Entrepreneuring as an everyday form of resistance

An exploration of the experiences of Palestinian women street vendors in the occupied Old City of Jerusalem

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to problematise the dominant conceptualisation of entrepreneurship by recognising the everyday resistance inherent in mundane entrepreneurial practices. Its principle purpose is to show how entrepreneurial activities enacted by ordinary individuals in a marginalised and oppressed context can be an important means of resisting economic adversity, social marginalisation and political (colonial) domination.

Design/methodology/approach – Framed within de Certeau's conceptualisation of the practices of everyday life, this study utilises a "focussed ethnography", relying on "participant observation" and "informal interviews", to explore the perceptions and experiences of Palestinian women street vendors, and how they use everyday entrepreneurial practices in the open-air market of the Old City of Jerusalem to become socially and politically empowered.

Findings – The arguments in this paper demonstrate how marginalised Palestinian women, who are equipped with a genuine critical vision of their reality and a biophiliac attitude, use entrepreneuring to enact new possibilities for themselves and for their families. Through their entrepreneurial act of street vending, these women exemplify a struggle against economic and socio-political constraints, transforming the act of entrepreneuring from a mere economic practice to an all-encompassing human project, one with a more human face.

Originality/value – This paper extends the argument for the complex and dynamic nature of the phenomenon and exposes its political nature, hitherto inadequately addressed in existing literature, as well as uncovers the potential of entrepreneurialism to enhance individual empowerment and contribute to meaningful social change. In addition, it addresses the need for scholarly work that focuses on the everyday entrepreneurial activities carried out by ordinary individuals experiencing various forms of oppression in new and challenging spaces, which are seldom acknowledged within the dominant theoretical and research frameworks.

Keywords Women, Resistance, Palestine, Social change, Entrepreneurship, Focussed ethnography, de Certeau

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

Entrepreneurship in most existing literature is predominantly conceived as an economic phenomenon, exclusively reserved for a select group of individuals and limited to certain privileged contexts and settings. As such, the literature continues to show very little sensitivity to contextual factors that influence entrepreneurial activities (Gaddefors and Anderson, 2017; Newth, 2018) and to the wide inter-dependency between the social and economic spheres of everyday life. Rehn and Taalas (2004) suggest that we examine the phenomenon as it is actually practised in everyday life, and to look beyond certain delimiting specificities – that is, specific actors, settings and definitions, by locating daily

entrepreneurial activities in the lived experiences of ordinary people, or what is known as "mundane entrepreneurship".

In this paper, our position fares well with scholars who call for new ways of locating entrepreneurship within society and identifying it as an activity that emanates from everyday interactions between social actors and their world: an activity that can be essentially understood as an endless process of social change and transformation (e.g. Calás *et al.*, 2009; Grant and Perren, 2002; Tedmanson *et al.*, 2012). In carrying out a "focussed ethnography" using "participant observation" and "informal interviews" to explore the lived experiences of Palestinian women street vendors, our goal is to examine and understand how the mundane entrepreneurial practices of these women constitute a basis for resisting their marginalisation and impoverishment. In regards, we tend towards using "entrepreneuring [verb]" to challenge current theorising and to draw attention to a broader range of activities that display entrepreneurial elements aimed at generating not only economic benefits, but also diverse socio-political outcomes (see Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013; Rindova *et al.*, 2009).

Using Michel de Certeau's notion of everyday practices, the aforementioned goal tends to accentuate the mundaneity (or everydayness) of entrepreneurship, as well as uncover the subtle resistance potential submerged in everyday entrepreneurial practices. Mindful of the need for clarity, the term "resistance" is not taken to pertain to long-term group struggle against enduring conditions of colonialism and slavery, but to "everyday forms of resistance" – a concept inspired by Michel de Certeau (1984) and Michel Foucault (1972, 1978) – representing small, ordinary acts of defiance by which individuals and groups express their dissatisfaction with the status quo. Along de Certeau's lines, we tend to elucidate how resistance lies deep at the heart of entrepreneurship and how many acts of entrepreneuring traverse towards resisting adversity and improving one's lived reality – they can be grasped as a means of survival, and sometimes of thriving, within an oppressive structure.

The paper is organised as follows. In the next section, we highlight Palestine as a context wherein entrepreneurial activities are infused with subtle, mundane forms of resistance. Second, we discuss various critical strands of literature and their contributions. Third, we borrow the concept of "everyday resistance" from Michel de Certeau's work, whose primary concern is the colourful everyday practices performed by ordinary women and men in order to survive. Fourth, a description of the methodology and the methods used to collect empirical data is offered. Fifth, we present our analysis and interpretation of the perceptions and experiences of Palestinian women street vendors from a Certeauian perspective. Finally, we conclude by outlining the theoretical and practical implications of the present study and by suggesting future research pathways.

A resistance-rich context
Women in occupied Palestine experience a broad range of socio-economic and political challenges. Although the oppression and discrimination resulting from the longstanding Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are most prominent (2017 marks the occupation's 50th anniversary), there are other forces related to Patriarchalism and social marginalisation, typical for many women living in the Arab Middle East region (see e.g. Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013; Hattab, 2012; Madichie and Gallant, 2012; Moghadam, 2005; Tlaiss, 2015), as well as those living in different parts of the world (see e.g. Hamilton, 2006; Mehtap *et al.*, 2017; Torri and Martinez, 2014; Zhao and Wry, 2016).

The historical forcible displacement of Palestinians, and the concomitant implantation of Israeli Jews into Palestinian lands from which the original population was transferred (BADIL Resource Centre for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, 2014, 2015; Dajani, 2005), continue to create one of the world's longest-running refugee challenges, with nearly 5.9m Palestinian refugees registered under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and

Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (2018). Meanwhile, the Israeli occupation ceaselessly continues to complicate the everyday lives of the remaining Palestinian population estimated at 4.78m for the year 2017 – of which 435,483 are living in Jerusalem (PCBS, 2018) – through several discriminatory practices: Palestinians are denied access to a multitude of basic human rights, including the right to life, freedom, sustenance and adequate housing; they are continuously exposed to severe restrictions on movement and extremely limited access to natural resources, agricultural land, healthcare, as well as educational and economic opportunities (BADIL Resource Centre for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2017).

Nevertheless, Palestinians' worsening life conditions have elicited their imagination, and forced them to create and sustain a continuous struggle against the repressive elements of reality. This struggle is best represented in the ideological theme or concept of *Sumud*, which translates into "steadfastness" (see Abed, 1988, p. 288). Since its conception following the Israeli occupation, *Sumud* continues to appear in Palestinian literature and artwork where, in iconography for example, it is associated with the motherly peasant woman (Jetter *et al.*, 1997), which largely pertains to persistent nonviolent "everyday resistance", what Scott (1985) describes as a form of infrapolitics. (For an elaborate discussion of the active engagement of Palestinian women in the national struggle, see Kuttab, 1989, 2009, 2010; Sayigh, 1983).

Richter-Devroe (2011) views *Sumud* as a spectrum of acts ranging from the most immediate materially-based survival strategies (e.g. home-based and small-scale projects), to cultural resistance (e.g. upholding cultural identity by wearing embroidered dresses and performing folkloric songs and dances), and the social and ideational resistance (e.g. maintaining hope in adversity and an outlook for a better future). Generally, as a manoeuvring tactic, *Sumud* is concerned with preserving family and community, which is why it has been particularly associated with women's daily struggle and resistance (Johnson, 2007; Richter-Devroe, 2008, 2011).

In almost all domains of everyday life, including culture, tourism, education and business, we can see different manifestations of *Sumud*, or what Scott (2008, p. 52) articulates as "rich, historically deep, subcultures of resistance", which profoundly shape and determine everything that is done and practised within the Palestinian context. "Romantic Boycott", for example, is an initiative created by Birzeit University Museum to encourage Palestinians to purchase flowers planted in its gardens instead of purchasing Israeli flowers. Another example is Banksy's "Walled Off Hotel", which is built literally adjacent to the illegal separation wall in Bethlehem – the Palestinians' answer to the Waldorf offers "hotel, museum, protest and gallery all in one" (Graham-Harrison, 2017). Similarly, the works of wood carvers in the city of Bethlehem are exemplary in this context. Several wood carvers, who before the occupation limited their woodwork to creations typically stereotyped with a religious character, have transformed their traditional woodcarvings into a more authentic form of contested art concerned with maintaining the Palestinian heritage (see Alghoul, 2017; Chabin, 2017; Farsoun, 2004).

We might in the same way find in embroidery, pottery and folk singing the same upward-springing trend of *Sumud*, particularly of women who are struggling against oppressive traditions that confine them to the extent that they are voiceless and cannot make real demands. Abu-Lughod's (1990) studies of Bedouin women reciting poetry have led her to notice certain forms of resistance that could be admired; for instance, the forms of power relations she has noticed in which Bedouin women are caught up work through restrictions on movement and several daily activities (i.e. elder relatives' control over marriage). Al-Dajani and Marlow (2013) also describe how the entrepreneuring of displaced Palestinian women refugees reproduces and preserves their individual and social identity, while contributing to countering their marginalisation and exclusion. These examples

illuminate our perception of different entrepreneurial initiatives that enliven atypical representations of resistance, what Ortner (1995, p. 175) describes as "less organised, more pervasive, and more everyday forms of resistance".

The sociology of entrepreneurship

With a concern of challenging the mainstream entrepreneurship conceptualisations that draw mainly from economic theories, the following theoretical framing of entrepreneurship builds on rather a critical, sociological perspective that recognises the phenomenon as a contested site among variably empowered cultural and economic groups (see, for instance, Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013; Calás *et al.*, 2009; Goss *et al.*, 2011; Lindgren and Packendorff, 2009; Rehn and Taalas, 2004; Rindova *et al.*, 2009; Steyaert, 2000; Steyaert and Katz, 2004; Tedmanson *et al.*, 2012).

The sociology of entrepreneurship, as far as this study is concerned, gives rise to two important issues that challenge mainstream entrepreneurship ideologies. The first is the notion of gender, which aims to move beyond rudimentary gender identities, to examine and critique gendered power relations within entrepreneurial contexts (Tedmanson *et al.*, 2012, p. 534). Using feminist theoretical perspectives, Calás *et al.* (2009) argued for a deeper understanding of the dual aspect of entrepreneuring: how, in one sense, it may accentuate gendered normative behaviour and the subjugation of women; and how, in another sense, it could alter potentially gendered power relations and contribute to social change. It is specially the latter aspect that not only unsettles the normative assumptions concerning entrepreneurship, but also foregrounds the political nature of entrepreneuring and its tactical role in bringing about infinitesimal, though significant, changes in the lives of those who engage in creative everyday practices.

In their calls for more critical studies that use insights about gender, several scholars have either explicitly or implicitly focussed their calls on the emancipatory potential of entrepreneuring (e.g. Ahl, 2004; Ahl and Marlow, 2012; Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013; Al-Dajani *et al.*, 2015; Bruni *et al.*, 2004; Hughes and Jennings, 2012; Marlow *et al.*, 2009). Al-Dajani and Marlow (2013, p. 512), for example, conclude that an empowerment approach would facilitate and enhance our understanding of entrepreneurship "as a gendered, politically motivated process", whereby marginalised and subordinated women resist socio-economic and political constraints (see also Al-Dajani *et al.*, 2015).

The second issue is the paucity of entrepreneurship research on individuals living in marginal and poor areas (e.g. "underdeveloped and developing countries"), whose practices and narratives are insufficiently represented. For instance, authors like Banerjee and Tedmanson (2010) and Dana and Anderson (2007) warn against this ongoing situation whereby indigenous communities are silenced and negated. In giving voice to those disenfranchised individuals, Imas *et al.* (2012) concentrate on everyday entrepreneurial practices taking place in the margins of our societies. Steyaert (2000) too discusses the concept of the "entrepreneurial city", which stands witness to swarms of creative activities that can emerge everywhere, including its margins. The study of entrepreneurship, then, becomes of other geographies and, as Imas *et al.* (2012) suggest, should concern itself with finding better descriptions of how people enact entrepreneurship in depleted communities and the periphery in general (see also Johnstone and Lionais, 2004; Rehn and Taalas, 2004).

The study of entrepreneurship has opened up new pathways into areas that lie outside the mainstream literature and that have offered novel understandings by emphasising the interwoven nature and embeddedness of entrepreneurial activities in society. Of particular interest to this study is "indigenous entrepreneurship", which, according to Hindle and Moroz (2010), involves practices and activities that are external to the dominant political and socio-economic structures. Beyond simple economic realisation as defined in market terms alone, indigenous entrepreneurship, as Cahn (2008) suggests, engenders a wide range of

outcomes that are largely dependent on how well the entrepreneurial activity blends with social values. In many contexts, indigenous entrepreneurship is often portrayed as being illegal or informal, thus discounting it to mere sustenance activities unworthy of our attention and analysis; however, Webb *et al.* (2009) argued for such illegal entrepreneurial activities by emphasising that when these activities are socially accepted, informal entrepreneurs enjoy the legitimacy of operating within informal institutional boundaries and thereby gain access to social networks and resources.

Consequently, the solidarity between human beings and their world has prompted some critical scholars to study people's efforts to further their personal resources and negotiate their lives in a complex system. An insightful illustration is found in Rehn and Taalas (2004) who have highlighted the blat, "Russia's economy of favours", as a covert system in which mundane entrepreneurial activities take place. By locating the entrepreneurial potential in a command economy – the Soviet Union, they demonstrate how friends and acquaintances in a pervasive system of favours and counter-favours obtain access to the limited commodities and resources that ensure their basic life needs are met. Another illustration is from Pine's (2012) published ethnography *The Art of Making Do in Naples* in which he valorises alternative forms of economy and establishes "the alertness, adaptability, and celerity that are awakened by a challenge" (p. 23). Furthermore, Williams and Round's (2007) discussion of entrepreneurship in informal economies, particularly "third world" contexts, illustrates the hidden enterprise culture championed by people, who display several entrepreneurial qualities (e.g. creativity, makeshift and resourcefulness) which are utilised in day-to-day informal business activities, such as street vending, knitting, catering and other home-based productive work.

In the difficult context of the Old City of Jerusalem, most Palestinians manage to make a living, achieve some basic level of education and a satisfactory health condition, even those whose survival tactics, self-reliance (Imas *et al.*, 2012) and creative practices (de Certeau, 1984) ingenuously described as nomadic (Pine, 2012), fall outside the coloniser-regulated terrain.

What is notable about the sociology of entrepreneurship is that critical scholars have fashioned a theory of "cultural power" where entrepreneurship becomes both a political project and a practice for change in the making or remaking of a new kind of society. As a political project, entrepreneurship speaks to a form of cultural politics whereby economic, social and political values and meanings are created and contested, while also connecting theory and practice to the genuine aspects of "emancipation" (see Goss *et al.*, 2011). As a practice for change, entrepreneurship is that site where power and politics are offered an essential expression. It responds to the profound beliefs about the very nature and meaning of the right to life: to imagine and to struggle for a better future and life.

Resistance: a practice of everyday life

In situating our understanding and conception of "resistance" in de Certeau's work, we acknowledge that his concern with the realm of everyday life is guided by the belief that ordinary individuals can make a difference towards their own situation through enacting ingenious ways of using "quotidian" activities and practices.

The critical thrust that de Certeau's practices of everyday life deliver ties in with the work of, among others, the Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire. Freire's (1972, p. 84) focus on men and women as beings in the process of becoming – "as unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality" – elucidates the complex interplay between the oppressor and oppressed. Thus, we find in Freire the essential character of everyday resistance. de Certeau also places great emphasis on everyday practices (e.g. walking, talking, reading, cooking, dwelling, shopping and we may add entrepreneuring), which, if enacted creatively, can generate an ensemble of new possibilities that empower ordinary

and subjugated individuals, making them "poets of their own acts, silent discoverers of their own paths in the jungle of functionalist rationality" (1985, p. xviii).

Michel de Certeau's main concern with the domain of "everyday practices", "spatial practices" or "ways of operating" stems from his belief that "microbe-like" unrecognised people can bring about innumerable and microscopic changes of and within the dominant structure in order to adapt it to their own interests and requirements (1984, p. xiv). He makes a distinction between strategies and tactics. Associating strategies with institutions and systems of domination, he maintains that every "strategic" reasoning seeks to establish a break between its "own" place (i.e. the terrain of its will and power) and that of the other. This, in turn, makes it possible for the dominant administration to exercise control over those included within its scope of vision (de Certeau, 1984, p. 36). Tactics, on the other hand, represent the "actions" that remain accessible, circumstantial and driven by opportunities that offer themselves at any specific moment. With their vigilant use of the cracks found in the dominant system, tactics "invent [themselves] by poaching in countless ways on the property of the others" (p. xii). They play on and with the terrain of the other, insinuating themselves into the appropriated space and enabling the weak or the oppressed to seize whatever opportunities are available beyond the gaze of the oppressor.

In confronting us with this dichotomy between strategies and tactics, de Certeau exposes the hidden production element found in the act of consumption. Reading, for example, according to de Certeau is not merely an act of passive consumption, but an act whereby the reader (consumer) becomes a producer or creator of something new (p. 170). Thus, we find de Certeau describing the countless different "ways of using" laws, practices, rituals and representations by ordinary people to their own ends and wishes, other than those intended by the dominant system. "Ways of using" or "ways of operating", de Certeau tells us, develop and insinuate themselves everywhere; they illuminate the creative, tactical and dispersed nature of the numerous everyday practices, which enable the ordinary to exercise power and to reclaim the space organised by the strategies and techniques of the dominant system (p. xiv).

Methodology
This study uses short-term focussed ethnography to understand the lived experiences of Palestinian women street vendors and how they use everyday entrepreneurial practices to challenge a multitude of severe socio-economic and political constraints. Focussed ethnography concerns itself with certain facets of fields of study, that is, "actions, interactions and social situations", rather than "social groups, social institutions and social events" (Knoblauch, 2005, p. 18). This particular type of ethnography is relatively short-ranged, characterised by intensive excursions into other people's lives, as well as both an intimate and intentional focus upon the details of everyday practices (Knoblauch, 2005; Pink and Morgan, 2013). In addition, focussed ethnography facilitates first-hand engagement with other individuals' ways of life and subjective experiences within the context of the researchers' own culture and society (Knoblauch, 2005, p. 12).

These specific features render focussed ethnography apposite for the purpose of the present work because, first, it allows us to journey into the individual perceptions and everyday experiences of Palestinian women street vendors in the Old City of Jerusalem and, second, because of its ability to recognise our reflexive role as researchers and how this role enables us to give meaning to the participants' comments and expressions, especially in the light of the commonalities we share with these participants (as will be shortly explained). Although this type of ethnography is increasingly being used in healthcare and psychological research (e.g. Graham and Connelly, 2013; Hondras *et al.*, 2016; Howard and Williams, 2016; Simonds *et al.*, 2012; Walsh, 2009), educational research (Little, 1982; Strada *et al.*, 2014), and music (Kühn, 2013), it still remains underutilised in entrepreneurship research.

We, therefore, believe that employing focussed ethnography in entrepreneurship research can enrich our understanding of the phenomenon by enabling us to identify and examine new entrepreneurial forms and manifestations.

As members of the very same society we are studying, we assert that our reflective accounts and interpretations begin and end with the position we hold in relation to these women, and to the entrepreneurial efforts they enact on a daily basis to resist oppression and subjugation. They are coloured by common social, cultural and political realities with which we are closely connected; in another sense, we are members of the same complex social world of which they are part.

Whilst we acknowledge the fact that the demarcation lines separating the positions of being insiders from outsiders may be blurred and unclear (see Merton, 1972; Herod, 1999; Kusow, 2003; Mercer, 2007), we strongly believe that our situatedness and personal life history and experiences – as fellow citizens, customers, neighbours and friends, especially that one of the authors was born, raised and continues to live in the Old City of Jerusalem, enable us to better understand and explain the perceptions, expressions and experiences of such marginalised individuals and how they utilise everyday entrepreneurial practices.

Our physical immersion in the local socio-cultural and political environment provides us with an insider view of how these women make sense of the diverse social structures in which they are embedded, and of how they actually interact with and within these structures. Based on the ideas of Griffith (1998) and Mercer (2007), our biographies (i.e. who we are and where we come from) as well as our socio-political position, are presumed to give us a "lived familiarity" with women street vendors and their personal life experiences.

This study is conducted in the lively open-air marketplace of the Old City of Jerusalem; a space commonly populated by the small shops of craftsmen and artisans, as well as the stalls and mats of fixed and temporary or wandering street vendors. Like most open-air markets in developing countries (see, e.g., Berry, 2009; Kusakabe, 2006, 2012; Mitullah, 2003; Muiruri, 2010), street vending in the Arab Palestinian market of East Jerusalem is largely predominated by women, where between 30 and 50 women street vendors who come from neighbouring villages are present almost every day.

The participants in this study are 15 Palestinian women street vendors selling fresh, home-grown produce in the open-air market. The majority of these women, whose ages range between mid-40s and early 70s, happen to live in the southern outskirts of Jerusalem and commute several hours per day to arrive at the marketplace, crossing the burdensome and wearing Israeli checkpoints and roadblocks, which are found everywhere across occupied Palestine (B'tselem, 2018). Table I provides a socio-demographic profile of the participating Palestinian women street vendors.

It is recognised that this study shares the limited generalisability associated with small samples in general (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Cope, 2011); however, our aim in this work is not to generalise, but to generate contextualised insights that contribute to a better understanding of the perceptions and experiences of Palestinian women street vendors in the occupied Old City of Jerusalem.

Data collection, which covered a period of two weeks in January 2018, was primarily performed using "direct observation" and "informal interviews" with the participants. On a daily basis, at least one of the two researchers spent between 4 and 6 h (on most days both researchers were present, with each researcher spending about 70 h in the field) observing and talking with the women who have confirmed their consent to participate in the study. As a beginning step in this study, participant observation allowed us to better understand the day-to-day activities and practices of women street vendors in the marketplace, and to grasp how they operate and interact within their natural setting. Moreover, as a result of familiarising us with these women's immediate community and life circumstances, using observation as a data collection method is presumed to lend credence and validity to our

Participant	Age	Marital status	Number of children	Years in street vending	Goods offered
Birzeit	45	Single	–	10	Leafy greens
Bisan	73	Divorced	7	27	Traditional crafts and embroideries
Haifa	59	Widow	6	18	Leafy greens
Husan	43	Widow	3	9	Dairy products
Huwara	64	Married	7	20	Fruits and vegetables
Jenin	68	Married	8	25	Herbs and spices
Jifna	71	Married	7	20	Fruits and vegetables
Karmel	68	Married	5	21	Fruits and vegetables
Lifta	57	Married	4	18	Traditional crafts and embroideries
Lydda	63	Married	5	25	Dried fruits and spices
Nazareth	64	Married	6	20	Dairy products
Rafah	57	Married	4	17	Spices
Safed	57	Married	6	16	Pickled products
Taybeh	55	Married	6	20	Leafy greens
Yafa	43	Married	4	11	Vegetables and dried fruits

Source: Data collection and analysis

Table I.
Socio-demographic
profile of the
participants
(pseudonyms used)

interpretation and analysis of their everyday lives and experiences (see Bernard, 1994; Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002; Kawulich, 2005).

Alongside participant observation, and throughout the two-week period, we carried out 15 informal, unstructured interviews with the participating women, each lasting between 1 h and 2 h, which allowed us to venture into what was deemed personally important to these women and to further corroborate our understandings and interpretations. Most of our conversations, therefore, revolved around various issues and details related to these women's everyday experiences; their motivations for engaging in street vending activities; how they juggle their work and family lives; their relationships with family members and relatives; their relationships with other women and market participants; and the challenges and difficulties they experience on a daily basis.

Throughout our interviews and discussions with the participants, we maintained field notes to record details related to our personal observations and informal interviews in the fieldwork site. The process of data analysis has coincided with the process of data collection and continued after the completion of the latter. This simultaneity between the two processes in ethnographic inquiry falls in line with the recommendations of Marshall and Rossman (2006) and Merriam (1988), who contend that the nature of classifying persons, actions and social situations is inherent in ethnographic fieldwork. Both researchers have kept a separate registry of field notes in which they individually recorded their observations of the daily practices and activities of the participating women, as well as the comments and expressions offered by these women during the informal interviews. Almost after every day in the field, each researcher transcribed the written field notes of that day, translated them from Arabic into English, and coded the data using as many categories as possible. Then, as part of ensuring internal validity, the researchers exchanged their field notes and subsequent transcription and coding with each other. Spanning over the entire two-week period of data collection and analysis, this routine was concluded with a lengthy and thorough discussion between the researchers to come up with a consolidated set of codes and categories proclaimed to represent the everyday experiences and struggles of Palestinian women street vendors in the Old City of Jerusalem. In doing so, the researchers sought to identify and describe patterns and themes from the perspectives of the participating women, and then attempted to understand and explicate these patterns and themes from the

researchers' own perspectives. In discussing the codes and categories, we found that three interrelated themes (i.e. resisting economic adversity, resisting social marginalisation, resisting the occupation) capture the hidden and subtle resistance embedded in everyday entrepreneurial practices of less-than-exemplary and oppressed people. In writing up the findings of the study, we used the names of occupied Palestinian cities and villages as pseudonyms to protect the participants' identities.

Findings and discussion

Entrepreneuring: an everyday form of resistance

In occupied Palestine, women are trapped in an intersection of oppressions that render them particularly susceptible to poverty and suffering (Granerud, 2012). As individuals living under occupation and colonisation, they are deprived of their land, culture and their basic human rights, including the right to life, liberty and self-determination. As women they are subject to limited socio-political/economic rights and opportunities within their society, where a conventional position on gender roles is predominantly upheld (for a comprehensive study on the barriers facing women in the Arab World, see Al-Ahmadi, 2011; Jamali, 2009; McElwee and Al-Riyami, 2003; Mehtap *et al.*, 2017; Omair, 2008; Tlaiss and Kauser, 2010). They are, as asserted by Granerud (2012), second-class citizens whose livelihood options and possibilities are severely constrained by virtue of the intersectionality between gender, patriarchy and colonialism.

In what follows, our data show how Palestinian women street vendors struggle against adverse economic, social and political realities by enacting entrepreneuring as an everyday form of resistance, which allows them to realise outcomes far more diverse than that which appears on the surface. Besides generating economic benefits, the act of entrepreneuring creates a new reality intertwined with various desired challenges and opportunities, eliciting a form of resistance anchored in Palestinian women's day-to-day practices.

Resisting economic adversity

Confronted with an environment of deprivation and exclusion, marginalised Palestinian women find themselves obliged to carve out a living in order to survive. This is iterated by nearly all the women street vendors with whom we conversed in the open market of the Old City of Jerusalem. In particular, one common statement stands out: *bidna naeish*, which translates as "we must live", which is commonly followed by "this is our only available means of livelihood [or] survival" (Lydda, Rafah, Karmel, Jifna, Birzeit, Husan and Lifta).

Like many others who live in poverty and suffer from alienation and the lack of visibility, these women's everyday struggle forces them to generate coping mechanisms where they are required to apply their "makeshift" creativity (de Certeau, 1984, p. xiv), in addition to imagination and the local, small skills with which they are endowed (Imas *et al.*, 2012) in order to create new opportunities that sustain their lives and ensure their households' subsistence and survival (see also Gordon *et al.*, 2018). Here, we are taken by a comment made by Jenin, a picturesque personification of a true *fallāha* (old peasant women) selling herbs and spices: "we are the sons and daughters of this land […] it takes care of us, it nourishes us, it provides […]" In another comment, Yafa, who is relatively of younger age, still upholds close ties with traditions and customs and talks of her ancestors, and of herself now, how they have always ploughed and tilled their land; "[…] a place where familial and work relations are interwoven […] a source of enjoyment, comfort and safety". While acknowledging selling home-grown fruits and vegetables as a viable source of livelihood and survival, Karmel provokes a different, somewhat unfavourable aspect of her work as street vendor:

> I want my children to have a better future, like all mothers […] it hurts me when, sometimes, I contemplate the idea of seeing them doing the same thing I am doing now. Long time ago, I have

impressed this type of work on myself and the life of my family, however, what I wish for my children now is to be free from this impression and to have better prospects and opportunities, withering away the option of street vending.

Karmel unremittingly carries on in an aggrieved tone:

My work in street vending can only go so far, and it is within this space encompassed by this distance that I work and move […] it constitutes my fate from which I cannot escape.

Instead of remaining dependent upon the possibilities afforded by the adverse circumstances, these women trace what de Certeau (1984, p. 34) calls "indeterminate trajectories" – that is, trajectories that are marginal or peripheral to the space organised by the techniques of the dominant structures. In this case, street vending – though it may appear meaningless being outside the boundaries of the formal economy – not only allows such women to realise their economic aspirations in the face of constrained opportunities of employment and self-employment, but also ignites a hope for a better future and way of living for themselves and their families. In agreement with the others, Bisan, a divorced woman with seven children, so proudly puts it using a proverb commonly used in Palestinian everyday life: "ma h'aka jildak mithel t'ofrak", meaning "nothing scratches your skin like your own fingernail". She goes on discussing her frustration with how odds are stacked against her and her family, and how street vending presents her an opportunity to make ends meet, with a scant taste of hope.

Resisting social marginalisation
The notion of "entrepreneuring as an everyday form of resistance" brings to light how entrepreneuring in contexts of oppression and marginalisation may contribute to social change and transformation. Although street vending has been criticised for reflecting and perpetuating hegemonic gender ideologies (e.g. Agadjanian, 2002; Pozarny, 2016; Trupp and Sunanta, 2017), which position women in traditional roles associated with garden production and household subsistence, it can constitute a true act of defiance by means of which women (entrepreneurially) challenge or even subvert the constraining social order in which they are embedded (see Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013). At the most basic level, based on our interpretation of the very real challenges and constraints encountered by these peasant women, street vending enables such impoverished and subjugated individuals to engage in income-generating activities that are culturally acceptable, thereby transcending structural barriers that serve to inhibit their economic and social participation. Safed envisions her work selling home-made pickled products in the Old City of Jerusalem as a natural extension of her identity as *fallāha*, and as an activity properly aligned with other domestic responsibilities:

As a matter of fact, our tradition does not like women to work and be exposed to the outside world, yet our own situation requires that I must help in every way possible. My husband and my children help me in carrying out several of the tasks related to my work in street vending. For them, selling home-made pickled products allows me to fulfil part of our familial needs.

Another startling expression that shows how defiant such women are is found in the words of Haifa, who has been a widow for several years and has been solely responsible for raising and supporting her six children. Fearlessly, she said:

I don't care what people say or do. All I care about is my family wellbeing […] I exactly know what I am doing here.

The following comment made by a single women living with her parents and siblings shows how street vending has enabled her to garner social power at the familial and communal levels, which are manifest in increased independence and autonomy:

> Following my engagement in street vending selling leafy greens, I experienced greater involvement in decisions related to money and spending within the family […] what was once limited to my father and brothers, is now accessible to me as a result of my contribution to the family income. (Birzeit)

In this sense, if one wishes to use the terminology of de Certeau (1984), these comments underline how women may enact artistic ways of using the rules and expectations imposed upon them with respect to ends and wishes foreign to the prevailing social order. Without leaving the space where they have no choice but to exist, they can re-create their situation not through rejecting or transforming the dominant system, but through working around it or complying with it in a way that serves their own interests and requirements.

Another important implication of entrepreneurial street business in the social realm is that it facilitates women's access to social capital ties and networks that are vital for their sustainability and survival (see Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013). For many women, the street is where they nurture and strengthen ties with family members and relatives. It is remarkable how women succeed in engaging their entire families, particularly children, in organising and performing several vending tasks. At the same time, it represents a social space where they meet and interact with other market participants to whom they are connected through common realities, social identities and historical experiences and solidarities. This particular implication emerged as a common theme in almost all our communication with these women; here, for instance, Jenin's comment is quite relevant: "being here [in the open-air market] has changed my life, the lives of those around me […] now I feel more appreciated and connected". When asked to further elaborate, Jenin adds the following:

> When I first came here, I felt isolated, strange, and out of place. Now, after almost eleven years, I am attached to this place and to all the people that I have come to know; I can't see myself in another place doing something different; I have made a lot of good friendships, some of which are of true and sincere nature and on a deeply personal level. My daily interaction with some of my customers goes beyond the simple selling and buying of food items, it involves sharing personal and familial details related to our spouses and children, our joys and sorrows.

Similarly, Nazareth comments on her well-established relationships with other women street vendors with whom she shares the same market space selling similar home-made dairy products: "My friends [pointing at them] have made this work much more tolerable and enjoyable. I trust them, they watch over my gunnysacks during prayer times, or during a brief absence".

The above rhetoric resonates with Al-Dajani and Marlow's (2013) findings. In our case, it became clear that street vending enables these women to enhance their self-worth and share stories related to their work and family lives, but, also, to foster reciprocal and enduring relationships that are critical in challenging exclusion and disengagement from the broader community.

Interestingly enough, implied in the comments of two participants is a sense of bitterness and disinterest with regards to the influence their work in street vending has on their well-being and the position they hold within their communities:

> My work in street vending is exhaustive, hardly leaving me with the sufficient time and energy to attend to the needs of my four children. My work here in selling traditional crafts and embroideries entails long hours in preparation, commuting, setting up, selling and bargaining with customers. (Lifta)

> For a very long time, my relationships with other women in my home community have suffered from my lack of engagement and weakened interaction. Before my coming here, these relationships were a source of joy and I frequently reminisce some happy moments and incidents. (Jifna)

The last two comments notwithstanding, the significant social benefits of street vending combined with the improved access to, and control of, economic resources give largely invisible women a certain degree of recognition and freedom in an otherwise

male-dominated society. Although their work as street vendors does not constitute a basic challenge to traditional patriarchal norms that demote women to secondary status within both their families and the larger socio-political environment, it nevertheless empowers them against their inferior position and enables them to achieve a greater sense of power and control over some aspects of their lives and future.

Resisting the occupation
How entrepreneuring may also pose a continuous challenge to colonial domination carries particular relevance to a context of severe oppression, occupation and continual displacement, and is central to the purpose of the present paper. Viewed from a resistance perspective, the act of entrepreneuring performed by marginalised Palestinian women offers an opportunity not only to negotiate their existence from within a system that suppresses them and deprives them of their most basic rights and liberties, but also to become powerful political actors who can disrupt or undermine the colonial order and its norms by means of a variety of "tactics" embedded within the practice of everyday life (de Certeau, 1984). In this respect, we agree with Bayat (2000) and Cross (1998) on the efficacy of resistance exercised by the participants in the informal economy. But rather than privileging open or organised forms of political action, we here tend to subscribe to the views Kerkvliet (2009) and Scott (1985) establish with respect to how peasant women create mundane and more subtle ways of resisting the nightmares of increasing persecution, exploitation and dispossession.

The everyday life of women street vendors operating in the Arab Palestinian market entails an inordinate number of challenges. Aside from the difficulties of having to put up with far from ideal working conditions (i.e. exposure to harsh weather, long working hours and fluctuating income), or of having to commute for several hours a day between their villages and the city – with all the intricacies that this may involve as a result of the presence of the strenuous Israeli checkpoints that obstruct the movement of Palestinians and expose them to various forms of humiliation and extreme abuse – they have to deal with the occupation's policies and practices that relentlessly seek to take them off the streets of Jerusalem as part of its efforts to Judaize the city. In attesting to this, Taybeh, who is married with six children, says:

> Nowadays, as soon as we arrive to the market, tension starts to rise as a result of the impending offensive and brutal assaults of the Israeli police officers, who never cease to constrain our livelihoods and interactions using several measures, such as arrest, confiscation of goods and the imposition of substantial fines.

> Yafa's recollection of a personal incident that shook her life profoundly provides a lucid evidence on the Israeli forces' inhuman actions: "One time, my little son and I did not have enough time to hide my vegetables and dried fruits away from the invading Israeli forces who confiscated them and battered my son as he tried vainly to prevent them from doing so."

This is, of course, in addition to encountering settlers' regular harassment and violent attacks, which serve to exacerbate their insecurity and suffering (see, for instance, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2017; Cliff, 1998; DPR, 2011; JCSER, 2010). Not surprisingly, such attacks are normally carried out under protection of the Israeli armed forces, since they contribute to fulfilling the occupation's hope to pressure Palestinians and force them to evacuate their land. On this, Safed with her quiet manner, seeming hesitant in making clever remarks, makes the following comment: "It's our rightful claim against their ruthless power". Safed, whose eldest son is now spending a sentence of nine years in the Israeli occupation's prisons, continues by saying that "no matter what they do or how more difficult it gets, we will continue to come here and defend our right to work the streets of our city and fend off their devious and more explicit measures". Rafah, appearing in her traditional dress that attests to her unwavering belonging to the village she comes from and

to the historical image of a Palestinian peasant woman, also feels unabashed in discussing how her presence in the Old City contributes to the upholding of the Palestinian identity of the place: "Our presence here shows our resilience in the face of calamity [...] our message behind our physical presence is clear enough to ourselves, enemy and the entire world. We shall remain *samidin* [those who exhibit *sumud*]".

In reflecting the political dimension of street vending which most of our participants see themselves shaping, either directly or indirectly, Husan intelligently brings up the conflict between Palestinian micro producers and Israeli mass producers as evidence of the ongoing everyday resistance inherent in the national struggle for freedom. She not only views selling home-grown vegetables and fruits and traditional handcrafts as defying the occupier's prevailing rules and regulations, but also as a way of restraining the Israeli plans of extending their monopoly over the entire agricultural production:

> Israeli producers overflow the Arab Palestinian market with their produce, which is normally sold for less. In spite of the minimal competitive threat we pose, the Israelis seem determined to prevent us from producing and selling wholly Palestinian crops and crafts [...] our presence here continues to challenge their mega producers.

Against this backdrop of daily struggle, women traders find new, alternative ways to defend their right to remain and work on the streets of occupied Jerusalem. As de Certeau (1984) would argue, these women, who lack the means required to eliminate or escape the different constraints imposed upon them, internalise and perform several manoeuvring techniques that emanate from the space of everyday life – identifying and understanding the cracks in the surveillance of the governing system; learning the routines and rhythms of police activities; and becoming aware which streets are the most targeted. Moreover, by tapping into different social ties and networks, they make use of the help and support of both market colleagues and relatives to avoid the wrath of the police. For instance, Huwara mentions the different ways they use to alert each other about police raids (e.g. whistling, hissing, squealing), and how they help one another move their goods to a safe place, away from the street being targeted. Lifta further talks appreciatively of the shop-owners who would often help her move her merchandise and hide it inside their stores until it becomes safe to take them out again. Such "politics of ploys", as termed by de Certeau (1984, p. xiv; xxiv), enable the women to quietly deflect the functioning of the occupying power through "outwitting" it, or through "pulling tricks" on it. This is also iterated in a comment by Lydda who talks enthusiastically of her son when "he accompanies her to the market and spends his time serving as a watchman guarding her and her merchandise against unexpected police raids and settlers' attacks".

Considered from this view, street vendors' clandestine resistance and reliance on tactical manoeuvres is thus more than a struggle over the denied economic and social spaces; rather, it is a struggle over their right as citizens to hang on to their appropriated land despite all the structures of power that seek to remove them. Stated positively – through their ongoing physical presence, traditional appearance in their embroidered dresses (an important Palestinian ethno-cultural marker) and the type of products they sell – they struggle to affirm their claims over their city and maintain the material and symbolic representations that constitute its Arab identity.

Reflections on the act of entrepreneuring
Michel de Certeau's main interest in the "lived" world of individuals, a world not addressed by positivist science, puts forward a nuanced position in which entrepreneuring, like reading and walking, is basically a resistance tactic whereby the "weak" struggle against the constraints imposed on them and endeavours to reclaim autonomy and self-determination. Contrary to the highly systematic, well-structured world – overlooking

that which is ambiguous, idiosyncratic and changeful, "an everyday practice" perspective implies that an overwhelming majority of entrepreneuring is driven by a challenge whereby the entrepreneur's goal is to appropriate a deeper meaning of her existence. It also implies that the forms and outcomes of entrepreneuring are ostensibly set within the limits of the oppressive reality, and by the nature of restrictions imposed by the dominating power; in other words, it is the nature and level of oppression that determines the motleyness of entrepreneuring tactics (see Scott, 1985, p. 299).

A practice approach extends entrepreneurship beyond its economic principles into the "unheroic work of ordinary entrepreneurial actors in their day-to-day life" (Whittington, 1996, p. 734), or into the "everyday" life of people in pursuit of a world of their own creation (de Certeau, 1984). Towards this end, the following inferences establish a modest invitation to broaden the definitional scope of entrepreneurship, a new way of theorising the act and the actor that are evidently different and complex in nature. Although our inferences are presented here based on our interpretation and analysis of the local insights gathered through our informal interviews with, and personal observation of, marginalised Palestinian women street vendors in the Old City of Jerusalem, we believe they can be extended to include other entrepreneurial actors and acts:

(1) An act of entrepreneuring originates in a genuinely critical vision of reality. The traditional concept of entrepreneurship is unabatingly mechanistic, one that assumes the safeguarding of reality and considers it as something pre-established, a *fait accompli*. What we are proposing, however, is a rudimentary aspect of an entrepreneuring act, that is, a critical vision founded on the recognition of reality, not as "given", but as a reality ceaselessly in the making (see Freire, 1972). Generally, the marginalised exemplify this critical recognition of the combined effect of the socio-political and economic situation and how these together condition their reality. Their act of entrepreneuring, thus, relates the act itself to transforming reality in its totality rather than a fragment of that reality, and also relates it to their role in this transformation. Indeed, Schumpeter's (1942) conceptual construct of "creative destruction" with its economic demarcation principle, suppresses fundamental novelties because of their subversive nature of its basic tenants. For marginalised people are truly engrossed in the totality of their lived experience, their reflection upon their life makes them conscious of their ability of creating or re-creating reality. All the while, they maintain an attitude of being both alert and receptive to emerging possibilities for change and transformation.

(2) The act of entrepreneuring involves enacting new possibilities. Marginalised people are hardly viewed as having potential for creativity, a view that engenders a failure to identify how they apply their skills and capabilities to improve their position within society. The marginalised constantly engage in a process of critical self-reflection, whereby they valorise the available resources and use entrepreneurship as a platform onto which the possibilities of their knowledge and skills are multiplied. Michel de Certeau (1984, p. 98) gives a vivid illustration of the multiple possibilities that Charlie Chaplin makes of his cane, commenting that "he does other things with the same thing and he goes beyond the limits that the determinants of the object set on its utilisation". In the same vein, peasants multiply the possibility of their land and agricultural skills: their cultivated land becomes a principal source of income as well as a challenge to colonialism, capitalism and corporate agri-business. In enacting new possibilities, the operationalisation of opportunity is specific to the particularities of a social setting (Rehn and Taalas, 2004), which contrasts with Formaini's (2001) view that opportunities are discoverable and exploitable.

(3) The act of entrepreneuring is biophiliac. To use Erich Fromm's (1964) terms, enacting entrepreneurial projects is considered biophiliac (life-loving), whereas oppression and poverty stemming from colonialism, patriarchy or any other form of domination are seen as necrophiliac (death-loving). In fact, although disenfranchised and regularly lacking in basic facilities and resources (Imas *et al.*, 2012), the marginalised are never powerless; they often enact creative practices (de Certeau, 1984) that expose the prosaic everyday life through which they convey their own experience and knowledge. Berglund and Johansson (2007) argue against seeing those who are suppressed as in need of "help", but rather emphasise how these suppressed people relate to entrepreneurship in their own way. As such, they demonstrate fair levels of discipline, concentration and patience and they show supreme concern for their work. Their creative practices demonstrate, both objectively and subjectively, an authentic, biophiliac attitude that blends their creativity and love of life in a way that makes life possible.

Clearly, the above inferences problematise the strongly held positivistic and mechanistic knowledge we have of entrepreneurship. If this is indeed the case, and to the extent that it is the case, then the knowledge we are proclaiming here is reliant upon human practices, being dialectally established in and out of the interchange between human agency and social structure within an essentially social context. What practice theory claims is that people being heterogeneous with diverse motives and intentions engage with the world with the objective of transforming it. In making this argument, the ontological, epistemological and methodological bases of entrepreneurship-as-practice are directly opposite to entrepreneurship as a positive economic activity. This opposition is illustrated in Table II, which represents the confluence of our reading of the existing literature and our interpretation of the findings of our fieldwork.

Entrepreneurship-as-practice provides us with a much-needed platform for intellectual skirmish with the concept running straight to the core of what being human is all about. In his *Politics*, Aristotle said that "[wo]man, by nature, is a political animal" (Mulgan, 1974). The freedom of individuals to express themselves through entrepreneuring, by which effect is thrown into the social sphere, must, then, be political. By looking at the entrepreneurial act of street vending performed by marginalised Palestinian women, our arguments rest on the idea that entrepreneuring is political in consequence, even if politics is not one of its immediate preordained purposes, in the sense that it enables the weak and the oppressed to struggle against economic, social and colonial constraints.

Conclusion

"Entrepreneuring as an everyday form of resistance", as demonstrated throughout this paper, suggests that entrepreneurship is not (and should not) be merely understood from an

Entrepreneurship as economic activity	Entrepreneurship as practice
Exists in objectivism	Exists in constructionism
Assumes a positivist theoretical perspective	Covers different theoretical perspectives – e.g., critical inquiry, interpretivism, feminism, structuralism and post-structuralism
Level of analysis relates to an individual and/or business formation	Inherently dialectic, relational and collective
Focuses on statistically quantifiable measures – reductionist approach	Narrative, interpretative methods, discourse and rhetoric
Context is peripheral	Socially situated and defined
Favours reason and intellect predominantly	Favours lived or everyday experience and includes both intellect and emotion
Source: A synthesis of literature and data analysis	

Table II.
Entrepreneurship as economic activity/ practice distinction

economic perspective, solely aimed at improving one's own financial position or maintaining economic survival, but is rather a social phenomenon that also acts on, and is acted upon by, the social and political realms. The conceptualisation of entrepreneuring offered here transcends the artificial demarcation lines separating the social, political and economic realms: it offers hope for a better and deeper understanding of the diverse context-specific forms and outcomes of entrepreneurship.

In a marginalised and oppressed context, as this paper highlights, entrepreneurial activities enacted by individuals with creative capacities can be an important means of resisting economic adversity, social marginalisation and political (colonial) domination. Furthermore, our discussion has proffered three inferences describing the entrepreneurial act of Palestinian women street vendors. Overall, their entrepreneurial act originates in a genuinely critical vision of their reality (inference 1), involves enacting new possibilities for themselves and for their families (inference 2), as well as having a biophiliac attitude (inference 3).

Contributions and implications

This study contributes to the literature by, first, advancing the present dialogue on mundane entrepreneurship that takes place in the space of everyday life and by means of which ordinary individuals manage their day-to-day activities and existence. These ordinary individuals, whose entrepreneurial activities are seemingly inconsequential and seldom recognised, enact various possible entrepreneurial projects that prove to be effective in promoting their well-being and improving their life conditions. An implication of this finding is the need for formulating policies aimed at easing the suffering of these ordinary people, who lack the proper means to secure and lead a dignified life. Apart from acknowledging the importance of ending the occupation, these policies should be directed at promoting and improving "individual freedom" to support a more equitable distribution of political, social and economic opportunities. For example, considering the experiences of Palestinians villagers with the frequent confiscation of their land and the deliberate burning of their fields and crops, policies targeted at protecting and securing the private property of these villagers will minimise the imminent threat to their limited, and sometimes only, source of income and livelihood.

Second, by imparting insights on entrepreneurship in environments suffering from colonisation, deprivation and oppression, and that are largely marginalised in the dominant theoretical and research frameworks (e.g. the Old City of Jerusalem). While these environments are viewed as enclaves of harsh and disturbing circumstances where entrepreneurs find it very difficult to operate, entrepreneurs motivated initially by economic goals begin to realise their entrepreneurial activity as a challenge to social marginalisation and political disempowerment. As the present work suggests, the participants perceive their work in street vending effective in enhancing their individual agency and their position amongst members of their families and communities, as well as in enabling them to non-violently resist the Israeli colonial oppression and its efforts to Judaize the city. The implication of this finding is perhaps an expression of concern towards the formulation and imposition of certain discriminatory policies that only seek to exacerbate the already impoverished everyday lives of Palestinians. For instance, policies that encourage the erection of roadblocks and checkpoints between Palestinian cities and villages, as well as others that call for removing Palestinian street vendors off the streets of Jerusalem. Although this was not specifically addressed in this paper, future research may explore the nature of such policies and how they influence Palestinian women street vendors and their everyday entrepreneurial activities and practices.

Limitations and further research

It is important to acknowledge that our study focuses on the Old City of Jerusalem as a context under occupation. Derived from this acknowledgement is a chief concern, which we did not address: whether the perceptions, perspectives and experiences of marginalised women in

other contexts are similar to those of the women who participated in the present study. Although central to this concern is the limited generalisability of the findings (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Cope, 2011), the aim of the present work is to explore the lived experiences of Palestinian women street vendors and how they use everyday entrepreneurial practices to challenge their subordination, in addition to highlighting, though in passing, the nuances amongst these women and their life situations. This limitation elicits an invitation to further explore the context-specific nature of entrepreneurship and how the diverse entrepreneurial forms and outcomes are shaped by, and born out of, the dynamic interaction between the actors and their surrounding environment.

Looking specifically at what we have done here, our intention is not to develop a comprehensive political theory of entrepreneurship, but to show that the act of entrepreneuring engenders various social and political outcomes apart from the economic ones. We do acknowledge that some political and social consequences of entrepreneurship may be negative, in the sense of reproducing dominant ideologies and social structures; however, our notion of "entrepreneuring as an everyday form of resistance", inspired chiefly by de Certeau's theoretical framework and Scott's (1985) "infrapolitics" highlights how entrepreneurial projects engender individual empowerment, social change, as well as the recognition of, and respect for, marginalised populations. In employing the concept of resistance, we seek to problematise the current constricted codification and institutionalisation of entrepreneurship by arguing for an inter-disciplinary and meta-theoretical perspective on the basis that it would, as Grant and Perren (2002, p. 202) suggest, "enable debate, friction, creativity, and ultimately new theories and understandings".

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