

Migrations and sociospatial processes in the Pelourinho-Santo Antônio Axis, Salvador, State of Bahia

Migrações e processos socioespaciais no Eixo Pelourinho-Santo Antônio. Salvador, Bahia

Daniel de Albuquerque Ribeiro [1]

Abstract

This article aims to clarify the relationships between urban spatial processes and migrations in an area of the city of Salvador that we call Pelourinho-Santo Antônio Axis (PSA). Our purpose was to show that the different urban spatial processes that are usually portrayed in closed schemes in the city itself can be observed in a worldwide scale. To achieve this, studies about migrations in Salvador (State of Bahia) were carried out and related to the city's urban sociospatial processes from its foundation to the current times. We found that the PSA is a center that has been receiving immigrants since the origin of the city. As time went by, new flows were gradually configured between Salvador and the world, generating a complex population mosaic in the studied area, with ethnic contributions from all the continents.

Keywords: migrations; sociospatial processes; Salvador.

Resumo

Este artigo tem por objetivo elucidar as relações entre os processos espaciais urbanos e as migrações em uma área da cidade de Salvador, que denominamos Eixo Pelourinho-Santo Antônio (EPS). Neste, buscou-se demonstrar que os diferentes processos espaciais urbanos, que geralmente são retratados em esquemas fechados na própria cidade, podem ser observados em uma escala mundial. Para isso, realizaram-se estudos sobre migrações em Salvador – Bahia, relacionando-os com os processos socioespaciais urbanos da cidade, desde sua fundação até a contemporaneidade. Constatou-se que o EPS constitui, desde a origem da cidade, um polo receptor de imigrantes. No avançar do tempo, novos fluxos foram se configurando entre Salvador e o mundo, gerando, na área estudada, um complexo mosaico populacional com contribuições étnicas de todos os continentes.

Palavras-chave: migrações; processos socioespaciais; Salvador.



Introduction

In a simplified way, it is possible to define migration as the population movements that takes place between two or more territories. For instance, it is possible to name those of a permanent scope, the ones that occur seasonally and those that occur in commuting movements (daily). Another classification form is established according to the origin, so the use of the term emigrant/immigrant refers to persons who leave their country (emigration) and enter another (immigrant). However, the concept of migration covers both internal movements (which occur within a country) and those that take place in different countries.

This research studies different groups, coming from other Brazilian cities and foreign ones as well, and for that reason, the term migration is used to describe the process in general, using internal migrations for movements that took place within Brazil and immigrations for movements of international origin that arrived in the country.

The urban socio-spatial processes, can be understood as the changes that happen within the city, impacting its structures, forms and functions. In this article, the processes of city formation, centralization, dispersion, invasion/succession and gentrification are addressed with the purpose of demonstrating the relationships between these and the migrations in an area from the city Salvador, which we call the “Eixo Pelourinho-Santo Antônio”– EPS (Pelourinho-Santo Antônio Axis). Partial results of a ten year research, is exposed herein.

It was predominant four procedural methodologies: the historical, the comparative, the functionalist and the structuralist. As methodological procedures: bibliographic survey; documental and book research; definition of periodization taking into account the relationships between migrations, socio-spatial processes and technical transformations; inter-scale, comparative and relational analysis of socio-spatial processes; analysis of form transformations, functions and structures taking as a reference social agents, specially the migrants; quantitative research for data generation and spatialization of the information obtained; in-depth interview to generate private understandings, with social (recortes) cross-sections selected from the survey of quantitative data.

The following, the area of study will be contextualized, along with the presentation of some of the initial research data. After that, the key concepts that are the foundation of this article as an instance of migration and urban socio-spatial processes. After that, the first periodization regarding the migration on the context of colonial Brazil will be presented, followed by the context of structural changes in Brazil and in the city of Salvador combined with the international immigration that took place in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and that will happen along with dispersion and centralization movements in the city. After that, there will be pin pointed the impact of migratory movements related to the rural exodus and its relationship with the invasion/succession processes, which happened in the “EPS” (Axis Pelourinho Salvador) mainly

between 1930 and 1980. Finally, the different migratory flows that are directed to “EPS” since 1980 and their relationship with gentrification will be described.

Research and information survey area

The Pelourinho-Santo Antônio Axis corresponds to neighborhoods located in the Original Center of Salvador and part of its first periphery, crossing mainly the neighborhoods of Sé, Passo and Santo Antônio Além do Carmo and maintaining a strong relationship with the surrounding neighborhoods, such as Comércio, Conceição da Praia, Santana, São Pedro, Saúde and Barbalho¹ (Ribeiro, 2011, 2018a, 2019).

It is possible to affirm that the studied area refers to Salvador itself until the beginning of the 20th century, which after its growth encompasses this center and part of the first periphery that is now considered as a central area. By observing what happens in the EPS, one can understand the spatial processes in the rest of the city, however it is understood that it is more appropriate to state that this study is about EPS, mainly because of the current proportions of the Bahian capital.

Despite the fact that the term Axis does not establish a specific spatial limit and although an inter-scale analysis has been used, the polygonal of the 1987 State decree that established and delimited the Historic Park of Pelourinho was adopted in this work as a reference for data surveys (and subsequent comparisons) (Bahia, 1987), recognized as a World Heritage Site by Unesco.

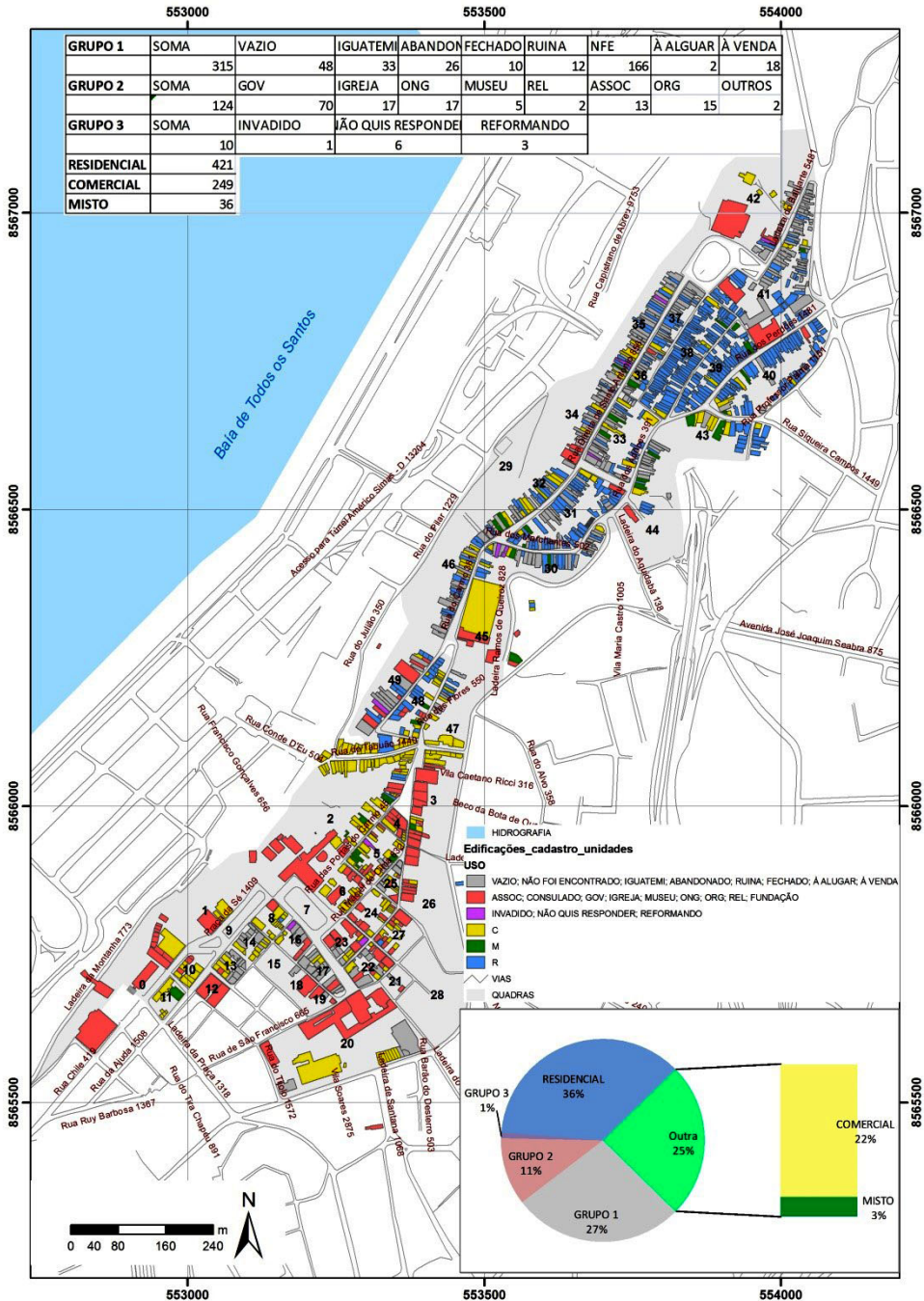
Survey of the information from the EPS population in 2011

In order to understand the profile of the EPS population, forms were applied in 2011 to collect data that were combined with in-depth interviews with residents and traders in the same area between 2011 and 2018. In this research, information had been collected from all the buildings (Figure 1), of the main street addresses in the neighborhoods contained in the polygonal, which does not mean that all traders and residents of the same were interviewed.

With a cartographic survey of 2481 real estate units in the assessed Poligonal, it was obtained some sort of information in 1175 units \cong 47%, and of the total from 2481 units, nonstop interviews were conducted with \cong 14% equivalent to 344 units. It is worth mentioning that \cong 21% of 2481 of the assessed buildings were institutional or were in ruins and, 13% of them corresponded to the houses that were for sale or that the owners were traveling. Each unit in turn has a specific number of residents.

Thus, if in the 344 units where the interviews were conducted, 272 of them were inhabited or belonged to migrants \cong 80% (from the total respondents), this number multiplied by the number of residents becomes greater. However, it is noteworthy that among the other 20% it is also possible to consider that a portion is made up of people who were born in Salvador, however, they are the children and grandchildren of migrants and people who were born in Salvador. They have lived in another city for some years and returned to EPS, configuring return migration. It should be

Figure 1 – Function of building in the Pelourinho Historical Park



Source: Ribeiro (2011).

Cartographic base: Sicar RMS 92, Coord System SAD 1969 24S UTM projection.

added up that the interviewed residents who have arrived after 1985 accounted for $\cong 60\%$, e.g. 202 of the 344 units surveyed and in those counted 687 people (Figure 2).

The time map on site points out a percentage of 47% of those surveyed as a possible “gentrifying public”, however it is necessary to combine this information with others as shown in the map, the functions of the cataloged buildings (Figure 1), in which it is possible identify a considerable number of empty units, some acquired by large institutions,² and others whose owners were not in the city, but the neighbors have informed that they were foreigners.³

In order to contribute to the analysis, it is possible to reveal the vectors of real estate speculation, based on surveys of the residence time in the place and the crossing of the properties` value that were for sale or being rented (Figure 3). The combination of this information with those of other researched data, as an instance of the profession of the head of the family unit, the state of conservation of the residence and family income, allowed to identify the socioeconomic profile of the groups and from then, a series of findings were reached.

Thus, it was evident that the population that arrived after 1985 had, in its majority, a greater purchasing power than the older residents. However, even among those who lived longer, it was possible to identify socioeconomic differences according their origin. Just as an example, the interviewees who identified themselves as Spaniards, had a higher financial standard than the majority of those who came from some cities in Bahia and the Northeast of Brazil,⁴ which is also not a rule.

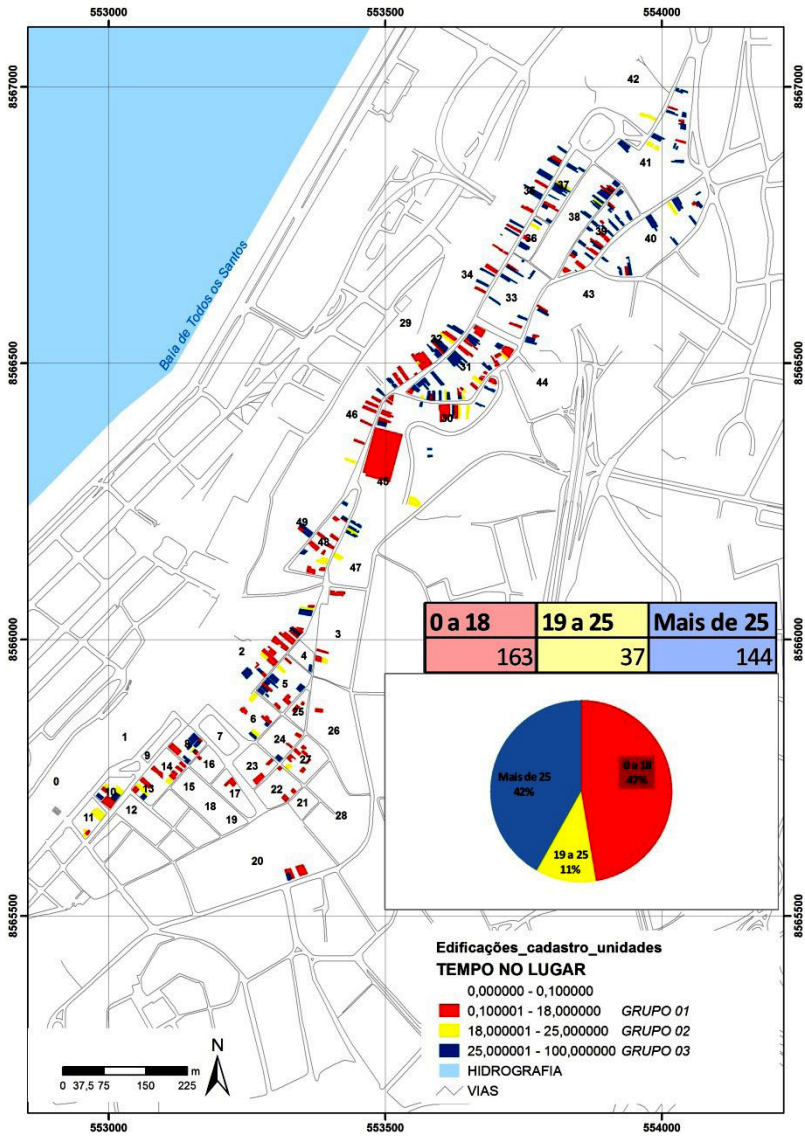
It is important to emphasize that this information is the starting point of this research and not the finish line. It’s been possible, from this information, to identify that more than 90% of the residents and businessmen in the surveyed polygonal fit in some case concerning migration. And the paths to understand the older migratory flows demanded a series of in-depth interviews, in which new information was being raised and with such information, supplements by means of readings of other researchers who looked at the themes of a group of immigrants or a specific process in Salvador.

The studies about a specific group consider the post-migration generations and this may go unnoticed in a questionnaire or form that does not inquire the origin of parents/grandparents, mainly because these descendants, indeed, do not consider themselves children or grandchildren of foreigners, but Brazilians. There is also, in EPS, a large share of migrants from other cities from Bahia and many migrants from different parts of Brazil, predominantly of Northeasterners, compared to those who arrived before 1990 and of Southeasterns and Southerners after the 1990s.

It is necessary to expand attention, in the case of internal migrations, in studies that focus on space and not on a migratory group, for the migrant (of national flows) as well as the descendants of immigrants may not be identified in their condition, given the fact of not drawing attention as in the case of a foreigner.

Even among the oldest residents, the origins denounced different socioeconomic patterns and new questions have arosed. Based on that, representatives of the different

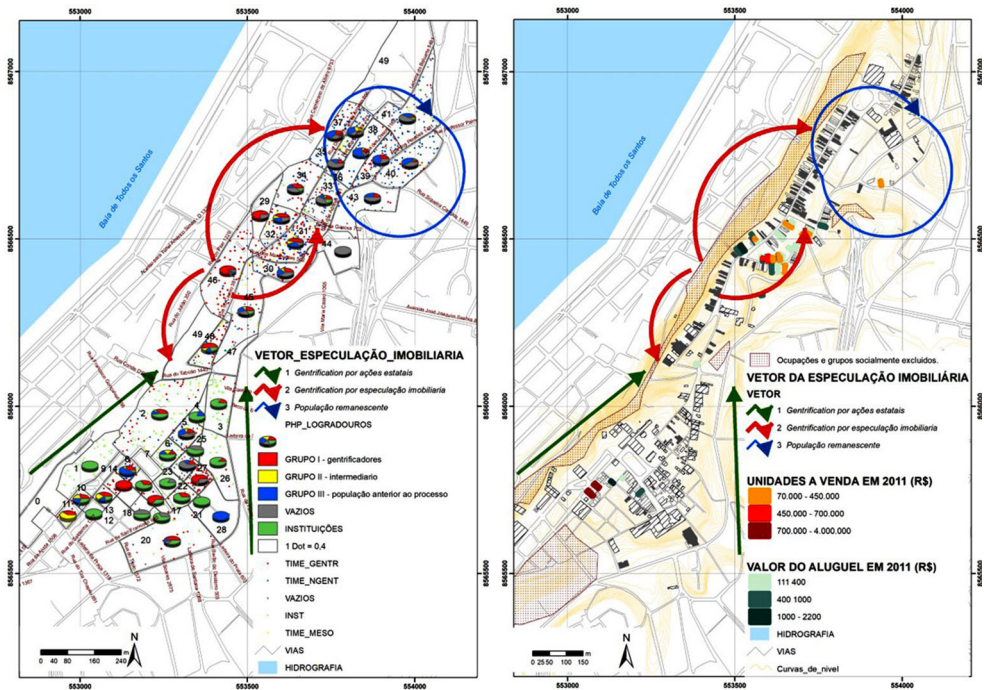
Figure 2 – Map of time on site (in years)



Source: Ribeiro (2011).

Cartographic base: Sicar RMS 92, Coord System SAD 1969 24S UTM projection.

Figure 3 – Maps of gentrification vectors of gentrification and real estate speculation in EPS



Source: Ribeiro (2011).
Cartographic base: Sicar RMS 92, Coord System SAD 1969 24S UTM projection.

groups were selected regarding their time on site⁵ and origin,⁶ to conduct in-depth interviews. As a result, it's been identified the existence of migratory patterns in the area, which preceded the gentrification process. This provided the search for understanding the relationship between past migratory movements and other possible previous socio-spatial processes.

If initially, in the case of gentrification in Salvador, the results of this research showed that the population from this process is mostly alien to the city. Subsequently, it was found that the replaced population was not mostly native to the neighborhoods, but as it will be reported below, they were constituted migrants and immigrants who replaced an earlier population (also of immigrants).

Urban socio-spatial processes and migrations

In 1989, Corrêa (2005) wrote about spatial processes relating them to social agents,⁷ according to the author, these processes are directly responsible for the unequal and changing organization in capitalist cities and he adds that "spatial processes are the forces through which the movement of transformation of the social structure, the process, is spatially effective, remaking the spatiality of society" (ibid., 2005, p. 36, translation of author). He further states that "it is an expression used by geographers to try to account for what happens in space over time." (ibid., p. 37), concluding that spatial processes are forged in society and therefore of a social nature.

In a conceptual effort, Vasconcelos (2013) emphasizes about the overlapping of processes in space, alerting to the fact that many times similar forms will originate in different processes. Thus, through historical geography he defines socio-spatial processes and forms.

The socio-spatial processes and forms originate from the current changes superimposed on the inertias of the past. Wider processes such as globalization, changes in the economy ("post-Fordism"), reduction of the role of the State, national and international migrations, without forgetting the role of social movements, are factors that have changed the shapes of cities, often creating new inequalities, without eliminating existing racial, religious and political conflicts. (Ibid., p. 18, translation of author)

This author brings 22 examples of processes in which he classifies in three typologies: those whose notions are linked to spaces,⁸ those whose notions are linked mainly to individuals⁹ and those whose notions are linked to individuals and spaces.¹⁰ In this article, five socio-spatial processes are related to the migratory flows of EPS in Salvador: Formation, Centralization, Dispersion, Invasion/Succession and Gentrification. Although it has been used in research with a broader theoretical basis, there will be mentioned herein three authors as the main conceptual reference in the studies of these processes: Corrêa (2005), Vasconcelos (2013) and Smith (1996; 2006).

Hence, based on Corrêa's (2005) explanation, the centralization process results in the central area. Its emergence in capitalist cities is related to a set of factors that range from the centralized scheme of means of transportation from the mid-nineteenth century to the twentieth century, being a product resultant from the action of the owners of the means of production and the owners of the state. The central area will consequently have a peripheral area and by main characteristics: the intensive use of the soil, wide vertical scale and limited horizontal scale, as well as limited horizontal expansion, daytime concentration (during the work shift), in addition to being a convergence of intra-urban transport and concentration of decision areas. The author emphasizes that this model cannot be applied in a cast in the analysis of Brazilian cities that, like Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Salvador, present variations in situations. In the studies by Santos (2008a; 2008b), Vasconcelos (2002; 2016) and Ribeiro (2018) it is possible to

observe these particularities that distinguish the centralization model that occurred in Salvador. In this article, the aspect of the central area shape is associated with migratory flows.

For Vasconcelos (2013), the dispersion results in the formation of “new frontiers” beyond the suburbs with the emergence of new urban centers linked to the transport networks. For the author it “also corresponds to an escape from highly valued centers, in which the assessment of the land is very high, and they concentrate parking problems as well, which lead to their decline and decay.” (ibid., p. 20).

Corrêa (2005) reports as the spatial dynamics of segregation, what would be correlated at the Chicago School, the process of invasion/succession. Based on Engels' 1844 reports about the English cities, the author describes the process in which the wealthy neighborhoods of the traditional center are abandoned by the elite and occupied by poor immigrants “[...] who have recently arrived and are going to work in the new centrally located activities. There is a progressive deterioration of these mansions that turn into densely occupied tenements.” (ibid., p. 70, translation of author).

In case of Salvador, we come back to the studies of Santos (2008b), Vasconcelos (2016) and Ribeiro (2018) as examples. Still Vasconcelos (2013) observes that even with these areas being considered in the literature as segregated, what actually happens is the opposite, since “they are resultant from the action of the disadvantaged population, which occupies the least valued spaces in the city that do not interest the real estate market” (ibid., p. 30). The importance of this vision lies in the

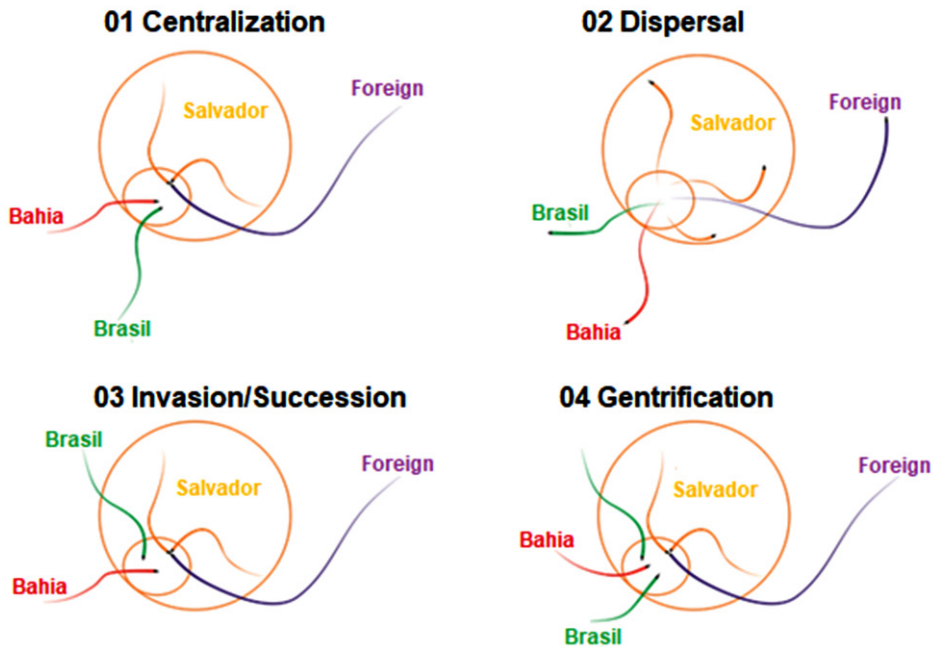
fact that it puts the less favored population in an active position and thus “not being able to participate in the real estate market, even irregular [...] or in the market of rental houses, takes the initiative to invade [...] and tries to resist expulsion attempts” (ibid.).

Finally, the gentrification process that implies the replacement of a population with less purchasing power by another wealthier one. However, for its greater accuracy, it is important to consider that this process has three delimitation: the first is the social process, in which root of the name denounces the type of population that moves into the area. The second is of a chronological nature and is positioned after fordism. In other words, just as the previous processes of centralization, dispersion and invasion/succession are products of the capitalist dynamics of spatial production, gentrification is a new stage in which the logic of globalization and speculation appropriates a portion of the city, which leads for the third element. The spatial cutout will restrict the area in which the process takes place, being objectively in central places and/or with a strong historical appeal in order to differentiate them space/time from the rest of the urban space. According to Smith (2006, p. 63), “Regardless of its form, gentrification implies the dislodgment of residents from the lower classes of the centers”.

The impact of migration on urban socio-spatial processes

In contemporary society, as the globalization process is intensified, it becomes more difficult to consider the existence of socio-spatial processes that do not have strong inter-scale

Figure 4 – Urban socio-spatial processes in EPS, considering migrations



Source: self elaboration.

relationships. Even if they unfold in a city, these processes will often have external forces contributing to their development. Taking that into account, a scheme has been proposed that relates the socio-spatial processes in EPS with migration (Figure 4)

Many of the authors who have written about migrations, have produced complementary knowledge and findings for the understanding of urban spatial processes, but because they converged on a specific theme, they can bring about an unsuspecting reader to feel that these processes are not related. Next, there will be made connections between the two themes, from the perspective

of studies on migration, mentioning from some classic studies up to the most recent ones.

In *The Laws of Migration*, Ravenstein (1885) wrote about England, Ireland and Scotland, but his remarks took place in rural parishes. The author found that migrations left rural districts for manufacturers, including female migration being greater than male migration on municipal scales, however, over long distances the most of the shift was of the men. In his two articles (Ravenstein, 1885; 1889), he highlighted the idea of flows and counter flows, and that long-distance migrations are facilitated by technical progress, tending to follow to large industrial centers.

Singer (1976), analyzing Brazil, refutes that the migrations that occurred between 1890 and 1930, were internal from the countryside to the city, but in fact they were in large part the transfer of the European peasantry to the Brazilian lands. In his studies, Ribeiro (2018) found that in case of Salvador, many groups of immigrants brought in the 19th century to colonize the interior, preferred to settle in the cities.

In the article by Massey et al. (1993), concerning the migration theories, the importance of treating the topic from multiple scales was explicitly¹¹ observed for the first time, considering that the different currents do not cancel each other but complement and also for this reason, this theory has been adopted as the basis for this research.

Portes (2006), in his book on contemporary migrations, explains that although migrants represent a small portion of the world population, the fact that this process is cumulative and has well-defined flows, tends to generate impacts in the receiving areas. He mentions that the migrations and the cities "can be seen as two sides of the same coin" (ibid., p. 20, translation of author). He also points out that many times that population that harasses immigrants, forget that most of them are descendants of children or grandchildren of immigrants. The author states that the relationships of immigrants to their places of origin are another factor that makes cosmopolitan cities global.

The impact of migration on urban socio-spatial processes can be traced in parallel with the analysis of the growth in the intensity of migratory movements in the world from the last century to the present. When Castles and Miller (2009) wrote the *Age of Migration* in

1993, they signaled that the period between 1850 and 1914 was of transatlantic migration, but that the period after the First World War, will be called by some authors as that of mass migration, mainly due to migrations from Europe to North America.¹²

A comment by Nuscheler (1996) that may contribute to the relationship between migration and the gentrification process in EPS refers to the profile of migrants, in which long distance and international shift is carried out by people with better financial conditions – middle class – which ends up also implying the mass departure of brains.

Sarmiento (1996) mentions that migrations have an impact on the urbanization processes of developing countries including favelas, which, as Santos (2008a) demonstrates, in the book *Spatial Economy* written in 1979, ends up causing what he conceptualizes as urban macrocephaly.

Even though he has not made any kind of relationship with urban processes, we consider it worth mentioning Martins (1998) for stating that the normal is to migrate in our society, the problem would not be in the movements by themselves, but in the reinsertion of migrants. It is possible to add that not only migration, but as every sort of movement is normal for life and life itself is unaware of the logic of human territories. Therefore, if culturally the territories, and their limitations in displacement, may seem normal, biologically and psychologically, for human beings the natural thing is to move pursuing better living conditions. In this sense, with regard to population movements, urban socio-spatial processes are not distinguished from the migratory logic and are a combination of internal and external movements towards the city.

Many authors outline the relationship between migration and globalization, as in the case of Castells (1999) when stating that in network society, the workforce is global and in this case companies also assume a role in promoting this displacement of workers, there are also two circuits of global migration, that of the skilled and another of the oppressed. Cohen (2005) mentions six aspects of globalization related to migration, in which, for this paper, the continuous growth of interconnections and interdependencies as well as the synchronization of all dimensions involved in globalization are of interest. Sassen (2007) considers that with the globalization and more specifically in the global city, the analysis can no longer be dimensioned only by the factors of attraction and repulsion, but the microstructures of the global are gaining importance. Working with theoretical models of social networks, Fazito (2010), draws attention to the return migrations that would compose the closing of a cycle, aligning with other authors when considering the fact that the connection between the cities at the time of Globalization makes the analysis much more complex.

It is worth mentioning the basic premise of Sayad (1998) when he states that every immigrant is also an emigrant and if we follow this logic in parallel to the socio-spatial processes, every immigrant in a given city that contributes to the composition of a given urban process is also the emigrant of another place (including cities), in which this person may have contributed to another urban process. Consequently, migration (city-city) and spatial processes, urban and global, compose elements of the same movement in the current historical moment.

Migrations – primitive globalization and formation of the original center of Salvador – from 1545 to 1850

The concept of geographical arché worked by Ribeiro (2014; 2018b), refers to the first spatial process of a place and its unfolding over time. Thus, the geographic arché reveals elements of permanence in the course of time. In the case of Salvador, the formation of its original center and first periphery is associated with transatlantic migrations in the context of the Portuguese colonialist expansion, which in the course of time, brought to Salvador far beyond a mestizo population amalgam, a cosmopolitan characteristic, as this city in its first centuries of existence was the most important in America and the second largest in the portuguese empire.

Regarding the population amalgam, we see that the Portuguese, estimating their territorial history with a series of invasions, already had a mixed population, in which Carvalho (1935) mentions the mixture of different peoples: celts, iberians, phoenicians, carthaginians, romans and visigoths. Darci Ribeiro (1995), details about the contribution of the arabs, to the formation of this portuguese population, who, upon arriving in Brazil, kept on merging culturally and genetically with other peoples, such as the indigenous populations and the different ethnic groups of enslaved africans.

Rodrigues (2010), explained in a posthumously published study in 1932, that mistakes were made about the origin of africans brought to Brazil, either through ignorance about the geographic regions

where they came from, or due to their particular characteristics. Reclus (apud Viana Filho, 1946), commented on the lack of knowledge of african territory on the part of the portuguese, who, with the progress of the colonization process, he had began to understand it better. Rodrigues (2010) mentioned that Portugal's records of enslaved people imprisoned in wars by rival tribes in the interior took place at the ports of departure, which contributed to misleading generalizations. In his remarks he classifies these africans brought in different peoples, in which there would be three sub-classifications among the African Camitas, 21 among the black sudanese, 8 among the black bantos and 3 among the insulani.

Considering that on a worldwide scale, the process of forming the Original Center of Salvador and its first periphery is mutually supportive of the primitive globalization expansion, and observing its importance in world maritime relations, it is possible to correlate this information with that of many isolated studies on the migrations of certain european groups to Salvador, Bahia and or the Northeast of Brazil.

Azevedo and Andrade point out that many Italians participated in the colonization process in Bahia, "During the colonial period Italians were most certainly present at the Captaincy. In the official records of the Chamber and in the Senate Letters of the city, supposedly peninsular nicknames multiplied, of subjects of commerce, of the sugar industry, of *vereança*" (Azevedo, 1989, p. 13, translation of author). A similar statement was reported by Andrade (1992), when he mentioned that

there was a large participation of Italians in the process of occupation and exploration of Brazil by the Portuguese.

Regarding the presence of the spaniards, especially the galician, in colonial Salvador, several comments are made by authors who have worked with the theme, like Braga (1995) mentioning the galician presence in the crew of the caravels who came on the expedition to Brazil – the case of Ship Santa Maria, also known as galician –, and Brandão (2005), who comments on the possible galician origin of Diogo Alvares Correia. Ribeiro (2018) demonstrates through a map that the spatial proximity between the North of Portugal and Galicia, is one of the elements that explains the immigration relationship of both, those who came from Portugal, and those from the Galician.

In his books on the teutos in Brazil, Oberacker (1985), explains that during the period of the portuguese colonial empire there were difficulties in understanding who the teutos would be, the term could have been used to refer to the germans, to the dutch and to the flemish. The author mentions that his study focuses on flemish of german origin and mentions passages from the expeditions of Pedro Alvares Cabral up to the enterprises of the sugar mills, in which they also had the participation of these foreigners, often already immigrants in Brazil.

In other books, which do not deal specifically with a group of immigrants, it is possible to find mentions about the presence of foreigners living in Salvador in colonial and imperial Brazil, as in the studies of Vasconcelos (2002; 2016) which provides

detailed information since the formation of the city until the current century, and from Nascimento (1985) whose approach is made on the censuses of 1840 and 1860.

It is possible to affirm that in the soteropolitan¹³ geographic arché, the city's relations with the world coincide with the beginning of primitive globalization and, consequently, with the migrations of different european groups in the context of portuguese colonialist expansion, which merged with the native peoples of America and Africans within of this process, as (with few exceptions) enslaved. These movements in the formation process of the original Center of Salvador would occur at a later time with the expansion of the city to the north and south axes of its first periphery, with the vectors of simultaneous movements, of centralization and dispersion, which communicated with the interior of Brazilian territories from bahian region known as "Recôncavo".

Migration and dispersion/ centralization processes in Salvador from 1850 to 1930

Ever since the capital was transferred to Rio de Janeiro in 1763, Salvador gradually lost its political and economic importance, from being the main city in the Americas to being the Brazilian regional capital. Vasconcelos (2002) informs that in 1878 the former capital of Brazil transfers to Rio de Janeiro the position of largest export port in the country.

Vasconcelos (2016) also states that, in the 19th century, it is increased the economic

importance of the Southeast with the production of coffee in 1820 and 1830. In Salvador, the war of independence ended in July 2nd, 1823, with the victory of the bahian troops, generated an economic crisis for the city after the emigration of the portuguese community, which resulted in the departure of important traders and their capital. The revolts that occurred in Bahia in the first half of the 19th century put the province in an antagonistic situation to the Empire. However, the discovery of diamond in the Chapada Diamantina and the increase in the price of sugar between 1845 and 1860 contributed to a recovery of the bahian economy.

In 1850, the Eusébio de Queirós Law prohibits the slave trade, but english pressure against this activity preceded the law by three decades, which encouraged the bahian elite to seek labor in other countries, in order to replace slave labor and "civilize" the interior of the province. Some colonies of italian immigrants, brought with this purpose date from the 1840s, as informed by Azevedo (1989).

In the second half of the 19th century, international events had an impact on Bahia. Vasconcelos (2002) comments that in 1858, the steam navigation line between England and Brazil reduces the importance of the port of Salvador, better for vessels that used sea currents, valuing ports closer to Europe, such as Recife. According to the author, the Civil War (USA) contributed to the expansion of tobacco culture in the Bahian Recôncavo, in addition to that, there was the Paraguayan War that took 18,725 men from the Province and the international financial crisis of 1873/1890 that reduced exports from bahian products.

Dispersion of the soteropolitana elite, portuguese and english

There were two main dispersion movements that took place in Salvador in the second half of the 19th century. Gradually with the loss of economic power, social and political prestige, there was a shift from those who lived in the city to the new economic vectors of the Empire, later the Country. At the same time, the great portuguese traders left after the independence war. Along with these two processes, a movement begins towards the south of the capital of Bahia, headed by English traders “whose importance in the city had grown since 1808, with the opening of the ports” (Palácios, 2009, p. 39), and also valorizing “gardens, orchards, clean air and ample and ventilated spaces, absent in the colonial buildings of the center, geminated to each other” (ibid.), moved to more distant areas and attracted the wealthier soteropolitana (a person born in Salvador) population that started to settle in Campo Grande and Vitória. These dispersion movements occurred to the south of the city, but also outside of it and, combined, gradually generated empty real estate units in the center that, at the same time, became occupied by the new comers.

Internal migration and eurasian immigration in the centralization process

It is interesting to highlight that in the Brazilian society of the 19th century in Salvador, most of the black population of the city were africans or direct descendants. Moreover, other groups of foreigners, who mostly dominated the commercial establishments in Salvador.

Therefore, it is possible to easily compute more than half the population of the capital of Bahia, being composed of foreigners or descendants – although many in the slavery context.

Within the studies of authors about the 19th century in Salvador, it is possible to notice that both migration and immigration movements were common in the city during this period. Nascimento (1985) brings reports of foreigners living in the city in the middle of the 19th century, including french, swiss, germans and even free, wealthy africans and slave owners. Vasconcelos (2016) comments on foreigners who were important social agents in the city and mentions episodes in which population flows from other parts of the Northeast of Brasil were headed for the Bahian capital, as in 1877, when about 780 retreatants from Ceará fled from the drought, were greeted in Salvador.

However, in addition to the english, four main groups are highlighted in this study. First because they were more expressive in quantity and second because, these groups formed colonies that crossed the 20th century and spread throughout the interior of the province, later the State of Bahia. They are the italians, galicians, arabs and portuguese.¹⁴

The port of Salvador was the main point of entry for these immigrants who were destined for different cities in the interior of Bahia. The region that attracted the largest population was cocoa region, due to the heyday of this culture, which came to represent 90% of Bahia’s GDP (Gross Domestic Product), according to Tavares (2008) or in Santos’ explanations (2008b). Thus, the impact of (Brazilian) migration and immigration in Salvador was amortized until the 1930s, when the cocoa culture entered a crisis.

Another aspect to be considered is that of the migrations in which the traders often made from the capital to different areas of the interior, buying and selling products in both locations. The portuguese traveling sales person, the arab peddlers and the italian “carcomamos”, established commercial routes between Salvador and the cities of the interior and in many cases their accommodations in Salvador took place in pensions located in the center (Figure 5).

The map that points out some of the flows established by these immigrants was produced from book records, field observations and interviews. It is noteworthy that there were other routes and colonies that could not be confirmed in any source, and therefore were not illustrated.

With many of these migrants and immigrants settling in the center and in its immediate surroundings, the dispersion process involving the exit of the wealthier was accompanied by the gradual replacement by a population with less purchasing power, but which in many cases managed to ascend in the soteropolitan society. Thus, these immigrants have organized themselves socially and politically in order to become important agents in the city. For the sake of clarity, from their societies, hospitals and clubs such as portuguese and spanish, or cultural houses such as the Italian House and the Portuguese Reading Office have emerged.

Many of the Italians brought in since the first half of the 19th century and throughout its course, to colonize inland areas of the Bahia province, settled in Salvador, due to finding job opportunities. Among crafts ranging from handicrafts to piano tuners,

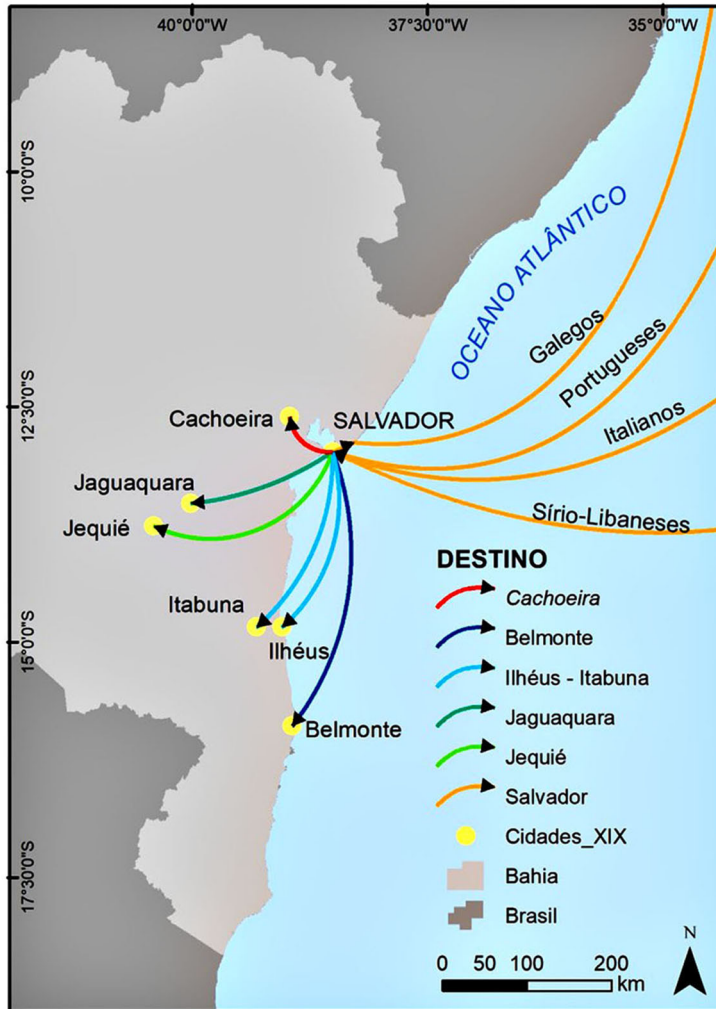
they contributed culturally, with operas being published in newspapers by piano and singing teachers and in the early 20th century, with Italian artists (some being brought from São Paulo) who were hired to embellish the physiognomy of buildings.

The Chirico, the Conti, the Santoro, the Rosi, the Sorceli and so many others, different from each other in their mysteries and merits, worked hard, offering the city sometimes with bronzes and long-lasting marbles, sometimes with paintings of a mundane hall in austere churches. and, even in public and private buildings, from the caricatured glance of stuccoes, wreaths, festoons, eagles with voracious beaks and open wings, and even winged women or with natural bodies, all of them with hard and pointed breasts by Dânae de Corregio, where the conical cups of the inaugural festivities could be modeled by chance. (Azevedo, 1989, pp. 32-33)

Andrade (1992) informs that there was a dynamic community of Italians in Bahia that became internalized, constituting important colonies mainly in the southeast of the province, like Jequié and Poções. In Salvador some of these immigrants got rich, like the Vitta with the beverage factory: Fratelli Vita.

The spaniards, mostly galician, constituted the largest colony of foreigners in the city in Salvador. With many commercial establishments, Galicia founded a soccer team, which won state and regional titles, nowadays with other modalities, such as rugby and women’s football, also with titles. Some of their descendants got rich and are owners of bahian companies of international size.

Figure 5 – Immigrant flows between Salvador and other cities in Bahia (19th and 20th centuries)



Source: Self elaboration. WGS84 Projection.

The Syrians and Lebanese, constituted an Arab colony in part of the EPS, and their community despite having adapted well to the rites of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church, had for some time a Maronite Catholic Church in the city, since they were mostly Maronite Christians. Part of their descendants also ascended socially, as was verified in the interviews.

In Nascimento's reports regarding the 1850 registration, there is a record of the Portuguese as prestigious merchants in many of the Salvador parishes, Mario Augusto da Silva Santos has published two books (Santos, 1977; 2009) in which he demonstrates the existence of wealthy Portuguese traders and also a large number of employees who were brought from Portugal while they were children and exploited by their bosses. Gandon (2010) classifies Portuguese migrations from that period as spontaneous and contracted and explains that the second one was considered harmful by a Portuguese parliamentary commission of 1873. Employers and employees often entered into conflicts of interest. The employees founded five associations, while the big traders participated in the *Associação Comercial da Bahia* (Commercial association of Bahia), which had wealthy businessmen from different countries, mainly Portugal, which surpassed the Brazilians in the number of representatives of the 1900/1904 board. According to Martins (1956) the Portuguese had a monopoly on the patchwork trade in Salvador in the 19th century.

Partial considerations

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, Salvador, while losing population to different more economically dynamic cities of the country, received immigrants from regions that were centers of population repulsion, like Spain, Italy, Syria, Lebanon and Portugal, in addition to migrants from less dynamic areas in Northeast Brazil. It also emerged as an opportune place for investments, which attracted foreign capital and along with it some of its investors.

At the same time, Salvador plays a role as an intermediate point between the flow from Europe to the interior of Bahia and the main destination of those who operated trade routes between the interior and the same. Therefore, there was a migratory movement of population entering and leaving in the city, which was parallel with the urban socio-spatial processes of dispersion and centralization.

EPS population dispersion and relationship between rural exodus and invasion/succession, 1930-1980

From the 1930s to the mid-1980s, Brazil underwent structural changes that directly influenced the migrations that went to Salvador and, consequently, the expansion and socio-spatial processes that occurred there. In

EPS, the first periphery of the original center was no longer peripheral with the expansion of the city and became central. Thus, from the 20th century onwards, the processes that took place in the EPS do not include all the socio-spatial processes in the capital of Bahia, but they are fundamental to understand the processes that took place in the city and their relationship with the geographical space.

According to Santos (2008b) with the decline of gold mining in Minas Gerais and diamond mining in Bahia, there is no end of the 19th century a movement back to the coast, and in 1872, Salvador had 128 thousand inhabitants and changes to 206 thousand in 1900, a number five times higher than the 40 thousand at the end of the 18th century.

Tavares (2008) informs that at the beginning of the 20th century there was an increase in the communication of road, rail and maritime transport networks in Bahia and according to Vasconcelos (2016) between 1890 and 1920 the bahian economy is recovering with cocoa production. The cocoa region cushioned the impact of migrations in the bahian capital, but this was broken from the 1940s with the Witches' Broom crisis. At the same time, with the First World War (1914-1918), substitution industrialization began in Brazil, which had as a consequence the concentration of investments in São Paulo, which already came to hold economic power after the coffee culture became the protagonist national exports. These facts coincided with the republican period. On the local scale, politicians in Salvador also sought to modernize the city, with the implantation of new equipment and its embellishment, as in the case of the aforementioned case of Italian artists brought with this purpose.

Within the legal framework, the Migration Quotas Act of 1934 contributed to the reduction and selection of immigrants entering the country, reducing the number of individuals to an established percentage of those already residing in the country and also limiting entries to five ports, of which Salvador's was included. Thus, despite the quotas, the entry of some groups continued to occur, while their countries remained unstable, like Spain and Portugal, while other peoples were harassed¹⁵ by the population of Salvador, especially with the Second War, after the torpedoing episode Brazilian ships. In this process of expansion of capitalism in the world detailed by Harvey (2005)¹⁶ and its developments in Brazil, the greatest impact was felt in the field, as explained by Priore and Venâncio (2013) regarding the debate on the changes in Brazilian agrarian structures.

Economic interests and political passions clash around him. It is not by chance that even transformative governments, such as those of Getúlio Vargas and Juscelino Kubitschek, instituted projects of this nature. In fact, the opposite can be said. Since the 1930s, the emphasis on industrialization has led, in most cases, to restrictions on rural credit and an unfavorable exchange rate policy for agricultural producers. Thus, in order to maintain profit rates, the level of exploitation of workers must be increased, which in turn stimulates migratory movements and feelings of revolt. (p. 273, translation of author)

This process favored by the road network had numerous factors that drove it, psychological, economic, macro structural

aspects, among others. If on the one hand there were forces of repulsion in the countryside, the city appeared as an area of attraction and in the case of Salvador, a factor will boost the flows in its direction.

In 1939, the discovery of the first oil well in Brazil takes place in Salvador – Lobato, and as Oliveira (1987) reports, in the 1950s a small refinery is installed in Mataripe. The Bahian Recôncavo will be the only oil producer in Brazil for three decades, which will also contribute to the attraction of migrants that triggered macrocephaly in a Salvador that was not prepared to receive that population contingent, at the time that it did not count on the damping the impact of migrations across a network of medium-sized cities in their surroundings. Santos (2008b) informs that between 1940 and 1950 Salvador received 89,671 immigrants,¹⁷ among which 70% were from the interior of the State of Bahia, with a greater concentration in the northern part of the city, as stated by Vasconcelos (2002). This process will intensify in the following decades, also affecting the EPS.

Dispersion and invasion/ succession processes

This new moment in the country initiated in Vargas' developmental programs and the governments that followed it, combined the process of dispersion with those of invasion/succession. With regard to dispersion, a series of measures, taken at the beginning of the twentieth century, contributed to the growing devaluation of the center, especially in the parish of Sé, with the episode of the

concentration of the city's red light in Maciel (Palácios, 2009). Passo and Santo Antônio Além do Carmo became the destinations of many middle-class families¹⁸ residing in the Sé, while some of the former immigrants who had already become wealthy moved to other parts of the city, mainly to the South, such as Graça, Barra and Ondina.

The emptying of the big houses of the Sé and the devaluation of this area, combined with the rural exodus, gradually changes the social structure and also its landscape, which later extends to the surrounding areas, such as Passo, Saúde, São Pedro, Santana, Comércio, Santo Antônio. Thus, the invasion/succession processes were configured in EPS and its surroundings, for almost the entire 20th century.

However, without deepening the observation locally, it is possible to make mistaken generalizations. It is important to highlight that several social strata made up the area in question, making it extremely diversified, socially and economically. Santos (2008b) explains that four different types of street were constituted in the Center of Salvador, those originally without population, those that had the loss of inhabitants between 1940 and 1950, those that were depopulating and the streets that had an increase in population. According to him, there were different causes for the population decrease, such as the housing crisis and real estate speculation, occurring an increase and a deformed reduction that varied from one street to another. "This is how the same landscape, that of the old houses in the center, can house two different demographic trends, even contradictory ones" (*ibid.*, p. 142, translation of author).

Migrations and gentrification in EPS from 1980 to 2019

In view of the situation that faced the urban development of EPS, especially in Maciel, since the 1970s, the State sought measures to preserve buildings, in view of the possibility of developing a tourist plan for it. With some attempts that did not effectively result in what was intended, like the 1st stage of the Pelourinho Recovery Plan in 1971, followed by different proposals and projects, which culminated in the creation of the Pelourinho Historical Park in 1987, followed by Historic Center Recovery Program (1991-2006).¹⁹ For these and other reasons,²⁰ it was defined in this research that the 1980s were transient, between the previous and the new period that began in the 1990s, whose main focus was the replacement of the poor population of EPS, by residents and traders with greater purchasing power, thus characterizing the three main factors (social, spatial and temporal) that frame this process as that of gentrification.

Not only the numbers, but the field observations, aided by the in-depth interviews, showed that the gentrification process in the EPS went through four phases, three of which coincide with what Neil Smith (1996; 2006) calls waves of gentrification. These waves, in turn, relate to different moments and national and international migratory movements.

The first wave – sporadic – begins in the 1980s and is characterized by a transitory moment between the rural exodus and the arrival of foreigners who are enchanted by the landscape in Pelourinho and later in Santo Antônio, acquire homes, renovate them and start to live in them. This process extended

and intensified throughout the 1990s, however this period included some State actions that contributed to its consolidation, mainly in part of the old parish of Sé, now known as Pelourinho.

The second wave – consolidation – begins in the mid-1990s and expands throughout the 2000s, when government actions aimed at promoting Salvador on the international tourist circuit, combined with events that put the city in greater evidence²¹ in the contributed to the attraction of many tourists, who later became immigrants. Most of them come from Europe, but with representation in more than one country on all continents.

With this, the consolidation of gentrification in EPS occurred with the combination of actions directed by the State in removing the impoverished population that resided in its buildings and attracting a tourist public to it. A portion of these tourists subsequently become residents and thus, once again, the socio-spatial processes in the EPS are configured with a strong contribution from the processes related to migration.

The third stage of gentrification – generalization – fails to fully configure itself as an established framework, however it occurs to a certain degree, when projects promoted by large international companies appear in areas close to EPS²² and in the specific case of Santo Antônio, with the action of the LGR holding company, which acquired more than 40 buildings in the neighborhood, in order to promote a large enterprise. Holding LGR's action, combined with all previous events, resulted in a rise in real estate speculation in the neighborhood, raising in some cases to more than R\$1 million, the value of houses that in the 1990s were sold for 30 to 50 thousand real.

Other actions on an international scale by the Brazilian government facilitated the circulation of Latin American immigrants in the 2000s, which contributed to a flow of South Americans to Salvador, mainly Chileans and Argentines. This group that was attracted by the culture of Salvador, but also by government facilitation, is the one that will remain in greater quantity in the fourth phase identified in this research.

In 2011, a process of cooling down in the EPS real estate market begins, which worsens after 2014. If, on the one hand, many of the Europeans who arrived in the 1990s, saw in the late 2000s the possibility of making a profit by selling their properties, others who remained after 2011, began to review whether they would like to grow old in Salvador or in their countries of origin, with a more efficient social system. The departure of Europeans occurs simultaneously with the arrival of middle class Brazilians from different parts of Brazil, mainly Southeast and also South Americans. This new public, added to all the "layers" of residents who remained, contributed to making the EPS population even more heterogeneous.

Final considerations

Although the following statement cannot be generalized, it is possible to consider in studies on cities, that each socio-spatial process is not restricted to their limits. Observing the reality of a regional metropolis like Salvador, it was demonstrated that from its first formation process until the present moment in an area that is called EPS, there was a great influence of

the world and national processes, as well as of the national migratory flows and international in each stage of its urban development.

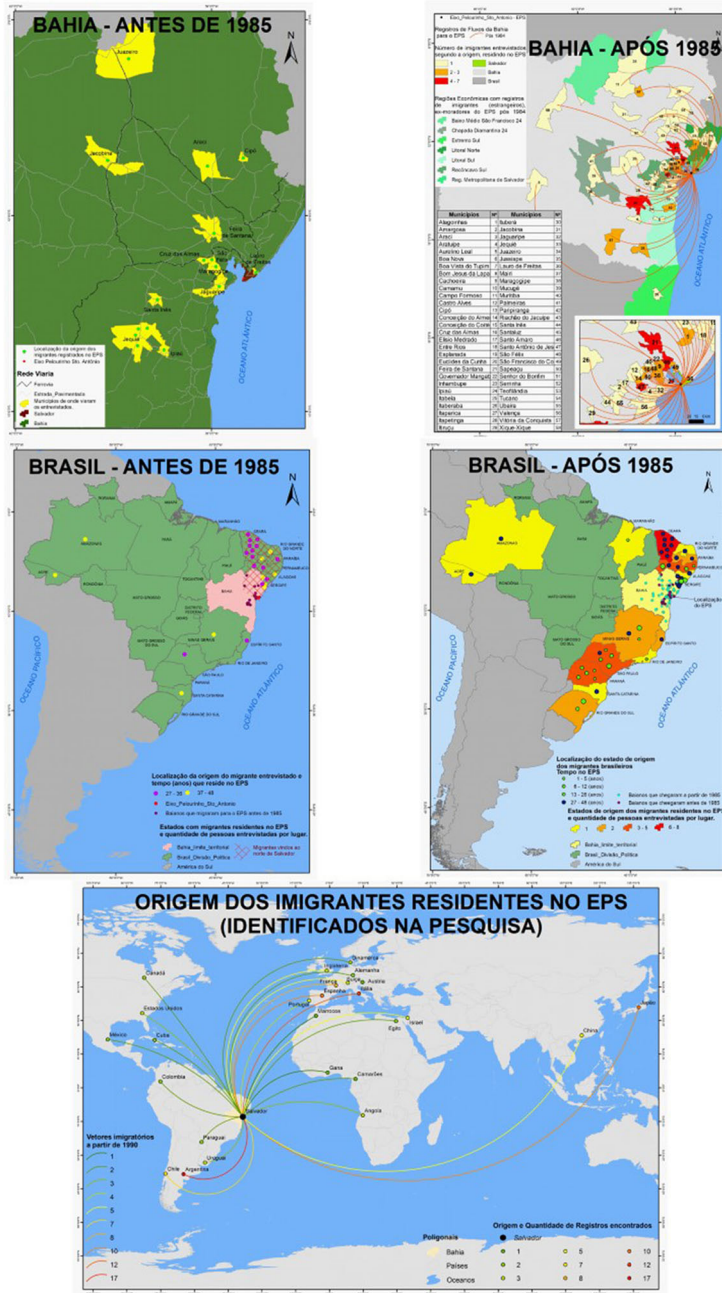
With this, the formation of the city, centralization, dispersion, invasion/succession and gentrification, were combined with population movements of migration, emigration and immigration. Both urban and migratory processes were influenced by national-scale processes, such as economic movements in Brazilian territory and political actions, in addition to processes on a global scale, such as globalization and events of international impact, such as World War II.

At the end of the survey, it was found that approximately 90% of respondents were not born in Salvador. In order to demonstrate these data, a series of synthesis maps was elaborated, which point out the origins of the interviewed population, before and after 1985. With the time space comparison, the maps allow a better understanding of the information collected.

The first two maps show the origin of Bahian migrants who arrived before and after 1985, following the same criteria for the next two maps related to Brazilian migrants and the last one points out the origin of the immigrants interviewed. Both have the quantification by place, remembering that each interviewee may have more members in the real estate unit in which they reside, and so this number does not represent the population, but the origin of the person responsible for the real estate unit in which the interviews took place.

Analyzing the researched data and its spatialization it is possible to extract a series of findings, whose most interesting for the present

Figure 6 – Origin of immigrants in EPS



Source: self elaboration.

study concludes that although qualitatively the isolated groups have made important contributions to the city, quantitatively, they do not have a greater expressiveness in the 21st century. Thus, the combination of two paths made it possible to characterize EPS as a receiving area for migrants.

Still on the synthesis maps, the smaller presence of bahians and brazilians who arrived before 1985, reveals that a considerable portion of this older population has been replaced by new residents. On the other hand, the very diverse origin of those who arrived after 1985 points to a greater degree of articulation between the territories and the world.

At the same time, the greater presence of southerners and Southeasterners who arrived after 1985, indicates a greater complexity in the internal migratory flows in Brazil, in which there is a latent movement that goes from the South/Southeast to the North of the country and which do not necessarily consist of return migration.

In-depth interviews made it possible to identify different profiles of migrants. However, some characteristics were striking in most respondents. In the case of europeans, most of them consisted of a middle class audience in their countries, whose money valued in Brazil, allowed an increase in the quality of life. The japanese, among other foreigners (including europeans), consist of a group that make seasonal migrations, staying part of the year working in their countries and the other part living in EPS.

The majority of Latin Americans are a group with a lower purchasing power. The reasons that led them to Salvador are related to the appreciation of bahian culture, in addition to the facilities that occurred due to the strengthening of diplomatic relations between Brazil and neighboring countries, mainly in the 21st century. A similar profile has that of the brazilians present in the EPS, but who have a greater diversification of cases, from entrepreneurs who acquire buildings, to students who share the rent of the houses (cheapening costs), a very common practice among young people of all origins – europeans, orientals, africans, latinos and north americans. Another example is that of houses where owners rent rooms to foreigners.

The complex population mosaic of EPS at present is the combination of different migratory flows that have been part of the reality of the city of Salvador since its formation and that has expanded over time. With this, more than urban socio-spatial processes, the cosmopolitan Salvador has unfolded in its territory the local expression of world processes. Result of centuries of population combinations, the soteropolitan cultural melting pot is evident in the geography of the city, rich in techniques, colors, smells and flavors, in which culture and history serve as an attraction for more diversity, which merging the new with the already existing, continues to produce new processes in the city.

[1] <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3483-4794>

Universidade Federal Fluminense, Instituto de Geociências, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Geografia. Campos dos Goytacazes, RJ/Brasil.
danalrib@gmail.com

Translation: the article was translated by the author.

Notes

- (1) Some of the neighborhoods mentioned correspond to references from the old parishes of the city, worked on studies such as those by Nascimento (1985) and Vasconcelos (2002; 2016). Currently, the neighborhood divisions of the city prepared by the city hall no longer correspond to these limits.
- (2) Like the Holding LGR with more than 40 acquisitions at the time of the survey, in addition to hotel companies such as the Pestana group that acquired Convento do Carmo transforming it into a Hotel.
- (3) Many europeans and japanese make seasonal migrations, spending a few months in EPS and working the other part of the year in their countries of origin. Others own more than one building in the area (some even having more than five).
- (4) The details of the questionnaire, data obtained and information generated from these, as well as the interviews conducted can be found in Ribeiro (2011; 2018a).
- (5) Before 1990 and those that arrived in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s.
- (6) Those born in the city, in other municipalities in Bahia, in other brazilian states and in other countries were considered.
- (7) The concept of social agents was previously developed by other authors, such as Form (1954), Capel (1972) and in Brazil by Bahiana (1978).
- (8) They are: socio-spatial differentiation, socio-spatial inequality, juxtaposition, separation, dispersion, division into parts and fragmentation.
- (9) They are: exclusion and Inclusion (spatial).
- (10) They are: segregation, desegregation, apartheid, self-segregation, grouping, fortification, polarization, dualization, gentrification, invasion, marginalization (spatial), peripheralization and abandonment of areas.
- (11) Some authors made similar relationships before Massey et al, following the example of Beaujeu-Garnier (1980) who writes about urban spatial migration and processes, although not stating that this is the case.
- (12) Other countries on the American continent also received a large number of european immigrants, such as Brazil and Argentina.
- (13) Soteropolitano is the gentile of those born in the city of Salvador.
- (14) The portuguese in particular are already dealing with another migratory flow that subsequently left the portuguese traders after the War of Independence of Bahia.
- (15) Italians and germans had their stores destroyed and this contributed to the departure of these groups from the city.

- (16) The author explains the capital surplus investment process in other territories, as a form of imperialist expansion.
- (17) It was not possible to distinguish whether the author includes foreigners in the list of immigrants, but it is understood that conceptually the largest amount of this number refers to migrants from the rural exodus.
- (18) Many of these were immigrants who managed to rise economically through trade activities. In part of Rua Direita do Santo Antônio and Passo, there was an arab colony, whose inhabitants were mostly lebanese or descendants.
- (19) This program was controversial in many ways, especially in its early stages, having been criticized by peoples who accused it of promoting the social cleanliness of the Center and applauded by others for the restoration actions of many buildings that were in a precarious state of conservation.
- (20) There are different aspects that converge to consider the 1980s as a transitional period between eras. As an example, we can mention the brazilian political scenario that migrated from a dictatorship to a democracy. In terms of the world, the last years of the cold war were experienced, while the embryos of the new world order were already fertilized and developed.
- (21) There is a list of elements that contributed to a greater diffusion of the city in the world, among them, the success of the percussive band Olodum that recorded clips with stars like Paul Simon and Michael Jackson.
- (22) It is worth mentioning Mourad's (2011) thesis that studies the process in other areas of the city, pointing out the existence of large projects that would configure the generalization of the process itself.

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