HISTORICAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN SALVADOR AND BAHIA IN THE LONG DURATION

Vasconcelos, P.A. ᵃ*

(a) PhD in Geography.
ORCID: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1859-7154. **LATTES:** http://lattes.cnpq.br/6592341965132312.

(*) CORRESPONDING AUTHOR
Address: Avenida Garibaldi, 2981, Rio Vermelho, CEP: 41940450, Salvador (BA), Brazil. Phone: (+55 71) 33342596
E-mail: pavascon@uol.com.br

Abstract

The text deals with the social movements that took place in Salvador and in the captaincy/province/state of Bahia in the lengthy period from 1500/1549 to the present day, based on the results of research carried out for my book Salvador: transformações e permanências (Salvador: transformations and permanence) and other more recent materials. The text is divided into four parts. It begins with a literature review of social movements in Sociology and Geography. Then, given the extended period, the social movements in Salvador are divided into Colony, Empire and Republic. In the book, the notion of social movements was used as one of the transforming agents of the city.

Keywords: Social movements; Salvador; Bahia;

Resumo / Resumen

MOVIMENTOS SOCIAIS EM SALVADOR E NA BAHIA NA LONGA DURAÇÃO

O texto trata dos movimentos sociais que ocorreram em Salvador e na capitania/província/estado da Bahia, no longo período de 1500/1549 aos dias atuais, tomando como base resultados de pesquisas realizadas para o meu livro Salvador: transformações e permanências e outros materiais mais recentes. O texto está dividido em quatro partes. Inicialmente foi realizada uma revisão sobre a literatura dos movimentos sociais na Sociologia e na Geografia. Em seguida, tendo em vista a longa duração, os movimentos sociais em Salvador foram divididos em Colônia, Império e República. A noção dos movimentos sociais foi utilizada no referido livro como um dos agentes transformadores da cidade.

Palavras-chave: Movimentos Sociais; Salvador; Bahia.

MOVIMIENTOS SOCIALES EN SALVADOR Y BAHIA EN EL LARGO PLAZO

El texto aborda los movimientos sociales ocurridos en Salvador y en la capitanía/provincia/estado de Bahía en el largo período comprendido entre 1500/1549 y la actualidad, a partir de los resultados de una investigación realizada para mi libro Salvador: transformações e permanencia (Salvador: transformaciones y permanencia) y otros materiales más recientes. El texto se divide en cuatro partes. Se inicia con una revisión bibliográfica sobre los movimientos sociales en Sociología y Geografía. Luego, dado el extenso período, los movimientos sociales en Salvador se dividen en Colonia, Imperio y República. En el libro se utilizó la noción de movimientos sociales como uno de los agentes transformadores de la ciudad.

Palabras-clave: Movimientos sociales; Salvador; Bahía.

INTRODUCTION

Dealing with the theme of social movements from a Historical Geography perspective is challenging, considering that it may be perceived as anachronistic to deal with these historical movements before the notion was conceived in Academia. On the other hand, diverse social components in different historical periods participated in movements of varying dimensions, resulting in changes in society and the city of Salvador.

Therefore, it was considered that following a review of the input of sociologists and geographers on the subject, it would be possible to contribute to the discussion of the different social movements that occurred mainly in Salvador city and in the captaincy/province/state of Bahia over a long period. The work is based on the results of research published in my book Salvador: transformations and permanence (1549-1999), which treats "social movements" as one of the transforming agents of the city.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN SOCIOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

However, before dealing with the main contribution of this text, a quick assessment is required to examine the discussion about social movements in Sociology and Geography that Academia has dealt with over time. The theme of social movements originated in Sociology, with an emphasis on the early Alain Touraine's texts and Manuel Castells' developments.

The entry "Social Movements" in the Dictionary of Politics, prepared by Gianfranco Pasquino, indicates that the first global interpretation of social movements was formulated by Neil Smelsen in 1968. For Scherer-Warren (1984) the authorship of the term came from Lorenz Von Stein, around 1840. Nevertheless, it was the French sociologist Alain Touraine who developed a theory about social movements in 1973. Pasquino also referred to his Italian colleague, A. Melucci, who advanced the debate in 1977, proposing the distinction between demand, political, and class movements.

In fact, in the chapter "A identidade social e os movimentos sociais" (Social identity and social movements), written in 1970 and published in the book Em defesa da sociologia (In Defense of Sociology) in 1976 [1974], Alain Touraine pointed out that a social movement goes through three successive phases: the anti-institutional rupture, political confrontation and institutional influence (TOURRAINE, 1986, p. 170).

In the 1973 book Production de la société, Touraine dealt with "Les mouvements sociaux", in an 86-page chapter(was presented at a congress in 1969 and was partially published in an article in 1972). Initially, the author proposed "J´ entends en principe par mouvements sociaux l´action conflictuelle d´agents des classes sociales luttant pour le controle du système d´action historique" (TOURRAINE, 1973, p.347). In the Glossary, the author defined social movements as: "Visée du système d´action historique à travers le conflit des classes. Mouvements sociaux, actions critiques et mouvement de développement son les trois types principaux de mouvements historiques" (TOURRAINE, 1973, p.532). His social movements theory had three principles: identity (how the actors define themseves), opposition (conflict gives rise to the adversary) and totality (a system of historical action) (TOURRAINE, 1973, p.361-363). But the author concluded that "Les mouvements sociaux sont l´expression directe ou indirecte du conflit des classes [...] et se constituent au niveaux des rapports de classes et non à celui de l´Etat" (TOURRAINE, 1973, p.424). Notably, the proposed definition was still centered on the struggles between social classes and not on the State.

In the following decade, in the book Le retour de l'acteur, Touraine continued stating that "La notion de mouvement social n'est pas séparable de celle de classe" (TOURRAINE, 1984, p.151), but a social movement differs from a class because the latter can be defined as a situation while the social movement is an action on the part of the subject or the actor. Consequently, Touraine proposed another definition:

> Le mouvement social est l´action, à la fois culturellement orientée et socialement conflictuelle, d´une classe social définie par sa position de domination ou de dépendance dans le mode d´appropriation de l´ historicité, des

modèles culturels d´ investissement, de connaisances et de moralité, vers lesquels ils est lui même orienté (TOURRAINE, 1984, p.152).

Touraine, therefore, continued to focus on social movements from both dominant and dependent class relations.

Manuel Castells in his famous book La question urbaine (1977 [1972]), a landmark of the Marxist-structuralist discussion, dealt with urban social movements as part of Urban Policy, elaborating two complex definitions of the Urban Social Movement, the second being broader and including the State:

> Par mouvement social urbain, on entend un système de pratiques résultant de l´articulation d´une conjoncture définie, à la fois, par l´insertion des agentes-supports dans la strucutre urbaine et dans la structure sociale, et tel que son développement tend objetictivement vers la transformation structurelle du systeme urbain ou vers la modification substantielle du rapport de force dans la lutte de classes, c´ est-a-dire, in dernière instance, dans le pouvoir de l´État (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 478).

It should be noted that Castells also initially placed urban social movements as part of the class struggle. He analyzed three empirical cases:

(1) The Cité du Peuple, in Paris, from the fight against the demolition of unhealthy city blocks, with actions revindicating social housing construction and against speculative action. Two sectors inside the Cité du Peuple were examined. The author stated the "social force" was composed of workers with the support of merchants, unskilled workers, non-resident students in the neighborhood, and proletarianized resident students. Its opponents were the State (Ville de Paris, Préfecture; H.L.M.) (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 428) and the mixed renovating organism. The results were both demand failures and political failures, especially given the Municipal Council's support for urban renewal (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 429);

(2) The struggle of the Montreal citizens' committees. Firstly, Castells revealed the "scandal" that more than a quarter of the city's inhabitants resided in slums (taudis), and a third were poorly housed (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 433). Next, he detailed the creation of the F.R.A.P. (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 435) in 1970, which regrouped the citizens' committees and the political union militants into political action committees (C.A.P) based on the neighborhoods (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 436). After the electoral defeat, the F.R.A.P. went into crisis (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 437). In conclusion, the author addressed the weakness of the central organization, given the errors of local organizations (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 443);

(3) Finally, the "pobladores" movement in Chile. First, he said the country's housing deficit reached 585,000 homes in 1970 (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 446). The first wave of land occupations occurred in 1969 and was strongly repressed (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 449), but by 1971, there were already 103 occupations in Santiago (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 450), totaling about 275,000 people (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 451). Thirty camps were surveyed (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 452), and the functioning of "popular justice" was observed[1]. The author established a typology of the camps' connection to political parties. He pointed out that they were diverse, and alongside social disorganization, there were other highly mobilized communities. The analysis considers three fundamental elements: the objective structure of each intervention front, the social base, and the political line applied (CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 471).

In the Afterword, written in 1975, Castells made a crucial correction separating urban movements from labor movements:

> [...] il faut délimiter [...] la différence entre l´étude des luttes urbaines [...] et la découverte des mouvements sociaux urbains [...], que n´y a pas de transformation qualitative de la structure urbaine qui ne soit pas produite para une articulation des mouvements urbains à d´autres mouvements [...] au mouvement ouvrier et à la lutte politique de classes" (CASTELLS, 1972a).

Also in 1972 Castells published a small book specifically on the subject: Luttes urbaines et pouvoir politique, when he identified the relationship between class struggles and the emergence of urban social movements, defined as "[...] systèmes de pratiques sociales contradictoires qui remettent en cause l´ordre établi a partir des contradictions spécifiques de la problematique urbaine". The cases of Paris, Montreal, and Chile, dealt with in the other book of 1972, were also discussed. He added a pertinent modern theme, a critique of the environmental movement in the United States, in a chapter entitled Mystification idéologique et contradictions sociales: le mouvement d´action écologique aux U.S.A." Castells commented on the passage of elites linked to the past and the protest movement. The first group, Ecology Action, was founded by a Berkeley student leader in 1968[2]; its social base was students supported by the white middle class. He then dealt with the substantial maneuvers of the "eco-establishment," commenting on the reconciliation between the State, the monopolies, and the demonstrating students gathered on Earth Day on April 22, 1970. Castells criticized the left, stating that ideology naturalizes social contradictions, reducing history to a relationship between Man and Nature (CASTELLS, 1972b, p. 79). He cited examples of the struggle to conserve San Francisco Bay and opposition to installing a nuclear power plant in New York State. The author concluded the text by answering "because everyone seems to agree," as the discourse ignores social differences by shifting the contradictions to an opposition between Technology and Nature (CASTELLS, 1972b, p. 89). The interest of the analysis of the ecological movement is the contrast with other social movements, including those analyzed by the same author.

The experience of Madrid's neighborhood associations was examined in detail by Manuel Castells in the book translated as Cidade, Democracia e Socialismo (Ciudad, Democracia y Socialismo (1980 [1977]) as an example of a social movement in advanced capitalist societies during the transition from Francoism to Democracy in 1977. Although the book deals with "advanced capitalist societies," the author reported that in Madrid, in 1956, 16% of the city's housing stock were "slums" inhabited by more than 20% of the population, who like immigrants, "build their dwelling and their neighborhood themselves, creating the city there where neither capital nor the State can do so." (CASTELLS, 1980, p. 49). In 1974, there were still 45,000 shacks in Madrid (CASTELLS, 1980, p. 42). The citizen's movement was a unique experience occurring "in the social conditions of repression [...] of a fascist dictatorship" (CASTELLS, 1980, p. 141). In his conclusions, Castells still believed in a socialist city in which "The state dissolves capital, and the popular organizations dissolve the state, and neighbors make the popular organizations their own (CASTELLS, 1980, p. 186)."

Castells' The City and the Grassroots (1983) is relevant to our approach because it presented social movements from a long-term perspective and in different geographical contexts. The author initially examined the Communities of Castile (1520), the Paris Commune (1871), the rent strike in Glasgow (1915), the Tenants' Movement in the Mexican city of Vera Cruz (1922), and the revolts of the Black community in the central areas of American cities (1960s). Next, he dealt in greater depth with the case of the large housing estates of Paris, relating trade unionism and urban movements. He also examined San Francisco's gay community and the relationship between "marginal" communities and the State in Latin America before returning to analyzing the Citizens' Movement in Madrid at the end of the Franquist period, ending with a theoretical discussion on urban movements. Finally, in his literature review, Castells, confirmed his theoretical change, stating that "the concept of social movement as an agent of social transformation is strictly unthinkable in the Marxist theory" (CASTELLS, 1980, p. 299), while he defined his greatest theoretical debt: "[...] the theoretical framework we have tried to construct is mainly indebted to the most systematic and thorough work ever undertaken on social movements in the entire history of sociology, that of Alain Touraine". Castells defined the concept of "urban social movements" as: "a collective conscious action aimed at the transformations of the institutional meaning against the logic, interest, and values of the dominant class" (CASTELLS, 1980, p. 305) and, more importantly, when he identified urban movements as a fundamental agent: "[...] the urban social movements, the agents of urban-spatial transformations, the highest level of urban social change" (CASTELLS, 1980, p. 312). The author concluded with the following statement: "We have attempted to introduce in the analysis of social change the materiality of spatial forms resulting from the conflict between dominant classes and social movements," (CASTELLS, 1980, p. 336) that is, the conflict is no longer with the State, but is a struggle between social movements and the dominant classes.

Chapter 2 of the second volume of Manuel Castells' famous trilogy A Era da Informação: Economia, Sociedade e Cultura (The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture), titled O Poder da Identidade (The Power of Identity), published in 1996, opens its 56 pages with, "The other face of the Earth: social movements against the new global order." The chapter begins with "Globalization, informationalization, and social movements" when the author draws "a parallel between three movements that explicitly oppose the new global order of the 1990s [...]." (CASTELLS, 2019, p. 94) It begins with (1) "The Zapatistas of Mexico: the first international guerrilla movement," a movement started in 1994 by the struggle for the recognition of the rights of Indigenous Peoples (CASTELLS, 2019, p. 102), emphasizing the Zapatistas' use of the internet; (2) "The weapons against the new world order: the American Militia and the Patriotic Movement of the 1990s", which began in 1995 with the explosion of a federal building in Oklahoma City, resulting in 169 deaths. It was a movement with localist and libertarian tendencies, reacting against feminists, homosexuals, and minorities and defending the superiority of Christian values[3]; (3) "The Lamas of the Apocalypse: the Supreme Truth in Japan" that also started in 1995 with a sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway, which injured more than 5,000 people (CASTELLS, 2019, p. 123), a "manifestation of rebels with a high degree of education, manipulated by a messianic guru" (CASTELLS, 2019, p. 131). Summarizing the meaning of insurrections in the new global order, Castells identified the goals of the three movements: (1) Dignity, democracy, and land; (2) Freedom and sovereignty of citizens and local communities; (3) Surviving the apocalypse. The author concluded these movements "have undermined the neoliberal fantasy of implementing a global economy independent of society through a computer architecture." (CASTELLS, 2019, p. 136). The analysis is no longer diachronic but synchronous in three different spatial contexts.

In 2012, Castells' book, translated the following year, was published with the title Redes de Indignação e Esperança (Networks of Outrage and Hope), in which the author initially proposed that "The fundamental issue is that this new public space, the networked space [...] is a space of autonomous communication." (CASTELLS, 2013, p. 16). The book addressed: (1) the revolution in Tunisia (started in December 2010); (2) the "Pots and Pans Revolution" in Iceland after the 2008 financial crisis; (3) the Egyptian revolution, in greater detail (started in January 2011); (4) the Arab insurrections (in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Bahrain, Libya, Morocco, Syria, in the period between 2010 and 2011); (5) the "rhizomatic revolution" of the Indignados in Spain (from May 2011); (6) "Occupy Wall Street" (started in August 2011) and highlighted the worldwide transformations in the network society and "the life and death of networked social movements". In this book, the author drew together his concerns about urban social movements and his studies on networked society. He concluded that "[...] the legacy of a social movement consists of the cultural change it its action produces." (CASTELLS, 2013, p. 175) In the Afterword of the Brazilian edition, written in July 2013, Castells commented on the movement "without leaders. No parties or unions in its organization", which had occurred in Brazil in the same year (CASTELLS, 2013, p. 178).

In the 1976 book Contradições urbanas e movimentos sociais (Urban Contradictions and Social Movements), Brazilian Sociology contributed one of the pioneering texts on the subject, "A revolta dos suburbanos ou 'Patrão, o trem atrasou'" (The suburbanite's revolt or 'Boss, the train was late), by José Álvaro Moisés and Verena Martinez-Alier (50 pages). The authors analyzed "the rioting, depredations and violence" of the working population against precarious urban rail transport, especially in greater Rio de Janeiro and greater São Paulo. The "wave of riots" started in 1974[4] at a time of political repression (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 21). The increase of individual transport was favored while public transport stalled (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 26). The "fuses for direct action "could be a fare increase, a stoppage, or an accident, while the protagonists involved were "the users, who lead the action; the State and its agents [...] and the companies where the users work [...]." (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 30) They reported that in October 1974, about 3,000 passengers "set fire to three wagons and stoned another 12 "between two stations in the Baixada Fluminense." (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 31) In mid-1975, there were five more riots in the Baixada Fluminense and one in greater São Paulo (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 32) and in July nine stations in Baixada Fluminense were depredated (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 36). The authors highlighted "the calamity of suburban transport" and "the absence of any channel for complaints," resulting in the "explosion" of the working-class masses (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 40). The authors distinguished between "organized action," as in the case of neighborhood

associations or societies, and "direct action" "carried out by the emergence of a sudden and unexpected protest [...] in the face of the deterioration of a public service sector [...]." Still, new forms of "popular claim and pressure on the Government" emerged, such as the base communities of the Catholic Church and the Mothers' Clubs in the periphery, among others (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 51). It should also be noted that European authors M. Castells, J. Borja, F. Lojkine, H. Lefebvre, and K. Marx were cited in the last item on "Capitalism and Urban Contradictions." (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 62) In the conclusions, the authors highlighted that "the ultimate target of suburban mass movements, [...] is the State," (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 54) and "in the face of the deterioration of their conditions of existence." (MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 55) However, the most significant importance in the pioneering text was the attention given to the "explosion of the popular masses" living on the outskirts of the two largest Brazilian metropolises, given the neglect of transport services by the State during the military dictatorship.

In the 1984 book Movimentos Sociais (Social Movements), Ilse Scherer-Warren's initial assessment deals mainly with foreign authors, divided into "Marxist approaches" and "Contemporary trends." According to the author, the term "social movements" emerged with Lorenz Von Stein around 1840, writing about the French proletarian movement, communism, and socialism socialismo (SHERER-WARREN, 1984, p. 12). She defined Social Movements

> as a transforming group action (praxis) aimed at achieving the same objectives (project) under the more or less conscious guidance of common evaluative principles (ideology) and a more or less defined directive organization (organization and its direction) socialismo (SHERER-WARREN, 1984, p. 20).

In addition to Marx's ideas, "Marxist Approaches" examined the works of Lenin, Lukács, and Gramsci. "Contemporary trends" dealt with the authors Laclau, Dahrendorf, Touraine, Guattari, Castoriadis, and Gutiérrez[5]. Touraine's theme was social movements, where Scherer-Warren highlighted the author's statement in the 1973 book that "social movements are the most important collective behaviors." socialismo (SHERER-WARREN, 1984, p. 90)

In 1984, Eder Sader's book was published based on his doctoral thesis, Quando os personagens entraram em cena (When the Characters Entered the Scene). He commented on social movements as new patterns of collective action, the emergence of new political subjects, and how the movements revalued the daily lives of the popular classes (SADER, 1988, p. 17; VASCONCELOS, 2011, p. 83). However, at the same time, the author noted the Social Sciences crisis due to the loss of the explanatory power of global models (SADER, 1988, p. 43). The author studied four social movements in São Paulo: a Mother's Club on the southern outskirts of the city, noting the help of pastoral agents and students (SADER, 1988, p. 214); the Metallurgical Opposition of São Paulo, when he highlighted the role of the Church (SADER, 1988, p. 241); the Health Movement of the eastern outskirts, with the support of public health doctors and the Church (SADER, 1988, p. 261), and the São Bernardo Metalworkers Union, with an emphasis on the stoppages by specialized workers (SADER, 1988, p. 292). It should also be noted that two of the four movements examined still have factory workers as their social base.

In 1989, another sociologist, Pedro Jacobi, published "Atores sociais e Estado. Movimentos reivindicatórios urbanos e Estado – dimensões da ação coletiva e efeitos político-institucionais no Brasil (Social Actors and the State. Urban demand movements and the State – dimensions of collective action and political-institutional effects in Brazil)," in issue 26 of the journal Espaço & Debates. In a context of re-democratization, "parties acquire presence and competitiveness and movements lose their dynamism and visibility [...]."[6] One highlight in the text is the support given to "demand movements" by actors who acted as "advisors," "social articulators," "mediators," and "external agents," namely the Church, with its pastoral agents, professionals (architects, doctors, lawyers, etc.), militants and political parties and left-wing organizations esquerda (JACOBI, 1990, p. 12). The author concluded that "the predominant trademark is demand actions aimed at obtaining certain concrete objectives" since "it is not a matter of disqualifying them or overestimating them," and that "the trademark [of the demand action] is temporality. This is not a disqualification, but a more precise definition of its limits," esquerda (JACOBI, 1990, p. 20) a warning to the "external actors/agents" supporting said movements.

Prominent among the most productive scholars on the theme of urban social movements in Brazil, the architect-urbanist and anthropologist Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos (1943-1989) published the

book Movimentos urbanos no Rio de Janeiro (Urban Movements in Rio de Janeiro) in 1981. In the introduction, Santos cited Castells' definition as his "main interlocutor" (SANTOS, 1981, p. 24). Then, he dealt, in detail, with his participation as an urban planner in three movements:

(1) The urbanization of the Brás de Pina favela (1964-1975) in reaction to the removal attempted by the Lacerda government[7]. Wooden shacks accounted for 95% of the favela's structures, and men headed 82% of the 892 families[8]. The author highlighted the following events: resistance to the eradication plan[9]; the decision to urbanize the favela; contacts with the Favela Urbanization Studies Commission; research and analysis; the emergence of CODESCO[10] and the beginning of the works [1969]; the implementation of the urbanization works; the struggle between the Residents' Association and CODESCO; the bureaucratization phase; the emptying and the end of CODESCO. Finally, the Association "lost its identity, and nowadays it is only pro forma."

(2) Housing improvements in the Morro Azul favela. The main stages were a fire in the favela [1950s]; the construction of a building and the beginning of the [French] priests' domination; the urban works; the housing plan; the Association scandal [electricity bill charges]; the entry of Inter American[11] and the new Association; the crisis of the residents "from below"[12] and the construction of the Metro and their removal." There were four categories in Morro Azul: Cima, Edifício (Building)[13], Buraco Quente[14], and Baixo[15], which did not have the support of the other slum dwellers.

(3) The resistance of the residents of the Catumbi neighborhood, whose situation changed with the opening of the Santa Bárbara tunnel in 1961. The population was estimated at 2,700 families. The main events were the government's decision to carry out an urban renewal plan for the neighborhood; the population's knowledge of the plan and unease[16]; the initial mobilization[17]; the organization of the movement[18] and the convening of consultants; the development of the campaign[19]; the partial conquests[20] and the weakening of the struggle; the stagnant situation and the emptying[21] of the neighborhood. The author concludes: "The Catumbi shrank to a third of its original size, full of ruins [...], crushed between a viaduct surrounded by lawns and the Passarela do Samba, it only seemed to be waiting for the coup de grace." In 1980, Mayor Klabin designated the neighborhood an "Environmental Preservation Area," but it was too late.

However, the author's most outstanding contribution was a discussion in the extended conclusion of a series of concepts used in the three pieces of research on urban social movements. He started with Resident, Actors, and State categories, followed by discussing the concepts of Arena, Field, Mobilizing Event, Institution, and Catalyst, in addition to comments regarding the favorable conjuncture and memory.

In 2014, sociologist Maria da Glória Gohn published the 11th edition of her 415-page book Teorias dos movimentos sociais: paradigmas clássicos e contemporâneos (Theories of Social Movements: classical and contemporary paradigms), where she initially sought to take stock of three "paradigms" on the issue in the Social Sciences[22] (GOHN, 2014): (1) the North American (in three chapters totaling 98 pages)[23] when the author highlights the basic categories: "system, organization, collective action, organizational behaviors, social integration, etc.". (2) The European (in two chapters with 90 pages)[24], with the following basic categories in the Marxist approach: "social classes, contradictions, struggles, experiences, consciousness, conflicts, class interests, reproduction of the workforce, State, etc."; and the following in the approach of the New Social Movements: "culture, identity, autonomy, subjectivity, social actors, daily life, representations, political interaction, etc." (3) The Latin American (in four chapters with 118 pages)[25]. As well as the categories mentioned, new categories appear, such as: "new historical subjects, the field of popular force, collective citizenship, urban plunder, social exclusion, decentralization, spontaneity, solidarity networks, private and public tertiary sector, etc.". When dealing with the third approach, in Chapter VII, the author made a conceptual proposal:

Social movements are socio-political actions built by collective social actors belonging to different classes and social strata, articulated in specific scenarios of a country's socioeconomic and political conjuncture, creating a political field of social force in civil society [...][26] . (GOHN, 2014, p. 31).

As stated above, Chapter VIII specifically addresses social movements in Brazil between 1978 and 1989, and Chapter IX is entitled "Social movements and NGOs in Brazil in the era of globalization."

In 1978 and 1989, the author wrote that the first texts on the subject in Brazil were José Álvaro Moisés' 1978 thesis and her own dissertation the following year; both had an "explicit theoretical affiliation: Jordi Borja and Manuel Castells." In the 1980s, regarding the new social movements, the influences moved to Foucault, Guattari, Castoriadis/Cohn-Bendit, and Melucci. In Chapter IX, Gohn highlighted the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST), the "Viva Rio" Movement, and the identity movements "around gender, race, age, etc.," in addition to the growth of NGOs.

In the Afterword to the 10th edition, the author commented on six theories: (1) Identity theories constructed from cultural axes; (2) Recognition theories focused on the axis of social justice; (3) Emancipation theories that highlight the axis of autonomy and social movements' resistance capacity; (4) Postcolonial theories; (5) Political mobilization theory and the axis of institutional organization and (6) Theories of the re-politicization of social movements and axes of transactional mobilizations associated with the use of new technologies.

In an Appendix, Gohn mapped the scenario of social movements in Brazil in the 1972-2014 period, divided into four cycles: (1st) "Struggles for the re-democratization of the country and access to public services: 1972-1984", with five thematic axes, ranging from residents' associations (1972-1982), the landless (1979) and the "Diretas Já" (1984). (2nd) "Institutionalization of movements: 1985-1989", with five axes, emphasizing the black movement, the homeless, and rough sleepers. (3rd) "Emergence of new actors and demobilization of urban popular movements. Growth of rural popular movements: 1990-1997", also with five axes, including the "Caras-pintadas" (1992) and Greenpeace (1992-1997). (4th) "Newest actors on the scene: transnational movements – Counter or antiglobalization and civil networks of mobilizations: 1998-2010", with 13 thematic axes, ranging from the Hip Hop Movement, the Unified Black Movement – MNU, Via Campesina, the World Social Forum, Attac, the Black Blocs and Anonymous. She overly broadened the concept of "movements" by including governmental institutions such as FUNAI; the Catholic Church, for example, the Pastoral Land Commission; unions, such as CUT – Unified Workers' Central, and even international institutions such as the World Wildlife Foundation[27]. In this sense, Gohn's book goes far beyond the theme of urban social movements.

As for Brazilian geographers, in 1992, José Borzachiello da Silva released the book Quando os incomodados não se retiram: uma análise dos movimentos sociais em Fortaleza (When the inconvinienced do not remove themselves: an analysis of social movements in Fortaleza) (1992)[28] (SILVA, 1992), based on his doctoral thesis entitled Movimentos Sociais Populares em Fortaleza – Uma Abordagem Geográfica defended in 1987. In the initial chapter, the author highlighted "[...] Geography's commitment to focus on Urban Social Movements as spatial movements in its analysis [...]"and then stated that "[...] the stories of popular movements do not escape the inexorable mechanisms of class relations [...]."Then, in the second chapter, he presented the territorial formation of the Brazilian city of Fortaleza. The third chapter deals with social movements and the State when the author affirms that "demand movements now address themselves primarily to the State [...]."The fourth chapter, "Social Movements, Urban Policies, and Urban Planning," offers the crucial information that 24% of Fortaleza's population lived in favelas[29].

The fifth chapter, "Popular Participation and the Production Process of the Urban Space of Fortaleza," (SILVA, 1992) begins by analyzing popular organizations in Fortaleza, informing that the pioneering neighborhood movements began in the 1960s "in Pirambú[29]   and   Dias   Macedo neighborhoods. Land-related issues, the struggle for land and the guarantee of the land, for permanence in a place had the church as its foremost defender." However, the author states, "The social movements in Fortaleza emerged in the factories and the unions [...]." Then, the author examined "The bases of Analysis", using the results of the research carried out by the 1979 Rondon Project, in which he participated. He surveyed newspapers in the city in 1971/1982 and conducted 17 interviews "with experts, members of the Church, neighborhood associations and the Federation of Neighborhoods and Favelas of Fortaleza." In the "Confrontation of results", the author commented that in a survey of newspaper complaints, the highest numbers were about the Road System and Transport and Traffic sectors. The areas of greatest concentration were the Center (96 complaints) and the Aldeota neighborhood (34). In contrast, in the results of the Rondon Project survey, the Center fell to the eleventh position (24 complaints) and Aldeota to fourteenth (21). Barra do Ceará was first with 38 complaints. Thus, he concluded that in the case of newspapers, there was the "pressure of middle-class power," while in direct surveys, "the neighborhoods that rank first are those more integrated with the

city's peripheral spaces."[31] Finally, regarding priority indexes, in the 1979 survey, the most common complaint/need was the "electric lighting service". In the Final Considerations, the author stated that "A thesis would be of little value if it did not aspire to contribute to changing reality and social transformation," confirming his engagement with social issues while denouncing the situation of Fortaleza at the time as "being destitute, due to the enormous pockets of poverty existing within it [...]", but continued with an optimistic perspective: "[...] this mass gradually awakens and mobilizes to demand its right to participate, even if on a small scale" (SILVA, 1992).

Marcelo Lopes de Souza has continuously published on Urban Social Movements since his 1988 Master's thesis in Geography, titled O que pode o ativismo de bairro (What neighborhood activism can do).

In 2000, in his book O Desafio Metropolitano (The Metropolitan Challenge), the chapter "A crisis and its day after? the situation of urban social movements" has 39 pages. In this chapter, he initially emphasized that "Neighborhood activism is urban social activism par excellence." (SOUZA, 2000, p. 140). As for the decadence of "common" neighborhood activism, the author brought together several factors: the economic crisis; the demagogic or authoritarian behavior of municipal authorities; the migration of activists to political parties; the co-option of leaders and the "domestication" of movements; party influence of the residents' association; the "vanguardism" of leftist leaders; the bureaucratization of the neighborhood movement; the insufficient and inadequate adaptation to the democratic-representative conjuncture; disappointment with the political conjuncture; disappointment with municipal administrations and the social base's "fatigue"; "caciquism" and personalism; localism / parochialism; "politicophobia;" micro reformism, and the separation of issues and social activism.

As for favela activism, the author highlighted other factors: the separation between "neighborhoods" and favelas; clientelism, and the disruptive/restructuring and demoralizing effects of drug trafficking. However, the author concluded the chapter by raising some positive aspects of neighborhood activism, such as awareness raising and the conquest of social rights, the politicization of cities, and the creation of a margin of maneuver for the humanization of the urban. In addition to the value of these factors, the author's preference for the notion of "activisms," whether of neighborhoods or favelas, can also be highlighted to the detriment of urban social movements (SILVA, 1992).

In 2004, geographers Marcelo Lopes de Souza and Glauco Bruce Rodrigues published the textbook Planejamento urbano e ativismos sociais (Urban Planning and Social Activisms), with three chapters evaluating social activism. The authors cautioned that "every movement is social activism," but "not every movement is activism" (SOUZA; RODRIGUES, 2002, p. 83). The authors synthesized the causes of the crisis and the contributions of neighborhood activism from the third chapter of the 2000 book. However, they added an examination of two "brand new urban activisms": the MTST and hip-hop. The Homeless Workers Movement owed its existence to the MST – Landless Workers Movement. The movement's main targets were "real estate speculation, the abandonment of buildings and public land, and the lack of consistent housing policies." Hip-hop was born "in the black neighborhoods of major American cities in the 1970s" and has three elements: break (the dance), graffiti (hip-hop's graphic art), and rap. The predominant interest is the examination of activisms as "shaping agents of urban space,"[32] which connects with another theme of interest in Historical Geography.

In 2006, Marcelo Lopes de Souza published the book A prisão e a ágora (Prison and Agora), which focused on the discussion of city planning and management but also has a 41-page chapter entitled "Activisms and social movements." In this chapter, the author resumes the conceptual discussion between "mere" activisms and social movements. It begins with the statement that "society is a critical agent shaping urban space [...]" (SOUZA, 2006, p. 273). He defines activism "as an organized public activity of social actors" when he cites Touraine and Castells[33]. Then, he differentiates between urban activism in a weak sense ("results unionism"); in a strong sense (residents' association) and urban social movement in a weak sense (resistance movement against globalization) and a strong sense (squatting movement). He also established a recent periodization of the Brazilian experience: (1) from the 1970s to the first half of the 1980s, the peak of the "new movements"; (2) the second half of the 1980s: a sense of crisis is installed; (3) from the 1990s onwards: when the crisis spreads. At the international level, he commented on the real estate occupation movements in Amsterdam and West Berlin based on the analysis of H. Pruijt. Souza also distinguishes between the structure, which defined a more permanent framework of action, and the conjuncture, which expressed "the feasibility, the

mutability of 'objective 'conditions on the surface [...],"and resumed an examination of the homeless movements in Brazil. He raised the important question, "How to avoid that, after the legalization of an occupation, the land is simply reintegrated into the market logic." In the second section, he discussed the "reification of the urban"[34] when resuming the discussion of the crisis' main factors. He continued with the theme of favelas and neighborhoods when he raised two important issues: because "the environmentalist militant facing a favela shows a lack of social sensitivity when reproaching the squatters for the deforestation of a hillside," as well as "the middle-class feminist intellectual who oppresses her Afro-descendant maid from the favela." He concluded by returning to the discussion of the homeless and hip-hop movements. Notably, he states forcefully, "Doting on the centrality of a 'proletarian 'identity, replaced, in the twentieth century and as a result of the historical defeat of the labor movement and the transformations [...] of capitalism, by multiple identities and protagonists, had grave implications." Souza asks: "To what extent petty-bourgeois environmentalists and middle-class feminists would be able to temper their worldviews and their political commitments in contact with residents of peripheries and favelas and poor workers and vice versa [...],"here a cut appears between social movements, environmental and identity movements.

In 2008, the same author published the book Fobópole: o medo generalizado e a militarização da questão urbana (Phobopolis: generalized fear and the militarization of the urban issue), a theme focused on urban crime, but which has a short 17-page chapter with the title "What can social movements do (and what they do) in an 'age of fear.'" The discussion is restricted more to the issue of fear, emphasizing the role of drug traffickers who "threaten and manipulate leaders of residents' associations – several of whom have already been expelled from their favelas and even murdered." (SOUZA, 2008, P. 126). Souza cited a thesis on the occupation of the MTST in Guarulhos, where the traffickers also expelled militants. Finally, he commented that the "militiamen" were also "harassing and intimidating residents' associations in various favelas in Rio." The recent introduction of the role of "agent" traffickers or militiamen has hindered the action of traditional agents, expanding the discussion in the rich literature previously limited to the opposition between social movements and the State.

Marcelo Lopes de Souza, in the Introduction entitled "A 'Nova Geração' de Movimentos Sociais Urbanos – e a nova onda de interesse acadêmico pelo assunto" (The 'New Generation' of Urban Social Movements – and the new wave of academic interest in the subject), in issue 9 of the Cidades journal, in 2009, with the theme "Social activisms and urban space," proposed that "social movements are a subset of activism, which, in turn, is a subset of collective action" (SOUZA, 2009, p. 10). He recalled that in the 1970s, studies on urban activisms in Brazil multiplied, especially in Sociology. In the first half of the 1980s, these studies had been consolidated; "this was also the moment when geographers by training began to contribute." The 1990s were "a period of reflux, with the present corresponding to a period of resumption."[35] The author also criticized "[the fact that] the literature that predominated in Brazil, in the 1970s and 1980s, was empirical [...], and the dialogue with the [...] theoretical matrices was [...] epidermal, at times somewhat contradictory."

In 2011 Renato Emerson Nascimento dos Santos published the 345-page book Movimentos Sociais e Geografia: sobre a(s) espacialidade (s) da ação social (Social Movements and Geography: on the spatiality(ies) of social action), based on his doctoral thesis entitled Agendas & agencias: a espacialidade dos movimentos sociais a partir do Pré-Vestibular para Negros e Carentes (Agendas & agencies: the spatiality of social movements from the Pre-Vestibular for Blacks and the Poor), defended in 2006 (SANTOS, 2011). The book's highlights are the second and fourth chapters, "Geography and Social Movements" and "Tensioning the geographical imagination: spatial dimensions of movements," respectively. The author also examined the issue of scale at length in the third chapter, and particularly in the sixth chapter, "The Pre-vestibular for Blacks and the Poor: multiple space-time experiences in the making of politics," which gives an account of his trajectory as a teacher in the movement.

In the second chapter, the author proposes a division of the trends of social movements in Geography into three currents: (1) The Geography of the organization of social movements, giving the works of Maria Terezinha de Soares, Satiê Mizubuti and Julia Adão Bernardes as examples. (2) Geography of social struggles, emphasizing the works of Ariovaldo Umbelino de Oliveira and Marcelo Lopes de Souza, and (3) Geo-graphies of social movements, focusing on Bernardo Mançano Fernandes and Carlos Walter Porto-Gonçalves (SANTOS, 2011, p. 27-29). First, the author commented on Julia Bernardes' pioneering 1983 dissertation on the Neighborhood Friends Movement of the municipality of

Nova Iguaçu; Mizubuti's 1986 thesis on the Neighborhood Associative Movement in Niterói; and Soares' article, dated 1989, which discussed the Associations of Favela Residents in the municipality of Rio de Janeiro. The three authors, therefore, dealt with urban movements in Rio de Janeiro. Next was Oliveira's text, A Geografia das Lutas no Campo, from 1988, while Souza's dissertation on neighborhood activism was defended in the same year. After that, Santos mentions Bernardo Fernandes' research on the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST), presented in the book Questão agrária, pesquisa e MST, published in 2001. Finally, the author highlighted Porto-Gonçalves' doctoral thesis, which led to the book Geografia nos Varadores do Mundo (Geography in the Trails of the Earth) in 2003. In the fourth, more theoretical, chapter the author organized, in 96 pages, eight spatial dimensions of movements: the cartography of the social movement; spatial clippings and identity constructions; territory and territoriality; action and theme; action and interlocutors; action and developments; institutional spheres of the movement; and subjects, with references to national and international authors, from various disciplinary fields. In the closing chapter, the author exposes, in 102 pages, his experience with the "Pre-Vestibular for Blacks and the Needy" (PVNC), highlighting the role of Frei Jonei, Jadir Marinho, and Marcelo Braga. He concluded with "The spatiality of PVNC," affirming, "The objective of this work was to tension possibilities of understanding social movements through what we call spatiality." In addition to the chronicle of participation in a specific movement, Santos' book provides one of the first balances of social movements in our discipline, including social movements in the countryside[36].

In 2019, Glauco Bruce Rodrigues published the 41-page chapter " Espaço e conflito social: as jornadas de junho de 2013 (Space and social conflict: the days of June 2013)" in the book Território, economia urbana e conflitos territoriais (Territory, urban economy, and territorial conflicts). Early on, the author indicated that he was "seeking to emphasize the relationship between space and social action" and that June 2013 "represents the beginning of a new historical conjuncture of Brazilian society [...]."[37] In the text, the author highlighted the notion of conflict "as an analytical key to Geography [...]."The chapter is divided into three parts. In the first "The founding elements of June," four elements are identified: the urban issue; the conjuncture of the beginning of the political and economic crisis; the violence of police repression in São Paulo on June 13; and the action of social activisms "of an autonomous nature linked to the struggles for transport and mobility and the collectives against the holding of the World Cup and Olympics." The second part deals with "The socio-spatial dynamics of June," beginning with a critique of the bibliography on the subject from the perspectives of "dominant southeast-centrism" and "Paulista-centrism of the analysis produced." given that the first protests against the fare increase occurred in Manaus (March); Porto Alegre (March and April); Goiânia and Natal (May) and Salvador (June). The protagonists of the first period were young high school and university students, while in the second period, new actors were related to "criticism of spending on the World Cup and the Olympics, the demand for better public services and allegations of corruption [...], which started the political crisis that culminated in the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff." The author also highlighted the police forces' attacks against protesters and "the black blocs' deliberate and planned attacks on the symbols of capitalism, especially banks [...]."The chapter concluded with "A critical balance." The author considered that "The June days represent the end of the Workers' Party project [...]" and that it was "marked by the rise of conservative and reactionary forces [...], which began to exercise political hegemony in Brazil [...],"and "today, the Brazilian left is fragile [...]" (RODRIGUES, 2019, p. 257).

At the international level, in 2012, the geographer David Harvey, in the book Rebel Cities, gathering texts from 2002, 2008, and 2011, acts as a counterpoint to the book of the same year by the sociologist Castells. He posits the relationship between the Right to the City, by Henri Lefebvre, and the urban revolution as part of the anti-capitalist struggle. The first part, with four chapters, is about "The Right to the City." Early on, the author stated "[...] that a large part of the traditional left has difficulty grasping the revolutionary potential of urban social movements" while denouncing that "In much of the capitalist world, factories have either disappeared or decreased so drastically that the classical industrial working class has been decimated" and that "The so-called 'precariat' has replaced 'the traditional proletariat.'[38] When dealing with predatory urban practices in the original, he points to "[...] the vast terrain of accumulation by dispossession" (HARVEY, 2012, p. 53-54), which was translated into Portuguese as "a vast terrain of accumulation by misappropriation (!) This serious mistake shows the

danger of analyzing certain works in foreign languages from some translations. The second part, "Rebel Cities," consists of three chapters. The fifth chapter is focused on the "anti-capitalist struggle," in which protests against globalization are listed in Seattle (1999), Quebec, and Genoa, and the most recent mass protests in Tahrir Square, Cairo; in Madison; in Plaza Puerta del Sol, Madrid, Plaza de Catalunya, Barcelona and Syntagma Square, Athens. He even added the "revolutionary movements" in Oaxaca, Mexico, and Cochabamba (2000 and 2007) and El Alto (2003 and 2005) in Bolivia, as well as demonstrations in Buenos Aires (2001 to 2002) and Santiago de Chile (2006 and 2011). In this chapter, the author stated, "The organization of the vicinal areas has been as important to maintain labor struggles as the organization of the workplace," thus maintaining the relevance of workers' struggles. The three-page sixth chapter is about London in 2011 when "Fierce Capitalism Comes to the Streets." The seventh is titled "#OWS: The Party of Wall Street Meets Its Rival." Harvey began by stating that "The Party of Wall Street has dominated the United States unopposed for a long time" and that this party "[…] is governed by a universal principle: there will be no serious challenges to the power of money to reign absolute. " The "Occupy Wall Street" movement's objective was that "we, the people, are determined to recover our country from the moneyed powers that run it today," thus returning to deal with the class struggle. As for the State, with the support of the capitalist class's power, he declared "that they and they alone have the exclusive right to regulate public space and dispose of it." The author proposed that corporate privileges and the media's monopoly powers be eliminated, privatization of knowledge and culture be prohibited, and "The freedom to exploit and dispossess others should be severely punished and ultimately be declared illegal." The author concluded, with optimism, that the People's struggle against the Party of Wall Street would unite the students of Chile, the protesters of Tahrir Square, the indignados in Spain, and the strikers in Greece. Even the "militant opposition that is beginning to emerge around the world [...]" and "The brutal rule of big capital and the absolute power of money are on the defensive everywhere." In this case, Harvey keeps the "People" against Capital, far from the pressure of social movements on the State.

Finally, we will make brief comments on the texts of D. Harvey, M. Davis, and the Brazilians E. Sader and G. Alves published in the collective and multidisciplinary work Occupy, by David Harvey and nine other authors, a title complemented by "protest movements that took to the streets" (2012; 2015).

David Harvey's text is entitled "The Rebels in the Streets: The Party of Wall Street Meets Its Nemesis," with 12 pages, in which the author reaffirms that the aforementioned party "controlled the United States easily for too long," (HARVEY et al., 2015, p. 57. See Idem, 2014, p. 277) which "incessantly articulates class war" and "now, for the first time, there is an explicit movement that confronts the Party of Wall Street," namely, Occupy Wall Street. According to Harvey, the movement's goal in the United States can be summarized in two statements: "We, the people, are determined to retake our country from the money powers that currently control it" and "We are the 99%. We are the majority, and this majority can, should, and will prevail."

Urban planner Mike Davis, who wrote the six-page "No More Gum," presented figures from the enormous social crisis in your country: "Four and a half million industrial jobs have been lost in the United States since 2000 [...]" and, even more seriously, "Since 1987, African Americans have lost more than half of their net worth; Latinos, an unbelievable two-thirds" (HARVEY et al, 2021; 2015) (!).

As for Emir Sader, in the text "Capitalist Crisis and a new scenario in the Middle East," with only four pages, the sociologist pointed out that the general crisis of capitalism began in 2008 and resumed in a new cycle in 2011[39], with new protagonists, such as the Indignados and the "occupiers." The Arab Spring brought a new element to the region: "Crowds occupied squares to overthrow dictatorships."

Finally, the sociologist Giovanni Alves, in the eight-page text "Occupy Wall Street ... and then?" added the 12th March Movement or Geração à Rasca in Portugal to the Movement of the Indignados (March 15) and Occupy Wall Street. He proposed the following characteristics of the new movements: (1) they constitute a dense and complex social diversity; (2) they are peaceful social movements; (3) they use social networks; (4) they can innovate and be politically creative and (5) "expose [...] the miseries of the bourgeois order at the most developed pole of the system, rotten by the financialization of capitalist wealth," Therefore, he emphasizes that social movements are now in the economic centers of capitalism and not only on its periphery.

To conclude this section, we ask whether the notions presented in the texts examined (social movements, urban social movements; popular movements; mass movements; demanding movements; protest movements; urban struggles; social activisms; social conflicts and urban revolution; and "occupations") produced in different contexts, different temporalities and different disciplines, were dealing with the same issues. Another challenge, and even more important, is to bring this discussion to other temporal contexts in Historical Geography.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

In Historical Geography, social movements, along with the population, have emerged as one of the "shaping agents of the city" (Vasconcelos 2011) in the colonial period. In my 1997 text and the French version in 2000[40], the roles of slaves, freedmen, and, specifically, social movements were highlighted:

> The social movements in the colonial period were mainly troop rebellions due to delays in payments. The free population protested against the high cost of living, and slaves rebelled, predominantly Africans, especially the mostly Islamized Haussa. Although they caused some destruction, their impact on cities was not more significant due to violent repression. Another form of rebellion was the escape and organization of quilombos in urban and rural areas. But differences made solidarity between slaves difficult, between Mulattos and Blacks, Africans and Creoles, and even between slaves and freedmen. The capitães-de-mato, responsible for the search for escaped slaves, were mainly Mulattos (VASCONCELOS, 1997, p. 267-268).

In the chapter "Salvador: the agents of its development," there are two mentions of "social movements" in the city's past. First, in the nineteenth century: "The important social movements (slave, popular, military revolts), especially at the beginning of the century, did not result in major transformations in the physical structure of the city, despite some fires and bombings," (VASCONCELOS, 200b, p.186) and the second in the period after 1945:

> During this period, the poor population also appears as an agent of expansion of the city, either through land invasions in possible areas (from stilts on the bay to the edges of Parallel Avenue) or through self-build in consolidated areas or even the acquisition of plots in popular allotments in the periphery (VASCONCELOS, 200b, p.188).

This second part of the text is divided into three periods: Colony, Empire, and Republic, without a more detailed periodization, to facilitate the understanding of more than four centuries of manifestations and social movements. The oldest movements are more detailed, with the most recent being less prominent as they are primarily national, and the information is available online.

COLONY (1500/1549-1808/1823)

The colonial period is measured from 1500 for the future captaincy of the Bay of All Saints and from 1549 for Salvador. The period ended in 1808 with the transfer of the headquarters of the Portuguese Overseas Empire to Brazil. As a colony, Portuguese America was home to the Bragantina court, and definitive official independence in Brazil occurred on September 7, 1822. However, the fight against the Portuguese only ended in Salvador on July 2, 1823.

INDIGENOUS UPRISINGS/ATTACKS

The first movements in Salvador and Bahia were the uprisings and attacks conducted by the original peoples as a reaction to the occupation of their lands and the attempts to enslave them. The insurrection also resulted from the extermination of those groups considered enemies by the

representatives of the Portuguese Crown.

The principal Indigenous uprisings and attacks occurred around Salvador and in the Bahia Recôncavo. The first attempt at colonization was made by the donee Francisco Pereira Coutinho, who arrived in 1536 and established Vila do Pereira or Vila Velha, which had about 400 free men and 500 slaves in 1545, confirming the presence of slavery from the beginning of colonization; at this time, the slaves were mainly Indigenous[41]. The village was attacked in 1546 by the Tupinambás, who burned two sugar mills, destroyed all the fields, and killed many men. The donee sought help from the captaincy of Porto Seguro and returned but was shipwrecked near the island of Itaparica when he was captured by the Tupinambás, "who devoured him and other his companions." (TAVARES, 2001, p. 86).

With the failure of the captaincy, in 1549, the Portuguese Crown decided to establish the city of Salvador, whose first governor-general, Tomé de Souza. In the statutes, the king included the need to punish the Tupinambás for the war against the donee. After a period of collaboration to build the city, the Indigenous people were expelled from the urban area and gathered in villages. Those who lived around Salvador resisted and endured wars in 1553, losing their territories as far as São Tomé de Paripe, in the north of the city. In 1555, the Indigenous people attacked Pirajá, Bonfim, Rio Vermelho, and Itapuã on the Todos os Santos Bay and the Atlantic sides. The son of Duarte da Costa, second governor, led the reaction, which destroyed 13 villages and the liberated areas up to the Red River on the Atlantic side. Between 1557 and 1559, wars took place in the Recôncavo, a region around Salvador, under the orders of the third governor, Mem de Sá. According to the Jesuit José de Anchieta (1554-1594), a contemporary of the events, 160 villages were burnt, whereas the historian Vicente do Salvador (1627) puts the number at 60 villages. Anchieta also reported that, in 20 years [1583], given the deaths from smallpox (about 30,000 dead), hunger, and escape to the interior, of the initial 40,000 who lived in villages, there were only 3,500 Indigenous people left in the villages organized by the Jesuits (J. Anchieta and V. Salvador in Vasconcelos, 2016).

In 1673, the Bandeirantes from São Paulo brought 1,064 Indigenous to Salvador. They were then sent by ship to São Vicente, given the local disinterest in Indigenous slaves (S. Schwartz and A. Pécora in Vasconcelos, 2016, p. 98) because of the use of African slaves and their descendants.

At the present time, there are still conflicts between descendants of the original peoples in the south of the State of Bahia, especially in the region of Porto Seguro, ironically, the place of first contact between the Portuguese in 1500 and those who came to be called "Indians."

URBAN AND RURAL QUILOMBOS

The quilombos embodied the reaction of the enslaved Africans brought to the colony, especially to work on sugarcane plantations, the production of sugar, and the export of this product, which supported the economy of the new colony.

Since the sixteenth century, there have been references to quilombos in the surroundings of Salvador and Bahia, and the cases must have been much more numerous than those recorded. In 1575, quilombos were detected in the lands of the city council of Salvador, that is, on the Atlantic coast.

To control the slave escapes, in 1625, the Chamber established that the slave owners had to pay 800 réis to the Capitães do Campo for each Black person captured as far as the Vermelho River and a league around it. From the Vermelho river to the Joanes river, the sum rose to 2,000 réis. From the Joanes river to Torre, 3,000 réis; and in Torre, 4,000 réis (Minutes of Chamber 1625-1641 in Vasconcelos, 2016, p. 44). All these areas were located on the Atlantic coast, while the city of Salvador was developing on the west side of the bay of Todos os Santos.

In 1632, a quilombo was destroyed on the Rio Vermelho (A. Ruy and D. Freitas in Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 44). In 1763, the quilombo of Buraco do Tatu, which had existed for over 20 years [1743] in the north of Salvador, was attacked by 200 men, including Indigenous from the village of Jequiriçá, and 61 "blacks" were arrested (E. Almeida, in Vasconcelos, 2016 p. 160).

In 1807, two quilombos were also destroyed: in Mares, in the north of the city, and Cabula, in the peninsula's interior, by a force of 80 men (PEDREIRA 1962, p. 586-587). Because of the continuity of slavery in the Empire, other quilombos were detected in the following period.

REVOLT OF THE TERÇOS (1689 AND 1728)

The first urban uprisings involved the military. As early as 1689, the Terços (regiments) revolted over the nine-month delay in paying the troops (!), a very long period. It should be noted that troops were paid in currency or food, especially cassava flour.

Another movement occurred in 1728 against the Military Justice, resulting in the hanging of seven rebels and the exile of 16 more (L. Costa, in Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 98).

MANETA MUTINY (1711)

IN 1711, after the military disturbances, there is a record of the first revolt of Salvador's poor population against the taxes charged on imported products, as well as the increase in the price of salt, resulting in the attack on the residences of mainly Portuguese traders. The mutiny's title resulted from the leadership of João de Figueiredo Costa, known as "Maneta."

TREATY PROPOSED BY ENSLAVED PEOPLE ON A FARM AROUND ILHÉUS (1789)

This exceptional text documents a treaty proposed by slaves to the farmer Manuel da Silva Ferreira in Engenho Santana, Ilhéus, around 1789. It is one of the rare documents in which the enslaved persons present their claims:

"My Lord, we want peace, and we do not want war; if My Lord also wants our peace it must be in this manner, if he wishes to agree to that which we want.

In each week you must give us the days of Friday and Saturday to work for ourselves, not subtracting any of these because they are Saint´s days.

To enable us to live you must give us casting nets and canoes.

You are not to oblige us to fish in the tidal pools nor to gather shellfish, and when you wish to gather shellfish send your Mina blacks.

For your sustenance have a fishing launch and decked canoes, and when you wish to eat shellfish, send your Mina blacks.

Make a large boat so that when it goes to Bahia we can place our cargo aboard and not pay freightage.

In the planting of manioc we wish the men to have a daily quota of two and one half hands and the women, two hands.

The daily quota of manioc flour must be of five level alqueires, placing enough harvesters so that these can serve to hang up the coverings.

The daily quota of sugarcane must be of five hands rather than six and of ten canes in each bundle.

On the boat you must put four poles, and one for the rudder, and the one at the rudder works hard for us.

The wood that is sawed with a hand saw must have three men below and one above.

The measure of firewood must be as was practiced here, for each measure a woodcutter and a woman as the wood carrier.

The present overseers we do not want, choose others with our approval.

At the milling rollers there must be four women to feed in the cane, two pulleys, and a carcanha.

At each cauldron there must be one who tends the fire and in each series of kettles the same, and on Saturday, there must be without fail work stoppage in the mill.

The sailors who go in the launch beside the baize shirt that they are given must also have a jacket of baize and all the necessary clothing.

We will go to work the canefield of Jabirú this time and then it must remain as pasture for we cannot cut cane in a swamp.

We shall be able to plant our rice wherever we wish, and in any marsh, without asking permission for this, and each person can cut jacaranda or any other wood without having to account for this.

Accepting all the above articles and allowing us to remain always in possession of the hardware, we are ready to serve you as before because we do not wish to continue the bad customs of the other engenhos.

We shall be able to play, relax, and sing any time we wish without your hinderance nor will permission be need" .

In this long quotation, we highlight respect for rest (or work for oneself) on Sundays and holidays; the division and rivalries between Creoles (slaves born in Brazil) and Africans ("pretos Minas"); the request for new taskmasters; the production of food by slaves ("our rice"); and the freedom to "play, rest and sing", which certainly relieved the terrible life led by the enslaved in the countryside.

THE "TAILORS CONSPIRACY" (1798)

THE principal feature of this conspiracy is not the predominance of tailors (Alfaiates) but the majority participation of Browns (pardos). Despite the conspiracy registering the participation of at least three officers, six soldiers, five tailors, five artisans, and 11 slaves (of which three tailors), those taken prisoner were registered as 29 Browns, 10 Whites, and only one as Black, confirming that the movement had a majority of Browns, Mestizos born in Brazil.

The influence of the French Revolution (1789), proven by the leaflets distributed by the conspirators, should also be highlighted:

"Each soldier is a Citizen, especially Browns, and Blacks who live scorned and abandoned. All will be equal; there will be no difference; there will only be freedom, equality, and fraternity." More importantly, it was a pioneering anti-slavery movement:

"[...] all citizens and, in particular, Mulattos and Blacks [...] are equal, there will be no differences, [...] and all black and brown slaves will be freed so that there is no slavery of any kind."

As a result, four rebels were hanged: two soldiers and two tailors, all Browns. It is noteworthy that the Browns were not Portuguese, African, or Indigenous. They were born in Brazil, spoke Portuguese, had separate brotherhoods and troops from Whites and Blacks, and aspired to social ascension in a slave society dominated by a white elite.

HAUSA AFRICAN UPRISINGS

In the early nineteenth century, there was a massive arrival of enslaved Africans, resulting from wars between African states. The Haussa were Muslims and warrior slaves of the kingdom of Oio in present-day Nigeria. Several uprisings were initiated in Salvador, initially led by the Haussas: in 1807, 200 enslaved Haussas traveled the Estrada das Boiadas, in the center of the peninsula, "killing many people and burning several houses." In 1809, there was an escape attempt involving about 400 slaves, mostly Haussas, but they were defeated in the stream da Prata. Between 1813 and 1814, a Haussa

uprising occurred in Itapuã, resulting in the burning of one fishing facilities and the destruction of two others. In the crackdown, four rebels were hanged, and 23 were deported.

The merchants of Salvador made a representation to the prince regent D. João in April 1814, informing that the Africans shouted "freedom, live the Blacks and their King [...] and die the Whites and Mulattos", also highlighting the "[...] barbarity with which they treated those of the burned places, whose houses reach one around hundred and fifty, and murdered about fifty" and stated that the Blacks "speak and know of the fatal success of the island of São Domingos [Haiti]. "

The presence of enslaved people in Salvador, former combatants defeated in wars between African kingdoms, is notable, unlike the vast majority of captured enslaved people, who worked in rural and urban areas in part of the African continent.

ATTACK ON THE PORTUGUESE PROCESSION (03/1822)

On March 19, 1822, on St. Joseph's Day, an "exclusively European" procession descended the slope of Conceição da Praia in the Lower City of Salvador. It was attacked with stones thrown by a group of Blacks that "wounded civilians and soldiers." This incident reveals the irritation of part of Salvador's population with the Portuguese community, which controlled the city's trade, even before the beginning of the war for independence in Bahia.

SLAVE MUTINY IN ITAPARICA (05/1822)

This mutiny of enslaved people occurred concomitantly with the struggles for independence in Bahia in May 1822, when 280 slaves of the Boa Vista sugar mill refused the appointment of a new overseer by the owner José Inácio Acciavoli Brandão e Vasconcelos, who was then killed. The Governor of Arms, Portuguese Brigadier General Madeira, ordered the island's militias to restore order: 32 slaves were killed, and 80 were wounded . Thus, the revolt against overseers and owners was much more violent than in the previous century.

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN BAHIA (1821/1823)

The question arises whether a war, even localized, can be considered a "social movement." In the case of the Bahia War of Independence, it started with the conflicts in Salvador between Brazilian and Portuguese troops at the end of 1821. However, it expanded with the participation of plantation masters, sertanejos groups, and even persons freed from slavery.

In June 1822, the City Council of Cachoeira, in Recôncavo, proclaimed loyalty to Prince D. Pedro. In September, the Provisional Government was installed, and in December, the War on Portugal was decreed, which led to the blockade of the port and the siege of the city of Salvador.

The Brazilian troops supported by the plantation owners had a force of more than 10,000 men. The Portuguese troops were expelled on July 2, 1823, along with merchants and their families; a total of about 10 to 12,000 people embarked on 84 ships (of which 13 were warships)[43]. The expulsion of Portuguese merchants impacted the city's trade and economy.

EMPIRE (1822/1823-1889)

The first part of the imperial period, until about 1840, was volatile in the face of the implementation of the new regime and the attempt to centralize power in the Court of Rio de Janeiro, as well as in the face of the abdication of the first emperor Pedro I and with the implementation of the Regency in 1831 in the expectation of the second emperor's coming of age.

THE RISING OF THE PERIQUITOS (PARAKEETS) (1824)

THE uprising of the 3rd Periquito Battalion (due to the color of the uniforms), composed of Browns soldiers, took place from October 25 to December 6, 1824. They demanded the expulsion of the Portuguese and counted on the participation of the 4th Artillery Battalion (the Pitangas), totaling about

600 men. It began with the assassination of the Commander of Arms, Felisberto Gomes Caldeira, and the occupation of São Pedro fort. The 1st and 2nd battalions, formed by white troops, retreated to Abrantes on the north coast and received the support of plantation owners. These troops entered Salvador, and the movement was controlled. The rebel troops were sent to fight the Confederation of Ecuador in Pernambuco. A rebel officer was hanged, and the emperor disbanded the battalion . The existence of battalions segregated by their members' color is noteworthy, even after independence. [44]

QUILOMBOS DURING THE EMPIRE (1826)

The continuity of slavery in the Empire resulted in new quilombos around the urban area, although they were not necessarily large. In 1826, two quilombos were attacked in Cajazeiras and Cabula (Urubu) in Salvador. A total of 50 men and some women were arrested.

The president of the province, Viscount Camamu (1827-1830), then sought to deal with the issue by opening "communications around the city, thinning the extensive existing bush where escaped slaves and evildoers of all kinds took refuge," (B. Amaral in Vasconcelos, 2016, p. 216) which confirms the presence of free people with slaves in the quilombos.

SLAVE REVOLTS DURING THE EMPIRE (1828, 1830)

The continuity of slavery, as well as the arrival of new contingents of enslaved Africans, gave slave revolts continuity: in 1828, there was a new revolt of about 100 enslaved people in Itapuã, Salvador's oceanic coast, and two fishing facilities were burned, but they were defeated in Engomadeira, in the interior of the peninsula, and 20 rebels were killed in combat.

In 1830, 20 slaves that 'hire their own time' (WADE, 1964, p. 48) attacked a weapons store on Rua do Julião, in the Lower City of Salvador, and freed about 100 newly arrived Africans, but were defeated at Soledade, Cidade Alta, with about 50 dead (J. Reis in Vasconcelos, 2016, p. 216).

MOVEMENTS AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE (1831-1833)

In 1835, the most significant African revolt occurred in Salvador, culminating from the previous revolts. The uprising involved about 600 Africans, now with Nago and Muslim leadership. Having been denounced by freedmen, with the information that "[...] some Blacks from Santo Amaro arrived [...] so that the next day with other Blacks from that City they took over the land, killing Whites, Cabras, and Creoles, and also that those Blacks from another band wanted to join them, leaving the Mulattos as their lackeys and slaves."[46] It should be noted that the Africans thought that both Blacks born in Brazil and Whites should be eliminated. Slavery should be maintained and reserved for "Mulattos." indicating the hostility between Africans and Blacks born in Brazil, who they considered unfaithful to Islam.

After several clashes in the Upper City, they were defeated on the second day by the cavalry in the Lower City. According to João Reis, about 70 were killed, and more than 500 were punished. The trials registered 51 freedmen (22 Nagôs, eight Haussas, five Jeje, four Mina, and seven from other ethnic groups, and one Banto, two Mulattos, and two unidentified) out of 109 freedmen. There was a total of 55 slaves (39 Nagôs, two Tapas, six unidentified, in addition to three Bantos, one Creole, and four unidentified) registered out of a total of 154 slaves.

As a result of the rebellion, 350 Africans (179 Nagôs) were shipped to Africa, and another 135 were banished. Seven hundred passports were provided to the free Africans to return to Africa between 1835 and 1836 (REIS, 2003).

THE "CEMITERADA" (1833)

Also in 1833, the "Cemeterada" occurred, a movement led by the Third Orders and lay brotherhoods, who had controlled burials in the city's churches until then. The movement resulted in the destruction of the first cemetery of Campo Santo in Salvador, which belonged to Santa Casa da Misericórdia, which was rebuilt the following year (A. Damazio and J. Reis in Vasconcelos, 2016, p. 204).

MALÊS UPRISING (FREEDMEN AND SLAVES, 1835)

The Sabinada, led by Doctor Francisco Sabino Álvares da Rocha Vieira, occurred between 1837 and 1838; it was one of the separatist revolts carried out during the regency period, especially given the questioning of the centralization of power (and taxes) in the Court of Rio de Janeiro.

Despite being a revolt like others in the same period , such as the Guerra dos Farrapos (1835-1845) and Cabanagem (1835-1836), it was very serious because of the proclamation of Bahia as an independent state "until the age of majority at eighteen of His Majesty."

The rebels took the Fort of São Pedro and counted on a force of 3,520 soldiers. The loyalist troops surrounded the city with contingents of the National Guard, gathering about 4,000 to 5,000 men and supported by troops from Pernambuco. The rebellion resulted in the deaths of 1,598 rebels and 594 loyalist soldiers and the arrest of 2,298 people (780 on a prison ship). Sixty-seven houses, shops, and granaries were set ablaze in the Lower City (TAVARES, 2001, p. 262-267).

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STRIKE OF SLAVES AND FREEDMEN "GANHADORES" IN SALVADOR (1857)

In 1857, freedmen and slaves that 'hire their own time' strike paralyzed the port of Salvador. The recent book by the Bahian historian João José Reis Ganhadores: a greve negra de 1857 na Bahia (Ganhadores: the Black strike of 1857 in Bahia) was dedicated to this exceptional event: a 10-day strike, which paralyzed the city, carried out by African slaves and freedmen known as "ganhadores," who worked as chair bearers in the city. They "protested against the obligation to register with the City Council, the payment of a professional tax and a series of police control measures that they disliked,"(REIS, 2019, p. 47) such as using a plaque around their necks. The movement raised 224 freedmen, and 773 slaves registered as "ganhadores" in Salvador during the strike (REIS, 2019, p. 218-219). The movement managed to overturn the registration fee and modify the bail terms required of the freedmen, but the plaque remained mandatory, although distributed free of charge by the Chamber REIS, 2019, p. 214).

REVOLT IN THE CONVENT OF MERCY AND THE "BONELESS MEAT, PITTED MANIOC FLOUR" MUTINY (1858)

The revolt of the orphans of the Misericórdia Convent in 1858 was against the strict treatment by the French nuns and was supported by the students.

At the same time, a conflict arose between the Presidency of the Province and the Chamber because of the reduction in the points of sale of manioc flour. The result was the suspension of all councilors for 160 days.

Next came the population's demonstration in the city center against the shortage of first necessities, such as meat and manioc flour. The Town Hall was invaded, and the Government Palace was stoned. Police troops and cavalry were used, and the mutiny was dispersed in what became known

as the "Slippers Revolution" because of the slippers that remained in the city's central area (AGUIAR, 1985, p. 61-73).

THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT (1869-1875)

This movement was national and populist; among its foremost leaders was Luís Gama, born in Salvador and sold by his father as a slave, who operated in the abolitionist movements in São Paulo, and André Rebouças, son of a senator, born in Cachoeira, and active in Rio de Janeiro. In Salvador, the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro was founded in 1869, followed by six more abolitionist associations in 1875.

RIOT OF 1878: SHORTAGE OF MANIOC FLOUR AND ANOTHER "MATA MAROTO"

The continued export of manioc flour to other provinces resulted in product shortages and rising prices in Salvador. In June 1878, manioc flour deposits were attacked, and shops were stoned to the cries of "Mata maroto" against the Portuguese traders, requiring the intervention of the cavalry. This mutiny occurred in a political context of discussions about state intervention or the liberalization of the economy (AGUIAR, 1985, p. 135-153).

ATTACKS ON REPUBLICANS (1889)

The republican leader Silva Jardim was in Salvador in June 1889. There was a confrontation, and the Republicans were attacked with sticks and stones by "salaried rioters, slaughterers from the Retiro slaughterhouse, whale cutters from Itapuã and Itaparica, dock porters, [...] vagabonds and unemployed." The result was the stoning of the School of Medicine (MATOS, 1978, p. 172), which indicates late support for the Monarchy in Salvador, subsequently overthrown by the military coup of November 15.

REPÚBLICA (1889-2023)

CANUDOS REBELLION (1896-1897)

In 1897 and 1898, there was a popular and religious rebellion in the Canudos sertão in the interior of Bahia, led by Antônio Vicente Mendes Maciel, known as Antônio Conselheiro. The rebellion was only defeated after five expeditions sent by the Bahian police and the Brazilian army, and even cannon fire was used against the village. Ultimately, they resulted in the death of about 5,000 people, undoubtedly one of the largest massacres in Brazil (TAVARES, 2001, p. 307-312).

TRAM RIOTS IN 1909 AND 1930

After the first popular movement that destroyed 10 trams belonging to Bahia Tramway Light and Power in 1909, there was another significant destruction of trams in 1930 because of the fare increases after the Companhia Circular's monopoly was established that same year, which resulted in the burning of 84 trams, the depredation of the company's workshops and garages and the conflagration of a shed in the Roma district, with losses of about 20,000 contos de réis.

WORKERS' STRIKES (1918-1927)

Coinciding with the impacts of the Russian Revolution of 1917, 10 workers' strikes occurred, primarily by teachers, in 1918. In 1919, strikes involved urban transport, textile factories, and others, resulting in a general strike, followed by 16 more strikes in 1920. A railway strike finally occurred in Bahia in 1927 (TAVARES, 2001, p. 335-338).

LAND INVASIONS/OCCUPATIONS SINCE THE 1940S

In 1947, the first invasion of urban land, known as Corta Braço, occurred in the neighborhood of Pero Vaz. Other significant invasions were Alagados, which began in 1948 with the invasion of Vila Ruy Barbosa and the construction of huts on stilts on precarious landfills, and Northeast Amaralina in the 1950s.

In the 1960s, there were 10 invasions, three of which were eradicated. From 1970 to 1977, there were 12 more invasions, especially Nova Alagados, in 1971, and three were also removed. In the 1980s, there were many invasions (37), three of which were eliminated.

Prominent in 1982 was the great invasion of the Malvinas by 2,500 families occupying highly valued land along Paralela Avenue, which was the main link to the airport. One thousand eight hundred eighty-five families were transferred to Coutos in the city's northern suburbs, but a new occupation occurred in 1987. Later, when consolidated, it became known as Bairro da Paz, and had 4,000 housing units in 1991 (SOUZA, 1988, p. 199).

In 1996, Ângela Gordilho Souza surveyed a total of 357 favelas in Salvador, with around 590,000 inhabitants, in 118,000 housing units, in an area of 1,473 hectares, 61% of which were public areas (SOUZA, 1988, p. 189).

Recent data from MapBiomas, coordinated by geographer Julio Cesar Predassoli, analyzed satellite images in 1985 and 2021, reporting that 4,793 hectares were occupied by favelas, corresponding to 40% of the urbanized area of Salvador (!)[48] .

DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP (1964-1985)

The demonstrations against the dictatorship were a national movement. The most important occurred in Rio de Janeiro, such as the Hundred Thousand March in 1968 and in São Paulo. Nevertheless, Salvador stands out for holding the 31st National Union of Students - UNE Congress in 1979.

Also noteworthy, at the national level, is the "Diretas Já" campaign, aimed at resuming direct elections in 1984, frustrated by the vote in the National Congress.

BUS RIOTS IN SALVADOR (1981)

A 60% increase in bus fares during the administration of Mayor Mário Kértesz in 1981. According to an interview published on the internet, former deputy Haroldo Lima reported that 500 buses were destroyed in 14 days, which seems excessive[49].

MST: LAND OCCUPATIONS IN THE INTERIOR OF BAHIA

The Landless Movement – MTS, founded in 1984, had agrarian reform as its foremost objective. It is also a national and eminently rural movement. Given its size, with the largest rural population and the concentration of large properties, Bahia State is very relevant. According to information from the movement on the Internet: the MST has more than 218 camps and 156 settlements, with more than 35,000 families camping in 115 municipalities in Bahia[50].

THE "BUZU" UPRISING (2003)

The "Buzu" (as buses are popularly called in Salvador) revolt occurred between August and September 2003. It was led by students and blocked several avenues in the city for three weeks, with protests against the increase in bus fares from 1.30 to 1.50 reais. The movement resulted in the freezing of ticket prices for a year and was later told in the film "A Revolta do Buzu."

The movement also inspired the "Revolta da Catraca" in Florianópolis. Both were considered predecessors of the 2013 June Protest, with the national scope of "autonomist character, a demand agenda and the profile of the protesters."[51]

OCCUPATIONS OF BUILDINGS IN SALVADOR

The leading national movement that occupies empty buildings, especially in city centers, is the Homeless Workers Movement – MTST, although there are other movements.

There are 400 to 500 abandoned buildings in Salvador, mainly in the city center. The most prominent case was the occupation by 200 families in 2021 of the old building of the Bahia Water and Sanitation Company – Embasa. The building, at the beginning of Sete de Setembro Avenue, was named "Ocupação Carlos Marighella" (Carlos Marighella Occupation). The occupation was organized by the Movement of Struggle in Neighborhoods, Villages, and Favelas (MLB)[52]. Four properties maintained by the MTST were also registered: two in the Comércio neighborhood and two in Jiquitaia and Calçada, all in Cidade Baixa[53]. Unfinished buildings, such as Atlantic Beach, in the Stiep neighborhood near the Atlantic seafront, were also occupied by 72 families, also by the MTST. Another occupation was of a condominium started in 2008 in the neighborhood of Trobogy, in the peninsula's interior, by the National Movement of Struggle for Housing, with 200 residents[54].

CONCLUSION

From the literature analysed, Castells' 1983 book is notable for its historical aspect. It analyzes the Communities of Castile (1520), even before the city of Salvador (1549) was founded, reinforcing the prolonged existence of social movements. From the beginning of the twentieth century, the social movements in Salvador also took place in other cities, especially in Brazil.

In the long term, the series of uprisings, riots, strikes, destructions, and invasions/occupations of rural and urban land and buildings show that the movements, especially popular, have endured throughout the history of Salvador and Bahia. We can conclude that, despite the impacts of all these social movements, Soteropolitan (and Bahian) society remains one of the most unequal in Brazil, the primary cause of which is the long period of slavery and, above all, the abandonment of former slaves and their descendants by the Republican State and society after Abolition in 1888, who only recently received reparatory measures.

NOTES

1- CASTELLS, 1972a, p. 454-456. "Popular justice" acted against alcoholism and could even carry out expulsions of camp residents.

2- CASTELLS, 1972b, p. 73. The importance of ecological issues in the United States more than 50 years ago should be highlighted.

3- CASTELLS, 2019, p. 119-120. Chapter 4 deals with the Feminist Movement and the lesbian and gay liberation movements.

4- MOISÉS; MARTINEZ-ALIER, 1976, p. 15. In São Paulo, there were riots in 1947, and in 1959, there was the depredation of boats that made the Rio-Niterói crossing (p. 16).

5- In the "Bibliography consulted," the sociologist records several Brazilian authors not highlighted as foreigners, including two Latin Americans Laclau and Gutiérrez.

6- JACOBI, 1990, p. 10. The author defended his thesis Políticas Públicas de Saneamento Básico e Saúde e Reinvindicações Sociais no Município de São Paulo, 1974-1984 (Public Policies of Basic Sanitation and Health and Social Claims in the Municipality of São Paulo, 1974-1984, at FFLCH-USP, in 1985 (p. 21).

7- In the face of the slum dwellers' resistance, Carlos Lacerda, the governor at the time, declared, "if the residents preferred to live in the mud, they would be treated like pigs" (!) P. 34

8- SANTOS, 1981, p. 40. This information contrasts with the predominance of women as heads of households found in studies on popular housing in Salvador.

9- Resistance supported by 50 priests (p. 34).

10- Companhia de Desenvolvimento de Comunidades (Community Development Company),

created in 1968 by the State of Guanabara (p. 56).

11- An American institution interested in evaluating self-build methods (p. 103).

12- The residents of the lower part of the favela were not included in the works and the construction of 15 houses.

13- Built by the slum dwellers and lived in by 47 families (p. 134).

14- There were about 30 shacks whose residents were described as "marginal and stoners" (p. 134), as well as "troublemakers" by the priest (p. 137).

15- Area initially occupied by 20 poor families who, at the time of the fire, were unable to live in the building (p. 132).

16- In a part of the neighborhood being evicted, 19 cooperative buildings were built, with 500 apartments (p. 162).

17- Movement started in 1967 with a meeting with about 1,000 residents (p. 160).

18- In 1970, the Catumbi Residents' Assistance and Guidance Association was founded, with 1,500 heads of families from a total of 2,900 resident families (p. 163).

19- The newspaper O Catumbi, an organ of the Association, played a vital role, with 51 issues published between 1971 and 1975 (p. 165).

20- The Association obtained the registration of a Cooperative of the Residents' Association from BNH, in the area called Ferro de Engomar, granted by the state government.

21- SANTOS, 1981, p. 194. Issue 44 of the newspaper's headline was "Melancholic End – End of a Government that only Prometheus and Fulfilled Nothing" (p. 182). The government was that of Chagas Freitas.

22- Geography is not mentioned in studies in academic areas (p. 10). Only a few geographers were cited in the references, such as Manuel C. Andrade, Bernardo M. Fernandes, and David Harvey, but J. Borzachiello da Silva, Ariovaldo U. Oliveira, and Marcelo L. Souza (!) are absent, among others.

23- The chapters: (I) The classical theories on collective actions; (II) Contemporary North American theories of collective action and social movements; and (III) Theories on social movements in the era of globalization: political mobilization.

24- The chapters: (IV) The paradigm of the new social movements and (V) The Marxist paradigm in the analysis of social movements.

25- The chapters: (VI) Characteristics and specificities of Latin American movements; (VII) A theoretical-methodological proposal for the analysis of social movements in Latin America; and (VIII) Social movements in Brazil in the era of participation: 1978-1989.

26- GOHN, 2014, p. 251. In total, the conceptualization has 33 lines.

27- Note the lack of revision in a reference text on the subject with the registration of authors known as "Raquel Rolinik" (p. 276); "Guidens" (p. 343); "BORDIEU" (p. 362)

28- The book was presented by the Archbishop of Fortaleza, D. Aloísio Card. Lorscheider (1992, p. 5-6).

29- SILVA, 1992, p. 106. From PLANDEB data from 1983.

30- SILVA, 1992, p. 169. In the Final Considerations, the author reported on the Pirambú march, which was held in 1962 with the participation of 20,000 people.

31- SILVA, 1992, p. 158. It is interesting to observe, according to the map/figure 10, the "peripheral" neighborhood of Barra do Ceará is located on the western Atlantic edge of the city (p. 55).

32- SOUZA; RODRIGUES, 2002, p. 115-116. The authors highlighted that the activists "even elaborated [...] their own planning and management proposals and tried to implement them, leading to the construction of true 'counter-planning', that is, alternative solutions to official planning."

33- SOUZA, 2006, p. 274-276. Long quotations in English should be highlighted from Castells' (and Pickvance's) texts without translation into Portuguese.

34- SOUZA, 2006, p. 299. The "reification of the urban brings with it an ideological screen that has, over the decades, fed the pulverization of social struggles."

35-   SOUZA, 2009, p. 14. The author highlighted the pioneering theses in Geography, both defended at USP in 1986, that of Mizubuti on the neighborhood associative movement in Niterói and that of José Borzarchiello da Silva on popular movements in Fortaleza (1986) (p. 13 and 25).

36- In fact, we cannot omit the importance of studies of social movements in Agrarian Geography, ranging from Manuel Correia de Andrade's classic A Terra e o Homem no Nordeste, when the author dealt with the Peasant Leagues to the texts of Ariovaldo Umbelino de Oliveira and Bernardo Mançano Fernandes, as well as environmental movements with emphasis on the texts of Carlos Walter Porto-Gonçalves. In the recent internationally disseminated book Brazilian Geography. In Theory and in Streets (2022), the latter three authors made an updated synthesis of their respective perspectives: the first with "The Long March of the Brazilian Peasantry: Socioterritorial Movements, Conflicts and Agrarian Reform" (p. 255-278); "Land and Food: The New Struggles of the Landless Workers Movement (MST)" (p. 279-296) and "A Popular Environmentalism in Defense of Life, Dignity and Territory (An Autobiographical Contribution from an Activist Geographer)" (p. 347-361).

37- RODRIGUES, 2019, p. 220. The author also recalls the contribution of Brazilian geographers on the subject since the 1980s: Satiê Mizubuti, Julia Adão, José Borzzachiello [sic], Carlos Walter Porto Gonçalves, Bernardo Mançano Fernandes, Ariovaldo Umbelino de Oliveira and Marcelo Lopes de Souza (p. 222).

38- HARVEY, 2014, p. 17. In the English original, Harvey maintains both terms in French [precariat and proletariat], 2012, p. xiv.

39- HARVEY et al, 2021; 2015, p. 83. Emir Sader's 1988 book was commented on earlier.

40- VASCONCELOS, 1997. The other shaping agents were the Church, the State, and Economic Agents.

41- It can be highlighted, temporarily, the analysis carried out by Castells (1983) on the Communities of Castile (1520), which preceded the colonization of the Brazilian territory by the Portuguese.

42- This conspiracy has voluminous primary documentation in the Autos da Devassa da Conspiração, dated 1998, with two volumes and 1,272 pages, in addition to books by A. Ruy (1951), K. Q. Mattoso (1969), L. H. D. Tavares (1975) and I. Jancsó (1996).

43- TAVARES, 2001, p. 230-250. Braz do Amaral's book (2005) includes 20 documents on the War of Independence.

44- Manuel Correia de Andrade (1991 and 2004) highlighted the republican revolts in Pernambuco against the monarchy installed in Rio de Janeiro (1817), which had the adhesion of Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará, but defeated with the help of Bahian troops. The Confederation of Ecuador (1824), in favor of the independence of Pernambuco, was also defeated by the troops and the navy of the new Empire.

45- This conspiracy also has voluminous primary documentation in the Devassa do levante dated 1968 and 1992, as well as in the Levante Procedural Papers (1971) and the book by J. Reis (2003).

46- Devassa do levante de escravos ocorrido em Salvador em 1835, 1968, p. 62.

47- Manuel Correia de Andrade, in texts from 1991 and 2004, commented on several movements in Pernambuco: the "Setembrizada" (9/1831), an uprising of soldiers for the delay in salaries, with looting in establishments in Recife; the "Novembrada" (11/1831), with Brazilians demanding the expulsion of the Portuguese; the "Abrilada" (4/1832), bringing together Portuguese and supporters of D. Pedro I, soon won in the neighborhood of Recife, and, above all, the "The War of the Cabanos", revolt in the period from 1832 to 1836 "of poor Whites, Blacks, Mulattos and Indigenous people against the regency government" (1991, p. 59), in Pernambuco and Alagoas, but which continued in the interior of the province until 1849, under the leadership of Vicente de Paula, "the man of humble origin" (2004, p. 110).

47- Manuel Correia de Andrade, in texts from 1991 and 2004, commented on several movements in Pernambuco: the "Setembrizada" (9/1831), an uprising of soldiers for the delay in salaries, with looting in establishments in Recife; the "Novembrada" (11/1831), with Brazilians demanding the expulsion of the Portuguese; the "Abrilada" (4/1832), bringing together Portuguese and supporters of D. Pedro I, soon won in the neighborhood of Recife, and, above all, the "The War of the Cabanos", revolt

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48- BRASIL, Mariana. "Salvador is 40% favela, points out study", Jornal A Tarde, Salvador, 11/05/2022.

49- This movement can be compared to the "riots" analyzed by Moisés and Martinez-Allier in 1974, highlighting the secondary role of the only railroad in Salvador.

50- https://mst.org.br. Accessed on 11/07/2022.

51- WIKIPEDIA: Buzu Uprising. Accessed on 11/07/2022. See the above analysis of Rodrigues' text (2019).

52- FALCÃO, Camila. "Homeless families occupy Embasa's old building on Avenida Sete, in Salvador". http://sociedadeonline.com. Accessed on 11/07/2022.

53- ARRAZ, L.; VIGNÉ, J. "Salvador has worse occupations than the one in São Paulo, but without inspection". Bahia Notícias, 05/03/2018.

54- Metro 1, 11/07/2022.

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Author's Affiliation

Vasconcelos, P.A. - Professor at the Catholic University of Salvador.