Where did the croatian proletarians live between 1920 and 1940 in Brazil?

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ABSTRACT
The objective of this work is to map the population of Croatian immigrants who settled in the neighborhoods of Mooca de Belém and Brás from 1920 to 1940, through the following: Because these Croatian immigrants mainly resided in these neighborhoods in the capital of São Paulo? To carry out this research, a quali-quantitative approach was used, with the use of exploratory research (Bibliographic and documentary research), which had as methodological instruments: Geoprocessing and Descriptive Statistics, which were analyzed from the analysis of the Cluster (Agglomeration) of the locations of Croatian residences. As statistical instruments were used: scatter plot, radar plot, and Pearson coefficient (r). For the analysis, 3 neighborhoods in the city of São Paulo (Mooca, Belém and Brás) were evaluated, associating these 2 methodological instruments mentioned above. It is concluded that the Pearson coefficient between the place of residence of immigrants from Mooca and Belenzinho in relation to social and cultural networks between the years 1920 and 1940 was \( r = 0.98 \), ie 98%, with an index of high correlation. They live close to places of work, leisure and culture, and the average distance on foot was 34.25 minutes, which corresponded to 2.95 km. Currently, these 3 neighborhoods do not concentrate (Cluster) anymore the main industrial activities of São Paulo, and these were mostly replaced by parking lots or residential complexes, but a part of the culture of these immigrants remains there, such as the Churches, the Sociedade Amigos da Dalmatia-SADA.

Keywords: croatian immigration, proletarian residence, São Paulo Brazil.

1 INTRODUCTION

Croatians have been in Brazil since the final decades of the 19th century. However, several factors made their history go unnoticed in this country. Among the facts was the modification of the Croatian political regime, which was once called the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Yugoslavia (CAMARGO, 2017).

Table 1 summarizes these changes through the five “Unions” suffered by the country in the course of its history until the present day, with their respective periods and political regimes. These transformations were essential for the country to promote immigration to Brazil, mainly between the
Second and Third Unions, and which are the result of this study, until it became a multicultural country inserted in the European Community from the year 2013.

Table 1 - The 5 Historical Unions of Croatia in a synthetic way

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unions</th>
<th>Quick description of the period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1*</td>
<td>1st In this first part there were two Unions: the first with Hungary between the years 1102 and 1526; and then there was an alliance with Austria, with the aim of fighting the Turks between the 15th and 18th centuries. In both governance was carried out by kings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2*</td>
<td>2nd Official union with Austria between the years 1527 and 1941.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3*</td>
<td>3rd Corresponds to the Official Union with Austria, which took place between 1918 and 1941, the regime of the period was the monarchy and is defined as the 1st Yugoslavia, also called Austro-Hungarian Empire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4*</td>
<td>4th It is defined as the time of the 2nd Yugoslavia, between 1945 and 1991, with a socialist regime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5*</td>
<td>5th Croatia joined the European Community in the year 2013 to the present day and corresponds to a parliamentary regime.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The objective of this work is to map the population of Croatian immigrants who settled in the neighborhoods of Mooca, Belém and Brás in the year 1920 to the year 1940, through the following question: why these Croatian immigrants resided mainly in these neighborhoods of Sao Paulo’s capital?

The article is divided into 5 parts. The Introduction, where it makes clear the theme and the problem. The second part is the Methodology. Subsequently, the study referring to the location of these immigrants' homes in the neighborhoods of Mooca, Belém and Brás followed by the statistical results; and finally, the conclusion.

2 METHODOLOGY

To carry out this article, a qualitative approach was used, using exploratory research, which used bibliographic and documentary research.

The bibliographic research used the keywords: Croatian Immigration; Proletarian Residence; and São Paulo (Brazil). The main authors related to these are: Camargo (2017); Pereira (2022) and Puh (2015, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020).

Documentary research used documents from two research projects: the Dalmatian Memory, coordinated by Katia Gavranich Camargo, and the History of Croatia and Croatian immigration in Brazil, coordinated by Milan Puh, whose objective was to gather data and materials information about the Croatian community in Brazil and São Paulo. In this sense, research is an offshoot of these projects in the sense of taking advantage of the data collection and its initial organization in a digital mapping available to the general public, made by Alex Franulović and Kelly Yaeko.

Subsequently, the data from the bibliographic and documentary research were confronted to organize the data to start the mapping. Then, the data were organized in a spreadsheet with 5 columns.
The first column refers to the identifier code of the position of the immigrant or of any company that is related to him/her, starting with the number 1 and following a continuous ascending order until reaching the last element of analysis. The second column is latitude, followed by the third column which is longitude. The fourth column corresponds to the residence, places where they work and cultural points of this Slavic people. The fifth is the location address in the period, followed by the sixth that identifies the year of arrival in Brazil.

Then, Geoprocessing was used through the Q-GIS program, which is an official project of the Open Source Geospatial Foundation (OSGeo), where through the latitude and longitude data, received and tabulated in the electronic spreadsheet by the researcher, it was possible to identify the location of Croatian developments in the Mooca, Belém and Brás districts of the capital of São Paulo from 1920 to 1950 on the map.

Subsequently, to arrive at the results, the data were analyzed from the Cluster, that is, from the place of greater agglomeration to the places of lesser concentration, in order to prepare a brief analysis of the results using scatter and radar graphs, in addition to from the Pearson correlation (PEREIRA, 2019; PEREIRA, CARVALHO 2020; PEREIRA, 2022).

The correlation determines a numerical value that represents a numerical measure of the degree of relationship found in the vehicle cluster network. Thus, the correlation matrix was stipulated from the Pearson(r) coefficient with a confidence level of 5%, classifying it as follows if:

- $0 < r < 1$ is a positive correlation; in this case, the closer $r$ is to $+1$, the closer the fit points will be, that is, when $Y$ grows, $X$ grows as well; when $Y$ decreases, $X$ also decreases;
- $r = 1$ is a perfectly positive correlation; in this case, it occurs when $X$ and $Y$ are perfectly aligned;
- $-1 < r < 0$ is a negative linear correlation; when this occurs, $Y$ increases, $X$ decreases and vice versa;
- $r = -1$ is a perfectly negative correlation; occurs when the values of $X$ and $Y$ are perfectly aligned, but in the opposite direction; thus, the integral fit points will be closer to a descending line;
- $r = 0$ occurs if there is no relationship between $X$ and $Y$; thus, the variables occur independently (PEREIRA, 2019, p.169-170).

Regarding Pearson's correlation (r), it can be summarized that the closer to 1 the better the relationship between the variables under study, the statistics were used to quantitatively confirm the mapping performed; and then come to conclusions.

This study is justified by the innovative methodology that works with Croatian immigration in Brazil within a focus that uses history associated with a study of descriptive statistics and geoprocessing.

3 LOCATION OF CROATIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF MOOCA, BELÉM AND BRÁS

Mooca had as its first inhabitants the “Mooquences” Indians, around 1556 in the 16th century, who were concentrated near an extensive river – Tameateí or Tometeri, today Tamanduateí – and spread
into the region, which was surrounded by many streams. The construction of the bridge over this river made it possible for immigrants to come to the locality; and connected the east side and the parish of Sé.

At the end of the imperialist period in Brazil and the beginning of the Republic, the region had huge houses, surrounded by beautiful farms. On August 10, 1867, the São Paulo City Council, then called the Royal Chamber, began donating land for the formation of a village. In 1869 there were already many small and poor houses and, thus, the village grew. The main infrastructure factors that transformed the Mooca neighborhood into one of the main places of residence for Croatian immigrants were: the São Paulo hippodrome, the Immigrant’s Household, the presence of trams and industry.

The São Paulo hippodrome (Map 1 - orange circle written Horse Stables (old)) was an important event for the Mooca neighborhood and was officially opened in this neighborhood in 1876. The hippodrome remained in this neighborhood until 1941 and held an average of 1200 people, promoting changes in the locality, as it promoted the promotion of formal and informal jobs for Croatian immigrants, as well as real estate construction around it.

Mooca was also the way to receive immigrants in Brazil (Map 1 - Lozenge in blue color) we can highlight the Immigrant’s Household (opened in 1888) which closed its activities after the year 1978 (IMMIGRATION MUSEUM OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAUL, 2020). Today, the accommodation of immigrants has become the Museum of Immigration of the State of São Paulo and has documents for use in research in its Digital Collection.

Mooca was a town that had a good infrastructure at the beginning of the 20th century. We can highlight the Mooca-Centro Tram Line, first powered by animal traction and later replaced by electric trams from the São Paulo Railway (1887), which made it possible for immigrants and several industrial companies to come to the region. It can be said that Mooca was a pioneer in the textile industries in 1880. The main companies where these immigrants worked were Woolen Fileppo (Textile, spinning and weaving industry - Map 1 - pink lozenge), Woolen Bradford S/A (Wool fabric industry, now a residential building - Map 1 - dark green circle), Santista Mill (weaving company that corresponds to the current Social Service of Commerce - SESC - Map 1 - light green diamond), the Electrical Materials - FAME (Created in 1940 by Mr. Álvaro Coelho Silva, it started its activities in the back of his house, at Rua Passos n° 220, then moved to Rua Júlio de Castilhos n° 471, in a shed of only 15 m², initially producing Soldering Irons; 1 and 2 burner electric stoves, and Electric Showers, being one of the pioneer companies in the manufacture of these appliances).

The Amadeu Amaral School (Map 1 - blue circle) was the place where the first generations of immigrants studied. It is currently the Amadeu Amaral State School.

1911 was the year of cinema, as the first Cinema da Mooca was opened, the Cine Modern Palace on Mooca Street at the current number 2241 in the city of São Paulo.
The biggest entertainment for the workers in the villages were balls, shows with cultural dances and cinemas. In the period, the largest movie theaters in Brazil were in Brás and Belém (the following can be highlighted: Universo, Babilônia, Rocks and Piratinica, Cine Teatro São José - Largo São José de Belém). Most of them turned into parking lots these days. (BELEM - HISTORY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF SÃO PAULO, 2013).

The cinema grew more due to the increase in the population of workers and immigrants in Brás between 1900 and 1930, while in the Mooca neighborhood between the 1940s and 1960s. chairs and a screen for viewing (SCHVARZMAN, 2005, p.164; ASSIS; RUFINONI, 2015, p.63).

In the 30s and 40s, the Belém neighborhood could be considered a Croatian-Dalmatian neighborhood, due to the presence of these immigrants, gathered in up to three local associations. I highlight the existence in the neighborhood, at that time, of the Esporte Clube Dalmácia, of carnival blocks formed only by young people from the community and the creation of groups of folk dances, a choir and a typical string musical ensemble. As can be seen, gatherings typical of first generations of immigrants, destined to disappear with time, when grandchildren and great-grandchildren, already characters of a new local culture, will not feel faced with the strange land that grandparents and great-grandparents encountered one day ahead (CAMARGO, 2014, p.23).

In 1917, the first Mooca Workers League was created, being the first workers’ organization formed in Brazil to demand a salary increase, including the use of newspapers to disseminate their ideas. In the same year, Mooca is the epicenter of the General Strike in front of Antarctica and the first company to stop was Woolen Rodolfo Crespi (Map 1 - Figure 1 - White diamond). In 1924, Woolen employee Rodolfo Crespi opened the club “Extra São Paulo” (currently Clube Atlético Juventus), of Italian origin.

All the industries in these 3 neighborhoods used immigrant labor, which in the interwar period migrated in mass once again, in search of better living conditions, like the Yugoslavs. Most of the families that arrived here descended in Santos and were brought to the Immigration House (now the Immigrant Museum). Currently, these industries no longer exist in Mooca or in the other 2 neighborhoods, most were transformed into parking lots or residential buildings due to real estate speculation.

In the early 1930s, Mooca established itself by receiving not only Italian immigrants, but also Spanish, Portuguese and Hungarians, as immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe were called.

Many immigrant families, including Croatians and Italians, lived in Mooca during this period because of the ease provided by the rails, installed in 1868 by the São Paulo Railway, which connected São Paulo to the port of Santos, among other infrastructures mentioned above.

One of the facts of these families being there is that the transport of coffee by rail using this railway (São Paulo Railway) was responsible for promoting the modification of economic, urban, spatial and social activities of this period in São Paulo in general. Investments were made in railways to transport the coffee, due to cost issues, while by sea it cost 440 réis per arroba of coffee, by train it was 140 réis, that is, 60% less benefit for the producer (TEIXEIRA, 2002). -2003, p.125-126).
Thus, coffee favored the establishment of the industry in São Paulo, because

infrastructure problems, such as rail transport, the maritime port, communications and urbanization, were at the same time creating an accumulation of external savings that would benefit industrial formation, reducing investment costs and production costs. In addition, the São Paulo coffee complex early on precipitated the gestation of something no less important: the formation and development of a labor market that, given the conditions in which it is formed and expanded, would result in less pressure on industrial production costs. The satisfactory performance of agriculture in São Paulo, on the other hand, provided a large part of the food supply to its workforce, and guaranteed the local supply of raw materials to the nascent industry (CANO, 2007, p. 234).

Another aspect is the changes in labor relations after the abolition and advent of the Republic (Table 1), which started an immigration policy initially to work in coffee plantations, but with the 1929 crisis, coffee also declined favoring in São Paulo the growth of industrialization; and some immigrants who worked in the fields started to act in an incipient way at the beginning of the industries in neighborhoods that had railroads, this around the beginning of the 20th century, but establishing themselves as working labor or as entrepreneurs from the crisis of 1929 until the period of the Second World War.

Table 1 - Free and Slave Population São Paulo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>1854</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1886</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free population</td>
<td>294.612</td>
<td>680.742</td>
<td>1.114.065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slave population</td>
<td>117.238</td>
<td>156.612</td>
<td>107.329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>411.850</td>
<td>837.354</td>
<td>1.221.394</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Cano (2007, p. 233-234) collaborates with this when he says:

Contrary to popular belief, the process of industrial concentration in São Paulo is a phenomenon that has its starting point at the beginning of the 20th century. As will be seen (Table 32), it is around 1905-1907 that the beginning of what I call the “great quantitative leap” of the São Paulo industry takes place. Between 1907 and 1919, when industrial expansion is calculated in nominal terms, the industry of São Paulo would grow 8.5 times, changing its participation in the total Brazilian industry, from 15.9% to 31.5% in the period. The industry in the rest of the country would show much lower results, growing only 3.5 times and decreasing its share, from 84.1% to 68.5%. The 1920s would provide a new expansion of the São Paulo industry, equally lagging behind the growth of the rest of the country, thus consolidating the concentration process.

Thus, houses that were previously built by the river in the Mooca neighborhood gave way to factories that began to be built next to the railway line, for the convenience of transporting raw materials, fuel and goods.

If previously Mooca was one of the most important neighborhoods in the city, from the 1950s onwards it undergoes a process of “deindustrialization” with the consequent abandonment and degradation. Before, however, Mooca held the largest industrial concentration, mainly textile and food industries. It was a neighborhood that concentrated large populations of Italian immigrants.
(the majority), Spanish, Portuguese and “Hungarians” - as immigrants from Central-Eastern Europe, Russians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs and Hungarians are still called today. “Because of this variety of origins, Mooca was one of the most heterogeneous neighborhoods in the city of São Paulo”, says history professor Adriano Luiz Duarte, from the Federal University of Santa Catarina (FAVA, 2002).

This is collaborated by Camargo (2017, p. 187) when he says:

The industries that concentrated the largest number of Dalmatians were Woolen Crespi, Woolen Fileppo, Matarazzo Industries, Santista Mill, Gasparian Textile Industry and Seleto Coffee. Today, the buildings of these industries have given way to other activities. For example: Woolen Crespi was transformed into a supermarket, but its facade, in the style of the industries of the 1940s, was preserved. The Café Seleto building has recently become a major telemarketing center, and the Gasparian Industries building has been renovated to house a large private university. The old building of Santista Mill, renovated, now houses the regional headquarters of SESC São Paulo and SESC Belenzinho.

A soccer field was also installed where Dalmatia Sport Clube (Mapa 1 - green circle) trained, a team founded on March 16, 1932, officially registered with the São Paulo Football Federation, and which was located on Taquari Street, very close to Church of São Miguel Arcanjo (Map 1 - Figure 1 - gray circle). Today there is a parking lot in its place. Football was great fun and the most popular sport among immigrants at the time, including Croats. Between the 1920s and 1930s, several football teams emerged in both Mooca and Belenzinho, the fields of Mooca are in the meadow, while those of the Belenzinho neighborhood are in the river floodplains. The oldest team in these two locations is Estrela de Ouro (Gold Star), where the main players of the time who lived in both neighborhoods played.

The Estrela de Ouro Athletic Association was an association from the city of São Paulo (SP). The black indigo team was founded on September 1, 1903. Its headquarters were in Belenzinho and later in Braz. In the football sphere, Estrela de Ouro participated in the Municipal Championship (1923 and 1925); Main Division (1924 and 1929) and Paulista Championship of the Second Division (1928), all the aforementioned competitions were organized by the São Paulo Association of Athletic Sports (APEA) (KUSSAREV, 1930).

In general, both in Mooca and in Belenzinho, lowland soccer teams were common in the industrial districts of São Paulo, responsible for the leisure of families, in addition to promoting companionship. To give you an idea, Club Atlético Juventus and Club Leão do Norte were important meeting points for parties and balls of the Croatian community before the Friends of Dalmatia Society-SADA. In the central region, the meeting point of the Croatian population was the Piratininga Club of Dances and the House of Portugal.

Map 1 shows an expanded form of the Cluster (Agglomeration) present in Map 1 in the neighborhoods of Mooca and Belenzinho (also called Belém). It can be seen that in the neighborhood of Mooca, where 13 projects were identified (Map 1); and in the Belém neighborhood it has 12 organizations (Map1).
The Croatian population’s area of residence was close to the train tracks in order to facilitate the movement of immigrants to work, as well as the flow of production to the consumer market. The area of residence was also close to basic services for the population, such as:

- the Joana D'Arc Bakery (the meeting place for these people) (Map 1 - white circle with black dot in the center) is currently a place with several houses;
- the Fourth Parada cemetery (Map 1 - circle color purple) is one of the oldest in the City of São Paulo, having its foundation on January 6, 1893, it served the population of the neighborhoods of Brás, Pari, Mooca, Belenzinho and Regions close;
- the Catholic Churches, two in the Belenzinho neighborhood and one in Mooca can be highlighted. In the first location there is the Saint Paul Apostle Church (Map 1 - pink circle), where there is the Image and Celebration of Santa Vicença worshiped by the Croatian-Dalmatians and the Saint Joseph of Belém Church (Map 1 - red triangle), which brought together Croatian society for Catholic worship. In the second place, the Church of Saint Michael Arcanjo (Map 1 - gray circle) stands out, where weddings, baptisms and funerals of the Croatian community were held. The three Churches continue to exist;
- the Holy Mary of Belém Maternity Hospital (old) - Map 1 - navy blue circle, where the children of several foreigners who worked in Brazil were born, including the Former Yugoslavians. Today it corresponds to the Avicenna Hospital.
4 RESULTS REGARDING THE LOCATION OF THE CROATIANS' RESIDENCES: MOOCA, BELÉM AND BRÁS NEIGHBORHOODS

When analyzing the walking time, the geographic issues of the terrain were taken into account. That's why in some places you can have a longer time on a shorter route or shorter time on a longer distance. Walking was used as a parameter, because at the time people walked a lot and there were few people who had a car, as this type of vehicle was only for rich people. Thus, the walking distance from the workers' homes to the Industrial Sheds area was approximately 34.25 minutes (Table 1). Reaffirming that workers live close to their work and entertainment; so much so that the neighborhood of Fourth Parada today has this name, because it was close to the Fourth Parada of the train in the neighborhood of Belenzinho.
Table 1 - Place of residence of Croatians - São Paulo (Brazil) - Between the years 1920-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Croatian Places of Residence</th>
<th>Neighborhood in the present day</th>
<th>Time (minutes)</th>
<th>Distance (Km)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serra de Jairé Street</td>
<td>Mooca</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cidade de São Simão Street</td>
<td>Fourth Stop</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vila Anete</td>
<td>Fourth Stop</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caá-Açu Street</td>
<td>Mooca</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>34,25</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,95</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own elaboration, 2020.

Some companies were close to the train line in order to sell the production, for example: Seleto Coffee (Map 1-circle yellow color).

If you associate the location of the cultural points on Map 1 with the houses in the neighborhoods of Mooca and Belenzinho, the value of Pearson's correlation (r) is 0.96, that is, a perfect correlation, as it is very close to 1, represented by Graphs 1 and 2. Thus, there is a very strong positive correlation between the Organizations related to the culture of Croatia (Map 1) and its houses, showing that in the period the houses of the Mooca and Belenzinho neighborhoods were so close to the cultural points and their work, promoting a greater walking displacement than on average could be performed in 34.25 minutes of walking, which corresponds to 2.95 km (Table 1).

That is why many immigrants chose to live close to industries or to promote cultural activities close to where they lived or worked, because during the period under study most of the displacement was done by walking.

When representing this $r = 0.96$, we have Graph 1 of dispersion, in which we can see that the points are very close and concentrated in the trend line, showing a strong network between the housing and the part of employment and of culture; as well as Radar Graph 2, which shows all the points in the central part of the graph, showing that there is co-option and network between three factors: housing, employment and culture. When considering only the houses in the neighborhoods of Mooca and Belenzinho, one can see that the $r = 0.98$, showing that there was a social and cultural network between the residents of both neighborhoods.
Graph 1 - Scatter graph of Cultural Capital and Croatian housing in the neighborhoods of Mooca and Belenzinho-São Paulo (Brazil) - Between the years 1900 to 1940

Source: Own elaboration, 2020.
5 CONCLUSIONS

The proletarian population from Croatia resided mainly in three neighborhoods: Mooca, Belenzinho and Brás. These three locations have an important milestone in the industrialization process of São Paulo, Brazil and Latin America, especially the Mooca neighborhood, which is considered the industrial landmark of Brazil and the city of São Paulo.

The population sought to stay close and maintain a network of knowledge with their culture, with their work and with other Croatian immigrants. This qualitative data can be transformed into quantitative when measuring the relationship of housing in the neighborhoods of Mooca and Belenzinho, the value of Pearson's correlation (r) is 0.96, showing that the relationship and proximity was great between the two neighborhoods with Croatian predominance.

When making a quantitative relationship between the houses in the Mooca and Belenzinho neighborhoods with the social and cultural networks among the residents of both neighborhoods, it is clear that r = 0.98, increasing by 0.02 in relation to the previous information, showing a strong relationship.

Another way of proving this relationship is through graphs 1 and 2, which show a greater concentration (Cluster) of immigrants' residences in Mooca and there is a deconcentration towards the neighborhoods of Belenzinho and Brás.

The average walking time is 34.25 minutes, which corresponds to 2.95 km between the immigrants' homes and their social and cultural networks.
Currently, these 3 neighborhoods (Mooca, Belenzinho and Brás) no longer concentrate (Cluster) the main industrial activities in São Paulo, and these were mostly replaced by parking lots or residential complexes, but a part of the culture of these immigrants remains there, as the Churches and the Society Friends of Dalmatia-SADA.

The next steps of this research are to deepen the studies on Croatian entrepreneurs who came to live in Brazil and what enterprises they opened, undertook and innovated. That is to be released and disseminate on the E-book “Os Croatas?... Presentes!” at the end of 2022 by the publisher EDUFBA.

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