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THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITALS ON IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP

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ABSTRACT

Many immigrants face professional difficulties in their new nation (e.g. 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. Using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of forms of capita, this paper proposes understanding the influences that cultural and social capitals exert on the immigrant entrepreneurship. Four immigrant restaurant owners were studied. The results show that the immigrant entrepreneurs faced distinct types of cultural shock and discrimination during their entrepreneurship processes, varying between the Latin and European studied immigrants. This study contributes to the entrepreneurship field by addressing the immigrant entrepreneurship topic, which is still being consolidated and has important gaps such as this one to be fulfilled.

Key words: Entrepreneurship. International Business. Immigrant Entrepreneurship. Cultural Capital. Social Capital.

INTRODUCTION

All cultures in the world have their general and singular characteristics, and although outsiders might perceive those cultures in distinct ways, they will usually have an international main reputation. The global interaction of different cultures can have several implications in the business and management areas. When talking about entrepreneurship, for example, it is known that a considerable share of markets around the world belongs to people who decided to leave their countries and start new lives in other nations. Even when not always directly depending on other people to maintain their jobs, immigrant entrepreneurs are still exposed to the influence of many aspects of this cultural interaction. In addition to that, 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.

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 products 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 internationally in this sector. 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 discuss how social and cultural 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 different country. 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. The analysis will be carried 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).

ENTREPRENEURSHIP APPROACH

There has been greater attention towards entrepreneurship 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).

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). Entrepreneurship, according to the economists, is directly related to someone's individual achievements in the business field (Rusu et al., 2012). In the case of the behavioral

approach, the 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.

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 and 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 and Pittaway, 1998; Grant and Perren, 2002; Jennings, Perren and 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 and 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 can involve ethnic and immigrant studies 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 and Duarte, 1998). Most of the research on this subject is based on Hofstede's theory (Hofstede, 1984; 1991; 2002).

IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP

An important share of the world's entrepreneurs that deserves special attention is the immigrant group, which 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 (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 frequently 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 Vorderwölbecke, 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 (Naude, 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 (Naude, Siegel and Marchand, 2015). 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 this type of 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/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).

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 (Naude, Siegel and Marchand, 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.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF PIERRE BOURDIEU

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. (Bourdieu, 1992).

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 and 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).

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, 2004a), specific social conditions and in distinct universes such as mass culture, school, family, group of friends and work (Setton, 2002).

Habitus 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 and Wacquant, 1992) and that enables them to handle unexpected and ever-changing situations (Bourdieu, 2001a).

Both habitus and field concepts are interrelated, fully functioning solely in relation to one another. As argued by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), one's 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 and 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).

Beyond the relations between field and habitus, the concept of capital is crucial 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. 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). 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 and Wacquant, 1992), distributing heterogeneously power and influence to the agents within those fields.

Bourdieu's *social capital* concept 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 and 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

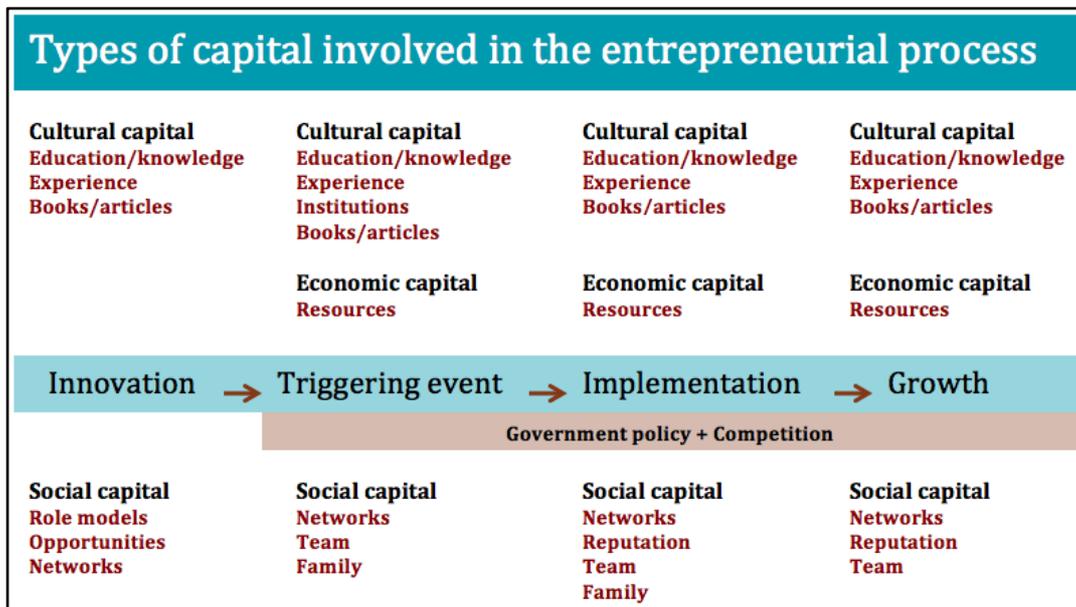
is able to gather, as well as on the quantity of capital (of any type) he/she has by each of his/her connections (Bourdieu, 1986).

Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital* can exist in three forms: embodied, objectified or institutionalized, which are directly interrelated. 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.). 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. 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". 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).

THE RELATION BETWEEN TYPES OF CAPITAL AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

To better explain the relation between Bourdieu's forms of capital and the role they play in the international entrepreneurship process, a theoretical framework was developed, as presented in Figure 1. 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 1 – Immigrant entrepreneurship process model



Source: Adapted from Hisrich and Peters (2002).

Even containing a third form of capital (economic capital), the two main forms used in the framework are the social and cultural capitals. Besides, the further was divided in three forms, according to Bourdieu's concepts: embodied, objectified and institutionalized cultural capitals. 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 adapted to show the influence of each type of Bourdieu's types of capital 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. 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.

METHODOLOGY

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). Besides, this is also a cross-cultural study, which enables the understanding of differences between different cultures (Tiessen, 1997; Mueller, Zapkau and Scwens, 2014) and, in this case, of entrepreneurs working in a different country from the one they are originally from.

This is a study where the individual cases of four entrepreneurs were analyzed through the study of their businesses and, specially, their personal narratives. To that purpose, observation and semi-structured interviews were deployed, 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 (Bardin, 1977).

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, entrepreneurs coming from countries that have a different stage of development from the one they had started their businesses at, and small-sized businesses.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ENTREPRENEURS FROM UNDERDEVELOPED AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Such comparison 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. While the Latin entrepreneurs didn't move to England with entrepreneurial goals, 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 professional objectives. In the pursue of maintaining themselves

in the country, however, they started working in under-skilled jobs due to distinct types of discrimination they had to face. This supports the immigrant entrepreneurship literature, which claims that usually immigrants find such barriers in the formal labor market and tend to work in positions not necessarily related to their professional experience or accumulated knowledge, but the one that natives tend to discard as work options. 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 experiences, planning on bringing their home countries world-renowned gastronomy 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. 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 faced 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 opt for 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 Latin entrepreneurs believed that working with something they liked to do as a hobby would be similar, but when facing reality, they saw how extremely different it was. Not working with something they are truly passionate about and considering the enormously amount of effort and time it requires, both were thinking about selling their ventures, wanting to work with something less time-consuming and that would enable them to have happier and more colorful lives – characteristics deeply worshiped in Latin American countries, but that they were are not 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 could support them, sharing accumulated knowledge and experiences. These social connections were not kept with professional purposes only, but also (if not mainly) to give each other support in the challenging life as an immigrant coming from an underdeveloped nation. At the same time, the European immigrants also relied on their home social connections, but mostly with professional purposes. These connections were usually made with culinary professionals, chefs and restaurant owners who worked in their home countries and who acquired knowledge and experiences in one of the main sources of knowledge within such field.

These and other connections between the entrepreneurs' forms of capitals and their entrepreneurship experiences are shown on Tables 1 and 2, pointing out the main cultural and social capitals (respectively) involved in each of the four entrepreneurship process steps for each of the four immigrant entrepreneurs.

Table 1 - Immigrant entrepreneurs' cultural capitals

	CULTURAL CAPITAL			
	Innovation	Triggering Event	Implementation	Growth
Peruvian entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Previous cultural capital non-recognition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics
Brazilian entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Previous cultural capital non-recognition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics
French entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation - French gastronomy certificate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation - French gastronomy certificate
Italian entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation - Italian influence in Brazil 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work and entrepreneurship experiences - Accumulated knowledge - Personal characteristics - Home country's reputation - International prizes - Italian influence in Brazil

Table 2 - Immigrant entrepreneurs' social capitals

	SOCIAL CAPITAL			
	Innovation	Triggering Event	Implementation	Growth
Peruvian entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peruvian family influences - Australian husband influences - Latin friends influences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peruvian family support and influences - Australian husband influences - Latin friends influences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peruvian family support and influences - Australian husband influences - Latin friends influences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peruvian family support and influences - Australian husband influences - Latin friends influences
Brazilian entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazilian family influences - Former French wife influences - Latin friends influences - Former client's business proposal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazilian family support and influences - Former French wife support and influences - Latin friends influences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazilian family support and influences - Former French wife support and influences - Latin friends support and influences - Accountant support - Business colleague support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazilian family support and influences - Former French wife support and influences - Latin friends support and influences
French entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French family influences - French friends who work in the culinary field 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French family influences - French friends who work in the culinary field - Brazilian competitions owners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French family influences - Invited French friend and chef 	<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
Italian entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Italian husband influence - Orphanage people influences - Past adoptive families influences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Italian husband influence - Orphanage people influences - Past adoptive families influences 	<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 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Italian husband influence - Orphanage people influences - Past adoptive families influences - Brazilian journalist - Employees

DISCUSSION AND FINAL REMARKS

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.

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 – especially 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.

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.

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.

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 has had a different experience 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.

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 sometimes 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 lives¹.

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¹ 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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