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Mechanisms of institutional work in food delivery platform's service ecosystem

How institutionalized beliefs about courier work steer ecosystem viability

Marketing department

Master's thesis

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Abstract:

The service research has increasingly adopted institutional theory in examining service ecosystems. In this study we examine how general beliefs – institutionalized social structures – come into being in a bidirectional negotiation of multiple ecosystem actors, and how these even contradicting beliefs interact with each other. By examining variety of discourses existing in a food delivery platform ecosystem, we construct 6 mechanisms through the institutional work occurs, and 5 mechanisms how the products of institutional work interact with each other. Eventually, these mechanisms provide an answer how these institutional work mechanisms relate to the system viability from the ecosystem orchestrator perspective. The findings contribute academically by providing mid-range theory for the institutional work in service ecosystems, and managerially by emphasizing the role of general beliefs, and their potential in creating non-monetary value for the ecosystem participants.

Key words: institutional work, institutional theory, institutionalization, service-dominant logic, service ecosystem, value co-creation, resource-integration, marketing systems

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Kuinka institutionalisoidut uskomukset ohjaavat ekosysteemin hyvinvointia

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Abstrakti:

Institutionaalisen teorian soveltaminen on kasvattanut suosiotaan palveluekosysteemien kentällä. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastelemme kuinka yleiset uskomukset – institutionalisoituneet sosiaaliset rakenteet – syntyvät useiden ekosysteemin toimijoiden vuoropuhelun seurauksena, ja kuinka nämä jopa toisensa kumoavat uskomukset vuorovaikuttavat keskenään. Tutkimalla ruoka-alalla toimivan alustan palveluekosysteemiä, ja siellä esiintyviä diskursseja, tässä tutkimuksessa tunnistetaan 6 mekanismia joiden kautta institutionaalinen työ tapahtuu, ja 5 mekanismia joiden mukaan institutionaaliset rakenteet vuorovaikuttavat keskenään. Lopulta näiden institutionaalisten työn mekanismien perusteella vastataan, kuinka yleiset uskomukset vaikuttavat palveluekosysteemin hyvinvointiin. Akateemisesti tulokset kontribuoivat institutionaalisen työn tutkimukseen palveluekosysteemeissä keskitason teorian muodossa. Liikkeenjohdollisesti tulokset korostavat yleisten uskomusten roolia alustojen arvonaluonnissa, joiden avulla voidaan kasvattaa ekosysteemin jäsenien kokemaa ei-rahallista arvoa.

Avainsanat: institutionaalinen työ, institutionaalinen teoria, palveluekosysteemi, palvelupohjainen logiikka, systeemijattelu, arvonaluonti, institutionalisointi, diskurssit

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1 Introduction

1.1 Abstract

There is no denying it. Unlike their biological counterparts, the ecosystems of business are blooming. Tech giants like Google, Amazon, TikTok and Meta are increasingly turning into business models utilizing the ecosystem thinking, which threatens the traditional way of doing business. By orchestrating variety of weakly connected stakeholders into complex networks, these companies have challenged the previously dominated views of market positioning and resource-based view (Harvard Business Review 2019). In fact, 6 out of the 7 largest companies in the world are involved in the ecosystem business, in which a major part of their revenue is generated by their digital ecosystems (McKinsey 2020). However, regardless of the colossal ecosystem investments of 100 billion annually, 85% of the ventures running with an ecosystem business model end up in a failure (Boston Consulting Group 2021). Why is that?

The Big Three management consultancies draw their own conclusions based on transaction-cost theory, or attaining the critical mass of users resulting into network effects (McKinsey 2020; Boston Consulting Group 2021; Bain & Company 2019). In the academia, management literature advocates for business ecosystems, highlighting the importance of finding the right configuration between direct ecosystem members where the common purpose - or the one with most negotiation power - drives the ecosystem development (Adner, 2017; Moore 1993). Alternatively, innovation ecosystem literature emphasizes the combination of inter-dependent firm resources to build collaborated synergies and complementarities, ultimately leading to competitive advantage through the capability to innovate (Talmar et al. 2020).

In the field of marketing, an even more holistic view of value creation is originated, backing on socially structured ecosystems, which are constructed both on direct and undirect ecosystem members (Vargo & Lusch 2016). According to this view, the central type of output is not money and products, but individually determined value and services (Lusch & Vargo 2014). In such light, not only the direct actors and exchanges are taken account, but also wider number of shareholders, e.g., non-customers giving power to trends by discussing about them in online forums, thus affecting also to the opinions of others. This view highlights **institutions**, which are “humanly devised rules, norms, and

beliefs that enable and constrain action and make social life predictable and meaningful” (Scott 2014).

Institutions have been traditionally seen as social structures which initially aimed to solve a specific problem, eventually becoming a relatively stable pattern of behaviour and maintained by the actors re-enacting the institution (Scott 2014). For instance, when two companies come to collaborate for the first time, they are making arrangements on how the process progresses, who are involved, and what are the procedures related to the collaboration. As the time goes by, ultimately the flow of collaboration becomes more autonomous, and the actors participating start to take the process as granted containing a lot of tacit procedures (Hartmann, Wieland, & Vargo, 2018). In other words, the actions planned at first time start to become **institutionalized** (Berger & Luckmann 1966) over time, eventually leading to “taken-as-granted” knowledge that is being repeated without questioning.

Institutions comprise of these “taken-as-granted” understandings, but also of rules of sanctions and rewards, and norms that define social appropriateness for actions – which comprise the three pillars of institutions (Scott 2014). The set of interrelated institutions, i.e., institutional arrangements, are the web of institutions that provide the general logic of operations for a specific ecosystem (Vargo & Lusch 2016). In the context of a company operating on platform business model, the institutional arrangements provide the business logic on how the ecosystem interactions are orchestrated. These type of socially structured ecosystems comprising of institutions are called **service ecosystems**, which are defined as “relatively self-contained, self-adjusting systems of resource-integrating actors that are connected by shared institutional logics and mutual value creation through service exchange” (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 206).

Thus, to answer from the perspective of service ecosystems why the 85% of ventures operating on ecosystem business model come to failure, the reasons could be, for instance, inadequate phenomenological value for the actors participating, failure for the ecosystem to institutionalize the desired business logic, or resistance from inside or outside the ecosystem. And the empirical evidence agrees. According to Boston Consulting Groups (2020) inquiry, 52% of ecosystem business models fail due to “wrong ecosystem configuration” and “wrong governance choices”, which are both in the heart of the research of institutions (e.g., Edvardsson, Kleinaltenkamp, Tronvoll, McHugh, &

Windahl, 2014; Koskela-Huotari, Edvardsson, Jonas, Sörhammar, & Witell, 2016; Vargo, Akaka, & Vaughan, 2017). The former comprised mainly of inadequate value for the ecosystem actors, whereas the latter was a result of failure in “the standards, rules, and processes” – i.e., institutional arrangements.

However, the institutions do not solely contain collectively shared information on how to *act*, but also covers institutionalized *beliefs* related to social roles and actors in the society. As such, the social structuration of reality (Berger & Luckmann 1966) embeds certain meanings regarding certain actors: generally medical doctors are associated with high status, Apple as a company is perceived as an aesthetic forerunner, and companies providing quickie loans are often considered as ethically suspicious. These beliefs can be more or less institutionalized, some being shared by the whole world, whereas the others are internalized by a specific set of actors. This allows that there can be multiple varying beliefs towards a certain topic, especially when the topic is new and yet to be stabilized as a more unified concept. For instance, the concept of platform work is a new type of work form that is weakly institutionalized, resulting into lack of dominant interpretations for the concept (Schor, Attwood-Charles, Cansoy, Ladegaard, & Wengronowitz, 2020). To illustrate, one might believe that the platform work is “work form from the utopian future”, whereas other condemns it as “modern day slavery”.

To demonstrate power of beliefs with an extreme example, digital psychotherapy platform Vastaamo found itself in a public relations crisis due to data breach - caused by deficiency in security procedures – ultimately leading to its closure (Yle 2021). According to the sociological approach, the problem was not in the technology, but what happened in the general disposition towards the company in the eyes of its customers, employers, media, citizens, partners and public in general. Thus, the company lost its credibility and trustworthiness in the eyes of its ecosystem, as the lack of security was not allowed for a company operating in such a responsible role. By not acting by the standards of society’s institutional expectations, Vastaamo’s permit to operate was implicitly taken away, as the ecosystem members disposition towards the company was damaged, reducing the motivations for collaboration. At that point, even if the technological aspects were fixed, it could not have recovered from the negative beliefs already rooted into the public. In other words, the institutionalized beliefs about the company resulted into a negative risks and cognitive costs for actors collaborating in the ecosystem, and raised resistance outside the focal ecosystem.

Institutionalized beliefs can influence on the value experienced by the actors related to these beliefs (e.g., Edvardsson et al., 2014; Koskela-Huotari & Vargo, 2016) – negatively or positively. In the case Vastaamo, the customers of the company were arguably in distress believing that their information was not in safe hands, while the non-customers condemning these security issues vented their frustration towards the company in public debate, arguably getting psychological relief from bashing the company. In this paper, continuing with the assumption that institutionalized beliefs affect phenomenological value, we are taking a look to the beliefs surrounding couriers working in the food delivery platform, and elaborate how the beliefs about the courier work can shape the experienced value (Grönroos & Voima, 2013; Vargo, Akaka, et al., 2017) for multiple distinct actors inside and outside the ecosystem – ultimately steering the whole ecosystem development.

As the value is relational and phenomenologically evaluated by each actor, we must zoom in and out depending on the context (Chandler & Vargo, 2011). By doing this we can both discuss about the individual level value, like courier satisfaction while delivering, and the aggregated value on the ecosystem level. When discussing about the ecosystem level value, we are discussing about the **system viability** for the focal actor, that refers to the “system’s competitiveness and co-creation capability” in which the focal actor “attempts to behave in a viable, sustainable and harmonious manner in pursuit of its own goals” (Barile et al. 2012, p. 69). In other words, the **focal actor** – the actor who is orchestrating the food delivery platform ecosystem – is maximizing its ecosystem’s viability when it’s sustainably maximizing the overall value in the ecosystem, while minimizing the conflicting motivations among the actors.

According the service ecosystem view, the development of the ecosystem is seen as a socially emergent phenomenon, where plurality of actors in varying roles are shaping the web of institutions based on their motivations and phenomenologically experienced value (Kaartemo, Nenonen, & Windahl, 2020; Vargo & Akaka, 2012; Wieland, Koskela-Huotari, & Vargo, 2016). For instance, when a non-customer is discussing about a trend with a praising tone, he is not solely presenting his opinions in vacuum, but spreading views on how the particular object should be perceived. A praising tone may create positive associations towards the object which may diffuse among large crowds, thus potentially becoming more a part of a socially transmitted echoing, than individually created opinion (Berger & Luckmann 1966). Thus, none is in a vacuum: the actions of

many weakly connected stakeholders are shaping institutions, and paradoxically being shaped by them simultaneously (Lawrence 2006 et al., p. 6-9). To conclude, if the beliefs about courier work can have an influence to courier satisfaction, and the courier satisfaction increases system viability, the multi-actor negotiated beliefs are partly responsible for the system viability.

The modification of institutions is called **institutional work** (Lawrence et al. 2006). Institutional work can be practiced – to certain extent – by individual actors who directly or indirectly create, maintain or disrupt institutions (Lawrence et al. 2006). For instance, individuals can maintain current institutions by adapting them, create new institutions by renarrating how certain actors or services should be perceived, or by disrupting existing beliefs by questioning the grounding assumptions (Lawrence et al. 2006; Wieland et al. 2016). Although the institutions cannot be single-handedly forced by the will of a single actor. Instead, the institutional change occurs in the interplay between multiple actors doing institutional work, emerging from the individual level to the structure, which has been developed by previous cultural-historic events (Baker & Nenonen, 2020; Kaartemo et al., 2020). As the institutional work done by multiple ecosystem actors can contain a variety of even contradictory logics, these institutional structures have been acknowledged to be complementary or clashing with each other, potentially (mis)aligning with other structures, while recognized to possibility of having competing institutions that can cause conflicts and tensions (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Chandler, Danatzis, Wernicke, Akaka, & Reynolds, 2019; Kaartemo et al., 2020; Kjellberg, Azimont, & Reid, 2015).

Regardless of these mentions, there lacks theory about 1) the nature of actors who participate in the institutional work, and 2) on how these institutional structures interact with each other. First, the actors doing institutional work have been traditionally categorized by the idiosyncratic qualities of a case (Baker & Nenonen, 2020; Baker, Storbacka, & Brodie, 2019; Koskela-Huotari et al., 2016; Närvänen, Mattila, & Mesiranta, 2021), but none of these have provided further abstraction on of how the actors conducting institutional work can be differentiated, thus also providing lack of understanding on how these actors could be reached from the managerial perspective.

Second, the interaction of institutional structures have been generally acknowledged in the literature (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Chandler et al., 2019; Kjellberg et al., 2015;

Suddaby, 2006), but explicit categorization on how these institutional structures interact with each other has not been identified in the marketing literature, and thus needs clairvoyance. In addition, there has been requests for more research for studying markets through the systems lens, which emphasizes the relationships, mechanisms and processes of objects, contrasted to reductionist thinking (Barile, Lusch, Reynoso, Saviano, & Spohrer, 2016; Ferrell, 2018; Lusch, Vargo, & Gustafsson, 2016; Vargo, Koskela-Huotari, et al., 2017). Thus, there is a lack of abstraction for actors participating in the institutional work, and the interactions between the products of the institutional work, which would need to be clarified to progress the marketing systems paradigm – a prospect for the next paradigm for marketing (El-Ansary et al. 2018; Ferrell 2018).

To fill this gap, we construct abstraction on what type of actors can be categorized participating in the institutional work in service ecosystem, and how these even contradictory products of institutional work are interacting with each other. By fulfilling this gap, we aim to contribute to the understanding of institutional work by elaborating the distinct mechanisms – i.e., inter-dependent system of parts, which cannot be brought down to simpler level without breaking it down – which help addressing more explicitly how the system viability of a service ecosystem can be influenced by modifying institutional structures. In business, with the help of these mechanisms, the ecosystem orchestrators can take advantage of the institutionalized beliefs by managing them properly, hence increasing non-monetary value by increasing value creations and decreasing resistance from the ecosystem environment.

1.2 Overview of this research

To address this gap, this paper aims to provide mid-range theory for service-dominant logic (Brodie, Saren, & Pels, 2011) by **identifying mechanisms of institutional work that shape beliefs about courier work in a food delivery platform's service ecosystem, and how these mechanisms relate to the system viability from the focal actor perspective**. Building from the theories of resource-integration, services ecosystems and institutional theory, we are addressing the gap with the following sub questions.

1. What type of actors participate in the negotiation of institutionalizing beliefs, and what are their operating logics?

2. How distinct institutionalizing beliefs interact with each other?
3. How do these mechanisms relate to the system viability from the focal actor perspective?

We start by creating a preliminary conceptual framework basing on the literature review about resource-integration and institutional theory. To understand the process of resource-integration, service ecosystems and distinct conceptions of value, we must ground our understanding in the abstraction of service-dominant logic (Vargo & Akaka, 2012; Vargo & Lusch, 2004, 2008, 2016). Proceeding into the research of institutional theory, we are broadening the literature review to cover Scotts (2014) three pillars of institutions, institutional work (Suddaby, 2006) and the process of institutionalization (Becker & Luckmann 1966). These topics initialize our understanding on how the institutionalized beliefs shape the experienced value in the process of resource-integration and creates a conceptual framework which works as a lens through the empirical evidence is examined.

As a methodology, this paper conducts a single-case study utilizing the abductive process of systematic combining (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). As empirical data we are using secondary data existing between 2015-2021 in the five most read medias in Finland, related to the “purposely” (Patton 2002) selected case of Wolt Enterprise – a food delivery platform operating in Finland. By examining the discourses found in the data, which transmit institutionalizing beliefs (Phillips et al., 2004), we coded the mechanisms basing on the grounded theory methodology (Strauss & Corbin 1997). As a result of this, we identify 6 actor mechanisms through which the general beliefs are argued to come into existence through institutional work – which answer to the research question 1 - and 5 interaction mechanisms how the institutional structures interact with each other – answering to the research question 2. Finally, these mechanisms are argued to be responsible for the value experiences resulting from beliefs, thus ultimately being linked to the system viability from the focal actor perspective, giving us the answer for research question 3.

2 Service-dominant logic

Traditionally, the underlying paradigm of marketing was taken from economics. The marketing was mainly seen as a configuration of marketing mix, with the right configuration of 4P for the passive crowds resulted into maximised demand – demand that was largely given as taken (Vargo & Lusch 2004). This view considered the passive, rational customers being as something to be marketed to, with the aim to balance demand with supply. The value was embedded into the product in every step of a supply-chain and marketing, customer purchasing the product when the embedded value was perceived higher than the nominal cost (Porter 1985).

This was challenged when the foundational paper of S-D logic was published by Vargo & Lusch (2004), where they aggregated multiple views with commonalities in marketing literature, which had emerged in the last two centuries. The academic disciplines (e.g., relationship marketing, service marketing, business-to-business marketing) had recognized the shortcomings of production centric paradigm, where the emphasis laid on the product, its exchange and the value was embedded in the product by firm-controlled processes (Vargo & Lusch 2008). In response, the disciplines originated arrays of new concepts and ways of thinking, including operand and operant resources, coproduction and -creation, mass customization, network economy, core competency and value propositions, all of which suggested a shift from the consumer and producer to a more interactive and wider system of value creation (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 202).

The S-D logic represent a broader view on the market, in which the fundamental unit of exchange is service – “the application of services for the benefit of another actor” (Vargo & Lusch 2004). S-D logic emphasizes the skills and knowledge of actors as primary resource of social and economic exchange (Vargo & Lusch 2004). Hence the physical product(s) highlighted in traditional paradigm, is seen as a physical intermediary further used for the purpose of fulfilling a service. For instance, a consumer is not buying an axe because of the object, but because of its ability to enable cutting wood for surviving through winter.

The S-D logic rejects the view of consumers and producers, and instead transcends into a view where all participants are **actors** who aim to create value for themselves and other participating actors by **resource integrating**, **service exchanging**, and **evaluating the**

perceived value, i.e., **value co-creation** (Vargo & Lusch 2011). In other words, value co-creation is “benefit(s) realized from integration of resources through activities and interactions with collaborators in the customer’s service network” (McColl-Kennedy, Vargo, Dagger, Sweeney, & van Kasteren, 2012).

Thus, actors actively combine their physical (operand) and mental (operant) resources in integration process, exchanging the results of integration, in the pursuit of increasing the mutual value for participants and themselves in the exchange system – also known as **service ecosystem** (Vargo & Lusch 2011).

Service ecosystems are “relatively self-contained, self-adjusting systems of resource-integrating actors that are connected by shared institutional logics and mutual value creation through service exchange” (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 206). The ecosystem actors often dynamically repeat their exchange behaviour in their ecosystem, resulting into a continuous learning – also characteristic for SD-logic (Chandler et al 2011). The exchange, interactions and learning are to great extent defined by **institutions** - “humanly devised rules, norms, and beliefs that enable and constrain action and make social life predictable and meaningful” (Scott 2014). The institutions are identified being an integral part in the orchestration of service ecosystem behaviour (Vargo & Lusch 2016), affecting on multiple layers to the value co-creation and hence to the viability of the ecosystem (Vargo & Lusch 2017).

As the individual actors are to some extent free to choose whether to participate into the ecosystem or not, they navigate towards the maximized *resource denseness*. Resource denseness is the best possible value income, in relation to the invested costs (Lusch & Vargo 2015). Zooming out from the individual level to organizational one (Chandler & Vargo 2011), the organization who can correspondingly orchestrate settings in which the resource denseness is maximised in a sustainable way, the system is said to be most viable, i.e., **system viability** (Barile et al., 2012; Lusch & Vargo 2015). From this perspective, the actors aim for maximizing their denseness, often by participating in the most viable system in their sphere of influence. Service ecosystems and their viability is being largely determined by the **institutional arrangements** – set of existing institutions in the ecosystem. The figure 1 below illustrates the process discussed above.



Figure 1. Flow of value co-creation (Vargo & Lusch 2016)

We bundle this altogether with demonstrating example of a real food-delivery platform, and the empirical case company of this paper, Wolt Enterprise. The platform consists of actors of couriers, restaurants, customers, and the *focal actor* orchestrating the interactions. These actors have joined to the platform because they either have no other choice, or that they perceive their participation to generate better *resource denseness* from other options. Each actor participating have a distinct set of resources available for them, while having varying reasons for doing the job. For instance, a courier integrates resources like their personal skills of knowledge, delivery vehicle and skills with the resources provided by Wolt and other actors, like mobile app, city- and network infrastructure, and services from other actors, for rendering a certain service of delivering food from restaurant to customer. This resource-integration can occur for any subjectively determined reason like trying to make ends meet, doing it as a secondary source of income or just spending time in a form that provides some income.

When zooming out (Chandler & Vargo 2011) to the Wolt-level resource-integration (Wolt, restaurants & couriers), the Wolt orchestrates the service exchanges and integrations of lower-level actors mainly through the mobile application – arguably being more viable in the orchestration of ecosystem actors than the competitors. These services exchanged are largely determined by the institutional arrangements determined by Wolt: e.g., the rules of delivery, the terms and conditions and the interaction points with the mobile application. However, these institutional arrangements are not in a vacuum: there are also higher order institutional arrangements in society e.g., worker legislation, societal norms, the righteousness of Wolt as a company and the general beliefs about courier

work. These conflicting institutions can result into value creations, but also destructions in the terms of system viability from the Wolt's perspective. To demonstrate with a thought experiment, if you were a courier just trying to your job like everyone else, would it effect to your satisfaction if your work was juxtaposed to slavery or sex-work? Or if you came to believe that your employer is exploiting you for his own advantage? Arguably these beliefs could influence on how you perceive your job, yourself, and your employer, thus also affecting whether you complied to the business logic or aimed towards a change.

This is the focal point of this study: how these institutionalized beliefs in a society affect to the ecosystem viability. The topics of this chapter are elaborated in the remaining chapters. Axioms and premises of S-D logic are introduced to paint a better picture of the underlying paradigm, followed by describing the resource integration, nature of value and service ecosystems to construct our abstraction for the preliminary framework.

2.1 Axioms and premises

S-D logic is derived from 11 premises, of which 5 are granted axiom status. Axioms are defined as the unquestioned, largely well-established assumptions, which the logical integrity of abstract theory is derived from. Premises on the other hand are less evident propositions, which are considered as true if the axioms hold. The premises are illustrated in Table 1 and elaborated followingly.

Foundational Premise / Axiom	
FP1 / A1	Service is the fundamental basis of exchange.
FP2	Indirect exchange masks the fundamental basis of exchange.
FP3	Goods are distribution mechanisms for service provision.
FP4	Operant resources are the fundamental source of strategic benefit.
FP5	All economies are service economies.
FP6 / A2	Value is co-created by multiple actors, always including the beneficiary.
FP7	Actors cannot deliver value but can participate in the creation and offering of value propositions.
FP8	A service-centered view is inherently beneficiary oriented and relational.
FP9 / A3	All social and economic actors are resource-integrators.
FP10 / A4	Value is always uniquely and phenomenologically determined by the beneficiary.
FP11 / A5	Value co-creation is coordinated through actor-generated institutions and institutional arrangements.

Table 1. Premises and axioms of SD-logic

People in society have two basic operant resources: physical and mental skills (Vargo & Lusch 2004). As both types are unevenly divided in population, it is more efficient to specialize in certain tasks depending on the resources of an individual (Vargo & Lusch 2004). For an example, if one has knowledge (mental operant resource) about fertilizing soil resulting into generous crop, he will be more efficient in that specific role compared to a person who knows nothing about agriculture. In turn, the second who has no idea about agriculture, could be more physically and motorically suitable (physical operant resources) for hunting wildlife. Both use their limited resources for a certain task, and while being good at it, keep getting even better on every repetition – they learn (Hibbert et al. 2012). As they keep learning their skills, they attain even larger scale-effects. A third person could enter to this dyadic exchange system, by providing shelter and cooking, thus freeing even more resources from the other two. Thus, the *service* of each actor in the exchange system results into a greater overall benefit for the whole group. The unit of exchange is then not a physical product (wheat – meat – place to sleep and eat), but

instead a service that fulfils a certain need: a service of carbs (e.g. maintain activity), a service of proteins (e.g. maintain muscles needed for the job) and a service for resting (e.g. freeing resources for not having to worry what to eat and where to sleep). In other words, **service is the fundamental basis of all exchange (FP1 & Axiom 1)**.

In a modern world however, the service-for-service exchange would soon become unbearable coordination-wise. For this purpose, there is money – institutionalized set of rules which enable indirect service exchange (Dillard 1987). Let's continue from the previous example: a fourth actor, a banker, joins to the previous three. The banker introduces a currency of euro and further argues that 1kg of meat is worth 10 euros; 1kg of wheat is 5 euros; and accommodation service for one night is 1 euro. If all the participants agree, they are able from now on to indirectly exchange their services through money: the banker now starts to distribute the physical products. When a one wants to acquire services of others, the one can get the products from the banker with currency and exchange currency with the rest. The money is hence nothing more than institutionalized tool which provides rights for a certain service. Even though the exchange of services become more indirect, abstract, and harder to see, the fact remains: **indirect exchange masks the fundamental basis of exchange (FP2)**. (Vargo & Lusch 2014, p. 58-62)

As opposed to G-D logic, S-D logic sees goods (e.g., product) as the *distribution mechanism* for service provision instead of the fundamental unit of exchange (Vargo & Lusch 2004). Accordingly, the fundamental unit of exchange is the "... application of specialized knowledge, mental skills, and, to a lesser extent, physical labour" (Vargo & Lusch 2004). The goods hence are a manifestation of applied knowledge, which can be used to provide a service. In other words, stated by Gummesson (1995): "Activities render services, things render services". The service can then be valuable, for instance, because 1) it liberates resources to be used in other tasks (e.g. a robot vacuumer); 2) it provides utility that can be used to further create value (e.g., refined physical resource); 3) it replaces a service (e.g. a hair trimmer reduces a need for barbershop); 4) it fulfils our basic needs (e.g. nutrients, shelter); or 5) the goods serve a higher-order need (e.g. life-goal, satisfaction, entertainment) (Vargo & Lusch 2004; Vargo & Lusch 2014, p. 63-64). In summary, the goods render a service which can be anything from a basic need, through utilitarian benefit, all the way to the higher-order needs which may be very vague in its nature (Grönroos 2013). Thus, **goods are distribution mechanisms for service provision (FP3)**.

Operant resources are the fundamental source of strategic benefit (FP4). As previously mentioned, people have two kind of resources: **operant** (intangible, e.g. knowledge) and **operand** (passive, mostly tangible, e.g., raw materials). Operand materials are “resources on which an operation or act is performed to produce an effect“ (Vargo & Lusch 2004). For instance, oil and wood are operand resources, which are contrasted to operant resources which “are employed to act on operand resources” (Vargo & Lusch 2004). Oil is enriched and prepared for the combustion system, further used for the purpose of transportation via cars. Wood is shaped into a form of a bench, enabling sitting to relieve stress from legs and back. All these processes done are *applications of knowledge* ~ operant resources (Vargo & Lusch 2008). When operant resources are used with the best possible concentration (value gain divided by the sacrificed resources), the exchange is said to be having maximum density (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 115). The one who acquires the maximum resource density in the competitive field is – according to the theory - having the competitive edge in relation to competitors offering the same service (Vargo & Lusch 2004).

Derived from the FP1/Axiom 1, **all economies are service economies (FP5).** According to S-D logic, all economies (e.g. hunter gatherer, agricultural, industrial) can be seen as “... macro-specializations, each characterized by the expansion and refinement of some particular type of competence that could be exchanged” (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 66). The resource denseness can be also seen from a broader view than just the focal actor like a firm. The societies can be seen zoomed out (Chandler & Vargo 2011) to massive service ecosystems, which develop towards the maximal resource denseness. Through this lens, capitalism can be argued to be more efficient than previous attempts of communism as an economic system, because it has been able to provide more gains compared to losses – thus further shaping our shared understanding of a successful economic system, hampering the advocacy of future communist attempts. Thus all economies, small or large, are service economies.

Value is cocreated by multiple actors, always including the beneficiary (FP6, 2nd axiom). As mentioned, value co-creation is an idiosyncratic process, in which the individual aims to provide value for oneself and others, by resource-integrating and service exchanging with other participants, and evaluating value. Thus, the participating actors are changing products and information, interacting with each other, and affecting to the shared context of value creation. For instance, information silo in the outset of

supply chain can result into extra costs in the further end, which could be fixed by spreading information between actors - thus co-creating value by increasing resource denseness of the whole. There is also the opposite possibility for destroying the value, i.e. value co-destruction (Järvi, Kähkönen, & Torvinen, 2018; Makkonen & Olkkonen, 2017; Prior & Marcos-Cuevas, 2016). Potential reasons for value destruction are e.g., absence of information, insufficient level of trust, mistakes or inability to serve can result into unbeneficial outcomes, ultimately destroying value for all or some of the actors (Järvi et al., 2018). In some cases, even a maladaptive or opportunistic behavior from certain actors can result into value co-destructions (Mele et al., 2018).

The co-creation can be perceived from multiple levels depending on the context (Chandler & Vargo 2011). As such the value co-creation can be inspected e.g., through the lens of an individual, an organization or a market. If the actor is defined as individual, then the value is co-created by integrating resources in the sphere of individual, like the product, knowledge, public infrastructure, social interaction etc., which result in the experience occurring inside the dimensions of time and space. On the other hand, co-creation can also occur from a perspective farther away (Taillard, Peters, Pels, & Mele, 2016). For an example, an organization can be seen as an actor co-creating value with other organization, being a collective entity comprising of individual workers. Hence, these smaller level actors are embedded into larger scale ecosystems, and by defining the context we can restrict the view on certain actors.

However, the co-created value does not solely cover the direct interactions inside the ecosystem. The value co-creation has been extended to actors who intentionally or not conduct into creating, maintaining and disrupting of institutions, which are linked to linked to perceived value (Edvardsson et al., 2014). This can mean that the reactions of influencers, or even non-adaptors criticizing certain product or company, can change the value perception for certain user in a certain context. The new sneakers made of crocodile skin may not give the same sense of pride and enjoyment, when a local animal activist is wrinkling his nose when coming across. The effect can be even more indirect, as in the case when using a streaming service watching a certain series, you are in the same time supporting the IT-infrastructure, the streaming service, and contributing for the series makers, hence facilitating making of their upcoming series. (Wieland et al., 2016)

But above all, the co-creation is phenomenologically occurring experience, in which the actor combines the market facing and private resources (Vargo & Lusch 2011) in the resource-integration process, resulting into experience that is evaluated. Hence the actor is in driver seat: the photoshop is solely a bunch of bits, if the creative brains are not able to utilize it for photo-editing purposes. For this reason, the resource-integrating beneficiary always has the last word about the experienced value. Thus, *value is cocreated by multiple actors, always including the beneficiary.*

This leads the firms not being able to deliver value by themselves, but only provide value propositions and value co-creation spaces, which can be rendered to value by beneficiary's integration practices (Grönroos & Voima, 2013). Thus, **actors cannot deliver value but can participate in the creation and offering of value propositions (FP7)**. To be noted, according to Sitaloppi & Vargo (2014) value propositions are “institutionalized, taken-for-granted social structures that influence local instances of resource integration within and between service systems” – in other words they primarily socio-cognitive, “taken-as-granted” understandings (Scott 2014). This view is also adapted in this paper, and we are not making explicit distinctions between value propositions and institutionalized understanding, and from now on are used synonymously.

Elicited from the FP6 / Axiom 2, **the service-centered view is inherently beneficiary oriented and relational (FP8)**. Being evolved from the disciplines of relationship marketing and services marketing research (Vargo & Lusch 2004), the transition from G-D logic to S-D has been natural. The emphasis is on the customers being exogenous to value-creation, instead of something exogenous that is being marketed to. Because the service that is being exchanged is supposed to solve a need a customer has, determines, and evaluates, the spotlight must be held on the beneficiary, and beneficiary's contextual needs. (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 72-74)

The 3rd axiom & **FP9, all social and economic actors are resource integrators**, broadens the view to the multiple actors in the network (Vargo & Lusch 2008). The premise highlights the nature of actors as being generic, thus fading the difference of consumers and producers even further (Vargo & Lusch, 2017). The actor can be anything - from a consumer to producer, a family member, journalist, vocal or silent follower, an organization, university or et cetera – and perform “multiple roles, such as facilitators,

modifiers, or disruptors in the service ecosystem as part of their value co-creation efforts” (Tronvoll, 2017). Thus, the premise acknowledges the dynamic nature of these complex ecosystems, which has risen in the epicentre of business research since Moore’s (1993) seminal article. In the context of S-D logic, these ecosystems are called **service ecosystems**. Service ecosystems are further discussed in chapter 2.4.

Value is always uniquely and phenomenologically determined by the beneficiary (FP10, 4th axiom). After the first seminal publishment (Vargo & Lusch 2004), there arose misunderstandings on the nature of value, which resulted into this premise. The value co-production – the act of producing services with active customer input – should not be mixed up with the concept of value co-creation, that is a positive phenomenon every actor in society does in pursuit of increasing its value (Vargo & Lusch 2008). The value *co-created* by resource integration is ultimately decided by the actor, who is at the same time the one 1) who integrates resources by resource integration, 2) evaluates whether the value co-created is up to subjective standards, and 3) experiences the value in relation to evaluation phase (Kleinaltenkamp et al., 2012). This perception of value is discussed further in chapter 2.3.

According the final, and the most contemporary axiom, **value cocreation is coordinated through actor-generated institutions and institutional arrangements (FP11, 5th axiom).** Institutions are in the focal point of this study, and they are discussed with more depth in the chapter 3.

2.2 Resource integration

According to FP 8, **all social and economic actors are resource integrators.** But before we can discuss about the resource-integration, we must properly define the resources that are being integrated.

Vargo & Lusch (2004) divided resources into operant and operand resources, former being the applications of knowledge and skills, and latter the static resources which the operation is performed on. The operand resources are generally tangible “raw materials”, which is are not often valuable per se. The operant resources provide a purpose and context, when applied with operand ones. For instance, gold is something that must be mined, refined, moulded and marketed, to become valuable in terms of providing service

of increasing one's status through material signalling as a form of a necklace. Thus, the "resources are not, they become" (Vargo & Lusch 2014, p. 3).

Another typology according to Madhavaram and Hunt's (2008) divides resources based on resource-advantage theory, into tangible and intangible resources. The tangible resources are the physical resources, closely reminding operand resources. The intangible resources instead include human-, organizational-, informational, and relational resources – closely reminding operant resources although providing more specificity.

Zimmermann (1951) capture the nature of resources "... evolving out of the interaction of nature, man, and culture, in which nature sets outer limits, but man and culture are largely responsible for the portion of physical totality that is made available for human use", thus highlighting that even the physical totality is largely shaped by the social dimension deciding on what becomes to exist in objective reality. Edvardsson et al. (2014) on the other hand states that "... resources have no inherent value in themselves. Instead, they possess important potential value, depending on how they are integrated and operated on, in specific contexts with specific intentions", thus also highlighting how the contextual nature, including the specific reasons they are used for, are largely determining the value of resources.

Another perspective of resources is based on their attainability, marketwise. The *market-facing* resource is one that can be exchanged via markets. For instance, you can exchange money for a digital copy of a movie. In contrast to market facing resources, the other two are not exchanged in the market. First, the *public resource* "... is a tangible or intangible resource that government or quasigovernment entities provide to general or specifically designated members of society and often includes resources" (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 127). For instance, this could be internet infrastructure needed for the digital movie to be streamed. Second, the *private resource* is "a tangible and intangible resource that is exchanged via social exchange networks and includes such resources as social favours, personal advice, or friendship" (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 127). The private resource also includes the experiences, knowledge and tastes of individual (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 131).

What is especially important regarding the resources, are their potential to be useful in a context. Resources per se are not often valuable, but the value emerges from the interaction with other resources and institutional arrangements giving the resources their

valuableness, i.e., “resourceness”. For instance, the mobile phone is not very valuable, if there is no mobile network. Similarly, the Apple logo in the mobile phone is not providing value for its aesthetic purposes, but because the institutionalized knowledge that associates the logo to the socially embedded meanings of quality and social status. This latter example demonstrates how the socially structured and collectively shared institutional knowledge can provide value into the integration from reasons outside the actual product. (Koskela-Huotari & Vargo, 2016)

In this paper we are adopting the view of Lusch & Vargo (2014, p. 121) according to resources can be “anything, tangible or intangible, internal or external, operand or operant, that the actor can draw on for increased viability”. With this definition, we are able to conceptualize anything that the actor can “draw support” for their resource-integration (Vargo & Lusch 2018, p. 740). Thus, extended to our purposes, resources can be institutionalized knowledge, such as general beliefs (Pop, Leroi-Werelds, Roijackers, & Andreassen, 2018), which can transmit in the society in the form of echoing social “truths”, instead of knowledge that has been derived from empirically attained experiences. If such beliefs can influence to the perceived value, they can also be considered to draw support on the resource integration.

Proceeding to the **resource integration**, a process which has a dual purpose (Vargo & Lusch 2015, p. 131-132). First, it co-creates value for the actor resource integrating in attempt to increase resource-denseness for the actor. Second, it creates new potential resources to be exchanged with other actors. Resource integration is a process, in which actor(s) combines variety of operand (e.g., materials) and operant (e.g., knowledge) resources through integration practices (e.g., welding two pieces of iron with the help of knowhow). The outcome is then evaluated by the actor(s) perceptual judgment being either beneficial or not, thus having impact on future resource integrations. General overview of resource integration is illustrated in figure 2, and elaborated as follows.

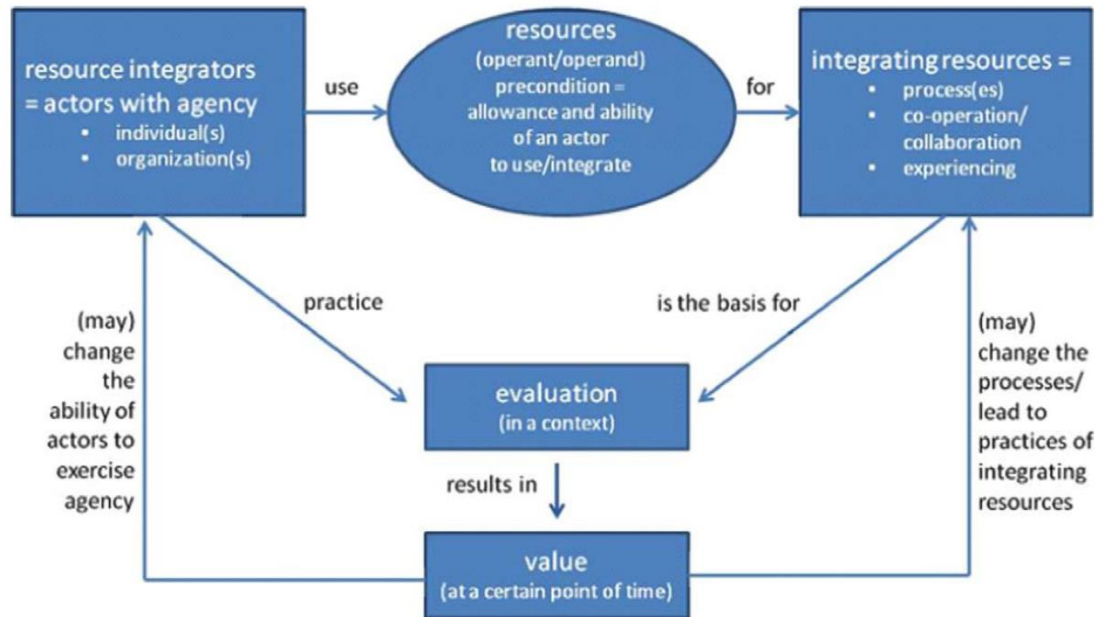


Figure 2. Overview of resource integration (Kleinaltenkamp et al. 2012)

First, we have an actor that is the one conducting into the process of integration. This can be defined as actors or individuals, of which we are discussing of the latter. As the actor conducts into the process, he is said to be integrating in a **context**. Context is a spatially and dimensionally defined place for integration, which is unique for that specific integration. As such, the resources available for the integration differ for each actor and integration context. For instance, there may be different physical resources, more knowledge and changed beliefs since the previous context. The resources are thus applied in the integration process, which may include variety of actors contributing to the process with their services. During and after the integration, this process is evaluated basing on the phenomenologically experienced value. Answers to demonstrating questions like “whether the service provided fulfilled the expectations”, “was the process frictionless”, “what like was the collaborators contributions”, and “was the experience overall considered as valuable” thus contribute to the evaluation of the value. In the evaluation phase the actor is then deciding whether something should be changed in the next context, or whether to even render the same service with same resources and collaborators in the future.

It is important to understand the ontological assumptions behind the resource-integration. The resource-integration can be conceptualized to occur in object-oriented-, subject-oriented and intersubjective-oriented levels (Peters et al., 2014). Object-oriented level includes the objectively measurable ways to inspect integration: the service is clearly

defined, the resources are explicit, integration practices concrete, and the evaluation can be made on objective measures. For instance, welding two pieces of iron (service) by an actor, and labelling it with quality-measurement would be considered as object-oriented. (Peters et al., 2014).

Subjective orientation on the other hand operates in a more personal level, that is much harder to delineate in the objective world. For instance, if an actor just aims to “being happy”, by shopping brand new sneakers, it would be more difficult to pinpoint exactly what is the cause of happiness. As it could be anything from searching the product, dreaming, waiting the product, discussing about it in social circles or using it, the definite pinpointing can be unreachable, even for the actor integrating. (Peters et al., 2014).

The intersubjective orientation sees the resource-integration as something that is always shared and co-created with multiple actors. As such, it does not exist in a subjective world, but is always socially structured with other actors involved. An example of this would be a live gig, where everyone habiting the space would have their impact on the collective experience that is structured through the resource-integration efforts of each actor. (Peters et al., 2014).

In our paper, we are discussing about the resource-integration explicitly as a subjective phenomenon, where the multiple actors are resource-integrating in the pursuit of rendering certain service, which is phenomenologically experienced and revolving around the actor-defined purpose. As such, the couriers who are delivering foods in the ecosystem, they are integrating in their subjective dimensions, interacting with other actors contributing to their self-defined value, and doing this for their own specific purposes. In other words, the “experiencing” during the resource-integration becomes especially focal, when the actor comes into the phase of evaluation the value from integration (figure 2, *integrating resources*).

The role of institutions existing in a context has been increasingly acknowledged to shape the process of resource-integration by coordinating the resource-integration, providing value bases for assessing the value, altering the value-perceptions during integration and increasing value of applied resources (Caridà, Edvardsson, & Colurcio, 2019; Edvardsson et al., 2014; Koskela-Huotari & Vargo, 2016; Koskela-Huotari, Vink, & Edvardsson, 2020; Vink, Edvardsson, Wetter-Edman, & Tronvoll, 2019). In this paper, we are examining the roles of socially constructed beliefs and how they relate to the resource-

integration. As such, the institutionalized beliefs are expected to influence the experience during the resource-integration, thus also affecting on the evaluated value, eventually shaping the decision to potentially pursue for a change.

Thus, we have gained an understanding of what happens in the process of resource-integration, what kind of resources there can be and what kind of resource-integration we are discussing about. Still our understanding of the concept of value is vague and needs to be further discussed in detail.

2.3 From value-in-exchange to value-in-context

The conceptualization of value has been discussed since antique. More recently, Adam Smith recognized the *use* and *exchange* value, which of the latter he decided to build his theory of economics. Smith acknowledged that the use value of products was the reason why they were purchased, but decided to go with nominal exchange value, since the use value could not be measured efficiently and reliably enough to be suitable for measuring market exchange. As time passed by, the general audiences adopted the view, ultimately resulting in economic science and business discipline to internalize the exchange value. (Vargo, Akaka, et al., 2017)

Under the discipline of marketing, and especially in the S-D logic, discussion about the nature of value has been fierce (e.g., Chandler & Vargo, 2011; Grönroos & Voima, 2013; Massi ym., 2021). The division of value is generally divided to value-in-exchange, **value-in-use**, and **value-in-context**. The value-in-exchange is the traditional way of seeing products based on their nominal, exchange value. The value-in-exchange claims to reflect the “real” prices of commodities though the nominal prices mediated by market demand (Vargo & Lusch 2015), and on this value the economic system we are living in is based on. However, the value-in-exchange does not fully capture the real use value of a product: photo-editing program is not valuable for any person per se, unless it cannot be used for photo-editing purposes. As such it does not count the actual value that is created when using the product. In addition, value-in-exchange ignores the e.g., the social and contextual factors such as interactions with other and place-dependant factors (Vargo & Lusch 2004), presenting an incomplete – although instrumental – picture of the reality.

To overcome these imperfections, **value-in-use** gained ground in the marketing field. Value-in-use is defined as “the perceived increase in benefit resulting from either direct

or indirect service provision” (Akaka, Koskela-Huotari, & Vargo, 2021). Not being a new concept, being acknowledged by Aristotles and Adam Smith (Vargo & Lusch 2015), value-in-use conceptualized the value being something that is generated by using a service – a service that can be direct or rendered through a product (Grönroos 2008). Aligning with Gummersons (1995) statement about products rendering services, the value emerges from the fulfilment of a service, which is evaluated whether this use value is considered beneficial. Value-in-use provides a greater catalogue of potential sources of value: e.g., it acknowledges utilitarian purposes, hedonistic purposes, and any other lower- or higher-order needs which of the beneficiary can determine (Lusch & Vargo 2014, p. 63-64).

However, the value-in-use was still not taking account of all possible determinants of value. S-D logic emphasized contextual, multi-actor generated value, emphasizing the unique and phenomenological determination of value, including multiple contributing actors and acknowledging “the past experiences, current situation and imagined futures” (Koskela-Huotari & Siltaloppi 2020), which the value-in-use did not include. For this reason, value-in-context was introduced (Vargo 2009). Value-in-context is highlighting the contextual nature of the value co-creation, as the temporal and contextual factors have their impact on the co-created value. Thus the value-in-context is essentially the same as the value-in-use “with the expectation that the value is always a partial function of a context” (Akaka et al., 2021, p. 381).

To demonstrate the difference between the two values, the couriers could perceive the value-in-use of delivering foods as in general, “approximate”, satisfaction raising from the arrangements, like the orchestration of the work, nature of the job and the salary conditions. Even though there are differences between actors for the value-in-use, for the same actor the value-in-use is relatively similar to other contexts. However, the value-in-context provides the social dimension into the play. This comprises the interactions with the customers and restaurants, and all of the unexpected factors which might appear eccentric to the business logic. For instance, receiving parking tickets and working in a unexpectedly bad weather may end up affecting the value-in-context.

According to Vargo et al. value-in-context is (1) phenomenological, (2) always co-created, (3) multidimensional, and (4) emergent. The phenomenology demonstrates how distinct users can have varying perspectives on the same phenomenon, depending on

their contextual differences. As such, the unexpected rain can ruin the value for some, while other individual empowers due the same factor. (Vargo, Akaka, et al., 2017)

Co-creation demonstrates the unavoidable presence of other actors in the service ecosystem. There are always some type of actors related to the co-creation, to the resources used in the integration, or the social dimension that affects to the integration. (Vargo, Akaka, et al., 2017)

The multidimensionality emphasizes how there are multiple components, like individual preferences and wants, normative and cognitive institutions, technological capabilities and the other unexpected factors which all comprise into the multidimensional context. From our perspective, our specific interest resides in the normative and cognitive institutions – i.e., institutionalized beliefs – and how this aspect of multiple dimensions relates to the value experiences for actors. (Vargo, Akaka, et al., 2017)

Finally, the emergence of value emphasizes how the value cannot be determined prior to the moment of integration. Thus the value emerges through the phenomenologically dependant, multidimensional and co-created context, which is both affected by the relation of other actors in the context of integration, and the individually changing factors, resulting into a value that can be only described as “emergent” (Vargo, Akaka, et al., 2017, p. 122). For this reason, we must also adapt the view that when we are discussing about resource-integration and value experiences, we are discussing on contextually emergant phenomenons, which have only limited ability to be generalized. Respondingly, when discussing about integration practices including institutionalized beliefs, we are discussing in the realm of “ideal type”, which may not exist in the empirical world, but provide a way to differentiate between polar examples, similar to Wieland et al. (2016).

In this paper, we also conceptualize the value to be something that can be created, while also having the possibility for being destroyed (e.g., Järvi et al., 2018; Makkonen & Olkkonen, 2017; Mele et al., 2018; Prior & Marcos-Cuevas, 2016). As such the experiences which e.g., fail to meet up expectations, result into unexpected underired ends, are a result of maladaptive behaviour, arise from the ecosystem malfunctions, or anything else that that can be seen contributing negatively to an experience, due to intentionality or unintentionally, are considered to be value destructing – either in the dimension of value-in-use or value-in-context.

To summarize, we are using both, the value-in-use and the value-in-context, in this paper. With the possibility for the value to be created or destroyed, we conceptualize the value-in-use being as the general, “approximate” value that is the “perceived increase in benefit resulting from either direct or indirect service provision” (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2021). The value-in-context is basically the value-in-use, with the addition of the contextual and social nature, being characterized by the phenomenology, co-creation, multi-dimensionality and emergence (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2021; Vargo et al. 2017)

Although we now have a understanding of resource-integration and the value on the individual level, it does not provide answers on how these relate to the larger context ecosystem. For this reason, we must further address the topic of service ecosystems.

2.4 Service ecosystems

The concept of ecosystems in business was first used by Moore (1993), who adapted it from biology and used “business ecosystems” as an analogy to describe co-evolution and interdependence which characterizes especially modern business activities. The ecosystem thinking emphasizes how certain actors strive to find their niche and are highly intertwined with the actions of other ecosystem members (Aarikka-Stenroos & Ritala, 2017). The closely related topic of network research differs from ecosystems in a sense that where network research focuses on examining and describing inter-firm relationships potentially leading to strategic advantage, the ecosystem thinking adapts a view according which the ecosystem as a whole aims to stabilize itself by finding the inter-organizational equilibrium, where the actions of ecosystem members are interrelated to the wellbeing of other actors (Möller, Nenonen, & Storbacka, 2020).

The most often cited type of ecosystem, and also the topic of this paper is service ecosystem (Vargo & Lusch 2011; Vargo & Lusch 2016; Vargo & Lusch 2017). Service ecosystem is a “relatively self-contained, self-adjusting system of resource-integrating actors connected by shared institutional arrangements and mutual value creation through service exchange” (Vargo and Lusch, 2016). The service ecosystem perspective highlights the co-created nature of value, and the dynamic integration of resources, where every instance of resource-integration is dependent on the state of the rest of the actors (Vargo, Akaka, et al., 2017; Wieland et al., 2016). Service ecosystems differ from other ecosystems by highlighting the sociological nature, where the services exchanged in the ecosystem are largely determined by the existing institutional arrangements, even going

as far as arguing that technology itself is an institutional phenomenon (Vargo, Wieland, & Akaka, 2015).

Originating from the institutional theory, the service ecosystems operate between *agency* and *structure* (Giddens 1984). In this sense, the institutionalized practices determine the actions of individuals to some extent – institutions being the *structure* - although the actors can practice their free will - i.e., *agency* - to disrupt institutions or to create new ones (Chandler 2019.; Suddaby, 2006). Thus none of the actors can autonomously decide the future of ecosystem, but instead the individual level actors collectively shape and navigate the development of ecosystem by either adapting to the structure or resisting them by aiming for a change (Baker & Nenonen, 2020; Vink, Koskela-Huotari, Tronvoll, Edvardsson, & Wetter-Edman, 2021).

The ecosystem actors strive for maximizing their experienced value among the boundaries of bounded rationality (Simon 1990; Vargo & Lusch 2016). As such they are operating in their limited sphere of influence and knowledge by doing the decisions that seem to be the best choice – thus also hindering the possibility of greater good if all of the participants were considered. Thus the ecosystem development is not driven by collective intent per se, but rather the intent of individuals surviving through collective wellbeing (Vargo & Lusch 2017). The ecosystem develops as the actors collaborate to increase their resource densities (Möller et al. 2013), thus also improving the set of resources available for them through the learning process (Normann 2001).

The development of ecosystem thus operates from the individual level to the structure through agency, and through the structure to the individuals by pressuring actors to conform to the structure, resulting into an interplay where the actions of other actors establish the structure which controls the co-creation in service ecosystems. However, the development of ecosystem is anything but linear, as the varying motivations, perspectives and values steer the development into multiple directions (Adner, 2017; Vargo, Akaka, & Wieland, 2020). The exchanges of users have identified affecting on non-related users through indirect exchanges (Siltaloppi & Vargo, 2017). The integration practices of seemingly distinct actors have been linked to shaping the institutional structures which establishes the rules of value co-creation, thus unintentionally shaping other actors resource-integration and even other service ecosystem's viability (Wieland et al. 2016).

Even the maladaptively motivated actors ran by sadism can result into value destruction for other actors, resulting into value destructions of other actors and hence steering the motivations of other actors (Mele et al., 2018). In such light, the service ecosystems includes plurality of clashing motives (Chandler et al., 2019) and desired ends (Adner, 2017) resulting into varying outcomes of phenomenologically experienced value, through which the ecosystem develops emergently (Edvardsson 2014).

The digitalization of world has accelerated the interlinkedness of actors in ecosystems even further. First, the advancements in technology have enabled for a plurality of weakly-connected actors to be connected more easier (Vargo & Akaka, 2012). Second, the communication has changed from mostly one-directional communication streaming from company to the ecosystem, towards a bidirectional communication where inside and outside ecosystem actors communicate with company and each other. This has resulted into a situation, where the institutional structure comprising the ecosystem is increasingly more shaped and steered by the collective will of the large crowds (Baker & Nenonen, 2020). For instance, a single Twitter post can result into a domino effect, causing the millions – alone insignificant individuals – to force the ecosystem orchestrator's to comply under their will.

In this chapter we have discussed about the service ecosystems, which comprise of the institutional arrangements that define the structure, but the ecosystem can be also changed due to agency practiced by actors. These actors have different motivations and desired ends, resulting into a non-controllable emergence of ecosystem development, increasingly more prone to the collective will of large crowds. Thus, the service ecosystems can contain variety of distinct kind of actors participating in the value co-creation. There can be actors who operate as customers, sellers, producers, consultants, law makers, influencers, politicians, non-customers, internet trolls or labour agencies. However, the role of each differs depending on the viewpoint: a retailer can be seller for a customer, but also a customer for a wholesaler. Similarly, if we looked on the service ecosystem of the wholesaler (mostly comprising of multiple retailers and producers) and the retailer (mostly comprising of multiple wholesalers and customers), these service ecosystems would be completely different. In other words, the relevancy of actors is dependent on the particular service ecosystem under inspection, among many overlapping ones. For this reason we must always define the context we are discussing about by “oscillating foci” to the layer of inspection.

2.5 Level of aggregation and system viability

Service ecosystems consists of many interconnected, nested, overlapping and loosely coupled subsystems (Vargo et al. 2016). These complex structures can be considered as a part of a larger system, or as the larger system itself. For instance, we could look at a single retailer operating in the Amazon Seller ecosystem, and examine it's ecosystem as a whole, or we could examine the whole Amazon Seller ecosystem as a whole, where the single retailer would be almost non-existent in the big picture. For this reason, Chandler & Vargo (2011) introduced the concept of zooming in and out depending on the level of aggregation. As such, the ecosystem can be oscillated based on the *focal actor* and the *level of aggregation*.

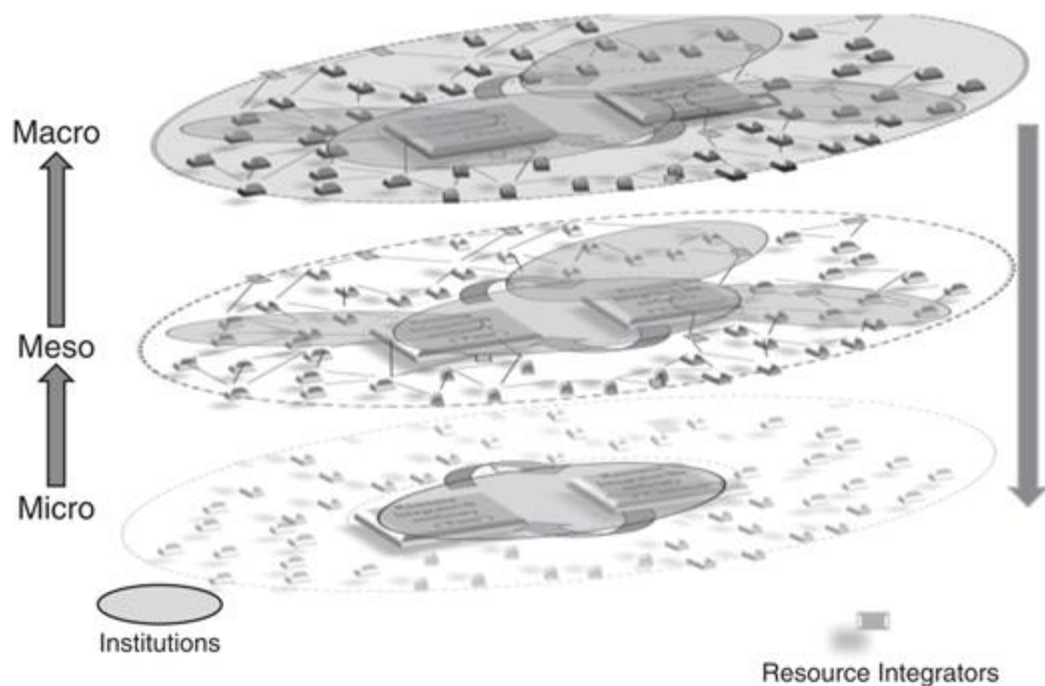


Figure 3. Level of aggregation in service ecosystems (Chandler & Vargo 2011)

The focal actor is the central actor, who's surrounding "set of unique actors with unique reciprocal links among them" we are inspecting (Chandler & Vargo 2011). Continuing from the previous example, we could inspect the service ecosystem of the retail store as the focal actor, or the Amazon Seller ecosystem orchestrator as the focal actor. As the relevance of actors are dependent on the inspected focal actor, also the corresponding service ecosystems would look very different. As the unique actors are dynamically changing in the ecosystem, the set of actors would be also quite distinct from other temporal instances of value co-creation. However, if we would temporally aggregate multiple instances of these value co-creations, we could identify the common participants

existing in the collaboration. This “heatmap” of the central actors is the focal ecosystem, also known as the meta-context. (Chandler & Vargo 2011)

In addition to oscillating around a specific focal actor, we can also zoom around the level of aggregation. From this perspective, we could focus our level of inspection to the individual level, organizational level or the inter-organizational and above level. These levels are correspondingly the micro-, meso- and macro-context, illustrated in figure 3. By zooming in and out, we can restrain the unit of inspection into a specific level. At the micro-level, we could inspect how an actor in the retail store resource-integrates and what is his perceptual value-in-context. At meso-level, we could zoom out to the organizational level of retail store, examining how the multiple resources provided by distinct micro-level actors inside the organization are providing to the value-in-context for that retail-store – value-in-context being the aggregated sum of individually realized micro value-in-contexts. (Chandler & Vargo 2011)

On the macro-context level, we would come to inspect the inter-organizational and above value co-creation, where the value-in-context would include the aggregated overall value experienced in that specific context of integration. What this would mean with the example of courier service, a single context of integration would include the interactions between customer and the platform orchestrator, the platform orchestrator delegating the delivery information towards the courier and the restaurant, the restaurant preparing the food, the courier making the delivery from the restaurant to the customer and the customer consuming the food. In addition, there would be interactions in the public traffic where non-customers are briefly sharing the context with the couriers. If the emerged value from these interactions would be considered as positive for the collaborating actors, the value-in-context at macro level has been positive and actors are more willing to participate into the interactions also in the future. (Chandler & Vargo 2011)

Thus, the focal actor and level of aggregation can be used to oscillate among the multiple nested and overlapping service ecosystems. These mechanisms can be used by zooming in to any actor when examining the relevant actors who contribute in a specific context of integration (Alexander, Jaakkola, & Hollebeek, 2018). As such we can inspect how the higher level context contribute to the resource-integration in an individual level: when actor is using the Apple mobile phone, he is also perceiving value on the meso-context as his inner circle cannot get enough about discussing about Apple products, while knowing

that in macro-context the institutionalized “general beliefs” existing in large audiences provide a perceptual sense of identifying as a forerunner by using the product.

Although the macro-level value-in-context is closely related to a specific ecosystems viability they are not the same concept. The aggregated value-in-context on macro level is related to a specific co-creation instance. As such it is the combination of co-created value, which can however include lower-level integrations which ended up in value destructions. Hence there can be some actors who are unsatisfied with the arrangements, thus pursuing for a change regardless of the win for the majority. The system viability instead is defined as “system’s competitiveness and co-creation capability” in which the focal actor “attempts to behave in a viable, sustainable and harmonious manner in pursuit of its own goals” (Barile et al. 2012, p. 69). Thus the maximization of value must be done in a way that takes account the long time horizon for the ecosystem, as stated by Barile & Lusch “... the long-term viability of service systems increasingly depends on their ability to ensure the well-being of large numbers of people” (Barile et al., 2016). In other words, *the system viability from focal actor perspective aims for the maximized value for the service ecosystem in the pursue of its own goals, in a way that minimizes the conflicts and resistance inside the ecosystem.*

The level of aggregation has been modified in multiple papers to fit for the case-specific requirements by defining the levels of aggregation (e.g., Beirão, Patrício, & Fisk, 2017; Pop, Leroi-Werelds, Roijackers, & Andreassen, 2018). We also adopt this view and fit our aggregation levels as follows. First, as the focal actor of our study is the food delivery platform orchestrators, whose viewpoint we are gravitating towards when zooming out on higher levels. Second, we are dividing our units of inspection to the micro-level as individual resource-integrators who can be inside or outside the ecosystem, the meso-level as the inside focal ecosystem that is orchestrated by the focal actor, and the macro-level which emphasizes the outside ecosystem actors such as legislative organization, labour unions and non-customer’s having their part in the context.

We have covered the founding premises of S-D logic, resource-integration, the nature of value and identified how service ecosystems emerge and how they can be addressed in terms of their viability. Next, we are taking a closer look for the institutions to understand how their subgroup of institutionalized beliefs come to be utilized in the resource-integration process.

3 Institutions and institutional work

Scholars in the service research have been increasingly adapting institutional theory, which focuses on the study of “enduring social structures and processes by which they become established as guidelines for social behaviour” (Scott 2005). Since the initial work of Edvardsson et al. (2014), the service science has flourished with institutional research, covering topics of e.g., adaptation of new services (Parris et al. 2016), service innovation (Chandler et al., 2019; Koskela-Huotari et al., 2016), organizational decision making (Holmlund et al. 2017), customer experiences (Akaka & Vargo, 2015) and actor engagement (Alexander et al., 2018; Li, Juric, & Brodie, 2018; Wieland et al., 2016). In the research of S-D logic, the institutions became focal in understanding how the value co-creation and service ecosystems are coordinated through the web of interlinked institutions (Edvardsson et al., 2014; Vargo & Lusch, 2016) – i.e., institutional arrangements, the interdependent assemblages of institutions “... [which serve as] sets of value assumptions, cognitive frames, rules, and routines that guide actors in exchanging service with other actors” (Hartmann et al. 2018).

The main units of analysis in institutional theory are institutions, or institutional structures, of which the latter is referred when addressing less institutionalized forms of social structures. Institutions are “humanly devised rules, norms, and beliefs that enable and constrain action and make social life predictable and meaningful” (Scott 2014) and which are “possessed objectively, yet created subjectively” (Suchmann 1995). Although often spoken interchangeably, the institutions are different from organizations, and should be clearly separated (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2020; Scott 2014). Whereas the organizations are often established to embody the idea of an institution, the structure itself is not the social structure. Instead, the socially embedded idea manifests itself in a physical form that is recognized to be - for instance - a school. Thus, the educational system comprising of rules, norms and “taken-as-granted” understanding operates in a physical structure, where the institutional arrangements carry out its meaning - to produce knowledge.

As the sociological stream of institutional theory is rich, also the concept of institutions varies depending on the branch of the research. North (1994) described institutions as the “rules of the game”, emphasizing the regulative elements of institutions, such as legislation in a country. Continuing with the same concept, Scott (2014) argued that institutions transcend also above the rules: if rules comprised of the institutions, so

comprised the constitutive understanding of the players, environment, and strategies. In addition, there are the social aspect of institutions that pressures actors to operate in a socially appropriate way. For instance, going into a fine-dining restaurant in a jog-suit while being substantially intoxicated would arguably result into condemning from fellow eaters with signs of disapproval. Thus, the institutions exist in several forms, as they can be "...formal codified laws, informal social norms, conventions, such as conceptual and symbolic meanings, or any other routinized rubric that provides a shortcut to cognition, communication, and judgment" (Vargo & Lusch 2016, 11).

Institutions have been proposed to serve a function to reduce unnecessary thinking, as the cognitive ability is a limited resource (Simon 1990). Hence actors create patterns and structures how procedures are executed – if the pattern is perceived as beneficial, the institution is shared through interaction and language, resulting into more efficient use of cognitive resources (Vargo & Lusch 2016, pp. 11). Regardless of the institutions' role as creating utility, institutions can also provide inefficiencies and – in the terms of service-dominant logic – destroy value. Interactions with a high support on institution may provide acting without thinking, create stiffness between the actors adopting a new technology, or due to bounded rationality result into inefficient processes which are perceived beneficial until zooming out for a wider view of the service ecosystem (Lusch & Vargo 2015).

What we emphasize in this paper, are general beliefs (Pop et al., 2018). These beliefs are socially transmitted, shared realities, which are more or less taken as granted without empirically verifying it (Berger & Luckmann 1966). For instance, when one is discussing about platform work, the understanding is often constructed from the stories and pieces of information that has come to one's awareness. Even though we might not have first-hand experience, we could judge the job either in positive or negative light, depending on the hunch that is built on the available information. As such, we are likely to just "echo" the knowledge that has been transmitted to us from several sources. In other words, some of this knowledge is just socially constructed "facts" in a rhetorical form, that are being spread through multiple channels which might not be backed by the empirical experiences of the actual platform workers. If this is the case, the beliefs are institutionalized, socially transmitted "facts" about the platform work, which are objectively shared by and through multiple actors.

To understand these beliefs further, we must cover the three pillars of institutions that provide an understanding of what type of institutional forces are related to forming these beliefs. In addition, we must further discuss how these beliefs are negotiated by multiple actors, by adopting the view of institutional work that provides a theory for understanding how the institutions can be shaped. Lastly, the institutions do not solely just appear as largely accepted facts. Instead, the process of institutionalization explains how subjectively isolated ideas can become diffused into larger crowds.

3.1 Institutional pillars

	<i>Regulative</i>	<i>Normative</i>	<i>Cultural-Cognitive</i>
<i>Basis of compliance</i>	Expedience	Social obligation	Taken-for-grantedness Shared understanding
<i>Basis of order</i>	Regulative rules	Binding expectations	Constitutive schema
<i>Mechanisms</i>	Coercive	Normative	Mimetic
<i>Logic</i>	Instrumentality	Appropriateness	Orthodoxy
<i>Indicators</i>	Rules Laws Sanctions	Certification Accreditation	Common beliefs Shared logics of action Isomorphism
<i>Affect</i>	Fear Guilt/ Innocence	Shame/Honor	Certainty/Confusion
<i>Basis of legitimacy</i>	Legally sanctioned	Morally governed	Comprehensible Recognizable Culturally supported

Table 2. Three pillars of institutions (Scott 2014)

Scott's (2014) three pillars of institutions have been widely adapted under the research of S-D logic (e.g., Chandler, Danatzis, Wernicke, Akaka, & Reynolds, 2019; Edvardsson ym., 2014; Hartmann ym., 2018; Jaakkola, Aarikka-Stenroos, & Ritala, 2019; Kohtamäki & Rajala, 2016; Koskela-Huotari ym., 2016) The wide and scattered research of institutions caused institutional pillars to emerge to conceptualize the distinct approaches existing the field (Scott 2014). These three pillars are considered as the three different approaches how institutions control the behaviour of actors.

According to Scott (2014, p. 56) "institutions comprise regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide

stability and meaning to social life”. Neither one of the pillars is superior to others, but sometimes there are dominating pillar in a certain institution (Scott 2014, p. 56). However, often the most robust institutional settings work in combination, complementing each other (Scott 2014, p. 56). The institutions may and do overlap with each other, but their distinct ways of modifying “the enduring features of social life” (Giddens 1984) can be categorized to these three perspectives, which have been elicited from the relevant works of social theorists in the 20th century (Scott 2014, p. 59). The pillars are illustrated in table 2 and elaborated in the following chapters.

3.1.1 Regulative pillar

The regulative institutions constrain and regularize behaviour via explicit regulation process: it establishes rules and sanctions, monitors whether the rules are followed and manipulates sanctions as needed (Scott 2014, 59-62). The regulative institutions are driven by self-interest, as the actor can maximize personal gain by utilizing the rules of the game (Edvardsson et al 2014). Often thought modifying the behaviour by sanctioning, the regulative rules can also bring benefits for certain actors (Scott 2014, p. 61). For instance, patents and licences can increase particular actors’ benefits; and monopolies facilitated by nation certainly increase position of some set of actors. The regulative rules can be further formalized in the spectrum of obligation, precision, and delegation (Scott 2014, p. 60).

Obligation consists of the extent the actors’ behaviour is monitored; precision of the extent how sharply the boundaries of right and wrong behaviour is determined; and the delegation which defines who has been granted the authority to decide of suitability of behaviour. The obligation, precision and delegation are a double-edged sword in the context of value co-creation processes. They can result into value destruction, if an actor decides to strictly monitor the precision of processes in the perceptual world: people do not like to be strictly monitored and are happier and more motivated while they maintain independence (Scott 2014). In addition, the stricter regulation results into lesser chances of spontaneous value cocreation with unexpected occurrences, minimizing the effectuation element in value creation (Vargo & Lusch 2015, 192). Too much regulation can be also seen decreasing emotions, thus resulting into motivation which is important factor for institution’s survival (Scott 2014, p. 64) and the actor behaviour in service ecosystem (Trodvall 2017; Mele et al. 2018). Although, according to Kleineltenkamp et

al. (2018, p.617), the regulative pillar is the easiest one to be changed, as the modification of rules is more straightforward compared to altering the other pillars.

The regulation can also bring benefits. It can standardize the interaction patterns, thus implying boundaries which are not to be exceeded when it would result into value destruction. The delegation of authority has become more central, especially in the platform economies which enable outsourcing of surveillance and value co-production to producers. For instance, Twitch streaming service outsources its surveillance of regulative rules towards channel hosts, who further create their own rules, thus value co-producing. Another popular delegative modification is outsourcing the value co-production for the users, by enabling them to give reviews, further eliciting information about the expected value for other users. This can however lead to fuzzing the precision of results, as rating habits of users do vary depending on their personal qualities.

The formation of regulative institutions is however prone to several shortcomings as described by Scott (2014): “rules must be interpreted and disputes resolved; incentives and sanctions must be designed and will have unintended effects; surveillance mechanisms are required but are expensive and will prove to be fallible; and conformity is only one of many possible responses by those subject to regulative institutions.” In summary, the regulative rules have a lot of power in both of regulating behaviour, but are also prone to resistance from the ecosystem. While it is possible to modify regulative rules, the outcome is often only partial of the intended purpose.

3.1.2 Normative pillar

Normative institutions comprise of norms and values, which embrace the social dimension of human interactions. They are social obligations incorporated in written and unwritten rules of conduct, which define the creditable, socially desired and unaccepted behaviour. Normative systems imply what is the objective of actors, and the proper way that objective should be achieved. (Scott 2014, p. 64-66).

Values are conceptions of what is preferred and valuable, constructing the standards where the behaviour is then mirrored. Norms consist of how things should be done in a legitimate way to pursue valued objective. (Scott 2014, p. 65).

Whereas the logic of regulative rules surrounds around the question of “What choice is in my best interest?”, the imperative of normative pillar emphasizes the social relation by

asking “Given this situation, and my role within it, what is the appropriate behaviour for me to carry out?” (Scott 2014, p. 65).

Norms can be roughly divided into two types of generalizations: norms affecting to all actors exposed, and norms affecting to selected roles (Scott 2014, p. 65). The actors participating in selected role are then evaluated based on the normative expectations posed on that particular role. For instance, a classic phrase “customer is always right” implies the roles of customer and service provider: customer is emphasized being a more focal (and vocal) in the interaction, while the service provider adapts to the customers will with more cautiousness.

Normative institutions operate through social evaluation and are closely related to moral values. As emphasized by Edvardsson et al. (2014) the normative rules are typically followed easier than the regulative ruling, which may relate to the fact, that smaller-scale normative institutions often are formed from existing moral values in the society (Scott 2014, p. 66) – thus being more easily internalized on top of existing structures.

In summary, normative institutions are socially operating norms and value, which define what is desired and what unacceptable behaviour from the social perspective. The normative expectations may relate to all of the actors (e.g. the consensus of murder in society), or they can be related to a certain role (e.g. behavioural etiquette for Prime Minister). Much of the behaviour is generated by individuals who behave according to what is expected of them (March & Olsen 1989), resulting into feelings of honour and respect when standards are exceeded, or remorse and self-quilt when fell short (Scott 2014, p. 66).

3.1.3 Cultural-cognitive pillar

In the cultural-cognitive pillar, the cognitive dimension of human judgment is focal. The behaviour is largely determined by the mental representation which the individual structures internally. The psychological literature empirically supports how the cognitive focus “determines what information will receive attention, how it will be encoded, how it will be retained, retrieved, and organized into memory, and how it will be interpreted, thus affecting evaluations, judgments, predictions, and inferences (Fiol 2002; Markus and Zajonc 1985; Mindl, Stubbart, and Porac 1996)” (Scott 2014, p. 67). Regardless that the representations are ultimately subjective, the objective world in the form of symbols,

words, material manifestations, and culture, do influence how the representations emerge (Scott 2014, p. 67). The nature is hence dualistic – the objective words creates subjective representations, e.g., mental models or schemas (e.g., Vink, Edvardsson, Wetter-Edman, & Tronvoll, 2019) – and the representations manifest themselves in the objective world (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006).

Roles are also present with cultural-cognitive institutions, but they differ from the normative institutions (Scott 2014, 69). Whereas the latter controls of the behaviour meeting the social standards, the former builds on the expected actions conducted by an actor inhabiting a certain role. For instance, when a new employee starts working in a position with strictly defined role, the more experienced workers in the same role are guiding the new employee, institutionalizing his cultural-cognitive mental models. Thus, the worker adapts the taken-for-granted procedures, and keeps enforcing the institution, not primarily because of normative or regulative rules, but because the cognitive adaptation.

This above-mentioned type of practice-originated behaviour is generally discussed under the topic of socio-cognitive pillar, but it also holds also more profound meanings. It does not solely control how the procedures are executed because of practice, but also includes the internal representation of entities. Companies can thus change these internal representation, potentially disrupting markets (Flaig, Kindström, & Ottosson, 2021; Nenonen, Storbacka, & Windahl, 2019) or by just making a block of stone to be perceived as a fashionable element in interior design (Koskela-Huotari & Vargo, 2016).

Additionally, Koskela-Huotari & Siltaloppi (2020) identified how the social roles and identities constructed by socio-cognitive/normative institutions can be used as templates, which can be further adopted by actors. In this sense, the socio-cognitive pillar can be reinforced, constructing how certain entity should be approached. For instance, recycling companies are telling their customers, that by buying their products, they are also contributing to the saving of the planet. Elsewhere, ice swimming exploded in popularity, when people started to approach the half-minded hobby of elder people, in a spirit and body enhancing way. In the context of courier work, when the courier work is perceived as proper job for the self and the eyes of other actors, the job satisfaction is arguably higher for conducting a societally appropriate job instead of being something to be pitied for.

As the socio-cognitive institutions are the “constitutive schemas” (Scott 2014), they can hence be practically anything that resides in the shared structure (Giddens 1984). For instance, if everyone has an understanding of the personal seats to be taken in a classroom, it constitutes of the shared socio-cognitive understanding related to that context, thus coordinating where everyone sits depending on the previous history. In such light, even the value propositions can be “institutionalized, taken-for-granted social structures that influence local instances of resource integration within and between service systems” (Siltaloppi & Vargo 2014, p.1).

By adopting this view, even the concept of brand would be a shared understanding of objectively existing but subjectively experienced social structure, also noted by Lusch & Vargo (2015, p. 112). When people were to discuss about a company, they would partly discuss it based on the psychological presentation, partly by the social presentation constructed by previous experiences and word-of-mouth surrounding the company, thus the general beliefs about the company would be highly overlapping concept with a collectively shared brand or imago.

The cultural-cognitive institutions are clashing most often from these institutional pillars. As representations differentiate to some extent for every actor – aligning with the FP10 of SD-logic – the what is and what ought to be are often equivocal resulting into contestation of institutions (Scott 2014, p. 68).

It is important to close the discussion of pillars by elaborating how the institutionalized beliefs – which are predominantly socio-cognitive institutions - also relate to regulative and normative pillars. As these general beliefs about courier work are the constitutive schema of what the courier work is like and what it consists of, the representation of courier work does not provide the whole picture of how the actors react towards it. First, the socio-cognitive pillar does not provide the social appropriateness towards the job, which of the normative pillar provides. For actors participating in the society, it is important to be normatively relevant in terms of honour and appropriateness. As such, the constitutive role of a courier work including of what the job is and what it contains, needs to be looked through the lens of normative pillar to understand how it is socially aligning with the societal norms and values.

Second, the regulative pillar is the most specific of these rules in its way in restraining and enabling certain behaviour. This pillar is also often temporally the last one of the

pillars to appear (Scott 2014, p. 74-83), as the normative and socio-cognitive pillars precede before the explicit regulative rules. Therefore, the regulative pillars gravitate towards the normative and socio-cognitive pillars (Scott 2014, p. 74-83). If this is the premise also existing in actor's mind, also the compliance to rule system is considered to be normatively appropriate behaviour, while abiding or breaking the regulative pillars, such as legislation, is considered as unmoral behaviour – which further also shapes the socio-cognitive understanding of the actor conducting the rule-breaking behaviour.

We have now covered the three major approaches on discussing about institutional structures. In the following chapter, we will discuss about how, why and to what extent institutional structures can be modified by actors.

3.2 Institutional work

The study of institutional work rejects the view of actors as passive receivers of institutions, and conceptualizes them as an active participants in the negotiation of dynamically changing assemblages of institutions (Lawrence et al. 2006). As such, the institutional work tries to understand how actions by individual actors - also known as institutional entrepreneurs – shape the institutional arrangements they are embedded with. In addition to concerning with transformative actions, the institutional work also aims resolve conflicts and tensions within and across institutions (Vargo et al. 2020, p. 528). Institutional work thus refers to the “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006, p. 115). Even though the definition emphasizes purposive actions, they can also occur non-purposively, as in “the day-to-day adjustments, adaptations, and compromises of actors attempting to maintain institutional arrangements” (Lawrence et al. 2006, p. 1). Hence as we are speaking of institutional work, we are generally speaking of any action – intended or not intended – that shapes the institutions in some way or another.

Derived from the underlying institutional pillars, Lawrence et al. (2006) identified that institutions can be created, maintained and disrupted. These three main groups could be further divided on their subtypes as follows. First, the institutions can be created by conducting 1) “overtly political work in which actors reconstruct rules, property rights and boundaries that define access to material resources”, 2) “actions in which actors’ belief systems are reconfigured”, and 3) “actions designed to alter abstract categorizations

in which the boundaries of meaning systems are altered” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 221).

Second, institutions can be maintained by 1) “ensuring adherence to rules systems”; and 2) “focusing efforts to maintain institutions on reproducing existing norms and belief systems”. (Lawrence et al. 2006)

Lastly, institutions can be disrupted with 1) “work in which state and non-state actors worked through state apparatus to disconnect rewards and sanctions from some sets of practices, technologies or rules”; 2) attempts to “disrupt institutions by disassociating the practice, rule or technology from its moral foundation”; and 3) by “undermining core assumptions and beliefs”. (Lawrence et al. 2006).

Institutional work has received considerable attention among the search of service research (Baker & Nenonen, 2020; Baker et al., 2019; Kaartemo et al., 2020; Koskela-Huotari et al., 2016; Vink et al., 2019; Wieland et al., 2016), often adopted when discussing the dynamically changing institutions. Extending the institutional work in the service ecosystem, Koskela-Huotari et al. (2016) identified how companies can conduct institutional work by 1) including new actors, 2) redefining roles of involved actors, and by 3) reframing resources within service ecosystems. In the same study, they emphasized how institutional work often simultaneously disrupts some rules of integration while creating and maintaining others. Nenonen et al. (2019) identified “dynamic capabilities”, which are the prerequisites for companies aiming for shaping the markets through institutional work. Kaartemo et al. (2020) argued that public actors, with a variety of actor supporting institutional arrangements (i.e., *institutional logics*, according to Vargo & Lusch 2016), alongside values, resulted into public actors conducting different mechanism for institutional work. Elsewhere, the institutional work has been studied in the context of North American circus in 20th century (Baker et al., 2019), and how the “collective market work” emerging from individual actors towards the structure changed the norms related to quality from natural wooden corks to aluminium screwcaps (Baker & Nenonen, 2020).

The institutional work, especially in the context of service ecosystem, highlights how the observable dynamics in the market are an outcome of multiple actors participating into the institutional work (Kaartemo et al., 2020). As described by Zietsma & McKnight (2009), the emergence of institutions is “a recursive process in which multiple actors

cocreate institutions iteratively, by competing and collaborating, until common templates emerge as shared conceptions of problems and solutions”. But above all, the institutions cannot be determined by single actor with force, but are always more or less emergent phenomenon, where micro-level actors may or may not adapt to them (Hedström & Swedberg 1998). Translating to the context of service ecosystem, all of the actors are integrating resources, experiencing and evaluating the value, and ultimately conducting institutional work by e.g., rejecting or adopting to the institutional arrangements (Edvardsson et al., 2014; Wieland et al., 2016). This socially constructed view emphasizes how these institutional structures are a construct of a multi-actor negotiated social constructs.

According to this socially constructed view, there are multiple interpretations of the same institutions, which come into existence every time individuals manifest them in their behaviours (Kjellberg & Helgesson 2006, *multiplicity*). Thus, the institutional arrangements are in continuous negotiation by multiple actors, each of which attempt to influence it with their behaviour – behaviour that is controlled by their subjectively available values and institutional logics - resulting into a synthesis from multiple contributors, manifesting itself as observable dynamics in the markets (Kaartemo et al., 2020). This view emphasizes how the *institutions cannot be formed in isolation by single actor, almost always having multiple participants, developing temporally, and most often in incremental fashion*. Figure 4 illustrates how the institutions are shaped by (public) actors, all of which have their contextual values and supporting institutions, which result into observable changes in the markets.

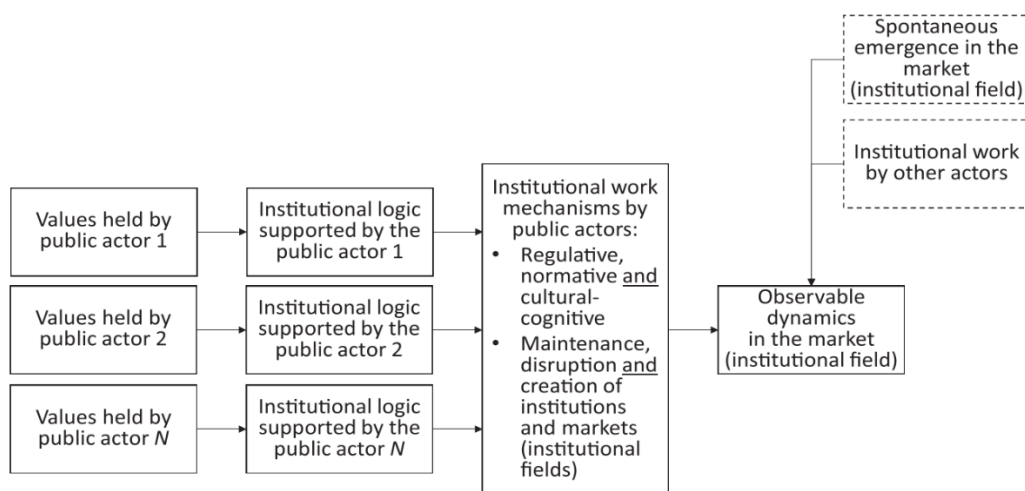


Figure 4. Institutional work by multiple actors (Kaartemo et al. 2020)

We have now addressed the institutional pillars and how they can be shaped on abstract level. However, we have not yet discussed how these institutional structures are transmitted, and how they come into being and diffuse among actors in the ecosystem. For this reason, we must cover the process of institutionalization through the language transmitted discourses.

3.3 Institutionalization through discourses

Institutionalization is the process where a particular social structure comes to take a rule-like status in social interaction (Koskela-Huotari et al., 2020). Hence as the “institution represents a social order or pattern that has attained a certain state or property, the institutionalization denotes the process of such attainment” (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2020, p. 376).

The process of institutionalization is demonstrated by Berger & Luckmann (1966) with an example as follows. First, the actors – who we call A and B - come into a new situation where there exist no institutional structures. As such, as they start to interact, they soon come to realize how the other actor is reacting and thus provides some predictability for the interaction. Let’s call this repeating and predictable behaviour as AB. When the actors come into a similar instance of interaction, they notice the familiarity. “Ah, there we go again”, one might say when coming across with AB. When the third actor comes into the picture – C – the new actor is introduced to the AB either implicitly or explicitly. If the C was to question why the AB is conducted, the original initiators would just state that “This is how these things are done”. As such, the AB get institutionalized, and becomes more real on every repetition, ultimately gaining the status that cannot be anymore changed on the fly. Eventually, the AB can spread and institutionalize even further, attaining a truth like taken-as-granted status, thus making everyone coming across with it to repeat “This is how the things has been always done” until they have internalized the now “objectively shared structure”. (Berger & Luckmann 1966, p. 70-85)

Institutionalization is the process of certain institutional structure coming into existence per se, which does necessarily include institutional work. Institutional work are the intended or non-intended actions which shape the institutional structures existing in the field. As such the latter causes institutionalization of a certain structure in when created or maintained, or deinstitutionalization when certain institutional structure is disrupted,

but institutionalization can occur naturally without attempts of institutional work. (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2020)

In this paper we adopt the view of Phillips & Lawrence & Hardy (2004), according to discourses are important way in the process of institutionalization through institutional work. Discourses are “written, spoken, or symbolic accounts that offer interpretation, explanation, or meaning to an individual event or action” (Czarniawska 2004). According to Parker they are “a system of statements which constructs an object” (Hartmann 2018). Thus, words are not just words, as they have nuances and meaning embedded in them, which do not solely just “describe things, but also, they do things” (Potter & Wetherell 1987, p. 6). In this sense, discourses through written (e.g., web sites, news articles), spoken (e.g., interviews, WoM), and symbolic (e.g., pictures, diagrams, surveys) form get distributed and interpreted, institutionalizing certain beliefs, rules, roles, and assumptions (Taylor and Van Every 1999).

For instance, when customer receives a paper which contains marketing communication about certain service, the communication is often transmitted through a discourse – coherent, implicit meanings about the service and its consumption. This socio-cognitive construct of a service is communicated through a provided discourse, which can influence on how the actors use, perceive and integrate with the service (Frow et al., 2014). Ultimately when institutionalized, multiple users are using the service through same “shared reality” (Berger & Luckmann 1966), in a manner that their constructed understanding is relatively similar with each other.

The discourses available for actors however are not distributed symmetrically. As the actors operate in an environment where their used medias, heard stories, read marketing materials, and values held by their social surroundings – i.e., discourses – largely differ from each other, they are making decisions in the boundaries of bounded rationality (Simon 1990). According to the bounded rationality, actors do rational decisions based on the information available for them: two different decisions can both be completely rational, only difference being the available information. For instance, when meeting a bear in wilderness, one can choose to climb in a tree, or act dead, depending on what his belief-system tells him to do - even though the former might be a bum steer.

Some of the discourses being almost universal are called to be extremely *institutionalized*, where the actors come to accept shared reality, which ultimately constructs our

understanding about world in the world of “truths” (Berger & Luckmann 1966). This includes also the knowledge that is written in books, but also some widely accepted beliefs that are not explicitly defined. For instance, only a few would argue against that there is 24 hours in a day, or that freedom is a fundamental human right. However, some of the existing beliefs are less institutionalized, and thus accepted as truths. When stating that capitalism is the best form of economic system, most would probably agree, but a notable portion of population would disagree. In this sense, the discourses available can be categorized based on their level of institutionalization, which is illustrated in the figure 5.

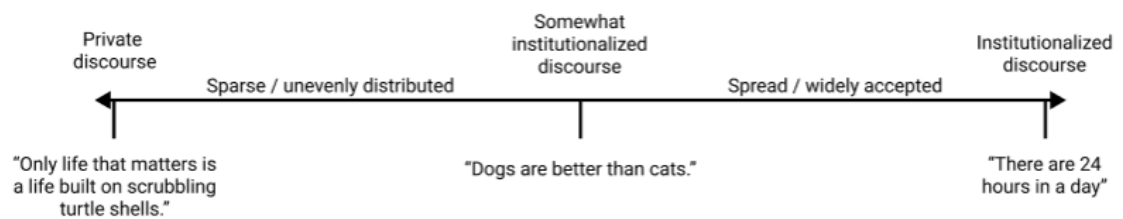


Figure 5. Relation between discourses and their level of institutionalization. (Source: Author's own)

In summary, texts and spoken words with meaning – i.e., discourses - are conceptualized as being intermediary of institutions: institutions are manifested e.g., in the form of text, and the texts mediate actions. Some of the discourses are more institutionalized than others, thus varying from unevenly distributed institutions to one's that are considered as objective truths.

We have addressed the distinct types of institutions, the institutional work and how the institutional structures come embedded in the shared structure in the objectively shared world. However there remains question related to how institutions can be draw support for integration, if the context may include varying - even contradictory - discourses about particular institutional structure. For this reason, before heading for the preliminary framework, we must discuss about the institutions and their peculiarities in the context of resource-integration.

4 Institutionalized general beliefs in resource-integration

4.1 Context for resource-integration

When we are discussing about context in this chapter, we are discussing about individual level actors who integrate in a personal level. In other words, we discuss about micro-level context of integration. The focal actor in the examples is courier operating in a food delivery platform ecosystem, but the same logics can be extended to any actor resource-integrating in the ecosystem.

Context is a dimensionally and temporally framed inspection of a certain actor(s) value co-creation process(es) (Chandler & Vargo 2011). As such it defines the specific time and place in which the resource-integration occurs (Kleinaltenkamp et al., 2012). Idiosyncrasy is characteristic for the context of integration: there exists different set of resources, which are useful to greater or lesser extent, depending on the multiple factors existing inside and outside the resource-integrator. For instance, during the resource-integration of delivering food as a courier, e.g., the existence of other vehicles, knowledge about a certain place of delivery, weather conditions, the availability of gigs and current mental state of the actor all influence on how feasible it is to deliver a food into a new neighbourhood in that particular context, which are all influencing the experienced value.

Similarly, when discussing about institutions, there exists multiple variables which influence on whether the resource-integrating actor can draw support from the institutionalized structures. Deducing from the literature, there are the aspects of *availability*, *legitimacy*, *personal institutional arrangements* (also addressed as institutional logics in the literature, Vargo & Lusch 2016 p. 1), and the *agency* of an actor which contributes how the institutions can be utilized. First, it is generally accepted that actors operate in an environment where there is asymmetrical distribution of information (Agnar 1999; Löfgren et al. 2002), thus having limited set of available resources (Lusch & Vargo 2014, p. 11), and the actors are making decision among the boundaries of bounded rationality (Simon 1990). Therefore, the existing institutional structures are diffused unevenly, resulting into a different set of available institutional structures and discourses in a particular context. In other words, the institutions in the context for resource-integration differ from each other in their **availability**. For instance, courier might have availability for a belief according which the courier work is basing on

exploitation, without being aware of the discourses stating that the current arrangements are the best option for the couriers. As such, the available discourses hence restrict on what institutionalized beliefs can be drawn support from.

Second, even if the institutional structures exist in the context, the actor must decide which “talks past one another” (Suchman 1995). In such scenarios, we have **legitimacy** – “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (Suchman 1995). In other words, the legitimacy is attained by 1) subjectively determined overall sense on behalf of the actors related to the institution, and 2) to be plausible with the previously institutionalized institutions of that individual (Berger & Luckmann 1966, p. 110). Scott (2014, p. 72) juxtaposes legitimacy to oxygen as “... the importance of legitimacy become immediately and painfully apparent only if lost, suggesting that it is not a specific resource, but a fundamental condition of social existence”. Thus, the legitimacy is the bare minimum for an institution to have an effect in a context. In addition to the legitimacy of institutional structures which are being shaped, also the actors conducting the institutional work must be considered as legitimate for their actions to be effective (Lawrence 2006, p. 35-36; Suchman 1995). To clarify, the institutional structure being shaped and the actor shaping the institutional structure must both possess legitimacy, for them to be effective in the context for integration. Continuing with the previous instance, even if the courier is aware of the institutionalized belief that the work is basing on exploitation, his personal experiences may not provide legitimacy for this claim, thus not being effective in the context for integration.

Third, the literature of institutional theory emphasizes that the behaviour of actors is not solely decided by the institutions - the structure (Giddens 1984) - even though it would pressure them to act in a certain way. As such, there is always possibility for the actor to practice **agency** – “the ability of individual actors to “make a difference” in the flow of events” (Scott 2014, p. 92). Thus, the agency manifests the freedom as opposed to determinism, the role of power opposed to complying (Scott 2014). We conceptualize agency as a certain unpredictability arising from the idiosyncratic qualities of an individual, which can show itself by not acting in a way that would be assumed from pressuring institutions, or by consciously doing the decision to resist the specific institution. What this means in the context of resource-integration is that there exists always certain unpredictability, which can be seen in 1) not being affected by the

institutionalized beliefs as expected, and 2) in pursuing into institutional work as opposed to the institutional pressures. Continuing with the previous example, the courier is now aware of the belief of exploitation, which however is not legitimated. Regardless, when the courier is interviewed for a news article, he may due to his personal qualities of expressing himself through an ironic lens, frame a negative picture about the courier work although being generally satisfied, eventually leading into institutionalization of negative beliefs according which the couriers are being exploited.

Lastly, we must discuss about the personal institutional arrangements in a context. There is multiple overlapping, nested and contradicting institutions in the service ecosystem (check figure 3). As such, there is always relativity on how the specific resource-integrator perceives resources, depending on the possessed institutional structures (Koskela-Huotari & Vargo, 2016). Hence the context of integration is always dependant on these multiple, overlapping institutional structures which may be combined into plurality of frames through which the integration occurs. Finishing with the previous example, the courier satisfaction is partly determined because of him adopting the institutionalized hard-working mindset, according which everyone gets paid corresponding to their work ethic. Therefore, the value is created as the job description aligns with the entrepreneurial mindset. If the courier would have a labour-unionistic view on worker rights in his context, the stance towards the job would also arguably be less approving.

Taken to the extreme, the relativity of institutional arrangements in a context would make analysis of resource-integrator of any actor non-generalizable outside of a particular context. For this reason, when we are discussing about contexts for integration, we acknowledge that there can be distinct views depending on the arrangements, but we must address the resource-integration in more approximate terms. As such, when we are discussing that the positive associations towards courier work providing satisfaction for the courier, we are talking about this approximate increase in satisfaction that would be expected of Average Joe, thus ignoring the less likely occurrences of some individual masochist gaining value by being treated as a social dumpster.

4.2 Value of institutionalized beliefs

In the service research, the institutions have been traditionally addressed as invisible patterns which coordinate the behaviour of actors through rules, norms and cognitive

schemas (Edvardsson et al., 2014; Vargo & Lusch, 2016; Vargo et al., 2015). However, the institutions also include the constitutive understanding of roles and entities (Scott 2014). In other words, the “shared understanding” of social structures inhabits the perceptions for individuals, which can include any collectively shared conception (Berger & Luckman 1966). From this perspective the institutions can form certain social structures, which can e.g., be acted upon, hence creating a self-fulfilling prophecy emerging from the socially shared understanding which might have not raised without the institutionalized structure; a frame of references for actors participating; or provide value for actors knowing to enacting a role with societal relevance. These structures are predominantly supporting on the normative and socio-cognitive pillars (Scott 2014), as the socio-cognitive pillar provides the constitutive schema whereas the normative pillar provides the social appropriateness for acting along the structure under discussion.

For instance, taking the example of platform work, it does not solely consist of directly behaviour affecting elements, like rules of interaction, normatively appropriate behaviour and “taken-for-granted” understanding of procedures. In addition, there are general dispositions towards the platform work and workers itself. If the disposition towards platform work is considered as a proper work, the platform workers may be more satisfied knowing to participating in a job that is societally honoured. And wise versa, the dissatisfaction may arise for platform workers if the “shared understanding” judges the work as non-appropriate when juxtaposed with the expectations of traditional job in society.

Thus certain roles and objects can be embedded with meanings, which can be used to create “social roles” for actors to employ their personal identities (Koskela-Huotari & Siltaloppi, 2020), or to create value for a certain service in a certain cultural context (Koskela-Huotari & Vargo, 2016) - e.g., customer receives service from a platform worker, which he believes is rightfully treated by the platform company. These social roles can be attempted to shape through reframing by the focal actor, for instance by embedding meanings into value propositions for customers or workers (e.g., Nenonen et al., 2019, *reframing*), but also emerge as a result of multiple, even non-related actors who contribute in the formation of these social roles (Wieland et al., 2016).

We call these constructs *general beliefs*, aligning with the findings of (Pop et al., 2018), who identified general beliefs being as institutions that are “long held, informal

assumptions” which affected behaviour of customers in the form of trust operating with pharma-industry companies. We however make the adaptation to “long held beliefs” less extreme, acknowledging the process of institutionalization of general beliefs. According to this view the actors in ecosystem can attempt to shape beliefs about the roles existing in the field. Some of the attempts are just fads – tested proto-institutions (Kleinaltenkamp, Corsaro, & Sebastiani, 2018; Zietsma & McKnight 2009) - which may be adapted only locally or rejected completely (Chandler et al., 2019). However, some of the beliefs may be adopted into the structure (Giddens 1984), becoming a socially constructed “truth” among actors who adopt the view (Berger & Luckman 1966). For instance, in one context the “truth” about platform work may be adopted as “the work from the future basing on freedom and flexibility”, whereas in other the “truth” consists of “exploitation of less-privileged workers by opportunistic businessmen”. When ultimately institutionalized, these beliefs become considered as objective facts, which can be further transmitted directly on that basis (Zucker 1977). From now on, we are discussing about general beliefs and institutionalized beliefs interchangeably.

But how do these general beliefs relate to the resource-integration? As stated by Vargo & Lusch resources can be “anything, tangible or intangible, internal or external, operand or operant, that the actor can draw on for increased viability” - including institutions (Lusch & Vargo 2014, p. 120-121). From this perspective, the institutionalized beliefs can potentially create or destroy value for a resource-integrator applying them in their processes. First, according to Lee (2018) actors can create positive or negative dispositions for engaging with other actors related to company, depending on the level of identification towards “established institutions such as social norms and shared beliefs”. For instance, it is arguably more likely that actor identifies with doing societally appropriate job, compared to being exploited workforce, thus correspondingly engaging with other actors on either through negative or positive disposition.

Second, the social roles and contextual factors provide a framework of reference, which affects to the perceived phenomenological value (Edvardsson et al., 2014; Koskela-Huotari & Siltaloppi, 2020; Koskela-Huotari & Vargo, 2016). Hence, in a world free of predefined roles in social reality, the couriers might be satisfied for their work per se, the only difference being in the socially structured reality destroying the value e.g., by knowing being exploited and being looked down upon by other actors.

These resource-integrations also have an effect to the future general beliefs, as the value experiences steer the motivations to conduct institutional work. The perceptual value has been linked as a detrimental attribute in the adaptation of institutions (Edvardsson et al., 2014; Kleinaltenkamp et al., 2012; Tuominen, Edvardsson, & Reynoso, 2020; Vargo et al., 2020). If the general beliefs affect the phenomenological value, these general beliefs also steer the future institutional work. As found out by Lee (2018) the actors engage with other actors related to a company, positively or negatively depending on their identification with the company's norms. Becoming a loop, the institutionalizing beliefs can cause acceleration, where the value experienced in resource-integration is dependent on the general beliefs, and the general beliefs are shaped further by the value outcomes – i.e., feedback loop, a concept familiar in the systems thinking and market systems (Peters, Nenonen, Polese, Frow, & Payne, 2020; Vargo, Koskela-Huotari, et al., 2017).

4.3 Conceptual framework

We have now covered what literature review states about the role of institutionalized beliefs in resource-integration. We are now representing the conceptual framework, which summarizes the current understanding in the literature and points out the questions which are yet to be answered. Because the system viability is determined by the evaluated value originated from individual level resource-integration, we also have to inspect the phenomenon from two perspectives: from individual-level resource-integration and higher macro-level context of value co-creation in service ecosystem.

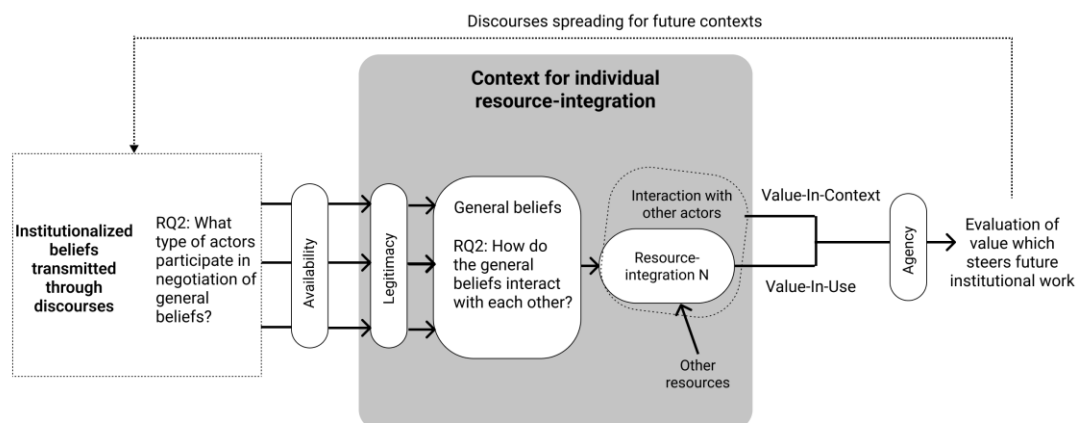


Figure 6. Institutionalized beliefs and individual-level of resource-integration

The individual-level resource-integration context represents the temporal and dimensional space in which the resource-integration occurs for a particular actor. It is

illustrated in figure 6 and elaborated as follows. The input for the individual level context is the discourses available for the context. As such, there are multiple actors in the ecosystem spreading institutionalized beliefs through discourses, of which only partial are accessible due to the asymmetrical distribution of knowledge. Our second research question aims to provide answers on which actor groups and on what logics they participate in the negotiation of general beliefs, discussed more thoroughly later in this chapter.

Proceeding into the context of individual resource-integration (middle in picture), in addition to availability, the legitimacy filters the discourses depending on whether the discourses or their distributors have believability determined by the actor resource-integrating. Thus, we have distinct beliefs that are potentially effective in the resource-integration, but what if there are multiple different views with even contradictory logics? This is our third research question, which aims to understand on how these general beliefs interact with each other, further addressed later in this chapter.

The institutionalized beliefs are hence transmitted through discourses that are filtered, interacting with each other, and ultimately being used in the actual resource-integration process. As such, there can be two types of value emerging from it: value-in-use and value-in-context. The value-in-use is the practically the same as the value-in-context, expect that the latter includes the social context and interactions in it (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2021). Thus, the value related to institutionalized beliefs can either be originated either from independent feeling, knowing or internalizing (value-in-use), or from interacting with actors with potentially differing beliefs (value-in-context).

Going to the output (right part in the figure), the actors evaluate the experienced value, which to large extent influences whether the actor's found the resource-integration as something to advocate for, or to bend towards resistance. Thus, the value outcome makes it more likely for the actor to participate in the institutional work, shaping the future resource-integration contexts of other actors receiving the discourses transmitted by the actor. However, it must be noted, that the agency can be practiced by the actor, and for this reason, the institutional work is never completely deterministic.

Although we discussed about the institutionalized beliefs being applied in the process of resource-integration, there are also institutional work done *without* the influence of institutionalized beliefs. For instance, an unsatisfied worker can resist unfair

arrangements by conducting institutional work, without the presence of institutionalized beliefs. However, in some scenario the social preconceptions can be employed in a way, that frames the resource-integration in a way that leads to dissatisfaction *because of* the institutionalized beliefs. As the exact division between resource-integration with and without institutionalized beliefs cannot be done straight forwardly, at least with this empirical data, we can only discuss about the “potentially applied beliefs” when we are interchangeably discussing about discourses whether they were influenced by institutionalized beliefs or not.

As we have now addressed the individual resource-integration, we are now zooming out to the macro-level context of value co-creation, as illustrated in figure 7. From this point of view, we can see the interplay between service ecosystem value co-creation context - containing actors both in inside (meso-level) and outside (macro-level) the focal ecosystem - and the potentially applied institutionalized beliefs. The institutionalized beliefs can have an influence on actor’s resource-integration processes, resulting into altered value-in-use/context, which further steers the institutional work of the future shaping institutionalized beliefs.

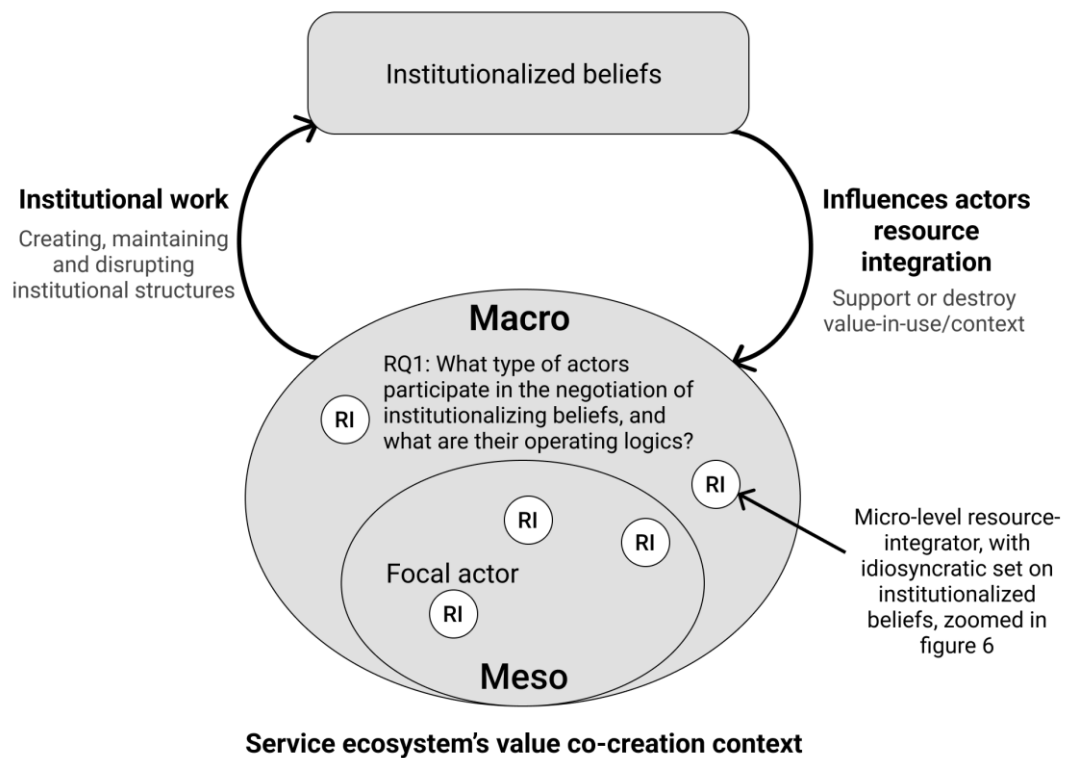


Figure 7. Institutionalized beliefs and macro-level context of value co-creation

However, there still lacks a clarity in two things. First, even though there exists a strong consensus that multiple actors in variety of roles are taking part in the negotiation of the institutional structures (e.g., Baker & Nenonen, 2020; Mele et al., 2018; Scott, 2014; Suddaby, 2006; Wieland et al., 2016), often the ecosystem actors are being labeled supporting on the idiosyncratic qualities of a case. These actors can include e.g., the focal actor, institutional entrepreneurs resisting the change, or political actors shaping the institutional arrangements of ecosystem. However, less is known about the different qualities of these actors: what drives the change, how do they differ in their role relating to the ecosystem, and how the distinct type of actors be categorized based on their peculiar qualities. This constructs the first research question about mechanisms of institutional work: *What type of actors participate in the negotiation of institutionalizing beliefs, and what are their operating logics?* We aim to provide answer to this question by categorizing different kind of actors who conduct institutional work in the food delivery ecosystem and elaborate their unique ways in conducting the institutional work. This research question is represented in both figures: in micro-level, the discourses are being transmitted from other actors to the resource-integrating one and can hence be conceptualized as “input” for the individual context (figure 6). Also, the actors can be perceived from macro-context, where actors are contributing to the external beliefs, which are further potentially used in the value co-creation contexts by other future actors (figure 7).

Second, as identified by (Kaartemo et al., 2020) in their study of public actors shaping market, the observable dynamics in the markets are the results of institutional work of multiple actors with varying views of the desired outcomes. What this means is that there are multiple competing, aligning, resisting and supporting institutional structures, which can facilitate the institutionalization and deinstitutionalization of the institutional arrangements (e.g., Jaakkola et al., 2019; Koskela-Huotari et al., 2016; Scott, 2014; Siltaloppi, Koskela-Huotari, & Vargo, 2016; Suddaby, 2006; Vink et al., 2021). The basic building blocks of institutional work are “creating, maintaining and disrupting” (Lawrence 2006), or in the context of service ecosystem “breaking, making and maintaining rules of integration” (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2016). In addition, although the institutional structures are acknowledged to be complementary or restricting (Kjellberg et al. 2015), competing with each other (Besharow & Smith 2014), and to align or misalign with each other (Kaartemo et al. 2020; Scott 2014), there lacks clarity of how

these institutional structures interact with each other. This was also noted by Kleinltenkamp et al. (2018, p. 617) in their research, characterized by statement that “... [there doesn’t exist] guidelines with regard to the process of how individuals integrate different institutional arrangements”. Hence our second research question aim to provide understanding by clarifying *how distinct institutionalized beliefs interact with each other?* We aim to provide answer to this question by clarifying abstraction on how the products of institutional work can potentially interact 1) as a result of institutional work, or 2) through the interplay of each other.

This framework provides us a starting point for identifying mechanisms of institutional work, and further narrow the gap between institutionalized beliefs and system viability.

5 Methodology

5.1 Research strategy

The institutions in service ecosystems are a hard-to-reach concept. Institutions are difficult to pinpoint, as well needing an interpretation from individual; the exact structure of ecosystem is dynamic and changing in terms of actors; and the phenomenological experiences by resource-integrators vary from each other. For these reasons this study adopts qualitative methodology which “provides insights that would be difficult to get otherwise and is suitable for investigating human interactions, meanings, and processes that underlie the phenomena” (Gephart 2004).

Because we are especially keen to distilling distinct mechanisms occurring in ecosystem, we are selecting single-case study for methodology, as it provides a rigorous examination of a specific ecosystem highlighting the contextual factors. In this sense, a trade-off is made: a multiple case study could provide more generalizable results, but the single-case study dives deeper, potentially identifying elements which could be otherwise missed (Eisenhard & Graebner 2007). The single case-study is often adopted in institutional study, as it provides interpretative, holistic and deep approach in understanding the context (Maguire & Hardy, 2009).

Case studies are in-depth, case-based analyses based on empirical data, often collected from multiple sources (Eisenhard & Graebner 2007). They are especially suited for understanding the contextual factors of a single case (Weick 1979, p. 37), and often work as a bridge between qualitative and deductive research (Eisenhard & Graebner 2007), thus fit for mid-range theory (Brodie et al., 2011). In the context of network research, case study is especially suitable for understanding the dynamics behind phenomena (Halinen & Törnroos 2005), hence also suitable for interpreting the multi-actor nature of service ecosystem.

As we are diving into examining how the institutionalized beliefs about courier work are being negotiated by variety of actors in network-alike circumstances, the single-case study is the most suitable to deeply understand on how the multi-actor transmitted, ill-structured discourses emerge into institutionalized beliefs, how these varying beliefs interact, and how they are further influencing to the experienced value.

5.2 Data sampling

For a case study, it is especially important to select a case suitable for the purpose of the study. As Siggelkow (2007) states, the case study is suitable for complex phenomena, but correspondingly the sampling becomes even more critical. Thus, we are selecting a case-company “purposefully” (Patton 2002). The selection was primarily made by choosing a case-company that has received a lot of media attention in the form of news articles, with active participation for public relations, while having explicit owned digital channels which transmit a large part of the communication towards the inside ecosystem actors. Thus the selection was made with following criteria: 1) firm mainly operates in digital platform with a clear, open channels to provide communication towards focal ecosystem actors, 2) the ecosystem actors are clearly defined in general, 3) the digital communication channels, such as websites directed for ecosystem actors, are (mostly) open for inspection, 4) the firm has been under public debate while dividing opinions, 5) the firm has conducted actions which indicate of institutional work, 6) has existed long enough to be analysed, and 7) the company is relatively successful.

First, 1, 2, and 3 are selected to be able to analyse the direct communication done from the focal actor to the inside ecosystem actors. Second, 4 was selected for identifying a case company, which has divided opinions in the bidirectional debate, including equivocal discourses towards institutionalizing topics. Lastly, 5, 6 and 7 were created to increase likelihood of the sample representing feasible case with enough data, while the communication towards public having indicators of institutional work. For instance, the communication towards media, legislative actors and general public has systematically practices signs that can be characterised as modifying institutional structures through institutional work.

With these selections, the case provides comprehensive view on how the institutional work occurs in the service ecosystem, conducted by a variety of actors in several roles, institutionalizing the concepts of courier and platform work, which have been identified being concepts with a yet to be stabilized socially structured consensus (Schor et al., 2020).

5.3 Empirical context

Wolt is a Finnish technology company, that provides a delivery service that connects and coordinates couriers, customers, restaurants and retail stores. Being originally a food-delivery service, the market share has expanded towards online-retail, becoming more of a general service for local deliveries. Conducting a business model that supports on operating on platform with large ecosystem, Wolt has received a lot of debate in the public discourse. Tensions in legislations and in the general friction between the unicorn-startup founded by “the startup buzzers” who actively lobby couriers as entrepreneurs, have caused a plurality of clashing opinions from multiple actors inside and outside their focal ecosystem.

Multiple news originating from inside the ecosystem actors, such as couriers, restaurants and customers, have indicated of multiple distinct views on whether the business logic is operating on fair standards, especially in terms of commissions, salaries and working conditions. In addition, actors outside the focal ecosystem, such as labor unions, legislative organization, politicians and vocal civilians have addressed their worry about the couriers and platform work as general, which has resulted into Wolt being discussed among various advocates and critics.

Wolt is also known to be active participant in lobbying for platform companies, couriers as entrepreneurs, and Wolt as a company, often collaborating with the media by giving statements to events occurring in the ecosystem. For instance, by fraternizing with political figures, renarrating the role of ecosystem actors and the Wolt itself, while visibly participating to charity and highlighting the social responsibility, the focal actor seems to operate in a level where institutionalized beliefs become central in legitimating the business.

The delivery business combined with restaurant business is especially demanding business from the profitability point of view (Talouselämä 2018). Similarly with companies like Foodora and Uber, the small margins make it especially difficult to provide satisfactory deals for all the ecosystem participants. This partly can explain why the debate from the focal actor’s perspective is especially fierce: the active participation to the debate can make the difference between being societally accepted and being permitted from operating in a way that is even profitable at the first place.

In summary, Wolt is a highly opinionized company with a lot of debate in Finnish media. Being a company operating in industry with societally visible role, the beliefs related to its business – especially the role of couriers – is being negotiated by variety of actors. With the addition of Wolt actively participating to this negotiation with signs of institutional work, it provides especially fruitful case for identifying distinct mechanisms of institutional work in service ecosystems.

5.4 Data collection

Data was collected from secondary sources between 2015 and 2022 from the 5 most highly read online medias in Finland (Reuters 2020), including the comments, links and mentions found in these materials. By using the search features existing in these sites, all the search articles found with word “Wolt” were examined, picking those articles into the dataset which were related to the concepts of the literature review, such as value experiences, resource-integration and discourses which were considered as institutional work.

Additionally, the Wolt’s websites and blogs were examined through the lens built from literature review. These websites consisted of materials specifically focused on ecosystem actors, informative pages about Wolt’s statements related to ecosystem events, and posts which informed Wolt’s stance towards topics in general.

At first place, there was 165 news articles taken from Iltalehti, Iltasanomat, Mtv3, Yle and Helsingin Sanomat, alongside roughly 10 pages of materials taken from Wolt’s website, and some other materials which were found through the embedded links existing in these forementioned materials.

As this paper adopts the logic of systematic combining, the materials were first collected based on any institutionalizing topic existing in the ecosystem. Although as the process advanced, the focal topic of this study was limited to courier work, as it was the mostly notable and theoretically rich topic existing in the data, while still being able to be discussed in a digestible and theoretically comprehensive form.

Eventually, the empirical data was narrowed to roughly 60 articles, after the duplicated, less relevant, and saturated topics were removed from the set. These comprised the primary dataset, which was further used in the data-analysis, elaborated in next chapter.

5.5 Data analysis

What comes to logical inference, this study adopts the **abductive process of systematic combining** (Dubois & Gadde 2002), as done by multiple papers in the study of institutional work (e.g., Chandler et al., 2019; Kaartemo, Nenonen, & Windahl, 2020; Mele et al., 2018). Abductive process is a “nonlinear, non-sequential, iterative process of systematic and constant movement between literature and empirical data, through which literature-based results can be reoriented, as directed by the empirical findings” (Chandler et al. 2019). Hence the learning occurs along the path, as the empirical evidence and theory is juxtaposed, being directed by the theory, while the finding arising from the data independently (Dubois & Gadde 2002). The overview of systematic combining is illustrated in figure 8 below. Abductive process is especially fit, when 1) subject is sparsely researched, 2) research aims to find new things related to phenomena, 3) when something is trying to be understood in a new light, and 4) existing theory is developed, not created (Dubois & Gadde 2002). As this paper aims to provide identify mechanisms of institutional work occurring in service ecosystems, utilizing systematic thinking, all of these forementioned are aligning with the purpose of this study.

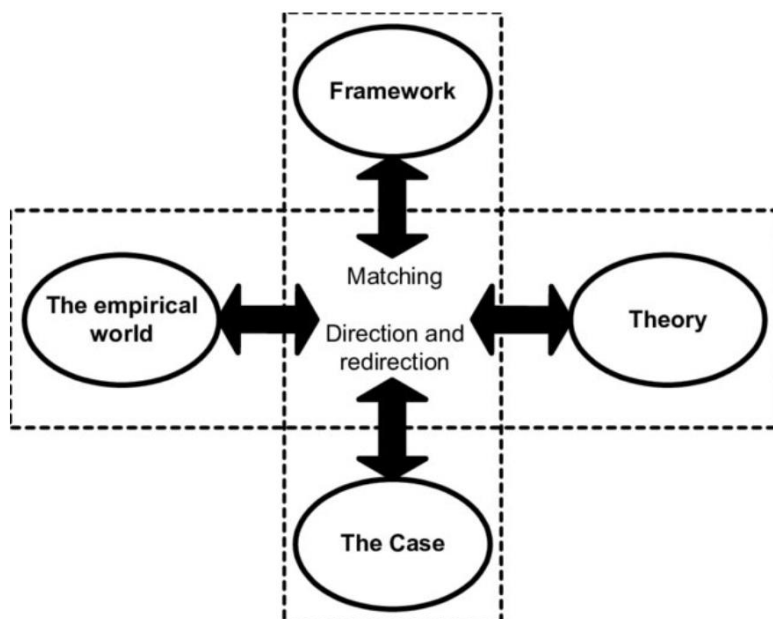


Figure 8. Systematic combining (Dubois & Gadde 2002)

As recommended in the study of institutions, the language provides a way to access into the “objective world of institutions” (Berger & Luckmann 1966). We were not solely analyzing the language per se, but the meanings of discourses, similarly to studies adopting the institutional theory (Hartmann et al., 2018; Maguire & Hardy, 2009; Phillips et al., 2004). The discourses were collected from the data and analyzed on their meanings related to resource-integration, value experiences and institutional work.

The collection of discourses began by reading through the collected materials, and open coding the findings according to the grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin 1997). In the beginning, the data arose in inductive manner, raising variety of findings from the data. However, as the data was not aligning with the preliminary framework and theory - aligning with the systematic combining methodology - the framework and theory was further redirected to support the findings. For this reason, also the grounded theory coding progressed more in an abductive sense, inference occurring in the interplay between preliminary guesses basing on theory and unexpected finding in data (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012),

During this process, elements existing in the literature review become more central in the analysis of results. The coded constructs in axial coding phase were not themed as general categories, but instead the coding progressed towards identifying processes, objects, relations and mapping, as suggested when utilizing marketing systems approach (Vargo & Koskela-Huotari 2017). As the mechanisms were heavily overlapping - as identified for institutional work (Koskela-Huotari et al., 2016) - the findings were distilled as simple as possible but not simpler. In other words, “the first and most general characteristic of systems thinking is the shift of perspective from the parts to the whole, which implies that the systemic properties of the whole cannot be reduced to those of the smaller parts” (Vargo et al. 2017).

This process of identifying mechanisms progressed through the open, axial and selective coding following abductive logic (Timmermans & Tavory 2012), in repetitive and non-linear manner, until the data did not reveal any more findings which could be categorized differently thus reaching saturation point (Albiabat & Le Navaned 2018). Finally, the identified mechanisms were coded in the selective coding phase, resulting into a data in its final form. Results of the selective coding (actor mechanisms and interaction

mechanisms) are represented in the findings, divided on the basis of axial codes, finally demonstrated with examples of discourses coded in the open coding phase.

6 Mechanisms of institutional work and beliefs about couriers

6.1 Polarized beliefs about courier work

Unit of institutionalization	Effect on system viability	Aggregated discourse	Demonstrating discourses
Focal actor's courier partners	Positive	Couriers are independent and appreciated entrepreneurs doing honorable job. Being a job with a low barrier to entry, the courier work has a positive societal impact. Couriers appreciate freedom and flexibility of platform work, over being treated as controlled employees.	<p>"Pidän työni joustavuudesta. Jos olisin työntekijä, katoaisi tämänhetkinen joustavuus ja pitäisi työskennellä yhtiön aikataulujen mukaan."</p> <p>"Me tuomme markkinoille nyt yhden, kynnyksettömän vaihtoehdon tehdä töitä. Sitä voi tehdä kuka tahansa, ja hän voi vielä itse päättää, milloin. Siinä on paljon aitoja hyviä puolia."</p> <p>"Tällä hetkellä Stepanyan saa kuljetuksestaan usein tippiä. Hänelle nostetaan peukua ovenraossa ja toivotetaan hyvää päivänjatkoa. Tai huikataan, että hän tekee tärkeää työtä."</p> <p>"Woltin kaltaiset yritykset tarjoavat etenkin monille maahanmuuttajille keinon päästä kiinni työn syrjään."</p> <p>"Toimmme yksityisyrittäjinä, joiden asiakkaana on ruoankuljetuspalvelu Wolt. Suuri osa meistä on maahanmuuttajia, joiden työllistämiseksi Wolt tekee merkittävää yhteiskunnallista työtä."</p> <p>"Rakastan työtäni. En tiedä, onko se ylpeyttä vai ei, mutta saan tietynlaista tyydytystä siitä, kun voimme auttaa apua tarvitsevia ihmisiä ruokailausten kanssa."</p> <p>"Emme koe ongelmaksi noudattaa asiakasyrityksen kanssa sovitua toimintamallia. Arvostamme vapauttamme päättää kuitenkin itse, paljonko ja millin työskentelemme sekä miten tauotamme työtämme. Näitä etuja tuskin kukaan yksityisyrittäjä haluaa rajoittavan."</p> <p>"Wolt aims to be world #1 in offering fair platform work where flexibility meets safety nets and satisfied workers."</p>
	Negative	Couriers are less privileged workers, who are being taken advantage by the opportunistic employer who is avoiding legislative obligations. The courier work is non-honorable and last option in the labour markets.	<p>"Siira sanoo, että X haluaa luoda mielikuvaa, jossa 'Katiisi palkaisee nuori valkoinen hyvinvoiva opiskelijalähetti, joka tekee työtä pari tuntia viikossa'. Todellisuudessa luoksesi aja maahanmuuttajataustainen, usein tummaihoisen ihminen ruosteisella koterolla. Hän on ehkä juuri ottanut parkkisakon, koska oli hirveä kiire, ja hänen on tehtävä sitä työtä toimeentulonsa eteen olosuhteiden pakosta."</p> <p>"Ei vakuutuksia työtaturmien varalta, ei työterveyshuoltoa, ei palkkaa sairastuessa. Puhumattakaan kahvitarjoamista tai muusta työhyvinvoinnin peruspilareista. Tarkemmin ottaen ei myöskään palkanmaksua saatikka työsuhdetta, vaan laskutettua tuloa kevytyrittäjänä."</p> <p>"Ruokalähetit ovat todellisuudessa työntekijöitä, mutta yhtiöt kohtelevat heitä yrittäjinä. Näin yritys voi ohjata lähettä kuin työntekijää, mutta vastuuta sen ei tarvitse ottaa. Riskit jätetään lähettile."</p> <p>"Ruokalähetien työtä on väheksytty räikeästi."</p> <p>"Yhteistä on se, että töitä on ollut vaikea löytää. Jotkut ovat saaneet töitä esimerkiksi siivousalalta ja tekevät lähettityötä lisätulojen takia."</p> <p>"Nämä alustatalouden yritykset ovat kaikki yhteiskunnan loisia. Eivät ne ole mitään muuta vaikka hienosti 'alustataloudeksi' kutsutaankin."</p> <p>"Jos palveluilla on varjopuolia, ne jäävät graafisesti tyylittää ja hallitun digijulkisivun kulissein. Asiakas ei välttämättä edes tiedä niistä."</p> <p>"Pidän kaikkia yrityksiä, jotka organisoivat työtään näin ja pakottavat ihmisiä valeyrittäjyyteen, vilpillisinä ja epäeettisinä. Tällainen työn järjestämisen muoto on normalisoitumassa Suomessa ja maailmalla. Se romuttaa työntekijöiden oikeuksia."</p> <p>"HS:N HAASTATTELEMAT lähetit näkevät vain yhden syyn siihen, että ruokalähettyyhtiöt eivät halua kohdella heitä työntekijöinä. Rahan."</p> <p>"Sanna Marinin (sd.) hallitus on luvannut hallitusohjelmassaan käsitellä itsensäyöllistäjien asemaa, joihin myös ruokalähetit luetaan. Hallituksen tavoitteena on estää työsuopimussuhteen naamiointi muuksi kuin työsuopimukseksi"."</p>

Table 3. Polarized beliefs about courier work

The empirical data about case-company revealed multiple units which are being under the process of institutionalization. These unequivocal topics included ones like the focal actor as a general actor, the focal actors' role in the restaurant business, platform work as a new type of work, the obsolescence of current worker legislation, and the most discussed topic: the beliefs surrounding about the courier work – which is the focal subject of this paper. These interlapping institutional structures are briefly listed in the appendix 1, although the other institutional structures are discussed only when related to the beliefs about courier work.

The discourses about courier work varied from high advocacy to strong resistance. Although having the full spectrum of opinions, the discussion about courier work was often polarized to opposition or advocacy. To construct an understanding how these general beliefs are linked to system viability, we have aggregated discourses into two ideal groups demonstrating their contrary connotations. Similar to Wieland et al. (2016,

p. 216), these ideal groups help us differentiate between constructs, although they are unlikely to “be found empirically anywhere in reality (Weber 1949, p. 90)”. The meaning of this is to discuss these polarized discourses in order to highlight their impact to the system viability from the focal actor perspective. These aggregated discourses are presented in table 3. The effect to system viability is colour coded, green indicating on positive effect and red representing negative effect. This colour coding stands for all of the figures in the following chapters.

So how do the ideal beliefs about courier work may affect to the system viability for the focal actor? To understand this, we must bring our level of analysis to a lower level – the individual resource-integration level, in which the value is experienced. Taking a look towards inside ecosystem actors - couriers, restaurants and customers - we illustrate how their experiences can vary depending on the internalized beliefs about courier work.

Assuming that a resource-integration is occurring a with only positive discourses about courier work, the couriers would be integrating with a belief that they are doing a proper work with a societal impact. Believing that the company providing the gigs is operating on altruistic standards, it would be easy to internalize their claims about the courier job basing on freedom and flexibility, with a reasonable salary. Overall, the courier work would seem like a fair deal - the feeling, that would remain latently as a psychologically experienced satisfaction during the resource-integration. When coming across with customers, who are also sharing the same beliefs, the interactions would contain expressions of respect and honour. The customers and restaurants would be eager to participate with a system that supports on couriers who are treated equally, has societal impact, and ran by people who operate with win-win-win-philosophy. To summarize, the positive discourses would increase phenomenologically experienced value, by increasing the benefits for several actors, while reducing cognitive risks that could arise from alternative arrangements. Arguably this would also encourage participating actors to advocate for the ecosystem, spreading the word, *ultimately making the reputation precede the reality, thus constructing social reality for the future experiences to gravitate towards.*

Taking the opposite assumption of a world of only negative discourses about the courier work, the focal actor would be seemed as opportunistic, exploiting their partners. Couriers would have to distress about their position, continuously acknowledging being exploited by the focal actor. The interactions would contain signs of pity for couriers, and

expressions of resentment for the focal actor. Restaurant and customers would question whether the food delivery was worth the notion of participating into opportunistic business model ran by exploitation – after all, if a company would be willing to exploit its courier partners, it would not waste a second thought when coming across with a decision such as selling customer data or take advantage of its market leader position by forcing partner restaurants to pay higher commissions. In other words, the negative discourses would result into decreased benefits and increased cognitive risks, which raises resistance in the ecosystem. Correspondingly, this would encourage the actors to spread word against the focal actor, thus constructing sinister lens through which the future actions of focal actor would be looked through.

These caricatured examples demonstrate, how the general beliefs surrounding ecosystem actors can, and will influence the experienced value on individual level. Zooming back to the focal ecosystem, even the small changes in the average individual experiences may result into feed-back loops (Meadows 2008) which can make the difference between stability and a slippery slope towards a need for a radical change. However, the idealized examples above are not likely to exist as purely, but instead there exists variety of different discourses caused by variety of actors. But who are these actors who participate in the negotiation of these beliefs? On what criteria they can be categorized and on what logic do they operate on? These questions are answered in the next chapter, as we take a closer look on the actor mechanisms.

6.2 Actor mechanisms of institutional work

The case data revealed 3 distinct categories for actors who distribute discourses. Focal actor, inside ecosystem actors and outside ecosystem actors were identified as the main categories, each of which can be further divided into two subgroups depending on their peculiarities. We call these *actor mechanisms of institutional work*. These findings are represented in figure 9, which are now briefly elaborated on their unique properties, and further demonstrated with actual discourses in the next chapter.

ID	Actor group	Subgroup	Description	Altering from focal actor perspective
AM1	Focal actor	Micro	IW practiced towards inside ecosystem actors through direct channels	Modifying value propositions to facilitate actor value creations
AM2		Macro	IW practiced to shape general beliefs existing in society, not directed to a explicit actor	Participate in the negotiation of institutionalized beliefs. Justify existence; cherish value creating beliefs; disrupt harmful beliefs
AM3	Inside ecosystem actor	Value-in-Use	IW caused by the existing business logic, which are not affected by social context	Design business model to maximize value creations and minimize value destructions; Select participants who are more likely to be able to create value-in-use
AM4		Value-in-Context	IW caused by contextual factors emerging from interactions	Acknowledge variety of institutionalized beliefs and their influence on interactions; Use service ecosystem design to shape contextual spaces
AM5	Outside ecosystem actor	Direct	IW practiced by actors who are directly aiming to shape the inside ecosystem arrangements in their integration processes	Adherence to societal macro-institutions; Attain legitimacy to operate
AM6		Non-direct	IW caused by actors who are not directly aiming to shape the inside ecosystem arrangements in their integration processes	Feasibility of existing institutionalized beliefs in resource integration; Associated actors; Acknowledge alternative resource-integration purposes

Figure 9. Actor mechanisms of institutional work

The first actor conducting institutional work is the *focal actor*. Focal actor's institutional work can be divided to *micro-* and *macro* level of communication. The **micro-level of communication, i.e., actor mechanism 1 or AM1**, is defined as direct communication done by the *focal actor* towards the inside ecosystem actors through direct channels, such as communication through websites, web app, emails and rule-pages directed for a specific actor. By providing textual and symbolic materials for the actors, the focal actor can attempt to shape the value proposition for their actors, for instance by, providing a lens through the work should be perceived (Nenonen et al. 2019), provide social roles which the couriers can employ (Koskela-Huotari & Siltaloppi 2020), embed social context that increases value for the resources used in the integration (Koskela-Huotari & Vargo 2016), transmit frames of reference for the actors (Bearden & Etzel 1982), or include communication that complements with or defends against the institutionalized beliefs which might influence the experienced value.

The macro level of communication – actor mechanism 2, AM2 – is defined as *focal actor's* attempt to shape general beliefs by participating in the negotiation of institutionalizing beliefs. As such, it is not directed to a specific actor, but attempts to affect to the beliefs of general public, among the other actors who participate in the negotiation institutional work. For instance, when the focal actor takes a part in media interviews or gives statements about its position regarding certain topics, it simultaneously highlights and disclaims certain discourses and events existing in the ecosystem. This highly overlapping concept with public relations management hence aims to shape the public perception of the company, which shapes the institutionalized beliefs which that can be further drawn support by multiple actors for their resource-integrations – both inside and outside the focal ecosystem.

The second actor category is the *inside ecosystem actors* (e.g. couriers, restaurants, customers), whose institutional work operates through their value experiences. As such, the data revealed that the positive and negative discourses can originate mainly either from value-in-use or value-in-context, that has occurred during the resource-integration related to the focal ecosystem. **The third actor mechanism, AM3**, is categorized based on the value-in-use that is caused by the planned, “approximate” business logic comprised of the institutional arrangements, that does not include the social context. Hence the value can be created or destroyed, depending on the business logics ability to satisfy actors in a general level. For instance, for couriers, the salary conditions, working hours, and the

feasibility of the job description contribute to how satisfied the couriers are with the “average” flow of the business logic. Naturally some of the actors are more suitable for the specific job than others, and thus the actors are not all equal in unlocking value from their resource-integration activities (Hibbert 2012, p. 248). This also explains how some set of actors can be very satisfied with the circumstances, whereas others can have the opposite stance.

The **fourth actor mechanism, AM4**, is caused by the value-in-context: that being the value-in-use, with the extension of social context in it (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2020). Whereas the value-in-use includes the phenomenological value derived from the service per se, the value-in-context emphasized the value that is created due to the social interactions. To demonstrate the difference, the discourse of “the courier work has been looked down upon” can be considered as value-in-use when the actor internalizes this belief and autonomously causes the psychological distress, but value-in-context when the same discourse originates from interactions with other actors who express signs of contempt. The value-in-context hence is an outcome of interactions with other actors, where every participating actor may possess certain institutionalized beliefs. These beliefs can further affect the value co-creation and to the experienced value. For instance, customer could offer pity for conceptualizing couriers as exploited workers, while the courier itself would just want to make the ends meet like a normal citizen. This type of contextual differences in “shared reality” may result into cracks – or gains if realities match - in the co-created value.

The last actor category, outside ecosystem actors, comprise of the actors that are not explicitly participating in the value co-creation in the focal ecosystem, but have still relevance in allowing the focal actor to operate, while participating in the negotiation of institutional structures. The two subgroups can be categorized depending on the purpose of their resource-integration: whether they are *directly* or *non-directly* affecting to the institutional arrangements related to the focal ecosystem as a part of their resource-integration. **The fifth actor mechanism, AM5**, is defined as actors who are **directly** aiming to shape the ecosystem arrangements as a part of their resource-integration. Such actors include legislative actors, labour unions, politicians and others who are linked to the focal ecosystem as a part of their resource-integrations. These actors have their saying on the fairness of the focal ecosystem conditions, such as the fairness of the courier work in macro-societal standards. According to Scott, actors must justify themselves and their

actions to be considered as legitimate actors, by complying into the societal norms and proving their actions being proper and desirable in the society (Scott 2014, p. 71-74). Basing on the case data, direct outside ecosystem actors especially seem to be the gatekeepers of deciding the legitimacy of the actors. Thus, a part of the value of direct actors is decided by the perceived success of supervising whether the actors comply to the higher-level institutional arrangements in the society – and raising resistance if not.

The last category includes outside ecosystem actors who are **non-directly** shaping institutionalized beliefs as a part of their resource-integration, i.e., **actor mechanism 6, AM6**. First, the non-direct actors can be associated actors not directly linked to the focal actor's business (e.g., competitors in food delivery and platform business), who construct the overall reputation or imago for the industry. Second, they can be actors who simultaneously render value from institutionalized beliefs and conduct institutional work (e.g., commentators on forums who vent their frustration towards the company). Latter type of these actors can conduct institutional work for alternative reasons, that might not have anything to do with changing the institutional arrangements of the focal ecosystem. For instance, journalists and cartoonists may provide provocative discourses against the company, although the primary reason for resource-integration could be e.g., gaining clicks and attention by discussing topics which happen to be trending, gaining psychological satisfaction from venting, feeling to make a world a better place, or utilizing the institutionalized beliefs to construct a message that has viral potential. The main difference between the direct actors to this group, in addition that they resource-integrate as a part of their jobs, is that the non-direct actors seem to utilize institutionalized beliefs in a much more careless way, with less facts and more emotions. As such, this non-direct group is the least “rational” and controlled, but also constructs the will of the crowds that can indirectly have massive effects in shaping the institutionalized beliefs and forcing actors to make decisions according to their will.

6.3 Interaction mechanisms of institutional work

The institutional structures which are being shaped by institutional work however may interact with each other in variety of ways. The data revealed 5 distinct ways how the institutional structures 1) are shaped by the institutional work, or 2) are interacting with other existing structures, and how these relate to value experiences. These mechanisms are labelled as *interaction mechanisms* (IM), which extend the mechanisms of

institutional work of Lawrence et al. (2006) and aim to provide a basic typology on how these institutional structures interact and influence value experiences. These 5 mechanisms are presented in the table 4. These mechanisms should be considered as basic building blocks, of which multiple mechanisms can be active even in a single discourse. For instance, a provocative cartoon juxtaposing focal actor's business to slavery can simultaneously strengthen and align with negative beliefs, and disrupt and clash with positive beliefs.

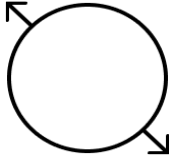
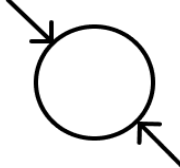
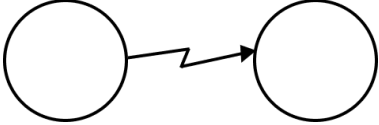
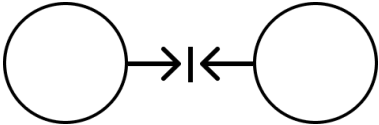
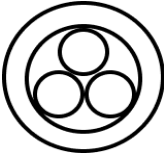
ID	Mechanism	Description	Illustration
IM1	Strengthening	Creating & maintaining institutional structures, stabilizing them and increasing their likelihood to be effective in context	
IM2	Disrupting	Disrupting institutional structures, destabilizing them and decreasing their likelihood to be effective in context	
IM3	Clashing	Contradicts another institutional structure, which destabilizes it and decreases its likelihood to be effective in the context	
IM4	Aligning	The institutional structure lines itself with another institutional structure, causing part of the lined institution to be effective in the context	
IM5	Overlapping	The socially constructed or logical proximity of institutional structures are leaked to each other, thus spilling to related structures in the context	

Table 4. Interaction mechanisms of institutional work

The findings are presented as follows. First, the most notable findings are presented in a table which contains the most recurring results in the case, that is being elaborated in the chapter. Second, to further demonstrate the flow and logic of actor mechanisms, every interaction mechanism is illustrated with each actor mechanisms.

6.3.1 Strengthening

Strengthening	Interpretation	Actor mechanism	Demonstrating discourse
Courier partners as entrepreneurs	Couriers are satisfied with the current working arrangements	AM1	<i>Our app and gear are top-of-class, and we currently score 4.0/5 on the couriers' satisfaction with Wolt and 3.9/5 on their satisfaction with earnings through us (N=4,465 couriers across 23 Wolt countries).</i>
		AM2	<i>Meidän läheteistä yli 70 prosenttia on sitä mieltä, että yrittäjyyden vapaus on heille tärkeämpää kuin työsuhteen turva, Woltin perustajajäsen Juhani Mykkänen sanoo.</i>
		AM2	<i>Wolt-lähetit kertovat itse olevansa keskimäärin tyytyväisiä. Syyskuussa 2020 nimettömässä kyselyssä 88,9 prosenttia läheteistä antoi Woltille korkeimman arvosanan 4 tai 5, kun vain 1,4 prosenttia antoi matalimman arvosanan 1 tai 2. Myös viime viikkoina läheteiltä saamamme avoin palaute on ollut selvää: ylivoimainen enemmistö haluaa jatkaa nykytilalla.</i>
		AM2	<i>Viimeisimpään, viime joulukuussa tehtyyn vastasi yli tuhat lähettä, joista vajaat 90 prosenttia ilmaisi olevansa tyytyväinen tai erittäin tyytyväinen yhteistyöhön Woltin kanssa.</i>
		AM3	<i>Santosh Bagale: "Pidän työni joustavuudesta"</i>
		AM3	<i>Emme koe ongelmaksi noudattaa asiakasyrityksen kanssa sovitua toimintamallia. Arvostamme vapauttamme päättää kuitenkin itse, milloin ja milläin työskentelemme sekä miten tuotamme työtämme. Näitä etuja tuskin kukaan yksityisyritystä haluaa rajoittavan.</i>
		AM3	<i>Robbie odottaa autossa sillä aikaa, kun hänen äitinsä toimittaa tilauksia. Lapset eivät voi koulupäivinä odottaa äitiään kotiin keskiyöhön saakka, joten yhteistä aikaa vietetään autossa. – Lapset tulevat toisinaan kyytiini koulun jälkeen ja ajamme yhdessä useimmiten kuuteen saakka, jonka jälkeen he menevät kotiin, Otieno selittää.</i>
	Courier salary is reasonable	AM1	<i>Make competitive earnings with every delivery. We also enable our customers to easily tip you through our app - all tips are yours to keep</i>
		AM3	<i>Wolt-lähetit Timur aikoo tienata 8 000e/kk ruokaa kuljettamalla – nyt hän kertoo, miten sellaisiin tuloihin yltää</i>
		AM3	<i>Viime keväänä hänen bruttopalkkionsa oli keskimäärin 3 000 euroa kuussa. – Tämä on ensimmäinen työ, josta olen tienannut enemmän kuin 1 500 euroa kuussa sen jälkeen, kun muutin Eurooppaan vuonna 2003. Joten kyllä, tämä on paras työ, joka minulla on koskaan ollut.</i>
The courier work is a new type of work form	The courier work is a new type of work form, which is built on freedom and free will and is fundamentally different from traditional job.	AM2	<i>Tässä unohtuu, että luomme uudenlaista työtä. Lähetit voi panna sovelluksen päälle tai pois ja päättää täysin itse, milloin ja missä tekee työtä. Vapauden ja joustavuuden taso on täysin uutta.</i>
		AM2	<i>– Lähetit tekee kuljetuksia silloin kun haluaa, niin pitkään kuin haluaa. Lähetikkumppaneilla ei ole pakollisia tunteja tai vähimmäismääriä, Pankakoski selventää.</i>
		AM2	<i>– Me tuomme markkinoille nyt yhden, kynnöksettömän vaihtoehdon tehdä töitä. Sitä voi tehdä kuka tahansa, ja hän voi vielä itse päättää, milloin. Siinä on paljon aitoja hyviä puolia.</i>
Focal actor aims for the couriers best	Focal actor narrates itself a being an responsible and moral actor who does not exploit its partners.	AM2	<i>Jatkuvasti haetaan tasapainoa asiakkaan, kauppiaan ja lähetin välillä.</i>
		AM1	<i>Couriers – We're committed to being a fair and sustainable platform. We treat our courier partners with respect. We always listen to feedback and regularly survey how our couriers are doing. We take pride in trying to increase earnings, introduce safety nets and remove hindrances as we continue growing and investing into making our products and technologies better.</i>
		AM1	<i>On the inside, Wolt consists of urban and environmentally-conscious people. Like you, we care about having a net positive impact on the world around us. Here's some examples of our responsibility initiatives.</i>
		AM2	<i>Wolt aims to be world #1 in offering fair platform work where flexibility meets safety nets and satisfied workers.</i>
		AM2	<i>Hänen mukaansa monet lähteistä toivovat asian viemistä tuomioistuimeen</i>
Courier work is honorable	General normative disposition towards couriers is positive.	AM4	<i>Hänelle nostetaan peukua ovenraossa ja toivatetaan hyvää päivänjatkoa. Tai huikataan, että hän tekee tärkeää työtä.</i>
		AM4	<i>Sanoisin, että se on sitä arvostusta jota saamme työstämme. Näen ja tunnen, että ihmiset arvostavat meitä enemmän. Monet odottavat valmiina avensuussa annoksen saapumista ja keuhuvat siinä, kuinka hyvää työtä teemme.</i>

Table 5. Most recurring positive discourses related to courier work

According to Lawrence et al. (2006) the basic operations of institutional work are creating, maintaining and disrupting institutional structures. In this paper we conceptualize the former two – creating and maintaining – interchangeably as strengthening certain institutional structure. The logics for maintaining institutional structures are considered as “efforts on reproducing existing norms and beliefs” (Lawrence et al. 2006), whereas the creation of institutional structures follows the logic of “reconfiguring actors beliefs systems”, and “actions designed to alter abstract categorizations” (Lawrence et al. 2006). As the creating, maintaining and disrupting are often occurring all simultaneously (Koskela et al. 2016), the former two being even more interlapping of these three constructs, we are conceptualizing them both as *strengthening* certain institutional structure.

Strengthening of institution (IM1) is an act in which certain belief becomes more believable, spread, legitimate, or stable in a certain context of integration. As such, the belief becomes more institutionalized in the ecosystem increasing the likelihood to be

draw support for actors' resource-integration in the ecosystem. Table 5 represent the most frequently occurred positive beliefs related to courier work which are strengthened by discourses.

Most notably, the positive beliefs related to courier work were mostly strengthened by the focal actor, and to some extent by inside ecosystem actors. Outside ecosystem actors were much less prevalent in negotiation of positive beliefs. The figure 10 illustrates demonstrative discourses that strengthen positive beliefs about courier work through each actor mechanisms.

Strengthening positive beliefs related to courier work

Actor mechanism	Discourse	Explanation
AM1	Our app and gear are top-of-class, and we currently score 4.0/5 on the couriers' satisfaction with Wolt and 3.9/5 on their satisfaction with earnings through us (N=4,465 couriers across 23 Wolt countries).	Focal actor highlights courier satisfaction in their web site directed for new couriers
AM2	Wolt-lähetit kertovat itse olevansa keskimäärin tyytyväisiä. Syyskuussa 2020 nimettömässä kyselyssä 88,9 prosenttia lähetetistä antoi Woltille korkeimman arvosanan 4 tai 5, kun vain 1,4 prosenttia antoi matalimman arvosanan 1 tai 2. Myös viime viikollina lähetetiltä saamamme avoin palaute on ollut selvää: ylivoimainen enemmistö haluaa jatkaa nykytilalla.	Focal actor highlights statistics of courier satisfaction in an interview directed for general public
AM3	Viime keväänä hänen bruttopalkkionsa oli keskimäärin 3 000 euroa kuussa. – Tämä on ensimmäinen työ, josta olen tienannut enemmän kuin 1 500 euroa kuussa sen jälkeen, kun muutin Eurooppaan vuonna 2003. Joten kyllä, tämä on paras työ, joka minulla on koskaan ollut.	Courier states that this is the best work she has had, especially in terms of salary
AM4	Sanoisin, että se on sitä arvostusta jota saamme työstämme. Näen ja tunnen, että ihmiset arvostavat meitä enemmän. Monet odottavat valmiina ovensuussa annoksen saapumista ja kehuvat siinä, kuinka hyvää työtä teemme.	Customer-courier interactions create value and spread normative appreciation towards courier work
AM5	Saarikko sanoo, että Wolt-kauppa on osoitus suomalaisen osaamisen merkityksestä ... Wolt on ollut rohkea ja sitkeä yritysidea, joka lähti lentoon ... kaiken takana on rohkeus, sitkeys ja suomalaisen hyvinvointivaltion kasvatti.	Minister of labour legitimizes focal actor as an employer
AM6	Ruoka-annoksia tilataan entistä enemmän kotiovelle – Wolt on saanut satoja hakemuksia ruokalaheteiksi.	Journalist provides discourse according which there is high demand for courier work

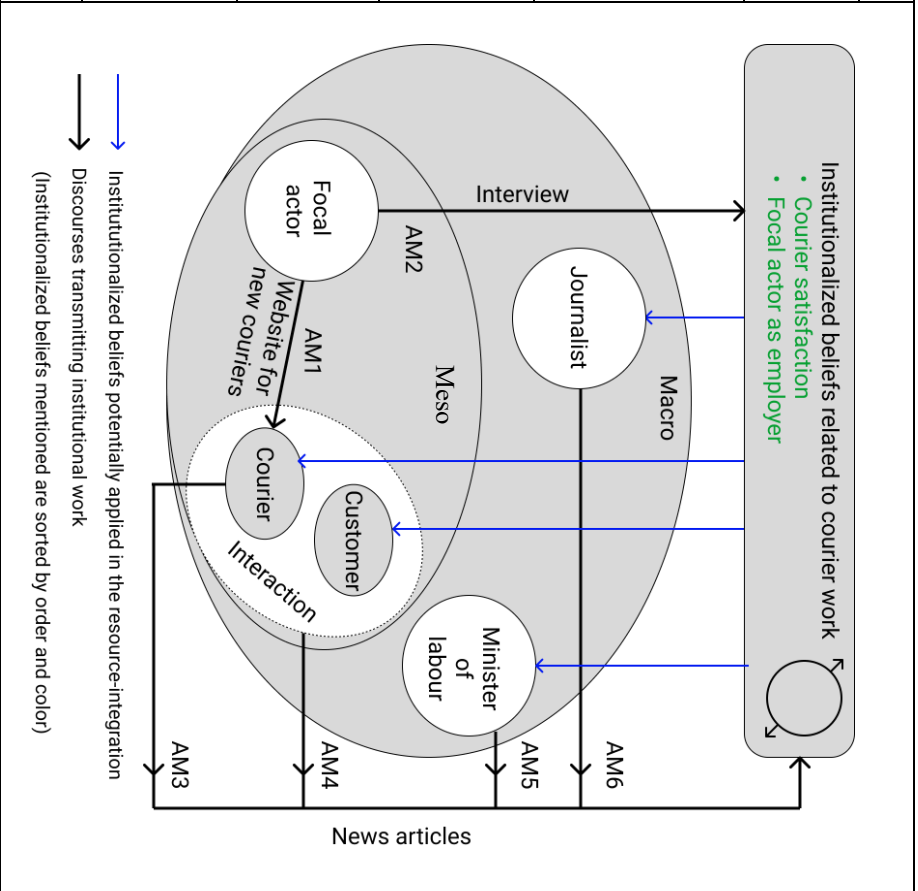


Figure 10. Strengthening beliefs through each actor mechanism

6.3.2 Disrupting

Disrupting includes acts that disrupt (Lawrence et al. 2006) or break (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2016) institutional structures. We define disruption of institutions (IM2) as an act which makes certain beliefs less believable, spread, legitimate or stable in a certain context of integration. Thus, the shaped belief deinstitutionalizes in the ecosystem, decreasing its effectiveness and likelihood to be used in a context. The table 6 illustrate most notable findings, which most of are contrasted with table 5.

Disrupting	Interpretation	Actor	Demonstrating discourses
Courier partners as entrepreneurs	Couriers are not satisfied with the working arrangements	AM6	<i>Ruokalahetti voi joutua yrittäjäksi vasten tahtoaan.</i>
		AM5	<i>Räikeimmillään tämä näkyy niin sanotun alustatalouden kohdalla, jonka ehkä puhuttiin ammattiryhmä ovat ruokalahetit, jotka kускаavat take away -ruokaa hyvin pienellä korvausta vastaan ja käytännössä ilman oikeusturvaa.</i>
		AM6	<i>Annika Rosin ei pidä nykyistä toimintatapa oikeudenmukaisena, kun osapuolten oikeudet ja velvollisuudet eivät ole tasapainossa.</i>
		AM4	<i>Turvattomia hetkiä voi Sinisalon mukaan tulla loukkaantessa tai mikäli työvuoroja ei tulekaan. – Siinä oli pari ”läheltä piti”-tilannetta auton kanssa ja tulin siihen tulokseen, että riski on liian suuri, Sinisala toteaa.</i>
		AM3	<i>Ruokalahetti Andrei Grigore tuntee työhönsä arjen Wolfin menestyksen takana</i>
		AM3	<i>Se edellyttää 10–12 tunnin työpäiviä, kuusi päivää viikossa</i>
		AM3	<i>Madu työskentelee tavallisesti yhteensä noin 10 tuntia päivässä – enimmäkseen Helsingin keskustassa. Karkeasti laskettuna hän tekee siis jopa 60 tunnin työviikkoja.</i>
	The salary is unreasonable low considering hidden costs	AM3	<i>Helsingin Sanomien puhuneen Wolt-lähetin mukaan 26,5 työtunnista voi jäädä käteen vain 150 euroa erilaisten kulujen jälkeen.</i>
		AM3	<i>Vähennetään: Yrittäjän pakollinen eläkevakuutus. Noin 125 euroa. Bensa. 260 euroa. Verot. 150 euroa. Kirjanpitojen kulut. 40 euroa. Irakilainen Mustafa toimii Foodoran ja Wolfin ruokalahettina. Käteen jäi joulukuussa lähes täysin työpäivien jälkeen noin 1 250 euroa. Luku antaa liian ruusuisen kuvan, koska eläkemaksu on vedetty aivan minimiin.</i>
		AM3	<i>Bruttoansioissaan Grigore kertoo pääsevänsä 2 500–3 000 euroon kuussa. Se edellyttää 10–12 tunnin työpäiviä, kuusi päivää viikossa. Tuloista menevät toiminimen edellyttämät verot ja eläkemaksut.</i>
Couriers as employees	Taking couriers under contract would not fix problems	AM2	<i>Työsuhteessa monien lähettien tyytyväisyys laskisi</i>
		AM2	<i>On tärkeää ymmärtää, että työsuhteeseen siirtyminen ei tee autuaaksi.</i>
The courier work is a new type of work form	The "new type of work" is solely avoiding responsibilities in the pursuit of maximizing profit	AM6	<i>Pidän kaikkia yrityksiä, jotka organisoivat työtään näin ja pakottavat ihmisiä valeyrittäjyyteen, vilpillisiin ja epäeettisiin. Tällainen työn järjestämisen muoto on normalisoitumassa Suomessa ja maailmalla. Se romuttaa työntekijöiden oikeuksia.</i>
		AM3	<i>HS:N HAASTATTELEMAT lähetit näkevät vain yhden syyn siihen, että ruokalahettiä ei halua kohdella heitä työntekijöinä. Rahan.</i>
		AM5	<i>Sanna Marinin (sd.) hallitus on luovunut hallitusohjelmassaan käsitellä itsensä työllistäjien asemaa, joihin myös ruokalahetit luetaan. Hallituksen tavoitteena on estää työsuhteen naamiointi muuksi kuin työsuhteenä.</i>
Focal actor aims for the couriers best	Focal actor is responsible actor only on surface, driven by opportunistic reasons	AM3	<i>”Maahanmuuttajista on helppo hyötyä”</i>
		AM6	<i>”Tulee tunne, että omistajat myivät Wolfin juuri nyt, kun on meneillään tämä oikeusprosessi. Halusivatko he sysätä oikeusjutun suuremman firman syliin?” Grigore kysyy.</i>
		AM6	<i>”Ville Rannan pilapiirros: Wolt – hieno innovaatio, vaikka jostain tuntuu siinä on...” (cartoon juxtaposing Wolt couriers to slavery)</i>
		AM6	<i>Se, että esimies onkin käytännössä sovellus on täysin epäoleellista. Tai se, että hakijoita riittää. Varmasti riittää jos on tarjolla työpaikka, johon ei ole mitään kriteerejä. Sellaiseen työhön päätyy työntekijä, jolla on vain vähän vaihtoehtoja. Joku hyötyy hänen tilanteestaan.</i>
		AM6	<i>Nykyisessä mallissa työtapa- ja loukkaantumisten, sairastumisten ja jopa asumis- ja toimeentulon kustannukset lankeavat työntekijälle – tai viime kädessä yhteiskunnalle, Vilches huomauttaa. Eli loppujen lopuksi tämä on pilatettua yritystukea näille firmoille. Ne säästävät kuluissa ja veronmaksajat maksavat heidän puolestaan sen vähimmäiselannon.</i>
		AM4	<i>Ruokalahettien työtä on väheksytty räikeästi</i>
Courier work is honorable	Courier work is not-considered as a proper job.	AM6	<i>Ruokalahettien haastattelussa toistuvat samankaltaiset kertomukset. Osa on tullut Suomeen turvapaikanhakijana, moni opiskelijana, jotkut puolison perässä. Yhteistä on se, että töitä on ollut vaikea löytää. Jatkavat saaneet töitä esimerkiksi siivousalalta ja tekevät lähettityötä lisätulojen takia.</i>
		AM4	<i>Nainen sai ahdistavia Whatsapp-viestejä tuntemattomalta mieheltä Wolt-ruoka-lähetin jälkeen</i>
		AM4	<i>Olen Wolfin käyttäjä ja tyytyväinen asiakas, mutta huoli riistosta on todellinen. Kun lähes poikkeuksetta jokainen ovelta käyvä kuljettaja on maahanmuuttaja herää monta kysymystä alan todellisesta luonteesta. Olenko Wolfin asiakkaana riittävä kun juokutan maahanmuuttajia tuomaan itselleni ruokaa pilkkahintaan ja ilman turvaverkkoja?</i>
		AM2	<i>Tarvitaan uutta regulaatiokehystä, mutta ei tätä voi tunkea sata vuotta vanhaan kehykseen. Ei mennä edellisen teollisen vallankumouksen säännöillä. Kymmenen vuoden kuluttua tähän on ratkaisu, mutta vielä sitä ei ole, hän toteaa.</i>
Worker legislation	Worker legislation is not up-to-date and should be updated to cover modern day standards.	AM2	<i>Alustatyötä tekevien turvaverkkojen tulisi olla nykyistä paremmat. Olisi hienoa, jos voisimme säilyttää läheteillä nykyisen vapouden päättää työstään, sekä lisäksi tilittää automaattisesti 20–25 prosenttia YEL-maksun kaltaisia maksuja lähettien palkkioista, jolla mahdollistettaisiin samanlaiset turvaverkot kuin työsuhteisille. Tämä ei kuitenkaan ole tällä hetkellä toteutettavissa, Pankkoski kertoo.</i>
		AM2	<i>– Laki ei salli sellaista, että ihminen voi täysin vapaasti reaaliajassa päättää, tekekö töitä vai ei sanoa kaikkiin keikkoihin kyllä tai ei. ... Jos tämä aiotaan Suomessa kielteä alkumetreillä, onhan sillä aika raskaita vaikutuksia.</i>
		AM2	<i>Me emme harrasta algoritmita johtamista tai valvontaa läheteille, meillä ei ole mitään lähettien keskinäisiä rankingeja ja jos lähetti kieltäytyy keikoista niin, siitä ei tule minkäänlaisia rangaistuksia.</i>
Preconceptions about courier work caused by competitor	Disrupting accusations arising in public discussion	AM2	<i>Laskekelin tekstistä kahdeksan kohtaa, joissa oli ehkä vilpittöä väärinkäsitys, mutta asiavirhe tai sellainen oletus, joka ei pidä paikkaansa Wolt-lähetistä puhuttaessa,</i>
		AM2	

Table 6. Most recurring disrupting discourses related to courier work

The findings revealed that the disruption of positive general beliefs was mostly conducted by unsatisfied inside ecosystem actors (e.g., dissatisfaction to job description, salary, lack of insurance and pension payments), and outside ecosystem actors (e.g., politicians, labour union, non-accepting citizens) who perceived focal actor and its business model as opportunistic. In addition, focal actor aimed to disrupt value destructing claims, which were originated from associated actors like competitors and vague rumours echoing in the ecosystem. The figure 11 represents demonstrating examples of how beliefs are disrupted through each actor mechanism.

Clashing institutionalized beliefs related to courier work

Actor mechanism	Discourse	Explanation	Clashing with
AM1	<i>Wolt is about delivering with freedom & flexibility. With Wolt, you choose: when to be online, where to deliver, how to deliver, who to deliver with</i>	Courier work is pre-eminently characterized by freedom to choose	Couriers are working against their will
AM2	<i>Meidän pitäisi purkaa kaikki sopimukset yli 5000 lähetin kanssa ja tuhansilta ihmisiltä loppuisi kokonaan työt. Sen jälkeen ehkä runsas pari tuhatta ihmistä palkattaisiin täyspäiväiseen työsuhteeseen, jossa heille tulisi työvuorot ja esimiehet. Lisäksi ansiotaso laskisi ja työn vapaus vähenisi. Se ei ole varmaan yhdenkään osapuolen mielestä toivottava ratkaisu, vaikka viranomainen joutuu viran puolesta kehittamaan tähän.</i>	Constructing "what-if" scenario, according which the couriers as employees would result into a worse outcome for all of the participants.	Couriers as employees; worker legislation
AM3	<i>Pitään työntä joustavuudesta. Jos olisin työntekijä, katsoisi tämänhetkinen joustavuus ja pitäisi työskennellä yhtiön aikataulujen mukaan.</i>	Courier constructs understanding of being more satisfied working as entrepreneur	Couriers as employees
AM4	<i>"Ja nämä ruokalahetit lisäksi kuvittelevat ettei mitkään pysäköinti- tai liikemerkittöön koske heitä" "Tilausta kuljettava tai noutava lähetti pysäköi tavallisesti riksillä lähelle kohdetta. Parkkipaikat eivät katso pysäköinnin kesto. Sakko saattaa napsahdtaa kolmessa minuutissa. – Olen saanut lukemattomia saksikoita. Se on todella turhauttavaa, sillä 80 euroa on lähes koko päivän palkka. Oltiin samoja."</i>	Per-delivery salary caused by entrepreneurial arrangements cause negative experiences and resistance	Parking legislation; Couriers as entrepreneurs
AM5	<i>Lokakuussa valituneuston nimittämä työneuvosto otti kantaa ruokalahettien asemaan. Työneuvosto lausui, että ruokalahettien työ täyttää työsuhteen tunnusmerkit eli heidän tulisi olla työntekijöitä.</i>	Legislative organizations state that couriers should be addressed as employers	Couriers as entrepreneurs
AM6	<i>"Ville Rannan pilapiirros: Wolt – hieno innovaatio, vaikka joltain tuttu siinä on..." (picture juxtaposing Wolt couriers to slavery)</i>	Cartoonist narrates focal actor as exploiting couriers for own success	Couriers as entrepreneurs; Focal actor as moral actor

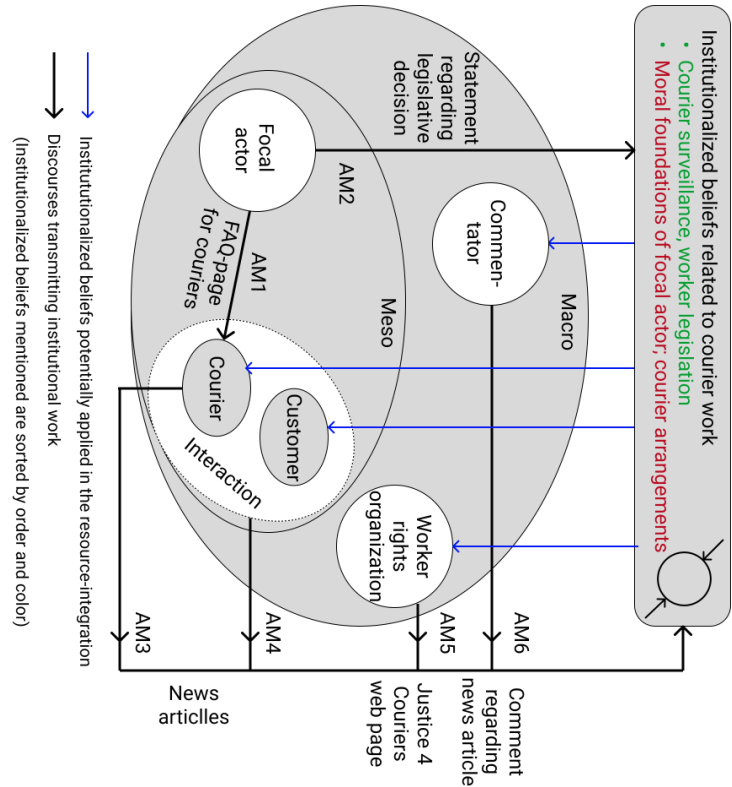


Figure 11. Disrupting beliefs through each actor mechanism

6.3.3 Clashing

Clashing	Explanation	Actor	Demonstrating discourse
Worker legislation clashing with Couriers as entrepreneurs	Worker legislation clashes with the Wolt's business logic in which the couriers are considered as entrepreneurs.	AM5	<i>Lokakuussa valtioneuvoston nimittämä työneuvosto otti kantaa ruokalahettien asemaan. Työneuvosto lausui, että ruokalahettien työ täyttää työsuhteen tunnusmerkit eli heidän tulisi olla työntekijöitä.</i>
		AM5	<i>Työministeri lupaa alustatyöläisille aiempaa paremmat oikeudet. Lainmuutoksella pyritään estämään työsuhteen naamiointin yrittäjyydeksi.</i>
		AM5	<i>Woltin ruokalahetit ovat työsuhteessa, katsoo aluehallintovirasto – Wolt valittaa päätöksestä hallinto-oikeuteen</i>
"What-if" -scenario clashing with Couriers as employees	Focal actor attempts to institutionalize an understanding that the couriers would be worse off if they were hired as employees.	AM2	<i>Meidän pitäisi purkaa kaikki sopimukset yli 5000 lähetin kanssa ja tuhansilta ihmisiltä loppuisi kokonaan työt. Sen jälkeen ehkä runsas pari tuhatta ihmistä palkattaisiin täyspäiväiseen työsuhteeseen, jossa heille tulisi työvuorot ja esimiehet. Lisäksi ansiotasa laskisi ja työn vapaus vähenisi. Se ei ole varmaan yhdenkään osapuolen mielestä toivottava ratkaisu, vaikka viranomainen joutuu viran puolesta kehittämään tähän.</i>
		AM2	<i>"Eihän meidän kannattaisi pitää työsuhteessa ihmisiä, jotka tekevät vaikka 5–15 tuntia viikossa. Vaan meillä olisi esimerkiksi 800 lähettä tekemässä töitä 40 tuntia viikossa. Silloin, kun me sanelemme. Siinä menetettäisiin koko alustatyön vapauden idea."</i>
		AM2	<i>Haaste on, että lähettien pakottaminen työsuhteeseen myös muuttaa työtä ratkaisevalla tavalla. Jos Wolt siirtyy työsuhdemalliin, joudumme päättämään nykyiset yli 4 000 lähetin sopimukset. Voimme palkata tilalle arviolta 1 200–1 500 täysipäiväistä lähettä, joita koskevat työsuhteeseen kuuluvat työvuorot, työtajat ja esimiehet.</i>
Focal actor as altruistic actor clashing with Focal actor is opportunistic towards couriers	Focal constructs an belief of being an altruistic actor, aiming for the common good, while accusing previous questionable actions being mistakes as a part of learning process.	AM2	<i>Wolt aims to be world #1 in offering fair platform work where flexibility meets safety nets and satisfied workers.</i>
		AM1	<i>Investors -- we build a long-term sustainable company that is able to make profit while finding the right balance with the above. This allows us to keep investing and improving as a company in how we operate, and is the only way for us to be around for the long-term for all of our customers, partners and employees.</i>
		AM2	<i>Wolt sai viime vuoden lopussa runsaasti kielteistä julkisuutta ruokalahettien pienestä palkkauksesta. Yhtiön mukaan epäselvyydet muun muassa sotu- ja työnantajamaksuissa johtuivat ripeistä kasvunopeudesta ja ne hoidettiin kuntoon.</i>
		AM2	<i>Behind all that growth is a lot of lessons learned and mistakes made, which have shaped us to become the company we are today.</i>
		AM2	<i>Hänen mukaansa monet lähteistä toivovat asian viemistä tuomioistuimeen</i>
		AM2	<i>Jatkuvasti haetaan tasapainoa asiakkaan, kauppiaan ja lähetin välillä.</i>

Table 7. Most recurring clashing discourses related to courier work

The multiplicity of clashing institutional structures has been acknowledged to influence each other (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Kaartemo et al., 2020; Kjellberg et al., 2015). Besharov et al. (2014) argued that the level of conflict depends on the level of compatibility and centrality for the specific organization, whereas Kjellberg et al. (2015) stated that the plasticity of service ecosystem is negatively correlated with clashing structures.

We define clashing of institutional structures (IM3) as a mechanism, in which one institutional structure disrupts another institutional structure by destabilizing it and reducing its effectiveness to be used in a context. It works similarly to IM2 in disrupting certain belief, but instead of directly disrupting a specific belief, the existence of another structure works as instrument for the disruption.

The table 7 represents three notable examples of clashing structures. First, the worker legislation existing in the society is not compatible with the business logic, where the couriers are working as entrepreneurs. The legislation supporting on regulative pillar (Scott 2014) thus disagrees with the couriers being as entrepreneurs, further moving to the other pillars as the public internalizes that the courier work is not aligning with societal regulation.

Second, the “what-if”-scenario systematically practiced by the focal actor’s narration according that if the couriers would be addressed as employees, many of the couriers

would have to be laid off and most of the couriers would be worse off losing their freedom with regulation. As such, this futuristic scenario disrupts the legitimacy of worker legislation which is - according to the discourse - forcing the platform workers towards the template of traditional job against their will.

Third, the focal actors attempt to construct an imago of being an altruistic actor disrupting the beliefs which claim it conducting immoral behaviour. It narrates the previous potentially immoral actions occurred as non-purposive mistakes being as a part of learning process, and teaches the public about focal actors will to common good where the satisfaction of inside ecosystem actors is superior to profit maximization. If succeed, the imago constructs a halo-effect for the focal actor, making it less likely for the immoral accusations to be considered legitimate.

Demonstrating examples of clashing discourses through each actor mechanisms are presented in figure 12.

Clashing institutionalized beliefs related to courier work

Actor mechanism	Discourse	Explanation	Clashing with
AM1	Wolt is about delivering with freedom & flexibility. With Wolt, you choose: when to be online, where to deliver, how to deliver, who to deliver with	Courier work is pre-eminently characterized by freedom to choose	Couriers are working against their will
AM2	Meidän pitäisi purkaa kaikki sopimukset yli 5000 lähetin kanssa ja tuhansilta ihmisiltä loppuisi kokonaan työ. Sen jälkeen ehkä runsas pari tuhatta ihmistä palkattaisiin työpäiväiseen työsuhteeseen, jossa heille tulisi työvuorot ja esimiehet. Lisäksi ansiotaso laskisi ja työn vapaus vähenisi. Se ei ole varmaan yhdenkään osapuolen mielestä toivottava ratkaisu, vaikka viranomainen joutuu viran puolesta kehittämään tähän.	Constructing "what-if" scenario, according which the couriers as employees would result into a worse outcome for all of the participants.	Couriers as employees; worker legislation
AM3	Pidän työtä joustavuudesta. Jos olisin työntekijä, katkaisi tämänhetkinen joustavuus ja pitäisi työskennellä yhtiön aikataulujen mukaan.	Courier constructs understanding of being more satisfied working as entrepreneur	Couriers as employees
AM4	"Ja nämä ruokalahetit lisäksi kuvittelevat ettei mitkään pysäköinti- tai liikennelaitkaan koske heitä" "Tilausta kuljettava tai nauttava lähetti pysäköi tavallisesti raskiella lähelle kohdetta. Parkkisakat eivät kosso pysäköinnin kesto. Sakko saattaa napsahtaa kolmessa minuutissa. – Olen saanut lukemattomia sakkokoja. Se on todella turhauttavaa, sillä 80 euroa on lähes koko päivän palkka. Oteno sanoo."	Per-delivery salary caused by entrepreneurial arrangements cause negative experiences and resistance	Parking legislation; Couriers as entrepreneurs
AM5	Lokakuussa vaihtoneuvoston nimittämä työneuvosto otti kantaa ruokalahettien asemaan. Työneuvosto lausui, että ruokalahettien työ täyttää työsuhteen tunnuserkät eli heidän tulisi olla työntekijöitä.	Legislative organizations state that couriers should be addressed as employers	Couriers as entrepreneurs
AM6	"Ville Roman pilapiirros: Wolt – hieno innovaatio, vaikka jotain tuttua siinä on..." (picture juxtaposing Wolt couriers to slavery)	Cartoonist narrates focal actor as exploiting couriers for own success	Couriers as entrepreneurs; Focal actor as moral actor

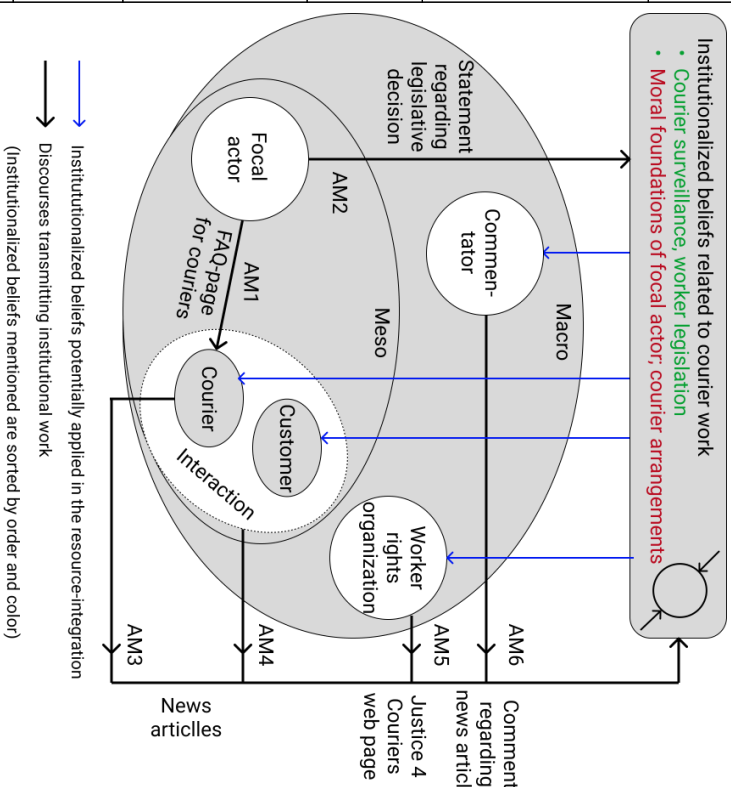


Figure 12. Clashing beliefs through each actor mechanisms

6.3.4 Aligning

The concept of aligning has been discussed in the literature as a way how distinct institutional arrangements or competing institutional structures are working together, matching with each other or not causing friction (Hartmann et al., 2018; Kjellberg et al., 2015; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Vargo et al., 2015).

However, we define aligning of institutionalizing structures (IM4) as a way how one institutional structure aligns itself with another institutional structure, causing part of the value from the aligned structure to be embedded into the context. These structures can be logically non-related, but when adapted, associated with each other in the context.

Aligning	Actor		Demonstrating discourse
Courier partners social role with Societally desired attributes	Embedding societally desired elements to the value proposition	AM1	<i>Wolt is about delivering with freedom & flexibility. With Wolt, you choose: when to be online, where to deliver, how to deliver, who to deliver with</i>
		AM1	<i>Wolt is a platform connecting customers, local businesses, and couriers looking for an opportunity to earn money in a flexible way. As a Wolt courier partner, you earn money by delivering orders from local businesses to customers - in the evenings, for a few hours during lunches or whenever you feel like it</i>
		AM1	https://wolt.com/heroes
Courier work with Societal impact	Embedding courier service with COVID-prevention, green impact, altruistic actions, or effects on employment, the usage of courier service get's loaded with societal impact	AM1	<i>What Wolt is doing to help prevent the spread of Covid-19</i>
		AM2	<i>Society – We're committed to being a climate-conscious company. We compensate for the CO2 emissions of Wolt deliveries, and we will continue to take more action to fight climate change. We push for platform work that is a complementary and long-term sustainable model of work that makes our societies better and have higher opportunity because of what we do.</i>
		AM2	<i>– Me tuomme markkinoille nyt yhden, kynnkysettömän vaihtoehdon tehdä töitä. Sitä voi tehdä kuka tahansa, ja hän voi vielä itse päättää, milloin. Siinä on paljon aitoja hyviä puolia.</i>
		AM2	<i>Through Wolt, our more than a hundred thousand courier partners can work when and where they want without tight educational or language-skill requirements. That's our key impact on the labour market: accessible and flexible earnings – for anyone.</i>
		AM2	<i>Through Wolt, you can support local independent restaurants and help the hard-working couriers in our cities to make a living.</i>
		AM4	<i>Rakastan työtäni. En tiedä, onko se ylpeyttä vai ei, mutta saan tietyntaista tyydytystä siitä, kun voimme auttaa apua tarvitsevia ihmisiä ruokailausten kanssa.</i>
Courier work with Societally less desired roles	Actors align courier work towards roles which are not generally desired in society	AM6	<i>Kalliola kirjoitti Vaasan tarvitsevan maahanmuuttoa muun muassa ulkomaalaisten siivoajien ja Wolt-kuljettajien vuoksi.</i>
		AM6	<i>Siltala huomauttaa, että Uber Eats -lähettien ulkoistaminen toimii käytännössä samoin kuin 1600-luvun sijaissotilasjärjestelmä: asevelvolliset talonpojat palkkasivat köyhempiä sijaisia sotimaan puolestaan.</i>
		AM6	<i>"Ville Rannan plagiointi: Wolt – hieno innovaatio, vaikka jotain tuttua siinä on..." (picture juxtaposing Wolt couriers to slavery)</i>
		AM6	<i>Kansanedustaja purkaa seksityön myyttejä – "Eivät sen alistaisempia kuin Wolt-kuskit"</i>

Table 8. Most recurring aligning discourses related to courier work

Table 8 represent three examples of the mechanism of institutional aligning. First, the direct communication done by focal actor towards the couriers embeds meanings to the courier works social role (Koskela-Huotari & Siltaloppi, 2020). As it is normatively valued in Western countries to be independent, having freedom to choose and being a boss yourself (Ronald 2008), the value proposition aligns with the societally desired attributes with the social role of working as courier. As such when the couriers enjoy the “freedom, flexibility and being their own boss”, part of this value can be derived by the institutionalized value proposition which has shaped the value perception to take account these desired elements aligning with higher societal level.

Second, beliefs towards courier work were embedded with societal impact. The business model was modified during Covid-19 to support the belief of responsible courier work, preventing spreading and helping restaurants through hard times. Operations related to

courier work were narrated in a way that it contributes to the society by supporting employment of couriers and restaurants, while operating through environmentally responsible way. These examples thus embed societally relevant phenomenon, and associate focal actor's orchestrated behaviour with it. As such, the customers do not have to worry about negative beliefs like spreading corona when ordering, or their carbon footprint, since the courier work is arranged in a responsible way. They can happily order food knowing that by doing so, they even contribute to the society – assuming that the discourses are adapted into the context.

The mechanism of alignment was mostly utilized in positive sense by the focal actor in micro- and macro-level as in a way to embed value by narrating their services and courier work as in a certain light. Also, the value between couriers and customers resulted into positive exposure in some extent, as some couriers narrated themselves as the job to be societally altruistic, and when the Covid resulted into increased appreciation for couriers, and hence to institutional work related to normative appreciation for them. Additionally, the negative alignment was especially notable by outside ecosystem actors, who juxtaposed courier work to slavery, opportunism and normative less desired social roles such as cleaning and sex work. Demonstrating examples of aligning discourses through each actor mechanisms are illustrated in figure 13.

Aligning institutionalized beliefs related to courier work

Actor mechanism	Discourse	Explanation
AM1	<i>Through Wolt, you can support local independent restaurants and help the hard-working couriers in our cities to make a living.</i>	Communication towards customers embeds societal dimension related to the courier work
AM2	<i>Through Wolt, our more than a hundred thousand courier partners can work when and where they want without tight educational or language-skill requirements. That's our key impact on the labour market: accessible and flexible earnings – for anyone.</i>	Courier work is narrated having a societal relevant role as a job without tight requirements
AM3	<i>Rakastan työtäni. En tiedä, onko se ylpeyttä vai ei, mutta saan tie tyhjäläistä tyydytystä siitä, kun voimme auttaa apua tarvitsevia ihmisiä ruokailuusten kanssa.</i>	Courier embeds an altruistic dimension to the courier work
AM4	<i>Tällä hetkellä Stepanyan saa kuljetuksestaan usein tippää. Hänelle nostetaan peukua ovenraossa ja toivotaan hyvää päivänjatkoa. Tai haukataan, että hän tekee tärkeää työtä. – Tämä on todella spesiaalia, ei tällaista ole ollut ennen korona-aikaa. Ihmiset ovat tosi iloisia nähdessään minut, hän kertoo. – Näin ystävällisiä ihmiset eivät ole aiemmin olleet.</i>	Corona-prevention procedures related to courier work create value in interaction-contexts
AM5	<i>Näennäisesti yrittäjyydestä on valittavasti tullut suomalaisia työnarkkinoita sitkeästi vaivava tapa kiertää vähimmäistyöehtoja. Rätikeimillään tämä näkyy niin sanotun alustatalouden kohdalla, jonka ehkä puhutuin ammattiryhmä ovat ruokailijhet, jotka kускаavat take away -ruokaa hyvin pienillä korvauksista vastaan ja käyttäessä ihmän oikeusturva.</i>	Minister of Education aligns focal actor to maladaptive actors who are avoiding their responsibilities
AM6	<i>Kansanedustaja purkaa seksistön myyttejä – "Eivät sen alisteisempia kuin Wolt-kuskit"</i>	Politician promoting sex work aligns courier work to sex work

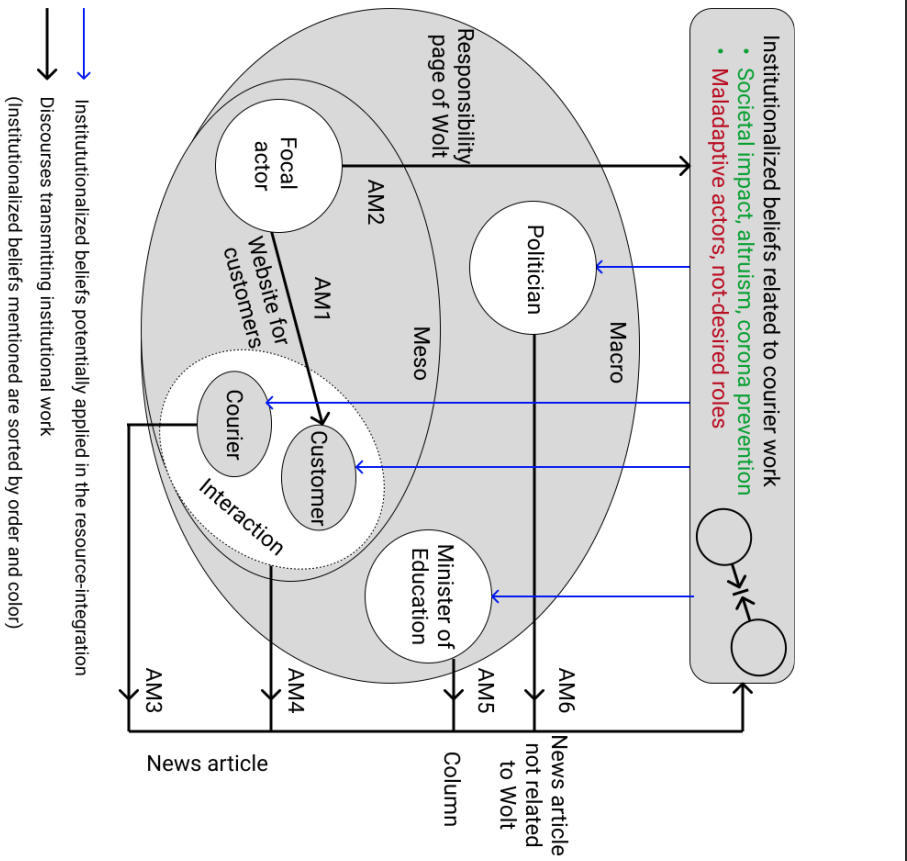


Figure 13. Aligning beliefs through each actor mechanisms

6.3.5 Overlapping

Overlapping	Explanation	Actor	Demonstrating discourse
Platform work	The general beliefs about platform work spill to all companies operating on platform model	A6	Alustatyössä muodollinen vapaus ei siis välttämättä ole vapautta käytännössä. Alustatyöntekijöiden vapauteen vaikuttavat olennaisesti alustayrityksen tekemät ratkaisut muun muassa siitä, kenelle työtätehtäviä tarjotaan ja kuinka paljon alustalla voi samanaikaisesti olla työn suorittajia. Alustayritykset voivat myös täysin mielivaltaisesti poistaa työn suorittajia alustaltaan. Tämä valtaepätasapaino ja työntekijän alisteinen asema on tärkeää tunnistaa.
		A6	Sen sijaan neljännekselle alustatyöntekijöistä alustatyö oli pääasiallinen tulonlähde. Heidän tulonsa olivat pienemmät ja sosiaaliturvansa heikempi kuin muilla ryhmillä, ja heillä oli eniten vaikeuksia selviytyä kotitaloutensa menoista. Voisi olettaa, että suhtautuminen yrittäjämutoiseen alustatyöhön vaihtelee sen mukaan, kuinka riippuvainen henkilö on alustasta. Alustatyöntekijöistä merkittävä vähemmistö on hankalassa asemassa.
		A5	Sellainen onkin tuloiltaan, sillä Sanna Marinin (sd.) hallitus on luvannut hallitusohjelmassaan käsitellä itsensäyöllistäjien asemaa, joihin myös ruokalahetit luetaan. Hallituksen tavoitteena on estää "työsopimussuhteen naamiointi muksi kuin työsopimukseksi".
contains			
Food delivery companies	The negative general beliefs about food delivery companies (competitors) also spill to other companies operating in food delivery industry	A6	Sen voisi kiteyttää näin: ruokalahetit ovat todellisuudessa työntekijöitä, mutta yhtiöt kohtelevat heitä yrittäjinä. Näin yritys voi ohjata lähettäjä kuin työntekijää, mutta vastuuta sen ei tarvitse ottaa. Riskit jätetään lähettile.
		A3	Yrittäjä paiskii pitkää päivää, mutta iso siivu rahoista valuu välittäjälle
		A6	Ruokalahetettyhtiöt vaalivat mielikuvaa lähettistä, joka silloin tällöin hyppää auton rattiin tai pyörän selkään hankkimaan lisätienestettä. Todellisuudessa vaikuttaa siltä, että merkittävä osa läheteistä on vaikeassa asemassa olevia maahanmuuttajia, jotka yrittävät tehdä mahdollisimman paljon töitä.
		A3	Yrittäjät jo pitkään pelänneet, että ruokalahettien takana olevat teknologiayhtiöt kuorivat kermat ravintolaliiketoiminnasta.
		A5	Ulkopuolisten kuljetuspalveluiden käyttö on ravintoloille osin ongelmallista. – Kuljetuspalveluyrityksen palkkio on niin suuri, että ravintolan on vaikea tehdä ruokatutusteesta kannattavaa.
	A6	Ruuan jakelu on murroksessa, jota korona on vauhdittanut.	
	The institutionalized beliefs and understandings from one type of company also spill towards competitors	A5	Viime joulukuussa joulukaista Maran tilaama ravintolaruokailun trenditutkimus osoitti, että kuljetuspalvelut ovat osuneet markkinarakoon, jossa on paljon kasvumahdollisuuksia. Pekka Mustonen sanoo, että Woltin ja Foodoran tulo markkinoille nautattikin kaupunkikulttuurin kehityksen yleistä mallia. Kysyntä on ollut valmiina jo kauan odotamassa tarjontaa.
A5	Ravintolaruokaan kotiin tilaaminen hurjassa nosteessa ... MaRan toimitusjohtaja Timo Lapin mukaan take away-kulttuuri ja kotiin tilaaminen on pikemminkin seurausta ravintolaruokailun koko 2000-luvun menestystarinasta. ... Ravintoloiden omat kuljetuspalvelut lisääntyneissä		
contains			
Wolt (as a general actor)	The negative beliefs about Wolt as a general actor in society	A3	Grigore miettii, että Woltin on helppoa tehdä rahaa alalla, jossa ei ole työntekijöitä. Vasta tänä vuonna hän sanoo itse tajunneensa perustaa toimiminen.
		A5	Nykyisessä mallissa työtapatimien, loukkaantumisten, sairastumisten ja jopa asumis- ja toimeentulon kustannukset lankeavat työntekijälle – tai viime kädessä yhteiskunnalle, Vilches huomauttaa. Eli loppujen lopuksi tämä on piilotettua yritystukea näille firmoille. Ne säästävät kuluissa ja veronmaksajat maksavat heidän puolestaan sen vähimmäiselannon.
	The positive beliefs about Wolt as a general actor in society	A2	Woltin hallussa olevalla asiakasdatalla ei ole toimitusjohtajan mielestä niin suurta merkitystä.
		A2	On the inside, Wolt consists of urban and environmentally-conscious people. Like you, we care about having a net positive impact on the world around us. Here's some examples of our responsibility initiatives.
A2	Wolt aims to be world #1 in offering fair platform work where flexibility meets safety nets and satisfied workers.		
contains			
Wolt for restaurant partners	Institutionalized beliefs about Wolt's role in restaurant business	A5	– Viimeksi tänä aamuna minulle soitti ravintolayrittäjä, joka sanoi, että toimialan pitäisi yhdessä löytää vaihtoehto Woltille.
		A5	Matkailu- ja Ravintolapalvelut MaRa tekee kilpailu- ja kuluttajavirastolle toimenpidepyynnön ruokalahetettyhtiä Woltista. MaRa pyytää kilpailu- ja kuluttajavirastoa selvittämään, ovatko Woltin hinnoitteluehdot kilpailulain mukaisia. MaRa katsoo, että Wolt toimii määrävässä markkina-asemassa, eikä voi yksipuolisesti sanella hinnoitteluehtoja ravintoloille.
		A5	Mara vaihtaa Woltin hinnoittelusta kilpailuvirastolle – ravintola-alan mukaan Wolt vie välistä niin paljon, että ravintolalle ei jää välttämättä mitään käteen

(and Wolt for couriers, check above)

Table 9. Overlapping of institutionalizing beliefs related to courier work

The further the examination of discourses progressed, the more evident the interrelatedness of institutional structures became. Multiple actors expressed views which made no boundaries between competitors and the focal actor; domestic or abroad, the platform companies were spoken similarly; when spoken of the focal actor, couriers or restaurants, the concepts easily merged to each other. The discourses of actors utilized even loosely connected structures, demonstrating how the related structures “leak” to each other. As such, some of the topics are categorically spoken as being of the same kind and thus addressed more or less interchangeably.

The fifth mechanism, overlapping (IM5), is defined as the mechanism according which institutional structures are “leaking” to logically or socially related structures existing in the context. For instance, when the beliefs towards platform work is changing, it also changes how the subtypes of food delivery services, and individual companies are perceived in the field. And similarly, the actions of individual platform companies emerge into the larger structure of platform companies in general.

The table 9 represent, top to bottom, how the larger institutional structures comprise of several smaller structures. Starting with the structure overlapping with focal actor's courier work, the largest structure is the platform work in general. Discourses related towards platform in general shape the beliefs about all the companies operating with the platform business model. Coming down to a lower level, there exists platform businesses which operate in the food delivery segment. As such, in addition to focal actor, the competitors actions shape how the food delivery services are addressed is the public debate. When the Foodora conducted into algorithmic surveillance, and UberEats paid to their couriers under table, it reinforced the negative associations related to courier work thus also affecting to the views about Wolt. Similarly, the debate about partner restaurants' satisfaction in the food delivery ecosystem, also shape the perceptions about the courier work in food delivery ecosystem.

When coming to the level from food delivery industry down to the focal actor, we come to the general perceptions related to the focal actor. This includes the general imago of the company, the institutionalized beliefs how moral the actor is, why it exists and how does it contribute to the society. The general perception can further be divided on the beliefs of ecosystem actors, like restaurants and couriers which both contribute to the general beliefs about the focal actor. The questionable actions towards the restaurants also will leak into the perceptions of couriers, although arguably with less extreme effect compared to direct violation of rights. Summarizing, the general beliefs towards focal actor's courier work is overlapping with multiple larger institutional structures, which are all affecting to each other in the realm of social reality.

Another example from the case revealed how the institutionalized beliefs towards using food delivery services has been adopted through the collaboration of companies who provide food delivery services. As the process of ordering food is accelerated by cognitive understanding of the procedure, and the normative appropriateness related to it, the multiple companies operating in the food delivery service have institutionalized the process of ordering food in general. As such, the competition has arguably been beneficial for the companies, as the growth of competitors has also decreased the mental barriers for operating with other similarly orchestrated food delivery ecosystems.

Overlapping institutionalized beliefs through each actor mechanisms are presented in figure 13.

Overlapping institutionalized beliefs related to courier work

Actor mechanism	Discourse	Explanation
AM1	<i>You are free to have an employed job or even partner with Wolf competitors.</i>	The reinforcement of inter-firm couriers also make the differentiation between courier companies more difficult.
AM2	<i>Jatkuvasti haetaan tasapainoa asiakkaiden, kauppiain ja lähettäjien välillä.</i>	The focal actor's ecosystem as a whole aims for win-win-win equilibrium: everyone gets treated equal.
AM3	<i>Kuljetuksen hinta on liian kova. Yrittäjät jo pitkään pelänneet, että ruokalahetien takana olevat teknologiyhtiöt kuorivat kerrott ravintolaliiketoiminnasta. Asiakkaan maksama muutaman euron kuljetuspalkkio on nimittäin vain osa niiden perimästä palkkiosta. Aku Vikströmin mukaan esimerkiksi Wolfin kuljetusmaksu on yli viidenes annoksen hinnasta.</i>	The commissions of multiple food delivery companies are eating margins and increasing resistance against them in general.
AM4	<i>Viime kesän jälkeen monet asiakas on pyytänyt anteeksi, että on aiemmin tilannut pizzaa Pizza-onlinen kautta.</i>	Previous bad experiences with competitor are still affecting interactions inside focal actors ecosystem.
AM5	<i>Mora vaihtaa Wolfin hinnoittelusta kilpailuvierasteolle – ravintola-alan mukaan Wolf vie välistä niin paljon, että ravintolalle ei jäädä välttämättä mitään käteen</i>	Labour union raises complain, thus clashing legislation with focal actor's restaurant arrangements, potentially leaking to focal actor as general actor.
AM6	<i>Viime joulukuussa julkaistu Maran tilaama ravintolataruokailun trenditutkimus osoitti, että kuljetuspalvelut ovat osuneet markkinarokoon, jossa on paljon kasvumahdollisuuksia. Pekka Mustonen sanoo, että Wolfin ja Foodoran tulo markkinoille noudattikin kaupunkikulttuurin kehityksen yleisiä malleja. Kysyntä on ollut valmiina ja kaavan odottamassa tarjontaa.</i>	Multiple delivery companies have accelerated adaptation of delivery services, thus diffusing the normative and cognitive beliefs related to food delivery services.

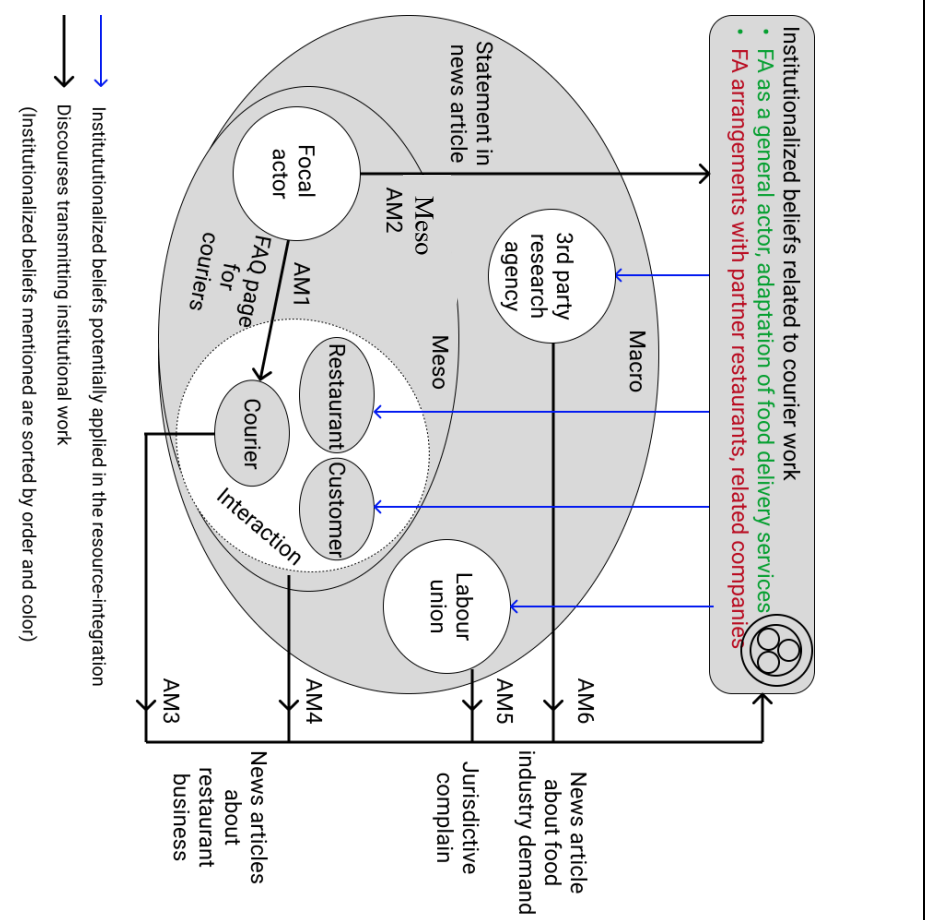


Figure 13. Overlapping beliefs through each actor mechanisms

6.4 Mechanisms of institutional work and system viability

For us to understand how the institutionalized beliefs influence the focal actor’s system viability, we must return to our conceptual framework and supplement it with the findings of this study, both on individual and higher level of inspection. We begin by examining the individual level of resource-integration, which is represented in the figure 14 below.

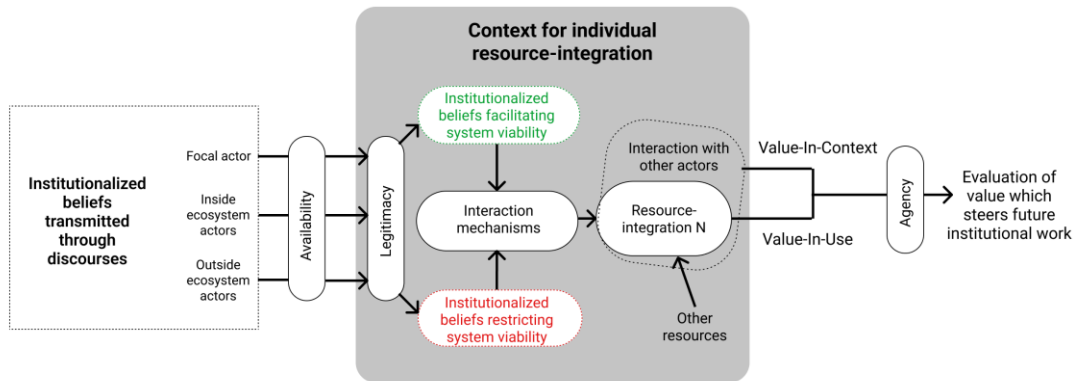


Figure 14. Institutionalized beliefs and individual-level of resource-integration, complemented First, in the conceptual framework of individual level resource-integration, we made the premise that the institutionalized beliefs can have an influence on the experienced value. However, there lacked clarity on which actors participate in the institutional work and on what standards they operate on. To fulfil this gap, we addressed the actor mechanisms, which explicated the type of actors identified from the case data to focal actor, inside ecosystem actors and outside ecosystem actors, and further divided these groups based on their peculiarities to six actor mechanisms. These actor mechanisms are summarized in figure 9. Taking a look in the figure 14 left side, we can see that the institutionalized beliefs transmitted by discourses, can be originated to the actor mechanisms. It is noteworthy, that the availability however discriminates on what discourses are available in the resource-integration context: even though all of the discourses might exist in the objective world when aggregated, in the phenomenological context the boundedly rational actors are operating with asymmetrical information, hence always having just a partial access to the totality of discourses.

Second, to supplement the conceptual framework with a normative dimension on how the focal actor should manage its system viability, we divided the institutionalized beliefs to facilitating and restricting ones (coloured boxes in the figure 14). These were demonstrated more thoroughly in the chapter 6.1, where the polarized examples were

argued to influence the value experiences of multiple actors in the ecosystem. When discussed about their relation to system viability, we are discussing especially about the system viability from focal actor's perspective. Hence some of the institutionalized beliefs, for instance, could be seen as restricting the focal actor's system viability, even though the individual actor could render the value with it: a commentator venting about the immorality of food delivery companies could apply beliefs that restrict focal actor's system viability, although it creates value-in-use/context for the individual.

Third, we addressed the interaction mechanisms of institutional work, which explained how discourses transmitting institutional work interact with institutional structures and how this influences the experienced value. These five mechanisms were summarized in table 4. In the context of individual resource-integration, the discourses transmitting the institutionalized beliefs are filtered depending on their availability and legitimacy, before the interaction mechanisms occur, and determine which beliefs are strengthened, disrupted, aligning, clashing and overlapping (interaction mechanisms summarized in figure 14). This unique set of discourses hence influences on the value-in-use/context, and thus further affects to the evaluated value, which eventually steers the future institutional work. As such, the interaction mechanisms partly influence experienced value from the resource-integration, and this value partly determines on which institutional structures are modified in the future. Although it must be noticed that the actors can practice agency, hence not being totally controlled by the institutional pressures.

We have now complemented the framework of individual level resource-integration by clarifying on what type of actors conduct institutional work and on what logics they operate; divided institutionalized beliefs into facilitating and restricting ones; and discussed about interaction mechanisms relation to experienced value and its linkage to future institutional work. To see a practical example of these, appendix 2 demonstrates how the discourses are applied in the process of resource-integration. However, individual level does not provide sufficient understanding to answer how the service ecosystem viability is influenced by the institutionalized beliefs from higher-level perspective. Thus, we must zoom out to the macro-level of value co-creation, illustrated in figure 15. Notice, that the service ecosystem consists of individual resource-integrators that we have discussed above.

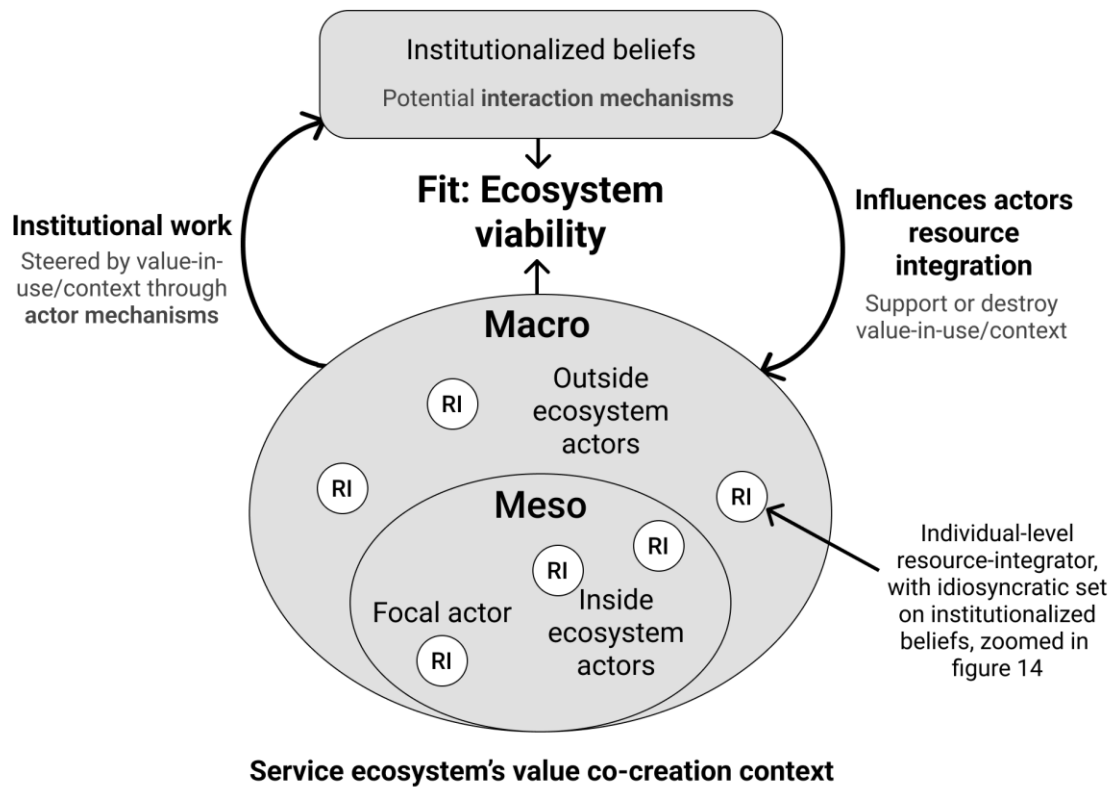


Figure 15. Institutionalized beliefs and system viability in macro-level, complemented

In the lower part of the picture, the service ecosystem's temporal *value co-creation context* is represented, which comprises of resource-integrating actors, who can be categorized to *focal actor*, *inside ecosystem actors* and *outside ecosystem actors*. The value co-creation context is evaluated by each individual actor participating, basing on the experienced *value-in-use/context*, which further steers the *institutional work through actor mechanisms*. This is presented in the left side of the figure. As a result of this, the more or less institutionalized beliefs are shaped by the institutional work, hence being under the effects of *interaction mechanisms*. Being strengthened and disrupted, while also potentially aligning, clashing and overlapping with each other, the institutionalized beliefs thus also have *potential to influence the future value co-creation contexts*, by supporting or destroying value for the individual resource-integrators.

At this point, we must discuss about the dual nature of institutionalized beliefs. In the picture, the institutionalized beliefs are worked by the interaction mechanisms, but the interaction mechanisms also exist in the individual resource-integration (figure 14). This emphasizes the dual nature of the institutionalized beliefs. On one side, if all of the institutionalized beliefs existing were aggregated, we would end up with "objective"

totality of discourses, which would interact with each other in a world of perfect information. As such, the interaction mechanism would have potential to be applied. In this view, institutions are seen as external structure parted from actors (Koskela-Huotari et al. 2020). However, as each individual resource-integration differs depending on the availability and legitimacy of beliefs, the actual value-affecting beliefs manifests themselves during the individual context. In other words, *the objective beliefs can be conceptualized as the totality of aggregated institutionalized beliefs external to actors, which have potential to be actualized, whereas the beliefs existing in the individual context are the actualized beliefs that can be drawn support for resource-integration.*

This leads to following conclusions. First, the discourses which are yet to be institutionalized, won't be solidified in the structure if they do not have legitimacy and thus not being applied for the individual context. Even though the availability of such discourses were there, the legitimacy would not allow them to be effective in the context and further steering institutional work. As such, for certain beliefs to be solidified, both the actors conducting institutional work and their discourses being institutionalized, must possess legitimacy to be diffused. This highlights the importance of actor's legitimacy in conducting institutional work. Especially when discussing about the focal actor, the micro-level and macro-level communication becomes more effective the more legitimate the actor is perceived - legitimacy, that is to large extent granted by the actors inside and outside the ecosystem. Hence, the more altruistic and beneficial the actor is perceived, the more able it is to participate in the negotiation of institutionalized beliefs which can further support the value creations.

Second, as the idiosyncratic nature of each individual resource-integration is always characterized by certain amount of unpredictability, the value outcomes cannot be forced by other actors. Aligning with the foundational premise 7 of S-D logic, "actors cannot deliver value but can participate in the creation and offering of value propositions". What instead can be done, it to increase the likelihood of certain beliefs to be applied for each actor. By understanding the existing beliefs, and their potential value to individual actors, the communication can be directed to alter specific social structures through interaction mechanisms. In other words, by adopting the logics through which each actor mechanism operates, and by utilizing interaction mechanisms to maximize the facilitating beliefs and minimize the restricting beliefs, the ecosystem can pursue for an optimal combination of

beliefs that support value creations in the service-ecosystem context – thus resulting into a *fit* between institutionalized beliefs and service ecosystem.

Hence, by 1) *maximizing the legitimacy for the focal actor enabling participation to the negotiations of institutionalized beliefs*, 2) *operating through the logics which the actor groups conduct institutional work*, and 3) *utilizing the interaction mechanisms*, the system viability for focal actor can be influenced by increasing the effectiveness and prevalence of those beliefs that facilitate the system viability, and decreasing the effectiveness and prevalence of those beliefs that restrict the system viability, giving an answer to our research question on how the identified mechanisms of institutional work are relating to the ecosystem viability from the focal actor perspective.

7 Discussion

The aim of this study was to identify mechanisms of institutional work related to beliefs about courier work in food delivery service ecosystem, and to understand how they relate to the system viability from the focal actor perspective. By creating preliminary understanding with literary review of S-D logic and institutional theory, the institutional structures – i.e., general beliefs or institutionalized beliefs – were conceptualized as shaping the value experiences of resource-integrators and hence influencing the system viability from the focal actor perspective.

The conceptual framework provided a starting point for empirically examining how variety of discourses existing in a food delivery platform ecosystem transmit institutional work, which results into emergence of general beliefs. The main general belief examined in this study was the beliefs related to courier work, and their role in the collaboration with the focal actor, who is the orchestrator of a food delivery company operating on a platform business model.

The empirical data revealed two types of mechanisms related to the process of institutional work: actor mechanisms and interaction mechanisms. First, three types of actor groups were identified, who participate in the negation of the general beliefs: institutional work by the focal actor, the inside ecosystem actors and the outside ecosystem actors. Each of these groups were further divided into two subgroups thus resulting into 6 mechanisms through the actors conduct institutional work, which were further elaborated on their operating logic (summarized in figure 9). This answered to the first research question on “what type of actors participate in the negotiation of institutionalizing beliefs, and what are their operating logics?”. Second, five types of interaction mechanisms provided clarity on how these institutional structures shaped by the institutional work are 1) reacting to the conducted work, or 2) interacting with other institutional structures. These interactions mechanisms of institutional work were labelled as strengthening, disrupting, clashing, aligning, and overlapping - summarized in figure 10 – which gave answer to the second research question on “how distinct institutionalizing beliefs interact with each other?”

Thus, by clarifying these mechanisms, we answered to the questions on what type of actors participate in the negotiation of general beliefs, and how these products of

institutional work interact with each other. To finally link these mechanisms of institutional work to system viability, we illustrated how the polarized types of general beliefs (figure 9) can shape the value experiences of individual resource integrators, and further steer the value experiences and institutional work in future context of service ecosystem when aggregated to higher context. However, although the polarized types demonstrated the possible differences between contradictory beliefs, in reality they are comprising of a variety of equivocal discourses. As such, each actor's context for integration has distinct set of available discourses, with subjectively decided legitimacy, and with the possibility to practice non-deterministic agency regardless of the institutional pressures. Hence, the value experienced from each actor's resource-integration – that contributes to the focal actor's system viability from higher context - is partly determined by the general beliefs, which cannot be however stated straight-forward by the focal actor. Instead, by 1) *maximizing the legitimacy for the focal actor enabling participation to the negotiations of institutionalized beliefs*, 2) *operating through the logics which the actor groups conduct institutional work*, and 3) *utilizing the interaction mechanisms, the system viability for focal actor can be affected by increasing the effectiveness and prevalence of those beliefs that facilitate the system viability, and decreasing the effectiveness and prevalence of those beliefs that restrict the system viability*, giving an answer to our final research question on how the identified mechanisms of institutional work are relating to the ecosystem viability from the focal actor perspective.

7.1 Academic implications

First, this paper contributes to the literature of institutional work in service ecosystems by providing new category of actor mechanisms of institutional work. As previous research has mostly addressed ecosystem actor's participating to institutional work through idiosyncratic qualities of the case (e.g., Baker & Nenonen, 2020; Baker, Storbacka, & Brodie, 2019; Koskela-Huotari et al., 2016; Närvänen, Mattila, & Mesiranta, 2021), the actor mechanisms provide abstraction on how institutional work flows, which helps addressing these groups through their distinctive properties.

With demonstrating examples, the focal actor's communication to direct actors and to general public are different in their nature: the former shapes value propositions through which the resource-integration occurs, whereas the latter is more about bidirectional communication which reacts to the ecosystem reactions by participating in the

negotiation. The inside ecosystem actors can both conduct institutional work based on perceived value from the use, or the social interactions from shared contextual spaces, highlighting the distinct origins partly dependent on the business logic. The outside ecosystem actors can conduct institutional work by either working as direct gatekeepers of legitimacy, or by indirectly shaping institutional structures for a reason not directly even related to ecosystem, such as venting frustration or using institutionalized beliefs to get viral attention. Regardless not being argued to be exhaustive, the actor mechanisms thus make the discussion about the differences between the actors and corresponding mechanisms possible, thus taking steps further to understand how the specific actor mechanisms should be addressed to alter institutional structures existing in service ecosystems.

As such, the actor mechanisms are harmonious with the markets as systems approach – the speculated new paradigm of marketing (Ferrell, 2018; El-Ansary et al. 2017). With the change of focus from reductionist view from “parts to the whole”, “objects to relationships”, “structures to processes” and “measuring to mapping”, this paper contributes has explanation power for questions such “How micro phenomena bring forth macro phenomena in markets and vice versa?”, “How the constellations of relationships are coordinated within markets?”, “What kind of feedback mechanisms characterize markets?” (Vargo, Koskela-Huotari, et al., 2017). Aligning with the marketing systems approach, the actor mechanisms also strengthen the findings of inter-relatedness of multiple actors participating in the co-creation of value through modifying institutional arrangements (e.g., Wieland et al. 2016; Vaartamo et al. 2020; Baker & Nenonen, 2020; Bagozzi 1974).

Second, the interaction mechanisms of institutional work 1) extend the previous works of institutional work (Lawrence et al. 2006; Koskela-Huotari et al. 2016); and 2) provide understanding of clarifying the interplay of institutional structures (Kjellberg et al. 2015; Besharow & Smith 2014; Chandler et al. 2019). Extending from the works of institutional work by Lawrence et al. (2006) and Koskela-Huotari et al. (2016), this paper builds from the creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions, to understand how the institutional work actions relate to the value experiences in service ecosystem, with the addition of acknowledging the interactions between. As such it gives it’s own explanation to conceptualizing institutionalized beliefs as the result of institutional work, which further influences value experiences on actors exposed to them.

The competing, aligning and clashing institutions have been mentioned and acknowledged in the literature, but understanding their relations – especially in the context of institutionalized beliefs – has not been addressed in the literature. The need for clairvoyance was also noted by Kleineltenkamp et al. (2018), as he stated that there exist no guidelines on how the individuals integrate different institutional arrangements. With the help of interaction mechanisms, more explicit understanding of applying institutionalized beliefs in the resource-integration may be understood, to explain how these social structures can influence the value experiences on phenomenological level.

Third, the central purpose of this paper was to understand how institutionalized beliefs – constructed through the logics of actor mechanisms and interactions mechanisms of institutional work – relate to the system viability from the focal actor perspective. As such, this paper addressed how certain ecosystems can attain a proper fit between institutionalized beliefs and service ecosystem value co-creation contexts, thus increasing the system viability for the ecosystem orchestrator. With this view, the general beliefs can be conceptualized as a resource (e.g., Hunt 2018, *competitive position matrix*) for the ecosystem actors to possess, potentially leading to a competitive edge in the field. This reveals a strategic aspect on how ecosystem orchestrators can increase their viability in a manner that may not increase the value per single actor much, but as the size and volume of ecosystem's are increasingly growing, ultimately resulting into notable dimension for strategic advantage and system viability. Hence, although having similarities with brand and imago research, in the context of service ecosystems this view provides a novel way of approaching general beliefs as strategic resources that influence value co-creation in service ecosystems.

7.2 Managerial implications

This paper aims to highlight how the shared beliefs among crowds can affect to the system viability, and thus provides managerial relevance especially for the cases where bi-directional communication may cause durable beliefs related to the focal ecosystem. First, the managers should be aware of identifying those beliefs that restrict and facilitate the value co-creation in the service ecosystem. By approaching the general beliefs as relatively durable structures, management can address these structures in a more holistic and systematic way, by nurturing the value creating beliefs while disrupting the value destructing institutional structures. In other words, this paper suggests that in some

scenarios general beliefs should be given more attention by being treated as explicit resources which can be managed.

Second, the actor mechanism clarifies how the institutional work by variety of actors can be controlled to a certain extent. The direct communication from the company towards ecosystem member can cause value creations by embedding valuable elements in value propositions, such as claims about societal impact or narrating social roles. The companies should take a part in the negotiation of shared beliefs existing in large crowds, for instance by clarifying, teaching and contradicting them depending on their value creation potential. Additionally, the business logic of companies causes varying value for different actors, influencing the beliefs correspondingly. As such, firms should design their business logic to support value creations both in subjective and intersubjective levels of participation, acknowledging their influence on general beliefs. Although the critical mass of platforms is often pursued, managers should evaluate the trade-offs between maximizing the user amount and recruiting members who are more likely to generate value within the business logic. Lastly, the outside ecosystem actors' beliefs, such as politicians and general audience, should be addressed by 1) complying for their requirements, reducing their resistance, and 2) identifying "feasible" beliefs that can cause snowball effects as a result of being concurrent topics in a society, potentially leading into notable viral attention.

Third, the interaction mechanisms provide an abstraction for discussing about the relations of general beliefs, thus supplying managers with a toolbox of addressing certain institutional structures. Utilizing mechanisms of strengthening and disrupting towards institutional structures is straightforward, focusing on beliefs depending on their relation to system viability, but the mechanisms of clashing, aligning and overlapping need to be elaborated. Clashing can be used to disrupt existing beliefs in the large crowds, but also for ecosystem actors. By acknowledging the general beliefs characterized by worry, the companies can construct their value proposition in a way contradicting these worries. Aligning on the other hand can be utilized by systematically creating positive associations with a directly non-related institutional structures, regardless of whether it is directed towards the public or ecosystem members. Hence the societally relevant phenomenon's can be embedded to the communication and the business logic, creating value through, for instance, societal impact, green values, sexual equality, worker rights etcetera. Lastly, the overlapping of the institutional structures drives the attention to the associated actors.

As the ecosystem actors are speaking of same industry competitors often interchangeably, the larger general beliefs surrounding an industry should be evaluated and acknowledged when developing communication strategy.

To summarize, by handling existing discourses in the field strategically, firms can systemically align their communication to support modifying the institutional structure in a way that maximizes the viability of their systems. What this means in practical terms, this would mean e.g., mapping of the distinct discourses and their frequencies occurring in social media, analysing their logical relations to each other, and by integrating this information with strategic communication. Speculating a step further, combined with the recent development in data mining and natural language processing, these relations could be automated through technology, thus integrating data-driven methodology in the management of general beliefs related to a certain ecosystem.

7.3 Limitations and further research implications

This research comes with limitations. First, the methodological selection of single-case study provides a perspective only for one firm, and thus the identified mechanisms cannot be generalized without further research. Additionally, the mechanisms are not argued to be exhaustive: there more than likely exists more patterns that could be identified with different case context.

Second, the empirical data is collected from secondary sources from media, thus making the results also biased towards the media presented way. As such, the discourses provided by media are sensation-gravitating, often discussing about emotionally loaded subjects, hence potentially overemphasizing the role of this type of discourses.

Third, the elicited results have been interpreted by a single researcher, thus including personal biases and noise. This could have been triangulated with multiple researchers increasing the validity and reliability of these results.

The future research implications are as follows. First and foremost, this paper conceptualizes mechanisms of institutional work in service ecosystem, which creates a link between empirical inquiry. As the effect of these institutions to perceived value is still conceptual, the quantified amount as a measure could provide answers to questions whether the consideration of institutional structure is 1) even existing in a statistically significant way, and 2) are the efforts modifying institutional structure even worth the

economic costs. Regardless, the mechanisms provided create a fruitful starting point for operationalizing the effects of institutions for experienced value.

Second, this paper highlights the importance of socio-cognitive/normative pillars of institutions. The regulative pillar is more prone to resistance, as illustrated in the empiric data and the academia (Scott 2014). However, during the research there arose a question on which scenarios regulative ruling should be utilized. For instance, some of the digital platforms like Amazon Seller are imposing very strict regulation for its sellers without a public resistance, whereas Uber Drives has been under rigorous criticism for controlling their drivers through regulative ruling. The further research could examine 1) the conditions under which the business model can utilize regulative ruling in their service design, and 2) what are the trade-offs between regulative ruling and the advantages/disadvantages by imposing them. For instance, with the example of video streaming service and taxi industry, how vital is a single bad experience for the system viability: if a customer has a bad experience in a video stream service, he can just leave, whereas sexual harassment in taxi-industry can cause much more lethal strike for the focal ecosystem. As such, the more closer inspection of institutional arrangements comprising of institutional pillars could provide a starting point for understanding on what business models which pillars should be emphasized to control the behaviours of the platform actors.

Third, as mentioned in previous chapter, the natural language processing and sentiment analysis could provide quantitative ways to map the existing general beliefs existing in the service ecosystem. By utilizing social media data, the logical relations and sentiment of these data samples, these interaction mechanisms could be examined through more quantitative way in grouping distinct logics existing in the discourses.

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9 Appendix

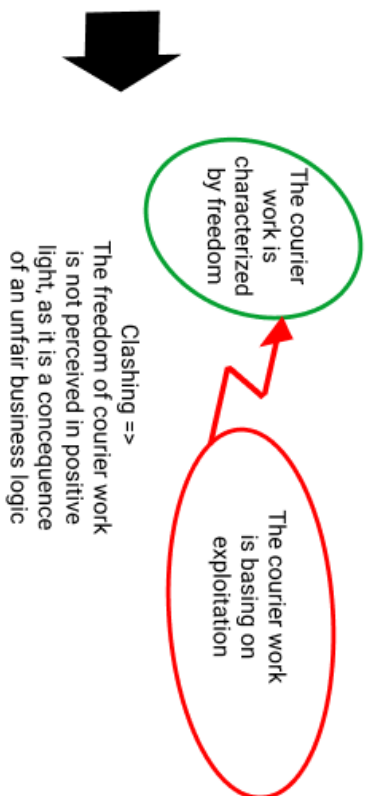
Institutions			
ID	Institution / The unit of institutionalization	Description	Level
I1	Institutional arrangements inside the focal ecosystem	The rules, beliefs and norms of which coordinates the business logic inside the ecosystem	Micro
I2	Focal actor as general actor in society	Rules, beliefs and norms surrounding the focal actor in general	Macro
I3	Platform work	Rules, beliefs and norms surrounding the concept of platform work	Macro
I4	Courier job	Rules, beliefs and norms surrounding the concept of courier job	Micro / Macro
I5	Worker legislation	A set of institutionalized regulative rules	Macro
I6	Desired values in Western society	A set of normatively desired attributes in the Western society, such as freedom, equality and success	Macro
I7	Wolt's role in restaurants' business	General beliefs about the role of Wolt in the restaurants' business	Micro/Macro
I8	Food delivery service	The institutionalized understanding about using food delivery services	Macro

Appendix 1.

1. Discourses in context



2. Interaction mechanisms



3. Resource-integration & Institutional work

