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Migration in Times of Crisis: Can Entrepreneurship be a Solution? The Case of Brazilian Entrepreneurs in Lisbon (Portugal)



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Abstract. The planet watches a new planning phase of migration flows. In the era of economic globalization, restructuring of labor markets, social, cultural, political and economic transformations, the decision to migrate is linked to reasons such as the existence of pull factors in the destination, of a network linking origin and destination that minimize the constraints and dangers of the journey

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and, of course, economic aspects represented by the ability to achieve a “better life” with the gains obtained at the destination. It is clear that, although indispensable for the reorganization of the predominant mode of production in our society, the crisis we experience brings great challenges for the global economy. In this chapter, we analyze the importance of the female immigrant entrepreneurship that, faced with an economy that requires movement, could prove an economic and social potential that benefits from occasions and market segments little explored. This is because in the migration process, there may be new contexts for immigrants, which enables the development of its human capital. In other words, the material/intellectual accumulation of these individuals linked to its ability to reinvent themselves end up contributing to new economic arrangements.

Key words: migration, Brazilian women entrepreneurs in Portugal, crisis and resilience.

1. Introduction

One cannot understand the formation of a society and its cultural identity without taking into account population movements. That is, the effects of internal and external migration have been considered fundamental to characterize particular people.

Migration is a phenomenon that is increasing both internationally and nationally. According to a research by the United Nations, migration has surpassed 200 million people at the end of the millennium, which shows the importance of this subject for study.

In the 80s, Brazil ceased to be a country historically receiver of immigrants to decisively transformed itself into a country of emigrants, which led to a clear shift towards migration flows – international migration¹. This event reached also many other Latin American countries (Carvalho, 1996).

In this sense, it is possible to affirm that the international migration pattern changes for various reasons, as people seeking better life conditions, economic crisis in times

of war – increasing poverty – and natural disasters. People would also migrate to study and work. However, the economic factor is the main reason of international migration.

Many scholars defend entrepreneurship innovation as an element of income, since the entrepreneurial activity generates work and creates new markets, and may play a role in the host country economy, especially when the capital involved is high or a significant number of immigrants invests in opening their own business, exploring new economic opportunities. Immigrants, who arrive with new ideas, projects and technologies, if the context is favorable, contribute to revitalize and boost some branches of activity in certain territorial areas (GEM, 2004).

Therefore, the opportunity of migrants to establish their own businesses may provide an alternative to the crisis. The human capital, the work experience from their respective countries and the social capital that can be consolidated, contribute as important factors.

¹ According to Castles & Miller (1998), contemporary perspective on international migration is considered the phenomenon as a sum of variables that are important in the course of the process of global integration (economic, social, politic...). As well, international migration is constantly an origin and a consequence of various forms of differences and not being considered a single isolated event. It is a process that is part of human history, with relevance from the 40s, with special attention in the 80s.

Thus, understanding the migration from a sociological perspective and its relationship with the expressed entrepreneurship is one of the main questions of this chapter. Given the characteristics of the object, the theoretical discussions of academic literature and the concepts built by researchers in the field, it can be said that the present study is bibliographical. Nevertheless, the work is original and necessary, enlightening important issues, raising discussions on the relationship of women's migration and entrepreneurship and also considering the case of entrepreneurial Brazilians in Lisbon, Portugal.

Despite the crisis that Brazil and other countries currently experience, migration is still happening. Faced with an economy that requires dynamism, the immigrant entrepreneurship is an investment that can offer clear advantages. Given the lack of investment and entrepreneurial initiatives, especially in the areas of greatest need in the host country market, immigrant entrepreneurial activities can represent an economic and social potential that seizes opportunities in unsatisfied market niches.

2. Migration: concepts and prospects

According to Evangelista and Carvalho (2001), based on Sandroni (1999), and Todaro (1979) migration means a selective process that affects individuals possessing certain economic, social, educational and demographic characteristics. The relative influence of economic and non-economic factors may vary not only between nations and regions, but also within populations and defined geographical areas, moving from one region (migration area) to another (migration area).

By changing the size and composition of populations (distribution by gender, age and composition of workforce), migration is one of the foundations of population dynamics, along with birth and mortality. A distinction is made between international migration (between countries) and internal migration (between regions). [Evangelista and Carvalho, 2001, p. 1-2]

Still according to the above authors, it is possible to bring to this discussion a varied typology of population movements, which will vary according to the size of the places of departure and arrival.

We will then begin from the macro space, of planetary dimension, which considers the migration between different countries. As a basis for this discussion, this work will make use of the determinations of the United Nations, presented by Friedrich and Schultz (2008), at the time that the authors reflect on the temporality of international migratory movements, dividing them into short and long periods. The UN recommendation defines a "long-term migrant" as a person who moves to a country other than of his or her residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence. From the perspective of the country of departure the person will be a long-term emigrant and from that of the country of arrival the person will be a long-term immigrant [...] while a "short-term migrant" is a person "who moves to a country other than of his or her usual residence for a period of at least 3 months but less than a year, except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday,

visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage. For purposes of international migration statistics, the country of usual residence of short-term migrants is considered to be of destination during the period they spend in it. (United Nations, 1998 s.18 apud Fassmann, 2008, p. 22-23).

Thus, one can say that the periods considered as migration are those of four months or more, and that of less than three months period are movements linked to tourism, leisure and business, another element that can be used to reaffirm the tourism condition. For the short period, it is evidenced by the agreements between the various nations that for this period, citizens belonging to the agreed countries do not need visas to circulate on its premises. As an example, we have the agreement between the EU and Brazil.

In this sense, a dialogue is necessary with the elements that regulate these causes and motives, which are mostly linked to the capitalist reproduction of companies inserted in this system. Seeking this understanding, Ravenstein also presented, in the nineteenth century, what he called 'migration laws', as stated Pacheco and Patarra (1997, p. 29):

"Migration laws" initiated a long history of analysis of population movements, marked by an association between economic activities and spatial displacements of specific social groups. [...] It is also noted that migration occurs in areas near industrial and/or commercial centers, spreading in circles, involving more areas of origin, in a rural-urban movement (Pacheco and Patarra, 1997, p. 29-30).

As the authors pointed out, the migration process should be understood as a predetermined process with steps to be always taken in the same order.

One can understand that the migration laws were prepared, or described, by Ravenstein, during an historical phase in which the growing industrial capitalism needed an explanation to stimulate the process of workforce expansion. For the European reality at that time, that also represented the beginning of urbanization.

Contextualizing with the present moment, it can be stated that the passage quoted above is in vogue. It does not explain the exchange of the countryside for the city, but rather, the change of address occurred for reasons stimulated by the presence of new areas of development. In other words, the migration flows continue to meet the capitalism, causing the spare army of the workforce to find itself in constant circulation.

In the specific case of Brazil, the official data about the internal migration flows can be seen on the population censuses, but it is important to note that there are some obstacles that ultimately hamper the understanding of this process, discussed below.

According to Lacomba (2008) the movement of people represents, in all periods of history, an important factor in the (re) production of various groups. That is, the consequences of internal and international migration and return migration have been considered relevant to determine migration flows, and their role in the face of new integration opportunities in the labor market.

In recent decades, the phenomenon of migration has played a strong role on the world. Which justifies a great attention of researchers regarding the characteristics and the temporality of the flows, processes, targets and the way immigrants build their social relations in the country of origin and in the countries of destination, in the framework of what current literature calls transnationalism² (Siqueira, 2006; Castles, 2009; Portes, 1999).

International migration presents its different points, such as the levels of evolution, the disproportionality of the continuation and evidence in today's globalized world, known as migratory pressures (FNUAP, 1998). The phenomenon of globalization has brought social changes not only to the northern hemisphere but also to the southern hemisphere, which intensifies tensions for migration and new displacements.

In the 80s, Brazil was hit by a deep economic crisis, with high unemployment, rising inflation, lack of security, among others. It was referred to as the "lost decade", in contrast to the "economic miracle of the 70s" (Sales, 1995). Brazil, given the panorama of the crisis, with a recession policy, including measures such as credit constraints, high interest rates, cuts in public expenses, and changes in the administration of salaries, led the Brazilian society to be encouraged to restore democracy and restore the rights of the citizens.

The process of globalization in the 80s contributed to many migratory movements

aim the United States, which have an important pole of interest to Latin American immigrants and also many Brazilians (Martes, 1999). At that time, the country entered a process of economic restructuring, the result of internal changes, driven by a (re) democratization. On the other hand, there was the international scene, which contributed negatively to the economic growth possibilities.

It is worth remembering that this reality of low growth, high inflation and lack of investment meant that more young adults started to seek alternatives for their social reproduction.

In the early 90s, the country observed the stabilization of its economy and strengthening of its democratic process. What is now called economic stabilization is represented by the initial period of the "Plano Real" (Presidents Itamar Franco and Fernando Henrique Cardoso), where the currency gets stronger, the inflation decreases and the access to credit is increased, structuring a new phase of national growth.

Among the characteristics at that moment, the increase of investment in infrastructure by the state and the policy of (re) distribution of income started in the Lula government increased the number of people engaged with the consumers.

In mid-2006, economic crisis emerged, which spread to the United States, initially in the US housing sector, which caused unemployment of a large proportion of migrants working in construction. There was a reduction of working hours and the amount earned per hour worked, which consequently led to reduced earnings. The crisis also hit

² Transnationalism points to the existence of social relations that cross national boundaries, creating a constant stream of people, goods, money, information, culture and practices (Castles, 2009).

those who, charmed by the credit facilities, decided to invest their savings in the purchase of real estates in that country and could not then honor its commitments due to the increase in the amounts of financing installments. For many of these emigrants, returning to their countries became the only alternative.

The economic crisis has spread rapidly to the rest of the world, and its effects are still being felt in many countries (Siqueira, 2010; Siqueira and Santos, 2012). Subsequently, the economic crisis reached Europe in 2008, when US bank Lehman Brothers decreed bankruptcy - a respected financial institution founded in 1850. The bankruptcy of the bank led to a wave of economic recession around the world, affecting the European Union in particular.

According to Brussee (2005) the crisis began in the 90s, caused by the lack of balance in the financial market which led to a vast number of investors with rapid payback commitment. This led these investors to acquire subprime³ titles, settling a financial crisis marked by surplus that involves the intention to profit at the great risk of installments for real states.

As a result of the attacks in the USA on September 11, 2001, the US immigration law becomes a national security issue, a more restrictive law to the entry of foreigners in the country. In addition, the financial crisis that hit the US in early 2006, directly affecting the real estate industry, affected consequently

³ Subprime loans are loans granted to customers who did not have good credit rating in the US. "(O Globo, 2009). Available at: <<http://oglobo.globo.com/economia/relembre-que-subprime-3144507#ixzz3wcC7HQXG> 1996-2016> Access: Jan. 8 2016.

many jobs, reducing the gains, especially many immigrants working in construction. In this context, many decide to return to their home countries (Siqueira, 2009). The first point of emigration of Brazilians to other countries, on a larger scale, was the city of Governador Valadares, Minas Gerais. In the 1960s, some valadarenses migrated to the United States in search of jobs in the secondary labor market⁴.

During the 1970s, a network started to be formed and, in the second half of the 1980s, it was consolidated, becoming one of the largest emigration flows of Brazilians to other countries. Later, other municipalities have become part of this flow. In addition, other countries such as Portugal, Italy, Spain and England joined the list of destinations for Brazilians (Siqueira, 2008, 2009, 2010; Siqueira and Santos, 2012).

Portugal, the second most popular destination for Brazilian immigrants, has been going through a severe recession, with a drop in economic indicators in recent years. The country was accepted as a member of the European Common Market in 1986 and, with the creation of the European Union in 1991, also became a member. Later, in 1999, the country joined the euro. Benefiting from the various sources of funding that have multiplied, the Portuguese government

⁴ Typically, Brazilian emigrants were busy with tasks that, in addition to low pay, were associated with a low social status. In other words, Brazilian would occupy jobs that Americans, with the economy booming, were not unwilling to take – House cleaning and activities related to construction, for example. However, considering the favorable exchange rate of the dollar in relation to the Brazilian currency, it was possible to the emigrant to work in the United States, save money and send to their country of origin, achieving an improvement in their standard of living.

has invested in infrastructure and sought to increase the productivity of traditional sectors of its economy.

The 2008 economic crisis found the country in a vulnerable situation with low rates of economic growth and high need for external financing of its public debt (Nunan and Peixoto 2012; Aguiar-Confraria et al, 2012; Amaral, 2010; Mota et al, 2010). The unemployment rate increased from 8.1% in 2007 to 12.9% in 2011, and among the immigrants living in the country, the rate increased from 9.6% to 17.0% over the same period. According to INE⁵, the unemployment rate in the first quarter of 2013, considering all the economically active population, was 17.7%. Although not disclosed, the unemployment rate among immigrants can be deduced as higher compared to 2011 data.

As Padilla mentioned (2009 apud Padilla and Xavier, 2009), “globalization has contributed to make Europe one of the most important destinations for immigration, including from Latin America”. Martínez Buján (2003) also refers to the recent phenomenon of “Latin Americanization” of immigration in Spain; the “Latin Americanization” of migratory flows in the Iberian Peninsula is mentioned by Padilha, 2006, and the “Brazilianization” of flows in Portugal. This migratory movement belongs to the dynamics of capitalism, the universal production, distribution of work and the advance of new technologies in the areas of communication and means of transport, events that have provided a consolidation of

⁵ National Statistics Institute (INE), agency responsible for the production of official statistics in Portugal.

the transnational space (Iorio and Ferreira, 2015).

If the “birth” of the immigrant is designed by its workforce (Sayad, 1998), it can be said that the social circumstances of an immigrant doesn’t only suit to serve as a worker in the host country. According to Ferreira (2012), as a social being, the immigrant will establish a set of relations as part of its integration course, whether in the family formation through family reunification or not; new habits or group organization (their social practices) that have to be analyzed whenever the economic environment that legitimized the accommodation in the destination changes and the return intention or re-emigration emerges as viable in the migration project.

The migratory phenomenon can be perceived by the displacement of physical and social space of a collective group or individuals that can be duplicated by categories of social networks with the possibility of return⁶ (Sayad, 2000). Indeed, in migration, the roles carried out by immigrants throughout their individual and social life; adopt, continuously, a “temporary”⁷ sense of transitory nature.

The return is of course the desire and the dream of all immigrants, is how to recover the

⁶ The return is particularly in the denomination and design of emigration and immigration. It is impossible to have a local immigration since there has been no emigration starting from another location; it is impossible to stay anywhere that does not have the counterpart of an absence elsewhere (Sayad, 2000).

⁷ We use the term temporary displacement to distinguish between the state “back” to the country of origin or “stay” in the host country. The shift takes this duality experienced by immigrants / migrants when the time factor hinders decision-making for the return, that is, the greater the time in the destination country, the lower the possibility of return.

vision, the light the blind misses, but, as blinds, they know that this is an impossible operation. The only option they have left is then taking refuge in an uneasy nostalgia or longing for the land (Sayad, 2000).

According to Rivera-Sanchez (2013) the return migration is a process that is part of the migratory movement and not as a final migration cycle. In other words, the return to the country of origin is not “definitive and permanent” but a stage of migration as it generates changes in individuals and locals, results of experiences during emigration.

3. Crisis x resilience: the case of brazilian entrepreneurial women

Whereas the migration process is linked to the process of social reproduction, as seen previously, it can be soon seen that the survival of the individual is a paramount element in the actions that each citizen will develop. As poetically spoken by Gonzaguinha (1983) “A man makes himself suffer; their dreams are castrated; Their dream is their life; And life is work [...] And without their work; The man has no honor; And without their honor; They die, They kill...”

Thus, the life of a man is linked to the job, and in that sense, we can understand the role of the market as defining behaviors of individuals economically actives. In time, it should reflect that labor supply is an element that has variations in time and space.

Inside the main economic model of the West, capitalism is important due to some features that are crucial in the process of (re) production of individuals.

Watching the capitalism of yesteryear and today, the economic evolution arises, on the contrary, as the result of gross inequalities in

initiatives and influences (not to mention the inequality in wills acquired or conquered). The partners are not located only in a network of free trade agreements, but also in a network of forces relations. Well, domination, intentional or not, has become an integral part of modern analysis (Perroux, 1974).

Reflecting about the characteristics related to capitalism presented above, it is important to understand the direct relationship between economic times (high and low production). They are the ones who define the elasticity of the population mass that will be inserted in the labor market. It should be noted that the population that suffers most from this change in productive behavior is precisely the population of less education or with a status of immigration, given that these are citizens who tend to occupy the lower-paid and most vulnerable positions in the variations Marketplace.

These variations often result in moments of crisis to Mészáros, and are a result of the internal organization of capitalism that lives constantly in crisis and thus “will become, at one point, much deeper, in the sense of invading not only the world of global finance, but also all areas of our social, economic and cultural life” (Mészáros, 2009).

With this reflection, it is understood that the crisis is something that will come inevitably and according to the author, these crises are necessary so that can be a (re) arrangement of the production process. In the process, once again, the citizens who are in the lower layers of the means of production area are the most affected. Thus there is a need for (re) invention of the production process. However, this population is one

which has the greatest facility to undergo a resilience process.

Epistemologically, the word resilience is originally from Latin, the word *resilio* means returning to a previous state, and is used in engineering and physics, to define the capacity of a physical body to return to its normal state after having suffered a strain on itself. The classic experiments that yielded the discovery of resilience construct were performed from the application of certain pressure to a wire, in order to determine its elastic deformation; when ceased the pressure, the material assumed its original condition (Yunes, 2003 cited Barlach et al., 2008).

As we can observe, resilience, quite objectively, is characterized by the ability of individuals, objects and phenomena to recover and return to their original situation or starting point. In less wealthy populations, this ability is inherent in the pursuit of survival of individuals.

Thus, this phenomenon of resilience or elasticity can be understood as the ability of populations that are automatically discarded in times of crisis by big business that provide underemployment. Thus, the individual will have the ability to reinvent itself, primarily through his or her own “creativity”. Entrepreneurship comes, then, as a creative response of immigrants seeking better working conditions and consequently life conditions.

Although we understand that entrepreneurship is a positive thing and it is good for the immigrant women to bring it to a destination, it is important the distinction between “opportunity entrepreneurship” and “necessity entrepreneurship”. According to

Andreassi et al (2011), people can be led to entrepreneurship by two possibilities: need or opportunity. The reasons that set the entrepreneur are present in two different groups, respectively: entrepreneurs by necessity and opportunities for entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs by necessity are a “portion of the population involved in entrepreneurship without any other job option” (Andreassi et al, 2011, p. 89). Entrepreneurs by opportunities are structured in a part of the population that is “involved with entrepreneurship not because they do not have another option to work, but because they have identified a business opportunity they want to pursue” (Andreassi et al, 2011, p. 89).

Therefore, discussing the issue of entrepreneurship among immigrant women, their experiences and business strategies in the labor market, refers mainly to the needs created by the distance of the motherland and also the needs in the host country, plus the skills brought from the experience in the country of origin.

There are several concepts of entrepreneurship. One of the most prominent in the literature is the *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor*, stating that entrepreneurship means “any attempt to create a new business or new venture, for example, an autonomous activity, a new company or expansion existing enterprise, by an individual, group of individuals or companies already established” (GEM 2004).

Other authors defend entrepreneurship as an innovation factor, since the entrepreneur creates income and innovates. Another perspective relates entrepreneurship to self-employment gathering qualities to

enterprising people with risk capacity, because they employ people on their behalf. In addition, features are attributed to entrepreneurs, such as vision capability, power of persuasion and leadership.

The entrepreneurial activity generates employment, creates and produces new markets. It results important for the economy of the destiny country, once a set number of people invest in the opening of the business itself, considering the economic environment that provides the opportunity for exploitation. As suggested by Malheiros (2008) and Oliveira (2004), immigrants come up with new ideas, designs and technologies, potentials that invigorate and boost some branches in some territorial spaces (Malheiros, 2008).

In the case of female immigrant entrepreneurship in Lisbon, it arises as an alternative to the segmented labor market in the host country. The entrepreneurship becomes a relevant part for the immigrant population as a form of labor integration, which possibly preserves the profession that they had in the country of origin, generates new jobs, and develop skills and competencies.

We found that entrepreneurial initiative appears to be related to human capital, term used for human capabilities and intelligence capacities of the people.

The human capital theory is based on two streams: one considers the importance of the worker that, when trained, brings personal benefits, as well as new features for the organization, since there is an increase in productivity. The other stream is associated with one's own investment in building their "personal capital" from acquired knowledge about something and also from experiences

(Stein, 2003). Indeed, both streams can be complementary, as they start from the individual effort to improve their knowledge of a particular activity.

But one can consider that the difference is that, in the latter, the individual intends, by itself, to seek their own improvements while the first is the organization that promotes the benefits. However, in the migration process, there may be new opportunities for immigrants, and they may even develop their personal capital. In the case studied, of immigrant women, we believe that human capital is related to people who invest their time and experiences in their own training, so they can find better working conditions in the place chosen to immigrate.

In this context, Amartya Sen adds human capabilities to the concept of human capital. For him, the human capital theory considers the human being as part of the social process and what matters is that the individual can participate in their own process of undertaking "as a way to extend the human capacity to live a free and dignified life" (Sen, 1999, p. 334 quoted in Stein, 2003).

By definition, entrepreneurs are people and because of this, the cultural aspects related to the formation of Brazilian immigrants in Lisbon influence differently the social context. According to the authors, the United States and some Western European countries, because they are more favorable to such factors as risk, competition and individualism, entrepreneurship reaches higher levels than in countries where these characteristics are not as pronounced, as in Japan. Brazil's case, despite being recognized as one of the most entrepreneurial countries

in the world today (Minniti, Bygrave; Autio, 2006 cited Fontenelle et al), there are still cultural barriers as the creation and maintenance of a new business.

Thus, even though the theory of human capital assume their importance to boost entrepreneurship, some biases may arise, depending on the cultural characteristics of individuals. For example, an individual with a strong educational background can be influenced to formal employment and discouraged to take risks, while another individual with less education have higher propensity to engage in business activities in search of social ascent, precisely to compensate for the lack of investment in formal human capital (Fontenelle et al., 2011).

Sean seems to agree with the second current, the one that considers that the individual can pursue their own development and why not, of entrepreneurship. When referring to the “human capacity” as an important aspect of fostering human capital, it seems relevant to us, since the individual may be responsible for the achievements and accomplishments. Thus, Sean says that human capital is associated not only with a generation of economic changes, but also to the promotion of social and political development.

When human capital is boosted, it is necessary the interest of immigrants and also opportunities for information access. Lisbon seems to be a place where there is some facility from a commercial point of view, so that immigrants are able to open their own businesses. Also, Brazilian entrepreneurs bring the knowledge and labor skills necessary.

In this sense, Yáñez said that for the development of new capabilities, it is necessary that people have prior knowledge:

Accessing the opportunity to acquire a specific job training, has as a prerequisite the prior existence of capacities in terms of knowledge acquired, primary social connections (family, relatives and neighbors), with which is possible to gain access to information about the opportunities (Yáñez, 2001).

For immigrant women to expand their capabilities in relation to the beauty salon market, for example, they need the knowledge and the mastery of skills such as cutting hair and doing nails. Without these skills, it is difficult to use the hairdresser craft instruments optimally and also in the right way. The interest is the main reason that drives immigrants to seek new skills and abilities. Most of them starts investing in human capital to realize that you need to develop other capacities of educational and job training. For this to happen, external factors are important, such as the environment where the immigrant woman lives, the community in which she belongs and her family. These aspects can consolidate the momentum to develop new learning capabilities.

It is considered important the geographic space where the immigrant operates because if it is an area that has a history of struggle for immigration, the feeling of acceptance and opportunities for them is even greater. Regarding the role of the family, Yanez (2001) states that the family can play an important role regarding the orientation of the decisions those immigrants have to take in relation to human capital. In this regard, Schultz (1985)

explains that human capital can be enhanced by experiences from working in both the place of origin and at the place where the immigrants are.

The value of human capital depends on the additional welfare derived from humans. Human capital contributes to labor productivity and business capacity, valuable for production, agricultural or not, for domestic production, for time and other resources that students allocate to their education and for migration in search of better job opportunities and better living conditions (Schultz, 1985).

Thus, investment in human capital provides benefits that have to do with a greater knowledge of the subject and its applicability in order to obtain information about the working life. Once immigrants learn and develop their skills, they begin to have results in their work, since they are implementing new learning. In addition, the interest in finding a job related to the experiences they have developed in the countries of origin further consolidates the bonds between them.

Putnam (2001) explains that, by analogy to human capital, social capital is related to the network: the features of social organization, which are the networks, norms and trust and that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Social capital increases the benefits of investment in physical and human capital (Putnam, 2001).

It is in this sense that social capital refers to social relations, regarding actions taken by people to facilitate interaction and collaboration between them. For him, civic

participation is essential for the formation of social capital. He explains that such participation is already a form of social capital where the more developed are these systems in a community, the greater the possibility that members can cooperate with them, in order to all profit (Putnam, 1993 cited by Franco, 2001). Consequently, the more channels of participation are created, the more capital will be produced.

Cooperation is an important factor in this process, not only because people – in the case studied – the immigrant women, can help each other, but mainly because cooperation can contribute to the achievement of certain activities, promoting the collective well-being. To the extent that there is collaboration between people, immigrants can achieve benefits that contribute to improving the job situation.

Putnam (2001) mentions that the confidence, networks and standards are dimensions that make up the social capital, are interconnected and tend to be cumulative. He explains that when a collaboration happens between people at work, this fact provides not only the interaction but also the emergence and maintenance of trust. The author adds that social capital is a ‘public good’. In other words, it is not the private property of those who benefit from it, but these social ties that are being created to maintain an integrated community.

Also according to the author, the networks of civic engagement foster norms of reciprocity, to mutual aid: a person does a favor for another that later, on another occasion, will also do the same to that person.

A society which is based on generalized reciprocity is more efficient than a society plagued by mistrust. Trust is the lubricant of social life (Putnam, 2001).

It is clarified that if people rely on others to carry out the activities, there is a tendency for collaboration between them, beyond the norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement.

Thus, women entrepreneurs, to foster social capital, facilitate the “opening” of information and access conditions to open their own businesses. This feeling of confidence by the people of your surroundings also consolidate the courage to undertake, and are being created what is called engagement networks.

The neighborhoods (and some other networks of civic engagement) are a trusted source, but can also be a source of suspicion. Promoting confidence in people who are known and distrust those who are not from the neighborhood or are from outside the network (Levi, 2001).

Once people get to know each other, they start to establish ties of interaction between them and from there they develop actions together, which helps to strengthen that confidence. On the other hand, those not within these activities or who are not part of the Brazilian community in Lisbon, for example, can be perceived as a factor of suspicion. But by becoming closer, they begin to create friendship and cooperation ties, and trust begins to be developed and conquered.

This means that in areas where the participation of community members is relevant, it is more likely that there is a sense of commitment to the organization of cooperation and interaction. These kinds

of actions are based on trust and standards that result in the promotion of social capital. Entrepreneurial Brazilian Women living in Lisbon, for example, benefit from the integration between them.

Franco (2001) also agrees that social capital is related to the ability of cooperation between societies. However, the personal characteristics of the individuals do not generate social capital. Instead, the way of organizing this group of individuals in society may favor or not the emergence and reproduction of social capital (Franco, 2001). For example, if certain people come together to discuss issues affecting their neighborhood, such as lack of security due to the small number of police force, they write proposals and send them to local authorities, with distribution of responsibilities between them in the execution of action. This fact can then produce social capital.

But the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (2000) understands social capital from another perspective, as a totality of resources from a group that is in a durable network of relationships, with institutionalized knowledge and mutual recognition. For him, the social capital consists of the following criteria: 1) participation in a group; 2) the existence of relations of material and symbolic exchange; 3) the degree of institutionalization; and finally 4) the resources within that group.

Having a network of relationships or belonging to a group is an important aspect of building social capital. It specifies that this feature distinguishes it from other types of capital, such as the cultural and economic capital, based on the individual level. The author exemplifies that groups like the

aristocracy, the family and a select club are stable groups and therefore institutionalized, and its members wish to maintain these ties. This is how the capital is built and integrates people in maintaining social ties.

Therefore, the lasting social bonds and interaction between group members are both important. These exchanges form the second capital resource discussed by Bourdieu (2000), which take place on a voluntary basis, but that create lasting bonds in both institutional aspects, which provide rights and claims, and in the subjective feelings such as friendship, respect and recognition. These benefits are gained and redeemed based on solidarity among the members of the group.

We believe that immigrant women can contribute to building human and social capital, in the sense that each reinforces its activities, in addition to co-operate and interact with each other. Thus, the chances of social capital relates to human capital are more likely to be higher.

4. Final considerations

Immigrant entrepreneurship represents an investment that offers clear advantages in front of an economy that requires dynamism. Given the lack of investment and entrepreneurial initiatives, especially in the areas of greatest need in the host market, immigrant entrepreneurial activities can foster the economic and social potential.

Therefore, migration can be understood by structural factors (economic, political...), where individual or collective decisions are consolidated by the social capital that enables migrants contacts with family, friends and community of origin. When making connections between the country of origin and destination, and this junction, between migrants and non-migrants in space and time, they do lead the web of social roles incorporated into interpersonal relationships, which lead to define migration as a social product.

Human capital also contributes to the Entrepreneurship, while people increment their skills, and innovate in the market. With this, immigrants can expand their capabilities according to job opportunities that arise or that they themselves can go creating, as well as strengthening social ties and social capital.

In other words, the entrepreneurship of migrants is of fundamental importance in times of crisis, in which its elasticity, or rather its ability to reinvent itself is a strategy used both in places that will absorb them as wealth-producing elements, or especially when these return to their origin. Therefore, when returning, besides the capital, they also bring in their luggage of lived experiences, transformed into social capital and which are used in an entrepreneurial way in their new activity of capital reproduction.

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