

Kerbfest as a German-Brazilian heritage: A Case Study in the Municipality of Seara/SC (1993-2005)

O Kerbfest como patrimônio teuto-brasileiro: Estudo de caso do município de Seara/SC (1993-2005)

Sandra Kuester*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3067-6127>

Jaisson Teixeira Lino**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5582-526X>

Mirian Carbonera***

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3651-1438>

Abstract

This article analyses *Kerbfest*, a celebration that takes place in the municipality of Seara in the western region of Santa Catarina, Brazil. This festival started in Seara in 1993 and continues to the present. It is organised by the German-Brazilian group together with the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil. The time frame analysed was 1993 to 2005 and the sources observed were meeting minutes, audiovisual recordings, photographs, newspapers, and interviews. Analysing the sources allowed us to see that *Kerbfest* is a festivity built in Brazil and not a Germanic heritage brought by immigrants. The festival has representations of a collectivity, portraying not just the municipality of Seara, but several other places that went through the processes of German immigration, which wanted to build bonds of belonging and identity.

Keywords: Kerbfest; German-Brazilian Culture; Cultural Heritage.

Resumo

Neste artigo é analisado o *Kerbfest*, uma festividade que ocorre no município de Seara no oeste de Santa Catarina. A festividade iniciou em Seara em 1993 e sua realização se estende à atualidade. Ela é uma promoção realizada pelo

* MSc in History, Federal University of Fronteira Sul, Brazil. E-mail: sandrakuester92@gmail.com

** PhD in Archaeology, University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto-Douro, Portugal. Associated Professor at Federal University of Fronteira Sul. E-mail: lino@uffs.edu.br

*** PhD in Archaeology, University of São Paulo, Brazil. Professor in the Environmental Sciences Stricto Sensu Graduate Program of the Community University of Chapecó Region. E-mail: mirianc@unochapeco.edu.br



grupo teuto-brasileiro juntamente com a Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (IECLB). O recorte temporal analisado abrange de 1993 a 2005 e as fontes pesquisadas foram atas de reuniões, gravações audiovisuais, fotografias, jornais e entrevistas. A análise das fontes permitiu observar que o *Kerbfest* é uma festividade construída no Brasil e não uma herança germânica trazida pelos imigrantes. A festa possui representações de uma coletividade retratando não somente o município, mas várias localidades que passaram pelo processo de imigração alemã e que desejavam construir laços de pertencimento e identidade.

Palavras-chave: Kerbfest; Cultura Teuto-Brasileira; Patrimônio Cultural.

Introduction

O *Kerbfest* is a German-Brazilian festival with particularities depending on the community that celebrates it. In Seara (Santa Catarina), this event began in 1993 and continues to this day, organized by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil (IECLB). This article focuses on the period from 1993 to 2005, a period in which there were significant changes in the way representative aspects of German-Brazilian culture were celebrated. These changes were observed by means of various primary sources, such as meeting minutes, audiovisual recordings, photographs, newspapers, and interviews.

In Seara, *Kerbfest* is held to commemorate the construction of the IECLB temple. It is also an event where the German-Brazilian culture of the region is highlighted through typical food, dance, music, language, etc. The event, however, is not restricted to the German community, as it includes the Italian-Brazilian and caboclo ethnic groups. This inclusion is evident in moments such as the parades of floats, the preparation of food, and the exchange of visits, which are agreements made between the organizers of different events, so that one organization commits to participating in the other's event, thus guaranteeing a larger audience. These negotiations were observed in the minutes from 2002 onwards, where trips were organized for communities from the municipalities of Ipira/SC, Cunha Porã/SC, Concórdia/SC, Arvoredo/SC and Arabutã/SC.¹

Thus, *Kerbfest*, as a tourist event, promotes the memory and appreciation of the community's history, thus creating opportunities for cultural exchange and social rituals to participants from outside the community that originated the festival, in addition to generating economic income inherent to the event

¹ Source: IECLB Photography and Document Collection. Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (2002).

itself. Therefore, the main characteristic of the Seara *Kerbfest* is its dynamism, since not only does it facilitate ethnic exchanges but it has also undergone changes throughout its existence. An example of this is the adaptations to legislation and the actions taken to attract visitors.-

The German-Brazilian colonization of Seara

An analysis of *Kerbfest* origins linked to the colonization process is crucial to understand the festival in Seara. The colonial process involved the implementation of programs to subdivide large properties and settle farming families on demarcated plots. This initiative included support and supervision programs for immigrants and small rural landowners.²

According to Seyferth³ (1999), Germans started to arrive in Brazil with the installation of the first colonies: initially in Bahia in 1818 and later in Rio de Janeiro in 1819. Regarding Southern Brazil, systematic settlement began in 1824.⁴ Valentini⁵ (2009) observed that in the early 20th century, the *Southern Brazil Lumber & Colonization Company* acted in the western region of Santa Catarina, focusing on logging and in the sale of 'unclaimed lands' to immigrants. The colonization of Concórdia, as Radin⁶ (2006) pointed out, was assigned to the Mosele, Eberle, Ahrons & Co. Territorial Society by the aforementioned company. Seara, which was initially a village belonging to Concórdia, was colonized in the first Half of the 20th century by immigrants from Rio Grande do Sul, who saw their lands exhausted and limited for the growing number of farming families⁷. The recognition of the region where Seara is currently located occurred in 1923. The colonization process started in the following year. However, the settlement of colonists intensified from 1927 onwards. Finally, Seara became independent from Concórdia on 3rd April 1954.⁸

² Cf. Piazza, W. F. (1994). A colonização de Santa Catarina. Lunardelli.

³ Cf. Seyferth, G. (1999). A colonização alemã no Brasil: etnicidade e conflito. In B. Fausto (Org.), *Fazer a América: a imigração em massa para a América Latina* (pp. 273-313). EDUSP.

⁴ Cf. Willems, E. (1946). *A Aculturação dos alemães no Brasil: estudo antropológico dos imigrantes e seus descendentes no Brasil*. Companhia Editoria Nacional.

⁵ Cf. Valentini, D. J. (2009). *Atividades da Brazil Railway Company no sul do Brasil: a instalação da Lumber e a guerra na região do Contestado (1906 - 1916)* [Doctorate Thesis, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul]. Repositório Institucional PUCRS. <https://repositorio.pucrs.br/dspace/handle/10923/3882>

⁶ Cf. Radin, J. C. (2006). *Companhias colonizadoras em Cruzeiro: representações sobre a civilização do sertão* [Doctorate Thesis, Federal University of Santa Catarina].

⁷ Cf. Gonçalves, E., Manfro, F., & Nardi, I. (2004). *Sociedade searaense: o processo de colonização* [End-of- Course Monograph, University of Contestado].

⁸ Op. cit

Although the focus of this article is the German and German-Brazilian individuals from Seara, it seems relevant to highlight that most of the immigrants in that region were Italians and Italian-Brazilians. In addition, other ethnic groups lived in that region, as the Kaingang indigenous people, for example, who occupied the banks of the Uruguay river and its affluents. Therefore, the German-Brazilian population was an ethnic minority in demographic terms.

Between 1993 and 2005, Seara had a population of around 15,500 to 17,000 inhabitants, according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (2019)⁹. Its economy was based on agroindustry and livestock, first with the presence of a mill (1951) and later with industries such as Seara Foods (1956). One of the most noticeable consequences of the industrialization process was the rural exodus, a phenomenon that occurred in a similar way in different regions of the country. According to Seyferth¹⁰ (1981), another effect of industrialization was the increase in trading and the farmers' effort to grow whatever was most commercially profitable. Also, the use of the Portuguese idiom became necessary, which was not so common in rural communities formed by immigrants, where the use of dialects predominated. Dwellers of rural areas in the German colonies of Seara continued to use a dialect in their everyday life, while in urban areas, German-Brazilians adapted to the industrialization, focused their language and culture mainly in their family and religious environments.

The Lutheran Church of Seara

Lutheranism arrived in Brazil as a religion of German immigration and was linked to the ethnicity of Germanic groups. According to Jungblut¹¹ (1994), German immigrants or German-Brazilians of Protestant devotion practiced their religion in the way they believed to be correct. Lacking ecclesiastical support, they left religious matters in the hands of lay people and did their best to satisfy the population, but they did not always succeed. This factor

⁹ Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) (2019). Estimativas da população. Brasil. Retrieved from <https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas/sociais/populacao/9103-estimativas-de-populacao.html?=&t=downloads>.

¹⁰ Cf. Seyferth, G. (1981). Nacionalismo e identidade étnica. Fundação Catarinense de Cultura.

¹¹ Cf. Jungblut, A. L. (1994). O protestantismo luterano dos teuto-brasileiros: algumas considerações necessárias para uma abordagem antropológica. In C. Mauch & N. Vasconcellos (Orgs.), *Os alemães no sul do Brasil: cultura, etnicidade, história* (pp. 139-147). Lutheran University of Brazil.

was decisive in leading some communities to seek support from Lutheran institutions in Germany (Jungblut, 1994)¹².

At the beginning of the colonization of the region where Seara is currently located, colonizing agencies hired pastoral services, a positive factor in the advertising targeting settlers¹³. The IECLB, Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil, of Seara had the locality of Nova Estrela in the district of Arabutã as its parish until 1999. In that period, those religious communities were called 'German evangelical' and faced repression and persecution from the State, which had a Catholic majority. Several churches continued their services clandestinely. Restrictions included a ban on the use of the German language in services and a requirement that all pastors be Brazilian¹⁴.

The Lutheran Community of Seara was founded on 27th December 1976. The pastor came from the Nova Estrela parish. Cults and rituals such as marriage and baptism were held in members' homes. Over the years, the Lutheran Community from the urban area of Seara¹⁵ grew and the need for a temple became evident. Like most IECLB churches, the Seara church received financial support from Germany to build its temple; however, it wasn't enough. The community needed to find other ways to achieve its goal, and festivals were the alternative they found.

According to the temple's construction descriptive memorial, the church was planned on 28th April 1982. Currently, in addition to evangelistic work, the church holds religious, cultural, and entertainment events that have become a tradition, such as Thanksgiving Day Macaroni Dinner, Couples' Ball and *Kerbfest*.

¹² Op.cit.

¹³ Cf. Altmann, L. (2007). *Memória, identidade e um espaço de conflito: a comunidade de Nova Teutônia no contexto de disputa por terra com a comunidade Kaingang da Área Indígena Toldo Pinhal* [Doctorate Thesis, Escola Superior de Teologia]. Repositório EST. <http://dspace.est.edu.br:8080/xmlui/handle/BR-SlFE/77?show=full>

¹⁴ Op.cit.

¹⁵ There was an IECLB temple in the rural area, such as in Linha Taquarimbó, dating back to 1940 according to the earliest registers of the church. Such register was written with a fountain pen and in German. Although the district belonged to the municipality of Seara, the community also belonged to the Nova Estrela parish.

Kerbfest: History and Memory

Despite having built a church, the community still needed resources for missionary work, church training and other temple expenses. As a solution, the community decided to get involved in organizing the *Kerbfest* to raise funds. The event is seen as a tradition by Seara inhabitants and is always found in the municipality official calendar.

When analyzing the oral sources, two meanings appeared in the *Kerbfest* entry: one related to the temple opening date, originated from the word *Kirchweihfest*, as defined by Lenzi et al.¹⁶ (1989), and another associated with the word *Korb*, which means ‘basket’ in German, explaining the number of decoration baskets used in the festival. The two different meanings in the collective memory of a community might be ascribed to the incommunicability of mental states. Candau¹⁷ (2012) explains that individuals belonging to the same social group might have diverse interpretations of the same event.

In the recordings of the eighth chapter of the festival in 2000, the pastor narrated that he and two other members of the congregation decided to hold *Kerbfest* in Seara¹⁸. However, the interviews carried out revealed that this event was inspired in the *Kerbfesten* that had been celebrated in the city of Piratuba/SC and in other neighboring towns such as Arabutã for many years. Thus, the festival tradition was recalled by one person and received local influences. Candau¹⁹ (2012) observes that individuals rarely think and act or share their memories in the same way. However, to establish a collective memory, a single predominating memory must be accepted by the community. In this specific case, the memory of the pastor and the other organizers who imported elements from the Piratuba festival were accepted by the Community, making them reference of ‘how to throw a *Kerbfest*’.

Kerbfest is understood as a festival that honors a common past of a population who holds bonds of an imagined, relocated and adapted past. The event, in this case, seems to go through empty time, referring constantly to history²⁰. People who otherwise would never have met end up coming

¹⁶ Cf. Lenzi, Z. M., Salvador, N. T. M., & Konder, V. M. (1989). O Kerb em Santa Catarina. Federal University of Santa Catarina.

¹⁷ Cf. Candau, J. (2012). Memória e identidade. Contexto.

¹⁸ Source: Foto Estúdio Bela Vista. (Producer). (2000). VIII KERBFEST (Second night) [Video]. Foto Estúdio Bela Vista.

¹⁹ Op.cit.

²⁰ Cf. Anderson, B. (2008). Comunidades imaginadas: reflexões sobre a origem e difusão do nacionalismo. Companhia das Letras.

across just for sharing an alleged colonial past. Thus *Kerbfest*, became a space of relocated and reinvented memories, with symbolic practices that seek to represent an assumed German past.

The festival used to have four moments: opening, cult, Bierwagen and ball. Initially, the event lasted for three days, but over time it was reduced to one day only. Over the 13 chapters, there were changes that reflected the way the festival was celebrated and conceived. The opening was the time destined to organize the other phases of the *Kerbfest*. At that point, streets, shop windows and house balconies were decorated. Other activities included balls for the elderly in which the queen and princesses of the festival were chosen (Figure 1) and finally, the first keg of draft beer was tapped.

Figure 1: Selection of the queen and young princesses²¹ (2002).



Kerbfest was also understood among religious people as a sacred festival. Therefore, it was necessary to reinforce this sacredness through worship, which had ecumenical characteristics capable of serving participants of different religions. The festive service took place after the opening day, and the church doors were opened to all participants of the festival. This was the moment to strengthen the relationship between the individual and the sacred, ascribing the meaning of the festival to the religious individual

²¹ Source: IECLB Photography and Document Collection. Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (2019).

and reinforcing the sacred values of the festivity. The service ended with songs and the sharing of food that was on the altar. It was perceived among religious individuals that the service was a way of approaching their God, a remembrance of the building of the temple, and a form of giving thanks for the harvests. After the service, the *Bierwagen* (Figure 2) took place, a parade where a truck distributed draft beer and soft drinks free of charge to the population. The parade was accompanied by electric trios playing typical German music. There was also a competition for floats featuring decorations characteristic of German-Brazilian, Italian-Brazilian, and mixed-race cultures. However, upon analyzing the sources, it was possible to observe changes in the way the parade was performed and interpreted throughout the chapters of the event. In short, the sacred manifests itself in breaking the monotonous rhythm of the community's daily life; it is a moment to break with secularism which includes leisure to rejoice in the celebration of faith. In other words, it can be said that the *Kerb* festival in Seara is, ultimately, a religious festival, with a character of 'consecration,' and therefore sacred.²²

Figure 2: Members of the organization offering homemade products in baskets.²³



²² Cf. Callois, Roger. (2015) O sagrado de transgressão – Teoria da festa. *Outravessia*, n. 19, p. 15-55.

²³ Source: Foto Estúdio Bela Vista. (Producer). (1998a). VI KERBFEST (Cult and Bierwagen) [Video]. Foto Estúdio Bela Vista.

Next, there were balls where the community gathered to celebrate. Those included rituals such as the removal of dolls suspended from a cypress crown in the center of the dance floor, followed by the removal of the crown itself with playful antics that entertained the crowd. This stage of the festivities proved rich in theatricality, gestures, tastes, dances, and music. It was a moment in which ethnic renegotiations were most evident. As an example, the cuisine was mentioned, in which dishes were prepared not only considered typically Germanic, but also from other cultures, such as barbecue, which is characteristic of South America. The music was equally diverse, playing traditional German music as well as traditional Italian, Mexican, and Brazilian country music. It was the moment when – according to those interviewed – members, friends, and family gathered to celebrate, party, and rejoice.

As previously mentioned, one of the great highlights of the ball was the presence of dolls and their removal. The dolls hung below a crown in the center of the gymnasium where the balls took place. Participant couples engaged in a competition to buy and remove the dolls, whose value was different according to their hierarchical position. The first and most expensive was the most ornated and was the queen. Next, there was a row of princesses with simple ornaments and reduced prices. Finally, there were the dolls that were not part of the ‘royalty’ and, therefore, were the simplest and cheapest. The manufacture of those dolls changed throughout the chapters, as observed below (Figure 3).

Figure 3 – Different dolls sold during the balls in different chapters of the *Kerbfest*.



Source: Elaborated by the authors based on images captured in audiovisual recordings: A) II Kerbfest²⁴; B) III Kerbfest²⁵; C) III Kerbfest²⁶; D) VI Kerbfest²⁷; E) VIII Kerbfest; F) X Kerbfest²⁸.

Initially, the main raw material used to manufacture the dolls was a beer bottle, which somehow resembled the silhouette of a typically dressed woman. The dresses were sewn on, and the heads were made from cutouts of women's faces from magazines glued onto a cotton ball (Figure 3: dolls A, B and C). There was also a crown to identify those that belonged to the royalty (Figure 3: we can see that doll A is the queen for being wearing a crown). The

²⁴ Source: Foto Estúdio Bela Vista. (Producer). (1994). II KERBFEST [Video]. Estúdio Bela Vista.

²⁵ Source: Foto Estúdio Bela Vista. (Producer). (1995c). III KERBFEST (First Night) [Video]. Foto Estúdio Bela Vista.

²⁶ Source: Foto Estúdio Bela Vista. (Producer). (1995b). III KERBFEST (Second Night) [Video]. Foto Estúdio Bela Vista.

²⁷ Source: Foto Estúdio Bela Vista. (Producer). (1998b). VI KERBFEST (First Night) [Video]. Foto Estúdio Bela Vista.

²⁸ Source: Foto Estúdio Bela Vista. (Producer). (2002b). X KERBFEST (Friday and Saturday) [Video]. Foto Estúdio Bela Vista.

dolls arms were made of wire with small artificial flowers at the end, which suggested that they carried a bunch of flowers in their arms (Figure 3: dolls A and D).

Later, the dolls started to have synthetic hair, and some years later instead of having a magazine cutout as their face, they got a plastic head (Figure 3: dolls E and F). In addition, the head received more details, such as flowers or hats. Gradually, the dolls stopped having a bottle body and started having a fabric body (Figure 3: dolls E and F).

One element that influenced the doll manufacturing process was the concern with the participants' safety; thus, the glass bottle was substituted with fabric or plastic, thus reducing risks of accidents. The last model of dolls produced and recorded in video was rich in ornaments with sophisticated hair, acrylic eyes, and a human like appearance (Figure 3: doll F). Another possible consideration regarding the doll changes was related to the desire to please buyers with a more elaborate piece, even if they were produced with the resources available to local artisans.

Over the years, the number of dolls produced reduced considerably. In 1998, 60 dolls were manufactured; in 1999, only 31 dolls were produced²⁹. In 2000, the number of dolls dropped to ten units³⁰; while in 2002, only one doll was produced. When analyzing the recordings of balls, greater difficulty in selling the dolls was observed, even with the encouragement and persistence of the musicians. Over time, the event started to attract younger participants, and while doll sales fell, sales of draft beer and bottled beer increased.

The number of participants in the *Kerbfest* also dropped, as recorded in the minutes analyzed. Interviewees believed that this occurred due to the decrees and laws that constrained the festival traditions, making it less attractive, such the prohibition of consuming bottled beverages, the limitation of children's presence at night, changes in the dolls manufacture, and mandatory security search of participants. Restrictions were also imposed on the *Bierwagen*, such as the prohibition to distribute alcoholic beverages to prevent its consumption by minors, also contributed to decrease the festival attractiveness.

²⁹Source: IECLB Photography and Document Collection. Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (1999).

³⁰Source: IECLB. Photography and Document Collection. Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (2000).

According to Hobsbawm and Ranger³¹ (1997), customs evolve with life changes, but tradition persists. For this reason, it is possible to adapt some habits to keep the celebration, as observed with the substitution of glass bottles with safer materials in the manufacture of dolls. The presence of a doll also represented a tradition, but over time, there were adjustments to the manufacture methods to preserve that festive symbol in a safer way.

The *Kerbfest* in Seara, as a religious and cultural festival also represents a strategy of representation of the German-Brazilian ethnic group. Due to the needs or obstacles that arose, the festival underwent modifications over the years to continue the tradition.

***Kerbfest*: an interpretive analysis**

The German-Brazilian ethnic group has its Germanic traits, that is, their *Deutschtum*, physical, spiritual and moral values. German-Brazilian individuals sustain German nationalist values, which are kept by means of their habits, the “German spirit” features, and their language. The individual born in that culture seeks to keep the customs, even if their citizenship is Brazilian. With this purpose, institutions that support such maintenance of *Deutschtum* are schools, churches, families and leisure groups³².

As regards Seara, the church, the family and leisure groups supported their *Deutschtum*. It seems relevant to mention that a group of German folk dance was organized in Seara, whose dances were choreographed and passed down through a recreational group originating from the city of Gramado (Rio Grande do Sul). For Voigt³³ (2018), those recreational groups were created by German-Brazilians to support Germany that was destroyed after World War II. Years later, in 1980, those groups started to bring choreographers from Germany to teach dances from the German folk tradition. Such knowledge was passed on by groups spread all over Brazil, including Alto Uruguai and Vale do Rio do Peixe, where the *Freude der Schmetterlinge Volkstanzgruppe aus Seara* or Butterfly Joy Folk Dance Group of Seara is located.

³¹ Cf. Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (1997). A invenção das tradições. Paz e Terra.

³² Op. Cit.

³³ Cf. Voigt, L. (2018). O Espaço de práticas do folclore “alemão” autêntico no Brasil: um estudo de sociologia da cultura e das elites [Master's Dissertation, Federal University Santa Catarina]. Repositório Institucional da UFSC. <https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/186102>

Thus, according to Voigt³⁴ (2018), despite the fact that the municipality of Seara did not create a German institution, it organized a dance group aiming to disseminate the German folk tradition in Brazil. The group was organized in 1995 and its name honors Fritz Plaumann, a Prussian immigrant who settled in Nova Teutônia, currently a district of Seara, in 1924, for referring to his huge butterfly collection, which is now in the museum that shelters the estate of the aforementioned inhabitant of Seara³⁵. The group is highly relevant in the German-Brazilian representation processes. Apart from that group, church and family were places where German customs were still preserved, even after the nationalist period of Getúlio Vargas's government.

Therefore, it is clear that the school/formal education did not play a relevant role in the maintenance of *Deutschtum*, that is, the appreciation and maintenance of Germanic traditions in Seara. As pointed out by Schubring³⁶ (2003), schools in German colonies in the south of Brazil acted actively to try to prevent the German settler's assimilation in the larger scope of Brazilian society, by means of teaching German culture aiming at the preservation of their values and customs. This might explain certain "flexibility" in the participation of individuals belonging to diverse ethnic groups in the Seara *Kerb*, considering that education was the main institution of defense of cultural segregation and social isolation of European immigrants in Brazil in the 19th and 20th centuries. However, considerable changes were implemented in the Brazilian education system during the Vargas' Era, when pedagogical practices were applied with the purpose of creating a patriotic identity in the "Brazilian being", and, as a consequence, a repression started, to teaching in German, both orally and in written form. This also aimed at the linguistic homogeneity of Portuguese within the national territory.³⁷

As explained by Voigt³⁸ (2018), the IECLB played a fundamental role in the creation of a Germanic folk tradition in Brazil since it gathered an intellectual elite that acted in schools with Germanic values before 1930 and supported the creation of Germanic cultural associations. In the context of

³⁴ Op. Cit

³⁵ Source: Foto Estúdio Bela Vista. (Producer). (2002a). X KERBFEST (Opening) [Video]. Foto Estúdio Bela Vista.

³⁶ Cf. Schubring, G. (2003). Relações culturais entre Alemanha e Brasil: 'imperialismo cultural' versus 'nacionalização'. *Zetetiké* 11(2), 56-109.

³⁷ Cf. Santos, A. (2009). A política educacional nacionalista e o aspecto linguístico na Era Vargas: vestígios na escola primária. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, 90(225), 511-527.

³⁸ Op. Cit

its installation in Seara, despite its missionary character, IECLB still carried traces of its German past, identified in its songs, hymns, and even in the records of the communities' minutes written in German. One example is the material found at the IECLB in the Linha Taquarimbó (Seara), whose early minutes were written in German by a pastor in 1940. In the following years, the records circulate between pastors and elders, and there are minutes in German, in Portuguese, and written in a hybrid style, with German words interspersed among Portuguese phrases.

The family was also a very important institution to keep the elements of *Deutschtum*, since children start their socialization in community guided by their families. For Seyferth³⁹ (1981), the education individuals receive from their family determines their attitudes within the ethnic community. For that author, bilingualism is admissible in the public sphere due to the existing political and economic relationships, where Portuguese must be used. However, inside households, the German dialect should remain. In Seara, *Hunsrück*⁴⁰ was the mother tongue of several German-Brazilians who self-identified as 'Germans' exactly for knowing and using, in a recurrent manner, that dialect. Whenever *Hunsrück* was not often used, other Germanic practices were also common in their private lives, such as music and food.⁴¹

The German-Brazilian culture aspects such as work, architecture, gender issues and language were also observed in the festival who sought to pass it on to the next generations through repetition. Work was understood by that group as a sacred element in the lives of Lutheran German-Brazilians. Meyer⁴² (2000) defends that Luther promoted the idea that sacred can be present in life and related work with 'vocation' or a 'divine call', something that in German is translated as *Beruf*, which in English means 'profession'⁴³.

Thinking in the current history, German-Brazilians self-define as Brazilian citizens of German descendant, who seek to preserve the traditions

³⁹ Op. Cit.

⁴⁰ Cf. Royer (2017), *Hunsrück* is an immigration language. It is a dialect Variety used by many German descendants and is linked to the *Hunsrück* region in Southwestern Germany, where many immigrants came from. That author adds that it is one of the German dialects most used in Brazil and that it has suffered influences from Portuguese.

⁴¹ Cf. Royer, E. (2017). *A língua, a casa e a festa: o patrimônio de origem alemã em São Carlos – SC* [End-of-Course Monograph, Federal University of Fronteira Sul]. Repositório Digital UFFS. <https://rd.uffs.edu.br/handle/prefix/1699>

⁴² Cf. Meyer, D. E. E. (2000). *Cultura teuto-brasileira-evangélica no Rio Grande do Sul: articulando gênero com raça, classe, nação e religião*. *Educação e Realidade*, 5(1), 135-161.

⁴³ Op. Cit.

inherited from their parents and grandparents. German identity is not conceived as loyalty to Germany, as was the case in the period prior to the Brazilian nationalist era. There were not schools providing literacy in German in Seara. Regarding German writing, only elder people knew how to write, and some might have taught it to their children. As for the language, the dialect was used within the family and in the community, and for this reason it is still used these days. Gradually, with the loss of mastery of written German and the decline in the use of the language or dialect, ethnic identification turned more towards ancestry, customs, and traditions, such as festivities. Poutignat and Streiff-Fenart refer to some relevant contributions by Barth to reflect on the ethnic identity, clarifying that an ethnic group represents

[...] a population that: 1) perpetuates biologically in a broad sense, 2) shares fundamental cultural values, realized in a unified way within cultural forms, 3) constitutes a field of communication and interaction, 4) possesses a group of members who identify themselves and are identified by others as if constituting a distinguishable category from other categories of the same type.⁴⁴

Such definition applies to German-Brazilians since they sought to perpetuate their groups since migration times, shared common values, including language, and self-identified as different from other ethnic groups. Poutignat and Streiff-Fenart⁴⁵ (2011) alert that it would be naive to believe in one possible definition for the ethnic unit to the point of finding a totality of traits that define one identity from another. The German-Brazilian group, then, is configured as a historically constructed ethnicity.

For Barth, when different cultures interact with each other, differences between them are reduced since their interaction requires a convergence of codes and values⁴⁶. This was noticed in the *Bierwagen* parades, where the participant ethnic groups exhibited different costumes, music and other elements considered representative of their respective groups.

In the festival analysis, the same signs considered as elements of belonging and representation of German-Brazilians were negotiated with

⁴⁴ Cf. Poutignat, P., & Streiff-Fenart, J. (2011). Teorias da etnicidade: seguido de grupos étnicos e suas fronteiras de Fredrik Barth (2a ed.). Unesp.

Repositório Institucional da UFSC. <https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/101591>

⁴⁵ Op. Cit

⁴⁶ Op. Cit

other ethnic groups such as the criteria to select the queen and princesses in the ball. Barth explains that a stable inter-ethnic relationship requires a set of prescriptions and prohibitions among groups⁴⁷. Considering this event, criteria were presented for the selection of princesses and queen, however, young women could participate in the contest regardless of their ethnic identity.

For Barth, the survival of an ethnic group depends on strategies, on being open to changes⁴⁸. In the festival chapters, those factors were evident, for example, in the attitudes of the organizing committee regarding the competition between floats in the *Bierwagen* parade. When different ethnic groups ceased to be represented by symbols, they opted to eliminate the competition and keep the *Bierwagen* truck to distribute the beverage accompanied by typical music, and thus, it could exhibit the ethnic characteristics that the organizing group wished to present. Another strategy was to invite people from other ethnic groups to help with the organization work and preparation of the festival. The exchange of visits with other communities was used as a way of guaranteeing their attendance. Those alternatives found contributed to the maintenance of the festival.

Kerbfest in Seara was an event with local characteristics. In the historiography of festivals promoted in Santa Catarina, *Kerbfest* was described in different ways. Lenzi et al.⁴⁹ (1989) observed that the meanings of the festival might be those ascribed to a family gathering, a patron's day commemoration, or the celebration of the church anniversary. On the other hand, we observed that the *Kerbfest* festivals held in Santa Catarina have something in common, for being get-together parties, of a sacred character (either Catholic or Lutheran), have the ball doll and refer to a past of colonization with German descendants, belonging to the second phase of the German immigration who moved from Rio Grande do Sul to Santa Catarina.

About the festival definitions, the memories of the members of the coordination groups of some of the chapters were a little confused, possibly because the *Kerbfest* commemorations had connections and exchange of lived experiences from one festival to the other, thus resulting in some confusion about which festival was being remembered. Such connections strengthen the idea that the festival was something created and planned as defended by

⁴⁷ Op. Cit

⁴⁸ Op. Cit

⁴⁹ Op. Cit

Hobsbawm and Ranger⁵⁰, who state that traditions are invented and belong to a constructed and idealized past.

This explains the reason why interviewees could not define the meaning of the dolls or the crown in the festival. Some elements of the event did not have their origin in the municipality but resulted from connections with other *Kerbfesten* promoted in other regions of German immigration and started to be reproduced over the years in Seara. In that municipality, the festival was created from the proposal of a pastor and throughout its chapters, other pastors ascribed diverse values to it. There were pastors who directed their cults as a sharing of joy with their peers, seeing the festivities as something necessary to human beings. On the other hand, there were pastors who sought to legitimate the festival as a reminder of those who “came from far away, [...] who crossed the ocean in search for new lands and new life opportunities”⁵¹, which now celebrate the colonization processes with the adaptation of Europeans to Brazil.

Kerbfest gained very similar characteristics to those of October festivals such as the *Oktoberfest*. October festivals were based on the *Oktoberfesten* of Munich, in Germany, which started in 1810. In Brazil, these festivals started between the late 1970s and early 1980s⁵². Voigt⁵³ (2018) explains that it was in the latter period and in the 1990s that ‘German’ folk dance groups started to spread in southern Brazil. And that was also a period of widespread Germanic manifestations in the country, which coincides with the foundation of the Butterfly Joy Folk Dance Group of Seara (*Freude der Schmetterlinge Volkstanzgruppe aus Seara*) in 1995.

Although *Kerbfest* shows some elements that resemble *Oktoberfesten*, such as the presence of dance groups, music and typical costumes, *Kerbfest* is a festival created and constructed in Brazil. Therefore, thinking the festival as the result of a regional influence, it is more difficult to imagine it as something commemorated in Germany, also because the start of the German immigration in Brazil occurred in 1824, that is, before German unification. At the time, there were kingdoms and duchies such as Baviera and Prussia, regions with

⁵⁰ Op. Cit

⁵¹ Source: Foto Estúdio Bela Vista. (Producer). (1995a). III KERBFEST (Cult and Bierwagen) [Video]. Foto Estúdio Bela Vista.

⁵² Op. Cit

⁵³ Op. Cit

their own specificities, but it was not possible to refer to ‘Germany’ or ‘German immigrants’, only that the ones living there spoke the German idiom.

As a form of legitimation, an imagined past was sought, thus seeking common characteristics as a type of union. Due to the mutual help relationship that the Lutheran church had with Germany, since the period that followed World War II, with the Relief for Starving Europe to the encouragement of institutions such as recreational clubs, scholarships, and the construction of new churches, a sense of unity was created among German-Brazilians. And this unity, in turn, grew after the period of repression during the Vargas Era, driving German-Brazilians to seek representation.

Evidence that *Kerbfest* is a festival created in Brazil includes the dances and typical costumes. Voigt⁵⁴ (2018) points out that those dances originated from folk studies in Germany written between the late 18th and the early 19th centuries and included a set of practices and customs observed from 1500 to 1800. According to Voigt (2018)⁵⁵, the work of German folklorists was to ‘reconstruct a people’, and the intellectual elites of the time worked to catalog a series of cultural phenomena and practices of the population, as was the case with the Grimm Brothers, for example. Soon, those cultural elements ‘rescued’ by the folklorists contributed to the creation of a German national consciousness.

Therefore, dance groups were important for the *Kerbfest* since they influenced the audience. Their dances were defined by the organizers of the festival and the groups taking part in it and both determined what would be accepted or not. They were like a game of gestures and greetings with specific meanings. The most popular rhythms were polkas, waltzes, and marches. Thus, typical dances, as well as the typical costumes resulted from a German creation that was brought to Brazil in the 1980s, by means of Cultural and Recreational Clubs and festivals that fostered the dissemination of German folk traditions, assimilated as belonging to a German past that should be kept by descendants of German immigrants. However, the habit of celebrating the *Kerbfest* in the region started before the arrival of these symbolic elements of German folklore, as, according to the website of the municipality of Arabutã (Santa Catarina), this event had been celebrated since 1936.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Op. Cit

⁵⁵ Op. Cit

⁵⁶ Source: Kerb Fest de Arabutã (2021). Accessed on 06th May 2021, de <https://turismo.arabuta.sc.gov.br/o-que-fazer/item/kerb-fest-de-arabuta>

Despite the creation of an imagined past, the festival promoted the idea of ‘home’ based on the fantasy and representations offered to the participants – mainly German-Brazilians. The notion of home is broad; it goes beyond inhabiting and is loaded with human beings’ fundamental experiences. Seyferth⁵⁷ (1981) presents the *Heimat* concept, derived from the word *Heim* (home in German), which, in its most strict meaning is ‘homeland’. *Heimat*, would then be: “[...] the country to which as person is linked, either by birth, memory, heritage, or emotional bonds”⁵⁸. Such concept would make sense for the individual if they were linked to *Deutschtum*, that is, to the Germanic values found in the *Kerbfest* of Seara.

It seems relevant to observe that some dishes served in the festival were highly representative since the cuisine established an identity among individuals. In the *Kerbfest*, as well as in the daily life of German-Brazilian ethnic groups, the combination of dishes with different flavors is observed, including sweet and savory food alongside draft beer. In the festival, women produced cakes, cooked salami, pork knuckles (*einsbein*), and boiled and fried potatoes.

Kerbfest undoubtedly possesses a character of fellowship and celebration of the harvests, since one of the symbols of the festival in Seara were the baskets, remembered by the organizers as a means of storing the food auctioned off for the church. The presence of flowers in baskets and in the decoration of the entire *Kerbfest* demonstrated sacred values.

The festival was supported by collective and voluntary work, that is, it did not generate profit for one person, but rather for the whole religious community of Seara. This gave the volunteers the sensation of working for a common and greater end, reaching the sacred sphere that aimed at church growth and maintenance. Therefore, this specific work was considered symbolically sacred, becoming one of the most represented characteristics in the *Kerbfest* of Seara in documents produced about the festival, in the pastors’ preaching in festive cults and the organizers’ memories.

It seems relevant to emphasize that women had a relevant representative role in the *Kerbfest*. They were ascribed the position of mothers of a ‘German nation’, as reported by Meyer⁵⁹ (2000), of the female caretaker, responsible for teaching, and communicating customs and behaviors. However, women’s

⁵⁷ Op. Cit

⁵⁸ Op. Cit. P.46

⁵⁹ Op. Cit

role in colonial Society of German origin went beyond, assigning them several positions in the sexual division of labor as pointed out by Fridrich and Soares, in the context of the pioneer colonies of Rio Grande do Sul, installed from the 19th century onwards:

There was a distinction between women's and men's work, but women worked on both sides. Their work included from housework, that is, activities that were considered typical of women as well as those specifically destined to men. They worked on the field with their parents, brothers or husbands, where the most varied tasks were carried out, thus contributing to great part of the property production and, consequently, the family income. When that work finished, they had other domestic tasks such as treating the hens and pigs, working in the vegetable garden, milking the cows, making cheese, looking after children, in addition to sewing and embroidering. And in all these tasks, women could be producing income by selling those products and, therefore, increasing the budget of their family group.⁶⁰

In *Kerbfest*, women were in charge of preparing the food, decorating and carrying out other activities, reproducing in the festival the equivalent to the plethora of activities they developed in their daily routine, going far beyond the 'idealized' house chores. According to Meyer⁶¹ (2000), during the immigration period, women were responsible for perpetuating the German culture. Regarding that, literature, mainly poetry, presented elements related to national belonging, linked to gender issues. This is evidenced by the term *Mutterland* referring to the 'motherland', associated with nation, and *Vaterland* as the 'father land' or homeland. That author reflects on this relationship and concludes that there was a notion of ideal marriage between the native land, that is, the German regions, and their homeland, that is, Brazil. Therefore, she links the ideal of 'father' to Brazil, where economic interests were managed and orders were followed, while respect was owed to the ideal of 'mother' linked to the German territory. Mother was the one that 'conceived and gave birth', transmitted culture, produced food and governed emotions, while *Heim*

⁶⁰ Cf. Fridrich, F. H., & Soares, A. L. R. (2014, August). Alimento e gênero: a "alma da casa" e o "espírito protetor", uma idealização do papel da mulher nas colônias imigrantes do Rio Grande do Sul no século XIX. In Proceedings of the XII Encontro Estadual de História da Anpuh, University of Vale do Rio dos Sinos, São Leopoldo. chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/http://www.snh2013.anpuh.org/resources/anais/30/1405471517_ARQUIVO_TrabalhocompletodaANPUH2014semresumo.pdf

⁶¹ Op. Cit

(home) was a place protected by affection and far from political and economic concerns that were linked to the 'father'. Such relation can be established with the *Kerbfest* of Seara, since men were the ones who organized, planned and gave orders, occupying administrative and economic positions in the festival, while women searched for references for the festival, worked producing ornaments and the dolls, decorated the church, cooked and presented most of the traditional elements of the event, which should be understood and passed on to future generations.

With this view, the queen and princesses of the *Kerbfest* were chosen and judged as the best representatives of the elements linked to the festival and, as a consequence, to *Deutschtum*. The queen and the princesses carried the elements of the *Mutterland*, showing the population an imaginary ideal of a German-Brazilian woman. The titles granted them a symbolic degree of sovereignty, temporary power of prominence, which made them different from the other women who participated in the festival. The main characteristics expected from the participants were youth, the typical costume, carrying flowers, being friendly in the *Bierwagen* and in the balls.

The same concept was extended to the dolls. They embodied the festival tradition and were in all chapters, even when they were not sold, as occurred in the last balls. The doll ornated with typical costume was considered invaluable for presenting these elements and thus raised competition. Those who bought a doll exhibited it in ostentation. That object was ascribed value and respect since the festival organizers tended to praise those who owned a doll. It represented a sacred value linked to *Deutschtum*, because the money resulting from its sale was invested in the church. The doll was an element full of symbolic value, alluding to *Mutterland*, the Germanic ideal of femininity.

The festival gathered both the cultural asset linked to an idealized past and the assets that are part of the life of western Santa Catarina, mainly in the areas of German immigration. Due to the nature of representations of a collective identity and, mainly, the sharing of common memories of a community, it was possible to consider *Kerbfest* as a German-Brazilian heritage of Seara.

According to Funari and Pelegrini⁶² (2009), the word patrimony (heritage/inheritance) derives from the Latin *patrimonium*, which, for ancient Romans referred to everything owned by the father (*pater*, the family's father). For the Romans, the patrimony was linked directly to aristocratic interests.

⁶² Cf. Funari, P. P. A., & Pelegrini, S. C. A. (2009). Patrimônio histórico e cultural. Jorge Zahar.

For being owners of land or enslaved individuals, they were owners of a patrimony. Years later, as explained by those authors, with the appearance of national states, there was the need for inventing “[...] a group of citizens who should share a language and a culture, an origin and a territory”⁶³. This was the foundation of nationalism as a feeling of belonging that citizens should have toward their territory.

As pointed out by Funari and Pelegrini⁶⁴ (2009), currently, feelings of belonging go beyond national ideals and encompass other means such as material property – these may vary from a piece of jewelry to a photography, either for its emotional, commercial or religious value. Those authors further explain that spiritual or intangible heritage consists of the wisdom left by ancestors, the way of doing something, of dancing, of speaking. They also mention the existence of collective heritage, which are the elements considered as heritage by a community. However, they emphasize that the community is composed of diverse groups with different and even conflicting interests.

The *Kerbfest* of Seara gathers tangible and intangible elements that refer to the German-Brazilian identity in several types of expression. In addition, they present ways of creating, doing, and living of the German-Brazilian population of Seara, who intend to pass on their learning, their habits and their traditions to future generations through the festival. The means found to pass on such heritage were via representations such as the offer of homemade food in the festive cult, production of typical dishes, dances, music, half-timbered houses and the meals that mix cakes with sausages and beer or draft beer. From this perspective, the scenes observed at the festival, and mentioned earlier, are considered assets that were learned, inherited, and modified, but which represent a way of life in western Santa Catarina.

In short, the *Kerbfest* of Seara was formed by tangible and intangible elements, becoming a place of memories, with specific rituals, feelings of belonging and a showcase of elements of daily life in the west of Santa Catarina, especially places of German colonization. The festival also shows concerns with preservation, the future and the perpetuation of *Deutschtum*, that is, moral and spiritual values and customs that are the base of the German culture. This culture was responsible for creating bonds of belonging between German-Brazilians in Seara.

⁶³ Op. Cit. P.16

⁶⁴ Op. Cit.

Final Considerations

The research analyzed the chapters held between 1993 and 2005 of the *Kerbfest* festival of Seara (state of Santa Catarina). This festival was created inspired in other similar events held regionally and aimed at representing the German-Brazilian population through German contemporary folk traditions. Most of the German-Brazilian inhabitants of Seara were born in the regions of German colonization in Rio grande do Sul, such as: Taquari, Jacuí and Caí River Valleys. That population migrated to Seara and neighboring towns in the first half of the 20th century, bringing with them their cultural practices related to eating habits, knowledge about house construction, festivities, and religiosity.

In addition to the cultural expressions linked to German-Brazilians, *Kerbfest* also presents regional cultural and historical aspects, since culture is not static and groups do not live in isolation. Although for the participants it was a time of fun, meeting, and consuming food and drinks, for the German-Brazilian Lutheran from Seara, *Kerbfest* is a festival full of a sense of identity. Many of the decorative elements were full of meaning, of values that referred to the ideals of Germanness and religiosity. The presence of dolls at the dances, the costumes, the music and typical foods, the decorations used on the floats, in the church, and at the dances referred to an imagined past, spread in the south of the country based on the values of Germanness. Those customs became valued and disseminated in Brazil, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, portraying a contemporary German folklore that aimed to recall customs of the past.

Although *Kerbfest* is a festival built up in Brazil and not a German heritage brought from Germany, after analyzing the sources and theoretical reference that address the issues discussed in this study, it is possible to see the *Kerbfest* of Seara as a festival that created bonds of belonging among German-Brazilians. Therefore, we concluded that it became a cultural heritage of that municipality.

References

Altmann, L. (2007). *Memória, identidade e um espaço de conflito: a comunidade de Nova Teutônia no contexto de disputa por terra com a comunidade Kaingang da Área Indígena Toldo Pinhal* [Doctorate Thesis, Escola Superior de Teologia]. Repositório EST. <http://dspace.est.edu.br:8080/xmlui/handle/BR-SlFE/77?show=full>

Anderson, B. (2008). *Comunidades imaginadas: reflexões sobre a origem e difusão do nacionalismo*. Companhia das Letras.

Callois, Roger. (2015) O sagrado de transgressão – Teoria da festa. *Outraversia*, n. 19, p. 15-55.

Candau, J. (2012). *Memória e identidade*. Contexto.

Fridrich, F. H., & Soares, A. L. R. (2014, agosto). Alimento e gênero: a “alma da casa” e o “espírito protetor”, uma idealização do papel da mulher nas colônias imigrantes do Rio Grande do Sul no século XIX. In Proceedings of the XII Encontro Estadual de História da Anpuh, Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, São Leopoldo. chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/http://www.snh2013.anpuh.org/resources/anais/30/1405471517_ARQUIVO_TrabalhocompletodaANPUH2014semresumo.pdf

Funari, P. P. A., & Pelegrini, S. C. A. (2009). *Patrimônio histórico e cultural*. Jorge Zahar.

Gonçalves, E., Manfro, F., & Nardi, I. (2004). Sociedade searaense: o processo de colonização [End-of-Course Monograph, Universidade do Contestado].

Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (1997). *A invenção das tradições*. Paz e Terra.

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) (2019). Estimativas da população. Brasil. Retrieved from: <https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas/sociais/populacao/9103-estimativas-de-populacao.html?=&t=downloads>.

Jungblut, A. L. (1994). O protestantismo luterano dos teuto-brasileiros: algumas considerações necessárias para uma abordagem antropológica. In C. Mauch & N. Vasconcellos (Orgs.), *Os alemães no sul do Brasil: cultura, etnicidade, história* (pp. 139-147). Universidade Luterana do Brasil.

Kerb Fest de Arabutã (2021). Accessed on 06th May 2021, de <https://turismo.arabuta.sc.gov.br/o-que-fazer/item/kerb-fest-de-arabuta>

Lenzi, Z. M., Salvador, N. T. M., & Konder, V. M. (1989). *O Kerb em Santa Catarina*. Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina.

Meyer, D. E. E. (2000). Cultura teuto-brasileira-evangélica no Rio Grande do Sul: articulando gênero com raça, classe, nação e religião. *Educação e Realidade*, 5(1), 135-161.

Piazza, W. F. (1994). A colonização de Santa Catarina. Lunardelli.

- Poutignat, P., & Streiff-Fenart, J. (2011). *Teorias da etnicidade: seguido de grupos étnicos e suas fronteiras* de Fredrik Barth (2a ed.). Unesp.
- Radin, J. C. (2006). *Companhias colonizadoras em Cruzeiro: representações sobre a civilização do sertão* [Doctorate Thesis, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina]. Repositório Institucional da UFSC. <https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/101591>
- Royer, E. (2017). *A língua, a casa e a festa: o patrimônio de origem alemã em São Carlos – SC* [End-of-course Monograph, Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul]. Repositório Digital UFFS. <https://rd.uffs.edu.br/handle/prefix/1699>
- Santos, A. (2009). A política educacional nacionalista e o aspecto linguístico na Era Vargas: vestígios na escola primária. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, 90(225), 511-527.
- Schubring, G. (2003). Relações culturais entre Alemanha e Brasil: ‘imperialismo cultural’ versus ‘nacionalização’. *Zetetiké* 11(2), 56-109.
- Seyferth, G. (1981). *Nacionalismo e identidade étnica*. Fundação Catarinense de Cultura.
- Seyferth, G. (1999). *A colonização alemã no Brasil: etnicidade e conflito*. In B. Fausto (Org.), *Fazer a América: a imigração em massa para a América Latina* (pp. 273-313). EDUSP.
- Valentini, D. J. (2009). *Atividades da Brazil Railway Company no sul do Brasil: a instalação da Lumber e a guerra na região do Contestado (1906 - 1916)* [Doctorate thesis, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul]. Repositório Institucional PUCRS. <https://repositorio.pucrs.br/dspace/handle/10923/3882>
- Voigt, L. (2018). *O Espaço de práticas do folclore “alemão” autêntico no Brasil: um estudo de sociologia da cultura e das elites* [Master’s Dissertation, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina]. Repositório Institucional da UFSC. <https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/186102>
- Willems, E. (1946). *A Aculturação dos alemães no Brasil: estudo antropológico dos imigrantes e seus descendentes no Brasil*. Companhia Editoria Nacional.

Article received for publication on 16/05/2025 and approved on 04/11/2025.