

Ana Jansen: one of the forerunners of female entrepreneurship in Brazil

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Abstract

Through research, this article aims to understand the entrepreneurial profile of D. Ana Jansen at a time when society was strongly patriarchal in the province of Maranhão, in the middle of the nineteenth century. For this, we sought to solve the problem of how D. Ana Jansen developed her administrative and managerial capacity, outlining her entrepreneurial profile in a period where society was strongly dominated by the male figure, both in the political and commercial spheres, in São Luís. The goal was to identify D. Ana Jansen's entrepreneurial profile, which became necessary to recognize the economic and social characteristics of the province of Maranhão in the nineteenth century, its aspects related to entrepreneurship in Maranhão, and the prominent role that D. Ana Jansen achieved through her performance in politics, administration, economy, and society in Maranhão. A qualitative approach of basic research with a bibliographic and documentary survey was employed to study the categories of Brazilian commerce in the nineteenth century, Maranhão province, and the figure of D. Ana Jansen as a pioneer of female entrepreneurship in the state. In addition, the qualitative method and content analysis were used to treat the data and information collected through the literature review. After the study, we found that the female entrepreneurship of D. Ana Jansen in the nineteenth century began from her life experiences and actions in the political context in which she was in the province of Maranhão. Our findings also demonstrated her skills and opportunities to run a business and manage the public office at the time, where she gained her place in Maranhão society and created her way of multiplying the province's heritage. The present study identified the characteristics and traits of life as a professional that formed D. Ana Jansen's entrepreneurial profile and, being the pioneer in the potable water distribution trade, a business model consistent with the current.

Keywords: commerce; province; female entrepreneurship.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to understand the entrepreneurial profile of the woman Ana Jansen in a period when society was strongly patriarchal in the province of Maranhão in the middle of the nineteenth century. Maranhão stood out as the largest cotton and rice production and export province at this historical and economic moment. In this scenario, Ana Joaquina Jansen Pereira manifested herself as a protagonist of the economy and politics and consolidated herself as one of the region's largest producers of rice and sugarcane.

“Donana,” as she was known, knew how to sell on one of her rural properties; she also purchased real estate in São Luís and became a prominent farmer in the state and the largest businesswoman in the region, thereby being a female protagonist. She became a controversial figure in the history of Maranhão, which overturned all the sexist paradigms of the time by occupying positions impossible at the time, given she was a woman.

Nineteenth-century society was represented by men, so women were seen only as mistresses or enslaved people. Ana Jansen, of poor origin, managed to build a great fortune, so much so that she was considered the “Queen of Maranhão,” and went against all the customs of the time, finally becoming a fundamental part of Maranhão's history and culture, which contributed to the economy, politics, and state administration.

As reported in the social context of the nineteenth century, the role of women was limited. However, even so, Ana Jansen lived according to her ideas and aspirations, and, as she was considered a woman ahead of her time, she always aspired to nobility; her influence in the economy and politics was fundamental to increasing her wealth. Her life in politics and actions in society led her to become a legend-

ary figure, known by the people of Maranhão mainly for the cruelty of heinous people, treatments, and punishments practiced with its enslaved people. Nonetheless, it is difficult to affirm this cruelty because, at the time, the slavery regime was common.

Among the numerous issues discussed concerning Ana Jansen, one can include the legend of the carriage in Maranhão literature, and such a legend is perpetuated until today, practices of violence against enslaved people, and commercialization of enslaved people, among others. She managed the city's water distribution company, although, amid a society with a patriarchal system, in which it is preached that men will have primary power in political, social, and economic leadership, Ana Jansen was made to manifest her skills as an entrepreneur, as she was at risk of losing all inherited assets.

Given the above, the relevance of the theme is considered, leading to the following research problem: how did Ana Jansen develop her administrative and managerial capacity in a period when society was strongly patriarchal in the province of Maranhão in the nineteenth century? Thus, this study sought to understand, through analysis, the entrepreneurial profile of Ana Jansen in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Knowing female entrepreneurship in Maranhão history through the figure of Ana Jansen becomes enriching as she is considered the precursor of female entrepreneurship of her century, enabling one to shed more light on the role of Maranhão women today and their administrative and entrepreneurial capacities.

Our findings will contribute to the science of administration due to the economic, social, and political participation in the state's administration, and the study's relevance for

the administrative enrichment that implies a woman in the nineteenth century stands out. This study will contribute to society by presenting an Ana Jansen that many people do not know, and it is necessary to show her contributions to Maranhão society at the time.

2. REVIEW

2.1 Entrepreneur profile

Entrepreneurship was once believed to be a differential that the person was born with and predestined to succeed. Today, it is known that the process of undertaking and developing skills so that the characteristics of the entrepreneurial profile are acquired and improved, albeit the study of entrepreneurship will help form better entrepreneurs in constructing managerial techniques and personal characteristics (DORNELAS, 2018, p. 32).

There are several characteristics concerning the entrepreneur that must be highlighted. One of the most notable is age, since the chronological age differs from the entrepreneurial age because it occurs through individuals' access and reassessment of professional life every five years (on average); this is based on the fact that the entrepreneurial age is between 22 and 45 years old, which can sometimes be decisive years to undertake. Another characteristic that can be mentioned is professional history, as sometimes the person as an employee had experiences in the organization where they worked, and takes to their business and everything that was learned in the past serves as the basis for decision-making and start their business, experiences of which are considered fundamental parts for the process (MENDES, 2009, p. 18 and 19).

One of the concepts that stood out over the years and that conceptualizes entrepreneurship well is that of Carloni and Michel (2006, p. 5), who defined entrepreneurship as

the process of creating something innovative, dedicated time, and effort assumed — all psychological, financial, and social risks related to the enterprise were taken — and the consequences of personal and economic satisfaction were received. Pasquini (2009, p. 5) stated that entrepreneurship is personal learning created by creativity, initiative, and motivation in search of vocational discovery.

The heroes of the business world are entrepreneurs, as they are the ones who generate jobs, innovate, and encourage the economic growth of society. They can be described as sources of energy that take risks in an economy in constant change, transformation, and growth. Hence, devoid of knowledge, Ana Jansen faced the sexist society and demonstrated a strong and demanding character wherever she went. She experienced moments of decadence, and although she did not show weakness in the face of circumstances, she presented specific characteristics of an entrepreneur (DORNELAS, 2006, p.63).

The entrepreneurial profile is not a personality type; nonetheless, it is possible to identify people with the most diverse profiles and temperaments who demonstrate themselves as entrepreneurs. For the author, what differentiates people is the responsibility of uncertainty, yet they manage to decide and take risks. The foundations of entrepreneurs are the concept and theory, not intuition; knowing how to know the business is fundamental for the entrepreneur (DRUCKER, 2003, p.34).

Research on the entrepreneur's personal characteristics has been the subject of research over the years. These studies on the entrepreneurial profile have occurred for over 50 years, and the results identify some unusual aspects. Some examples include the vocation to take calculated risks (KAUFMAN, 1991), the search for self-fulfillment (McCLELLAND, 1961), and high self-efficacy (MARKMAN, BARON; BALKIN, 2005).

Nassif et al. (2010) investigated entrepreneurs through empirical studies and reported that affective aspects are predominant in the profiles of entrepreneurs, such as courage, motivation, perseverance, willingness to take risks, and optimism, and arise at the beginning of the business. However, when the business is maturing, entrepreneurs attach greater importance to cognitive aspects, including setting goals, making partnerships, taking calculated risks, knowing the market, and ability to communicate.

In the model developed by Bygrave (2004), evolutionary dynamics in the entrepreneur's attributes are suggested to transform their action profile and comprise additional capabilities in how the organization grows and develops its complexities over time. Concerning the time in which the actions happen, Kenrick and Funder (1988) stated that the traits define the behavioral form according to the situations that take place over time.

2.2 Female entrepreneurship

In the current Brazilian context, more and more women occupy leadership positions in public and private institutions, and there is significant growth in the female market. According to Gem (2010), women undertake the same lives as men, the support of their financial families, and the support of their families and studies according to the most enterprising women in the world, among the most enterprising women in the world.

Brazilian women gained more space in the various types of positions within companies with the changes in the job market, especially in the '70s, when they started to have a greater investment in their training, changing the thought that they should only be "housewives." Thus, expanding the female sex was possible, breaking the barriers that were arbitrarily placed by society (BRUSCHINI, 2000).

Female entrepreneurship became extremely important after the end of World War II, as women needed to assume the role of their husbands in the family, who usually returned from battles with severe and sometimes irreversible injuries, psychologically affected and with no chance of returning to the labor market, and would need their wives to meet their basic needs (BALTAR; LEONE, 2008).

With their rights guaranteed and their equality recognized, women were predisposed to increase their performance in the labor market, extending to the business world, although this time not only within organizations that were already present but fostering new ventures and new businesses that moved the economy, remaining economically more active in society (FRANCO, 2014).

The growing increase in female entrepreneurship and the way they seek and dare in the market more consciously is notorious, as well as the scientific research regarding the results achieved and their influence. One can observe that entrepreneurial characteristics are found in both men and women, as the concepts of entrepreneurship at no time make this distinction (GOMES; SANTANA; ARAÚJO, 2009).

2.3 Ana Jansen, the forerunner of female entrepreneurship

In the construction of an administrative and entrepreneurial profile, we sought to specify the traits of life history with literature. Managing is the joining of efforts that aim to plan, organize, direct, coordinate, and control the activities of a group that seeks to achieve a result: the process of managing. The knowledge acquired after the formation of the School of Administration in the twentieth century will be adapted according to the time of Ana Jansen in the nineteenth century.

ry and interpreted by the way of undertaking and managing that she used to manage her assets (LACOMBE, 2004, p.8).

Her administrative potential is based on his competence in making alliances with important people in the public and private sectors and in winning financial resources, with her authoritarian position, which promoted temerity. In the politics of the Province of Maranhão, there were two political parties: the *cabanos* and the *bentivis*, a party of which Donana Jansen was a prominent member. Whenever her opponents exposed her to ridicule, this matron or her co-religionists, the newspaper to which we alluded, punished her jokingly (SANTOS, 1978, p 85).

Donana was illiterate, although she was informed of events around her and the province due to the regular parties held at her home offered to influential people. She lived attentive to events in order to adapt to the facts. With the inheritance acquired after the death of Col. Izidoro Rodrigues Pereira made an inventory of his assets, sold the unproductive lands, acquired real estate in São Luís and multiplied the production of the Fazenda called Santo Antônio, the most profitable in Maranhão, and thus positively added value to his patrimony and wealth. Widow knew Donana to manage life with a financial fist. She conserved the farms, sold the land, and bought buildings in São Luís, thus becoming the richest woman in Maranhão (VIVEIROS, 1965, p.12).

Opportunity is a source of innovation from the desire and needs to create something. Finding oneself focused on the task and not focused on the situation. In the form of innovation, in the case study, Ana Jansen is an entrepreneur in the commercialization of drinking water, both in the city and for the crew of the ships that docked in the port. In

addition to this enterprise, she owned a rice pillar factory, where she also sold tar and pitch to the crew of the ships, bought and sold enslaved people, and, at the Saudade site, she manufactured and sold bricks and also exported cotton (DRUCKER, 2011, p.93).

Donana Jansen participated positively in the the “Wheel of the Foundlings” social project. It was a shelter that served to house and educate orphaned and needy children in the capital. This Wheel came from the Colonel’s desire, given that one of his wishes written in his will in 1825 left the value of 2,000\$000 (two *contos de réis*). After this initiative, the Empire of Brazil, through the legislative assembly, decreed the creation of a house where exposed children of both sexes were cared for, supported, and educated at the nation’s expense (MARQUES, 2008, p.38 and 462).

The will to power, for being a woman and living in a sexist society, to be able to dodge the paradigms imposed by society at the time, gave life to Donana’s entrepreneurial spirit. In her entrepreneurial personality, Donana was not motivated by profit; what motivated her was her ability to innovate, take the initiative and risks, remain in power, and transform things around her (SCHUMPETER, 1985).

Donana was the only one, among all the great ladies of Maranhão society in the nineteenth century, to impose herself, reach her culmination, and confront her time. In addition to standing out as the undisputed and providential head of her large family, she managed to maintain the prosperity of her business, even in the face of threats from the progress of society that came to confront some of them, such as the piped water company, making many allies to establish and lead an important political faction in the Province (MORAES, 1999).

Recognized for her liberality of expression and opinion, Ana Jansen contributed to the history of Maranhão through her trajectory in the field of politics. In addition, she competed for this in the management of large and medium-sized businesses of the time, endowed like her with an enviable entrepreneurial and managerial fist, an odd character of this land as a subsidy, shows what we think in the essence of the history of Maranhão (SANTOS, 1978, p. 31).

2.4 METHODOLOGY

In order to demonstrate, through historiography, the entrepreneurial profile of Ana Jansen in a period when society was strongly patriarchal in the province of Maranhão, this study followed a qualitative approach of basic exploratory research with a bibliographic and documentary survey on the categories: Brazilian trade in the nineteenth century, nineteenth century Maranhão province, and Ana Jansen as the forerunner of female entrepreneurship.

Qualitative research is a model of deepening the studied content; hence, the objective is to build understandable and complete information on the subject. It is concerned with aspects of reality that cannot be quantified. Thus, according to the study of the sections listed above, a direction was sought to solve the problem indicated at the beginning of the study. In this sense, this study is classified as basic, as it is understood that, according to Engel and Tolfo (2009, p. 30-35), it aims to generate new knowledge for the advancement of science without any provision for practical application.

Moreover, this work has an exploratory character as it identifies with the question by investigating the factors causing the problem, followed by seeking a solution. Thus, in order to identify the economic and social characteristics of the province of Maranhão in the nine-

teenth century, verify the aspects related to entrepreneurship in Maranhão in the nineteenth century, and know the role of Ana Jansen through her performance in politics, administration, economics and Maranhão society, one must conduct a bibliographic and documentary survey (FREITAS, 2013, p. 127).

The bibliographic survey consisted of collecting materials in theses, dissertations, monographs, books, and scientific articles on the categories of Brazilian trade in the nineteenth century, Maranhão province in the nineteenth century, and Ana Jansen as a precursor of female entrepreneurship. According to Oliveira (2011, p. 99), this literature review allows one “to become familiarized in depth with the subject that interests them.” In addition, a documentary survey was carried out with historical documents and records of the time to increase the study’s veracity and achieve the initially traced objective.

3. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

With the research analysis, we sought to show the relationship between the times where, in the nineteenth century, Ana Jansen showed characteristics of the entrepreneurial profile that authors nowadays present through research and articles. In the analysis, a list of their businesses will also be made, including the potable water trade that distributed water in the city of São Luís through water trucks (at the time carts), its value proposition, and its importance for the city, as it was the only one that distributed water in the city, and, for 15 years, was alone in the market.

Table 1 shows the relationship between Ana Jansen’s professional life as an entrepreneur and the authors who study the entrepreneurial profile (i.e., a relationship is made between Ana’s profile and the study of the authors).

Table 1 - Entrepreneur profile relationship

| | |
|--|--|
| AUTOEFICAZ (HISRICH; PETERS, 2004, P. 29). | “He conserved the farm, sold the unproductive land, and bought buildings in São Luís, making it the largest farm in Maranhão” (VIVEIROS: 1965:12) |
| ASSUME RISCOS CALCULADOS (KAUFMAN, 1991, P. 3). | “The Bentivi Political Party was of the liberal party, and Ana Jansen was an important figure; such a party was bankrupt and she took the risk of re-erecting and succeeded and thus made more enemies” (SANTOS, 1978, p 85). |
| PLANEJADOR (DORNELAS, 2001, P. 15). | “Ana Jansen acquired real estate and then rented and sold water, tar, pitch, coal, brick, lime, and agricultural products, diversifying her sources of income, assuming the aspects of entrepreneurship at the time, with fewer risks, because her business was diversified” (NOVAES, 2012, p. 101). |
| DETECTA OPORTUNIDADES (BIRLEY; MUZYKA, 2001, P. 22) | “Ana Jansen is evidenced in the trade in drinking water” (NOVAES, 2012, p. 95). |
| PERSISTENTE (SOUZA; SOUZA; ASSIS; ZERBINI, 2004, P. 4) | “Donana Jansen won across the line. For another 15 years, they rode their wagons through the streets of São Luís” (MORAES, 2012, p. 50). |
| SOCIÁVEL (LONGENECKER; MOORE; PETTY, 1997, P. 3). | “Among the political strategies adopted by Donana, one can highlight the parties held in her noble house, the coffee with the <i>macaxeira</i> cake served to politicians, the newspaper <i>O Guajajara</i> , the material and financial support in the Balaiada Revolution and favored to local politicians” (NOVAES ,2012, p. 95). |
| INOVADOR (CARLAND, HOY E CARLAND, S.P. 1988) | “On her entrepreneurial side, Donana does not move for profit, which motivates her is her ability to the initiative, innovation, risk, and transformation”(NOVAES, 2012, p. 95). |
| LÍDER (MARKMAN; BARON, 2003, P. 114) | “It maintained the prosperity of its business, even in the face of the threats of progress that came to ruin some of them, and gathered enough supporters to establish and lead it an important political faction in the Province” (MORAES, 1999). |

Source: From the authors (2022)

Table 1 lists a link between what current literature tells us about the characteristics of the entrepreneurial profile and how Ana Jansen, in the nineteenth century, managed to manifest such characteristics, thus proving once again that she was a woman ahead of her time.

Hisrich and Peters (2004, p. 29) included the self-efficacy related to taking the initiative, organizing mechanisms, and transforming situations for the organization's benefit in

the entrepreneur's behavior. Ana Jansen assumed such behavior when she inherited her inheritance and managed to carry out commercial transactions of purchase and sale of her lands, making them profitable and thus conquering the deserved power and the title of the richest woman in Maranhão at her time (VIVEIROS, 1965, p.12).

Taking calculated risks is another characteristic present in Donana's life, and given her influence on the state's economy, she

challenged herself and joined a political party that faced financial problems; with great determination, she managed to reestablish the party, an act that made her more enemies among the nobles (SANTOS, 1978, p. 85). The characteristic of taking risks is the ability to innovate, be agile, and be efficient to adapt to the continuous changes in the economic environment (KAUFMAN, 1991, p. 3).

A characteristic highlighted in the entrepreneurial profile is that of planning; it is said that the entrepreneur has a future vision of the organization, so one anticipates the facts (DORNELAS, 2001, p. 15). Ana Jansen managed to multiply her business throughout her life with planning, as she had several businesses in local commerce; she used the market practice, well known nowadays, and diversified her sources of income. It is possible to observe the administrative capacity she had to use planning in their business (NOVAES, 2012, p. 101).

The entrepreneur is the one who detects opportunities and can identify the value of the business opportunity (BIRLEY; MUZYKA, 2001, p. 22). Ana Jansen saw this opportunity within São Luís with the sale of drinking water in water carts; her slaves sold water throughout the capital, the wells were located inside her properties, and her two farms in Apicum and Vinhais were a very profitable business because she monopolized the water market in São Luís for over 15 years (NOVAES, 2012, p. 95).

In the mid-1850s, an engineer named Teixeira Mendes opened a water distribution company in São Luís, competing with Ana Jansen's water trade. She was not concerned with the competition, as she had her

means of disrupting Teixeira's business so it would not affect its sales. It is important to note that interfering in others' business, so it does not interfere with yours was common at this time. Thus, she did so much that the new company's sales decreased and he decided to close. Donana continued with the monopoly within the local market, thus showing the persistent behavior of an entrepreneur (MORAES, 2012, p. 50). Perseverance consists in the development of creativity, imagination, and self-knowledge (SOUZA; SOUZA; ASSIS; ZERBINI, 2004, p. 4).

The characteristic of being sociable for the entrepreneurial profile is that entrepreneurs are seen as business energizers (LONGENECKER; MOORE; PETTY, 1997, p. 3). Furthermore, as it befits our nineteenth-century entrepreneur, one of her strategies to energize the people who worked in her party was to hold parties at her residence to move her political party and the movements in the newspaper *O Guajajara* with material and financial support (NOVAES, 2012, p. 95).

When entrepreneurs assume leadership capacity and recognize the importance of their contact with people, they try to act vigorously to control different situations (MARKMAN; BARON, 2003, p. 114). For, Donana, this was a very active characteristic in her life because she led all her businesses, her trusted men had respect for her, they knew how to recognize that she was their leader, and she led a political party, so she was the target of numerous threats from her opponents (MORAES, 1999, s.p). Table 2 intends to fill in the business model table with Ana Jansen's drinking water trade, and one can note that her trade fulfilled the requirements for the current business model proposed by SEBRAE.

Table 2 - Business model

| KEY PARTNERSHIP | KEY ACTIVITY | VALUE OFFER | RELATIONSHIP | CUSTOMER SEGMENT |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| “Santos Jose da Cunha who, while she owned the water wells, he took care of the distribution.” (MORAES, 2012, p. 48). | “Water distribution.” (MORAES, 2012, p. 47). | “Sell drinking water in São Luís, carried out the delivery at the customers’ door.” (MORAES, 2012, p. 47). | “She did not have much of a relationship with clients because she monopolized the market.” (MORAES, JOMAR; 2012, p. 48). | “Population of São Luís; Ships and other vessels.” (NOVAES, 2012, p. 95) |
| | KEY FEATURES | | CHANNELS | |
| | “She owned the Apicum and Vinhais wells.” (NOVAES, 2012, p. 90) | | “Distribution in kite wagons.” (NOVAES, 2012, p. 90) | |
| COST STRUCTURE | | | SOURCE OF REVENUE | |
| Maintenance of wells and kite wagons. (MORAES, 2012, p. 49). | | | Each water flake cost 20 tales of réis. (MORAES, 2012, p. 47). | |

Source: From the authors (2022)

As shown in Table 2, Ana Jansen’s potable water trade was consistent with the current known business model, and it is known that the business model concept consists of a strategic scheme of processes and systems for carrying out a lucrative activity. Hence, one can see that, within her business, Ana Jansen fit uniquely because among the components of the model, in the relationship with customers, one reads that there was no care to conquer or value their consumers because in the city, there was a monopoly of this trade. Thus the relationship with customers became irrelevant to her since she was a very feared and powerful woman in the city (ALEXANDER and YVES, 2011, p 15-16).

It is known that businesses need their key resources; after all, it is the primary means of carrying out the activity, and the main source for the water trade is the water itself, and D. Ana, on her farms, had artesian wells and managed to meet the needs of the market at the time, delivered water to homes, and also to the port when the vessels arrived. It is believed that there was a relationship strategy

in her business with ships, as in addition to water, Donana sold milled rice, tar, and pitch (NOVAES, 2012, p. 90-96).

Key partnerships are the first component within the model; in the case of Ana Jansen, her partner was the person who took care of all distribution logistics within São Luis and possible maintenance that occurred within the process. She was intelligent as she owned the wells, and the financial part she took care of personally and carefully; her partner was doing outside services and maintenance. It can be said that the water business was one of the most profitable, based on its costs being minimal compared to his other farm businesses.

4. CONCLUSION

In the nineteenth century, a woman’s role was simply to be a master of the house or an enslaved person; however, a woman stood out and went against the thinking of the time. Ana Jansen appeared surprisingly in a completely sexist society at that time; the theme

proposed in this article is relevant concerning the role of women within society, and even today, one can see some types of prejudice in the professional scope in which a woman stands out. Donana faced adversity for being a woman and a single mother, although she understood that she needed to stand out in the middle of society and create her own story, she became an important businesswoman for the economy of the city of São Luís, even with the prejudice she faced in the century.

Ana Jansen saw the opportunity to make riches and multiply her inheritance from her widowhood, when she showed herself to be an intelligent woman, to the point of bothering the businessmen of the time, because, as she managed to diversify her businesses and prosper them, she reached respect, not out of admiration. However, for his powerful position in the society of that time, then the research problem was solved.

We sought to achieve the objective of analyzing the literature from Maranhão, which shows us the life story of Ana Jansen as a professional and how she developed the characteristics of the entrepreneur studied today. It was found that as her first husband was a merchant and Ana already had an administrative capacity, she could learn from him and, after his death, had to develop her competence and entrepreneurial skills; otherwise, she could lose her inherited patrimony due to her female condition.

The difficulties encountered in carrying out this study were the scarcity of books, articles, and research related to the subject, as well as the life of Ana Jansen. Another challenge was the lack of photos, records, and documents that proved the veracity of her undertakings and life as a professional; the lack of archives is regrettable, given that, through the research carried out, its importance for society was verified.

It is suggested, for future research, that research be conducted on the diversification of businesses to reduce the risks in investments, as we observed that Ana Jansen had several businesses in different segments, including water trade, the sale of enslaved people, and the production agriculture, in addition to the sale and rent of real estate within the capital. Thus in a strategy to increase her wealth and reduce her risks, it can be seen that Donana was successful throughout her life.

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