a longtime partner of the community. He had helped ACPICV to apply for a call for proposals from CAR (Regional Development Company, Bahia). The funds from the call for proposals would be used to renovate the museum structure. In fact, throughout the year 2022, I followed the progress of the works, which were completed in December.

At this first meeting, those present told me what I have already explained above: that the museum had been built without much dialog with the community; that it had been left in the hands of the community, without any support; that the community had taken over the museum and they had to close its activities in 2018; however, that they really wanted to reconstruct the museum. Finally, they asked for my support. They thought that a collaboration with the UFSB, the university where I have been working since 2018 could contribute to the reconstruction of the new museum. That is, a museum conceived from other paradigms.

The proposal immediately motivated me. In addition to opening doors so that I could engage more in the Pataxó political project of territorial and cultural retaking, I had already worked on other projects involving the issue of valuing indigenous memories (see Question 5). In any case, in view of these previous experiences, I considered that I could join this initiative and accept the Pataxó's proposal for collaboration. For ethical and transparency reasons, I thought it was important to make explicit three points to the president of the ACPICV. First, that there would be no financial resources from the UFSB. Second, I thought it was important that the collaboration took place within an institutional framework. As the public university in Brazil is structured around the tripod of teaching, research and extension, I proposed to the community that our collaboration should take place within the framework of an extension project registered at UFSB. Finally, I thought it was important to reflect on the scope of the project and the team that would compose it before formalizing any collaboration. Given the lack of resources, we would have to have modest objectives, expanding them over time. In this sense, the first stage of the project could revolve around the elaboration of the museum's Internal Regulations through workshops that would be held throughout 2022. Although this goal might sound a bit dry and bureaucratic, I argued that it was important to mark that the new museum would be a community museum and not just a museum for tourists. Thus, together with the president of ACPICV, we invited several community representatives to compose the team: leaders and caciques, representatives of the state and municipal schools; representatives of the health unit; representatives of the Atxohã research group; contemporary Pataxó artists; Pataxó university representatives. At a public meeting held in Coroa Vermelha at the end of 2021, we presented this proposal, which was approved by those present. The project was registered at the university and we started it in March 2022.

It is important to highlight the gap between what we anticipated and what actually occurred throughout 2022. Although we tried to involve as many representations as possible during the workshops, participation always varied greatly. It seems to me that this is not due to a lack of community interest in the project. On the contrary,

these representations are also local leaders and are therefore very involved in other community projects (such as the school, health, cultural, political, etc. projects). Therefore, they could not always be present. In any case, by the end of 2022, we managed to create a group of about 40 people more or less involved in the project.

On December 19, 2022 we held our last public meeting. We had a public reading of the draft Rules of Procedure, prepared as a result of three other workshops. Occasional comments were made and the bylaws were approved. It was also decided that we should start a second stage of the project, related to the reflection around the museum's new exhibition. It is precisely in this commitment to our partners that we present this project to the Engaged Research program of the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

As I will explain later, this new stage of the project will necessarily involve conducting curatorial research to reflect on the works and the narrative that will make up the new exhibition. In this sense, in addition to relying on the network that has already been consolidated around the project (ACPICV, caciques, schools, etc.), we will also work more directly with three Pataxó collaborators. One of them is already defined and is Oiti Pataxó. He participated assiduously in all the activities of 2022. A member of Atxohã, with a degree from the Federal Institute of Bahia (IFBA), and a master's degree from the UFSB, Oiti is above all an important contemporary Pataxó artist who has been imprinting in his art a reflection on Pataxó historicity (Pataxó, 2022). This theoretical and practical knowledge will be of great importance not only to carry out the research, but above all to reflect on the narrative that will mark the museum's new museographic project. In addition to him, we will select two or three more Pataxó people to compose, together with me, what we are calling the team to carry out the curatorial research. They will be chosen later, once we have the result of this submission.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that this curatorial team will also coordinate other stages of the project that must dialogue with the research itself, such as the expography, communication and dissemination of the new exhibition. In this sense, it will be necessary to count on some external collaborators, especially museographers and/or graphic designers.

Research methodology. What evidence/data will you need to collect to answer your research question? How will you and your partners go about collecting and analyzing this material? Who will provide oversight? What mechanisms will you and your partners use to respond to problems and opportunities that arise in the course of this work?:

In order to interrogate the methodologies that will be employed throughout the execution of the project, it is important to quickly return to the central objective of the proposal, its phases and the questions that guide them. In these terms, in order to continue the general objective of rebuilding the Pataxó Museum of Coroa Vermelha, this research aims to i) develop the museographic project of the museum's long-term exhibition and ii) set up this exhibition, aiming at the reopening of the museum at the end of the project in 2025.

Immediately, it is possible to perceive two stages of the project of a very different nature, however, which must be intertwined between them. A first, more prospective, which involves conducting curatorial research for the collection, production and analysis of evidence and data that will serve as raw material to support the construction of the new collection and narrative content of the museographic project of the new exhibition. After the execution of this first stage, a much more practical stage will begin, related to the assembly and dissemination of the exhibition.

It is important to say that the first stage of the research, related to the construction of the museum's new exhibition, will also have its own moments. A first and important moment of curatorial research, aimed at collecting and producing data to subsidize the construction of the collection and the narrative of the exhibition. For example, it will be necessary to travel to communities located in the Territory of Barra Velha and Monte Pascoal, considered the "Mother Village" or the center of origin of the Pataxó people, to carry out ethnographic and linguistic research. According to Oiti Pataxó, to identify artists and artisans, objects and manufacturing processes, to record stories and places etc. It will also be necessary to conduct historical research in some archives, such as the Public Archive of Bahia, located in the city of Salvador. The curatorial research will be conducted by Oiti Pataxó, myself and two other Pataxó people to be selected later.

It is important to emphasize that the curatorial research will be guided by some guiding questions, previously formulated: how do the indigenous Pataxó of southern Bahia elaborate self-narratives about themselves and their history? Does the Pataxó historical chronology coincide with the national historical chronology? What events and places were significant in their trajectory? Which human and non-human characters should be remembered? Finally, what is the importance of these discourses of indigenous authorship in the context of their political struggles to regain their territories and their culture, aiming to strengthen their identity? What lessons can we draw from all this today? From the local population, which is still partly racist, to the tourists who invade the region to visit the site of the "Birth" of Brazil and its first inhabitants? Not forgetting of course some anthropologists who still seek authenticity among the indigenous people?

This first moment of research will be followed by a second, whose methodology will be the realization of two workshops that aim to give a return on the data collected and produced so that they can be analyzed more openly with the expanded network of collaborators. This movement of dialog between the curatorial team and the network of collaborators aims to build the new museographic project of the museum's long-term exhibition through a shared curatorship coordinated by a curatorial team.

Once this first stage of the project is completed, the second stage will begin, aiming at the reopening of the museum. This second stage also has its different moments, related to the pre-production and production of the exhibition. It is important to note that this stage will require the occasional collaboration of external partners (museographer and/or graphic designer). After the research and workshops stage, the curatorial team will hold meetings with these collaborators to prepare a proposal for the museographic project of the museum's long-term exhibition, considering important dimensions such as: physical space of the museum, graphic proposal, signage, catalog, explanatory texts and captions. Another important moment, which should run in parallel, is the communication dimension, which will publicize the opening and the public program of the exhibition. To make the museum and the exhibition more dynamic, a parallel programme will be designed and organized with lectures, projections, workshops, cultural presentations, among other formats to be discussed with the research partners.

We are estimating to implement the project in one and a half years. That is, from April 2024 to October 2025. We expect to conduct the on-site research (both ethnographic and archival) from May to July 2024; after the research, we will organize the feedback workshops with the extended network of Pataxó collaborators. These workshops should take place between August and December 2024. The year 2025 will be dedicated to the coordination work between the curatorial team and external collaborators in order to define the museographic project of the exhibition and start its physical assembly, considering all the dimensions mentioned above (exhibition, communication, public programming).

Describe the role of the individuals who will participate in the project. How have you and your partners prepared yourselves to do this research? Describe your language competence, technical skills, previous research, and any other relevant experience. Describe any work you and your partners have already done on this project and how this research relates to other research you and your partners have done. You may be working with additional academic and non-academic collaborators. If so, please describe their role in this project and how it will relate to yours:

The project will have four levels of collaboration, with different roles and competencies.

A first level, of advisory collaboration, refers to my invitation to João Pacheco de Oliveira to advisor the project. Oliveira is a full professor at the National Museum, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, and has an extensive curriculum. It is difficult, in the space I have, to go through it in full. However, I would like to point out that he was one of my supervisors during my doctorate. He is, therefore, a person with whom I have collaborated for more than a decade. In 2015, after completing my PhD, I started postdoctoral research at the National Museum, under his supervision. Since then, we have collaborated on different projects that I will briefly report on. Since 2016, I have been participating in the project "Os Brasis e suas memórias", whose central objective is to create a network of indigenous and non-indigenous researchers to build a set of biographies of indigenous characters who were and are important to their communities. The results of this project can be consulted here: <https://osbrasisesuasmemorias.com.br/>.

This project was very well received by the academic and non-academic community, which enabled the creation of a very wide collaboration network throughout Brazil. This led to the unfolding of another project: the academic journal "Memórias Insurgentes", which I co-edit alongside Oliveira. The journal has already published two volumes containing ethnobiographies organized around four memory regimes (Foundation, Nation, Guardianship and Protagonism). It is possible to consult this project here: <http://www.memoriasinsurgentes.org/>.

Before going on to describe the functions and competencies of the other collaborators, I would like to point out that Oliveira is also curator of the Ethnography and Ethnology Sector of the National Museum (SEE/MN). Since the tragic fire of the National Museum in 2018, Oliveira has been coordinating the process of rebuilding the SEE/MN, through actions and debates between researchers and indigenous leaders in the perspective of building another National Museum and other indigenous museums throughout Brazil. During the XIV Mercosur Anthropology Meeting (August 2023), Oliveira organized the Workshop on Ways of rebuilding collections. Isis Brandão, a young Pataxó teacher, and myself will present the experience of the Pataxó Museum of Coroa Vermelha. For this broader vision, I invited João Pacheco de Oliveira to be an advisor of the present project.

A second level of collaboration refers to the wide network of Pataxó partners involved in the project from the beginning. These include the chiefs of Coroa Vermelha, the president of ACPICV, representatives of the municipal and state schools and the Atxohã group. It is these representatives who encourage and legitimize the implementation of this community project, linking it to the broader educational project of Coroa Vermelha. In this sense, the role of these partners seems to me to be mainly political. For example, the Internal Regulations that we drafted throughout 2022 were only approved after a meeting attended by these local leaders. At the end of the day, they are the ones we consult and they are the ones who guide the direction the project should take, for the new museum to be a museum of the community and for the community.

A third level of collaboration refers to what I am calling the curatorial research team, which will be further ahead of the project coordination. So far, this team is composed of Oiti Pataxó and myself. We will select two more Pataxó people to compose it. It is difficult to summarize the long trajectory of Oiti Pataxó in the little space we have. But it is important to note that he has been participating in the project's activities since 2022. His participation has been essential, as he is one of the main contemporary Pataxó artists (ceramist, painter, sculptor) and creator of another Pataxó museum, located in the Jaqueira community). In 2022, Oiti finished his master's degree at UFSB, where he recounts the experience of creating this museum. For him, the "Jaqueira memory house" does not only have a heritage objective. It also has a pedagogical function, in the sense of "educating" tourists who visit the village, transmitting to them a different view of indigenous peoples (Oiti, 2022). Oiti's role in the project is therefore fundamental. In addition to his technical skills, he knows the villages and the artists and artisans we will have to visit and interview to think about the new museum exhibition.

Regarding my own roles and competences, I would like to highlight two previous experiences in addition to the ones I described when I mentioned Oliveira's collaboration in the project. Between 2007 and 2011 I participated in the research project *Les Indiens dans la Guerre du Chaco, Paraguay-Bolivie (1932-1935)*, based at the Rennes 2 University, France. The aim of the project was to combine historical and ethnographic research to produce an unpublished corpus of written and oral documents on the implication of the indigenous world in the Chaco war. Between 2008 and 2010, we worked in more than 20 indigenous communities of the Paraguayan Chaco and recorded more than 100 hours of video recordings among the Nivaclé, Ishir, Tomaraha people. The interviews can be accessed on the platform "COLlections de CORpus Oraux Numériques" (<https://cocoon.huma-num.fr/exist/crdo>). Besides the organization of two books (Capdevila, Combès, Richard & Barbosa, 2010), we also organized the exhibition "Poliloquio Chaqueño. Memorias Indígenas de la Guerra del Chaco" (Chilean Arts Triennale, Santiago, 2009). This very stimulating experience put us in dialog with art professionals and made us work with media we were not used to, such as video montage.

Finally, I would like to highlight a fourth level of collaboration. It will be necessary to rely on external collaborators on an ad hoc basis (museographer and graphic designer). No member of the curatorial research team has these skills. However, it is important to say that the curatorial team will be in permanent dialog with these professionals.

Through this program, the Foundation seeks to demonstrate how engagement can foster innovation and further anthropological thought. What contribution will your project make to this mission? Describe how your project will bring new insights to the field as a whole and to the constituencies with a stake in this work. How and with whom will you and your partners communicate your findings, including, for instance, to policy makers, activists, political leaders, and the communities affected by your work?:

Before getting to know the Pataxó reality, when I moved to the city of Porto Seguro in 2018 and took up the position of professor at UFSB, I carried out most of my research in a very different context. I researched among indigenous speakers of Guaraní languages in the border region between Brazil and Paraguay (Barbosa, 2015). One of the strongest things in this context was the conflict that marked the political movement of the Guaraní and Kaiowá ethnic groups to retake their 'traditional territories'. During the years I researched in the region, several leaders were murdered, without being able to return to the former lands of their relatives.

When I arrived in Porto Seguro, the situation was different. In no way am I trying to say that there is no conflict over the retaking of land here. Quite the contrary! Since I arrived these conflicts have only increased. Certainly, due to the Bolsonaro years and his avowedly anti-indigenous policy. There are also many murders here, old and recent. However, as I learned a little more about the Pataxó reality, I realized that here the territorial retaking had other dimensions, which circulated through other territories.

Among the Guaraní and Kaiowá it is difficult to question their identity, as their languages, religions and rituals are practiced in everyday life. Although there are attempts to disqualify their identity, it is easy to criticize such attempts historically or anthropologically. There is a very clear and evident distinctiveness between indigenous communities and their neighbors. Among the Pataxó the situation is quite different. The historical situations and the territorialization processes (Oliveira, 1998) they have experienced have made them blend in with the regional population. Thus, today, the language most spoken by the Pataxó is Portuguese, the most practiced religion is Catholicism, many indigenous people live in the city, and so on. These situations often do not coincide with a regime of otherness (ethnicity=language=territory) fabricated by anthropology and imprinted in common sense to this day. Therefore, their identity is permanently questioned, as cultural boundaries are in fact much more blurred. Many have considered the ethnic group to be in the process of extinction, including renowned anthropologists (Riberio, 1970; Galvão, 1979).

For the Pataxó, what anthropology has called mixing was a period of "falling asleep", as a way of being able to continue existing in silence. When they "wake up" and begin the struggle to reclaim their territories, they realize that they must first prove that they are still indigenous. To prove the authenticity of their identity, they have been elaborating and refining strategies that have been very effective.

Perhaps the place where these strategies are experienced most vigorously is the intercultural schools that they have been building and consolidating since the enactment of the Law of Basic Guidelines for Education in 1996. In these schools, numerous cultural projects are articulated aimed at strengthening their ethnic identity: they transmit the rudiments of Patxohã, considered their lost mother tongue, which they are revitalizing; they reinterpret their history by reconstructing it; they organize the Pataxó Indigenous Games, a cultural manifestation that shows the rebirth, vitality, innovation and creativity of contemporary Pataxó art (Costa, 2023),

etc.

Besides the school, several other spaces are used by the Pataxó to reaffirm their identity. In the community of Jaqueira or even in Coroa Vermelha, to cite just two examples, they take advantage of the flood of tourists who disembark in the vacation months to perform the role of the "Indians of the Discovery". However, they do not play the Ethnicity, Inc. game (Comarrof & Comarrof, 2009) naively. In a very conscious way, they teach tourists in their "culture talks" that culture is not an essence, but that it is historical, caught in a tension between discontinuity and permanence and that it is built, above all, in practice and in relation to the other (Pataxó, 2018). Without having studied anthropology, they are teaching what I learned on the benches of Nanterre and what I transmit to my students at UFSB.

Taking over the old museum space in Coroa Vermelha is certainly another strategy of the multiple territories of the Pataxó retaking. It is undoubtedly a question of appropriating the cultural heritage initiatives developed in Latin America and which aim to create a network of communities interested in challenging the ways in which the continent is usually represented in places of memory, especially in museums. Undoubtedly, this will contribute to the Pataxó's struggle to take back their territories, many of which are still in dispute. But first, locally, this project also represents a movement to take back a space, located on one of the most visited beaches in Porto Seguro, and therefore in Brazil. The Pataxó want the new museum to be a kind of showcase, where they can communicate and make public the liveliness of their contemporary culture and thus be able to expand their horizons and change the mentality of tourists, local residents, policy makers and, why not, anthropologists themselves.

In fact, ever since I started to get to know the Pataxó I find myself reflecting on how these unusual strategies can foster innovation and promote anthropological thinking. I wrote a while ago on the blackboard of my workshop, which is exactly to my left, the following phrase: "Pataxó lessons for anthropologists". I hope that this research, if it is contemplated by the Wenner Gren Foundation, will allow me to deepen this intuition, already tensioned and already initiated by my Pataxó partners.

Attachments

Files uploaded:

Application Budget

Applicant's CV

ERG Bibliography & Support Documentation

Optional URL for figures: <https://osbrasisesuasmemorias.com.br/>;

<http://www.memoriasinsurgentes.org/index.php/pt/>;

<https://cocoon.huma-num.fr/exist/crdo/meta/cocoon-2944e8ba-3b04-4318-84e8-ba3b04f318cb>