

## **Black Cities in Brazil: The Bahia of all saints, orixás, inkices and caboclos**

### **Cidades Negras no Brasil: A Bahia de todos os santos, orixás, inkices e caboclos**

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#### **Abstract**

The interpretation of black cities aims to better understand the reality of black spaces, racial segregation and territory. We assess that the idea of racial segregation is based on categories of social class, gender, ethnicity and race and territory, however, the reality of the Americas, especially Brazilian, must be observed, especially the time-space of colonization, slavery and racism. We used as a theoretical-methodological instrument, first, the statistical data of the IBGE Census of 2010, on the population classified by blacks and whites, and income. Second, for a better design, we dialogue with authors from both fields of ethnic-racial relations and the literature on the city, the urban and the territory. In our considerations, it will be a great challenge for the Americas, Brazil and Bahia, the promotion of public policies for the inscription of anti-racist and democratic cities with equity.

**Keywords:** black cities, racial segregation, public policies, affirmative action.

#### **Resumo**

A interpretação das cidades negras tem como objetivo conhecer melhor a realidade dos espaços negros, da segregação racial e do território. Avaliamos que a ideia de segregação racial está baseada em categorias de classe social, gênero, etnia e raça e território, porém, a realidade das Américas, especialmente brasileira, deve ser

observada, sobretudo o tempo-espaço da colonização, do escravismo e do racismo. Utilizamos como instrumento teórico-metodológico, primeiro, os dados estatísticos do Censo do IBGE de 2010 sobre a população classificada por negros e brancos, e o rendimento. Segundo, para melhor delineamento, dialogamos com autores de ambos os campos das relações étnico-raciais e a literatura sobre a cidade, o urbano e o território. Em nossas considerações será um grande desafio para as Américas, o Brasil e a Bahia, a promoção de políticas públicas para a inscrição de cidades antirracistas e democráticas com equidade.

**Palavras-chave:** cidades negras, segregação racial, políticas públicas, ação afirmativa.

## **Introduction**

The next demographic census of the IBGE, 2022, may provide us with knowledge of the socioeconomic, political, geographical, ethnic-racial, religious reality, especially the context of the black population in the cities of the country.

There are 5,570 counties, cities that were founded over the course of 520 years, especially those that were built during slavery, colonization and post-abolition, based on the black workforce in the material and subjective production of spaces, territories and landscapes in Brazil.

Today, the debate and the production of knowledge about black cities for teaching, research, extension and public policies for the exercise of the right to the city is central; the theoretical-methodological production is important for the training of professionals in the areas of architecture and urbanism, law, geography, history, social sciences, health sciences, in short, interdisciplinarity (NASCIMENTO, 1977; OLIVEIRA, 2020).

What are the characteristics to delineate, materially and subjectively, the black cities in the Brazilian reality?

The reading and interpretation of black cities will make it possible to know, on the one hand, that racial segregation comprises structures that are socioeconomic and ethnic-racial. This context is based on the foundations of

colonization, slavery, local power and racism. On the other hand, even in the face of material and subjective separation, the black cities were built with the material and subjective capital of enslaved Africans and Afro-Brazilians.

In Brazil and in the cities of the Americas, the anti-blackness policy prevails, especially in the Brazilian and North American realities, formally and informally, black populations live segregation, racism and inequalities (VARGAS, 2016; OLIVEIRA, 2016).

In the context of the Americas, especially Brazil and the United States, the proposals to combat racism bring the picture of diversity and the rupture of the structures that maintain the white hierarchy on all fronts, especially material and subjective privileges.

The organization of the text is structured in three stages: in the first, in a theoretical-methodological way, we delineate the conception of black cities, as a place and territory of construction of citizenship; subsequently, based on socioeconomic data from the IBGE census, 2010, of the state of Bahia, we analyzed, in relative and absolute data, the black cities and the income between blacks and whites; in the third stage, the final considerations and the debate on black cities, which demarcates a movement to overcome the current scenario.

During colonization and slavery, approximately four centuries, cities, towns and villages were built materially and subjectively by the enslaved African population and the Afro-Brazilians.

In the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the national reality named different functions and characteristics for Brazilian cities: the cities of capital, commerce, the financial, port, agricultural, university, coastal, immigrants, ethnic-racial base of Italian, German, Japanese origin, among others, but did not focus on black cities, neighborhoods and their territories, from the theoretical-methodological point of view and their design.

The land law of 1850 and the anti-blackness policies, both, in half a millennium, prevented black cities from inscribed on the floor of the spaces the right to citizenship (COSTA, 2008; OLIVEIRA, 2016).

In Brazilian society, the law prevents equality between whites and blacks from being formally established. In the last century, the myth of equality was propagated, however, in the reality of the cities, on the one hand, in the spaces and territories, the black population prevails on the margins of the urban and the rural and, on the other hand, in the hierarchy of power, the white population predominates.

In the United States and South Africa, the legislation was objective regarding the separation, delimitation and apartheid of the black population in the spaces of cities and society as a whole.

In Brazilian society, the absence of apartheid laws and official segregation drew the informality of racial segregation. This scenario hindered the organization and struggle of black social movements in the face of segregation and the strengthening of black cities (OLIVEIRA, 2016). Black cities, in the national reality, must be interpreted beyond the demographic picture. They must be observed from the black bodies that move and transform the landscapes of the social and cultural scenarios, in particular, of their subjective, mental and civilizational basis.

The looks and scenarios on the black city can be interpreted by the near and the distant. The literature on urban space and ethnic-racial relations, we have important considerations about cities, from small, medium and large cities.

In the years of 1935, with the foundation of the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Letters of the University of São Paulo, among the numerous professors from abroad who came invited to the formation of the faculty, the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Straus, with his ethnographic method, described the black cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, particularly, the spaces and territories left on the margins for the black mass.

In Bahia, among the numerous researchers he received in the 1940s were Ruth Landes, Donald Pierson, E. Franklin Frazier, Melville J. Herskovits and the French Roger Bastide and Pierre Verger, the favorite laboratory for studies on the African diaspora in the Americas, from where the concept of the Black Atlantic would emerge decades later (VATIN, 2018).

The city of Salvador was observed by different eyes, but it was with Lorenzo Turner that the anthropologist and researcher Xavier Vatin (2018), rediscovered the “Afro-Atlantic Memories”; is a rich collection of written and oral documents, such as songs, prayers and photographs of the people of Salvador and the Recôncavo region, which were kept in the Archives of Traditional Music of Indiana University, in Bloomington, USA, collected by Turner in the years 1940-41.

In the observations of Lorenzo Turner, the black city of Salvador in the 1940s consisted of the following landscape:

Almost everyone here is a person of color. It's a very interesting place, the oldest city in South America, older than any city in North America. The African material is very rich. There are some blacks who were brought from Africa as slaves and still speak their native languages (TURNER, 2014, p. 19).

The references brought by Vatin and Turner, allow us to constitute that black cities comprise historical bases, oral information that are passed from generation to generation and gather inscriptions of the metamorphoses between territory and social identity, which act and compose the floor of the black *polis* in Brazil and the Americas.

The African-American researcher Henry Louis Gates Junior (2014), wrote an important work about Africans and their descendants, entitled “The Negro in Latin America”. The author studies the African diaspora in the Americas; Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Chile and Cuba.

About the Salvador of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, Gates Junior, has the following impressions:

My God, I'm back in Africa! I mean it. Wherever I looked, I saw Brazilians with Africa stamped on their faces and, with the same intensity, on their culture. Across the street, I saw a woman in a turban like the one I had seen a few years earlier in Nigeria. Due to the long history of cultural exchange between Bahia and West Africa, dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, cloths and other cultural objects from this region had come along with the slaves (GATES JUNIOR, 2014, p.19).

The look of an African American (foreigner) on black cities in Brazil, presents us with a scenario that the theme did not obtain centrality in the literature on urbanism and cities; the ideas are outside the black *polis* and

the black *polis* are outside the ideas that are unique to the urban planning of the cool city (ROLNIK, 1997; MARICATO, 2002).

In the impressions of Gates Junior, black cities have references in the black bodies of African survivals, of the diaspora in Brazil and the Americas. The culture of the diaspora was and is responsible for the creation and development of the musical styles jazz, blues, rock, samba, chorinho, salsa, rumba, funk and rap, therefore, everything that the diaspora undertook with the physical, cultural and subjective resistances, is in the cultural basis of black cities.

The first dissertations and theses on the theme, racial segregation, urban space and ethnic-racial relations date from the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. initially, José Carlos Gomes da Silva (1990), in a dissertation work “The suburbanites and the other side of the city: Blacks in São Paulo 1900-1930” focuses on black spaces, territories and territorialities in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Walter Roberto Silvério (1992), studied “Black Territories in Campinas: The Vila Rica case”, observes the city of the interior of São Paulo, in particular, the spaces and territories of the black population in the face of the transformations of rural and urban. In his doctoral work, Silva (1998) carefully maintains his reflections on the city of São Paulo, different from the master's degree, here the author observes the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: “Rap in the city of São Paulo: Music, Ethnicity and Urban Experience”.

The anthropologist Teresinha Bernardo (1993) presents her doctoral thesis on the Italians and their descendants, and the black population. From the collective memory, Bernardo highlights important places, spaces and territories of Italian and black manifestations in the capital of São Paulo, especially in the neighborhoods of Bexiga, Barra Funda, Sé and Sul da Sé.

From the readings of Silva, Silvério and Bernardo we interpret the demarcation of a field of research to think about the “Right to the city” (*Direito à cidade*) and black cities in Brazil.

Oliveira (2002) he noted in his master's thesis “The Presence of the Negro in the City: Memory and Black Territory in the Green House in São Paulo”. The study presents a piece of the city of São Paulo, the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the first three decades of the last century until the end of the twentieth. The

neighborhoods of Barra Funda, Bexiga, Liberdade, Sé and south of the Cathedral were brought and, especially, the Casa Verde, as black territory: the housing in the tenements and basements, the labor force used in the railroad, the exercise of manual workers in construction, the transport of goods, urban cleaning, the functions of drivers, maids and socio-cultural capital.

Lourdes Carril (2006), in “*Quilombo, Favela e Periferia - A longa busca da cidadania*” (Quilombo, Favela and Periphery - The long search for citizenship), portrays the segregation of the black population, especially the protagonism of young blacks in the hip-hop movements, acting in the process of confrontation in the south of São Paulo.

Reinaldo José de Oliveira (2008), in a doctoral work entitled “Urban and Racial Segregation in the city of São Paulo: the peripheries of Brasilândia, Cidade Tiradentes and Jardim Ângela”, deals with a century of blacks in the main metropolis of the country. According to the author, the issue of racial segregation needs to be observed with public policies of ethnic-racial cut; urban planning policies focusing on social and racial inequalities.

Brandão (2004) observes the inequalities and racism in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro, with emphasis on the cities of São Gonçalo and Itaboraí, highlights the socioeconomic differences, such as income, education, gender and race. In this work, the author points out that on the banks of Rio de Janeiro, black cities were constituted by those who were forced to leave their places of origin due to segregation and racism.

The black city of Rio de Janeiro, the theoretical-methodological approach adopted was through geography. Andreino Campos (2007) observes the neighborhoods and spaces that were reserved for the black population from post-abolition until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in particular, the transmutation of the quilombo to the favela.

Denilson Araújo de Oliveira (2011), also from the field of geography, contextualizes the black youth of the hip-hop movement making up the spaces, territories and places in the black city, which is the stage of Afro-Brazilian cultural production and the diaspora around samba, popular music, funk and rap.

Geny Ferreira Guimarães (2015), following the geographical routes of Campos and Araújo, observes the Cais do Valongo, in the area called Little Carioca Africa, port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro. Guimarães highlights in his work the African heritages, racism and the project-process of heritage erasure of the territories, spaces and places of the black population in the history of the city.

Regarding the former capital, Salvador, important works were carried out by Antonia dos Santos Garcia (2006; 2009) in the area of urban planning, geography and sociology, especially the gender cut.

It's important to highlight that Salvador, among the main capitals of Brazilian cities, is the black *polis*, in relative data (79%). Salvador is the oldest Afro-Brazilian and diasporic territory on the national scene and in all of Latin America (GARCIA, 2009; GATES JR, 2014).

The Afro-Brazilian social, cultural and religious universe, in five centuries, was shaping the black city with the cults of the orixás, the religious festivals, the black brotherhoods and the constant confrontation of the revolts, of the rural and urban quilombos, who were established in the search for the territories of citizenship (SANTOS, 1993).

Teacher Jocélio Teles dos Santos (2018) coordinated the mapping of Candomblé and Umbanda terreiros in the city of Salvador in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This work includes the survey of approximately 1,400 houses and terreiros of Candomblé and Umbanda. According to the information of the cartography, the black city of all the saints, orixás, inkices and caboclos, are in greater proportion, from the Cidade Baixa towards the railway suburb and on the outskirts of the city.

The theoretical-methodological context on black cities in Brazil comprises: different geographical realities that were constituted according to the production of colonization, slavery and capitalism in Brazilian society; the insubordination of rural and urban quilombos; is closely related to the subjective, cultural, mental and civilizational aspects of African and Afro-Brazilian ethnicities and cultures; African, Afro-Brazilian and diasporic



ancestry in the cities; of the numerous political, identity and territorial productions around rights and differences in urban and rural spaces.

## 1 Black Cities in Bahia

Teacher Milton Santos doctoral thesis was about the city of Salvador, defended in 1959 (2008). According to Santos, the former federal capital, founded in 1549, for three centuries was the main productive and reproductive center of the colonial slave economy, which supplied the world, especially Europe.

In Latin America, Salvador is among the oldest *polis*, in the past of colonization, it was the most prestigious economic and political center, due to the production of sugarcane, sugar, tobacco, gold, diamonds, cocoa and the diversity of foodstuffs. These products were concentrated in the Recôncavo Region, Sertão, Chapada and the Southwest, which were transported to the port of Salvador and, later, followed towards the centers of mercantilism and national and international capitalism.

In “The Center of the City of Salvador”, Milton Santos analyzes the formation, functions and urban structure of the main city of Brazil and Latin America, at the time of colonization, slavery and urban and industrial transformations that moved to the Southwest of the country, mainly to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The center of the city of Salvador was the region of the Cidade Alta, where the seat of economic, social and political powers was concentrated.

Gradually, Salvador, as a center producing colonization, continued to grow in its population and in the framework of the city, with the foundation of churches, mansions, housing to house enslaved labor and in the vicinity, there was an interrelationship with the rural of sites and farms. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the city approached eight thousand inhabitants, later, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it reached 40 thousand inhabitants, especially most corresponded to the black population formed by enslaved Africans, freedmen and liners, who worked on all fronts: in the activities of the big house, the

slave quarters and the sobrados; supplying the city centre with the transport of food, water and all kinds of local and global trade; the same workforce that built the houses, the churches, the public buildings and the traffic routes; from the production of the economy that developed in the Recôncavo to Porto, therefore, it was the labor that built the city and the economy of the country and Latin America. In 1890 it corresponded to 174 thousand and in 1900 it reached 206 thousand inhabitants. From 1920 to 1940, Salvador approached 550,000 inhabitants (SANTOS, 2008).

In the black cities of Brazil, slavery and colonization did not have an easy life. In all cities during the slave domination, Africans and Afro-Brazilians promoted revolts, struggles, confrontations and the search for freedom. In Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, São Paulo, in all regions, the quilombos and the black rebellions were imposed, given the *República dos Palmares* (of 1695), the Quilombos in the Recôncavo region of Bahia, the *Revolta dos Malês*, in 1835, and the *Revolta dos Búzios*, in 1798.

Independence and the search for freedom were constituted through black bodies, is what we can see with the revolts and black demonstrations in Salvador and the Recôncavo of Bahia. The *Revolta dos Malês* and the Búzios, both, led by Africans and Afro-Brazilians who regimented from the cities of Santo Amaro, Cachoeira and Salvador, black corporations to overthrow the forces and the system of colonization that lasted 388 years (REIS, 2003).

According to João José Reis (2003), the *Revolta dos Malês*, occurred in 1835, it almost did not materialize with the overthrow of colonization and its system of socioeconomic, physical and cultural exploitation. The Africans and their descendants, from different ethnic groups, took the center of the city of Salvador, and traveled towards the meeting of the Portuguese forces to put an end to the domination. For Reis, the non-realization of the black-African insurrection is due to several factors, among them, the colonization was more ruthless because it had weapons and the time-space of domination, in a physical and subjective way, prevented the revolt from reaching the largest number of insurgents in the face of the Lusitanian power (REIS, 2003).

The black cities, of the past and of the present moment, bring the memories of the revolts and the confrontations, characterized today with the geography of the rural and urban quilombos, of the terreiros of candomblé and umbanda, of the territories and spaces that black men and women persist in the construction of democratic and anti-racist cities.

Reis (2003) presents part of the outcome and the actions taken to prevent future manifestations of revolt and confrontation. The outcome of the *Revolta dos Malês* was no different, the floor of the main capital of Brazil was stained with indigenous, African and their descendants' blood. In our present time, homicides and violence have as their profile the bodies of blacks, mostly poor and young.

The control, domination and punishment imposed on black bodies in the *Revolta dos Malês* and Búzios, throughout the colonization and slavery, reflect in our current situation in the movement of the cities, and in the black cities is no different; control and punishment are frequent for black men and women, given the genocide of the black population, especially the youth. In 2015, in the capital of *Soteropolitana*, the Cabula Massacre (*Chacina do Cabula*) took place, which resulted in the death of 12 young people and adolescents, directly eliminated by the military policy, that is, the Brazilian State.

Achille Mbembe (2020) and Jaime do Amparo Alves (2011), bring important reflections to the picture of genocide and violence that prevails in the spaces and territories of the black majority. According to the authors, necropolitics prevails in the territories where colonization, slavery and racism have configured as a practice of domination and control of the tricks of the State. The politics of death, in the course of the last century and in the present moment, from the material and subjective points of view, in the face of dominated and subjugated bodies, determines who will live and who will die in the spaces of the cities of the capital and racism to the Brazilian.

In the last three Demographic Census, Brazilian society has slowly shown demographic growth: in 1991, the country totaled 146,815,816 inhabitants; in 2000, the count reached 169,872,856; At the last count, in 2010, the population reached 190,755,749 individuals. The black population

in the last surveys had the same population reflex: in 1991, blacks corresponded to 57.45%, later, in 2000, 44.66% and, in 2010, 50.94%.

The demographic growth of the black population, we believe is due to the social and political role of black social movements and the organization of black women in the history of denunciation of the myth of racial democracy and the propositions of public policies to combat racism and sexism.

Among the 26 units of the federation and the federal capital, it's the Northeast region of the country that has the largest black population, in relative data. In absolute data, the southeast region and, mainly, the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, which bring together the largest black population in the country among the regions and cities.

In the Northeast region there are nine federated units, in relative and absolute numbers. The black population is present in greater numbers in all the federated units of the Northeast: in Maranhão, blacks are 76.48%; Piauí, corresponds to 73.54%; Ceará, 66.89%; Rio Grande do Norte, 57.98%; Paraíba, 58.56%; Pernambuco, 62.07%; Alagoas, 67.14%; Sergipe, 70.70% and Bahia, 76.42%. First, the State of Maranhão and then Bahia, in relative data are the ones that have the largest black population in the country, but it's Bahia that gathers, in absolute data, the largest black population in the Northeast region.

Among the 26 regional capitals and the federal capital, it's the city of Salvador, in relative data that is the black *polis* of greater demographic composition, behind only São Luiz. Its majority black population is due to approximately four centuries of colonization, slavery and racism under white domination. According to Luiz Viana Filho (2008), the black population of Bahia, and specifically of Salvador, is associated with the different phases of economic colonization: initially, *Pau-Brasil*, sugarcane, sugar, tobacco, gold, cocoa and other genera.

After abolition and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Bahia and its capital lost all power. With independence, socioeconomic power shifted to the Southeast region, in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Globalization is located in the capital of São Paulo, especially in the Southwest region, where the built environment, universities and centers of

scientific production, local and international financial capital and the large companies of global capitalism are concentrated (SANTOS, 2002).

In the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the current moment, Bahia is a territory of black majority. According to the IBGE demographic census of 2010, the state has 79% of the black population, totaling 417 municipalities. We will see below, that the demographic majority is not represented at the top of the socioeconomic and political hierarchy.

The heritage of half a millennium of slavery, colonization and racism keeps the black cities of Bahia under the rule of a white minority, with a coronelist, racist and patriarchal base. When analyzing the historical and contemporary context of Bahia and its capital, we consider that the context of racial segregation comprises regional differences in the Brazilian territory. One of the differences is that racial segregation imposes on the black population, in Bahia territory, the socioeconomic and political condition of being the basis of development; opportunities and rights to social capital impede black mobility in cities; Space and territories are different between blacks and whites.

According to table 1, the one hundred largest black cities in Bahia (%), are located in the following directions: a. in the metropolitan region of Salvador; b. in the territory Portal do Sertão; c. in the territory of the Recôncavo; d. in the Territory of *Identidades do Baixo Sul* and in all regions of the state.

According to table 1, black participation in the one hundred largest cities corresponds to 92% to 82% of the population. The scenario of black cities presents us, on the one hand, the black territory and, on the other hand, racial segregation. Racial segregation is present in cities, due to the past and the accumulation of inequalities of our present. The segregation in the reality of the Brazilian cities and the state of Bahia is structural.

Racial segregation is inscribed in urban and rural territories. In the urban, according to the productions of Garcia (2009), Campos (2007), Carril (2006) and Silva (2006), the heritage of slavery and the last 134 years, informally, separated whites and blacks: they signed up with the inequalities

of social class, gender and ethnicity and race; Invisibility favored the spaces and territories of the population that benefited from segregation, in general, the white population.

In rural and urban, the Land Law of 1850 was one of the first characteristics that made up the segregation of the black population. In the rural area, the black population is located in the territories with the lowest socioeconomic reach and the smallest hectare.

According to the 2017 Agro Census, among small producers, those who manage establishments with a total area of up to one hectare, 57.9% are brown and 25.5% white, 13.6% black, 8.3% indigenous and 1.8% yellow. Blacks represent 71.5% of farmers with up to 1 hectare. In agricultural establishments of 1,000 to 10,000 hectares, three out of four owners are white, 74.7%, more than triple the number of black and brown owners, 23.8%. In the establishments of more than 10,000 hectares, 79% were white, against only 18.9% of blacks.

In the black cities of the rural universe, the black population is in greater proportion in the areas limited to one hectare. In the areas of 1,000 to 10,000 hectares and above 10,000 hectares, the white population is found in greater proportion.

The segregation of the black population happens in urban and rural spaces, and the reflections need to be observed in the spaces of housing, built environment, schooling, income and labor market.

According to the data in Table 1, of the one hundred black cities (%), in only eight, the incomes of the black population are higher than those of the white population; in the cities of Pedrão, Conceição de Feira, Água Fria, Teodoro Sampaio, Mansidão, Malhada Lamarão and Marcilínio Souza. The difference is minimal, from ten to one hundred and fifty reais, and are the lowest yields. In the ninety-two black cities, the reverse occurs, the white population receives higher incomes.

The social and political activism of Abdias do Nascimento (1978), in the years 1970-1980, already brought the difference between blacks and whites.

At the time, according to Nascimento, the gains of the black population represented 30% to 70% of the gains of the white labor force.

In reading and interpreting the incomes of the years 2000 and 2010 of the IBGE Census, Oliveira (2016) cites the above ideas of Nascimento (1978, p. 78) and reiterates the socioeconomic distance of 30% to 70% of the income of the black workforce in relation to the income of the white worker in the capital of São Paulo.

In the city of São Gonçalo dos Campos, blacks are 92.47% of the population, receiving on average R\$ 627.00. On the other hand, the white population, which approaches 7% of the local population, receives an average of R\$ 1,877.00. In Mata de São João, the income inequalities are the same: the black workforce receives R\$ 712.00 and the white workforce R\$ 1,965.00, the income difference reaches 36.69%. In Governador Mangabeira, we have the income of R\$ 484.00 for blacks and R\$ 1,877.00 for whites, are 25.78% of the gains of the black population in relation to the gains of the white population.

In the geography of black cities, in general, the average income of the black worker is lower than the earnings of the white population. The income of the black population reaches, 25%, 50%, 60%, 70%, up to 80%, below the gains of the white minority.

The picture of income inequalities between blacks and whites is historical and contemporary, inscribed in Brazil, in the states, capitals, metropolitan regions and in the cities of large, medium and small sizes.

In table 2, below, referring to the one hundred black cities, in absolute data, they are considered as regional and central centers in the hierarchy of socioeconomic, cultural and political power of the state of Bahia and the Northeast region.

Looking at the data below, the income of the white population is higher in all cities. In black cities, in relative and absolute data, the black labor force receives 30% to 70% of the income of the white labor force.

In the local and global territories, it's black women who receive the lowest income, below white and black men and white women. The song by

Elza Soares, “The cheapest meat on the market is black meat”, is rooted, according to the information in the two tables presented, that it’s black women who are at the bottom of the hierarchy of inequalities. They are the ones who are transforming the reality of cities and social movements; in permanent dialogues and actions with the black movement, black women have presented another scenario of the gender condition, from the reflections and actions of black feminism (GARCIA, 2009; CARNEIRO, 2020).

Given the historical and contemporary conditions, the protagonism of black women in society, especially at the intersection of social class, gender, ethnicity and race and territory is essential to guide public policies. This clipping deserves attention, because black women play a leading role in the gender field, problematizing that they live the heritage of colonialism, slavery and the inequalities of capitalism, which is different from the life of white women. Black women demand policies, spaces and epistemologies that support the issue of gender, ethnicity and race and territory (GARCIA, 2009).

**Table 1.** Black population of the one hundred largest cities, in relative data and income between blacks and whites, IBGE, 2010<sup>1</sup>.

County	%N	R\$ NG	R\$ BR
Pedrao	92,83	530,00	382,00
Terra Nova	92,57	575,00	1004,00
São Gonçalo dos Campos	92,47	627,00	2165,00
Antônio Cardoso	92,2	427,00	489,00
São Francisco do Conde	91,87	862,00	906,00
Aramari	91,71	623,00	740,00
Conceição da Feira	91,61	647,00	627,00
Anguera	91,45	537,00	956,00
Irará	91,3	424,00	899,00
Amélia Rodrigues	91,16	643,00	981,00
Salinas da Margarida	90,98	374,00	621,00
Jandaíra	90,83	401,00	677,00
Santanópolis	90,81	443,00	542,00
Governador Mangabeira	90,54	484,00	1877,00
Água Fria	90,06	506,00	494,00
Teodoro Sampaio	89,95	595,00	553,00
Ouriçangas	89,93	486,00	762,00
Itaparica	89,91	767,00	1367,00
Itanagra	89,72	660,00	906,00
Saubara	89,71	404,00	488,00
Jaguaripe	89,62	308,00	1122,00
Conceição do Almeida	89,53	624,00	1275,00
Santo Amaro	89,39	575,00	974,00
Mansidão	89,2	455,00	411,00
Candeias	89,16	875,00	981,00
Conceição do Jacuípe	89,11	690,00	1017,00

<sup>1</sup>The data in the table above correspond to: %N, Relative data of the black population; R\$NG, Average nominal income of the black population; R\$BR, Average nominal income of the white population.



Vera Cruz	88,99	604,00	833,00
Malhada	88,76	485,00	453,00
Maraú	88,39	585,00	1439,00
Coração de Maria	88,35	479,00	1187,00
Una	88,22	583,00	731,00
Taperoá	88,18	416,00	955,00
Lamarão	88,17	445,00	375,00
Andaraí	88,04	547,00	875,00
Cabaceiras do Paraguaçu	88	436,00	729,00
Tanquinho	87,97	529,00	850,00
São Sebastião do Passé	87,75	763,00	1147,00
Barro Preto	87,7	571,00	668,00
Madre de Deus	87,61	1104,00	1197,00
São Félix	87,44	532,00	732,00
Castro Alves	87,12	503,00	780,00
Candeal	87,08	409,00	654,00
Aratuípe	87,04	405,00	557,00
Cachoeira	87,02	612,00	1061,00
Araçás	87	530,00	794,00
Serra Preta	86,72	427,00	565,00
Aurelino Leal	86,69	536,00	572,00
Mata de São João	86,57	721,00	1965,00
Cardeal da Silva	86,48	554,00	846,00
Lençóis	86,46	591,00	1551,00
Muritiba	86,26	657,00	1417,00
Santa Bárbara	86,22	469,00	774,00
Santo Estêvão	86,03	614,00	1221,00
São José da Vitória	86,02	499,00	704,00
Nilo Peçanha	85,94	374,00	532,00
Sapeaçu	85,87	563,00	1022,00
Santa Luzia	85,87	528,00	554,00
Ubatã	85,79	614,00	1065,00
Simões Filho	85,78	817,00	1023,00
Marcionílio Souza	85,64	497,00	470,00
Wagner	85,58	519,00	714,00
Itacaré	85,58	607,00	1320,00
Gongogi	85,52	522,00	656,00

Biritinga	85,36	510,00	614,00
Teolândia	85,32	476,00	627,00
Catu	85,32	972,00	1562,00
Camamu	85,32	480,00	815,00
Entre Rios	85,27	684,00	1135,00
Wenceslau Guimarães	85,01	481,00	569,00
Riachão das Neves	84,92	504,00	814,00
Cruz das Almas	84,8	766,00	1783,00
Baixa Grande	84,56	472,00	516,00
Igrapiúna	84,55	481,00	692,00
Barra do Rocha	84,38	570,00	648,00
Ibirataia	84,29	506,00	738,00
Cairu	84,29	578,00	1004,00
Conde	84,23	519,00	866,00
Nazaré	84,21	557,00	1213,00
Aiquara	84,18	516,00	596,00
Pojuca	84,14	872,00	1056,00
Pedro Alexandre	84,13	346,00	527,00
Caravelas	84,06	626,00	939,00
Belmonte	84,04	554,00	880,00
Nova Redenção	83,91	450,00	481,00
Ibirapitanga	83,8	567,00	717,00
Ubaitaba	83,68	661,00	907,00
Alcobaça	83,68	623,00	972,00
Piraí do Norte	83,62	459,00	579,00
Abaré	83,55	451,00	789,00
Itamaraju	83,36	816,00	1292,00
Caém	83,16	384,00	690,00
Ituberá	82,98	517,00	874,00
Itapitanga	82,94	485,00	521,00
Palmeiras	82,67	531,00	811,00
Quijingue	82,65	471,00	642,00
Itaeté	82,62	486,00	703,00
Jucuruçu	82,6	498,00	519,00
Maragogipe	82,59	424,00	638,00
Arataca	82,57	493,00	578,00
Barra	82,53	447,00	697,00

**Source:** IBGE, Population Census Sample Data, 2010. Banco SIDRA. Data elaboration: The author.

The references of Antonia dos Santos Garcia (2006; 2009) about Salvador and in the same sense, the ideas and actions of black feminism, converge to the same path: feminist and antiracist theories are important means for the production of new paradigms, new epistemologies, practices and ruptures with the process of domination of gender, race and social class.

According to the data in table 2, the black population occupies the social habitat of the largest cities in Bahia. The black cities reserve in their territory the characteristics of the African and Afro-Brazilian social and cultural universes and are the bases of ancestry and contemporaneity that reinforce the black geography in Bahian cities.

Observing the data in tables 1 and 2, black cities are of small, medium and large characteristics. They are located in local, regional, national and global capitalism, such as Salvador, Feira de Santana, Vitória da Conquista, Porto Seguro, Ilhéus, Itabuna, among others.

According to Table 2, in the hundred cities, the income of the white population is, on average, higher than the earnings of the black population. In all the cities of Bahia, in relative and absolute data, the white population obtains the highest incomes: in Ipiaú, the white labor force receives the highest income of the entire state of Bahia, R\$ 3,301.00 and the black labor force receives R\$ 762.00, that is, the black income represents 23% of the gains of the white population; in the capital, Salvador, the average income of whites is R\$ 2,870.00 and the earnings of the black mass correspond to R\$ 1,107.00, which means receiving 40.86% of the earnings of white workers; in the second largest city in the state of Bahia, Feira de Santana, whites receive R\$ 1,785.00 and blacks R\$ 784.00, that means achieving 48.40 percent of the gains of the white minority; in Luís Eduardo Magalhães, the earnings of the white minority correspond to R\$ 2,690.00 and the average income of blacks represents R\$ 925.00, which is equivalent to 34.38% of the earnings of blacks in relation to the income of whites; the second highest income is located in the city of Lauro de Freitas, on one side we have R\$ 3,280.00 and, on the other hand, R\$ 1,137.00, blacks receive 34.66% of the average income of the white population.

In black territories, men and women face the legacy of slavery, colonization, and racism under white domination. The black territory is physical, social, cultural, political, identitarian, religious and ancestral. The territory, from the methodological theoretical point of view is interdisciplinary, constantly time (present, past and future are intertwined) and the space of blacks is transformed, and it's the black subjects who are responsible for the changes, in particular, the struggle is based on the construction of citizenship with equity, equality and differences (OLIVEIRA, 2016, p. 88).

The singer, researcher and Doctor *Honoris Causa*, Mateus Aleluia, a native of Cachoeira, received the title from the Federal University of Recôncavo da Bahia - UFRB (*Universidade Federal do Recôncavo da Bahia - UFRB*), due to all the enterprise developed in favor of the African and Afro-Brazilian culture of the Recôncavo, highlighting, the social and cultural universe of the Candomblé *terreiros*. According to the sung words of Mateus Aleluia, Bahia was bathed in *dendê*.

Mateus Aleluia – Bahia beats the drum<sup>2</sup>

Our feet are invigorated when they step on this ground  
I sing the magic, I dance  
Bahia prosada and versed in *dendê*

Bahia, I am Africa on this side  
Singing, harmony, faith, joy  
Senhor do Bonfim and the Babá Oxalá (...)

The fragment of the above song, sung and versed by Mateus Aleluia, comprises the ideas that represent the black cities in Bahia: ancestry, identities and territory. The Bahia of all the saints, orixás, inkices and caboclos, represents the struggle of black cities, of the workforce in the face of the construction of just, democratic and legal territories for all. It's the historical struggle of classes, gender and ethnicity and race, that marks the black cities in Bahia and Brazil.

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<sup>2</sup>Available in: <https://www.lettras.mus.br/mateus-aleluia/bahia-bate-o-tambor/>. Access in: June 10<sup>th</sup> 2023.

**Table 2.** Survey of the one hundred largest cities in Bahia, by absolute data and income between blacks and whites, 2010.

County	Pop_NG	R\$ NG	R\$ BR
Salvador	2120096	1107,00	2870,00
Feira de Santana	439186	864,00	1785,00
Vitória da Conquista	205589	784,00	1263,00
Camaçari	197581	888,00	1970,00
Itabuna	156902	895,00	1598,00
Juazeiro	144302	817,00	1230,00
Ilhéus	143315	875,00	1639,00
Lauro de Freitas	123614	1137,00	3280,00
Alagoinhas	115186	860,00	1413,00
Jequié	110673	753,00	1136,00
Simões Filho	101255	817,00	1023,00
Barreiras	97877	1003,00	1634,00
Teixeira de Freitas	96903	883,00	1353,00
Porto Seguro	91759	797,00	1469,00
Candeias	74148	875,00	981,00
Valença	72828	579,00	836,00
Eunápolis	71627	879,00	1523,00
Paulo Afonso	71615	993,00	1182,00
Santo Antônio de Jesus	69557	712,00	1428,00
Jacobina	60129	622,00	1005,00
Serrinha	59685	620,00	977,00
Dias d'Ávila	53150	849,00	1425,00
Senhor do Bonfim	52751	628,00	1009,00
Itamaraju	52573	816,00	1292,00
Santo Amaro	51666	575,00	974,00
Cruz das Almas	49700	766,00	1783,00
Campo Formoso	49334	460,00	618,00
Itapetinga	48660	731,00	1184,00
Bom Jesus da Lapa	48209	596,00	1270,00
Guanambi	47899	634,00	1210,00
Itaberaba	47451	710,00	846,00
Ipirá	46614	475,00	705,00
Conceição do Coité	44296	455,00	678,00
Irecê	43914	807,00	1069,00
Catu	43579	972,00	1562,00
Casa Nova	43156	590,00	754,00
Euclides da Cunha	42438	462,00	656,00
Santo Estêvão	41191	614,00	1221,00
Barra	40708	447,00	697,00
Araci	39634	397,00	567,00
Luís Eduardo Magalhães	39562	925,00	2690,00
Jaguaquara	37070	478,00	725,00
São Sebastião do Passé	36988	763,00	1147,00
Xique-Xique	36934	526,00	871,00
Brumado	36821	623,00	866,00
Ipiaú	35948	762,00	3301,00
Maragogipe	35361	424,00	638,00
Mata de São João	34786	721,00	1965,00
Tucano	34066	437,00	1192,00
Entre Rios	33997	684,00	1135,00
Vera Cruz	33429	609,00	833,00
Monte Santo	31937	436,00	438,00
Ribeira do Pombal	31735	500,00	777,00
Poções	30857	566,00	807,00
São Gonçalo dos Campos	30776	627,00	2165,00
Seabra	30754	612,00	626,00
São Francisco do Conde	30484	826,00	906,00
Camamu	30017	480,00	815,00
Sento Sé	29456	491,00	524,00
Nova Viçosa	29292	639,00	1962,00
Itiúba	28857	378,00	421,00
Inhambupe	28857	480,00	867,00
Macaúbas	28848	437,00	698,00
Caetité	28023	633,00	1045,00

Rio Real	27971	502,00	549,00
Cachoeira	27870	612,00	1061,00
Pojuca	27822	872,00	1056,00
Santa Maria da Vitória	27798	610,00	766,00
Mucuri	27782	825,00	2049,00
Jeremoabo	27426	474,00	580,00
Amargosa	27318	528,00	1155,00
Morro do Chapéu	27023	427,00	570,00
Conceição do Jacuípe	26841	690,00	1017,00
Remanso	26546	482,00	636,00
Itapicuru	26204	318,00	380,00
Esplanada	26174	598,00	996,00
Canavieiras	26128	565,00	753,00
Camacan	25622	574,00	1932,00
Santaluz	25425	442,00	551,00
Pilão Arcado	25322	522,00	741,00
Curaçá	25175	465,00	506,00
Irara	25077	424,00	899,00
Muritiba	24928	657,00	1477,00

Cansanção	24907	351,00	694,00
Gandu	24714	632,00	1086,00
Livramento de Nossa Senhora	24704	524,00	738,00
Barra do Choça	24610	455,00	485,00
Riachão do Jacuípe	24410	531,00	591,00
Serra do Ramalho	24007	486,00	626,00
Paratinga	23927	451,00	886,00
Ruy Barbosa	23621	581,00	633,00
Nazaré	22967	557,00	1213,00
Amélia Rodrigues	22963	643,00	1155,00
Quijingue	22505	471,00	642,00
Itabela	22485	878,00	1081,00
Jaguarari	22374	847,00	2126,00
Castro Alves	22136	503,00	780,00
Carinhanha	22107	432,00	468,00
Correntina	22102	636,00	910,00
Ituberá	22066	517,00	874,00

Source: IBGE, Population Census Sample Data, 2010. Banco Sidra.

The saints, orixás, inkices and caboclos are in Salvador, in the Recôncavo, in the Portal do Sertão, in the Sisal Region, in the Baixo Sul. Bahia was bathed in oil palm, historically, the *Revolta dos Malês*, of Búzios, of the ancient and contemporary quilombos of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, comes from the source of African and Afro-Brazilian cultures.

### Final considerations

We seek here to problematize a theme that, historically, was not addressed in the national production on the city and the urban. In the literature on ethnic-racial relations with emphasis on studies on cities, the production is recent, from the last twenty years. Therefore, the development of the text presented issues that need to be developed in the present and in the future soon. Among them, the right to the city, in Brazil and in the Americas, must incorporate the social markers of social class, gender, ethnicity, and race and territory.

In the state of Bahia, according to the reading and interpretation of the data in tables 1 and 2, the confrontation of segregation and inequalities will require federal, state and municipal policies, especially local ones.

For the exercise of anti-racist and democratic cities, the promotion of public policies, focusing on the black population is urgent and necessary for all.

The affirmative action policies implemented in the last twenty years have made important advances, for example, the policy of racial and social quotas in public universities for young blacks, indigenous people, quilombolas and students of public schools, have provided the confrontation of segregation and inequalities. However, the context observed here of the black cities of Bahia should contemplate focused public policies, territorialized/territorial, centered on social class, gender and ethnicity and race.

We found that of the hundred black cities (in absolute and relative data), inequalities and segregation prevent access to the social, cultural, political, educational and scientific capital of the black majority. The promotion of public policies will not be easy, but it will require commitment, social organization, political participation and the production of knowledge to compose actions and reflections of democratic and anti-racist cities.

The Statute of Racial Equality (*Estatuto da Igualdade Racial*) (2011), of federal scope, and Combating Religious Intolerance of the State of Bahia (2014), the Municipal Statutes, and those that are in the process of formalization, will need to respond to the desires of black cities, such as the scenarios of income, schooling, social housing and the necropolitics of bodies (physical and mental).

In the black cities of Bahia, the black population persists in the spiritual and political strength of the saints, orixás, inkices and caboclos in the face of segregation and racism.

The knowledge and practices of black cities, and the knowledge of civil society, among them, the black social movement, of black women and all the diversity, together, can provide the scenario of democratic cities with equity.

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**Recebido em:** 10 de fevereiro de 2023.

**Aceito em:** 17 de julho de 2023.

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OLIVEIRA Reinaldo José de. Black Cities in Brazil: The Bahia of all saints, orixás, inkices and caboclos. *Latitude*, Maceió, v. 17, n. 1, p. 161-185, 2023.