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zum Thema:

**Being Italian in Brazil - cultural maintenance  
after the 1880 - 1920 immigration wave**

vorgelegt von

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## **Abstract**

This work investigates the migration wave that left from Italy and arrived to Brazil between the years 1880 and 1920. It focuses on the migration of the millions of Italian peasants who decided to leave their country because of misery and the dream to be "Signori", to own a piece of land to sustain their families. Moreover, the work analyzes the consequences of the migration on Brazil, and how the Italian identity was shaped at the contact with the Brazilian society. It reflects on the characteristics that formed the idea of the Italian identity in the world and explains in detail how these features evolved and transformed in the new country. Finally, it analyzes the results of a questionnaire that the author created to have more information about the migration and the present integration of descendants of Italians in Brazil.

## **Riassunto**

Questo lavoro esamina l'onda migratoria che lasciò l'Italia e arrivò in Brasile nel periodo compreso tra 1880 e 1920. Si focalizza sulla migrazione di milioni di contadini italiani che decisero di lasciare la propria terra a causa della miseria e del sogno di essere "Signori" e di possedere la propria terra per il sostentamento della loro famiglia. Inoltre, il testo analizza le conseguenze della migrazione in Brasile e come l'identità italiana si è formata a contatto con la società brasiliana. Riflette sulle caratteristiche che hanno formato l'idea di italianità nel mondo e spiega in dettaglio come queste caratteristiche si sono evolute e trasformate nel nuovo paese. Infine, analizza i risultati di un questionario che l'autrice ha creato per avere più informazioni sulla migrazione e sulla attuale integrazione dei discendenti di Italiani in Brasile.

## Acknowledgements

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To Nonna Maria,  
who's "*Varda de far puito*"  
is always in my mind...

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# Introduction

*Digam a eles que deixamos os patrões na Itália e somos donos de nossas vidas, temos quanto queremos para comer e beber, além de bons ares, e isto significa muito para mim. Eu também não queria estar mais na Itália, sob aqueles patrões velhacos. Aqui, para encontrar autoridade, são necessárias 6 horas de viagem.<sup>1</sup>*

Excerpts of letters of the emigrant Paolo Rossato reveal what led many of the Italian peasants to leave their regions of origin. The new American world provided freedom from the oppressive socio-economic conditions of living of the majority of the Italian population at the end of the nineteenth century. The migration of the population of Italy has a long history; however, this work will specifically analyze the so-called period of mass-migration, started in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and continued in the first decades of the twentieth century. Furthermore, it will examine the Italian migration to Brazil, decisive for the formation of economic and social structures of the South American country.

Because of the nature of the migration, I will concentrate my research on migrants who were peasants. In fact, the majority of the people who arrived to Brazil from Italy had the word "*contadino*"<sup>2</sup> written on their passport. The work will explain in detail the reasons why they decided to leave the country and what brought hundreds of thousands of people to populate the southern regions of Brazil. Moreover, I will focus on migrants from the region

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of the immigrant Paolo Rossato to his father, who was in Italy. Colonia Caxias, 27 July 1884. "Tell them we left the masters in Italy and we are owners of our lives, as we have to eat and drink as we want, as well as good air, and that means a lot to me. I did not want to be in Italy anymore under those rogue masters. Here, to find an authority you need to travel for six hours." In: DE BONI, Luis Alberto (org.). *La Mérica: escritos dos primeiros imigrantes italianos. Caxias do Sul: UCS; Porto Alegre: EST, 1977, p. 59.*

<sup>2</sup> Translation: "farmer".

of Veneto because, out of all the migrants from Italy, they have been the most numerous to leave the country and have populated entire regions of Brazil where, still today, their descendants speak the Venetian dialect.

Regarding Brazil, I will examine the immigration mainly in the regions of Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo. The reason of this choice lies in the deep contrasts that can be found between the two waves of migration directed to the two regions. The Italian immigrants' socio-economic impact strongly diverges in the two destinations. The region of Rio Grande do Sul was mainly interested in the first migration wave (1875-1900). It was characterized by a great temporal consistency flow, by the prevalence of departures from a single area (North Italy, Veneto) and by the greater stability and solidity of group and family ties, both during and after the migration. In contrast, São Paulo was characterized by the immigration of people of different nationalities (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Japanese are just some examples). Furthermore, in Rio Grande do Sul the migrants turn into colonists by buying little lots of land to cultivate for their own sustenance. In opposition, in São Paulo the migrants work in large plantations under the supervision of the *fazendeiros*.

In my work I will follow the footsteps of Italian migrants from their houses in Italy to the discovery of the New World, considered as the Promised Land by many. Furthermore, I will describe their lives in the new country and how they changed the face of Brazil, from the end of the nineteenth century to today. Because of the late unification of their country, the migrants did not have the notion of being Italians. They spoke different languages that made the communication hard even between them. They had different habits and costumes but there were a few characteristics that separated them from the rest of the migrants. These aspects would subsequently evolve to characterize the entirety of the Italian population in Brazil. The first aspect I will enquire on is the Italian **cuisine**: what are its origins? How did it



evolve with the contact with the Brazilian cuisine? Secondly, I will talk about the Italian **language**: what is the *Talian* and what are its characteristics? How did the Italian language socially and politically influence the lives of the Italian immigrants in Brazil? Thirdly, I will look into the **religion**: how present was it in the lives of the Italian migrants? How did this change during the centuries in Brazil? Finally, I will consider the importance of two of the values often used to describe the migrants, **family** and **work**: how has the concept of family influenced the lives of the migrants? Are they still valid values for Italian descendants? I will answer these and more questions in Chapter 2.

I will start the last chapter of my work writing about the questionnaire I did. The reason why I created it was to have more direct information about the Italian migration to Brazil from the descendants of migrants who are living in the country today. I wanted to know how the migration was described to them by their grandparents and parents, and whether or not their being descendants of Italians plays a part in their lives. Unfortunately, in spite of the many e-mails I sent to associations to publicize it, only ten people responded. Nevertheless, many of them were very interested and informed about the subject and could answer to my questions in detail. The questionnaire helped me understand the topic from the point of view of the participants, because from their answers I could gather useful information on how the Italians were seen at the end of the nineteenth century in Brazil, and extrapolate the characteristics that made it that way.

Thus, with my work I will try to define the basic characteristics that formed the identity of the Italians in Brazil. Furthermore, I will follow the development of the Italian identity in Brazil from the start of the mass-migration to the present days, focusing on the cardinal points given by the participants to my questionnaire and many scholars: cuisine, religion, language, family and work.

Finally, I will integrate my work by analyzing some publications (both Italians and Brazilians) on the migration. Moreover, I will also examine "Terra Nostra", a television series about the Italian migration that was followed in Brazil by more than 60 million spectators.

## Chapter 1 - History of the Italian migration

*Fulminadi da un fraco de tempesta,  
l'erba dei prè, par 'na metà passìa,  
brusà le vigne da la malatia  
che no lassa i vilani mai de pèsta<sup>3</sup>.*

### 1.1 From seasonal to permanent migration.

The Italian emigration has a long story and a long tradition that started even before the country was politically united. The waves of migration have contributed to the mixture of populations of different origins. Since the Middle Age, wars, famines, itinerant jobs, political exiles and cycles of economic expansion and depression have generate a continued movement of migration and immigration.

From the mid- nineteenth century, newspapers and magazines started to spread the myth of the American continent, considered the land of the future and where one could become rich. From that moment, the Italian city of Genova (Liguria) became one of the most important migratory hubs of the country.

It is important to mention that the political exiles during the *Risorgimento*<sup>4</sup> opened migratory routes (especially to South America) that later would be followed by hundreds of

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<sup>3</sup> Translation: "The natural disasters do not give respite to farmers,/hail ruined the harvest,/grass meadows are dried/ and the vines died because of a disease." Barbarani, B., *I va in Merica* - [www.larenadomila.it](http://www.larenadomila.it)

<sup>4</sup> *Risorgimento*: political and social movement that consolidated different states of the Italian peninsula into the single Kingdom of Italy during the nineteenth century. The process began in 1815, with the *Congress of Vienna* and the end of the Napoleonic rule, and was completed in 1871 when Rome became the capital.

thousands of people. It is the case of Giuseppe Garibaldi, who left Italy in 1835 after the failure of a popular uprising in Piedmont and lived in Brazil (first in Rio de Janeiro and then in Rio Grande do Sul) for some years.

The great emigration at the end of the nineteenth century is the culmination of a process that started many years before and the existence of economic opportunities decided the destination of the migrant. In this way, the grain traders settled in Odessa and the iron



**Map 1: Map of the Italian emigrants to Brazil per province (1870-1920).**

miners in Belgium and Luxembourg. The construction workers, skilled and unskilled, worked on railways, subways, tunnels and ports in Switzerland, Portugal, Egypt, United States and many other countries. The farmers went to Argentina, Brazil and the United States.<sup>5</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the excess workforce in the Po Valley (northwest of Italy) emigrated to France, Belgium and, more rarely, to Switzerland and Germany. Their

migration was temporary, because their aim was to earn enough money to buy land in their place of origin. However, migrants from Veneto, Trentino, Alto Adige and Friuli decided to emigrate to South America. Until the Unification, the economy of their regions, though impoverished, had lasted because of the seasonal migration in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but after the 1871 (and the annexation to the newly formed Italy) they started looking for a place where to settle permanently. Malaria, cholera and pellagra killed 400.00 people per year, the food was scarce, hygiene was almost non-existent and doctors were unattainable.

<sup>5</sup> Baily, S., p.7.

At the time of Unity, in Italy there were only a few factories and in 1887 it was still a largely agricultural country that counted 21 million farmers on 31 million inhabitants.<sup>6</sup> More than 16.630.000 Italians emigrated in the period between 1870 and 1925. As showed in Map 1 (referred to the migration to Brazil), the majority of the people, 50%, came from the north (3.632.000 only from Veneto), 11% from the center (1.919.000) and 39% from the south (6.503.000).

It is possible to divide the Italian transoceanic migration experience from the origins until the 1925 in two periods: the first, beginning with the Unification of Italy and ending at the end of the century, is prevalently composed by rural emigrants from the North of the country whose aim was to own and cultivate a piece of land. They mostly migrated to Brazil, Argentina and the United States. The second period coincides with the *Giolitti Era*<sup>7</sup> (1901 - 1914) and continues after the World War I. It is prevalently composed by southern migrants who, almost exclusively, moved to the United States.

Furthermore, it is possible to divide the first wave of migration in two temporal periods. The first happened between the 1876 and the 1896 and had as destination the southern states of Brazil and Argentina where they would colonize lands that had been uninhabited until that moment; the second, between 1896 and 1901, affected the same social stratum of the population but in greater numbers, and their destination moved to São Paulo and to the coffee *fazendas* in the area.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, the Italian migration to Brazil and specifically to Rio Grande do Sul can be considered a unique anthropological and linguistic case among all the Italian waves of migration during the nineteenth century. It is characterized by a greater temporal

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<sup>6</sup> Baldan, V., p.9.

<sup>7</sup> *Giolitti Era*: historical period in Italy characterized by the governments of prime minister Giovanni Giolitti.

<sup>8</sup> Franzina, E., p.21-24.

consistency flow, by the prevalence of departures from a single area (North Italy, Veneto) and by the greater stability and solidity of group and family ties, both during and after the migration. In contrast, in other destination countries such as Argentina and United States the individual migration far exceeds the family migration.

## 1.2 Migration politics

The Italian government looked at the migration with growing concern. Since the beginning of the phenomenon the measures taken were all directed toward deliberately repressive policies. The restrictions were supported by industrial groups in the north and large landowners in the south. They were concerned that the large number of expatriates could create a shortage of cheap labor and, consequently, stimulate the growth of the minimum wage.<sup>9</sup> In 1868, people who wanted to emigrate to Algeria and United States had to provide documentation to demonstrate to already have a job waiting for them in the country of destination. From 1873, because of the great number of forced repatriations, the emigrants had to provide for their own return trip. Nevertheless, at the end of the century the growing numbers of migrants could not be underestimated anymore, and the government saw the necessity of ensuring its proper regulation. In 1888, with the law Crispi, the emigrants' right to leave was recognized. However, the government introduced restrictions, such as the fulfillment of military obligations before departure. Furthermore, the law introduced the position of the agent, who represented the interests of ship-owners throughout the country and also ensured a mild form of protection for the emigrants from the large shipping companies. Moreover, it regulated the accommodations on the ships to which the emigrants were entitled. In 1909 a new law created the *Commissariato Generale per l'Emigrazione*, an

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<sup>9</sup> Mieli, G.

entity that managed all issues related to migration. The law also instituted inspection commissions in the major ports of embarkation (Genova, Naples and Palermo) with the task of verifying whether the ships used for migratory purpose met the health regulations requirements. Furthermore, military doctors and traveling commissioners were provided on board with the task of monitoring the compliance of the dispositions sanctioned by the law. Also, in the main countries of immigration the *Commissariato* created entities and institutions to provide legal and sanitary assistance to those who needed it.<sup>10</sup>

During the first fifteen years of the twentieth century there was a further increase in departures but the World War I enforced a pause in the emigration. Furthermore, in this period many Italians went back to Italy for fear of not being able to return because of the outbreak of the war and to enlist in the army to defend their country. Nevertheless, the migratory flow never ceased altogether and after the peace it re-exploded anew.

Finally, with the rise of Fascism in Italy, the migratory phenomenon was subjected to a general reconsideration, which changed its basic nature. In fact, the regime even abolished the name "emigrant" to replace it with "Italian worker abroad".

## **1.3 The reasons underlying the migration**

### **1.3.1 Economical and climatic reasons**

Europe underwent a series of deep modifications in the world of work since the start of the industrial capitalism, during the eighteenth century. Paulo Pinheiro Machado (1999) writes:

*"A grande emigração européis durante o século XIX foi, principalmente, consequência das transformações agrárias processadas pelo capitalismo. O campo tornou-se expulsor de pessoas em todos os países europeus em épocas distintas, com períodos de duração diferenciados. Objetivamente, o que ocorreu em todas as partes, foi a destruição da*

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<sup>10</sup> Mieli, G.

*ordem tradicional camponesa, que mantinha um equilíbrio entre a produção agrícola e artesanal durante as diferentes estações de um ano.*<sup>11 12</sup>

The dismantling of domestic handicraft, due to the growth of industries, the technological backwardness, the privatization of communal lands and the breaking of old subordinate bonds changed the countryside life entirely.<sup>13</sup> Especially in the northern regions of Italy, from a political point of view the Unification did not change the situation of impoverished peasants. On the contrary, the need of reorganization in the country led the government to establish even higher taxes, causing more poverty and, in many cases, the loss of the land for lack of money to pay them. Moreover, the emancipation of the peasants from the *Signore* meant that they would have to acquire their land by purchasing it or on lease. Even when they had their own land, exploited until exhaustion and certainly not fertile to produce enough, it quickly became too small to sustain the family and to be shared among the heirs. Nevertheless, especially in the beginning of the twentieth century, the economy of the northern part of the country improved considerably while the southern regions were impoverished. The main problems that also eventually caused the mass migration of the southern population were the overpopulation of the territory and a slow agricultural and industrial development pace. The overpopulation was due to a strong natural demographic increment and to the fact that after the reunification the health care system in the country had improved significantly and more families had access to it. For this reason infant mortality decreased but in the long run there would not be enough land to be cultivated or enough jobs to employ everybody. For these reasons, many peasants began to move to the

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<sup>11</sup> Machado, P.,P., (1999), p. 45.

<sup>12</sup> Translation: *"The great European emigration during the nineteenth century was mainly the consequence of the agricultural transformations that took place after the capitalism. The countryside expelled people in all the European countries in different ages and different durations. Objectively, what occurred everywhere was the destruction of the peasant traditional order, which maintained a balance between agricultural and handicraft production during the different seasons of the year."*

<sup>13</sup> Hobsbawm, E., J., (1982).

cities looking for work, but in most cases the wages were not enough to support their families back home.<sup>14</sup> It is also possible to notice that the distribution trend of migration flows registered spikes that appear to depend on certain climate and environmental conjunctions. In *La Grande Emigrazione*,<sup>15</sup> Emilio Franzina talks about hail and dry climate in 1877 in Udine, years of bad harvest between 1878 and 1880 in all Veneto, severe flooding in 1882 that seriously damaged not only the agriculture but also other economical activities (in Belluno province, all the sawmills from Perarolo to Longarone were destroyed). Also, he considers the sanitary conditions that boosted epidemics such as cholera that depopulated the Treviso province in 1886.

As a result, a mass migration from the region of Veneto started in 1875. Subsequently, from 1896 the agricultural crisis diminishes in the North but became far more pronounced in the South, boosting the start of mass migration from Sicily, Campania, Calabria and Puglia.<sup>16</sup>

### **1.3.2 Agents and letters**

Another important factor to take into consideration when trying to understand the Italian mass migration is the power of attractiveness of the Americas in the peasants' lives. The myth of the "New World" was roused and inflamed by letters arriving from people who were already in America and wrote about their new lives. However, because the content of most of the letters was familiar and intimate, the migrants would dismiss any fear or suspicion about their situation and mostly recall the positive elements. For this reason, the letters of emigrants seem to be one of the determinant reasons for the migration of other people. They were read out loud in taverns, at fairs, at markets and outside the churches after mass,

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<sup>14</sup> Amador Pereira, M., C., (2007), p. 3-4.

<sup>15</sup> Franzina, E., (1976), p.42.

<sup>16</sup> Franzina, E., (1976), p.23.



always with the highest attention of the public who listened *in religioso silenzio*<sup>17</sup>. Furthermore, they were often published in newspapers and magazines even if landowners and conservatives tried to prevent it. Finally, the letters were used by migration agents who in that way would reach that part of the population that was suspicious of any other form of information. The letters, written by their relatives, friends, neighbors and fellow townsmen, were considered a true proof of all the sorts of good things that one could find in America. In 1886, the publicist Bossi declares that Brazil was the "*Terra Promessa della Sacra Scrittura: e qualcosa di più. Esso sarà il rifugio di milioni di esseri che la miseria scaccerà dalle vecchie terre europee*"<sup>18 19</sup>, indicating a commonplace of the period for which Brazil would be the answer to the promise of God's Holy Land. The deep religious belief of the *Promised Land*, also expressed very well the aspirations of the farmers to the ownership of a piece of land, and it is not a case that this image will always be effective with rural populations, both in north and in south Italy. Those who opposed the migration, especially the landowners, criticized the letters of the emigrants and the easy illusions that, in their opinion, they generated. The credulity of the peasants gave rise to the creation and diffusion of myths and fantasies. A mayor of the time said:

*"Non fu mancanza di lavoro ... che invogliò la classe rustica all'emigrazione...Gli è piuttosto che gli agenti di emigrazione promisero mari e monti ed i contadini, confabulando fra di loro, accennavano spesso alla grande ricchezza dei paesi transatlantici, ove si adoperano gli attrezzi rurali, come vanghe, zappe ed aratri d'oro massiccio anziché di ferro."*<sup>20 21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Translation: "*in religious silence*". In Rosoli, G., (1991), p.12.

<sup>18</sup> Translation: "*The promise land of the Scriptures: and something more. It will be a refuge for millions of people that misery will drive out of the old European lands.*"

<sup>19</sup> Bossi, B., (1886). In Rosoli, G., (1991), p.12.

<sup>20</sup> Translation: "*It was not the lack of work... that encouraged the rural class to emigration... It is rather that the emigration agents promised heaven and earth and the peasants, confabulating with each other, often hinted at wealth of the transoceanic countries, where rural tools such as shovels, hoes and plows were made of solid gold instead than of iron.*"

<sup>21</sup> *Le condizioni dei contadini del Veneto*. Parte prima della relazione del comm. Emilio Morpurgo sulla XI circoscrizione (Inchiesta Jacini), Roma, 1882. In Rosoli, G., (1991), p.12.

Therefore, the most responsible for the mass migration were the migratory agents, considered hoarders, agitators, swindlers and traffickers of human flesh.

As a result, is it possible to say that many different factors influenced the European migration (and in particular the Italian migration) to Brazil. Therefore, it was not the result of a spontaneous action but the combination of several important factors related to the economical interests of a new social order that was established after the Unification of Italy.

## 1.4 Brazil as a destination country

Brazil today is one of the "most Italian" countries in the world. It is estimated that 26 million descendants of Italians live there and São Paulo is the biggest "Italian city" in the world with around 15 million inhabitants of Italian origins.<sup>22</sup> In the southern regions such as Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Spirito Santo, 65% of the population is of Italian origins and half of it is of Venetian origins.

Brazil is positioned in third place (after United States and Argentina) among the countries that, during the period 1876-1990, received the highest number of Italians. The level of attractiveness of this country was very high, in particular at the end of the century. As Rosoli writes:

*"Durante l'ultimo quarto del XIX secolo [...] Argentina e Brasile erano le destinazioni preferite, mentre meno di un terzo degli emigrati transoceanici andavano negli Stati Uniti. Coloro che si potevano permettere il biglietto per l'America Latina si dirigevano là, dal momento che vi erano prospettive migliori, minori problemi con la lingua, e un adattamento culturale più facile."<sup>23 24</sup>*

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<sup>22</sup> Fondazione Migrantes, (2006). In Bagna, C., (2011), p.342

<sup>23</sup> Rosoli, G., (1992), p, 1-15.

<sup>24</sup> Translation: "During the last quarter of the XIX century [...] Argentina and Brazil were the favorite destinations, while less than a third of the transoceanic migrants went to the United States. Who could afford the ticket to Latin America would go there, because there were better prospects, less problems with the language, and an easier cultural adaptation."

Brazil had many factors of attractiveness for the Italian migrants. The country, which was independent since 1822, became a Republic in 1889. The Brazilian territory was very vast and in part still unexplored, so that it was difficult to manage, and the need for a workforce that was different from slaves (finally abolished in 1988) drew workers from all over Europe. The country had three different poles of attraction: the colonies, the *fazendas* and the cities. As a result, the migrant arriving to Brazil could choose firstly, to settle down in territories given by the Brazilian government in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná secondly, to work in the coffee plantations in the area of São Paulo. Finally, after the coffee crisis during the first decades of the twentieth century, the migrant could choose to live in cities such as São Paulo and Porto Alegre, where the modernization and construction of mass society was just starting.<sup>25</sup>

In short, it is possible to argue that at the beginning of the Italian migration to Brazil there was a bipolarity of settlement areas: southern regions (in particular Rio Grande do Sul) and *fazendas* in the São Paulo region.

### **1.4.1 The migration to the state of *São Paulo***

The state of São Paulo is the major Italian area of the country. The period in which Italian migrants arrived to the state lies between 1870 and 1920. During this time more than two and a half million people migrated to the region, and almost a million were Italian. However, even if São Paulo is the region with more Italian immigrants, the marks of the Italian culture were lost among other nationalities (Spanish, Portuguese, German, Arab, Slav and Japanese), whose migrants worked together. This aggregation prevented the formation of clear "Italian areas", such as the ones in Rio Grande do Sul (Caixas do Sul, Garibaldi, Farroupilha and part

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<sup>25</sup> Blasioli, M., (2009), p. 108-113.

of the Serra Gaúcha) where an higher national homogeneity of the foreign settlements allowed the construction of regions exclusively inhabited by Italians (and Germans).<sup>26</sup>

Italian migrants settled in the state of São Paulo for different reasons: the abolition of slavery and the subsequent need for workforce, the economical and political crisis in Europe, the arrival to Brazil of migrants of other nationalities, the extermination of the native populations and the occupation of territories more and more to the West.

Between 1840 and 1850 the Brazilian economy went through major transformations: coffee definitely substituted sugar as the main export product and the economic center of the country moved from northeast to São Paulo (southeast). The coffee plantations grew and prospered while the source for workforce was running out. As a result of the European pressure to abolish slavery imposed on Brazil, a series of decrees were introduced, making it difficult to supply the new coffee areas with servile labor. One slave could cost up to two million *réis* while its yearly profit would be between 200 and 300 thousand *réis*. As a result the *fazendeiros* began to look at Europe as a possible source of cheap labor. In 1847 the *fazendas* in São Paulo tried to introduce the *contratos de parceria*, with which the *fazendeiros* would pay the expenses of the trip in exchange for unpaid work in their *fazendas* once the migrants arrived. In Europe they were immediately criticized and defined as contracts of slavery and they were suppressed after Germany, England, France and later Italy began to adopt restriction on emigration towards Brazil. In 1948 the Government of Brazil donated 36 leagues of land to every province to promote immigration. However, it was expected that the colonist, who left Italy in misery and with nothing in his pocket, would buy the land by himself. For this reason, before 1865 only a few migrated to Brazil. As a consequence, in 1867 a new regulation was approved: the colonist would have a lot of

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<sup>26</sup> Alvim, M.,F.,Z., Ramos Sachetta, J., (1995), p.113.

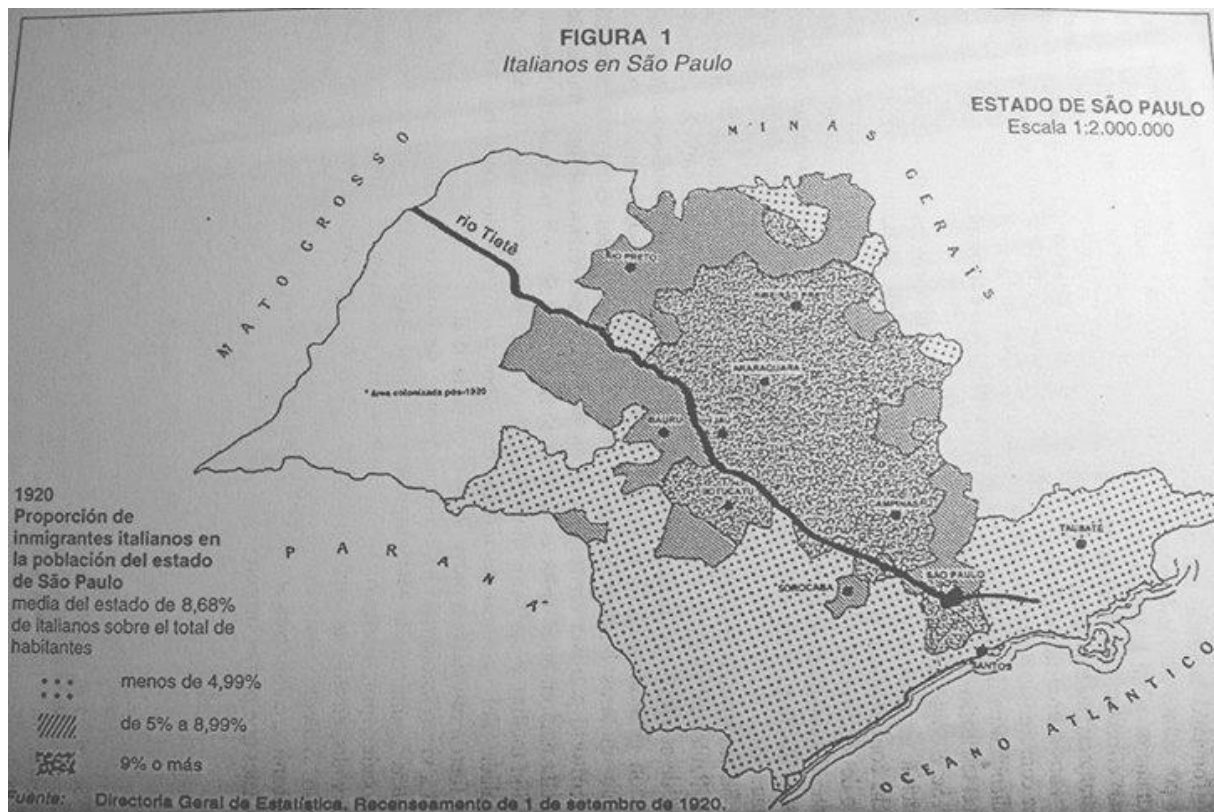
agricultural land to pay in ten years (with two years of adaptation in which they would not have to pay), free travel within the country, construction of the house, cash aid, seeds and tools for the first sowing and medical and religious assistance.<sup>27</sup> The Brazilian government expected colonists from Germany, Switzerland and England, but because of the crisis in their country, only the Italians arrived. Nevertheless, because many colonists wanted to take advantage of the new regulation, in 1879 the government suspended the majority of the aids offered, leaving only the period of ten years to buy the land. In 1888 slavery was totally abolished in Brazil and the country renewed the propaganda in Europe to attract more immigrants. The great demand of Brazil, by chance, coincided with the culmination of the Italian agricultural crisis. Before 1884 the number of immigrants from Italy never passed 15.000. In 1885 they reached 21.765; in 1887, 40.175; in 1888, 104.353; in 1891, 132.326. The great majority went to São Paulo while 100.000 arrived to Rio Grande do Sul.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> De Boni, L.,A., Costa, F., R., "Gli Italiani nel Rio Grande do Sul", *Insieme, A Revista Italiana daqui*. Web. 20.06.2015.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

Map 2 shows the proportion of Italian migrants in the population of the state of São Paulo in 1920. As recorded in the official census list of that year, 18% of the inhabitants were foreigners and almost half of them (8.68%) were Italians. Because the state average was 8.68% native Italians over the total of the inhabitants, the map classifies the territories with more than 9% of Italian immigrants as "high concentration territories", the ones between



Map 2: Directoria *Geral de Estatística*. Recenseamento de 1 de setembro de 1920.

8.99 and 5% as "average concentration" and the ones with 4.99% and less as "low concentration". As it can be noticed, the river Tietê divides the state almost in half. It also divides the territories mostly occupied by Italians from the ones with low concentration of Italian settlements. The entire right bank, from the city of São Paulo to the extreme northeast borders, has high concentration of Italian migrants. Furthermore, the city of São

Paulo, as it was always the epicenter of the immigration waves arriving in the region, has one of the highest rates of Italian births: 15.8% over the total population.<sup>29</sup>

#### **1.4.1.1 Italians and Coffee**

One of the reasons why migrants arrived to the state of São Paulo was the need for laborers in the coffee production industry. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century, the production of coffee propelled the state's economy. In fact, from the 10 million pounds produced in 1886, the production increased to 22 million pounds in 1920.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, 80% of the total immigrant population arrived between 1886 and 1905 and between 1910 and 1918 the Italians migrated to the inner regions of the country became responsible for more than half of the planting and the harvesting of coffee in the world.<sup>31</sup>

In general, the cultivation of coffee proceeded in stages. Firstly, there was the deforestation of the wild areas, the construction of bridges and roads and the creation of grazing lands. The work was carried out in two ways: by group of workers (generally from ten to thirty men) who were hired by a contractor and could not have their families with them and by workers hired directly from the *fazenda* (and not by the third party of a contractor) called *camaradas*, who cultivated the coffee, took care of the animals and kept the streets clean. They also could not have their families with them. Secondly, after the deforestation, there was the construction of the coffee plantation. During this stage the immigrants, together with their families, agreed to create a new plantation (or better, a new *fazenda*) that did not belong to them but to the owner of the land. The family attended to the plants until the first

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Milliet, S., (1941).

<sup>31</sup> Holloway, T., (1984).

harvest, cultivated cereals, built their home and shared the income with the owner. In the state of São Paulo this commitment was called *empreitada*.<sup>32</sup>

Because of the cultivation of coffee but also the expansion of light industries (textiles, clothing, food products, beverages, tobacco) Brazil reached a stage of development and growth at the end of the nineteenth century. However, only the southeast regions of the country were interested by the phenomenon, because of the concentration of coffee plantation and agricultural product, while the northeast part's economy continued to stagnate. In the North only Amazon experienced an economic rise due to rubber production. The migrant who arrived to Brazil during the first decades of the twentieth century and chose to settle in the countryside usually looked for the cheapest lots of land to acquire. Because of the coffee crisis (caused by overproduction, World War I and, later, the Great Depression), the most competitive prices could be found in the old decaying plantation territories. Also, a new expansion to the east of the region had started and many migrants decided to buy lands there to start their own production.

Although most Italians chose to settle in the countryside, one third of them favored the city as place to live. In fact, the growing industry of the cities needed workers as well. The great part of those preferred to live in São Paulo (92.000 Italians by a total of 580.000 inhabitants), Campinas, Ribeirão Preto and Piracicaba. A survey made in 1901 revealed the presence of 50.000 workers in the state of São Paulo, 90% of them being Italians. The number of Italian workers in the city of São Paulo reached 92.000 in 1920, out of 380.000 inhabitants.<sup>33</sup>

Foreign workers occupied the majority of the qualified positions in the industry. However, because the workers were foreigners, the employers could dictate the rules. The migrants were forced to accept low salaries and in case of dispute they could be expelled from the

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<sup>32</sup> Alvim, M.,F.,Z., Ramos Sachetta, J., (1995), p.124.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.



country. Many Italian and Spanish workers had participated to industrial actions in Europe and it was them who begin the same movements in Brazil at the start of the twentieth century. Between 1890 and 1920, 44 labor unions were active in the city of São Paulo. Of these, 22 were Italian, eight were Brazilian, six Spanish, six Portuguese and two of another nationality.<sup>34</sup>

### **1.4.2 The migration to the state of *Rio Grande do Sul***

The Italian colonization of the state *Rio Grande do Sul* took place at the end of the nineteenth century and start of twentieth century, as part of a geopolitical project of the Brazilian government that wanted to utilize the migrants to fill with inhabitants parts of the country that were almost only occupied by natives. They concentrated the project on the regions in the South, particularly on Rio Grande do Sul, because they needed to consolidate the borders with Uruguay and Argentina.<sup>35</sup>

Because of the *Guerra dos Farrapos*<sup>36</sup> (1835-1845) the immigration to the region stopped almost completely. Only from 1844 the numbers returned to increase until the year 1875 when 19.000 colonists (mostly Germans) were already present in the territory.

After the imperial law in 1848 sanctioned the donation of land to the provinces to promote migration, the region created four colonies where German families would settle. In 1869, because the former colonies were already full, the province asked for other two lots of land. When the request was accepted in 1870, the president of the province created the two

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<sup>34</sup> Maram, S., L., (1979).

<sup>35</sup> Zanini, M. (2007), p. 151.

<sup>36</sup> *Guerra dos Farrapos*: Republican uprising that began in southern Brazil, in Rio Grande do Sul, in 1835. The rebels, led by generals Bento Gonçalves da Silva and Antônio de Sousa Neto, with the support of Giuseppe Garibaldi, surrendered in 1845.

colonies of *Conde d'Eu* and *Dona Isabel*, in honor of the prince consort and the heir to the throne. Today *Conde d'Eu* is called *Garibaldi* and *Dona Isabel* is *Bento Gonçalves*.<sup>37</sup>

In 1845, the region was almost completely covered by jungle and the majority of the inhabitants were the native population, the *índios*. The few *fazendas* that were present before the revolution were destroyed and the economy was in a disastrous situation. In her work, Maria Catarina Zanini analyzes the testimony of a local historian of the time who writes about the fears of the Brazilian Empire of a new attempt of separation from the state of Rio Grande and of the growing influence from the states of Argentina and Uruguay. Also, he writes that the north/northeast part of the region was completely unpopulated and that there was only jungle and *índios*.<sup>38</sup> It is interesting to notice that he affirms in the same sentence that the region is depopulated and that there are native populations living there. Therefore it is easy to understand that the *índios* were not considered as persons but more as "living beings" associated with the jungle and the nature and thus as far away as possible from the idea of civilization presented in other parts of the country. As a result, they were not considered as possible candidates to populate the region and to consolidate the Brazilian presence in those territories.

Since the start of the colonization of Brazil by Portugal, the *sesmaria* system had been in force. It was the first institution to regulate the access to the land, and its clauses included the obligation to make use of the land, measurement and demarcation, registration, payment of rent and the confirmation of the charter from the king. However, these clauses were almost never complied with (especially the measurements and demarcation), and

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<sup>37</sup> Lorenzoni, G., (2011), p.31.

<sup>38</sup> "Aquela parte norte/nordeste, do Rio Grande praticamente não tinha contato com o resto do império a não ser por via marítima, que aquilo tudo era mato, era índios, e coisas assim./the north- northeast part of Rio Grande do Sul essentially didn't have contacts with the rest of the Empire except by sea, everything was jungle, indios and things like that." Depoimento do diretor do Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Nova Petrópolis (gravado em janeiro 2001). In Zanini, M., (2007), p.152.

consequently, the land was not registered. Formally, it was the king's right to retake the land but it rarely happened. The sesmarial system was suspended in 1822 and between this year and 1850 there was a legal vacuum. From 1850, with the new *Lei de Terras* (Law No. 601 of September 18, 1850), purchase became the only way to get access to public land. However, the old sesmarias titles and lands that were already informally occupied would still be valid if they had effective use. The *Lei de Terras* were introduced with the aim of promoting foreign immigration by regulating property through land surveys and establishing procedures for legitimizing possession, as well as by requiring the government to sell rather than give away public lands.<sup>39</sup>

As a consequence of the *Lei de Terras*, the free distribution of lands to immigrants stops. When in 1870 the first two colonies of Rio Grande do Sul (Conde D'Eu and Dona Isabel) were established by the provincial government, they were mostly uninhabited. The government wanted to introduce at least 40.000 new colonists in the North during a period of ten years and to do that, signed a contract with two private enterprises which pledged to introduce an average of four thousand settlers a year. However, in 1874 only seventeen sites of the colony Conde D'Eu were occupied with only seventy-four settlers. The plan did not work. Because of the recent reunification of Germany<sup>40</sup> the emigration was more difficult and who decided to leave anyway, preferred United States over Brazil and the area of São Paulo over Rio Grande do Sul. The reason why migrants preferred to settle in areas that were already colonized is because the region of Rio Grande do Sul was seen as a place where colonists suffered deprivations.

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<sup>39</sup> Eisenberg, P.L., (1974), p. 11.

<sup>40</sup> Unification of Germany: 18 January 1871 at the Versailles Palace. Princes of the German states proclaimed Wilhelm I of Prussia as German Emperor after the French capitulation in the Franco-Prussian war.

At the end of 1874 only nineteen families populated the two new colonies.<sup>41</sup> In the same years more and more colonists were arriving to São Paulo and the government was faced with the responsibility to provide housing for all. In 1875 the state took control of the new colonies and, as showed in Table 1, in the same year the first migrants started to arrive. They were Italians and almost all of them came from the North.

	<i>Tedeschi</i>	<i>Italiani</i>	<i>Polacchi</i>	<i>Totale</i>
1824-1874	24.873	---	---	24.873
1875-1879	2.440	8.579	---	11.019
1880-1884	1.257	8.993	---	10.230
1885-1889	2.159	26.133	---	28.292
1890-1894	6.065	21.591	16.188	52.370
1895-1899	1.648	4.613	2.082	10.437
1900-1904	1.036	2.336	466	5.182
1905-1909	2.068	1.687	6.498	12.893
1910-1914	6.498	2.256	17.308	31.735
1824-1914	48.044	76.168	42.561	187.031

Specifically, the Italians were considered plain and simple workers, less demanding than migrants from other countries and usually

**Table 1: Main group entries in Rio Grande do Sul (1824-1914). Germans, Italians, Polish.**

willingly accepting the hard work in the Brazilian environment.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, another aim of opening the borders to European workers was the "whitening" of the population through the immigration and the miscegenation. According to Borges Pereira, the Italian migrant was considered the perfect candidate to "whiten" the population because they were white, European, Latin, Roman Catholic and hard working.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to the colonies of Conde d'Eu and Dona Isabel, in 1875 the government created a new colony called *Fundos de Nova Palmira* (today *Caixas do Sul*). Furthermore, in 1877 a fourth colony was founded with the name *Silveira Martins*. These four colonies constituted the core of the Italian migration to Rio Grande do Sul.

In 1889 Brazil became a republic and the provinces became states. In the start of the twentieth century, because of the coffee crisis, waves of migrants from São Paulo (mostly

<sup>41</sup> De Boni, L.,A., Costa, F., R., "Gli Italiani nel Rio Grande do Sul", *Insieme, A Revista Italiana daqui*. Web. 20.06.2015.

<sup>42</sup> Zanini, M., (2007), p.153, in Prado, C. J., (1987), p.188.

<sup>43</sup> " [ ] branco, europeu, latino, católico-romano e bom trabalhador rural" in Borges Pereira, J.B., *O imigrante italiano no mundo rural paulista*, in: De Boni, L. (org.), (1987), p.75.

Polish) started to arrive to Rio Grande do Sul (Table 1). The 13 of July 1914, because all the areas of virgin forest had been already occupied, the government declared the conclusion of the subsidized immigration and colonization to the state. Thus ended a chapter lasted 90 years.

Beginning in 1920, Brazil saw another migration, this time internal. Because all the available lots in Rio Grande do Sul were already occupied, the sons and grandsons of the first colonists had to move to the neighbor states of Santa Catarina and Paraná to cultivate their own lands. Today, in some cities of these states the almost totality of the inhabitants are *gaúchos*<sup>44</sup> or descendants of *gaúchos*.

#### **1.4.2.1 The occupation of the land**

Unlike in Italy, where the farmers would live in villages and go to the fields every morning, in Rio Grande do Sul the colonists lived pretty far from each other. With the law of 1850, the Brazilian government developed a system to allocate the unoccupied land. The colony was basically divided with lines that were nothing but straight roads of a few kilometers. Along the street one could find the rural lots, each of them being about 250 meters wide and a thousand meters in length. The house of the colonist was built near the road and on average was distant about 250 meters from the neighbor's.<sup>45</sup> The measure of the lot could vary because of the presence of slopes or the existence or not of water sources. On average, each colonist was entitled to 25 hectares; however, some of them had 15 and other 35. Furthermore, it was also possible to buy only half or a quarter of the lot and many of the

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<sup>44</sup> *Gaúcho*: Resident of South American pampas, Gran Chaco, or Patagonian grasslands, found mainly in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Southeastern Bolivia, Southern Brazil and Southern Chile. In Brazil is also the main appellation of the people from the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

<sup>45</sup> De Boni, L.,A., Costa, F., R., "Gli Italiani nel Rio Grande do Sul", *Insieme, A Revista Italiana daqui*. Web. 20.06.2015

colonists, because of poverty and fear of not being able to pay for it, decided to not buy it entirely.<sup>46</sup>

At first, the colonists started using the land to produce food for the subsistence of the family. As a consequence, they would plant a little of everything in small quantities. They had chickens, pigs and other animals (when possible) so that they could produce everything that their family could need. In this way, the use of the territory in Brazil changed considerably, from the monoculture *fazendas*, present in the country since the first Portuguese colonization, to the polyculture of the Italian immigrants.<sup>47</sup>

## Chapter 2- Constructing an Italian identity in Brazil

*Fatta l'Italia bisogna fare gli italiani*<sup>48</sup>

### 2.1 The characteristics of the Italian identity

During the research on the Italian identity in São Paulo three notions have been identified. The first, linked to Italy and to the great emigration at the end of the nineteenth century, is the idea of simple and hard-working people. The second, linked to the Renaissance period, is the idea of a man with ancient culture and artistic sensitivity, compatriot of Alighieri and Da Vinci. The third notion is established in the eighties ('80s), associating the Italian individual to a European style and the country of Italy to the other members of the European Union. It is also interesting to notice how the Italian language has changed its definition during the centuries and with the movements of its community. On one hand, it is defined as a

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Maestri, M., (2005), p.86.

<sup>48</sup> Ferdinando Martini, 1896. "We have made Italy. Now we must make Italians."

language of culture and the language of the communities abroad on the other hand is the language of business, of the fashion world. Moreover, they are correlated to the notions of Italian identity discussed previously: the language of the communities abroad is linked with the migration, the language of culture is linked with the Renaissance while the language of business is linked with the modern idea of a European Italian individual.<sup>49</sup>

Before starting to talk about identity, it is important to understand the meaning of the word. It is a concept present in many disciplines (philosophy, psychology, history, sociology, etc.) and it is seen as elusive and variable. Nevertheless, it implies the recognition of an entity as part of a group and consequently of being aware of its differences in respect of it.<sup>50</sup> The presence of the category "other" permeates all concepts of identity. Therefore, when we talk about the concept of identity of a nation, it is possible to do so only looking at its socio historical concept.<sup>51</sup>

When we consider the term "national identity" we refer to an identity that has a date of birth. The discussion over the term is very different today than what it used to be during the formation of the nations. Today, there is an opening towards other markets and other cultures and also the intentional sharing of resources. The citizen of Italy is also a citizen of the European Union. If we consider the original meaning of "nation", to discuss the identity of a country is also discussing the formation of that country and how its members have come to be recognized as part of it.

The Unification of Italy happened in 1861, later than other countries. Some scholars wrote that the Italian identity started to be felt by the citizens during the period between the French Revolution and the actual unification, when they had to fight all together and

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<sup>49</sup> Baldelli, I., (1987).

<sup>50</sup> Faria, F., Reis, S., Ferreira, J., (2009), p.220.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

sacrifice their lives for the motherland.<sup>52</sup> Others write that the beginning of the formation of an authentic national consciousness happens during the Congress of Vienna and on the eve of the Risorgimento period, motivated by the resentment to be still divided in seven states.

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In 1868 Manzoni writes *Dell'unità della lingua e dei mezzi di diffonderla*, in which he suggests the Tuscan dialect to be considered as the official language of Italy, including ways to teach it. He writes it six years after he had been appointed to the *Commission for a common language*. Thus, the movement for the consolidation of the unity always comes from the élite, the politicians, writers, men of letters. The concept of "being Italian" is spread by writers like Manzoni, De Amicis and Verga, even though at that time the population, composed for the major part of peasants, did not have access to literature or was illiterate. As a result, the majority of the population did not call themselves Italian or recognized the official language. Consequently, the country had to invest in the cultural identities that already existed before the unification, with the hope to create and consolidate ties between the people to create a common idea of community. **Language**, the valorization of the **religion** and values such as **family** and **work** were the starting point for the creation of it and later they also became the characteristics of the Italians abroad. Furthermore, a typical feature for which the Italians were (and are) known all around the world is their **cuisine**, which, especially in Brazil, changed and adapted to its surroundings until it became an integral part of the new country.

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<sup>52</sup> Bollati, G., (1983).

<sup>53</sup> Di Ciommo, Enrica.,(2004).



## 2.2 The Italian cuisine in Brazil

### 2.2.1 The creation of an Italian culinary identity

Since the beginning of the migration, Brazil has started the process of uniting many different cultures. Together with their language, the migrants who arrived mostly from Italy, Portugal, Germany, Spain and Japan also brought their cultures and customs, partly composed by their culinary traditions. The recipes they introduced in Brazil during those years contributed to the development of a multicultural environment that was recognized in 1997 when the city of São Paulo became the *Capital Mundial da Gastronomia*.<sup>54</sup> Although in the same occasion New York, Tokyo, Roma, Madrid, Lisbon, Mexico City and Buenos Aires were given the same appellation, São Paulo has the higher numbers, accommodating more than 12 thousand restaurants with 51 different culinary traditions.<sup>55</sup>

Although Italy became a nation after the first migrants started to arrive to Brazil (1861-1870), it is one of the countries that contributed more in the creation of the new culinary environment.

How is it possible that, even without a clear and defined affiliation, the culinary traditions of the Italian population took root in Brazil, developed and merged into a new type of cuisine?

Some authors affirm that the Italian cuisine per se consists of a collection of regional cuisines that, in many cases, refer to the tradition of their major cities: *alla bolognese*, *alla parmigiana*, *alla napoletana*, *alla fiorentina*, *alla milanese*, *alla veneziana* are just some examples.<sup>56</sup>

As Hazan (1997) states:

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<sup>54</sup> Collaço, J., H., (2013), p. 193.

<sup>55</sup> Brandão, V., "São Paulo, Capital Mundial da Gastronomia", *Gastronomia no Brasil, Correio Gourm@nd*, 24.02.2014.

<sup>56</sup> Baccin, P., Azevedo, S., (2012), p. 191-209.

*Pergunte a um italiano sobre a cozinha italiana e, dependendo da pessoa a quem sua pergunta for dirigida, a resposta vai remeter à cozinha bolonhesa, veneziana, romana, milanese ou toscana, piemontesa, siciliana ou napolitana. Mas, quanto à cozinha italiana, a pergunta soaria como uma daquelas para as quais não existe resposta. A cozinha italiana é na verdade uma cozinha de regiões que precedem no tempo à própria nação italiana, regiões que até 1861 eram parte de estados independentes e muitas vezes hostis, compartilhando poucas tradições culturais, sem uma língua comum.*<sup>57 58</sup>

Although the term "Italian cuisine" means something different in every region, it is also possible to differentiate it at a higher level by considering the variations between the North and the South. The contrast between north and south Italian cuisine exists because of the different climates and, as a consequence, the different varieties of food that can be found in each geographical location. Thus in the North the food sources were prevalently cattle, swine, rice paddies and cornfields, while in the South-Center of Italy there were olives and durum wheat. The different regional dishes developed both from the ingredients present in the territory and from the influence of foreign population with whom they had contact throughout the centuries.

Nevertheless, as Baccin and Azevedo affirm, the Italian cuisine is not only the sum of different regional cuisines but it established itself with its own identity throughout the history, and in doing that it created the bases for an Italian identity even before the Italian nation came to existence.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Hazan, M., (1997).

<sup>58</sup> Translation: "Ask an Italian about the Italian cuisine and depending on the person the question was asked to, the answer will refer to the Bolognese cuisine, Venetian, Roman, Milanese or Toscana, Piemontese, Siciliana or Napoletana. But regarding the Italian cuisine, the question would sound like one of those for which there is no answer. In reality the Italian cuisine is a regional cuisine that precedes in time even the creation of Italian nation, regions that before the 1861 were part of independent states and often enemies that shared only a few cultural traditions and had no common language."

<sup>59</sup> Baccin, P., Azevedo, S., (2012). p. 193.

A local product can acquire an identity simply being moved to another geographical location and inserted in another culture. As a result the *mortadella* produced in Bologna would automatically be known as *Mortadella di Bologna* when the product is moved from its manufacturing environment to other regions.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, when the product, the way it is produced and prepared, are moved to a new country, the natural process of adaptation starts immediately, adjusting it to the new environment and thus creating a new product and a new way to prepare it. As a result the product would be given a new name, or the name would endure but with some variations.

Hence, the Italian cuisine was created not because of its specific "Italian" characteristics, but because it was seen in opposition to other cultures and other cultures' cuisines.

As the migrant who came from Italy was recognized as "Italian migrant", at the same time he could be known as Siciliano, Piemontese, Veneto by other Italians and, with higher levels of classification, Trevisano, Veneziano, Vicentino by other migrants from Veneto. The same thing happened to the Italian cuisine, that was (and is) recognized worldwide as the "Italian cuisine" but could also be classified as Veneta, Siciliana or Toscana by an Italian who, furthermore, could also recognize the distinctive cuisine of its own little town in Sicily.

### **2.2.2 The origins of the Italian cuisine**

Since the Middle Ages the relations between the urban areas and the countryside of the peninsula contribute to emphasize the different culinary identities. Over the course of the centuries the variations among the different regional cuisines in Italy emerged, influenced by historical circumstances and different experiences and encounters. However, as Capatti and Montanari write, "*Though temporally, spatially, and socially diverse, they referred to a common experience, a single image - also the fruit of a slow process of development, of*

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<sup>60</sup> Capatti, A., Montanari, M., (1999), p.16.

*perpetual modification and revision - that we have no choice but to call "Italian".*<sup>61</sup> The first book on Italian cuisine ever written, the *Liber de coquina*<sup>62</sup> and many other books and authors refer to the Italian cuisine identity as regional and fragmented. However, it is clear that there was already a definite concept of Italy as distinguished from other European territories both geographically and by its products and culture.<sup>63</sup>

Typically, the products with a wider circulation in the foreign market are those that can be preserved for a long period. It is the case of the pasta, made from durum wheat and water that can be reserved for a long time and can also be combined with many different other ingredients.<sup>64</sup>

*Pasta* is, together with *pizza*, the symbol of the Italian cuisine and it represents Italy worldwide. It is possible to date it back to the fourteenth century when Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) writes about it in the description of the town of Bengodi, in which he mentions for the first time the word *maccheroni*.<sup>65</sup>

Moreover, in the fourteenth century the expressions *essere di buona pasta* and *essere di pasta grossa* (to be a good person or to come from a good lineage) started to spread.

There are also many other official documents that prove the existence of *pasta* in Italy during the centuries, together with numerous cookbooks but it is only during the eighteenth century that *pasta* started to become the symbol of Italy. At the end of the century there was already the stereotype that Italians eat only *pasta* and they were called *mangiamaccheroni* (eat pasta). Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793) wrote that during a trip to Paris, when asked by a lady for dinner he had heard other guests admonishing her for having served a soup, as the Italians only ate "maccheroni, maccheroni, maccheroni".

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<sup>61</sup> Capatti, A., Montanari, M., (1999), p.19.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. p.6.

<sup>63</sup> Capatti, A., Montanari, M., (1999), p.5.

<sup>64</sup> Capatti, A., Montanari, M., (1999), p.11.

<sup>65</sup> Boccaccio, G.,(1857), p.22.

### 2.2.3 Migration and eating habits

When the migrants arrived to Brazil they faced a world with different cultures and ways of living. For this reason they saw their culinary tradition as a way to preserve their identity and in doing so they changed the eating habits of their destination country.<sup>66</sup> Some products like pasta and pizza adapted quickly to the new environment without many changes, and became the symbol of the Italian cuisine in the country. Some other dishes with names that remind of Italian recipes were changed and incorporated in the Brazilian cuisine. It is the case of the *capelete à romanesca*, pasta with cream sauce, baked ham, mushrooms, peas and butter, that cannot be found in Rome or anywhere else in Italy, or the *polpettone*, a large beef meatball that, in contrast with the "rolled" Italian version, is flattened, breaded, fried and served with tomato sauce and grated parmesan cheese.

Another recipe is the *filé à parmegiana*, a gratin breaded steak with tomato sauce and mozzarella and it's a dish that is unknown in Parma and exists only in Brazil.

As a result, the Italian cuisine influenced the Brazilian cuisine both with new ingredients and in the choice of the names, which in many cases recall Italian dishes or Italian cities.<sup>67</sup>

### 2.2.4 A new era of the Italian cuisine in Brazil

During the migration years and the twentieth century, Brazil absorbed the Italian cuisine as a homogeneous collection of dishes, all labeled "*Italian*". However, in recent years a new movement of regional valorization of the Italian cuisine has started, so that some restaurants have specialized in one regional Italian cuisine (*Veneta, Campana, Siciliana* etc...) and others have started to label their dishes. One example is a recipe from Liguria that, instead of being called simply *pasta ao pesto*, now is *Trenette ao pesto genovese*, because

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<sup>66</sup> Baccin, P., Avezedo, S., (2012), p. 191-209.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. p. 206.

*pesto* is originally from Liguria (and Genoa is the chief town of Liguria). Furthermore, the dish is not adapted to the Brazilian cuisine as it was before, for instance using nuts instead of *pinoli* (pine nuts) and spaghetti instead of *trenette* (a type of narrow, flat, dried pasta especially associated with Genoa and Liguria).<sup>68</sup>

The valorization of the regional Italian cuisine movement prompted the *Coleção Cozinhas da Itália*, introduced in 2011 and 2012 by the newspapers *Folha de S. Paulo* (São Paulo), *Zero Hora* (Porto Alegre), *Pioneiro* (Caxias do Sul) e *A Tribuna* (Santos).<sup>69</sup> It is a selection of 300 recipes divided in nineteen volumes covering a sample of typical ingredients from each of the twenty Italian regions.

### **2.2.5 The Italian restaurants from cantinas to Restaurant Fasano<sup>70</sup>**

During the first years of the twentieth century Italian restaurants were not common in Brazil. They were concentrated within the limits of the Italian neighborhoods and served prevalently clients of Italian origins. The Italian cuisine was considered food for the poor and the local population viewed it with extreme suspicion.<sup>71</sup>

Before the start of the twentieth century, the majority of the Italian migrants were people who used to own a piece of land in Italy and were looking for the same thing in Brazil. They prevalently settled in the South, where there was a huge availability of space. Nevertheless, starting from the first years of the twentieth century, Italian migrants from the southern regions of Campania, Puglia, Basilicata and Calabria started to arrive and their aims were different. Since the start of the migration policies, the country of Brazil had justified the arrival of millions of migrants with the intentions of replacing the slave workforce with cheap

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid. p. 207.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> *Restaurant Fasano*: The most sophisticated Italian restaurant in São Paulo. Brandão, V., "São Paulo, Capital Mundial da Gastronomia", *Gastronomia no Brasil, Correio Gourm@nd*, 24.02.2014

<sup>71</sup> Collaço, J., H., (2007), p.3.

European workforce and with the concept of "branqueamento da população", modernizing the country by "whitening" the population and at the same time forgetting the past of slavery. The new workforce would have brought a new era of civilization. However, when the first waves of migrants started to arrive to the city of São Paulo and to the *fazendas* in the same area, this image was profoundly altered. The majority of the migrants were illiterate, they did not have any particular skill, they were considered dirty because of the way they organized their homes and they would defend their spaces using violence.<sup>72</sup>

Nevertheless, the arrival of the Italian migrants also enabled the addition of new food in the citizens' diet, due to the creation of little gardens where the migrants cultivated legumes and vegetables like broccoli, zucchini, eggplants and tomatoes and the subsequent distribution in exchange for other products. The creation of a market of good exchange contributed to the emergence of little shops selling imported and handmade products such as onions, olive oil cans, sauces, canned tomatoes, cheese, olives and wine.

Within the Italian community in the city, the family unit was the anchor for the daily survival of its members and was the center of the relations with other migrants. As part of the family, women held the important role of producing foodstuffs both for relatives and to sell. It is because of them that the first *cantinas* started to appear in the streets of São Paulo. With no clear definition of where the house ended and the *cantina* started, *mammas* and *nonnas*<sup>73</sup> cooked typical Italian dishes for their clients. The first *cantinas* were little more than extensions of their own home, and often the customers sat at small tables placed directly on the sidewalk. The costumers were usually Italian workers and husbands or sons of the cooks served them. Although there was no written menu, the main courses were usually soups, pasta with tomato sauce, homemade bread, imported olives, sausages, roasts

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> *Mamma and Nonna*: Mother and grandmother (Italian).

and wine.<sup>74</sup> This kind of business, made by underprivileged women and served to underprivileged men, became the starting point of the development and expansion of the Italian cuisine tradition in Brazil. It also helped the Italian traditional cuisine to create a space for itself where to make roots and expand and to become more public and less exotic. The process of recognition of the Italian cuisine in Brazil expanded when migrants prevalently from South Italy began to open confectioneries, serving sweets, ice creams, and snacks. Although both *cantinas* and confectioneries served Italian food and were mostly family business, the confectioneries intended to serve more privileged classes. As a result, the poor migrants could hardly afford an ice cream with their families, while it became a common practice for professionals, students (mostly male) and women of higher classes.<sup>75</sup>

The *cantinas* continued to exist for many decades but they encountered some alterations from their original ethnic, domestic and female *modus operandi*. After the World War II, the United States started to have more influence in the country, and the cities started a period of intense cultural activity, with the opening of theaters, cinemas, radios and televisions. As a consequence, the center of the city started to be considered as a meeting point where to eat, drink and talk. Nevertheless, eating out became a habit only during the 1970s when people went out to be distracted with their families, to have fun, to meet friends and for lack of desire to cook for themselves.<sup>76</sup> The first *cantinas* continued their business but their type of clientele started to arrive from different parts of the city. If previously Italian workers dominated, in the last decades of the twentieth century more and more families of Italian descent, who had left the Italian neighborhoods, chose to return to their origins by savoring the traditional Italian dishes. The cues outside the *cantinas* became longer and longer and

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<sup>74</sup> Collaço, J., H., L., (2007), p.5.

<sup>75</sup> Collaço, J., H., (2013), p. 196.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. p. 194.



new restaurant started to be established with the aim of "educating the palates," attracting customers of local higher classes through advertisement in television and magazines. Until the 1980s the Italian restaurants were celebrated for their good food, their abundance and their family atmosphere.

Nevertheless, during the 1990s in the wake of the globalization that had just begun, many other restaurants with different types of ethnic food started to open. Because of the increasing amount of restaurants, the original *cantinas* have experienced the gradual disappearance of their clientele. Also, the neglect of chefs who work with actual contemporary Italian cuisine has started a climate of criticism by the media towards the older restaurants of the city.<sup>77</sup>

It was at this point that contemporary restaurants detached themselves from restaurants associated with migration. Italian descendant chefs, who learnt the job by staying in the kitchen with chefs of other nationalities, started to oppose the *cantinas*. It was basically a dispute between the scarcity and the abundance and between the traditional and the new.

The *cantinas* and the restaurants that emerged during the 1950s- 1970s still had a domestic modus operandi in the kitchen. Still, the service became a central aspect because it demarcated the difference with the first rustic *cantinas* where the main workforce consisted of family members. In contemporary restaurants the service is only for the pleasure and satisfaction of their guests and the kitchen has become professional. The chefs turned into attractions, enjoying the visibility in front of cameras and journalists.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid. p. 199.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. p. 200.

As a consequence, old traditional restaurants lost clients directed to the new restaurants by the medias. As the owner of the allegedly oldest Italian restaurant in the city says: "*Se as pessoas soubessem comer, isto aqui estava cheio*"<sup>7980</sup>

## **2.3 The Italian language in Brazil**

### **2.3.1 The origins of the Italian language**

A language can change in time and space, together with its speakers and their vicissitudes. It can be changed by migration and by the institutions, following the needs and the interests of the individuals. This is the case of the Italian language in the region of Rio Grande do Sul (RCI), specifically in the northeast part that was colonized prevalently by Italians. Since 1875, the language with which the migrants came from Italy has been changed and modified by the contact with the Portuguese language and the historical events that happened during the twentieth century. Today it is estimated that 26 millions of Italian descendants live in the country and that 50.000 of them speak Italian (or, better, *Talian*) as first language.<sup>81</sup>

#### **2.3.1.1 The language of the migration**

Since the origins of the Romance Languages Latin started to disappear as a written language and instead became a more common spoken language used in everyday life. It is from this linguistic environment that the dialects (among the Romance Languages) developed.

For many centuries Italy did not have an official language that was the same for everyone. People were, for the most part, communicating with dialects. The dialects were characterized by their slow pace of change due to the lack of contact between inhabitants of different regions. Only a few privileged people (such as merchants, ambassadors, professors,

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<sup>79</sup> Translation: "*If people knew how to eat, this [the restaurant] would be full.*"

<sup>80</sup> Collaço, J., H., (2013), p. 200.

<sup>81</sup> Lewis, M., P., Gary, F., S., Fennig, C., D., (2015).

university students, priests, nobles) had the opportunity to travel and know different realities. Because of the great works of writers like Dante Alighieri, Petrarca and Boccaccio, from the fourteenth century the Florentine dialect is used as the Italian language of literature. Although it spread in the peninsula, it was primarily a written language and the majority of the population continued to use different dialects as their everyday language. This situation continued until the second half of the nineteenth century, when Italy, previously formed by a group of small independent states, was unified. From that moment the language spoken previously only in Tuscany started to be recognized as the Italian language. Furthermore, it starts to be used everywhere because of different factors. To begin with, school became mandatory and the illiteracy rate dropped from 75% in 1861 to 35% in 1911. Secondly, the evolution and expansion of the cities started to attract people from the countryside looking for a job, and the development of the industries in the North started to attract migrants from the south. Finally, another factor was the gradual spread of means of communication such as newspapers and, later, radios and televisions, using the official language.

Nevertheless, it is in this historical moment that the first wave of Italian migration leaves the country. In 1861, the year of the Italian Unification, only 2,5% of the population spoke Italian that was still considered an élite language. As a result, the majority of the migrants, besides being illiterate, at their arrival to Brazil spoke only dialect.<sup>82</sup>

### **2.3.2 Modifications and transformation of the Italian language in Brazil**

The Italian immigration in Brazil affected primarily the southern part of the country. The Italian descendant population reaches 65% in the regions of Espírito Santo, Santa Catarina,

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<sup>82</sup> Tsai, M., (2006), p.33.

Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo.<sup>83</sup> Depending on the region of arrival, the Italian language changed based on different factors.

### **2.3.2.1 The case of *Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná***

In the regions of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná, the migrants (primarily from the north of Italy) founded self-sufficient and relatively isolated communities. Because of their closed society and the limited access to public schooling, these rural settlements proved basically conservative from the point of view of the language. Because of their remote position in the enormous territory of Brazil and the little interest shown by the Republic, the Italian communities did not have public schools. The children were at first taught at home and subsequently in Italian elementary schools, built and organized by the community with the help of religious associations and irregular funding from the Italian government. It is unsure whether the teaching and learning were in Italian or dialect. The aim of the school was not the safeguard and protection of the Italian language but merely to teach reading, writing and arithmetic. For a long time the rural Italian school typology was the only one present in the territory. In 1908 there were 232 and they increased until 1913 when there were 396. From that year, because of the gradual expansion of the network of public schools and because the government funding to private schools was bound to the teaching of history, geography and other subjects in Portuguese, their number began to drop (329 in 1924 to 167 in 1930).<sup>84</sup> Since the southern regions of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul were populated only by Italian and German migrants, it is safe to say that in these regions the Italian language developed and changed based only on the contact with German and Portuguese.

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<sup>83</sup> Bagna, C., (2011), p. 305-357.

<sup>84</sup> Trento, A., (2011).

### **2.3.2.2 The case of *São Paulo***

The migrants who chose to settle in settings such as the region of São Paulo and the cities, found themselves in a totally different environment. Because of the presence of different groups of migrants of different nationalities, working in *fazendas* and factories, it was almost impossible to define a clear Italian area.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, the language with which the first migrants arrived to Brazil soon came in contact with a variety of other languages. Nevertheless, between 1870 and 1920 on a total of two and a half million immigrants arrived in the region of São Paulo, almost a million were Italian. As a result at the start of the twentieth century the Italian language (or its dialectal varieties) was spoken by a good half of the population and the city was full of Italian schools and newspapers. However, during the two World Wars it underwent a progressive disappearance until today, when, despite the great number of Italian descendants, only some Italian sentences are used in certain situations (such as *italiani brava gente, mangia che ti fa bene* or *la lasagna della mamma*).<sup>86</sup>

### **2.3.3 The *Talian***

As it is known, the Italian migration to Brazil started just after the reunification of Italy. At the time the country was still assessing and, even if the Florentine dialect had started to be recognized as the national language, the population still spoke different dialects, and brought them with them when they decided to emigrate. Their language was one of the few things they took with them, and it was at the same time precious and futile. It was precious because it was used to establish a strong bond with the other migrants from home and futile in places where it would be isolated among other mysterious and unintelligible languages (as

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<sup>85</sup> Alvim, M. F., Sachetta R., J., (1995).

<sup>86</sup> Caprara, L., Mordente, O., A.,(2004).

it happened in the cities of São Paulo and Porto Alegre).<sup>87</sup> The remote location of the Italian settlements in Brazil generated linguistic islands where the Italian dialects (nowadays disappeared from the Italian context and replaced by more modern dialects) have been preserved until today. This occurred especially in Rio Grande do Sul, where colonies called Nova Venezia, Nova Treviso and Nova Vicenza were formed for the 54% by migrants from Veneto, 33% from Lombardia, 7% from Trentino and 1.5% from other Italian regions.<sup>88</sup> It is from the dialects spoken in the region and their contact with the Portuguese language that the new dialectical koiné *Talian* emerged. The *Talian* is the meeting point of many different people who each spoke their own dialect or language and needed to communicate with others. It is identified as the language spoken by people coming from Italy. A time passed, the Venetian language imposed itself over the other dialects that were numerically underrepresented. It imposed itself also on the Lombard dialect, the other language spoken by a vast number of people, so that the speakers from the Lombard group could speak Venetian but not vice versa. Also, the Venetian had the advantage of being more universally understandable (compared to the Friuli dialect for example). It had a rather sound word structure, which encourages its use as an interdialectal variety by acquiring elements that may come from other varieties such as other dialects or the Portuguese language.<sup>89</sup> The following testimony, given by the writer Darcy Loss Luzzatto<sup>90</sup> and descendant of Italian emigrants, shows the linguistic dynamics in a community of emigrants:

*"I imigranti fondatori del mio paese, Pinto Bandeira, i zera tuti italiani, i pì tanti i zera véneti, mà ghe zera anca qualche lombardo e meda dùzia de piemontesi. I véneti, squasi tuti de le bande de Vicenza e de Treviso. Dòpo, pì tardi, i ze rivadi i spagnòì, un tedesco [...] e un polaco [...]. Ma a la Pinta (Pinto Bandeira) no se parléva spagnol, tedesco o*

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<sup>87</sup> Cortellazzo M., (1995).

<sup>88</sup> Marcato, C., (2007), p. 150.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. p. 155.

<sup>90</sup> *Darcy Loss Luzzatto*, born in Pinto Bandeira in 1934, is a physics professor and the author of various booklets on his experience as nephew of immigrants.

*polaco: soltanto il véneto. Co 'l tempo, se anca a casa sua ogni faméia parlésse il so pròprio dialèto - viçentin, belunat, trevisan, veronese, bergamasco, cremonese, mantuano - 'nte 'l paese se parlava una mistura, una vera koinè, è vero che pì darente dal trevisan e dal viçentin che dal cremonese o del bergamasco. A casa nostra se parleva un misto de belunat - il nono Luzzatto 'l zera de Belluno - e de trentino - il nono Loss 'l zera de Caoria, soto Trento. La mama, che la zera trentina, la dizeva che la gente de la Pinta i ghéa un brut parlar. Sicuro, no i parléva il trentino.*"<sup>91 92</sup>

### 2.3.3.1 Characteristics

The linguistic traits of the *Talian* depend on the different languages from which the koinè derives. Therefore, it has the same phonological, morphological and lexical structure of the Venetian dialect with structural features of the dialects from Vicenza, Padova, Treviso, Feltre-Belluno and some influences from the dialects from Lombardia.<sup>93</sup> The Portuguese language influenced it in a more lexical way, introducing new terms to signal objects that were not present in the context of origin. Furthermore, the new words were adapted to the phono-morphological characteristics of the Venetians dialect.<sup>94</sup>

### 2.3.4 The dictatorship and the concept of "idiomatic crime"

When the Italians started to settle in Brazil, newspapers and weekly publications destined to them started to be produced. They were often supported by subscriptions and they became an element of cohesion for the emigrants (especially in the cities) and a push to literacy.

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<sup>91</sup> Cortellazzo M., (1995).

<sup>92</sup> Translation: "The migrants who founded my city, Pinto Bandeira, were all Italians, for the majority from Veneto but there were also from Lombardia and half a dozen from Piemonte. The Venetians were almost all from the area of Vicenza and Treviso. Subsequently, some Spanish, one German and one Polish arrived. But at Pinta (Pinto Bandeira) they did not talk Spanish, German or Polish: only Venetian. With time, even if at home every family spoke their own dialect - viçentin, belunat, trevisan, veronese, bargamasco, cremonese, mantuano - in the town they spoke a mixture, a real koiné, closer to the trevisan and viçentin than to the cremonese or the bergamasco. In our house we spoke a mixture of belunat - grandfather Luzzatto came from Belluno - and trentino - grandfather Loss came from Caoria, near Trento. My mother, who came from Trento, used to say that the people from Pinta spoke an ugly language. Sure, they did not speak the trentino."

<sup>93</sup> Frosi, M., F., (2001).

<sup>94</sup> Bagna, C., (2011), p. 335.

Between 1875 and 1960 over five hundred newspapers and weekly publications were published, both in Italian and *Talian*.<sup>95</sup> Two of the major examples are the Italian *Fanfulla* in São Paulo, the second newspaper of the city before the 1940, and the *Correio Riograndense*, born in 1909 and still existing, that at the time was entirely written in *Talian*.

Nevertheless, during the 1940s, the regime of the dictator Getúlio Vargas changed the relationship of the country with languages that were not Portuguese. The Italian (*Talian*) language, together with German (Riograndenser Hunsrückisch) and other languages spoken by the índios and other immigrants were subject to measures of persecution.

Because of the Great Depression started in 1929 with the U.S. stock market crash, Getúlio Vargas succeeded to obtain power by introducing a new form of political power, the populism, which appeals to the interests and conceptions of the general population. During his first term (1930-1934) Vargas opposed the oligarchy of the Paulista coffee producers and land owners and focused on economic stimulus. Focusing on the internal problems of the country, he introduced nationalistic ideals. On November 10, 1937, one year before his second and last term of presidency ended, Vargas made a national radio address accusing the Communist Party to have organized a plot to overthrow the government. As a consequence, the Congress gave greater powers to Vargas to be able to deal with the threat. Following this date, Vargas decreed a state of emergency and, by dissolving the Legislature and abolishing the Constitution, placed all governing power in his hands. From 1937, the year of the *golpe* and the birth of the *Estado Novo*, the nationalistic ideas became the base of the dictatorship. From 1937 to 1945, during the development of the new regime, Vargas' government aimed to create a Brazilian national identity, mainly through the education of

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid. p. 336.



the minorities to the Brazilian culture and the Portuguese language.<sup>96</sup> In the same years the concept of "idiomatic crime" was born: starting from 1938 with the Nationalization campaign, speaking the Italian dialects and other languages brought to Brazil by migrants began to be seen as something unpatriotic.<sup>97</sup> 644.458 people, the majority of them Brazilian citizens born in Brazil who spoke German daily, together with 458.054 people who spoke Italian<sup>98</sup> started to be harassed because they were not integrated in the nation. They did not use the official language and were prone to follow the culture and beliefs of their country of origin. They were called "enemies of the country", "fascists" and "Nazi" and as such they were humiliated, arrested, extorted of money and punished with the pretext to have sometimes spoken a word in their own language<sup>99</sup>. As a consequence, the prohibition of the Italian language created conflicts in the social, commercial and cultural life of the migrants. They were controlled and arrested at the minimum infraction, and as punishment they could be sent to work on the streets under police surveillance, so that their humiliation was complete.<sup>100</sup> At the same time, according to the law called "Nacionalização do Ensino", the private schools were converted to public schools where the only language of instruction was Portuguese. Moreover, the publication of books and other works in foreign languages was prohibited and many newspapers (among them the Italian *Fanfulla* in São Paulo) were suppressed.

Nevertheless, some people refused to speak Portuguese as first language and continued to speak their own language. As a result, the government created concentration camps (mainly the State of Santa Catarina), euphemistically called "confinement areas". Also, the army was sent to teach "how to be Brazilians" to the population and could arrest and torture who

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<sup>96</sup> Rugeri, T. C., (2013).

<sup>97</sup> Fontana, N., I., (2012), p.199.

<sup>98</sup> De Oliveira, G., M.,(2008), p.6. In Mortara, G, (1950).

<sup>99</sup> Moser, A. *A Violência do Estado Novo Brasileiro Contra Italianos*. [www.ipol.org.br](http://www.ipol.org.br)

<sup>100</sup> Favero, R.A., (2004).

refused to do so or was caught to speak their own language. Also, the children were taught to report their parents if they talked Italian or other foreign languages in the privacy of their own home.<sup>101</sup>

The Italian names of places of buildings had to be translated to Portuguese or changed in their entirety. Hence, *Nova Trento* became *Flores da Cunha* and *Nova Vicenza* became *Farroupilha*, while one of the most prestigious football teams in Brazil, founded by Italians, had to change its name from *Palestra Itália* to *Palmeiras*.<sup>102</sup>

As a result, the migrants who did not speak Portuguese were reduced to silence. The nationalist policies introduced an atmosphere of terror and shame, which largely prevented the generational transfer of those languages that, as a consequence, together with the written form of the language, lost the historical and cultural memory of a population.<sup>103</sup>

### **2.3.5 Rediscovery and recognition**

With the advent of the Centenary of the Italian Immigration to Brazil (1875-1975) the language and culture that had been suffocated for decades begin to emerge anew. During the 1980s, with the advent of discourses on globalization, the linguistic and cultural differences of the country started to be appreciated and enhanced. Some communities began to develop a tremendous interest in their history and cultural memory and some cities founded by Italians began to introduce Italian in schools as a foreign language.<sup>104</sup> Nowadays, the *Talian* is spoken as first language by five hundred thousand Italian descendants. It is often referred to as the *dialeto vêneto rio-grandense* because, as it is showed in Map 3, it mainly exists in the south of the country (Rio Grande do Sul). It is primarily used in the states

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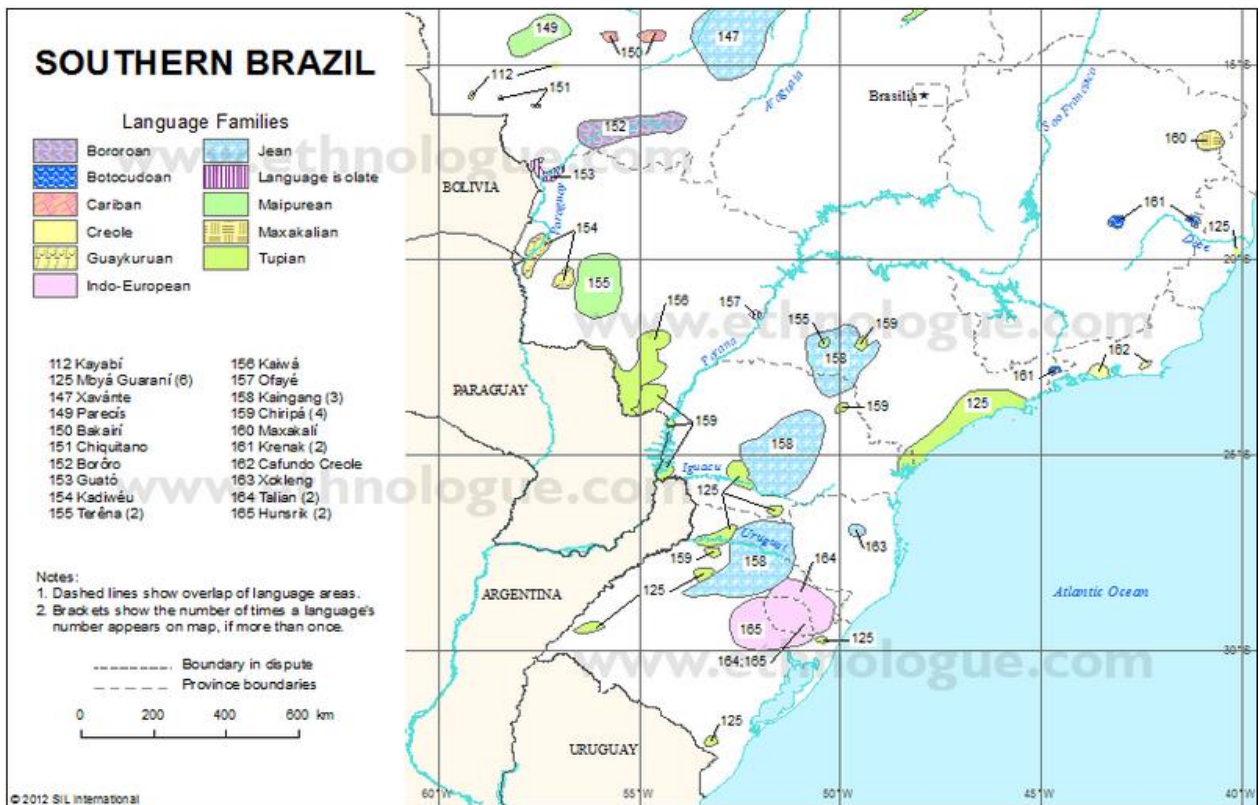
<sup>101</sup> De Oliveira, G., M., (2008), p.6. In Dall'Alba, J. L. (1986).

<sup>102</sup> Marcato, C., (2007), p. 90.

<sup>103</sup> De Oliveira, G., M., (2008), p.6.

<sup>104</sup> Pinheiro, L.,S., (2008), p.1.

of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná but it also exists in isolated Italian descendant communities in the states of Espírito Santo (ex. Venda Nova do Imigrante) and Minas Gerais.



Map 3: Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Eighteenth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

A language, to be official, needs the support of an ethnic group, grammar, syntax, and a morphological-lexical structure. Furthermore, it needs a cultural production, memory and tradition. The *Talian* satisfies all the cardinal points. It is spoken and understood by at least a million people (so that it could easily be considered as another Romance language in the same way as Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese) and it is used in everyday life and in any kind of situation.<sup>105</sup> It has many literary publications, dictionaries, and grammars such as the *Gramàtica do Dialeto Italiano Rio-Grandense*, written on the basis of the book Nanetto

<sup>105</sup> Miazzo, G., (2013), p.89.

Pipetta<sup>106</sup>, and later the *Gramàtica Morfológica do Dialeto Veneto*. The first dictionary for emigrants was written in 1977 by A. W. Stawinski and it was called *Gramàtica e Vocabulário do Dialeto Italiano Rio Grandense*. It was followed by *Il Dicionário do Dialeto Veneto-Sul-Rio-Grandense-Português*. More recently the UTRIM (Triveneti union in the world), under the patronage of the Veneto region, created a new *Dicionário Vêneto-Português-italiano*. The first traces of *Talian* in written form appeared in the newspaper *Staffetta Riograndense*, today renamed *Correio Riograndense*.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, there are more than one hundred radios and many television programs that are entirely in *Talian*.

In recent years *Talian* began to be recognized officially. In 2009, in the occasion of *II Fórum Nacional da Língua Talian* and of the *III Encontro Nacional dos Difusores do Talian*, the city of Serafina Corrêa in the state of Rio Grande do Sul was the first to recognize *Talian* as a second official language. During the same year it became historical and cultural heritage of the states of Rio Grande do Sul<sup>108</sup> and Santa Catarina.<sup>109</sup> Finally, in 2014, the state of Brazil recognized it as cultural heritage of the state.<sup>110</sup>

## 2.4 The role of *religion* in the Italian migration to Brazil

### 2.4.1 The origins of religion in Brazil

The Christian religion is present in Brazil since the end of the sixteenth century, when the French Calvinists (Huguenots) occupied for twelve years, between 1555 and 1567, the Bay of

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<sup>106</sup> Fr. Bernardi, A., "Vita e Storia di Nanetto Pipetta, nassuo in Itàlia e vegnudo in Mèrica per catare la cucagna", published as feuilleton by the *Correio Riograndense*, from January 1924 to February 1925. Nanetto Pipetta was a fictional character and his story, described the life of the first Italian immigrants in Brazil. Written by Aquiles Bernardi, a Capuchin friar son of Italian immigrants, born in Brazil in 1891. The story is written in Venetian with some Portuguese elements.

<sup>107</sup> Miazzo, G., (2013), p.89.

<sup>108</sup> Governo do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul, "Governadora sanciona lei que declara o Talian dialeto integrante do patrimônio do RS", *Todos pelo Rio Grande*, 12.06.2009.

<sup>109</sup> Legislação Estadual, N°14.951, 11 November 2009.

<sup>110</sup> Assessoria de Imprensa do MinC, Com informações do Iphan, *Iphan certifica três línguas como Referência Cultural Brasileira*, Ministério da Cultura, 18.11.2014.

Guanabara, in what is today the state of Rio de Janeiro. From 1624 to 1654 parts of the northeast of the country were conquered by the Dutch, who established Calvinists missionaries among the population (and the índios). Subsequently, the Protestant Church almost disappeared when both colonial and imperial governments supported Catholicism. Nevertheless, since the eighteenth century, due to the arrival of diplomatic representatives from the United States and central-north Europe and since the 1824 when the Lutherans began to disembark together with the mass of German immigrants, the protestant religion has started to grow again.<sup>111</sup>

In recent times the Catholicism is the predominant religion (64.6%) followed by the Protestantism (22.2%). The numbers of Protestants in Brazil, especially Pentecostals, are continuously increasing. In 1970 the IBGE (Istituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística), registered 4.8 million Evangelicals. In 1980 they were 7.9 and in 2000 they reached 26 millions.

#### **2.4.2 Historiography: before and after the centenary**

If we take into consideration the traditional historiography on the Italian colonization of the Rio Grande do Sul, it is possible to understand how the idea of the colonization is idealized. Indeed in the majority of the history books the colonists are praised for their deep faith, their disposition for work and their pacific and ordinate lives. Nevertheless, in conjunction with the hundredth anniversary of the Italian immigration to Rio Grande do Sul, many more literary production on the different aspects of the colonists' life (the habits, the daily life, the religion, the economy and the politics) were published. And although the traditional historiography was based on documentary sources, the new publications uncovered many

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<sup>111</sup> Verona, A.,F., (2011), p.45.

contradictions and cases of divergence and showed the colonial communities in a more complex and contradictory way.

One of the most important works after the centenary was written by Olívio Manfroi<sup>112</sup>. In his book he describes the power of the religion (and consequently of the clergymen) on the colonists. He writes about the position of the Catholic Church in the communities and how the religion carried an important social factor in the colonist's definition of himself. Another important work is *Igreja e imigração italiana*.<sup>113</sup> The author describes the integration of the migrants in the Brazilian environment and how the church played a fundamental role in their lives.

Other authors have considered religion as a link between the colonists that made it possible to strengthen their sense of community and survive the hostile environment.<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, the power of the church on the people sometimes gave rise to ill will and malevolence. In *O crime do padre Sório*,<sup>115</sup> Luiz Eugênio Véscio describes the case of a priest who was attacked by a group of men and died three days later from the injuries sustained. This work was one of the first to uncover the conflicts between the local population and their priests.

### **2.4.3 The case of *Rio Grande do Sul***

*“Deus, os santos, a Virgem Maria seriam a força vital para a sobrevivência dos colonos desamparados durante a viagem e nos primeiros anos de seu estabelecimento no Rio Grande do Sul.”<sup>116 117</sup>*

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<sup>112</sup> Manfroi, O., (2001).

<sup>113</sup> Zagonel, C., A., (1975).

<sup>114</sup> De Boni, L., A., (1996). In Hildebrando, J., (org), (1979).

<sup>115</sup> Véscio, L., E., (2001).

<sup>116</sup> Manfroi, O., (2001), p.7.

<sup>117</sup> Translation: "God, the Saints and the Virgin Mary would be the vital force for the survival of the helpless colonists during the trip and the first years of their establishment in Rio Grande do Sul."

The migrants who arrived to the southern part of Brazil, together with their few possessions brought a traditional religion based on purity, obedience and discipline. Considering that neither the rationalist moral nor the secularization of the liberalism in Europe had reached their regions before they migrated, they also did not have time to infiltrate the migrant's beliefs.<sup>118</sup> According to Manfroi, the presence of the religion within the Italian immigrant communities was the central point of the colonial experience and it reconstructed their core cultural values, centered on the Catholic religion. This enabled the migrants to overcome the initial difficulties and to forget the homeland.<sup>119</sup>

Unlike the migrants who arrived to São Paulo, they were isolated from everything and unprotected by the state. As reported by De Boni, the element that kept them together was not their being Italian, because the unification had been too recent and the newly made state did not help them in their situation. It was not the language either, because every group spoke their own dialect. They were united by their religion. Almost all the migrants were Catholic, and their faith gave them the indispensable assistance to restart their lives, both individually and collectively.<sup>120</sup>

The immigrant daily practices were all linked to their religion, as they lived in a relationship of love and discipline, respect and fear. According to Corteze, without the religion the Italian colonization in Brazil would have failed to prevail on the Herculean difficulties that it faced.<sup>121</sup> The moral rigidity of their spirituality meant that the physical pleasure was substituted by the virtues and merits of their work.

Consequently to the harsh living conditions, the probability of a community's disintegration was high. As a result, the religion took control of every little aspect of the daily life, so that

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<sup>118</sup> Cocco, R., (2008), p. 9-30.

<sup>119</sup> Manfroi, O., (2001).

<sup>120</sup> De Boni, L., A., *O catolicismo da imigração: do triunfo à crise*. In.: J.H. Dacanal (org.), (1980), p.253.

<sup>121</sup> Corteze, D., P., (2002).

the migrants could be guided to a common aim. The scriptures and dogmas were translated and interpreted into practical guidance strongly controlled by schools and church and based on the concepts of guilt, sin and fear against the unknown and mysterious existence.<sup>122</sup>

Prayer was an essential part of the day. In the morning, the minimum prayers recited were the sign of the cross, a prayer to the Holy Guardian Angel and three Hail Marys. To not lose time often the colonists tended to the animals while praying. At night every family would gather for the Rosary.<sup>123</sup>

One conversation recorded in the book *Rio Maior* (Mazzurana, Cancellier, 2012) shows how the religion infiltrated every little aspect of the daily life of the colonists. The exchange is between two women who arrived to Brazil with the first groups of migrants, and consequently they speak their dialect.

-*Comare, atu fat chi che te sê fota?*

- *Se te sавesse, comare! Son duda ià tel' gà, che hei sentù na pita a cocodà e heicatà set vùo. Co son vegnuda de olta son smolegada, son duda fora de luoc em pie e no stae pi meo.*

-*Comare, vâ fate segnà che te stà meo sùbito.*

- *Grafie, que te me hà insegnà, comare!"* <sup>124 125</sup>

Furthermore, in the same book the authors describe how, after providing for the basic needs of the community (such as to deforest the jungle to plant fields to sustain themselves, build houses and create roads) the first migrants immediately turned their thoughts to God.

*"Apesar de todas essas preocupações, nunca deixaram de lado a idéia de erigir uma capela onde fazer suas preces aos domingos, cantar o ofício dos mortos, rezar um*

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<sup>122</sup> Cocco, R., (2008), p.4.

<sup>123</sup> Battistel, A., I., (1981), p.602.

<sup>124</sup> Translation: "-Comare, you are limping!What did you do? -If only you knew, comare!I was there in the stream because I had heard a chicken singing and I had found seven eggs. While returning I fell, I twisted my foot and it does not heal anymore. - Comare, go to have it blesses and it will improve soon!- Thank you for the advice, comare!"

<sup>125</sup> Mazzurana Muraro., V., Cancellier De Lorenzi., O., (2012), p. 40.



*terço e comemorar o dia do seu padroeiro São Gervásio, como faziam em sua aldeia natal, na Itália."* <sup>126 127</sup>

The majority of the early settlements did not have a priest for the first years so they used to choose the more literate among them to guide the congregation during the weekly mass and the holy days. The prayers were recited in Latin or in Italian. If they were in Latin only a few people could understand them and usually they were mispronounced. However, the incomprehensible words added mystery to the sacred rites.<sup>128</sup>

#### **2.4.4 The case of São Paulo**

In the area of São Paulo the religion spread in a completely different way. One of the most important religious congregations in Brazil is called *Congregação Cristã no Brasil*, known in the country as CCB. It was founded in 1910 by an Italian immigrant, and it spread among the Italians during the next decades. The church and its believers mainly resided in São Paulo.<sup>129</sup> Since the great majority of the Italian migrants were fervent Catholics, it is rather surprising that so many of them converted to Protestantism during the twentieth century.

In Italy the migrants, mostly from the North, had a special relation with the Catholic religion. Especially in the villages, the *struttura parrocchiale* (parish structure) was at the center of everyday life. The priest was the undisputed religious and moral authority and because of the constant political changes since the fall of the *Serenissima*, he also carried the civil and political power, being the only permanent institution over time.

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<sup>126</sup> Translation: "*Despite all these concerns, they never put aside the idea to erect a chapel where to have their prayers on Sunday, to chant the office of the dead, to recite the rosary and to celebrate the day of their patron Saint Gervasius, as they did at their home village in Italy.*"

<sup>127</sup> Mazzurana Muraro., V., Cancellier De Lorenzi., (2012), p. 53.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. p. 39.

<sup>129</sup> Verona, A.,F., (2011)., p.46.

Nevertheless, when the Italians started to arrive to Brazil they did not have any choice but to sever themselves from the Catholic Church. The reasons were many. As Arrigo de Zettiry writes in his 1981 relation for the *Jornal do Comércio*:

*"Chi conosce il contadino italiano sa che per lui, e specialmente pel Veneto che là è più numeroso, il culto religioso è una necessità. Egli è credente, e comunque uno la pensi, deve rispettare e secondare questa convinzione. Chi viaggi in San Paolo troverà belle fazendas di caffè, colonie numero uno, tutto quello che si può desiderare, ma la Chiesa, soltanto nella città o villaggio che serve di capoluogo al municipio. A questa Chiesa si pretende che il giorno di festa si rechino i coloni di fazendas lontane due, tre, quattro e più leghe, cioè a dire tredici, venti, ventisei e più chilometri. Ho detto si pretende, perché una volta ammessa la necessità che il contadino sente della religione e delle pratiche del culto, non è se una pretesione poco logica quella di obbligarlo a far tanto cammino per soddisfare a quel suo bisogno morale. Ora, poiché non è possibile che le donne specialmente possano sottoporsi a quella fatica, perciò sono obbligate a fare a meno della chiesa, del prete, della religione. Di qui il rimpianto del paesetto nativo, che abbandonarono emigrando; di qui il malcontento che moltissime volte mi fu dai coloni esternato dicendo: 'Viviamo qui come delle bestie', frase d'uso, con cui esprimono la non osservanza dei precetti cattolici."<sup>130 131</sup>*

As Brazil had become secular not long before<sup>132</sup>, neither the local authorities nor the *fazendeiros* had any problem with the lack of churches. In the majority of the *fazendas*, the presence of the priests was not constant. The control of the religious sphere was in the

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<sup>130</sup> Verona, A.,F., (2011), p.47. Previously in: De Zettiry, A., (1893), p.66-67.

<sup>131</sup> Translation: "Who knows the Italian farmer knows that for him, and especially for the Venetians who are the most numerous, the religious belief is a necessity. He is a believer, and however one thinks, he has to respect and follow his belief. If one travels to São Paulo, he will find beautiful coffee fazendas, number one colonies, everything he can desire, but the Church will be only in the city or village that is the chief town of the municipality. It is expected that, during the Holy days, the colons of fazendas that are two, three, four or more leagues, that is thirteen, twenty, twenty-six and more km, have to walk. I said expected because once one admits the necessity that the farmer feels towards the religion and its worship practices, it is not more than a claim to obligate him to walk so much to satisfy his moral needs. Now, because it is not possible for women to sustain that sustain that strain, they are obligated to live without church, priest and religion. Hence, the mourning of the loss of the native village, abandoned while emigrating. Hence the discontent that many times was uttered to me saying : 'We live like beasts here' sentence with which they express the non-observance of the Catholic commandments."

<sup>132</sup> 1891: The advent of the Republic and the Constitution that sanctioned the separation between Church and State.

hands of the owner (or his administrator). He owned the land, the chapels and the colonists' houses. It was him who authorized the presence of the priest in the *fazenda*, who paid the expenses and the fees of worship and who determined the pace of religious activities. This situation created from the beginning a distrust between the priest and the colonists.

Another reason of the dissociations of the migrants with the church could be found in the priests. As De Zettiry continues:

*"Che se poi fosse piccolo l'inconveniente della scarsità di chiese, ve n'è un altro ben più grave ed è che generalmente il prete che amministra pensa poco alla soddisfazione del proprio dovere. Molti preti sono fazendeiros, sono beneficiadores di caffè, sono negozianti, sono politicanti, sono tutto ciò che è mondano ma non ministri di Dio, sacerdoti, apostoli e tutto ciò che dovrebbero essere."*<sup>133</sup>

In order to understand the behavior of the Brazilian priests it is necessary to take a step back to 1456. In that year Papa Calisto III spurred the creation of a *Padroado* (patronage) with Portugal with the papal bull *Inter caetera*. According to the deal, the Holy See delegated the administration of the Catholic Church in the colonized lands to the Catholic kings. In return, the king's obligations were to collect the ecclesiastical tithes, to build churches and provide them with everything necessary for the celebrations, to appoint priests and propose names for the office of bishop. As a result, the kingdom had both political-administrative power and religious power. With the passing of time the church underwent a slow change towards more worldly matters, becoming more and more involved with the political power. One of the most known examples is the Inquisition, which altered its role from being a religious institution at the beginning, to almost a police force towards the end.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Translation: "And even if the number of churches would be higher, there would be another problem in the person of the priest, who thinks little to satisfy its duty. Many priests are fazendeiros, beneficiadores of coffee, dealers, politicians and everything that is mundane instead of being Ministers of God, priests, apostles and everything they should be."

<sup>134</sup> Santos, P., F., (2010).

Therefore, because of the *Padroado*, priests were free (and almost expected) to handle both spiritual and material matters. Brazil lived under the *Padroado* regime until the proclamation of the Republic in 1891, when the country became laic, but the effects of it lasted for many years after. The Italian migrants who encountered the priests felt ashamed because they did not have enough money to pay the ten liras required to baptize their baby, or thirty/fifty for a marriage. In Italy it was common to support the village priests but the new prices could be paid only by the wealthier class.<sup>135</sup> The feeling of neglect continued even in subsequent years, when the Catholic Church introduced in the communities more priests from Europe, closely linked to the Holy See.<sup>136</sup> Because of different reasons (the remoteness of the religion they were accustomed to, the abandonment of the *fazendas* following the economic crisis that struck the coffee production during the first years of the twentieth century and the consequent internal migration of the colonists to the cities) the time was ready for the birth of a new church, distant from the traditional Catholic Church, but nevertheless a faith whose believers were for the most part Italians.

#### **2.4.4.1 The *Congregação Cristã do Brasil* (CCB)**

In 1910, Luigi Francescon<sup>137</sup> (44 years old) arrived to São Paulo. He had migrated to the United States in 1890, after three years of military service in Italy. In the same year he "accepted Christ as the savior"<sup>138</sup> and was evangelized by Waldensians missionaries<sup>139</sup>. In 1892, together with two other believers, he founded the first Italian Presbyterian Church, where he became a deacon. Because of a disagreement about the way to administer baptism, he left the church in 1903 and started a small evangelical community called

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<sup>135</sup> Verona, A.,F., (2011), p.47. Previously in: De Zettiry, A., (1893), p.68.

<sup>136</sup> Verona, A.,F., (2011), p.48.

<sup>137</sup> *Luigi Francescon*, born in Cavasso Nuovo (UD) the 29.03.1866 and died in Oak Park the 07.09.1964.

<sup>138</sup> do Mario, *História CCB- A biografia de: Luigi Francescon*, (2009).

<sup>139</sup> The *Waldesian Evangelical Church* (Chiesa Evangelica Valdese) is an Italian Protestant church founded during the 12th Century by Valdo di Lione as an answer to the corruption of the Vatican Church.

*Christian Assembly of Chicago*. In 1910, after having founded the *Christian Assembly of Argentina*, Francescon arrived to São Paulo.<sup>140</sup> The first baptism ceremony took place on the 5th of June 1910 and together with other subsequent ceremonies a small group of believers was created. They called themselves the *Congregação Cristã no Brasil*.<sup>141</sup> The followers of the new church were for the most part Italians. From 1910 to 1938 ten out of fifteen elders ordained within the church in the area of São Paulo were Italians or of Italian origins. This happened because of a simple reason: Luigi Francescon and the new church specifically targeted Italian immigrants during the divulgation of their faith.

*"O início aconteceu com o operariado textil, em Votorantim, no ano de 1912. Existia naquela cidade uma grande concentração de italianos. 'Louis Francescon fica sabendo e para ali se dirige. Portando bíblias e hinários na língua italiana, deu início a um ponto de pregação na barra funda, na atual rua cel. Alfredo maia. Os cânticos e as pregações, no entanto, incomodavam os vizinhos e ele foi obrigado a mudar-se para o começo da vassoroca. Nascia no país a segunda igreja da congregação cristã, que hoje soma milhares de adeptos na cidade."*<sup>142 143</sup>

Accordingly, Francescon looked for places where there was a concentration of Italian migrants and brought them religious books in Italian. It is for this reason that the majority of the CCB until 1930 consisted of Italians. However, these data concern only the state of São Paulo. The expansion towards the other states was very slow. In the state of Paraná the first elder was ordained only in 1931, twenty-one years after the foundation of the church. Also, judging by the name (Alfredo de Souza) he was not Italian. Another example is the state of

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<sup>140</sup> Blog do Mario, *História CCB- A biografia de: Luigi Franscescon*, (2009).

<sup>141</sup> Verona, A.,F., (2011)., p.48.

<sup>142</sup> Camargo, R., F., p. 7-8.

<sup>143</sup> Translation: "*It began with the textile workers in Votorantin in the year 1912. In that city there was a large number concentration of Italians. Luigi Francescon came to know about it and went there. He brought bibles and books of hymns in Italian and started a center of preaching in the Barra Funda, nowadays known as cel. Alfredo Maia road. Still, the songs and the sermons disturbed the neighbors and he was forced to move to the beginning of the Voçoroca. In this way the second church of the Congregação Cristã was born and today it counts thousands of believers.*"

Espirito Santo which population nowadays is composed of 60% by Italian descendants. The first elder was ordained in 1982 and he did not have Italian origins either (Edson de Souza Barbosa). Even later, the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the destination of the first Italian mass migration at the end of the nineteenth century, ordained its first elder only in 1970 and he was not of Italian descendants either (Jorcelino Fernandes Guimarães).

The CCB has some Italian (Waldensian) influences, probably from the period in which Francescon took part in the Italian Presbyterian Church.

*"L'uso della preghiera soltanto la domenica, le azioni di ringraziamento prima dei pasti, la pratica di sentire i testimoni, l'usanza di celebrare insieme la Cena del Signore, il battesimo biblico per immersione, la tradizione degli uomini di sedersi da una parte e le donne dall'altra, l'uso del velo per le donne, il bacio santo, a preoccupazione con l'ausilio sociale (simile alle opere di pietà)."<sup>144 145</sup>*

#### **2.4.5 The Italian descendants and the religion nowadays in Brazil**

According to the *Novo Mapa das Religiões*<sup>146</sup> (Fig.1) the Catholic Church in 1872 was followed by the 99.72% of the Brazilian population. Since then the percentage never stopped to decrease until the year 2000 when it stabilized on 73% for almost three years. Nevertheless, even if in 2009 it reached its lowest ever (68.43%, Fig.1), over 130 million Brazilians are still Catholic.

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<sup>144</sup> Verona, A.,F., (2011)., p.50. Previously in: Ferreira, M., (2009), p.44.

<sup>145</sup> Translation: *"The use of prayer only during Sundays, to give thanks before meals, the practice of hearing witness, the custom to celebrate the Lord's Supper together, the biblical baptism by immersion, the tradition of men sitting on one side and women on the other side, the use of veil for women, the kiss of peace, the concern with social aid."*

<sup>146</sup> Novo Mapa das Religiões / Coordenação Marcelo Côrtes Neri. - Rio de Janeiro: FGV, CPS, 2011

**Brasil: Participação de Católicos na População - 1872 a 2009**

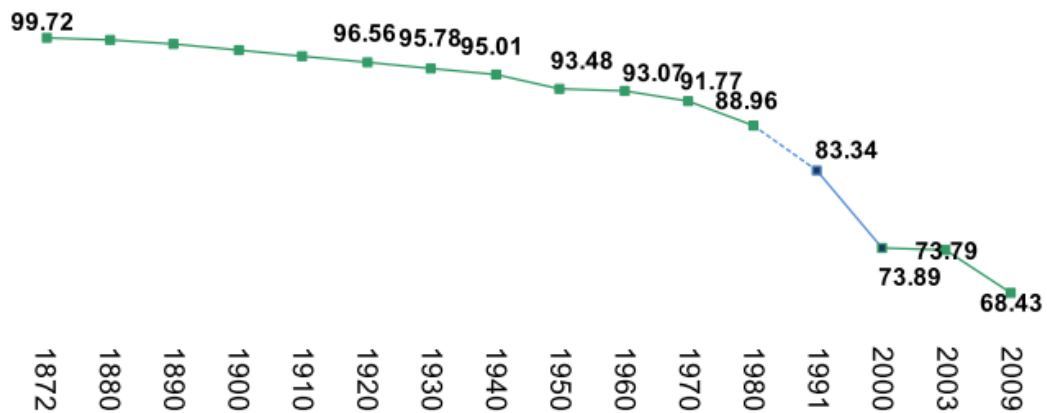


Fig. 1: Novo Mapa das Religiões / Coordenação Marcelo Côrtes Neri. - Rio de Janeiro: FGV, CPS, 2011,p.7

However, as showed in Fig.2, during the last years the other religions, and especially the Evangelical Church, experienced a dramatic increase in their ranks. If in 1890 the Evangelical believers were the 1% of the Brazilian population, during the twentieth century they slowly increased until 1991 when they passed from 9% to 16% of the population in ten years and eventually reached 20.23% of the population in 2009.

**Brasil: Participação na População - 1872 a 2009**

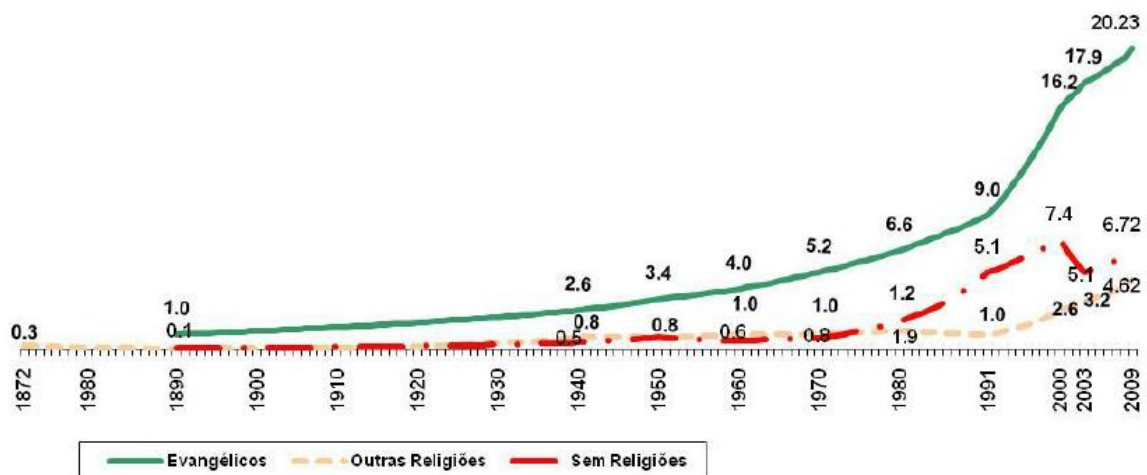


Fig. 2: Novo Mapa das Religiões / Coordenação Marcelo Côrtes Neri. - Rio de Janeiro: FGV, CPS, 2011, p.8.

### 2.4.5.1 Religious festivals

The Italians in Brazil are especially known for organizing big and numerous religious festivals. For some of them the beginning can be dated as back as the 1900. In São Paulo, where the largest number of descendants of Italians is concentrated, the biggest and most known festivities are *Nossa Senhora de Casaluce*, *São Vito Mártir*, *Nossa Senhora Achiropita*, *San Gennaro a Mooca* and *São Francisco de Paula*.

The festivities started mostly with a low-priced budget put together by poor Italian emigrants with the aim of feeling a little closer to their own origins. It was an occasion to gather together and celebrate, in a country that at the time was mostly unknown by them. In more recent years, because of the growing number of visitors, both descendants of Italians and not, the media and the commercial sector have started to consider the festivals as a way to sell merchandising and to advertise their products. The festivities are supported by important sponsors and because of this reason the visitor can find both Italian and not Italian products. As a consequence the stands would sell both *brigadeiro* and *pastel*, *Chianti* and *Vinho tinto*, and the music could range from the *forró* to the *tarantella*, so that every customer can be satisfied. Consequently, the numbers continue to increase. During the festivity of *Nossa Senhora Achiropita* in 2002 the organizers sold 8 thousand kg of flour, 9 thousand kg of spaghetti, 3.500 oil cans, 5 thousand kg of mozzarella, 6 thousand kg of sausages, 5thousand kg of meat, 10 thousand liters of wine, 15 thousand liters of draft beer and 15 thousand liter of non-alcoholic beverages. Some say that the festivities are slowly losing their typical character but the Italians of São Paulo have already accepted the integration that started many years ago together with the expansion of the city.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>147</sup>Staglianò S., "Legami culturali uniti attraverso le feste", *L'Italia in Brasile*, Anno III, n° 5, May 2003. <http://www.musibrasilnet.it/archivio/Diciannove/feste.htm> (17.08)



The festivities have a strong religious connotation. Almost all of them celebrate the life and death of a particular saint. They usually start with a Mass and continue with a procession of the saint's statue through the streets of the neighborhood. They usually take place during the summer and can last up to three months. For example, the *Festa de São Vito Mártir* begins in May and is celebrated every Saturday and Sunday until July since 1918.

The Italian festivals are organized annually by the Italian community that manages them entirely in their realization and start to prepare them well in advance. Every year not less than three hundred volunteers work in the kitchens and at the stands and usually the collection of the festivity is donated to charities.

In conclusion, it is important to notice the substantial difference between descendant of migrants from south Italy and descendants of migrants from central and north Italy.

If descendants from south Italy consider their religion as the most important part of the *festas*, the same cannot be said about the festivities organized by descendants from central and north Italy. In the second case the celebrations are seen as a commercial opportunity to export the Italian popular culture through tourism. Their celebrations have medieval and Renaissance nature, and for the Italians it is a way to find a surrogate of a country to which they resemble less and less.<sup>148</sup>

## **2.5 The concepts of *family* and *work***

### **2.5.1 The concept of family in Brazil before the Italian colonization**

Before the migrants' colonization, Brazil had been at first a Portuguese colony and then an empire. From a social perspective, during this historical time, the country was fundamentally divided into slaves and masters. As De Boni and Costa affirm, only a few modern countries at

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<sup>148</sup> Staglianò S., "Legami culturali uniti attraverso le feste", *L'Italia in Brasile*, Anno III, n° 5, May 2003. <http://www.musibrasilnet.it/archivio/Diciannove/feste.htm> (17.08)

the time had so insignificant family ties.<sup>149</sup> On one hand, the law did not recognize the slaves' right to marry and, as a consequence, they could not have a family. On the other hand the masters usually married out of convenience with the aims of maintaining social relations and to have an heir to continue the patriarchal society. The almost inexistent attachment in the couple most of the times resulted in the tyranny of the husband and the resignation of the wife.<sup>150</sup>

As a result, relationships and marriages were linked to economical factors, the occupation of the land and its production.

Nevertheless, Mariza Corrêa opposes De Boni and Costa's theses. She states that, although at the time the model of patriarchal family dominated, it was not the only kind of family present in the country, and it is not possible to exclude others. That is, the author tries to identify other possibilities of family organization disassociated to the dominating concept of the society at the time and found them in the migrants' social patterns. The Italian colonization of Brazil and more specifically of the southern region of Rio Grande do Sul, would bring to the country a new perspective on family.

## **2.5.2 Family and the decision to migrate**

As De Boni and Costa stated, the migration to Rio Grande do Sul in opposition with other major migratory destinations such as Argentina and USA, was almost completely composed by families. This is because the Brazilian government gave subsidies for the trip and subsequently the land almost exclusively to families<sup>151</sup>. De Boni and Costa continue:

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<sup>149</sup> De Boni, L., Costa, R., *Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul*, 3° ed. ilustr. Porto Alegre: EST; Caxias do Sul: Universidade de Caxias; Correio Brasiliense. 1984.

<sup>150</sup> De Boni, L., Costa, R., *Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul*, 3° ed. ilustr. Porto Alegre: EST; Caxias do Sul: Universidade de Caxias; Correio Brasiliense. 1984.

<sup>151</sup> Beozzo Bassanezi, M.,S.,C., "Família e Imigração Internacional no Brasil do Passado", *Estudos de História*. França, v.6, n.2, 1999, p.291, in De Boni, L., Costa, R., *Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul*, 3° ed. ilustr. Porto Alegre: EST; Caxias do Sul: Universidade de Caxias; Correio Brasiliense. 1984, p.81.

*"Mais de 85% dos homens adultos eram, pois, casados e haviam partido com seus familiares, o que caracteriza a colonização gaúcha como obra de família, e não de indivíduos isolados. Isto não deixou de ter grandes reflexos psicológicos, facilitando ao indivíduo os primeiros tempos na colônia, por não sentir-se isolado. Sob este aspecto, pode-se dizer que os colonos do Rio Grande do Sul foram privilegiados, em comparação com seus compatriotas dispersos pelo mundo."<sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup>*

The decision to leave was taken in the family but gender roles, generation and power relations played an important role. Pictures of wives and mothers at the embarkation ports upset with their husbands and sons who made the family migrate, or pictures of wives who had no alternative but to wait for the *cartas de chamada*<sup>154</sup> sent by their husbands to join them in Brazil show that, for the migration, the decisions were almost always in the hands of the head of the family. Furthermore, his name was written on the collective passport as responsible for his wife, their children and other relatives. However, sometimes women influenced the course of the migratory process by refusing to follow their husband and waiting for their *cartas de chamada*, or assuming the coordination of the process from the moment the decision to migrate was taken.<sup>155</sup> The concession of the subsidy for the trip from the Brazilian government set as requirement for every migrant family to have at least a male person between 12 and 45 years of age and imposed limits in the inclusion of family members who could migrate together. These factors, together with other elements, influenced the chances of families to leave.

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<sup>152</sup> Translation: "Over 85% of adult men were therefore married and had left with their families, which characterized the southern colonization as the work of families, rather than of isolated individuals. This had psychological consequences on the individuals because it eased life during the first years in the colony and it made the migrants feel less isolated."

<sup>153</sup> De Boni, L.,A., Costa, R., Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul, 3. ed. ilustr. Porto Alegre: EST; Caxias do Sul: Universidade de Caxias; Correio Brasiliense, 1984, p.81.

<sup>154</sup> Letters with which the family member who already migrated invited other family members to join him in Brazil.

<sup>155</sup> Beozzo Bassanezi, M.,S.,C., "Família e Imigração Internacional no Brasil do Passado", *Estudos de História*. França, v.6, n.2, 1999, p.295.

The migrant families were, for the most part, composed by a couple or by a couple with single sons or daughters or by one of the spouses who migrated with their son(s)/daughter(s). On average, they consisted of four or five people. However there were also (few) families composed by the couple and their mother(s)/father(s) or, more rarely, with married son(s)/daughter(s).<sup>156</sup>

They migrants were mostly very young. As Giron affirms in her book, two thirds of the men who arrived to the colony of Caxias do Sul aged between 20 and 45 years old, while women aged between 20 and 40 years old.<sup>157</sup> As said, for the most part they were composed by families but there could be some exceptions such as widowers with sons, married men whose families had stayed in Italy and would follow them as soon as economically possible, single men and women travelling with other family members.<sup>158</sup>

As first the migrant couples did not have many children (the average was two per couple). Nevertheless, with the passing years the numbers started to grow. A study conducted by Costa in 1996 takes into consideration the number of children per family both in the province of *Belluno*, in Italy, and in the colony of *Dona Isabel*, in Brazil.<sup>159</sup> The two areas are connected because many people from the towns of *Arsiè*, *Artè* and *Fonzaso* (*Belluno* Province) migrated to the colony of *Dona Isabel*. The study found out that in Italy the average age for marriage was 26.17 for men and 23.06 for women, while in Brazil it dropped to 24.44 for men and 19.65 for women. So that, when it was calculated that the average number of children per couple was 8.25 in Italy and 10.81 in Brazil, it was easy to relate the

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<sup>156</sup> Beozzo Bassanezi, M.,S.,C., "Família e Imigração Internacional no Brasil do Passado", *Estudos de História*. França, v.6, n.2, 1999, p.296.

<sup>157</sup> Giron, L., S., *Caxia do Sul: Evolução Histórica*. Caxias do Sul: UCS/Prefeitura Municipal; Porto Alegre: EST, 1976, p.35.

<sup>158</sup> De Boni, L., Costa, R., *Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul*, 3° ed. ilustr. Porto Alegre: EST; Caxias do Sul: Universidade de Caxias; Correio Brasiliense. 1984.

<sup>159</sup> Cited by De Boni, L., Costa, R., "Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul", *Insieme - A revista italiana daqui*, SOMMO Editora Ltda, Curitiba - PR.

difference to the 30 months of anticipation of the Brazilian couples. Furthermore, the strong influence of the religion and the church in the communities in Rio Grande do Sul played an important role on the reproductive behavior of the migrants:

*"Na visão religiosa do imigrante, o filho representava um dom de Deus que sempre devia ser acolhido como algo sagrado. Não se fala, pois, em limitação [da natalidade] (...) que se devia aceitar todos os filhos mandados por Deus. Explicam-se, assim, por uma evolução natural, as famílias numerosas, contradizendo o pensar comum de que o imigrante, em nosso meio, buscava o maior número de filhos, porque isto representava mão-de-obra na agricultura."<sup>160 161</sup>*

However, in the case of the colonists in the area of São Paulo, the priests and the church did not have an important role in the colonists' life because of the control that the *fazendeiros* had on worship matters. As a result they did not have the same strength of intervention in matters of reproductive behavior and, on average, families had three children less than their counterparts in Rio Grande do Sul. Nevertheless, the colonists in São Paulo had also many children but for social and economical reasons such as support in the old age and to have more workers in the *fazenda*.<sup>162</sup>

### **2.5.3 Changes in Brazil brought by Italian families**

The volume and the socio-demographic characteristics of the Italian group of migrants significantly changed the demographic and family patterns of Brazil. Not only they were reflected in the size of the local population, such as in altering its structure by age, sex and

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<sup>160</sup> Costa, R., "A família italiana da área agrícola do Rio Grande do Sul". In De Boni, *A Presença Italiana no Brasil*, V.III. Porto Alegre/Torino: Edições EST/Fondazione Agnelli, 1996 p.252-266.

<sup>161</sup> Translation: "In the religious vision of the immigrant, the son represented a gift from God and it always had to be accepted as something sacred. Also, it was not even possible to talk about limitation (of birthrate) because all the children sent from God had to be accepted. With this concept of natural evolution it is also possible to contradict the common way of thinking that the immigrants in our country had as many children as they can because they could help in the fields."

<sup>162</sup> Beozzo Bassanezi, M.,S.,C., "Família e Imigração Internacional no Brasil do Passado", *Estudos de História*. França, v.6, n.2, 1999, p.307.

marital status, but consequently they modified the standard rates for marriage, fertility and mortality. Moreover, they brought more dynamism in the traditional spatial mobility of the Brazilian population. The implications of the mass migration in family patterns could be seen, among other things, in the expansions of the marriage choices in the ethnic group, which benefited mainly women<sup>163</sup>, in the increasing of legitimate marriages and in the reduction of illegitimacy rates. Also, the alteration of fertility patterns reflected in the size and dynamics of the families.<sup>164</sup> Other than the origins and the gender ratio, other factors influenced the marriage choices among the immigrants. The place where they decided to settle (both for small land owners in Rio Grande do Sul and for workers in *fazendas* in São Paulo) could have played a very important role because the concentration of migrants of the same nationality facilitated the marriage between equals. The organization of space and work isolated the communities in the colonies from the communities in the *fazendas*, in a way that there was very little communication between the two groups. As a result, in a community where homogamy was the norm, the marriage choices were limited.

Furthermore, the socio-economic and religious roles in a marriage were important. The religious homogamy was very strong not only in the Catholic population but also in the Lutheran and Presbyterian. As an example, in the town of Rio Claro, during a period of sixty years only twenty-seven weddings happened between Catholics and people from other religions.<sup>165</sup> Moreover, it was common to have more than one marriage between two families, so that two sisters/brothers would marry two brothers/sisters from another family, solidifying old ties of friendship and bringing together people who migrated from the same village in Italy.

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<sup>163</sup> Among the Portuguese migrants the individual male migration predominated.

<sup>164</sup> Beozzo Bassanezi, M.,S.,C., "Família e Imigração Internacional no Brasil do Passado", *Estudos de História*. França, v.6, n.2, 1999, p.291.

<sup>165</sup> Beozzo Bassanezi, M.,S.,C., "Família e Imigração Internacional no Brasil do Passado", *Estudos de História*. França, v.6, n.2, 1999, p.301.

## 2.5.4 Family as a work unity

The migrant family upon its arrival to Brazil became a unity of production and consumption, where the assignments were divided according to gender and age. In the *fazendas*, in the small rural properties and in the urban areas, the work of all the family members was essential for the survival of the group.

### 2.5.4.1 The case of *São Paulo*

In the *fazendas*, children between 7 and 11 years old gave assistance in some domestic chores such as caring for younger sibling, bringing food to the fields and care for the garden and the animals. Their work was important because it helped to reduce the mother's workload in the house. Young boys between 12 and 16 years old were already officially included in the work force, even though they had not yet reached the fullness of their physical capacity and could work only half time in the plantation. The adults were divided in two groups. The first was composed by people between 17 and 45 years old, who had full physical capacity and would work full-time in the plantation. The second group was composed by older adults (more than 45 years old) who would continue to work full-time but whose physical capacity would slowly decrease with the advancing of age.<sup>166</sup> The men, besides working in the plantations and in their own fields for the subsistence of the family, were responsible for the communication between the family and the *fazendeiros* and performed casual work when requested by them. The women divided their work between domestic chores and fields because the contract of *colonato* ensured flexibility in the allocation of the family work power so that the woman could also be a productive participant. In the house she was the first to wake up and the last to sleep. She did

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<sup>166</sup> Beozzo Bassanezi, M.,S.,C., *Família e força de trabalho no colonato subsídios para compreensão da dinâmica demográfica no período cafeeiro*. Núcleo de estudos de população - NEPO- Universidade Estadual de Campinas - UNICAMP, Campinas (SP) Brasil, Julho 1986.

everything possible in order to save and help the family group. In addition to caring for and educating the children, she sewed, washed and cooked, took care of the garden and of the wood for the fire. Moreover, she would deal with animals such as pigs and cows (prepare lard, soap, preserve the meat etc.).<sup>167</sup>

#### **2.5.4.2 The case of *Rio Grande do Sul***

The thousands of immigrants arriving to the south of Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century had the aim to own a piece of land and be able to cultivate it to sustain their families. Italy was left behind because of the impossibility of realizing the dream of independency that, according to the propaganda, was possible in Brazil. The Brazilian land never was a financial undertaking but it merely represented freedom and the possibility of upward social mobility. When they effectively arrived to Brazil they discovered that the condition of living were harder than expected. Their absolute solitude and the abandonment of the government, together with the daily fight with the jungle to obtain enough land to build a house and plant crops, put the migrants in front of a decision: fight back and work hard or succumb to the environment. As a result, being the owner of land, being thrifty and working hard became the main values of the Italian migrants in Rio Grande do Sul. Sentences like "my colony" or "here everyone is the owner of his own nose" or "I am rich as the Count", were commonly said among them.<sup>168</sup>

For a young man to be able to marry meant that he had to have his own land. To work under someone else was seen as shameful, because the area of colonization was vast and there was always the possibility of being self-employed. This is why the research for other lands where the individuals could be owners was continuous. Nevertheless, owning the land

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<sup>167</sup> Oliveira, M.,C.,F.,A., de O., Madeira, F., *População e Força de Trabalho: o Caso da cafeicultura Paulista*. Trabalho apresentado no III Encontro Nacional da ABEP. Vitória, 1982 mimeo.

<sup>168</sup> De Boni, L., Costa, R., "Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul", *Insieme - A revista italiana daqui*, SOMMO Editora Ltda, Curitiba - PR.



meant nothing without work. The colonists worked from sunrise to sunset, ignored the bad weather, endured and accepted many sacrifices. The land was not seen as a gift but as a conquest that could be conquered by the arm of the colonist. Work was the value par excellence. If a man was a hard worker, the bad habits he had were, most of the time, forgiven. Many times it was said that a young man looking for a wife was "poor but hard working" or, in opposition, that a girl was "beautiful but was not able to do anything." Of a family it could be said that they *laora come orsi, ma i ga de tuto* (work like bears [very hard] but have everything).<sup>169</sup> In opposition with the situation in Italy, in Brazil the colonists could become rich through their hard work. Some of them, beginning with nothing ended up as rich and influential and they became advisers to other migrants who arrived after them. This was possible also because of the colonists' parsimony and frugality. They saved every cent and every last grain of wheat and they did not make new clothes until the old were reduced to rags. They had been educated in this way by the hard life in Italy and even if the situation in Brazil was more favorable they did not change their habits.

Nevertheless, in the solitude of the forest the colonists would not have survived by themselves. It is because of this that the family became the central element of the migration experience. The Italian family brought its organization from the other side of the ocean: patriarchal, with many children, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law and other relatives. In Brazil, the norm was that the sons got married one by one and bought their own lands, while the last one stayed with his parents until their deaths and inherited the property, usually indemnifying the other brothers.

The family worked together in all major activities such as the cultivation and the harvesting of temporary and permanent cultures and the preparation of the harvested grain. Moreover,

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<sup>169</sup> De Boni, L., Costa, R., "Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul", *Insieme - A revista italiana daqui*, SOMMO Editora Ltda, Curitiba - PR.

they gathered fruits, cut the hay, threshed the corn and brought the animals to pasture. The father was the highest authority, who decided the work, administered the assets and managed the money. Together with his sons he killed the animals and built and cared for fences. Mother and daughters were in charge of housework and child care. In particular, they drew milk, made cheese and butter, cultivated the garden and the orchard, sold eggs, fruits and vegetables at the market and bought the necessary things for the kitchen and the family.<sup>170</sup> They also accompanied the men in the fields when possible. Sometimes the mother would take charge of the household and in that case it would have been common to hear the neighbors comment "*La cesa la ze pi alta del campanile*" (The church is higher than the bell tower).

### **2.5.5 The results of *working hard***

When the Brazilian government opened the borders of the country to the immigrants, the aim was to fill those parts of the land that were inhabited until that moment. Nevertheless, the Italian immigrants would not become livestock breeders, the dominant activity in the South, or farmers of monocultures plantations, such as coffee or sugar, that were so abundant already in the country.

As Vânia Herédia and Loraine Giron write:

*"Um novo mundo e uma nova cultura se instalam nas terras antes dominadas pelos gaúchos, os 'monarcas das coxilhas'. As fazendas na expansão da colonização são ocupadas pelos pequenos agricultores. Estes e suas famílias colorem de forma diferente os vales e as montanhas."*<sup>171 172</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Giron, L.,S., Bergamaschi, H.,E., *Colônia: um conceito controverso*, Caxias do Sul: EDUCS, 1996.

<sup>171</sup> Translation: "A new world and a new culture is establish in the lands before cultivated by gaúchos, the 'kings of the grassy hills.' During the expansion of the colonization, the fazendas will be occupied by small farmers. Them and their families will color the valleys and the mountains in a different way."

<sup>172</sup> Costa, R., Giron, L., S., *Homem, Obra e Acervo*, Suliani Editografia, 2005, p.23.

Maestri argues that the colonizing project provided land for tens of thousands of European families of rural workers and peasants.<sup>173</sup> Subsequently, they rapidly occupied the whole northern part of the region Rio Grande do Sul and, at the start of the twentieth century, started to expand to the neighbor state of Santa Catarina.

Because of their familiar culture of living in smallholdings in Italy, the migrants did not have great problems to adapt to the Brazilian government's project to divide the land into little colonies to be given to the colonists. Their purpose was to produce what was needed to sustain themselves and then sell the surplus to the market. For this reason, using a system invented by the native populations of the land and subsequently recovered by the German immigrants, the colonists deforested and set fire to the jungle. In this way thousands of hectares of forest were destroyed to make way for new crops. In a few years the Italian colonists were successfully producing for themselves and for the market. Mário Maestri writes that "*Criavam galinhas, porcos e muitos filhos, que aumentavam a força de trabalho familiar. Almejava-se a autosubsistência, ou seja, produzir tudo que fosse necessário ao grupo familiar.*"<sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> The relation between family workforce and small land ownership will change the region toward a more differentiated agriculture. The consul Pascoale Corte presented the following table during an exposition in Turin:

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<sup>173</sup> Maestri, M., Os Senhores da Serra: a colonização italiana no Rio Grande do Sul. 2.ed. Passo Fundo: UPF, 2005.

<sup>174</sup> Maestri, M., Os Senhores da Serra: a colonização italiana no Rio Grande do Sul. 2.ed. Passo Fundo: UPF, 2005, p.86.

<sup>175</sup> Translation: "*They raised chickens, pigs and many children, which increased the family labor force. The intention was self-subsistence, which is, producing everything necessary to the family unit.*"

	<i>Abitanti</i>	<i>Equini</i>	<i>Bovini</i>	<i>Suini</i>	<i>Grano</i>	<i>Fagioli</i>	<i>Mais</i>	<i>Vino</i>
Caxias	12.540	10.700	3.500	12.000	1.200	1.600	3.200	2.900
D. Isabel	8.339	11.700	3.800	12.000	1.445	1.736	3.011	2.795
C. d'Eu	6.036	1.732	701	8.422	794	1.608	3.556	2.759
S. Martins	6.001	2.000	1.000	10.000	1.200	1.600	3.200	2.900
TOTALE	32.916	26.132	9.001	42.422	4.639	6.534	12.967	11.354

Table 2: Agricultural production of the colonies in 1884 (animals in units, cereals in tons, wine in liters). Translation of the labels: "Inhabitants, horses, cattle, pigs, wheat, beans, corn, wine".

Table 2 shows the agricultural production of the colonies in 1884. It is interesting to see that the products that characterized the Italian colonists were corn, wine and wheat. Because of them, wheat was reintroduced in the country after the farmers had lost interest in it at the start of the nineteenth century because it had been affected by rust. Moreover, the corn was very important in the diet of the migrants because it allowed the making of *polenta*, one of the most characteristic dishes for which the Italians were known.

As Zuleika Maria Forcione Alvin writes:

*"A paisagem sulina ganhou uma perspectiva muito diferente do restante do país, onde predominava a grande propriedade. O que se via era um suceder de pequenos lotes onde o milho e o trigo, cereais básicos na dieta italiana, dominavam ao lado de verduras de toda a espécie. No Rio Grande do Sul também os italianos se voltaram muito cedo para o cultivo da uva, transformando esse estado no maior produtor nacional do vinho até hoje."*<sup>176 177</sup>

However, one of the main characteristics of the Italian agriculture was the grape cultivation and the consequent wine production. It started very slowly but already at the start of the

<sup>176</sup> Translation: "The southern landscape gained a very different perspective from the rest of the country, where the large property predominated. What was seen was a succession of small plots where corn and wheat, basic cereals in the Italian diet, dominated side by side with all kinds of vegetables. In Rio Grande do Sul the Italians soon focused on grape growing, making this state the largest national wine producer today."

<sup>177</sup> Alvim, Z.,M.,F., O Brasil Italiano (1889-1920). In Amador, M.,C.,P., Italianos para o Rio Grande do Sul: um novo conceito de família, Associação Nacional de História - ANPUH - XXIV Simpósio Nacional de História - 2007, p.7.

twentieth century, because of state incentives and the establishment of cooperatives among the migrants to overcome common difficulties, the cultivated hectares were 11.380. Subsequently, it reached 25.523 in 1950 and 47.682 in 1970. Today the production of wine is almost entirely concentrated in the area of the Italian colonization, where around 80.000 people work in viticulture and every year produce more than 200 million liters of wine. Moreover, the biggest and most known agricultural festival of the country is hosted in Caxias do Sul, and is called *Festa dell'Uva*.

Another face of the Italian migration was the handicraft. Because of their solitude and the impossibility to have a steady supply of tools and instruments from industries, the colonists were forced to produce them by themselves. Thus it was that, during the winter months, much of the time was dedicate to their preparation. Consequently, for many people this activity became their job. In 1976 Giron describes the various jobs in the colony of Caxias do Sul and writes that in 1884 there were already 25 merchants, six agents, five teachers, four bakers, four potters, eight shoemakers, and so on.<sup>178</sup> Afterwards, the family based production started to be replaced by markets. They were known as *casas de negócios* and they were the base of the colonial economy. The *casas* played the roles that today are played by different institutions such as the bank, the supermarket, the shipping company and the manufacture of primary products. So that the colonist could find anything he needed in it and also entrust it with his money and with the sale of his products. The money accumulated by the merchants through commercial transactions was most of the time reinvested in other industries in the area, such as the production of wine and carpenters.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Giron, L., S., *Caxia do Sul: Evolução Histórica*. Caxias do Sul: UCS/Prefeitura Municipal; Porto Alegre: EST, 1976, p.33. Cited in De Boni, L., Costa, R., "Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul", *Insieme - A revista italiana daqui*, SOMMO Editora Ltda, Curitiba - PR.

<sup>179</sup> De Boni, L., Costa, R., "Os Italianos no Rio Grande do Sul", *Insieme - A revista italiana daqui*, SOMMO Editora Ltda, Curitiba - PR.

In summary, the factors that became crucial during the migration process and the interactive adaptation of the immigrants and their families in the new country were many. Specifically, the family as the center of their migration experience and the work done by each of its members allowed the group to survive and gradually improve its living conditions. Moreover, the solidarity between families of the same origin allowed the migrants to create a new network of mutual support. Finally, the religion and the church played a special role in the birthrate and brought to Brazil a new perspective of family.

## Chapter 3 - Questionnaire and Publications

*Nos primeiros anos as condições de vida eram muito duras. Estavam no meio da floresta e graças à caça, pesca e frutos silvestres não morreram de fome. Pouco a pouco, foram derrubando a floresta e plantando milho, trigo, criando animais para sobreviver. Não havia escolas, quando os genitores eram alfabetizados, as crianças eram alfabetizadas em casa. Após alguns anos construíram escolas e o professor era um religioso ou laico pago pela comunidade. A alfabetização por muito tempo continuou sendo na língua italiana.<sup>180</sup>*

### 3.1 Questionnaire

Because today Brazil is populated by millions of descendants of Italians (about 26 million, 15 only in São Paulo<sup>181</sup>) with my questionnaire I wanted to contact some of them to try to remember the stories they heard from their grandparents about the migration. I wanted to know how the migration was described to them by their older relatives, and whether or not

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<sup>180</sup> Translation: "In the early years the living conditions were very hard. They were in the middle of the forest and only thanks to hunting, fishing and berries they did not die of hunger. Little by little, they knocked the forest down and planted corn, wheat and raised animals to survive. There were not schools, when the parents were literate they thought their children at home. After some years they built schools and the teacher was a religious or a lay person paid by the community. Literacy for a long time continued to be in the Italian language." B.M.V., participant in the questionnaire.

<sup>181</sup> Licata, D., L'emigrazione italiana in America Latina, in Caritas/Migrantes, 2009, p.17.

their being descendants of Italians plays a part in their present lives. Sadly, only ten people responded, but the ones who did had plenty to tell.

### **3.1.1 The preparation of the questionnaire**

Because of the distance and the impossibility to travel to Brazil I chose not to interview the participants in person. Also, because of the time difference, I excluded phone calls and telecommunication software such as Skype. As a result, I opted for an online questionnaire. Among the various open platforms that I could use to prepare it, I chose Google Forms because of the variety in the types of forms that can be build and its versatility. Also, it is very easy to build and has a variety of different options to structure the questionnaire in the exact way that it is needed.

I decided to write the questionnaire in three languages to be able to reach as many people as possible: Portuguese as the main language (translated with the help of a Brazilian friend), Italian, because of the main theme of my work, and English, because I would write my thesis in this language.

In the start of the questionnaire I also introduced my work and my aim in the three languages. All the participants answered the questions in Portuguese.

### **3.1.2 Questions and results**

In the questionnaire I asked seventeen questions. They can be divided into two groups: the first contains questions about the participants' relatives who migrated to Brazil, about the trip and about the first period in the country. The second contains questions about the participants' personal connection with their Italian roots.

Almost all of the participants wrote about more than one ancestor. One of them wrote about his grandparents, his great grandparents and his great-great-grandparents, while

another about his eight great-grandparents. The answers were different, according to the level of knowledge of the participants on their ancestors and their migration. It is obvious that some of them researched their family origins in depth, and could tell details such as the name of the ship their ancestors took, the start and end date of the trip and the duration.

In the start of the questionnaire I asked the name, age and birth place of the participant. The participants' age ranged from 38 to 68 years old with an average of 50. Also, they were all born in southern regions of Brazil such as Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and São Paulo.

Moreover, I asked about the origins of their ancestors and I discovered that the majority of them came from the north of Italy, especially from Veneto and Lombardia. Many of them came from the province of Treviso while others from Venezia, Belluno and Padova. The ones from Lombardia came from Milan and one participant had relatives from Naples and Pompei.

Almost all of the participants' ancestors were very young and migrated with the family which, for the most part, was composed by husband, wife and children. However, in many cases the parents of the husband/wife traveled with them, so that the average age rises to 27. Nevertheless, this number is not accurate because many of the participants were not sure about the age of their relatives when they migrated so that almost all the children's ages are not listed. In one case, the family arrived together with other 22 families from the same village, all directed to Criciuma, in the state of Santa Catarina.

Five out of ten participants said that their relatives (or at least the majority of them) were farmers. The others were artisans, servants, factory workers and two were students (Art school). In Brazil they all became farmers except for one who started to work in an Italian textile factory.



The reasons to migrate were many but the most common was misery. One participant recounted: "*Breve relato de um avô já falecido: na Itália só havia fome e miséria. Apesar de nascido em Veranópolis-RS, falava com certo rancor, e dizia não ter vontade de conhecer a terra de seus pais.*"<sup>182</sup> Another reason to migrate was the probable enlisting in the army: "*Segundo relatos, documentos e livros eram alfabetizados e tinham propriedades em Fregona (Treviso - Italia) e o patriarca sempre falava que havia deixado a Italia para que os filhos não tivessem que enfrentar a maldição das guerras.*"<sup>183</sup> Finally, they saw Brazil as the land of opportunities.

I also questioned the decision to migrate to Brazil (and not to another country). More than half of the participants responded that at the time there was a considerable propaganda that described Brazil as the *Promised Land*, with favorable conditions offered to the emigrants. One participant answered that Brazil was the first opportunity for the family to escape from Italy and from misery and also that there were evidences that the family already knew a little Portuguese. The participants also had much information about the boat trip from Italy to Brazil. Almost all of them recounted the poor traveling conditions aboard and that people died during the trip. One participant had read the logbook of the ship in which his ancestor traveled, and could write that they "*Embarcaram no porto de Genova, a viagem em navio a vapor durou 23 dias (05/10/1879 a 28/10/1879) a bordo do navio alemão Strassburg. Segundo o diário de bordo 2 passageiros morreram durante a viagem. O irmão mais novo de meu bisnono Giobatta (Marino), teria nascido durante a viagem ou logo após a*

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<sup>182</sup> Translation: "*Short story of a grandfather already dead: in Italy there were only hunger and misery. Although he was born in Veranópolis-RS, he spoke with some bitterness and said that he had no desire to know the land of his fathers.*"

<sup>183</sup> Translation: "*According to reports, documents and books they were literate and had properties in Fregona (Treviso, Italy), and the patriarch always said that they had left Italy so that the children would not have to face the curse of war.*"

*chegada ao Brasil.*"<sup>184</sup> Others write that the migrants did not have enough food to eat and that the hygiene was poor. Many migrants fell ill with cholera and diphtheria. On another note, one participant recounted the story of her grandmother, who migrated to Brazil when she was 14. During the trip there was a boy who was in love with her and wanted her to go to Argentina with him. He was an engineer and had already a job waiting for him there. However, the grandmother would not hear of boys and her brothers took advantage of his love to steal food and drinks that he bought for her on the boat.

Most of the participants' ancestors arrived to Rio Grande do Sul. Some of them stopped in Rio de Janeiro for a period of forty days (quarantine) and then continued in the direction of Rio Grande do Sul. Three of them arrived to São Paulo but later moved to the South, and one settled in Minas Gerais. Most of them became colonists and started to cultivate their own lots of lands. One participant recounts what her grandmother told her: *"Ela conta que quando chegaram em Santos, eles tinham como destino trabalhar nas fazendas de café no interior de São Paulo, mas um irmão dela, que já estava aqui, conseguiu fazê-los mudarem o destino para São Paulo capital. Ele dizia que ele foi para o interior de São Paulo e que as condições de trabalho eram deploráveis. Depois ela casou com o meu avó Mario que sempre foi serralheiro artístico."*<sup>185</sup>

Other ancestors became blacksmiths, craft apprentices, seamstresses and midwives and a particular family started as farmers and then went back to their old job (woodsmen).

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<sup>184</sup> Translation: *"They embarked in the port of Genova, the trip aboard the German steamship 'Strassburg' lasted 23 days (05.10.1879 to 28.10.1879). According to the logbook two passengers died during the journey. The younger brother of my great-grandfather Giobatta (Marino) was born during the journey or shortly after the arrival to Brazil."*

<sup>185</sup> Translation: *"She tells that when they arrived in Santos, they were bound to work on the coffee plantations in São Paulo but one of her brothers, who was already here, could make them change the destination to São Paulo capital. He said he went to the interior of São Paulo and that the working conditions were deplorable. Later, she married my grandfather Mario, who always was an artistic locksmith."*

When I asked about the living conditions in the early days of the migration, the participants recounted many stories. For the most part they recounted the misery and the poor living conditions. One wrote that "*Nos primeiros anos as condições de vida eram muito duras. Estavam no meio da floresta e graças à caça, pesca e frutos silvestres não morreram de fome. Pouco a pouco, foram derrubando a floresta e plantando milho, trigo, criando animais para sobreviver.*"<sup>186</sup> Another talk about the difficulties they had with the native populations: "*Enfrentaram os índios que eram os verdadeiros donos das terras. Os índios não tinham noção de propriedade privada e roubavam as roças dos imigrantes.*"<sup>187</sup>

Some of them recounted the food that their ancestors used to eat such as "*pinhão, caça, pão, polenta (no café, almoço e jantar) e frutas da estação... Salame e queijo havia pouco, apenas para "dar gosto" a outros alimentos.*"<sup>188</sup>

Almost all of them talk about the lack of schools and how, if the parents were literate, the children were taught at home, if not they would just help with the work in the fields. However, they also say that after some years the schools were built and the children would go when they would reach the age and parents would work in the school for some days to pay the fees. Also, they point out that the teachers were religious persons or laymen who were paid by the community. Finally, "*A alfabetização por muito tempo continuou sendo na língua italiana.*"<sup>189</sup>

When I asked how the ancestors were accepted by the local population the answers were very different. Some point out that in the start there were alone in the middle of the forest

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<sup>186</sup> Translation: "*During the first years the living conditions were very hard. They were in the middle of the forest and only thanks to hunting, fishing and berries they did not die of hunger. Little by little they deforested the jungle and planted corn, wheat and raised animals to survive.*"

<sup>187</sup> Translation: "*They faced the Índios who were the true owners of the land. The Índios had no notion of private property and stole from the fields of the migrants.*"

<sup>188</sup> Translation: "*Pine nuts, hunting, bread, polenta (lunch and dinner) and seasonal fruits... salami and cheese there was little, just to "give taste" to other foods.*"

<sup>189</sup> Translation: "*For a long time school remained in Italian.*"

and all the people living near them were Italians, thus there was no problem of integration. Others write that they were well accepted and *"eram reconhecidos como pessoas trabalhadoras, religiosas e com profundo amor à família. Rapidamente melhoraram as condições de vida e muitos se integraram rapidamente à comunidade brasileira, ainda que a maioria vivesse dentro de núcleos sociais unicamente italianos."*<sup>190</sup> Finally, one says that in general they were well accepted however during the World War II many descendants of Italians lost their jobs because they sympathized with Mussolini and fascism: *"músicas, emblemas, alguns times de futebol como o Palestra Italia (Palmeiras F.C.) que traziam as cores vermelhas no uniforme...- muitos perderam seus empregos."*<sup>191</sup>

In the second part of the questionnaire I asked questions related to the present situation in Brazil. With the first question I wanted to know if in the participant's region there are associations that gather Italian descendants. Also, I asked if the participant is part of any of these associations and if not, to describe their own thoughts on the Italian community in their area. As always, the answers were variegated. The majority answered that there are many associations on the territory: *"Hoje existem muitas associações italianas, principalmente no sul do Brasil, aonde a presença italiana é muito grande. A maioria das associações tem como objetivo o resgate da cultura dos antepassados, com festas que valorizam a gastronomia e tradições além de intercâmbios com a Itália e o ensino da língua italiana. Algumas associações atualmente procuram incentivar além do aprendizado do italiano a valorização dos dialetos."*<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Translation: *"They were recognized as hard-working people, religious and with a deep love for family. They rapidly improved their living conditions and many integrated quickly in the Brazilian community, even though most lived only within the Italian community."*

<sup>191</sup> Translation: *"Music, badges, a soccer team as the Palestra Italia (today Palmeiras FC) wore a red heart on their uniforms...- many lost their jobs."*

<sup>192</sup> Translation: *"Today there are many Italian associations, mainly in southern Brazil, where the Italian presence is very large. Most associations aim to rescue the culture of their ancestors, with festivals that value the*

An association in particular, called Casa d'Italia (Friburgo RJ) promotes activities to spread and advertise the Italian language and culture. It has the support of the local Italian community (mostly from descendants of migrants from Sicily) and of the Italian Consulate in Rio de Janeiro. There are language courses, choirs, library, dinners, charitable actions and festivals. Also, it is an interface between the community and the consulate for naturalization procedures.

Others write that they do not know of any organized association but that they continue the Italian gastronomy tradition by preparing dishes from the Italian cuisine and eating them with their families. Also, they participate at many Italian festivals such as *San Gennaro*, *Achiropita*, *São Francisco* and *Santo Antonio*.

When I asked about the participants' personal feeling of connection with their Italian roots most of them answered that they still feel it strongly. One of them says that: "*Fui criado junto com meus nonos, que praticamente só falavam veneto. Meus pais aprenderam falar português somente aos 7 anos ao iniciar a escola. Cresci dentro de uma cultura totalmente italiana, alimentação, modo de vestir, de falar, a família era muito unida e religiosa, rezávamos o rosário todas as noites e a missa de domingo era obrigatória. O respeito e obediência aos mais velhos, a cultura do trabalho e da economia eram ensinados e imitados sempre.*"<sup>193</sup>

Most of them learned the dialect with their grandparents and later decided to study the official Italian language. Also, they pass the culture to the new generations mainly through

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*gastronomy and the tradition, as well as exchanges with Italy and the teaching of Italian language. Some associations currently seek to encourage in addition to the learning of Italian also the learning of dialects."*

<sup>193</sup> Translation: "*I grew up with my grandparents, who almost exclusively spoke the venetian dialect. My parents learned to speak Portuguese at age 7, when they started school. I grew up in a culture that was totally Italian, food, way of dressing, talking, the family was close-knit and religious, we prayed the rosary every evening and Sunday Mass was mandatory. Respect and obedience to elders, the work culture and frugality were taught and always imitated.*"

the preparation of traditional food: "*O costume que ficou e permanece e de reunir a família e preparar a comida típica italiana, como pizza, macarrão, sopas...*"<sup>194</sup>

In general, the work was based on the research on literary sources, but the questionnaire gave me an internal point of view on the migration process and allowed me to get direct information on the migrants' lives. Specifically, It helped me understand how were the conditions of living during the first years after the migration and how the present Italian community in Brazil is seen and sees itself as Italians and how they value their origins, the culture and the language.

## 3.2 Publications

### 3.2.1 Brazilian publications

Associations like *Trevisani nel Mondo* count tens of thousands of members. They are active all around the world and produce magazines, language courses, conferences, exchanges between Italy and other countries, promote the Italian culture and help people who want to emigrate from Italy or want to come back.

During my research I stumbled upon many webpages created by descendants of Italians in Brazil and I saw that there are also many magazines for Italians in Brazil (one example is the magazine "*Insieme, a revista italiana daqui*" that can be read both online and on printed form).

Especially on social platforms such as Facebook, I noticed an enormous number of pages dedicated to the topic (*Ítalo-brasileiros | Italo-brasiliani, Trevisani Nel Mondo - Florianópolis-SC-Brasil, Italiani in Brasile, Brasil & Itália, Italianos NO Brasil, Chefs Italianos do Brasil, Centro Cultural Brasil Italia* are just some examples).

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<sup>194</sup> Translation: "*The custom that was and remains is to bring the family together and prepare typical Italian food such as pizza, pasta, soups...*"

Moreover, for the anniversaries of the beginning of the Italian immigration to Brazil (100° anniversary in 1975, 120° in 1995 etc.), there has been a flowering of publications on the topic. Most of the books I came in contact with were published in Brazil and are the recounting of families' stories of migration. Books such as "*Memórias de um emigrante italiano*", "*Com passos lentos, mas firmes*" and "*Minha Família Italiana (Ei, mãe!)*" are examples of publications written by the descendants of migrants who recall the stories that their ancestors used to tell about their past. Mostly, they begin when the family is still in Italy and describe the situation created by poverty. Some of them are very detailed. "*Memórias de um emigrante italiano*" is written in first person and tells the story of the fourteen year old Giulio who migrates with his and other 22 families of his town. He describes the trip to the port of Genova and how, once they got there, they had to wait for months to get a place in one of the boats, because of the great number of people who wanted to emigrate and had got there before them. He also describes the behavior of the migrants while waiting for their turn to emigrate:

*"Longas horas passavam junto àquela multidão de homens, mulheres, jovens e crianças, já acostumados com o novo estilo de vida de não fazer nada ('dolce far niente'): comer, beber e passear... Todos ansiosos que raiasse o dia da partida para o tão suspirado Brasil. Eram relativamente poucos os que haviam buscado para si uma ocupação. A maioria festejava, reservando-se para trabalhar, quando tivessem chegado ao novo-mundo."*<sup>195 196</sup>

When in Brazil, the book depicts the arrival of Giulio's family to the jungle and how, during the first winter, they lived in a large shack with a hundred other families. In the spring, it

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<sup>195</sup> Lorenzon G., *Memórias de um emigrante italiano*, Editora Ponto de Vista, Pelotas, 2011, p.18. Primeira edição: Livraria Sulina Editora, Porto Alegre, 1975.

<sup>196</sup> Translation: "Long hours passed among that crowd of men, women, youth and children, already used to the new lifestyle of doing nothing ('dolce far niente'): eat, drink, walk... All looking forward to the arrival of the departure day for the much longed Brazil. There were relatively few who had sought an occupation. Most celebrated, setting the work aside for when would arrive to the new world."

describes the division of the territory in lots and how the families used to rush to deforest a little piece of land to be able to plant corn before the season would finish. The book continues to follow the story of Giulio and the colony *Silveira Martins* until the year 1913, when the protagonist travels back to Italy to visit his motherland.

"*Com passos lentos, mas firmes*" is another kind of recounting. In this case the book is written by the nephew of the protagonist, who found a notebook belonging to his father, full of stories of his family:

*"Recordou-se, então, do acidente. Em julho de 1983, Giocondo fraturou uma perna. [...] Ficaria alguns meses sem poder caminhar. Para ocupar o tempo, pegou um caderno escolar e começou a registrar a história da família- situações que vivera; fatos que presenciara; histórias que ouvira contar. Por seis meses, preencheu as páginas do caderno com suas reminiscências, começando pelos relatos que lhe foram contados sobre a partida da Itália de Silvestre, Giovanna e Julianna, fugindo da fome e sonhando com a fortuna. Em seguida, foram sendo anotados os fatos da trajetória da família."<sup>197</sup>*

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The book is written in third person and is a collection of short stories about the lives of the colonists in Ana Rech, a town near Caxias do Sul, in Rio Grande do Sul. It includes chapters on various subjects such as the production of wine in the colony (the chapter is called "*Mai senza vin*"/"Never without wine"), the jokes that the protagonist used to play to those around him ("*Due o tre scherzi per rider*"/"Two or three jokes to laugh"), the arrival of

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<sup>197</sup> Andriolo, L., J., (a partir dos relatos de Giocondo Andriolo), *Com passos lentos, mas firmes*, EST Edições, Porto Alegre, 2011, p.117.

<sup>198</sup> Translation: "*Then, he remembered the accident. In July, 1983, Giocondo fractured a leg. [...] He was unable to walk for a few months. To pass the time, he picked up a school notebook and began to record the history of the family- the situations they lived, the facts he witnessed, the stories that he had heard. For six months he filled the pages of the notebook with his reminiscences, beginning with the stories that had been told by Silvestre, Giovanna and Julianna about the departure from Italy, fleeing hunger and dreaming of fortunes. Later, he wrote facts of the history of the family.*"



*Nanetto Pipetta*<sup>199</sup> to town. However, it also addresses important issues such as the economical crisis, the revolution in 1930 and the arrival of the electricity to the colonies.

Moreover, "*Minha Família Italiana (Ei, mãe)*"<sup>200</sup> is set in Porto Alegre in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It consists of a series of letters written by the author to his mother, who is deceased, recounting stories of his life to her. Every chapter starts with *Ei, mãe* and while writing, the author addresses the mother by repeating the appellation *mãe* many times and also asking her if she remembers (*Lembras, mãe?*) and apologizing (*peço-te desculpas, mãe*). The temporal line is not defined. The book starts with the author asking for money to go to university and proceeds to recount events of his adult life (his marriage, his work at the university, his mother in law). However, moving ahead it is possible to read a chapter about his father's death, occurred when he was three, and one about the migration of his great-grandparents from Italy, many years before he was born. Moreover, the book gathers different types of stories: there are very personal chapters where the author recounts about having been sexually abused when he was five and others where he talks about characteristic personages of the city and what they used to do. In the second case it seems almost as his character in the book disappears. Essentially, "*Minha Família Italiana (Ei, mãe)*" is useful to gather information about the life of the Italian immigrants who decided to settle in the cities, because it describes very well their relationship with the neighbors and in general with the locals and immigrants of other nationalities.

Another interesting book on the topic is "*Varda de far político, as memórias de Mario David Vanin*". Mario Vanin was born in 1941 and was a politician. The book was written through interviews and it narrates many facts of his political life, but it also shows how his being of

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<sup>199</sup> Fr. Bernardi, A., *Vida e Storia de Nanetto Pipetta*, serial story published in the newspaper *Staffetta Riograndense* between the 23rd of January 1924 and the 18th of February 1925. Written in Talian.

<sup>200</sup> Coiro, J., *Minha Família Italiana (Ei, mãe)*, Editora Sagra Luzzatto, Porto Alegre, 2005.

Italian origins shaped his career. One example is an event that happened when he became the mayor of Caxias do Sul.

*"Eu falava , via meus irmãos sentados por ali, mas não achava a mãe. De repente, quando terminei o discurso, sob os aplausos, consegui finalmente vê-la lá no canto e não tive dúvidas, fui andando em meio aos cumprimentos para abraçá-la. [...] Quando encontrei minha mãe, ela me deu um abraço e, julgando que falava só no meu ouvido, disse assim para mim: "Varda, Mario, de far polito." Como sempre, na hora de coisas séria, era tudo em italiano. A frase significa "Cuida, Mario, de fazer as coisas bem feitas", ou também pode ser entendida como "Olha, Mario, de fazer bonito." Só que o Adelar botou o microfone junto e [...] no dia seguinte, saiu estampada como manchete do jornal Pioneiro. [...] Minha conduta sempre foi seguida por isso. Muitas vezes eu pensava: 'O que seria o 'polito' nessa situação?'"<sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup>*

The last book I will talk about is called "*Rio Maior, Traços Culturais e Transformações de um Grupo de Imigrantes Italianos do Sul de Santa Catarina*". It follows the story of a group of about fifty people who decided to migrate from the city of Casso (Udine province, in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region) to Brazil. Because they were the first to arrive to the place, they were the founders of the city of Urussanga, and, later, of the city of Rio Maior, in the state of Santa Catarina. As some of the other books I talked about, the narration is not continued but every chapter narrates a specific subject. Thus, it covers topics such as the construction of the church and the development of the school, but also the conservation of the values that they brought from Italy and the economic, social, cultural and religious situation of the families in the colony. Moreover, the last part of the book shows the genealogies of the

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<sup>201</sup> Kirst, M.,F., *Varda de far polito, as memórias de Mario David Vanin*, Educs Comunidade, 2012, p.93.

<sup>202</sup> Translation: "While I spoke, I could see my brothers sitting there but nor my mother. Suddenly, when I finished the speech, over the applauses, I could finally see her in the corner and I had no doubt, I had to go and hug her. When I met her, she gave me a hug and, thinking she was telling it only in my ear, she said to me ' Varda, Mario, de far polito'. As always, when it came to serious matters, we spoke Italian. The phrase means 'Take care, Mario, to do things in the right way' or can also be understood as 'Look out, Mario, to do things right'. But Adelar [journalist] put the microphone there and [...] the next day it was printed on the newspaper Pioneiro as headline. [...] I have always acted in accordance with it. Often I thought 'What would be the 'polito' thing to do in this situation?'

families that first arrived to Brazil with the group from Casso and their descendants until today.

### 3.2.2 Italian publications

Surprisingly, the case of the Rio Grande do Sul and the Southern Brazil received little attention from the academic world in Italy, occupied at most in reconstructing the structural and expulsive characteristics of the Italian migratory phenomenon.

However, also in Italy the anniversary of the centenary of the first Italian migration in Rio Grande do Sul has generated a sequence of publications on the subject. One of the few publications on migration antecedent the anniversary is *Sull'oceano* written by Edmondo De Amicis. In the book, he follows the story of the migrants on the ship that is taking them to the new world. In this case the narrator belongs to the first class, and it is evident that he is not only an external witness of the events happening in third class but also that he does not share their destiny. This shows that the author sees the migrants as outcasts who are being deported and cannot control their own destiny while in reality the emigrants were active and foresighted, and could come to terms with reality, however hard it may be.<sup>203</sup>

It is also important to distinguish between the literary production of who lived the experience of migration in first person and the professional writers who use it as an "exotic" set.<sup>204</sup> In fact, the emigration at the end of the nineteenth century coincided with the formation of a new kind of public, formed by the new Italian middle class. As a result, the narration of the migration is represented as the flight of the peasants from the difficult situation of a country that was just reunited. Also, the dramatic tone in the book is needed to show the loss of Italy's backbone (the peasants) and the dangers that await the migrants

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<sup>203</sup> Grossutti, J., *Non fu la miseria, ma la paura della miseria. La colonia della Nuova Fagagna nel Chaco argentino (1877-1881)*, Udine, Forum, 2009.

<sup>204</sup> Colucci, M., Sanfilippo, M., *Guida allo studio dell'emigrazione italiana*, Edizioni SETTE CITTÀ, 2010, p.89.

on their adventure. Between 1880 and 1900 the books about the migration become more stereotyped, until the reworked version remains impressed even in the minds of the people who really lived it. It is the case of *I drammi degli emigrati* (1910) by Carolina Invernizio and the poem *Italy*, contained in *Primi Poemetti* by Giovanni Pascoli.

*"La madre li vuol tutti alla sua mensa  
i figli suoi. Qual madre è mai, che gli uni  
sazia, ed a gli altri, a tanti, ai più, non pensa?"*

*Siedono a lungo qua e là digiuni;  
tacciono, tralasciati nel banchetto  
patrio, come bastardi, ombre, nessuno:*

*guardano intorno, e quindi sé nel petto,  
sentono su la lingua arida il sale  
delle lagrime; infine, a capo eretto,*

*escono, poi fuggono, poi: 'Sii male...'<sup>205 206</sup>*

This policy is still present during the second decade of the twentieth century, when Francesco Perri writes *Emigranti* (1928), a book that once again combines departure and grief. The normality of the departures is hidden once again during the Fascist period, when it is again covered with a sentiment of sadness and a veiled accusation of being unpatriotic. Some authors, such as Enrico Corradini, insist that the patria has to be a strong state and protect its citizens, so that they would not have the need to leave (*La patria lontana*, 1910, *Le vie dell'oceano*, 1913). During the fifties, authors like Giose Rimanelli write that migrating does not only mean an escape from poverty but also the will to abandon a country that is culturally and politically backward. During the 1960s and 70s the image of the emigrant as a victim comes back. In *Quelli dalle labbra bianche* (1962), Masala describes the Sardinians

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<sup>205</sup> Pascoli, G., Italy, in *Primi Poemetti*, 1904.

<sup>206</sup> Translation: "The mother wants all of them at her table/her children. Which mother is she/who satiates some and the other, the most, do not think about?/ They sit for a long time here and there fasting;/silent, neglected by the patriotic banquet/like bastards, shadows, nobodies;/ they look around, and then himself in the chest,/they taste their tongue arid of salt/ of the tears; finally, head erect, / they come out and run away: 'Be bad...'"

who came back poor from the United States and how they eradicated themselves from their country and their culture without any real reward. At the end of the century many writers have used the topic of migration. Some, such as Andrea Camilleri, narrate the sad stories of the migrants who lost everything, even their identity, to obtain success.<sup>207</sup> Finally, at the start of the new century, new writers such as Enrico Palandri (*Le vie del ritorno*, 2001) underline the positivity of leaving, referring to his own experience.

### **3.3 *Terra Nostra* and the research of an identity**

*Terra Nostra* is a Brazilian television-series that shows the Italian immigration to Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. The background is set in the *fazendas* in the region of São Paulo. The story follows the migration of Giuliana and Matteo, who fall in love during the trip from Italy and make plans to marry once arrived to Brazil. However, they are separated during the disembarkation: she goes to work in a house and he is destined to the plantation. The series had a phenomenal success in Brazil, and every episode was watched on average by 60 million people. The series explored the importance of the immigration in the formation of the Brazilian society.

Talking about *Terra Nostra*, Fantinatti Moreira<sup>208</sup> writes that the *telenovelas* have recently been renovated in a way that the viewer could recognize himself in it. They have to have themes and characters closer to the Brazilian reality and distant adventures and legendary heroes had to be eliminated. The series needed national traits and to construct a reality where the Brazilian costumes and culture were given importance. Thus the creation of series to which a good part of the Brazilian population could relate, if not personally, through their heritage.

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<sup>207</sup> Camilleri, A., "Being here", in *Un mese con Montalbano*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1998.

<sup>208</sup> Moreira Fantinatti, M., M., A nova Rede Globo: Trabalhadores e movimentos Sociais nas Telenovelas de Benedito Ruy Barbosa, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2004, p.81.

The series shows typical behaviors that characterized the Italian migrants. However, in some cases they were exaggerated: for instance, in many scenes the workers of a plantation celebrate all together eating and drinking at the *fazenda*. The environment is familiar, pleasurable and welcoming to the workers. It is persistent in the *novela* to show that the work in the plantation did not steal so much energy from the workers, so that they could, frequently, have their lively parties, with songs, drinks and dances. In contrast, the *novela* shows the problems, the work overload and the responsibilities of the employers, who are very rarely shown in leisure activities.<sup>209</sup> In reality, the feasts existed but they were rare and they did not happen as often as showed in the *novela*. Also, many stories report that the many *fazendeiros* treated the immigrants in a similar way to the slaves and the songs that the workers sang were usually lamentations for the difficulties they met while trying to integrate in the Brazilian society and the nostalgia of Italy. As a result, the *novela* shows an environment that is artificially harmonious and an image of the *fazendeiro* that is morally upright. As a consequence, the series, while pretending to show the fights and efforts of the migrants when arriving to Brazil, also shows the *fazendeiros* under a good light. Furthermore, it seems that the conflicts between masters and servants did not exist and that the servants were always very loyal, protecting and defending their masters and being always on their side.

Consequently, it is possible to see how the series focuses on the relationship between worker and master. If the main characters (such as Matteo and Giuliana) have problems, they would always receive help from a person with higher status than them (a *fazendeiro* or a banker). In this way, the people of power are showed in a paternal light, always ready to

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<sup>209</sup> Moreira Fantinatti, M.,M., A nova Rede Globo: Trabalhadores e movimentos Sociais nas Telenovelas de Benedito Ruy Barbosa, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2004, p.142.

help and protect their sons.<sup>210</sup>As a result, the series is not plausible, because the birth of workers' unions and the fight for better living conditions at the turn of the century is not even taken into consideration, due to the special relation of trust and loyalty between master and worker.

When *Terra Nostra* shows the Brazilian society at the time, it generally focuses on the peaceful relationship between the social classes and on a series of positive values that would characterize both the migrants and the locals as "pacific". Nevertheless, the reality of the social struggles and the relations between *fazendeiros* and workers was very different from the *novela*.

Furthermore, it is possible to notice the total absence of the institutions and the state. The poor characters always have to use their own resources and individual talents to solve their problems because there is no help from any official system. In a way, the *fazendeiros* substitute the official institutions, to control, manage and help the migrants.

The series received many critiques. Some of them regarded the representation of black people (to whom, from stereotypical constructions are conferred subservience and infantilism contours, and in this way justifying the exclusion and marginalization of black characters) and some came from associations for the preservation of the memory and culture of the migrants. Florence Carboni<sup>211</sup> observes that the Italian peasant women are shown as more uninhibited than their Brazilian counterpart:

*"Sobretudo impressiona a apresentação das protagonistas femininas, despidas das características essenciais das camponesas do norte da Itália. Contrariamente às mulheres da elite brasileira, [...] as jovens italianas pobres são desprovidas da inocência,*

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<sup>210</sup> Moreira Fantinatti, M.,M., A nova Rede Globo: Trabalhadores e movimentos Sociais nas Telenovelas de Benedito Ruy Barbosa, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2004, p.194.

<sup>211</sup> Carboni, F., Terra Nostra: violências globais contra a imigração italiana", in Em Tempo, seção Livros & Filmes & Eventos, 1999, p.15,

*da reserva a da prudência para com os homens e o sexo. [...] Suas vidas são uma sucessão de relações afetivas superficiais [...]."* <sup>212</sup>

As it is known, the Italian migrants were very religious and family focused. The behavior showed in the *novela* rarely happened and surely it could not represent the majority of the Italian migrant women.

To sum up, *Terra Nostra* is a television series that focuses on the lives of the migrants who arrived to the São Paulo region. Both the Italians and the Brazilians are depicted in a positive light. As showed, the *fazendeiro* worked virtually more than the migrant, who apparently had enough energy to enjoy numerous dinners. At the same time, the master is shown as a fatherly figure to his sons (the migrants): he helps them to solve their problems and protect them from adversities.

As a result, the *novela* does not show the reality of the events: the workers' protests were commonplace because of the harsh living conditions and the hard work and most of the masters treated their workers almost as they had treated their slaves, exploiting them and paying them little.

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<sup>212</sup> Translation: "It is especially striking the presentation of the female protagonists, stripped of the essential characteristics of the peasant woman from North Italy. Unlike the women of the Brazilian elite, [...], the poor Italian women are devoid of their innocence and reservations towards men and sex. [...] Their lives are a series of superficial emotional relationships [...]."



## Conclusions

While researching on the social and cultural behavior of Italian immigrants in the regions of Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo, I could isolate some characteristics that defined them in contrast with other migrant populations. Firstly, the preservation of their traditions, such as the typical cuisine and the importance they give to family ties. As I explained in my work, these two characteristics are closely linked to each other, especially in the city of São Paulo where the *cantinas* first emerged. The Italian cuisine could not have taken roots in Brazil without these simple family-run restaurants who firstly fed the Italian workers and later more and more people of different origins. The Italian dishes slowly changed and became integrated with the Brazilian cuisine, so that many dishes in Brazil have Italian roots. Secondly, I took into consideration Italian as a language spoken only by few migrants, who mostly used their dialects. The maintenance of the Italian (*Talian*) language until today, passed down through the generations, was also helped by the many publications in the language. Also, the publications cooperated in the revival of the *Talian* after the dictatorship regime and the linguistic persecution it had been subjected to. Finally, a crucial feature to describe the social life of the migrants is their religion. It helped them to survive and find a common aim when they first arrived to the new land, it defined their behaviors towards others and it stimulated the formation of communities, gathered around the church. Today the religion of the Italian descendants could be divided into two big groups, Catholic and Evangelical (*Congregação Cristã do Brasil*). While during the last century the Catholic Church has experienced a slowly decrease in its numbers, in the last few years the Evangelical Church has had a dramatic increase in its ranks. Still, the majority of the population of Brazil is still Catholic.

During my research I came across the description "hard-working" referred to Italian migrants many times. As I could see, since the aim of the colonists was to be able to sustain their families with their own lands, and since the first land they had was in the middle of the *mato's* wilderness, they did not have any choice but work to survive. Consulting the literature written by descendants of migrants, I could gather that they worked from the first lights to sunset, usually tending to crops but also raising animals and building houses and fences. All members of the family worked since a young age, helping in the house and then in the fields. As a result, the family is seen as a working unit, in which all the members contribute to the sustenance of the group.

Nevertheless, another feature that characterized the colonists was the total absence of an Italian national conscience. When they arrived to Brazil and found themselves isolated in the jungle, they did not have any references that would have allowed them to relate to their memories of Italy.<sup>213</sup>

Thus, it is marvelous that, still today, millions of people in Brazil feel a connection with their origins. I showed that connection during the synthesis of my questionnaire. Even though only ten people answered my questions, I could realize that most of them are very passionate about their cultural heritage and want to preserve it in any way possible. They speak *Talian* (or, in other cases, have spoken the Venetian dialect with their grandparents and learnt Italian when they were adults), they organize religious festivals visited by thousands of people, they pass down the culinary culture to the next generation, they researched their ancestors; many of the Italian descendants in Brazil also got the dual citizenship.

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<sup>213</sup> Manfroi, O., "Religion d'attestation et créativité communautaire. L'immigration italienne au Rio Grande do Sul (1875-1914)/Attesting Religion and Group Creativity. The Italian Emigration to Rio Grande do Sul (1875-1914)", *Archives de Sciences sociales des religions*, 41, 1976, 55-75.

Finally, I could assert that even if the first migrants arriving from Italy did not feel Italian, their descendants do and cherish it. Being Italian in Brazil was not about how the migrants felt about themselves but how the others (the local population and immigrants from other countries) saw them. Their features made them stand out from the mass and be recognized as a unique population, whose descendants live all over Brazil.

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### Maps

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### Tables

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## Figures

- **Fig. 1:** Novo Mapa das Religiões / Coordenação Marcelo Côrtes Neri. - Rio de Janeiro: FGV, CPS, 2011,p.7
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# Appendix

## Questionnaire

### Lembrando a migração italiana para o Brasil

Respondendo às questões deste questionário, você estará me ajudando com minha pesquisa de mestrado. Minha pesquisa é sobre o que lembram os filhos e netos de imigrantes italianos das histórias sobre a imigração que seus pais e avós lhes contavam. Eu preciso de tanta informação quanto você puder me dar, mas se você não sabe ou não lembra a resposta de uma questão, deixe-a em branco ou escreva "Eu não sei/Eu não me lembro". É claro que você pode perguntar para outros parentes (irmãos(ãs), primos(as), tios(as), etc) se eles(as) podem ajudá-lo(a) a lembrar alguma informação. Gaste o tempo que precisar para responder.

Todas as informações que eu coletar com este questionário serão usadas exclusivamente na minha dissertação de mestrado e seu nome será publicado somente com suas iniciais (se necessário).

Não se preocupe se você escrever muito, eu vou gostar de suas respostas longas.

Rispondendo alle domande di questo questionario mi aiuterà nel lavoro di ricerca per la tesi di laurea magistrale. Vorrei ricercare le memorie di figli e nipoti che hanno sentito raccontare storie di migrazione dai genitori/nonni che sono emigrati dall' Italia al Brasile. Mi servono quante più informazioni possibile, ma se non sa la risposta ad una domanda o non si ricorda, può lasciare lo spazio in bianco oppure scrivere "Non so/Non ricordo". In caso, può sempre chiedere aiuto a parenti (fratelli, sorelle, cugini, zii, zie, ecc...) che potrebbero aiutarla a ricordare certe informazioni. Si prenda tutto il tempo necessario per rispondere alle domande.

Tutte le informazioni che raccoglierò con questo questionario saranno usate specificatamente solo per il mio lavoro di tesi. In caso sia necessario, pubblicherò il suo nome solo con le iniziali.

Non abbia paura di scrivere troppo, di sicuro apprezzerò la lunghezza della sua risposta!

By answering to the questions in this questionnaire, you will be helping me with my research work for my Master's thesis. I am researching about what sons and grandsons of Italian immigrants to

Brazil remember from the stories about the migration that their elder relatives told them. I need as much information as you can give me, but if you do not know or do not remember the answer to a question just leave it blank or write "I do not know/I do not remember". You can of course ask to other relatives (siblings, cousins, uncles, aunts etc...) if they can help you to remember some information. Please take your time to answer. All the information I will collect with this questionnaire will be used exclusively for my Master's thesis and your name will be published only with your initials (if needed).

Do not be afraid to write too much, I will appreciate the length of your answers!

**Question 1**

Escreva seu nome, sua idade e onde você nasceu.

Scriva il suo nome, la sua età e dove è nato. // State your name, age and where you were born.

**Question 2**

Escreva o nome dos seus parentes que emigraram da Itália para o Brasil.

Scriva il nome dei suoi parenti che sono emigrati dall'Italia al Brasile. // State the name of your relatives who migrated from Italy to Brazil.

**Question 3**

De que parte da Itália seus pais/avós emigraram?

Da che parte dell'Italia sono emigrati i suoi genitori/nonni? // From which part of Italy did your parents/grandparents emigrate?

**Question 4**

Quantos anos tinham seus pais/avós quando eles emigraram?

A che età sono emigrati i suoi genitori/nonni? // How old were your parents/grandparents when they emigrated?

**Question 5**

Quantos anos tinham seus pais/avós quando Que tipo de emprego tinham seus pais/avós na Itália?

Qual era l'occupazione dei suoi genitori/nonni in Italia? // What kind of job did your parents/grandparents do in Italy?

**Question 6**

Seus pais/avós emigraram sozinhos ou com parentes/amigos?

I suoi genitori/nonni sono emigrati da soli o con familiari/amici? // Did your parents/grandparents emigrate by themselves or with relatives/friends?

**Question 7**

Por que seus pais/avós decidiram emigrar?

Perché i suoi genitori/nonni decisero di emigrare? // Why did your parents/grandparents decide to emigrate?

**Question 8**

Por que seus pais/avós decidiram emigrar para o Brasil (e não para outro país)?

Perché i suoi genitori/nonni decisero di emigrare in Brasile (e non in un'altro paese)? // Why did your parents/grandparents decide to emigrate to Brazil (and not to another country)?

**Question 9**

Você lembra de algo sobre a viagem para o Brasil que seus pais/avós lhe contaram?

Quanto eles pagaram pela viagem, quais eram as condições a bordo (comida, acomodações, etc...), o nome do navio, a duração da viagem, as paradas que eles fizeram antes da travessia do oceano, os amigos que eles fizeram, ... Sinta-se livre para escrever o que você lembrar sobre isso.

Si ricorda qualcosa che i suoi genitori/nonni le hanno raccontato sul viaggio per arrivare in Brasile? Quanto pagarono, come erano le condizioni a bordo (cibo, alloggio, ecc...), il nome della nave, la lunghezza del viaggio, le fermate che fecero prima di inoltrarsi nell'oceano, le amicizie nate a bordo... si senta libero di scrivere qualunque cosa si ricorda del viaggio dei suoi genitori/nonni. // Do you remember anything about the trip to arrive to Brazil that you were told by your parents/grandparents? How much did they pay for the trip, how were the conditions on board (food, accommodation, etc...) the name of the boat, the length of the trip, the stops they made before entering the ocean, the friends they made... feel free to write whatever you remember about it.

**Question 10**

Em qual região do Brasil seus pais/avós chegaram? Em qual cidade especificamente?

In quale regione del Brasile arrivarono i suoi genitori/nonni? In quale città in particolare? // To which region of Brazil did your parents/grandparents arrive? To which city specifically?

**Question 11**

Seus pais/avós se estabeleceram na cidade onde eles chegaram? Ou eles mudaram para o interior do Brasil ou para outra cidade costeira?

I suoi genitori/nonni si stabilirono nella città dove erano arrivati? Oppure si spostarono

nella parte continentale del Brasile o in un'altra città costiera? // Did your parents/grandparents settle down in the city where they arrived? Or did they move to the interior of Brazil or to another coastal city?

**Question 12**

Que tipo de empregos seus pais/avós encontraram no Brasil? Eram os mesmos empregos que tinham na Itália?

Che tipo di lavoro i suoi genitori/nonni trovarono in Brasile? Era lo stesso lavoro che avevano in Italia? What kind of job did your parents/grandparents find in Brazil? // Was it the same as they had in Italy?

**Question 13**

Como eram as condições de vida para imigrantes durante os primeiros anos no Brasil? Onde seus pais/avós viviam, que tipo de comida eles comiam, seus filhos iam à escola? Come erano le condizioni di vita per i migranti durante i primi anni in Brasile? Dove vivevano i suoi genitori/nonni? Che cibo mangiavano? I loro bambini andavano a scuola? // How were the conditions of living for immigrants during the first years in Brazil? Where did your parents/grandparents live, what food did they eat, were their children going to school?

**Question 14**

Seus pais/avós, e os imigrantes italianos em geral, foram aceitos e bem recebidos pela população local? I suoi genitori/nonni (e, più in generale, gli immigrati italiani) furono accettati e ben accolti dalla popolazione locale? // Were your parents/grandparents, and more in general the Italian immigrants, accepted and welcomed by the local population?

**Question 15**

Atualmente, existem muitos grupos de pessoas em sua região/cidade que mantêm as tradições italianas, a língua, etc.? Existem associações de pessoas com origens italianas? Quais são seus objetivos? Você faz parte dela(s)? Se você não conhece qualquer associação, por favor, descreva suas próprias impressões sobre a comunidade italiana em sua região e como você acredita que a cultura italiana é vista pelas velha e nova gerações. Attualmente, ci sono molti gruppi di persone nella sua area/città che fanno riferimento alle tradizioni italiane, alla lingua italiana ecc...? Ci sono associazioni che raggruppano

persone di origine italiana? Qual é il loro scopo? Lei ne fa parte? Se non conosce nessuna associazione, la prego di descrivere i suoi pensieri sulla comunità italiana nella sua area in generale, e come pensa che la cultura italiana sia vista dalla vecchia e dalla nuova generazione. // Presently, are there many groups of people in your area/city who refer to Italian traditions, language, etc.? Are there associations of people with Italian origins? What is their purpose? Are you part of them? If you do not know any association, please describe your own thoughts on the Italian community in your area and how you think the Italian culture is seen by the old and the new generation.

**Question 16**

Você pessoalmente sente alguma conexão com a cultura italiana? Seus pais/avós passaram a você algum costume/tradição italiana?

Personalmente, sente di avere qualche connessione con la cultura italiana? I suoi genitori/nonni le hanno tramandato usanze/tradizioni italiane? // Do you personally feel to have any connection with the Italian culture? Did your parents/grandparents handed down to you any Italian custom/tradition?

**Question 17**

Você lembra de qualquer outra coisa que seus pais/avós lhe contaram sobre a imigração?

Se sim, por favor, escreva-a aqui:

Si ricorda qualunque altra cosa che i suoi genitori/nonni le hanno raccontato sulla loro migrazione? Se si, per favore la scriva qui: // Do you remember anything else that your parents/grandparents told you about their migration? If yes, please write it here:

## **Erklärung**

Hiermit erkläre ich, Alice Andreola, dass ich die vorliegende Masterarbeit selbständig verfasst und gelieferte Datensätze, Zeichnungen, Skizzen und graphische Darstellungen selbständig erstellt habe. Ich habe keine anderen Quellen als die angegebenen benutzt und habe die Stellen der Arbeit, die anderen Werken entnommen sind - einschl. verwendeter Tabellen und Abbildungen - in jedem einzelnen Fall unter Angabe der Quelle als Entlehnung kenntlich gemacht.

Bielefeld, den

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(Unterschrift)