

PATAXÓ INDIGENOUS VILLAGE OF COROA VERMELHA: A PLURIACTIVE COMMUNITY, A SYMBOLIC SITE OF BELONGING



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ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION: A word that represents the CIPCV today is Diversity. Diversity in relations with non-Indians who live in the neighborhoods bordering the village; diversity in the relationship with tourists from all over the world who visit Coroa Vermelha; diversity in the economic activities they practice in the search to meet their needs. It can definitely be said that the ICPCV is differentiated, diverse, and different perspectives can be cast on it.

Keywords: Pataxó Village. Cultural Belonging. Pluriethnicity.

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INTRODUCTION

A word that represents the CIPCV today is Diversity. Diversity in relations with non-Indians who live in the neighborhoods bordering the village; diversity in the relationship with tourists from all over the world who visit Coroa Vermelha; diversity in the economic activities they practice in the search to meet their needs. It can definitely be said that the ICPCV is *differentiated*, diverse, and different perspectives can be cast on it.

There are also diverse opinions of researchers who decide to study the CIPCV. For some, the influence that tourism exerts on the way of being of this community is negative, for others it is positive. What is certain is that there is no possibility of denying such influence.

Certainly, the ICPCV can be studied from various perspectives. Here we study the economic activities practiced by the Pataxós families in the search for income that contributes to the subsistence of these family units. From the study of economic activities, it was possible to establish the community's way of being, with theories developed to explain systems with characteristics equal to those of the CIPCV.

Economics of Popular Sectors (ESP), Symbolic Sites of Belonging (SSP), Local Development (DL) are some of the theories analyzed to understand the current way of being of the community studied. It is worth remembering that the CIPCV has its own characteristics, different from other indigenous villages scattered throughout the Brazilian territory. The fact that the village is inserted in a historical place, attracting visitors/tourists from all over the world, in an intense exchange of cultures already differentiates it from other villages.

The coastal strip where the village is located has enormous natural resources, with a beautiful landscape, being enough to trigger a very strong real estate speculation, with anthropic pressure. The boundaries of the village were not well defined, which exposed indigenous life in very close contact with non-Indians, straining their way of being and forcing the loss of identity.

With limited land for cultivation and animal husbandry and seeing in tourists who visited Coroa Vermelha a possibility of obtaining income, the production of handicrafts was one of the solutions found in the short term to obtain what was necessary to meet their basic needs. With the passage of time, handicrafts gained the company of other products and services, changing the way of being of the Pataxós of Coroa Vermelha with those

found decades ago, by researchers who studied the life of the Pataxós of Barra Velha, the "Mother Village".

The objective of this chapter is to analyze the ICPCV from different perspectives, always taking into account the characteristics of this community. This research has a qualitative and descriptive approach; The techniques used were bibliographic research, oral history as a link with the bibliographic survey; field research with direct in situ observation and validation of secondary data and narratives of the research actors.

It is important to emphasize that we did not seek to exhaust the theme, given its dimension and complexity. Serving as a basis for future research is a more viable and logical intention. The results obtained from the analyses carried out show that the CIPCV has peculiar characteristics, which differs it from other indigenous villages. They also show that the way of being of this community allows it to be studied from the perspective of ESP, SSP and DL.

TOURISM AND WORK AT CIPCV

The importance of tourism activity for the municipalities of the Discovery Coast is unquestionable. This subject has already been the subject of numerous researches, carried out by public and private institutions, as well as researchers linked to Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). On the Discovery Coast, a micro-region in the extreme south of Bahia, the municipalities of Porto Seguro and Santa Cruz Cabrália stand out in terms of the potential of tourist activities. About tourism in the extreme south of Bahia, Neto e Silva (2015:75) recognize that it is an economic activity that has a significant relevance in the transformation of the region's territory.

Directly or indirectly, tourism influences the lives of all residents of the municipalities of Porto Seguro and Santa Cruz Cabrália, in the extreme south of Bahia. The flows of tourists present in the destination mobilize various economic activities, such as the transport sector, the hotel industry, the food and beverage sector, among others, proving the importance of tourism in economies. (PINHEIRO, GUIMARÃES AND COSTA, 2011:71-72).

There are several attractions that attract visitors to this region of the Extreme South of Bahia, figure 01 shows the Axé-Moi, the largest laser complex and beach structure on the northern shore of Porto Seguro. In the image you can also see some hotels in the background. Soares (2016) states that:

The city has several tourist facilities: hotels, flats, villages, restaurants and beach huts that are distributed in almost 10 km of waterfront, in the direction that connects Porto Seguro to Santa Cruz de Cabrália. In this part of the city, known as the northern shore, there are also several high-end condominiums, where the middle class and the rich of the city and region live or own summer homes (p. 6).

Figure 01: Aerial view of Axé-Moi.



Source: Tripadvisor (2020).

In the economic aspect, these two municipalities also have great relevance for the state's economy. The flow of tourists throughout the year makes it possible to generate employment and income for both municipalities, in addition to contributing to the heating of the economy of neighboring municipalities. It is undeniable that tourism, if well managed, represents a path of development not only for a municipality, but for an entire region (NETO AND SILVA, 2015:77). Corroborating this statement, Soares (2016:7) recognizes that tourism currently has great relevance in the economic performance of Porto Seguro, this activity is articulated with social, cultural and political factors.

Regarding the flow of tourists on the Discovery Coast, the Secretary of Tourism of the State of Bahia (SETUR), which monitors this flow, points out that the data available for the period between 2000 and 2019, show a substantial increase in the number of landings in the municipality of Porto Seguro, which, together with Santa Cruz Cabrália, are the municipalities that receive the most tourists on the Discovery Coast. The international airport of Porto Seguro is one of the main responsible for facilitating this movement of

visitors in the region. Figure 02 shows the Passarela do Álcool, in Porto Seguro, with a large flow of people, mostly tourists.

Figure 02: Passarela do Álcool, Porto Seguro-BA.



Source: Bahia diaadia (2017).

The Bulletin of Characteristic Activities of Tourism in Bahia (BACT) published in 2019, brings some important information about the relevance of tourism on the Discovery Coast for the economy of the region and the State. According to BACT (2019:3), Porto Seguro airport is one of the airports that receives the most charter flights from national and international destinations, operated by the main Brazilian airlines.

Tourism provides employment and income directly and indirectly, with formal and informal employment. In addition to formal establishments that offer products and services to visitors, there are informal jobs that provide income for a significant portion of the fixed and floating population. Yes, in the high season, many people from surrounding cities travel to Porto Seguro and Santa Cruz Cabrália to work in the months with the greatest flow of tourists in the region, the summer. Currently, tourism activity has great relevance in the economic performance of Porto Seguro, this activity is articulated with social, cultural and political factors (SOARES, 2016:7).

There is no doubt that tourism drives the region's economy, benefiting not only the means of accommodation but also a variety of other sectors of the economy, including the generation of taxes. Soares (2016:8) recognizes that tourism heats up the local economy,

mobilizes other activities in the transport, hotel, and food sectors, generating jobs and underemployment that increase the income of the population during some months of the year.

One population that is mobilized and has its income strongly influenced by tourism is the Pataxó indigenous community of Coroa Vermelha, since the income of most of the community comes from activities aimed at tourism.

Talking about the economic activities developed by the families of the village of Coroa Vermelha requires talking about their origin, traditions and the changes faced, factors that caused implications in the identity issues of that village. Certainly, over time, numerous variables contributed both to the constitution of the village of Coroa Vermelha, as well as to the changes in its economic activities aimed at sustenance, as well as to cultural changes.

In chapter 1 of this work, the economic subsystems were discussed, the economic activities practiced by the Pataxós aiming at the survival of the families of the community. In order to understand the current economic reality of the village of Coroa Vermelha and to make a parallel with pluriactivity, the dynamics existing in the 1970s in the village of Barra Velha, also known as "Mother Village", were analyzed. This analysis was based on a research by Professor Maria do Rosário Carvalho, her master's dissertation from 1977, a work that is presented as one of the most complete on the economic activities practiced by the indigenous people in the Barra Velha village.

It can be seen that more than one reason led the indigenous people of the Mãe village to settle in Coroa Vermelha. Tourism became decisive for the consolidation of the Pataxós there and their rapid and intense growth. For Rêgo (2012:61), these Indians were also looking for new areas for the sale of handicrafts, with a view to transforming the region into a tourist hub.

In this sense, it is possible to adduce that the indigenous people of the village of Coroa Vermelha gained new socioeconomic and cultural characteristics. According to Grunewald (2015:411), it was in the 1970s that tourism began to involve the Pataxós and, since then, tourism has increasingly penetrated the lives of these indigenous people. After its consolidation in Coroa Vermelha and its search for subsistence from tourism, this village acquired very particular characteristics, different even from its peers who live in nearby villages. The sale of handicrafts to tourists, in addition to other commercial activities, forced

the Pataxós to adapt to the new reality. In this way, an urban and commercial village was consolidated (MAURO, 2007:55).

It is possible to affirm that the way of life of the Indians began to express itself through the economic activities practiced by them, in the search for work and income, for subsistence. This way of life is considered different, even from that of the Pataxós who live in other villages and localities. This migration of the Pataxós, towards the Red Crown, was accompanied by many socioeconomic changes and in the tradition of this people. Some authors believe that the change to Coroa Vermelha was not by chance, there was already an objective in choosing the location. The Pataxós, who gradually took up residence in the Coroa Vermelha, did so in order to dedicate themselves almost solely and exclusively to trade, an essential form of their economic activity (GRUNEWALD, 1996:31).

Although tourism is the main economic activity in the region and the most important for the indigenous people of Coroa Vermelha, a multitude of other activities are practiced by members of the indigenous community. It is Mauro (2007:70) who recognizes that there are still those Indians who practice fishing, shellfish gathering and plant extractivism, in addition to the fact that there is a small number of them who manage to get employed as wage earners in the local economy. Currently, this number is not as small as it was when Mauro carried out his research. For tourism to happen, a network of complementary enterprises and services is necessary, which involves the provision of services of both a formal and informal nature, resulting in both formal and occasional work relationships (ISSA, 2007:4).

Certainly, in terms of work and income, the activities of the Pataxós of Coroa Vermelha are very different from those practiced by the indigenous people of Barra Velha, as Grunewald (1996) explains:

Today, in addition to the handicrafts sold to tourists, some Pataxós have also engaged in the provision of services to more extensive commercial activities (waiters, clerks, etc.), which unites them in economic terms, necessarily, with the white merchants and/or merchants present in the area (p. 31).

PLURIACTIVITY IN THE WORK OF THE PATAXÓS

This economic dynamic has changed the way the Pataxó families obtain income, which gives the members of the studied village new socioeconomic and cultural characteristics that have led to the association of the work of the indigenous people of Coroa Vermelha with pluriactivity. This is because a family can be considered to be

pluriactive when there is the practice, by one or more members of the family nucleus, of different economic activities that contribute to the constitution of this family's income.

The visits carried out in the field research, in addition to the oral reports made during conversations with some of the families, made it clear that it is currently difficult to have a Pataxó family where the family income comes from a single economic activity. As observed in the quotation made to Grunewald (1996), not only the sale of handicrafts, but a range of activities derived from tourism use indigenous labor, enabling employment and income for these actors.

Mauro (2007) also narrates the practice of multi-pluriactivity by the indigenous people:

Some Indians are the owners of tents installed on the beach of Coroa Vermelha, within the indigenous land (Gleba A), where they sell mainly handicrafts, but there are tents that also function as bars. It is common to know of cases of Indians who rent their tents to non-Indians, thus obtaining income from rent (p. 69).

From the reports and observations made, it was possible to establish this association between the activities of the indigenous community and the concepts of pluriactivity. Escher et. al (2014) recognize that:

... The notion of pluriactivity "arose by being evoked to understand the ways in which family farms react to the adversities of the social and economic environment in which they are inserted, as well as the internal pressures arising from the need to ensure that the material needs of the family nucleus are met (p. 650).

Another factor that contributed to understanding the Pataxó families as pluriactive was their agrarian origin, their history in the management of natural resources. Candioto (2007:7778) states that rural families began to seek non-agricultural activities and income linked especially to the external work of rural property, such as - in industry, commerce, public services and the provision of services. This is exactly what happened to the indigenous community studied, a rural community that drew its livelihood mainly from land cultivation, extractivism, hunting and fishing. For Schneider (2009:3), individuals who form a family can choose between combining two or more occupations (assuming the condition of pluriactive) or choosing to change occupation, leaving agricultural work and starting to occupy themselves exclusively in non-agricultural activities, even without ceasing to reside in rural areas.

When a family with these characteristics starts to seek its livelihood in activities outside the rural context, starting to perform functions not related to the cultivation of the

land and exploitation of the environment, it can be considered pluriactive. Such non-agricultural activities may be linked to industry, commerce or public and private services, and are carried out both in areas considered rural and in urban areas (Candiotto, 2007:192).

But it was not only the economic activities that caused changes in the way of life of the Pataxós of Coroa Vermelha, the social relations established with the non-Indian population also contributed to this change. The coexistence between residents and tourists from the most diverse places, CUSTOMS, habits, attitudes and values has contributed to a deconstruction of the local cultural identity (SOARES, 2016:7).

It has already been mentioned in this work that the boundaries of the indigenous land with non-indigenous areas are imperceptible to those who do not know or live with the community, in addition, the pressure on the land and the indigenous people has made the traditional way of life of the Pataxós unsustainable. Regarding the confusion that exists within the boundaries of the indigenous land, Rêgo (2012) makes the following observation:

In addition, the situation of Coroa Vermelha at the beginning of this decade was disastrous. In order to exercise control over local occupation, the city government had granted lots in a totally disorderly manner, giving rise to invasions conducted by non-Indians, irregular constructions, overlapping of ownership and growing environmental degradation (p. 64).

If in the first half of the twentieth century the Pataxós of the village of Barra Velha lived isolated from civilization, the same cannot be said of the indigenous people of Coroa Vermelha. This relationship is so intense, including many marriages between Indians and non-Indians, that it is difficult to distinguish them if they do not know them. For Rêgo (2012:67), the formation around the village of a municipal district had made it totally impossible to control the circulation of non-indigenous people within its limits, configuring a whole singularity for this indigenous land.

PLURIACTIVITY AND THE ECONOMY OF THE POPULAR SECTORS

When it was dug a little deeper during the course of the research, another term emerged that, after knowing its concept, it was understood that it is quite familiar with the economic activities developed by the indigenous people of Coroa Vermelha. We are talking about the theory of the Economy of Popular Sectors (ESP).

The Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil (FC) of 1988, in the caput of article 231, recognizes that "The Indians are recognized for their social organization, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions, and the original rights over the lands they traditionally occupy, and it is up to the Union to demarcate them, protect and ensure respect for all their assets". Paragraph 1 of the same article adds the following:

Lands traditionally occupied by the Indians are those inhabited by them on a permanent basis, those used for their productive activities, those essential to the preservation of the environmental resources necessary for their well-being and those necessary for their physical and cultural reproduction, according to their uses, customs and traditions (CF. 1988, art. 231, § 1).

Because the village is a federal area, demarcated by decree, with the objective that indigenous peoples can occupy them and live in them according to their customs, it is only up to the Federal Government to decide on the management of this land.

Tourism is the one that provides the greatest variety and quantity of activities for the indigenous community, which provide income that makes it possible to meet the needs of families. These activities can be informal (trade in handicrafts and beach services) and formal (salaried activities in lodging, restaurants, receptive tourism agency). It is important to highlight here that the work developed by the indigenous people, in Coroa Vermelha, in the production and commercialization of handicrafts, as well as in all activities associated with tourism, have some peculiar characteristics. We will deal here with that characteristic that is most interesting for this work: informality.

According to Baltar and Manzano (2020:1), a unit that carries out formal activity is a legal entity, separate and legally independent from the owner, constituting, therefore, a legal entity – which implies the obligation to have complete accounting. This means that a formal activity needs to follow some rules and has responsibilities with a public entity (Union, State or Municipality). Regarding informal activity, the same authors make the following statement:

The occupation of the informal sector is that which occurs in a unit that carries out an informal economic activity, on a property owned by the individual himself, his family members or third parties, which is not constituted as a legal entity, in which it is not possible to clearly perceive the separation between domestic and productive activities, not having independent and complete accounting of the business (BALTAR and MANZANO, 2020:1).

This characteristic of the economic activities of the indigenous people fits into the ESP concept, which is very well worked out by the authors KRAYCHETE (2000) and

CORAGGIO (2000), among others. Baltar and Manzano's definition of informal work is in agreement with those of Kraychete (2000:15), who states that the reproduction of growing portions of the population has come to depend, on a larger scale, on activities based on individual, family or associative work.

The same author also recognizes that in the case of popular enterprises, it is impossible to separate the activities of production and commercialization of goods and services from the circumstances of reproduction of the life of the family unit of people. Following this idea, the author José Luis Coraggio also explained informal activity from the perspective of the Economy of Popular Sectors:

In this sense, the domestic unit, as already mentioned, can be formed either by people with blood ties, or it can be unipersonal, multifamily, or even formed by friends, ethnic communities, neighbors, groups that come together freely to cooperate, or solidarity aggregations of any other type, which share resources and articulate strategies, explicit or implicit, to reproduce its collective life (CORAGGIO, 2000:95).

Therefore, it can be stated that in the same way that we analyze the Pataxó indigenous community of the Extreme South of Bahia as a Symbolic Site of Belonging, its activities fit into the concept of Economy of the Popular Sectors, thus being able to study the community from this perspective, understanding that this is an alternative for the generation of employment and income based on activities of low environmental impact and intensive in labor (SILVA, DINIZ AND FERREIRA, 2013:74).

In this work, the aforementioned community was analyzed and the understanding is that its way of being, from the perspective of its activities aimed at subsistence, as part of the ESP. This is because as the indigenous people live on their lands, according to their customs and traditions, it is understood that the term "informal" does not apply to the activities undertaken by them. The analyses made allow us to affirm that the economic activities undertaken by the Pataxó community have all the characteristics of the Economy of the Popular Sectors.

As already mentioned, the activities of the Pataxós offer products and services to tourists who visit the region, as shown in figure XX. Speaking about the activities that characterize the ESP, Kraychete (2000:15) states that these activities, as a whole, sustain an economy of the popular sectors, involving, even if in a dispersed and fragmented way, an extensive flow of products, services and various modalities of exchanges and markets.

It should be noted that no enterprise that will operate in the village needs any authorization for its operation. Everything is decided and operationalized by the indigenous people who want to work and the village leadership, in this case the chief. In the same way, none of the economic activities practiced by the indigenous people of Coroa Vermelha suffers any type of inspection or control by state agencies responsible for controlling economic activities.

But the activities of commercialization of the indigenous production are not limited to the limits of the village, this commercialization is also carried out on the beaches of the region and in other locations (fairs, events, tourist attractions). It is possible to find indigenous people selling their products at several different points between the municipalities of Santa Cruz Cabralia and Porto Seguro.

In Santa Cruz Cabralia, the indigenous people trade in the main points frequented by tourists: historic city; pier from which boats leave for sea and river tours; in addition to the entire waterfront that bathes the municipality, including Coroa Vermelha, where the village is located. In the municipality of Porto Seguro, the indigenous people trade in the following places: historic city; Passarela do Álcool; and on the beaches of the municipality. In Porto Seguro, the length of the coast is greater, as is the volume of visitors in relation to Cabralia.

The work of commercialization of the indigenous people, in some cases, involves more than one member of the family unit. It is common to find family groups (father, mother and child(ren)) selling their products in these places. It is a common practice for indigenous families who sell handicrafts that children and adolescents accompany their parents in their daily work, and in the high season (December to February), a period in which a greater number of tourists visit the region, the number of families engaged in marketing and work in tourist activities increases.

Regarding this characteristic of the work of the Pataxós of Coroa Vermelha who sell handicrafts, Coraggio (2000:96) states that this type of work ends up being an extension of the domestic unit, and its objective is not to accumulate per se, but to maintain and improve the quality of life of the members of this unit throughout their life trajectory.

The high season period is the one in which the possibility of increasing the income of the family unit grows substantially, requiring greater commitment from family members. There are situations in which family members are divided: part works in one place, the

others in another tourist spot. There are also cases in which family members work in different activities, some of which are not even linked to tourism.

This dynamic of indigenous work is explained by Kraychete (2000):

They find that, in the face of increasingly restricted opportunities for regular employment, the reproduction of the lives of a growing portion of the population begins to depend, on a larger scale, on an economy that feeds on numerous activities carried out individually, in families or associations, involving an extensive flow of production and exchange of goods and services (p. 24)

There is a family unit whose income is obtained between the sale of products and salaried work. Just as there are families in which all income comes from salaried activity. In all cases, its members pool their resources, in whole or in part, in order to collectively or solidarily satisfy the needs of the whole group (CORAGGIO, 2000:95).

Currently, the variety of activities that are within the reach of the Pataxó families is enormous, and these activities are developed both within the village itself and outside it. In the indigenous schools (figure XX) of the village there are the following activities: teacher, school secretary, principal and vice-principal, lunch lady, doorman and general services.

In the health area, we have already mentioned that there is a health center in the village of Coroa Vermelha, there are the following functions: nurse, health agent, nursing technician attendant and general services. In the village there is the Indigenous Guard (GI), created to help with the safety of visitors and members of the indigenous community. The specificities of IG are very well worked out in the thesis defended by Rêgo (2012).

It is easy to see that the way of being of the Pataxós of Coroa Vermelha, especially with regard to economic activities aimed at obtaining income and subsistence, described in works such as that of Carvalho (1977), has been greatly altered in comparison with the way of life of the Pataxós of the village of Barra Velha, from which they originate.

THE PATAXÓ COMMUNITY AS A SYMBOLIC SITE OF BELONGING

It has been previously said that we sought to research pluriactivity and apply its concepts to explain the current socioeconomic dynamics of the Pataxó Community of Coroa Vermelha. Well, during the research, a concept drew attention for its close connection with the reality of the community studied: *Symbolic Sites of Belonging*.

As previously explained, the term symbolic sites of belonging arises from research carried out by Professor Hassan Zaoaul. In general terms, the term refers to a group of people who have the same or similar characteristics (social, economic and cultural), who

recognize such characteristics and use them in order to obtain their survival. It is important to highlight that this group of people can live in a geographical space that can vary between a neighborhood, a city, a region, even in a country. Regarding the conception of site, developed by Zaoaul, Issa (2007) makes the following statement:

... The idea of a *place*, of understanding local values, is especially important,... aiming at the development of local economies in a more humane way, more focused on man, seeing and understanding him in his totality, adopting a procedure that contemplates not only technical and rational aspects, but all the cultural dimensions, often contradictory, that integrate the roots of the localities (p. 2).

Analyzing this idea, it is difficult not to associate it with the Pataxós of the extreme south of Bahia. They have equal characteristics (social, economic and cultural), their population occupies a specific area of the municipality of Santa Cruz Cabrália, with ramifications through the extreme south of the State of Bahia and use their characteristics and potential of the place to survive. With several villages scattered in the extreme south of Bahia, these indigenous people – some with family members living in other villages – use the resources, characteristics and potential of each village to obtain subsistence.

It is important to note that the number of villages presented here was obtained during the field research from some of their leaders. Certainly, the data presented here differ from those presented by official agencies due to the dynamics of occupation of the Pataxós in the region.

The economic theory of *sites* aims to combine culture, economy, ecology, with an emphasis on the local scale and the diversity of economic practices, since it is at this level (on the local scale) that all wealth appears (ISSA, 2007:3).

Socially and culturally, the Pataxós of Coroa Vermelha are very similar, and in economic terms, the indigenous people have differences, due to the tourist vocation of the locality. Despite the problems faced, the competition between them, the divisions within the community, they manage to hold firm and consolidate a strong trade that attracts visitors and moves a significant volume of cash.

On this aspect, Rocha (2014:6) recognizes that individuals are effective within a farm, coexistence in an organization becomes the source of motivation for people, which become as important as other factors such as salaries, security, social status. And De Paula (2006:29) ratifies Rocha's idea by stating that the more people trust each other, the more they cooperate, organize, emancipate themselves and, therefore, can interfere in the decisions that concern them.

Tourism in the region forced the indigenous people of Coroa Vermelha to focus their efforts on economic activities directly related to it. This situation seems to have been understood as positive by the Pataxós of Bahia, since indigenous people from other villages decided to live in Coroa Vermelha, temporarily or permanently. In addition, the result of the work of many Pataxós from other villages is destined for Coroa Vermelha, aiming at trade fostered by tourism. About this dynamic influence of tourist activity on the lives of the indigenous people of the village studied, Issa (2007) states that:

Just as there are examples of places where tourism is apparently just business, there are also places where tourism has been gradually happening without essentially economic interests; it has matured due to the fact that those interested identify themselves or have the curiosity to know the place, resulting in the awakening of the local population, perceiving that their values, their myths, their culture, their heritage could be shared and shared with outsiders, and thus develop activities capable of generating employment that insert, in the tourist activity, the natives and residents... (ISSA, 2007:4-5).

Furthermore, it should be noted that the village studied currently has a more modern infrastructure (school, health center, accessibility) than the other sister villages. Although the village of Coroa Vermelha has its boundaries well defined, by Federal Decree, a symbolic place of belonging is imaginary. It is an imaginary homeland, a place is, above all, an immaterial entity, therefore, invisible, intangible to impregnate in an underlying way the individual and collective behaviors and all the material manifestations of a given place (landscape, habitat, architecture, know-how, techniques, tools, etc.) (ROCHA, 2014:6).

About this characteristic of the village of Coroa Vermelha and the theory of Symbolic Sites, Issa (2007) makes the following approach:

This form of approach allows us to associate the issue of the *symbolic site* of belonging and the man of the *site*, the man of the situation, of the place, with the circulation of the gift, of the gift, of hospitality, pointing in the direction of an alternative paradigm, of a new way of perceiving, interpreting, organizing and planning, fundamentally considering the values, the rites, local myths (ISSA, 2007:3).

The way of being of the Pataxós of Coroa Vermelha and the region (history, culture, handicrafts) was very good with the tourist activity in the area where the village is located, this allowed this community to become the most populous village and, in economic terms, the most important, in relation to the other villages of the same ethnic group scattered throughout the region. The presence and work of the Pataxós are essential for the flow of tourists and the circulation of goods and cash in the locality.

Not even the seat of the municipality of Santa Cruz Cabralia has the movement of tourists and, consequently, the active economy as it happens in Coroa Vermelha. So that a very strong trade was formed within the community, by the Indians, and around it, by non-Indians. All products and services that are not offered by the indigenous people will certainly be offered by a non-Indian. Among them, we can highlight some: restaurants, bars, lodging, handicrafts produced by non-Indians coming from other locations, taxi service, in addition to a variety of other products (acarajé, boiled corn, tapioca). The author himself recognizes that the world is characterized by an extreme diversity of situations and populations whose belief systems and practices are varied and variable in time and space (ZAOAUL, 2003:26-27).

All this socioeconomic dynamics involving the Pataxó way of being find support in the theory of Symbolic Sites proposed by Zaoaul, as he explains:

A site is a place in the geographical sense (neighborhood, city, microregion, region, country, etc.) and also in the symbolic sense (adherence to a culture, an ideology, a religion), referring to specific meanings defined by its authors who, depending on their identity, on the one hand, accept or refuse what is proposed or imposed on them from outside and, on the other hand, they seek original solutions to their problems (ZAOAUL, 2003:8).

The Pataxós of Coroa Vermelha were inserted or were inserted in the context of tourist activities in the region, as previously explained, and this is something comprehensive. Regarding this insertion, the author assures that everywhere, increasingly, people feel the need to believe and to insert themselves in places of belonging (ZAOAUL, 2002:21).

THE PATAXÓS OF COROA VERMELHA AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT (DL)

It has already been mentioned here that the village of Coroa Vermelha is urbanized, in the sense of being surrounded by non-Indian neighborhoods, due to the difficulty of perceiving the limits of the village. Its location has sparked strong real estate speculation. It has also been said that commerce in this district is more heated than the headquarters, Santa Cruz Cabralia. All this trade was formed from the indigenous presence in the locality, which attracted and attracts tourists from all over the world, also due to the historical context of the place.

It is precisely for this aspect that the indigenous community of Coroa Vermelha was analyzed from the perspective of local development. Were it not for the presence of the

Pataxós with their way of being, were it not for the historical context of the place, this thriving trade would certainly not exist as it does not exist in other locations in the region. For Silva, Diniz and Ferreira (2013:30-31) the need for local development arises to give a function to the territories, to affirm the uniqueness of each place.

Regarding this characteristic of the community studied, De Paula (2006:29) recognizes that development does not fall from space, but is a product of human relations. Corroborating this thought, Betti (2014:41) states that there is a diversity of currents of thought that mobilize local initiatives and actors, as observed in the proliferation of dissident economies: social economy, solidarity, local development, parallel economies.

It is possible to mention a diversity of companies and services that would be impacted if the indigenous community did not have the importance it has in Coroa Vermelha: receptive agencies with their tour guides; taxi service; bars and restaurants, lodging, beach services and a multitude of services that, indirectly, depend on tourism to maintain themselves. From this observation, it is possible to understand why many scholars talk about strengthening and diversifying the local economy to promote DL, and the actors in the region are the protagonists in the formulation of strategies, in decision-making and when it comes to putting them into practice.

The theory of Symbolic Sites of Belonging serves as the basis for Zaoaul's main idea, which is Local Development. The whole discussion about Symbolic Sites aims to substantiate the importance and perspective of DL. Yes, it is necessary to talk about the Pataxó indigenous community of Coroa Vermelha as an agent/vector of development. In this case, local development. This context in which the community is inserted is well explained by Betti, as follows:

... local development is understood as that built in solidarity by actors of the site who, based on their individual characteristics, recompose their sites of belonging as collective organisms by integrating the set of site data of the context, including beliefs, common knowledge, diversity, historical memory, among others, contributing to the consolidation of the multidimensions of development (BETTI, 2014:42).

Therefore, how can we not think about this community and its way of being in the context of local development? As already mentioned, throughout the research many testimonies and reports were heard about the importance of the Pataxós of Coroa Vermelha for the strengthening of tourist activity in the region. The historical aspect helps,

but without the Pataxó presence, it is believed that the place would not have the economic importance it currently enjoys.

In view of this reality, it is possible to affirm that the Pataxó community, with its way of being, is a symbolic site and an agent of local development, promoting self-development in addition to the development of the locality and the non-indigenous community through its presence, history, culture and economy. The framing as a symbolic site is confirmed by De Paula (2006:31), who states that a site can be a street, a neighborhood, a set of municipalities, a micro-region, or even a block of countries. As an agent of DL, the community is understood from the idea of Betti (2014), who adduces the following:

The exploration of the site's potential for local innovations must be done taking into account the set of site data from the local context, including beliefs, common knowledge, diversity, historical memory, etc., otherwise local development is not possible (BETTI, 2014:42).

But local development does not happen overnight, nor involuntarily. It takes planning, partnership, time and investment. It is necessary to educate in order to develop. There were decades of struggles and resistance on the part of the community, adapting to a reality different from its way of being, with very fruitful and conflicting interpersonal relationships, at times. The plurality of paths is fundamental for the actors of a community to be able to conduct their own destinies according to their cultural diversity and their local truths (BETTI, 2014:42).

This is how the Pataxós began to manufacture handicrafts, bows, arrows, spears, necklaces, bracelets and other adornments appreciated by tourists, for sale, as a form of subsistence. This is how these people continue to maintain themselves, surviving, in the face of a world economic system that excludes and makes invisible the small ones who seek subsistence based on their peculiarities and potential.

This is how the community transmits its experiences, maintains its traditions, rituals, dances, games, typical food and drinks, paintings and indigenous songs, being part of a great history of customs, economy and social relations.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

A community like the indigenous village of Coroa Vermelha can be studied using different perspectives, with different perspectives and it can contribute a lot to understanding the changes that society has faced over time. Whether it is an

anthropological, sociological or even economic study, much has been studied about this community. From research that explains its origin, to those that study the loss of cultural identity and also those that analyze the economic subsystem of the Pataxós of the Extreme South of Bahia.

This chapter sought to analyze the CIPCV from some theories already researched and discussed, among which the following stand out: Pluriactivity, Economy of Popular Sectors, Symbolic Sites of Belonging and Local Development. For this, studies carried out with populations that have characteristics similar to CIPCV were used.

Pluriactivity was initially researched to analyze the reality of family farming actors. How is the income of these farmers constituted? Do all income used to meet your needs come from activities developed only on the property? Or is there any part of the income that comes from work performed outside the property or outside the agricultural activity? What are these activities? Pluriactivity was used because the CIPCV has its origin in agriculture and because of the great diversity of activities available today, inside or outside the village.

The Economics of Popular Sectors is a theory that was developed to analyze the reality of informal workers, without formal employment. ESP enables work, income and supply of their needs. Its objective is not profit per se, it does not aim to transform informal workers into large entrepreneurs, even if this may happen. The structure of indigenous activities, especially those focused on tourism, fits into the theory of ESP.

The way in which the Pataxós villages of the extreme south of Bahia are arranged, the way they interact and are interconnected, as a common cultural base, a common way of being and common work point to this population, located in a certain region, being recognized as a Symbolic Site. Its cultural and economic characteristics form the basis for it to be studied and understood from the perspective of the sites. Remembering that the theory of sites was designed to study the way of being of a certain community, from the socio-economic perspective, whether it is inserted in a certain geographical space, whether this space is delimited in a real or imaginary way. This space can be a neighborhood, a city, a region, a country or a block of countries.

Coroa Vermelha is located in an area bathed by the Atlantic Ocean, covered by the Atlantic Forest and with beautiful natural landscapes. It is a point of tourist visitation due to its historical relevance in the context of the landing of the Portuguese when they discovered Brazil in 1500. The Pataxó presence in the place, with its culture and

handicrafts, was fundamental for the presence of visitors and tourists to be intensified. This contributed to the formation of a strong and heated trade throughout the year, not just during the high season. This trade is very important for the economy of the municipalities of Porto Seguro and Santa Cruz Cabrália, directly, and other municipalities end up having their economies impacted by the trade of Coroa Vermelha. This is the reason why we sought to analyze the CIPCV from the perspective of Local Development.

It is reinforced that this work does not have the presumption of exhausting the theme, only to contribute to present and future reflections, aiming to understand the transformations faced by the community studied and by society in general.

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