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Exploring the role of women entrepreneurs in revitalizing historic Nazareth

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ABSTRACT

In this study, we explore the role of women's entrepreneurship in revitalizing the historic market district of Nazareth (Israel). This is a special context to examine the intersection of women's entrepreneurship, tourism, and historic revitalization because of the complex geo-political, cross cultural, and community development setting. We examine the role of women through their practice of cultural tourism-oriented entrepreneurship and seek to understand factors motivating women to engage in such entrepreneurship, along with their unique contributions. We utilize a qualitative research approach and conducted semi-structured interviews, augmented by numerous site visits and participant observation. Findings reveal that respondents, along with their individual-level motivations, have a strong desire to act on behalf of all women as well as to contribute to the community at large. This study sheds light on the role that women play as bearers of specific craft traditions as well as their ability to provide a unique calming and stabilizing effect on the socioeconomic environment through their venturing. Beyond Nazareth, this study offers insight into the relationship between tourism and the SDGs on gender equality (5), decent work and economic growth (8) and on building peace, justice and strong institutions (16).

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Women's entrepreneurship; tourism; historic districts; Nazareth; sustainability; SDGs

Introduction

Tourism has become an important force in revitalizing historic districts for many cities. Previous research has emphasized the role of entrepreneurship in such contexts, together with the role of small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) (Guilarte & González, 2018; Wanhill, 2000). Although several studies have examined the role of women's entrepreneurship, earlier scholarship has largely overlooked their specific role in the tourism sector (Hillman & Radel, 2022; Tajeddini et al., 2017). This is troublesome as understanding the critical role that women entrepreneurs play is important for ensuring that these community revitalization initiatives match the rhetoric of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UN 2022a).

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This paper explores women's entrepreneurship in the historic market district of Nazareth (Israel). Nazareth offers a special arena to examine the intersection of women's entrepreneurship, cultural tourism, and historic revitalization within a contested cross-cultural, geo-political and community development setting. Our aim is to examine the role of women through their practice of cultural tourism-oriented entrepreneurship. In addition, we seek to understand the factors that motivate women to engage in such entrepreneurship along with their unique contributions, despite the substantial barriers associated with a very complex and patriarchal context.

Our paper has implications for better understanding the relationship between the tourism sector and the UN Sustainable Development Goals of gender equality (SDG 5) and decent work and economic growth (SDG 8). Our paper also offers insight into the ways that women entrepreneurs can directly contribute to peacebuilding as envisaged by SDG 16. Even though previous studies have highlighted the role of entrepreneurs in revitalizing historic cities (e.g., Crossa, 2009) we found no previous research specifically focusing on the role of women entrepreneurs in the revitalization process.

Theoretical framing

This paper draws from concepts rooted in different fields. We first discuss cultural tourism and the role of entrepreneurship in revitalizing historic districts. Thereafter, we discuss previous research on women's entrepreneurship within tourism, which includes a discussion of the motivational factors and gender related barriers women face, along with the contextual preconditions that frame their actions.

Cultural tourism, local entrepreneurship, and the revitalization of historic districts

For many years, cultural tourism has been promoted as a mechanism for revitalizing historic districts. In an early study, McNulty (1985) observed that declining industrial cities in the US "have regained a measure of prosperity by reclaiming and promoting their cultural and architectural heritage to attract small business investment and tourism" (p. 225). While this pattern of using cultural heritage to attract tourism investment has become omnipresent (e.g., Ford et al., 2008; Lu et al., 2015), scholars have noted persistent challenges associated with such processes. For example, Scarpaci (2000) examined the revitalization of Habana Vieja (Cuba) and concluded that tourism was a major economic driver of the process in which the "spaces of Latin American historic districts undergoing restoration benefit some citizens more than others" (p. 736). Scarpaci's findings echo Hoffman's (1999) study of the economically disadvantaged and racially segregated inner-city community of Harlem (New York City, USA). Hoffman argued that the main attraction in the deprived center of Harlem was its cultural capital, based in part on difference or cultural "otherness" (Said, 2003). Even though tourism has brought jobs, infrastructure and support for cultural institutions and political empowerment, it has also led to community resentment. Hoffman goes on to state that "members of Central Harlem's hard-pressed minority community feel wary of what they experience as racial voyeurism, with white tourists 'on safari'" to experience authentic Black culture in New York (p. 219). Hoffman concludes that the only way to negate this problem is through active involvement by local residents in the tourism development process.

The power, governance and authenticity issues described above have been observed in studies of cultural tourism over many years and in many different settings. For example, Irandu (2004) describes how tourism can support the conservation of cultural heritage in Kenya by creating economic opportunities for the revival of traditional arts and crafts. At the same time, Irandu identifies a series of negative impacts that mirror the same structural and power imbalances reported by Scarpaci and Hoffman. Similar findings have also been reported by Laven et al.

(2010) in their studies of U.S. National Heritage Areas. They report that shared governance and the ability to engage local perspectives are key ingredients for heritage-oriented revitalization and tourism development efforts. Thus, the involvement of local entrepreneurs appears to be necessary (if not sufficient) in historic revitalization efforts. This is not surprising since prior research has repeatedly emphasized the importance of local involvement in tourism planning processes more broadly (Burns, 2004), and that small operators help to encourage local input and decision-making (Lordkipanidze et al., 2005; Loucks, 1988; Rodenburg, 1980). In the next section, we discuss the specific role of women entrepreneurs in such processes.

Women entrepreneurship in tourism

Women entrepreneurs make significant contributions to innovations, employment, and wealth creation worldwide (Acs et al., 2011; Adom, 2015; Bardasi et al., 2011). The contributions of women's venturing, however, are understudied. Previous research has focused on the North American context and ignored the preconditions and/or contributions of women entrepreneurs in non-Western contexts (Berglund, 2007; Brush et al., 2010). Little research has been done on the role of women entrepreneurs within the tourism sector (Cole, 2018). Furthermore, most business research focuses on large firms, which is a limitation since the majority of firms in developing and emerging contexts are of micro- or small size, especially within the tourism sector (Kimbu et al., 2021).

Motivational factors for women entrepreneurs

Motivations to engage in entrepreneurship have traditionally been seen as either necessity- or opportunity based. It has usually been argued that entrepreneurship in developing or emerging contexts is driven by necessity, which refers to the need to survive and stems from poverty. In Western contexts, by contrast, entrepreneurship is often viewed as driven by the identification of opportunities (Baumol, 1990; Sahasranamam & Sud, 2016). A similar pattern is seen when looking at motivational factors for women operating in the tourism sector. For example, Filimonau et al. (2022) show that women in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are driven by necessity and extrinsic motivations to engage in entrepreneurship at times of crises. They argue that the local cultural traditions reinforce different sources of capital, which strengthen women's entrepreneurship in critical times. Similarly, Hillman and Radel (2022) investigate how women in Nepal engage in entrepreneurship as a mean to escape poverty.

Most studies about women entrepreneurship in tourism suggest that their venturing can be regarded as an extension of traditional domestic roles (e.g., the host family sector or commercial home enterprises) (Peeters & Ateljevic, 2009). Several scholars (Harris et al., 2007; Lynch, 1998) have investigated the accommodation sector in which women play an important role as the work is carried out within their own home environment, thus mirroring their traditional domestic roles. Lynch (1998) describes the motivations of hosts in providing accommodation services from their own home and Garcia-Ramon et al. (1995) discuss the changing position of women in the novel economic activity of farm tourism (accommodation) in Spain and their role within the economic production of the family unit. They point out women's opportunities to interact with the outside world by commodifying their domestic work to provide services for tourists, while at the same time preserving their landscape. Overbeek (2003) analyses the consequences of economic individualization for women who are married to the owner of a business or who own a business in tourism or agriculture. Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) identified a long tradition of women participating in the informal tourism sector and thus gaining greater control over their lives. Zapalska and Brozik (2014) analysis of small-scale female tourism- and hospitality firms in Poland found that the female entrepreneur's dream was the primary motivation, and that business success was tied to their commitment to enhance local prosperity.

Women's entrepreneurship in tourism has also moved beyond traditional business models, towards initiatives for social innovation and change. Thus, "entrepreneurship" can include civil society organizations (NGOs) aiming to create meaningful economic and social opportunities (Peeters & Ateljevic, 2009). This type of initiatives are related to the notion of lifestyle entrepreneurship, where non-economic motives are recognized as driving forces for tourism entrepreneurship and growth of the small-business sector (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000).

Even though a majority of women in tourism operate small firms in sectors seen as traditionally feminine (Kimbu et al., 2021) there are cases where women enter traditionally masculine sectors such as the male domains of trekking and tour guiding in Nepal (Hillman & Radel, 2022).

Gender related barriers

Although women entrepreneurs form a heterogeneous group, research shows that they face similar obstacles from formal and informal structures in society. The most frequently discussed barrier is access to finance and discrimination when applying for bank loans (Berglund, 2007). The tourism sector creates an additional barrier since it is often a seasonal activity and therefore perceived as riskier by financiers. As a result, women-owned tourism SMEs are typically self-financed or financed through friends and relatives (Iwu & Nxopo, 2015). In many developing and transition economies, women also face other formal barriers, including disadvantageous regulatory systems, inheritance laws, property rights, and access to education (Goyal & Yadav, 2014). In addition, women must often overcome obstacles related to local domestic markets in ways their male counterparts never have to consider (Amine & Staub, 2009).

Informal structures, on the other hand, originate from cultural views, values and norms. These structures may create barriers that are even more difficult to overcome because of the time required to change societal attitudes and norms (Barhate & Patgaonkar, 2012; Lindvert et al., 2019; Yanfei Zhao & Wry, 2016). Informal obstacles relate to the status of women and women's rights along with attitudes towards women as entrepreneurs (Welter, 2011; Lindvert et al., 2017). Furthermore, women entrepreneurs have to deal with role complexities, especially in terms of motherhood. This means that women who run businesses must blend their professional life with their family situation in ways that male business owners do not—in both Western and non-Western settings (Dzisi, 2008). Therefore, many women operate their business from home, which may be convenient but also limits the potential growth of the firm (Amine & Staub, 2009).

Contextual preconditions and women's empowerment

There is growing interest in understanding how context affects women's entrepreneurship (Elkafrawi et al., 2022; Welter, 2011), including the importance of spatial context (Alshareef, 2022; Müller & Korsgaard, 2018) which is particularly central to tourism entrepreneurs. As noted by feminist geographers, spatial contexts are always gendered. An early work by Berg (1997) demonstrates that perceptions of place and gender have implications for understanding entrepreneurship. Thus, studying entrepreneurship is also studying gendered individuals in gendered places. However, neither people nor places are static or given, but emerge together and shape each other. Hanson (2009) reminds us that even though entrepreneurship is marked by stereotypical gender divisions, entrepreneurial processes can also change the meaning of gender and the way gender is constructed. She argues that women engaging in entrepreneurship can change their lives, and the lives of those around them, and in the process also change the places where they live. Women's grassroot actions, aiming to build confidence, skills and business networks are central to this type of transformative processes.

Alkhaled and Berglund (2018) adopt a critical perspective in discussing women's entrepreneurship as a way to achieve social change. They distinguish between empowerment as an individual practice that aims to reach freedom for the self within institutional structures, and

emancipation as a wish to challenge and change power structures and reach collective freedom for women as a group. Their findings from Sweden and Saudi Arabia support previous research that women are empowered through entrepreneurship at individual levels but argue that it may not necessarily lead to emancipation at group levels. The longing for collective emancipation through entrepreneurship may be inspirational and can raise expectations that entrepreneurship will lead to institutional change; however, this is still an empirical question that remains unanswered (Alkhaled & Berglund, 2018).

Contexts struck by conflicts create special circumstances for women's entrepreneurship. Based on a study in Gaza, Althalathini et al. (2020) found that the conflict itself, and its impact on gender norms, was a central motivational factor for Palestinian women to engage in entrepreneurship. Some gender norms were limiting, while other norms encouraged women to start or expand their venturing in order to support their families. In addition, their study shows that prolonged conflict can lead to social and economic changes, which in turn can empower women entrepreneurs while at the same time reinforce gender norms.

Although women's entrepreneurship has received growing attention, we did not encounter a single study that examined the contributions of women entrepreneurs to the revitalization of a historic urban district. This lack of attention is troublesome given the substantial role that women entrepreneurs can play in such settings and helps set the stage for our study in Nazareth.

Study context and location

Nazareth is Israel's largest Arab-Palestinian city and is regarded as the capital of Israel's Arab population, with almost 78 000 residents (State of Israel, 2019). Located in the heart of the Galilee region. Nazareth offers a special case study of the role of tourism—and women entrepreneurs in particular—in the revitalization of an abandoned, historic marketplace.

Nazareth is one of Christianity's holiest locations and many of the city's sites are associated with significant events in the early history of Christianity. The concentration of these sites positions Nazareth as a key tourism destination for religious pilgrims. This potential was highlighted in the year 2000 when the Pope announced his intention to undertake a pilgrimage to Israel and encouraged all believers to visit the region and experience the Christian holy sites (Collins-Kreiner et al., 2006). Such attention led to estimates that up to 3.4 million pilgrims would visit the area for Millennium-related celebrations (Cohen-Hattab & Shoval, 2007), which also gave rise to the "Nazareth 2000" effort. Nazareth 2000 began in the early 1990s as a modest municipal effort, which subsequently evolved into a high-profile, national urban renewal project.

The Nazareth 2000 initiative became highly contested because of top-down planning processes, tensions between the city's Christian and Muslim populations (Kliot & Collins-Kreiner, 2003) and a lack of trust resulting from the broader Arab-Palestinian-Israeli conflict (e.g., Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Consequently, a substantial majority of the old city's artisans and entrepreneurs abandoned the district over two decades years ago and much of the area remained vacant during this 20-year period as shown in Figure 1.

Despite these challenges, the city's historic market district has witnessed something of a revival in recent years. New businesses have opened, many of which are owned and operated by women. The success of these women has garnered increased attention as evidenced by the social media presence shown in Figure 2. One important catalyst for this activity has been the success of the acclaimed Fauzi Azar Inn, which opened in the heart of the historic market district in 2005. As described by Gelbman and Laven (2016), the guesthouse was the result of a special Arab-Palestinian-Jewish partnership that sought to use small-scale, heritage tourism to revitalize Nazareth's historic market, preserve its Arab-Palestinian identity and stories, and encourage



Figure 1. Abandoned sections of the historic market district in Nazareth during the summer of 2013. Photo taken by Daniel Laven.



Figure 2. Screen capture of Facebook page promoting the women business owners of Nazareth. Sourced from Facebook by Alon Gelbman, March 2021.

more peaceful and reconstructive dialogue within the challenging context of Israeli-Palestinian relations.

Gelbman and Laven (2016) focused on the rare partnership that underlies the Fauzi Azar Inn. In doing so, however, they also overlooked the important and complex roles that women entrepreneurs play in such community development. This omission is striking since the senior Arab-Palestinian partners involved in the Fauzi Azar Inn were both women, and many key actors associated with the guesthouse and related efforts were also women.

Methods

Field studies

This is a qualitative study that draws from two data sources. The first data set was included in the Gelbman and Laven (2016) study. These interviews were conducted in Nazareth during 2012–2014 to explore the Fauzi Azar Inn as a "peace through tourism" effort. When later reflecting on these study findings, the role of women as central actors became clear and led to a follow up study to examine the specific role of women entrepreneurs in the revitalization of the old city in Nazareth. Thus, a second set of interviews were conducted in December 2019 by a new member of the author team, together with one of the previous authors.

When conducting studies in a foreign cultural context, it can be challenging for outside researchers to make sense of events in the same way as insiders. The benefit of being an insider is the ability to "read between the lines" and to understand the study context. Being an outsider, however, also offers advantages in the ability to ask new questions and view events with fresh perspectives (Welter, 2011). In this study, researchers represent various degrees of proximity to the context, which we found beneficial (Easterby-Smith & Malina, 1999). One researcher is a permanent resident in the country, and another researcher is a former resident of a community adjacent to Nazareth and they have both conducted substantial research in the area. The third researcher has only visited the country a few times.

The research team spent time in the old city together as well as individually. Inspired by ethnographic research methods (Van Donge, 2006) we also collected data through participant observations, the writing of field journals, photographs and through everyday interactions with local people. This data collection was augmented by regular site visits (approximately 3 per year) between 2013 and 2021, which included numerous informal conversations with women entrepreneurs operating tourism-oriented businesses in the historic market.

Semi-structured interviews

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with women who operate businesses in the old city. We employed two criteria for selecting study participants: (i) the business needed to be located within the historic market district and (ii) the business needed to be tourism-oriented, which included handicraft shops, cafés and restaurants, and guesthouses.

Since two of the authors were already very familiar with the study area, our research team was able to identify potential study participants. We approached potential respondents in their workplaces, asked for their participation, and we also inquired about suggestions for other potential study participants. Thus, a combination of purposeful and snowball sampling was used (Miles & Huberman, 1994), and every person who was invited agreed to participate except for one individual.

Interviews were 30-90 minutes in length and held at the workplace of the respondents. All interviews were conducted in a mix of Arabic, English and Hebrew. Members of our research team are fluent in English and Hebrew. When Arabic was needed, we worked with a local translator. With the consent of participants, interviews were recorded, transcribed and anonymized. We conducted semi-structured interviews because we needed some standard information, but we also needed flexibility in order to reach a deeper understanding of the respondents' reflections, feelings and experiences (Miles & Huberman, 1994). We used an interview guide that covered several themes, such as characteristics of the owner and the firm, conditions for women's entrepreneurship in the context of Nazareth and the role of social networks and support/lack of support from family and friends. We also remained open for follow-up questions when interesting stories or reflections surfaced.

Overview of study participants

The 2012–2014 data focused on the Fauzi Azar staff and ownership group. Four of the five participants in this study were women. During our follow-up study in 2019, we conducted interviews with ten women operating businesses in the old city. No public information on the exact number of women entrepreneurs in the area was available, but those we interviewed estimated that we included more than half of all female entrepreneurs operating in the old city in our study. We strived for a variety of perspectives and experiences among our respondents. All but one were majority owners and they were all running microenterprises. Two of the respondents have been operating their businesses for 15 years but the majority have started within the last five years. The youngest respondent is in her early 20's and the oldest is over 60. Most of the women are married and have children, although one is a widow.

To gain a deeper understanding of gender and gender norms, some male respondents were included in the study. In two cases, the husband of the woman participated in the interview. One of these men has a separate job, and the other is a partner in the business. In addition, we interviewed two men who operate tourism businesses in the old city. To get the perspective of local authorities, we also interviewed a representative of the local tourism development agency. Finally, an insider informant and local research assistant provided us with valuable information about what goes on in this context. All respondents except one are members of Israel's Arab-Palestinian community (Table 1).

Analytical approach

We used an interpretive approach to analyze the data where we strived to develop a narrative of the role that women entrepreneurs play in the revitalization of the old city. Drawing on Braun and Clarke (2006, p.79) we conducted thematic analysis, which is a method of "identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data". This method is especially suitable when data contains open ended responses as it makes it possible to analyze data in depth (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). We used the following process (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018): 1) interviews were transcribed and sorted, 2) data were grouped into meaningful codes (both pre-defined and emerging codes), 3) codes were grouped into themes and sub-themes, 4) data were interpreted and patterns identified, and finally 5) conclusions were drawn in relation to the aim of the study.

Findings

Our analysis revealed two main themes. The first theme captures the *motivational factors* that explain why women enter into entrepreneurship in the historic market district. This theme was expressed on three different levels whereby study participants reported that they practiced entrepreneurship for (i) their own individual fulfillment, (ii) for the sake of all women as a group, and (iii) for the sake of the whole community. The second theme reveals the *unique role of women entrepreneurs* and how they are positioned to make distinct contributions to the revitalization of the old city. Again, their reflections were expressed at individual-, group- and

Table 1. Overview of respondents.

Name (pseudonym)	Role	Type of business
Respondents, first study (2012-2014)		
Boaz (the only male in the first study)	Co-owner of the business	Guesthouse, one of the oldest and biggest
Ohda	Owner of the building that became the guest house	Guesthouse, one of the oldest and biggest
Farida*	Co-owner, previous manager	Guesthouse, one of the oldest and biggest
Madiha*	Cleaning staff	Guesthouse, one of the oldest and biggest
Ibriz	Cook	Guesthouse, one of the oldest and biggest
Respondents, second study (2019) Female managers		
Madiha*	Manager	Guesthouse, one of the oldest and biggest
Yasmin	Owner, manager	Handmade jewelry, handicraft
Sahiba	Owner, manager	Handmade cross-stiches, embroidery, cushions
Sarah	Co-owner, manager	Cultural café and guesthouse (with husband, Adel)
Rabia	Owner, manager	Café
Maryam	Co-owner, manager	Restaurant and bar (with husband, Zahid)
Farida*	Co-owner, previous manager	Guesthouse, one of the oldest and biggest
Hanifa	Manager, designer	Fashion design school and boutique
Riffat	Owner, manager	Architect services
Hajra	Owner, manager	Jewelry design and boutique
Male managers		
Adel	Co-owner, manager	Cultural café and guesthouse (with Sarah)
Zahid	Co-owner	Restaurant and bar (with Maryam)
Tahir	Owner, manager	Family guesthouse
Aayan	Owner, manager	Restaurant
Reference interviews		
Abdullah	CEO	Local tourism development agency
Waseem	Student	Research assistant, cultural guide and informant

^{*}Respondents were interviewed in both studies.

community levels. Women stated that they (i) have characteristics that make them particularly suitable to operate in the old city, (ii) are bearers of traditions and (iii) are perceived as "nonprovocative" actors, which makes it possible for them to be present in the historic market despite, or perhaps because of, strong patriarchal structures. These factors make it possible for women entrepreneurs to play a crucial role in the revitalization of the old city in ways that men cannot. Table 2 summarizes the themes, which are grouped according to individual- group- or community level. We acknowledge that not all themes are situated strictly within only one level. Under each main theme, sub-themes are provided, and under each sub-theme we list the most prevalent codes. Finally, our data shed light on the impacts of their venturing, which in turn has important implications for SDGs 5, 8 and 16. These implications are discussed in the final section of the paper.

Motivational factors for women's entrepreneurship

Contrary to previous research, we did not find evidence of necessity as a primary driving force for women in this study (Baumol, 1990; Sahasranamam & Sud, 2016), despite the fact that they do not live in a particularly wealthy area. Different intrinsic motivational factors emerged that were much stronger and often expressed in relation to the specific place (the old city).

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Table 2. Overview of themes arising for	rom data.		
Main theme 1: Motivational factors for WE	Main theme 2: Unique role of WE	Impacts for SDGs	
	At individual level		
Sense of place Family history Upbringing, origin Social contacts, personal networks Memories from the old city Self-fulfillment Engage in one's interest, be creative Meet people Break isolation from home Make a living Inner satisfaction	Palestinian women seen as brave, patient and calm Risk averse, make good decisions Sensitive in handling costumers At group level, for all women	SDG 5 Strengthening the role of women, women's empowerment	
To create jobs For oneself and others Create a network of WE Stimulate economic activity among women Being role models Inspire, show that it is possible Encourage and help each other Show the way for younger	 Women as bearers of traditions Have skills and knowledge Make products that are attractive for both locals and tourists Authenticity of handicraft is important 	SDG 8 Business development, increased economic activity	
generations	t community loyal for the collective as a su	whole	
	At community level, for the collective as a w		
 To preserve the value of the old city Old city is unique, cultural heritage has unique value Buildings are old, restorations are urgent Both physical artefacts and intangible values of 'life' in old city 	Women are seen as 'non-provocative' actors Seen as 'weak', in need of protection Women are not seen as a threat Strong norms of 'honor' Easier for women to ask for,	SDG 16 Community development, preserving cultural identity	
To preserve cultural values and identity Proudness of identity A collective responsibility Focus on engaging the locals Is about survival of cultural identity Take control over one's collective destiny As political action	and get, support		

Entrepreneurship for the sense of place and individual fulfillment

The interviewed women are strongly motivated to engage in entrepreneurship in the old city due to their individual sense of place and their longing for self-fulfillment. All but one of the women grew up in, or close to, the old city. They describe this as something very important in establishing a business there. Farida, a questhouse owner, says: "... this is my grandpa's house, so I spent most of my childhood here." Farida also reflects on the background of other female entrepreneurs: "And these women, they were brought up in this area, like they were coming with their parents, they were coming to the market to buy things. [...] ... the women are from families, Muslims and Christians, they are from the original Nazarene families."

Sarah, who runs a cultural café, explains that the women have a very strong sense of belonging to the area, and argues that despite the challenges they face when establishing a business, the women "... have this longing for connection to their old city, to the handicraft...". Rabia, a young woman who recently opened a café, explains that she had this strong desire to operate in the old city, because of its unique atmosphere; "There was something missing in my life, and I used to come to the old city a lot. I really loved it ... ".

These women want to be present in the old city where they have family history, and they feel a strong sense of belonging. The role of spatial context is thus central for motivating factor for their venturing (Alshareef, 2022; Müller & Korsgaard, 2018). They were also strongly motivated by their longing for personal fulfillment, to get out of the house and to do something for their own sake. Our data revealed differences between ages in that younger women were trying to combine their passion with making a living. Older women were more focused on the opportunity to do something creative, and not driven by a need for making a profit. Study participants also expressed satisfaction over the choice to enter entrepreneurship. Perhaps Madiha summarizes it best: " ... when I started ... all of this, I feel like I am a different Madiha."

Entrepreneurship for the sake of all women

Another theme was the desire to strengthen local prosperity (Zapalska & Brozik, 2014), and particularly women's prosperity. Several respondents highlighted the importance of involving women in entrepreneurship and to serve as role models for each other. Yasmin, who makes silver jewelry, described how she encouraged others: "When I started here, I was alone for two years. Then my neighbors, they are also my friends, they have their talents, and they felt encouraged to come and to open their own businesses. So, I was an example." Similarly, Sarah, who runs a cultural café, talks about how she encouraged women who came to cultural events to engage in business life in the old city; "... come, there are so many places empty. Take one place and we will help you!"

Entrepreneurship for the community as a whole

The most salient theme in our data reflects how women describe their role in the process of cultural preservation; the majority of study respondents described the importance of preserving the old city and their collective responsibility to promote the survival of their cultural heritage. As described previously, the old city of Nazareth was abandoned for many years. Thus, the opportunity to help preserve and revive the old city was more important than simply running a business.

Riffat, an architect specializing in the restoration of old buildings, describes her emotions for the city's heritage in a beautiful way: "I decided to live in the old city [...] just to be part of this area, and even to understand these houses, to sleep under this roof that I never slept under in my whole life. [...] ... this place is simply amazing. It's like someone is hugging you..." She emphasizes the value of the old buildings and streets as physical places, full of history and culture: "...it is very important to conserve and preserve such spaces. As each year passes, it loses, it can't handle more time, it will be weaker and weaker. So, the first step, it's like a patient. I need to preserve it, for more years, and with quality. $[\dots]$ \dots this is the heart of the old city. This place. And the old city is the heart of the city."

What Rabia, a café owner, talks about is not only related to the physical space per se, but to the "life" in the old city: "I decided to open here, because we are losing the old city. And if you don't open, if you don't revive the old city... it will change. It might really change, and it might look different than who we are, what is our identity, our culture and everything... I've decided to open here, because there is something bigger than opening my own café—it's to revive the old city." The responsibility to preserve the old city is a commonly shared value and a strong driving force for engaging in entrepreneurship. Even though tourists bring money, the goal is to revive the old city for the local community. As Farida says: "... my main dream is to bring back the locals."

Deeper reasons for opening businesses in the old city were revealed as the interviews unfolded. Our study participants clearly expressed that their practice of entrepreneurship is really about the survival of Palestinian culture and thus can also be understood as political action within the Israeli-Palestinian context.

Riffat, the architect, expresses it this way: "Plus, we are under occupation. Under occupation means, that we don't want their [Israeli Jewish] money. Because they see us as enemies, and they want to change all the culture. They want to 'jewinize' all the cities. And we don't want it to take this road. Our war is, that us, the locals, come and open the shops, before they come and buy houses and open them. When they come to visit me, they are visitors... So, we remind them that we are not part of this, we don't accept this country, we were obliged to have this nationality, but at least, in our own city, we show them that we master this city. We master our shops; we master everything here."

Rabia, a café owner, emphasizes: "I'm really proud of my culture, I'm really proud of my language, and who I am. And I want to show why I am proud of it, and why I am happy about it." Lastly, Riffat expresses how she and the other entrepreneurs play an essential role for the survival of Palestinian cultural identity: "Everyone opening here is very brave, and has to find his own, or her own, way to survive. [...] We have a very, very, huge importance regarding our identity. We carry it with us, in architecture, in language, in food, in everything... Identity is like, as simple as we need to hold, and to keep it, to keep our cultural heritage."

In line with Ateljevic and Doorne (2000), the women we interviewed were driven primarily by non-economic motives and engaged in entrepreneurship as a lifestyle choice. In addition, we found that women were striving for individual freedom and empowerment, but simultaneously strived for emancipation in a broader sense; both for women within the context of Nazareth and for the Palestinian community at large. These findings are consistent with those reported by Alkhaled and Berglund (2018).

The unique role of women as entrepreneurs

Women's characteristics make them suitable

Several respondents describe how women are more suitable to run shops compared to men. These descriptions point out how women are "better at handling costumers", and "brave to enter the old market". And perhaps most importantly, they argue that women are "more patient than men" and willing to build up their businesses slowly and patiently instead of trying to make money as quickly as possible.

Adel, who co-owns one of the cultural cafés, describes these characteristics this way: "Palestinian women, they have a lot of courage and patience, inside them, without making a lot of noise. So, they do something very nice here, they remember this place, how it used to be, and they are courageous to come here. I tried to convince some men, some young men, to come here, but nobody wanted to come, because they think this is a dark corner, a neglected corner, 'nobody will come there'".

Bearers of traditions

Women in our study generally operate very small firms with, at most, only a few employees, which is consistent with previous research (Kimbu et al., 2021). They also operate within

traditional feminine sectors like running restaurants and hostels (Harris et al., 2007; Lynch, 1998; Zapalska & Brozik, 2014). We found that traditional handicraft, such as handmade jewelry, crochet, and cross-stitching was particularly important. A strong argument for why women play such a central role in the revitalization of the old city is that they are bearers of traditional handicraft, and that their products are saleable to tourists (Spooner, 1988). Women have the traditional knowledge and skills and manage to frame the products in ways that make them attractive for both domestic and international tourists. Madiha, a questhouse manager, explains that she buys their products to give as gifts, but that they are popular among tourists as well; "They do it [handicraft] for locals and for tourists. It doesn't matter, it is the same for all." In addition, Farida talks about the authenticity of the historic market district, and how handmade products are directly connected to Palestinian culture. Although authenticity is notoriously complex (e.g., Cohen, 1988), our data are consistent with Kreuzbauer and Keller (2017) notion of "agency control", in which small scale and locally produced products are considered to be "more authentic" than their mass produced or outsourced counterparts.

Women seen as "non-provocative" actors

Most previous research in developing and transition contexts shows that women face barriers in their venturing stemming from informal structures, gender bias and norms against women (Barhate & Patgaonkar, 2012; Lindvert et al., 2019; Yanfei Zhao & Wry, 2016). Findings from our study may therefore be surprising. Our data shed light on how women are perceived as "nonprovocative" compared to men, and this seems to be an important benefit associated with their ability to engage in entrepreneurship. In a highly patriarchal society, with strong codes of honor, men tend to position themselves in relation to other men and are often seen as threats to each other. Women, on the other hand, are not seen as threats, but perceived instead as "weak" and in need of protection and therefore gain access to more support. Because it is seen as unacceptable to harass a woman who is starting a business, many of the respondents argue that it may actually be easier for women to operate in the old market area.

Rabia explains these gender rules like this: "Yes, it's really amazing that most of the places here are run by women, but let's be real—it's easier for us, than for a guy. A guy will have problems with people, because you have different mindsets. [...] I mean, because I am a woman, no one will make a problem for me. Because I am a woman. Especially in our community, women are... like no one will come to you and ask, 'why are you looking at me?' and start fighting with you." Similarly, Farida explains: "It's very insulting for a man to go and insult a woman, or to threat a woman in the Arab society. [...] So, if I open a business here, they won't dare to come to tell me anything. But if I am a man, yes, they will start trying to make me run away from here."

Even though these findings may contradict results from many other studies where barriers for women entrepreneurs often are highlighted, our study context is by no means gender neutral. As discussed by Berg (1997) individuals and places are always gendered, and our study context has a very strong presence of traditional gender norms. How gender and place are perceived will therefore also have implications for how entrepreneurship is understood. In this study, we found that women, through their entrepreneurial processes, actually change perceptions of gender in Nazareth. As discussed by Hanson (2009), they change their own lives, but also the lives of people around them. And through their grassroot actions, the very place where they live and operate is also being changed.

Discussion

Discussion and conclusions

Our paper has implications for better understanding the relationship between the tourism sector and the UN Sustainable Development Goals of gender equality (SDG 5) and decent work and economic growth (SDG 8). Our paper also offers insight into the ways that women entrepreneurs can directly contribute to peacebuilding as envisaged by SDG 16 (peace, justice and strong institutions). Specifically, our data demonstrate how women entrepreneurs have played a special and central role in the revitalization of the old city of Nazareth. Women are drivers in the process where shops, cafés and restaurants are (re)opening, bringing life back to the marketplace in ways that were unimaginable 15 years ago. In summary, this process reveals the following dynamics and their direct connections to SDG 5, 8, and 16 (UN 2022a).

First, the specific socio-cultural circumstances of the old city of Nazareth, and associated revitalizations effort, has strengthened the position and role of women, thereby creating real opportunities to move away from traditional gender norms in which women are expected to stay in the household. Through these processes, our study participants have become important role models for other women, which means that the group of women entrepreneurs is growing, along with their power. As a result, they are claiming an increased role in a social context that has traditionally excluded women from the practice of entrepreneurship. The fact that women entrepreneurs are leading the redevelopment of the historic market also means that they are strengthening their role in the community. This process reflects the intention of SDG 5 that acknowledges the "crucial role of gender equality as a driver of development progress, recognizing that the potential of women had not been fully realized" (UN 2022b).

Second, although the majority of ventures are very small and tend not to employ many people, they do create previously unrealized opportunities for meaningful work. Our study participants repeatedly emphasized how and why their practice of entrepreneurship brought meaning to their lives. While creating work opportunities for themselves and others, they have an important impact on business development and economic activity in the old city. The presence of women entrepreneurs in the area also seems to have a calming effect on the environment, which has a history of criminality and violence. Thus, women's entrepreneurship has a positive impact on economic development in the old city, but also impacts the socio-cultural environment per se in a positive, stabilizing way.

Our data also echo the broader literature on lifestyle entrepreneurship and bring to life the nuanced dimensions of "inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all" (SDG 8) (UN 2022c). An important aspect of our study lies at the intersection of this informal, bottom-up effort to revitalize the historic district and the unique position of women to develop local businesses in ways that men either cannot or will not undertake. Interestingly, our data also suggest that the tourism sector plays a helpful role because of the demand and value associated with traditional handicraft and venues that offer "authentic" service. It is difficult to overstate the importance of this point, especially in light of the failure of previous top-down efforts to revive Nazareth's historic district. Scholars agree that, in order to be successful, efforts like Nazareth 2000 need to be rooted in community-based approaches to tourism development rather than the top-down, cosmetic efforts (Cohen-Hattab & Shoval, 2007; Kliot & Collins-Kreiner, 2003). This pattern has been observed in many contexts worldwide and underscores the power of this informal network of women to drive these types of community-based efforts. Consequently, economic planners should consider how best to actively support microand small-scale enterprises (Rodenburg, 1980), perhaps building on peer-to-peer mentoring dynamics that was reflected in our data.

Third, study participants repeatedly emphasized the broader picture for the whole community, which is anchored in the preservation of Palestinian cultural identity and the revitalization of the old city. Clearly, the women are very proud to be part of making their local heritage come alive. They recognize their role in the preservation of Palestinian cultural identity and state that this is an overarching strategy and goal of their venturing.

In our view, these findings speak to the ways that the practice of such entrepreneurship may contribute to peacebuilding as envisaged by SDG 16 (peace, justice and strong institutions). The Israeli-Palestinian context remains one of the world's most intractable conflicts and scholars

agree that tourism, alone, is unlikely to bring peace to the region. Moreover, our study does not directly address questions of justice nor the institutional aspects of SDG 16. Our study does, however, offer insight into the ways women can encourage the kinds of micro interactions that have been shown to make space for transformative dialogue and reconstructive learning about the region (Hammami & Laven, 2017; Shepherd et al., 2020; Shepherd & Laven, 2020), or what Mac Ginty (2021) terms "everyday peace". This primarily involves small scale opportunities for affirmation and self-expression of the stories of "others" (Said, 2003), especially for the frequently suppressed narratives of Palestinians and Israeli Arabs that are often absent from current tourism practice in Israel (Shepherd & Laven, 2021). These dynamics are clearly seen through the various acts of Palestinian cultural heritage preservation described by the women interviewed in our study.

Contributions

This study builds on previous research in cultural tourism, heritage studies, and women's entrepreneurship and contributes to the literature by shedding light on the complexities of gender in a context that is both male-dominated and characterized by persistent conflict and contested spaces. Our findings also contribute to the existing literature in the field of entrepreneurship by showing that women entrepreneurs, despite significant barriers, contribute directly to sustainable development.

To our knowledge, this is the first study to specifically look at the direct contribution of women to the revitalization of a historic district in ways that help advance the UN Sustainable Development Goals. Our study highlights the potential that women entrepreneurs hold for such efforts in under-serviced communities in other places. However, even though our findings can inform social policy discussions around the three SDGs, we find it a delicate matter to suggest specific implications for policy development. The study context is unique and complex in many ways, and policy implications should therefore be given with care and grounded locally—otherwise we risk a repeat of the abandoned market as occurred during the top-down Nazareth 2000 effort. We argue that further research is needed in order to provide well-grounded, serious suggestions for policy development to be implemented by local and national policymakers.

Limitations and suggestions for future research

The present study is based on a small sample and focused on a very specific place. Thus, findings can serve as examples, but cannot be used to draw broader conclusions because each cultural context is unique. However, we see a number of avenues for future research. Perhaps the most important line of inquiry might be a program of developmental evaluation (Patton, 2011) that can support new initiatives for women entrepreneurs in the region. Some previous research on tourism and social entrepreneurship have touched upon these questions (e.g., Stenvall et al., 2017), but to our knowledge, no systematic research has been conducted on the program or policy sides of these questions, and findings from our study point directly to this future need. Another promising area of future research will be to continue to examine the intersection between tourism, heritage, and women's entrepreneurship. Finally, our findings raise questions about ways women entrepreneurs can make important contributions to peacebuilding and associated issues of social justice. Our study contributes to a growing body of research in the Israeli-Palestinian context in the ways that tourism might contribute to small scale, everyday peacebuilding efforts (Gelbman & Laven, 2016; Hammami & Laven, 2017; Shepherd, 2022; Shepherd et al., 2020; Shepherd & Laven, 2020, 2021; Stenvall et al., 2017). While these studies suggest small scale tourism can create real opportunities for everyday peace and transformative dialogue, they have yet to address the thorny issue of justice.



Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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