

**ASPECTS OF BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN PORTO,
PORTUGAL**

**ASPECTOS DO EMPREENDEDORISMO DOS IMIGRANTES BRASILEIROS
NO PORTO, PORTUGAL**

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ABSTRACT: The article describes the activities of Brazilian entrepreneurship in Porto, Portugal. Data were obtained through a multi-method approach that combined 35 semi-structured interviews with entrepreneurs about their entrepreneurial trajectories and life stories,

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triangulated with data from a survey of 667 Brazilians in Portugal and netnographic analysis of Facebook immigrant groups. The researchers also carried out field work, visiting and observing Brazilian businesses and contacting entrepreneurs in the region. Findings point to issues regarding the barriers to immigrants, such as the accent ceiling and the prejudice, which restricts their earnings and job opportunities; the importance of business matters in the acculturation process and entrepreneurial learning; the relevance of cultural issues for adaptation; the importance of certain aspects of human capital and the social integration of Brazilians and their networks.

KEYWORDS: immigrant entrepreneurship; Brazilians; Portugal; ethnic entrepreneurship.

RESUMO: O artigo descreve as atividades do empreendedorismo brasileiro no Porto, Portugal. Os dados foram obtidos por meio de uma abordagem multimétodo que combinou 35 entrevistas semiestruturadas com empreendedores sobre as suas trajetórias empreendedoras e histórias de vida, trianguladas com dados de uma pesquisa com 667 brasileiros em Portugal e análise netnográfica de grupos de imigrantes no Facebook. Os pesquisadores também realizaram trabalho de campo, visitando e observando empresas brasileiras e contactando empreendedores da região. Os resultados apontam para questões relativas às barreiras dos imigrantes, como o ‘teto de sotaque’ e o preconceito, que restringem seus rendimentos e oportunidades de trabalho; a importância das questões empresariais no processo de aculturação e aprendizagem empreendedora; a relevância das questões culturais para a adaptação; a importância de certos aspectos do capital humano e a integração social dos brasileiros e suas redes.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: empreendedorismo imigrante; brasileiros; Portugal; empreendedorismo étnico.

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Introduction

Global migratory flows have increased greatly due to humanitarian crises, such as the most recent ones in Syria and Afghanistan (Inhorn & Volk, 2021). In parallel, economic immigrants flee their countries of origin in search for better working conditions, education or safety. Major critical events, such as wars, civil unrest, pandemics and recessions enhance human displacement (Gaskell, 2020), meaning that the forecast of immigrant inflows should not be affected in the medium term (Vollset et al., 2020). Aligned with a growing migration scenario, there is also a trend of new immigrant business inception, which is influenced both by the personal characteristics of immigrants (age, education, ethnicity, culture, language proficiency) and by the institutional environment of the countries of origin, encompassing the so-called mixed embeddedness (see Kloosterman & Rath, 2001).

Recent studies have pointed to the social and economic impacts of large migratory flows (Cruz, Falcão, & Mancebo, 2019), as well as to the influence of such flows in the redesign of countries, such as migratory aspects of the international division of labor (Kerwin, 2020). Thus, considering that not all immigrants have professional qualifications or financial resources to carry out regular trajectories, many of them make use of any possible means to achieve their goal of living overseas. In this sense, academic research has pointed to entrepreneurship as one of the possibilities of social inclusion in host societies and of economic ascension of the immigrant (Akbar, 2019).

The interest on researching “ethnic and immigrant entrepreneurship” has grown (Gomes & Bourlegat, 2020) recently, although many gaps still remain untouched, whether in terms of new contexts to be researched or related to certain ethnicities and nationalities to be researched. Academic literature has unveiled some aspects of migratory and entrepreneurial trajectory of Brazilian immigrants in different countries (see Cruz, Falcão, & Barreto, 2018; Cruz, Falcão, & Mancebo, 2019, Casado, Falcão, Cruz, 2021) and the entrepreneurship of foreign immigrants in Brazil (Diniz, Guimarães, & Fernandes, 2019; Diniz, Guimarães, Falcão & Cruz, 2022).

Brazilian economic and political crisis has driven the emigration of Brazilians to different destinations, creating a Brazilian diaspora to European and North American countries. In this sense, Portugal emerges as an important destination for this migratory flow (Rodrigues, 2021). Therefore, such studies regarding Brazilian immigration are starting to gain more

attention from the perspective of migratory trajectories and their entrepreneurial activities (for example, Cruz, Falcão, & Barreto, 2018; Barbosa & Lima, 2020). In Portugal, Brazilian immigrants are not always framed as economic migrants and often settle in the country as business or real estate investors (Gaspar & Ampudia de Haro, 2020). In terms of their qualification, evidences point to a profile of high schooling and consolidated business experience in the recent wave of Brazilian migration to Portugal (Barbosa & Lima, 2020), even though the unqualified Brazilian immigration, which seeks jobs for survival, still persists. In this sense, authors of the current paper sought to carry out an exploratory study of the actual scenario of Brazilian immigrant entrepreneurship in Porto, Portugal. The study, therefore, has the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the main issues of mixed embeddedness that affect entrepreneurial activities of Brazilians in Portugal?

RQ2: What are possible aspects of the capital mix that affect entrepreneurial activities of Brazilians in Portugal?

As the main contributions, the study unveils some important findings regarding the barriers to immigrants, such as the accent ceiling and prejudice, which might restrict their earnings and job opportunities (Colins & Low, 2010); the importance of business matters in the acculturation process and entrepreneurial learning; the relevance of cultural issues for adaptation; the importance of certain aspects of human capital and the social integration of Brazilians and their networks.

The evolution of studies regarding ethnic and immigrant entrepreneurship

Generally speaking, studies focused on ethnic and immigrant entrepreneurship come from interdisciplinary interactions (Cruz, Falcão, & Mancebo, 2019). Among the areas of study that encompass this field, in its early days, there is the preponderance of sociology and, later, geography (Aliaga-Isla Rialp, 2013). Moreover, recently, the analysis of sociological and economic aspects has been conducted, supported by the comparative analysis of income generation of different ethnic groups (Portes & Zhou, 1992). The so-called “next frontier” concerns the discussion of the theme in the light of management theories, with the objective of understanding the dynamics of business, or proposing models that will improve the competitiveness of these businesses (Cruz, Falcão, & Mancebo, 2019).

Among the main directions of seminal authors in the field called “immigrant entrepreneurship”, the following dimensions stand out: economic, political-institutional and

social environment, with the main currents of study being “ethnic minorities and enclaves” (Levitt, 1998; Portes & Zhou, 1992; Rath & Kloosterman, 2000); “disadvantages in the labor market and self-employment” (Evans, 1989); “ethnic entrepreneurship” (Achidi Ndofor & Priem, 2011); “integrative approaches” (economic/institutional) (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001); “political economy of immigrant businesses” (Bonacich, 1993; Teixeira, Lo, & Truelove, 2007); and “immigrant business and the role of government” (Kloosterman, 2003).

A key factor identified for ethnic and immigrant entrepreneurship is what has been called the formation of social networks, which simultaneously function as a support mechanism and a driver in the selection of destinations and business opportunities (Cruz, Falcão, & Mancebo, 2019). Along these lines, the occurrence of three types of social networks has been verified, namely: origin networks (ethnic, national), destination networks and industry networks, also called “practice networks” (Diniz, Guimarães, & Fernandes, 2019). Furthermore, networks formed in “ethnic enclaves” have reduced immigration barriers, increasing economic opportunities, to harness ethnic resources for establishing immigrant businesses (Portes & Zhou, 1992). Furthermore, ethnic enclaves promote an ecosystem of firms that supply this market (Cruz, Falcão, & Barreto, 2018).

Cruz, Falcão and Mancebo (2019) identified, in their studies, that there are basically two types of immigrant entrepreneurs: those who are socially identified with their ethnic communities and those who do not identify with them. The first ones, which are more likely to become “ethnic enclave” entrepreneurs, also seek to improve their community through altruistic actions, even helping a future competitor to establish themselves. These authors also developed a framework for the taxonomy of immigrant businesses, adding the company's target audience to the analysis.

Figure 1 – Ethnic business opportunities

		Affiliation with their ethnic community	
		Yes	No
Target	Ethnic and co-ethnic	Focus on ethnic niche markets	Focus on specific interests or middleman minorities
	Generic consumer	Focus on the market of exotic products for the mainstream customer	Focus on highly competitive markets

Source: Cruz, Falcão e Mancebo (2019).

This taxonomy strengthens the proposal of Portes and Zhou (1992) and posits that each of the four business opportunities should be analyzed properly, that is, the dynamics of

networks, the interactions with customers, adaptations in products and services and customer relations (Cruz, Falcão, & Mancebo, 2019). For example, a restaurant needs to adapt certain ingredients of ethnic dishes if it wants to cater to local consumers; on the other hand, it needs to follow original recipes to cater to their own ethnic community.

More recently, there are proposals to advance the frontiers of studies aimed at ethnic entrepreneurship. With a close look at the interrelationship between ethnic entrepreneurship and urban governance, the authors suggest five new avenues for research: (i) go beyond city limits; (ii) go beyond the metropolis and explore rural and peripheral areas; (iii) moving towards the conditions for the survival of small firms; (iv) go beyond description – in well-known ethnic groups; and (v) go beyond the unidirectional impact, therefore towards a multilevel context (Rath & Schutjens, 2019).

Capital theories and their influence on the formation of immigrant communities

Bourdieu (1986) proposes that any sphere of human relations have constructs that address their cultural and social aspects, or types of capital, such as cultural and social capital. Social capital, according to Bourdieu (1986) relates to the collective value of social networks, playing a central role in every immigrant community. Cooperation between co-ethnics, as well as trust might occur in a specific group, namely bounded trust (Portes & Zhou, 1992). On the other hand, some studies evidence a fierce competition or mistrust among coethnics (see Casado, Falcão, Cruz, 2021). Immigrant businessmen intermediate and produce goods and services not mainly for themselves, but for a common good. Moreover, social capital also is used to explain the improved performance of certain groups that are able to develop supply chain relations and strategic alliances (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Light (1984) also argues that there is a tight relationship between social capital and ethnic entrepreneurship, which is associated to solidarity, ethical and cultural values, knowledge and skills.

According to Drori, Honig and Wright (2009), for immigrant entrepreneurs, networking is a key factor to them, functioning at the same time as support mechanisms, drivers of destination selection and business opportunities levers. Thus, these authors propose three forms of network formation: network of origin (ethnicity), network of destination, and network of industry (or practice). Business opportunities are enhanced by strong networks, as well as the ethnic enclaves that lowers the barriers to emigration, due to hiring employees from migrant pools at lower rates. They also practice the dissemination of strategic market information, such as suppliers, technologies, and business practices (Drori, Honig, & Wright, 2009).

Moreover, Bourdieu (1986) also presents social capital as a form to produce or reproduce inequality, when, for example, people gain access to powerful positions through the direct and indirect employment of their social connections.

Cultural capital, as proposed by Bourdieu (1986) relates to the “cultural education” of individuals or the so-called ‘habitus’, which relates to socially ingrained habits, skills and dispositions. Individuals perceive the social world around them differently, reacting to it according to their beliefs that are embedded in their own cultures. Therefore, cultural capital or habit dispositions are usually shared by people with similar histories and backgrounds (such as nationality, ethnicity, education, profession, religion, etc).

Additionally, Becker (1993) unveils the importance of the so-called human capital, which represent a form of wealth which can be directed to accomplish the goals of firms or nations. As it relates to the stock of knowledge, habits, personality attributes and work experiences, the economist argues that human capital is represented by a collection of traits — all the knowledge, talents, skills, abilities, experience, intelligence, training, judgment, and wisdom possessed by individuals in a population. In the entrepreneurship context, Basu (2004) argues that educational and family background influences entrepreneurs’ aspirations and goals, related to the role of their parents as models of success. Her findings also highlight the diversity and complexity of the interaction between ethnicity, culture, class and entrepreneurship.

At a certain level, many immigrant entrepreneurs might possess lower levels of human capital and, therefore, choose self-employment as the only viable alternative to underemployment (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990), which is true while observing low-skilled immigrants that engage in catering activities or work as janitors or construction workers. On the other extreme, skilled immigrants, coming from a better socio-economic background are less likely to venture, as other employment options might provide better earnings (Becker, 1993). Nevertheless, recent evidence of the Brazilian entrepreneur’s (see Cruz, Falcão, & Mancebo, 2019; Casado, Falcão, Cruz, 2021) shows skilled immigrants that are savvy entrepreneurs, corroborating with Chaganti, Watts, Chaganti, & Zimmerman-Treichel (2008) findings. That correlation between education and entrepreneurship also corroborates with Van der Sluis, Van Praag and Vijverberg (2008) studies and other studies that target the startup high-technology world. Sometimes, immigrants succeed with less formal education or even compensate their lack of human capital with the creation of strong social networks.

Moreover, the sphere of economic capital involves financial transactions, which generally take place in any business. Typically, it is calculated by determining the amount of

capital needed by firms to ensure its operation. It is worth to note, that not all immigrants receive the same treatment in regard to getting a loan for their businesses. Bruder, Neuberger, & R athke-D oppner (2011), for instance, argue that entrepreneurs with similar immigration history are significantly more likely to be denied credit than native entrepreneurs. However, that study also shows that the underlying reasons for this is attributed to differences in risk factors and financial relationships, rather than ethnicity itself.

In order to perform the analysis of both the quantitative and qualitative data, the capitals theory was used. For instance, human and economic capital aspects, were accessed directly through the evidences collected by the surveys questionnaires. In addition, the aspects of social capital of the entrepreneurs were observed through the various in-depth interviews.

General review of the mixed embeddedness concept

Mixed embeddedness has become a crucial framework to explain the success of entrepreneurs, being particularly useful for unveiling aspects of immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurs (Kloosterman, Van der Leun, & Rath, 1999), and quite suitable for explaining mechanisms of informal economic activities which occur embedded in immigrant communities, related to their opportunity structures, actors and institutional environments (Kloosterman, 2010).

The original concept of embeddedness developed by Polanyi (1957) and Granovetter (1985), aimed to explain how the behavior of individuals and institutions, where they are inserted, would be affected by their social relations. This evolved into the mixed embeddedness thesis, with the understanding that opportunity structures - exogenous factors that limit or enable collective actors - are not restricted to the market economy, but are embedded in a broader institutional, regulatory and sociocultural context (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001).

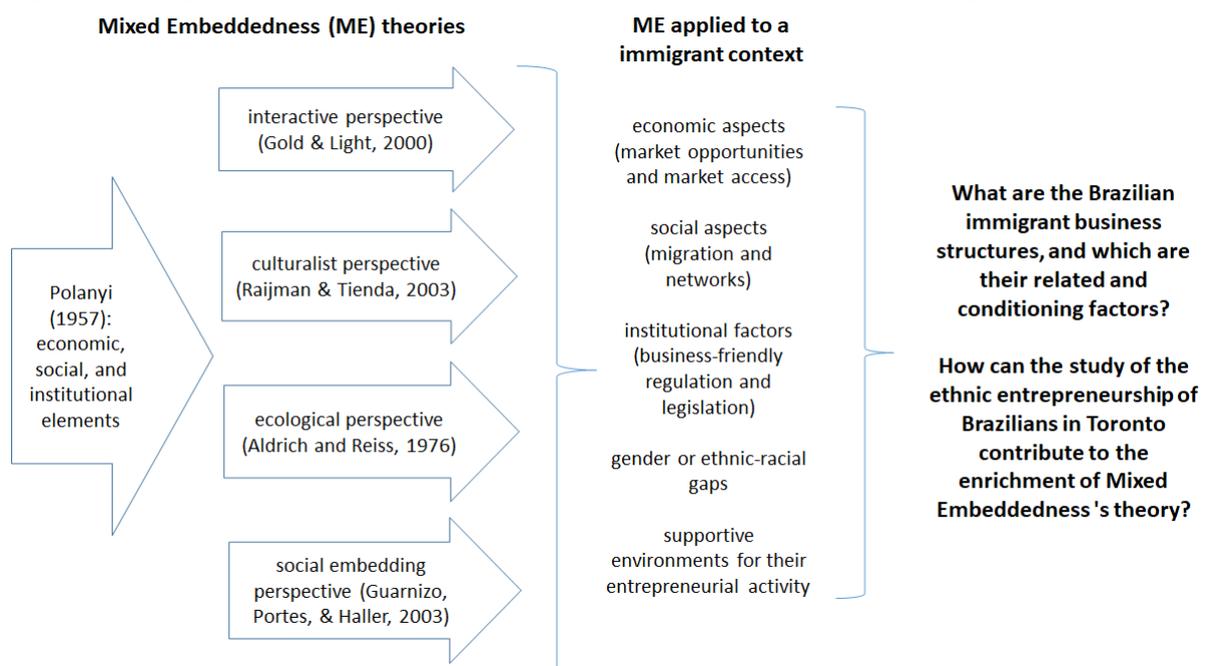
On the other hand, sociocultural practices are usually formally codified in the national regulatory and institutional framework (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001), which can promote the generation of different and specific self-employment trajectories, exhibiting divergent opportunity structures (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Kloosterman, 2010), such as zoning plans within urban locations limiting certain types of businesses, differences in local practices regarding the division of labor, different consumption habits, etc. On the one hand, urban environments are constantly changing architecturally and in regard to their sociocultural landscape. On the other hand, broader changes are taking place in the global economy and in the institutional/governmental spheres that affect these immigrant businesses.

The interaction between the different factors promotes a broad and dynamic structure, which encompasses organizations and individuals at the neighborhood, city and country level, with an intersection of various disciplines occurring (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000), which encompasses: (i) economic aspects, (ii) social aspects, (iii) institutional factors, (iv) culture and ethnic differences and (v) welcoming environment and support for businesses and entrepreneurs.

Moreover, several factors shape the immigrant business context, including technological innovations, changes in regulatory frameworks, sociocultural practices and changes in global commerce (Kloosterman, 2010). Therefore, market conditions can determine, to a large extent, in which segments new immigrant businesses will emerge (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000; Kloosterman, 2010).

Despite Portugal being part of the European Union, where there is a commitment to multiculturalism and assimilation of immigrants in most of its countries and levels of government, ethnic immigrants and entrepreneurs still face barriers in their commercial practices, such as limited access to funding or bank loans (Teixeira, Lo, & Truelove, 2007). While interweaving the seminal original works of mixed embeddedness (Polanyi, 1957; Gold & Light, 2000, Rajjman & Tienda, 2003; Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003) authors of the current paper propose its application to the research context in brief (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Perspectives of Mixed embeddedness in the context of Brazilians in Portugal



Source: adapted from Falcão, Cruz and Amaral (2018)

Method

This research combines quantitative methods (through surveys and analysis of descriptive statistics) with qualitative methods (through semi-structured interviews and on-site observation), generating a multi-method research protocol (Creswell & Creswell, 2017) that involved three explicit phases as follows.

Data collection

Semi-structured interviews - first phase

In this stage, 35 semi-structured interviews were conducted (Ghauri, Grønhaug, & Strange, 2020) with entrepreneurs established in the Porto region, including questions in the script which relate to (i) their individual migratory trajectory, (ii) their own experience in creating and managing their businesses, (iii) the structures of specific opportunities found; (iv) the importance of social networks and mechanisms for the survival and success of their businesses; (v) financial matters; (vi) advice on administrative or legal matters; (vii), partnerships and local suppliers; (viii) logistical issues and business support.

The geographical boundaries of the entrepreneurs which were interviewed included the city of Porto and surrounding towns, such as Vila Nova de Gaia, Matosinhos, Maia, Póvoa do Varzim and Espinho. The research project was also planning to expand data collection in a second round of interviews in Lisbon, but the Covid pandemic has not allowed it to take place. The interviews lasted about one hour and fifteen minutes each, being carried according to subject's convenience of time and location. They were fully audio-recorded and transcribed, generating a total of 2,450 minutes of recording and approximately 520 pages of transcripts. Furthermore, they revealed aspects of the importance of networks and social interaction mechanisms for the survival and success of businesses. Qualitative data also allowed researchers to delve into various issues of mixed embeddedness, including economic, managerial and legal aspects, partnerships and local suppliers, logistics and commercial support.

Field observations –phase performed together with the previous one

Aiming to establish direct contact and observe aspects of the businesses that are often not revealed in just one interview, several field incursions were carried out, visiting the places

with the greatest concentration of Brazilian immigrants. Thus, researchers established contacts with local businessmen.

A notebook was used to record the researchers' field notes, impressions and perceptions. Two locations with a strong presence of Brazilian businesses were identified in the city of Porto: (i) the less noble tourism area, outside the Baixa do Rio Douro –a few blocks from Bolhão market, Rua Santa Catarina and Praça dos Poveiros. In this area, offices and food businesses were found. The other area (ii) was located near the General Consulate of Brazil in Porto and the Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF). In this area, businesses typically aimed at Brazilians, targeting their legalization in the country.

The interviews with two businesswomen in particular, an accountant and a lawyer, also served as an instrument to triangulate the data obtained in the interviews, because both maintain business relationships with several Brazilian entrepreneurs in the region.

Survey– second phase

Seeking to perform a data triangulation, the survey data collection lasted a year, and the questionnaires were disseminated through the Facebook groups of Brazilians in Portugal, complemented by the researchers' network of contacts.

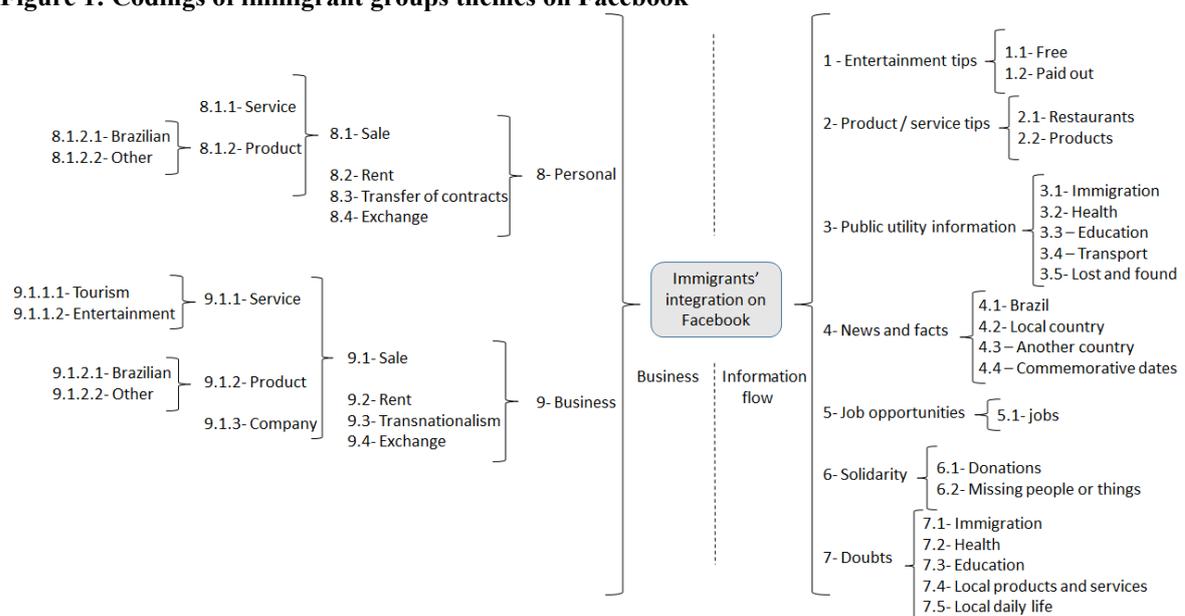
The sample of respondents followed accessibility, being non-probabilistic and intentional (Ghauri, Grønhaug, & Strange, 2020), with a confidence interval of 95% and a margin of error of 4% being arbitrated. With these parameters and given Itamaraty data on the estimated number of Brazilians in Portugal being 166,775 people (Brasil, 2016), a minimum sample size of 600 individuals was calculated. Aiming to reach this minimum sample and based on the work of Baltar and Icart (2013), the researchers joined 20 Facebook groups that brought together Brazilian immigrants interested in emigrating to Portugal, totaling 708,135 members. The survey questionnaire included 15 closed and four open questions about the respondent's socioeconomic profile. In addition, it proposed five open questions about Brazilian life abroad: 'Why did you leave Brazil?', 'Why did Portugal attract you?', 'What is your purpose in Portugal?', 'What were the main difficulties faced when you arrived?' and 'What are the main difficulties faced TODAY?'. At the end of data collection, 667 valid responses were obtained.

Netnography – third phase

Seeking to enhance the triangulation of data relating to the responses to the questionnaire, the most numerous and active groups on Facebook were also observed, as well

as the posts of its members with the greatest participation, with the most numerous and active group being selected. From this observation, illustrative posts or participations of relevant and much-discussed aspects were extracted, and especially those related to Brazilian immigration to Portugal, always respecting the ethical principles of netnographic research (Kozinets, 2002). Many anthropologists and sociologists have already pointed to the need to adapt ethnographic research techniques for use in virtual communities, which culminated in the creation of this technique (Kozinets, 2002), where the choice of communities to be researched must be judicious: (i) must have a topic or theme relevant to the research; (ii) featuring a large number of posts; (iii) a significant number of individuals who 'post' messages; (iv) abundant detailed or descriptive information; and (v) a greater number of interactions related to the survey question(s). Therefore, data collection took place from two sources: data copied by researchers directly from communications and descriptive data from their observations of communities and their members, their interactions and meanings. Furthermore, the use of netnography to study immigrant online communities was proposed by Falcão, Cruz and Amaral (2018), investigating business activities and information flows. The authors presented and tested a codification of themes discussed in the groups as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Codings of immigrant groups themes on Facebook



Source: adapted from Falcão, Cruz and Amaral (2018)

Based on the codification proposed by Falcão, Cruz and Amaral (2018), the posts were catalogued, classified and analyzed. Frequency counting (Sampaio, Assumpção, & Fonseca, 2018) and content analysis (Bardin, 2011) of the messages were also performed to triangulate with both interviews and survey outputs. It is noteworthy that the group with the largest number of participants, ‘Brazilians BR In Portugal PT’ was chosen to verify the posts, which were collected between the months of June and August 2020.

Data Analysis

Analysis of semi-structured interviews and field observations

The interviews were fully transcribed and analyzed following the indications of Gioia, Corley and Hamilton (2013), using a systematic inductive approach to the development of the categories that emerged from the interviews. Therefore, the analysis and coding were performed in four steps: (i) first-order analysis - this step included the search for terms centered on the informant; (ii) second order analysis - looking for similarities and differences, aiming to reduce specific categories; (iii) establishment of labels or phrasal descriptors - aggregate dimensions; and (iv) construction of a data structure diagram collected between June and August 2020.

Survey analysis

The survey data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, including means and standard deviations, sociodemographic profile, status of entry visa in Portugal, reasons for leaving Brazil and for immigrating to Portugal, as well as commercial information (age of business, type and the status of formalization of businesses).

Netnographic analysis

We followed the ethical protocols of Kozinets (2010) regarding the methodology of netnography, individual and original posts were analyzed and rewritten so that it was not possible to track them through search engines. Furthermore, to conduct research ethically in Facebook groups, the group managers' consent was obtained, and the “agreement” of the online communities selected to participate was obtained, guaranteeing the anonymity of the extracted posts. We sought to carry out a statistical analysis of the words cited in the responses using the Nvivo® data analysis software.

RESULTS

This section presents the results of semi-structured interviews with 35 Brazilian entrepreneurs, showing the sociodemographic information of interviewees (Table 1) analyzed through bibliographic sources of immigrant entrepreneurship, complemented by information obtained from the survey data and their profile (see Table 2).

Table1: Socio-demographic profile of the sample of entrepreneurs in Porto (Portugal)

Interviewee (ID)	Age (years)	Gender (M/F)	Education	Time in Portugal (years)	Business Type
I01	33	F	High school	1	Candy manufacturing
I02	25	F	High school	0,83	Candy manufacturing
I03	38	F	College/ technical course	6	Sale of secondhand clothes
I04	31	F	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	3	Coffee and Snack Bar
I05	37	M	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	4	Restaurant
I06	29	M	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	4	Pizza & Steakhouse
I07	37	M	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	5	Barbecue Festival and Events
I08	48	M	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	3	Purchase, renovation and sale of real estate.
I09	39	F	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	3	Cafeteria
I10	27	F	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	0,33	Cafe and Restaurant
I11	36	M	College/ technical course	3	Japanese restaurant
I12	33	M	High school	2,25	Restaurant
I13	46	F	fundamental	21	Beauty salon
I14	40	M	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	1	Coffee
I15	49	M	College/ technical course	19	Restaurant
I16	39	M	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	16,3	Restaurant and Snacks
I17	37	F	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	1	Cafeteria
I18	46	F	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	2	Aesthetics
I19	28	F	College/ technical course	2	Restaurant
I20	60	F	High school	2	Pastry shop
I21	39	F	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	4	Hairdresser's salon
I22	43	F	High school	2	Butcher shop
I23	39	M	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	1,5	Restaurant
I24	39	M	High school	4	Cell-phones and computer repairing
I25	28	F	College/ technical course	4	Cell-phones and computer repairing
I26	52	M	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	39	Restaurant
I27	50	M	Undergraduate/Bachelor degree	2,5	Barbershop

Source: Own elaboration based on survey data

Still, to present the arguments based on the survey data, the researchers divided the respondents into two groups: (i) residents of the Porto region, which added up to 250 respondents (37.48% of the total) and residents of other regions of Portugal (417 respondents or 62.52%).

In their essay on immigrant entrepreneurs' networks and business opportunities, Cruz, Falcão and Mancebo (2019), proposed that one of the focuses for identifying a niche of activity would be the affiliation of entrepreneurs with the ethnic community. In this sense, respondents were asked about their relationships with other Brazilians (businessmen or not). Interestingly, the responses suggest that networks are not primarily formed by ethnic origin. Even when the product sold in a restaurant, for example, was of Brazilian origin, businessmen claimed that their suppliers were Portuguese importers.

When looking for support in the survey data to understand this lack of adherence to an ethnic Brazilian business community in Portugal, a feeling of disappointment with Brazil and with Brazilians is perceived when evaluating the answers linked to the reasons for having left the country: “Insecurity, disorganization and lack of perspective for the future, the country does not value its good citizens” (survey respondent 27). “Due to the population's lack of sense of collectivity, disrespect for the rules and the corruption of the population as a whole. Too much violence, chaotic traffic” (responder 62 of the survey).

With regard to netnographic research, posts referring to the topic 'employment' were the most frequent, being the second topic 'immigration'. The latter involved Brazilians doubts about the immigration process. A critical evaluation of the posts demonstrates the individualism traces of Brazilians (Gomes, 2018). In fact, without wanting to delve too deeply into this debate that is beyond the scope of this paper, a social mechanism characteristic of Brazilian culture called 'jeitinho' seems to help to understand the issue, as it involves breaking rules, laws or standards, in order to address problems faced, individually, at the time they occur (Flach, 2012). This mechanism is well regarded by those who practice it, as they perceive an advantage, and badly regarded by others, who perceive that they were harmed, or at least that they did not receive the same treatment. In fact, some survey respondents commented on the mechanism: “Violence, culture of the right way, bad education for my children” (survey respondent 592).

In the group of Brazilians in Portugal on Facebook, several posts talk about cultural differences and suggest that interacting with Portuguese people is better than with Brazilians, for example:

Most Portuguese people are cooler and suspicious. It is unfortunately most of the time with good reason. Because we bring the 'Brazilian way of thinking' that is inadmissible here (...). But what hurts me the most is knowing that most of the time, the ones who most outsmart Brazilians are the countrymen themselves. (post by a woman on August 20, 2020).

The mistrust among Brazilian businessmen abroad had already been described by Casado, Falcão and Cruz (2021). Within the Brazilian community, it is clear that the difference in the arrival date, between 'old' and 'new' means that two distinct social networks are also created. Often the older ones don't like the younger ones and vice versa. Returning to the interviews with entrepreneurs, the following statement exemplifies a tendency not to form networks among Brazilians due to a negative perception of identifying with other immigrants:

One of the things we learned the hard way is that, sometimes, Brazilians come here because of the need for survival. He forgets that he can survive without ending someone's life. So, right... we have Brazilian friends, we have Portuguese friends, we have Brazilian dislikes as well as we have Portuguese dislikes, but the Brazilian dislikes are much greater because they were people we already knew and we had a stronger bond, as they are from there, from the Brazil. Some arrived here and things changed (I05).

The other focus for identifying a business opportunity described by Cruz, Falcão and Mancebo (2019) concerns the target audience. In this case, it was identified that the definition of the audience depends more on the point than on a strategic analysis of the business environment.

The researchers identified the following compliance of Brazilian businesses in Porto:

(i) Those close to less noble tourism areas (ie, outside the 'Baixa do Rio Douro', close to 'Ponte Luís I'), as this area is located close to 'Bolhão' market and 'Santa Catarina' street and 'Praça dos Poveiros', this is a region that includes offices and whose businesses are primarily focused on catering. Therefore, the interviewees had the local consumers as their target audience, and the businesses presented a configuration in accordance to an international trend (Japanese and Italian cuisine, Portuguese cafes, etc.), as highlighted below:

The public that really likes sushi comes here and eats good rice, good fish, a good roll. I have many foreign customers who come here because of this, people from outside saying that they've eaten sushi in different places and here it's one of the best she's ever eaten. (I11).

(ii) Those close to the Consulate General of Brazil in Porto and the Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF) were businesses typically aimed at Brazilians, such as pastry, accounting, beauty salons, etc. The research with on-site observation was very rich in

identifying that many of these businesses were located in Shopping Brasília, built in honor of the Brazilian city. These were more modest businesses, with simpler decoration, as explained below:

I chose the location not only because of the concentration of Brazilians, but because I liked it. Also because the Brazilian, when he sees if there is pastry, he goes there to eat and there are new people every day and there are many people he still doesn't know. (I20).

After analyzing the interviews, the following market target chart was identified (see table 3).

Table3: Business target audience

Target on Brazilians		Target on general people			
I01	Candy manufacturing	I03	Sale of second hand clothes	I22	Butcher shop
I02	Candy manufacturing	I05	Restaurant	I23	Restaurant
I04	Coffee and Snack Bar	I06	Pizza & Steakhouse	I24	Cell-phones and computer repairing
I09	Cafeteria	I07	Barbecue Festival and Events	I25	Cell-phones and computer repairing
I10	Cafe and Restaurant	I08	Purchase, renovation and sale of real estate	I26	Restaurant
I12	Restaurant	I11	Japanese restaurant	I27	Barbershop
I18	Aesthetics	I13	Beauty salon	I28	Japanese restaurant
I19	Restaurant	I14	Coffee	I29	Butcher shop
I20	Pastry shop	I15	Restaurant	I30	Electric Car Rental
I33	Amount of money	I16	Restaurant and Snacks	I31	Accounting
I35	Law advisor	I17	Cafeteria	I32	Italian restaurant and pizzeria
		I21	Hairdresser's salon	I34	Cafeteria

Source: own elaboration.

Moreover, when performing the analyses of the semi-structured interviews, it was followed the coding protocols of Gioia, Corley and Hamilton (2013), using the theoretical constructs extracted from the literature review required to carry out the study. A few aspects emerged from the coding process and they are discussed on the following sections. On table 4 there are some examples of quotes (one for each first order categories). Although there are more examples for each category, we have not included them so the table does not have an excessive size.

Table 4: First and second order categories and interviewees quotes.

First Order Categories	Quotes Or Findings	Second Order Categories
Change in legislation	“When we arrived, the law was changed, and tourists could no longer work. So that was pretty boring for us. We had to wait for legalization to be able to get a job. But thank God I managed to find someone who gave me an informal job” (I24).	Barriers to immigrants, accent ceiling and prejudice.
Barrier for hiring Brazilians	“The main problem is that when Brazilians come over here, they're not sure if they're going to stay [...] do you understand? Nobody wants to hire an employee who is not sure that he's going to stay”. (I08).	

Unequal treatment for immigrants	“My work experience in Brazil was much better than in Portugal” (I04).	
Prejudice	Reseracher: but was it prejudice on the part of the customers? (I23): "yes, the older ones and the others too. That scared me a lot. People would enter (in the restaurant) and look at us as if annoyed: Wow, Brazilian! Everyone used to be Portuguese here!	
Accent ceiling	I prefer (the employee) to be Portuguese, it's even easier. Because my audience is 90% Portuguese and the rest tourists. It becomes easier to communicate with the public. The Brazilian ends up having a little difficulty, even with minimal things in the language and accent, but that end up making a difference (I16).	
Working for getting experience overseas	“My intention was just to work. I was saturated and I just wanted to work. But, over the years I developed a good experience, uh, I met many people and today they even call me [name of interviewee] or [name of interviewee] of the Picanha” (I15).	
Learning during the entrepreneurial process	“I have a house, that house is giving me the most trouble. [...] I'm doing all sorts of things possible at a construction site. Especially in this one, a lot of suppliers have already come to me. I needed to know a lot about furniture. [...] and now ladder, I didn't know any ladder suppliers. Now I have two, man. That is, I got to know more about products and suppliers, because the apartment has needs some things that the house does not use.” (I08).	Business matters
Use of the Portuguese business support structure	“Let's get a loan, that's what I did [...] we found this little shop that was financially interesting and went to the bank. This was frightening [...] so fast! I had not imagined it would be so fast” (I013).	
Strategic choice of location	“I chose the location not only due to this concentration of Brazilians, but because I liked it. Also because when Brazilians see fried pastries (pastel), they go there to eat and there are new people every day and there are a lot of people they still don't know” (I20).	
Genuine product and quality	“People who really like sushi come here and eat good rice, good fish, and a good roll. I have many foreign clients who come here because of this, people from overseas saying that they have eaten sushi in different places [of the world] and here it is one of the best they have ever eaten” (I11).	
Differences between Brazilians and Portuguese	“Their sweets are almost all egg-based, ours (Brazilians) have more variety, more flavor. But they [the Portuguese audience] are already used to their types of sweets, so it is difficult to change” (I02).	Cultural matters
Presentation of Brazilian products to the Portuguese	“That's why it's called Brazilian Barbecue Festival [...] to show the Portuguese that it's not the type of barbecue festival they have it here, like ribs and chicken. Brazilians have Brazilian things”. (I07)	
Learning in Portugal	“I had already taken gastronomy courses and, when I passed by [this store], and I realized that they were renting it.” (I04).	
Education in Portugal	“I have been a migrant since 1991, I lived in Japan for six years and decided to return to Brazil to continue my academic study. I was studying in Japan and did my high school there, but I wanted to go to college, and I had wanted to do law ever since, so I went back to Brazil to study. I arrived in Brazil and was going to go to college in mid-February, I arrived in August and would start in February[...] so at this time in 1998 I decided to go to college in Portugal at a time when there was not much ignorance about Portugal in Brazil, Portugal was not in fashion and that I did not even know where the city of Porto was. I came to Portugal around 1998, I went to college, I joined the Catholic University of Porto and I belong to the group that ended in 2003, with two children, two pregnancies in the middle, two children I had during the course” (I35)	Human capital matters

Education in Brazil	So I took two courses on cell phone maintenance (in Brazil) and the last one I got as a gift from my ex-boss, I was about to come to Portugal and thinking about working in this area, cell phone, computer, which I already had experience and maybe even crawl and assemble something for me. That was my idea (I11).	The social integration of Brazilians and their networks
Learning in Brazil	“we had already thought about putting together something there in Brazil, but we thought it was easier here. I started to study the rules, the norms, what was necessary in Brazil” (I09).	
People support	“Nilce who referred me to that store [...] my ex-companion, he was the one who also helped me at that moment. These people, even if one is the janitor, a friend, a neighbor, or someone that you daily talk about.” (I03).	
Use of social media for immigration	“We look for the data on the internet. I already have family members here, some of them get information with colleagues, also through social networks [...] that is where we get a lot of information from, [...] we end up meeting a lot of people who live here.” (I29). “What happens is that the first time I came here, there was no such Internet thing [nowadays] a lot of people ask how to go to Portugal [and other matters] in these Facebook groups. In my time it used to be buying a ticket, having money and getting there” (I21)	
Discouragement	“Everyone says I was brave because when I said I was going to open a salon here. Most of the people close to me said I was crazy because here it is very still and dead and I wouldn't even be able to pay rent [...] I received criticism and had no support” (I21).	
Ingratitude	“We helped 600 people who sat in this chair here and said: ‘I wanted to open a company and I don't know to do it’, And we willingly sat down with them and explained [everything]. And then the guy never again passed here. Didn't even stop by to say a thank you or anything. There is a difference from the Portuguese [people], understand? (I07).	
Mistrust	“When I left Brazil I was a little frustrated, I even think things are getting better, but I avoid this association with Brazil as much as possible. Despite being proud to be Brazilian, of course, I love my country, but I avoid it...” (I16).	

Source: own elaboration.

Capital Theories and Their Influence on the Formation of Immigrant Communities

Social capital and networks

Recalling that social networks play an important role in every immigrant community, cooperation between Brazilians is limited in the Portuguese context. Due to the ease of speaking the local language, some Brazilians assume that they have the same opportunities in terms of career as the Portuguese even knowing that there are some ‘accent ceiling’ barriers, more specifically related to discrimination regarding their accent or the form they speak the Portuguese language, which could affect access to jobs or work opportunities (Collins & Low, 2010). The concept of ‘accent ceiling’ was created by Collins (1995) in the Australian context, in which workers from linguistic backgrounds other than English were restricted in terms of job opportunities and career opportunities, when compared to their Australian or British counterparts. Therefore, the author suggested that recognition of the benefits of their cultural

capital to prospective employers should be emphasized to reverse that form of discrimination. In addition, Collins and Low (2010) researched female Asian entrepreneurs in Australia, depicting the same problem of discrimination related to their foreign accent in terms of accessing business opportunities.

However, regarding the integration of Brazilians in the Portuguese society, the so-called bounded trust (Portes & Zhou, 1992) – or trust among compatriots - might occur more between Brazilians and Portuguese, rather than among Brazilians themselves. Moreover, there is even a feeling of ingratitude of some Brazilians that ask for information for opening their businesses to other entrepreneurs. Therefore, corroborating with other studies, which evidence competition mechanisms or mistrust among coethnics (see Casado, Falcão, Cruz, 2021), that is also the case of the Brazilian community in Porto.

Moreover, interviewees report the necessity of integration with the Brazilian immigrant community (or at least using them as a source of information). In regard to the locals, although Portuguese people are rather more suspicious of Brazilians, they are an important source to obtain indication of suppliers and/or employees. However, entrepreneurs manifest their apprehension on hiring Brazilians, especially because some of them don't know if they are staying or not in the host country.

Human and economic capital matters

In regard to human capital (see Becker, 1993) of Brazilian entrepreneurs, it is worth to recall, first, the definition of human capital itself. Knowing that it refers to the stock of knowledge, habits, personality attributes and work experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs, the new wave of Brazilian entrepreneurs are quite prepared before coming to Portugal, which is evidenced by their higher levels of human capital and, therefore, either previous work experiences or education. As seen both in the interviewee profile and in the survey sample, Brazilian immigrants are significantly educated and experienced before coming to Portugal. As part of assimilation in the Portuguese society, evidences collected both in the interviews and netnographic data, show that an important socialization mechanism is working in the environment of host country's local firms. Due to the economic and political crisis, many experienced workers and entrepreneurs or well-educated individuals are fleeing Brazil towards any overseas destination.

Regarding economic capital, recent evidence shows that part of Brazilian immigrants try to enter the country using the so-called Golden visa (SEF, 2020; Gaspar & Ampudia de

Haro, 2020), which involves investment in business or real estate. However, within the Brazilians that requires the Golden visa, more tend to invest rather in real estate, than in businesses.

Mixed embeddedness applied to the context of Brazilian entrepreneurs in Porto

This section intends to go deeper into aspects of mixed embeddedness applied to the immigrant entrepreneurship context of Brazilians in Porto, such as the economic aspects, social aspects (e.g. migration and networks), culture or ethnic gaps and the support environment for business activities.

Economic aspects (market opportunities and market access)

Kloosterman (2010) highlights the economic aspects involving the identification of market opportunities, a factor corroborated by Cruz, Falcão and Mancebo (2019). Kloosterman (2010) argues that such aspects must encompass the analysis of target markets, the structure of opportunities and the configuration of business networks. In this sense, it is highlighted that Porto is a tourist city, with excellent gastronomy, which justifies the creation of many food businesses (Araújo, 2014), as corroborated by the following statements:

We wanted to open a coffee shop [...] there were a lot of tourists when we came and there was no such thing as a coffee shop without typical Portuguese sweets. (I09).

[...] there are some tourists too, so he has many customers who come, who are visiting, but he is not a loyal customer, right? He is the one who only comes after he leaves and never comes back. (I28).

In the survey questionnaires, in the extract of residents of the Porto region, a higher percentage of respondents were identified: (i) living on income - 6.1% of the total of the region, in contrast to 4.5% of the total of residents of Lisbon and 2.6% of other regions; and (ii) only studying - 33.9% of the total in the region, in contrast to 18.9% of the total number of residents in Lisbon and 23% in other regions. These findings may suggest a higher economic standard, especially when it is identified that the Porto region has the lowest percentage of Brazilians who are 'just working' and 'working and studying'. On the other hand, among the survey respondents, the region has the lowest frequency of entrepreneurs. Netnography identified posts suggesting that living in Porto is expensive:

Disadvantages of living in Porto: Many tourists. Every year, the city receives more tourists and residents have to learn to live with that, so think about it before choosing the city in which to live in Portugal (...). Expensive rents. There is a great demand for houses in Porto and little demand, so rent prices

are high, and this is causing people to choose to live in the surroundings of Porto, such as Vila Nova de Gaia, Maia, Ermesinde, etc (post from a man on July 15, 2020).

With regard to entrepreneurs, 54.2% reported that they were already engaged in business activities in Brazil. This data suggests that the economic conditions when they arrived in Portugal were not the worst, as none of them reported having left Brazil after bankruptcy. On the contrary, many reported that their original businesses remain active and managed by family members.

Social aspects (migration and networks)

Based on the analysis of the different sources of the research, it appears that the Brazilian migration to Portugal is, initially, the result of the Brazilian economic situation (as a repulsive cause) and the issue of obtaining business visas or ancestry and language familiarity (as an attractive cause). Although there is currently a contingent of Brazilians who post unsuccessful experiences on social networks arising from discrimination suffered and errors in their assessment of their ability to achieve financial success in Portugal, some scholars (e.g. Rodrigues, 2021; Cruz, Falcão, & Barreto, 2018; Barbosa & Lima, 2020) believe that migration there, should continue to increase in the coming years.

Many posts suggest that Brazilians have an illusion that, in Portugal, they would have the same opportunities to 'make a living' and send money to families in Brazil, as in the case of Brazilians in the US, for example. Currently, there is a change in this behavior, that is, a perception that moving to Portugal should not be the result of an expectation of getting richer, but of living better, as shown on the following post:

Assess what your motivations are. PT is not a country for those who want to get rich or save money. PT is a country to have quality of life. This involves security, good education for your children and decent health for your family, in addition to paying a fair price for consumer goods. If that's your intention, great, you're making a great decision (post from a woman, June 10, 2020).

From a business point of view, no major discriminatory barriers were identified, nor major efforts to adapt to dealing with Portuguese bureaucracy. Reports show a certain similarity with the processes in Brazil, especially in regard to the personalities of relationships. In inter-company issues, a difference was noticed between the Brazilian way of doing business and the Portuguese way, the latter being more cautious, conservative and based on a relationship of greater trust.

Brazilians, either because of their experience in previous businesses or for other reasons (such as mere survival), successfully undertake business in Portugal, aggregating their 'ethnic'

expertise and knowledge in order to fill gaps in the local market. The different layers of analysis interpose and make sense in light of the scenario represented by immigrant activities.

Recent figures from Portugal point to foreign participation in companies accounting for almost half of the country's turnover, excluding the banking and insurance systems, with 64% of large companies having foreign participation (Bento, 2018). However, there is no statistics that reveal the share of participation accounted for the small businesses owned by immigrants.

As for the institutional structure, including laws and regulations, one of the ways the Portuguese government attracts foreign capital is through the Investment Residence Permit (ARI), also known as Golden Visa, but this does not seem to be the best way for the Brazilians to invest in Portugal, since 74% of applicants for this kind of visa, do so, through real estate acquisition (SEF, 2020).

For Brazilians, generally, we give an option that is more affordable, which is the D7, as it requires less investment. [...] Brazilians don't do that much, at least with me, the Golden Visa because it's much more expensive. (I35 - lawyer).

Evidence shows, according to the experiences of the interviewed entrepreneurs, that “institutional discrimination” (Teixeira, Lo, & Truelove, 2007) was apparently not present in Portugal, probably given the proximity of Brazilian and Portuguese institutional systems. Another point observed and reported by entrepreneurs was the difference in interpretation of the rules when the location of the service was changed. Among the survey respondents, as well as in the netnographic study, suggestions of these similarities were not lacking. A simple internet search is enough to verify this question. Brazilians suggest that, in their process of obtaining Portuguese citizenship, they opted for a certain registry office because it was the only one in which they were sure that he would accept a Brazilian driver's license as an identity document. Entrepreneurs also revealed particularities of this nature, existing at the different Corporate Branches (local commercial boards). This means that the search for the place where the service is facilitated, or where the processes are processed more quickly is also a practice among the Brazilian businessmen interviewed.

Culture or ethnic gaps

Discrimination against Brazilians has always been evidenced by non-compliance with local norms, through Portuguese complaints that Brazilians are too noisy and “ill-mannered” (Barreto, 2012). Currently, cases of discrimination continue to be reported in the academic world (see Leal, 2020) as well as in newspaper reports (see Miranda, 2021). But these would

be cases of personal discrimination. Institutional discrimination, on the other hand, is subtler, such as the author who highlights the discrimination of Brazilian students who study in Portugal:

“the teacher said the work was excellent, praised the students' creativity, but turned to my daughter and said: “but unfortunately, you still speak this inappropriate Portuguese, this Brazilian Portuguese. And you still need to learn to speak properly.” I couldn't believe it – a mother's report (Miranda, 2021).

In relation to the discriminatory barrier imposed by the identification of the Brazilian nationality – the so-called ‘accent ceiling’ (see Collins & Low, 2010), which might restrict some work opportunities due to that discriminatory practice, evidence of the survey and in-depth interviews indicated that, occasionally, this issue may be the object of some kind of difficulty, since even speaking the same language, differences in pronunciation and the use of certain words 'denounce' them as Brazilian nationals. However, it is interesting to highlight this issue in the netnographic analysis and the survey, suggesting that Brazilians choose Portugal, mainly because of the language.

In addition, many entrepreneurs interviewed highlighted that they studied the behavior of customers to understand their purchase process. For example, businessman E14 highlighted how he realized the way in which the typical Portuguese person becomes a customer. He points out the fact that they were suspicious of novelties or innovations (ie. dishes they displayed in the window). After walking in front of the store for a few days and watching the dishes, it was common for a Portuguese person to come in and just order a coffee. He then offered, free of charge, a piece of corn cake with guava paste. From then on, the client always returned and asked for the same item every time. Here, once again, the Portuguese characteristic of a certain precaution in experimentation is reinforced. If this happens in consumption, why shouldn't it happen in business?

But this cultural trait of the Brazilian, of being expansive in their relationships, also seems to positively surprise the Portuguese. What can be inferred is that if the approach happens in an exaggerated way, or even in a rush, there is a strong tendency to repulse and return to the image of Brazilians as rude or invasive people.

Even in the face of this fact, it was found that the immigrant entrepreneur must make an effort to adapt to the culture. This includes the way of “doing business”, which suggests developing social relationships guided by a multicultural perspective, which presupposes a

dominant culture that tends to accept, tolerate and recognize the existence of other cultures in the cultural space where it dominates (Machado & Teixeira, 2019; Santos & Meneses, 2010). Oliveira (2004), when researching the entrepreneurial actions of immigrants in Portugal, showed that business strategies can arise from personal resources and not necessarily from the combination of available resources and opportunities. This reinforces the relevance of human capital in the formation of immigrant businesses. Interviews such as those with another couple I24 and I25, and with the businessman I23 corroborate to that strategy, as they all created their businesses based on skills, without depending on their ethnic nature.

Finally, the mechanisms of mistrust and sabotage between individuals of the same ethnic group must be taken into account (Casado, Falcão, & Cruz, 2021), making a counterpoint to all the elements of institutional support networks. In this regard, it was stated that:

When I left Brazil I got a little frustrated, I even think things are getting better but I avoid this association with Brazil as much as possible. Despite being proud to be Brazilian, of course, I love my country, but I avoid it. (I16).

Support environment for business activities

Regarding the support environment for his business activity, Oliveira (2004) believes in the need to debate the role of political and institutional contexts in the development of business activities among immigrants, due to the characteristic of Portuguese society as a recipient of immigrants. Santos (2020) highlights that in the last four decades in Portugal, the foreign population had higher entrepreneurial rates than the native population. The author also suggests that this happened through changes in legislation and public policies, related to the insertion of foreigners in the labor market and residence permits for investors. As the author points out, the banking sector also became aware of the potential of immigrant entrepreneurs, creating microcredit lines to offer loans to immigrant entrepreneurial businesses.

Some non-governmental organizations and foundations also launch programs with the intention of developing the immigrant entrepreneurial initiative, such as training programs for potential entrepreneurs, awards for immigrant entrepreneurs, support offices and guidance on how to create a business in Portugal (Oliveira, 2019). Santos (2020) also highlights that, with these policies, the immigrant started to be noticed as a market multiplier and job creator, with a significant contribution to the country's development, and not only to meet the needs of the labor market.

Final considerations

Recalling that the objective of the article was to describe aspects of Brazilian immigrant entrepreneurship in Porto, Portugal, aiming to unveil the main issues of mixed embeddedness that affect entrepreneurial activities of Brazilians in Portugal, as well as possible elements of the capital mix that affect them, some considerations are presented as follows.

Porto is a touristic city in the North of Portugal. Therefore, it attracts an international crowd, which demands certain types of businesses, especially related to catering and hospitality. In addition, Brazilians tend to target either Lisbon or Porto as main immigration destinations. Several factors affect Brazilian immigration towards Portugal. First, a state of social unrest in Brazil (push factor); second, the possibility of accessing the European Union - a “multicultural” society; and third, the common Portuguese language of Brazilians and Portuguese and the several multilateral agreements between Brazil and Portugal (pull factors).

Brazilian immigrants exhibit a high educational level and experience, which complements their will to venture, in some cases. Service and catering are among the preferred sectors of Brazilian ventures, due to low entry barriers. Discriminatory barriers are also present, such as the accent ceiling (Collins & Low, 2010), which could restrict their earnings and job opportunities; even with the cultural proximity between Brazilians and Portuguese.

As a theoretical contribution, the article aims to broaden the understanding of Brazilian immigrants' businesses structures, related and conditioning factors, of a poorly researched nationality (Cruz, Falcão, & Barreto, 2018). From a practical perspective, it seeks to contribute to future Brazilian immigrant entrepreneurs, pointing out paths, based on the reported cases. Taking into account the results of the research, and considering the expansion of the chances of business evolution of Brazilian immigrant entrepreneurs in Portugal, it seems plausible to suggest the following managerial implications and lines of action: (i) expand the networks (social capital), in this case, beyond the ethnic community itself; (ii) develop/strengthen cultural intelligence (or a global mindset), including a broader view of expanding business across European frontiers; (iii) adapt the product and/or service with a view to reaching a wider audience, beyond Portuguese and Brazilian audience, targeting international tourists.

With a view to future studies, it is recommended: (i) expand the analysis to other entrepreneurs in different areas of the country; (ii) expand the representation of businesses that are operating in informal structures; (iii) study the patterns of Brazilian startups in the Portuguese context.

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