



# Mission accomplished? How food entrepreneurship discursively constructs futures for sustainable food

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## ABSTRACT

Several images of the future of food emerge as a response to the need to make the food system more sustainable. Yet so far, the discursive process through which these images manifest is mostly studied from a policy perspective. This paper explores how food entrepreneurship discursively constructs futures for food. A critical discourse analysis was conducted of 102 websites of food entrepreneurs in the Dutch province of Flevoland. The analysis shows entrepreneurship constructs two complementary futures: closed and open futures. Whereas closed futures convey a sense of accomplishment in terms of the sustainability transformation of the food system, open futures display a future for sustainable food that is evolving and incremental. Together, these futures form a continuum with closed futures on the one side that describe specific missions that are attainable, and open futures on the other side to create new or different missions over time. In the discussion, it is argued these mutually constitutive futures contrast the mutually exclusive futures as often dominate the contested debate about food. Furthermore, it argues complementary futures fit the context of food entrepreneurship in Flevoland, because it shows the importance of collaboration within and between firms in working towards more sustainable food systems.

## 1. Introduction

There is a widespread consensus over the need to make the food system more sustainable, yet there is a diversity of images of how such a future sustainable food system should look like. These imagined futures take shape through discourse, i.e. shared systems of meaning that governs the understanding of social reality, and that produces and is produced by social practices (De Cock et al., 2016). Through discourse, the future is ‘articulated, projected and made present’ (Dunmire, 2011, p. 1). So far, the discursive construction of future sustainable food systems is primarily studied from a policy perspective (De Cock et al., 2016; Dessein et al., 2013). For instance, De Krom and Muilwijk (2019) show the existence of five competing futures as emerging through discourse in Dutch policy-making. At the same time, the discursive construction of the future through food entrepreneurship has yet to be explored. Studies show entrepreneurship discursively constructs futures through narratives and rhetoric to convince potential clients of the sustainability of the products, goods or services of their enterprises (Etzion & Ferraro, 2010; van Werven et al., 2015). Furthermore, some scholars argue entrepreneurship plays an important role in shaping what futures can and cannot emerge (Beckert & Bronk, 2018; Beckert, 2013, 2016). This begs the question, how does food entrepreneurship discursively constructs futures for sustainable food? To answer this

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question, this paper follows the critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective of discourse. In this perspective, discourse does not reflect or represent images of reality, it constitutes reality (Fairclough, 2003; Nicolini, 2013; Phillips et al., 2008), by projecting futures, i.e. possible ways of being and acting as steps towards changed realities (Dunmire, 2011). Following Kaal (2015, 2017), I will analyze how futures of food are discursively constructed by examining how narratives of food are grounded in space and time. Space and time together pose a coherent worldview which in turn projects the future (Bakhtin, 1981; Kaal, 2015, 2021). A critical discourse analysis of 102 websites of food enterprises was conducted. The text of the websites was selected and coded for the descriptive account of food on the one hand, and the mentioning of space and time on the other. By crosschecking the occurrence of codes that describe food with codes that describe space and time, it was possible to map different configurations of spacetime which resulted in the construction of different imagined futures. The choice was made to select websites from food enterprises in the province of Flevoland in the Netherlands. This province has a history of both entrepreneurship and food production. At the same time, its cities increasingly embrace sustainable food and bring forth a range of future projections on how sustainable food should look like (Jansma & Wertheim-Heck, 2021; van der Gaast, van Leeuwen, & Wertheim-Heck, 2022a; van der Gaast, van Leeuwen, & Wertheim-Heck, 2020).

In the next section, the theoretical perspective towards discourse and the construction of time and space will be discussed. Following, the methods section will explain how the material was collected and coded. Lastly, the findings and discussion section will present the futures that were produced, and what can be learned from this futures with respect to the sustainability transformation of the food system.

## 2. Theoretical framework

### 2.1. Critical discourse analysis

This paper adheres to the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to discourse. This approach has been used before in studies of entrepreneurship and discourse (Hervieux & Voltan, 2018; Hervieux et al., 2010; Munir & Phillips, 2005). It can be distinguished from discourse perspectives that consider discourse to be a language based representation of reality. Instead, CDA considers discourse to constitute reality instead of representing it (Hervieux & Voltan, 2018; Hervieux et al., 2010; Munir & Phillips, 2005; Nicolini, 2013). CDA links everyday language use to everyday social practices and assumes that both are mutually constitutive (De Cock et al., 2016; Fairclough, 2005; Nicolini, 2013; Phillips et al., 2008). More specifically, this means language does not dictate social practice, nor does social practice determine language. In sum, discourse is defined as a socially shared frame of meaning that governs the understanding of reality and that produces and is produced by social practices (De Cock et al., 2016). CDA can be considered both a theoretical and methodological approach. CDA assumes discourse emerges out of the interaction between social actors, their texts and the context in which they interact. It is hard to disentangle the discursive practice, i.e. the production of language, and the discursive event, or the language based text itself (Munir & Phillips, 2005; Nicolini, 2013; Phillips et al., 2008). Discourse exists beyond an individual text. At the same time text is a material manifestation of discourse (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2007; Angermuller et al., 2014). Therefore, the aim of a critical discourse analysis is not to capture a discourse in full but to examine individual texts which allows extracting underlying patterns (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2007) and to gain more understanding of the discourse the text produces, and that in turn has produced the text (Hervieux et al., 2010). The CDA approach foregrounds the role of imagined futures. Fairclough (2005), one of the founders of this approach, argues imagined futures in discourse especially manifest in times of crisis. A crisis signifies a situation where existing standards of ways of living no longer work or are challenged. In that sense, the food system can be considered in a crisis. There is an increasing amount of problems associated with the food system (e.g. climate change, food security) which means business as usual is no longer an option and there is a need to change according to new standards regarding sustainability (Hinrichs, 2014; Maye & Duncan, 2017). In discourse, such crises are displayed in narratives that 'seek to give meaning to current problems by construing them in terms of past failures and future possibilities' (Fairclough, 2005, p. 4). Such future imaginaries simplify the chaotic situations of crises. Furthermore, as Dunmire (2011) argues, text itself is projective. The discursive construction as manifesting through texts is sustained by its capacity to script future possibilities and imaginaries. This makes CDA suitable to study the discursive construction of the future.

### 2.2. Food entrepreneurship and the discursive construction of the future

In the entrepreneurship literature, the study of discourse in entrepreneurship is emerging. Entrepreneurship discursively constructs images of the future because introducing a new or distinctive 'sustainable' product requires legitimacy. This means fitting in, i.e. conforming to existing standards of society, whilst standing out, i.e. by adding something new to society (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009, 2011; Johannisson, 2018; van Werven et al., 2015). A wide range of discursive techniques is employed to accomplish this, such as storytelling, rhetorical devices and argumentation schemes (Etzion & Ferraro, 2010; Garud et al., 2014; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Ruebottom, 2013; van Werven et al., 2015). Through these techniques, 'plots' of stories are created in which futures are projected and steps towards reaching this future are mapped out, whilst providing intertextual associations with stories that are already familiar (Garud et al., 2014). This is not just important when introducing a product or firm. It is an ongoing process in which legitimacy must be maintained, or regained when it is lost over time due to new developments (Garud et al., 2014; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001). As a result of this process, future imaginaries emerge that are performative: they give direction and guide specific actions (Hjorth, 2013; Oomen et al., 2021; Thompson & Byrne, 2021). Future imaginaries as manifesting in entrepreneurial discourse do not reflect individual visions of the future of individual entrepreneurs. Following the critical discourse analysis approach, the future imaginaries as discursively produced through entrepreneurship are the results of the interplay between social practices and language. At the same time, the

imaginaries themselves contribute to transforming or maintaining social practices and language (Dunmire, 2011; Hervieux & Voltan, 2018). In other words, future imaginaries do not emerge in isolation. Entrepreneurs and enterprises participate in the discursive construction of the future because they perform entrepreneurial practices and use texts to make sense of what they do or will do in the future. The discursive construction of the future is in essence a dialogue between different entrepreneurs, enterprises, their practices and language and the context they operate in (Nicolini, 2013; Thompson & Byrne, 2021). This means a critical discourse analysis of the discursive construction of the future through food entrepreneurship shows insight in two things. First, how images of the future imaginaries are constructed through food entrepreneurship. Second, the broader context entrepreneurship operates in which is reflected in how future imaginaries are constructed.

### 2.3. The spacetime configuration framework

To explore the discursive construction of futures by entrepreneurship, I will analyze how space and time are construed within texts as produced by food entrepreneurship. In entrepreneurship, future imaginaries are often made by (re)constructing an element of the past of a certain place to generate a future product or service (Anderson, 2000; Hjorth & Johannisson, 2003). For example, by tailoring the sustainability properties of food to fit specific cultural and culinary understandings that have emerged in a certain place in the past (Sjölander-Lindqvist & Cinque, 2014; Sjölander-Lindqvist, Skoglund, & Laven, 2020; van der Gaast, van Leeuwen, & Wertheim-Heck, 2022a). This aligns with observations as done by scholars of social time. Originally, the understanding of time and space in social sciences was restricted to clocks, calendars and geographical coordinates. This was based on Newtonian physics that considered the world as a mechanic structure where every element had its fixed place and motion was calculable (Adam, 1998; Knoblauch & Löw, 2020). Sociologists such as Elias (1992) and Giddens (1981) argued that our understanding of time and space stems not from the laws of physics but from our social relationships. Varying social processes lead to the emergence of varying understandings of space and time (Hamann & Suckert, 2018; Munn, 1992; Nowotny, 1992, 1996). Furthermore, the notion of time and how time is perceived is bounded by spatial conditions and vice versa (Adam, 1998; May & Thrift, 2001; Verduyn, 2015). In other words, time and space co-constitute one another as well as reality (Munn, 1992; Nowotny, 1992). This especially manifests in discourse and the projection of the future. As Munn (2013) argues, social actors position themselves in space and time which in turn also shapes how they project the future in discourse. Discourse emerges when social actors distinguish themselves from and make sense of the ever changing space and time they inhabit (Barad, 2007). The work of Kaal (2015, 2017) on spacetime configuration inspired my methodological and theoretical framework to study this. Kaal follows Bakhtin (1981) who argues that references to space and time in text work together. Notions of space help to materialize and visualize time whereas time places a certain order on space. Together, they configure spacetime: a coherent worldview which in turn scripts a narrative of the future (Kaal, 2015). Spacetime configuration poses a ‘cultural coordinate system that directs the narrative path from known present to likely future’ (Kaal, 2021, p. 82). Bakhtin and Kaal distinguish abstract and concrete time and space. Concrete space refers to geographical references such as specific countries or regions (e.g. Europe, the Netherlands). Abstract space in contrast is understood as imaginary and mental spaces. This does not mean those spaces do not exist, but that they are not restricted to a specific geographical or physical location. An example of this is ‘the region’, a term which meaning differs from place to place. Concrete time refers to the time of calendars and clocks, of external timetables. Examples are specific dates (the 1st of January, 2022), seasons (autumn, spring). Abstract time in contrast refers to temporality: a sense of duration and perception of time which is made tangible in text. For example, ‘long ago’ or ‘in the near future’ are examples of abstract time. These phrasings refer to a sense of time that is specific to the context of the text (Kaal, 2021). Together, these constructions of space and time compose four different possible spacetimes (see Fig. 1): Concrete-Abstract Spacetime (CAS), Abstract Spacetime (AST), Concrete Spacetime (CST), and Abstract-Concrete Spacetime (ACS).

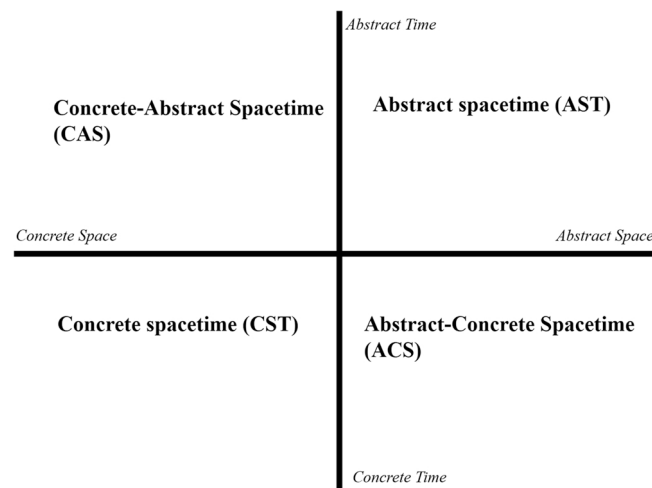


Fig. 1. The spacetime configuration framework, inspired by Kaal (2021).

These spacetimes create specific worldviews with their own internal logic. For example, ‘the Netherlands, on the 1st of January 2022’, offers a different staging than ‘in the region, some time ago’. Abstract spatial (e.g. near and far), and temporal (e.g. at the same time, at different times) coordinates craft a storyline that is indefinite and consists of a contingency of unfolding possibilities. Concrete time and space fills the narrative with specific rules and a specific order (Bakhtin, 1981). Analyzing spatial configuration in discourse allows exploring different spacetimes to see what staging for sustainable food they afford and thus how they enable discursive constructions of food futures.

### 3. Context and methods

#### 3.1. Context: food entrepreneurship in Flevoland, the Netherlands

Food entrepreneurship in Flevoland, a province in the Netherlands, is the main focus of this paper. Flevoland is composed of multiple ‘polders’, the Dutch term for reclaimed land, and was created between 1942 and 1968 primarily for agricultural purposes. The first inhabitants were carefully selected by a governmental committee. Not only were these first occupants expected to have agricultural knowledge and skills, they were also expected to possess entrepreneurial prowess to be able to pioneer in the still empty land (Vriend, 2014). In the sixties and seventies, the cities of Lelystad and Almere emerged in the western part of the Flevopolder to accommodate the increasing urban population from the nearby city of Amsterdam. They were designed based on a Garden City perspective; to offer its residents a close connection to nature and food. In the last decades, this relationship to food led to more attention in these cities for healthy and sustainable food systems, which spurred different projections of the future as well as new connections between urban and rural food entrepreneurs (Jansma & Wertheim-Heck, 2021; van der Gaast, van Leeuwen, & Wertheim-Heck, 2020). In short, the history and future of food in Flevoland makes the province a relevant context to study. The origin story of the province is intertwined with the rise of the food producing ‘polderpioneers’ and therefore had a profound influence on the emerging culture of this relatively young province. Furthermore, the new connections between urban and rural entrepreneurs to explore more local and sustainable food systems actively stimulates this regional culture in the making (van der Gaast, van Leeuwen, & Wertheim-Heck, 2022a).

#### 3.2. Critical discourse analysis, websites, and spacetime configuration

A critical discourse analysis involves the study of texts. This is not done to understand a discourse in full, but to abstract underlying patterns of the dialectic relationship between discourse and social reality. In this case, text analysis is useful to understand how futures are discursively constructed. Texts are projective, i.e. they ‘encode and project distant future realities and attempt to align those projections with the demands of the social complex of the present and the near-term future’ (Dunmire, 2011, p. 18). In this study, websites are the ‘texts’ under scrutiny. The choice was made to focus on websites instead of on the speeches and articulations of individual entrepreneurs. As discussed in the theoretical framework, the discursive construction of the future is not a reflection of the perception of individual entrepreneurs, but of the interplay between entrepreneurs, enterprises, products and the social context they are part of. This makes websites an interesting form of text. Websites are digital artefacts, which Nicolini et al., (2021) explains as entities that are part of daily human activities and that both enable and constrain these activities. In other words, they provide a virtual interface between entrepreneurs, enterprises and the social reality these entrepreneurs and enterprises occupy. Because critical discourse analysis is so dependent on the specific context in which it is executed, there is no universal methodological approach that can be applied in all instances. This is also why the different steps in the approach must be explained thoroughly (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2007; Hervieux & Voltan, 2018; Hervieux et al., 2010). In this particular study, my approach is informed by the spacetime coordination framework as explained in the previous section. This means I explore the configuration of spacetime in entrepreneurial texts to understand how the future of food is discursively constructed by entrepreneurship. First, insight is needed into the phrasings in which food is discussed on the websites in general. Through coding, I will compile a list of the most recurring phrasings on the websites. Second, I need to understand how space and time is constructed in the entrepreneurial texts. This will be done by coding for abstract and concrete space and time. Together, the codes of food, and the codes of space and time, help to see what storylines are created by what spacetimes and what projections of the future can be linked to what descriptions of food.

#### 3.3. Sampling and data collection

The website of a collective of food entrepreneurs in Flevoland (<https://www.lokaalvoedsselflevoland.nl/koop-lokaal>) was the starting point for the selection and sampling of websites. On this website, food entrepreneurs from all over Flevoland present themselves and their products and/or services on a map, powered by Google Maps. To reduce bias, a separate search on Google Maps was conducted to include also entrepreneurs and enterprises that were not presented on this website. It is important to note that food entrepreneurs that do not directly communicate with their consumers (such as farmers that source directly to wholesalers) often don’t have websites of their own, even if they are listed in Google Maps as a food enterprise, and therefore could not be included in the sample. In making a selection which websites to study, the spread over rural and urban parts of Flevoland, as well as diversity in terms of the type of enterprise and its products and services was taken into account. This was done because food entrepreneurship in Flevoland both manifests in rural and urban areas. To obtain a clear insight into the discourse as constructed by food entrepreneurship in Flevoland, I specifically made sure the sample consisted of both rural and urban enterprises. Finally, a sample was made of 102 websites of entrepreneurs in Flevoland, of which 65 rural and 37 urban. In Table 2 of the Appendix the complete sample can be found.

The content of the websites was copied to multiple MS Word data-files before it was coded and analyzed in Atlas TI. The data-file was ordered by inserting the name of each single page above the corresponding text and visuals and following the order as prescribed by the menu of the web-page. Before inserting the MS Word data-files in Atlas TI, the data-file was cleaned and ordered. It was cleaned by deleting irrelevant information and visuals such as external advertising.

### 3.4. Coding

The coding of the data-files in Atlas TI was done in multiple steps. The first step of the coding was an open coding process where sentences and paragraphs were coded in vivo that were relevant to the study, which is the discursive construction of food futures by food entrepreneurship. Therefore, sentences and paragraphs were coded that reflected practices of entrepreneurship related to food. To illustrate, sentences were coded that discussed the products itself or the process of the production or processing of food and its inherent quality. For example: a farmer discussing what variety of crops are grown, or a butcher discussing the type of meat that is sold and where it comes from. The second step was another round of open coding in vivo of descriptive terms that specifically referred to food, its production process, its quality. This allowed capturing recurring terms and words. I coded in vivo to limit the interference of the researchers own imagined futures of food and to make sure the implicit assumptions of the researcher (of what constitutes as sustainable food) did not steer the analysis. In vivo coding allowed me to be as agnostic as possible as to how sustainable food was understood. For instance, the second step of coding resulted in a code 'sustainable', which was used to denote all explicit phrasings of 'sustainable' in the text, and did not include the interpretation of the researcher of what is considered sustainable or not. In the third step of coding, I recoded the codes that resulted from open coding to eliminate terms that signified similar things. In most cases, this meant a simple linguistic reordering (e.g. merging codes such as 'sustainable' and 'sustainably'). In a few cases, this required a bit more interpretation. The code 'circularity' was compiled of the codes 'waste flows', 'circularity' (as specifically used in text), 'recycling' and 'cyclical agriculture' because even though not the exact same phrasing was used, all terms refer to a similar underlying process of using waste flows in the production process of food. After these three stages, I had a list of codes that captured the most recurring terms as used in discussing food on the websites. For the fourth and last step of coding, I used the spacetime configuration framework as explained in the previous section. In the analysis, the codes as obtained so far, that included the most recurring terms in describing food, were to be cross-referenced with notions of abstract and concrete space and time. Partially, this was accomplished by recoding (e.g. 'years ago' and 'long ago' could be recoded to 'abstract time'). However, some codes fit either category: they are both relevant recurring terms in describing food, as well as spatial or temporal markers. For instance, codes such as 'Flevoland' and 'Almere' are concrete spatial markers. At the same time they are often used to describe food and its quality (for instance: 'produced in Flevoland'). Therefore, the choice was made to not recode these into one code of 'concrete space'. For concrete space, the code category function of Atlas TI was used to bundle those codes I already assembled that depicted abstract or concrete space and time. After the fourth step, a total of 169 codes was created.

### 3.5. Analysis and data presentation

As discussed before, I coded for phrases pertaining to descriptions of food, as well as for usage of abstract and concrete space and time. I did not code particularly for the future (nor past or present). Instead, I coded for abstract and concrete space and time to see what spacetimes emerge, which in turn shows projections for the future. To analyze this, I used the crosstabs function of Atlas TI to crosscheck the recurring terms as used to describe food, with codes and code categories of abstract and concrete space and time. This allowed coordinating each recurring term that was used within the four spacetimes as presented in the theoretical framework section. This approach was inspired by [Hamann and Suckert \(2018\)](#), who argue that qualitative and interpretative discourse analysis that deals

**Table 1**

Score of 15 most recurring codes, including correspondence with codes on space and time. Below zero is concrete, above zero is abstract. AS=Abstract Space, CS = Concrete Space, AT = Abstract Time, CT = Concrete Time, AST = Abstract Spacetime, CST = Concrete Spacetime, ACS = Abstract-Concrete Spacetime, CAS = Concrete-Abstract Spacetime.

Rank	Code	Occurrence	AS	CS	AT	CT	Space	Time	Spacetime
1	Organic	184	37	64	14	16	-27	-2	CST
2	Nature	107	19	21	8	8	-2	0	CAS/CST
3	Soil	86	16	43	15	20	-27	-5	CST
4	Animal welfare	85	16	4	7	8	12	-1	ACS
5	Sustainable	84	20	11	14	6	9	8	AST
6	Ownership	82	27	20	14	13	7	1	AST
7	Healthy	78	19	12	8	5	7	3	AST
8	Certification	64	6	15	4	3	-9	1	CAS
9	Collaboration	59	16	22	4	4	-6	0	CAS/CST
10	Circularity	57	21	7	8	2	14	6	AST
11	Biodynamic	39	8	21	2	8	-13	-6	CST
12	Honest	34	10	8	3	3	2	0	AST/ACS
13	Artisanal	34	4	6	3	4	-2	-1	CST
14	Pesticides	29	3	9	4	1	-6	3	CAS
15	Farmers	27	23	14	4	3	9	1	AST

with notions of temporality can profit from using quantitative and graphical depictions to present qualitative data to make the intangible properties of temporality more accessible. In line with their recommendations, a list is provided of the most prevailing codes, their ‘scores’ in terms of abstract and concrete spacetime, next to a graphical field of correspondence in which I plot their occurrence in these spacetimes.

In the findings section, the scores and plot will function as a scaffolding to aid the interpretive analysis of the narrative structure of the futures different spacetimes pose. I reconstruct the narratives the different spacetimes afford by analyzing how the codes are positioned within. Furthermore, I show how abstract and concrete space and time projects futures, which is in this particular case manifesting in relating the future to past and present. Text excerpts are used to illustrate some of the arguments made, which were translated from Dutch to English by the author. The authors of the excerpts are referenced by an ID (e.g. #AS) that corresponds with Table 2 in the Appendix.

#### 4. Findings and analysis

Before presenting the findings, it is important to stress what the findings and analysis do and do not show. One part of the findings is a table (Table 1) of most recurring codes pertaining to food and its ‘scoring’ in terms of time and space, and a figure (Fig. 2) that shows the coordination of these codes in space and time. This table and figure do not display discourses of sustainable food. For instance, the observation that the ‘code’ organic is often mentioned does not mean that food entrepreneurship discursively constructs the future of food as ‘organic’. It merely reflects the common usage of the phrasing of ‘organic’, which in turn shows the salience of organic in the context of food entrepreneurship in Flevoland. Together, the coordination of space time and the codes describing food, form a scaffolding to explore the projections of the future that guide the narratives within the different spacetimes. The positioning of ‘organic’ ‘biodynamic’ and ‘soil’ in concrete spacetime helped to focus on narratives that use all three codes, to see how and in what ways notions of space and time construct a certain projection of the future. This is in turn led to the core of the findings: the narratives of closed, accomplished futures and open, evolving futures and the blurry boundaries between them, which leads to the observation that both form a continuum of complementary futures.

In the remainder of this section, I will first show the mapping of the codes in spacetime and provide some first observations of what

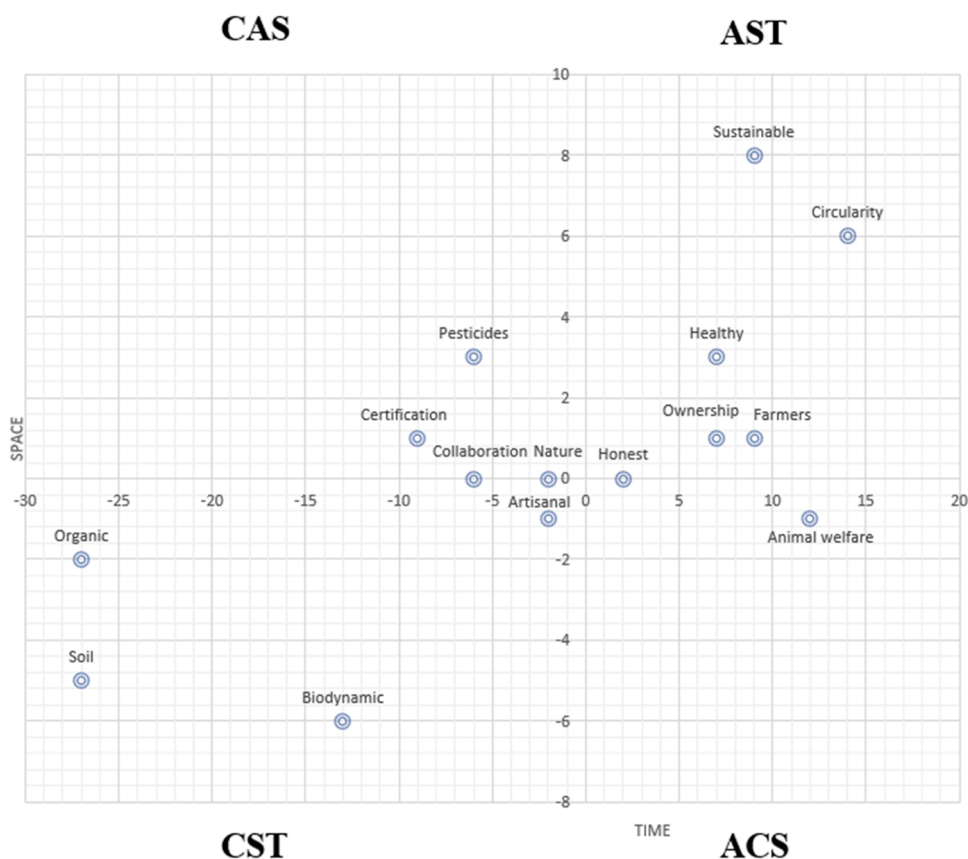


Fig. 2. Space-time-configuration of the 15 most frequently occurring codes. X-axis conveys space, whereas Y-axis plots codes in time. Below 0 is considered concrete, whereas above zero is considered abstract. AST = Abstract Spacetime, CST = Concrete Spacetime, ACS = Abstract-Concrete Spacetime, CAS = Concrete-Abstract Spacetime.

this means for projections of the future of food. Second, I will discuss the narratives of closed, accomplished futures as derived from CST (Concrete Space Time), and of open, evolving futures as visible in AST (Abstract Space Time). Lastly, I will show the blurry boundaries between them and reflect on what this means.

#### 4.1. Mapping the configuration of sustainable food in spacetime

Table 1 shows how each code is positioned in time and space. Fig. 2 plots each code in the corresponding spacetime. This coordinate system does not offer an ironclad positioning but provides a graphical depiction that helps to compare codes in terms of space and time. Table 1 shows the fifteen most recurring codes. The scoring shows the sum total of all cross-references with codes of space and time. For example, for the code 'organic' there were 184 occurrences in the texts in total. The columns in the table with AS, CS, AT, and CT show how many of these codes co-occurred with codes that denote abstract space, concrete space, abstract time and concrete time. Based on this, a total score is made of space and time configuration. In the case of organic, concrete space can be deduced from the 37 AS and 64 CS, which results in a negative score of  $-27$ , putting 'organic' in the lower half of the scheme in Fig. 2. Concrete time can be deduced from the 14 AT and 16 CT, resulting in a  $-2$  score and putting organic in the left half of scheme. Together, the two negative scores place organic in the quadrant left below, or the concrete space time (CST). Fig. 2 presents a coordinates system that graphically depicts the codes in specific quadrants, that symbolize the spacetimes that are produced in discourse. The choice was made to limit the presentation of the codes to the first fifteen to be able to get a clear picture of the four spacetimes. A full representation of all codes as positioned in spacetime would produce a less comprehensive overview, which defeats the purpose of the coordinates system that is meant to scaffold the interpretative analysis.

A few first observations can be made based on Table 1 and Fig. 2. First, there is more distance between codes in terms of space than in terms of time. Artisanal and animal welfare ( $-1$ ), collaboration, nature and honest (0) and certification, ownership and farmers ( $+1$ ) all dwell on or around the borders of abstract and concrete time. In contrast, there is a lot of distance between some of these codes with respect to space. For example, certification and farmers have the same score in terms of time, but are worlds apart in terms of space ( $-9$  and  $+9$  respectively). This means that certification and farmers are discussed in both abstract and concrete temporal terms, e.g. concrete dates and seasons but also more abstract temporal notions such as 'long ago' or 'soon'. However, certification is strictly discussed almost exclusively in terms of concrete space and thus specific geographical locations (e.g. Flevoland, the Netherlands), whereas farmers are predominantly discussed in terms of abstract space (e.g. the region). This difference in distance of space and time can also be discerned in the codes that clash the most. The contrasts in terms of space between organic, soil ( $-27$ ) and biodynamic ( $-13$ ) on the one hand and sustainable ( $+9$ ), circularity ( $+17$ ) and healthy ( $+7$ ) are rather large. The contrast in terms of time between organic ( $-2$ ), soil ( $-5$ ), biodynamic ( $-6$ ), and sustainable (8), circularity (6), healthy (3) are relatively small. The code 'organic' provides a good example of the more flexible usage of time. As Table 1 shows, 14 times the code was mentioned in terms of abstract time against 16 times for concrete time. In contrast, 'organic' is almost twice as many times associated with concrete space than with abstract space. Second, Fig. 2 shows that most codes can be found in two quadrants. CST is the most dominant one, as it includes the top three codes (organic, nature and soil), followed by AST. Yet, some codes dwell on or near the borders of multiple spacetimes, displaying a sort of continuum between these two spacetimes. In the next paragraphs we will discuss two storylines of the future based on a more in depth textual analysis of AST and CST specifically. The choice was made to limit to these two spacetimes. Not only do AST and CST contain the most codes, they also contain the most contrasting positioning ('organic', 'soil', and 'bio-organic' versus 'sustainable' and 'circularity'). These contrasts help to better understand how different spacetime configurations can lead to different projected futures. CST creates futures that are closed and accomplished, and AST futures that are open and evolving. However, as the analysis shows, those codes that dwell on the border between them show that these two are not binary oppositions. Instead, the boundaries between them are blurry, as will be explained in the following paragraphs.

#### 4.2. CST: the future as closed and accomplished

In CST, space and time are fixed. In other words, a firm or food product is grounded in a specific geographically designated locale and within a specifically ordered sequence of time. The codes of 'organic', 'biodynamic', and 'soil' embody this spacetime configuration. These codes are often part of a narrative that describes the historical development of the firm. The specific geography of the firm plays an important role in the history lesson that is told. The following excerpts illustrate this:

The first inhabitants came in 1967 to Lelystad, the first farmers in 1980. The founding fathers had a common vision: professional organic agriculture on the virgin soil. Since the foundation of our farm, our working method is directed towards stimulating natural processes. (#M7)

Let's go back in time. The seed of organic agriculture and greenhouse horticulture cooperation Nautilus was sown in 1987. Organic and biodynamic produce was still new back then, but some farmers from Flevoland were trying to push advocacy and professionalization of these products. Since there was already demand back then for more healthy and environmentally friendly produced agricultural and horticultural products, they expected to create new markets. (#NO)

More than 3,8 m below sea level, just outside the village of Zeewolde, Vinyard 'Wilgenhorst' is located. On the chalky clay soil of the 'Zuiderzee' which was drained in 1968, the first 900 vines were planted in 2012. In the fall of 2014 we harvested the first grapes and processed them into wine. (...) in the meantime, the stock has expanded and now there are almost 400 vines in the vineyard. (#WIW)

The first excerpt discusses a vision of professional organic agriculture and the first inhabitants of Lelystad. The adjective 'virgin' also denotes the status of the soil as new at the time and a crucial ingredient to organic agriculture. The second excerpt discusses both organic and biodynamic agriculture, and traces this back to a later stage, to the late eighties when some agriculture was already established but not professionalized yet. The last excerpt specifies the quality of the soil by linking it to the historical bottom of the sea on which the province has emerged. All three narratives depict the concrete past and present, and within a specific timeframe, which implies the enterprise and its produce have been here for some time on this specific spot. In other words, fixing space and time establishes authenticity and reliability. In order to use this authenticity to legitimize the firm, the concrete past is connected to the present to show that the standard at that time is still upheld. The metaphor in the second excerpt of the 'seed' that was 'sown' exemplifies this implied relationship between past and present. However, whereas the past and present is well represented in these excerpts, the future is implicit. Especially the first two excerpts imply an extension of the present into the future. The phrasing 'since' in the two examples denotes that 'stimulating natural processes' and 'producing healthy and environmentally friendly products' was already done in the past and will be continued in the future. The future is not explicitly stated but implied as a continuation of the present. When the future is specified, it is done as an extrapolation of the present. This results in a future that is closed. But the future is not only closed, it is also accomplished. The following excerpt positions organic within an explicit future projection, which illustrates this well:

In 2030, Green Organics will be the leading player in the European market in organic potatoes, vegetables and fruits. That is our ambition. Not because of scale, but because of our dream to make the agrarian world one hundred percent organic. (#GO)

This excerpt explicates what is implicit in the other excerpts: that organic is the desired end-state for the entire world. What is already the standard for this firm, as established throughout the past towards the present, is a pathway for the rest of the world as well. In other words, the future as projected is already accomplished.

#### 4.3. *AST: the future as open and evolving*

AST manifests through the unfixing of time and space. This means the exact spatial location and timeframe the narrative takes place is left open to interpretation. The codes 'sustainable' and 'circularity' help to clarify how this works.

We try to be as efficient as possible with our resources and materials. This helps us to decrease our impact on the planet, and by working with other local entrepreneurs we can strengthen each other in sustainable way. We are not 100% green, circular or organic, but by making realistic steps every time we are coming closer and closer. This fits us, and our philosophy. Not by being the biggest or the best, but by (taking) small, realistic and sustainable steps in the right direction. (#BST)

We want to leave the earth better than we have found her. We use waste flows of agriculture to feed the chickens and use the manure for the chickens to feed the agriculture. This is circular agriculture in optima forma. This is how we continuously work on a better world. (#OH)

Both excerpts display an abstract notion of time. The phrasing 'realistic steps every time', reveals nothing about the intervals of the steps. The notion of 'continuously working', implies some form of time passing without specifying how much. The abstract notions of space structure the problem and solution orientation vis a vis sustainability and circularity. A global reach of the problem is connected to solutions on a more local scale. This is established by discussing the problem in terms of 'the planet', 'the world' or 'the earth' which encompasses the globe and does not specify a country, region or continent. Furthermore, the solution and or effect of the problem is sought at a more local level, in terms of working with 'local entrepreneurs', and working with one's own waste flows. Again, without specifying how local, i.e. the scale in terms of specific towns and regions.

This unfixing of space and time has repercussions for how the future is understood. Abstract space makes it hard to pinpoint the enterprise and its produce. Abstract time inhibits the possibility of a clear point of departure, and a clear end point of respectively non-sustainable and non-circularity to sustainable and circularity. The global reach of the problem, local scale of the solution and the absence of a clear point of departure and end point obfuscates a specific path from past to present and future. The need for improvement is implied, but there is no specific past or present that depicts why this improvement is needed. The past is invisible, it is not specifically demarcated, neither through abstract nor concrete time. Instead, the present is emphasized, as something that needs to be improved upon. The present here is depicted as incomplete, as not '100%', and the future must be 'better than we have found her'. This results in a future that is projected in an incremental, evolving fashion. The future arrives not by following a blueprint but by taking small 'sustainable steps in the right direction', by 'continuously working' towards a better future. In sum, together space and time configure a future that is open and evolving.

#### 4.4. *The blurry boundaries between spacetimes*

Those codes that dwell on or near the borders of spacetimes show the boundaries between spacetimes are blurry. This can be illustrated by the code of 'artisanal' that is positioned in the CST, close to the boundaries between AST. It is used as an adjective for a variety of nouns ranging from products, production methods, ingredients and equipment, e.g. 'artisanal' wine or cheese, or an 'artisanal' production method to produce wine or cheese. Especially those firms with a specific production process, such as cheese makers, brewers and wine makers are often very specific about their founding date and place. This is done to convey a certain expertise or experience as expressed by the many years they are already wielding their specific craft. Through the same mechanism as discussed



before, the reliability of the firm is established. Again, the present is a continuation of the past that extends into the closed future. At the same time, there is a varying degree to which space and time are fixed, which explains why this code is more positioned near the borders of CST. Particular circumstances of the enterprise can demand a more abstract usage of time. The following excerpts show an interesting contrast:

Since 1900, the most genuine and tastiest farmers cheese is coming from the dairy farm of the family Van Wees. At that time, they were settled in the North Holland region of Beemster, later on they moved to Aalsmeer, and since 1970 they are active in the polder of Eastern Flevoland. From small scale production and sales, it grew into a professional cheese production and sales company. The tasty farmers cheese of 'Polderzoom' is very popular on farmers markets. It is called 'Boerenmeshangerskaas' because the product is, according to cheese maker Ard van Wees, 'so soft it sticks to the knife'. After Piet, Cor and Bart van Wees, Ard is the fourth generation that works passionately to create the tasteful and artisanal farmers cheese. (#PZ)

The Small Distillery is the result of a hobby that has gotten out of hand. After brewing for a couple of years at home, I started in 2017 this artisanal distiller in Zeewolde. A choice was made for a small-scale set up where high end products are made with craft and enthusiasm. (#DKD).

Both excerpts show a narrative with a specific sequencing of time and a specific geographical fixture that is similar to that of the codes of 'organic', 'biodynamic' and 'soil'. In the first example, a development is described from the first family business in another part of the Netherlands, all the way to the current firm in Flevoland. And it is implied that all that time, four generations long, the same artisanal recipe was kept in place. The second example features an enterprise with less experience. The founding date is mentioned (2017), as well as the location which fixes both space and time. However, the origin of the firm as emerging from a hobby at home conveys a more abstract notion of both space and time. This helps to compensate his relatively young enterprise. 'A couple of years' could be two or three years, but it could also mean ten or twenty years. Similarly, 'artisanal' is often accompanied by notions such as a traditional recipe, or old animal breeds without specifying from what specific space this recipe was abstracted, nor when the tradition of this recipe was established. With the code of 'artisanal', there is a more open past that can be stretched or compressed when necessary, there is however still no open future: the future is still closed and already accomplished. The codes of 'ownership' and 'healthy', that are in AST but close to CST, offer another example of the blurry boundaries between open and closed futures. 'Ownership' refers to the use of the adjective 'own', as in 'own' produce, firm, vision or machinery. 'Healthy' in turn not just refers to the properties of the food product, but also to the healthiness of the soil, animals or work environment.

We are proud of our own malt. This will give further flavor to our beer next to the hop we produce ourselves. With these ingredients we work towards our goal to work as locally a possible through short supply chains. (#ART)

We aspire to let people eat healthier. We express this way of thinking proudly, and it is rooted firmly in our genes. We distinguish ourselves because our products are produced fresh. We use natural, fresh ingredients and sustainably produced and purchased resources. (#DKR)

These two excerpts speak respectively of a goal and an aspiration, which invokes abstract temporal distance. The first excerpts shows the goal is to work as locally as possible. The unspecified scale in which local is aspired to (e.g. the specific town, region or country) makes it harder to ascertain whether and when the goal is attained. In the second excerpt, the aspiration is rooted in the 'genes', which could refer both in temporal sense to previous generations, but could also have a spatial dimension when it refers to the place they operate in and its history. Either way, it opens up the past as well as the future. The goal and aspiration are not specified, neither in terms of the date in which the goal or aspiration must be met, nor in terms of what must be accomplished to fulfill it. Together, these configurations of space and time depict a future that is open, both in terms of its endurance as in terms of the interpretation of what it will bring exactly.

Yet, in some instances concrete usage of space and time is used in this codes. For 'ownership', the locality is made more concrete to make a stronger claim on the ownership. For instance, by making that which is owned as specific as possible. To illustrate:

We grow fruit ourselves from our own orchard in Flevoland (#SLB).

Similarly, concrete time sometimes coincides with the code of 'healthy' which emphasizes the experiences firms have in providing healthy produce. To illustrate:

For 30 years, we are dedicated to what is healthy for the soil, the plants, the animals and people (#ZHO).

In sum, the examples of 'artisanal', 'ownership' and 'healthy' show that when the boundaries are fuzzy, the narratives of other spacetimes are sometimes visible. In the code of 'artisanal', the usage of abstract time helps to extend the past, which resembles how abstract time is used in AST to extend the future. In the codes of 'ownership' and 'healthy', the usage of concrete space and time mimics that as used in CST by using specifics of space and time to show experience and embeddedness.

#### 4.5. *The continuum of accomplished and evolving futures*

Based on the former paragraph, it is clear that entrepreneurship does not discursively construct two binary futures for food. Instead, closed and open futures, manifesting in narratives that stress respectively accomplishment and evolution, form a continuum: they are complementary future imaginaries. To illustrate this, it is interesting to show textual excerpts where organic and sustainability are discussed together. As discussed before, 'organic' is mostly framed in a development from past and present, and where the present is

extended towards to future because it has already been accomplished. Sustainability in contrast is still something that has to be aspired towards, and therefore it is invoked in relation to an open future.

Sustainability is more than just producing organic, and a well-connected supply chain forms the basis for a logical follow-up. Our products are mostly processed and packaged on the farm, if possible already on the land during the harvest. (#BBS)

From the beginning of Skylark, we have developed the vision of our firm. Sustainability was an intangible concept for us. This is very different now, it is a continuous improvement we develop year after year and in which we grow as enterprise and entrepreneur. Points of concern for us are the sustainable management of the soil (because the soil is the core of everything), become as energy neutral as possible and develop circularity in our company, for instance by feeding our own grain to our chickens and feeding the manure back to the crops. (#PKN)

The first text fragment juxtaposes sustainable and organic. Space is only abstractly mentioned ('land'). In terms of time, 'just' implies that organic is part of the abstracted present because it implies they are already doing that. The mentioning of a 'follow up' suggests a projected future after organic. Together, they pose a more abstract and therefore general process of supply chain management that is not necessarily restricted to the firm itself. Sustainability is juxtaposed to organic because the latter is something of the present that is already accomplished, whereas sustainability is positioned as something of the future that must still be aspired to. The second text excerpt shows how the codes 'sustainable', 'circularity' and 'ownership' are all discussed in relation to the 'continuous improvement' of Skylark. Skylark is a Dutch initiative for an incremental continuous improvement for the firm in terms of sustainability. In other texts, entrepreneurs first mention 'organic', and then continue to discuss 'sustainability' by referring to Skylark. Even though 'organic' is not mentioned in this excerpt, the text implies sustainability is something to be accomplished over time, without a clear end date. In other words, it evolves in an ever unfolding open future. Yet, in both excerpts there is both a sense of accomplishment, and a sense of what is already done. This suggests closed and accomplished and open and evolving futures not just co-exist, they go hand in hand and complement another in constructing the future of food in the making.

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1. Empirical reflections

In this empirical reflection I will discuss findings in the light of the context of food entrepreneurship in Flevoland, as well as on the larger context of the food system transformation.

In the findings section, it was explained how codes are positioned in different spacetimes that pose different narratives. These spacetimes pose different future trajectories. For instance, 'organic' has another projected future than 'sustainability'. 'Organic' is the code that was most mentioned in the texts. This can be explained by the prominence of organic produce in Flevoland which goes back to the beginning of the province when these production methods were actively promoted. This resulted in the fact that the province now has a relatively high share of organic produce, compared to the rest of the Netherlands (Dekking et al., 2020). The sense of accomplishment that is associated with this success is clearly visible in discourse, as it is part of the closed and accomplished futures. It also applies to 'biodynamic', which also refers to a production method and quality standard that is dominant in Flevoland. The future trajectory of these codes show a future with clear, attainable goals. In contrast, 'sustainable' and 'circularity' displays the increasing importance of these aspects of food entrepreneurship in Flevoland. These terms are associated with a more open, and evolving trajectory, a future that is built step by step and that is never really finished. Those codes that dwell on or near the borders of spacetimes show these trajectories are interconnected. Codes such as 'artisanal' and 'ownership' incorporate pieces of storylines from both spacetimes. Whereas 'artisanal' invokes the openness of the abstract time to extend the past from which its authority is derived, 'ownership' in turn displays the closedness of concrete space to specify that which is owned. Together, accomplished and evolving futures form a continuum. With closed, accomplished futures on the one hand, with attainable clear goals and open, evolving futures with a trajectory that stipulates going step-by-step without every finishing. As a continuum, these trajectories don't cancel each other out but work together, which was illustrated in the findings section through those instances when codes such as 'sustainable' and 'organic' are discussed together. Food entrepreneurship constructs open and closed futures that are mutually constitutive: they complement one another in making sense of how the sustainable food future in the making can be reached over time. The existence of mutually constitutive futures can be explained by how food entrepreneurship in Flevoland functions in the context of the food system transformation. Entrepreneurship produces discourse to gain legitimacy, as was explained in the theoretical section in this paper. And for legitimacy, it needs to stand out while fitting in (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009, 2011; Johannisson, 2018). Especially concerning the issue of sustainability, it needs to show it has accomplished fitting in a particular context by offering what is needed in the here and now. At the same time, it needs to stand out, to always draw up new horizons to explore. In other words, entrepreneurship requires saying mission accomplished, as much as picking out a new mission. In the context of food entrepreneurship in Flevoland, fitting in and standing out often is arranged through cooperative efforts (van der Gaast, van Leeuwen, & Wertheim-Heck, 2022a,b). The accomplishments of the one, helps the evolution of the other, and vice versa. To illustrate, an important aspect of circularity is the use of waste flows in new products which often means the waste products of one firm can be used in the product of another. The accomplished organic produce can serve the evolving circularity by using the waste flows for a new product. Just as closed and open futures work together, so do different entrepreneurs.

## 5.2. Contributions of this paper and recommendations for future research

So far, studies of the discursive construction of the future in the context of food system transformations focused on discourses in policy circles. This paper offers a perspective on the discursive construction of the future by food entrepreneurship. The findings, that show the existence of mutually constitutive futures, are interesting to consider alongside that of studies of discourse in food policy. One of such studies shows Dutch policymaking in food is dominated by five competing futures of food. Furthermore, this study also argues that creatively combining these perspectives might show a way forward (de Krom & Muilwijk, 2019). Entrepreneurial discourse shows a specific way in which perspectives are combined, by providing complementary trajectories that make room for clear accomplishments as well as ongoing evolutionary processes. Yet, it is hard to see how and where the discursive roles of policymaking and entrepreneurship differ and overlap. Policymaking and entrepreneurship cannot be reduced to the acts of policymakers and entrepreneurs. A recent study of food policy making in Almere, Flevoland showed entrepreneurship plays a considerable role in shaping food policy (Brons, Oosterveer, & Wertheim-Heck, 2022). In turn, regulators and policymakers are also said to play a role in entrepreneurial processes, for instance by facilitating certain forms of food entrepreneurship financially or regulatory (van der Gaast, van Leeuwen, & Wertheim-Heck, 2022a). Future studies could explore the ‘capacity to aspire’ i.e. different possibilities in participating in constructing the future (Appadurai, 2013; Mandich, 2019) of entrepreneurs and policymakers in entrepreneurial and policymaking processes. Another interesting research opportunity could be a replication of this study in a different context. This study zoomed in on a sample of 102 enterprises, within a specific region in the Netherlands that is known for both food production and entrepreneurship. The prevalence of ‘organic’ and ‘bioorganic’ can be attributed to the specific context of food entrepreneurship in Flevoland. It could be interesting to use a similar research approach to study another context and to see whether the difference in explicit utterances of sustainable food are also reflected in different implicit structures of the future, i.e. in the continuum between open and closed futures. Do utterances of sustainable food always dominate abstract and concrete spacetime? Or are abstract-concrete and concrete-abstract spacetimes in other contexts more prevalent? And what futures do these spacetimes produce? This paper also offers a contribution to studies of discourse and futures by showing open and closed futures form a continuum. In the literature, closed futures are said to be a feature of early or pre-modernity where the future was a continuation of the past. Open futures in turn are seen as characteristic for modern societies where issues such as climate change make the future seem uncertain and therefore more open ended (Beckert, 2016; Koselleck, 2004; Rammstedt, 1975; Rosa, 2013; Šubr, 2017; Wenzel et al., 2020). Some scholars argue closed futures and concrete spacetime imply a continuation of the present which does not match well with the current challenges of society such as climate change (Adam, 1998; Bastian, 2012; Braidotti, 2013). Yet, Deleuze (1990) argues closed futures (or ‘Chronos’ as he calls it) is embedded in the material world whereas open futures (which he refers to as ‘Aion’) is autonomous from matter and poses a more confusing world. Similarly, Bakhtin claims the concreteness of CST ‘permits everyday life to be realized within it’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 120). He argues concretization introduces an order that helps to tie human life and matter to the specific time and space they are part of. In turn, Bakhtin considers AST an ‘alien world: everything in it is indefinite, unknown, foreign’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 101). This study shows neither closed nor open futures necessarily pose the ‘right’ trajectory for the future of food, and therefore helps to break down binary depictions of either closed or open futures in discourse.

## 6. Conclusion

This study set out to explore how food entrepreneurship discursively constructs futures of sustainable food. This was done through a critical discourse analysis, which assumes discourse results from an interplay between social practices and language and the spacetime configuration framework that assumes space and time together project futures. A critical discourse analysis of 102 websites of food enterprises was executed to examine specific configurations of space and time in text that in turn produce specific futures of food. The choice was made to look specifically at food enterprises in Flevoland, as it is a region that is known for its food entrepreneurship. Our analysis shows a continuum between two complementary futures. On the one hand there are closed futures, characterized by attainable goals and accomplishments. On the other hand there are open futures, which in turn display evolving and incremental step-by-step developments of food. In the discussion, it is argued these mutually constitutive futures contrast the mutually exclusive futures as often dominate the contested debate about food. Furthermore, it argues complementary futures fit the context of food entrepreneurship in Flevoland, because it shows the importance of collaboration within and between firms in working towards more sustainable food systems.

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## Declaration of interests

The author declares there is no conflict of interests.

## Data Availability

Data will be made available on request.

**Table 2**

Sample of enterprises. Websites and names of enterprises are left out to guarantee anonymity.

ID	Type of product (s)	Urban/ Rural	Website accessed
#AS	Algae	Urban	1–2–2021
#AW	Various products	Urban	1–2–2021
#AG	Salad	Urban	1–2–2021
#AB	Flatbread	Urban	29–1–2021
#BB	Bread	Urban	29–1–2021
#BE	Bread	Urban	29–1–2021
#BE17	Various products	Rural	2–2–2021
#BSP	Spirits and liqueur	Urban	29–1–2021
#BBS	Vegetables	Rural	5–2–2021
#BF	Vegetables	Urban	1–2–2021
#BR	Vegetables	Rural	3–2–2021
#BOD	Vegetables	Rural	2–2–2021
#BVS	Various products	Urban	4–2–2021
#BW	Meat	Rural	5–2–2021
#BFK	Various products	Rural	2–2–2021
#BWS	Various products	Rural	4–2–2021
#BK	Restaurant	Urban	4–2–2021
#BL	Bread	Urban	29–1–2021
#ART	Beer	Rural	2–2–2021
#BOL	Beer	Urban	2–2–2021
#BPR	Beer	Rural	2–2–2021
#BST	Beer	Urban	29–1–2021
#DBB	Meat	Rural	5–2–2021
#DKD	Spirits and liqueur	Rural	5–2–2021
#DKR	Catering	Urban	29–1–2021
#DM	Vegetables	Rural	3–2–2021
#DSB	Various products	Urban	1–2–2021
#DST	Vegetables	Urban	4–2–2021
#DWW	Wine	Urban	4–2–2021
#DS	Soy and edamame	Rural	5–2–2021
#ES	Take out	Urban	4–2–2021
#EKO1	Various products	Rural	4–2–2021
#ELB	Various products	Urban	4–2–2021
#FA	Asperges	Rural	2–2–2021
#FL	Meat	Rural	2–2–2021
#FVB	Chips	Rural	5–2–2021
#FH	Fruit	Rural	4–2–2021
#FKO	Fruit	Rural	3–2–2021
#FKU	Fruit	Rural	3–2–2021
#FS	Fruit	Rural	5–2–2021
#GA	Various products	Rural	4–2–2021
#GS	Meat	Rural	3–2–2021
#GO	Vegetables	Rural	3–2–2021
#GPF	Vegetables	Rural	2–2–2021
#HF	Vegetables	Rural	3–2–2021
#HZL	Bread	Rural	5–2–2021
#HV	Various products	Urban	4–2–2021
#HW	Various products	Rural	2–2–2021
#HB	Vegetables	Rural	4–2–2021
#HU	Vegetables	Rural	3–2–2021
#IB	Icecream	Rural	2–2–2021
#IP	Coffee and icecream	Urban	5–2–2021
#JM	Meat	Rural	2–2–2021
#JVDF	Fish	Rural	4–2–2021
#KBE	Dairy	Rural	5–2–2021
#KBO	Cherries	Urban	1–2–2021
#KW	Meat substitute	Urban	29–1–2021
#LD	Fruit	Rural	5–2–2021
#LV	Vegetables	Rural	3–2–2021
#MMB	Coffee	Urban	4–2–2021
#MA	Wine	Rural	4–2–2021
#M7	Wine	Urban	3–2–2021
#MIH	Wine	Rural	4–2–2021
#MY	Mushrooms	Urban	4–2–2021
#NO	Various products	Rural	3–2–2021
#OVK	Various products	Urban	1–2–2021
#OH	Meat	Rural	4–2–2021

*(continued on next page)*

Table 2 (continued)

ID	Type of product (s)	Urban/ Rural	Website accessed
#PN	Various products	Urban	29–1–2021
#PPQ	Meat	Rural	2–2–2021
#PPO	Potatoes	Rural	2–2–2021
#PHO	Meat	Urban	3–2–2021
#PKN	Garlic	Urban	4–2–2021
#PKO	Fruit	Rural	4–2–2021
#PVL	Various products	Urban	4–2–2021
#PZ	Dairy	Rural	2–2–2021
#PHE	Potatoes	Rural	5–2–2021
#PUS	Bread	Urban	29–1–2021
#QUA	Meat	Rural	2–2–2021
#QUI	Quinoa	Rural	3–2–2021
#RS	Various products	Rural	4–2–2021
#SLB	Fruit	Rural	2–2–2021
#SV	Meat	Rural	2–2–2021
#SHA	Wine	Urban	29–1–2021
#TF	Vegetables	Rural	3–2–2021
#UZ	Mushrooms	Urban	29–1–2021
#VAB	Vegetables	Rural	5–2–2021
#VMA	Asperges	Urban	1–2–2021
#VKF	Fruit	Rural	3–2–2021
#VHF	Fruit	Rural	4–2–2021
#VUN	Various products	Rural	4–2–2021
#VF	Fruit	Rural	3–2–2021
#VC	Grassfed meat	Urban	1–2–2021
#VHBS	Herbs	Rural	2–2–2021
#WU	Onions	Rural	3–2–2021
#WEP	Wine	Urban	4–2–2021
#WIW	Wine	Rural	5–2–2021
#WIL	Chicory	Rural	3–2–2021
#YC	Crisps	Rural	3–2–2021
#ZHE	Vegetables	Rural	2–2–2021
#ZHO	Various products	Rural	5–2–2021
#ZS	Bread	Urban	4–2–2021
#ZA	Asperges	Rural	4–2–2021

## Appendix

See Table 2.

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