

**FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF RIO GRANDE DO SUL
SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT
GRADUATE MANAGEMENT PROGRAM**

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**THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITALS ON IMMIGRANT
ENTREPRENEURS: A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY**

**Porto Alegre
2017**

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Master of Research Dissertation presented to the Graduate Management Program of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul as a requirement for obtaining the title of Master in Business Administration, concentration area of Innovation, Technology and Sustainability.

Advisor: Prof. Dr. Fernando Dias Lopes.

**Porto Alegre
2017**

CIP - Catalogação na Publicação

Raupp, Monique

The influence of cultural and social capitals on
immigrant entrepreneurs: a cross-cultural study /
Monique Raupp. -- 2017.

93 f.

Orientador: Fernando Dias Lopes.

Dissertação (Mestrado) -- Universidade Federal do
Rio Grande do Sul, Escola de Administração, Programa
de Pós-Graduação em Administração, Porto Alegre, BR-RS,
2017.

1. Administração de empresas. 2. Empreendedorismo.
3. Empreendedorismo Imigrante. 4. Pierre Bourdieu.
5. Cross-cultural. I. Lopes, Fernando Dias, orient.
II. Título.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This moment represents an important achievement in my life. Looking back at the past two years as a master's student makes me feel like I have done so much, and conquered so many things that it seems as if many years have passed by during this journey, bringing with it gifts that I will always carry with me, and leaving me with the feeling of job accomplished.

First of all, I would never be here if it wasn't for my wonderful parents. Always supporting me in my decisions, guiding me whenever I felt lost, giving me the strength to keep going when I felt defeated, providing me all of the necessary support I needed to successfully reach this stage of my life. Considering the immense amount of challenges I had to overcome in these last two hardworking years, this moment would have never come if it wasn't for them. For that, I will always be extremely grateful.

I must also give special thanks to my amazing advisor, Prof. Dr. Fernando Dias Lopes. Thank you for guiding me throughout these amazing years as your student, supporting me in every matter I needed help with, vastly discussing dissertation ideas, and always being available to answer any question I had. I could not be more satisfied with the topic of this work, and with what this path will bring for my academic future. This was only possible because of you.

For the wonderful contributions to my work, I give special thanks to Profª. Dra. Aurora Carneiro Zen and Profª. Dra. Suzana Braga Rodrigues. Also, I must thank Profª. Aurora for all her support and all opportunities given during my master, which immensely enriched my experience, and Profª. Suzana for welcoming me in Cambridge, devoting quality time to discuss my academic inquiries, and giving me valuable advices.

This achievement had also a great influence from my beloved boyfriend. Being more comprehensive and supportive than I could ever ask for, he always had a way to cheer me up in the sad moments, to motivate me when I thought I could not do something, and to make me feel like the most capable person in the entire world. Thank you, my love.

I cannot forget the enormous importance that my friends and university colleagues have had in this journey. From home or Porto Alegre, old or new. Thank you for providing me cheerful moments, making it possible to have the necessary energy and motivation to have come so far.

Thank you!

“Aim for the moon. If you miss, you may hit a star.”

(W. Clement Stone)

ABSTRACT

This research proposes understanding the influences that cultural and social capitals exert on the immigrant entrepreneurship process of individuals who decided to move to a nation that is economically and culturally different from their home countries. Immigration is an increasingly phenomenon that affects several countries around the world, some of them having their economies heavily related to this group of people. When trying to find a job placement in the new market, most immigrants face difficulties such as language barriers, taste discrimination and lack of recognition of their accumulated capitals. A common option to reduce such challenges is pursuing entrepreneurship, which is usually related to fields that possess less influence of the aforementioned barriers, and that do not require much specific knowledge. Nevertheless, immigrant entrepreneurship has important differences when being compared to other types of entrepreneurship, and this fact is usually due to cultural and social aspects. In this context, it is inquired: “how does both the cultural and social capitals linked to the entrepreneur's country of origin relate to his/her opportunities to undertake and sustain an enterprise of the culinary field in a culturally and economically distinct country?”. In order to address this inquiry, four immigrant restaurant owners were interviewed. Two of them immigrated to England, coming from Latin American underdeveloped countries, while the other two immigrated to Brazil, coming from European developed nations. The semi-structured interview script had 16 questions formulated according to Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of cultural and social capitals, aiming at qualitatively understanding in what consisted these two types of capitals of each entrepreneur, as well as understanding how they related to each moment of their individual entrepreneurial journeys. The interviews were conducted in person in both cities of London and Florianópolis, during the first semester of 2016. The results show that all of the immigrant entrepreneurs faced some type of cultural shock and discrimination during their entrepreneurship processes, which is most evident in the Latin entrepreneurs. Regarding the influence of their cultural capitals, family influences, accumulated knowledge and professional experiences greatly influenced their entrepreneurship process, and the entrepreneurs who possessed the higher amount of accumulated and recognized cultural capital faced far less difficulties as immigrant entrepreneurs. When talking about their social capitals, the entrepreneurs mostly relied on their social connections with people born in their home countries or in nations more culturally similar to their own. These relations, however, were of different natures between the Latin and European immigrants. The social capital that mostly influenced the Latin entrepreneurs consisted on their families and Latin immigrant friends, who faced similar obstacles as they did. On the other hand, the social capital the European entrepreneurs relied during their entrepreneurial processes were friends born in their home countries, who are also renowned professionals in the culinary field and that were able to share valuable knowledge with them. This study contributes to the entrepreneurship field by addressing the emerging immigrant entrepreneurship topic, which is still being consolidated and has important gaps such as this one to be fulfilled.

Keywords: Entrepreneurship. International Business. Immigrant Entrepreneurship. Cultural Capital. Social Capital.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BREXIT – British Exit

EU – European Union

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

IoD – Institute of Directors

IT – Information Technology

SLR – Systematic Literature Review

UK – United Kingdom

US – United States

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1 INTRODUCTION

In a globalized world, where the mix of cultures is a growing phenomenon, one might assume that this interaction will have several different outcomes. All existing cultures of the world have, each, its general and singular characteristics, and although outsiders might perceive those cultures in distinct ways, they will usually have an international main reputation. This global interaction can have several implications in the business and management areas, especially regarding businesses located in international settings. For example, a considerable share of several markets around the world belongs to people who decided to leave their countries and start new lives in other nations. These groups of individuals, called immigrants, usually have to face obstacles in this new professional environment, including discrimination and fewer job opportunities in the formal wage industry. One common solution that this part of the population finds when facing these complications is starting their own ventures. However, even when not directly depending on other people to maintain their jobs, immigrant entrepreneurs are still exposed to the influence of many aspects of this cultural interaction. Frequently, in business sectors of low economies of scale or the food market, they bring to their businesses personal and cultural aspects of their own trajectories, tastes and different twists. Said market that might be unfamiliar with these differences, but willing to embrace a little piece of another part of the world, especially if it doesn't threaten a native's professional success.

The restaurant industry is a sector that is highly affected by this share of the population, bringing flavors from several parts of the world to one place, and enabling its inhabitants to travel the world without leaving their country. While there are cuisines that have a long history of high quality and are well established in the restaurant industry in almost every country, the world is expanding its culinary tastes to cultures that in the past were barely known by their food. Despite of its country of origin, the fact is that restaurants have a long past of cultural and social influences of distinct intensities. Thus, one can assume that there are several cultural and social factors that might influence the entrepreneurial process of a person who decides to start a new venture in a country that is culturally and economically distinct from his/her country of origin. However, one has to understand that all of these variables, together with others, are interrelated, and they might vary from one specific situation to another. Are cultural perceptions relevant when one decides to start a business in an international environment? Are the entrepreneur's business capacities the only variables

that will determine whether he/she will succeed or fail when starting a new business in another country, or are his/her cultural and social characteristics also important to better understand this situation?

Based on these assumptions and inquiries, this work will go beyond the rational, individual and cultural perspectives, and will have a more critical and analytical focus when discussing how social, cultural and political factors, resulting from disparities in development stages of countries, as well as their cultural differences, can affect the success or failure experiences of foreign entrepreneurs to join in an international environment, more specifically to start a business in the restaurant industry in a country that isn't theirs. These disparities could be explained from different perspectives, but this work will show how differences in cultural and social capitals (BOURDIEU, 1986, 2002; BOURDIEU and WACQUANT, 1992) can influence this type of entrepreneurship. By assuming that the cultural and social capitals can both result in positive or negative factors, depending on the player's position or its origin (from a developed country to a developing country or the other way around), situations will be analyzed where the entrepreneur's objectives do not exactly consist on exploiting an ethnic niche. To that matter, this study aims to answer the following question:

How do both the cultural and social capitals linked to the entrepreneur's country of origin relate to his/her opportunities to undertake and sustain an enterprise of the culinary field in a culturally and economically distinct country?

To achieve this aim, this study will follow one main objective and other specific objectives.

1.1 OBJECTIVES

1.1.1 Main objective

Explain how both the cultural and social capitals of the entrepreneur's country of origin affect their entrepreneurial activities when starting a new venture in the culinary field in an international environment.

1.1.2 Specific objectives

- a) Describe the businesses and its entrepreneurs' trajectories;
- b) Characterize the economic field where each business is located;
- c) Describe elements that compose each entrepreneurs' accumulated cultural and social capitals, distinguishing the ones inherent to their relationships within their countries of origin, and the ones accumulated in the country they started their businesses;
- d) Relate the types of cultural and social capitals accumulated by the entrepreneurs with the successes and failures throughout their entrepreneurial processes;
- e) Analyze the development stage of the entrepreneurs' home countries, its characteristics expressed in the entrepreneurs' cultural and social capitals, and how have they influenced the entrepreneurs' businesses survival.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In the following sections the main concepts regarding the development of this study will be discussed, in order to better support the further data collection and analysis. Starting with more general entrepreneurship concepts, the base of this research, this chapter will be followed by the concepts' pertinent ramifications related to the main objective of this study. Finally, the chosen perspective of Pierre Bourdieu will be described and briefly explained, summing up the important literature to be discussed before the data presentation and analysis.

2.1 ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Even with entrepreneurship being a specific subject in the scientific field, there is no consensus regarding its meaning. It consists on a multidimensional term, being hard to define it (CARREE; THURIK, 2005). There has been greater attention towards the subject in the last decades, which can be explained by the increasing number of small businesses, a solution found and stimulated by governments to deal with the enlarging rate of general unemployment, and the fact that constant change and innovations are crucial for a business to survive in the international economy of nowadays (SWEDBERG, 2000). The development recently experienced by several countries has a significant impact provided by entrepreneurial activities (NAUDÉ, 2013), and concerns how the economic activities' organization reconfigures itself (LANGLOIS, 2007). Fresh possibilities are often arising around the world, and the current available knowledge is continuously augmenting due to new discoveries (SCHUMPETER, 2008).

Authors have different concepts of what entrepreneurship consists on, however the majority of them consider an entrepreneur as someone who is innovative in his/her activities (COAN, 2011). Regarding the existing studies of entrepreneurship, there is a dominant literature and also a critical literature, which is still being established among the field. The dominant literature is basically divided in two main approaches, consisted of a Schumpeterian economic view, and a behavioral view, guided by McClelland's work. From these perspectives there are several other studies, with wider sets of analysis, which are based on one of the two approaches.

Entrepreneurship, according to the economists, is directly related to someone's individual achievements in the business field (RUSU et al., 2012). Nevertheless, after the business' development, the behavior of the group comprised within the organization turns out

to be crucial for the success of the former. Hence, the concept of entrepreneurship concerns not only to the development of a successful business idea, but also to the conservation and continuous development of the organization, so the business may be kept going (PANDA, 2011). In developing countries, entrepreneurship can be analyzed as a propellant of economic progress (GUROL; ATSAN, 2006).

According to Bula (2012), the beginning of the studies related to entrepreneurship was through a economical bias, when Cantillon (1680-1734) discussed the term *entrepreneur* in his work entitled *Essay sur la Nature du Commerce en Général*, where the term was related to the person who bought products at a certain price and sold them, subsequently, at prices unknown by the market, bringing stability to the market system. However, the author who really invented the term was Jean Baptiste Say (1776-1832), a French economist who saw the entrepreneur as someone who creates value by transferring resources from a person with a low level of productivity to another with a better performance.

Regarding other points of view, entrepreneurship was considered by Marshall as equal to business management; analyzed by Walras as a person who did not make or lose money; perceived by Knight as one's ability to handle uncertainty; and regarded by Kirzner as the attention towards profitable opportunities, where the entrepreneur helps restoring the market equilibrium (BULA, 2012).

Despite these and many other entrepreneurship related scholars, the one who is considered the main reference in the economic perspective is Joseph Schumpeter (1883-1950), economist who wrote *The Theory of the Economic Development* (2008). In this book the author argues that it is indispensable to innovate in order to develop the economy, and the entrepreneur is the person who will be in charge of that, bringing products with utility to the market, and changing the current market scenario (SCHUMPETER, 2008). Schumpeter argues that, because of his/her available knowledge, he/she is able to take advantage of business opportunities, dare to think outside of the box and assume the role of a leader. In his view, entrepreneurship consists of making new combinations of forces and materials that are already available.

In the case of a behavioral approach, the entrepreneurship concept is viewed by psychologists as more probable to occur when a society has enough supply of people holding specific psychological characteristics, such as looking at things in a different way, needing to do something, and urging to reach conquests. McClelland (1961) leads this perspective, considering the high need for achievement as people's drive towards entrepreneurial

activities. According to the author, the ones who possess significant achievement motive will probably have the desire for responsibility, be interested in situations of high risk, and also pursue a tangible measure of task performance. Hagen (1963) argues that withdrawing an individual's status is a matter of respect, as the impulse mechanism for modifications is personality development. For Kunkel (1961), the entrepreneurial behavior consists on a capacity of social structures and it can be strongly affected by the manipulative social and economic incentives.

Besides the entrepreneurship theories that focus on economic and behavioral aspects, there are other types of studies related to the theme. Among them, there are sets of studies which focus on gender matters (CROMIE, 1987; MARLOW, 2002; AHL, 2006; BRUNI; GHERARDI; POGGIO, 2004; OGBOR, 2000), as well as ethnic and immigrant aspects (WALDINGER et al., 1990; BARRET et al., 1996; RAZIN, 2002), which can assume a critical approach or a mere functionalist perspective about the subject. Most of the entrepreneurship studies use the further hegemonic approach, which has an objectivist perspective and is rooted in regulation (CHELL; PITTAWAY, 1998; GRANT; PERREN, 2002; JENNINGS; PERREN; CARTER, 2005). Contrary to that, critical studies on entrepreneurship argue that there is a need for expanding the different perspectives, enabling the debate, creativity and, therefore, new theories (GRANT; PERREN, 2002). These types of management and entrepreneurship studies critique this conventional legitimization and reinforcement of dominant societal ideologies as instruments of control, bases of power and relations of domination, arguing that "critical search for a scientific truth is constrained to be tolerant to ambiguity, diversity and pluralism, and its outcome will necessarily be knowledge that is relative and fallible rather than absolute truth" (OGBOR, 2000 p.605).

A perspective that involves the aforementioned subjects is the one related to cross-cultural studies of entrepreneurship. These studies about different cultures mainly begun in the 80's, when they gained importance because of the attribution of the economy's success to several distinct aspects that can hardly be fully reproduced in other contexts (RODRIGUES; DUARTE, 1998). Most of the research on this subject is based on Hofstede's theory (HOFSTEDE, 1984; 1991; 2002), which aimed at understanding how societies differ, by identifying and characterizing personal traits that were considered as each society's homogeneous profiles. The dimensions the author elaborated to understand this issue were firstly power distance, individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, and uncertainty

avoidance, but two other dimensions were further added to this set, which comprised of long term orientation and indulgence against self-restraint (FERREIRA; SERRA; PINTO, 2014). Apart from this theory, the cross-cultural studies of entrepreneurship present an interesting variety of approaches. For the purpose of detailing this information, a systematic literature review was developed, as it will be further described. In management research, this process is important to manage the large amount of existing knowledge for a specific academic purpose (TRANFIELD; DENYER; SMART, 2003). This consists on a secondary study, which uses relevant research papers (primary studies) in order to better understand a specific topic or research question (KITCHENHAM et al., 2010).

2.2 IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP

An important part of the world's entrepreneurs that deserve special attention is the immigrant group, that consists on the movement of people (COLLIER and DOLLAR, 2002) who decide to leave their country of birth to live somewhere else for several years (ARISS and CROWLEY-HENRY, 2013) or on a permanent basis for necessity or exclusion (DOHERTY, RICHARDSON and THORN, 2013), search for a better life (SINGH and DENOBLE, 2004), among other reasons. According to the latest data regarding the international immigrant population presented by the United Nations (2015), there are over 244 million immigrants living around the world – a number 41% higher than the one representing the year of 2000. Most of them are situated in Western Europe, the United States (US), Australia, New Zealand and Canada (ARISS and CROWLEY-HENRY, 2013). The dominant literature on migration profile characterizes them as unskilled and less educated people (ARISS and CROWLEY-HENRY, 2013), as well as a cheap low-skilled labor (SINGH and DENOBLE, 2004).

As argued by Santos and Silvester (2016, p.6), “if much of our public debate around immigration gives the impression that immigrants are job-takers, the stats suggest that the term job-creators might be more appropriate”. In the country where they decided to start a new life, this group of individuals is usually excluded from more formal wage opportunities, facing challenges such as structural discrimination (such as the need for a visa), taste discrimination (e.g. ethnic stereotyping and language barriers) (BRUDER and RAETHKE-DOEPPNER 2008), the lack of work rights and insufficient access to networks circumstances (WATSON, KEASEY and BAKER, 2000), which many times lead them to self-employment,

where they must be creative and able to solve the market's problems (BRIXY, STERNBERG and VORDERWLBECKE, 2013), e.g. introducing their native exotic products in this new market (PAULOSE, 2011). Therefore, entrepreneurship appears as a tool to overcome the aforementioned obstacles by enabling migrants to overcome social exclusion and finally become a part of the host community (CONSTANT, SHACKMUROVE and ZIMMERMANN, 2007).

At the top of several national and international agendas, the relationship between migration and entrepreneurship brings substantial development impacts to many countries (NAUDÉ, SIEGEL and MARCHAND, 2015). Also called "immigrant entrepreneurship" from the intersection of migration and entrepreneurship pursued after migration (PAULOSE, 2011), some people call migrant entrepreneurs "super-entrepreneurs", and focus on this group's successes in some countries such as China and the US, and argue that immigrants may not really need formal wage jobs after all (NAUDÉ, SIEGEL and MARCHAND, 2015). For example, in the case of China in 2011, a quarter of the Chinese immigrants were entrepreneurs (GIULIETTI, NING and ZIMMERMANN, 2011), and in Silicon Valley (USA) around one third of the 90's entrepreneurs who have helped developing this high-tech environment were immigrants (SAXENIAN, 2002). According to this perspective, migrant entrepreneurs may not fear taking risks, which is evident when considering their decision to leave their native countries, in itself a risky activity (NEVILLE et al., 2014). Besides, this type of entrepreneur might be more able to identify new business opportunities, as they previously observed opportunities for migration (HART, 2009).

On the other hand, some studies find that entrepreneurship is usually linked to less-educated migrants rather than migrants with a stronger educational background (CONSTANT and ZIMMERMANN, 2006), and these entrepreneurs are usually in these positions because of the difficulties they face when trying to fit the new market. Thus, according to Constant and Zimmermann (2006), they are usually "necessity entrepreneurs", who are usually involved with "basic" business, i.e. aiming to mainly generate income for the entrepreneur themselves, consisting of complementing his or her salary (LIMA et al. 2014), and who do not necessarily have found an opportunity in the market. When compared to natives, immigrant entrepreneurs face different restrictions, and thus have to work with different strategies from the first group, usually leading them to different industries and occupations, such as in immigrant-customers targeted market, under-served markets that other enterprises have disregarded, business sectors of low economies of scale or the market for exotic food

(WALDINGER, ALDRICH and WARD, 1990). In addition to that, the easier access to basic services such as the hotel and restaurant industry attracts immigrant entrepreneurs to these sectors (HERMES and LEICHT, 2010).

The human capital obtained in their country of origin will most certainly have a lower value than the one obtained overseas, as the last is less probable to be recognized in the immigrant's host country, which will directly influence the types of job they will be able to do in this new environment (FRIEDBERG, 2000). In this matter, the immigrant's culture of origin should be considered with close attention, as their ethnic networks and families can play a critical role regarding their adaptation in a different environment (VOLERY, 2007). These group-specific cultural aspects will probably reflect on their behavioral patterns, social structures, resources and values, which can influence self-employment (SIMOES, MOREIRA and CRESPO, 2013). For example, according to a Institute of Directors (IoD) survey conducted in 2016 that questioned migrant entrepreneurs about what they thought were the challenges faced specifically by this type of entrepreneurs, the most mentioned problem was the lack of contacts and networks (44%) (SANTOS and SILVESTER, 2016).

As stated by Paulose (2011, p.3), "in times of economic insecurity, high unemployment, and altering markets, opportunities and employment outcomes are changing. In this context, immigrant entrepreneurship increasingly becomes a topic in research and politics". There is a necessity that the relation between migration and entrepreneurship be better understood, also considering that this is still a relatively under evidenced topic (NAUDÉ, SIEGEL and MARCHAND, 2015). Starting with a focus on the US market and further on in the United Kingdom (UK), immigrant entrepreneurship studies consist on an important research topic, although it has taken some time for this opinion to become widespread (KLOOSTERMAN and RATH, 2004). Only a limited number of cultures have already been quite studied regarding this topic, with South America not being one of them (CLARK, DRINKWATER and ROBINSON, 2015). Finally, comparisons of international entrepreneurs from different cultures and countries are rare (HERMES and LEICHT, 2010), pointing out the importance of widening the scope of the current researched topics on international entrepreneurship.

2.3 CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Entrepreneurship, in the Schumpeterian perspective, consists on frequently reshaping and enabling social progress, as well as promoting innovation and the development of

countries economies. The entrepreneur is influenced by social aspects (education, religion, etc.), which may affect positively or negatively the potential entrepreneur's courage to pursue its self-employment. All of these aspects will be managed by the culture to which he/she is exposed (MORRISON, 2000), which in turn, through a cultural diversity's point of view, has two types of important levels: the intermediate, consisting on norms and values, and a more profound one, represented by presupposes and beliefs (RODRIGUES; DUARTE, 1998).

According to the anthropological perspective, culture is a group knowledge developed by a particular set of individuals exposed to a similar environment (GEERTZ, 1973; SCHATZKI; NATTER, 1996; RECKWITZ, 2000). This group knowledge is related to how societies organize their social behavior and knowledge (KROEBER; KLUCKHOHN, 1952) in such order that their cognitive orientations reflect "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (HOFSTEDE, 1980, p. 19)". Hofstede's (2001, p.9) definition of culture consists on "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another". From Max Weber's seminal book, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" (1930), it can be drawn that culture and economy are still two important and related subjects that social sciences researchers across the world keep focusing their attention on. Leaving the economic and business perspective aside, sociological theories and studies can provide great contributions for the entrepreneurship research area (REYNOLDS, 1991). Thus, taking this approach for understanding the relationship between entrepreneurship and culture can be of great theoretical and practical value (HAYTON; GEORGE; ZAHRA, 2002; FREYTAG; THURIK, 2007).

According to Frederking (2004), entrepreneurs are dependent of a system on social obligations and informal hierarchies, which define culture as a liability for economic activities. The author adds that the connections made in a shared culture enables individuals such as entrepreneurs to save on costs in several ways, like collecting information. This social capital is fed by reciprocity and trust, which may develop opportunities to the smaller actor (RODRIGUES; CHILD, 2012). When talking more specifically about immigrant entrepreneurship, Sanders and Nee (1996) observe that both human and social capital resources are crucial to immigrant's self-employment. However, one must understand that the development of social capital in unknown markets is usually more complicated then it seems, and sometimes the price paid to acquire it is not worth the investment, therefore showing that social capital is not necessarily a net asset (RODRIGUES; CHILD, 2012).

As once said by Pascal in 1662 when comparing Spain and France, "there are truths on this side of the Pyrenees which are falsehoods on the other". One must be aware that cultural influences, which motivate individuals of a specific group to behave in a particular way, may not be the same outside of their boundaries (LIÑÁN; CHEN, 2009). The entrepreneurial characteristics within each country, for example, will be compatible to its national culture, and therefore distinct among nations (MITCHELL et al., 2002). However, it is essential one understands that the national variable is not the only one that has to be accounted for (RODRIGUES; DUARTE, 1998). This sociocultural integration and its levels imply that each culture reflects and is influenced by particular social, ethnic, political, institutional and economic complexities to which people are connected (STEWART, 1986; LENT et al., 2000; PODRU; VRDOLJAK; DEDIC, 2016), as well as by the country's level of development and its current industrial relations with other nations (RODRIGUES; DUARTE, 1998). Besides, this globalization phenomenon is related not only to cultural values, but also to collective identities (CHILD, 2000). Therefore, one must be aware of the diversity of variables that influence an entrepreneur, and that each of them, when combined in distinct ways and in specific time periods, will imply in different outcomes for all the parties involved.

Most of the entrepreneurship research has been developed focusing on countries of Western markets, especially in the US, which supports the statement that the globalization phenomenon brings the alignment of local practices with those of the most developed and influencing countries – the US, nowadays (BOISOT; CHILD; REDDING, 2011). Therefore, there is a need for widening this scope to other international markets, in order to understand how entrepreneurship and other management fields of study are situated within other cultures without generalizing the US archetype to them (TURAN; KARA, 2007; GUPTA; FERNANDEZ, 2009).

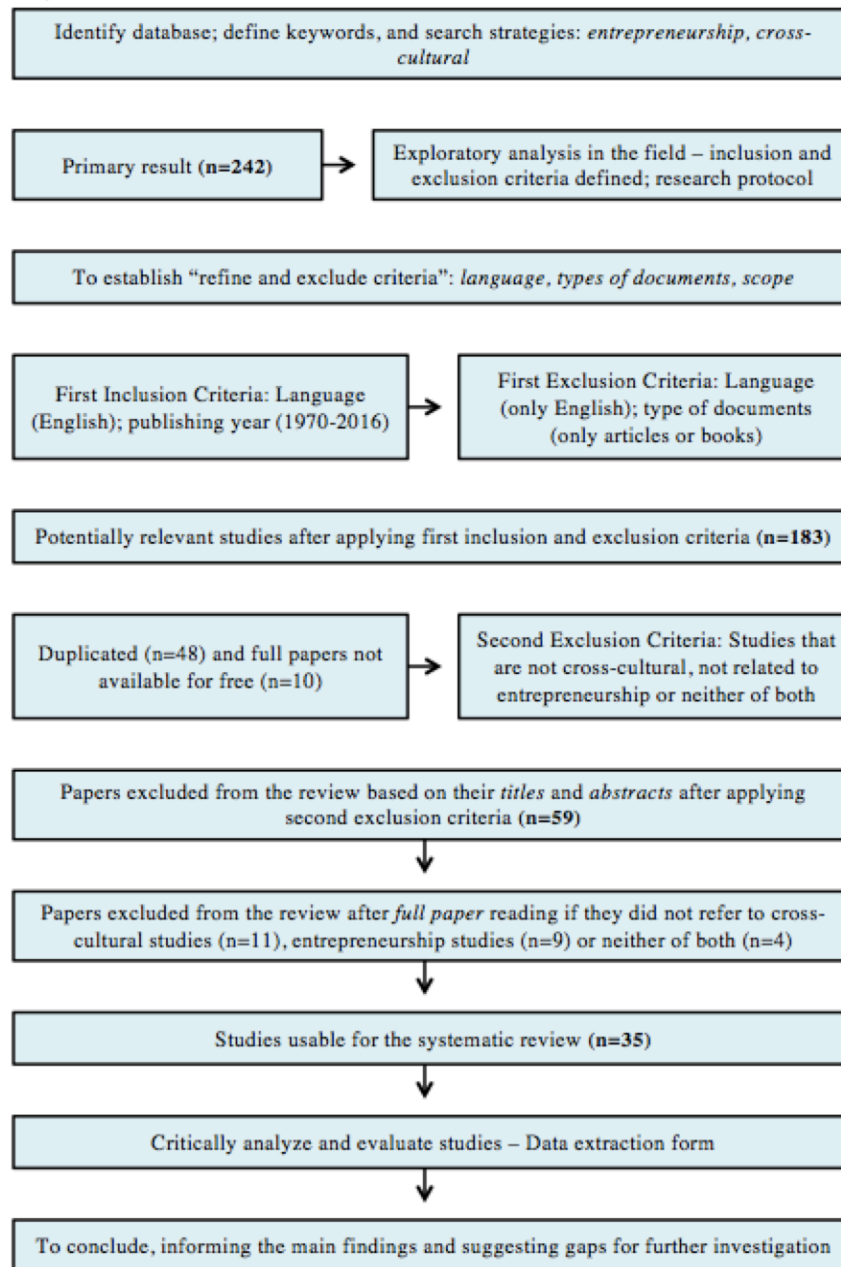
It is expected that entrepreneurs reflect the values of their respective national cultures (THOMAS; MUELLER, 2000). Although some of these values are universal, there are situations when they are specific to a single culture (TURAN; KARA, 2007), which characterizes the hybridity of contemporary cultures (WELSCH, 1992). Cross-cultural entrepreneurship studies are able to advance entrepreneurship research by distinguishing these existing cultural situations (TIESSEN, 1997), consisting in an extremely important and valuable research area that provides important information for theoretical and practical purposes (SINGH, 1995; ZAHRA; JENNINGS; KURATKO, 1999). Besides, future research should further address other developing countries, so the heterogeneity of each culture is

accounted and its influences on entrepreneurship are better understood (BRUTON; AHLSTROM; OBLOJ, 2008).

2.3.1 Cross-cultural entrepreneurship systematic literature review

Despite the recent growing number of cross-cultural entrepreneurship studies (MCDOUGALL; OVIATT, 2000), this area is still understudied. In order to understand what is its current situation and better justify the choice of the current study's approach, a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) was developed. To be easily understood and replicable, an SLR should follow a previously determined scientific process of literature search (TRANFIELD; DENYER; SMART, 2003). To enable that, the Bossle et al. (2016) process was adapted and applied in the present study to better fit its needs, as can be seen in Figure 1, where the SLR steps are presented.

Figure 1 – SLR schema



Source: adapted from Bossle et al. (2016).

The two keywords have been defined considering the wide aim of the research, which did not consist in studying a specific topic on cross-cultural entrepreneurship, but mapping and understanding a portion of what has been studied in the general research area. After following the aforementioned steps, the 35 studies were categorized in order to enable a better understanding of their main focus, as presented on Figure 1. From the elaborated categories, it can be concluded that most of the studies are related to personal characteristics of the entrepreneur, whether about their entrepreneurial intentions/orientations or personal characteristics of an entrepreneur in general, as well as both situations comprising studies

with comparisons between at least two different cultures, especially different countries. Furthermore, some of the studies focused on knowledge and/or culture's influences on entrepreneurship, gender and ethnic entrepreneurship, among others.

Frame 1 – Articles categories (to be continued)

Entrepreneurial orientation/intentions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BUSENITZ; LAU, 1997 • TULLAR, 2001 • KREISER; MARINO; WEAVER, 2002 • TAN, 2002 • KONIG, 2008 • FERNÁNDEZ; LIÑÁN; SANTOS, 2009 • LIÑÁN; NABI; KRUEGER, 2013 • MUELLER; ZAPKAU; SCHWENS, 2014 • PODRUG; RAGUZ; DEDIC, 2016
Personal characteristics of an entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • COWLING, 1998 • MITCHELL et al., 2000 • WELSH; GUBMAN, 2000 • MITCHELL et al., 2002 • ARDICHVILI; GASPARISHVILI, 2003 • TURAN; KARA, 2007 • KONIG et al., 2007 • GUPTA; FERNANDEZ, 2009 • JUNCO; BRÁS-DOS-SANTOS, 2009 • WILSON; KUMMEROL, 2011 • SOMMER; WELSH; GUBMAN, 2000
Gender entrepreneurship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LERNER; MALACH-PINES, 2011 • THÉBAUD, 2015
Ethnic entrepreneurship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CAULKINS; PETERS, 2002 • PUTZ, 2003
Institutional and cultural influences on entrepreneurial success	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FREDERKING, 2004

Frame 1 – Articles categories (conclusion)

Cooperative strategies on entrepreneurship	• STEENSMA; MARINO; WEAVER, 2000
Intra-cultural influences on entrepreneurship	• GARCÍA-CABRERA; GARCÍA-SOTO, 2008
Knowledge and/or culture's influences on entrepreneurship	• BEGLEY; TAN, 2001 • FARID, 2007 • FARQUHARSON; ORTENBLAD; HSU, 2014 • OBSCHONKA, 2015
Entrepreneurial events	• KOLLMANN; KUCKERTZ, 2006
Public policies' effects on entrepreneurship	• GUILLÉN; SUÁREZ, 2001
Literature review on cross-cultural entrepreneurship studies	• ENGELEN; HEINEMANN; BRETTEL, 2009

Source: Developed by the author (2017).

Within these studies there was usually a contrast between at least one less developed culture and a developed one, such as Turkey and Germany (PUTZ, 2003), Egypt and the US (FARID, 2007), etc. In addition to that, almost half (16) of the studies compared only two different cultures, while 13 of them studied five or more. In general, the studies focused on European countries, followed by Asian countries. Latin American nations only accounted for a small amount of the examined cultures, bringing the necessity to widen cross-cultural researches on entrepreneurship towards these cultures. Brazil, more specifically, was only studied twice, and both studies had a quantitative approach to understand the country's entrepreneurs' personal characteristics when compared to six (KOLLMANN; KUCKERTZ, 2009) or 9 (LERNER; MALACH-PINES, 2011) other nations.

One preponderant characteristic of the reviewed studies was that 29 of them were developed using a quantitative approach, usually surveys with a large sample of entrepreneurs. One study employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches (FREDERKING, 2004) and only five consisted in qualitative studies, being one literature review (ENGELEN; HEINEMANN; BRETTEL, 2009), a single case study of an entrepreneurship course transplanting (FARQUHARSON; ORTENBLAD; HSU, 2014) and studies related to the entrepreneurs' personal characteristics or intentions (BUSENITZ; LAU, 1997; PUTZ, 2003; JUNCO; BRÁS-DOS-SANTOS, 2009). This shows the importance of developing more qualitative studies in the area, as a qualitative methodology is considered adequate for theory-building, as well as to explain and deepen the understanding of a complex phenomenon (EISENHARDT, 1989).

The most frequent publishing years were 2002 and 2009, with four and six published studies, respectively. Using the sample of this SLR, in the past five years (2012-2016) only seven cross-cultural entrepreneurship studies were published, which can be considered a low number. This shows that there is, indeed, interest in studying the subject, but its research path still has a long way to be pursued.

Among the reviewed studies only one employed the behavioral approach to address the entrepreneurship subject (TULLAR, 2001). The economic approach is the most widely adopted. Besides, most of the studies are based on Hofstede's theory, corroborating the aforementioned information that the author's ideas constitute the main approach in cross-cultural entrepreneurship studies. Future research could widen the behavioral approach perspective or follow the economic perspective and be aligned with the most common research approach, as well as adopt different authors and perspectives to explain the cases.

Regarding the most frequent journals, the *Entrepreneurship, Theory and Practice* journal published six of the studies, followed by the *Journal of International Entrepreneurship*. In addition to that, other four journals were responsible for publishing two studies each (*Journal of International Business Studies*, *Journal of Enterprising Culture*, *Entrepreneurship & Development*, *Revista de Economia Mundial* and *Applied Psychology: An International Review*).

It can be concluded that the cross-cultural entrepreneurship research area is indeed still in its beginning, especially regarding the pulverization of studies undertaken in this area, but it constitutes an important research path to be pursued, therefore urging that more studies in this area be developed. Based on this understanding, the current study will address the cross-cultural entrepreneurship area taking a different approach. Still comparing countries' different cultures, it will be based on a sociological theory, as well as adopt a qualitative approach, both enabling a new perspective on the chosen topic. Hofstede's dimensions would not be able to explain this study's objectives, as they do not necessarily get the specificities of entrepreneurs (ENGELLEN; HEINEMANN; BRETTELL, 2009) that this study aims to understand. To do so, the theory of Pierre Bourdieu, renowned French sociologist will be adopted, enabling the development of a new perspective in the cross-cultural entrepreneurship arena.

2.4 THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF PIERRE BOURDIEU

Other than the aforementioned mainstream cultural approaches derivative from management and economic fields, a sociological perspective can also be employed to understand how culture and entrepreneurship are connected. Despite recurrent misunderstandings between the first two approaches and the last one, due to the encounter of different histories and cultures (BOURDIEU, 2004a), the decoding of each other's fields can bring several important insights. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is an example of this. When using the author's perspective to discuss cultural aspects, although he has developed a set of arguments to support his idea about it, one cannot isolate the term "culture" used by him without also discussing other important concepts he has developed. Bourdieu's concepts of types of capital, such as the cultural, social and economic ones, are directly related to the concepts of habitus and field developed by him. These three concepts cannot be defined in isolation, but only within the theoretical system they compose (BOURDIEU, 1992).

2.4.1 Bourdieu's Field Subject

"The principles that define a field's structure are also the ones that enable the explanation of its transformations" (PINTO, 2000, p.86). To understand what constitutes a field in Bourdieu's theory, one must carefully think about a game and the rules it involves. However, unlike the former, the rules of a particular field are not explicit and codified (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992), but hidden among its own and more or less specific social laws (BOURDIEU, 2004b). Fields consist on systems of social relations where its individuals are part of a continuous adjustment process (BOURDIEU, 2000). They are networks of objective relations between positions, spaces of conflict and competition (BOURDIEU, 1979) among the agents who these independent relations define, a power dispute guided by the distribution of power or the amount and species of capital each agent possesses (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992) and, therefore, might shape the rules of the game. Even with implied rules and regulations, any field consists on a structure of probabilities, though always implying an amount of indeterminacy. The attitude of playing by

the rules determines only a piece of the set of rules of the game (BOURDIEU, 2004b). As argued by Pinto,

The structure of the field allows us to explain at the same time the principles of internal division according to which are organized conflicts, controversies, competitions, and the historically determined limits that the rules of the field impose by making unthinkable or unworthy (outdated, irrelevant, etc.) the possible ones that do not correspond to some position currently occupied. Secondly, the notion of a field allows us to understand the relations between what is internal to it and what is external to it, without the need to absolutize or reduce any of the terms (PINTO, 2000 p.81).

For a field to fully function, it must generate interest, which stimulates people, makes them fight, compete (BOURDIEU, 2004a). A field possesses relative autonomy, whose level is influenced by the second factor, the exterior social world retranslation authority (BOURDIEU, 2004b), and its own logic is characterized by power disputes, which shapes the limits, objects of conflict and definitions of a specific field (CHARTIER, 2014). The forces that function within a specific field only manifest themselves when certain situations are found, meaning that the same practices might have distinct values and meanings within different fields or even in opposite sectors of the same field (BOURDIEU, 1979). Besides, the more autonomous a field is, the more unrecognizable the external impositions become (BOURDIEU, 2004b), reinforcing its power of delimitating how the field is supposed to function.

The composition and structure of a field are directly related to the unequal distribution and possession of different types of capital by its agents (BOURDIEU, 1979, BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992), thus demonstrating how the capital exerts a critical influence as to shape the most favorable environment for itself and its reproduction (BOURDIEU, 1986). In order to develop and shape a field, its agents have to know how to operate these different types of capital in this specific environment, and to create these specific forms of capital they must understand the logic of this field (BOURDIEU, 1992). For example, while money exerts a great influence within the economic field, at the same time it does not hold as much value in the artistic field, where other types of capital have a stronger influence that might not be the case regarding the former.

The individuals who belong to a specific field are not subjects or actors, but *agents* who “interiorize” that said universe (PINTO, 2000), agents who possess means and characteristics to produce effects within a field (BOURDIEU, 1992). Their strategies are

directly related to the position they hold in that field, meaning what is their current capital possession and recognition, as well as to the perception they hold of the field, which depends on the point of view they assume on this particular field (BOURDIEU, 1992). Therefore, the ones who possess the means of control use its produced material or symbolic benefits, making the field work in their advantage and possibly orienting their strategies towards people's domination (BOURDIEU, 1980). However, they must be aware of possible claims and resistance of the dominated (BOURDIEU, 1992).

The autonomy of some fields and their strengths diversity not only reflect their distinct points of view (PINTO, 2000), but also lead them to work according to strict mechanisms, which are capable of imposing its necessities to its agents. According to Pinto (2000), it is not possible to accumulate every type of profit in the same amount. Usually, the accumulation of one type implies an inverse accumulation of the other. For example, an artist who aims at richness will have to renounce the idea of being considered as pure artist within the artistic field, where he is inserted.

2.4.2 Bourdieu's Habitus Subject

The field concept would not function without its direct relation to another concept developed by Bourdieu called *habitus*. A word with a Latin origin, it translates the Aristotelian Greek concept of *hexis*, which aims at describing and understanding body and soul characteristics acquired throughout a learning process (SETTON, 2002). Bourdieu developed the concept of habitus after researches he conducted in Algeria between the 50s and 60s, where the author observed the complicated situation of individuals who were taken from their rural environments and forced into capitalist and urban atmospheres. Without theoretical support that could help him understand their new behaviors and practices in this new reality, how would he be able to properly study this situation? Therefore, the habitus concept came as one of the author's main theoretical productions when aiming at identifying the mediation between individual and society. This concept, which can be understood as generating principle of answers partially adapted to a field's requirements, is shaped from the individual's personal stories, (BOURDIEU, 2004), specific social conditions and in distinct universes such as mass culture, school, family, group of friends and work (SETTON, 2002).

Habitus is an acquired knowledge and also the act of *owning* (BOURDIEU, 2001b). It comprises the way that the society becomes placed in the individuals who are part of a

specific field (WACQUANT, 2004), a homogeneity principle, a structuring device whose operation depends on the field's agents (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992) and that enables them to handle unexpected and ever-changing situations (BOURDIEU, 2001a). Even with this occurring, habitus does not involve rational, but automatic decision-making (BOURDIEU, 2001a), designating "a *way of being*, a *habitual state* and, in particular, a *disposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination*" (BOURDIEU, 2001a p. 214), a unification of tastes and practices of the individuals who belong to the same class or group (CHARTIER, 2014). It is creative, but within the boundaries of the rules set by the social structures that shaped it (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992), a structuring structure that homogenizes actions and practices of the individuals who share equal social pathways and positions (BOURDIEU, 2001a).

Both habitus and field concepts are interrelated, fully functioning solely in relation to one another. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant,

A field is not simply a dead structure, a set of 'empty places' as in Althusserian Marxism, but a *space of play* which exists as such only to the extent that players who enter into it believe in and actively pursue the prizes it offers (...) Conversely, the theory of habitus is incomplete without a notion of structure that makes room for the organized improvisation of agents (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992 p.19).

As argued by the authors, habitus enables the formation of a field as a world with meaning, sense and value, which an individual perceives as worthy to invest his/her energy in. It is a relationship of conditioning, on one side, with the field structuring the habitus, and also a relationship of cognitive construction, on the other (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992). The behaviors, actions or choices made by a field's agent do not come from perceived strategies, but consist of results that come from the relation between the agent's habitus and the stimuli and pressure coming from said structure (SETTON, 2002).

2.4.3 Bourdieu's Types of Capital

Beyond the relations between field and habitus, the concept of capital is crucial – if not the most important part of – for truly understanding Bourdieu's perspective and contributions towards the managerial environment when talking about culture. Capital, according to the author, consists on accumulated labor, which enables agents or groups of agents within a specific field to acquire social energy in the shape of living or reified labor, when done in an exclusive basis (BOURDIEU, 1986). It shapes the games of society, as the

distribution of its different types represents the existing social world structure within a field (BOURDIEU, 1986), heterogeneously arranged, and responsible for distinct levels of power among its agents, with constantly changing values according to its field's mutations (and its respective social path and habitus).

It must be understood that the existence and functioning of a capital is attached to its relation to a field, and – as social relation – it “can only exist and produce its effects within the field where it is produced and reproduced” (BOURDIEU, 1979, p.126). According to Bourdieu (1979), when considering both embodied (dispositions) or objectified (economic and cultural assets) properties that are related to the field’s agents, they cannot be simultaneously efficient. There are types of capitals that are recognized and efficacious in all fields, but their value and hierarchy will vary according to each field and its constant variations (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992), distributing heterogeneously power and influence to the agents within those fields.

When talking about capital, one would probably think, at first, about something tangible, monetary, a type of capital that brings sense to the word capitalism. In a common understanding of the word *capital* itself, this is the general understanding of its meaning. When using Bourdieu's words, it is called *economic capital*, which is promptly and straightly convertible into money and “may be institutionalized in the form of property rights” (BOURDIEU, 1986 p.47). The power of this specific type of capital could be analyzed and related by the fact that it allows an economy of conservation and transmission of work, an economy of rational management, an economy of economic calculus, when considering that this type of capital is easier to rationally manage, forecast and calculate (BOURDIEU, 2004a). The economic capital might be the result of the conversion of the other two types of capital studied by Bourdieu, the *social* and *cultural* ones.

Social capital accounts for "the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992 p.19), and this group of *agents* not only share many equal characteristics, but are also assembled by useful and permanent connections (BOURDIEU, 1998a), giving them a collectivity-owned capital (BOURDIEU, 1986). Also, the amount of social capital that a specific agent possesses is directly dependent on the dimension of the network of relationships he/she is able to gather, as well as on the quantity of capital (of any type) he/she has by each of his/her connections (BOURDIEU, 1986). The possibility of

gathering as much profit as a specific network can get is found in the base of its solidarity and from the strategies used by its agents, this last ones also aiming at reproducing the social relations contained in that universe (BOURDIEU, 1998a). To reproduce a social capital, according to Bourdieu (1998a), it is expected that, besides having a specific competence and the willing to gather and keep this competence, its agents continuously dispend time and effort, as well as (frequently) different amounts of economic capital.

Last but not least, there is the third and most important type of capital for this study, called *cultural capital*, which is also known as *information capital*, giving the idea of its full generality (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992). This type of capital was firstly imposed as a hypothesis to understand the difference among the young students' performance in their schools, taking into consideration their distinct prevenient social classes (BOURDIEU, 1998b). While economists can be acknowledged by their contributions towards understanding the direct relation between the profit indexes assured by the economic and educative investments, they only take into consideration either *monetary* benefits or the ones that can be *directly converted into money* (i.e. expenses that come from studying, how much money is the time spent in such activity, etc). Economists don't take into account the relative role of these cultural and economic investments, as they disregard the fact that different agents come with different "packages" of profit opportunities, defined by the different existent markets, which consider the structure and volume of their properties. As they question themselves about how are one's "aptitude" towards specific studies related to one's studies' investments, they ignore that the former is also result of one's investment in time and cultural capital (BECKER, 1964).

If compared to the economic capital, this type of capital presents a higher dissimulation degree, and, because of that, it exerts a deeper acknowledgment within, for example, the cultural and marriage markets, where the economic capital doesn't have the same strong role (BOURDIEU, 1998b). It can exist in three forms: embodied, objectified or institutionalized, which are directly interrelated and will be discussed ahead.

The cultural capital can be seen as a *to own* that was transformed into a *to be*, a property that became the individual's habitus, a part of them (BOURDIEU, 1998b). When considered in the *embodied state*, it exists as long-lasting propensities of the body and mind and "presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor" (BOURDIEU, 1986, p.48). This "personal" form of capital is harder to be

transmitted to another person and it cannot be done immediately (unlike material objects, for instance) (BOURDIEU, 1986), as it is acquired in an unconscious and dissimulated manner, and it stays with its agents for the rest of their days (with their memories, biological capacities, etc.). Its transmission is certainly the most dissimulated heritage of one's capital (BOURDIEU, 1998b) and it offers different types of profits to its possessors (material and symbolic), although with varying value recognition (and, therefore, influence and power) among different fields. For example, a Brazilian judge may be well known and extremely capable in the field he/she works within the country, but will probably not have the same value in another country, where the laws and legal systems are different from the one he/she learned about and was working in.

Back to the relation between this type of capital and the economic one, it can be observed that they are closely connected. The cultural capital's rules of the game state that, in order to acquire embodied cultural capital, it is necessary to devote time in this objective. To do so, one will have to be able to spend that time, which is usually related to that person's individual or family possession of economic capital (BOURDIEU, 1986). When devoting time to the accumulation of cultural capital, one has to abdicate the accumulation of economic capital, enabling him/her to acquire the first one in the same proportion that he/she gives up gathering the second (BOURDIEU, 1998b).

The *objectified state* form of cultural capital represents cultural goods (books, paintings, pictures, etc.) that are transmissible in its materiality, but it does not necessarily mean that the individual who receives it will have the necessary attributes for its appropriation, for 'consuming' it (BOURDIEU, 1986). As argued by Bourdieu (1986, p.49), "the process of appropriating objectified cultural capital and the time necessary for it to take place mainly depend on the cultural capital embodied in the whole family". The person who possesses economic capital and a specific objectified cultural capital is not necessarily the one who will benefit from it. If we take as example, receiving a painting as a gift is a materialized cultural capital being transmitted – as well or even better as an economic capital. However, what is transmissible is (almost always, exclusively) its juridical property, therefore its appropriation will depend on the individual's existing (or absent) knowledge about arts and paintings, his/her embodied cultural capital (BOURDIEU, 1998b).

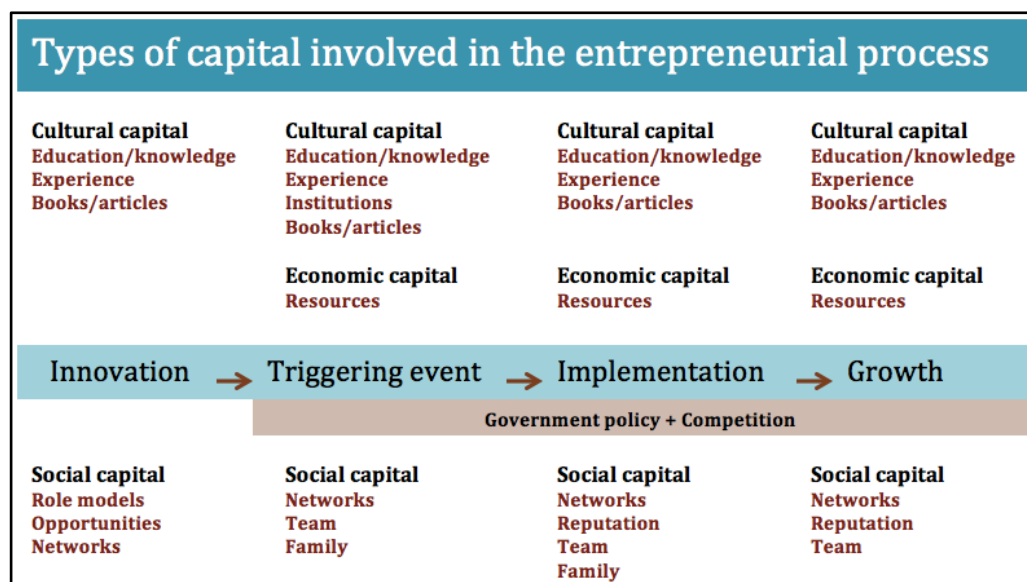
In its *institutionalized state*, the cultural capital guarantees the original properties of a cultural capital in a determined field, conferring any agent's cultural capital an institutional recognition. Academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence, enables the

comparison of different qualification holders, for instance, as it also guarantees a monetary value of a specific academic capital, which allows the establishment of conversion rates among cultural and economic capital (BOURDIEU, 1986). This certification produces a form of cultural capital that has relative autonomy concerning the person who possesses it, instituting that capital through a “collective magic” (BOURDIEU, 1998b). Thus, taking the example of the Brazilian judge, the value of its cultural capital (knowledge about the Brazilian legislation and laws) in Brazil is directly related to the institutions that recognize it as a valuable asset. Nevertheless, a French judge who decides to move to Brazil will probably have problems when trying to validate his/her university degree (among other qualifications), giving the fact that as the Brazilian legal system functions are distinct from the French ones – a knowledge that will probably not be acknowledged as sufficient to work in the new said field.

2.5 THE RELATION BETWEEN TYPES OF CAPITAL AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

To better explain the relation between Bourdieu’s types of capital and the role they play in the international entrepreneurship process, a theoretical framework was developed, as presented in Figure 2. To consider entrepreneurship as a process and a type of economic action implies that it will be developed within a context of social relations, meaning that it is socially and culturally conditioned.

Figure 2 - Entrepreneurship process model



Source: Adapted from Hisrich and Peters (2002).

The two main types of capital used in the framework are the social and cultural capitals, being the further divided in three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized. The first type of capital considered in the framework, the social capital, is composed of both the one developed and acquired in the entrepreneur's country of origin, as well as the one accumulated in the country he/she has chosen to start a business at. It consists on the entrepreneur's networks, reputation, role models, business team, family, and so on. The second type of capital, the cultural capital, can be expressed by the entrepreneur's qualification/knowledge, experience, and possession of business-related materials, among others.

The presented entrepreneurship process model, which was based on Hisrich and Peters (2002) model, was developed using the authors' four main steps of the entrepreneurship process, but illustrated by the influence of each type of Bourdieu's types of capital recognized by the author as present in each of these moments. The first step is called "Innovation", and is related to the entrepreneur's opportunity seeking. It involves the entrepreneur's knowledge and information possession, as well as the available business-related material he/she has got (books, articles, newspapers, etc.), which, combined with the opportunities and networks he/she possesses, will determine how the business idea will be shaped. When speaking about innovation, an entrepreneurial idea is also linked to its capacity of being in harmony with the social, cultural and competitive contexts in which the business will be developed. The second step, called "Triggering event", is when the business idea is turned into a business plan, taking into account the main variables related to making the business happen. Apart from the entrepreneur's knowledge, information and business-related materials, his/her experience will also be an important variable to properly develop the business structure and prepare it for the market. Besides, when developing a business plan, one must consider the basis of the involved resources, such as both the team and the entrepreneur's reputation. During the third step it is time for the idea "Implementation", meaning bringing the business to the market and facing reality. This is a major moment for the enterprise, as the outcomes foreseen by the entrepreneur and his/her team might not be exactly as planned, demanding quick solutions to deal with these problems. At this moment, the entrepreneur's social capital plays an even more important role, as the "rules of the game" can be hidden from the outsiders, bringing the need of good connections and personal placement within the aimed field to understand these rules. The fourth and last step is when the "Growth" of the business becomes the main focus, in

order to seek its maintenance in the market. To achieve this goal, strategic choices must be planned and applied by the entrepreneur and his/her team, using not only their knowledge, information and experience, but also their networks and influence in the field.

Coherent with the literature analysis, it is assumed that the entrepreneurial process cannot be sufficiently understood from the rational model of choice, which presents a reductionist vision of the economic process. It is understood that the entrepreneur's agency capacity is conditioned by the social and cultural structures in which he/she is acting. However, one must remember that the entrepreneur's habitus enables him/her to develop strategies to overcome these constraints. Thus, this framework will allow the understanding of the interplay between agency and structure of the entrepreneurial process.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 TYPE OF RESEARCH

This is an exploratory study, which aims to clarify, develop and modify ideas and concepts, through the development of more specific problems or hypotheses that could be analyzed in further studies (GIL, 2007). As the chosen approach of international entrepreneurship is still scarcely adopted, this type of study is the most suitable one to fill this research gap. Besides, this consists in a qualitative study, dealing with meanings (DEY, 2005) and aiming to understand, describe and explain a phenomenon (FLICK, 2009). Different from a quantitative study, it means that the main concern of the researcher is not having numerical representativeness of the data, but to deepen the understanding of an organization, social group, trajectory or institution (GOLDENBERG, 2001). Differing from most of the international entrepreneurship studies, which mainly use a quantitative approach, the qualitative characteristic of the current study will enable a better and deeper understanding of the topic.

In order to conduct this study, a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) was developed, enabling a deeper understanding of the chosen subject and justifying the scope of this study, prior to the data collection. Adding to other chosen relevant literature, a theoretical background was developed to introduce and display the broader and more specific subject. Besides, this is also a cross-cultural study, which enables the understanding of differences between different cultures (TIESSEN, 1997; MUELLER; ZAPKAU; SCWENS, 2014) and, in this case, of entrepreneurs working in a different country from the one they are from.

3.2 RESEARCH STRATEGY

This is a study where the individual cases of four entrepreneurs will be analyzed through the study of their businesses and, specially, their personal narratives. To that purpose, research techniques were applied, consisting on observation and semi-structured interviews, the last aiming at turning the interviewee's implicit knowledge into explicit, through previously elaborated questions (FLICK, 2009). The interviews, with durations of approximately one hour each, were recorded and later transcribed. The observations took part before, during and after the interviews, considering both individual aspects of the interviewees (e.g. clothing, behavior, etc.) and the characteristics that constituted the businesses (e.g. decoration). The data collection was conducted during a period of 3 months,

both in the cities of London and Florianópolis, with the interviews being developed in the entrepreneurs' restaurants. After this data gathering, the content analysis technique was applied, according to Bardin's (1977) methodology, more specifically his categorical analysis. The content analysis consists on a series of communication techniques, which uses systematic and objective procedures to describe the message's content (BARDIN, 1977). This was conducted in three steps: firstly, a pre-analysis was developed through a superficial reading of the data; secondly, the material was categorized through an in-depth analysis of the gathered information; finally, it was possible to produce and display the results by interpreting the previous data.

The primary data was collected with immigrant entrepreneurs from Brazil and England working in the culinary field, more specifically restaurants. This choice of field was mainly due to its multiculturalism, considering the several different influences on its businesses around the world, as well as all of the cultural and social influences that can be seen and analyzed in such ventures, enabling the development of a high quality research in this area. The selection of cases to be a part of the interview's corpus was according to previously selected characteristics, which comprised of entrepreneurs of: businesses with between one and ten years of existence; businesses that do not attend ethnic niches; entrepreneurs coming from countries that have a different stage of development from the one they had started their businesses at; businesses that have a small size; entrepreneurs coming from cultures with a high reputation for their food.

3.3 OPERATIONAL AND CONSTITUTIVE DEFINITIONS OF TERMS AND VARIABLES

The concepts of entrepreneurship and entrepreneur adopted in the present study are the ones developed by Joseph Schumpeter. In his view, entrepreneurship consists of making new combinations of forces and materials that are already available. Besides that, the economist considers the entrepreneur as the person responsible for innovating and bringing products with utility to the market, therefore changing the current market scenario (SCHUMPETER, 2008). According to the author, an entrepreneur is a leader who dares to think outside of the box and faces calculated risks. In the present case, the studied entrepreneurs will be immigrant people who have started a new venture from one to ten years ago, which do not belong to an ethnic niche market and that are established in an economically and culturally distinct country from the one the entrepreneur originally comes from.

The entrepreneurial process is discussed here according to the Hisrich and Peters (2002) definition as a four-stages activity. The first step consists on opportunity seeking and analysis, which involves the variables that are related to how the entrepreneur has developed his/her business idea (personal knowledge, networks, life experience, etc.). In a second moment, the preliminary idea is transformed into a business plan, when the entrepreneur will develop the strategies and lay down detailed information about his future business. This will be analyzed through the identification of the resources he/she had when developing the business plan, which were the steps during this period, among others. Later on comes the moment to bring the idea into the market, step that involves the strategies the entrepreneur has adopted in order to achieve that goal (personal knowledge, resources, networks, etc). Finally, when the business is already operating in the market, it is time to plan its expansion. This step involves the need of knowledge about the current market scenario in which the business is operating, developing a well thought growth plan that will consider the resources needed to make this happen, how the entrepreneur is going to acquire them (if necessary), and so on.

One of the main concepts addressed in this study are Bourdieu's types of capital, more specifically the cultural and social capitals concepts. Regarding the former, it can be divided in three forms: objectified, embodied and institutionalized. The first can be analyzed through the entrepreneur's possession of materials such as books and equipment, mainly related to his/her business. Does he/she have business books at home or any material about the country that he/she has chosen to start a business at? The second form can be seen in the knowledge possessed by the entrepreneur, acquired in his/her country of origin, for example. If he/she speaks other languages, what is his/her business domain, etc. Finally, the third form can be analyzed through courses or trainings that the entrepreneur could have undertook in his/her country of origin that are related to his/her current business, as well as his/her recognized business experience. The entrepreneur's social capital can be identified through his/her networks that might influence on his/her entrepreneurial activities, the team available for his/her business, the opportunities he/she has had in the past (for example, the opportunity to spend time acquiring cultural capital instead of working to help his/her family), and so on.

4 DATA ANALYSIS

Aiming at answering the problem and objectives of this dissertation, a categorical analysis of the previously gathered data was developed, which, according to Bardin (1977), takes a text in its totality and passes it through a classification sieve, considering the presence (or lack there of) of sense items. This choice was made based on the fact that categorical analysis can be considered as one of the best alternatives to study one's opinions, beliefs and attitudes through the use of qualitative data. Firstly, the case studies will be described, followed by an in-depth analysis of their contents, similarities and differences.

4.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE BUSINESSES AND THEIR ENTREPRENEURS' TRAJECTORIES

4.1.1 Entrepreneur 1 (Peruvian living in England)

The first entrepreneur was born in Peru. A developing country, Peru is currently experiencing the highest economic growth in Latin America, having its beginning in the 90's, when according to Peruvian economists the country's economy started to scape the previous extremely high inflation rates by restricting the monetary offer and releasing the prices¹. National culture has influences from Inca, Indian, European, Asian and African cultures, which make it a colorful and distinct country, increasingly famous for its exotic and delicious food, that presents the combination of such cultural influences.

He spent all his childhood and adolescence in Peru with his family. They did not have much money, but there he lived a very happy life, surrounded by good relationships with friends and family, as well as good educational opportunities that his mother provided to him. From a young age his family taught him how to cook, specially his grandmother, who owned a restaurant where he sometimes helped her with gastronomic activities.

“We used to have a cement floor. We were poor, but happy. I didn't actually know how the wealthy families were, but I could sense the money, the travelling, everything. And I started thinking: ‘if they can live like this, if they can do something, I also can’”.

Still in his country of origin, he undertook a computer science short course and worked for a few months at his city's airport – soon quitting the position due to his professional discontentment. Seeing that he would not achieve his dream by staying in Peru,

¹ <https://gestion.pe/economia/decada-90-voz-cuatro-economistas-peruanos-152586>

he moved to Brazil by the time he was 18, where he lived for a year working as a waiter. Still looking for his professional realization, he soon moved to London, the culturally rich metropolis where, according to him, many opportunities are waiting for you.

Despite all uncertainties brought by the decision of the Britain Exit (BREXIT) of the European Union (EU) in 2016, England still has one of the strongest currencies in the world – the British pound –, is part of the G7 and has the fifth world largest Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It has long been a common and attractive destination for immigrants from around the world, mainly drawn to it for educational and professional reasons. Its capital, London, is the home of several different colors, nationalities and habits. As described in a The Guardian article², “London is the smell of Pakistani cooking through the window of a Haringey council house, it’s the reggae coming from my neighbor’s garden and it’s a primary school newsletter translated into 11 languages”. It is impossible that one visits this international city without noticing several distinct cultural influences throughout its territory, giving the feeling that you are in several countries in the same place. Besides, England’s foreign-born population more than doubled from 1993 to 2015, period with extremely high inflows of foreigners who decided to move to the country. London represents almost 40% of this number, consisting on the most attractive city for foreigners to restart their lives³.

This Peruvian entrepreneur moved to England between those years with false illusions (regarding what he was going to find), but also with the idea to learn English and develop his professional skills. For example, he had already studied Hospitality and Management Tourism back in Peru, but such qualification was not recognized in the new country. In addition to the fact that he struggled at the beginning with the language, the Peruvian immigrant had to turn to low-skilled jobs to make a living – such as cleaning buildings, selling coffee on the streets with his brother and working in some restaurant under-skilled positions.

He formally studied English, and informally learned other languages by talking with immigrants from other countries, who consisted on his main social circles. This formal student status was crucial for his immigration to England, and due to the fact that he was having trouble finding a formal job in the British market, he had to continue studying for a long time in order to keep his student visa (he studied Human Resources, Business Development, International Business, and studied again Hospitality Management Tourism. To this day – after around 20 years – he keeps on studying.

² <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/28/white-people-smug-leaving-london>

³ <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/#kp1>

After many years, he got a job at the Hilton Hotel chain, where he worked for about seven years, culminating at the operations manager position. Not fully professionally satisfied, he decided to take a risk and do something that was more meaningful for him. That was when he began thinking about opening his own business. Considering what he liked and knew how to do, he noticed that there were not many Peruvian restaurants in London – actually, by that time, there was only one (where he had previously worked). Taking into consideration the high quality of the Peruvian food and his cooking passion, he thought that this was the perfect opportunity to finally do something he was really passionate about. In addition, he regarded the prosperous economy of the city, where he thought it would be a good place to start a venture. Thus, after having traveled a lot around Europe and visiting many Peruvian restaurants, he started his journey as an immigrant entrepreneur.

“I like the place that gave me opportunities. I’m very grateful for arriving here and starting over. I did a lot of cleaning of houses and buildings, I didn’t speak English... however I learned very fast because I had to. I worked in a lot of places. I worked with my brother selling coffee on the streets. I talked a lot, learned, studied, always with big dreams. I had no idea I could be what I am today”.

Realizing that it would take a lot more money to open his restaurant than he previously expected, he had to start with a small business in the Camden Market, where he began selling Peruvian typical food at a low price. The competition was very high within that Market, where more famous and established food options – such as Chinese and Italian – initially compromised his success. After a short while, the business started to get better known and more visited, mainly receiving natives as customers, who started to come back on a regular basis. During that period, he met a Peruvian woman who also wanted to open a Peruvian restaurant, so after discussing practical matters they decided to jointly pursue such goal. However, after a certain time, when he had already found a place to open their restaurant as well as sold his little place at the Market, the woman gave up the plan. Extremely worried about this complicated situation, the entrepreneur decided to go on with that entrepreneurial idea, and with the support of his family, he managed to open his Peruvian restaurant, which he has been running for the past 6 years.

This opening process was quite standard, as he says that the main barrier of opening a business in England might be the lack of language knowledge and understanding of the necessary documents to be dealt with. It started as a simple establishment, being rearranged and improved throughout the years. After some time, he bought his family share of the

restaurant and became the sole owner of the place. Apart from his family, his friends also influenced the venture, such as the Mexican restaurant-owner with whom he constantly talked about their businesses aspects. Despite such indirect participations, he likes to take decisions by himself, tending to centralize the main decisions on him.

He strongly reflects his cultural influences in several aspects of his venture, focusing on what he believes is important and reflects his personality. This can be seen in the restaurant menu, its decoration, the music played during business hours, among other aspects. Only a small number of its clients are Peruvian, and this is consistent with the customers he wants to attract: a variety of culturally-different individuals who are interested in trying something different from what they usually see in London. His clientele indeed comes from different cultures and also from England – supporting his observation that many of the city’s natives are fascinated about different experiences, such as those related to food.

Even considering himself realized with his entrepreneurial pathway so far, he is currently considering selling the business. As a restaurant-owner life requires extended hours of hard work, he is not being able to enjoy his positive business results, as he does not have much time for it. Thus, he wants to pursue a less time-consuming job, enabling him and his husband to have a better life-quality than the one they have today and being able to enjoy quality time together.

4.1.2 Entrepreneur 2 (Brazilian living in England)

The second entrepreneur was born in the hot and joyful Northeastern part of Brazil. The richest country of Latin America, Brazil consists in a nation with the ninth greatest GDP of the world. Despite its still developing situation, the country is currently passing through one of its biggest economic and political crisis, affecting its development and making many of its inhabitants to look for better life opportunities abroad. Between the 90’s and the beginning of the 21st century, when the entrepreneur moved to England, the country was still experiencing an unfavorable economic situation. Brazil fell from the 8th position of world GDP in the 80’s to the 13rd position in the beginning of the new century, accompanied by the huge increase of unemployment rates, which increased over six times in such period⁴. This motivated a good share of the Brazilian population to move abroad in order to pursue better lives, phenomena greatly seen in the 80’s and from then on. Full of internal diversity and

⁴ <http://www.redebrasilatual.com.br/economia/2015/02/a-desconcentracao-da-riqueza-nacional-nos-anos-2000-329.html>

many outsider influences, Brazil is a colorful country with many traditions. One can travel throughout many of its regions and truly believe they are visiting different nations, as each part of the country has its individual influences and traditions, which are clearly apparent in all its large-sized and exotic dishes.

This Brazilian entrepreneur had a great childhood. Although having to move more times than he wanted to, he had good friends and a good education in private schools. Living most of his childhood in a Northeastern Brazilian city, where he had available beaches and woods to play in with his friends, he frequently – and happily – had to travel to visit his mother, who lived in another city not far from his.

When he was 12, he and his brother went living with his mother at this other city, where they continued having a good education. Everything changed by the time he was 15 and his girlfriend got pregnant. After his daughter was born, he had to start working to provide to his new family and tried to continue on studying, but by the end of high school he had to drop out due to the amount of responsibilities he had.

“All of my family had an entrepreneurial profile. Nobody studied, but they were those kind of people who were naturally intelligent, outspoken, knowing how to do a bit of everything. I use tis everyday”.

He had a great influence from his family during his childhood. From his mother educative and life lessons, and from his father as well, but especially matters related to the professional sphere (he was also an entrepreneur with a not so developed educational background). His older brother was a role model for him, strongly influencing him on his daily activities and hobbies as a child. His daughter also had a great influence on him, forcing him to mature at an early age, as also to start cooking at home for their survival. Until he was 18, he and his daughter both lived with the entrepreneur’s mother, who also helped raising her, especially after the mother of his child was no longer in a relationship with him.

He started studying communication at a private university, but gave up after realizing that he did not enjoy the field that much. After this, he undertook a computer science short course back at his hometown, where he was invited for a job with computer maintenance. Not fully professionally realized, a couple of years later he moved to the diverse and attracting London in order to study English for six months. After a while, he decided to permanently stay, noticing that the opportunities he had there were far better than back in Brazil.

In the new country, he had to start working in an under-skilled job position for a few years, as his Brazilian Information Technology (IT) formal knowledge was not recognized in

the new country. Starting by washing dishes at a French restaurant, he informally learned the language by talking to his colleagues – and to the French woman soon to become his wife. At his English school, he also learned Spanish, as many of his colleagues came from Latin countries. This was before he started working again with computer maintenance – this time, however, informally, for friends and close individuals. It was from one of these clients that he got the opportunity to open his Brazilian restaurant.

Not having the idea of opening a Brazilian restaurant himself, the venture has its origins from the offering of a place from a former Portuguese computer client. He was decided to sell the cafeteria he had and insisted for the Brazilian immigrant to buy the place and start his own business, such as a Brazilian restaurant – which, according to him, was missing in that part of London. The Brazilian entrepreneur had always enjoyed cooking and had already tried to open a pub with another friend, albeit the plan did not work out. He was frequently motivated by his friends and family to indeed open a restaurant because of such cooking skills, so after discussing the subject with his mother, he decided to take the risk. He sold his motorcycles, borrowed some money from his mother and finally opened the restaurant – the process happened on a short period of around five months. According to entrepreneur, this was due to the less bureaucratic English procedures. In order to be better prepared for running a business, he undertook some basic business-related short courses, such as accountancy and business management. However, his former wife – who he met in London - also helped him with the managerial activities, contributing with her existent business experience.

“If I have had a management background, regarding office activities and so on, that would have helped me a lot. I suffer until today with this, having to find efficient people that can do the things the way I want them to be done”.

With the glad coincidence of the approach of the soccer World Cup and with an inviting atmosphere, since the beginning the business was a success with the public. Surprisingly having the unfortunate necessity to move the venture location to where it is currently situated – and losing money with that –, the business has only developed since then. The restaurant stands out from other Brazilian establishments by providing a different service (e.g. live music, not charging to get in, occasional music lessons) in a neighborhood with a strong Portuguese influence.

Relying on sources such as the Internet, business newspapers and regular news, the Latin American entrepreneur updates the business when he deems necessary. He is constantly

looking at a few other businesses, searching for any new ideas that he could apply into his own venture. Despite being an individual entrepreneur, he receives help from other people to deal with aspects that he is not able to handle. He has an accountant who deals with the financial aspects of the restaurant, and an English business-colleague who has a vast managerial experience. Besides, his family and Latin friends also exert some influence on his entrepreneurial life, as he is always open for their points of view and suggestions.

Only a small number of his clients are Brazilian, who usually go to the restaurant on Saturdays, when they serve the famous Brazilian dish *feijoada*. Most of the public come from different cultures, including England itself. His more frequent customers are indeed English, going to his restaurant usually after their work.

The entrepreneur brought to his restaurant the Brazilian creativeness and spontaneity, which can be clearly seen inside its environment, as well as some of its regional characteristics that can be seen in the restaurant's menu. They offer daily live Brazilian music and have a colorful decoration, showing what a real Brazilian establishment looks like. Nowadays, however, he is considering either selling his business or keeping it functioning, but moving to a warmer country. Both scenarios aim to find something less time and effort consuming to do, in order to have a better life quality, probably in a place that reminds him of the Brazilian atmosphere and climate.

4.1.3 Entrepreneur 3 (French living in Brazil)

The third entrepreneur was born in the Northern part of France. A developed country that occupies the sixth position on the GDP world ranking – just below the United Kingdom (UK) –, France might not be growing as much as to expect the soon return of a “*belle époque*”, but according to a The Guardian's article⁵ its future's expectations are a bit better than the ones foreseen for the post-BREXIT UK, as “unemployment is now at its lowest since the Eurozone crisis, inflation is under control, and business surveys reveal the best confidence levels in a decade”. Around the time the entrepreneur left the country, the nation wasn't experiencing any important economic crisis, which might have influenced his decision to leave his home country. A nation internationally known for its cuisine, France has the most renowned culinary schools of the world, attracting professionals from all around the globe to learn from their high-quality chefs. It has an international reputation of an elegant and high-

⁵ Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/jul/30/france-economy-macron-better-than-britains>

quality food, served in small amounts but with a lot of flavor. From pastry to exotic – and sometimes curious – food options, one can't deny that the French cuisine has a long and solid tradition all around the world.

The French entrepreneur had a very happy childhood, growing up in the countryside of Northern France. His parents and grandparents were entrepreneurs, and he was always helping them with their daily business activities. His parents, who owned a little market – which sold bread, vegetables, fruits and other goods –, have always stressed to him how important working was. He still performed children activities, such as playing with his friends, but he had the obligation of helping his parents with the business on a daily basis. When he was 10, he and his family moved to the South of the country to get a better climate, still continuing hard working and enabling the family to have a good life.

“My parents worked on the weekends, during Christmas – on the 24 and on the 25, so we celebrated it and exchanged gifts on another day -... but this was something that never traumatized me”.

He studied in a good school, always being an average student and not devoting much effort to be a top one. After school he started studying at an *École de Commerce* (i.e. school of economics), but quickly dropped out for not enjoying the program. After this initial adult outcome, his professional career started through entrepreneurship, influenced by his parents and with their financial support, as he pursued his dream of opening his own venture. He started selling *crêpes* and ice cream, not earning much money but happy with what he was doing. After six years running this business he decided to sell it and try something new, something that enabled him to expand his knowledge and experiences. Thus, he started working in a French Hotel chain.

Starting from the bottom and making his way to the top inside the company, he worked for that chain for over 15 years. During that period, he worked for the hotel in several different countries, where he informally learned how to speak their languages. During one of these professional periods abroad, when working in the vivid and welcoming Brazil, he got to know the island of Florianópolis, the tropical and sporty city where he decided he wanted to live when he went out of the hotel business. After spotting the opportunity of opening a specific business in the island, he moved to Florianópolis to open his own French restaurant and go back to his entrepreneurial life.

He decided to open a business in Florianópolis not only because the city was in a prosperous period of growth and full of opportunities, but also due to his perception that it

was a great place to live. By that time there were limited options of culturally different food establishments and none from the French cuisine, so he thought it was a great opportunity to open something French.

With his knowledge and experience both from working with his family, having his own small venture and travelling to several international environments while in the hotel business, he conducted a lot of research before developing a business plan and opening his venture. During such preparation he went back to France and spent six months in Paris studying French cuisine in a high-quality school - where he got the spot through a friend connection -, in order to update his culinary knowledge. After that, he found the place for the business and went to São Paulo to buy all the material he was going to need at the beginning.

The business started in a smaller place, only serving food to be taken away. With time and by the demand of its customers to have a structure where they could eat the food at the place, he put some tables around the restaurant. Even with his research showing that the Brazilian population was curious to try a different type of food – especially from an internationally famous cuisine –, at the beginning there was a great cultural shock regarding the specificities of the French cuisine and the different tastes of the Brazilian population. Trying to reduce such estrangement, in the first years the restaurant also served some non-French food options (e.g. *saltenhas* and *empanadas*), soon dropping this decision when already a bit established, and moving to its new and current location. Nevertheless, along the years this negative situation has changed drastically, at the point that most of today's restaurant clientele barely complain about its food, always going back eager to keep on trying different things. The entrepreneur believes that is due to the increase of people traveling abroad and getting to know different types of food, as well as the increase of food-related TV shows, which incentive them to want to try something new.

The current location of the restaurant is a lot larger than the previous one, and was carefully developed for the clients to mainly eat at the establishment, experiencing a true French moment. The business was developed a little bit at a time, as it was possible and according to the entrepreneur's beliefs. He considers this is extremely important, putting one's own perceptions and tastes in a business, in order to make it unique, different from the competition. For example, he and his head chef – who moved to Florianópolis by the entrepreneur's business proposition – are frequently trying new dishes, and they only sell the ones they truly enjoyed. His employees also take part on these tastings, but with the main goal to make them feel welcomed and part of the team – not so much regarding important food

decisions. Said tastings happen on a regular basis, in order to provide his customers with constantly different gastronomic experiences.

While occasionally using Internet resources to update his business, he mainly trusts on his yearly visits to French restaurants – which usually belong to some of his French friends – to know what are the novelties within the business sector. He is passionate about his country's traditional cuisine, thus he believes there is no better place to get ideas from than in France itself, from people who only work with such type of food.

“I have several friends who are professional chefs in Paris. When I visit them I ask: ‘what’s new? What are the current novelties?’. Because over there everything is more dynamic, the competition is a lot stronger, so the restaurants have to be very updated”.

The entrepreneur believes in the importance of working with something you like, then profits will consequently come. He brought his beloved French culture to Brazil by trying to offer a true French restaurant, sticking only to French-related dishes, to a certain manner to serve the wines, focusing on quality rather than on quantity, as well as offering typical music and decoration. What one could find if traveling to France.

The entrepreneur doesn't believe that doing business in Brazil is much different than in France. As he was already familiar in France with the bureaucratic procedures that opening a venture requires, in Brazil he did not have much difficulty in this aspect. If having to compare both procedures, he believes that in France they might be a bit stricter than in Brazil. Besides, his long experience in the hotel chain also enabled him to successfully deal with the daily managerial activities that running a business requires, such as resources management. He came from France with a certain amount of cash and was decided to only spend what he had to open the business.

Regarding the influences on his restaurant, he does not believe that many aspects of his business had to do with outside influences. Despite the fact that he constantly receives suggestions and ideas from different sources (e.g. friends, customers, etc.), he likes taking the final decisions himself. Nevertheless, the support he gets from the restaurant accountant and marketing team – always guided by the entrepreneur's preferences and demands – is considerably important for the overall success of the business. In addition, having a trustful and serious relation with his suppliers allows him to buy the best ingredients and sell the best food possible. Another important fact is that he increasingly opened his mind and tried to develop a closer relation with his costumers, which he nowadays believes is of extreme

importance – to understand what they want, who they are, what they think about the restaurant.

All these influences and changes were increasingly happening as he adapted to the Brazilian culture and understood what its population wanted. Even sticking to his culinary origins and many of his cultural perspectives, he soon understood what was necessary to have a successful business in Brazil.

4.1.4 Entrepreneur 4 (Italian living in Brazil)

The fourth entrepreneur was born in the “*dolce vita*” of the Italian lands. Around the time the entrepreneur and her family decided to leave their home country, the nation was experiencing a long lasting economic crisis, which got worst in the beginning of the 21st century when the country decided to join the euro zone⁶. A developed country that has recently passed Brazil in the world GDP ranking and assumed its eighth position, it consists on an inviting nation with welcoming inhabitants, who have a true passion for its food. As well as France, Italy has a long tradition in the culinary field, differing from the former in the way they deal with their meals and how they enjoy it. In Brazil, having spread its traditions especially to the Southern part of the country – region to where many Italians have immigrated in the past -, Italians are commonly seen sitting for hours around a table surrounded by many friends and family, enjoying quality-time with one another while tasting tasteful and large-sized traditional meals. Its food can be seen in most parts of the world, from fast food to elegant restaurants, always carrying the welcoming feeling of its natives.

The Italian entrepreneur grew up in an orphanage in Italy, as her mother couldn't afford raising her (a common situation back then in the country). She had a happy childhood, as the orphanage offered her a good education, taught her good manners and took good care of her. Over there she learned how to cook, work with crafts, among other things. At the age of 15, during her school vacations, she spent her time with a family who had a restaurant, where she helped them with their daily activities and learned more about the Italian cuisine – specially the one related to the region she was at, which is famous for its delicious and plentiful food. During that period, she was going to beauty school, where she studied for 3 years, and on her vacations she worked with that family, with whom she stayed and started to live for a little while after finishing studying. Influenced by the place she was living at and its

⁶ <https://www.theguardian.com/business/blog/2016/dec/05/italy-euro-economy-competitiveness>

famous wine, around that time she undertook a sommelier course, learning more about the beverage and the Italian gastronomy.

“The Pavese gastronomy is well known, They prepare *polenta*, *gallotti*, very well served meals for the cold countries. It was during that period that I started learning how to cook, understanding several things about our country”.

By the time she was around 19 years old, after finishing beauty school and leaving her current family, she independently began traveling around Europe as a beauty expert, and on each country she passed by she learnt more about its culture – specially the culinary traditions. After a while going from country to country, she moved to London to study English, where she kept on working as a makeup artist. At the English capital, she lived with a British family of two university professors and their daughter. She did not enjoy much her time in the international metropolis, seeing she could not relate to their “unflavored” and “simple” food – back then –, as well as some other cultural shocks she experienced. Despite that, she still lived there for a while before moving back to Italy.

Back to her home country and already married, her husband used to run a cocktail bar in Milan, where she helped with business activities, while still working on her field. She mainly helped him preparing the snacks and meals served on the bar, always trying to put a special flavor on it. After about five years, they moved to the US due to the invitation of two friends to open an Italian restaurant in Atlanta. What she did not know was that this was her career’s breaking point. Not working anymore in her field at the new country, she soon got pregnant with her first child and did not work for the next three to four years in order to take care of the baby boy. When the family decided to move back to Italy, she got pregnant with her second child and was not yet working full time, only doing small jobs, such as cooking at home and selling her food, as well as doing eventual makeups for close friends.

She still didn’t have a true passion for cooking, but she enjoyed developing her culinary skills as she could. After a while, her husband started running a craft brewery, where she went to work with him, quitting other jobs elsewhere. For the next 10 years she learned more about wheat, malt and other beer-related ingredients, complementing her already existing knowledge about wheat preparation. However, things started to change with the arrival of the Italian economic crisis. Even running a still successful business, the family decided to leave the country again, as their professional future in the country was not looking quite prosperous. With the incentive of her husband, who knew that the Brazilian economy was growing and that it needed qualified labor, they sold their brewery and decided to start

new lives in the also expansive country of Brazil – more specifically, in the city of Florianópolis, a touristic island that catches the attention of many visitors.

They struggled at the beginning. Her husband had a hard time accepting the new country, and the family had difficulty to succeed in business. They started with a small Italian coffee shop and *bistrot*, similar to what one could find in Milan. Unfortunately, the beginning of their immigrant entrepreneurship process in Brazil came with cultural shocks, language barriers, high business costs and the overall customers' perception of what a coffee shop should look like – not used to anything such as this new Italian venture. However, she believes that the fact there are many Italian descendants in the city helped her family to better fit in with the new society with time.

Since the beginning, the different views she and her husband had about what a successful business should look like were a burden. While she believed in the importance of selling healthy homemade food, her husband had a strictly financial view, focusing more on the profits than in what they were selling. In addition to the difficulty they were having to maintain the business, she told her husband she wanted to open a true Italian and high-quality pizzeria right away, before they had to declare bankruptcy. Even without the support of her husband – who later started working in another field –, they closed the coffee shop and she inaugurated an Italian gourmet pizzeria.

“My gastronomy concept was to always prepare healthy food, and not something only to be sold. I never had this thing of running after money. To me it was always about the joy of preparing something homemade, made with love and all of that”.

With the cultural perception that in Italy most of the population loves pizza – but a high-quality one, which she did not find in Florianópolis –, added to her knowledge and experience with such type of food, she strongly believed in the future of this venture. She invited an Italian friend and pizza expert to help her in the first couple of years of the business as a business partner. Even after her business partner had to go back to Italy because of his family, she continued running the restaurant by herself, constantly working on developing her culinary skills and improving the product she offered. By then, she was truly passionate about what she was doing, after a while starting to win world pizza championships and increasingly attracting more customers to her restaurant.

The process of opening the business was not, in itself, much of a challenge to the Italian immigrant, as she already had experience with such procedures, and the formalities of opening a venture in Brazil were considerably less severe than the ones they have in Italy.

Nevertheless, since the beginning she has had problems regarding her suppliers, as she constantly struggles to find good quality ones, having to settle with the best ones she has available – but which still do not have the high standards she wanted to.

The entrepreneur believes that if someone does what he/she loves and believes in, it is not necessary to keep track of the competition. Still, she sometimes undertakes short courses related to her field to keep on improving the product she is selling, as well as relying on her qualified social relations - Italian professionals from the field with whom she can discuss the field's most recent innovations and other related topics. She delivers a high quality and healthy product – view that was further confirmed by the increase, over the years, of these types of food-related businesses in the city -, made accordingly to the Italian principals of natural and gently prepared food, a meal that will bring people together to enjoy one another. This also relates to the extroversive and casual profile of the Brazilian population, only helping her business to achieve success in the country.

“Everything in the Italian cuisine is predominantly prepared with our own hands. Thus, the food is never treated with violence. This is where our quality comes from. And, you can know, why my pizza is so good. Why? Because there is a specific sequence of placing the ingredients. Over here there isn't such knowledge about the ingredients sequence. This is one of the reasons why food in Italy isn't harmful for our bodies”.

She has brought her Italian vivid personality and influences to her professional life, and they are also clearly apparent in her restaurant's atmosphere and on the way she runs the business. However, even considering the similarities of Italian and Brazilian cultures, and her overall happiness of her life in Florianópolis, she still struggles with the Brazilian lack of cultural and educational interests, which were much stronger back in Italy – a cultural shock that she believed made several other Italians go back to Italy.

Regarding other people's involvement with the venture, the entrepreneur states she mainly deals with the business decisions individually, but she cannot deny the influence of her Italian social relations, especially from those who work in the field, as well as the help of a Brazilian journalist friend, who since the beginning helps her with the business' marketing. She has a good relationship with her customers, who in general enjoy understanding how the pizza was made and like to learn Italian curiosities about her pizzas. Sometimes there is a conflict with the current culinary knowledge of her customers and her “different” types of pizza – made with ingredients and in ways that some of the customers are unaware of -, but

this situation is increasingly changing, as the overall Brazilian population expands its culinary knowledge over the years.

4.2 ENTREPRENEURS' CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITALS

Each entrepreneur has different types and amounts of accumulated capitals, which differently influenced their entrepreneurship processes as immigrants. When talking about their cultural capitals (which can be found in the embodied, objectified and institutionalized forms), the most relevant and influential in such journeys was the one found in the embodied form. Consisting on – but not limited to - their accumulated knowledge, experiences, values and traditions passed from their families and friends, this type of cultural capital played an important role on each moment of the immigrant's entrepreneurship journeys, however differently among each individual situation. The cultural capital in the institutionalized form had different influences especially between the Latin and European entrepreneurs. While in the first cases both entrepreneurs had problems regarding the recognition of their institutionalized capitals in the new country, in the last two cases their certified cultural capitals were not only fully recognized in the new country, but they have also played an important role in their immigrant entrepreneurship processes. In the objectified form, the four entrepreneur's capitals included materials related to their fields (e.g. magazines, newspapers, decoration), differing among each case on their types, amount and influential level.

The social capital involved in the immigrant entrepreneurship pathways also played important roles in their entrepreneurship processes, differing on their types and levels of influence among each entrepreneur. In the cases of the Latin immigrants, most of the social capitals that influenced their entrepreneurship processes were centralized in their Latin social relations, including their families (who have also immigrated to England or that are still in their home countries) and other Latin immigrants. On the other hand, the European entrepreneurs heavily relied on their social capitals accumulated in their home countries, which mainly consisted on skilled individuals who have great knowledge and experience in the culinary and restaurant field. The Italian entrepreneur, however, was able to develop an important social capital in the new country, as she receives until today great support from a Brazilian journalist. This social capital has deeply influenced her business' success. At the same time, the Latin entrepreneurs were not able to develop such local social capital in London, which could have helped their entrepreneurship processes.

4.2.1 Entrepreneur 1

During his childhood and adolescence, the entrepreneur studied in good schools, as his mother understood and worshiped the importance of providing a good education for her children, even though she did not have many resources for that. That gave him a good educational basis, as well as provide him the incentive to always pursue the further accumulation of knowledge, understanding it would always be worthy and important for his future. Besides, as during his childhood and adolescence he was surrounded by a wealthy social group, he always dreamed about one day being able to live his life as abundantly as his friends, being decided to do whatever it took to achieve that goal. This is also clear by the fact that he first moved to London to study English.

Regarding his formal accumulated knowledge, the entrepreneur faced problems in London, both to have them recognized and because of professional discrimination. This not only made him pursue again the same knowledge acquisition, but also made him realize that he should keep on acquiring further knowledge at the new country. Despite these difficulties, his embodied cultural capital of the Peruvian gastronomy had a great value in England, as it consisted in a scarce type of capital in the country, and was an important asset for him to pursue entrepreneurship as a restaurant owner. This cultural capital was accumulated from the vast contact with culinary experiences his family provided to him (grandmother, mother and father), at home or at his grandmother's former restaurant, as well as informally cooking at home for his friends and formerly working in a Peruvian restaurant in London.

His broad international experience helped him to avoid suffering so much with cultural shocks, but most of the social circle the entrepreneur mentioned consists of culturally similar individuals – such as his Peruvian family and other Latin immigrants. This points out that his social “comfort zone” appears to mainly exclude the natives and, therefore, supports the discrimination aspect coherent with the literature. This might also explain the fact that the entrepreneur did not mention using local formal financing sources – which he might have had difficulty to acquire as an immigrant, or even was not aware of. In addition to his own resources, he only looked for financial support with his Peruvian family, which was crucial for his beginning as an immigrant entrepreneur.

4.2.2. Entrepreneur 2

As the previous case, this entrepreneur has also had a good educational background before his adult life, as his parents understood the importance of providing a good education for him and his brother. Thus, as most of the Brazilian cases, that meant studying in private schools. His educational pathway had an unexpected change with the arrival of his daughter during his adolescence, forcing him to already enter the job market and compromising his short-term further accumulation of knowledge. This situation, albeit, lead him to acquire, at an early age, stronger commitment levels and maturity, which made him acquire other types of knowledge and experiences.

Apart from his parents cooking influences, he quickly developed such skills while having to cook daily for him and his daughter. Consequently developing affection for gastronomy, this accumulated capital further influenced him to pursue a career in the restaurant industry.

His knowledge accumulation in Brazil continued as he begun studying at a private university – even if for a short time before quitting the program – and further undertaking a short computer course, rendering him a job invitation to work in the IT field for a few years. However, not being satisfied with his professional and life situation then, he decided to move to London in order to learn English and later think about his future opportunities. Already living in the city, he soon realized that his Brazilian formal knowledge on IT was not recognized in England, only enabling him to still work in that field in an informal manner – as an autonomous professional. To earn extra money, but without any recognized formal qualification, he got a job in a low-skilled position in a French restaurant, working as a dishwasher. Though he managed to, with time, ascend in his positions at the restaurant, and had a good number of computer clients, he still was not quite satisfied professionally. It was from a social connection with a former computer client that he got the opportunity to pursue entrepreneurship and own a Brazilian restaurant. He had previously tried to run another food-related venture with an immigrant friend, but they were unsuccessful.

His lack of social relations with natives is supported by the fact that his employees are mainly immigrants from Latin countries, as well as the friends he mentioned. This social distance from people who was born in that country and who possess a larger amount of recognized capital served as a barrier in his entrepreneurship process, not fully being aware about what are that field's rules of the game. His current business was strongly influenced by

the entrepreneur's Latin social circle, including the financial and emotional support of his mother, his former French wife's help him with managerial activities, and his immigrant friends. He further undertook a few short courses to accumulate a certain amount of such knowledge, but he still kept on relying more on specialized people to support him with such matters – such as an accountant and an English business colleague.

4.2.3. Entrepreneur 3

His family taught this entrepreneur the importance of hard working since his infancy. In addition to other skills acquired while helping his grandparents and, later, his parents with their similar businesses, much of his entrepreneurial profile and affinity with the culinary field came from such experiences. Besides, his international experiences as an hotel chain's employee for almost 15 years expanded his knowledge about other cultures and made him understand more about how each of them work – including Brazil, the country where he decided to settle in after quitting that job.

Another complementary factor was being born and raised in a country that is internationally known for its food. This also constituted another booster factor for such a professional outcome, being aware that, if he decided to open a French restaurant in another country, it would probably be well received by the new culture. Despite the initial lack of awareness by Brazilian natives regarding many aspects of the food he was selling, they were often curious and wanted to keep on trying different things, situation that was consistent with what the entrepreneur was aiming to provide through his venture.

His accumulated knowledge and experience enabled him to be better prepared to open his business in a culturally and economically distinct country, knowing the importance of conducting a vast research about the local market, looking for further accumulation of necessary knowledge, as well as knowing exactly what he believed in and wanted to deliver to Florianópolis' population. The entrepreneur wanted to maintain the true French characteristics and traditions of their restaurants, usually seen as related to the elegance of their food and their focus on quality rather than on quantity. This would develop the locals' food perceptions and provide them unique French experiences as never seen before in the city.

He posited a great weight on his French social connections, especially with friends who also worked in the culinary field in his home country. This was his main way to get relevant information about the innovations in the field, from professionals working in one of the most important countries in the restaurant industry. The fact that he brought to work with

him a French chef also supports his conception that, when talking about offering a true French experience, there is nothing better than having the country's natives behind the curtains.

Though increasingly opening his mind to external influences on his business, such as through his costumers' feedbacks, he kept his centralizing profile in almost every aspect of his restaurant. Having on his side the international reputation of the food he was selling, as well as a solid background and social circle that enabled him to only offer high-quality food, he did not have to change much of his French entrepreneurial conceptions as an entrepreneur coming from a nation without a food tradition might have had to.

4.2.4. Entrepreneur 4

Having quite a different childhood and adolescence than the other entrepreneurs, the representative woman of this study developed a wide range of skills and knowledge during her life. The orphanage where she grew up provided her a big family, encouraging all its children to, from an early age, learn how to be prepared for the real life, being taught on how to perform several different manual and intellectual tasks – including dealing with food. In addition, her cultural capital kept on being expanded throughout many of her experiences. Professionally, in the restaurant of her first adoptive family, working as a make-up artist or helping her husband with his entrepreneurial projects. Educationally, experiencing the orphanage lessons, going to school and beauty school, learning English (both formally and informally) and taking courses related to the gastronomy field. Besides, experiencing her constantly changing periods of life.

Though always having as a priority to work in the beauty field, there were several moments during her life when she divided such attention with her culinary curiosity. After graduating from beauty school and during the beginning of her adult life, she kept on acquiring cultural capital by traveling around Europe and working as a make-up artist. Even though not directly dealing with food in her profession, she continued to develop her curiosity about such field and kept on learning about it wherever she went, increasingly accumulating such knowledge. This duality kept on happening for a very long time, until she finally gave up her initial dream in the beauty industry to work exclusively with food.

Her husband has been involved with food-related businesses during most of their married life before moving to Brazil, and she has always helped him with her culinary experience and knowledge, simultaneously working as a make-up artist. Both were not afraid

to take risks, as can be seen in their experiences moving to other countries and starting their lives over again. This professional companionship changed when she became a mother and decided to quit working for some years to take care of her children. As in Italy family is one of the most important aspects in someone's life, it is not uncommon to see mothers stopping working to take care of their beloved ones – of course, if the family has another source of income. This cultural value of deeply worshipping family can be seen in many situations in the country, including on how their population relates to food.

When one thinks about Italian food, on the contrary to the French characteristics, images of large portions of high in carbohydrate delicious food quickly come up, usually surrounded by many friends or family. Being one of the world's favorite international cuisines, Italian food is widely present in several homes and restaurants that are successfully seen all around the world. The entrepreneur used this advantage – in addition to her passion and experiences with the Italian cuisine – to start a successful Italian restaurant in Brazil, a country who was greatly influenced by her home country and that worships its famous food. These factors helped decreasing the level of cultural shock he experienced, but she still had difficulties in other business aspects that she could not control – such as the lack of suppliers that satisfy her strict demands.

The social capital she acquired while still living in Italy exerted an important influence in her entrepreneurial trajectory, from which she accumulated important knowledge and developed vital skills to run a successful Italian pizzeria. At the same time, her Brazilian social relations cannot be excluded from this positive outcome, as her journalist friend and also her employees also contribute to the success of the business – even if in a considerable lower amount.

4.3 A COMPARISON BETWEEN ENTREPRENEURS FROM UNDERDEVELOPED AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

While each individual entrepreneur has his/her own personal characteristics and overall influences regarding each of their entrepreneurial processes, there are some similarities amongst those who come from underdeveloped countries and those from developed ones. Such analysis can be traced back to their home country's influences, taking into consideration that their accumulation of capitals began where they were born and raised.

The Latin entrepreneurs didn't move to England with entrepreneurial goals, while the European entrepreneurs have already immigrated to Brazil thinking about entering the new

market as business-owners. Both the Peruvian and Brazilian entrepreneurs first moved to London to learn English, without any specific objective to professionally pursue. In the pursue of maintaining themselves in the country, they had to find job placements, but faced distinct types of difficulties, so they started working in under-skilled jobs. This supports the immigrant entrepreneurship literature, which claims that usually immigrants face discrimination in the formal labor market and tend to work in positions not necessarily related to their professional experience or accumulated knowledge, but the one which natives tend to discard as work options. These positions normally do not need a domain of the native language or advanced knowledge and skills, being a common starting option for this type of immigrants. As these positions tend to not offer good salaries, they can be considered as a “rite of passage” for these newly arrived immigrants, who many times decide to quit such jobs and start their own ventures, looking for a better life quality and professional realization. On the other hand, both European entrepreneurs moved to the island of Florianópolis carrying their entrepreneurial knowledge and experience, planning on bringing their home countries world-renowned typical food to the welcoming and curious Brazilian population. Contrary to the Latin American entrepreneurs, they already had the experience of running businesses and also of working for a long time with businesses related to what they were planning to open in this new nation.

Coming from countries with similar or even stricter regulations and adding their entrepreneurship experiences, the European entrepreneurs did not experience many difficulties regarding the actual business opening. Both were aware of the technical stakes involved when starting a venture, therefore, they could be well prepared for the job before opening their restaurants doors. For example, they only relied on their personal resources to invest in the business, being those accumulated from the selling of past ventures or saving from the previous job. However, as first-time entrepreneurs, the Latin immigrants had more challenges to overcome in order to start their journey as business owners. Not being able to save much money from their previous jobs and considering the higher costs of opening a venture in London when comparing to Florianópolis, they had to rely on the financial help from their families and sell personal goods. In addition to that, it cannot be neglected that the European entrepreneurs, already immigrating with entrepreneurial goals, had the time to be financially prepared for this, while the Latin immigrants opened their current restaurants after a short period when they had these opportunities.

Regarding the relationship and passion of each group of entrepreneurs and their ventures, they present important differences. The European immigrants highlight the importance of being passionate about what you are professionally doing in order to reach success. Both have chosen to work exactly with what they are currently working after long professional trajectories, where they were able to work in several different areas and in many distinct positions, acquiring the necessary maturity to understand what they were really passionate about and wanted to work with. In addition, their home countries' food tradition also played an important role in their affinity with the field, providing them knowledge and support to run successful ventures in a country that deeply recognizes such accumulated capitals. Regarding the Latin entrepreneurs, though, the relationship with the culinary field was a bit lighter. When facing formal discrimination in the new country and by realizing that entrepreneurship was a common way out of that situation, they had to choose running a business that involved something they had already, in some level, worked with, with which they had a certain affinity, and that they believed could succeed at. Also considering their small or even inexistent entrepreneurship and managerial experiences, their journey as immigrant entrepreneurs in London was considerably harder than the ones of the experienced Europeans in Florianópolis. Both of the Latin entrepreneurs believed that working with something they liked to do as a hobby would be similar, but when facing the real deal, they both understood that reality is extremely different. Not working with something they are truly passionate about and considering its enormously amount of effort and time it requires, both are currently thinking about selling their ventures. They want to work with something less time-consuming and that will enable them to have happier and more colorful lives – characteristics deeply worshiped in Latin American countries, but that they are not currently experiencing.

When looking at the social capitals related to their entrepreneurship processes, the Latin immigrants relied on social connections especially with other Latin individuals – mainly immigrants – who have experienced similar situations after immigration and that might be able to support them, sharing accumulated knowledge and experiences. These social connections are not kept with professional purposes only, but also (if not mainly) to give each other support in this difficult life as an immigrant coming from an underdeveloped nation. At the same time, the European immigrants also rely on their home social connections, but mostly with professional goals. These connections are usually made with culinary

professionals, chefs and restaurant owners who work in their home countries and who acquire knowledge and experiences in one of the main sources of knowledge of such field.

4.4 SYNTHESIS OF EACH ENTREPRENEUR'S FORMS OF CAPITAL INVOLVED IN THEIR ENTREPRENEURIAL PROCESSES

As stated in the entrepreneurship process model developed for this study, it was thought that the entrepreneur's accumulated cultural and social capitals would influence the entrepreneurial journey of an immigrant moving to an economically and culturally different country than its home nation. It was also presumed that each of the four defined steps of their entrepreneurial processes would be differently affected by both types of capital, as well as being different in each of the cases.

Confirming such statement, after the data analysis it was possible to identify the main cultural and social capitals present in the four stages of each immigrant entrepreneurship process. More specifically, while they had different influences of each of their forms of capital, it could be seen that the entrepreneurs born in an underdeveloped country had similar types of capital influences, same similarity seen in the entrepreneurs born in developed nations. Regarding how different types of cultural capital influenced each step of the immigrants' entrepreneurship processes, it could be seen that their cultural capitals in the embodied form played the most important role in such professional journeys, for example leading them to open restaurants that sell food from their respective cultures and helping them to deal with every part of these processes. When considering the entrepreneurs' cultural capitals in the institutionalized form, their major influence occurred before or in the first step of their entrepreneurship processes. In the Latin entrepreneurs cases, as their certified knowledge accumulated in their home countries wasn't acknowledged in England, they had to look for other professional options that didn't require such type of cultural capital, but that they could use this type of capital in the embodied form somehow – differing them from the competition as well as giving them support in the search of professional success. Nonetheless, in the European cases, their cultural capitals in the institutionalized form played an important role when enabling them to become immigrant entrepreneurs in Brazil. Having certified knowledge accumulated in their home countries, which have great food tradition and international recognition, helped them to open their restaurants and be further accepted by the local population – specially after some cultural differences have been surpassed. Finally, even not playing such an evident role, the entrepreneurs' third form of cultural capital – the

objectified one – also influenced their entrepreneurship processes. Their influences can be seen from the beginning of such path until nowadays, in the form of information material (e.g. magazines, newspapers), decoration, among others.

When discussing the entrepreneurs' social capitals, it could be observed that such assets differently influenced the whole immigrants' journeys. Again, similarities could be seen in both types of entrepreneurs. In the case of the Latin immigrants, both of them heavily relied on their ethnic social capitals since before they decided to become entrepreneurs. From their narratives it could be understood that their families play vital roles in most aspects of their lives, including their professional decisions. Since they moved to this new nation until today, their relatives have been influencing their lives as entrepreneurs in many ways (e.g. financially, emotionally). In addition to that, their majoritarian Latin social circles have also been important assets since before their entrepreneurial journeys. They have found with them a safe port, a way to feel welcomed in an extremely socially and culturally different country, influences that can be seen in most of the moments of both their personal and professional lives. On the other hand, the Europeans' social capitals that influenced their entrepreneurship processes greatly differ from the other two. Already coming from entrepreneurial pasts and having good professional connections back in their home countries, these entrepreneurs took advantage of such assets and, together with their home countries' good reputations in the restaurant area as well as their personal passion and expertise in the culinary field, they managed to find great opportunities in the Brazilian restaurant market. More specifically, their most influential social capitals consisted on professional connections back in their home countries that helped them to differently succeed in each part of their immigrant entrepreneurship processes.

The Peruvian entrepreneur, not having his formal degree recognized when he first moved to London, had to study again the same topic and decided to keep on accumulating formal knowledge in the new nation. Nevertheless, much of his cultural capital accumulated in Peru played an important role during his entrepreneurship process. His family values and influences, in addition to the personality he developed before immigrating to England, shaped the entrepreneur he is and how he dealt with every aspect during his entrepreneurship process.

“I come from a family who has restaurants. My father had four restaurants. My grandmother had one. I worked with her during the summer, watching her prepare the meals. But at home my mother also taught me how to cook”.

During the innovation step, he saw in entrepreneurship a possibility to achieve his dream of being professionally realized, doing something that mattered to him. This decision was made after a period already working in a formal job at an important hotel chain, but where he wasn't fully satisfied. However, not being closely related to natives and not understanding much of what it took to be an immigrant entrepreneur in London, he had to first accumulate knowledge, experience and resources with a smaller venture, which he opened without much entrepreneurship knowledge. The field he chose was influenced by his affinity and success with cooking for his friends and family, as well as the fact that, by that time, there were not many options of Peruvian restaurants in the city.

When developing the idea of how he would like his current restaurant to be, he used his travel experiences to brainstorm, thought about what aspects of his home culture he had an affinity with and what he believed a good restaurant should have. Considering he was left down by his Peruvian business partner even before opening their venture, he had to turn to his family in order to have enough resources to indeed open the restaurant. This came with the imposition of having to accept some of his family's opinions regarding the restaurant structure, but at that time he did not have much choice.

“I was worried, obviously very sad. I said to my mother: ‘I will go back to work at the hotel, save some more money...’. And my sister said: ‘I can get the money in a couple of months’. After a while she called me and said: ‘my husband wants to invest with me, we just don't know in what, but if we give you the money we'll want this, this and this’”.

The business was implemented with the characteristics their available resources enabled them to have and further improved throughout the years. As the entrepreneur and his family deeply diverged about the restaurant activities' decision-making, and as he wanted to develop the restaurant exactly the way he imagined, as soon as he gathered enough money to buy his family's part of the business, he did so, becoming its sole owner and remodeling the restaurant according to his own personal criteria. He wanted to have a high-quality restaurant that provided its customers the best Peruvian experience they could have in London, tasting food prepared only with the best ingredients, listening to the owner's favorite types of Peruvian music. Just the way we would like to treat any of the guests he receives at his home.

The growth of the business was carried throughout the entrepreneur's centralized ideas and decisions, according to his organized and vivid personality. Even after reaching a good moment as an entrepreneur, being able to see great results from his business, after already

having reached his dream of being professionally successful, he now aims at achieving the same success in his personal life. As the busy and demanding life of a restaurant owner is not providing him this, he is currently thinking about selling his venture to pursue such goal. These main influences can be seen on Frame 2.

Frame 2 – Entrepreneur 1 cultural and social capitals involved in his entrepreneurship process

	Cultural capital	Social capital
Innovation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Entrepreneurship experience in an British open market - Work experience in a Peruvian restaurant - Peruvian cooking experiences - Accumulated knowledge of the Peruvian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Non-recognition of cultural capital acquired in his home country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peruvian family influences - Australian husband influences - Latin friends influences
Triggering event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Entrepreneurship experience in an British open market - Work experience in a Peruvian restaurant - Peruvian cooking experiences - Accumulated knowledge of the Peruvian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peruvian family support and influences - Australian husband influences - Latin friends influences
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Entrepreneurship experience in an British open market - Peruvian cooking experiences - Informal and formal work experiences in London - Accumulated knowledge of the Peruvian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peruvian family support and influences - Australian husband influences - Latin friends influences
Growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Entrepreneurship experience in an British open market - Peruvian cooking experiences - Informal and formal work experiences in London 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peruvian family support and influences - Australian husband influences - Latin friends influences

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accumulated knowledge of the Peruvian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics 	
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Source: developed by the author.

Also experiencing recognition problems in some of his cultural capital and experiencing other difficulties to join the English formal market, the Brazilian immigrant found in entrepreneurship an opportunity to have a better professional life in the new country.

Noticing, through his Latin social circle, that many other Brazilian immigrants started ventures related to the food industry (e.g. restaurants, ethnic goods stores, etc.) and were apparently having good outcomes, he thought this could be a good idea and started to consider doing that as well. However, firstly not being able to succeed with this idea when trying to run a pub with a friend, it was not as easy as he believed. It was only after some time living in London and developing his social relations with other immigrants that he got the opportunity to open a Brazilian restaurant. Even not possessing much entrepreneurship experience, the necessary knowledge or even enough resources, he was decided to take the risk no matter what. He had to rely on his family's financial support to have enough money to open the venture, as well as on his Latin social circle to join the business and work for him. In addition to his affinity with the culinary field and work experience, he believed he had made a good decision.

“Since the beginning my idea was to come here and study English for six months. After another six months I saw that, when comparing to the Brazilian opportunities, here they are probably infinite. Any person can get anywhere if they have competence, if they are outspoken and honest, different from most Brazilian places”.

Dealing with most of the bureaucracies individually and with his former's wife support, in less than five months the restaurant was already running. The entrepreneur also had to accumulate managerial knowledge by taking some courses, which in addition to the help of an accountant and the manager of the business location enabled the restaurant to be inaugurated. Its beginning was favorable due to the cultural fact that the Soccer World Cup was about to start, and having a restaurant from one of the most famous cultures regarding the sport was an attraction for people to get to know his business. From that moment on, he thought it was only a matter of time, experience and motivation to make the business grow.

The growth of the business occurred gradually, according to the resources he had available, with what he understood it was important to change (by looking at the competition and reading materials related to his venture). As a true Brazilian, he deals with his professional life in a spontaneous and vivid way, taking risks if he believes appropriate to take them, and when necessary, applying the “Brazilian way”⁷ to get what he wants. However, dealing with a different type of Brazilian restaurant than it is usually seen in London (barbecue, all-you-can-eat systems), and because he wanted to offer something different, he never thought this job would be so demanding. Through his social connections with other Brazilian restaurant owners, he saw that it was no coincidence that most of such Brazilian ventures functioned that way: it was quite easier. Besides the fact that he misses warm and sunny weather (as he had in his hometown), he is currently thinking on moving to a warmer country and either selling his restaurant or keeping it running (under the management of another person) and opening an all-you-can-eat Brazilian restaurant over there. These cultural and social influences are summarized on Frame 3.

Frame 3 – Entrepreneur 2 cultural and social capitals involved in his entrepreneurship process

	Cultural capital	Social capital
Innovation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in a French restaurant in London - Brazilian cooking experiences - Accumulated knowledge of the Brazilian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Non-recognition of cultural capital acquired in his home country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazilian family influences - Former French wife influences - Latin friends influences - Former client’s business proposal
Triggering event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in a French restaurant in London - Brazilian cooking experiences - Accumulated knowledge of the Brazilian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazilian family support and influences - Former French wife support and influences - Latin friends influences
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in a French restaurant in London 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazilian family support and influences

⁷ In Portuguese, “jeitinho brasileiro”, it means using smart, creative skills to get what one wants. The expression is usually used in a pejorative way.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazilian cooking experiences - Accumulated knowledge of the Brazilian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Former French wife support and influences - Latin friends support and influences - Accountant support - Business colleague support
Growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in a French restaurant in London - Brazilian cooking experiences - Accumulated knowledge of the Brazilian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazilian family support and influences - Former French wife support and influences - Latin friends support and influences

Source: developed by the author.

Coming from a long professional experience working for a French hotel chain, and having a good experience in the culinary field in France (working with his family or running his small business), the French entrepreneur was already quite prepared to become an immigrant entrepreneur in Brazil, differently from the two Latin entrepreneurs.

After visiting and deciding he wanted to quit his job in the hotel chain to live in the Brazilian island of Florianópolis, he knew that before impulsively moving to the city it was important to see what he could professionally do there. After spotting the opportunity of opening a French restaurant and understanding that it is not a simple task to become an entrepreneur, especially in a different country, he did what was necessary to enable himself to successfully start his journey as an immigrant entrepreneur. This involved much of his cultural capital, which, since it was mainly acquired in an internationally known country in the restaurant business, had a great value in this new nation.

“I thought: ‘wait a minute. I have a history of doing this, but I wonder if things are different today, if the machines haven’t changed? The tastes? The expectations?’. I did a market research before opening. After that I said: ‘no, I have to undertake a course if I really want to be the best on what is being done today’”.

During the development of his business idea, not only did he rely on his valuable cultural capital, but he was also deeply influenced by his social connections made in France. They enabled him to have the opportunity of undertaking a culinary course in one of the most renowned French institutions, in Paris, where he studied for six months, as well as updating him about what was new in the French cuisine. In Florianópolis, he visited other restaurants

and discussed with their owners how the local market operated, what was the overall profile of the city's population, among other topics.

Due to cultural differences in taste, the entrepreneur had to start his business by also selling some food options that the locals were used to. Being the first French restaurant in the city, many of the locals did not receive quite so well his typically prepared French products. With time, this cultural distance became increasingly smaller, as his customers got familiarized with his food and more open to new experiences. He and his invited French chef followed the French culture in every aspect of the restaurant (its menu, decoration, business proposition) and, following the country's food trends, always looking at providing to the restaurant's customers the same French experience they would have if going to that country.

“We are doing a typical French product, so it isn't a repagination of a Brazilian product with French characteristics. No. The *baguette* we make here is prepared with the same ingredients from the one you can buy in France. The same *croissant*”.

Though he still kept most of his personal characteristics and attitudes faithful to French tradition, he knew that, to be a successful immigrant entrepreneur, he also had to understand what his culturally-distinct customers thought about his business and what could they suggest, adapting his previously more closed mindset to one willing to be open for external inputs. Frame 4 sums up these main influences.

Frame 4 – Entrepreneur 3 cultural and social capitals involved in his entrepreneurship process

	Cultural capital	Social capital
Innovation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in French food-stablishments - Entrepreneurship experience in France - Accumulated knowledge of the French gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French family influences - French friends who work in the culinary field
Triggering event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in French food-stablishments - Entrepreneurship experience in France - Work experience in a French hotel chain - Accumulated knowledge of the French gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French family influences - French friends who work in the culinary field - Brazilian competitions owners
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in French food-stablishments - Entrepreneurship experience in France - Work experience in a French hotel chain - Accumulated knowledge of the French gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation - French gastronomy certificate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French family influences - Invited French friend and chef
Growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in French food-stablishments - Entrepreneurship experience in France - Work experience in a French hotel chain - Accumulated knowledge of the French gastronomy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French family influences - Brazilian family influences - Invited French friend and chef - French friends who work in the culinary field - Customers - Employees

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation - French gastronomy certificate 	
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Source: developed by the author.

Having an ever longer entrepreneurial experience in the restaurant industry, the Italian entrepreneur immigrated with her family to an almost related country of Italy with the aim to keep on working as entrepreneurs, she and her husband. In addition to already having had a restaurant in another country – even more culturally distinct –, they thought they would not experience many difficulties in opening an Italian business in the island of Florianópolis. However, their first attempt was not that glorious and made the family choose different professional paths.

“Our thought was completely Italian. To open a small coffee shop, kind of a *bistrot*, very beautiful and particular. But it was a period that in Florianópolis was difficult for people to understand such types of businesses, as they didn't have anything similar back then. Besides, life in Florianópolis was very expensive. The commercial costs were high. So, in the beginning, we had some problems”.

After the failure with an Italian coffee shop and *bistrot* due to cultural differences (e.g. language barrier, estrangement with such type of business by part of the natives, etc.), the Italian immigrant woman decided to start a venture selling food in which she truly believed. Even without the support of her husband's financial point of view, her accumulated knowledge and experiences made her believe that if one works with something one is passionate about, the success will naturally come. Following this perspective and her love of healthy and homemade food, she decided to pursue her desire.

The process of opening her Italian pizzeria had the support of an invited Italian friend of hers who is an expert chef in preparing pizzas. Having a vast experience with developing and implementing ventures, as well as considering that Italian regulations are a lot stricter than Brazilian ones, the entrepreneur didn't have much difficulty to plan and open her restaurant. During the business' first couple of years, both Italian immigrants worked hard to deliver to their customers a gourmet and homemade Italian pizza, enabling the later to experience a true Italian gastronomic experience. As the South of Brazil has many Italian descendants, there were other Italian restaurants in the city, and the island population was already very familiarized with the Italian cuisine. Nevertheless, having Italian ascendants does

not mean that a person will have a similar culture to Italian natives who were born and raised in Italy. As the field where they are exerts great influence in a person's personality, the Italian restaurants that existed at the time offered a Brazilian perception of what an Italian restaurant should like, based on each owner's family's influences and limited knowledge about the country's culture. This would be how the Italian immigrant would find her way to stand out from competition.

“When you believe in a product and you love what you do, you don't have to look at the competition. You must always have some knowledg about it, as well as someone that can help you, but you don't live to know how the others are doing”.

At the beginning, they had to find a way of advertising their restaurant and getting people interested in knowing the place. It was through her still developing Brazilian social capital that the entrepreneur discovered a Brazilian journalist who could help her with the business' marketing. In fact, he stills works with her to this day. Even after her business associate had to return to Italy because of his family, she kept on developing the business, motivated by her passion about what she was doing. Occasionally undertaking short culinary courses, visiting businesses around Brazil and winning international prizes for the best pizza of the world, she was increasingly experiencing her business success.

Like the Brazilian characteristic of expansiveness, the entrepreneur brought the Italian spontaneity and friendliness to the way she runs her business, as seen on her social relations with employees and customers. She treats her restaurant as her home and delivers to her customers the same experience they would have both in a restaurant in Italy or in an Italian family welcoming meal.

Despite sometimes experiencing difficulties with her customers regarding some of the pizza's different ingredients and forms of preparation, her pizzeria did not have many obstacles to overcome. Of course, one was to understand that the Brazilian pizza greatly differs from the Italian one on a few important aspects. While the Italian is prepared only with natural, fresh and deeply treated ingredients, as well as only having few and simple flavor options, the Brazilian version suffered many adaptations from the original product. There are infinite numbers of Brazilian pizza varieties, many of them including over five strong ingredients – which Italians would never dare to combine. In addition, a great number of Brazilian pizzerias are comprised of many low-quality products, but due to its cheap price they are a very popular food option among many locals – reaffirming the overall Brazilian focus on quantity rather than quality. This still is one of the Italian entrepreneur's main

difficulties, as most of her costumers are used to having several different flavor options that she does not sell, as they do not represent the true Italian pizza. Besides, for only working with top quality ingredients, her pizza's prices are higher than her competition's average. However, throughout the years, she captivated a certain type of customer that deeply appreciates the experience she aims to provide. With an increasingly overall interest on healthy and more natural food options, a good part of the island's population is finding much more value on products such as the ones she sells.

Frame 5 – Entrepreneur 4 cultural and social capitals involved in her entrepreneurship process

	Cultural capital	Social capital
Innovation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in Italian restaurants - Entrepreneurship experiences with Italian and US food-stablishments - Work experience as a make-up artist in Europe - Accumulated knowledge of the Italian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Italian husband influence - Orphanage people influences - Past adoptive families influences
Triggering event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in Italian restaurants - Entrepreneurship experiences with Italian and US food-stablishments - Accumulated knowledge of the Italian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Italian husband influence - Orphanage people influences - Past adoptive families influences
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in Italian restaurants - Entrepreneurship experiences with Italian and US food-stablishments - Accumulated knowledge of the Italian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Italian husband influence - Orphanage people influences - Past adoptive families influences - Invited Italian friend who works in the field - Brazilian journalist

	- Native from a country that has many descendants in Brazil	
Growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experience in Italian restaurants - Entrepreneurship experiences with Italian and US food-stablishments - Accumulated knowledge of the Italian gastronomy - Accumulated knowledge about other cultures through travel experiences - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation - International prizes - Native from a country that has many descendants in Brazil 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Italian husband influence - Orphanage people influences - Past adoptive families influences - Brazilian journalist - Employees

Source: developed by the author.

Even with each entrepreneur having their peculiarities and differences regarding how their cultural and social capitals influenced their entrepreneurship processes, overall similarities are also apparent among the four cases. These similarities, which include (but are not limited to) language barriers, taste differences and other cultural aspects, are consistent with the main literature on the immigrant entrepreneurship.

In addition to that, it must be understood that there are other variables related to such trajectories and that are directly related to one's cultural and social capitals. Considering that each different business environment has its particularities, one must understand that the way each of them function can greatly vary, influencing how one's entrepreneurship experience might function. Besides, the way each entrepreneur has accumulated his/her cultural and social capitals (the place, the time, the amount) will also be shown on the way they behave in a particular environment.

The Peruvian entrepreneur has a vivid, but also serious behavior. While showing the lively and colorful Peruvian spirit in the way he expresses himself and informally talk with others, he also has a more serious and professional British side, evident on the way he spoke with his employees during the interview and during some of his answers. Even devoting careful attention to the interviewer, the entrepreneur had to pause the interview several times to deal with restaurant-related demands (such as phone calls and questions posed by his employees), confirming the busy lives restaurant-owners have to deal with. Besides, the challenges he had to face during his trajectory made him incorporate a higher persistency into

the way he responds to problems. Having the aspects of a Latin habitus, worshiping social and family relations, was a vital element for him to be able to gather enough resources in order to persist on his investment idea, even after being left down by a possible partner.

The Brazilian entrepreneur has a true Northeastern Brazilian behavior. During all of his communication with the author of this dissertation (interview, Whatsapp) he showed a very spontaneous and informal behavior with everyone, using several slangs and occasional swearwords, as well as using punctual jokes while answering some of the interviewer's questions. This way of being, while it might produce some resistance towards this excess of informality – specially in more formal fields, such as England and its strict punctuality -, at the same time it also generates a differential, closeness with his potential customers, as a typical Brazilian characteristic. In addition to that, it took several tries in order to be able to do the interview with the entrepreneur, as many times he had to cancel in the last minute due to some work unforeseen events. This reinforces the aforementioned characteristic of restaurant-owners, as extremely busy professionals who daily face changes of plans.

The French entrepreneur exposed a mixture of French and Brazilian behavior, however mainly sticking to his home country's characteristics. Behaving in an extremely professional way during the entire interview, he answered every question in a very detailed and passionate way, letting his strong French accent show no doubt of his origins. This strong French verbal characteristic somehow marks the strength in his country's culture and gastronomy. This French way of naming the restaurant's meals and constructing a true French environment generated a deeper interest from his Brazilians potential customers, who were attracted by this sophisticated but at the same time accessible gastronomy. Asking his employees to turn the restaurant music down and for them not to bother him during the interview, he completely devoted himself during over one hour of the interview. However, as he had previously stated that he had to pick up his son in the school (leaving about 1:20h for the interview), the last questions had to be answered a bit more quickly than the first ones (as he got carried away, excitingly talking about his story as an entrepreneur).

The Italian entrepreneur showed since the beginning her expansive and welcoming Italian roots. At the beginning asking the interviewer if she would like to eat or drink anything, she turned the interview 1:30 hours into an informal and somehow familiar conversation about her personal and professional history, which she passionately talked about beside her adolescent daughter. Sometimes getting into too many details while talking about how the food she loves to prepare should be made and dealt with, it compromised the last

questions of the interview, as she said she had to deal with some restaurant-related issues. This passionate way of being she has incorporated in her habitus, if in a first moment it generated a certain difficulty to run her Italian coffee shop, later on with her pizzeria these elements ended up being vital into this business' differentiation and into the development of an image of superior quality and authenticity.

Even in distinct ways, all four entrepreneurs reinforced the no-time characteristic of restaurant-owners, who have to deal with many things at the same time, and sometimes have to run into other unforeseen duties. Besides, it was possible to see discrepancies regarding each entrepreneurs' cultural and social influences regarding both their home countries and countries of immigration, how their habitus shows such influences and the way it related to their individual entrepreneurship processes.

Regarding the gastronomy field, one must understand that it presupposes a specific habitus for an individual to be able to join it. In other words, a group of incorporated elements of such field will permit an agent to act in such environment. The way each field is structured will generate certain challenges to be surpassed by its agents. All of the four immigrant entrepreneurs have such elements, in different amounts and forms, incorporated during their (distinct) gastronomy trajectories. Even with some of them coming from completely different fields and backgrounds, their experiences throughout the years enabled them to accumulate and incorporate gastronomy elements, enabling them to dispute in such field.

The gastronomy field presupposes some dualities. If we take the European gastronomy field, for example the Italian and the French ones – which are highly renowned – and their agents, they end up incorporating these field's elements and producing a habitus with a strategic action capacity that is higher than in other gastronomy fields not so widely renowned. On the other hand, there are other gastronomy fields that do not have such a high status but are increasingly gathering other's attention, such as the Peruvian one. Its gastronomy has recently been increasingly accumulating international status, enabling, for example, the Peruvian entrepreneur to have a higher possibility of success in other fields, even in a considerable different but also open to other internationalities country such as England.

The English gastronomy field is characterized by its great ethnic diversity, with its own gastronomy not being too strong. Having a higher renown with its pubs, the country's gastronomy is highly influenced by internationally strong gastronomies, such as the Italian, Chinese and Indian. This could be seen through the Italian entrepreneur's narrative, when

talking about her experience living and working in London, as well as through the Latin entrepreneurs' stories.

When discussing the strong gastronomy fields of Italy and France, even with those countries also having influences from other nations' gastronomies, they consist in more homogeneous and less penetrable fields. In other words, the required habitus for someone to join these fields is harder to acquire and has a more complex composition. On the other hand, the incorporated habitus that an agent accumulates in such fields will be of great benefit if he/she wants to join almost any other gastronomy field in the world, where the demands and homogeneity are lower. This can be observed through the entrepreneurship pathways of both the Italian and French entrepreneurs in Brazil. Being widely open and receptive, the Brazilian gastronomy field is favorable for international food influences, especially from countries' renowned for their cuisine. This could be seen, for example, in the Italian entrepreneur case, as she quickly developed a social capital with a Brazilian journalist.

5 CONCLUSION

Immigration is an important international issue, especially for some countries that have their lives and economies strongly influenced by this group of their population. For whatever reasons people choose to leave their home countries and start new lives in another nation, immigration deserves academic attention in order to better understand the influences of this phenomenon in a given society. Brazil, for example, is currently experiencing another "emigration wave" such as the one experienced by the country in the 80's – both motivated by a deep economic crisis in the nation's territory. This strengthens the necessity of pursuing a deeper understanding of what this group of individuals will face in their chosen nation, specially regarding the ones who end up pursuing immigrant entrepreneurship, as well as understanding what is necessary to be done in order to better provide them chances of professional success in this new market.

Most of the world's immigrants are people without much qualifications and other positive professional aspects, which in addition to the "outsider" image they will always carry with them, as well as cultural and social differences from the original country to the new one, culminate in their discrimination – both social and professional. This usually forces these newly arrived individuals to find work placements in under-skilled and underpaid job positions, such as waitressing, cleaning establishments, washing dishes in a restaurant, among

others. Another option, usually pursued after this negative outcome from the formal wage market, is becoming their own bosses and starting a business. This option also carries the former discrimination aspects, however it is an easier option to undertake professionally as a newly arrived immigrant. This was the situation of both Latin American entrepreneurs who were analyzed in the present study.

Another immigrant profile, not as common as the previous one, consists on highly skilled individuals who already move to a new country with professional goals. Apart from the ones who will work for other companies as employees, some of these individuals arrive to their new chosen culture with entrepreneurial goals, which usually follow their past professional and educational experiences. Two examples of this group are the European entrepreneurs analyzed in this study, who immigrated to Brazil already with the ideas of opening their own food-related ventures, supported by their accumulated knowledge that would enable and sustain their businesses.

The overall results of this research support the mainstream literature on immigrant entrepreneurship, adding to it some further insights. While all the studied entrepreneurs experienced cultural shocks and other difficulties during their journey as immigrant entrepreneurs, each of them had different experiences during this process. In an overall manner, the entrepreneurs who came from underdeveloped countries experienced similar difficulties when immigrating to a developed country, and the same parallel can be made between the entrepreneurs who came from developed countries.

Both Latin immigrants turned to immigrant entrepreneurship as a way out of the formal wage job discrimination they faced when they moved to London. This can be explained by the fact that much of their cultural and social capitals did not have much value in the new country, as well as their pejorative immigrants status – which, even in an international metropolis like London, still leads to discrimination –, of individuals coming from less developed countries and without many skills or qualifications. This can be confirmed by the city's immigrants overall job placements: most of them either own their own (usually ethnic) businesses, or they work in under-skilled and underpaid (usually informal) jobs.

On the other hand, both European immigrants were already born with an advantage over the other two. Natives from two internationally renowned countries in the restaurant industry, their country reputation consisted on great assets for their journeys as immigrant restaurant owners, having such cultural capital strongly valued in most foreign countries. This

valuable habitus with its origins in such strong and influential fields was vital for their access into the Brazilian gastronomy field, which with its welcoming and curious characteristics permitted them to find success in this foreign environment. Both Italian and French entrepreneurs captivated the attention of the Brazilian population by offering something unique, developed and prepared by agents that do not hide their expert and famous origins. While not possessing such valuable assets, the Latin entrepreneurs could also find their ways into (late) professional success, using some of their unique incorporated habitus – found in their vivid roots – in order to gather the British also curious attention and sympathy. They managed to use their quality of being able to turn negative situations around and find a way to success, showing the internationally known friendliness of Latin people. That way, they are offering something different for the culturally open British population, offering something they are comfortable with and they believe others would like to experience.

Also, the European immigrants' past work experiences both as entrepreneurs or working in the culinary field in their home countries (and abroad) provided them with enough capital to already start their ventures in a more prepared manner, as opposed to the Latin entrepreneurs. Besides, their also valuable social capitals acquired in their home countries – with professionals of the restaurant industry – also exerted a great influence on their entrepreneurial pathways. Lacking such types of connections, most of the Latin entrepreneurs' social capital consisted of their social relations with other Latin immigrants or their families – nonetheless, without such support the former would not have had the opportunity of becoming entrepreneurs.

It must be understood that while still consisting in a type of entrepreneurship, immigrant entrepreneurship deserves special attention and differs from “native” entrepreneurship in many ways, such as discussed above. Such as every company must be dealt with respecting its individual characteristics and needs, immigrants who want to pursue entrepreneurship also deserve such focused attention. It's already a long and hard journey to start over their lives in a country that has different cultural and social characteristics. Depending on the cultural distance between both nations, such change can come with distinct levels and amounts of difficulties, which will demand different manners to be dealt with. Some might move to a country where they already have family or friends living there, while others might arrive at a completely new world not having anyone to guide them throughout this difficult process. No matter what are the immigrant's overall characteristics and situations, they deserve special attention in order to better adjust to their new realities. This

work will help one understand how some of these subjective and some times overlooked factors influence an immigrant entrepreneur journey, thus enabling the possibility of making more conscious and effective decisions regarding such processes.

As discussed by Sim (2015), countries such as Canada, Sweden, Germany and Finland are used as examples of nations that have good policies that support immigrants who desire to pursue entrepreneurship. There, both skilled and under skilled immigrants can learn about the country's market and cultural specificities, as well as acquire the business-related knowledge the experts consider as necessary for starting a venture in their markets. This won't erase the discrimination this group of people has to face when trying to enter a new society, but it will probably help soften such differences and increase immigrants' overall opportunities in the country they have chosen to restart their lives⁸.

The study presented some limitations during its development. As previously observed, the routine of restaurant entrepreneurs is quite agitated, some of the interviews suffered from eventual, short interruptions during their development, as well as the rush during the answer of some of the final questions by the entrepreneurs, who had to deal with several other important tasks related to their businesses.

After the development of the present study, some suggestions for further researches could be drawn. One important topic to be further addressed is how cultural and social capitals influence immigrant entrepreneurship when discussing ventures that demand high-skilled owners and which compete directly with other native-owned businesses (not belonging to ethnic niches). In addition, there is the necessity of studies that try to understand why some immigrant entrepreneurs end up running ethnic-related businesses, while others start ventures that compete directly with native-owned ones.

⁸ The uncertainty rests on the fact that none of these country's initiatives have information regarding the outcomes of their supporting activities towards immigrants.

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ATTACHMENT I - Semi-structured interview script

1. Briefly, how would you describe your childhood and adolescence? Talk about what you used to do and study, what your daily life was like - family, friends, and so on.
2. What events of your personal trajectory to this day do you consider as striking in the way you work and see the world?
3. What events of your professional trajectory to this day do you consider as remarkable in the way you work and see the world?
4. Describe your educational trajectory (from your childhood to the present day - including school, courses, languages, etc.), distinguishing what was studied in your country of origin and INSERT COUNTRY.
5. How do you seek to keep updated about your company's business environment (market, competition, innovations in the industry, etc.)?
6. What in your trajectory led you to believe that the INSERT COUNTRY would be a good destination to start a business?
7. What prompted you to open this type of company in INSERT CITY?
8. How was the idea of your company developed and implemented in INSERT CITY, from the beginning of the idea to its opening (did you have knowledge about it? Access to patents? Opportunities to open the company?)?
9. How would you describe the experience of owning a company in INSERT COUNTRY, in relation to its market, way of working, opportunities, etc.?
10. How would you define the profile of the network of people who participated in your entrepreneurial process (from the beginning of the idea of the company to the present day)?
11. Describe the profile of the people involved with your business (such as customers and suppliers) and how you relate to them.
12. How would you say being from your nationality influenced the trajectory of your company?
13. How would you say that your knowledge and experience influenced your company's trajectory?
14. How would you say that your social relationships outside the company, such as suppliers, partners and influencers, influenced the trajectory of your company? Consider relationships established both in your home country and in INSERT COUNTRY.
15. How would you say that your internal social relationships within the company, such as your team, influenced the its trajectory? Consider relationships established both in your home country and in INSERT COUNTRY.
16. Highlight in a few words what features or elements of the culture of your country you brought to INSERT COUNTRY that influence or have significantly influenced your entrepreneurship process.