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1 Part I: Bolt & Perspectives

Bolt is an Estonian company founded by Markus Villig in 2013, which started by offering ride-hailing services in Estonia. With only five years after its founding, Bolt reached a valuation of unicorn status of 1 billion dollars (Brasoveanu, 2024). Bolt has expanded its services and operations to food delivery, car-sharing and micromobilities, offering its services in now more than 45 countries all over the globe (Brasoveanu, 2024). The following chapter takes on three organizational theory paradigms and views Bolt from all three lenses of perspectives. Modern, symbolic-interpretive and postmodern allow to shed more light on Bolt as an organization and each lens reveals uniquely hidden sides others do not. In this part, the focus is turned towards its core operations, that is Bolt's ride-hailing platform.

1.1 Modern

Modern perspective views organizations as real, independent from human consciousness, which can be understood through observational data (Hatch, 2013, p. 48). Bolt is thus real entity in a real world and can be described through facts that shine through its actions.

Bolt started its operations in Estonia in 2013. In 2015 company expanded to Latvia, Lithuania and in 2016 launched in South Africa and Kenya (Motte, n.d.). This reflects fast growth, but such decision require certain strategy in order to carry it out quickly and rationally. Indeed, Bolt utilizes data-based foreign market selection research, which includes several factors such as market size (total addressable audience), perceived demand for services, easy of entry (legal system), smartphone and internet penetration rate, supply pool size (number of drivers interested) and macroeconomic factors (Bakare, 2019, p. 41). This reflects modern perspective on data-driven decision-making on foreign expansions based on factual ground. Same is reflected through CEO's comments on "rank[ing] the table and ... [taking] all of our bias away from it and just look[ing] at what does the table say", yielding to expansions to Africa.

Of course, in order to actually create a great product people are willing to engage with, employees have to have certain roles, which is clear with their employing system (Bolt, n.d.-e). These roles are clearly defined, which means that Bolt still operates in Weberian division of labour, which makes sense as almost all profit-seeking corporation still rely on efficiency and reliability.

Bolt now operating in more than 50 countries and over 500 cities worldwide, they operate under many jurisdictions (Bolt, n.d.-g). Thus, its legal environment varies from country to country and requires localization to actually operate in different country markets.

Bolt fosters culture of diversity and inclusion and highlights "open culture where people can chal-

lenge each other regardless of their role or background”. (Bolt, n.d.-g; Bolt Blog, 2024c)

Bolt measures their success mainly using one metric, which has not changed. This is the number of gross bookings (Stebbing, 2024). As CEO Markus Villig puts it: ”the reason for it is that if you have great retention then consumers will keep on returning to the platform, they will keep on doing GMV [Gross Merchandise Value]; if they like it they’re going to be increasing their frequency over time which means they will do even more GMV and they will also get their friends to the platform which will bring even more GMV so again that’s the only north star metric we’re focused on” (Stebbing, 2024, 33:01). While they have other success metrics and goals, this reflects clearly the measurable target, aligning with scientific and mechanistic way of thinking and is by definition modernistic.

1.2 Symbolic-interpretive

Symbolic-interpretive perspective subscribes to idea of that reality only exists because one thinks so, i.e. there are no object truths. It emphasizes point of view of an individual and reality requires to be studied only through one’s experiences. (Hatch, 2013, p. 48)

Symbolic-interpretive view of Bolt shares a way of seeing the organization as not so defined, framed and rigid and that there are more ”truths” and opinions. Indeed, while Bolt follows rational data-based market research expansion strategies, decision-making can be at times chaotic and not rational, i.e. based on emotions - ”trying to launch 10 countries at the same time [...] we were absolutely amateurs” and describing early days as ”mayhem” (Stebbing, 2024, 20:16, 38:14). Of course based on Simon’s bounded rationality theory, humans seek to produce satisfactory results and with opinion pluralities, decisions are made to the best of company’s ability and each employee has its own fingerprints (whether good or bad) on firms actions, reflecting also agency cost problem.

With symbolic-interpretive perspective in mind, it is however clear that organizational membership is not only one-sided relation. While, *de jure* members of Bolt are those who have contract with the company, *de facto* members can also be those who are not employed by Bolt, e.g. drivers, who feel that they work under Bolt. Indeed, Bolt and platform-drivers have grotesque relationship, such as Bolt offering trainings of drivers under Bolt and car stickers with Bolt logo (Bolt, n.d.-a; Bolt Blog, 2024b; Kanife, 2023). Thus, membership is defined only through sense-making and personal identity. On top of that, hierarchical positions for people who work on the platform are not fixed as Bolt has that career growth tracks that allow to climb the corporate ladder (Bolt, n.d.-b). Corporate culture itself also cannot only be understood through words as facts that modernists subscribe to, especially when abstract and social construct. Thus, only opinions from within can shed light on that and reviews of culture of course range from flexible to inspiring to toxic (Glassdoor, n.d.).

While general adaption for use of technology is efficiency as a case from modern perspective, from symbolic-interpretive ease of use of technology consists of varying opinions. For example, technology itself can let users down or those who are not digitally literate have harder time with platform, thus customer service and reporting systems as feedback mechanisms work for the benefit of further development of product and help, therefore it is also not surprising there are bad reviews and complaints of platform and even e.g. response time of customer service (Benzadi, 2024).

Finally, when it comes to what Bolt works for, symbolic-interpretive view looks success as personal and these are positive future prospects of employees and public constitute. They present themselves as working towards a mission of "mak[ing] cities for people, not cars" (Motte, n.d.), which is why progress towards this broad statement is subscribed by many and utilized by Bolt.

1.3 Postmodern

Similar to symbolic-interpretive view, postmodern does not view reality as independent and understanding comes through language. However, contrary to symbolic-interpretive, it views language as always changing, thus cannot fix meaning and is suspicious of all knowledge claims, taking critical angle on everything. (Hatch, 2013, p. 40)

Taking critique on everything, it would consider Bolt's hierarchical positions as established for power and control, metric of success of company as capital and power and decision making done only to enact power and establish more ground. It would criticize Bolt's approach of taking unnecessarily high commission from the rides, even though Bolt claims it offers lower commission than its rival, Uber (Stebbing, 2024). In particular, full on laissez-faire libertarians would view Bolt's platform as unnecessary market in non-competitive battleground while being indifferent of its existence and communists view Bolt's platform as public good and any cut commission as unfair, hence both sides coming to critique Bolt and its nature, opposing abuses of power even if it seems to lead to progress, known as Progress Myth (Hatch, 2013, p. 40).

Postmodernism does not like the idea of single reality, thus corporate culture is seen as fluid, in constant change, which for abstract concepts also makes a lot of sense. For example, Bolt embraces diversity within the company and on the platform and its recent introduction of project "Women for Women" allows women to get picked up by female Bolt drivers, investing over 2.5 million euros to attract women drivers, which displays inclusive and acknowledging culture from post-modernistic lens. But as with any other postmodernistic aspect, it can be argued whether this actually displays progressive culture as root problem is not a gender, but inappropriate behavior of some male drivers (Bolt, n.d.-g; Izumrudov, 2025).

Table 1: Summarised comparison table.

	Modern	Symbolic- interpretive	Postmodern
Organizational membership	People, who have employee contract with Bolt	Individual self-idea of belonging	Gig-workers also part of organization
Hierarchical positions	Clearly defined job categories	Opportunity to learn & climb the corporate ladder	Established for power and control
Concept of platform	As a product generating well-being & revenue	As a means of transportation service	As a unnecessary marketplace taking high commissions
Legal environment	Country jurisdictions where Bolt operates	Constant relationship understandings of legal department	Created by Bolt itself (e.g. Bolt lobbying governments)
Corporate culture	Fast-moving and performance-focused	Ranging opinions of flexible to inspiring to toxic	No single culture, fluid
Ease of use of technology	Efficiency increasing	Individual feelings with report system	Addressing the needs, lessening the job demands
Decision making	Based on data	Based on emotions	Based on maneuvering means of control and power
Definition of success	Number of gross bookings	Positive views by employees, general public, such as "make cities for people, not cars"	Capital and power

The ease of use of technology can be for postmodernists both positive and negative. It can see as adaption of this platform technology as addressing the actual needs and lessen job demands as

people can more easily connect and solve real-life problems. However postmodernism can also lead to arguing the opposite, i.e. technology is so unnecessary and complicated to understand that it will lead to actually increased job demands and shifting problems, not eliminating them.

While basic modern view sees legal environment as fixed, post-modern has ready on critique of Bolt as Bolt is a player who nudges and actually lobbies the rules and laws. Bolt has been one of the companies to whom governments turn, in order to ask how one should regulate new business models, such as gig-workers or ride-hailing services, with Bolt also pushing for desirable outcomes with EU Platform Work Directive (Corporate Europe Observatory, 2024; Stebbings, 2024).

1.4 Conclusion

Table 1 summarizes discussed grouping by perspectives and key dimensions. While these dimensions are only a part of understanding Bolt, they uncover that all three paradigmatic lenses are powerful and not necessarily wrong, simultaneously. Thus, it is important to note that no perspective is superior. With these insights from each perspective looked *in corpore*, only then will one get much better understanding of Bolt and how it operates.

2 Part II: Bolt's practices and strategy toward new technologies

Bolt operates in global scale and has international value creation chain. On top of that, Bolt is relatively new company and revolutionizes the way of transportation with technology at its core. Therefore, Bolt's success has come through doing things, differently and better, through utilization of technology. On top of that, Bolt still operates on going concern principle and seeks to write future on its own terms. This means they not only have past practices of their approach towards new advantageous technology, but also ambitions and strategies for future technologies. This section considers theories of Bharadwaj et al.'s digital business strategy dimensions and Scherer et al.'s concept of organized immaturity. These two theories were chosen due to their flexible nature and aligning with Bolt's digital nature and digital futuristic visions. While digital business strategy dimensions are concerned with efficiency and rationality, thus adhering to modern perspective, concept of organized immaturity will be used as postmodernistic as it takes critique on Enlightenment and progress of Bolt's aspirations. Together these two theories uncover Bolt's strategies towards technologies and critique on these strategies, offering balanced view on technology.

2.1 Bharadwaj et al., 2013

In the paper called “Digital Business Strategy: Toward a Next Generation of Insights” by Bharadwaj et al., authors identified four key themes that guide of thinking of digital business strategies. They define digital business strategy as ”organizational strategy formulated and executed by leveraging digital resources to create differential value”. These themes are the scope, the scale, the speed and the source of business value creation and capture in digital business strategy. (Bharadwaj et al., 2013, p. 472)

The scope of digital business strategy concerns of questions of transcendentalistic nature of digital business strategy across silos, exploitation of extended business ecosystems, digitization of services and information. The scale of digital business strategy concerns of questions of leverage of network effects and multisided platforms, data and knowledge abundance and alliances and partnerships. The speed of digital business strategy concerns of question of speed of product launches, decision making, supply chain orchestration and network formation and adaptation. Finally, the theme of sources of value creation and capture is concerned with effectiveness of leveraging value from information, multisided business models.

2.2 Bharadwaj et al. in light of Bolt

Bolt has technology at its core, as it came to disrupt old taxi industry with platform overthrowing it. This reflects clear fact that business strategy, which is indeed their digital business strategy, is at center of its operations. Yet, still points shine through its approach towards business and reflects really importance of new age of business strategies, or as Bharadwaj et al. put it, digital business strategies.

Firstly, the scope of Bolt’s digital business strategy consists of strategy spanning across silos, i.e. digital business strategy can be viewed as being inherently transfunctional, which aims towards building a smart city transportation super-app (Bharadwaj et al., 2013; invest in estonia, 2021). Also, Bolt’s services are inherently loosely coupled dynamic ecosystem, always seeking to innovate and extend, reflecting their strategy extending beyond the scope of existing firm boundaries.

Secondly, the scale of Bolt’s digital business strategy is rapid scaling of services, which is why they also have adopted toward use of cloud computing, running on global databases and spanning across services such as IBM Cloud, AWS and Elastic Cloud (Bolt, n.d.-c; Elastic, n.d.), which enables them to cut down costs and manages their global scaling much better. The importance of scale in strategy is outlined by CEO himself: ”once you cross a certain threshold then [business] becomes self-sustaining if you hit critical mass and then it becomes a massively profitable business” (Stebbing, 2024,

22:17). This aligns with network effects within multisided platforms, i.e. value increases as drivers and passengers engage more and more on the platform and for Bolt, this self-sustaining threshold for one market is 25% of market share, subsidizing it initially heavily (Stebbing, 2024, 22:22, 22:39), indicating Bolt's strategy towards scale and network effects. The ambition of scaling makes use of lot of data abundance, integrating micro internet of things devices and data to develop smarter algorithms, which adopt to changes in city transportation, demonstrating scale of data (Karpištšenko, 2018). Scale is also written in their approaches towards Bolt's open partnerships and alliances through common digital solutions and ambitions, these include partnerships with European Commission, International Transport Forum and collaborations of all kinds with Oslo's Ruter public transport system and global car rental company Hertz and insurance company Allianz Partners, just to name few (Allianz Partners, 2021; Bolt Blog, 2024a; Electronomous, n.d.; International Transport Forum, 2023; May, Tiana, 2024)

The speed of digital business strategy, as Villig puts it, is "the most important thing in startup growth and development" (Stebbing, 2024, 39:40). They are under constant agile development, "launching new features within days not months" (Karpištšenko, 2018). However, rational speed of product launches is important and hurrying in a wrong way actually loses time, not wins, as Bolt saw (Stebbing, 2024). Also, with new AI tools, speed in decision-making and responding to challenges (like customer complaints), gets faster and better (Stebbing, 2024). The speed of supply chain orchestration is achieved through open use of global cloud services and close monitoring of all systems in order to assure that first mover advantage is actually captured through ready-to-use products and services (Bharadwaj et al., 2013; Stebbing, 2024).

Similar to other top companies which are digital in core base their *raison d'être* in multisided business models, the same is with Bolt. For example, Bolt app is free to use, and Bolt captures value only through commission of people engaging with the platform and the competitive advantage is achieved offering lower commissions than other players in the market (Bakare, 2019). Also, value capture happens across multiple markets, both in terms of location, but also in terms of offered products, as they are not only offering on ride-hailing services, but also expanding towards food delivery and future ambitions towards smart dining payments (Stebbing, 2024, 01:18:36). Coordinated value capture as already mentioned is through cooperation and partnerships.

These aspects highlight fascinating reasons why Bolt has been the disruptor, so successful and is dictating the future of urban mobility.

2.3 Scherer et al., 2023 & Organized Immaturity

While the paper “New Challenges to the Enlightenment: How Twenty-First-Century Sociotechnological Systems Facilitate Organized Immaturity and How to Counteract It” by Scherer et al. considers concept of organized immaturity and explores how to counteract it, in this paper, I will make use of only concept of organized immaturity laid out in the paper.

Scherer et al. define organized immaturity as ”the erosion of individuals’ and collectives’ capacities for public use of reason, facilitated by recent sociotechnological developments that simultaneously collect, analyze, and manipulate data on social exchange and have the capacity to normatively influence the behavior of individuals and social groups instantaneously” (Scherer et al., 2023, p. 411). The threats created by organized immaturity can be grouped into two groups: threats to liberties and threats to democracy.

These new sociotechnological systems such smart cities and internet of things are based on big data, machine learning and artificial intelligence algorithms. Algorithms range from selecting information to nudging behaviors. The feature of these systems is mostly that they have emerged through voluntary action in democratic societies and organized immaturity thus does not need to be centrally planned.

Organized immaturity reveals a consistent critique of sociotechnological systems as mechanisms that prioritize efficiency, profit, and control over individual and collective development. Scherer et al. do historical recap of these critiques. This includes Arendt’s critique of encouraging passive dependence on automated processes, Fromm’s escape from freedom becoming ”an automaton” seeking validity and approval of others, Marcuse’s containment of social change already co-opted into dependence of systems, Foucault’s critique on individuals becoming subjects of system and Zuboff’s surveillance capitalism taking a grip on human life through its datafication (Scherer et al., 2023).

2.4 Scherer et al.’s Organized Immaturity in light of Bolt

Bolt’s vision of smart cities with their super-app connecting self-driving cars with micromobility devices offers perfect angle on post-modernistic siege on this concept.

Organized immaturity and its grip on liberty can be seen coming through slow steady process. Firstly, while people opt to abandoning personal cars and relying on Bolt’s ecosystem, these are first steps people do on their passive dependence of new technology and automated processes. Bolt observes that future is of self-driving units and while Bolt is not itself at fore-front of developing these systems, they believe that their competence indeed comes from managing and deploying these system, i.e. managing smart cities (Stebbing, 2024, 01:20:53). The desire of building single super-app of urban mobility thus is clear warning sign in terms of human reliance on these systems -

whether eventually these systems break down and humans are unable to operate without these system, aligning with Marcuse's critique or Foucault's critique on liberty loss in terms of smart algorithms optimizing behavior of humans themselves, thus finally in pursuit of sustainability gradually screwing down operations, boxing people to their own cubicles (parallel with Forster's "The Machine Stops"). Fromm's critique on compulsive conforming is postmodernistic in terms of people abandoning their car and using only Bolt's services to conform to others at social media, leading to people giving up their identities to not feel alone, losing nature of independence and oneself.

Bolt utilizes a lot of machine learning for route planning (Karpištšenko, 2018), AI solutions for customer relations (Stebbing, 2024, 01:22:55) and other so-called black-box systems. As Bolt builds partnerships, such as with public transportation systems like Oslo's Ruter, and aggregates and distributes data, Zuboff's critique of surveillance capitalism is not far-fetched, because behavior gets controlled by smart solutions due to profit-seeking behavior of Bolt and other competitors. This actually more poses a risk on democracy, as it is first to be taken, after which liberty from individuals is captured.

2.5 Conclusion

In this section, Bolt approach towards technology got dissected by modernistic framework of digital business strategy and postmodernistic concept of organized immaturity. Indeed, Bharadwaj et al. offers a way to see why Bolt has been so successful and uncovers its multidimensional strategy related to new technology. Bolt is in its core digital and thus scope of strategy is transcendental, scale is using cloud services, speed is continuous and value capture is smartly tweaked multisided business model. However, with its merits and expansions, Scherer et al.'s organizational immaturity brings rationality back into broader picture. Bolt's approach is both danger to liberty and democracy and while this might be far-fetched or sound like sci-fi, nevertheless, sensible critique is always welcomed. Indeed, postmodernistic view of organizational immaturity caused by Bolt, dislikes its approach on encouraging abandoning of cars, giving up identity to look and seem sustainable and capitalistic way of measuring and optimizing everything to achieve progress. People use Bolt and other modern sociotechnological systems voluntarily for gain, but in turn this gain might not actually be a gain, if one gets its liberties and democracies striped away, locking the bodies to closed spaces, and dictating the mind under the baton of optimized super-app Bolt.

3 Part III: Bolt's practices and strategy toward organizational change

Times are turbulent and changing more rapidly than ever before. This applies to both in terms of international relations, but for smaller actors too, such as individual companies that need to survive in these drifting, uncertain waters. Therefore, changes in operating environments demand players to also change themselves. However, "it is not the strongest species that survive, nor the most intelligent that survive. It is the ones that are most adaptable to change" as Darwin has wisely said. Not only companies have to change due to external circumstances, but also because there are internal desires to change to achieve better outcomes, etc. Thus, strategies towards organizational changes is due to both extrinsic and intrinsic causes. Bolt wants and needs to be adaptive and throughout a decade of being active has shown its ability to carry out organizational change. This section considers theories of Ouchi's control mechanisms and Gagliardi's model of culture in relation to strategy. These theories were chosen, because modernist Ouchi uncovers Bolt's attempt to control change through different mechanisms, while symbolic-interpretivist Gagliardi reveals Bolt's sense-making attempts towards cultural changes. Together they reveal balanced understanding on how to manage organizational change, showcasing also the importance of ambidexterity of perspectives in managerial approaches.

3.1 Ouchi, 1979

Ouchi in his paper "A Conceptual Framework for the Design of Organizational Control Mechanisms" outlines great modernist framework on how to set up organizational control mechanisms. The paper is concerned with how to manage problems of "achieving cooperation among individuals who hold partially divergent objectives" (Ouchi, 1979, p. 845). Paper lays out three control mechanisms: these are market, bureaucratic and clan mechanisms. Ouchi maps these mechanisms along two dimensions: the informational requirements necessary to operate each control type and the social underpinnings necessary to operate control types. Table 2 by Ouchi reveals characteristics of each type of control.

Market mechanism is a type of control, which only requires norm of reciprocity. This means that one party can expect that other party does not cheat in transaction and if one cheats another, then cheater will get punished by all the members in the system. Informational requirements for market is price, i.e. price is achieved through a process of competitive bidding. (Ouchi, 1979)

Bureaucracy comes into force, if market conditions are not enough, and legitimate authority is in need, i.e. higher office holders have right to command and monitor subordinates. Informational requirements are thus only presented through rules for legitimate authority. (Ouchi, 1979)

Clan mechanism adds also culture, i.e. shared values and beliefs to bureaucracy system. This

is clearly most demanding as it requires a socialization of new organizational members such that internalize values, practices that will lead to desired levels of performance. Informational requirements are traditions, which convey information (values and beliefs). (Hatch, 2013; Ouchi, 1979)

Ouchi notes that one will not observe a pure market, a pure bureaucracy or a pure clan - real organization have features of each mode of control (Ouchi, 1979, p. 840). Ouchi highlights two ways of creating effective people control: either it can take people who fit its exact needs or take people and train and monitor them with managerial systems to achieve sufficient level of excellency. Thus, one extreme of treatment of people is through unselective treatments where selection has no criteria and the other end is selecting carefully highly competent people who already have both skills and values organization needs. Choosing and designing a system depends on cost of search and acquisition and cost of training and supervision.

The author also suggests that mechanisms of market and bureaucratic variety can be fruitful for organizations that fit requirements for behavior or output control, e.g. manufacturing industries. Other cases, such as hospitals and research centers, which seek long-term innovation, have no easy measurable outputs, thus are able to have only cultural or clan forms of control. (Ouchi, 1979, p. 845)

Table 2: Social and Informational Prerequisites of Control (Ouchi, 1979, p. 838)

Type of Control	Social Requirements	Informational Requirements
Market	Norm of Reciprocity	Prices
Bureaucracy	Norm of Reciprocity, Legitimate Authority	Rules
Clan	Norm of Reciprocity, Legitimate Authority, Shared Values, Beliefs	Traditions

3.2 Ouchi in light of Bolt

Bolt posits various forms of control mechanism, and as Ouchi noted, no pure control mechanism exists in a real setting. However, one can observe that Bolt platform is a type of market control

mechanism and Bolt departments which dictate and build the ecosystems have form of a clan control, with localized departments are most of bureaucratic type. Thus, each control type dictates how Bolt might carry out need of change.

Starting with market control mechanism, it is clear that Bolt ride-hailing platform which encapsulates Bolt drivers, is a type of market control with flavors of bureaucracy control. This is due to it is open marketplace and people themselves decide when and how much they work. This means people are evaluated by contributions and permits non-organizational goals, but at a personal loss of reward (Ouchi, 1979). Indeed, this is reflect through Bolt's contributions of branding car with Bolt stickers to earn bonuses with working any number of hours, even with cases of exceeding 10 working hours a day without resting (Bolt, 2020; Koppel, 2024). Also, Bolt drivers are not employed by Bolt. Market control system works for Bolt because they care about output measurement, sufficient number of drivers on platform to satisfy the demand (Stebbing, 2024, 15:03). Yet, as mentioned they have bureaucratic elements, such as training, supervision centers, that need to respond to driver and passenger complaints. They have established rules on how to be a driver under Bolt. While Bolt does not command drivers, reflecting market control, it has the means to supervise through terms of conditions and design of application and suspend Bolt driver in case of harm, breaking of agreements, laws (Bolt, n.d.-d).

Bureaucracy is of course also established within Bolt offices, because some type of hierarchy still exists in Bolt. It is easiest way to resolve goal alignments, especially if there are conflicts or uncertainty in decision-making up in the air. However, more exciting would be clan control, which also Bolt has set up from ground zero. CEO's spirit of employing already intelligent and hard-working people ensures that common culture, shared beliefs and values are strengthened and encouraged, as he puts it that one "need[s] to have a great process for weeding out for the people with right values" (Stebbing, 2024, 58:19). This means corporate culture is supported by every employee, holding hard-working, frugal, innovative mindset and values of pursuing sustainability (Stebbing, 2024). Therefore, this type of clan control allows Bolt to trust their employees to work on projects they would like with "employees treated as mini-entrepreneurs" (Bolt, n.d.-f). This means organizational change is slow and invisible to happen as innovation is not something behavioral and output measurements can control and thus ceremonial rituals are practiced (Ouchi, 1979, p. 844). Bolt holds annual summits, where objectives are to bring everyone together across all offices around the globe, create collaborate bonds and realign focuses and goals about future and growth (Beaworld, 2024). As Ouchi notes that while these community events or social events might seem useless, they are best way to apply "control" on organization if rational evaluation is impossible (no behavior or output measurements

for innovation) as it will still serve the purpose of rewarding those who display values which are likely to lead to organizational success and reminding everyone that they have a greater goal and what they are supposed to achieve (Ouchi, 1979, p. 844).

But sometimes values are not enough, e.g. if people are not seeing eye-to-eye. Turning back to bureaucratic control, Bolt recently introduced return-to-office (RTO) mandate, enforcing behavioral aspect of working in office as culture was failing, likely due to wrong employees being employed (Jackson, 2024; Ouchi, 1979). Bolt's CEO comment on "stop[ing] the insanity of people working remotely from place like Bali" reflects that values of those disalign with CEO's focus, thus management reinforcing stronger form of control, namely shifting from clan to bureaucratic in terms of RTO policy.

Whether the organizational change entails in need for driver behavior or value alignment, Bolt clearly employees all types of control outlined by Ouchi. Bolt driver behavior can be written within rules of platform use, thus adding to bureaucratic aspect to otherwise market control mechanism. Value alignment can be tweaked with clan control of ritualized practices, yet effects are invisible and innovation can be seen retrospectively, if at all as these relationships are not that straight-forward. Yet, e.g. as Bolt struggles with holding unique innovative corporate culture, it introduced recently return-to-office mandate, thus pulling brakes on clan control and turning towards usual bureaucratic control mechanism.

3.3 Gagliardi, 1986

Gagliardi in his paper "The Creation and Change of Organizational Cultures: A Conceptual Framework" considers strategies on how cultural change can come about. In particular Gagliardi in his theory uses notion of culture as assumptions and values and asserts that organization's primary strategy is the maintenance of its cultural identity (Gagliardi, 1986, p. 124; Hatch, 2013, p. 186). Secondary strategies are there to protect the core identity and Gagliardi sees two types of secondary strategies. Instrumental strategies are operational in nature, they address problems with specific measurable objectives. Expressive strategies, as name suggest, are to protect stability and coherence of shared meanings, thus they are symbolic in nature. Figure 1 reflects the model.

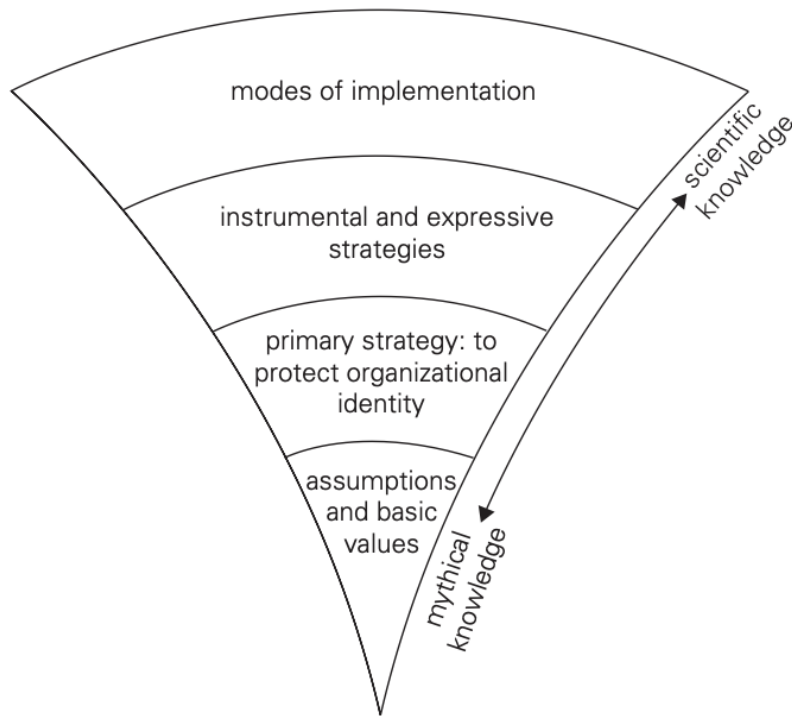
Gagliardi identified three system-types of change: apparent cultural change, cultural revolution and cultural incrementalism (Gagliardi, 1986, p. 133).

When strategies align with existing organizational assumptions and values, cultures do not change, they only appear to do so. This apparent cultural change is due organization adapting the strategy, which is spurred from within the exciting core culture and identity. (Hatch, 2013, p. 187)

Cultural revolution refers to the fact that new strategies are antagonistic towards older ones. This

is tied with extremely high costs, need for new personnel, symbols, investments and abandoning old symbols, personnel and investments. This means rather that "old firm [has] died and that a new firm, which has little in common with the first, was born" (Gagliardi, 1986, p. 130).

Figure 1: Model of culture in relation to strategy and identity (Gagliardi, 1986, p. 127; Hatch, 2013, p. 187)



However, if new strategy is not orthogonal towards traditional ones, but just different, then the new strategy is likely to be adopted by the organization. This is seen as incremental process if new emergent values are built upon and inserted into the hierarchy of current operational ones. The conditions include that organization should collectively experience success in exercising the new competences and the leadership should promote the mythical interpretation of success after it has happened. (Gagliardi, 1986; Hatch, 2013)

3.4 Gagliardi in light of Bolt

Cultural revolution is hard to see, especially if company such as Bolt is relatively new and is a disruptor, not incumbent. However, it can still be seen when looked their change of name and branding. Bolt rebranded itself away from earlier brand name Taxify with intention to grow into much "broader transportation platform, providing ride-hailing with cars and motorbikes, as well as scooter sharing" (invest in estonia, 2019), moving away from only taxi dispatch services, referring to brand elasticity problem (Clarence, 2024). This cultural revolution happened through also rebranding logo, missions

and values. This is why also name "Bolt" was picked to reflect its agility and speed, as well as electricity. Villig believes that future is electric and "wanted a name that moved them away from the combustion engine" (invest in estonia, 2019). Core values were overthrown by idea of multi-modal transportation and green mobility, away from just taxis with "combustion engines" (Clarence, 2024; invest in estonia, 2019).

Incremental cultural change can be seen in terms of number of strategies that portray and make Bolt as greener and more sustainable company. For example, their sustainability strategy, which includes commitments to 100% carbon net-zero by 2040 and 90% of waste going to circular economy solutions by 2030, reflect their instrumental and expressive strategies (Bolt, n.d.-h). They are instrumental, because they are specific and objectively measurable and expressive, because they are part of its part of their PR image and it adheres and protects core view of its employees of Bolt's mission of creating sustainable and smart transportation for smart cities.

Similarly, return-to-office policy, which aims to change culture towards more collaborative, is in its nature both instrumental and expressive strategies: instrumental as it sees strong correlation between office attendance and performance and expressive as it clearly tries to "restart ambitious culture to compete in the highest league" (Jackson, 2024). The conditions are there as Gagliardi laid out, i.e. change is not contradictory with core values, organization is experiencing success in cohesion and leadership and managers promote its mythical interpretation of success (Gagliardi, 1986; Jackson, 2024).

3.5 Conclusion

Interplay of modern perspective and symbolic-interpretive perspective is clearly seen through Bolt's strategy towards organizational change. While Bolt tries to manage its control and culture by pulling levers, Bolt also works on change through protecting collective underpinnings of its identity and culture, listening to what employees aspire to. For example, one of the policy changes analyzed was its RTO mandate. Through the lens of modernist Ouchi, it was clear bureaucratic control mechanism to increase office attendance, bringing people together and this leads to better performance due to correlation between those variables. On the other hand, glasses of symbolic-interpretivist Gagliardi see RTO mandate as secondary cultural change strategy aimed at strengthening aspects of Bolt's core culture such as high-performance and innovation and has come on play through employees also seeing it beneficial and thus supporting and fancying it. Bolt thus adheres to both theories and both perspectives, revealing that successful organizations do not see one way more correct than another, but implement hybrid strategies on complex problems.

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