PhD thesis

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FOSTERING VIRTUE AMONG AUTORICKSHAW DRIVERS IN SRI LANKA
A Case Study of an Urban Sharing Institution

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ABSTRACT

This study, using the theories of MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics, Institutional Theory and Algorithmic Management, explores the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework and Institutional Work strategies in a non-western context among autorickshaw drivers transiting to roles in a prominent ride-sharing app company in Colombo, Sri Lanka. This research builds on the empirical studies conducted by Moore (2012), Fernando and Moore (2015), and Chu and Moore (2020) with the application of Virtue Ethics based on a conceptual framework drawn from MacIntyre's work. Hitherto, no serious research project has engaged autorickshaw drivers regarding professional conduct and ethical practices to learn how institutions can effectively and meaningfully foster ethical practice. The aim of this research was to discover how institutions can effectively encourage and sustain virtuous conduct using Virtue Ethics and Institutional Theory. Based on case study research conducted in Colombo, Sri Lanka, the findings support the use of the MacIntyrean Framework not only in non-western contexts, but among loosely organized network institutions. This research also uncovered novel Institutional Work strategies (notably, frequent performance reflection and ethics training being the most effective) and virtues (acquiescence, moderation and self-care being discovered) as well as confirming the ethical dilemmas inherent in subordinating managerial functions to the application's algorithm. This case analysis builds on empirical data from previous case studies, field observations and 25 interviews with management, founders, and rank-and-file autorickshaw drivers who are a part of the ride-sharing institution PickMe.

FOSTERING VIRTUE AMONG AUTORICKSHAW DRIVERS IN SRI LANKA

A Case Study of an Urban Sharing Institution

a dissertation by

Christopher M. Jensen

submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of
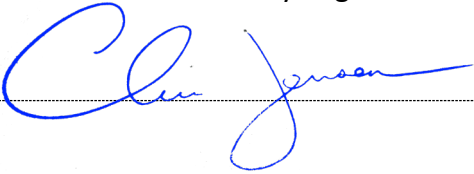
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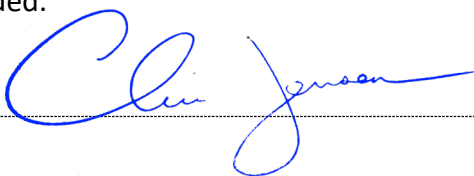
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STATEMENT 1

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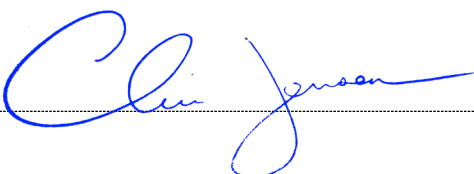
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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my wife, Jana Jensen, who has sacrificially given so much through all my academic endeavours. I couldn't have done this without you. I love you!

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My first acknowledgement is to Jesus, the most ethical person I know, a paragon of virtue, and the individual who makes the most compelling argument for how humanity ought to live. Jesus, you are the inspiration for this research.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Chapter Introduction

This PhD project describes the qualitative case study research conducted in Sri Lanka among autorickshaw drivers and the PickMe ride-hailing institution. This thesis includes: introductory information on my research contributions and questions; background information and a description of the context; a literature review of past studies and academic frameworks that influence the project; a description of the methodology employed; and substantial findings from data collected in January 2020 and March 2022. In addition, two chapters discuss these findings and draw conclusions, including how the results contribute to knowledge and advance or extend the literature on theories of Virtue Theory and Institutional Work.

This research project focuses on how the PickMe institution in Colombo, Sri Lanka, aims to instil and maintain virtuous conduct among the autorickshaw drivers who partner with PickMe. This qualitative research study, using the lenses of MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics and Institutional Work, investigates how management at PickMe designed systems, technology, and culture to encourage and promote virtue within its ranks. Additionally, it seeks to study the effect of those measures at the grassroots level and engage with the drivers of PickMe on how these measures have influenced their practices.

This project is important because of its focus on a particular enclave of autorickshaw drivers who have voluntarily signed up to use the PickMe digital application and subordinated their professional practice to the influence of the PickMe institution. Hitherto, most of the 1.2 million tuk-tuk drivers (World 2019) in Sri Lanka work independently and are only regulated by meter fares by the government. The novel interface of the PickMe institution and its professional and ethical protocols with drivers who have historically operated independently of institutional forces presents a unique phenomenon worthy of a robust study. In addition, virtually all empirical studies on Virtue Ethics (with few exceptions which will be highlighted later) have been conducted in Western contexts or Western-style institutions rather than among a loosely organised network of independent workers. That too, reinforces both the importance and

novelty of this research. The problem this research study sought to investigate was by what means and how effective the PickMe institution was in fostering virtue among a workforce that historically is considered unethical and generally operated independently of institutional forces. The rationale for this study will be explored more fully in the next section.

1.1 Rationale for this study

Over the decades, the autorickshaw industry in South Asia has garnered a reputation of being unethical and corrupt, in part because those who drive autorickshaws function independent of institutional influence and governmental regulation. Over the past ten years, new for-profit and non-profit initiatives have come about seeking various ways to implement ethics within the autorickshaw industry in South Asia. Some of these have utilised technology to create ride-hailing applications that bring taxi and autorickshaw drivers together with passengers. Many of these types of enterprises have developed codes of conduct, ethical training programmes and a system of reward and sanctions for their drivers and thus influence them in much the same way as a formal organisational structure. They hope to instil virtuous habits within the industry, thus providing fertile ground for a robust analysis of the implementation process of Virtue Ethics among workers in this informal context.

As will be further explained in depth in Chapter 2, the autorickshaw industry as a segment within the sharing economy and specifically the PickMe institution within the context of Sri Lanka, provides a compelling group to focus on for this research project. The sharing economy and the attending non-traditional institutional structures have been scarcely researched. In addition, the traditional function of autorickshaw drivers as independent contractors who recently have transitioned to sharing institutions provide a unique group to focus on the study of moral change and growth in ethical practices. Sri Lanka, as will be mentioned in section 2.5, provides a compelling research context because of the religious diversity and tradition the exists there. PickMe, as will be later explained in section 2.4, being ostensibly oriented towards imparting professional conduct, provides a worthwhile institution to focus on for this case study.

This thesis investigates how the concept of Virtue Ethics developed by Alasdair MacIntyre can be applied in network institutions (specifically Urban Sharing organisations) in Sri Lanka, taking into account the resident virtues and values held by Sri Lankans and incorporating theories of Institutional Work pioneered by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006). Institutional Work will be the framework with which we examine the implementing mechanisms of business ethics used by management. It will also be the framework by which we investigate the challenge of Algorithmic Management and the ethical challenges inherent in subordinating ethical management to a digital application.

Because of the unusual nature of this combination of theories, their inclusion and interaction with one another will be explained below. Questions about MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management and why they were used as theoretical concepts to frame this research will be answered.

1.1.1 Why MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics?

Business Ethics research formally began as an academic discipline in the 1960s (Bartels 1967) and since then business leaders have been collaborating with academia to uncover effective ways to embed ethics within organisations, spurred on by the increasing frequency of financial and ethical scandals in the business world during the last few decades (Vitell et al. 2011). As theories in Business Ethics developed, research in this category often studied how variables like ethnicity, religion, culture, and education, as well as other types of variables, contribute to the implementation, embedding or diffusion of business ethics within organisations. Further to this, as business ethics scholars looked at business institutions, they began to look at the institution and the members of the institution and how they regarded ethical values. Hunt (1989) believed that corporate ethical values comprised a 'composite of the individual ethical values of managers and both the formal and informal policies on ethics of the organisation' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:245; Hunt et al. 1989). Academic studies looked to define how corporate values related to right and wrong actions and things worth doing (Jansen & Von Glinow 1985), standards for superior job performance (Weeks & Nantel 1992) and organisational success (Hunt et al. 1989).

There are several traditions of thought regarding how to conceptualise ethics. Consequentialism holds that the consequences of one's action (beneficial or otherwise) form the basis of the rightness or wrongness of one's actions (Various 1972). Deontology holds that a series of rules based on universal principles define an action's rightness or wrongness (Waller 2010). Virtue Ethics, by contrast, focuses on the moral virtue of the person (Carr & Steutel 1999). The emphasis of the earlier schools of thought is on the actions or behaviour of the actor. Virtue Ethics, by contrast, focuses on the character of the actor, thus emphasising an actor's *being* rather than their actions (Carr & Steutel 1999). It is this focus on the character that is catching notice in the business world, as managers and entrepreneurs alike look for novel ways to influence and promote virtuous behaviour within the institutions that they create and govern.

In analysing the institutional influences on ethical practice in business, it is worthwhile to study the concepts of Virtue Ethics, which originated in the teaching of Socrates, Aristotle, and Plato. Current research relies largely on articulations pioneered by moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre, who has been a pioneer in the revival of what academics know as Aristotelian and neo-Aristotelian Virtue Ethics. A virtue can be generally defined as a 'character trait, such as a habitual action or a settled sentiment' (Hursthouse 2018:2). The claim made by proponents of Virtue Ethics is that virtues are the product of a life of consistently practising virtuous behaviour. This is 'distinguished from single actions or feelings' (Hursthouse 2018:2). According to MacIntyre, virtues are 'dispositions not only to act in particular ways but also to feel in particular ways. To act virtuously…is to act from inclination formed by the cultivation of the virtues' (MacIntyre 2007:149). The habitual action flows from a central disposition which, it is claimed, fluctuates little over time.

MacIntyre's seminal work on Virtue Ethics is a book titled *After Virtue*, which was originally published in 1981 and was updated and published several times, culminating in his final edition in 2007 (MacIntyre 2007). MacIntyre also published several other major works, including *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (MacIntyre 1988), *Three Rival Versions of Moral Inquiry* (MacIntyre 1990b) and *Dependent Rational Animals* (MacIntyre 1999). MacIntyre is credited with reviving pre-modern ethical philosophies like those of Plato, Aristotle, and Thomas Aquinas to make

Virtue Ethics a prominent and viable moral philosophy in the 20th and 21st century (O'Rourke 2009). When MacIntyre was conferred an honorary doctorate, Professor Fran O'Rourke mentioned in 2009, 'There is no such thing as a MacIntyrean philosophy; rather the MacIntyrean practice of seeking ground-making answers' (O'Rourke 2009:3). His seminal work in framing Virtue Ethics for the modern world is likely his greatest contribution to the world.

Contemporary Virtue Ethics began with the work of Elizabeth Anscombe in the 1950s and her famous article 'Modern Moral Philosophy' (Anscombe 1958). She was one of the first scholars to suggest a move away from normative ethics' emphasis focus on rules and obligation (deontology) and outcomes (consequentialism). This touched off a renewed interest in Aristotelian thinking which led to a bevy of scholarship on what would become known as Virtue Ethics, including the works of Pieper in *The Four Cardinal Virtues* (1990)*,* Geach's *The Virtues* (1977), Foot's *Virtues and Vices* (2002), and McDowell's 'Virtue and Reason' (1979). Bernard Williams, another prominent philosopher, called for a broader understanding of ethics, rejecting a narrower understanding of morality and incorporating notions of emotions, friends, family and society in the conception of ethics (Williams 1981).

Over the past 70 years several variations of virtue ethics have emerged. Most virtue ethicists, including Alasdair MacIntyre, would subscribe to the Eudaimonist stream of virtue ethics. In this stream, taking its name from the Greek word *eudaimonia* which is Greek for a state of flourishing, virtues should be cultivated precisely because they contribute towards *eudaimonia.* It is this causal link that makes Eudaimonist Virtue Ethics distinctive (Hursthouse 2012). A second stream, Agent-based Virtue Ethics, became popular through contributions from Michael Slote and Linda Zagzebski, in which the primary feature is the role of the 'motivational and dispositional qualities of agents' (Hursthouse 2012:28). In this case the rightness or wrongness of behaviour is measured by the motives of the actor (Snow 2018). A third stream of Virtue Ethics is called the Ethics of Care. It was popularized by more feminist thinkers who believed that caring and nurturing should be elevated along with notions of justice and autonomy in Virtue Ethics (Athanassoulis 2024). Some scholars, however, argue that Ethics of Care is not a distinct approach within Virtue Ethics, but believe care ethics should be 'subsumed under virtue ethics by

construing *care* as an important virtue' (Halwani 2003:161). Hursthouse (2012) also mentions Target-Centered Virtue Ethics, popularized by scholar Christine Swanton (2003), and Platonistic Virtue Ethics as distinct approaches in addition to the previous three, although some scholars argue Platonistic Virtue Ethics is rather a variation on Eudaimonistic Virtue Ethics (Hursthouse 2012).

It is worth mentioning theological or Christian virtue ethics at this point. The Greek notion of virtues was first integrated into Christian thinking by Ambrose of Milan in the 3rd Century AD (Ambrose 2018). Thomas Aquinas articulated a more comprehensive consideration of virtues in the *Summa Theologica* (2014) and the *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* (1993), both written in the 12th Century AD. The central guide for Christian virtue ethics is rooted in the notion of imitation of Jesus Christ. Lawler and Salzman suggest that the 'controlling principle of Christian virtue ethics is *imitatio Christi*: first, be like Jesus, then do as he did' (Lawler & Salzman 2013:465). Christian virtue ethics anchors the virtues it espouses in the New Testament, with Faith, Hope and Love being the primary, God-infused virtues (1 Corinthians 13:13 New American Standard Version). Later, Aquinas articulated the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance in the *Summa Theologica* (written between 1265 and 1274) (2014). These are, as Lawler and Salzman state, 'principles of integration of both the agent and his action' (Lawler & Salzman 2013:267). New Testament scholar N.T. Wright wrote in his seminal work on Christian virtue ethics titled *Virtue Reborn* that virtues are Holy Spirit enabled, reflect God's image in humanity to the world, and are the only way to become fully human (Wright 2011). Christian virtue ethics also bears a distinctive hallmark for how it views the goal of the virtues in human flourishing. Steyl writes that 'Aquinas and his philosophical descendants have infused the notion of human flourishing, and thereby the concept of virtue, with a specific brand of Abrahamic theology, defining virtues as those character traits which enable us to live in accordance or union with God's will and goodness' (Steyl 2019:55). Stanley Hauerwas, an American theologian who is a proponent of Christian Virtue Ethics and admirer of Alasdair MacIntyre (Hauerwas 2007), espoused narrative theology and stated that narrative provides 'the necessary grammar of Christian convictions' (Hauerwas 2010:26). Hauerwas collaborated with UK theologian Samuel Wells to edit *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Ethics* (2011), highlighting the role of worship

in Christian character development. Because of the Christian context of this thesis, this additional thread of Virtue Ethics will be explored more fully in Chapter Nine.

MacInytre's articulation of Virtue Ethics has its critics. Critics of MacIntyre can be grouped into three broad categories: those who challenge the critical argument, those who challenge the constructive argument, and those who challenge the combination of historical analysis and philosophy. The challenge to the critical argument, as articulated by Solomon (2003), suggests that MacIntyre offers too harsh a critique of Enlightenment moral philosophy and its roots in contemporary society. One scholar suggests this originates from Macintyre's Celtic-origin pessimism and his belief that neo-liberalism accounts for the current malaise in society (Fukuyama 1993). Along these lines, some scholars believe that MacIntyre sets up too sharp a differentiation between deontological, consequentialist and virtue-based ethics. Scholar Paul Kelly writes about this in his article 'MacIntyre's Critique of Utilitarianism' (1994), arguing that utilitarianism can, as Chu describes, be envisaged as a philosophy 'which incorporates an alternative hypergood, such as well-being instead of pleasure, which could be considered to approach the more complex concept of *eudaimonia*' (Chu 2018:51). Kelly (1994) goes on to suggest that MacIntyre's attacks on utilitarianism are unfounded. With regard to deontology, Martha Nussbaum has posited that Virtue Ethics does not qualify as a rival ethical tradition, but rather could be subsumed in deontology's account of virtue, stating that in Kant's *Doctrine of Virtue* (2021), Kant offers a tacit 'support to virtue, and urges their deliberate cultivation' (Nussbaum 1999:165).

The second group of scholars challenged MacIntyre's constructive argument, contending with MacIntyre's construction of a virtue-based alternative to normative ethical theories. This stream has many variations, including criticism of his later adoption in Thomism and its emphasis on religion and various accusations of relativism (Haldane 1994; Graham 2003). Ethical Relativism suggests that there is no neutral basis for comparing rival ethical traditions and that moral values cannot be discerned objectively but rather by subjective feeling (Lutz 2009). With concerns for MacIntyre's arguments for the superiority of Thomism, critics have argued that MacIntyre's argument is founded on his belief in the authority of the Catholic Church in connection with the

Greek *polis* as well as his illegitimate use of theological presuppositions for philosophical purposes (Nussbaum 1999; Lutz 2009)*.* Lastly, the challenge to the combination argument suggests that MacIntyre's theories are combining too many academic disciplines. Those scholars don't agree with one another in their contention, alternatively arguing that analytic philosophy cannot derive from historical analysis (Frankena 1983), or MacIntyrean philosophy cannot engage in social analysis (Edel 1983), or that his arguments are too ahistorical thus leading to what Peters, Lyne and Hariman (1991) argue is an idealisation of traditions. Jeffrey Stout summarized these arguments by stating that, in *After Virtue*, Macintyre's 'historical narrative is inadequate' (Stout 1989:223).

MacIntyre has not left these criticisms unanswered. MacIntyre's 1994 article was a response to his critics on the critical argument, giving greater context for his critique of Enlightenment era moral philosophers, while also admitting he needed to elaborate on the cultural context of that time (MacIntyre 1994). In that same article , MacIntyre contends against the challenge to his constructive argument and the accusation of relativism, stating that rival traditions depend on 'shared presuppositions of the contending enquiries in respect of truth' while admitting that these enquiries make 'relativism a permanent temptation' (MacIntyre 1994:297). MacIntyre goes on to address the challenge to the combination argument and how analytic philosophy and historical analysis can relate to another in his book *Ethics in the Conflict of Modernity* (2016).

Chu makes the argument that of these three critiques, the charge of relativism is the most serious (Chu 2018). Nussbaum (2013) shared that MacIntyre's later adoption of Thomism and the attending accusation of relativism made MacIntyre's arguments in Virtue Ethics, as Chu describes it, 'insufficiently justified intellectually' (Chu 2018:65). However, MacIntyre's adoption of Thomism postdates MacIntyre's theories on Virtue Ethics and the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution combination articulated in the first edition of *After Virtue* (2007), first printed in 1981. As Chu wrote, this suggests that those that have used MacIntyre's theories for empirical research (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020) are not 'dependent on Thomism for its teleological basis' (Chu 2018:66) and thus can side-step the argument of relativism.

Virtue Ethics' applicability in business organisations has some detractors as well, as Koehn remarked that to some extent virtue ethics 'downplays or ignores power structures and systemic biases, it indirectly fosters unethical behaviour' (Koehn 1998:506; Moore 2012). Koehn suggests that virtue ethics may measure a business and employees as entirely virtuous while ignoring systemic biases and corporate culture that preference certain groups over others, as was the situation in Koehn's case analysis at Dow Corning (Koehn 1998). The use of MacIntyre's theories in business has also been contested, as MacIntyre himself believed that 'managerial agency is entirely constrained by the capitalist system' (Moore 2012:365) and that the modern business manager cannot effectively promote virtue in a capitalistic context. Helpfully, Moore and Beadle's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework (2006) has been used to bridge this constraint and enables the use of MacIntyre's theory on 'practice–institution combinations' (Moore 2012:365) to capably study virtue ethics in the context of business (Moore & Beadle 2006). In addition, apart from virtue in the workplace, the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution conception provides a rich framework for studying *phenomena* within the business world, especially with regard to the distinctions of external and internal goods and practice and the institution. These notions will be explored more fully in this chapter.

Virtue Ethics within the context of business organisations has become a prolific field of study (Alzola 2015; Ferrero & Sison 2014; Sison et al. 2012). Key empirical research contributions utilising MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics have been conducted over the last ten years by Moore, Fernando, and Chu in both Western and non-Western contexts. In such studies, researchers have used the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution conceptual framework articulated by MacIntyre (Moore 2008; Moore & Beadle 2006). The framework is graphically shown in Figure 3 in section 3.1. The framework will be thoroughly examined in section 3.2.1, but in essence, the framework suggests that 'virtues are exercised particularly inside practices and give rise to internal goods, while to survive, practices need to be housed within institutions which are concerned with external goods' (Moore 2012:365), thus termed Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework. The framework allows researchers to study how virtuous institutions attempt to re-prioritise their practice to promote the pursuit of internal goods (defined as excellence in quality or service) over and above the pursuit of external goods (reputation, success, income, etc.). Moore states

that 'virtues find their home particularly in practices, and it is through the possession and exercise of the virtues, over and above the technical skills and knowledge involved, that we can achieve the internal goods of practices' (MacIntyre 2007:64). Within the framework, Virtues serve to be the driving force behind the generation of internal goods for an organisation. Such studies examine how institutional managers not only prioritise virtue but embed it within institutional members. It is because of this that MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics is an integral theoretical concept for this research project.

Several recent empirical case studies have been conducted using MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework in non-western contexts, Fernando and Moore's study of two firms in Sri Lanka and Chu's study in the Confucian tradition of Taiwan being the most significant (Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020). Fernando and Moore go on to conclude that:

'the MacIntyrean notions of virtuous purposes versus vicious ones, practices versus institutions and internal versus external goods, are meaningful in a non-western business context, which receives a positive answer in the findings from the Sri Lankan study' (Fernando & Moore 2015:197).

Chu's study went further and validated the framework in the Taiwanese context, arriving at four validating conclusions about the framework's use in that context, one of them being that 'interviewees could differentiate between excellence and success and, by implication, between internal and external goods' (Chu & Moore 2020:14). The unique contribution this case study seeks to achieve is not *just* to validate the framework's use but rather to extend the framework in non-western contexts within an industry that doesn't adhere to traditional structures (specifically the autorickshaw industry).

1.1.2 Why Institutionalisation of Business Ethics, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management?

There is a particular strain of Business Ethics research that looks at the ethical programmes that organisations typically employ to disseminate and embed ethical conduct within the company.

Brenner (1992) articulated a specific division between implicit factors (organisational culture, peer groups and the system reward and sanctions) and explicit factors (establishing a Code of Ethics, Ethics Training, and Ethics Officers) (Vitell et al. 2011) for embedding such conduct. These implicit and explicit ethical programmes fit neatly into what Scott refers to as the regulative pillar of institutions, which he describes as the 'capacity to establish rules, inspect others' conformity to them, and, as necessary, manipulate sanctions (rewards and punishments) in an attempt to influence future behaviour' (Scott 2008:52) having to do with monitoring behaviour, setting rules, and sanctioning the given behaviour in an institution.

Within the regulative pillar of institutions, the theories popularised by Lawrence and Suddaby termed Institutional Work, become most relevant (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). Institutional Work focuses on how institutional stakeholders can facilitate the diffusion of change within the broad categories of Creating, Maintaining and Disrupting institutions. Within each of the three broad categories are several Institutional Work *strategies* that institutional members can employ to diffuse ethical practice. The significance and depth of research on ethical programmes within organisations from Brenner and using the lens of Institutional Work to study the diffusion of practice, is evident why these notions have become integral to this research project.

One latent theoretical category that was included in this research was the concept of Algorithmic Management (AM). Algorithmic Management can be defined as the 'delegation of managerial functions to algorithmic and automated systems' (Jarrahi et al. 2021:1). The PickMe application is a crucial artefact within the PickMe institution and has operated as a proxy for institutional managers to 'carry out coordination and control functions traditionally performed by managers' (Möhlmann et al. 2021:3). Because the PickMe application itself was an active agent in institutional creation and maintenance for the promotion of virtuous conduct, it became imperative that AM was incorporated into this research. This thread became a pertinent theme after interacting with and interviewing the drivers.

It should be noted that MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics and Institutional Theory have differing understanding of the term 'institution'. MacIntyre's understanding of an institution is of an entity

operating in moral spaces (Beadle & Moore 2011:103). In MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics, an institution is one that understands itself as existing with a moral quality and the leadership of that institution is focused on governing the core practices of the institution towards the outcome of the good of society. Institutional Theory does not incorporate this moral quality, rendering the institution as essentially morally neutral (Shadnam & Lawrence 2011). Some researchers have suggested that Institutional Theory has been 'criticised for their lack of ethical content' (Chu 2018:22; Nielsen & Massa 2012; Moore & Grandy 2017). Chu, however, remarks that the MacIntyrean definition of an institution is similar to scholarship work on old institutional theory. She goes on to suggest that 'it can be argued that the areas of concern for MacIntyrean virtue ethics and institutional theory have much in common. Although they are principally interested in different aspects, it is not unlikely that they will in some ways complement each other.' (Chu 2018:104). With the exception of Chapter 5 and the specific findings and discussion around Institutional Work, the MacIntyrean definition of an institution as a moral entity will be employed.

Lastly, this research is focused on an industry that is undergoing transition. Changes in the autorickshaw industry in South Asia required existing institutions to change as well as giving birth to new ones (Blomsma & Brennan 2017). Having formerly independent autorickshaw drivers adopt changes to their professional conduct requires wholesale changes to the prevailing rules, norms, and belief systems in the industry and Sri Lanka. This transitionary state of the autorickshaw industry and the attending institutional changes and creation that goes with that is why Institutional Work frameworks are so vital in this case study research.

1.2 Research Questions

Research on Virtue Ethics in non-western polities is still quite nascent. Chu's research in Taiwan (Chu 2018) is a critical step, but further research is required and has been suggested to test the validity of MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework in such contexts (Fernando & Moore 2015). In addition, there is a significant gap in understanding how institutions create normative systems to encourage virtuous conduct, especially among loosely organised, non-

western network institutions that lack hierarchical organisational structure and especially among the working poor and or marginalised communities, which were not the focus in previous studies. This case study research seeks to shed light on these gaps, suggesting there is much to be learned in the area of MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics and about the institution's role in embedding and sustaining virtuous conduct. The following questions reflect this ambition.

This is a breakdown of my primary and secondary research questions:

1. How does MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework help us understand virtuous conduct among institutions operating in non-western, loosely organised autorickshaw communities?
2. How do network institutions effectively encourage and sustain virtuous conduct in autorickshaw drivers in Sri Lanka?

My sub-questions include:

3. What effect (both positive and negative) do ethical mechanisms have for embedding ethical conduct on the overall implementation of virtuous conduct among the autorickshaw drivers?
4. In what ways has PickMe designed systems and technology to specifically promote virtuous culture among autorickshaw drivers?
5. How do autorickshaw drivers understand virtue in the workplace and what are their primary influences on virtuous conduct? What role does the institution, its context and other externalities play in their understanding of virtue?

PickMe's autorickshaw institution is distinctive compared to the previous studies by Moore (Moore 2012), Fernando and Moore (Fernando & Moore 2015) and Chu and Moore (Chu & Moore 2020), insofar as it is in a non-western (located in Sri Lanka) context as well as being a network institution (as opposed to large organisations and SMEs which the previous studies have focused on). Network organisations maintain fewer hierarchical layers as participants in the organisation join more as partners rather than in traditional employer/employee relationship.

This point is significant since this is the first known study conducted using the MacIntyre Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework on an institution that is attempting to encourage and promote virtue among workers who were previously independent of hierarchical, organisational influences.

1.3 Research Contributions

This research project began as an exploration into an institution's ability to encourage business ethics within the autorickshaw industry in South Asia. Eventually, the research progressed to become a single case study on an Urban Sharing Organisation (USO) attempting to introduce and imbue the autorickshaw population with defined professional codes of conduct and embed a practice of virtue within that institution.

The contribution of this research is fourfold, and it derives its central aim from the second research question: How do network institutions effectively encourage and sustain virtuous conduct in autorickshaw drivers in Sri Lanka? I will describe these fourfold contributions.

1. Firstly, I will attempt to extend the use of the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework within a non-western context, focusing on a network institution, something that hitherto has not been done. The contribution of this research is to see if concepts of organisational virtue and viciousness, excellence and success have resonance and applicability in this loosely organised, Asian, predominantly Buddhist context.

2. Secondly, drawing on theories of Institutional Work, I will seek to make a contribution to knowledge in the practice of PickMe's senior managers of encouraging and embedding virtuous conduct through institutional creation and maintenance. I will show the extent to which institutional management used Institutional Work strategies to attempt such efforts, drawing on techniques highlighted in other empirical studies and extending the literature by highlighting different institutional strategies that had not been observed in other studies.

3. Thirdly, consistent with the cognitive-cultural pillar of institutions, this research project will explore notions of isomorphism and the influence of national culture on embedded

norms and views of virtue and ethics and learn which virtues the drivers possessed within the institution and the origins of their practice of virtue. I will extend the literature on Virtue Ethics and explore what practices the institution introduced, and what effect (if any) it had on the driver's day-to-day professional conduct.

4. Lastly, I will explore notions of Algorithmic Management. I will study to what extent institutional management has used the PickMe digital application in managerial roles. I will look at the degree to which Algorithmic Management, through the PickMe application, successfully embedded virtue among the PickMe drivers as well as what challenges it posed in making lasting change to the professional and virtuous conduct of the drivers.

Besides these primary contributions, there will also be policy recommendations noted in Chapter Nine as well as an epilogue chapter highlighting the contributions to Transformational Mission Studies. These are the intended contributions this research hopes to make. Now that research contributions have been highlighted, the outline of the various chapters will be shared.

1.4 Chapter Outline

This thesis has seven chapters and can be described as follows:

- ❖ Chapter 1 forms the introduction, introducing the significance and purpose, aims and objectives, and key research questions behind the various aspects of this research.
- ❖ Chapter 2 describes the background and context for this research, including the motivations underlying it.
- ❖ Chapter 3 summarises the theoretical framework and past empirical research relevant to this study, including the literature review for Institutional Theory, Virtue Ethics and Algorithmic Management.
- ❖ Chapter 4 describes the methodology of this research, including the research approach, design, instruments and information on the scope and sample.
- ❖ Chapter 5 provides key findings in Virtue Ethics.

❖ Chapter 6 provides key findings on Institutional Work, the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics and Algorithmic Management.

❖ Chapter 7 is the discussion chapter, where those findings are brought together, interpreted, and connected with the literature.

❖ Chapter 8 is where I draw all those key findings together to describe the key contributions to knowledge that emerged in this research.

❖ Chapter 9 provides an epilogue to discuss the implications for the transformational mission of the Christian Church. Qualifications, possible paths for future research, and impact on transformational mission scholarship will all be discussed.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

2.0 Introduction to Background and Context

Herein the background and context will be described. Firstly, the motivations underlying this research will be described. Secondly, a deeper review of the situation for autorickshaw drivers, the sharing economy, and the PickMe institution will be undertaken. The Sri Lankan context will be explored as well. The motivations underlying this research will be explored first.

2.1 Motivations underlying this research

This research project was first proposed to examine the various ethical initiatives seeking to implement business ethics within the Autorickshaw Industry in South Asia. Uber, Ola, Peace Auto, AutoRaja, and PickMe are some of the few initiatives that were found to attempt to implement ethics with codes of conduct, ethics training, reward systems and cultivating ethical cultures through their operations. Over time, the research evolved to become a single case study analysis of an autorickshaw institution, PickMe, but originally, it was Peace Auto that set me on this research path.

The Peace Auto Initiative (PAI) started in 2012 as a Social Enterprise initiative which seeks to invite Autorickshaw drivers in the city of Bangalore to bind together for peaceful and ethical business practices. It was initiated by Anil Shetty and Alok Singh, two social entrepreneurs looking to start an enterprise to help reform the autorickshaw industry. One day, both men had a particularly negative experience in an autorickshaw. The driver spoke a common language and they felt abused by the driver when he asked for more money than the meter required. From this experience, they conceived the idea of a harmonious, professional relationship between drivers and customers of autorickshaws, a relationship defined by courteousness, kindness, understanding and peace. They devised the project's mission statement from a Sanskrit saying: Vaishnava Kodambakkam, which means 'The world is one family'. This became the starting place for the Peace Auto Initiatives' core values of Gratitude, Forgiveness, Love, Humility, Giving, Patience and Truth (peaceauto.org 2013). Anil and Alok devised the PA to give dignity to

autorickshaw drivers by training them to be generous, kind and fair with any customers traveling in their autorickshaw. In exchange for this new behaviour, drivers were welcomed into the community of Peace Autos, who proudly display their 'PEACE AUTO' sign as a signal to the public of their ethical pact (TEDx Talks, 2015).

Originally, for a young scholar interested in Business Ethics, the notion of an institution that draws drivers who were formerly independent to subordinate their professional conduct to the rules and norms of an institution was quite intriguing. What motivated these drivers to join this union when there was little monetary incentive? Were the virtues espoused by the institution successfully embedded, and what means did they use to embed them?

Unfortunately, when proposing this research on the Peace Auto Initiative, my access to primary source data was cut off due to my residency visa challenges in India. However, this roadblock propelled me to find a kindred institution in a nearby location (PickMe in Sri Lanka) armed with the same questions I had for the Peace Auto Initiative. These questions (and their answers) applied to the PickMe Institution formed the genesis of my research and the motivation for this research project.

2.2 Why Autorickshaw Drivers?

Autorickshaws are three-wheeled vehicles which are affordable and ubiquitous forms of transport within major urban centres in South Asia (Shlaes & Mani 2014). They are a motorised version of a pulled rickshaw or cycle rickshaw. They are known by many names throughout South Asia, including autos, autorickshaws, baby taxis, tuk-tuks, three-wheelers, trishaws and many more. This research thesis uses the term autorickshaw, three-wheeler, trishaw or tuk-tuk interchangeably, with autorickshaw and trishaw being the most commonly used. Autorickshaws are a common form of transport, especially in urban contexts in South Asia, partly because they are smaller and more affordable than taxis (Datta 2019).

There are many types of autorickshaws, but the trishaw style design used in Sri Lanka (the location of this research) utilises a Penh-type design, using a sheet metal body with a canvas roof and an open frame. In this version of the trishaw, the driver uses handlebar controls from the front to drive the trishaw, and passengers sit in the rear cabin after entering through the drop-down curtain. Figure 1 shows an example of a typical Sri Lankan trishaw. Due to environmental concerns, trishaws in Sri Lanka have moved from 2-stroke to 4-stroke to now seeking to integrate battery-powered trishaws, much like India, Sri Lanka's

Figure 1: Typical Trishaw in Sri Lanka

neighbour to the north, has done (Ranasinghe 2018). As of 2022, approximately 1.2 million trishaws are in use in Sri Lanka, owned and operated by autorickshaw drivers or rented from owners who lease out their fleets for a monthly fee (Williams 2022). The industry is largely unregulated, as most South Asian governments only support the industry by regulating meter fares and curbing vehicle emissions (Harding et al. 2016; Chanchani & Rajkotia 2012).

To date, no robust research on the business ethics of autorickshaw drivers has previously been undertaken. However, some research has highlighted that drivers face an ongoing public perception among the riding public as ethically dubious (Harding et al. 2016). A 2012 study of Autorickshaw drivers in the Indian city of Bangalore, for instance, found that the 'poor attitude and behaviour of many auto drivers has been a huge growing concern among public users of the service and regulating/enforcing authorities' (Chanchani & Rajkotia 2012:11). This same study showed that in the period of five years between 2007-2011, complaints against auto drivers for refusing to take customers and demanding excess fares registered at a police precinct in Bangalore increased by approximately 250% (Chanchani & Rajkotia 2012). These contextual issues have been corroborated by other government-sponsored studies in other South Asian urban contexts, including Chennai (Garg et al. 2010), Delhi (Mohan & Roy 2003) and Mumbai (Shlaes & Mani 2014). In this context, entrepreneurs and technology companies of every stripe have created various initiatives to 'organise the unorganised' (Dutta 2014) and embed professional business ethics among autorickshaw drivers over the years.

As an unorganised (meaning not centrally governed) worker force, autorickshaw drivers serve millions of customers each day throughout South Asia. Within South Asia, autorickshaws are the preferred transport of choice for short-distance journeys. They are cheap, quick and more available than taxis in South Asia (Chanchani & Rajkotia 2012). Despite this, they have developed a reputation among consumers as being both unethical and untrustworthy (Harding et al. 2016).

Within India, a neighbouring country to Sri Lanka, the 3-wheeled autorickshaw industry has been no stranger to corruption and unethical practices. Customers complain that drivers will refuse to take them if the journey is deemed unprofitable, demand more than the government-mandated meter rate and sometimes harass customers if they don't share a common language or refuse to pay the higher rate (Chanchani & Rajkotia 2012). A study of the Autorickshaw drivers of Bangalore assessed that the industry had a 'lack of accountability to the government or anyone else, giving rise to some issues of safety/security of passengers and lack of credibility in terms of complying with basic laws or etiquette. The poor attitude and behaviour of many auto drivers has been a huge growing concern among public users of the service and regulating/enforcing authorities.' (Chanchani & Rajkotia 2012:11).

These impressions of the autorickshaw drivers among the riding public in India are well-articulated in this quote by a Chief minister from Delhi:

'The perceptions of autorickshaws and their drivers amongst the middle classes, media, consumer organisations and the policymakers are largely negative. The vehicles are polluting, unsafe, and a cause of congestion, and the drivers are greedy. Autorickshaws are perceived as an intrusion into ordered urban space, to be tamed and controlled with strict policies and punitive penalties.' (Harding et al. 2016:149)

In response to this condition, the Indian Government has taken to policy solutions to curb this perception and strengthen the autorickshaw industry. Government policy has focused on introducing GPS technology to track the routes the auto wallas (the colloquial term for autorickshaw drivers) drive (drivers would bear the cost of installing this technology) and 'ratcheting up of penalties for non-compliance of meter regulations' (Harding et al. 2016:149).

This study of the Autorickshaws in India suggests that 'reforms need to be based on a recognition of the driver's perspective, and the daily reality of autorickshaw operation, which is one of long hours, high cost-to-revenue ratios, and limited opportunities for social mobility.' (Harding et al. 2016:150)

Into this context, some non-governmental, social enterprise solutions have entered. EMARQ India, an Indian non-profit company, sought to help create a more sustainable autorickshaw transport system by advocating reform in three areas: adding dispatch or fleet services to the industry, reducing emissions and improving the road safety of autorickshaws (Mani et al. 2012).

AutoRaja is another social enterprise that attempted to reform the autorickshaw industry in Chennai. Beginning on April 1, 2013, AutoRaja was started by two social entrepreneurs looking to organise the unorganised sector; AutoRaja (Raja means 'king' in Hindi) built their business on three pillars for the drivers: 1) Institutional finance 2) Affordable Healthcare and 3) Quality education (Dutta 2014), which were three things that most autorickshaw drivers generally lacked in their trade. AutoRaja's main objectives represent the incorporation of a for-profit motive and a social change motive, being described as 'running autorickshaws on call and helping create dignified lives for auto drivers by increasing business' and providing finance, health care and education for them and their families (Dutta 2014:10).

Autorickshaw trade unions have also existed in India since 1965. Since then, numerous registered and unregistered unions have started to help protect and care for the rights of autorickshaw drivers. Unions are usually organised around geographic areas and sometimes carry membership fees. The purpose of the unions is manifold, but their primary purpose is protecting and advocating for autorickshaw drivers as a vulnerable segment of Sri Lankan society. Often the unions coordinate to help drivers get bank loans, renew their autorickshaw licenses, fight against police harassment, and protest about the revision or lack of revision of government-mandated meter fares. Unions are often key in mobilising drivers to go on strike when government-mandated meter fares are deemed unprofitably low. Many of them also are affiliated with a certain political party. Some unions conduct training workshops for the drivers but provide no

incentive for coming and often hold them during working hours, owing to their low attendance. Generally, the activities of the union have little to do with regulating the professional practices of the autorickshaws. None seem to have a code of conduct that is required for membership or an accountability structure to reinforce the values of the professional practice. According to the Study on Autorickshaws in Bangalore, one union leader in Bangalore felt that 'despite the fact that the unions do much work for the benefit of auto drivers, many do not want to associate with any union, since they want the freedom to do just as they please. They do not want to be bound by any rules/regulations or code of conduct to operate in the right manner.' (Chanchani & Rajkotia 2012:121).

Within the context of Sri Lanka, Kumarage's study in 2010 found that the trishaw market in Sri Lanka, prior to the emergence of Urban Sharing organisations like PickMe, 'demonstrates characteristics of a cartelised service provision featuring oligopolistic market behaviour' (Kumarage et al. 2010:397). The trishaw drivers were informally unionised, had low barriers to entry and were relatively unregulated, much like the market to the north in India. The three-wheeler community was observed as a unified sub-cultural unit that was known to decorate the trishaws with 'gaudy decorations, mirrors, inscriptions' and were often the 'loudest vehicles on the road' (Kumarage et al. 2010:396). Despite their significance in the Sri Lankan transportation industry at that time, they were thought of negatively by the riding public, being generally perceived as thugs or 'gangsters who play loud music, smuggle drugs, and even dressed like thugs' (Kumarage et al. 2010:396). It was reported that often trishaw drivers were known to transport drugs or prostitutes for 1000 rupees a trip (Kumarage et al. 2010). Because of this reputation, trishaw drivers were not permitted to take passengers up to certain hotels and wedding venues.

That same study by Kumarage performed a thorough profile of the trishaw drivers, finding most drivers were relatively young when they started driving trishaws, saw their role as a trishaw driver as transitional until something more profitable came along, and were either high school dropouts or barely passed 10th Grade Ordinary Level. None in his study had 12th Grade or GCE Level examination education level (Kumarage et al. 2010). Lastly, as can be seen from Figure 2, their daily wages were relatively low. After paying various fees, Kumarage found the daily take-home pay was around 136 Sri Lankan rupees, which at the time was lower than most daily labour jobs (Kumarage et al. 2010). However, compared with the alternatives, the

Parameters	Frequency (%)
Age (yrs)	
19–28	28
29–38	39
39–48	23
49–58	8
59–68	2
Marital status	
Married	79
Unmarried	21
Education level	
Studied up to GCE O/L (10th grade)	28
Completed GCE O/L	22.5
Studied up to GCE A/L (12th grade)	7
Passed GCE O/L	34
Studies up to A/L	3
Other	5.5
TW ownership	
Owner drivers	70
Drive hired TWs	30
Employment type	
Full time	84
Part time	16
Average income (Rs/day)	
Rs 300–599	35
Rs 600–899	39.5
Rs 900–1199	12.5
Rs 1200–1499	3.5
Rs 1500–1799	2.5
Rs 1800–2099	1
Job satisfaction	
Not satisfied	31
Satisfied	69

Figure 2: Personal Profile of Trishaw Drivers in 2010 (Kumarage et al. 2010)

trishaw drivers found their job 'easier' because it was 'cash in hand' and they could spend their earnings immediately, which appealed to those with spendthrift tendencies.

Today, in Sri Lanka, the number of trishaws on the road is well above 1 million. More recent studies have found that only 47% of registered three-wheelers are used for taxiing services, implying that 6% of the national workforce is comprised of registered trishaw drivers (de Silva & Arunatilake 2019). As far as the population of trishaw drivers is concerned, it still trends young. De Silva's qualitative research found that those that enter the trishaw industry do so for the low responsibility, quick money and because of a lack of opportunity in other business sectors. Middle-aged men primarily choose trishaw driving to leave more formal employment, enjoy the freedom from institutional influence and have more time with family (de Silva & Arunatilake 2019).

Incorporating all these factors, the autorickshaw industry in South Asia makes for a compelling context for further research.

2.3 Why the Sharing or Platform Economy?

In recent years, in response to the world's general awareness of the human-prompted changing climate, new types of business models have emerged, defying the 'linear product cycles' that defined businesses of the past (Edbring et al. 2016; Zvolska et al. 2019). These innovative business models looked to defy these traditional business models with what McCormick defined as distinct alternative strategies: extending the lives of the products, creating access-based consumption models, and creating collaborative consumption models (McCormick et al. 2016). The sharing economy or platform economy falls into this last type of strategy, the collaborative consumption model. Enabled by technology, the sharing economy allows for a business model which facilitates the distribution of resources among people who, prior to interacting in the digital intermediary, don't know each other (Schor 2016).

The sharing economy has exploded globally in recent years. More recent projections estimate that the industry could grow to $335 billion by 2025 (Yaraghi & Ravi 2017), and it was estimated that by 2021 there would be 9.2 million workers in the sharing economy (Molla 2017). The appeal for workers to join this platform or sharing economy is clear to see. Martin (2016) and Ahsan (2020) suggest three key factors that advocates of the sharing economy share as key benefits to the business model, which are:

'(a) a path towards a decentralised economy (a quest also seen in today's feverish focus on cryptocurrencies), (b) a sustainable form of consumption that puts underutilised resources to use, and most importantly (c) an economic opportunity that promotes the empowerment of individuals and allows them to function as micro-entrepreneurs' (Ahsan 2020:20).

The problems and associated criticism of these developments will be discussed in due course, but there is no doubt that the benefits of this type of work have 'dominated the discourse' (Ahsan 2020:20; Kuhn & Maleki 2017; Sundararajan 2014). Of course, this model thrives in urban

contexts where resources are high and technology-infused links between suppliers and consumers are more readily available and offers opportunity for growth (Davidson & Infranca 2015; McLaren & Agyeman 2015). Because of these characteristics, Zvolska refers to these businesses as Urban Sharing organisations (USOs) (Zvolska et al. 2019). USOs use application technology housed in various stakeholders' smartphones to facilitate the sharing of resources and allow users of that platform to borrow and share goods for short periods of time between one another rather than purchase or produce resources indefinitely. This strategy has obvious environmental benefits, as additional resources aren't manufactured and ultimately fed to a landfill but rather shared and maintained by a community of strangers who share resources for their mutual benefit (Botsman & Rogers 2010; McLaren & Agyeman 2015). It should be noted, as Zvolska has, that the reduction of the environmental impact of such business models has been contested (Botsman & Rogers 2010; McLaren & Agyeman 2015). In addition, Zvolska highlights that such disruptive models have been criticised by some scholars for having a potentially negative impact on the incumbent businesses, threatening the economic and social stability in certain urban contexts (Zvolska et al. 2019; Katz 2015; Martin 2016; Williams & Horodnic 2017). Uber has been criticised in multiple urban contexts for taking advantage of taxi drivers and side-stepping labour laws by not providing key benefits for full-time drivers through constituting themselves as a technology company. Their value proposition regards linking passengers and drivers together and not hiring staff for which they would, according to many national jurisdictions, have to provide requisite benefits (Martin & Shaheen 2011; Meyer & Shaheen 2017).

As with the focus on the autorickshaw industry, this emerging sharing economy with potential social and environmental benefits and challenges provides an important focus for research.

2.4 Why the PickMe Institution?

When PickMe was founded in June 2015, it was the first in Sri Lanka to aggregate the autorickshaw industry by recruiting drivers to use their novel ride-sharing application in exchange for adherence to their professional code of conduct (PickMe.lk 2024). PickMe is the leading taxi and autorickshaw-sharing institution and, as of October 1st, 2019, claimed over 60 million rides

since its inception (PickMe.lk 2024). The fleet is not limited to threeshaws (Sri Lanka's colloquial term for Autorickshaw) but also includes four-wheel taxis for both ridesharing and food delivery. Over 100,000 drivers use the link with customers via the PickMe app and set charges based on pre-determined rates, like Uber's model for taxis. A key differentiator for PickMe, among other ride-sharing apps in South Asia, is how they train the drivers in professional conduct. PickMe holds a one-day training course in communication skills, including training on greeting the customer and appropriate dress code (Jayasundera 2016). Drivers are required to abide by a code of conduct to utilise the app services (Jayasundera 2016). PickMe's CEO stated that much of the application's design referred to promoting virtuous conduct at work:

'The most important thing is we have proper systems in place, and this system supports good behaviour. The traceability at all points is the hallmark of our technology and this goes a long way towards supporting both the customer and the driver. We also take customer complaints very seriously and take immediate action on any negative feedback' (Zulfer 2016:4).

The PickMe organisation can be defined as an institution in an economic sense while also being a new type of institution as compared to traditional hierarchical ones. Organisationally, PickMe might be regarded as having a network organisational structure, which is flatter and more flexible than more hierarchical structures. Network institutions are defined more by a 'social structure of interactions' that emphasises 'intra-organizational or inter-organizational ties representing either formal or informal relationships' (Lumen Business Management 2024:20). Ride-sharing organisations (sometimes called transportation network companies or urban sharing organisations, as referred to before) are examples of these new types of network organisations, or institutions, existing as a new crop of for-profit businesses which serve to match passengers and drivers of vehicles through their mobile phone application. These ride-sharing apps, like Uber and Lyft, are succeeding as institutions by having fewer managerial layers, giving greater worker autonomy and diffusing capital such that 'traditional managerial tools and structures do not apply' (Jordan 2017:7).

Controversially, in most jurisdictions such companies attempt to define the driver's role as that of an independent contractor who works within his or her own discretion and code of conduct with minimal influence from the transportation companies' leadership. This is controversial because often drivers are withheld certain benefits (like health insurance, overtime wages, etc.) that they would normally be afforded if they were considered employees (Jordan 2017).

Though it varies from institution to institution and jurisdiction to jurisdiction, many of these ride-sharing institutions seek to regard the drivers as *partners* than employees. This involves a reframing of what it means to have institutional control and influence. These transportation service companies or mobile services companies often see their institutional relationship with the 'partner-drivers' as one involving mutuality (the horizontal influence of several individuals) rather than one of direct oversight (monitoring and directing from authority) (fourcultures 2011). Though the influence is flatter and looser, ride-sharing apps still bear the hallmark of institutions, bearing aspects of the regulative, normative and culture-cognitive pillars (Scott 2008), which will be reviewed in later chapters. PickMe monitors star ratings for each of their drivers, rewards top performers and sanctions low ones. They perform follow-up and accountability for complaints and offer training to upgrade driver skill sets. In addition, they provide guidance on what is expected of them and areas where drivers can use their discretion. Though much looser than more traditional business institutions, the social, regulative fabric of institutions is still very much in existence.

Ride-sharing businesses also often bear the hallmarks of social-minded enterprises insofar as they attempt to bring transparency, fairness, and equanimity to the volatile transportation industry. Socially minded businesses are a more recent business convention, having a history dating back to 1840 (Social Enterprise UK 2024). These are businesses that recognise the unique role that businesses can play in social causes and societal transformation, and they are entities that make that goal explicit. What makes them distinct from other business entities is that their social ambition is connected to their core identity (FutureLearn 2017). Historically, in the US, the term can be associated with 'doing charity *by* doing trade' rather than 'doing charity *while* doing trade.' In the UK, social enterprises have tended towards models of cooperation, owing to the

Cooperative movements' origins in 1761, when Robert Owen enshrined the cooperative principles of equality and equal access to resources in the Fenwich Weavers Society, which sold lower priced oatmeal to the working class. Away from the West, other countries' definition of social enterprises have steered away from notions of philanthropy and towards notions of democratic control and mutuality (Kerlin 2009). Whatever the regional flavours, social enterprises as entities that initiate change within society have broadened and deepened over the years (Social Enterprise UK 2024). Though PickMe would not describe itself as a social enterprise, in part because it doesn't make its social aspirations explicit, its desire to transform the lives of its driver-partners through 'uplift' and desire for 'joyful mobility' and transparency among all the institutional stakeholders is socially significant and has the potential for social transformation.

The establishment of PickMe as an institution intent on promoting virtue among institutional stakeholders for societal good is important. As mentioned above, while PickMe's intentions as virtuous or social enterprise were not explicit, there were clear signs that their virtuous ambitions were evident. During an unrecorded interview with one of the founding members of PickMe, I was able to establish this. I asked the founder what his proudest moment as a member of management at PickMe was. He informed me that one of his proudest moments was when trishaw drivers who worked within the PickMe institution for some time eventually found work elsewhere that was higher paying and more rewarding for them. He said he was proud because their systems of professional conduct had brought 'uplift' for the driver, increasing their professionalism and customer service so they could take on more complex roles outside the organisation. Later, during a formal interview with that same founder, when asked if the fundamental makeup of PickMe was one of excellence and customer service, the founder remarked 'I think that is the most important part' (SM2).

In addition, PickMe's teleological goal of providing a useful and meaningful service to society is explicit. PickMe's core purpose of Joyful Mobility for a Better Life extends not just to their driver-partners, but also to the passenger-users who use the application as well as the society who benefit from increased safety and efficiency from the organisation (PickMe.lk 2024). PickMe's mission is to 'upgrade the efficiency, reliability, and safety of the country's mobility

services by introducing technology, standards, order, and convenience' in to society (PickMe.lk 2024:1).

PickMe's self-made video of the origins of their business highlight that the business' intention was to solve societal issues through alleviating underutilised trishaw vehicles and traffic issues as well as 'transforming the lives of drivers' to help drivers earn more through efficient technological solutions. The video goes on to suggest that though technological solutions come and go, it is the service orientation of the driver which drives the success of the institution (PickMe Social 2018), with the video stating that the drivers have 'become the heart and soul of the service that is being delivered' (PickMe Social 2018). This statement is emblematic of their prioritization of the internal good and excellence in their practice as an institution, a subject that will be elaborated on in Chapter 3.

More recent practical examples of PickMe's social mindset can be seen in how they have responded to the recent crisis affecting Sri Lanka. With the pandemic lockdowns and the political and financial crisis besetting Sri Lanka (including a huge increase in imported commodity prices and a significant decrease in ridership), PickMe has attempted to demonstrate its social character through how it has responded during this crisis. With fuel prices at an all-time high, PickMe entered a strategic collaboration with key supermarkets, gas distributors and restaurants to deliver vital food and resources past curfew hours during the pandemic lockdown (Colombo Gazette 2020). They also played a crucial role in negotiating with local banks to help the population in Colombo gain access to cash when liquidity was low (Colombo Gazette 2020). In order to further the vaccination of the population from the COVID-19 disease, it provided information on the closest vaccination centres, provided contact tracing for its drivers, installed separators in the trishaws, provided hand sanitation facilities and lastly provided cash incentives to any passenger riding to get vaccinated (Colombo Gazette 2020).

As mentioned earlier, one unique aspect of the PickMe company is that, prior to their partnership with PickMe, a vast majority of their drivers worked independently of a controlling institution and could ply their trade according to their own values, preferences, and cultural norms.

Partnering with PickMe meant that these drivers had to subordinate or adapt their own work practices to PickMe's norms and codes of conduct to thrive. This transition from independence to dependence (even if partial) makes the drivers of PickMe a unique subject for the study of institutionalisation and embedding of virtues within an institution. Besides this, PickMe is a differentiator among its competition in South Asia in how they train drivers in professional conduct, making them an intriguing case study in the field of ethics and Institutional Work. The managerial behaviour at PickMe, with their explicit desire to diffuse ethical conduct to institutional stakeholders, provide a significant opportunity to contribute to knowledge in Business Ethics.

2.5 Why Sri Lanka?

South Asia constitutes the countries of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka (SAARC Secretariat 2018). Within South Asia, very little research on Business Ethics has been done amongst the population working in the unorganised sector, which comprises 86% of the South Asian workforce (India National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector 2008) – or, within this sector, 'institutional voids', a segment of business where there is a 'lack of functioning intermediaries in the country', having ineffective regulatory agencies, regressive laws and weak policing (Chakrabarty & Bass 2014). These contexts make promoting and institutionalising virtue particularly challenging (Chakrabarty & Bass 2015). One industry that exists in these institutional voids is the autorickshaw industry.

After 443 years of British occupation, Sri Lanka became independent from the British in 1948, and the newly formed government adopted a form of state capitalism. Jayawardena posits that it was during the period of British colonisation that many of Sri Lanka's strong values and cultural norms were diminished (Jayawardena-Willis et al. 2019). Senadheera suggests that the violation of social, legal, and statutory requirements in the economy began during this time of British colonisation. As a result of the systemisation imposed on them, intuitive decision-making and the spiritual heritage of the Sri Lankan people began to erode. Malpractices such as bribery, false reporting and tax avoidance became rooted in the local value system and became part of regular business trading that carries on even today (Senadheera 2018). Corruption still exists today

within the government and businesses in Sri Lanka. It is ranked 95th among all countries on the Corruption Perception Index and Transparency International has noted that its lack of whistle-blower protection legislation hampers the country's ability to root out corruption. Goger, however, suggests that the influence of British Colonialism also had a positive contribution to the value system in Sri Lanka: specifically, the emphasis on female sexual purity, cleanliness and domesticity, which has prompted male garment factory managers to ensure the protection of their largely female workforce (Goger 2013).

Starting in 1977, the economy became liberalised, ushering in a so-called golden age of capitalism in Sri Lanka. Foreign Direct Investment increased substantially during this era and state corporations became privatised. This foreign influence didn't come without its costs, however. A conflict between what Lynch calls the 'Material West and the Spiritual East' ensued (Lynch 1999). This conflict was deemed by some as necessary for the sake of prosperity, and many Sri Lanka philosophers believed that Sri Lanka's core identity would remain intact amid this transition.

Tennekoon's statement on the national identity is the most definitive regarding the country's moral core:

'economic viability is only the outer rind of society while virtue and morality form its inner core…. Though economic progress leads to culture, the physical and spiritual well-being of man and the harmony and contentment within society depends also on its ethical values and moral virtues. It is because of the absence of these virtues that even the most affluent nations are today facing decline and disaster.' Dissanayake statement in the Daily News (Late City Edition), Colombo (Tennekoon 1988:301)

It is this identity of Sri Lankans as essentially spiritual (*adyatmika* in Sinhala) versus the materialist (*laukika*) that makes it a particularly distinctive and complex population given the influence of the West during the era of economic liberalisation (Tennekoon 1988).

Since 2005, however, there has been a retrenchment towards state capitalism, with political appointees occupying key enterprise positions. Many foreign investors consider this change to

be the result of growing Sinhala Nationalism in the country (Gray 2009). Various minority groups have voiced their concern over greater state control, but despite these national challenges, GDP has grown by an average of 5% each year since 2003, and per capita income has grown to $4000 (Fernando & Moore 2015). After the 30-year civil war ended in 2009, Sri Lanka was considered one of the fastest-growing economies in the world. Its proximity to India and the South Asia trade agreement that has been forged have given it access to a 1.6 billion market in South Asia (UKTI, 2014). Research by Batten has shown that whether a corporation in Sri Lanka possesses a written code of ethics is highly dependent on its involvement with foreign business entities (Batten & Hettihewa 1999) and thus far, only 295 publicly traded companies are required to hold a code of ethics according to current legislation (Senaratne 2009). Codes of Conduct for for-profit entities are voluntary.

Though the civil war ended officially ended in 2009, Sri Lanka still endures tension between the various ethnic and religious groups within its borders. One study surveyed small businesses to see if they had experienced any forms of discrimination that led to violent conflict in their communities. Nearly 37% of the respondents agreed in the affirmative. Beyond this, in that same survey, nearly 50% of those same respondents said that ethnic tensions in the area could lead to violence. The practical, adverse effects of ethnic tensions included 'delinquency, competition and unfair favouritism' (Mayer & Salih 2006:362).

Today, Sri Lanka has a population of approximately 22 million people, and the island is incredibly diverse ethnically, religiously, and linguistically. Sinhalese is the most dominant ethnic group in Sri Lanka (74%), then Tamils (18%) and Ethnic Muslims (4%) (Sri Lanka Central Bank, 2012). Recent times have not been kind to Sri Lanka. The country is engaged in a full-blown economic and political crisis due to pandemic-induced tourism losses, mismanagement of foreign debt from the government and the steep increase in commodity prices because of the war in Ukraine (The Economist 2022). The Sri Lankan rupee has lost 45% against the dollar in recent months and crucially, because of inflation and supply chain blockages, it has not been able to pay for imports, most crucially fuel, food, and medicines. Significant to this is that institutions like PickMe, which rely on tourism and adequate disposable income from individuals to function, have similarly seen

a decrease in business of late, meaning many trishaw drivers are earning less than they have at any time in their careers. These recent contextual challenges and how they connect with the drivers' ethics will be explored.

Religiously, Sri Lanka contains Buddhists (69%), Hindus (15%), Christians (8%) and Muslims (8%). In such a remarkably diverse place, a unique fusion of cultural and religious influences have come together in a remarkable cocktail of shared value systems within the country (Gombrich & O 1988). As Fernando and Moore suggest, 'the connection between religion, culture, language and education and their combined influence on national identity are pervasive forces for the majority Sinhalese Buddhists' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:237; Tambiah 1986). This 'syncretic fusion of various religious elements' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:237) as Fernando and Moore put it, makes the Sri Lankan context all the more intriguing for a case study on ethics. This is why the context of Sri Lanka is significant and provides a valuable social laboratory for the study of Virtue Ethics and Institutional Work.

2.6 Chapter summary

Now that a thorough investigation has been conducted on the background of this research, as well as the contextual issues related to the various groups and industries being researched, a robust literature review will ensue. The various theoretical and empirical studies that relate to this project will be detailed in the literature review chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.0 Introduction to Literature Review

As stated, the first research question reads: 'How does MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework help us understand virtuous conduct among institutions operating in non-western, loosely organised autorickshaw communities'? The second research question reads: 'How can institutions effectively encourage and sustain virtuous conduct in autorickshaw communities in Sri Lanka?'

These research questions are based on the foundational theories in Virtue Ethics within organisations, as well as institutional theories of how to influence, regulate and make ethical conduct normative within an institution. PickMe's ambition to design systems that encourage ethical and virtuous behaviour among drivers is akin to MacIntyre's ideas of management's encouragement of the internal good within organisations. This is why studying MacIntyre's theories on Virtue Ethics is important. PickMe's use of technology and systems to encourage virtuous conduct within the network of autorickshaw drivers necessitates the use of Institutional Theory in this project. This literature review will therefore explore theories and findings within both Virtue Ethics and Institutional Theory.

The literature review will first elaborate on the theoretical foundations of Virtue Ethics. Then, empirical studies and their findings undertaken in Virtue Ethics will be examined, specifically ones that tested MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework in Western and Non-Western contexts. Secondly, studies on ethics in SMEs (small-to-medium-sized enterprises) which bear a resemblance to network organisations like PickMe will be highlighted. Thirdly, theories of the Institutionalization of Business Ethics (IBE) and the findings of many studies over the decades on how business effectively embeds ethical practice within institutional workers will be explored. These ethical programmes, both implicit and explicit, will be explored through the lens of Institutional Work and the institutional creation and maintenance strategies implicit in these ethical programmes. Fourthly, findings from Geoff Moore's study on *crowding in* virtue will be explored; Moore is a long-time scholar of Alasdair MacIntyre in applying Virtue Ethics to

commercial organisations. Fifthly, the theories and studies surrounding Institutional Theory and Institutional Work will be shared. This part of the literature review will focus on how institutions create, diffuse, and maintain institutional forms. Lastly, the theories of Algorithmic Management and the Institutional Work strategies implicit in delegating managerial roles to algorithms like the PickMe application will be explored.

It is important to recognise the significance of how these various frameworks and concepts are combined in this case study. Virtue Ethics, in essence, forms the 'what and why' of the lens through which this study is viewed and Institutional Work, IBE and Algorithmic Management form the 'how'. Insofar as institutional managers desire to effect change and foster virtue among the trishaw drivers, this project will explore institutional work strategies and algorithmic management tactics to effect those changes toward virtue. This research projects aims to establish the virtuous intentions expressed and felt by all institutional stakeholders, as well as understand and discern the strategies and tactics used by the institution to promote and embed virtue and ethical conduct among the drivers. Now, a summary of the theoretical research on Virtue Ethics will be explored.

3.1 Theoretical Research on Virtue Ethics

Ethics philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre has been a pioneer in articulating neo-Aristotelian Virtue Ethics for the modern academic. One conceptual framework that MacIntyre pioneered was the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework for understanding and mapping Virtue Ethics in an institution (Moore & Beadle 2006). MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework (shown in Figure 3) articulates the interplay between virtues, goods, practice, and the institution in an elegant way (Moore 2008; Moore & Beadle 2006). Moore and Beadle designed this framework to visually demonstrate how for-profit institutions could foster virtue and internal goods while still sustaining their business model. The essence of the framework is that 'virtues are exercised particularly inside practices and give rise to internal goods, while to survive, practices need to be housed within institutions which are concerned with external goods' (Moore 2012:365). It capably articulates the tension felt by management as well as institutional members in prioritising internal (pursuit of excellence) goods over external (pursuit of success) goods.

The framework begins with humanity's inherent pursuit of *eudaimonia* or human flourishing, which MacIntyre defines as 'blessedness, happiness, prosperity. It is the state of being well and doing well, of a man's being well-favoured himself and in relation to the divine' (MacIntyre 2007:148). The achievement of *eudaimonia* is only possible through the cultivation of virtue, which MacIntyre defines as 'precisely those qualities the possession of which will enable an individual to achieve *eudaimonia* and the lack of which will frustrate his movement toward that *telos*' (MacIntyre 2007:148). MacIntyre writes that the exercise of virtues is what Aristotle referred to as the 'correctness of the end of the purposive choice of which virtue is the cause' (MacIntyre 2007:149; Kenny 2011). Further to this, MacIntyre goes on to write that virtues are 'dispositions… to act from inclination formed by the cultivation of the virtues' (MacIntyre 2007:149). In chapter 14 on the Nature of the Virtues, MacIntyre describes rival conceptions of virtues while acknowledging that there can be a core conception of the virtues (MacIntyre 2007). Of relevance here is the importance of what Aristotle refers to as the virtue of *phronesis*, or practical reasoning, which is vital in the MacIntyrean framework because it describes the act of 'shared social deliberation of ends and means, and shared social action through practices' (Chu & Moore 2020:2).

Virtues, practised by institutional actors, promote the excellent execution of the institution's core activity, which generates what MacIntyre terms the *internal good*. In fact, virtuously practising the core activity of the institution brings about both internal and external goods (described below). Internal goods can be described as twofold: the applied technical skill and competence demonstrated by the institutional actor as well as the quality and workmanship of the product or service itself (Moore 2012). External goods can be defined as those things that are rewarded to institutions if they are successful and are acquired by institutions externally. Money, influence, and acclaim are examples of external goods for many institutions.

According to MacIntyre, the shared social action that generates internal and external goods are called *practices*, which he defines as 'any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity' (MacIntyre 2007:148). MacIntyre suggests that practices cannot exist for long unless they are housed within *institutions.* Institutions, according to MacIntyre,

house and encourage practices which can be practically defined as the core activity for which the institution is organised. According to MacIntyre, businesses are a type of institution which engage in a specific practice with a for-profit motive. Institutions house practices. MacIntyre illustrates the distinction between the two in this way: 'Chess, physics and medicine are practices; chess clubs, laboratories, universities and hospitals are institutions' (MacIntyre 2007:194).

The exercise of virtue within shared social practices, being housed within institutions, generates internal goods for the individual and brings internal and external goods into balance for the institution. Thriving institutions must balance the pursuit and prioritisation of these internal goods with the pursuit of external goods (MacIntyre 2007). Institutions are normally oriented towards prioritising external goods, according to MacIntyre, but this is to their own detriment. The pursuit of profits and reputation as a business institution can be described as the 'collective mechanism that emphasises the functionality of business as a profit-oriented social economic entity' (Wang et al. 2016:3)

MacIntyre suggests that virtuous institutions will attempt to re-prioritise their practice to promote the pursuit of internal goods over and above the pursuit of external goods (MacIntyre 2007). In fact, applying Virtue Ethics in a business context can offer normative solutions to senior managers to help them re-balance their priorities between external and internal goods. Senior managers can use 'incentives and rationales to justify and encourage the pursuit of internal goods' (Wang et al. 2016:3) within the company. Internal goods at the individual level encourage institutional

Figure 3: MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Conceptual Framework (Moore & Beadle, 2006)

members to practise the core activity of the business in a way that flows from the 'virtue and moral character of the individual' (Wang et al. 2016:1), bringing about an excellence of character for the individual and for the business.

As Figure 3 shows, the practice of pursuing excellence (the internal good) as an institution must function within the constraint of an institution that is, at the same time, pursuing the marketplace goals of success (external goods). The 'P' on the upper left part of the diagram represents a secondary practice in the institution, a practice that is conducted by the institution's managers and leaders. That second practice can be defined as 'making and sustaining' the institution's core practice (Moore 2012:380; MacIntyre 2007). In Virtue Ethics, as the organisation balances its prioritisation and pursuit of both internal and external goods, its end goal is a state of flourishing, what Aristotle would term *eudaimonia* (the state of 'well-being', 'happiness', blessedness') for both the individuals in the organisation and the organisation itself (Pojman 2006). In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle, like Plato before him, argued that the pursuit of eudaimonia is an 'activity of the soul in accordance with perfect virtue', the furthering of which could only properly be exercised in human community—the *polis* or city-state (Pojman 2006). This is the goal of Virtue Ethics in business, to promote the pursuit of virtues within an institution that leads the community around said institution to a state of flourishing.

To put the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework in context, it is useful to mention the specific elements within the PickMe institution. One key goal of this research project is to study the actions of the organisation's managers at PickMe to embed ethics by how they prioritise internal and external goods within the institution towards this goal of flourishing. Working backward, the *institution* is the PickMe institution in Colombo, Sri Lanka, which includes both the management, the drivers and the institutional stakeholders like the passengers who use the PickMe app to acquire rides. PickMe, as mentioned, is a for profit technology company that designed the PickMe application to facilitate interactions between drivers and passengers to travel from one location to another in Sri Lanka. The *practice* is just that, the transportation of passengers from one location to another. This is the core practice of the institution which will be explored in this research project with management's goal to bring about 'joyful mobility' (their stated organisational purpose) within this practice. The *goods* are two-fold. The internal good is the quality service of transporting passengers to a certain location as well as the enhanced skill and character of the drivers in driving passengers safely. The external good is the financial success, employee benefits and reputation earned from successful performance of delivering the

passengers adequately. Lastly, the *virtues* exercised inside those practices and which PickMe management ought to be concerned with promoting are the virtues necessary for effective driving and customer service (virtues such as honesty, friendliness, reliability, discipline, and temperance).

Moore developed the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework further by borrowing a theoretical tool developed by Crockett (Crockett 2008; Moore 2012) (see Figure 4) to 'map' virtue and viciousness within an institution as well as to map the prioritisation of success and excellence within an organisation. Using this mapping, the research studies described below used mixed-method strategies to gather findings on employee perspectives along these two axes. Institutions having a vicious purpose, such as the Mafia, could nonetheless pursue excellence (in the lower right quadrant) as a priority over external goods. Institutions holding a vicious purpose would be
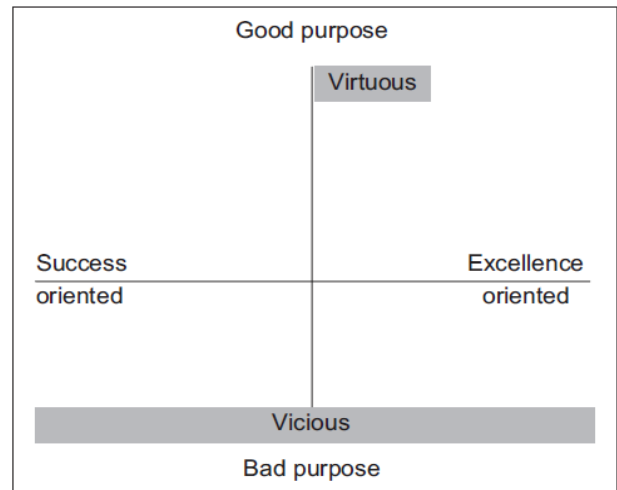
Figure 4: Moore's Mapping the Virtuous Organisation Diagram (Moore 2012)

ones that do 'not contribute to the overriding good of the community' (Moore 2012:372). An institution with a fundamentally good purpose (in contrast to 'vicious') could be any type of institution possessing a purpose that contributes to the *good* of the community. These institutions have the potential to still prioritise financial success over internal excellence (quality of product and/or excellence of character). The diagram proved to be a useful way of mapping an organisation's pursuit of and achievement of virtue or virtuousness (Moore 2012). In this research project, Crockett's Interactive Joint Inquiry Exercise diagram will be utilised to test notions of success and excellence in the institutional members view of organisational purpose at PickMe.

Moore and Grandy summarised the key concepts and definition of MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics in the Table 5 below.

MacIntyrean concept and definition

Organizational purpose
"The extent to which the internal goods of the practice(s) at the core of the organization contribute to the overriding good of the community" (Moore, 2012a, p. 366).

Practice
"Any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realized in the course of trying to achieve those standards of excellence which are appropriate to, and partially definitive of, that form of activity, with the result that human powers to achieve excellence, and human conceptions of the ends and goods involved, are systematically extended" (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 187).

Internal goods
The excellence of the products or services and the perfection of the practitioners in the process[a] (MacIntyre, 1994, p. 284, 2007, pp. 189-190).

Institutions (the "incorporated form")
"Institutions are characteristically and necessarily concerned with what I have called external goods. They are involved in acquiring money and other material goods; they are structured in terms of power and status, and they distribute money, power and status as rewards. Nor could they do otherwise if they are to sustain not only themselves, but also the practices of which they are the bearers" (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 194).

External goods
Money, power, status, success. "It is characteristic of what I have called external goods that when achieved they are always some individual's property and possession [and are therefore] characteristically objects of competition in which there must be losers as well as winners" (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 190).

[a]MacIntyre does not qualify "perfection" but it might more naturally be taken as referring to the development of the moral character, or the flourishing, of practitioners.

Figure 5: Key MacIntyrean Concepts (Moore & Grandy 2017)

The concepts of success and excellence are key to the MacIntyrean framework. Notions of success and excellence are prompts for interviewees to indicate their conceptualisation of the internal and external goods of the institution. Within MacIntyre's framework, when measuring the virtuous intention and organisational purpose of an organisation, the notion of excellence can represent an institution's commitment to internal good, defined as the quality of the product or service and the act of perfecting the practitioner who goes about making and delivering that product or service (MacIntyre 1999). In contrast, the notion of success can be defined as money, power, or reputation that is earned and afforded the practitioner as a reward for their product or service. Moore (2002) suggests that both are necessary for the proper functioning, but overemphasising external goods can have a corrupting influence on the internal good. Moore goes on to suggest that institutions ought to prioritise such external goods only insofar that they support the development of the practice that forms the institution's core business (Moore 2002). This explains why notions of success and excellence are so keenly studied in case studies using the MacIntyrean framework.

At this point a more intentional explanation into the possible connections between MacIntyrean virtue ethics in the eastern and western contexts is warranted. In section 3.2 more will be shared on the empirical research done using the MacIntyrean model and ways in which it was extended and found applicable in eastern contexts, to demonstrate the alignment of the model in non-western virtue-based philosophies. MacIntyre himself envisaged his understanding of virtue ethics as not prescriptive from a single moral philosophy, but incorporative of the various tradition-informed virtues from all around the world. In *After Virtue*, MacIntyrean catalogues virtue lists from various virtue philosophers from Homer down to Ben Franklin, mentioning the general unity within Japanese virtue traditions in comparison to the more fractured virtue lists created in the west (MacIntyre 2007:181–186). The concept itself of virtues within Eastern traditions is indisputable and rooted in the Sri Lankan culture as well, highlighted by this quote from Tennekoon about their role in Sri Lankan society: 'economic viability is only the outer rind of society while virtue and morality form its inner core' (Tennekoon 1988:301).

Still, some suggest the inherent danger of adopting a framework from a western theoretical lens to an eastern context. MacIntyre, in his most famous articulation of modern virtue ethics, when referencing institutions that house virtue or vicious practices, utilises descriptions of managers and bureaucracy in the context of multi-national corporations in the U.S.A. and the U.K. and does not reference either non-traditional business structures or non-western contexts (MacIntyre 2007).

Chu (2018) writes that 'it is clear that the model originates in the West and so may well be subject to various assumptions which are not applicable in the Eastern Confucian society of Taiwan' where her research was situated. Still, it is worth noting that Fernando and Moore (2015) and Chu and Moore (2020), who utilised the model in their empirical research in eastern contexts, understood the model to be adaptable and capable of integration with eastern philosophies.

One concept that is worth noting in conversation between eastern and western traditions is the role of the *self* within the various moral traditions. As Chu (2018) stated: 'moral agency is an important concept in virtue ethics, relating to concepts of the self and to what degree individuals

have free will to choose their actions as opposed to whether they are constricted by their environment'. Responding to critics at the time, MacIntyre articulates the distinction between the American conception of self and the South Eastern conception. He notes that the Japanese 'emotional self has no existence apart from' (MacIntyre 1990a:494) the social self and the hidden self. He also notes that in the Confucian tradition can be understood 'entirely in terms of social roles and responsibilities' (MacIntyre 1990a:495) in addition to Zen Buddhism's (the dominant religious tradition in this case study research) claim which states that the 'the self is no-self'. This is contrasted with Chu (2018) who shares MacIntyre's claim that the American self, among many things, is a post-enlightenment abstraction from the social role. This dovetails with many of Hofstedt's concepts of collectivism and individualism and how individuals see themselves within a given community (Hofstede 1980).

The reason this is so relevant is that differences between the eastern and western understanding of self can have a relevant impact when MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework is applied in a given context. MacIntyre himself upheld the influence of tradition on virtue formation when he wrote 'there is no way for the historian or social scientist to locate himself outside some tradition of interpretation, the very language he speaks and writes is so shaped by tradition that he cannot evade it' (MacIntyre 1980:177). Chu (2018) relates that 'self-images are not neutral but are based on narratives intertwined with tradition-informed social practices' and thus must be recognized in contexts where the MacIntyrean model is applied (Chu 2018:48).

Referring back the general tenets of MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework, with respect to an institution's *telos*, Alexander Bertland (Bertland 2009) suggests that Virtue Ethics can ground its *telos* in the pursuit of human dignity, according to Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum's theories in the Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum 2013). In fact, Nussbaum and Sen cite virtue theory as informing their construction of the Capabilities Approach, as it relates to affording individuals the freedom to cultivate virtue towards the goal of a good and flourishing life (Torrente & Gould 2018). Suggesting that human flourishing in the community is too nebulous, Bertland argues that according to the Capabilities Approach, an ideal *telos* for Virtue

Ethics is *human dignity* and that 'every person has dignity and should be provided the freedom to develop in a manner of his or her choosing' (Bertland 2009:26). If human dignity forms the *telos* for individual members of a virtuous institution, then it is incumbent on virtuous managers to seek 'to provide employees with the proper resources and encouragement, so that they could develop talents in a way that would give them a sense of dignity' (Bertland 2009:26).

Sen argues that attention to norms and modes of behaviour that respectively prevail in different societies can be a path forward in cultivating virtue and dignity in society. Plato himself suggests in the Laws that a strong sense of duty would help to prevent corruption (Plato 1988). But he also noted, wisely, that this would not be easy (Sen 2000). Sen argues that utilising a codes of behaviour approach to ethics, though difficult, may be a more effective and longer-lasting approach to ethical reform(Sen 2000). All this is in support of notions that codes of behaviour can curb corruption and encourage virtuous conduct because they tap into humanity's desire for human dignity in society.

Notions about the humanity and morality of institutions are well articulated by Wang, who says that human enterprises exist as possessing 'embedded ethical and moral value' (Wang et al. 2016). Ultimately, akin to Moore's statements about the role of virtue agents in institutions (Moore 2017), institutional management's primary role is to 'foster a moral and ethical climate in the organisation as well as society at large' (Wang et al. 2016:10). According to Maslow (1998), virtuous managers need to become the type of institutions that foster growth, produce better personalities among the institutional members and catalyse greater philanthropic and unselfish behaviour towards the community (Maslow 1998). The role of virtuous management will be explored more in this study.

Wang suggests that if an institution possesses a virtuous organisational purpose, then it can be assumed that all the practices housed within that organisation are working towards that purpose (with the *telos* being some form of general or specific good to the community where the institution is located). Once the organisational purpose has been defined, then Virtue Ethics assumes that the function of business managers and leaders within the institution is that of

cultivating the 'moral development and moral reasoning' (Wang et al. 2016:4) within the context of that organisation, providing mentoring and encouragement in the right conduct of that practice. Moore argues that, as an alternative to utility maximisation or Kantian universal principles, Virtue Ethics gives institutional management varied possibilities on how they can promote and encourage virtuous behaviour within the organisation (Moore 2017), with the result that both the organisation's success and sustainability in the marketplace and the good of the community for whom their organisation's *telos* (its purpose) are intended.

Accordingly, if fulfilling the organisation's purpose towards the community's good is the *telos* of an institution, then cultivating virtue in the exercise of the core practice of the institution is the means to achieve it. In his book *Virtue at Work* (Moore 2017), Moore describes two practices at work in an organisation. The first is its core practice, the thing that institution was designed to do, whether it is delivering health and beauty products in the UK, designing and manufacturing microchips for computers, or coordinating a network of autorickshaw drivers to transport residents in a certain city from one place to another. MacIntyre then describes a second practice within the institution, which is subordinate to the first. This is the practice which organisational leadership possesses, which can be described as the 'making and sustaining' of the institution (Moore 2012:380; MacIntyre 2007). The institutional leadership pursues its own type of internal good, with Moore describing them as 'moral agents' who fulfil their own *telos* as they help extend and sustain the organisation in its core practice. These virtuous managers function to help further the organisation's core practice but also nurture the excellence of the institution's individual members. As Moore puts it, the virtuous manager is 'concerned for the flourishing and moral development of those for whom she is responsible' (Moore 2017:111).

Moore takes MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution model further to describe how management can cultivate virtuous character in their organisation, a process he terms 'crowding in' (Moore 2017). It is described as 'crowding in' because traditional ways of embedding virtue within an organisation involve methods of governance, using incentives and control to force behaviours which, in Moore's estimation, ultimately 'crowd out' virtue. In Moore's view, extrinsic motivations to induce institutional members to act virtuously end up offending their desire to be

intrinsically motivated. 'Crowding in' virtue at the organisational level, alternatively, involves designing organisational systems, removing certain incentive and control systems, recruitment, and other mechanisms. Ultimately, Moore names seven parameters or activities that help a virtuous organisation 'crowd-in' virtue at every level (Moore 2017). Notions of the mechanisms that both encourage and inhibit virtuous conduct within the institution will be explored in this thesis. The empirical studies that undergird research on Virtue Ethics will now be examined.

3.2 Empirical Research on Virtue Ethics

3.2.1 Virtue Ethics and the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework

Overall, there have been few applications of the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution schema and virtue mapping in applied Virtue Ethics to businesses and organisations. Professor Geoffrey Moore conducted an empirical study using a MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution schema to study Virtue Ethics within an Anglo-American capitalist-style business based in the UK, a health and beauty company called Alliance Boots (Moore 2012). Moore, using case study methodology, studied the merging of two companies into one entity and measured the attitudes of key stakeholders within the organisations, both before and after the merger, utilising MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution schema. Interviews from several hierarchical levels were asked open-ended questions about the organisational purpose, its prioritising of excellence as compared with its prioritising of success. The aim was to place the individual's perception of the institution on the virtue-mapping schema. After aggregating and analysing the results, the study concluded that applying the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution schema and virtue mapping exercise to Anglo-American Businesses was a meaningful way to measure internal and external goods and the significance of 'practice-like conduct of production' (Keat 2008:83).

Later Moore, working with Fernando, sought to see if the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution schema and notions of virtue mapping in institutions would be meaningful in a non-western context. The scholars studied two businesses in the country of Sri Lanka (Fernando & Moore 2015a), the same context as this research. The goal was to see if MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics and

the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution schema were context-independent and if the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework could be used to generate normative solutions in any business context, Western or otherwise (Fernando & Moore 2015).

The study followed the same case study methodology as the study in the UK, drawing on data from two separate companies in Sri Lanka. Both companies had observable influences from both Western-style business forms and national culture. Much like the UK study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders within both organisations, from CEOs to the factory floor staff.

The results of this study were positive insofar as the respondents were able to relate to and articulate the organisation's purpose and connect it with how that contributed to the common good of the community (Fernando & Moore 2015). Along the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution schema, in comparison with the Alliance Boots study, the Sri Lankan study showed that stakeholders had a better grasp of the tension between pursuing excellence and success and were inclined towards the middle in their prioritisation of those
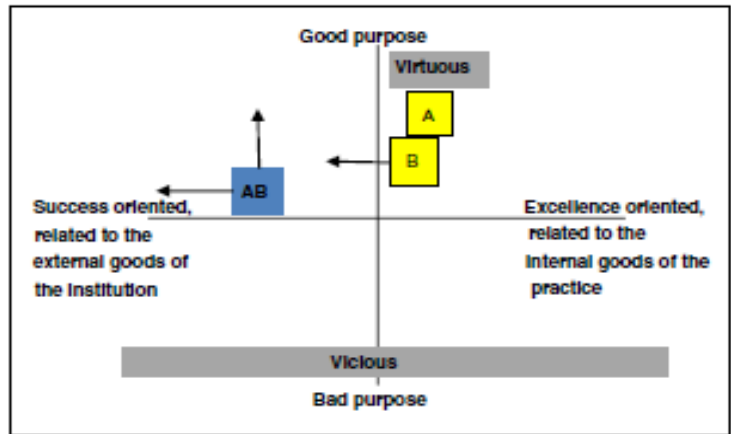
Figure 6: Virtue Mapping with UK and Sri Lankan Institutions (Fernando & Moore 2015; Moore 2012)

two pursuits (where Alliance Boots oriented decidedly towards 'success'). Overall, the subjects in Sri Lanka seemed to equally prioritise success and excellence in their work practice. The study hinged on each organisation's interpretation of the distinct pursuits of external goods (success) and internal goods (excellence). Much like the Alliance Boots study, interviewees were asked to give keywords that defined both success and excellence for the organisation. The dramatic difference between the institutions studied in the UK and in Sri Lanka was best represented by this quote:

'These results suggest a fundamentally different way of "doing business" between Sri Lanka and the UK. While Alliance Boots focuses on financial measures in relation to success, and on customers and products in relation to excellence, the Sri Lankan companies focus on people and being trusted in relation to success, and on people again in relation to excellence.' (Fernando & Moore 2015:195)

This conclusion led the researchers to suggest that the Sri Lankan's focus was more 'excellence oriented' while also acknowledging that the UK study found that Alliance Boots did pursue excellence 'in relation to customers and product' (Fernando & Moore 2015). The purpose of the Sri Lankan study was to see if the MacIntyrean framework was a meaningful theoretical framework in a non-western context and not *per se* to compare the virtue of one institution against another. The results of this mapping in the above can be seen in Figure 6, integrating the results from the Alliance Boots study with that of the Sri Lankan one (Fernando & Moore 2015).

More recently, Chu engaged in a study published in 2018 using the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework among Taiwanese Small-Medium Enterprises (SMEs). The aim was to test the applicability of the framework in a society within a Confucian tradition among smaller organisations (Chu 2018). To that point, the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework had only been utilised in larger corporations. With regard to all three of these previous empirical studies on the MacIntyrean framework in Western and non-western contexts, among businesses large and small, the finding is universal: the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework is applicable in every context, supporting what Fernando and Moore state: that the framework is generalisable 'and so can be used to characterise problems of organisational virtue and vice around the world' (Fernando & Moore 2015:186; Chu & Moore 2020). In addition, Chu's mixed-method study among SMEs in a Confucian context was able to extend the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework to incorporate differing conceptions of self and one's relation to society in practice of virtue. As she states, 'human relations, especially their ethical dimension, is potentially something that could be beneficially adopted by MacIntyrean virtue ethics' (Chu 2018:143). These findings result in the possibility of what Chu refers to as a more 'fuller and more inclusive conceptualisation which provides a framework for

the consideration of business ethics' (Chu 2018:301). The Taiwanese study by Chu will be discussed throughout this research project as her research aims and findings bear similarities to the present study.

The emergence of MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework and the further development of that framework in applied Virtue Ethics by Crockett (Crockett 2008), Moore and Beadle (Moore 2012; Moore & Beadle 2006), Fernando and Moore (Fernando & Moore 2015) and Chu (Chu 2018) give a meaningful tool in mapping and measuring virtue within an institution. However, there is still more work to be done in testing this framework among various Western and non-western institutions, both formal corporate structures and loosely organised institutions. To build on the excellent scholarship conducted by Moore (2012), Fernando and Moore (2015) and Chu and Moore (2020), this project seeks to utilise the framework in an entirely new context of the sharing economy, with drivers in transition from independence to a loosely organised network organisation. In addition, in contrast to the previous studies, this project is entirely qualitative and thus able to adeptly plumb greater depths of the drivers' cultural, social, psychological, and spiritual understanding of virtue and values and how it relates to their professional practice within the wider context of the PickMe institution and society.

There have been several others that have used the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution model in institutions outside of business as well (Moore 2012; Van De Ven 2011; Moore & Grandy 2017; Van De Ven 2011; von Krogh et al. 2012; Beadle 2013). Moore and Grandy applied the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework, utilising Institutional Theory, to conduct a study of the churches in North East England, where the practice of faith is housed within the institution of the church (Moore & Grandy 2017).

Another empirical study on Virtue Ethics in India looked at the role of institutional managers in forming and disseminating ethical virtues to institutional members. This study focused on senior executives and through their qualitative research found several virtues were prominent among the ethical mindset of the executives (empathy, sympathy, humanity, justice, fairness, temperance, integrity, transparency, governance, conscientiousness, transcendence, wisdom,

moral fortitude, and determination). The chief finding from the study suggested that 'deeply seated ethical virtues helped to form and refine these executives' ethical mindsets via guiding principles such as an ethical culture, environment, moulding, education, commitment and leadership' and that to encourage lasting virtuousness in the institution, alignment between the senior executives ethical mindset and the corporation were vital (Chan & Ananthram 20t19). Similarly, in this research project, the resident values, and virtues that institutional managers in held will be explored, as well as to what degree their ethical mindsets became capable guides in their design of the institution, the normative structures, and the digital application they created.

Apart from the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution schema, several empirical studies in Virtue Ethics have been conducted over the years. Chun's 2017 study of over 2,000 employees and customers of various companies found that employees' perceptions of organisational integrity (honesty or sincerity) were the strongest predictor of employee satisfaction and organisational identification (Chun 2017). This concept of organisational virtue is a departure from the personal and individual virtues described in MacIntyre's Virtue Ethics. Organisational virtue describes virtue from a strategic perspective, devoid of the theoretical underpinnings of MacIntyrean ethics, which studies how perceptions of organisational virtue like honesty, integrity and empathy contribute to the institution's successful performance (Chun 2017).

A 2019 study discovered that small businesses in Australia, Canada and Sri Lanka had a firm grasp of their ethical obligations to customers and to society at large but had poor or mixed understanding of their duty to fellow employees and the environment (Hettihewa et al. 2019). This suggests that institutional management can be inconsistent and sometimes contradictory in communicating with institutional members about their ethical obligations. It also suggests that institutional management may prioritise some stakeholders over others, effectively having 'blind spots' towards stakeholders to which they owe some duty of ethical behaviour.

In addition, while ethical programmes have been commonly studied among large corporations, some studies have focused on how to embed ethics in small and medium-sized enterprises.

Chu's study in 2018 provided a unique contribution in this regard, as her study's focus was on Taiwanese, Confucian-influenced SMEs. The SME managers in her study were seen to possess a greater ability to preserve traditional Taiwanese / Confucian values, preserve familial bonds between institutional members and were more communal and people-oriented, even in relation to other studies in non-western contexts (Chu & Moore 2020). In other research, where the owner/manager role has greater control to inscribe his or her personal and professional values into the organisation, the small business model presents unique opportunities for integrating ethics into the company's everyday practice (Spence & Lozano 2000). In addition, a study in the Netherlands found that smaller firms tend to prefer a dialogue strategy when approaching ethical dilemmas (Driscoll & Tesfayohannes 2009) and often possess a strong community of interconnectedness where ethical values can be imparted and reinforced (Gibb 2005). Studies have shown that the size of firms is a 'significant differentiator' for ethical issues (Ahmad & Ramayah 2012), and this is the reason why Robinson and Jonker's study among South African small businesses concluded that 'enhanced insights into the moderating factors that may influence the inculcation of ethics into small and medium-sized businesses may be particularly valuable' (Robinson & Jonker 2017:80). In this research project, the size and interconnectedness of the institution will be explored and linked back to its effectiveness in inculcating ethics to the institutional members.

Virtue Ethics research in the specific context of Sri Lanka will now be examined.

3.2.2 Virtues in Sri Lanka

As mentioned in section 1.1.1, MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework has been empirically tested and validated in non-western contexts, specifically Sri Lanka and Taiwan (Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020). Respondents in both context were able to conceptualise ideas of organisational purpose, that organisations have a teleological purpose, and held meaningful understandings of both success (the external good) and excellence (the internal good) with an institution (Fernando & Moore 2015). Though both polities contained nuanced and varied differences from their UK counterpart (the Sri Lankan study found

respondents more 'excellence-oriented' (Fernando & Moore 2015) and the Taiwanese study found 'success was communal and excellence individual'(Chu & Moore 2020:15), both studies supported the applicability of the framework in non-western contexts and entertained the possibility that MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework may have 'potentially universal application'(Chu & Moore 2020:15). Building from this, rooted notions of virtue and ethics within the context of Sri Lanka will be examined, especially to understand the resident moral and philosophical framework that trishaw drivers hold.

Recent studies show that Sri Lankans tend to be more collectivist than individualistic in nature, including an inclination to accommodate others in decision-making (Batten & Hettihewa 1999; Niles 1994) and tend to show a greater need for affiliation (the value put on social contact and close relationships) than achievement (Ranasinghe 1996; Carter 1979). Others have shown the import of what Fernando and Moore call 'soft-management approaches' like compassion, tolerance, and empathy (Kumarasinghe & Hoshino 2010; Wijewardena & Wimalasiri 1996; Fernando & Moore 2015:198). Within the business sector in Sri Lanka, other studies conducted in the business community show a demonstrable prioritisation of 1) Family (Ranasinghe 1996), 2) Personal attention (Ranasinghe 1996), 3) Philanthropy, which could be heavily influenced by the dominant virtue of charity found in Buddhism (Nanayakkara 1997).

In the realm of business, Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions have become important in this area. Though Hofstede didn't include Sri Lanka in his 1980 research on cultural dimensions (Hofstede 1980), later research confirmed how Sri Lanka rates on four key Hofstede dimensions: power distance (high), collectivism (moderate), masculinity (extremely low), and uncertainty avoidance (moderately low) (Irfan 2016). Perry's study in 2012 showed that the family is valued highly in Sri Lanka, with working hours often adjusted to accommodate the needs of the family (Perry 2012). Another value inherited from Buddhism is the notion of avoiding the exploitation of those beneath one's station. Lastly, as Loker observed, other-mindedness and the welfare of others was inherent in the culture (Loker 2011).

In 1993, Nanayakkara undertook a quantitative study to understand the Sri Lankan concept of virtue by studying the values communicated through children's stories from parents to their children. What he discovered is that the stories included narratives with themes that were more affiliative in nature than achievement oriented. The stories revealed that perseverance and connection to others were more highly valued than risk-taking and achievement. In the business context, this meant that values such as dedication to task, commitment to quality and even attention to the personal and family needs of company subordinates were paramount, over and above monetary success (Ranasinghe 1996). Other qualitative studies have suggested that virtues such as compassion and empathy tend to be more prominent in Sri Lanka than in other countries (Kumarasinghe & Hoshino 2010).

One study in 2016 researched several families who emigrated from Sri Lanka to Italy to earn a better income for their respective families. The study focused on the tradition of many of these families to send their children back to Sri Lanka during their teenage years to get their secondary education there hoping they would learn the traditions and values embedded in Sri Lankan culture. Brown noted that the parents seemed concerned that their children might value 'freedom over obedience' in Italy and would adopt a 'poor sense of sexual propriety'. In addition, they hoped that having their teenagers reside in Sri Lanka would instil 'good religious values and practices, of respecting elders and putting one's family first' (Brown 2016:18).

Another recent study between Sri Lankan and New Zealand accounting professionals, using a mixed-method strategy, found that culture is vital in measuring the 'moral intensity' in ethical dilemmas. Both national cultures played an outsized role in influencing participants' 'moral awareness' on particular ethical issues, like bribery or discrimination, and it was acknowledged that further research and understanding of how national culture influences this moral awareness was called for (Liyanapathirana et al. 2021).

Research has shown that religion plays an important role in the Sri Lankan business leader's 'judgement, emotional and motivational qualities' (Kumarasinghe & Hoshino 2010). In a 2009 Gallup survey report, Sri Lanka was listed along with Bangladesh as the third most religious country in the world, garnering a 99% religious participation rate among its citizens (Crabtree &

Pelham 2009). Buddhism has been the dominant religion in Sri Lanka for the last 2,500 years. It is written into the constitution that Buddhism has the foremost place amongst all religions in Sri Lanka (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor 2007). Buddhist monks, called bhikkhus, still serve as advisors to society and their teaching centres challenge Sri Lankan society to connect the outcomes of the present with respect to the future (Kumarasinghe & Hoshino 2010). The moral teachings of the brand of Buddhism practised by Sri Lankans encourage 'fairness, social justice and equity' (Perry 2012:152). Goger notes that Buddhism also imparts the values of abstinent behaviour in public and the importance of education (Goger 2013).

In the context of this research, the huge influence of Buddhism on natural culture and matters of conduct in business cannot be overstated (Nanayakkara 1997). Specifically, the Buddhist practice of *dana* (charity) is widely adopted and has potentially a hampering effect on financial performance for organisations based on the 'economics of modern materialism' (Fernando & Moore 2015). In the urban context of Colombo, where this case study is set, there is 'acculturation to the relatively individualistic orientation of the colonising cultures' (Fernando & Moore 2015:199) confronting the Buddhist traditions that have pervaded business in Sri Lanka for millennia.

In Buddhism, the *Sigalovada Sutta* gives five codes of conduct for how employees should function with respect to their employer: 1) they rise before him, 2) they lie down to rest after him; 3) they are content with what is given to them; 4) they do their work well; and 5) they carry about his praise and good fame (de Silva 2015). Theravada Buddhism (which is the tradition of Buddhism practised in Sri Lanka) interprets the gathering of wealth negatively and the sharing of wealth is highly valued. The Buddhist tradition of *dana* (charity) is paramount in business transactions. Past research studying the CSR activities in Sri Lankan businesses found that the practice of *dana* prevented many socially minded businesses from disclosing their CSR activities, because of the consciousness that those actions would take away from the purity of the charitable activity (Fernando & Almeida 2012). *Dana* has importance according to three factors: the motive for giving the gift, the purity of the recipient and the type and size of the gift (Simpson 2004). Even with Sri Lanka being a developing country, it ranks eighth in the world in charitable giving, topping

all countries in Asia (Gallup 2011). In a study conducted by the Charities Aid Foundation, results found that Sri Lanka ranked third in the world in volunteering time for others and a 'dramatically higher ranking' than the rest of the world in giving (Gallup 2011). These indicators seem to give credence to the idea that dana (charity) is a paramount value in Sri Lanka and is practised regularly.

One concept that is essential within Buddhism for understanding virtue is the concept of the Middle Path. This prescribes the 'avoidance of extremes of too little, in terms of deprivation, or too much, in terms of aspirations for indulgence' (Perry 2012:153). Interestingly, the philosophical idea of the golden mean, popularised by Aristotle, also carries this idea of having a desirable middle between excess and deprivation. Chapter 5 incorporates some findings on this notion of the Middle Path. In a qualitative research study on factory workers in the garment industry in Sri Lanka, one manager commented:

'I think as a nation, Sri Lankans are a bit slow. Because that's again to do with religion. Take it easy, take your time, don't be greedy. They're not hungry for more, they're content. Look at Chinese, they're very hungry, they work like rockets, so that's the difference.' (Perry 2012:153)

In that same study, workers preferred not to work overtime or come in on days off so as to avoid the extremes of working too much (Perry 2012). In contrast to this, Tambiah suggests that Buddhism in present-day Sri Lanka has lost its ethical compass and that the rituals performed by its adherents are merely a means by which to attain worldly wealth (Tambiah 1986). In fact, there are many gods and daemons within the canon of Buddhism that are specifically sought out for material benefits.

The empirical research on the Sri Lankan's value system will be thoroughly explored and referenced in this research. The catalogue of virtues that have been found to exist in Sri Lanka will be summarised and compared with the virtues that evidence themselves in the qualitative interviews. In addition, virtues that hitherto have not been expressed in the literature will also be highlighted. This is articulated in the findings section 5.3.

Buddhism isn't the only religion that influences the value system in Sri Lanka. Christianity came to Sri Lanka in the 6th century AD but didn't take root until the 15th century through Portuguese missionary efforts (Elliott 1995). Later when the Dutch came to Sri Lanka, they established the Dutch Reformed Church and the British in turn began evangelising through their Protestant branches. Today, most Christians are connected to the Roman Catholic church and have designated worship centres on the island. For the minority of Sri Lankans who converted, the adoption of Christianity was not without controversy. It was beneficial to the British during their occupation to convert members of Sri Lankan society, not only to Christianity, but also to a western way of life (Jayawardena-Willis et al. 2019). This emergence of what they called the Black Englishmen fits Lord Macaulay's description of one who was 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect' (Viswanathan 2014:16). The result was what Jayawardena suggests was a general neglect and rejection of native languages and culture. (Jayawardena-Willis et al. 2019)

Regarding Islam, two groups are named as having brought it to the country. Tamil-speaking Muslims brought Islam to Sri Lanka from India (Arasaratnam 1964). In addition, Ceylon Muslims who traced their origin to the Arab Gulf also became part of the permanent population in Sri Lanka. These two groups had an uneasy relationship with one another as they forged ahead with a Muslim identity, but both believed they maintained a superior status over the other (Jayawardena-Willis et al. 2019). Each group kept the basic doctrines of Islam while adopting new social customs from the local population. In keeping with this, *Kataragama* is a temple to which many Sri Lankan Muslims make annual pilgrimage to give worship. It is worth noting that the founders of PickMe all are Muslim background.

Of course, one cannot speak of the value system in Sri Lanka without reference to the influence of the neighbouring country of India and Hinduism. Aspects such as India's caste system, its own history of British occupation and its own cultural values have long influenced the value system in Sri Lanka (Fernando & Jackson 2006). Hinduism in Sri Lanka is closely related to the distinct cultural systems practised in Tamil Nadu, India. Most Sri Lankan Hindus are Saivites, meaning Lord Siva is their most cherished God. Second to this are the Sri Lankan Hindus who follow the

Hindu God Vishnu, among whom can be found both Sinhalese and Hindu worshippers (Arasaratnam 1964).

The rich religious history and background in Sri Lanka will be acknowledged and explored in this project. Other empirical studies within Sri Lanka will now be examined.

3.2.3 Related Studies in Sri Lanka

In the Sri Lankan context, one cannot refer to ethics in the country without referencing corruption, specifically within the government. Corruption (though hard to measure quantitatively) has been found to be perceived as pervasive throughout Sri Lanka (Herath 2016). For example, in 2017 Sri Lanka reported a loss of eleven billion rupees related to bond scams, according to the Presidential Commission (Warnakulasuriya, 2018). Academic studies have studied various aspects of corruption, specifically development aid and ethnic conflict (Goodhand and Klem 2005; Lindberg and Orjuela 2011), economic costs of the war (Arunatilake, Jayasuriya, and Kelegama 2001), greed and grievances (Korf 2005), tsunami reconstruction (Perera-Mubarak 2012) and measurement of corruption (Herath 2010). Dunham and Jayasuriya (2001) argue that the 'nepotistic and opportunistic environment' (Crews 2016:169) have given rise to institutionalised corrupt behaviour within the government. Hearth (2016) argues that the embeddedness of corruption is caused by the collective action problem, where everyone in Sri Lanka believes everyone else is corrupt and thus accepts corruption as the status quo. One important finding from this research was that corruption fighters within Sri Lanka found motivation to fight against unethical behaviour when the corruption was framed discursively and the narrative of fighting corruption was seen as 'righteous and praiseworthy and which can give meaning and motivation to those who make the efforts and takes the risks of swimming upstream' (Herath et al. 2019:270). The study also found that corruption fighters often were motivated by 'formative experiences such as family background or early guidance from exemplar work superiors' in their fight against graft (Herath et al. 2019:270).

Graft and corruption within the government of Sri Lanka has been found to have significant effect on organisational performance. One study focused on executive-grade administrative officers,

found that there are various influential factors that contribute to the preponderance of corruption in the government, suggesting that there is no silver bullet to fix corruption and demanding a more nuanced perspective on it. In addition, the effect on organisational performance was profound, with the largest negative effect coming from the specific act of *bribery* (Kodagoda & Ramanayake 2024). Importantly, the article goes on to suggest two key recommendations to help curtail corruption in the government, increased ethics education and a proper monitoring system to keep key decision makers accountable for their behaviour (Kodagoda & Ramanayake 2024). These findings dovetail with many aspects of this research project.

One of the fundamental problems with fighting unethical behaviour in society is lack of agency that individuals felt in fighting rampant corruption in the country. Chandrakumar and Sparrow's (2003) study found that many in Sri Lanka possessed a positive work ethic but were unduly oriented towards the organisation for ethical decision making and initiative-taking in ethical matters. They also discovered that Sri Lankan's are generally risk-averse and inclined to subordinate their own ethical preferences in deference to the safety and security of continuing employment. The Crews study (2016) found that everyday Sri Lankans, in responses to this, were desiring of work contexts that promoted 'entrepreneurial mindsets and self-initiated career development' (Crews 2016:205) to counteract the society that seemed to be content with rampant corruption.

One other empirical study that is worth noting from the literature is the work of Mario Fernando in Sri Lanka on self-actualisation (defined as a model involving the stages of growing, becoming, and evolving towards an ideal self) in workplace spirituality. He interviewed 13 highly influential business leaders in qualitative interviews to understand how they understood their role as managers in promoting self-actualisation through spirituality in their context. His findings suggest that 'self-actualising work arrangements offer a way to implement inclusive workplace spirituality, devoid of the challenges usually associated with the practice of religion-based workplace spirituality' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:233). Some other secondary findings that relate to this research include the notion that many of the senior managers 'defined workplace

spirituality in non-religious terms' using words like ethics, values, and principles. In fact, one interviewee in the study went so far as to conflate ethics and spirituality when he remarked that 'a set of values, a set of principles that portrays culture, values and spirituality can be a means of enacting spirituality' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:239). This will be discussed further in Chapter 8, together with the implications for the transformational mission of the church. Alongside this, the study found that participants who 'experienced a connection from an internal source (such as self)' tended to practice values that were influenced by non-religious sources, like family members or schoolteachers. Those who made formal connections to a higher power tended to attribute the influence on their value-based behaviour to those religions (principally Buddhism)' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:240). This conclusion will be discussed further in section 5.3.2, when the influences toward virtuous conduct findings are discussed.

A literature review of Virtue Ethics, both theoretically and empirically, both generally and in the context of Sri Lanka, has been explored. Next, a literature review of the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics and Institutional Work will be examined.

3.3 Theoretical Research on Institutionalisation of Business Ethics and Institutional Work

Early research on the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics within organisations focused on which embedding variables had the greatest effect on ethical practice in an organisation. Brenner articulated a specific division between implicit and explicit factors that contributed to the institutionalisation process of business ethics (Brenner 1992). Explicit elements, according to him, relate to specific ways that organisational leaders promote ethical practice. Variables such as establishing a Code of Ethics, Ethics Training, and Ethics Officers are some of these explicit elements. Implicit institutional elements relate to the variables that implicitly influence the work culture to become more ethical (Singhapakdi et al. 2010). These variables incorporate the elements of organisational culture, peer groups and the system of reward and sanctions. These variables form a body of ethical programmes described as the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics (IBE), popularised by Brenner (1992). Explicit ethical programmes see their regulative success in imposing norms from outside the employee's worldview, whereas implicit ethical

programmes influence employees in how they see the institution and what they perceive its core values to be (Brenner 1992).

Singhapakdi and Vitell define IBE to be the 'degree to which an organisation explicitly and implicitly incorporates ethics in its decision-making processes' (Singhapakdi & Vitell 2007:285). Other scholars understand it as a dynamic process whereby the ethical operation of the organisation is cultivated over time by the leadership of a company (Chakrabarty & Bass 2014). One study suggests that businesses provide a good social context for encouraging ethical conduct (Trevino 1986).

To understand more about how institutions promote good business ethics from this set of IBE variables, Institutional Theory and specifically the categories and strategies laid out in Institutional Work become most useful.

Institutional theory describes the process of structures, rules, norms, and routines, becoming established as guidelines for social behaviour (Ritzer 2004). Note that institutions are not necessarily defined along economic lines, as they can be any social structures that conform to a modicum of norms and routines. Institutions can be defined in a detailed way vis-à-vis interpersonal systems or as a world system that spans geography (Scott 2008). Within Institutional Theory, there are different means by which institutions are understood and reinforced for the actors participating in and around the institution: from artefacts and routines to relational systems existing within and without the institution (Scott 2008). Elements of Institutional Theory can be used to explain how the different aspects of institutions are created, diffused, adopted and adapted through space and time (Ritzer 2004).

One of Scott's key elements of institutions is that they are 'composed of cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life (Scott 2008:48).' The three elements form the building blocks of an institution and through their 'elastic fibres' make institutions durable and resistant to change(Scott 2008:49).

The regulative pillar of institutions is the most concrete of all the pillars. It involves the 'capacity to establish rules, inspect others' conformity to them, and, as necessary, manipulate sanctions (rewards and punishments) in an attempt to influence future behaviour' (Scott 2008:52). The regulative pillar relates to monitoring behaviour, setting rules, and sanctioning the given behaviour in an institution. The mechanisms for engaging in these activities can be formal or informal, explicit or implicit. It should be noted that within institutions, 'force, fear and expedience' become key ingredients for enforcement, though a majority of institutions 'attempt to cultivate a belief in (the rules) for legitimacy' (Scott 2008:53). Influence towards conformity can come about through *imposition* (punishment) but also through *inducement*s (reward).

The last pillar mentioned by Scott is termed the cultural-cognitive pillar (Scott 2008). This is described as 'the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made' (Scott 2008:57). It can be roughly defined as the beliefs and values that are shared informally through social interactions and it points to the primacy of the culture and national context where the institution is situated (Jepperson & Meyer 1991). The cultural context that an institution resides in can have a powerful influence on the values and norms of the institution. The concept of isomorphism comprises the actions of institutions that look to external peer organisations and the national context for cues on structure and social behaviour within the institution (Scott 2008). Conforming to the prevailing systems in the environment 'earns the organisation legitimacy' (Scott 2008:59). Fernando and Moore note the need for a conducive environment in order for organisational virtue to be realised (Fernando & Moore 2015). This project will specifically address the cultural and societal influences on the virtuous thinking of the institutional members.

Lawrence and Suddaby's 2006 article on Institutional Work highlights an important way forward in Institutional Theory. The authors specifically articulate the definition of Institutional Work, a key framework for this research, as the 'purposive action aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:206). They define Institutional Work with regard to *diffusion*, which articulates modes of implementing structure or practice within that institution (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). The article goes on to highlight forms of Institutional

Work that members can use to facilitate diffusion within the broad categories of Creating, Maintaining and Disrupting institutions. Within these categories and in relation to the study of diffusing ethical conduct within an institution, the forms of Institutional Work of Defining ('the construction of rule systems and conferring status or identity'), Policing ('Ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing and monitoring'), and Embedding and Routinizing ('Actively infusing the normative foundations of institution into the participants day to day routines and organisational practices') (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006) seem most relevant. It is evident how variables within IBE, both implicit and explicit, easily fall into many of the Institutional Work elements mentioned below in Table 1. The table below has been adapted to show which elements of Institutional Work related to various ethical programmes in IBE. Below can be seen an adapted table describing the Institutional Work as described by Lawrence and Suddaby and adapted by Adelekan (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006; Adelekan 2022)

Table 1: Elements of Institutional Work (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006; Adelekan 2021)

Institutional outcome	Element of institutional work	Examples of IBE illustrating these strategies	Definitions
Creation work	Advocacy	Ethical Leadership, Ethics Officers	The mobilisation of political and regulatory support through direct and deliberate techniques of social suasion.
	Defining	Code of Ethics, Code of Conduct	The construction of rule systems that confer status or identity, define boundaries of membership, or create status hierarchies within a field.
	Vesting		Institutional work directed toward the creation of rule structures that confer property rights. It occurs when government authority is used to reallocate property rights.
	Constructing identities	Organisational Culture	The construction of identities as a form of Institutional Work, which is central to the creating of institutions because identities describe the relationship between an actor and the field in which that actor operates.
	Changing normative associations	Organisational Culture	Reformulating of normative associations i.e., the re-making the connections between sets of practices and the moral and cultural foundations for those practices
	Constructing normative networks	Peer groups	The construction of normative networks, which are the interorganizational connections through which practices become normatively sanctioned and which form the relevant peer group with respect to normative compliance, monitoring, and evaluation.
	Mimicry	Ethical Leadership, Ethics Officers	Leveraging existing sets of taken-for-granted practices, technologies, and rules; if they are able to

Institutional outcome	Element of institutional work	Examples of IBE illustrating these strategies	Definitions
			associate the new with the old in some way that eases adoption.
	Theorizing	Ethical Leadership	The development and specification of abstract categories, and the elaboration of chains of cause and effect.
	Educating	Ethical Training	The education of actors in skills and knowledge necessary to support the new institution
Maintenance work	Enabling	Rewards and Sanctions	The creation of rules that facilitate, supplement and support institutions.
	Policing	Rewards and Sanctions	Ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing and monitoring and can involve the use of both sanctions and inducements often simultaneously and by the same agents.
	Deterring	Rewards and Sanctions	The threat of coercion to inculcate the conscious obedience of institutional actors.
	Valorising and demonizing	Ethical Leadership, Ethics Officers	Providing for public consumption especially positive and especially negative examples that illustrates the normative foundations of an institution.
	Mythologizing	Ethical Leadership, Ethics Officers, Open Communication	A way in which actors work to preserve the normative underpinnings of institutions, which is by mythologizing their history.
	Embedding and routinizing	Rewards and Sanctions, Reflective Practices	Actively infusing the normative foundations of an institution into the participants' day to day routines and organisational practices.
Disruptive work	Disconnecting sanctions and rewards	Rewards and Sanctions	State and non-state actors working through the state apparatus to disconnect rewards and sanctions from some set of practices, technologies, or rules.
	Dissociating moral foundations	Ethical Leadership, Open Communication	Disassociating the practice, rule, or technology from its moral foundation as appropriate within a specific cultural context.
	Undermining assumptions and beliefs	Ethical Leadership, Open Communication	Removing the costs associated with actors moving away from taken-for-granted patterns of practice, technologies, and rules in some way, facilitating new ways of acting that replace existing templates, or decrease the perceived risks of innovation and differentiation.

It should be noted that such Institutional Work mechanisms should not be treated as definitive, according to the theory's originators (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). These various Institutional Work strategies will be explored in this research project, with a specific focus on institutional creation and maintenance, highlighting a few of the particular strategies mentioned by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006). In addition, institutional disruption will be examined with regard to Algorithmic Management and how the PickMe application effectively undermines the beliefs of

institutional members and changes the normative associations for those members. This will be explored further in section 3.4.5.

Lawrence and Suddaby have entered the discourse on the intelligence strategies by which institutional entrepreneurs seek to engage in institutional disruption, creation and maintenance with a focus on outcomes (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). Not unlike the entrepreneurs who began PickMe, the institution which is the focus of this research, institutional entrepreneurs often seek to effect change or a sense of stability (Adelekan 2022) within a given context or industry. However, Institutional Work as a theory, as Battilana suggests, tends to work against the notion of 'hyper-muscular institutional entrepreneurs' (Battilana & D'aunno 2006:1) that ignore complex institutional structures and collective action towards institutions (Aldrich 2012). The pioneers of Institutional Work themselves admit that the change possible through Institutional Work is embedded and not often driven by a single external source.

Institutional Work, as Hampel describes, looks at the idea of practice as being the 'reflexive, purposive efforts' of institutional members as well as the 'institutions at which those efforts are aimed' (Adelekan 2022:5; Hampel et al. 2017). This reflexive, purposive effort by institutional members will, by nature, be continually self-examined and studied for their outcomes (as highlighted in Moss & Dear, 1986) (Giddens 1984).

In addition, Hampel notes that Institutional Work is often carried out in relational practices but also through the use of material and symbolic means as well (Hampel et al. 2017). Hampel went further to articulate four levels of institutions that exist in the world and are worthy of study: field, organisational, individual, and societal-level institutions (Hampel et al. 2017). While some studies have been produced that study Institutional Work *across* societies or fields, Hampel suggests in his review of Institutional Work studies that less scholarship has been produced that studies the organisational or individual institution level (Hampel et al. 2017). This research would add to this more under-researched body of work.

Fernando and Moore suggest that when applying Institutional Theory in the context of Sri Lanka, one should give credence to the divide between the urban and rural (Fernando & Moore 2015).

A deep social, cultural, and economic divide has been observed between those segments, and researchers utilising Institutional Theory should recognise this (Gabriel & Cornfield 1995). Given all this, this context presents a compelling location for a study on Institutional Work. This research project will examine this urban and rural divide in relation to the embedding and adoption of ethics by the institutional members. This will be discussed further in section 7.3.2.

In section 3.4 of the Literature View, empirical studies using the Institutional Theory will be discussed. Both the Fernando and Moore study in Sri Lanka as well as the Chu and Moore study in Taiwan applied and explored robust empirical studies from Institutional Theory and this research hopes to build and add to those studies in a non-western context. Lastly, some researchers have suggested that Institutional Theory has been 'criticised for their lack of ethical content' (Chu 2018:22), referring to research from Nielsen and Massa as well as Moore and Grandy (Moore & Grandy 2017; Nielsen & Massa 2012). It would be worthwhile, therefore, to explore this further, which this research project aims to do.

3.3.1 Institutional Work and Institutional Theory

Within the context of Institutional Theory, Lawrence and Suddaby's theory of Institutional Work has emerged. Historically within Institutional Theory, a lot of literature has been produced that analyses the processes that govern action within institutions. Institutional Work, by contrast, studies the individual's agency and the effect of institutional members on the wider institution (Lawrence et al. 2009). Institutional Work is described as the 'purposive action aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:206) through the intelligent practices or strategies that actors adopt to influence and create new institutional outcomes (Adelekan 2022).

As a sub-discipline within Institutional Theory, IW's emphasis represents a scholarly interest in the notion of *agency* among new-institutional theorists (DiMaggio 1988) and on the sociology of practice (Bourdieu 2020; De Certeau 1984; Giddens 1984) to, as Adelekan describes, 'understand the ways in which actors influence institutions' (Adelekan 2022:87). Lawrence writes that the promise of Institutional Work is to articulate the 'broader vision of agency in relationship to

institutions, one that avoids depicting actors... as "cultural dopes" trapped by institutional arrangements' (Lawrence et al. 2009:1) Giddens explains that Institutional Work studies the practice of individual actors' purposive actions and the institution to which they are aimed. Lawrence and Suddaby's main thesis on Institutional Work within Institutional Theory is to understand the institution through the lens of the 'more or less conscious action of individual and collective actors' (Adelekan 2022:88; Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). Lawrence summarises Institutional Work as being about 'the myriad, day-to-day equivocal instances of agency that, although aimed at affecting the institutional order, represent a complex mélange of forms of agency—successful and not, simultaneously radical and conservative, strategic and emotional, full of compromises, and rife with unintended consequences' (Lawrence et al. 2011:52–53). It is this focus on the granular activities of institutional members within the institution that makes it distinctive within Institutional Theory.

In support of the notion that Lawrence and Suddaby's original Institutional Work framework for creating and maintaining institutions is non-definitive and worthy of reflection and modification, there have been many empirical studies that have enhanced the framework since their work was published. While this study specifically focuses on two categories with six strategies for Institutional Work (**Creating** institutions through defining, constructing identities, and educating and **Maintaining** institutions through policing, deterring, and embedding and routinising), many studies have emerged that have demonstrated new strategies for institutions to employ in their institutional efforts. Some have shed light on strategies like bridging (using other systems to support existing ones) (Jarzabkowski et al. 2016); enhancement and experimenting works (improving systems of trial and error) (Mair & Marti 2009) and bricolage (creative construction or creation from a diverse range of available things) (Battilana & D'aunno 2006) (Battilana & D'Aunno, 2009). Beyond these, Adelekan's work studying circular economy strategies in Lagos unveiled new plans for Institutional Work under the category of Creating and Disrupting Institutions, including: direct aiding (supplying needed resources); showcasing (demonstrating systems); gifting, theming (showing possibilities through persuasion); grandstanding (storming a community with grand gestures and resources); beautifying; and registering (promoting

association to legitimise it) (Adelekan 2022). This research project will add to this catalogue of Institutional Work elements.

3.4 Empirical Research on Institutionalisation of Business Ethics and Institutional Work

3.4.1 Institutionalisation of Business Ethics

The institutionalisation of business ethics (IBE) has been an important research subject within Business Ethics over the past 30 years. Singhapakdi and Vitell define the IBE to be the 'degree to which an organisation explicitly and implicitly incorporates ethics in its decision-making processes' (Singhapakdi & Vitell 2007:284). IBE is in keeping with Scott's notions of the regulative pillar of institutions, that pillar that has to do with monitoring behaviour, setting rules, and sanctioning the given behaviour in an institution. Institutional Work is consistent with IBE insofar as many of the ethical mechanisms (implicit and explicit) line up well with the Creating, Maintaining and Disrupting strategies that constitute the actions of an institution.

Early research on ethics implementation in business focused on which institutionalising variables had the greatest effect on ethical practice in an organisation. Variables such as establishing a Code of Ethics, Ethics Training, and Ethics Officers are some of these explicit elements. Research is mixed regarding the effect of explicit variables on ethical practice (Vitell et al. 2011). Some research has established that Codes of Ethics are necessary, though not sufficient, for improving ethical practice (Webley & Werner 2008). Research has shown that implicit institutional elements are slightly more effective in affecting ethical practice than explicit elements (Christie et al. 2003).

A literature review of ethical decision-making within institutions revealed the only universal finding among all the empirical studies was that 'it appears safe to say that people perceive themselves as more ethical than their peers' (Ford & Richardson 1994:219). This review also concluded that among the studies reviewed, factors like Peer Influence, Top Management Influence, Rewards and Sanctions and Codes of Conduct had mixed or contradictory results with regard to their effect on decision-making towards ethical behaviour in institutions (Ford & Richardson 1994). Sim's study in 1991 found a positive link between an organisation's capacity

to embed ethical conduct within its ranks and the institution's commitment to an 'ethically oriented culture' as well as the use of a psychological contract with its employees (Sims 1991). A 2007 study among 306 marketing managers showed that implicit ethics institutionalisation had a positive effect on employees' job satisfaction, *esprit de corp*s and organisational commitment, while explicit ethics institutionalisation only affected the employees' perceived importance of ethics in the organisation (Singhapakdi & Vitell 2007). Brenner is credited with acknowledging that all organisations have ethics programmes, whether they recognise it or not, and it is important to broaden the understanding of these implementing elements and how they influence the ethical strength of an organisation (Brenner 1992).

Research studies have shown that within the regulative pillar of Institutions, the effectiveness of each ethical programme within the regulative pillar has been mixed, though focused research suggests that intrinsic programmes are more effective than extrinsic ones (Christie et al. 2003). One reason for the success of implicit institutionalisation of ethics in business relates to the fact that organisations which possess a high level of implicit ethics institutionalisation work in an environment where 'ethical behaviour is understood by employees to be crucial in the makeup and functioning of the firm' (Singhapakdi et al. 2010:78). This research project will explore the elements of implicit and explicit ethical programmes within the PickMe institution and test their effectiveness in promoting virtuous conduct. In addition, the programmes will be developed and understood through the lens of Institutional Work and the institutional creation and maintenance strategies that form the infrastructure of a virtuous institution. The empirical research on Institutional Work will now be explored.

3.4.2 Institutional Work in Virtue Ethics

There have been many empirical studies looking at Institutional Theory and Virtue Ethics in recent years. As mentioned in section 3.2.1, Geoffrey Moore conducted a study of Virtue Ethics on the Alliance Boots merger (Moore 2012). The conclusions from that research showed that it is possible to apply the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework to business

organisations and that the institutional stakeholders had no difficulty conceptualising notions of virtue and Virtue Ethics as institutional members.

Building on this research, Fernando's comparative study in the context of Sri Lanka with a multiple institutional case analysis concluded that the MacIntyrean conceptual framework is applicable in non-western contexts. He was able to suggest an enlargement of the conceptual framework to incorporate the 'need for reciprocal opposition to influences unconducive to virtue' (Fernando & Moore 2015:200), following on from studies on isomorphism and the influence of national culture and Western business dynamics on the non-western institutions. In addition, his research encouraged scholars to incorporate 'tradition' in the MacIntyrean conceptual framework (Fernando & Moore 2015).

Another study focused on Virtue Ethics theory in Italy looked at how non-profit organisations related to one another, looking specifically at the virtuousness of 'ethical networks' (Mion et al. 2023) and how they trigger virtuous practices. Their conclusion after extensive research found that there was a positive correlation between shared ethical values and religious beliefs and what they termed ethical network building. What also emerged from this research was a consideration of a four-level encouragement of virtuous practices on: (1) the strategic orientation level, (2) the institutional level, (3) the organisational level, and (4) the relational level (Mion et al. 2023). I will look specifically at the third and fourth levels of encouragement.

3.4.3 Institutional Work in the Sharing Economy

Zvolska's more recent study of Urban Sharing Organisations (USOs) (a term to define peer-to-peer sharing organisations like Airbnb, Uber and the like) and their engagement with the Institutional Work of creation and disruption will be particularly helpful here (Zvolska et al. 2019). Conducting 70 interviews with various USOs, Zvolska found that 'many USOs engage in purposeful Institutional Work with a clear goal to disrupt or create institutions' (Zvolska et al. 2019:674). Zvolska also sought to apply the Institutional Work framework pioneered by Lawrence and Suddaby and test and adjust it 'to the context of the sharing economy (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006; Zvolska et al. 2019). Lawrence and Suddaby admitted that their framework and the

'mechanisms they had outlined should not be treated as definitive' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:220).

Below is the modified table on Institutional Work for creating institutions crafted by Zvolska. It can be observed Zvolska's inclusion of the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive work articulated by Scott (Scott 2008; Zvolska et al. 2019). Many of these mechanisms will be referred to in this study's findings and discussion chapters, especially the mechanisms of Creating Identities (what they refer to as 'Self-identification), creating new norms, isomorphic mimicry and educating.

Table 2: Mechanisms of Institutional Work to create institutions (Zvolska et al. 2019)

Mechanisms of institutional work to create institutions.

Form of work to create institutions	Definition
REGULATORY WORK	
Lobbying and litigation	Engagement of USOs in the shaping of policies and/or regulations
Delimiting organisational fields	Setting the boundaries and delimiting membership in the organisational field for political, ideological or regulatory purposes
NORMATIVE WORK	
Self-identification	Creating identities that reflect organisational values, and constructing images that appeal to other actors in the organisational field
Changing traditional meanings	Altering the traditional meaning of sharing
Creating new norms	Creating new norms around consumption practices and resource distribution
Organising	Forming intra- and inter-field networks to create a united voice, entity and common identity and to develop collective codes of conduct
CULTURAL-COGNITIVE WORK	
Isomorphic mimicry	Associating new sharing models with existing sets of taken-for-granted practices, technologies and regulations to ease adoption, improve acceptance and ensure long-term survival
Imitation	Imitation of other USOs' business models leading to a multiplication of USOs in the field
Constructing new meaning systems	Creating new constructs to support legitimacy building for the sharing economy
Educating	Educating actors in the organisational field of the sharing economy and beyond

Later in this thesis, the normative work of self-identification and creating new norms, as well as the cultural-cognitive work of constructing new meaning systems and educating, will be discussed. In addition, how the PickMe management enacted such strategies will be discussed.

There have been several studies done on the USOs that are specific to labour platforms (using digital technology to connect users seeking informal work-for-hire arrangements). These studies often focused on the working conditions and social and economic consequences for workers, including studies on the disruption of relationships between institutional employees (Vallas 2019; Gerwe & Silva 2020) as well as the exploitation of marginalised communities from institutional management (Malhotra & Van Alstyne 2014; Graham et al. 2017; Schor & Attwood-Charles 2017; Wood et al. 2019). Also, there has been a stream of academic literature speaking about the

transition that workers in the platform economy undergo when they move from the informal economy to the formal economy, including the socialisation and customs that change when moving from informal to formal (Green & Branford 2013). This intermediation effort from informal to formal, mediated by the use of digital infrastructure utilising Algorithmic Management, has been studied by many scholars (Weber et al. 2021; De Reuver et al. 2018; Vallas 2019; Wood et al. 2019). On this note, it has been validated that 'platforms are considered as incubators for micro-entrepreneurs (the workers) who are strictly governed based on algorithmic control' (Weber et al. 2021:1318). Furthermore, platforms have been seen as fostering precarious working conditions, with few protections and benefits for workers (Vallas & Schor 2020). Alongside this, existing studies suggest that workers who transition from the informal to the formal in a platform economy often suffer. Studies show that there is considerable economic risk for the employee in that they are prescribed rules that restrict flexibility and autonomy (Ravenelle 2019; Weber et al. 2021; Schor 2021).

Because of this risk, there is a sizable amount of resistance from informal workers when considering joining the formal workforce in the platform economy (Mair et al. 2012; Sutter et al. 2017). This is no doubt influenced by the fact that rules and regulations are less prominent in the informal workforce, thus meaning that workers in this sector are less likely to run foul of the law (Webb et al. 2009; Godfrey 2011). In addition, studies have shown that in order to transition to formal economies like those in the sharing or platform economy, informal workers need confirmation that their transition has clear benefits related to the social contract in political philosophy (Weber et al. 2021; Rousseau 1998).

The informal economy is common in emerging markets, constituting 40% to 60% of the gross domestic product (Benjamin et al. 2014). The emergence of the informal economy is directly related to the presence of institutional voids, a term meaning 'institutional arrangements when support markets are absent, weak or fail to accomplish the role expected of them' (Mair & Marti 2009:419). Institutional voids often exist because of 'inefficient or weak formal institutions, lack of governmental support and general institutional distrust, all of which provide little inducement for informal workers to consider a transition to formal work' (Weber et al. 2021:1319). In

summary, the institutional creation and maintenance of the platform economy require, like other contexts, a fair amount of persuasion on the 'norms and assumptions that go along with informal economic activity' (Weber et al. 2021:1319) to attract the informal workforce to join the institution. In this regard, representative statements on this normative discussion by Weber are most instructive:

'In informal economic settings, the rules are embodied in informal norms and values and may conflict with the formal, legal rules that exist within a formal economic environment (Helmke & Levitsky 2004; Webb et al. 2009). As with all institutionalised rules, those of informal economic activity comes with individuals' internalised perceptions and routines that are embedded within the informal setting (Scott 2008) and that need to be reversed before these individuals can transition from informal to formal economic activity. Such a reversal sparks uncertainties and fears of the unknown: individuals used to operating informally are not familiar, for example, with having to strictly comply with procedural rules, evaluate their service provision and pay taxes—all of which are features of formal economic activity' (Weber et al. 2021:1320)

Weber's analysis ends with the conclusion that influencing workers' norms and values in their transition from informal to formal cannot be resolved within a single policy but rather requires a comprehensive approach (Weber et al. 2021). Notions of identity, autonomy and the socialisation and custom changes that workers moving from the informal to the formal economy will be explored in this research project.

Besides this, there have been other studies on the sharing economy and Institutional Work, including studies on the motivations and antecedents to sharing resources (Bucher et al. 2016; Hellwig et al. 2015; Lamberton & Rose 2012; Möhlmann 2015; Piscicelli et al. 2015); the role of competition (Cusumano 2015); the governance of users (Hartl et al. 2016; Scaraboto 2015) and lastly how culture influences the business model utilised by institutions in the sharing economy (US adopts a traditional economic model and Germany pursues more alternative structures (Schor & Fitzmaurice 2015).

Now that the theoretical and empirical research on the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics and Institutional Work have been summarised, a new stream of academic literature, termed Algorithmic Management (AM) will be examined.

3.4.4 Institutional Work in Algorithmic Management

Prior to summarising the academic literature on Algorithmic Management (AM), it is important to note that AM's usefulness for this research project was not anticipated when planning this case study on the PickMe institution. As the interviews were conducted and the study of the embedding of virtuous conduct was researched more closely, AM emerged as an important literature stream to incorporate into this project, especially with regard to the role of the PickMe application within the institution.

Algorithmic Management will be looked at as a form of Institutional Work. Within what Lawrence and Suddaby term institutional creation, AM does what Institutional Work describes as changing normative associations in the way that the PickMe application changes the normative managerial relationship. The dispensing of rewards and sanctions comes not from standard managerial evaluation but from performance measures from passengers vis-à-vis the PickMe application. Zvolska suggests that many firms in the sharing economy not only disrupt employee relationships, but also the way resources are understood (Zvolska et al.

Key Characteristics of Algorithmic Management

1) Data and Surveillance
2) Responsiveness
3) Automated decision-making
4) Automated Evaluations
5) Nudges and Penalties

Figure 7: Key Characteristics of Algorithmic Management (Mateescu & Nguyen 2019)

2019). Within institutional disruption, the PickMe application also disrupts institutions through what is described in Institutional Work literature as the 'undermining of assumptions and beliefs' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:235). Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) describe this Institutional Work strategy as the institutional attempt to decrease the risks of innovation by undermining core assumptions and beliefs. Zvolska states that 'a technology-supported innovation of referral and feedback mechanisms in online USOs helps replace existing behavioural templates and facilitates new ways of building trust among strangers' (Zvolska et al. 2019:673). The reframing of the referral and feedback mechanisms and reputation systems

inherent in the PickMe application represents a fundamental disruption of the driver-passenger relationship. To understand the relevance of Algorithmic Management further, a deeper literature review will be explored.

Algorithmic Management is a concept that has arisen from the emergence of platform economies, gig economies or sharing economies, the industry that has arisen from peer-to-peer businesses where technology companies function as mediators of resources between two or more users. The term Algorithmic Management was coined in 2015 by Lee, Kusbit, Metsky, and Dabbish to describe the role computer algorithms play in managing workers in the gig economy (Lee et al. 2015). The basic definition of Algorithmic Management is the 'delegation of managerial functions to algorithmic and automated systems' (Jarrahi et al. 2021:1). For large-scale companies which have contractors or employees that span a vast geographic area, the algorithm, embedded within a software application, carries out control functions normally performed by managers (Möhlmann et al. 2021).

Scholars suggest that there are five key characteristics of Algorithmic Management (Mateescu & Nguyen 2019), which are: Prolific data collection and surveillance of workers through technology; real-time responsiveness to data that informs management decisions; automated or semi-automated decision-making; transfer of performance evaluations to rating systems or other metrics; the use of 'nudges' and penalties to indirectly incentivise worker behaviours. The key characteristics are summarised in a list in Figure 7.

In 2020, an interesting article was published that addressed some growing problems with Algorithmic Management in the arena of People Analytics (PA), drawing on the understanding of Virtue Ethics (Gal et al. 2020). Their analysis suggested that Algorithmic Management can 'create a vicious cycle of ethical challenges', highlighting three specific challenges, which are Algorithmic Opacity, Datafication and Manipulative Nudging. These ethical challenges, as the article suggests, can potentially limit drivers' 'ability to cultivate virtue and flourish' using the transportation application (Gal et al. 2020:1). Regarding algorithmic opacity, it is often the case that the use of algorithms and manipulations performed on the drivers are regarded as 'inscrutable and

untraceable' (Gal et al. 2020:5; Mittelstadt 2016). Often, decision-makers at the management level embed elements in the digital application that aren't readily understood by the driver nor have much internal logic to the users of the application. Because of this, users don't understand the 'decision-making process and have no way of responding or contributing to it' (Gal et al. 2020:5). On datafication, the use of Algorithmic Management (AM) has been accused of reducing live human beings to 'collections of objective digital data that they produce actively and passively as they go about their work' (Gal et al. 2020:6; Constantiou & Kallinikos 2015). This reductive practice can dissuade workers from truly reflecting on their practice and improving. As the Gal article suggests, when workers are 'fed back oversimplified representations of their behaviour, they are unlikely to be able to meaningfully reflect on their actions and their effects' (Gal et al. 2020:5). On Manipulative Nudging, the formal definition of this type of nudging is any action which can alters people's behaviour in a predictable way without coercion or significantly changing the economic incentives (Thaler & Sunstein 2008). Where nudging becomes ethically dubious is when it is 'subverting people's decision-making capacity by exploiting their psychological, cognitive, or emotional vulnerabilities'. For instance, in 2017, it was revealed that advertisers on Facebook were using People Analytics technology to target advertisements to teenagers in psychologically vulnerable states (Gal et al. 2020:7).

A quote from Marti & Fernandez's (2013) thoughts on Institutional Work may have applicability when it comes to the emerging problems with algorithmic opacity and datafication in Algorithmic Management:

'If people feel their capacity to shape their lives has been taken from them…or that they have been pushed into herds like animals…or treated with no dignity… is there still any point in discussing how they may transform or create institutions? We believe it does. But we should understand without some minimum control and dignity, Institutional Work – and for that matter, any sort of work and even life – becomes unbearable…People need to feel and be treated as worthy human beings to envision and execute acts of agency.' (Martí & Fernández 2013:1217)

Each of these three challenges will be highlighted in the findings and how they evidenced themselves from the perspectives of the PickMe drivers and potentially impacted the drivers' ability to pursue the internal goods associated with Virtue Ethics (MacIntyre 2007).

Two different recent studies of peer-to-peer (P2P) ride-sharing applications suggest there are many fundamental problems in Algorithmic Management with regard to the decision-makers' role over autorickshaw drivers (Ahmed et al. 2016; Kumar et al. 2018). Those problems include workers' sense of control, workers' sense of choice, workers' sense of powerlessness, the asymmetry of information between management and the drivers, and the complexity of pay scale systems for the drivers. I will briefly highlight each of these and later in Chapter 5 and demonstrate to what degree those notions were corroborated by this sample in Sri Lanka.

P2P applications and other workplace technologies like the PickMe app can have a dramatic impact on 'economically vulnerable people in developing countries' (Ahmed et al. 2016), like trishaw drivers in Colombo. In general, prior to their partnership with PickMe, trishaw drivers operated as independent contractors who worked with great flexibility in the function of their jobs. PickMe, like other ride-sharing apps, exerted control and influence over the day-to-day functioning of the autorickshaw drivers that did not exist prior to joining the institution. A 2016 study of Ola drivers in Bengaluru found that autorickshaw drivers often surrendered an undue amount of control by joining with Ola because the marketplace dominance of the application requiring the relationship between the driver and passenger was necessarily mediated by a third-party application. This, then, invalidated the 'drivers' experience and knowledge about when and where to find passengers, routes and locations' (Ahmed et al. 2016:8) making the drivers subject to the decisions of the application and less able to control their own outcomes using their own experience and skill. The Ahmed study suggests that P2P applications that appropriate driver knowledge and experience give greater control to the drivers (Ahmed et al. 2016). In general, Algorithmic Management practices that tend to block users from key decision-making processes were of concern to many users of P2P applications (Mateescu & Nguyen 2019).

The Bengaluru study suggested that users of P2P applications require 'sufficient information about how a system works' (Ahmed et al. 2016:3) in order to make informed decisions in their work. In addition, the same study found that drivers were often wary and felt less freedom of choice because of what they perceived as the surveillance nature of the P2P application. In addition, another study showed that taxi drivers appreciated the choice they had in scheduling their itineraries and choosing destinations and the varieties of passengers they could chauffeur (Hsiao et al. 2008). Fundamentally, the desire for choice through the application includes their desire to choose freely from incoming requests from the passengers they take and not be forced to take jobs they don't deem beneficial (Lee et al. 2015).

Powerlessness in the workplace can be defined as the position in the division of labour and social status that affords employees little opportunity to develop and exercise skill (Young 1990). In the study done among Uber drivers in Bangladesh, the sense of powerlessness among drivers was forced upon them by ride cancellations by passengers because of mapping system confusion, a lack of responsiveness from Uber when problems arose, and finally, powerlessness that resulted from passengers who unthinkingly rated drivers without any allowable response from the drivers. In addition, the same study highlighted a general confusion of the complexity of the pay scale. All these factors contributed to a sense of powerlessness from users of a digital application. These factors will be examined with this institution and the PickMe application.

In the Bangladesh study, the drivers often felt slighted by management that they were unable to express frustration through the application to management about their rides. For example, they felt unable to share about 'how riders treated their cars such as eating food or leaving trash' (Kumar et al. 2018:98:12). In addition, information asymmetry was driven by a lack of knowledge about the function and operation of the P2P application. Drivers in the study in Bengaluru often expressed a lack of understanding of how the app worked or what the rating represented (Ahmed et al. 2016). In particular, the Bengaluru study suggested the drivers expressed an *asymmetry* of information about the current location as well as the 'pick-up location to consistently make good decisions on whether or not to accept a ride' (Ahmed et al. 2016:9). In addition, the Bengaluru study suggested the asymmetry of information about the rating system itself. During the

interviews, drivers and riders seemed to express confusion about how the 'ratings feed into the ride assignments', and the drivers had little idea of why their ratings changed. The result of this confusion was that they didn't act on their rating changes because they found their ratings to have little merit (Ahmed et al. 2016). This finding dovetails with other studies that suggest that those who received little actionable feedback end up neither improving their performance or challenging misconceptions about their performance (Gupta et al. 2014). The information asymmetry present in other studies of Uber and Lyft led to a sense that the ratings themselves were both unfair and arbitrary (Lee et al. 2015).

In the Bengaluru study, drivers felt the negative effect of the complexity of the pay scale systems from Algorithmic Management practices. With Ola's digital application, payment was based on the 'supply/demand at a given time' as well as surge pricing (Ahmed et al. 2016). Surge pricing was particularly confusing because drivers often didn't know when it was active in the course of their day. In addition, in many studies there was confusion about why the pay scales were based on ride cancellations. Often the studies showed that the protocols for compensation for drivers who had rides cancelled well after they arrived at the appropriate pick-up points were seen as more fair and just (Kumar et al. 2018). These Algorithmic Management practices and the complexities with the pay scale speak to a larger problem in the gig economy, that being the rendering of drivers as independent contractors rather than employees. Presently, there is great debate and various legal designations for workers in the gig economy and how they should be legally regarded and compensated (Russon 2021).

Other empirical studies on Algorithmic Management that have been conducted have focused on pricing (Chen and Horton 2016), entrepreneurial activity (Burtch et al. 2018), and labour matching (Hong et al. 2016). On the whole, the most substantial research in this area has focused on understanding how algorithmics in USOs both substitute as well as complement traditional managerial functions (Jarrahi et al. 2021). Within USOs (Urban Sharing Organisations), there exists the dynamic of algorithmic matching (digital matching of demand and supply) and algorithmic control (algorithmic efforts to monitor and control user actions). This aspect of algorithmic control takes the form of periodic performance reviews (Galliers et al. 2017; Newell

and Marabelli 2015), generating worker rankings and resolving disputes (Duggan et al., 2019; Wood et al., 2018) and creates a dynamic where institutional members are formed into 'constitutive agents towards organisational goals… with a work environment that combines considerable flexibility and autonomy with surveillance and supervision' (Möhlmann et al. 2021; Deng et al. 2016; Kuhn & Maleki 2017; Galliers et al. 2017; Newell & Marabelli 2015). Ultimately, for those USOs that employ algorithmic control in their digital applications, the institutional members often regard their work dynamic as 'working for an algorithm' (Curchod et al. 2020:1).

3.5 Chapter Summary

In summary, many of the theories and concepts around Virtue Ethics have been explored, including many empirical studies that have been conducted over the years. Moore, Fernando, and Chu's studies applying the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework in Western and non-western contexts, within large and small organisations, are most instructive. They confirm the validity and usefulness of the MacIntyrean framework for the measurement of internal and external goods, the virtue or viciousness of an organisational purpose, and in forming normative solutions for institutions. Fernando's research also suggests, albeit with a very limited sample, that firms in Sri Lanka perhaps practice a virtuous form of capitalism (Fernando & Moore 2015). Other Virtue Ethics studies set in Sri Lanka confirm the collectiveness characteristic in Sri Lanka, emphasis on family, affiliation over achievement, as well as the preponderance of the virtues of compassion, empathy, and other-mindedness. The influence of Buddhism and the focus on balance, temperance and charity from the Buddhist religion was identified as foundational in the virtue mindset of Sri Lankans. Lastly, a study in Sri Lanka that suggested that many managers see the exercise of values in the workplace as a means to exhibit spirituality (Fernando & Nilakant 2008).

To incorporate how an institution can enact and embed virtue in institutional members, the concepts of Institutionalisation of Business Ethics (IBE) and Institutional Work were examined. As MacIntyre describes in his Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework, a practice is defined as a 'socially established cooperative human activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realised' (MacIntyre 2007:187) and institutional management's role is to maintain

and sustain the institution's core practice (MacIntyre 2007). IBE helped to understand the various ethical programmes that institutions employ to promote and embed virtue and the superiority of implicit institutionalisation efforts over explicit ones in embedding virtuous conduct. IBE provides some definitions within the regulative pillar of institutions, especially in the Institutional Work strategies of Educating, Policing and Embedding and Routinising.

The Institutional Work theories pioneered by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) have been examined and many empirical studies have confirmed the institutional creation, maintenance, and disruption dynamic within institutions. In addition, these studies have confirmed many of the Institutional strategies implicit in Institutional Work as well as suggested additional strategies to add to the catalogue named by Lawrence and Suddaby. These Institutional Work strategies include bridging (using other systems to support existing ones) (Jarzabkowski et. al., 2015); enhancement and experimenting works (improving systems of trial and error) (Marti & Mair, 2009) and bricolage. Adelekan's research in Lagos added new Institutional Work strategies, including: direct aiding, showcasing, gifting, theming, grandstanding, beautifying, and registering (Adelekan 2022). Moore (2012), Fernando and Moore (2015) and Chu and Moore's (2020) research in the UK, Sri Lanka and Taiwan confirmed the influence of culture and national dynamics (isomorphism) on institutional creation and maintenance (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020).

Lastly, the nascent research on Institutional Work efforts to create institutions that utilise Algorithmic Management, as well as the benefits and challenges that exist when automated systems are given managerial functions, was summarised. The notion that Algorithmic Management has the potential to employ Institutional Work strategies like *changing normative associations* as well as *undermining assumptions and beliefs* was discussed. Algorithmic Management also challenges institutional management's ability to embed virtue and help institutional members flourish because of Algorithmic Opacity, Datafication and Manipulative Nudging. As mentioned in section 3.4.2, the concepts within the Capabilities Approach suggest that human dignity for the institutional members can be an appropriate *telos (goal)* within Virtue Ethics and the attending challenges of Algorithmic Management could reverse those intentions

by reducing autonomy, individual agency, and a sense of dignity by how the application digitally manages its users. To borrow a term from scholar Geoffrey Moore, these efforts to instil virtue in an institution potentially end up 'crowding out' virtue rather than crowding it in (Moore 2017). Having examined the theoretical and empirical research on the four-fold concepts of Virtue Ethics, IBE, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management, this thesis will now explore the case study methodology employed to engage this specific institution in Sri Lanka.

In sum, MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework provides the foundation for empirically studying how the institution prioritises excellence and success as the internal and external goods, respectively. In addition, IBE and theories on Institutional Work provide another lens through which to consider how institutional leadership within a network institution can design, diffuse, and maintain virtue norms in support of those goods. Now that a thorough literature review has been conducted, and explanation of the research methodology will ensue.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction to Methodology

For this chapter, I will discuss the methodology of my case study project in Sri Lanka. Herein, I will write about the project's research design, including the research philosophy, approach, and strategy. I will also describe the sample, the proposed saturation level I hoped to achieve and the method of sampling. I will discuss the chosen research instruments and their applicability and effectiveness and give a detailed description of the various data collection efforts for this project. Lastly, I will discuss the method for data analysis, some limitations in the methodology, the validity and generalisability of the findings, and further reflect on the field issues in this project.

4.1 Research Design

4.1.1 Epistemology – Social Constructionism

This research project adopted a social constructionism epistemology for the reasons described below. Accompanying this is a theoretical perspective of critical realism, consistent with many of the same studies conducted before. Scholars have suggested that a social constructionism epistemology is consistent with a critical realist ontology (Elder-Vass 2012). This project draws comparisons with studies in the UK, Sri Lanka, and Taiwan which focused on Virtue Ethics and the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework. This model of utilising a certain epistemological approach with a distinct theoretical perspective was used

Figure 8: Crotty's Four-level Model (Crotty & Crotty 1998)

adeptly by Chu in her research on MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics in Taiwan (Chu 2018). Her research followed a model pioneered by Crotty (1998) which holds a four-level style of research design, starting with the epistemology level, then the theoretical perspective level, then the

methodology level, the data collection level and finally the analysis level (Crotty & Crotty 1998). This model described by Crotty can be seen in Figure 8.

The Crotty model does not include an explicit ontological layer. However the theoretical perspective layer functions in much the same way (Crotty & Crotty 1998). Crotty states that 'ontological and epistemological issues tend to merge together' (Crotty & Crotty 1998:10). Like Chu's research in Taiwan (2018), this research has a distinct epistemological layer (Social Constructionism) as well as a distinct theoretical perspective (critical realism), which is an approach that acknowledges that our understanding of this world is socially constructed whilst also acknowledging that the real world exists independent of those social perceptions. This is why a social constructionism epistemology is employed with a critical realism theoretical perspective, which will be discussed further is section 4.1.2.

Social Constructionism involves the 'view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of the interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context' (Crotty & Crotty 1998). This is particularly relevant as the PickMe institution and institutional actors within that institution create the meaning of virtue and viciousness, success, and excellence in a united fashion. Social Constructionism has a focus on 'language and interaction as mediators of meaning' (Bastalich 2020:4). Social Constructionism is appropriate insofar as I seek to study how institutional actors form and reform notions of virtue in their professional practice through the collective influences of other institutional stakeholders.

Social Constructionism in its nature is a subjective approach. It understands the subjects and researchers in a research study as upholding 'multiple realities' (Creswell & Poth 2016). As such, the focus of the research is on the study of how the subjects of research 'make sense of their lives from their particular vantage points' through the meaningful and purposeful actions that they take (Chu 2018:147). Although social constructionism doesn't dismiss the idea of an absolute reality, it does believe the actors within a study cannot fully apprehend this reality in their social construction of it (Bryman 2016).

4.1.2 Theoretical Perspective – Critical Realism

Since this research follows the many case studies (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020) that have used the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework (MacIntyre 2007) to study Virtue Ethics, it is useful to look at their approaches to research as a baseline. Many argue that MacIntyre can be understood as a critical realist (Moore & Beadle 2006; Achtemeier 1994). Critical realism accepts the need to test and approve things that can be empirically tested whilst also being sceptical of the researcher's ability to accurately perceive empirically tested reality (Easton 2010). Thus, for the critical realist, during academic research, both qualitative and quantitative research is appropriate and the case study methodology most fitting for this blended approach. Positivism as a philosophy for research tends to be incompatible with qualitative case study research, given the requirement that case studies arrive at empirically tested solutions (Easton 2010). Alternatively, interpretivism opposes positivism, looking for 'culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world' (Crotty & Crotty 1998:67). Critical Realism blends perspectives by acknowledging the existing world that is independent of human perception and constructions but affirms that humans' understanding of the world is a construction of their own perspectives (Maxwell 2012). Critical Realism, as a theoretical perspective, aims to do what Bhaskar suggests:

'We will only be able to understand...the social world if we identify the structures at work that generate those events and discourses... These structures are not spontaneously apparent in the observable pattern of events; they can only be identified through the practical and theoretical work.' (Bhaskar 2008:2)

Thus, Critical Realism accepts these ideas and incorporates an objective ontology with a social constructionism epistemology (Maxwell 2012). This research began as a development of studies on Virtue Ethics in the UK (Moore 2012), in Sri Lanka (Fernando & Moore 2015) and more recently Taiwan (Chu & Moore 2020). The role of social constructionism epistemology will now be examined with respect to key empirical studies.

4.1.2.1 Social Constructionism and Virtue Ethics

Much from the social constructionism epistemology suits the study of Virtue and Virtue Ethics. Firstly, as Schwandt has suggested, individuals within an institution are understood to be heavily influenced by the culture in which they live, including their views on virtue and virtuous conduct (Schwandt 1994). As Chu (2018) suggests, MacIntyre believed 'narrative is needed to make sense of a person's life, with tradition being of the utmost importance' (Chu 2018:145; MacIntyre 2007). In the social constructionism epistemology, meaning is not discovered but constructed, individually and in community, where institutional members construct their own meaning in various ways (Gray 2021). This can even be in reference to the same phenomenon, like the specific phenomenon studied in this project: a move from an informal work arrangement to a formal one with the attending imposition of codes of conduct on their engrained virtuous workplace habits and behaviour.

In this epistemology, thoughts, beliefs, values, and even habits of life are not disconnected from behaviour nor are they reproducible in physical phenomena (like in scientific research) (Maxwell 2012). Given all this, and since the aim of this research is to investigate the institution's role in promoting and embedding virtuous conduct among institutional members in predominantly Buddhist Sri Lanka, it is therefore essential to understand institutional members' thoughts, values and beliefs on virtue and virtuous conduct. The fact that these collective and individual virtue thinking have consequences in how the institutional members behave is why the use of a social constructionism approach is so important when qualitatively studying virtue within an occupational group.

4.1.2.2 Social Constructivism and Institutional Theory

Much of institutional theory was perceived through a social constructionist perspective (Suddaby 2010). Bryman suggests that social reality is in fact a product of human activity, thus rejecting the 'positivist approach' which suggests that social reality can be studied vis-à-vis the same use of methods in the natural sciences (Bryman 2016). Institutional theory by and large subscribes to the notion that 'it is not possible to understand ... behaviour without locating it in a societal

context' (Friedland 1991:232). In furtherance to this, it is suggested that social reality and all human activity are subject to habituation, which is an activity that is reproduced over and over until a pattern and rhythm are established. This dovetails with much of what Aristotle and MacIntyre suggest in their theories on Virtue Ethics. This habituation gives way to the embeddedness of routines. The 'reciprocal typification of habitualised actions by types of actors' can be described as institutionalisation (Berger & Luckmann 1967:72; Gerber 1997) or ethics institutionalisation, and it is from this thinking that many qualitative studies using the social constructionism approach in organisations originated (Scott 1994; Tolbert & Zucker 1983).

In Berger & Luckmann's seminal work, they describe habitualised actions as the impetus behind the creation of social order (Berger & Luckmann 1967). These actions (within institutional structures) then become the context for what Scott describes as the 'processes and conditions (that give) rise to new rules and associated practices' (Scott 1994). Institutions become the place where habits are created, diffused, adopted and adapted through space and time (Ritzer 2004). This is relevant to the topic of this thesis, which centrally concerns the case study of the creation, maintenance, and diffusion of ethics within a specific institution in Sri Lanka. Berger and Luckmann (1967) also suggest that, from the social constructionism point of view, the social world is not static, but always being constructed and reformed (Berger & Luckmann 1967). This is why an interpretivist approach is more appropriate, given the dynamism of institutional understandings; an approach that enriches the possibilities for data gathering in such a dynamic context (Thornton et al. 2012) seems entirely fitting.

4.1.3 Research Approach – Abductive Approach

Previous multi-method research projects on Virtue Ethics and the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework suggest that the deductive approach is more appropriate. Moore (2012) suggests that since the usage of MacIntyre's conceptual framework is '*reasonably robust*' (Moore 2012:369) in nature, deductive research is appropriate. Taking a deductive approach, MacIntyre's framework lends itself to the development of expected findings and then comparing them against empirical findings to validate the theory (Johansson 2007). This then, like the Moore, Fernando, and Chu studies that came before, would be a further step in confirming,

refuting and modifying the MacIntyre framework in non-western contexts with an independent workforce (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020).

However, MacIntyre's conceptual framework is not the sole defining framework for understanding the findings from this research project. As an extension of studies on ethics implementation (or the Institutionalization of Business Ethics) and Institutional Work, this research looks to go beyond the MacIntyre framework to study the diffusion and maintenance of virtuous conduct within the institutional structure. Qualitative case study research that focuses on a specific phenomenon naturally lends itself to an inductive approach because the case cannot be 'isolated from the context or that the facts or observations are independent of the laws and theories used to explain them as is the case for survey research' (Steenhuis & Bruijn 2006:3). In this approach, new or refined theories can emerge from the case study findings. One concern in utilising the inductive approach is that a vital theory may not emerge from the data and utilising a pure interpretive approach can be time-consuming in the collection and analysis stages of research (Saunders et al. 2009).

In light of this, a third approach is suggested, which merges both the deductive and inductive approaches to research, that of the abductive approach. This theory grounds theoretical frameworks in their context and people, studying meaning and perspectives that are relevant to the thesis of the research (Bryman 2016). The abductive approach is a pragmatist perspective, as it takes incomplete observations to arrive at the best prediction or inference of how to explain given phenomena (Saunders et al. 2009). Research utilising the abductive approach starts with a surprising fact or puzzle and then devotes itself to its explanation and understands that most case study phenomena cannot be fully explained by existing theories (Bryman & Bell 2015). This does not mean existing theories are abandoned (like the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework, theories in Institutional Work or Algorithmic Management) but rather that the interpretation of institutional actors world view is measured against their 'fittingness' to these existing theories (Lipscomb 2012). In this approach, the researcher goes back and forth between the data collected and existing theories to generate something new (Dubois & Gadde

1999) or what these researchers term a *selective combination* of theory and empirical data (Dubois & Gadde 1999).

Using the abductive approach in case study methodology combines to form what Steenhuis and Bruijn (2006) term the progressive case study approach. In this approach, case study research is inductive but also deductive, using 'validation techniques' (Steenhuis & Bruijn 2006:12) for confirming the application of theories like MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management. This blended progressive case study approach seems most appropriate, given the complexity of my study. This will be discussed further in the next subsection.

In abductive research, there is a range of data collection methods available to the researcher. Since this research project is largely qualitative, collection methods such as semi-structured interviews, observation and documentary evidence were selected as the primary instruments. This is explained more in section 4.3. Having a range of instruments is appropriate with a case study methodology, since case studies are meant to study institutions or phenomena in totality, using data collected from every method possible. Below is a further elaboration on the single case study method employed in this project and its justification.

4.1.4 Research Strategy - Single Case Study Method

Case studies are often considered a meta-method, insofar as they deploy a range of strategies and methods to explore a single case (Johansson 2007). Case study methods are unique in the sense that their focus is on a 'complex functioning unit' which is investigated in its 'natural context with multiple methods' and is contemporary in nature (Johansson 2007:2).

In Moore's study, he references Coe and Beadle's conclusion that 'thick descriptions created through narrative' are effective methods for testing MacIntyre's conceptual framework (Moore 2012:368; Coe & Beadle 2008). This drew Moore to the conclusion that case study methods are most appropriate for testing virtue within institutions (Coe & Beadle 2008; Moore 2012). Since Coe and Beadle made their conclusion, there has been a bevy of case study research using

MacIntyre's framework (Crockett 2005b; Beadle & Könyöt 2006; Moore & Beadle 2006; Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020). With regard to how this particular context provides a unique opportunity to further knowledge on MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics, Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) mention that cases can be utilised for 'theoretical reasons, such as the revelation of unusual phenomenon… and elaboration of the emergent theory' (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007:27) . This research is unique and represents an unusual phenomenon to the extent that the trishaw drivers enrolled with PickMe have voluntarily joined with PickMe and agreed to follow their code of conduct. PickMe itself is not a traditional business, but a technology company that has gathered networks of technologists and members of the transportation industry to connect customers and drivers. The institution is what some term a network organisation that differs from more traditional, hierarchical institutions. The phenomenon worth studying is the interaction that these hitherto independent drivers have with PickMe's efforts to promote and embed virtuous workplace behaviour. Siggelkow acknowledges the importance of studying a single case when he states that 'it is often desirable to choose a particular organisation precisely because it is very special in the sense of allowing one to gain certain insights that other organisations would not be able to provide' (Siggelkow 2007:20). This suggests the power of using case study methods for a single institution rather than multiple ones. This, of course, does not negate the fact that multiple case study research projects hold great value because they often generate more comparable data sets and unique findings between various entities. The use of a single-institution case study approach was also informed by pragmatic considerations, in that socially-minded autorickshaw institutions were few in number in South Asia and other ones that were identified were quite distant from Sri Lanka (the Pathao institution in Bangladesh being one).

Empirical studies for single institution case studies are not unfamiliar in research in Virtue Ethics and in the sharing economy. The Moore study on Alliance Boots was a longitudinal study of two institutions merging into one. Uber had been the subject of multiple single-institution case studies (Jordan 2017; Kashyap & Bhatia 2018; Manriquez 2019), harkening to statements made earlier that single case studies are appropriate for institutions that are so unique that someone

could not otherwise gain a meaningful insight if that researcher conducted comparative case studies on multiple firms in lieu of a more in-depth single firm case study (Siggelkow 2007).

Case studies are often appropriate for use in exploratory and explanatory research (Yin 2009; Saunders et al. 2009) and because PickMe's emergence is a unique phenomenon, exploratory research methods are appropriate. Overall, there is a paucity of research studies that have studied virtue within organisations. Some noted examples include the oil industry (Crockett 2005b), the circus (Beadle & Könyöt 2006), social enterprises (Moore & Beadle 2006) in addition to more formal for-profit institutions like Alliance Boots, two enterprises in Sri Lanka (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015) and Chu's study of Taiwanese SMEs (Chu & Moore 2020).

In order to understand and connect with the multiple realities present in a given research context, it is imperative that the 'researcher collaborates, spends time in the field with participants and becomes an insider' (Creswell & Poth 2016:17). This lends itself to a qualitative approach to research. Semi-structured or unstructured interviews often form the basis for such research, as the researcher focuses on the process of interactions within the context of the institutional actors' lives and work (Creswell & Poth 2016). It is also vital that the researcher acknowledge his own subjective reality, recognising the influence that their own account and perspective have on the cultural and historical context within which the study took place (Creswell & Poth 2016). The role of the researcher will be discussed further in section 4.2.

This research project uses a multi-method approach to answer the mentioned research questions. In a multi-method approach, multiple methods are employed, either a mix of both qualitative and quantitative or a mix of several from one category of research (qualitative or quantitative). The multi-method approach also generally utilises various research instruments (Saunders et al. 2015). The employment of different research instruments of various types (qualitative and quantitative) is deemed necessary for case study research given the desire for triangulation (Miles et al. 2018). However, this research was largely qualitative in nature, with the primary data being the transcripts from the 25 semi-structured interviews conducted over several years. The quantitative aspect of this research was based on the use of the Interactive

Joint Inquiry Exercise (IJIE), a tool developed by Crockett (Crockett 2008) and used in many mixed-method research projects on Virtue Ethics. The IJIE tool was helpful in discerning organisational purpose (virtue or vicious) along a gradient and compared with prior studies on the subject; however, the complexity of the tool meant that the relatively uneducated population had difficulty understanding it conceptually and thus, the tool itself was not widely used with all the interviewees. Though meanings and understandings of organisational purpose were researched, most of the findings on this were gathered through the qualitative methods of semi-structured interviews. In the end, in lieu of a balance between quantitative and qualitative methods, the qualitative data collected became the primary corpus of data collected for this project.

The research instruments involved in this study include semi-structured focused interviews, organisational documents, and archival records to collect the data, and will be explored in more detail in section 4.3. Now that the research design has been fully articulated and explained, the role of myself as the researcher will be examined.

4.2 Role of the Researcher

There has been quite a lot written about the interpretive challenges when engaging in qualitative research, especially concerning one who is from a vastly different cultural and linguistic background from the subjects of my research. This is because one must accept the Cartesian concept that one cannot wilfully detach one's own subjective view of the world when conducting research (Schwandt 1994). Therefore, I must acknowledge my position as a researcher. Being an evangelical Christian for 30 years and aspiring to be a faithful adherent to the Christian ethics prescribed in the Bible is the personal perspective I bring to this research. This understanding also affects my research aims since I hope to not only show a contribution to knowledge in Virtue Ethics theory and Institutional Theory but also connect my findings with contributions to the Christian Church and Christian Ethics. This is the lens through which I view a comprehensive study of virtue and ethics in the Sri Lankan context.

In addition, for my specific role as a researcher, it should be acknowledged that I was born, raised, educated, and worked professionally for ten years in a Western context (the United States of

America), and come with a decidedly neo-Aristotelian view of Virtue Ethics, and not an Asian, Buddhist, Sri Lankan perspective. This is mitigated to some degree by the fact that I have lived and worked professionally in Asia (India and UAE) during the last ten years, but a gap in perspective is important to recognise.

It should be acknowledged that there are different schools of thought on the neo-Aristotelian perspective on virtue and how Sri Lankans historically regard virtue. Koehn writes that 'East and West are always potentially meeting insofar as their virtues share a natural basis and structure' (Koehn 2013). Buddha himself recognised the primacy of human rationality (Kalupahana 1997), and Fernando and Moore states from their perspective that human perfection as expressed in the concepts of *Buddhahood*, *arhatship* and *bodhisattvahood* are generally achieved through the habitual practice of virtue (Fernando & Moore 2015). This is not to suggest that Sri Lanka's understanding of virtue and Neo-Aristotelean Virtue Ethics are identical, or that the perspectives are aligned enough to fully mitigate against researcher bias, but simply to suggest that concepts of virtue are resident in the Sri Lankan tradition and history.

Being from a Western background presents a challenge in my analysis, raising questions about the use and reliance on insiders and informants (like translators, the transcription team, and academics from Sri Lanka) to help shape the research. Eisner & Peshkin (1990) state the vital role that researchers in ethics play in case analysis, saying:

'Clearly, researchers need both cases and principles from which to learn more about ethical behaviour. More than this, they need two attributes: the sensitivity to identify an ethical issue and the responsibility to feel committed to acting appropriately in regard to such issues' (Eisner & Peshkin 1990:244).

Yin describes three aspects for the researcher to be mindful of when attempting to have integrity in the carrying out of the research: 1) scientific responsibility, 2) relation to the subjects and 3) researcher independence (Yin 2009). With regard to the researcher's relation to the subject, scholars share that qualitative researchers can 'easily assume roles such as exploiter, reformer, advocate, and friend' (Kvale 1996:118; Glesne 2016) which have attendant ethical issues..

As opposed to a utilitarian or deontological position, an honest contextual Virtue Ethics researcher would 'be based on the researcher's practical ethical skills and reasoning and, in the cases of doubt, on a dialogue with others in the relevant communities' (Kvale 1996:123). In engaging with study participants with stories, morality plays, personal examples, and parables, I was able to use 'moral knowledge and wisdom' to use both 'reflective judgment as by rule following and the practicing of skills' to gain insight in to their lives (Løvlie 1993:76). Not adhering to static and explicit rules but rather staying 'involved and to refine one's intuition' (Kvale 1996:123) in the course of research was a hight priority for me as a researcher.

4.3 Research Instruments

4.3.1 Establishing Trust and Minimising Social Desirability Bias

Because interviews became the core research instrument for this case study, it was vital that I establish trust with each of the participants to put them at ease and allow them to share openly without fear of reprisal. It is true that cultivating trust is so important when conducting research amongst vulnerable populations. It was then important that I garner permission from PickMe leaders to conduct the interviews. On January 2nd 2020, when I first arrived in Sri Lanka for the first round of interviews, I was able to meet with one of the founding members of PickMe and, at the time, still a member of PickMe's senior management. In a local coffee shop in Colombo, Sri Lanka, I was able to befriend him and learn about PickMe and his role with it. In that casual context, I was able to explain more about my intentions in Sri Lanka and my hope and desire to gain access to PickMe's drivers and management, not for the purposes of exposure, but to affirm and highlight the good efforts senior managers put in place to establish themselves as a virtuous institution. This interaction was my first attempt to establish trust with key PickMe's stakeholders and thankfully he was happy to oblige.

Future interactions with institutional stakeholders would follow a similar pattern, either in English or through a translator in Sinhala or Tamil. Initial introductions were followed by a request to consider participating in an interview for which their identity would be kept hidden and their contributions anonymized. All participants were happy to participate, especially the

drivers for whom the waiting time afforded some amount income for their participation. On a few occasions, drivers asked us to clarify who granted permission for us to conduct these interviews, which we gladly shared.

On the second round of interviews, I went down to PickMe's headquarters and met with PickMe's executive secretary. They happily hosted me and helped streamline my request to get interviews with two members of senior management. During one of the senior manager interviews, one senior manager shared that PickMe had been the subject of many research projects and they were all too happy to oblige. One manager asked if he could see read my final thesis and even shared that it was okay if I revealed names of senior managers, as he believed they had nothing to hide. Though he mentioned this, names were still anonymized since some members desired this and to stay consistent with the promise made to all participants.

With regard to how to mitigate the power differential between myself and drivers, it was important to establish a strong bond between myself and the translator. The goal was to have a good baseline relationship with the translator so that he, a native Sri Lankan who lives at a similar socio-economic level to most of the drivers, could facilitate the interview with less input from me. Even though I was present, the translator facilitated most of the interviews with the drivers we met by establishing friendship, showing empathy, assuaging fears, and generally exhibiting an attitude of curiosity without interrogation in the lives of the drivers. The translator was a great ally in achieving this trust with the drivers and I credit him and the relational capital we established before beginning interviews with helping to ease the interview process and get valid data from the drivers.

Social desirability bias concerns the temptation for study participants to give answers that look favourably on themselves while not necessarily being true or accurate to the participants' perspective or experiences (Krumpal 2013). This type of bias is especially problematic in ethics research (where participants are desiring to project moral fidelity) and in cross-cultural research (where miscommunication is more likely to take place). Several techniques have been encouraged in these contexts to minimise social desirability bias. Assuring the promise of

anonymity is one central requirement to minimise social desirability bias in addition to having a healthy scepticism of the veracity of the participants answers (particularly from management) coupled with a willingness to critique their responses and not accept their answers at face value.

Some scholars suggest pilot testing interview instruments before employing them in the field (Randall et al. 1993). They say that 'effective debriefing and direct questions about the perceived desirability ethical attitudes or behaviours' may signal to researchers of potential social desirability bias during the course of an interview (Randall et al. 1993:197). When the researcher detects this, he/she can modify the flow for questions to work around this bias. This is more easily afforded when the interviews are semi or un-structured, which this research project was.

With regard to ethics research, one technique that I employed readily was the use of vignettes and examples from others. In this method, the researcher poses hypothetical scenarios to the participants and asks them how their colleagues would respond, not they themselves. This is another technique suggested by Randall (Randall et al. 1993). In keeping with this, Hofstede noted in his research, that for study participants, 'we are all better observers of others than we are observers of ourselves' (Hofstede 1980:25). These tactics: pilot testing questions, adjusting when detecting bias, maintaining a healthy scepticism, and using vignettes and examples from others were used to try to reduce social desirability bias during the interviews.

4.3.2 Interviews

The interviews were generally focused interviews as opposed to in-depth interviews, owing to the average length of time for each interview (between 40 and 60 minutes) (Yin 2009). The management interviews were more in-depth, given that the majority were longer than an hour and did not require translation while interviewing. The initial set of questions was derived from previous studies done by Moore (2012) and Fernando and Moore (2015) and adapted slightly for context purposes and the inclusion of Institutional Work theoretical frameworks (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). The interview questions used in the first and second rounds of interviewing can

be found in Appendix I (2020 round), Appendix II (2022 round), Appendix III and Appendix IV which are the Tamil and Sinhala translations of the March 2022 interview questions. Because of the gap of time between interviews, and the significance of a global pandemic and the financial crisis in Sri Lanka, the context for collecting data had changed a fair amount between visits to Sri Lanka. More of the contextual issues facing the subjects of this project can be found in the Background and Context Chapter 2. A table listing all the specifics of each interview is shown in Appendix V.

In the first round of questions, the substance of the questions adheres to a model termed the Interactive Joint Inquiry Exercise which was created by Crockett (Crockett 2005b). The exercise follows MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework (Fernando & Moore 2015). The second round of interviews developed and adapted the interview questions to fit additional theories of study, including frameworks in the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management. The interviews in the second round of interviewing were less structured than they were in the first.

For the first round of interviews, the questions were largely based on MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework (MacIntyre 2007) for internal and external goods and more specifically the Interactive Joint Inquiry Exercise developed by Crocket and Anderson and further refined by Moore (Crockett 2005b; Moore 2012), as a means of mapping the virtuous purposes of an institution by institutional actors. This second item became the basis for measuring the driver's view of organisational purpose towards success and excellence against their own notions of the same.

The participants often required help in understanding what was meant by issues of success and excellence. With some, the initial meaning was nebulous to them, and the translator would use examples or vignettes to illustrate the meaning of excellence and success in their context. Often, the translator and I would debrief between or during interviews and think of analogues to use in place of the concepts of excellence (customer service and compassion were often used) and success (financial gain, salary, commission). Through dialogue, these notions seemed to

crystallise naturally in their minds as distinct ideas. The initial findings on how they understood these concepts of success and excellence will be seen. In addition, as I develop the analysis, how those notions are compared and contrasted in the minds of the study's participants will also be seen.

After doing the transcription and analysis of the answers from the first round of the interviews, as well as a further literature review regarding topics surrounding Virtue Ethics and other disciplines, a new set of questions was constructed and approved by the OCMS Ethics Committee for use in Sri Lanka among the drivers. Question 1 continued with the Crockett (Crockett 2005b) framework that Moore (2012) and Fernando and Moore (2020) utilised. The question focused on how they perceived excellence versus success in their work habits. Omitted in this round was the specific question, 'Score the present balance in the organisation on a 1–10 scale between the pursuit of excellence and success.' This was a shift away from the Crockett model of research, which forced subjects to rank success and excellence on a gradient using a quantitative question. I found during that second round that the drivers and managers were confused by this question and had a difficult time understanding the concept of the question. Often, they would answer the question narratively, sharing a story about how the organisation regarded the organisation's support or lack of support towards either excellence or success in their professional conduct. This is why that question was ultimately omitted in the second round.

The second round of interviews was much more unstructured, in part because during many of the interviews, the translator felt freer to ask questions outside of the interview guide but also because I would often ask follow-up questions near the second half of the interview to plumb deeper if an answer stood out as particularly poignant or noteworthy. One example of this is the theme of PickMe's star/rating application. As the analysis section of this thesis explains, during the three days of the second round of data collection, it became clear that the rating application, created and maintained by the institution and used by the drivers, held a great influence on the driver choices. From this more follow-up questions were asked, which touched

on what specific things the drivers gave attention to and how it influenced them in their professional habits.

4.3.3 Company Documents and other Documentary Evidence

Regarding secondary data sources, I engaged with management and leadership to acquire copies of company documents that articulate the institution's founding principles and values to shed light on how this institution intends to encourage and maintain professional and ethical conduct among its members. Company Mission statements or Code of Ethics often explicitly state their goal for ethical practice. I also expressed interest in technological documents to discover how the organisation has designed its application software to reinforce and encourage ethical practice. Unfortunately, I was denied access to these official company documents and given no reason for the refusal.

However, I was able to validate the mission, vision and excellence-oriented behaviour of the organisation through training videos on YouTube (used to motivate and train up drivers who joined during the pandemic) (PickMe Social 2018; PickMe Social 2021). Some of the videos were in English and others in Sinhala could be translated. I was able to get snapshots of the app itself and the rating system used by the institution to interact with the drivers and reinforce notions of excellence and success for the driver's professional conduct. The application also included biographical data on the drivers, their names, background, language spoken, length of service and rating system. Then I was able to see how the app is used from the driver's perspective as well.

In additional, I kept a thorough field journal where I would scribe notes during the interview, or questions to follow up with, or general observations about the surroundings and behaviour of the driver. This field journal became helpful when compared with the interview transcripts as added data points to understand the position of the driver in his context. This is all material designed to support and buttress the efforts of the institution vis-a-vis its actual practice and will be included in the analysis in a later chapter. I was also given summaries of some of the codes of

ethics by company management and was able to locate training materials that they had posted on YouTube for the drivers to access. This documentary evidence did help in the final analysis.

Here is the list of the physical and digital documents that were procured during the course of this research.

1. The PickMe app and its various functions including:
   a. Activities page including the Ongoing, Completed, Complaints and Cancelled trips
   b. Home page which includes Booking pages for Rides, Food, Market, Rentals, etc.
   c. Profile Page that includes an About summary of the company history
   d. Record of trips, which includes profiles of all the drivers that I interviewed (including languages spoken, body temperature at time of pickup, star rating, length of service, and other biographical and demographic data).
   e. Reviewing page to give stars and feedback to the drivers after the trip has been rendered.
2. The PickMe website - which includes marketing verbiage to recruit drivers, promotional material, and an About page that explains more about the company's origins and values.
3. Photographic Evidence of the PickMe headquarters in Colombo and during interviews with the drivers and management.
4. Printed Interview questions in both English, Sinhala and Tamil during interview sessions.
5. Research notebook / journal – Kept during each interview to document observations and thoughts during the course of the interviews.
6. YouTube Training Videos & Narratives produced by PickMe, including:
   a. The PickMe Driver's App - A very rough explanation on how the driver app works in Sinhala (translated by researcher to analyse content) - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QkVBGgt_K2c
   b. Introduction to PickMe Driver Partner Application 2022 - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6I5q0dT3Cg
   c. The Story of PickMe - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=crQHuWDz2sU

4.3.4 Observation

Observation was a key research instrument in this study. Besides riding in 22 trishaw rides and observing the behaviour of the autorickshaw driver before engaging the driver for an interview, I took several other PickMe trishaw and taxi rides across Colombo and took notes about the behaviour of the driver towards me, towards the road, towards others in the street or other vehicles to whom they had to interact. I also observed how trishaws were decorated, how the drivers kept food and water in the cab, and how they interacted with me and my translator when it was time to pay. All of this was noted in my research journal and became part of the body of evidence for this research.

4.4 Data Collection

4.4.1 Interview Data Collection

The first phase of data collection was conducted over three days in January 2020. Prior to engaging in interviews, I connected with academic colleague who could recommend a translator who was fluent in both English, Sinhala and Tamil. I worked with the translator to translate my approved interview questions and brief him on the purpose of the study. In addition, I was able to secure an interview in a local coffee shop with one of the founders of PickMe and ask him some preliminary questions about the organisation, its origins as well secure permission to conduct the interviews with the drivers the next day.

Regarding the translator, it was clear that I needed someone fluent in both Sinhala and Tamil and one who was willing to help orient each of the subjects on the purpose of the interview and put the subjects at ease, given the sensitivity of the subject matter. In total I was in Sri Lanka for five days in January 2020. After data was collected, I used a reputable translation and transcription company called *We Translate Ltd.,* based in Colombo, Sri Lanka, to translate and transcribe the recorded interviews.

The translator was given the interview questions in advance and dutifully translated the questions into Sinhala and Tamil before data collection commenced. I found the translator

personable, competent, and flexible throughout the interviewing process. Often, the translator seemed uncomfortable with any ambiguity in the questions and immediately gave examples and vignettes to define terms that the interviewee did not immediately understand. However, sometimes the examples were biased and leading in their meaning.

After securing the services of this translator, my translator was able to take my approved questions and translate them into Sinhala. I prepared the translator about the process of collecting data and when and how I might deviate from the pre-set interview questions.

On the first evening I met with the co-founder of PickMe at a local coffee shop. I informed him of my research project and its purposes. This interview was in English. I asked him a variety of questions about his history as an entrepreneur and how he came to found PickMe. I told him that I hoped to interview drivers with PickMe, and the co-founder told me he was happy to authorise this and felt I should seek to interview drivers randomly in the city, as otherwise, the ones that he would secure might have a bias in their answers.

The driver interviews were conducted face-to-face and with the help of a translator since the drivers spoke very little English. The interviews were generally conducted in Sinhala with one exception, where both Sinhala and Tamil were used. The translator had a translated script of my approved interview questions, which were previously approved by my supervisors and the ethics committee at OCMS.

All the drivers agreed to conduct the interview, though some had engagements after the interview and could not give us more than 15 minutes. At the outset, they were all informed of the purpose of the research, promised confidentiality, and asked to give informed consent to the interview. Consent was given verbally. Many of the interviews were conducted in the trishaw, while others were under a tree or on a patch of grass nearby the trishaw. On one occasion, I conducted the interview (D6) in a coffee shop, and I provided beverages for the translator and driver during the interview. The translator would ask all the research questions according to the Sinhala translation of the interview questions and translate the answers back to me on occasion. I would often ask follow-up questions or additional questions as things arose. After the interview

was over, I thanked the driver for their time and paid them the stated rate for the journey plus the waiting fee. I found that all the interviews, from fifteen minutes to one hour in length, provided a treasure trove of data to use for this research, and little was missing or lacking in what I hoped to learn in those first interviews.

The second round of interviews bore a great resemblance to the first round, with a few key differences. This time, the approved interview questions were translated in advance into both Sinhala and Tamil by an approved and professional transcription service based in Sri Lanka. The translated transcriptions were given to the translator in advance so he could study them, ask me questions if he needed to, and internalise the interview questions so he could easily ask them while interviewing the drivers. Unfortunately, and this will be discussed late in the limitations section of this chapter, a briefing script was not translated by the transcription service, and in retrospect, the translator did not ultimately give an accurate briefing to each driver about the purpose of the research, and the key institutions involved in the project. In short, when pressed, the translator often indicated that I was part of a humanitarian project to protect and advocate for the rights of trishaw drivers in Sri Lanka and that the project was a type of fact-finding study to see what challenges might exist in the trishaw industry that need addressing. This, evidently, may have coloured the responses from the drivers and was only discovered once the translations were done for the interviews, days after the data collection effort.

It should be noted that the second round of interviews was conducted well into the COVID-19 pandemic and also when Sri Lankan was engaged in a full-blown economic and political crisis due to pandemic-induced tourism losses, mismanagement of foreign debt from the government and the steep increase in commodity prices because of the war in Ukraine (The Economist 2022). As of March 2023, the Sri Lankan rupee had lost 45% against the dollar in recent months and crucially, because of inflation and supply chain blockages, it has not been able to pay for imports, most crucially fuel, food, and medicines. As mentioned in the introduction, it is significant that the drivers at PickMe, who rely on tourism and adequate disposable income from passengers to earn a wage, have similarly seen a decrease in ridership during March of 2022, meaning they were earning less that they have at any time in their careers.

Besides the two rounds of in-person interviews (January 2020 and March 2022), several interviews were conducted virtually. In September 2021, I secured a second interview over Zoom with the same founder I had spoken to during the January 2020 interview round. Additionally, I consulted with some of my students at Middlesex University Dubai who were Sri Lankan born and had used PickMe in the past. Most of these passenger interviews were conducted informally and not recorded, but one interview was conducted over email and the transcript for that interview can be seen in Appendix VI. These passengers whom I was able to interview, though not part of the primary data collected, helped me as a researcher to understand the impression of the PickMe drivers and the institution from the customer perspective and their inputs were helpful.

4.4.2 Transcription and Translation of Interviews

The following is a statement from the translation and transcription service employed to translate both the written English questions and the recorded audio answers of the interviews.

'We Translate Pvt Ltd employs a pool of qualified translators in the Sinhala and Tamil languages to carry out translation projects. For audio files which need to be transcribed as well as translated, we assign them to the translator handling the relevant language. The audios are transcribed and translated simultaneously into English (as required by the client). The scripts are then proofread by our proofreading team, and we once again listen to the audio and ensure that the translator has not missed anything or has not misinterpreted what was being said. For areas in which the audio was not clear, we have added comments indicating such. Apart from that, comments are added to areas which we found were confusing or where there were discrepancies in what was being said. These areas would have to be looked at by the client. Through this method we ensure that the translation is as close as possible to the original.' (We Translate Sri Lanka 2022)

The translators attempted to employ the more accepted method of dynamic equivalence (texts are translated using words and structure that make sense to the target language) rather than conceptual equivalence (simple translation of concepts into the target language) in the

translation. This is widely accepted because it often elicits a more natural meaning to the text (Nida 1969). It is fitting for the qualitative methods used in previous case studies and also matches the socio-linguistic situation in Colombo, where in that urban context English, Sinhala and Tamil are known and used interchangeably (Senaratne 2009).

Of note is how specific English words were rendered in the Sinhala language, which was the primary language of the interviews. The translator interchanged two words for excellence, one being 'vaḍāt hoňda kæpī penana sēvāva' which translates to better or outstanding service. This notion of service is notable and, in the context of business, gives the impression of customer service. The second was the Sinhala word 'viśiṣṭatvaya' which one would readily translate as excellence. The word for success in Sinhala was translated as 'sārthakatvaya', which one would traditionally attribute as success. The word for values was translated to 'sāradharma', and the word for virtues was translated as 'guṇadharma'. These Sinhalese words for values and virtues were used interchangeably and could be translated to convey the notion of 'morals. The word professional conduct or ethical conduct was translated to 'vṛttīmaya hæsirīmak', which conveys the notion of professional behaviour. Finally, the word for job ethics, workplace ethics, or professional ethics was 'visin rækiyā sthānayē ācāra dharma' which back translates as 'workplace ethics. Dharma, which has been explored in previous chapters, holds great cultural and religious meaning in Sri Lanka.

Transcripts of the interview were kept anonymous and maintained on a private database. Sample transcripts are included in the appendices. Appendix VII is a transcript of a driver interview and Appendix VIII is a transcript from a management interview.

4.5 The Sample

4.5.1 Sample Description

The sample population for this research was drawn from all levels of the PickMe institution, from the CEO down to the drivers who use the PickMe application to find jobs each day. The aim was to interview institutional members at various levels of the organisation, from originators like the co-founder who designed the organisation and embedded certain practices into its design to

managers who create and enforce measures to maintain professional conduct and encourage virtuous behaviour, to the everyday drivers who are the recipients of those measures and practices – to gauge the efficacy and effect of those instruments. In January 2020, the first round of interviews was conducted, and I was able to interview seven PickMe drivers and the co-founder using a semi-structured interview approach. A second round of interviews was conducted in March 2022 with two additional institutional senior managers, in addition to 15 drivers working in the Colombo area. As mentioned, one senior manager interview was conducted over Zoom in September 2021 and a PickMe passenger was interviewed over email as well.

For the purposes of anonymity, all interviewees are not named specifically, but given codes. All drivers are given a code of D1, D2, D3 and so forth, while members at the management level are given codes of SM1, SM2, and SM3. Their specific managerial roles are not named; however it is worth noting that Driver 18 was in fact a PickMe taxi driver and former PickMe trishaw driver, granting added perspective on the possible progression that many drivers at PickMe could undertake. In addition, several PickMe passengers were informally interviewed and one formally through email. That passenger was given the code of P1 and his responses added to the findings of this research project.

The make-up of the driver interviewees I encountered in both January 2020 and March 2022 was as follows. The sample population interviewed was entirely men, ranging in age from 20 to late 50s. About half of them were part-time drivers for PickMe, usually with other transportation-related jobs. The other half were full-time PickMe drivers. One of the interviewees was a PickMe taxi driver and did not drive the trishaws (though not a trishaw driver at the time, his interview was useful in giving a greater perspective on the institution and its ethical practices). Three of the interviews were conducted in the Tamil language; the rest were conducted in Sinhala. All of them were conducted via a translator who was hired by me and spoke fluent Sinhala and Tamil. Seventeen of the drivers subscribed to the Buddhist tradition; two were Muslim, two were Christian (one Catholic and one Protestant), and one was Hindu. About half of them were married with children, and the other half were single. Most of the drivers stated their home was not in

Colombo but somewhere outside of Colombo and that a great percentage of their relatives still lived and worked in their home village. Some of them kept a small residence in Colombo for work purposes or stayed with friends in Colombo for part of the week. It has been noted by other scholars that when attempting institutional research in Sri Lanka, one should consider the collectivist/individualist and traditional/progressive differences between the urban and rural contexts in Sri Lanka (Gabriel & Cornfield 1995). These distinctions will be vital in the research that follows in this thesis.

The drivers had a range of ratings with PickMe, some with a 4.00 rating (considered low) and one with a 4.95 rating (considered high). I used a convenience sampling approach, requesting interviews of drivers that were randomly assigned to me while booking a trip across the city on the 3rd and 4th of January 2020 and the 3rd through the 5th of March 2022.

I was able to gather information for the length of service for 10 of 22 of the drivers. Projecting out to the entire sample, it can be estimated that approximately half of the drivers had been with the institution more than a year. At least four of them had been with the institution for more than four years. As will be explored later, the perspective of the drivers on the institutional influence of management is trustworthy and meaningful in part because many of the drivers had been with the institution for a significant amount of time. For those that had been with the institution for less than the year, their perspectives, while also valid, reveal less about the institutional influence of PickMe.

Of the management interviewees, two were instrumental in the founding of the company and one works in the Finance department of the company. One of the managers did not have a current role with the company, while the two others did. All were middle-aged with families and lived and worked in Colombo. The interviews were conducted in English either in-person or over Zoom or Google Hangouts.

Reports vary (and it could not be confirmed by the managers themselves), but it is believed there are approximately 90,000 registered drivers of PickMe vehicles, principally in the city of Colombo (SrilankaMirror.com 2019). This includes autorickshaws (trishaws) but also motorcycles and taxi

cabs as well. To get a clear sense of the organisation's institutional efforts to embed and diffuse virtuous conduct to the drivers, both the drivers themselves and upper management at PickMe needed to be included as the primary sources for this case study.

The drivers are included to understand the qualitative effect of the ethical mechanisms employed to affect their conduct in the course of their job. Interview questions sought to learn more about how they understood the measures of success (external good) and excellence (the internal good) for themselves as well as the influences from the institution. I sought to learn more about the use of technology, training programmes and other institutional measures that seek to embed ethics among the drivers.

Senior Managers were interviewed at PickMe to learn more about those institutional structures, their design, purpose, and maintenance by those who created them and those who manage their usage. Questions focused on the intentionality and effectiveness of those measures and how they are maintained using protocols and technology over time. Care was given to studying how institutional actors at the management level translate their desire for an ethical institution into actual practices which diffuse and promote virtue.

4.5.2 Sampling Method

Convenience sampling was used to select the autorickshaw drivers during the 2020 and 2022 data collection efforts. This method was chosen because it was easy to select drivers to interview based on who was available to PickMe up for rides in Colombo. During both rounds of interviews, I used the PickMe app from a certain location to call a driver to drive the translator and myself to a second location across town. After crisscrossing across town, I was able to conduct several interviews in the day by choosing drivers convenient to his location. Though the sampling method was not unbiased because it chose drivers based on their proximity to me, it was an expedited strategy that made data collection easier, as is normative for convenience sampling (Saunders et al. 2009).

Because of the sensitivity of the subject, and the need to get permission from key PickMe leadership before engaging in formal interviewing, it was recommended that I should not meet drivers through an introduction from the institutional founder. He and I felt it would bias the research if they were introduced through PickMe leadership. The efforts the founder made to ensure that the interviews were not adversely affected (by pressure to answer in a particular way to conform to management expectation) should be lauded.

For the second round of data collection, I was encouraged to pursue a form of convenience sampling called snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is defined as using existing subjects to find new subjects for data collection, to avail the benefits of finding subjects with rare traits and gather repeated data points in communities that interact and support one another (Bhat 2018). This method was deemed to be more effective because it honours the community where many autorickshaw communities operate, which is the taxi stand. Most trishaw drivers, while independent operators, usually commune geographically around a taxi stand. The taxi stand serves as a hub where they take jobs and to which they return after the conclusion of their jobs. The quasi-unions become powerful social networks for enforcing group norms and habits that the drivers adhere to or risk being ousted by the group. However, in the context of actual interviews in 2022, none of the 15 drivers interviewed in the second round were willing to share contact information of fellow drivers in their union, and further to this, PickMe put great stress on the longevity of independent trishaw unions vis-à-vis the community it cultivated within the institution. Thus, the notion of snowball sampling was abandoned in favour of continued use of convenience sampling.

4.5.3 Sample Size and Saturation

A total of 25 people were interviewed for this research project. Of the 25, 21 were trishaw drivers with PickMe, one was a taxi driver with PickMe, and three were members of upper management with PickMe. The taxi driver was chosen to help give perspective on how other institutional members viewed the autorickshaw drivers. As it happens, that same taxi driver used to be an autorickshaw driver himself, so he was able to give perspective as an outsider and a former insider. I interviewed eight (one founder & seven drivers) in my first data collection effort in

January 2020, a second interview with the founder in September 2021 and 15 drivers and two more in upper management in March 2022.

Regarding theoretical saturation, a few factors should be considered. Firstly, previous studies in the UK and Sri Lanka using the MacIntyre concept framework had sample sizes of less than 20. In contrast, Chu's study in Taiwan had 37 SBEs that she interviewed for her MacIntyrean research project (Chu & Moore 2020). Secondly, achieving saturation is nuanced and there is no one size-fit-all strategy. Saturation can be assumed to have been reached when findings repeat themselves. As one researcher claims, 'if one has reached the point of no new data, one has also most likely reached the point of no new themes; therefore, one has reached data saturation' (Fusch & Ness 2015:1409). With regard to data saturation, Fusch and Ness (2015) make the claim that a research project has enough information when 'there is enough information to replicate the study, when the ability to obtain additional new information has been attained, and when further coding is no longer feasible' (Fusch & Ness 2015:1413; Guest et al. 2006). Finally, data saturation often includes a plan for data triangulation (Denzin 2012). Given the multiple subjects among the interviewees, as well as support from secondary sources among institutional documents, I can have greater assurance that this triangulation makes saturation easier to achieve. Towards the end of the second round of interviews, it proved to be the case that interview answers began to repeat themselves and new themes or contrasts stopped emerging. In addition, new insights or threads of interest did not occur, suggesting that new interviews would not have given more in-depth insight in those phenomena. Because of this, it seemed intuitive that saturation among the autorickshaw drivers has been achieved.

4.6 Data Analysis

After assembling all the transcripts from the 22 driver interviews and three members of upper management at PickMe, I began conducting an initial thematic analysis of the text. This includes mapping the text, looking for themes and patterns in the data. Guiding questions included 'What trends were emerging from the qualitative interviews?' and 'What contrasts or tensions seemed to be apparent?' I started comparing some of the trends with the different demographic data from each of the drivers, and category data points like age, length of service, and star ratings.

The transcripts were inputted into the NVIVO software (Richards 1999) and initial attempts were to find the frequency of word use and such, but ultimately the bulk of the initial analysis came from diagramming the themes with pen and paper to find quotes and ideas that connected or drew a contrast with one another. Like previous studies by Moore, Fernando and Chu and Moore using MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework (Fernando & Moore 2015; Moore 2012; Chu & Moore 2020), the initial analysis of the qualitative data utilised the constant comparison method (Haig 1995). This method encourages the research to find emerging themes, concepts and phenomena and, as the name suggests, constantly compares those back to previous data to develop emerging theories (Cohen & Crabtree 2006). Fernando and Moore suggest that the 'constant comparison method generates indicators of patterns and a repetitive storyline, or otherwise outliers and a different storyline' and the constant comparison gives greater validation to the data (Fernando & Moore 2015:191).

All analysis was conducted utilising the NVIVO software tool. Yin cautions that while software can be an 'able assistant and reliable tool' (Yin 2009:128) for qualitative research, it will not do the analysis for you. NVIVO is adept at allowing one to easily code the textual data and look for patterns and contrasts. One can also incorporate the entire catalogue of data, including textual artefacts, archival footage, and other documents besides the interview text. Within the software, the data will be triangulated to specifically address the primary and secondary research questions stated above. The software will also allow for a robust analysis of the case evidence. Scholars helpfully describe the series of analytic manipulations, including: 1) Putting information in different arrays, 2) Making a matrix of categories, 3) Creating data displays (including flow charts), 4) Tabulating the frequency of events, 5) Calculating means and variances with second order numbers and 6) Putting information in chronological order (Miles et al. 2018; Yin 2009)

An 'explanation building' technique was adopted for the full slate of interviews after the second round of interviews. The elements of explanation building include understanding a phenomenon vis-à-vis a set of causal links, and learning the 'how' and 'why' regarding why that phenomenon occurred (Yin 2009). The explanation building that proves most effective is iterative in nature: making initial statements, making comparisons, doing revisions on the proposition, comparing

again and then repeating the process until a final explanation is encountered (Yin 2009). One danger with this analytic technique is that, in the process of iterating the explanation, the researcher may 'slowly drift away from the original topic' and a reminder of the core research questions and purpose of inquiry is vital to ward off this threat (Yin 2009:144). Scholars also describe this pattern-matching technique as fitting for abductive research, wherein (drawing from inductive and deductive methods) theory building undergoes what Dubois and Gadde (1999) called a 'systematic combining' of data sources and analysis. It is also effective for researching the philosophy of social constructionism, where a person's understanding of reality, in this case the institution, is socially constructed (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006).

Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) suggest several types of analysis in organisational studies, including rhetorical, narrative and dialogue forms of analysis. Thornton & Ocasio (2008) also suggest different types of interpretive methods, including ethnography, narrative, content, and others. For the purposes of this research, the use of narrative, content and thematic analysis were selected as the main techniques, although mainly thematic analysis. Narrative analysis will be vital for analysing and explaining the structure of the narratives and stories shared by the institutional actors in the sharing of virtue in the workplace. Narrative analysis will also be useful to understand the deliberate and reactive actions and interpretations that the institutional actors held (principally the trishaw drivers) towards the institution as they grew in professional conduct (Miles et al. 2018). Content analysis will be useful to study the use of words in organisational documents and in the interview texts, giving careful attention to cultural nuances and the effect of morally charged words and their effect on the drivers (Miles et al. 2018). The analysis of these words gave rise to the emergence of themes from the data gathered, allowing for a thematic analysis (Miles et al. 2018).

All interviews have been translated and transcribed and inputted into the NVIVO software. The codes used for the thematic analysis are given in Appendix IX and Appendix X at the end of this thesis. Research codes were applied in a stepwise fashion. Figures 9 and 10 below show the top ten inductive and deductive codes used to analyse this data. First, deductive codes were generated using notions and concepts from previous studies and MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics

theory. Then, I went through each interview, the 22 driver interviews and the three management interviews, and applied codes in several tranches, examining every line of dialogue in the transcripts. Codes were applied to each word, phrase, sentence, or paragraph with mindfulness of whether they were consistent with notions and concepts in theory, or where they were new data that did not fit within any of the chosen theoretical parameters. Then, I started grouping and creating subfolders for my analysis to understand overarching themes and contrasts and ultimately find aggregate dimensions that I could use for my findings.

In the coding and theming process, I attempted to integrate theories of Virtue Ethics, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management from theory and applied theory. In doing this, I tried to strike a balance in my abductive research between finding the '*fittingness*' of these existing theories (Lipscomb 2012) and being open to new concepts that could emerge from the data. As mentioned in the above section 4.1.3, I went back and forth

Previous Work History	18	24
Effects of COVID	14	23
Respect	11	18
Focus on volume of hires	12	15
Comparison with Uber	10	15
Length of Service at PickMe	14	14
Meet targets	9	14
Pays attention to rating	9	12
Take to the hospital	10	11
Honesty	8	11

Figure 9: Top Ten Inductive Codes Used

between the data collected and existing theories to generate something new (Dubois & Gadde 1999) or what these researchers term a 'selective combination' of theory and empirical data (Dubois & Gadde 1999).

As mentioned in the above section on coding, the data will move from raw data to first-order codes, to second-order codes, and then on to themes which give way to what Gioia (2013) terms the 'aggregate dimensions' or 'overarching dimensions'. The process of coding and theme building using the Gioia Method has a four-step process 1) Establish the Gap, 2) Distil the essence, 3) Elaborate the story and 4) Re-affirm the

Initial Training and Follow up	22	36
Success (External Goods)	12	23
Excellence (Internal Goods)	10	11
Dignity	8	9
Influence of and on Family	6	9
App and Feedback System	6	8
Status and Reputation	4	4
Isomorphism	2	4

Figure 10: Top Ten Deductive Codes

contribution to provide a novel insight or theory that touches prevailing theories that the research has already brought to the study (Gioia et al. 2013).

This method is called the Gioia Methodology, and its framework is shown below in Figure 11. This is a process that has been adopted by many other researchers doing qualitative research on institutions. The initial codes were developed both deductively and inductively. The deductive codes were drawn from the theories and framework the questions in the interview guide were specifically addressing, theories in Virtue Ethics, Institutional Work, Moral Motivation, and the Capabilities Approach. Inductive codes were also developed to understand interview data on the norms, behaviour, and rules regarding ethics in the workplace, in addition to understanding the natural ideas, notions, feelings, convictions and thoughts of the interviewees about their understanding of themselves and their worldview and the institution they are connected to. It is evident in Figure 9 that the top ten inductive codes were applied to the data, with a total of 1,985 inductive codes being referenced. In Figure 10, it can be seen the top ten deductive codes applied to the data, for a total of 111 deductive codes. Based on that statistic alone, it can be seen the findings were more data driven than theory driven. The combination or synthesising of these inductive and deductive data codes in the first and second-order analysis will give way to theme-building according to the abductive approach to research. The Gioia method is ideal for a single case study method, especially in cases where the data collection happens over a period of time, as this case has done (Gioia et al. 2013). The Gioia process, in general, involves increasing levels of abstraction of the data. In keeping with the case study methodology, the Gioia Method depends on a well-designed phenomenon of interest (in this case, the PickMe institution). It is then important that the researcher amplify the voice of the subjects of research who are treated as knowledgeable agents (Mikko Rönkkö 2020). Thirdly, it is important during the data analysis that three things are maintained 1) The integrity of the 'informant-centric' codes from the subject's own narrative interviews 2) That at some point the first and second-order terms are organised into relevant themes that are centred on theory and 3) That those second-order themes are scrutinised and evolve into overarching dimensions and then finally 4) From codes to dimensions the entire data structure is developed and mapped (Mikko Rönkkö 2020). This will then be the basis for the Gioia method findings for the research project.
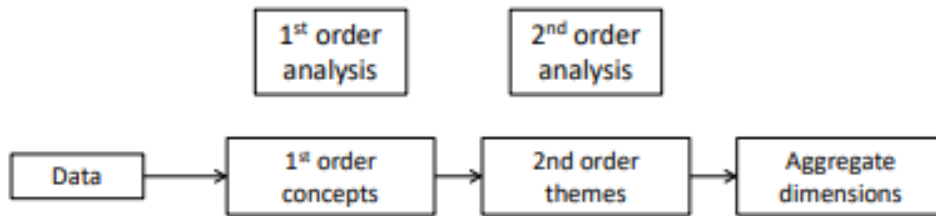
Figure 11: Code Development and Analysis Process termed the GIOIA Methodology (Gioia et al. 2013)

Lastly, the GIOIA methodology, though primarily a tool for inductive research, can also be usefully used for abductive research as well, as demonstrated by Adelekan in his research on the Circular Economy strategies in Lagos (Adelekan 2022). In his case, he was guided by theory in his coding on Institutional Work strategies, but also left open first-order concepts, second-order concepts and aggregate dimensions that were data-driven and did not originate from theory. This approach is consistent with a social constructionism epistemology and, according to Dubois & Gadde, involves linking various theoretical frameworks, data sources and analysis (Dubois & Gadde 1999). Therefore, using the GIOIA method, uses of theory-driven themes and dimensions, as well as data-driven themes and dimensions will be clearly shown.

4.7 Quality Criteria for Research

There are five known criteria for understanding the quality of any qualitative research project, which are: credibility, dependability, confirmability, transferability, and reflexivity (Denzin & Lincoln 2011). This can be observed in the table below (Figure 12).

Criteria	What it means	How to recognise it
Credibility	The research findings are plausible and trustworthy	There is alignment between theory, research question, data collection, analysis and results. Sampling strategy, the depth and volume of data, and the analytical steps taken, are appropriate within that framework
Dependability	The extent to which the research could be replicated in similar conditions	There is sufficient information provided such that another researcher could follow the same procedural steps, albeit possibly reaching different conclusions
Confirmability	There is a clear link or relationship between the data and the findings	The researchers show how they made their findings through detailed descriptions and the use of quotes
Transferability	Findings may be transferred to another setting, context or group	Detailed description of the context in which the research was performed and how this shaped the findings
Reflexivity	A continual process of engaging with and articulating the place of the researcher and the context of the research	Explanations of how reflexivity was embedded and supported in the research process

Figure 12: Key criteria for evaluating the trustworthiness of qualitative research (Stenfors et al. 2020)

This section will lay out the quality of this research in the various chapters and sections. Each of these elements will be touched on and each criterion will be explained. As for credibility, Chapters 1 and 2 are where the research aims, objectives and questions, and the theoretical frameworks that underpin those questions are examined. Some, however, of this research is inductive and data-driven. After identifying the main research inquiry, the Findings, Discussion and Conclusion chapters will demonstrate credibility with how those chapters match with the original questions and research contributions.

For dependability, this methodology chapter is an attempt to demonstrate the deliberateness and rationale of each step of the research so that another researcher could follow similar research steps and come to similar conclusions with little variation. Chapters 4 and 5 will show the confirmability of the findings through the extensive use of primary data and quotations in the data. In the opening introductory and background chapter, detailed attention is given to the

Buddhist, Sri Lankan, urban context of Colombo that this research is set, lending transferability to this research. Lastly, in section 4.2 on the 'Role of the Researcher', I articulate my own role and perspective and reflect on this extensively to show, as Stenfors and others suggest, how my reflexivity was 'embedded and supported' in the research process (Stenfors et al. 2020). Now the limitations of the research methodology will be explored.

4.8 Limitations of the Research Methodology

Kvale (1996) notes that during qualitative research, researchers have often reflected on the benefit of quality over quantity while interviewing. As he states, many researchers would have benefited from a more thorough preparation before conducting the interviews. He also mentions that it is beneficial to conduct fewer interviews in total while spending longer times in analysis (Kvale 1996). Having conducted 25 interviews, I agree that more time in preparation would have helped the interview process, including translating the interview questions into Sinhala and Tamil days before the interviewing began. In addition, though there was some briefing with the translator ahead of time, more time should have been given to help the translator truly understand the concepts mentioned in the interview questions as well as the purpose of the research. To be specific, we could have debriefed what was happening when interviewees didn't fully comprehend a question, as the translator was keen to give vignettes or examples to the interviewees based on his own understanding of what, for instance, success and excellence meant in their context. The examples given, in retrospect, revealed some misunderstandings by the translator of some of the concepts.

The translator, to invoke a legal term, often would be 'leading the witness' about what answer he was hoping they would share, which, it would seem, coloured their natural responses to the question. Issues of respondents giving 'socially desirable' answers in lieu of their true feelings on the topic became apparent. Having stated that, Kvale (1996) notes that leading questions in qualitative interviews may not be inherently bad. He notes that 'leading questions do not always reduce the reliability of interviews but may enhance it; rather than being used too much, deliberately leading questions are today probably applied too little in qualitative research

interviews' (Kvale 1996:158–159). He also notes that the fear of leading questions is attributable to what he terms as 'naïve empiricism' (Kvale 1996:158).

Another limitation in the research dealt with how translation happened while interviewing. Approximately 40 to 50 percent of the time the translator would continue asking questions that were in the interview guide and forget to translate back to English the answers given from the previous question. This prevented a level of follow-up on certain topics.

There were some limitations and misunderstandings that occurred between the translator and the interviewees, which were identified only later when the transcripts were translated and transcribed into English. While these issues are regrettable, the benefit of using the translator far outweighed the cost. He was adept at conversing with the drivers; he built a good rapport with them during each interview and inquired about their personal lives and history (respectfully) to put them at ease. This would allow a more accessible and more authentic interview process that elicits good data for the case analysis.

4.9 Research Ethics

The measures to ensure an ethical data collection effort was achieved were as follows. I attempted to adopt the core ethical tenets of qualitative research in the course of engaging in the case study interviews, principally by acquiring informed consent, maintaining confidentiality and acting with beneficence during the data collection process (Kvale 1996). First, permission to interview the drivers was secured from the co-founder of PickMe. Secondly, the drivers were informed about the purpose of the study, were given the option to interview or not, and were compensated fairly but not exorbitantly for the time spent during the interview. On at least two occasions, the drivers stopped in the middle of the interview and asked again what the purpose of the study was and whether PickMe had given permission, to which I repeated the previously stated reasons. Drivers were also informed that permission was given by PickMe leadership to conduct the interviews; however, it was stated that their names were not known by the leadership, and it was emphasised that their anonymity would be maintained throughout the research project. The drivers were also told that I was not hired by the PickMe organisation and

that I was operating independently of the organisation, looking to get valid data on the perspective of drivers working for the organisation. After the interviews, I refrained from using the specific names of the drivers with others and kept their names and personally identifiable information confidential.

The drivers were treated with respect during the interviews, and each interview did not exceed the time agreed that the driver had to interview. I also refrained from asking follow-up questions if drivers did not understand or showed emotional distress during the interview. The interview questions and methods were reviewed and approved by my supervisors and by the OCMS Ethics Committee prior to data collection. The preamble to the American Psychological Association's ethical principles states that psychologists and social scientists ought to 'respect the dignity and worth of the individual and strive for the preservation and protection of fundamental human rights' (Behnke 2022:12). I have attempted to hold fast to this idea during this research study.

A copy of the signed Statement of Research Ethics is included in Appendix XI.

4.10 Chapter Summary

The research methodology has now been examined. Using a social constructionist epistemology with a critical realist theoretical perspective, and an abductive research approach, I have described how 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted (along with other research instruments) within the PickMe institution to engage in this case study research project. My positionality and role as a researcher have been explained, the sampling approach and saturation metrics examined, the quality criteria explored and the limitations in the methodology explained. Now, the findings as they pertain to Virtue and Virtue Ethics will be unveiled.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS – Virtue Ethics

5.0 Preface to Overall Findings

A preface to the next two chapters, Chapter 5 and 6, will now be offered.

Chapter 5 is a thorough analysis of all the findings related to Virtue Ethics. The findings on organisational purpose, notions of success and excellence and MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework will be shared, along with a deeper exploration of the resident virtues in Sri Lanka and how they relate to the espoused virtues among both managers and drivers.

In Chapter 6, the findings related to the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management will be shared. Findings on the ethical programmes used by PickMe and their relation to seven specific Institutional Work strategies will be explored. In addition, PickMe's digital application and its role as a proxy manager for PickMe and the related benefits and challenges of Algorithmic Management will be shared. Within each section, key novel findings will be unveiled and later summarised in the Discussion chapter.

5.1 Introduction to Findings – Virtue Ethics

This Findings chapter presents the findings that help to satisfy the primary research question: 'How does MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework help us understand virtuous conduct among institutions operating in non-western, loosely organised autorickshaw communities?' It also seeks to tackle the question: 'How do autorickshaw drivers understand virtue in the workplace, and what are their primary influences on virtuous conduct? What role does the institution, its context and other externalities play in their virtue mindset? Concepts from Virtue Ethics will be drawn on in the presentation of the findings.

5.2 Organisational Purpose

Like the Moore (2012), Fernando and Moore (2015), and Chu and Moore (2020) studies that came before, this study sought of first importance to establish the organisational purpose of the institution. Like Chu and Moore describe, this was to measure the 'interviewees' views on organizational purpose … and taken as a measure of the extent to which the internal goods generated by the organization contribute to the common good of the community'(Chu & Moore 2020:3). MacIntyre suggested and Moore reinforced that the contribution that the organisation's internal goods make to the community necessitates a 'continuing debate within the organization, and ideally between the organization and the communities of which it is a part, as to what the community's good is and how the organization's internal goods contribute to it' (Moore 2012:367; MacIntyre 2010).

To examine organisational purpose, the Interactive Joint Inquiry Exercise (IJIE) was initially employed to map success and excellence as well as the virtue and viciousness within an institution (see Figure 13) (Crockett 2005a). This exercise aims to address specifically the organisational purpose of the institution.

In my initial case study research, I attempted to use that same exercise to measure both the perception of success-excellence and virtue-viciousness gradients for the PickMe institution since it had been validated by the Fernando and Moore study in the Sri Lankan context (Fernando & Moore 2015). Using this exercise, I surveyed management and drivers on how they would rate the gradient of Excellence to Success. The question read, 'What is the present and ideal balance for PickMe on a 1–10 scale between the pursuit of excellence and success?'

However, the use of the IJIE proved to be untenable in my research context among trishaw drivers, bearing in mind that many of them struggled to think linearly and assign themselves and the institution a score from 1-10 on their prioritisation of success-excellence or virtue-viciousness. Still, the results of this qualitative study proved helpful in discovering how the

management understood and prioritised notions of success and excellence and how the drivers understood and internalised those notions.

The Interactive Joint Inquiry Exercise

#5) Correlation & Causation

#2   #1

#1. *What does excellence look like in your organisation?* ('Internal Goods')
#2. *How does your organisation measure success?* ('External Goods')

Answers for questions #1 and #2 are placed on either side of a see-saw

#3. Present Balance: (Score 1-10)   (Score 1-10) —must sum to 10
#4. Ideal Balance: (Score 1-10)   (Score 1-10) —must sum to 10

#5. *Is there any correlation between the two sides, and if so, which comes first?*

Figure 13: Interactive Joint Inquiry Exercise (IJIE) (Crockett 2005)

To measure the 'virtuousness' and its converse, the 'viciousness' of the institution, both management and drivers were posed the question: 'How would you describe the mission and purpose of PickMe?' This unlocked a treasure trove of information about how each institutional member understood the overall purpose of the organisation and the institution that management intended to create back in 2015.

As was examined in section 2.4, PickMe began in 2015 as an industry disrupter, looking to institutionalise ethics in a trishaw industry that had been largely run by independent stakeholders with only loose association with trade unions and government regulation. In answer to the question about mission and vision, the primary founder's ambition to imbue the industry in Sri Lanka with professional practice and dependability came through clearly:

'for us it's about joyful mobility for a better life. That's our core purpose. And we want to sort of make sure that we can sort of deliver that. Why joyful mobility? I think, obviously, the experience, just being able to press a button and get a ride and then get to the destination. And why for a

better life? I think every journey is always thought of with a... you start the journey thinking of better things for us, for yourself. So, I think that's how it all starts.' (SM1)

This intention of joyful mobility was intended for PickMe riders but also for drivers, technicians, the staff and management and all other community stakeholders who would be touched by the organisation. The intention was that the drivers themselves should experience joy in the performance of their work. In keeping with this notion of joyful mobility is the aspect of dependability. One common refrain from the management interviews was the mantra: 'We have to be so reliable as the sunrise in the morning' (SM1). Prior to PickMe's entrance, the autorickshaw industry was known to be unreliable and unpredictable. City dwellers in Colombo principally could not depend on reliably arriving at their destination, receiving a fair rate, and the predictable expectation that a ride would be available at any given location. As a result transportation-needy consumers did not have trust in trishaw drivers and the trishaw industry. Drivers themselves too did not have an expectation that a customer would treat them fairly or that riders would be available to them to earn a sufficient wage. A quote from one of the founders that is emblematic of the desire of management to bring fairness and respectability to the industry is this from Senior Manager 2:

'If we want to run a successful business, we want to have a good environment or good ecosystem around our business, right? We saw the drivers' intellectual intelligence; the discipline is not that great. If we want to build a business, we need to empower them, and improve them. We need to do that, right? Then only we can survive as a business. We thought okay, let's take that up. And know that also helping, it immensely helps them by way of revenue, by way of bringing more discipline to their life, by way of teaching them more human skills which will make them intelligent and kind of more professional guys' (SM2)

It is helpful to have a reasonable amount of scepticism about the stated organisational purpose from the institutional managers at PickMe. Their claims about the core purpose in pursuing 'joyful mobility' for drivers and passengers alike are coloured by their own social desirability bias (the need to appear more righteous than perhaps they actually are). As mentioned in section 4.3.1, I

have attempted to use the tactics mentioned by Randall et al (1993): pilot testing questions, adjusting when detecting bias, maintaining a healthy scepticism, and using vignettes and examples from others. With management and their need to be seen as having a virtuous organisational purpose, further probing with different follow-up questions was the main method to reduce bias and establish the true organisational purpose from the perspective of management. Ultimately, however, what was most important was not what management perceived to be their organisational purpose, but how the drivers themselves understood that organisational purpose (seen below in Table 3) because this provided the true test of how salient the stated organisational purpose was.

All the systems, protocols, and training in PickMe revolved around creating a system that was dependable for all stakeholders in the company.

To what degree has that intention been understood and adopted by the drivers? See the table below for how many of the drivers responded when asked about the core mission and vision of PickMe.

Table 3: Evidence of an understanding of the mission and purpose of the institution

Representative Data	1st Order Concepts	2nd Order Themes
'The organisation gives us something too. For example, if we reach a certain target, they will give us a bonus and that's why I feel the organisation is doing a good job. If I speak about the main function and the purpose of PickMe, then this is what I have to say.' (D2)	**Salary and Job Creation**	**Benefit to the driver**
'They provide us with an avenue to earn an income. In the process they earn an income, pay their staff, and run the company.' (D6)		
'The main target is to save time and reach their destination in a short period without wasting time and money. The Mission of PickMe is to provide such a service' (D4)	**Provide an Efficient Transport**	**Benefit to the rider**
'We are providing a service to the customer with some responsibility. Just like the bus service, we provide a service to society. Although we take money for the service we deliver, it is still a service to society.' (D5)		
'If you take a tuk on the road, it runs for Rs 45 per km, but our rate is Rs 31 per KM.' (D7)	**Provide a Cheaper Transport**	

A primary finding from this data is that the mission of joyful mobility and dependability was only partially understood. While it's clear the service-orientation function of an efficient and cheap transport was part of the institution's aspiration to be dependable, the notion of experiencing 'joyful moments', as Founder 3 articulated, was somewhat lost on the drivers.

It is helpful to understand that the drivers understood that the purpose of joyful mobility was also driver-facing and that their experience and execution of their jobs were part and parcel of joyful mobility. As a network institution and a ride-sharing app, PickMe does not consider their drivers *employees* but rather customers; in fact, one of PickMe's management stated it this way:

'Our core is to make sure that we keep our customers happy. Now, when I say customers, I don't mean passengers. I also mean, Our drivers as well. So, keeping both these parties happy is going to be important for us... And I think the focus of the company is about keeping them very satisfied. Giving them magical moments. Giving them experiences that they'd be happy about.' (SM1)

This notion of the PickMe drivers as fellow-customers with the passengers who use PickMe transport for rides is commonplace among ride-hailing companies throughout the world and will be essential in our understanding of the embedding and promotion of virtuous conduct, especially regarding control, authority, rule establishment and policing. This will be examined more explicitly in Chapter 6. As mentioned in section 3.1 of the Literature Review, within Virtue Ethics, the final goal for promoting virtuous conduct within the organisation is what is called the *telos* or the intended state of flourishing. In this next subsection, the intention among the founders for this intended state of flourishing will be examined.

5.2.1 Eudamonia: Intended State of Flourishing for the Institution by the Founders

In Virtue Ethics, as the institution balances its prioritisation and pursuit of both internal and external goods, its end goal is a state of flourishing: what Aristotle would term *eudaimonia* (the state of 'well-being', 'happiness', blessedness') for both the individuals in the organisation and the organisation itself (Pojman 2006). In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle, like Plato before him, argued that the pursuit of *eudaimonia* is an 'activity of the soul in accordance with perfect virtue',

the furthering of which could only properly be exercised in human community—the *polis* or city-state (Aristotle 2014:I). The *telos* can be described as some general or specific good to the community surrounding the organisation.

This is the goal of Virtue Ethics in business, to promote the pursuit of virtues within an institution that leads to the community around it flourishing. As Moore puts it, the virtuous manager is 'concerned for the flourishing and moral development of those for whom she is responsible' (Moore 2017:111). As mentioned in section 3.1, with respect to an institution's *telos*, Alexander Bertland (Bertland 2009) suggests that Virtue Ethics can ground its *telos* in the pursuit of human dignity, according to Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum's theories in the Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum 2013). Suggesting that human flourishing in the community is too nebulous an idea, Bertland argues that according to the Capabilities Approach, an ideal telos for Virtue Ethics is *human dignity* and that 'every person has dignity and should be provided with the freedom to develop in a manner of his or her choosing' (Bertland 2009:26).

In view of this, quotes from each of the three founders will be shared to observe the themes that emerge from their intended state of flourishing for the institution, the community surrounding and the world:

'Just like you started this session, it brought discipline into the process; it became a much more manageable situation. We brought new supply. People look up to these drivers now. They used to look down on them. So, I think those are some of the effects. I think the bigger vision, obviously, with our core purpose of joyful mobility for the better life, we think, obviously, traffic can be better managed. People can get to their points much easily…. So, yeah, that's what we're trying to do. And essentially trying to see how we can be able to provide better transport... So, I truly believe that technology can change that, essentially, democratise that whole process, and provide both the drivers and the passengers a great experience. Yeah. So, I think that's where I think this thing can go to.' (SM1)

In this comment, it can be seen the intention from management was to bring respect and uplift to the trishaw community, seeing that state of flourishing as a community of trishaw drivers that

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have status, significance, and dignity. In addition, it was their intention to improve the solicitation of basic transport by using technology to bring fairness and transparency to customers. That life-improving technology can serve to bring uplift to the community at large. Senior Manager 2 has a significant quote in this regard:

'We saw the drivers' intellectual intelligence; the discipline is not that great. If we want to build a business, we need to empower them, and improve them. We need to do that, right, then only we can survive as a business. we thought okay, let's take that up. And know that also helping, it immensely helps them by way of revenue, by way of bringing more discipline to their life, by way of teaching them more human skills which will make them intelligent and kind of more professional guys, right. In that process, we saw some drivers were able to really up their game. Because of that, they move in the ladder very fast. That's fine with us. We are happy for that because they moved up. I don't know, they moved on to different fields, or they have upgraded themselves from trishaw to car or car to vehicle. It was a great satisfaction for us.' (SM2)

It is evident from these that the profit motive of the institution was intimately tied to the empowerment and improvement of the drivers' professional conduct. The delivery of this empowerment came through teaching and training in discipline and 'human skills' so they could be equipped and resourced for the jobs they were to perform.

'So, our values, we have developed based on who we are and what we want to do basically. We're not taking any religion or our history or anything. It's purely to provide a joyful ride, what we need to do, and how we support our employees to basically get into the next career ladder, enhance their career, and be a better person. The same with our customers as well. So, our values within the organisation, we have created, based on who we wanted to be, how we wanted to create this, the environment we have created, and we continue to keep up with this good work.' (SM3)

In this, we see more specifically the outcome of the institution being a state of flourishing that brings joy to both the driver and the passenger of the trishaw. Senior Manager 3 employed words like 'enhance' and 'improve' to help equip the drivers to achieve more excellence in the delivery

of their service. We even see the righteousness by which the senior manager sees his work, that of the 'good work'.

It is worth noting again that it behoves the management at PickMe to represent themselves in such an ethical fashion, given social desirability bias. As outlined in section 5.2 above and more specifically in section 4.3.1 in the Methodology chapter, steps were actively taken to minimize this bias, while also holding a healthy amount of scepticism about the veracity of management's ethical intentions for their institution.

The dissonance in the perspective on ethics between the stated intentions of management and the perspective of drivers will be discussed further in section 7.1. Having shared findings on organisational purpose and intended states of flourishing for the drivers that were voiced by PickMe founders/managers, findings from notions of success and excellence and the applicability of MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework will be examined.

5.3 Elements of the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework at PickMe

Below, the findings related to the elements of the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework will be examined. First, the virtues that were espoused by both the drivers and management in addition to how the drivers were specifically influenced in their virtue thinking will be explored. Then, both the Internal and External Goods and their tension and prioritisation from management will be examined. Finally, findings discussing the practice / institution distinction within PickMe will be shared.

5.3.1 Virtues: Virtues Espoused by Drivers and Management

Within the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework, virtues are an essential element for the functioning of a virtuous organisation. Virtues, as MacIntyre describes, become the enabling force for the generation of internal goods, which ultimately leads to the state of flourishing that a virtuous organisation desires. MacIntyre describes virtues as 'an acquired human quality the possession and exercise of which tends to enable us to achieve those goods which are internal to practices and the lack of which effectively prevents us from achieving any such goods'

(MacIntyre 2007:191). Moore, drawing from this definition, states that 'virtues find their home particularly in practices, and it is through the possession and exercise of the virtues, over and above the technical skills and knowledge involved, that we can achieve the internal goods of practices' (Moore 2017:64). It can be seen then that virtues function like the engine of a car, becoming the driving force for the production of internal goods inside an organisation's core practice. Now that there is a clear understanding of the function of virtues within the MacIntyre framework, findings regarding the virtues practiced by the drivers and those which were fostered and espoused by management of PickMe will be examined.

Philosophers throughout history have developed lists of virtues that moral agents should uphold and strive for in their work and life. Aristotle articulated a prominent list, and many others as well, from Homer, the authors of the New Testament and Thomas Aquinas down to the American Founding Father Ben Franklin (MacIntyre 2007). See Aristotle's list of the virtues in Figure 14.

The findings below represent more inductive research into the study of ethics in Sri Lanka. While I show a link between virtues that have been espoused and verified from valid academic sources, I also show what novel virtues emerged from institutional members in this study, even those that had not been validated by previous studies. In this, I am looking to expand the understanding of applied Virtue Ethics in the Sri Lankan context.

| Gentleness |
| Bravery |
| Modesty |
| Temperance |
| Righteous Indignation |
| Justice |
| Liberality |
| Sincerity |
| Friendliness |
| Dignity |
| Endurance |
| Greatness of Spirit |
| Magnificence |
| Wisdom |

Figure 14: List of Virtues from Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (Moberg 1999)

These various virtue lists have decidedly Western origins, so it was important in the background for this research to explore the virtues espoused in and originating from Eastern contexts. As mentioned in the literature review of this case study, recent studies show that Sri Lankans tend to be more collectivist than individualistic in nature, including an inclination to accommodate others in decision-making (Batten et al. 1999; Niles 1994) and tend to show a greater need for affiliation (the value on social contact and close

relationships) over achievement (Carter 1979; Ranasinghe 1996). Others have shown the import of what Fernando and Moore call 'soft-management approaches' like compassion, tolerance, and empathy (Fernando & Moore 2015:198; Kumarage et al. 2010; Wijewardena & Wimalasiri 1996). Within the business sector in Sri Lanka, other studies conducted in the business community show a demonstrable prioritisation of Family (Ranasinghe 1996), Personal attention (Ranasinghe 1996) and Philanthropy, which could be heavily influenced by the dominant virtue of charity (*dana*) found in Buddhism (Nanayakkara 1997).

With reference to Buddhism, the influence of religion must be acknowledged when speaking about virtue in Sri Lanka. As was mentioned in section 2.5, in a 2009 Gallup survey report, Sri Lanka was listed along with Bangladesh as the second most religious country in the world, garnering a 99% participation rate among its citizens (Crabtree & Pelham 2009). Buddhism has been the dominant religion in Sri Lanka for the last 2,500 years. It is written into the constitution that Buddhism has the foremost place amongst all religions in Sri Lanka (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor 2007). Buddhism is only one of many religious traditions, as there are many Hindus, Muslims, and Christians in the country. Though this is true, the contributions from Buddhism will be highlighted, given that 70 percent of the nation's citizens are practicing Buddhists.

With regard to virtues originating from Buddhist teachings, the brand of Buddhism practised by Sri Lankans encourages 'fairness, social justice and equity' (Perry 2012:152). Goger notes that Buddhism also imparts the values of abstinent behaviour in public and the importance of education (Goger 2013).

Scholars confirm the most prominent virtue is the virtue of *dana* or charity. The Buddhist tradition of *dana* is paramount in business transactions. Past research studying the CSR activities in Sri Lankan businesses found that the practice of *dana* prevented many socially minded businesses from disclosing their CSR activities because the publicity garnered from disclosing those activities would rob the person of purity for their charitable act (Fernando & Almeida 2012). *Dana* has importance according to three factors: the motive for giving the gift, the purity of the

recipient and the type and size of the gift (Simpson 2004). Theravada Buddhism (which is the tradition of Buddhism practised in Sri Lanka) interprets the gathering of wealth negatively, and the sharing of wealth is highly valued. The *Sigalovada Sutta* gives five codes of conduct for how employees should function with respect to their employer: 1) they rise before him, 2) they lie down to rest after him; 3) they are content with what is given to them; 4) they do their work well; and 5) they carry about his praise and good fame (de Silva 2015). Buddhism defines four main virtues, referred to as the divine states, which include loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity (Jayawardena-Willis et al. 2019).

Virtues Espoused in Sri Lanka
• **Fairness & Equity** • **Charity** • **Temperance, Contentment** • **Equanimity** • **Compassion & Empathy & Loving Kindness** • **Sympathetic Joy** • **Family** • **Other-mindedness** • **Diligence and Discipline**

Figure 15: Virtues Espoused in Sri Lanka

One concept that is essential within Buddhism for understanding virtue is the concept of the Middle Path. This prescribes the 'avoidance of extremes of too little, in terms of deprivation, or too much, in terms of aspirations for indulgence.' (Perry 2012:153). Interestingly, the philosophical idea of the golden mean, articulated by Aristotle, also carries this idea of having a desirable middle between excess and deprivation.

Synthesising these into a concrete list, it is fair to say that Theravada Buddhism, as expressed and researched in Sri Lanka, upholds virtues such as Fairness, Equity, Charity, Temperance, and Contentment. Adding this to the cultural values listed above might amount to a virtue list like the figure to the right (Figure 15). It is evident that many of the virtues mentioned on this list are people-oriented, consistent with other research on virtues on this subject (Fernando & Moore 2015).

The expressed virtues from PickMe's drivers and senior managers will now be examined, with particular attention to how they align with the espoused virtues from the Sri Lanka culture and religion.

Table 4: Expressed Virtues from PickMe's Drivers and Senior Managers

Representative Data	Themes	Links to Sri Lankan virtues
'I do this to the best of my ability' (D7)	**Hard Working & Disciplined**	**Discipline & Diligence**
'When you work with PickMe, you tend to be more disciplined.' (D19)		
'Q: What kind of a person can become a driver for PickMe? A: you have to … fulfil your responsibilities.' (D21)	**Fulfilling Responsibility**	
'How you take the responsibility of another person who is in difficulty when they wanted to travel from A to B.' (SM2)	**Compassion**	**Compassion & Empathy**
'People help each other without really thinking what is the outcome I will get, right…. People don't wait till some money; some donor gives the money to help the others. They see whatever they can, they try to help. That is already there. If someone can't go to hospital, taking them free of charge, it's pretty common with the drivers. It's pretty common.' (SM2)		
'I can reach excellence only through acting humanely with customers and helping them if needed.' (D7)	**Helpfulness**	
'We don't have to work to gain the pride…. When I help others, I cover my hand. we don't have to do for others to see' (D8)	**Humility**	**Temperance & Contentment**
'But my nature is that I do not blow my own trumpet. I do not boast about the good things I do or engage in.' (D4)		
'If my daily wage is covered, I go home. I do not try to hoard money in banks.' (D9)	**Lack of Greed / Envy**	
'I am happy with what I have. I do not envy.' (D9)		
'I return the phone because I don't want to steal other people's things.' (D13)		
'We did not bring any material wealth when we came into this world. Similarly, we will not be taking any material wealth when we die.' (D21)	**Frugality**	
'For an example, say I earn Rs 100, and I spend it, it's useless. I will not gain excellence. we need to plan everything carefully, that's when we can grow eventually.' (D4)		
'Yes. So, I think the one value we want them to learn is saving money.' (SM1)		
'I never get into disputes with anyone. If I face any loss, I accept it as it is. There is no point fighting with one another.' (D21)	**Acquiescence**	
'Nothing on this Earth is permanent. Everything is temporary. And so there is no point in being angry with people. Some people sometimes call us and scold us because we are late for a hire, but one shouldn't get mad at that. If you can peacefully live your life, that is what is *saradharma* (teachings of the Buddha).' (D17)		
'I have patience. I try to be patient as much as possible.' (D21)	**Patience**	
'People were so, they are patient enough and they also encouraged to patiently wait that we are fixing, and we will fix and improve our service.' (SM2)		
'We started bringing some respect for them. we started addressing them as sir. we started addressing them like respectable people, right. That was the first thing we did. All our call centre or everyone in our staff was asked to address them in a respectful way' (SM2)	**Respect & Courtesy**	**Other-mindedness & Charity**

'We wanted to show how you live as a better person, how you respect others even though they have different opinions, how you respect the customer.' (SM2)		
'But we address everyone as 'sir' and treat them well. And if we continue thus, we can do well.' (D6)		
'Now I was in the army and I came back and I treat the customers the way they have to. If they want to sleep I say sleep. I won't say anything.' (D13)		
'That is more kind of cultural effect on our society because Sri Lankans are more hospitable people. That is already in.' (SM2)	**Hospitality**	
'Only if we maintain harmonious relationships with other, will we be treated equally.' (D21)	**Harmony**	
'We always try to deliver a good service to our customers to the best of our ability… If I am unpleasant with them, they will not request services from me. So, I always try to be humane and pleasant.' (D19)	**Pleasantness**	
'I do my work honestly' (D7)		
'Whatever job we do, when we do it honestly everything is the same.' (D8)		
'I am not just honest when I am taking hires, but I am honest in every aspect of my life.' (D17)	**Honesty**	
'Q: What kind of a person can become a driver for PickMe? A: you have to be honest.' (D21)		
'We want to make sure everyone looks at us as someone they can trust.' (D1)		**Fairness & Equity**
'As soon as the customer gets into the vehicle, he will feel that there is nothing to worry… we can even send a girl at 12 at night in his tuk without fear, and that's the kind of trust people will have on you. That is trusted excellence in your career.' (D7)	**Trustworthiness & Reliability**	
'I mean, there's something I keep saying in the company is that 'We have to be so reliable as the sunrise in the morning.' (SM1)		
'If you take a tuk driver from the tuk park, even if you want to go to Pettah he will take you on the longest route even though there are ample short routes. That's not how it works at PickMe. The price and the shortest route are already shown. Therefore, people can save time and money. So, it's good that we have a company who does that well.' (D4)	**Transparency**	
'Yeah, threatened while he was working for PickMe and he says he removes himself from the situation. Because he needs the job, and his children and wife are all expecting and because he's away from the hometown the best thing is to keep quiet and stay away as much as possible. He will hold on and bear it.' (D16)	**Forbearance for family**	**Family**
'It is very difficult. Everyday I get the money for that day, but I give money for my family's expenses and food; and that's it.' (D16)	**Endure for family**	
'We have a need to earn more than we did before. I have a child who is two years and three months old. And everything I do I do with him in mind.' (D15)	**Provide for family**	

One contrary finding was with driver D13, who suggested that in practice, most trishaw drivers were more impatient than patient, commenting:

'The thing about most drivers these days is that they have no patience. If a driver passes them, they get mad and try to surpass them. They cannot be patient for one minute, but they can sit in a restaurant for hours until the food comes. No patience on the road. That is the true story.' (D13)

As is evident, a primary finding from this data is that there is a high correlation between the expressed virtues by the drivers and known virtues in the culture and the dominant religion of Buddhism. The virtues of Discipline & Diligence, Temperance and Contentment, Compassion and Empathy, Other-mindedness, Charity, Fairness, Equity, and Family, as seen, show similarity to the expressed virtues from the research subjects. Missing from the table above, but a part of the cultural and religious heritage in Sri Lanka is the virtue of Affiliation, which is defined by the value put on social contact and close relationships. However, affiliation can be described less as a virtue and more as a human need. The studies of the needs in Sri Lanka suggest that native Sri Lankans have a common need for affiliation along with the need for achievement (another need)(Carter 1979; Ranasinghe 1996). Also missing was evidence of two of the divine states of Buddhism, sympathetic joy (feeling happy for the happiness of others) and equanimity (calmness and composure, especially in a difficult situation) (Jayawardena-Willis et al. 2019), though a new virtue to emerge is moderation, which is close in meaning to equanimity. This will be considered more fully in the Discussion chapter.

It is notable that honesty and fairness were so highly regarded among the trishaw community, given the public's general perception as cheaters and thugs. Also, a new finding which will be discussed in Chapter 7 is the virtue of acquiescence, the virtue of not protesting when injustice has been done to them. Lastly, note how people-oriented the list of virtues is, and that family is such a high focus for many of the autorickshaw drivers. Family is not so much a virtue (habituated ethical behaviour) as the persons towards whom the virtues of compassion, empathy, and fairness are directed.

Now that the espoused virtues from the institutional actors at PickMe have been examined, the attributed sources and influences for those notions of virtues and virtuous conduct will be explored.

5.3.2 Virtues: Influences toward virtuous conduct

This analysis deals directly with two of my research questions: 'How do network institutions effectively encourage and sustain virtuous conduct in autorickshaw drivers in Sri Lanka?' and 'How do autorickshaw drivers understand virtue in the workplace, and what are their primary influences on virtuous conduct? What role does the institution, their context and other externalities play in their virtue mindset?'

These questions concern the issue of influence. As mentioned in section 5.3, this aspect of the research on virtue and virtuous conduct is data-driven, looking at virtues afresh and where the drivers themselves attribute their understanding of workplace virtue.

What are the sources and influences of the institution's drivers towards virtuous conduct? The table below shows a summary of the findings about how the drivers attribute the sources and influences towards virtuous conduct. Some of the themes that emerge come from direct questions about where they learned their job ethics, but others are inferred, based on what they shared about the impact on their thinking from various sources. See below.

Table 5: Attributed Sources & Influences towards virtuous conduct

Representative Data	2nd order themes	Aggregate Dimension
'Apart from the organisation, I have to say the encouragement comes from home. I feel my wife encourages me to go and do a better job each day…She tells me don't take anything belongs to another person. If I find valuable good, I should hand it over to the rightful owner or at least the organisation.'' (D2)	Wife	Influence from Family
'he said from his childhood. because of the way he lived with his family, and they were brought up from the community as well as from his family' (D15)	Family	
'Q: Did you learn about job ethics when you joined PickMe or were you always aware of it? A: No, we learned them through our family background. They were inculcated in us from our childhood. Only if we maintain harmonious relationships with other, will we be treated equally.' (D21)		
'It was my religion and what my parents taught me when I was small. (D12)		

'I have been following the religion through my parents.' (D8)		
'From school I learned how to interact with others.' (D18)	**School**	**Influence from Childhood**
Q: So, these are not the qualities taught to you by an institution? These were qualities that you were taught from your young days? A: It is something I was taught since I was very young' (D9)	**Youth**	
'It was my religion and what my parents taught me when I was small. (D12)	**Religion (general)**	**Influence from Religion**
'We are humans, and we are here to serve humanity, it is true that we want to make money, but our religion has taught us to help people while earning a living.' (D3)		
'So, as a Christian I believe what he said was true and he was brought up by his parents that way and he is focused on that.' (D16)	**Christianity**	
'he says from his childhood he has been brought up in a Buddhist background and taught how to do things the right way and to respect people. After joining PickMe he has always been practicing his learnings by thanking customers and wishing them well. you cannot do this job if you are not good with people.' (D19)	**Buddhism**	
'Q: I am Buddhist and I follow these according to my religion. I am not just honest when I am taking hires, but I am honest every aspect of my life.' (D18)		
'Yes. I also went to Sunday school. More than school, it was the Sunday school that played a bigger role in inculcating these ethics.' (D19)		
'Well. My primary job is in customer service; thus, I know how to satisfy a customer. That motivates me to become a great driver and satisfy customers. It is through my experience that I become a great driver.' (D3)	**Prior Experience**	**Influence from Experience**
'I knew about customer service because when I worked at Damro, that was my field, and I was more focused on it before I joined this. Customer quality and customer is greater than anything is how they worked. They had the best customer service. And that didn't change just because I joined here because I am still used what I learnt there.' (D10)		
'Q: where did you learn your work ethics? The way you start your duty and something like that? Did you learn this before this? A: I have been riding trishaw before this as well.' (D11)		
'Yeah. I rely on my customers.' (D20)	**Customer**	**Influence from Customers**
'My rating reflects their feedback. If there is a complaint my rating drops. Then I try to fix my error and try to revive my rating.' D18		
'Yes. I was informed to deal with the customers in a better manner. It has helped to improve the quality.' D5	**PickMe Institution**	**Influence from Institution**
'Q: His very last question. He asks, after you joined PickMe, have you come to a better standard as a driver, or have you become more disciplined, and things like that? That means in comparison to the level that you were in prior to joining PickMe, have you gained some sort of improvement after joining PickMe? A: Yes, I did improve.' (D7)		
'He says most of the drivers in PickMe respect people and are disciplined. Those who join PickMe, may not have good attitudes at the beginning. But once they join PickMe, they automatically become disciplined and adopt good habits like wishing customers a good morning or giving up smoking.' (D19)		

One outlier from this conversation is the driver, who spoke about the primary locus of his pursuit of excellence as his 'own abilities'.

'Q: This is motivation to earn more money? There is nothing about working towards excellence. So how do you develop a mentality to provide the best service to the customer? Where do you learn that from? Is that something you were born with? A: That is dependent on our own abilities.' (D6)

While it is agreed that all the drivers were influenced by and inculcated ethics and virtuous conduct from multiple sources, these are the sources they primarily attributed as to why they act in a virtuous and professional manner. A primary finding from this data suggests that there is a great variety of influences on a driver's professional conduct and PickMe specifically is in the minority as primary influencers of the drivers' conduct. This could be attributed to the length of time that most of the drivers served under PickMe. A vast majority had been working with the PickMe institution for less than a year, meaning they had less time to really inculcate those values. It was notable to see how dominant the influences were from family and religion in their ethical thinking. This, however, ought not to be too remarkable given the value placed on family in their culture (Ranasinghe 1996; Perry 2012) (Perry 2012) as well as the high degree of religious practice in the country as it relates to other countries (Crabtree & Pelham 2009). Though it was a minority of influences for many of the drivers, this quote stands out to show an example of the significance an institution can play in influencing driver ethics:

'But after coming to Colombo and joining PickMe, he started practising these general ethics like wishing others a good morning, thanking them, and blessing them. He knew of ethics from his childhood, but he started practising them when he migrated to Colombo. That is where he got the opportunity to practice them. In the village, if you said good morning to others or thanked them, they might laugh at him because it is unusual.' (D20)

Two important aspects from this quote have to do with the fact that from childhood he understood ethics, but it wasn't until he joined PickMe that he had the opportunity to start practising ethics. In addition, the 'migrated to Colombo' quote suggests that the significance of joining the institution wasn't just institutional but also geographical. The urban-rural divide in Sri

Lanka has been highlighted in section 2.5, and for this driver, it is apparent that there was an opportunity to utilise the ethics he had learned from childhood in this new urban context.

It is also worth noting that this is the experience of one village-origin driver and perhaps his perspective about the lack of social etiquette and friendliness in the rural villages of Sri Lanka cannot be generalised to all. There are many village-origin drivers who are communicative and engaging, perhaps more so than those that come from the towns and cities of Sri Lanka. However, what is important to note is the testimony of change shared by this driver. This driver believed that his coming to Colombo and joining PickMe were the catalysts for him to begin 'practising' general ethics in his professional career. That shift in practice is what is most notable here.

One other surprising finding was the degree to which the application and the feedback received from customers (reinforced by management) influenced the drivers' virtuous conduct. For the trishaw drivers, the advent of the PickMe application allowed for a constant flow of feedback on their performance that seemed to usher in a deep internalisation of the driver's understanding of what virtuous conduct was in their profession. Prior to the advent of the app, the industry had little in the way of a mechanism for receiving, processing, and feeding back information from customers to drivers. With the widespread adoption of the PickMe application in the institution, the drivers now look to the customer to inform and sharpen their virtuous conduct. As one driver put it, 'I rely on my customers' (D20). The star rating application system will be explored further in upcoming findings sections.

5.3.3 Internal Goods: Notions of Excellence among Drivers

In using the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework it is important to understand the goods that are generated by the institution in their core practice. As we have established in section 3.1, there exists both internal goods and external goods. Internal goods entail the inherent quality of the service or product that is created through what MacIntyre refers to as a 'productive craft' (MacIntyre 2007:189). The second part of the internal good is what Moore, citing MacIntyre (1994:284), refers to as the 'perfection of the practitioners engaged in the craft or practice' (Moore 2017:57). This can be seen as the internal change and development of the

individual person that happens in the course of pursuing excellence in that productive craft. An important characteristic of internal goods is that they are what Moore describes as things which 'we should pursue for their own sake' while external goods are things that should be pursued 'for the sake of some other good' (Moore 2017:58). Internal goods at the individual level suggest that employees practise the core activity of the business in a way that flows from the 'virtue and moral character of the individual' (Wang et al. 2016:1)

Previous studies have stated that 'the terms 'excellence' and 'success' can be used as appropriate substitutes or shorthand for internal and external goods' (Fernando & Moore 2015:188; Crockett 2005b; Beadle 2013). In this subsection, notions of *excellence* as a substitute for the internal goods generated at PickMe will be examined. As was mentioned in section 3.1, excellence is the substance of MacIntyre's internal good, which any virtuous institution would make the pursuit of their priority. See Fernando and Moore's finding in their 2015 study, asking questions of key stakeholders in two Colombo-based companies about how they understood the notion of excellence. It is evident in

	Terms	Company A (%)	Company B (%)	Sri Lanka combined (%)	Alliance Boots (%)
	Table 3 Excellence terms grouped by category and ranked by 'Sri Lanka combined'				
1	People	38.0	42.1	39.8	9.6
2	Trusted	14.0	13.2	13.6	12.2
3	Customers	10.0	7.9	9.1	22.6
4	Financial	6.0	13.2	9.1	5.2
5	Innovative	6.0	10.5	8.0	3.5
6	Product	6.0	2.6	4.5	12.2
7	Visionary	6.0	2.6	4.5	5.2
8	Stakeholders	6.0	–	3.4	1.7
9	Environment	–	2.6	1.1	5.2
10	Suppliers	2.0	–	1.1	3.5
11	CSR	–	–	–	1.7
12	Other	6.0	5.3	5.7	17.4

Figure 16: Excellence terms grouped by category and ranked by 'Sri Lanka combined' (Fernando & Moore 2015).

this study that terms such as 'People', 'Trusted', 'Customers', 'Innovation, and 'Product' were used to describe the notion of excellence in their work (Figure 16). See below how the drivers, in this case study, understood notions of excellence and how they relate to the Fernando and Moore study (Fernando & Moore 2015).

Table 6: Drivers' Understanding of Notions of Excellence

Representative Data	*1st Order Concepts*	**Aggregate Dimension**

'Success means that the organisation is successful. Excellence means that both sides are good. Even if you look at the passengers, they are also good.' (D2)	**All stakeholders are satisfied**	
'We must provide a good service and through that we can develop ourselves. Through good service we can reach the excellence. '(D5)	**Good service / behaviour towards rider**	
'I should maintain good conduct to reach excellence.' (D4)		
'To become excellent, I should make sure that my behaviour is good. That I work in a way that they (customers) appreciate and praise me. Then I will reach excellence. '(D6)		
'I can reach excellence only through acting humanely with customers and helping them if needed.' (D7)	**Helping others**	**People-Oriented**
'We are humans, and we are here to serve humanity, it is true that we want to make money, but our religion has taught us to help people while earning a living.' (D3)		
'It's the good conduct of people – good habits, helping nature and humanity.' (D4)		
'Earning money is full of uncertainty. You may earn today and not earn tomorrow. But people are not like that. We do not know when we may need their support. We need to think about people before we think about money.' (D21)	**Thinking of people**	
'Excellent means that they have given some value to the time. In this world, every person values time. The value they give to time is what should be respected. This is where excellence is.' D17	**Respecting others' time**	
'In our villages we say 'he is a reliable man'…. what I mean is that people would say, 'If you are sick, call on D6, he will do your job for sure'. That is what excellence means.' (D6)	**Reliability**	**Value-Oriented**
'I do this to the best of my ability, and I do my work honestly. '(D7)	**Quality of work**	
'Well, anyone wants to be an excellent person and even more than success. We try to keep our good name and live.' (D14)	**Having a good name**	

Much like the study on notions of success, my findings line up well with the 2015 study conducted by Fernando and Moore. From the two companies they surveyed in Colombo, analogues such as 'People', 'Trusted', and 'Customers' were their top findings as definitions for Excellence. A primary finding that can be observed in this table is that the aggregate dimension of 'People' was a top dimension and centred on activities that benefited people. In contrast to the Moore and Fernando studies, notions of character, values and virtue were equated with notions of excellence (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015). Other notable findings include notions of Excellence as something that takes time (D6), requires sacrifice (D3), and is tied intimately to the core responsibility of delivering the rider to his / her intended destination (D13).

One thing to note as well is that, as mentioned earlier in section 3.2, the Interactive Joint Inquiry Exercise and the attending questions to help map success and excellence were difficult conceptually for most of the drivers. Even the very understanding of success and excellence often

needed to be grounded in examples or synonyms in both Sinhala and Tamil to be readily understood. Below is a common exchange between me, the translator, and the driver.

'Q: Now you know there is something called Excellence and Success in this job? Which do you prioritise? Excellence or Success?

D13: As in what does Excellence mean? It's not clear.

Q: As in, you know how some say 'He did a great job! An excellent job?'

Considerable time was spent with the translator and research assistant crafting good explanations for such questions, and designing stories or vignettes to share with them that they could readily understand.

5.3.4 External Goods: Notions of Success among Management and Drivers

MacIntyre defines external goods as a type of reward: money, fame, reputation, status, etc. (MacIntyre 2007). External goods concern the rewards or benefits afforded by that institution in exchange for that internal good. Moore states that 'Perhaps most generically we can characterize external goods as involving success in some way or other, whereas internal goods involve the pursuit of excellence' (Moore 2017:58). As noted above, previous studies have validated that excellence and success can be used as appropriate substitutes for notions of the internal and external good, respectively (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020). In this subsection, notions of success will function as a substitute for the findings about external goods at PickMe.

Table 2 Success terms grouped by category and ranked by 'Sri Lanka combined'

	Terms	Company A (%)	Company B (%)	Sri Lanka combined (%)	Alliance Boots (%)
1	People	31.0	35.0	32.7	10.1
2	Financial	19.0	22.5	20.4	43.4
3	Trusted	6.9	22.5	13.3	6.1
4	Growth	12.1	5.0	9.2	4.0
5	Customers	8.6	7.5	8.2	13.1
6	Environment	6.9	2.5	5.1	2.0
7	Brand	1.7	0.0	1.0	4.0
8	CSR	1.7	0.0	1.0	4.0
9	Suppliers	–	–	–	2.0
10	Other	12.1	5.0	9.2	11.1

Figure 17: Success terms grouped by category and ranked by 'Sri Lanka combined' (Fernando & Moore 2015).

In the Fernando and Moore study done in 2015, researchers asked subjects in Sri Lanka to give terms and definitions to the word success and excellence. After many interviews, they aggregated the terms and did a statistical analysis to find out what terms were popular descriptors and analogues for success and compare them with a similar study by Moore in the UK (Moore 2012). Figure 17 to the right shows statistical analysis (Fernando & Moore 2015).

As is evident from Figure 17, Sri Lanka companies used words like 'People', 'Financial', 'Trusted', and 'Growth' to describe their notions of success in this institution. Having understood that, look now at the table below for how many of the trishaw drivers with PickMe described the notion of success.

Table 7: Drivers' understanding of notions of Success

Representative Data	1st Order Concepts	2nd Order Themes
'When you get a little more money into your hands than you did earlier, I feel that We are very successful.' (D2)	**Priority on Money**	**External Good**
'I am working as a part time driver. So, my major concern is revenue' (D3)		
'Most of the drivers do not care about reaching excellence. They are just concerned about making cash quickly. It is very rare to find people who are an exception to this norm.' (D3)		
'I give priority to money' (D1)		
'We do this job because we need to somehow earn money. '(D22)		
'the higher the rating I get, higher the status afforded to me.' (D18)	**Priority on Status**	
'Well if we behave well to a customer, then we too become successful.' (D5)	**Priority on Quality Service**	**Internal Good**
'The way I see it, if we give a good service to the customer then it also helps with our success. If we can give them a quality service, then that is good.' (D10)		
'We should give good service to the customer that is the way to success.' (D5)		
'Success means that you work depending on the money you get, it means you are a successful driver. You are a good service provider. You work until midnight. You start at six am. You are always on the road. You always make sure a customer never misses a ride. You will go anywhere the customer wants you to. That is your success, but excellence means something beyond that.' (D2)	**Priority on Money and Service**	**Mixed External & Internal**
'From what I understand, success is based on how the customer rates you. Only if they rate us, we become successful.' (D1)		

A primary finding from this data is that, while some of the drivers' understanding of success centred on notions of generating income and money, the majority of the responses engaged with

notions that MacIntyre would, in fact, define as pursuits towards excellence: working passionately, proper behaviour and quality service, including success related to their star rating, which is rooted in the driver's quality of service in delivering the rider from point A to point B. This aligns significantly with Fernando and Moore's finding that notions of success were defined for Sri Lankan businessmen using terms like 'people', 'trusted' and 'customers'. In addition, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, the autorickshaw drivers evidenced similar traits to others in studies on MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics in that they evidenced a mixed understanding of excellence and success as it relates to internal and external goods. Many of them understood notions of success as related to quality and excellence in their craft, which in the MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics is attributable to notions of excellence and internal goods. From Moore's research, though, he suggests that this is due to the 'essential but complex circularity between internal goods and external goods' (Moore 2012:380). In addition, notice that some of the drivers attributed success to both internal (quality of service) and external (monetary rewards) in support of Moore's analysis of the complex circularity of these concepts.

One driver spoke of success with *how* he carried on his work as a trishaw driver rather than what he did.

'That's totally in our hands. I do not even have a smoke while doing my job. When we do the job passionately, it will eventually bring success to us. I have been driving a tuk since 2010; I never got entangled in any bad things.' (D4)

In contrast to this, one driver understood his success only in relation to the success of the institution, which is perhaps in keeping with the collectivist cultural attributes of the Sri Lankan culture:

'Success means that the organisation is successful.' (D2)

Another quote from a driver highlighted the affiliation that drivers felt for the institution when he said:

'Yes, we do need rides. But we also need to do right by the customers because if we did not, they will not request a ride again. Then it is not only my loss but the entire PickMe community's loss.' (D19)

That the driver's sense that his professional conduct has a measurable effect is evident, not only in his reputation but in the institution as well. This is an important finding because it may indicate that the 'acculturation to the relatively individualistic orientation of the colonising cultures' may not be profoundly felt by the autorickshaw drivers, given their rural origins or socio-economic background relative to the urban, educated workers that were the focus on Fernando and Moore's study (Fernando & Moore 2015).

5.3.5 Practice / Institution Distinction: Balancing Internal Goods and External Goods

MacIntyre defines a practice as an activity that is 'any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realized in the course of trying to achieve those standards of excellence' (MacIntyre 2007:187). Of note here from MacIntyre's definition is that the practices are themselves 'coherent and complex' and not simple or rudimentary, that they are a cooperative human activity in the sense that they are done in conjunction with others and not in isolation, and lastly that practices themselves, as end result, have the realisation or outcome of internal goods. The practice at PickMe can be defined as the safe and pleasant transportation of individuals from one location to another in Sri Lanka using PickMe's transportation vehicles (specifically trishaws, although as mentioned PickMe has a fleet of other vehicles as well).

A virtuous institution's management will prioritise the practice and the generation of internal goods within the institution, while also being mindful of the institution's need for external goods for the ongoing life of the firm. Moore says of this that 'that there is an ordering involved here, in that internal goods are ultimately more important than external goods because it is only internal goods which enable us to achieve our *telos* in life.' (Moore 2017:58). The firm will work hard to prioritise the internal good whilst being mindful of the need for external goods.

MacIntyre says of *institutions* and their pursuit of goods:

'Institutions are characteristically and necessarily concerned with what I have called external goods. They are involved in acquiring money and other material goods; they are structured in terms of power and status, and they distribute money, power and status as rewards. Nor could they do otherwise if they are to sustain not only themselves, but also the practices of which they are the bearers. For no practices can survive for any length of time unsustained by institutions. Indeed so intimate is the relationship of practices to institutions—and consequently of the goods external to the goods internal to the practices in question—that institutions and practices characteristically form a single causal order' (MacIntyre 2007:194).

Moore comments in his book *Virtue at Work* (2017) that practices and institutions integrally link, and sustain one another, but also bear some level of tension in their mutual pursuit of external and internal goods. He defines the tension in the sense that institutional managers should not be 'overly focused on external goods and this might have an effect upon the practices which are 'housed' within institutions.' (Moore 2017:65). Though institutions and practices are closely connected, they are distinct from one another.

Previous empirical studies using MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework have equated the priority on internal goods as a *priority on practice* and a priority on external goods as the *priority of institution* (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020). Fernando and Moore say as much in their findings from Sri Lanka, writing of their case study that 'respondents recognized the priority of internal over external goods—excellence precedes success—and hence, in theoretical terms, of the practice over the institution' (Fernando & Moore 2015:196).

As was mentioned in section 3.1, MacIntyre suggests that virtuous institutions will attempt to re-prioritise their practice to promote the pursuit of internal goods over and above the pursuit of external goods (MacIntyre 2007). Applying Virtue Ethics in a business context can offer normative solutions to senior managers to help them re-balance their priorities between external and internal goods. As Figure 18 shows, the practice of pursuing excellence (the internal good) as an

institution must function within the constraint of an institution that is, at the same time, pursuing the marketplace goals of success (external goods). The 'P' on the upper left part of the diagram represents a secondary practice of the institution, a practice that is conducted by institutional managers and leaders. That second practice can be defined as 'making and sustaining' the institution's core practice (Moore 2012:380).

Institutional managers who aspire to be virtuous are obliged to balance the pursuit of external goods with the greater pursuit of stoking excellence with the institution's internal good, whatever that may be. As mentioned in section 3.1, senior managers can use 'incentives and rationales to justify and encourage the pursuit of internal goods' (Wang et al. 2016). The practice of pursuing excellence (the internal good) as an institution must function with the constraint of an institution that is, at the same time, pursuing the marketplace goals of success (external goods).
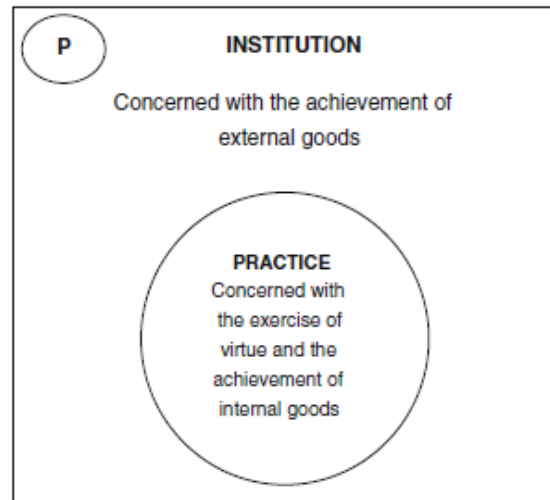
Figure 18: An organisation represented as a Virtues-Goods–Practice-Institution combination together with the secondary practice of the making and sustaining of the institution (Moore 2012)

Emblematic of management's stated prioritisation of success and excellence, certainly with regard to how they understand the role of the passenger, is this statement from one of the senior managers:

'And I think the focus of the company is about keeping them very satisfied. Giving them magical moments. Giving them experiences that they'd be happy about. So, I think that's fundamental to our business. We make sure that that's in order and profitability becomes secondary after that. Of course, we want to make money. Of course, it is important that we keep our shareholders happy. But the primary reason why we're here is to make sure that we provide a great experience.' (SM1)

These claims by organisational management are to be expected according to social desirability bias. As explained in that section, steps were taken to minimise social desirability in the answering of these questions, principally through probing and asking follow-up questions to understand more about management's true beliefs about the institution's core purpose. In addition, what is more vital is how the drivers themselves perceived the institution's organisational purpose, not how management (who have incentive to project a moral certitude in their leadership) perceive it. In addition, as we will see in section 7.1, these claims by management were more idealistic in nature and not regularly practised. The body of evidence seems to support that the ethical and virtuous focus of the PickMe institution has declined in recent years. Section 7.1 will suggest reasons for this.

Now both the drivers' and managers' collective perspectives on the prioritisation of excellence and success will be examined:

Table 8: Driver and Management Perspective on the Practice-Institution Distinction

Representative Data	1ST Order Concepts	2nd Order Themes
'PickMe expects to get us do as much hires as possible' (D1)	**Volume of Hires**	**Priority on External Good**
'There is nothing else related to PickMe (PickMe doesn't care about anything else). So, what he said is, it's like PickMe is earning more just by sitting on the sidelines and these people are the ones working hard.' (D9)	**Earning Money**	
'It is mainly success' (D11)	**Success**	
'I feel what PickMe aims to cater to the passengers and that brings some sort of revenue and profit into the organisation as well.' (D1)	**Customer Service**	**Priority on Internal Good**
'Q: How crucial do you think it is, the customer service and excellence are to the makeup of PickMe? Is that like a core part of you? A: Yeah, I think that is the most important part, right. If we don't have the customers, we don't have a business, right.' (SM2)		
'That's how we achieve our excellence. We tried our best to keep it very transparent with the customer and with the driver. We did a lot of periodic updates. Because of that, people started to believe on us, and they started to depend on things what we are... They started to depend on our business or depend on our service more and more and we keep on improving. We keep on improving. Even today also, we get complaints, but we see how to fix those things.' (SM2)	**Dependability / Reliability**	
'People can get to their points much easily. I mean, there's something I keep saying in the company is that 'We have to be so reliable as the sunrise in the morning.' (SM1)		
'PickMe has advised us to solve issues in a very amicable manner and not just be money minded' (D7)	**Amicable with customer**	

'So, it is very important. Also, excellence getting the job done at the right time. Sometimes you might notice like okay, let's say if you want to go from one place to another place, you want a vehicle to go, right. You might have AC, you might not have AC, you might not have a proper seat to sit but if the car engine is running and if you can go from A to B, that's what important if you don't have any vehicle. That is called excellence for that moment.' (SM2)	**Getting passenger to destination**	
'Q: If you take PickMe as the organisation you work in. Earlier I spoke about excellence and success. If we give the company 10 points, how many points would you assign towards success and how many would you assign to excellence? When assigning think of how much your company allows you to work towards success and excellence? A: I can assign 5 points to each.' (D1)	**Balance between earning and quality service**	**Balanced Priority**
'They try to strike a balance between the two because that is how the company would sustain. Even you as a customer would request another ride again only if you had a pleasant experience with us. Yes, we do need rides. But we also need to do right by the customers because if we did not, they will not request a ride again. Then it is not only my loss but the entire PickMe community's loss.' (D19)		

As is evident, a primary finding from this data was that PickMe's management was focused primarily on prioritising excellence first, in order to achieve success built on excellence, and that their focus was on developing their product and services to excel in the core practice of the institution. As the table shows, some drivers believed PickMe was primarily focused on profits and financial gain, and there were others who believed it had an equal balance in their prioritisation of success and excellence.

While the institutional agents believed the institution primarily promoted excellence, thereby fulfilling (at least in part) Moore's description of institutional managers' role in 'making and sustaining' the institution's core practice (Moore 2012:380), the drivers did not agree that the incentives properly motivated them towards that goal. Regarding whether the organisation incentivises the drivers to help people who are in need on the road but can't book a trip, one driver commented: 'such actions are always my private decisions…. There have been no incentives 'towards the pursuit of excellence' (D3). Lastly, one driver commented that regarding the incentivisation of excellence, 'We were encouraged in that manner in the past. But those encouragements are not being implemented in a proper manner now' (D7). The mismatch between the understanding of PickMe's prioritisation of excellence and the incentives given by management to practice excellence in the workplace will be discussed in our discussion chapter 6.

How the drivers themselves have inculcated a prioritisation of Success or Excellence in the core practice of their work is the next area of focus.

Table 9: Driver Perspective on Driver's Practice-Institution Distinction

Representative Data	*2nd order Themes*	*Aggregate Dimension*
'Q: I hope you have heard of 'success' and 'excellence'. Are you more inclined towards success or excellence? A: Mostly success.' (D18)	**Priority on Success**	**Balanced Priority on Internal and External Goods**
'Q: Out of being successful and being excellent, what do you strive to be? Out of these two, what does PickMe strive to be? A: I want to be successful.' (D21)		
'I give priority to money' (D16)		
'I am working as a part time driver. So, my major concern is revenue' (D3)		
'Earlier you asked me if I would like to reach success or excellence. When you join PickMe, you would anyway reach success. That is why I said I want to reach excellence. Because I have already reached success.' (D19)	**Priority on Excellence**	
'Q: Of these two, what do you try to achieve? Do you want to achieve success or excellence? A: I would like to reach excellence' (D19)		
Q: So, there are certain things called work ethics in your job. Do you give priority to them during work? A: Yes of course I do. I definitely prioritise them. (D12)		

In general, a primary finding from this data is that the drivers' understanding of *their own* prioritisation of success and excellence was much more even-handed than their understanding of *management's* prioritisation of success and excellence. The prioritisation of success over excellence came out much more evenly when the drivers thought specifically about their own inclinations and perspective. In addition, many drivers, either because of confusion about the definition or for other reasons, did not accept those designations and instead said they prioritise neither, as represented by this comment:

'To be honest neither matters. My main goal is to be a good person. To do good to everyone else. I am a Buddhist, and I aim to work and act according to Buddhism, by helping out a poor person or a senior person or a child. I do not want to be a successful person or an excellent person. I simply want to live by my religion.' (D9)

This answer could be reflective of a general confusion about the definition of success and excellence or frustration with any institutional influences on workplace behaviour. Virtues, job ethics, and how the drivers were influenced in their professional conduct will be discussed soon.

In this sub-section, how the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework can deepen understanding of these findings will be discussed. As mentioned in section 3.1, according to the framework, 'virtues are exercised particularly inside practices and give rise to internal goods, while to survive, practices need to be housed within institutions which are concerned with external goods' (Moore 2012:365). In addition, management has a secondary practice of 'making and sustaining' the institution through a right prioritisation of internal and external goods. The *virtues* expressed by the drivers was discussed and shown above in Table 4 in section 5.3.1. One significant finding from section 5.3.2 discovered that those virtues of the trishaw drivers and the pursuits of the internal good were not primarily encouraged from the institutional managers at PickMe, but from non-institutional forces, particularly religion and familial influences. This would suggest that PickMe managers are failing (or at least having less of an impact) in their role in 'making and sustaining' the institution through prioritising the internal good for institutional members(Moore 2012:365).

Irrespective of the source of the influence on virtues, as mentioned in section 3.1, virtues serve to bring about internal goods and help keep the internal and external goods in balance. Referring to the virtues of reliability, courtesy, and discipline, Driver 5 commented: 'Yes. I was informed to deal with the customers in a better manner. It has helped to improve the quality.' This reference to improvement of quality refers to the quality of the transportation service rendered, which is a key aspect of the internal good generated through virtuous conduct. Management at PickMe has observed this balancing of internal and external rewards in drivers through their exercise of compassion over people on the streets of Colombo who require medical attention. This was seen when Senior Manager 2 stated: 'People (drivers) don't wait till some money… They see whatever they can, they try to help. That is already there. If someone can't go to hospital, taking them free of charge, it's pretty common with the drivers. It's pretty common' (SM2). In this case, compassion for the needy triumphs over the need for a quick rupee and makes the generation of income for the institution (external good) subordinate to the internal good of providing reliable transportation for the population in Colombo. The applies even for the external reward of a good reputation afforded those who provide a good service. In reference to the observed virtue of humility, Driver 8 commented that ''We don't have to work to gain the pride…. When I help

others, I cover my hand. We don't have to do for others to see' (D8). The excellent service to others (an internal good) should be balanced against the need for external reward of a good reputation. The cultivated humility for some of the drivers, it seems, help the drivers focus on excellent service to the community, understanding that the external reward of a good reputation or status are not the ends of such behaviour. In these ways, it is evident that there are various virtues at work in the lives of the drivers at PickMe and those virtues are functioning to balance the acquisition of internal and external goods.

The *practice* that those virtues are performing inside consists of bringing passengers from one location to another as safely and efficiently as possible. The *internal good* that is generated from that practice is two-fold: the excellent service of bringing those customers to their intended location in addition to the professional skill and attributes as a skilled, friendly, hospitable driver for those passengers. PickMe management, if in fact virtuous in organisational purpose, should intend to enable and empower drivers in this pursuit of the internal good, while ensuring the acquisition of external goods (financial success, reputation, etc.) in order to facilitate the ongoing activity of a for-profit going concern. As mentioned, their effectiveness in this governance responsibility has proved not to be an overriding success. However, it is worth noting that PickMe adheres to non-traditional management structure which will be further discussed in section 6.4. When considering the influence of Algorithmic Management and the role of the PickMe application and the design of said system to orient the drivers towards the feedback of the passengers (in lieu of direct feedback from management), it is clear, as will be seen in section 6.1.2, that the application itself (in addition to the passengers) replaces the role of institutional managers in fulfilling that 'making and sustaining' managerial role that Moore referred to (Moore 2012:365). This is likely indicative of the new institutional arrangements for network institutions and Urban Sharing Organisations, where managerial functions are given to non-institutional entities (in this case a digital application and the human customers using the application).

Using this framework, the findings suggest that PickMe Management's declared focus on prioritising the internal good was only partially understood by the drivers. In addition, the overwhelming consensus was that the drivers gave what appeared to be a more honest

assessment of their true prioritisation, sharing that management generally fostered and promoted the internal and external goods equally with no priority of one over another. In addition, it was learned that for themselves the drivers tended to prioritise external goods first, and the internal good second, which is the topic of our next findings subsection.

5.3.6 Practice / Institution Distinction: The relationship between Success (External Goods) and Excellence (Internal Goods)

One of the findings from the Fernando and Moore study concerned how the subjects in Colombo understood how the notions of Success (External Good) and Excellence (Internal Good) related to one another. The causal direction of Success-Excellence was an important finding. Some suggested that excellence leads to success or that success *depends* on excellence. Other subjects thought excellence was a destination that was unachievable or understood 'success is an outcome and excellence is a process (Fernando & Moore 2015). There was a fair amount of confusion as well, where subjects weren't entirely aware of how they related to one another or what the causal link was between them.

These findings mirror many of the same ideas expressed by the drivers in their understanding of the relationship between success and excellence.

One of the drivers affirmed the relationship between success and excellence in an elegant way*:*

'Q: They are like an elder and younger brother. So there has to be a relationship between excellence and success. A: Yes, that is right. There is' (D6)

See the table below for how the drivers describe the relationship:

Table 10: Understanding of how Success and Excellence relate to one another

Representative Data	2nd order Themes	Aggregate Dimension
'Excellence goes beyond success.' (D2)	**Beyond Success**	**Relationship between**
'That is your success, but excellence means something beyond that' (D2)		

		Internal vs. External Good
'We are working to reach excellence. It is true that there is a relationship between the success and excellence. Without success we can't reach excellence.' (D5)	Dependent on Success	
'Usually when a person becomes successful, he works on to reach excellence. I can only say that.' (D6)		
'Q: You mean when you work towards being successful, you achieve excellence by default? D18: Yes, you need to be successful first.' (D18)		
'A: We are working to reach excellence. It is true that there is a relationship between the success and excellence. Without success we can't reach excellence.' (D5y		
'Q: If you want to be excellent should you become a successful person first? A: Yes, I feel so.' (D2)		
'There is a higher chance of successful people with good intentions reaching excellence.' (D4)		
'I feel because of that success there is some sort of excellence in it as well.' (D2)	Mingled Together	
'They try to strike a balance between the two (success and excellence) because that is how the company would sustain. Even you as a customer would request another ride again only if you had a pleasant experience with us. Yes, we do need rides. But we also need to do right by the customers because if we did not, they will not request a ride again. Then it is not only my loss but the entire PickMe community's loss.' (D19)	Balance Between	

One primary finding from this data is that the drivers felt that success was often achieved first or preceded by the pursuit of excellence. This is a difference to the 2015 study of Sri Lankan businessmen, who 'recognised the priority of internal over external goods—excellence precedes success—and hence, in theoretical terms, of the practice over the institution' (Fernando & Moore 2015:196). However, the drivers in *this* study believed as a baseline that success precedes excellence and thus, institution over practice is fundamental. This notion is represented best in this driver's comment:

'I feel that I have achieved some level of success, so I would look at excellence next. I feel that both the sides are balanced as of now.' (D2)

In addition, the theme of excellence going 'beyond' success speaks to MacIntyre's notions of the 'systematic extension' of the 'human powers to achieve excellence' in the practice of the institution (MacIntyre 2007:187). That suggests the practice of an institution has a boundless trajectory as a worker develops and grows his or her practice and effort, which is consistent with the notions expressed by the drivers. There is a similarity with the 2015 study in that the drivers understood the complexity and interrelatedness of success and excellence in the institution. As

Moore described, there is an implicit understanding of the 'essential but complex circularity between internal goods and external goods' (Moore 2012:380).

Now a summary of all the findings on virtues, organisational purpose and the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework will be shared.

5.4 Chapter Summary

Herein, a summary of the key findings on Virtue Ethics will be shared. Firstly, the organisational purpose of providing joyful mobility was only partially understood by drivers. Secondly, with regard to the role of a clear *telos* that each virtuous institution pursues, institutional managers had the intention of helping passengers (and society at large) flourish in aspiring to achieve efficient and joyful mobility. However, I have expressed a certain amount of scepticism given management's social desirability bias. In alignment with the Capabilities Approach, the institution affirmed the drivers' human dignity through legitimising behaviour. Thirdly, with respect to Success and Excellence (external and internal goods) the findings suggest that there was some confusion on both meanings, but in fact, the Sri Lankan drivers were more excellence-oriented; however, unlike previous studies, many felt that excellence (internal good) could not be achieved unless a baseline of success (external good) had first been achieved. Fourthly with regard to the practice-institution distinction, a key finding suggested that most of the drivers believed that management gave balanced priority to excellence (internal good) and success (external good) in their management of the institution. However, the exact mechanisms to incentivise excellence-behaviour were not readily understood or realised by the drivers, as well as not supported enough by management. Fifthly, many of the native virtues resident in Sri Lanka were evidenced among the findings, many stemming from the Buddhist tradition. In addition, virtues such as acquiescence, self-care and moderation came to light which was not observed in the literature before. Sixthly, on the influences of virtuous conduct, non-institutional influences were dominant, with school, family and religion being more primary influences of ethical behaviour over the PickMe Institution. This is likely because of the short work history some of the drivers had with PickMe, coupled with the rich and pervasive influence of Buddhism and the general

ethical climate in Sri Lanka. However, with specific virtues like Self-Care, many of the drivers attributed their primary influence for that virtue to the institution.

Now that we have thoroughly examined the findings on Virtue Ethics, the findings on IBE, Institutional Work, and Algorithmic Management will be explored.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS - Institutionalisation of Business Ethics, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management

6.0 Introduction to Findings

This chapter will highlight and analyse the empirical findings from research on the effort of institutions to create and maintain professional conduct within the trishaw transportation industry in Sri Lanka. The research presented here is in direct answer to three of my research questions, 'How do network institutions effectively encourage and sustain virtuous conduct in autorickshaw drivers in Sri Lanka?', 'In what ways has PickMe designed systems and technology to specifically promote virtuous culture among autorickshaw drivers?' and 'What effect (both positive and negative) do ethical mechanisms have on embedding ethical conduct on the overall institutionalisation of virtuous conduct among the autorickshaw drivers?' This chapter will incorporate three academic concepts in the findings, specifically the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management. IBE will show the implicit and explicit ethical programmes in use at PickMe and Institutional Work will examine those programmes through the lens of institutional creation and maintenance, acknowledging seven distinct strategies of Institutional Work. Algorithmic Management will endeavour to explain the findings on the PickMe's digital application and the IW strategies in use through its application, as well as the ethical challenges contained within the app.

As mentioned in section 3.3, Institutional Theory delves into the 'structures, including schemes, rules, norms, and routines, becoming established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour' (Ritzer 2004). Theories about Institutional Work can be used to describe and define how institutions are created, diffused, adopted and adapted over space and time (Ritzer 2004). Lawrence and Suddaby's seminal work on Institutional Work describes the modes of institutionalising structure or practice within an entity (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). The main categories for performing Institutional Work by institutional members can be described as Creating, Maintaining and Disrupting institutions.

Within each main category, there are sub-categories which will be used as a framework for presenting the findings from the data. Within Creating Institutions, three specific sub-categories will be utilised as they relate to the embedding and promotion of virtuous conduct: Defining, Constructing Identities, and Educating. Within the main category of Maintaining Institutions, the three sub-categories of Policing, Deterring and Embedding and Routinising will be investigated.

Institutional members initiate Institutional Work within the PickMe institution. I have interviewed senior managers within PickMe, many trishaw drivers who use the PickMe app in their work, and customers who have utilised PickMe and experienced its benefits and challenges. All these parties contribute to the creation, maintenance and disruption (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006) of the institution in its context, and their voices are significant. In addition, as is important in any case study research, their voices give a holistic portrait of the institution and the institutional forces at work to promote and embed virtuous conduct within it. According to the GIOIA methodology, tables showing the representative data, first-order concepts, second-order themes, and aggregate dimensions for all the sub-categories of Institutional Work have been incorporated. This research project will consider findings guided by theory, but also data-driven inductive findings that can inform and expand understanding of Institutional Work in this context.

Institutional Work is the theoretical lens by which we will analyse the ethical programmes at work in the PickMe Institution. This is why the ways in Institutional Work strategies are explained through the ethical programmes mentioned in the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics (IBE). Later, in section 6.4, the ways in which Institutional Work strategies are deployed in Algorithmic Management and the proxy management of the PickMe application for imparting professional conduct on the drivers will be examined. It is important to define and lay this foundation before the specifics of the ethical programmes used to promote and encourage virtuous conduct are shared. An analysis will now be given of these ethical implementation programmes and study them through the theoretical lens of Institutional Work.

6.1 Institutional Work in Implementing Business Ethics

IBE is in keeping with Scott's notions of the regulative pillar of institutions, the pillar which regards monitoring behaviour, setting rules, and sanctioning given behaviour in an institution. Institutional Work is consistent with IBE insofar as many of the ethical mechanisms (implicit and explicit) align well with the Creating, Maintaining and Disrupting strategies constituting the primary actions of an institution.

The first analysis sub-section will look at the ethical programme intentions of the PickMe management and whether those shared by management fit within the paradigm Brenner articulated. Then the analysis will unveil how the drivers themselves understood those ethical programmes. This should provide a sense of how effectively those programmes promote virtuous conduct within the institution and their links to Institutional Work.

6.1.1 IBE from Management Perspective

6.1.1.1 Explicit Ethics programmes - Ethics Training

Management at PickMe provided training for the onboarding PickMe drivers, and part of the training did emphasise professional conduct and ethical practice within the workplace. Approximately half the current PickMe drivers (and most of those who were onboarded prior to the pandemic) underwent the traditional half-day training to qualify drivers to become trishaw drivers under PickMe's driver-partner paradigm. The other half, and most of those who joined PickMe during or after the pandemic, were not trained through live instruction but were sent YouTube training videos (PickMe Social 2021) and invited to use the PickMe application to query the institution and call customer service if they had any questions. This distance training protocol was established to ensure driver and PickMe employees were protected from further exposure to the COVID-19 disease.

From Management's perspective, the training focused on two things, orientation on the app itself and emphasis on proper driver behaviour by the driver. This was highlighted by this quote from Senior Manager 2:

'We used to do face-to-face training with small groups and made sure that the people understand because this was a new product coming into the market and people have not behaved in this manner…. as well as how to become a better customer service person' (SM3)

Another founder highlighted the initial emphasis of the training was primarily on soft skills and not on technical training: 'The one-day training is 80%, almost 90% is soft skills training. Only the 10% is the technical skills.' (SM2) Even after the training concluded, there was the intention to follow up with the driver and encourage practicing the behaviour they had emphasised in the training, as evidenced by this quote: 'So we monitor those attributes and we train, we give them a call and communicate the message saying, 'You have to behave well.'' (SM3)

Despite my best efforts, I was unable to acquire written training manuals as evidence of the curriculum used during their half-day training sessions. The management staff and their secretaries were non-responsive to several requests. However, I did locate many training videos on YouTube and a quick preview confirmed that the substance of the video was on the usage of the PickMe application (PickMe Social 2021). On the surface, the videos themselves do not reference professional conduct. Though I did not validate this, management referenced the use of the videos as the *de facto* means through which management communicated the professional conduct and behaviour that they hoped the drivers would adopt.

Ethics Training is one of the explicit ethical programmes for implementing business ethics within institutions. Ethics Training as a practice is commonplace for medium and large corporations the world over. Some companies in certain polities are required by law to conduct annual ethics training. This ethical programme can be described as the Institutional Work strategy of Educating, a sub-strategy under institutional creation. The strategy of Educating will be explored and analysed in more detail in section 6.2.4. A Code of Ethics will be our next programme to research. Table 1 in section 3.3 articulates the various Institutional Work strategies and their corresponding ethical programmes from IBE. The explicit ethical programme of a Code of Ethics will now be examined.

6.1.1.2 Explicit Ethics Programmes – Code of Ethics

Code of Ethics forms are considered an important pillar for organisations which are attempting to encourage institutional members to practice ethical conduct in their work. In interviews with management, this seems to be the case, as illustrated by this quote:

'We have a, for example, manual, and we have all the values, ethics, and the code of conducts and all and it's all documented.' (SM3).

Thus far, I have not been able to independently confirm the existence of these documents.

Regarding a specific code of conduct (which is different from a specific code of ethics in that conduct focuses on behaviour and ethics focuses on core values (A. Scott Carson, Mark Baetz, Shelley McGill 2008)), one of the members of management mentioned the existence of one and highlighted some aspects of the type of conduct management was trying to encourage:

'We had number of codes of conduct to know. How they need to address the customer, how they need to get the customer into the vehicle, what they need to do. Let's say a lady customer is there, if they're on waiting, we used to tell them the driver should go out of the car and wait especially if the lady driver is there. All that has been taught to them like how to answer a call when.' (SM2)

Based on this, it is a key finding that there likely exists a Code of Ethics, but it is not generally shared or transmitted to the drivers of PickMe. There does appear to be a Code of Conduct that is verbally shared and communicated via the half-day training at the beginning of the driver's service to the institution. If a driver is onboarded without attending this half-day training, he/she misses out on this Code of Conduct training. Sometimes codes of conduct are followed up on verbally over the phone if a case necessitates it.

Like Ethics Training, a Code of Ethics and a Code of Conduct for an institution dovetail nicely with the Institutional Work strategies of defining rule systems. Within Institutional Work, institutions are often required to define the rule systems that govern the individual members. It

is the work, as Lawrence and Suddaby describe, of the 'construction of rule systems that confer status or identity, define boundaries of membership or create status hierarchies within a field.' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:221). This will be analysed and explored in detail in section 6.2.1. Rewards and Sanctions will be our next variable to analyse.

6.1.1.3 Implicit Ethics Programmes – Reward and Sanctions

To what degree management tried to create an ethical culture within the autorickshaw drivers, in keeping with research on effective ways to embed ethics within IBE, will be examined. Besides a system of rewards and sanctions, other implicit ethics variables include factors like peer groups, organisational culture, ethical leadership, and open communication (Brenner 1992). Implicit ethics institutionalisation specifically states that 'ethical behaviour is implied, or not directly expressed, and is understood to be crucial' (Singhapakdi & Vitell 2007:78).

Management at PickMe did have a clear reward and sanction system with respect to Ethical Practices. The PickMe application functioned as a reward system for taking jobs through the star rating system. However, the mechanism was incomplete. The ambiguity about why drivers were either rated high or low meant that drivers couldn't see an immediate cause and effect between their ethical behaviour and a clear reward, or a sanction if they acted unethically. This ambiguity from the application will be elaborated on in section 6.4 when referring to algorithmic opacity. What was clear was that management designed their PickMe application with the coding to dispense rewards and sanctions for driver behaviour according to their own algorithm, which clearly prioritised rewarding drivers who took jobs early and often. This was articulated by one of the Founders:

'let's say the reward and punishing system. We did it through technology. We completely relied on the complaint mechanism.' (SM2)

The rewards and sanctions were tied to the feedback from the passengers who either praised or vilified their drivers through the application. In addition, the complaint system was primarily used for the dispensing of punishment, and not for rewards. The rewards came in the form of bonuses

and more jobs, and neither was tied to the customer service or ethical practice of the drivers. The ambiguity as to why drivers were rated a certain way by passengers and the arbitrariness of the rewards and sanctions decided by the PickMe algorithm is a topic that will be addressed more fully in section 6.4 on Algorithmic Management. As one senior manager put it:

'You start and let's say if the rating goes down and down and down, let's say the priority for the hire will go down for the driver. Which means if in the same vicinity, if a driver has let's say just imagine that two drivers are in the same location, one has 4.5 rating and one has 4.3 rating, then if a hire comes, we prioritise to 4.5 driver because his service is better, and he will get the first hire.' (SM2)

As is evident, drivers with higher ratings were prioritised, and the rating system is not necessarily an ethical metric but the measure of a driver's customer service and aptitude in bringing the passenger safely to their intended destination. There was little evidence that management had a rewards and sanctions system for ethical conduct, with the exception of the performance rating system through the app. We have already discussed the ambiguity of this system as a rewards and sanctions ethical programme.

There was a fair number of incentives and rewards being offered to drivers who accomplished a set number of trips each day, but these bonuses were exclusively about the quantity of trips and had no relation to the quality of the trips and to what degree the driver exhibited good ethical practice in the course of his work.

Another curious finding from my interviews with management is the use of the PickMe application to woo drivers from their traditional rickshaw unions onto their platform. This was highlighted by this comment from Senior Manager 2 in response to the question: 'Was that difficult as an institution to enter and have those employees adopt those practices?'

'At the initial time, it was a little difficult. They found out what we are trying to do, we are trying to get them more discipline. Obviously, we had in Sri Lanka also there, they had a couple of unions in that space but fortunately, those unions are not strong, right. Even though they said a lot of

numbers, it was not strong. Because of that, we were able to infiltrate pretty fast. Then people started to see their revenues grew exponentially. Let's say in Sri Lankan rupees, people who earn 2,000 rupees for a day, they started to earn 5,000 rupees for a day. That was a massive jump. When that came in, all the other things became secondary.' (SM2)

As articulated in the response, PickMe management used the incentive of increased daily salary to impose greater discipline within the trishaw community. After the drivers had experienced the rewards of an increase in salary, management found that it was easier to embed greater professional conduct in them. Though management didn't specifically reward ethical conduct with money, they utilised the increased profits of the drivers to incentivise these new professional practices.

Rewards and Sanctions as a prompt for ethical conduct link nicely with the Institutional Work strategies of Enabling and Deterring. Enabling regards the creation of rules that facilitate and supplement institutions, and Deterring regards the work of coercion to 'inculcate conscious obedience' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:232). The Institutional Work of Deterring will be analysed in more detail in section 6.3.2.

6.1.1.4 Implicit Ethics programmes – Organisational Culture and Societal Culture

One interesting finding from the interviews with management was this: in lieu of imposing and creating a culture of ethical professionalism on the drivers, management themselves understood their role more in tapping into the existing culture of hospitality and service and saw themselves more as digital facilitators, bringing that commitment of service inherent in the drivers and connecting it to passengers through the PickMe application. This notion is exampled by this quote from one of the senior managers:

'Most of them had the serving culture. 95% of the drivers had... They wanted to serve and be genuine. Even though they don't make a lot of money, they want to be genuine and make a living out of it. We had that 5% who are not on that thinking but 95% of the people wanted to serve and make a genuine living.' (SM2)

However, when I queried management about how they viewed the culture and DNA of the organisation, the notion of an ethical or values-driven organisation was not apparent. When asked about the influence of religion, one founder said: 'Our culture is being a digital company, of being a platform that can provide the services. So, I don't think religion had any role in the company.' (SM1) The denial of the influence of religion may be in response to a few factors. One could be the fact that PickMe is a publicly traded company in Sri Lanka and it is important to project the secularity of the company, especially with regard to the government and institutional stakeholders that require the publicly traded companies not to privilege one religion over another. Also, historically speaking, the fact that the founders were Muslims drew some controversy after the Easter bombings of several Catholic churches on April 19th, 2019. Those bombings, being committed by radical Muslim terrorists, led to a season of time when PickMe was viewed unfavourably by the riding public in Colombo (this was confirmed from both management and drivers during the interviews). In view of this, management may be loathe to admit the influence of religion in their institutional DNA. Despite this, PickMe as a values-driven institution (with perhaps subconscious influence of religion) was established through other interview questions.

Another member of management was asked, 'Is being ethical in the workplace, whether it's at the head office or among the drivers, is that a high expectation from the company? Is that something like, as a leader in management, that's an important value in the company?' (SM3) The founder replied that it was, but referred mostly to controls and processes put in place to make sure all internal and external stakeholders were satisfied. It was not apparent that the founders intended to create a culture of proper ethical and professional practice. Answers given by management may be coloured by their understanding of what it is to be an ethical institution and the overlapping definitions of governance and ethics. Organisational Culture links appropriately with the Institutional Work strategy of Constructing Identities, which is defined as the work of the institution to define the relationship between an 'actor and the field in which he operates' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:221). This will be discussed more fully in section 6.2.3.

The ethical programme of Open Communication will be analysed next.

6.1.1.5 Implicit Ethics Programmes – Open Communication

Open Communication about the ethics and professional practice of the institution was evidenced in the interviews with management. One founder stated: 'Also, we very aggressively… communicate [with] them. We have a lot of events, activities to communicate the values of the business… we have a meeting every Friday, [where] We highlight our values, and we want our staff to understand and behave with those values' (SM3). Later in the interview, the same member of management stated, 'So we monitor those attributes, and we train, we give them a call and communicate the message saying, 'You have to behave well' (SM3). Though this was just one data point, it at least points to the notion that open communication is an intended ethical programme that management planned to utilise to encourage virtuous behaviour.

In summary, it was apparent that management felt that open communication about the values and professional practice was an essential aspect of their managerial role and essential in their desire to diffuse and encourage ethical practice in the driver community. Some other ethical variables will now be explored.

6.1.1.6 Implicit Ethics Programmes – Other Variables

Regarding the other programmes listed in Implicit Ethics Institutionalisation, little evidence was seen from the management of their desire or efforts to create implicit norms for encouraging ethical practice among the autorickshaw community. Regarding Ethics Leadership, no mention was made of highlighting drivers with strong professional conduct in the community, or mentorship programmes that helped develop the professional/ethical practice of the trishaw drivers. There were some references to management encouraging projects during times of crisis, such as when flooding occurred or during the heart of the COVID-19 pandemic, to help society at large by loaning trucks and drivers to help transport people, though this was done by mandate and not voluntarily.

Interestingly, management didn't find it fitting to create peer groups among the trishaw community, such as the union stands that existed prior to the emergence of ride-sharing apps, whereby drivers could meet to exchange ideas and encourage one another in their professional practice. Peer groups that are properly facilitated by insiders who are held in high regard as virtue agents within the institution can be a powerful mechanism for diffusing a professional code of conduct (Moore 2017).

Now that the ethical programmes have been fully explored from the management perspective (and their links to Institutional Work), the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics will be examined from the driver's perspective.

6.1.2 Institutional Work in Institutionalisation of Business Ethics from the Driver Perspective

The discussion will now turn to explore to what degree the explicit and implicit ethical variables articulated by Brenner for the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics (IBE) were understood and received by the drivers for whom the programmes were created.

Table 4: Driver Perspective on Ethical Training Programmes

Representative Data	1st Order Concepts	Aggregate Dimensions
'We had 4 hours of training and they insisted on giving a friendly service to the customers. They said that it was very important to greet the customers and we should win the hearts of the customers before we start the trip with them. we were told that even if customers give Rs 2000, we should be able to give change to them.' (D7)	**Ethics Training**	**Explicit Ethics Variables**
'We were told to be friendly with the customers and provide quality service to a customer.' (D5)		
'Well. I don't have an issue with the rating. If I provide a good service, I receive a good rating from the customer.' (D3)	**Ethics feedback loop**	**Implicit Ethics Variables**
'No, we cannot bother customers. My rating reflects their feedback. If there is a complaint my rating drops. Then I try to fix my error and try to revive my rating.' (D18)		

This 1st order concept of an Ethics Feedback Loop is a new conception of implicit institutional variables in Brenner's research (Brenner 1992). It is in line with the definition of implicit IBE

variables insofar as inherent ethical actions and systems which informally and indirectly encourage ethical practice in the workplace. A primary finding from this research might suggest an additional implicit institutionalisation variable in the form of an Ethical Feedback Loop. What is termed an Ethics Feedback Loop is akin to what some might call ethics accountability. In addition, one might assert that the ethics feedback loop is a proxy for the ethics variable of rewards and sanctions. The reason this may be the case is that, as has been shown in the mechanics of the PickMe app, drivers are rewarded (with status, bonuses, and other fringe benefits) for having a higher rating on the PickMe app. The rating they receive on the PickMe app may have some causal relationship to their professional and ethical conduct (noting the ambiguity noted above). Thus, one may assume that the PickMe feedback loop and rating system is a mechanistic way of rewarding (and sanctioning) professional and ethical conduct by the drivers.

What is remarkable and is explored in further detail in Chapter 5, Findings on Virtue Ethics, is that the locus of influence on ethical practice is not from management, but from the customer, vis-à-vis the PickMe application. One driver commented when asked about his training on ethics when he was onboarded to PickMe, he commented 'I rely on my customers' (D20). As explored in other findings, it was clear that management had intended to utilise the PickMe app to link the passengers and the drivers together with daily, 360-degree feedback loops to foster ethics, implicitly, into the institution. Some may suggest that this system puts too much power in the hands of the passengers and users of the PickMe app.

In contrast to this, some IBE variables expressed by management didn't resonate with any of the drivers. On Ethics Training, an explicit IBE variable, some drivers commented that during their onboarding training, no mention was made of any incentives to pursue ethical practices from management. Later that same driver commented that any action beyond the simple act of transporting a passenger from one location to another was 'always my private decision' (D3). As mentioned in section 6.1.2, the substance of the ethics training was initially heavily based on professional practice and orientation to the PickMe application. Later iterations of the training seemed to abandon the former, with one driver commenting: 'They taught us how to use the

app… nothing else' (D4). Lastly, one driver said definitively, 'PickMe does not really do any training on job ethics' (D20).

Regarding Ethical Leadership and Open Communication, a similar finding was discovered. In general, the drivers shared little in the way of moral leadership from management or virtue agents with the institution. Having withdrawn from the trade unions in joining PickMe, many of the drivers plied their trade with little interaction with their peers or supervisors, apart from occasional phone calls and interactions, to overcome technical difficulties regarding the PickMe application. One driver commented that he 'personally don't think PickMe provides much mentorship' (D3)

Beyond this, there was no indication from this data of any planned attempt perceived by the drivers to create an organisational Culture of Ethics, a comprehension of a known Code of Ethics, or the existence of informal ethical peer groups.

Now that the perspective of management and the drivers regarding the ethical programmes within the institution has been fully examined, findings within the theoretical lens of Institutional Work will be directly analysed as it relates to several key Institutional Work strategies.

6.2 Creating Institutions

6.2.1 Institutional Work of DEFINING the rule systems that govern PickMe

Lawrence and Suddaby define the form of Institutional Work of Defining as the 'construction of rule systems that confer status or identity, define boundaries of membership or create status hierarchies within a field.' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:221). They go on to suggest one aspect of defining during the institutional creation process is the work of constructing 'definitional categories of compliance' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:222).

The defining of rule systems was in place from the very beginning at PickMe: **'**So I think from the day one I start the organisation, we put a lot of controls and processes to have a good governance

in the organisation.' (SM3). These controls and processes were adapted over time, but the core elements remained the same. One of the other senior managers stated:

'Yeah, we do. We sort of give them the dos and the don'ts. Don't cancel on a trip. Accept every trip possible. Here are the rules. Make sure you maintain good etiquette. Wear good clothes. Stuff like that. Obviously, those things are done. Whether they follow or not, we can't police them. But we tell them, 'These are the good things.' Obviously, customers tip them as well. So, 'Hey, you know what? If you say good morning to your customer, there's a high probability that you will get a tip.' (SM1)

This notion of policing will be revisited because, in fact, PickMe does police the drivers. In addition, this notion of incentivising the drivers to look towards the riders for a reward for their professional conduct will be addressed in later sections as well.

The PickMe institution had a mix of what Brenner terms explicit and implicit factors of the institutionalisation of business ethics. As mentioned in section 6.1, PickMe possessed explicit factors such as a Code of Ethics, Ethics Training and Ethics officers. They also maintained implicit factors such as a reward and sanction system and the cultivation of an ethical culture to promote proper business ethics (Brenner 1992).

Here is a table of the rules that the institutional management stated they tried to convey to the PickMe drivers:

Table 5: Institutional Work of Defining Rule Systems from PickMe's Founders

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	2ND ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATE DIMENSION
'Yeah, we do. we sort of give them the dos and the don'ts. Don't cancel on a trip. Accept every trip possible. Here are the rules.' (SM1)	**Reliability & Dependability**	**Stated Rules for a PickMe driver**
'We wanted the drivers who accept the trips, make sure we give them better experience of a customer. (SM3)		
'We started doing training for them which means how to dress to how to comb their hair, how to how to brush and all, how to wear, you know. It was a full complete training we did.' (SM2)	**Professional Appearance**	
'Make sure you maintain good etiquette. Wear good clothes. ' (SM1)		

'Yeah, yeah, yeah. we had number of codes of conduct to know. How they need to address the customer, how they need to get the customer into the vehicle, what they need to do. Let's say a lady customer is there, if they're on waiting, we used to tell them the driver should go out of the car and wait especially if the lady driver is there. All that has been taught to them like how to answer a call when they speak, how you answer it, how you politely say certain things. If you want to say no, how you tell no.' (SM2)	**Professional Courtesy**	

A primary finding here is that in the creation of the PickMe institution, management intended to define rules for Reliability, Dependability, Professional Appearance and Professional Courtesy.

The rules that were created by the institution were conveyed through several mediums, by initial face-to-face training, through ongoing calls and *ad hoc* face-to-face meetings, but primarily through the design of the mobile phone PickMe app. The 360-degree rating system allowed riders and drivers to rate one another after every trip. The standard of measure for the performance of the driver was the very rules set in place by institutional managers at the outset. Besides the overall 5-star rating system that the drivers gave riders and riders gave drivers, the riders were also allowed to convey further ratings on the quality of the driver's performance in a few categories. A screenshot of the rider side application shows in Figure 19 that riders were allowed to give specific ratings on the quality of the drivers as: Friendly, Expert Route, On Time,
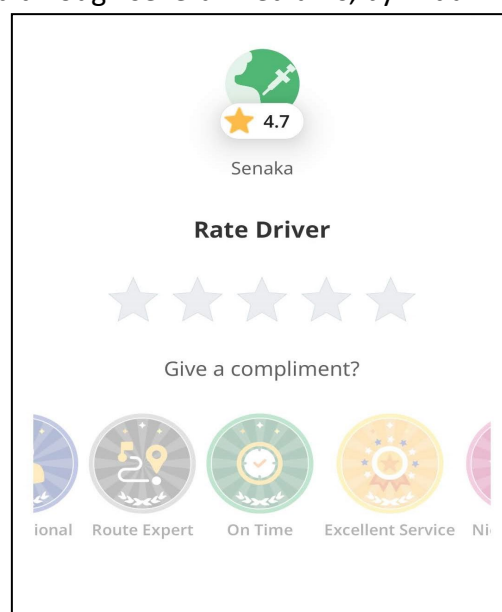
Figure 19: Passenger-Facing Rating System

Clean and Safe Driving. These are not insignificant, with one driver commenting that 'Yes, during my free time, I go through the feedback in the app' (D18). This will be explored later in how these rules are conveyed.

What the drivers understood regarding the rule system imparted to them will now be examined.

Table 6: Evidence of understanding of the Defined Rule Systems of the institution

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	2ND ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATE DIMENSION
'There are people with various ideas. But we address everyone as 'sir' and treat them well. And if we continue thus, we can do well.' (D6)	**Protocols for how to greet the passenger**	**Professional Courtesy**
'... they showed the way we should navigate the location, then we have to give them a missed call, then speak to them and say that we have arrived the location.' (D11)		
'Moreover, I usually talk only if the customer talks, if not that's a disturbance to them. Usually, they are very busy. They could be anything, so I do not want to disturb them. Even PickMe has advised that' (D7)		
'We were told to be friendly with the customers and provide quality service to a customer.' (D5)	**Friendly demeanour**	
'We had 4 hours of training and they insisted on giving a friendly service to the customers. They said that it was very important to greet the customers and we should win the hearts of the customers before we start the trip with them. we were told that even if customers give Rs 2000, we should be able to give change to them.' (D7)		
'At our orientation training they tell us what to do if someone needs help getting in.' (D6)	**Assisting Riders**	
'We have been told to carry bags.' (D7)		
'The other thing is I want to keep my vehicle very clean. And I want to look decent. I even keep my feet clean. Some three-wheeler drivers are very dirty. I clean my vehicle every morning. I wipe the seat, clean the carpets, and clean the mirrors with glass cleaner. And I do not take risks and I adhere to road rule.' (D20)	**Cleanliness**	**Professional appearance**

As can be seen from the table above, many rules have been passed down and defined for the drivers. Some drivers remarked that they had not received training on the rules of professional conduct. Others seemed to suggest that they didn't, in fact, learn anything about what to do or not do with the riders:

'There is nothing much. PickMe does not tell us anything specifically. They do not exactly tell us what we should do and should not do.' (D4)

This was more of an exception, however. In looking at the data, it appears that the primary finding is that the drivers understood rules regarding professional courtesy and appearance but failed to understand the rules about dependability and reliability from the institution's management. It appears that the rule of taking jobs whenever possible and not cancelling on riders was *not*

adequately conveyed to the drivers. These findings are determined from what the drivers didn't say management conveyed to them, but management clearly expected of them.

It will now be examined how the institution defined and created the status hierarchies with the institution. Lawrence and Suddaby stated that during the creation process, Institutional Work includes the defining of status and hierarchy for the institution (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006).

Within PickMe, this is principally instituted through the rating and platinum systems. Management aggregates data about the performance of drivers and gives them a Silver, Gold or Platinum rating based on those aggregate data points. This rating comes with attending rewards. How that system is defined and understood by the drivers will now be explored.

Table 7: Evidence of Institutional Work of defining status and hierarchy within the app for the institution

Representative Data	2nd order Themes	Aggregate Dimension
'What we call our hailing algorithms are based on the rating system. So, we prioritise the best rating drivers most of the time and try to encourage drivers to get a better rating. So, we give priority to the driver who has a rating above 4.7%. So, in our driver selection hailing algorithm, we select certain criteria, so that driver rating is one of that. So, we have given a good rating so that to make sure we pick the right drivers to the right customers and give the best experience to the customer.' (SM3)	**Hierarchy and status from rating system**	**Hierarchy and Status Conveyed to drivers**
'… if a driver has let's say just imagine that two drivers are in the same location, one has 4.5 rating and one has 4.3 rating, then if a hire comes, we prioritise to 4.5 driver because his service is better, and he will get the first hire.' (SM2)		
'Yeah. Yeah. we have categories for drivers now, like let's say gold drivers, platinum drivers. That is there for some time so that also encouraged them. (SM2)	**Hierarchy and status from Loyalty (Platinum) Programs**	
'So, what we do, we charge for it as normally... we actually negotiate a bit of pricing from these big insurance companies. But if they are a platinum driver, we basically give them back that, whatever they have paid during that month. That kind of programmes, we run, and we encourage them to be at that tier.' (SM3)		
'So, we have different loyalty years from a newbie to platinum, so that depending on where they land in the listing, depending on how long they have service, what is their rating, how many rides, jobs they have done, we will decide their rating, which is every month, it'll get updated. So based on that loyalty they will be getting different discounts and different partnerships.' (SM3)		

As is evident, a primary finding from this data is that the hierarchy system is well defined at PickMe through the star rating and loyalty programme. There is a systematic process for

conveying and encouraging drivers to improve their position and grow in their standing. It is evident that the metrics by which drivers are measured are the 5-star rating system which is based on the rating from the rider. However, as mentioned above, length of service, number of jobs and other accounting-related matters do determine their loyalty rating and the attending benefits that come with such a rating. How the drivers themselves understand that status and hierarchy system will now be examined.

6.2.2 Institutional Work of DEFINING status and hierarchy for the institution

Interviews with the drivers suggest that they were very aware of the hierarchical structure developed by the founders of PickMe. The drivers were generally aware of their rating system, aware of one another's rating and the direct effects their behaviour had on their star rating. One driver encapsulated these notions this way:

'Yes. We have a target, and we obviously try to reach that target. Like if we build a house, we try to build it bigger. We want a vehicle. Everyone likes to go further forward and yes; they motivate us further.' (D13)

This is a key finding and something that will be discussed further in Chapter 6. Those trishaw drivers who understood how the rating and platinum system was designed and how their own performance and professional conduct were linked to their success within that system were duly motivated in their performance as they could see how their individual performance fit within the company's overall aspirations.

How the drivers understood the hierarchical system at PickMe will now be examined.

Table 8: Evidence of Understanding of Institutional Work of defining status and hierarchy for the institution

Representative Data	2nd order Themes	Aggregate Dimension
'Because the higher the rating I get, higher the status afforded to me.' (D18)	Status conveyed	Adoption and Approval of Status system
'What I believe is if we behave well, we will also be treated well. My star rates are 4.95, which is quite good.' (D4)	Awareness of star rating	

'My rating is 4.83. It's a Gold rating.' (D18)		
'It is a good system. At first, I was a novice and now I am bronze star rated. At the end of March, I will be silver star rated.' (D20)	**Satisfied with present system**	
'As in they only work according to what the customer wants. When this happens, especially in PickMe there's something called a rating and the more these five stars reduce, the less hires we get. Those who have more ratings get more hires.' (D14)	**Understanding of the benefits afforded**	
'As drivers, we have a rating system which recognizes us for our work and even the passengers are given various promotions on the app' (D2)		
'I actually had 4.9 but sometimes when we miss hires the rating goes down. And if we don't continuously drive, it reduces. Like for example if I am unable to drive for about a week, this will reduce. I actually had 4.95 now it has become 4.84' (D10)	**Autonomy in institutional hierarchy**	
'Anyway, we try to improve our rating. Then the customers are also okay. Then there is no room for grievances.' (D19)		
'It's not possible to do what they want, but then we're also scared of making them unhappy because just in case they put a bad rating, then our entire rating goes down. So, the pressure is too much because of the rating' (D14)	**Pressure from star system**	
'If I deliver a good service, that is enough for me. I do not really fret over the star rating. If customers would like to give any feedback, it is their decision' (D21)	**Futility of star rating**	**Challenges with Status System**
Q: so, no harm for your job even if your rating goes down A: No. '(D16)		
'From what I understand, success is based on how the customer rates you. Only if they rate us, we become successful. '(D1)	**Status dependent on the actions of passengers**	
'If someone who travels does not rate me, it affects me.' (D1)		

Unpacking this table, a primary finding is that the drivers were keenly aware of the hierarchy and status afforded them in their professional conduct through the star system and the loyalty programme. They seem to have a clear understanding of how their actions affected their rating and, in some ways, how their rating was controlled by the actions of others. Most drivers considered it fair, but others felt beholden to the will of others and that the terms that defined their star rating were overly challenging; specifically, they objected to the fact that their status would lower when they went on vacation or didn't take rides throughout the day. Even though many drivers with PickMe are part-time, their metrics and status system seem to prefer and reward those who are full-time and willing to meet PickMe's desire for dependability to the customer.

What is important to note, and will be explored in later sections, is that the status system created by the PickMe founders is tied intimately to the virtuous conduct of the drivers, encouraged by the trainers at their induction school and PickMe's digital smartphone application. Established by

the PickMe Institution is the notion that drivers' virtuous conduct in the performance of their job will have a direct effect on their status and rewards within PickMe.

One additional aspect of Institutional Work which deserves highlighting is the autonomy afforded drivers in influencing their star rating and their ability to respond to customers if they receive poor feedback or selectively respond when their rating goes down. This new Institutional Work strategy can be described as Autonomy.

The Institutional Work of Constructing Identities, within the Creation sub-category outlined by Lawrence and Suddaby, will now be examined.

6.2.3 Institutional Work of CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES for the trishaw drivers

An important aspect of creation is the construction of identities for the institutional actors that work within the institution. It is important because it 'describes the relationship between an actor and the field in which the actor operates' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:221). Those researchers go on to cite the research of Oakes in 1998, which looked at museum curators and institutional attempts to remake and create new identities within that population as business entrepreneurs, adopting characteristics like 'change-agents' and 'risk-takers' within their professional role. As in that case study, senior managers at PickMe are attempting, through institutional forces, to create new identities in the trishaw drivers. Examined below is the type of professional identity they were trying to create among the drivers with PickMe and then how that identity was inculcated by the drivers themselves (Oakes et al. 1998).

Table 9: Evidence of Institutional Work of Creating Identities by PickMe Management

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	2ND ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATE DIMENSION
'We want to make sure everyone looks at us as someone they can trust.' (SM1)	**Trustworthy Driver**	**Creating Identity as a Professional, Courteous and**
'Back then, there was this bad impression of taxi drivers in Sri Lanka. Do you remember people were scared of taxi drivers? Because they used to be rowdy men driving Morris Minor cars and Volkswagen cars. we were very small back then. Then after the community was developed, that impression also subsided. Now, the taxis are modified, and the drivers are skilled, so people are not scared anymore.' (SM2)	**Skilled & Safe Driver**	

'So, I think in our Sri Lankan... the whole landscape... driving is not well-regarded job. So, what happen is that when you turn into a PickMe driver or PickMe rider, he is regarded as a better driver because he's working basically for a company, well reputed, well organised technology company. So that gave them a bit of upper hand.' (SM3)	**Organised and Accountable Driver**	**Equipped Driver**
'Yeah. Just like you started this session, it brought discipline into the process, it became a much more manageable situation. we brought new supply. People look up to these drivers now. They used to look down on them. So, I think those are some of the effects.' (SM1)	**Disciplined Driver**	
'Then we gave them a technology like a phone or a smartphone. What happened is if you take a trishaw, most of the time who are traveling with him, he's not using a smartphone, but the driver is using a smartphone.' (SM2)	**Resourced Driver**	
'That plays a major psychological role for the driver because he automatically gets himself upgraded, that thinking he's technologically advanced, he's living in a progressive world than the person who's sitting behind.' (SM2)		
'We wanted to show how you live as a better person, how you respect others even though they have different opinions, how you respect the customer. you may be a customer next day but how you respect it, how you communicate things, how you do better for the others and how you take the responsibility of another person who is in difficulty when they wanted to travel from A to B.' (SM2)	**Respectful and Responsible Driver**	

As can be seen, a primary finding is that the founders saw a gap in the landscape of the trishaw industry in Colombo and attempted to imbue the drivers with the identity of professional drivers who were responsible, respectable, and equipped. This is in keeping with Anil Shetty's assertion that we should regard autorickshaw drivers as 'cultural ambassadors' who show the world the vibrant cities that we live in (TEDx Talks 2015). The role of dignity and the outcome of virtuous conduct in the workplace will be discussed further in this thesis.

One other highlight from this table is the notion that, by virtue of the association with an organised company, the trishaw drivers were given respect and became well-regarded. This is represented by this comment from one of the senior managers: 'he is regarded as a better driver because he's working basically for a company, well reputed, well-organised technology company' (SM3). This new Institutional Work strategy can be referred to as Association, that the work of linking together in the creation of an institution creates identities which, apart from that, would not exist. I will refer to this as the Institutional Work strategies of Association, a new strategy in the literature of institutional work.

An email interview with a regular PickMe passenger confirmed this reputational effect:

'I do see a difference which is that owing to the regulated nature of PickMe in comparison to independent trishaw driving, PickMe drivers are more concerned of the experience they give to passengers. As their volume of rides are often determined by the ratings they get from passengers.' (P1)

This highlights that reputational effect of being associated with PickMe was earned because PickMe was organised as an institution that rewarded drivers who received higher passenger ratings by giving them more rides. The mechanism effectively oriented the drivers toward the customer experience and customer service as a means to earn more income. The implication from this is that PickMe drivers received a created identity as customer-oriented because of the star-rating system, something that had not existed when they functioned as independent trishaw drivers.

The degree to which those identities were understood and adopted by the drivers will now be examined.

Table 10: Evidence of Understanding of Created Identities for PickMe Drivers

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	2ND ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATE DIMENSION
'After joining PickMe the way society looks at him and his occupation has improved. People have been more welcoming and understanding towards him. He has experienced that he is treated with more dignity and honour.' (Translator summary of answers from D21)	**Dignified and Honourable identity**	**Identity as Respected and Responsible Driver**
'Yes, there is. There is a certain significant difference when we're from PickMe or Uber as opposed to a normal independent driver.' (D12)	**Reputation and Good Name**	
'Relating D18's story: he says, after he started working with PickMe, his reputation has increased. And some people appreciate him. When you work for 2 – 3 years you build networks. Some people regularly call them for rides. That reputation and good name has been supportive to his job field.' (D18)		
'Do you think PickMe has given a good reputation to the three-wheeler driving industry? A: very good reputation.' (D13)		
'He says that joining PickMe has brought him more recognition. Even when We hailed him, even though We did not know him, we were able to build a good relationship so far. Likewise, customers may be more inclined to view PickMe drivers more respectfully than they view independent drivers, solely because of their association with PickMe.' (D19)		
'Yeah, they automatically become better. Anyway, when you work with PickMe, you tend to be more disciplined.' (D19)	**Disciplined Driver**	
'Yes. In fact, the society looks at three-wheel drivers as relatively more genuine people compared to before.' (D20)	**Genuine**	

'Q Because the name PickMe holds weight? A: More than the name, what I think is it is about the service.' (D13)	**Service Rendered**	**Identity from service rendered**

Standout findings from this data suggest that there is a great deal of overlap between the intention to create an identity from management and the identity adopted by the drivers themselves, specifically in the areas of discipline. The emphasis from the data suggests the significant reputational benefits as respected and dignified professionals in the transportation industry, which is quite a departure from their reputation preceding their joining the PickMe institution. This is significant.

Apart from this, there was a minority group of drivers who held a negative impression of the PickMe institution, and the attending identity imparted to them through their association with PickMe.

'Q: If you go on a hire they speak good things about you, they compliment you saying you're a PickMe driver, it's very good; have you come across anything like that? A: So far, I haven't heard anything like that.' (D16)

Another commented:

'Q: Now have you received anything good or some respect via PickMe? A: No not really. Do you know what happens when I say I go as PickMe? A lot of outstation people run PickMe. Hambantota, Matara, Kandy, Badulla are the people who run PickMe and for them this is valuable. But we are also brought down to their level because we also run this.' (D9)

Highlighted in this quote is the clear division between drivers and employees of PickMe hailing from Colombo and the outlying villages. Within PickMe, many of the drivers who have come to join the institution came to the city from village life and culture. Many of them drive into the city for the day to ply their trade and then return to their home village in the evening, often searching at the end of the day for rides that will take them at least partially the way home. Others will find boarding in the city during the week and then return to their village homes and families once a week for a day or two off.

'They come from all over the country. Some people come here, work for a month, and go back to their village. There's some who are based in Colombo, some who drive into the city for the day and then go back. Stuff like that.' (SM1)

The founder goes on to share:

'I mean, they're coming from remote areas outside Colombo. One of the biggest problems we are facing is... Financial management is a problem. They live for the day. It's cash coming in, cash going out. So, they live for the day. So that is a problem. And, of course, the disciplines or the etiquettes that we have, they don't have because their upbringing is very different to maybe what you have, or I have.' (SM1)

As can be seen, senior managers assumed that the drivers hailing from the villages were uncultured and unpolished in their interpersonal skills and professionalism. However, not all the drivers were born and bred in the outlying villages, so there is a merging of village-origin drivers and city-origin drivers within the PickMe institution. The clash of cultures and backgrounds will emerge in later findings.

The table indicates that both from the management perspective and from the driver perspective, there was a reputational effect of associating with the institution. Founder 3 commented that 'he is regarded as a better driver because he's working basically for a company'. A driver confirmed this by stating, 'There is a certain significant difference when we're from PickMe or Uber as opposed to a normal independent driver.' (D12) This could be the additional new Institutional Work strategy that will be referred to as Association.

The Institutional Work of Educating the trishaw drivers in virtuous and professional conduct will now be examined.

6.2.4 Institutional Work of EDUCATING trishaw drivers in ethics and professional conduct

The last sub-category in the Creation main category is Educating, in this case, the education of the primary institutional actors, the drivers themselves. Lawrence and Suddaby describe

education as involving the 'educating of actors in skills and knowledge necessary to support the new institution' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:227). It is cognitive work because, as they describe, it involves the 'development of novel practices as well as connecting those practices to control mechanisms.' Within PickMe, the onboarding training, mentioned in section 6.1, most drivers were educated in when they joined the company will be examined and through the interviews the content of their training workshops will be incorporated. Whether that Institutional Work of Educating was consistent in connecting the drivers with the primary control mechanism for PickMe will also be explored.

How management designed and delivered the initial onboarding training for the drivers will now be explored.

Table 11: Institutional Work of Management in Educating Drivers in Professional Conduct

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	2ND ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATE DIMENSION
'We sort of give them the dos and the don'ts. Don't cancel on a trip. Accept every trip possible.' (SM1)	**Reliable Driver**	
'Make sure you maintain good etiquette. Wear good clothes.' (SM1)	**Professional Courtesy and Appearance**	**Educating on Professional Conduct and Etiquette**
'We started doing training for them which means how to dress to how to comb their hair, how to brush and all, how to wear, you know. It was a full complete training we did.' (SM2)		
'We had a number of codes of conduct to know. How they need to address the customer, how they need to get the customer into the vehicle, what they need to do. Let's say a lady customer is there, if they're on waiting, we used to tell them the driver should go out of the car and wait especially if the lady driver is there. All that has been taught to them like how to answer a call when they speak, how you answer it, how you politely say certain things. If you want to say no, how you tell no.' (SM2)		
'We want to make sure that the drivers are trained, the right etiquette's followed.' (SM1)		

A primary finding from this data is that the education and training that happens during the onboarding process are consistent with defined rules and systems expected of the drivers, specifically issues of professional courtesy and appearance. In addition, management does give time to educate the drivers on the value of taking hires to increase the reliability of the institution.

As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, it should be noted that I was not able to acquire the physical training materials from management that articulates the curriculum they use in their training. All of the information on the content of those trainings came from interviews with management.

The senior managers stated that the 'one-day training is 80%, almost 90% is soft skills training. Only the 10% is the technical skills' (SM2). This matches up with their description of the training. From the driver's perspective, they generally corroborated what the Senior Managers shared in their understanding of the education that they received during their orientation.

Table 12: Understanding from drivers about Intentional Work of Educating when they were onboarding

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	2ND ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATE DIMENSION
'We were told to be friendly with the customers and provide quality service to a customer.' (D5)	**Friendly and Service Oriented**	**Soft / Interpersonal Skills**
'We had 4 hours of training and they insisted on giving a friendly service to the customers. They said that it was very important to greet the customers and we should win the hearts of the customers before we start the trip with them. we were told that even if customers give Rs 2000, we should be able to give change to them.' (D7)		
'At our orientation training they tell us what to do if someone needs help getting in.' (D6)	**Helping riders**	
'We have been told to carry bags.' (D7)		
'Initially, we were asked not to call the customer because it disturbs the customer because they would get back to their work after booking a vehicle.' (D7)	**Phone call etiquette**	
'Moreover, I usually talk only if the customer talks, if not that's a disturbance to them. Usually, they are very busy. They could be anything, so I do not want to disturb them. Even PickMe has advised that' (D7)	**Mindfulness**	
'They were doing at the beginning, they did in their office… they showed the way we should navigate the location, then we have to give them a missed call, then speak to them and say that we have arrived the location.' (D11)	**App orientation**	**Technical Skills**
'On the day we join, they briefly explain how to work with this. It is not too hard to understand how this works.' (D19)		

As is evident, within the sub-category of understood education from management, a primary finding is that there is a great variety of things that the drivers learned during their onboarding training.

However, as mentioned in an earlier section, there were some drivers who disputed these summaries:

'There is nothing much. PickMe does not tell us anything specifically. They do not exactly tell us what we should do and should not do.' (D4)

What was learned from some of the drivers who were hired more recently is that many of them were hired through agents and weren't accorded the initial onboarding training. Some of them used YouTube videos to get their training (mainly technical skills concerning the use of the PickMe application and not regarding professional conduct), and still others failed to get any training at all. It is worth noting that approximately half of the participants in this study had been with the institution less than a year. For those participants, most of their onboarding training was conducted online and was primarily technical training and not soft skill training. Because of this, it is a key finding that Educating as an Institutional Work strategy was more robustly practised in earlier times in PickMe's history and less so lately. This could be indicative of the decline of the ethical focus of the institution, which will be explored more in section 7.1.

There was certainly a divide between those that received the onboarding training and those that did not, and the specific expectation they had for professional conduct. By and large, those that had attended the one-day training had good recall about what was conveyed and what was expected of them regarding professional conduct.

6.3 Maintaining Institutions

The institution's role in maintaining itself through different levels of Institutional Work will now be explored. This would relate to much of what Scott terms the regulative role in institutions (Scott 2008). This category of Institutional Work assumes that the creation of institutional mechanisms are not fully self-sustaining and need input and work from institutional actors and management to maintain the institution's present course. The sub-categories of Institutional Work include Enabling work, Policing, Deterring, Valorising and Demonizing, Mythologizing, and Embedding and Routinizing. For present purposes, in looking at the ways in which PickMe

management sought to promote and embed virtuous conduct, three specific areas: Policing, Deterring and Embedding and Routinizing will be examined (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006).

6.3.1 Institutional Work of POLICING the professional conduct of the trishaw drivers

Policing within an institution is defined as the intentional 'ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing and monitoring' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:230). It often includes the use of sanctions and inducements in the policing of institutional actors. The ways in which institutional managers police the trishaw drivers within the institution will now be examined.

Table 13: Institutional Work by Management in Policing

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	2ND ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATE DIMENSION
'you'll see that we have proper infrastructure to capture that information right. So then through our algorithm, we basically summarise. we give periodical feedback to the driver also, and their reviews, we use that to monitor their behaviour, as behaviour of the driver if there's any complaints, manage the complaints.' (SM3)	Monitoring with Feedback	Management Policing of Professional Conduct
'So, we've been monitoring the rating continuously. we wanted the drivers who accept the trips, make sure we give them better experience of a customer. So, we monitor those attributes, and we train, we give them a call and communicate the message saying, 'You have to behave well.'' (SM3)		
'We monitor his behaviours, performance through our application, so we have built some algorithm to make sure that we capture that information.' (SM3)	Monitoring	
'We monitor, we get the feedback. we have a customer call centre, so we periodically get a lot of calls, … so we do all those things to make sure that we have a right direction' (SM3)		
'Whether they follow or not, we can't police them. But we tell them, 'These are the good things.' Obviously, customers tip them as well. So, 'Hey, you know what? If you say good morning to your customer, there's a high probability that you will get a tip.'' (SM1)	Inducements	
'What we call our hailing algorithms are based on the rating system. So, we prioritise the best rating drivers most of the time and try to encourage drivers to get a better rating. So, we give priority to the driver who has a rating above 4.7%. So, in our driver selection hailing algorithm, we select certain criteria, so that driver rating is one of that. So, we have given a good rating so that to make sure we pick the right drivers to the right customers and give the best experience to the customer.' (SM3)	Enforcement	

As is evident, a primary finding from this data is that management employs a great variety of tactics to police the drivers, specifically in the areas of Enforcement, Inducement, Monitoring, and sometimes monitoring with feedback.

Referring to the above table, a new Institutional Work strategy could be described as the work of Summarising and Feedback. When SM3 remarked

'you'll see that we have proper infrastructure to capture that information right. So then through our algorithm, we basically summarise. we give periodical feedback to the driver also, and their reviews, we use that to monitor their behaviour, as behaviour of the driver if there's any complaints, manage the complaints.' (SM3)

This is a step further from monitoring and includes the use of technology to summarise data and give feedback in quick fashion to the driver. The sub-category of Deterring within the category of Maintaining for Institutional Work will now be explored.

6.3.2 Institutional Work of DETERRING unprofessional behaviour of the trishaw drivers

Within the sub-category of deterrence, we see that part of maintaining an institution is the role of establishing 'coercive barriers to institutional change.' The goal of this maintenance activity is to 'inculcate the conscience obedience of institutional actors' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:232). The design of this is a common ethical programme that exists in many existing institutions, and it is commonly referred to as a Rewards and Sanctions system, which is a way to implicitly embed business ethics within an institution.

Management at PickMe has designed several deterring elements to ensure compliance with the drivers. What management has designed for PickMe will be examined.

Table 14: Institutional Work from management to establish coercive behaviour to institutional change

Representative data	2nd order themes	Aggregate Dimensions
'We don't penalise them. I mean, not that we have any way of figuring it out. But obviously, I mean, we know how many hours they put, right? If we know that he's putting twelve hours or eight hours... If it was eight hours, we know that he's working full-time. But if he ends up putting four hours, then we know there's something going on, right? So, we just need to know how to manage that situation.' (SM1)	**Deter drivers from giving less than full time**	**Deterrent Behaviour from Management**

'**How do we make sure that he drives for us more than he drives for the other side? I mean, they're not our employees, so we really can't lock them in in such a way. But what we do is we make sure that we feed them with trips. I think that's the most important thing.'** (SM1)	**Deter drivers from switching institutions**	
'**We got this, that part, let's say the reward and punishing system. we did it through technology. we completely relied on the complaint mechanism. For people to complain, we need a number of channels. Which means not only in the app, but they can also call and complain. They can go to social media and complain. we had people answering all those complaints and generating tickets and solving that. Drivers, we use certain techniques like if I go on a trip, I don't know, I made a complaint on a driver, I might not get that driver again, right. Those kinds of technologies we build and put it in so the customer will never get that driver again.'** (SM2)	**Multiplicity of channels. Deter drivers from repetitively bad behaviour**	
'**If a driver gets bad feedback continuously, we just either block him or we bring him to the office to have a chat and see what the problem is and how we can support him.'** (SM3)	**Deter drivers from not adopting virtuous conduct**	

As is evident, a primary finding from this data suggests that PickMe employs Deterring a great deal in their efforts. They employed efforts to deter drivers from working part-time (to encourage them to take hires and become a reliable institution), deter drivers from switching to other companies, and deter poor professional conduct.

One institutional strategy that is worth highlighting is the deterring work of creating multiple channels for informing about the behaviour of the drivers. When Senior Manager 2 comments:

'We did it through technology. we completely relied on the complaint mechanism. For people to complain, we need a number of channels. Which means not only in the app, but they can also call and complain. They can go to social media and complain. we had people answering all those complaints and generating tickets and solving that.' (SM2)

This complaint mechanism as an Institutional Work strategy was felt by PickMe customers, as articulated by one of their passengers, stating:

'My overall impression is that they are a reliable company because they are both local and have a contact centre in Sri Lanka allowing passengers to quickly raise complaints if need be. The reputation at least to my knowledge is of one where the company takes action immediately whenever an issue is raised. This can be issues like rude drivers, drivers not accepting rides

because of the mode of payment and so on… some are polite, some are not. However, since PickMe drivers get paid more promptly as a result of having localised operations, there is a less likelihood of them passing over that displeasure onto passengers.' (P1)

It is evident here that the complaint mechanism was a key value proposition for their passengers and earned PickMe a reputation as being reliable to respond quickly to customer service issues, making them desirable over their competition (principally Uber). It is also notable that passengers recognized that PickMe functioned locally and thus could respond to customer service issues from the drivers in a timelier fashion, adding to their reputation as an institution that cared about the customer experience.

Based on this, a new Institutional Work strategy called Creating Multiple Channels is suggested.

How the drivers themselves understood and felt about the deterring effects from Management on their professional behaviour will now be examined:

Table 15: Evidence of Understanding of Deterrent Behaviour from Management by the Drivers

Representative data	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions
'Q: so, no harm for your job even if your rating goes down A: No. '(D16)	**No deterrence for poor ratings**	**Little familiarity with deterring efforts**
'Whatever the complaint made by the customer they block the driver for 2 days, 3 days or 1 week they block the driver.' (D16)	**Blocked use of app in response to complaints**	**Some familiarity with deterring efforts**
'When customers complain to the company, they do not investigate our side of the issue but instead they just block us.'(D22)		
'After that happened, they immediately cut it off from my account and put it back to them. If the customer calls and tells, they only take the customer's side. They will not think about it from the driver's side.' (D14)	**Loss of salary in response to complaints**	

As is evident, a primary finding is that drivers have a great deal of understanding of the deterrent behaviour from management, with one outlier acknowledging that either he wasn't aware or he had contrary experiences with deterrence from the institution. What was observed was that a majority of the drivers understood that the coercive and deterrent behaviour from management could mean a loss of ratings, benefits (including salary) and/or the blocking of use from the app. It is clear from this data that the drivers understood intimately the deterrent efforts from management that specifically focus on their professional conduct and behaviour, and less so with switching companies or not taking as many hires. This notion suggests that the deterrent efforts of management are only partially understood and effective towards managing the actions of the drivers.

The Institutional Work of Embedding and Routinising virtuous behaviour will now be explored.

6.3.3 Institutional Work of EMBEDDING AND ROUTINISING virtuous behaviour for the trishaw drivers

Lastly, we will look at the Institutional Work that management initiates, and the drivers adapt for the work of embedding and routinising virtuous conduct.

Lawrence and Suddaby defined this Institutional Work strategy as 'infusing into the participants' day-to-day routines and organisational practices' the habits that management designs for the institution. Ethical Habits, of course, are the purview of Virtue Ethics. They go on to suggest that institutions are stabilised and reproduced by these 'embedded routines and repetitive practices' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). Given the scale of PickMe, with over 100,000 trishaw drivers plying their trade in and around Colombo, it is important to note that these routines are mainly facilitated using technology. Since we have already learned about the intention of management for embedding routines through the defining rules and their educational paradigms, how the PickMe drivers have adopted specific routines within the scope of virtuous or professional conduct will be explored.

One notable quote from a senior manager was the understanding that culturally, many of the drivers came from what this founder terms a *'serving culture'*. Here is the quote in its entirety:

'Most of them had the serving culture. 95% of the drivers had... They wanted to serve and be genuine. Even though they don't make a lot of money, they want to be genuine and make a living out of it. we had that 5% who are not on that thinking but 95% of the people wanted to serve and make a genuine living. When we start training them, that started reflecting it. They started to understand.' (SM2)

Many of the embedded routines introduced by management thus became easier to adopt since the drivers came from a culture that valued serving others. Because of this, a new type of Institutional Work strategy, described as Leveraging Inherent Strengths/Skill Sets is suggested.

Table 16: Adoption of professional conduct routines by the PickMe drivers

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	2ND ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATE DIMENSIONS
'No, we cannot bother customers. My rating reflects their feedback. If there is a complaint my rating drops. Then I try to fix my error and try to revive my rating.' (D18)	**Routine of reflecting on feedback mechanism for improvement of professional conduct**	**Routines adopted by drivers**
'If a customer is happy with my ride, he will give a star. Sometimes, a customer pins a location on the app and asks to come to a different location – that's around the location. But if we refuse to do so due to practical issues, he would not be happy with me and will not give a star either. It depends on the mood of the customer as well. They sometimes put comments as well. '(D4)		
'Anyway, we try to improve our rating. Then the customers are also okay. Then there is no room for grievances.' (D19)		
'Yes, during my free time I go through the feedbacks in the app.' (D18)		
'It is a good system. At first, I was a novice and now I am bronze star rated. At the end of March, I will be silver star rated. I have completed the required number of rides and days. Now I only have to wait till the end of this month.' (D20)		
'Q: Now you know how there are qualities mentioned in the app like cleanliness and friendly and all? He's asking if you pay attention to those as well. A: Yes, I do. Now the seat is like this because I have no money to fix it.' (D14)	**Routine of keeping vehicle and professional appearance clean**	
'The other thing is I want to keep my vehicle very clean. And I want to look decent. I even keep my feet clean. Some three-wheeler drivers are very dirty. I clean my vehicle every morning. I wipe the seat, clean the carpets, and clean the mirrors with glass cleaner.' (D20)		

As is evident, many of the drivers expressed daily and weekly routines of keeping their vehicle and their persons clean and professional looking. A primary finding from the feedback from the drivers is that the drivers developed routines (not specifically encouraged by management) of checking the PickMe app to receive rider feedback on their professional conduct. This revelation helps clarify that the embedded routines adopted by drivers were sourced not from management specifically but from the riders themselves, who give feedback to the drivers regularly on their professional conduct through the app. The embedded routines seem to have been developed more from the rider and passenger feedback than from management themselves. This will be examined further in the discussion chapter (chapter 7).

It stands out that the routine, though not enforced by management, revolves around reflecting on the application regarding the driver's immediate performance. The Institutional Work of using downtime in the driver's schedule to look at the feedback through the app and adjust their behaviour is a strong institutional force. I will refer to this as Reflection, a new strategy for Institutional Work, and this will be discussed more in section 7.3.6.

6.4 Institutional Work in Algorithmic Management

While interviewing the drivers and management at the PickMe institution, it became quickly apparent that the PickMe application held a significant managerial role in the institution. The PickMe application is central to their value proposition as a business. It is their means by which they not only connect drivers with passengers looking to take short-distance trips across the city but is also a key business ethics management tool in directing, encouraging, reporting on the behaviour of the drivers and nudging them towards virtuous conduct. The app itself is key for managerial efforts but is not universally well-received by all the drivers that we interviewed, as will be seen in this section. This particular section will go beyond the findings unveiled in section
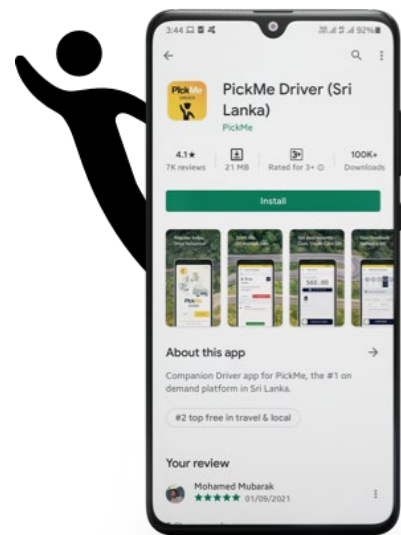
Figure 20: The PickMe app (PickMe.lk)

6.3 on the Institutional Work and institutional maintenance and investigate the findings around additional managerial roles that the application fills and the ethical challenges that present themselves from the app.

In addition to facilitating, the PickMe application became the *de facto* means by which the leaders managed their driver-partners in the execution of their roles. In addition, the PickMe application is the primary means by which the drivers would receive motivation, encouragement, feedback, and complaints from management. During the interview stage of research, the PickMe app seemed to hold a prominent place in the daily rhythms of the trishaw drivers, with one driver remarking: 'during my free time I go through the feedbacks in the app' (D18). Though not initially a part of my planned research of the PickMe institution, it was these and other comments that led me to include findings on the PickMe application and the notion of Algorithmic Management in this study.

6.4.1 PickMe's Algorithmic Management

PickMe's algorithm mimics the functionality of other peer-sharing applications like Uber, Lyft, and Ola in other countries. The algorithm embedded in the PickMe application serves as a multi-faceted system which collects and feeds back data regarding driver activities. The data is fed through that algorithmic system and the system is entrusted to make decisions on the driver's performance metrics. As one of the senior managers described it:

'you'll see that we have proper infrastructure to capture the information right. So then through our algorithm, we basically summarise. we give periodical feedback to the driver also… and their reviews, we use that to monitor their behaviour, as the behaviour of the driver if there's any complaints, manage the complaints, make sure that we give the right feedback to the customer as well.' (SM3)

That same founder put it more simply by saying, 'We monitor his behaviours, performance through our application, so we have built some algorithm to make sure that we capture that information' (SM3).

What type of information is PickMe gathering through the application? They monitor a variety of behaviours and activities of the drivers, starting the drivers on a loyalty system. As Senior Manager 3 describes: 'We have different loyalty years from a newbie to platinum, so that depending on where they land in the listing, depending on how long they have service, what is their rating, how many rides, jobs they have done…We will decide their rating, which is every month; it'll get updated' (SM3). The main data input to the rating and the loyalty system is the star rating system, whereby each passenger rates their drivers on a scale of 1 to 5 after each successful (or unsuccessful ride). In addition, PickMe allows the driver to rate the passenger as well, and uniquely (though unknown to the drivers), the passengers' ratings of the drivers are weighted against their own ratings as a passenger (passengers with low star ratings affect the rating of the drivers less than ones with high ratings) (SM3). The main driver-facing management function of the application is the setting of targets for the number of jobs required to reach certain incentives. As one driver described: 'We have a target, and we obviously try to reach that target. Like if we build a house, we try to build it bigger. we want a vehicle. Everyone likes to go further forward and yes; they motivate us further.' (D17)

In addition to Algorithmic Management, the app has many dynamic qualities, including 1) record keeping the drivers account balance, 2) giving access to discounts, promotions, and insurance, 3) tracking hires for interfacing with hospitals and first responders, 4) training in customer care (various drivers and members of management).

In this case, the five known characteristics in Algorithmic Management (Mateescu & Nguyen 2019) will be explored while also exploring new characteristics that are not yet researched.

Table 17: Evidence from Management of 5 Characteristics of Algorithmic Management (Mateescu & Nguyen 2019)

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	1ST ORDER CONCEPTS	AGGREGATE DIMENSIONS
'But obviously, I mean, we know how many hours they put, right? If we know that he's putting twelve hours or eight hours… If it was eight hours, we know that he's working full-time. But if he ends up putting four hours, for someone who's,	**Using information about working hours to penalise them for using other ride-sharing apps**	*Data and Surveillance*

then we know there's something going on, right? So, we just need to know how to manage that situation.' (SM1)		
'We monitor his behaviours, performance through our application, so we have built some algorithm to make sure that we capture that information. So, we periodically review those.' (SM3)	**Monitor and aggregate data on driver behaviour for review and response.**	
'So, we've been monitoring the rating continuously.' (SM3)	**Continuous monitoring of rating**	
'So, we have different loyalty years from a newbie to platinum, so that depending on where they land in the listing, depending on how long they have service, what is their rating, how many rides, jobs they have done…We will decide their rating, which is every month, it'll get updated.' (SM3)	**Gather various information on the app to determine rating**	
'We do a lot of changes to our technology to give a better user experience.' (SM3)	**Adapt technology to respond to driver**	*Responsiveness*
'We give periodical feedback to the driver also.' (SM3)	**Feedback given to driver**	
'We are running some machine learning and different algorithms now for handle... we have a kind of a weighted average. If let's say the driver also can rate the customer, we look at the person. To create a passenger rating too for a driver, the weighted average score will not affect the driver's score because the passenger itself having a low rating' (SM2)	**App weights down impact of passengers who have a lower rating**	*Automated Decision-Making*
'What we call our hailing algorithms are based on the rating system. So, we prioritise the best rating drivers most of the time and try to encourage drivers to get a better rating. So, we give priority to the driver who has a rating above 4.7' (SM3)	**App deprioritise drivers with lower ratings**	
'We give …. their reviews, we use that to monitor their behaviour, as behaviour of the driver if there's any complaints, manage the complaints, make sure that we give the right feedback to the customer as well.' (SM3)	**Reviewing behaviour to the driver and the customer**	*Automated Evaluations*
'So based on that loyalty … they will be getting different discounts and different partnerships.' (SM3)	**Benefits offered depending on ranking through app**	
'We have certain... we got this, that part, let's say the reward and punishing system. we did it through technology. we completely relied on the complaint mechanism.' (SM2)	**Rewards and sanctions through the app**	
'We have categories for drivers now, like let's say gold drivers, platinum drivers. That is there for some time so that also encouraged them. Plus, drivers who are doing good, they earn more money. That also makes quite a lot of encouragement for them.' (SM2)	**Rankings and monetary rewards for better performance.**	
'Yeah, so our hailing algorithm is based... What we call our hailing algorithms are based on the rating system. So, we prioritise the best rating drivers most of the time and try to encourage drivers to get a better rating. So, we give priority to the driver who has a rating above 4.7%. So, in our driver selection hailing algorithm, we select certain criteria, so that driver rating is one of that. So, we have given a good rating so that to make sure we pick the right drivers to the right customers and give the best experience to the customer.' (SM3)	**Rewarding drivers with passengers who have higher ratings**	*Nudging*

'So, what we are doing, and then that's the incentive you saw, is to make sure that they do these trips. Because if they don't do it, we have an unsatisfied customer.' (SM1)	Incentives offered through app	

As can be seen from these findings, the PickMe application incorporates elements that are typical for all Algorithmic Management systems, including Data and Surveillance, Responsiveness, Automated decision-making, Automated Evaluations, Nudges and Penalties. These were described in the Literature Review, section 3.4.5. However, the relegation of worker management to an algorithm presents potentially hazardous ethical issues for the workers. The ethical challenges will be explored in our next section. It will be seen if such challenges were evidenced in the qualitative data from the PickMe drivers and management.

6.4.2 Virtue Ethics Implications with Algorithmic Management

As mentioned in chapter 3, Algorithmic Management can 'create a vicious cycle of ethical challenges', highlighting three specific challenges, which are Algorithmic Opacity, Datafication and Nudging (Gal et al. 2020:1). Each of these three challenges will be explored as well as discussed how they evidenced themselves from the perspectives of the PickMe drivers and potentially impacted the drivers' ability to pursue the internal goods associated with Virtue Ethics (MacIntyre 2007).

Studies have demonstrated that it is often the case that the use of algorithms and manipulations performed on the drivers are regarded as 'inscrutable and untraceable' (Gal et al. 2020:5; Mittelstadt 2016). Often, decision-makers at the management level make decisions using the application that aren't understood or have much internal logic to the users of the application.

By way of reminder, Datafication refers to the act of reducing users to mere numbers and code, suppressing employees' desire to improve and grow in the internal good of their practice. Manipulative Nudging is a common practice in the digital world today as companies routinely nudge potential customers towards products and services, using information gathered by consumers' internet activities. Where nudging becomes ethically dubious (or manipulative) is when it is 'subverting people's decision-making capacity by exploiting their psychological, cognitive, or emotional vulnerabilities' (Gal et al. 2020:7; Thaler & Sunstein 2008). Evidence of

these three challenges (opacity, datafication and manipulative nudging) will be investigated below.

Table 18: Evidence of Opacity, Datafication and Nudging through the PickMe app

REPRESENTATIVE DATA	2ND ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATE DIMENSIONS
'If their proper amounts are charged, and the app works properly' then yes, we can give a good service too. Now we don't know until the hire finishes how much we will get. They won't show it in a meter. And these apps don't show it.' (D14)	Opacity in fare	Opacity
'We face a lot of problems. There are problems in the app and sometimes the charge is wrong. Sometimes we take someone on a long hire and at the end of the journey, the hire amounts to a small amount like Rs. 150. Now say the location is set. But most people put the location near a road, understood? So, the remaining distance does not count because the location is actually further down. Now even though they say PickMe amount changes according to the distance it doesn't happen. Then when that happens, even we get mad' (D14)		
'Yes. It depends on the situation. There are some customers who don't like to talk with us. There are some customers who don't know what PickMe is. When we tell that, 'Sir, your location is not clear, can you tell me the exact location where you are,' and they say 'no, the location is accurate, check and come.' When we get there, the location is completely wrong. If the location is like this we have to go from the other side because there is a wall built from the side the location indicates. There are huge issues like that. So, what do we do in situations like that? There is no justice for us at all. What do we do with such customers? we don't speak a word with such customers and don't even try to do any favour for them. we just do our duty very cordially. There have been instances where I have gone for three kilometres and come back. That was for a person who works for PickMe itself.' (D7)	Opacity to the location	
'From what I understand, success is based on how the customer rates you. Only if they rate us, we become successful. (D1)	Performance reduced to customer feedback rating	Datafication of the workplace
'**Q:** Do you think your rating reflects the service you offer your customers? **A:** Yes, I do what the customers ask of me' (D18)		
'We work according to what the customer wants. When this happens, especially in PickMe there's something called a rating and the more these five stars reduce, the less hires we get. Those who have more ratings get more hires…. If someone puts a Bad rating, our rating reduces drastically.' (D14)		
'Some customers wrongly enter the location and then argue about the cost. The cost is calculated through the app. And we incur losses. Then they give feedback that we were unruly or were argumentative. Then the company blocks our access to the app.' (D22)	Work Sanctions based on one data point	

As is evident, both from the interviews with management and with the drivers, there were elements of algorithmic opacity and datafication at the PickMe institution. The opacity felt by the drivers was mostly regarding the design of the mapping system and the fare system for passengers. The lack of clarity seemed to generate some amount of frustration among some of

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the drivers. By and large, however, it does appear that most of the drivers felt there was a lot of clarity in the PickMe application, especially regarding what was expected of them as drivers and how they could progress and advance in their abilities as trishaw drivers. A comment from one driver stated simply, 'It is a good system' (D20).

Regarding datafication, the drivers felt that their performance as drivers was often reduced to a rating which didn't incorporate the full breadth of their practice as drivers.

Manipulative Nudging was absent from the data. In the interviews with Management, there were clear systems in place within the app to nudge drivers to take jobs, even if they were disinclined to do so, but nothing that rose to the level of manipulation (taking advantage of a person's psychological state of mind to nudge them towards management objectives). At the same time, like in the case of Facebook, manipulative nudging is rarely observed by the users themselves. The quote below from management could be taken as a form of manipulative nudging.

'So, we want them not to go down that road because if they go down, we will have a platform that doesn't perform well. So, for example, say you want to do a five-kilometre trip. If no one is willing to do that trip, we have a problem on our platform. So that just sort of creates issues. So, what we are doing, and then that's the incentive you saw, is to make sure that they do these trips. Because if they don't do it, we have an unsatisfied customer.' (SM1)

Again, this likely doesn't rise to the level of manipulation, but the institutional act of nudging to encourage practices that helped meet company objectives.

Setting aside the ethical challenges specific to the Virtue Ethics approach, two recent studies highlighted other potential problems of People Analytic applications and Algorithmic Management. The potential problems those two studies highlighted will be investigated to see if they share common threads with the PickMe application.

6.4.3 Other problems with Algorithmic Management through the PickMe app

As mentioned in the Literature Review in section 3.4.5, two different studies have shown that in Algorithmic Management there have been fundamental problems in ride-hailing institutions (Ahmed et al. 2016; Kumar et al. 2018). Those problems include workers' sense of control, workers' sense of choice, workers' sense of powerlessness, the asymmetry of information between management and the drivers, and the complexity of pay scale systems for the drivers.

 The findings will be examined for some of these problems with Algorithmic Management and whether they were evidenced in any of the interviews.

*Table 19: **Evidence of problems with Algorithmic Management among the drivers***

Representative Data	*2ⁿᵈ order Themes*	*Aggregate Dimensions*
'I didn't understand… As in they only work according to what the customer wants. When this happens, especially in PickMe there's something called a rating and the more these five stars reduce, the less hires we get. Those who have more ratings get more hires…. If someone puts Bad, our rating reduces drastically.' (D14)	**Drivers subordinate control to the passenger wants and desires**	***Workers' Sense of Control***
'Yes. He knows that he's offering a good service only due to the above-mentioned reason his ratings go down more than for anything else. So, he doesn't bother looking at the ratings.' (D16)	**Rating system is irrelevant to his performance. Arbitrariness of ratings**	
'Q: When your ratings go down, do PickMe call you over and inquire the reason behind the low rating? A: No Q: so, no harm for your job even if your rating goes down A: No.' (D16)	**Rating system is irrelevant to his performance.**	
'Customers won't speak with us about anything. Everything through the app.' (D16)	**Passenger interaction mediated through the app**	
'When we get there, the location is completely wrong. If the location is like this, we have to go from the other side because there is a wall built from the side the location indicates. There are huge issues like that. So, what do we do in situations like that? There is no justice for us at all. What do we do with such customers? we don't speak a word with such customers and don't even try to do any favour for them. we just do our duty very cordially'. (D7)	**Driver so anxious about passenger complaints that they bend over backwards to help them**	***Workers' Sense of Choice***
'My rating is very low in the app. Because I am doing this as a full-time job. So those who're online keeps on getting hires. If they're 3 or 4 km away it takes me half an hour to pick them up. In that situation I can't pick them up. So, when I decline it, customers do rate me.' (D16)	**Drivers penalised for choosing less profitable options**	

'On the way back home, I can't take hires to outside, so I might have to cancel about 20 hires to take the suitable one for me. If I choose like that, I will get more hires and less ratings. '(D16)	**Can't choose rides suitable to lifestyle**	
'Yes. He knows that he's offering a good service only due to the above-mentioned reason his ratings go down more than for anything else. So, he doesn't bother looking at the ratings.' (D16)	**Driver knows that his performance is not measured by the rating system**	*Workers' Sense of Powerlessness*
'Some customers wrongly enter the location and then argue about the cost. The cost is calculated through the app. And we incur losses. Then they give feedback that we were unruly or were argumentative. Then the company blocks our access to the app.' (D22)	**Drivers penalised for errors associated with the passenger or the app itself**	
'If we offer a good service to the customer, they will give us a good rating. But sometimes customers give us bad feedback even when we are not at fault.' (D22)	**rating not representative of actual behaviour**	
'We cannot bother customers. My rating reflects their feedback. If there is a complaint my rating drops. Then I try to fix my error and try to revive my rating. '(D18)	**Drivers cannot refuse passenger wants**	
'We face a lot of problems. There are problems in the app and sometimes the charge is wrong. Sometimes we take someone on a long hire and at the end of the journey, the hire amounts to a small amount like Rs. 150. Now say the location is set. But most people put the location near a road, understood? So, the remaining distance does not count because the location is actually further down. Now even though they say PickMe amount changes according to the distance it doesn't happen. Then when that happens, even we get mad' (D14)	**Management withholds information on how the mapping system works**	**Asymmetry of Information / Workers Desire for Transparency**
'So, because this does not happen, we face issues… I mean these are not just expenses. If their proper amounts are charged, and the app works properly' then yes, we can give a good service too. Now we don't know until the hire finishes how much we will get. They won't show it in a meter. And these apps don't show it.' (D14)	**Proper amounts for each ride are not charged**	*Complexity of pay scale system*

These findings do suggest that there was a measure of a lack of control, choice, and powerlessness among the drivers, in addition to a lack of transparency and complexity in the pay scale mediated by the Algorithmic Management system in the application. However, this perspective was not shared by all the drivers. In fact, as is the intention of most P2P systems like the PickMe application, there was some sense that the PickMe app brought more clarity, fairness, and transparency to the industry. One driver remarked regarding the pay scale system:

'With PickMe, it is different because there is an amount that is fair to both. Then they don't suspect, and they know that this amount has to definitely be paid. So, it is easy for both the consumer and the driver.' (D17)

In addition, other drivers felt that the loyalty programme provided great clarity and transparency about what was required to succeed and improve in their practice as trishaw drivers. One driver stated:

'At first, I was a novice and now I am bronze star rated. At the end of March, I will be silver star rated. I have completed the required number of rides and days. Now I only have to wait till the end of this month' (D20).

6.5 Chapter Summary

Herein is a summary of the key findings from Institutional Work from this research project. With regard to the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics, the only explicit ethical programme observed was Ethical Training, and no formalised Code of Ethics was acquired. Rewards and sanctions for ethical behaviour were not observed, although the digital star system created what could be considered a new implicit ethical variable, referred to as an Ethical Feedback Loop. An ethical code of conduct was codified into the rating system, and drivers were obliged to adhere to the code to increase their opportunities for more jobs from passengers, which can be suggested as an ethical reward. One critical observation regarded the revelation that the locus of influence for ethical behaviour was not from management but primarily from the passengers vis-a-vis the digital application.

To understand these ethical programmes more deeply, Institutional Work notions were explored in the analysis. With institutional creation, the work of defining rule systems and defining the status and hierarchy of the institution was apparent. A new suggested work strategy of Autonomy (liberty to respond to passenger ratings as they saw fit) was observed. Within the work of constructing identities, there was a definitive effort by the institution to construct an identity in the driver as a reputable, respected driver, dovetailing with notions of dignity being an

appropriate state of flourishing for the virtuous institution. A new institutional work strategy of Association was noted; this was related to the reputational effect afforded institutional members who associate with ethical institutions.

Educating was observed as well, primarily within the onboarding training that many of the drivers engaged with when they joined the institution. The education involved training in professional etiquette and courtesy towards the passenger, as well as technical training in the use of the application. Within the category of maintaining institutions, the institutional work strategies of monitoring, inducements and enforcement were present. One unique finding involved the use of technology to summarise the monitored data and feed it back to the driver. This involved the institutional work strategy of Policing. The institutional work strategy of deterring was employed using multiple means. A distinctive finding included a suggestion of a new type of institutional strategy called Creating Multiple Channels, which involves the deterring work of creating multiple channels for passengers and the community to comment and complain about driver behaviour. The existence and use of that strategy was a key implicit deterrent for poor professional conduct. From the driver's perspective, one key finding from that data suggested that the drivers didn't apprehend the explicit deterrent elements from management. Specifically, the rating system and the apps attempt to deter poor professional conduct from their star rating. Lastly, with regard to the institutional work of Embedding and Routinising, it was observed that the routines of reviewing feedback data and encouraging cleanliness were top priorities. In addition, the new institutional work strategy called Leveraging Inherent Skills was described and involved the use of embedded skills in a service and hospitality culture of within Sri Lanka.

The various findings on the Algorithmic Management systems have been examined. Findings were shared regarding how the PickMe application utilised Surveillance, Responsiveness, Automated Decision-making, Automated Evaluations, Nudges and Penalties. Using Virtue Ethics, some of the potential ethical issues at PickMe regarding algorithmic opacity, datafication and manipulative nudging were explored, as well as the potential within Algorithmic Management to threaten workers' sense of control, choice and their need for transparency and a sense of power.

Potential blind spots of information asymmetries and complex pay scale systems with the PickMe application have also been explored.

Having summarised all of this, this project will now take the analysed data and coherently synthesise it with existing and new contributions to theory in our Discussion chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

7.0 Introduction to Discussion

Here will be discussed the novel discoveries from the Findings chapters (chapters 5 and 6). Those different strands of findings will be discussed and connected to the various theoretical frameworks mentioned in this thesis (Virtue Ethics, Institutional Work, IBE, and Algorithmic Management). This is an attempt to synthesise the rudimentary findings and see how they either extend or expand existing theoretical concepts or suggest new conceptions that haven't been discovered. First a discussion on Success, Excellence and Organisational Purpose will ensue. Then, a discussion on ethical programmes, followed by virtuous conduct and Institutional Work, as well as a discussion on Ethics by Algorithms. Lastly, a discussion will be conducted on Sri Lankan ethics, both those expressed and inferred from the interviews as well as the influences on the drivers' ethical thinking. The MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework and the relevant findings will be the first topic of discussion.

7.1 Discussion of Success, Excellence and Organisational Purpose

With regard to all three of these previous empirical studies using the MacIntyrean framework in Western and non-western contexts, among businesses large and small, the finding is universal: the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework is applicable to a variety contexts and groups, supporting Fernando and Moore's statement that the framework is generalisable 'and so can be used to characterise problems of organisational virtue and vice around the world' (Fernando & Moore 2015:186; Chu & Moore 2020).

One of the first goals of the qualitative interviews was to establish an understanding of the organisational purpose of the PickMe institution. Moore articulated that in order to consider an organisation virtuous, it has to be established with the institutional members that the institution has a good organisational purpose (Moore 2012). In all three previous studies (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020), the researchers had positively established from the organisational members that the organisation had a good organisational purpose and

contributed to the good of society (Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020). Chu's key finding in the Confucian-oriented, non-western context was that the employees understood that the for-profit motive (seeking external goods) was coupled with its acknowledgement of its wider social responsibility (Chu & Moore 2020).

To measure the virtuousness and its converse, the relative viciousness of the institution, both management and drivers were asked the question: 'How would you describe the mission and purpose of PickMe?' This unlocked a great deal of information about how the managers and drivers understood the overall purpose of the organisation and the institution they intended to create back in 2015. Management uniformly adopted the mantra of 'joyful mobility' for all the institution's stakeholders. They wanted the driver-partners to experience joy in the plying of their trade, as well as a sense of empowerment, discipline and professionalism, the findings of which were shared in section 5.3.

Management had the intention to create a culture and organisation that had a righteous organisational purpose, which redounded through the ranks of the 100,000+ driver community in Colombo. A primary finding from the interviews with the 22 trishaw drivers was that the virtuous mission of joyful mobility and dependability was only partially understood by the driver population. While it was clear that the service-orientation function of efficient and affordable transport was part of the institution's aspiration to be dependable, the notion of experiencing 'joyful moments' was somewhat lost on the drivers. It is important to note that the usefulness of the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework does not depend on management and drivers regarding the organisation as virtuous in its organisational purpose, but rather that the concepts themselves are understood and are relevant for the subjects within the institution, which was the case in this study.

The lack of use of the Interactive Joint Inquiry Exercise tool (Crockett 2005a) in establishing PickMe's virtuous organisational purpose is worth further discussion. The previous three studies, noted in section 3.1, which used that tool were adequately able to establish quantitatively the perceived prioritisation of success and excellence of institutional management from institutional

members. As noted in Literature Review section 3.1, the IJIE tool forces interview subjects to measure the institution's prioritisation of success versus excellence as well as the perception of the virtue and viciousness of the intuition's organisational purpose. Moore notes that 'the two concepts of organisational purpose and success-excellence are conceptually distinct' (Moore 2012). Because the IJIE quantitative tool was abandoned in this study, the gradient of organisational purpose was explored through other means (not the IJIE tool), while a nuanced understanding of the correlation and causation aspects of the success-excellence gradient was more richly researched through qualitative methods. The findings from this qualitative research were presented in section 5.3 and a further elaboration and discussion will occur in this section. In addition, the fact that PickMe's autorickshaw drivers rejected the quantitative questions that forced them to make a zero-sum choice, allotting 10 points between virtue-vicious and success-excellence, may indicate that the tool is not relevant in every polity and context. This is perhaps indicative of the drivers' reservations about making judgments about the institution or an insecurity about whether a harsh rating might cause undue trouble; either way, it is clear that the IJIE tool was a 'bridge too far' for them to engage with.

Also, regarding organisational purpose, it was clear from interviewing the founders of the institution that initially they began the institution with lofty ideals, aspiring to bring respectability and professional conduct to the driver community, as shared in section 5.2. Over time and as the institution became larger, this aspiration seemed to fade, and the pursuit of external goods (success) appears to have superseded the initial priorities in investing in the drivers' skills and abilities. This could have been due to decline in ethical fervour and a fading of the commitment to function as an ethical organisation coupled with the size and scale of the organisation being too unwieldy (or that was how it was perceived) to appropriately prioritise internal goods within the drivers. In addition, one of the founding members who originally embedded the institution with professional practice and lofty ideals, has left his managerial role in recent years to start another company, and his departure may have precipitated the decline in the organisation's ethical focus.

Of course, the use of Algorithmic Management and the proxy managerial role the PickMe application held could be a contributor to the decline in the institution's ethical priority. As will be explored in the discussion in section 7.4, the ethical dilemmas caused by datafication, algorithmic opacity and nudging can counteract managerial intentions to encourage ethical conduct. In addition, the ethical programmes and Institutional Work strategies employed to encourage ethical practice may ring hollow if the organisational purpose is not rooted in encouraging and promoting excellence among institutional members. The watering down of the ethical organisational purpose also has the effect of decreasing the likelihood that management can recruit members that are intrinsically motivated to work ethically. As Geoff Moore puts it, recruiting members with 'strong pro-social intrinsic motivations to an organisation whose internal goods make an obvious contribution to the common good' (Moore 2017:133) is diminished when the organisational purpose is no longer explicitly virtuous.

There were also many findings regarding the framework's understanding of the relationship between internal and external goods. MacIntyre and Moore suggest that there should be a balance between both goods in a virtuous organisation, and virtuous management is duty-bound to monitor the prioritisation of these goods within the institution (MacIntyre 2007; Moore 2012). As noted in section 3.1, the terms excellence and success operated as proxies for internal and external goods, respectively, in all three of the previous studies (Moore 2012; Fernando & Moore 2015; Chu & Moore 2020). One key finding from each of the previous three studies in this regard was the fact that 'interviewees could not distinguish between internal and external goods' when using these proxies, though this doesn't negate their meaning but rather 'is, in fact, supportive of the circular nature of the relationship between them' (Chu 2018:259). Though there were various suggestions about what preceded what with regard to excellence versus success, what is true in all three prior studies was that when the circular meaning of success and excellence were unravelled, notions of excellence and success were interchangeably used to describe both the quality of the products and services, the perfection of the practitioner and actions that prioritise the survival and financial well-being of the company (Chu & Moore 2020). This finding was supported in my research as well: while some of the drivers' understanding of success centred on notions of generating income and getting a pay cheque, the vast majority of the responses

engaged with notions that MacIntyre would define as pursuits towards excellence: working passionately, proper behaviour and quality service, including success related to their star rating, which is rooted in the driver's quality of service in delivering the rider from point A to point B.

On the relationship between success and excellence, a key finding emerged: By and large, the drivers put success first and excellence second. This doesn't mean the drivers necessarily thought success was more important but rather that a basis of success needed to be established before standards of excellence (rather than routine customer service) could be attempted. This is in contrast to Fernando's study of Sri Lankan businessmen, who 'recognised the priority of internal over external goods—excellence precedes success—and hence, in theoretical terms, of the practice over the institution' (Fernando & Moore 2015:196). Many of the drivers in this study believed as a baseline that success precedes excellence, and thus institution over practice is fundamental.

The rationale for the prioritisation of success over excellence from the drivers may be due to their socio-economic situation. As compared with the businessmen in Fernando's study and as mentioned in section 3.2, the drivers in this study were relatively poor, generally having a subsistence-level income compared with the subjects in Fernando's study. This, coupled with the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic and the 2022 financial crisis, meant that many of the drivers had a difficult time supporting themselves and their families financially, meaning they, by necessity, prioritised achieving a certain level of income before they could pursue excellence. In addition, though this is not verified, this is the first population studied using the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institutional Framework who effectively work on commission, where their daily income is directly related to their daily effort. These are various suggestions as to why they focused on success first in deference to other studies using the MacIntyrean framework.

Another key finding from this research was that notions of success were viewed in the collective rather than individually, as in the Chu study in Confucian-oriented Taiwan, with one driver equating success for himself with success for the organisation (D2). Notions of excellence were varied and rich and included deep understanding of character, values and virtue which were

equated with notions of excellence. As mentioned in section 5.3.3, other notable findings include notions of Excellence as something that takes time (D6), requires sacrifice (D3), and is tied intimately to the core responsibility of delivering the rider to his/her intended destination (D13).

Adjusting for the general confusion about the exact meaning of success and excellence as they relate to external and internal goods, one consistent finding with these subjects in Sri Lanka, which seems not to have been observed in the other studies, is the notion of excellence going beyond success. This theme of excellence going 'beyond' success speaks to MacIntyre's notions of the 'systematic extension' of the 'human powers to achieve excellence' in the practice of the institution (MacIntyre 2007:187). That suggests that the practice of an institution has a boundless trajectory as one develops and grows in one's practice and effort.

Lastly, though the drivers generally regarded the institution as having a virtuous (internal good) purpose, there was a mismatch between how management interacted with the drivers and the incentives they created to incentivise excellence-oriented behaviour. As will be discussed in section 7.2, this function of the institution as dispensing rewards and sanctions to encourage excellence-oriented behaviour is a key action from management, and so a mismatch between spoken priorities and management's incentives tends to bely the true intentions of the institution.

The specific ethical programmes used to embed virtuous conduct will now be discussed.

7.2 Discussion of Ethical Programmes

As mentioned in section 3.3, Singhapakdi and Vitell define the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics (IBE) to be the 'degree to which an organisation explicitly and implicitly incorporates ethics in its decision-making processes' (Singhapakdi & Vitell 2007:284). Variables such as establishing a Code of Ethics, Ethics Training, and Ethics Officers are considered explicit elements of IBE, while implicit elements include aspects such as peer culture, organisational culture and a system of rewards and sanctions (Brenner 1992).

As highlighted in section 6.1, evidence of both explicit and implicit institutionalisation of business ethics strategies were discovered, with one standout being ethics training, rewards and sanctions, and open communication. Also, though a code of ethics wasn't given to me as the researcher, senior management did share that they used a known code of conduct document with the new PickMe drivers. The ethics training programme happened primarily in the driver onboarding training and dovetailed with the Institutional Work of Educating, a component of institutional creation. The rewards and sanction programmes relied on the PickMe application, and the rating driver received from customers. The main rewards for higher ratings (better professional conduct) were more jobs, while the punishment for poor ratings usually took the form of being blocked from using the application. Open communication as an implicit element of implementing ethics, while admirable, was generally unilateral in nature (management to the driver) and lacked inclusiveness. Geoff Moore states that 'a parameter for crowding in virtue is to develop inclusive mechanisms for enabling the debate about what the internal goods of the organisation are (both the excellence of the products or services and the 'perfection' of individual members), and how they contribute to the common good' (Moore 2017:133). The data suggests that PickMe did not engage in open communication that was inclusive of the driver's perspective nor facilitated robust debate about the internal good of the institution or the common good that the institution was striving to achieve for society.

Strikingly missing were other aspects of ethical programmes that commonly exist in other virtuous institutions, including Ethics Leadership, creating an Ethical Organisational Culture, or Ethical Valorising (the work of communicating the value of ethics within the institution, which is a form of institutional work). Typical of many Urban Sharing Organisations, many of the drivers' industry relationships changed with the advent of the PickMe application, with drivers no longer needing to commune with other trishaw drivers at a common trishaw stand. This missing social element in the trishaw driers' routine may be why programmes to create an ethical culture or ethical leadership were not initiated.

With respect to organisational ethical culture, one interesting finding from the interviews with senior management was that they themselves saw their role more as tapping into the existing

culture of hospitality and service, and saw themselves as digital facilitators, bringing a commitment to service inherent in the drivers and connecting it to passengers through the PickMe application. The findings in section 6.2.2 highlight this notion. Further research is warranted in this area because tapping into resident cultural values (like service-orientation) is a different type of work from creating a reinforcing ethical organisational culture that improves ethical and virtuous conduct. This will be discussed further in section 7.5.

As mentioned in the Findings chapter section 6.1.2, the star rating that the PickMe drivers receive from the PickMe app is causally related to their professional and ethical conduct. The PickMe app is thus designed, it would seem, as a feedback loop, and the rating system is a mechanistic way of rewarding (and sanctioning) professional and ethical conduct. In addition, the locus of influence on ethical practice is not from management, but from the customer, vis-à-vis the PickMe application. Essentially PickMe managers designed a digital system to mediate rewards and sanctions between drivers and passengers so that drivers make improvements to their professional conduct at the behest of the customer and not of management. Separate to the rating system, senior management did design a *direct* rewards and sanction system to encourage the drivers to take more jobs during the day. This was principally conducted through SMS reminders to achieve daily, weekly, and monthly quotas to earn monetary bonuses. However, the rating system functioned as an *indirect* reward and sanction system in that the drivers exchanged feedback with little intervention by management.

An Ethical Feedback Loop was suggested as a new type of implicit ethical programme within IBE, which is a type of ethical accountability. It functions to some degree like the ethical programme of rewards and sanctions in that drivers are immediately rated by their passengers and rewards and sanctions follow from those ratings. However, the Ethical Feedback Loop is distinct from Rewards and Sanctions in that it may lead not only to rewards and punishments but also to the practice of reflection and relationship that has the potential to cultivate virtue and professional conduct in the driver. Feedback from the passengers was both quantitative and qualitative, and drivers were keenly aware of the opportunity to review and engage with passengers about their performance and bring about adjustments and improvements to their conduct. The Ethical

Feedback Loop didn't guarantee this, of course, but of the drivers interviewed, this was a regular practice for many of the drivers. This will be discussed more fully when the Institutional Work of Embedding and Routinising is broached in section 7.3.6.

Little presence of ethical norm-forming, ethical leadership, ethical valorising, or ethical mentorship was observed. There were some CSR initiatives created by management, particularly during the COVID-19 crisis, though from a driver perspective, these were more mandatory initiatives rather than voluntary, perhaps reducing the impact such initiatives have on the drivers' ethical conduct. The absence of these aspects of ethical programmes may also be rooted in PickMe's existence as a network institution and not a traditional hierarchically organised business.

In keeping with the lack of incentives to perform ethically and virtuously, the PickMe drivers' common refrain was that any ethical action that they took that wasn't directly related to taking passengers for profit was their own personal decision which the organisation neither supported nor discouraged. In addition, little mention was made about ethical leadership or mentorship by the drivers. This is in keeping with the fact that the drivers were trained and encouraged in professional conduct; once they were 'on the job' their professional conduct was now being judged by the passenger and not management, by and large.

This finding suggests perhaps a shift in the ethical values of the institution from its inception. In the beginning, the original founder held to a stronger set of principles than later management teams, who seemed to rely on the execution of management through the application and give up responsibility for personal influence, ethical training, and ethical leadership. The decline in ethical leadership from management may have reduced the effectiveness of the ethical programmes initiated by management. (See also earlier discussion on organisational purpose in section 7.1).

Lastly, the question remains about which ethical programmes played the most significant role in promoting ethics and virtuous conduct for the drivers. In addition, what virtues were imparted through those programmes? As shared in the Introduction chapter, this was not a longitudinal

study, so the adoption of virtue and ethics over time was not studied. However, the Ethical Feedback Loop programme held great potential to impart virtue in that the ratings were immediately reviewed by passengers and held in high esteem. Relatedly, the Rewards and Sanctions instituted through the application also held potential because the PickMe app rating system was based on professional conduct. Ethical Training was less influential as an ethical programme because it was a one-off event with little follow-up afterwards. Drivers joining the institution later weren't even given ethics training before they could start driving. Open communication as well was less influential in encouraging virtuous conduct because most drivers believed management sided with the passengers when complaints arose. In the future, the ethical programmes of initiating Ethical Mentorship and fostering an ethical organisational culture, both implicit ethical programmes, could go a long way in embedding virtue within institutional members. As was mentioned in section 3.1, management's role can be defined as 'making and sustaining' the institution's core practice (Moore 2012:380; MacIntyre 2007), in this case one of joyful mobility, through the prioritisation of virtue and excellence among the institutional members. Mentorship and fostering an ethical culture could be keys to that goal, though PickMe would need to restructure its institution to make such ethical programmes possible.

Lastly, a question to address from Virtue Ethics: what virtues were imparted from these ethical programmes? The Ethics Training seemed to emphasise self-care (cleanliness), frugality, patience, and respect and courtesy. Open Communication also emphasised respect and courtesy, though it was muddled by the preference management gave towards passengers. The Ethical Feedback Loop and Rewards and Sanctions opened up a whole host of virtues, principally because the communication came directly from customers and was varied depending on what the passengers wanted to affirm or complain about regarding the drivers' professional conduct. Suffice it to say, the virtues of being hard-working, responsible, compassionate, helpful, avoiding greed, patience, respectful and courteous, hospitable, honest, and trustworthy were virtues that drivers seemed to internalise in their professional conduct. This will be elaborated on further in section 7.5 when Sri Lankan Ethics will be discussed.

Now that ethical programmes in use at PickMe have been discussed, we will discuss the role and theory of Institutional Work and its significance in this study.

7.3 Discussion of Virtuous Conduct and Institutional Work

The Institutional Work involved in creating and maintaining virtuous and professional conduct within the trishaw transportation industry in Sri Lanka will now be discussed. Within Creating Institutions, the three specific sub-categories as they related to the embedding and promotion of virtuous conduct, those of Defining, Constructing Identities, and Educating will be discussed. Within the main category of Maintaining Institutions, the three sub-categories of Policing, Deterring and Embedding and Routinising will also be discussed.

7.3.1 Defining

As was seen in section 6.2.1, the founders and management at PickMe worked hard to create systems which define 1) reliability and dependability, 2) professional appearance and 3) professional courtesy for the trishaw drivers, especially during the onboard sessions when they joined the institution. Notably, what was learned was that defining norms such as hospitality, friendliness and cleanliness were emphasised by institutional management.

One additional category of Institutional Work involved management's role in creating status hierarchies within the institution (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). The data suggested that PickMe employs a two-fold approach to creating hierarchies and status from the individual driver rating system as well as the loyalty (Platinum) programmes. As was examined in section 6.2.1, this work by institutional management to create a hierarchical system received a varied response from the trishaw drivers enjoined to that system. Many felt that the definitional work through the rating and platinum system created undue pressure to perform and was unfairly structured.

Others were more satisfied with the system, likening it to a meritocracy. One interesting trait of the hierarchical system is that, whether they were satisfied with the system or not, they were all keenly aware of its significance and role in their performance as trishaw drivers.

The Institutional Work strategy of Defining both rule systems and hierarchies is how institutional creators create the infrastructure of the organisation. The ethical programmes noted in IBE should be in support of this rule system. The evidence suggests that Ethical Training was the most utilised ethical programme in support of PickMe's rule systems. In addition, there is, of course, merit in defining rules which attempt to impart virtue and excellence to the driver. Of the virtues mentioned during the qualitative interviews, the virtue of Self-Care or Cleanliness (meaning, the practice of taking an active role in protecting one's own well-being and happiness, including cleanliness), was the virtue most enshrined in the rule systems at PickMe.

With regard to the Institutional Work of Defining hierarchies, the design of the star rating system and platinum loyalty programme were more in keeping with IBE's definition of Rewards and Sanctions, as drivers readily understood that their performance on those hierarchical systems afforded them clear rewards for good performance and clear sanctions for less than good performance. The question remains, what virtues did the defined hierarchy system mean to impart? The answer to that is unclear, as the ratings come from passengers and not from management. However, within the PickMe app, as mentioned in section 6.2.1, passengers are allowed to rate drivers both with stars and with traits one might consider virtues; that of Friendly, Expert Route, On Time, Clean and Safe Driving. These ratings are an expression of unilateral communication from the passengers, meant to encourage drivers to pursue the virtues of friendliness, professionalism, and cleanliness. These traits, though rated by the passengers, were embedded in the system by management and are therefore reflective of what management assumes the passenger cares about most in rating the drivers.

The Institutional Work Strategy of Constructing Identities will now be discussed.

7.3.2 Constructing Identities

What has been found among institutional creators in the sharing economy is that senior managers desire to be seen as catalysts for social innovation (Zvolska et al. 2019). This discussion will focus on the intention of PickMe's management to be such catalysts for identity construction. As mentioned in section 6.2.3, the identities institutional management meant to impart to the

trishaw drivers included identities as skilled, accountable, disciplined, and respectful/responsible drivers, specifically towards the passengers the drivers take from location to location. In section 6.2.3, it was shared what identities the drivers understood about themselves and other PickMe drivers upon joining the institution. In sum, they generally adopted the identity of a dignified driver, with a good name and reputation who is disciplined and service-oriented. In a telling statement about the reputational identities created by virtue of joining PickMe, one driver remarked that drivers of autorickshaw drivers were relatively more genuine since joining the institution.

This created identity as a reputable, trustworthy driver meant that the drivers were encouraged to internalise the virtues imparted to them and those virtues became known and recognized among riders in the community. As Hursthouse (2013) and N.T. Wright (2010) explain, the virtue imparted becomes a character trait or like a second nature. The testimonials of virtue adoption, acknowledged by the reputation they had garnered in Colombo, suggest some recognition of virtuous change in their identity.

This also aligns with Bertland's claim that an appropriate *telos* in Virtue Ethics for an institution is human dignity. For the virtuous institution, management's role is to seek equip employees and provide resources so they develop and grow, ultimately leading a sense of dignity (Bertland 2009). While it may be true that management is providing these resources and encouragement, the attribution of dignity to the drivers seems to have originated from the collective community of drivers and passengers in Sri Lanka and not from management itself. This is why I have suggested a new Institutional Work strategy of Association, defined as the linking between institutional members to garner the reputational effects of being associated with the institution. Whether this dignifying effect was by design of management or by accident is a subject in need of further research.

As mentioned earlier, there were outliers to this created identity among the drivers. Some drivers who originated from the city (and didn't join the institution from outlying village areas) felt that the PickMe institution created a negative identity for them. This highlights the heterogeneity of

the trishaw driver population, and how created identities are relative to the driver's position when they joined the institution. This also supports observations made by other scholars who have suggested there is a growing divide between the urban and rural workers in Sri Lanka (Gabriel & Cornfield 1995; Fernando & Moore 2015). The PickMe institution recruited drivers from urban contexts as well as outlying villages outside of Colombo. The class tension between the drivers makes the Institutional Work strategy of creating identities even more complicated. In addition, the way in which virtuous conduct is embedded in such a diverse and heterogeneous community warrants further research.

7.3.3 Educating

The last mechanism mentioned in the Creation category for Institutional Work is Educating, in this case, the education of the trishaw drivers. In section 6.2.4, the onboarding training that most drivers were educated in when they joined the institution was analysed. A great deal of the onboarding training and subsequent follow-up training (mostly through online training videos) was performed so that management could 'train-up' drivers in how to use the PickMe application. The Institutional Work of Educating aligns with the explicit Ethical Training programme studied by Brenner. Also, it is one of the few elements that is algorithm-free, as most of the education happened in person during the drivers' onboarding training.

In keeping with this, it was found that institutional management performed the Institutional Work of Educating primarily during onboarding training. From management interviews, the content of that training focused on developing the drivers' skills as reliable drivers and having both a professional appearance and courtesy. In the managers' understanding, most of the education that they performed was behaviour-based. Unfortunately, the actual training curriculum of these workshops was not made available by management. Though it is difficult to be certain why management was reluctant to give over these organisational documents, it is likely that management was worried about the proprietary issues or that the documents were not in a prepared state to be shared outside the institution. To this last point, as most of the drivers were semi-literate, it is possible that much of the training was taught verbally, and no printed curriculum exists. When describing the training, many of the drivers would say, 'They told

us to…' or 'We heard that we needed to …', and none mentioned any documents or exams they took or used during the training.

In describing the education, they received from institutional managers, many drivers shared that they received training on soft skill development, including being helpful and friendly, having good phone etiquette, and being mindful of the needs of the passenger. In addition, many of them mentioned that education about the operation and use of the PickMe application dominated the content of their onboard training. In this regard, technical skills seemed to supersede soft skill development, especially as the institution grew and COVID-19 restrictions made it difficult to have face-to-face training workshops. Though ethics training was a component of the onboarding training, it seemed to have been a small part of it.

In line with what management shared, all the content of the training imparted by management was behaviour-based. Owing to the increasing growth of the institution, some drivers shared that they did not believe the PickMe institution performed much in the way of Educating. In fact, there was certainly a divide between those that received the onboarding training and those that did not, and the specific expectation they had for professional conduct. The reasons onboarding training seemed to drop off as a standard requirement for new drivers are varied. It could be reflective of the decline in the prioritisation of ethics within the organisation, as mentioned in section 7.1. It also could be a temporary shift to accommodate the COVID-19 pandemic and the necessity to avoid human contact (as much as possible) during the time. Lastly, it could represent a managerial shift in how they handled the scale of PickMe with 100,000+ drivers, being unable to adequately train new members and thus relegating training to watching a few training videos on the company's YouTube channel.

Lastly the ethical training conducted by management during the onboarding training was the clearest and most direct (without digital interference) opportunity to engage and impart professional and ethical conduct to the drivers. As mentioned in section 3.1, virtuous managers roles are to foster growth (Maslow 1998), moral development and moral reasoning (Wang et al. 2016), provide mentoring and encouragement in the right conduct, and nurture the excellence

of the institution's individual members (Moore 2017). The content of the Institutional Work of Educating suggests that there was a partial and not wholehearted attempt by management to fulfil this ethical leadership role.

The discussion will now shift from institutional creation to institutional maintenance and the International Work maintenance strategy of Policing used by PickMe to encourage virtuous conduct.

7.3.4 Policing

Policing within an institution is defined as the intentional 'ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing and monitoring' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:230). It often includes the use of sanctions and inducements in the policing of institutional actors. Policing aligns well with the ethical programme termed Rewards and Sanctions that Brenner referred to.

The data analysis suggests that management developed a sophisticated system, predicated on the technology of the PickMe application, for engaging in Policing work of Monitoring, Inducement and Enforcement of behaviour and norms that it desired to embed within the institution. Policing is a major IW strategy for PickMe for embedding virtuous conduct within the institution. Empirical studies have shown that implicit variables are slightly more effective in promoting virtuous conduct within an institution than explicit variables as well as having a positive effect on employees' job satisfaction, *esprit de corp*s and organisational commitment (Singhapakdi & Vitell 2007). The dominant question in this discourse is whether PickMe's reward and sanction system was tied to the ethical conduct of the driver or more tied to notions of success and external goods. The consensus from the interviews suggested that there was ambiguity in the rewards systems, and drivers were often confused about the arbitrariness of their performance from the star system and whether they were being incentivised to act ethically or simply earn more. This dovetails with the ethical challenge of algorithmic opacity and the opaqueness the feedback data from the institution through the application.

This use of the application to conduct management's Institutional Work in Policing is typified by this quote from one of PickMe's founders: 'you'll see that we have the proper infrastructure to capture that information… through our algorithm, we basically summarise. We give periodical feedback to the driver also, and their reviews, we use that to monitor their behaviour, as the behaviour of the driver if there's any complaints, manage the complaints.' (SM3) A key finding on Policing is that PickMe uses monitored data to summarise the driver's performance and feed it back to the driver to effect a change in performance. I have proposed a new IW strategy of Summarising and Feedback, enlarging the understanding and uses of Policing as a means of encouraging ethical conduct in the driver. The use of technology to conduct policing will be discussed further in section 7.4 on Algorithmic Management.

With respect to Policing and Virtue Ethics, the role in policing, especially the strategies of inducement and enforcement, may have an effect of 'crowding out' virtue rather than crowding in. If PickMe's inducements were more wholly geared towards encouraging ethical conduct, the extrinsic motivation (rewards of some type) might offend the sensibilities of the institutional member. As Moore describes, 'it seems that in each case people were offended by the effort to convert their intrinsic motivation to cooperate into extrinsic motivation—being paid to do good' (Moore 2017:132). To put it in practical terms in this study, if drivers were incentivised by management with bonuses to give free rides to injured pedestrians or return lost items free of charge to hapless passengers, it might breed corruption and gaming the system, but more importantly, the drivers might feel the reward cheapens the altruistic act and become less motivated to participate in such a programme. It would be worthwhile to find an institution that had such an overt ethical reward system and survey the participants to see if this is the case.

Continuing forward, the IW strategy of Deterrence will now be explored.

7.3.5 Deterrence

Within the sub-category of Deterrence, the Institutional Work of maintaining an institution is the role of establishing coercive barriers to institutional change. The goal of this maintenance activity is to 'inculcate the conscience obedience of institutional actors' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:232).

Much like Policing, this ethical mechanism involves the use of rewards and sanctions to deter unwanted behaviour. Deterrence aligns more with a sanctioning system than a reward system. Senior managers often looked to deter drivers from working part-time (to encourage them to take hires) so that they could advance PickMe's aspirational identity as an institution that could be reliably trusted by passengers to pick them up on any occasion. Management was also keen to deter drivers from switching to other companies (like other local ride-sharing institutions like UBER and YOKO) by deprioritising them if they switched off their applications for receiving jobs. Though not independently verified, this deterrence activity seems to be unique among USOs (Urban Sharing Organisations) and highlights the arms-length interaction that drivers have with the institution, not being full employees but more akin to partners for mutual benefit, which is a hallmark of network institutions. In addition, management was intentional about deterring poor professional conduct. Like the Institutional Work of Policing, a great deal of this deterrence work was undertaken vis-à-vis the mechanism of the PickMe application and not directly from management to the drivers.

As shared in the findings section 6.3.2, from the driver side, there existed a lack of understanding and familiarity with the deterrence measures employed by management. Some drivers had some understanding of the deterrent behaviour by management to de-prioritise drivers with poor star ratings, but most of them believed their star rating had no effect on their everyday performance. The drivers had no knowledge of the deterrent behaviour used if they utilised other ride-sharing apps besides PickMe to find customers. The deterrent actions with which some of the drivers were intimately familiar regarded customers making specific complaints about their performance. The common refrain from the drivers was that specific customer complaints resulted in the blocking of the use of the application for a period of time. This is exemplified by this quote from one of the drivers: 'When customers complain to the company, they do not investigate our side of the issue, but instead they just block us' (D22). Within PickMe, management views both the passenger and the driver as its customer, and the application and company that runs it serves as the mediator between these two parties. Among the interviews conducted, a common thread in the discussions was the imbalance in the mediating role and how PickMe management favoured the passenger over the driver in matters of dispute.

Of note for this discussion is the lack of clarity on the deterrent efforts of management. In sum, some of PickMe management's efforts to deter unwanted behaviour from drivers were not recognised by those drivers. Obviously, if management seeks to improve the virtuous conduct of the drivers, it needs deterrent practices that actually deter. This was not the case. In addition, the deterrent efforts that were understood (blocking drivers from using the application) to deter unwanted behaviour (disputing with customers) seemed to be unjustly or inconsistently applied. This also fails to deter the unwanted behaviour.

Within the Institutional Work of Deterrence was suggested a new IW strategy, that of Creating Multiple Channels. PickMe's deterring work was predicated on the PickMe application and the complaint system, where passengers were afforded multiple channels to communicate about driver behaviour. Knowing this, many of the drivers faced severe anxiety about feedback from the customer to the institution and the consequences of those complaints on their rating and ability to continue taking hires. It is assumed this feedback and anxiety brought about new habits and behaviours in the drivers, which culminate in actual individual virtues, especially when the complaints are oriented around professional practice.

Still, the question remains regarding whether the deterring efforts of PickMe were specifically geared towards promoting and embedding virtue in the drivers. Since the deterring work was so intimately tied to customer feedback, then it clear that the deterring work, however misunderstood by the drivers, did overall discourage unprofessional conduct and encourage professional conduct in some form.

The Institutional Work of Embedding and Routinising will now be discussed.

7.3.6 Embedding and Routinising

Lawrence and Suddaby defined this Institutional Work as 'infusing into the participants' day-to-day routines and organisational practices' the habits that management designs for the institution'. They go on to suggest that institutions are stabilised and reproduced by these 'embedded routines and repetitive practices.' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006:233).

From the findings in section 6.3.3, it is apparent that the routines embedded among the trishaw drivers fell into two categories. The first involved the routines of keeping their vehicle and professional appearance clean. Though this was present and familiar to the drivers, it is not known whether they adopted these routines after joining the PickMe institution, or if they held these habits and routines prior to joining. These routines were not passenger or management facing, and by all accounts there was no inspection of their cleaning behaviour by management, but simply habits that became necessary for the performance of their work for their own satisfaction.

The second main category of routines had to do with the daily awareness and attention given to the PickMe application related to how their performance was being measured through the star rating system. Many of the drivers paid great attention to their performance on the PickMe app and would develop routines to check and respond when their measures were being updated.

As mentioned in section 3.3, Lawrence and Suddaby shared their Institutional Work framework and the 'mechanisms they had outlined should not be treated as definitive' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). Accordingly, like in other studies, new Institutional Work strategies have been suggested from this project, under the broad categories of Creating, Maintaining or Disrupting Institutions. What was discovered was that these specific strategies did not relate to any of the other strategies listed in Lawrence and Suddaby's list.

Within the sub-category of Embedding and Routinizing, a new IW strategy for Designing Autonomy was suggested. Designing Autonomy was observed as the way in which PickMe empowered the drivers to resolve their own disputes with customers or take action to improve their star rating. This is emblematic of network institutions and Urban Sharing Organisations and reflective of the role PickMe plays, that of a mediator between the passenger and the driver. Prior to joining the PickMe institution, as was shared in section 2.4, the drivers had complete autonomy to engage with the passengers and resolve disputes. The advent of the PickMe app created an opportunity to reflect on their performance and (because of the digital footprint left by the customer) respond to their customers. This does not deny, of course, that there were

some ways in which, through the PickMe application, management reduced the autonomy of drivers. This was certainly the case in how they designed the multi-channel complaint system and passengers often complained directly to management who then made uninformed decisions about how to rectify the problem, without consulting the drivers. However, with regard to the drivers' actual reflection on their own ratings and empowerment to reflect and make changes to their professional conduct, the institution thereby designed a system which gave greater autonomy to the driver. Empowering the driver to engage with the passengers after the service was rendered, to rectify wrongs or challenge assumptions, was an attribute non-existent in the industry to that point.

From the standpoint of Virtue Ethics, Embedding and Routinising is a key IW strategy, as virtues themselves are habits of good behaviour that are developed over time. Institutions become the place, then, where habits are created, diffused, adopted and adapted over time (Ritzer 2004). It is interesting that though the PickMe institution is the context for these embedded routines of cleanliness and reflection, it was not by design or intention from management but rather, in the case of reflection, emerged from the PickMe application as drivers were able to view their performance appraisals immediately after each trip.

It stands out that drivers routinely checking their performance ratings, though not enforced by management, was a clearly embedded practice for the drivers. The Institutional Work of using downtime in the driver's schedule to look at the feedback through the app and adjust their behaviour is a strong institutional force. More than simply gauging their ratings to improve their prospects of getting more rides, some of the drivers truly reflected on their performance and internalised the feedback received from passengers towards the goal of self-improvement. This aligns with findings from a similar study in Sri Lanka which focused on self-actualisation and spirituality in the workplace. It found that self-reflection was the key practice for business owners who sought to move towards 'evolving towards the ideal self' and lead to 'activities broadly categorised as accommodating others and practising values' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:234). This new Institutional Work strategy will be referred to as Reflection, the work of embedding performance reflection in the routine of the institutional member.

Given this, it is possible that immediate performance reflection and the development of virtue and virtuous conduct are linked together and worthy of further research. Though drivers routinely reading through their feedback ratings doesn't necessarily constitute self-reflection in some people's understanding, it certainly constitutes a certain level of self-appraisal. In delving deeper into the literature on self-reflection and the sharing economy, it emerged that there have been many empirical studies that have looked at performance ratings and self-reflection in the gig economy. One study suggested that 'repeated exposure to first-level feedback gradually leads to self-reflection in which actors become more reflective of their behavioural implications' (Friedland & Balkin 2023:186). This certainly proved true for drivers at PickMe. The extent to which those daily routines of self-reflection brought about the acquisition of virtue and virtuous conduct for the trishaw drivers is an important matter for future research.

Six new Institutional Work strategies have been suggested from this research, and they are summarised below in Table 27.

Table 20: New Institutional Work Strategies from this research

Institutional Work	Definition
Designing Autonomy	Creating means by which drivers could control their star rating and their ability to respond to customers
Creating Association	Creating links between institutional members to garner the reputational effects of being associated with the institution
Summarising and Feedback	Use of technology to summarise and provide feedback performance reviews
Creating Multiple Channels	Designing multiple touchpoints between institutional stakeholders
Maintaining Reflective Practices	The institutional routine of reflecting on one's performance and adjusting based on those reflections
Leveraging Inherent Skill Sets	Utilising institutional members' inherent skill sets and incorporating them into the institution's practice.

By way of summary, Designing Autonomy is the work of allowing for an engagement with passengers directly to rectify problems and challenge assumptions. Secondly, Creating Association is the informal work of designing links between institutional members so that as their reputation increased in the community, they would feel that sense of dignity that came with

being part of a reputable institution. Thirdly, Summarising and Feedback Institutional Work strategy had to do with how management designed the algorithm to give periodic performance reviews so that the drivers could understand their performance measures and respond. This strengthened institutional links as well. Fourthly, Maintaining Reflective Practices involved the systemic ways in which the institution encouraged reflection on individual performance, allowing drivers to see their personal performance measures and respond. Lastly, Leveraging Inherent Skill Set had to do with the way in which senior managers understood the service culture of most Sri Lankans and the driving community and developed the business model around that virtue or skill set.

These novel Institutional Work strategies are part of the unique contribution of this research and reflective of the distinct institutional dynamics at the PickMe institution. They represent the ways, by intention or happenstance, that the institution encourages the pursuit of the internal good (virtuous institutional members who render a quality service to society) towards the goal of the common good of the community.

7.4 Discussion of Ethics by Algorithms

The data findings regarding the ways the PickMe institution used its digital application to promote virtuous conduct and create a virtuous culture within the institution will be discussed. Findings on Algorithmic Management will be discussed and suggested ways that the application was used as a proxy for management in promoting (or not promoting) virtue will be highlighted.

On the whole, the findings suggest that PickMe exhibits all of the qualities of a typical Algorithmic Management system, with regard to surveillance (monitoring the actions of the drivers), responsiveness (communicating via the app to drivers), automated decision-making (automatic de-prioritisation of drivers with lower star scores), automated evaluations (the star rating system that is updated after each passenger-driver iteration) and nudging (discounts and incentives for high star rating).

A question that arises from Virtue Ethics is to what degree was the digital application designed to promote the internal good of the organisation. With regard to the surveillance role of the app, as discussed in section 7.3.4, the policing and monitoring role of the application has the potential to encourage the pursuit of the internal good, especially insofar as it is designed for giving instant feedback to the driver that can be reflected on. The responsiveness of the application depends greatly on the substance of the communication. As was discussed in section 7.3.6, the linchpin of whether the application encourages the internal good depends on the responsiveness of the application to give meaningful feedback to the driver who can wilfully choose improvement and growth in their practice as a driver. Some of the feedback given from passengers had motivated drivers to pursue the internal good of the institution, especially when it regarded professional conduct.

With regard to automated decision-making, in general, the actions of the algorithm tend to focus on the pursuit of external goods through daily encouragement to drivers to take more jobs and deprioritising drivers who spend less time plying their trade throughout the day. As was discussed in section 7.2, the automated evaluation system through the star rating system has great potential to encourage the pursuit of internal goods because the app functions as a mediator between the driver and the passenger. Since passengers, by and large, care more about the quality of the product, their feedback is often more focused on the professionalism and conduct of the drivers. Lastly, nudging the driver was found to be more oriented towards external goods in that most of the actual bonuses and incentives were focused on the drivers' ability to take additional jobs and work longer, and not with regard to internal goods.

Of the three ethical challenges mentioned in scholarship on Algorithmic Management (Algorithmic Opacity, Datafication and Manipulative Nudging) evidence from the interviews showed opacity and datafication to be clearly seen. Manipulative Nudging was not observed or mentioned in the research. A deeper analysis with further research that looks at the technological aspects of the application and how it is designed vis-à-vis the drivers might unveil more about this.

These ethical challenges potentially limit drivers 'ability to cultivate virtue and flourish' within the institution (Gal et al. 2020:1). Because of this, institutional members often do not understand the 'decision-making process and have no way of responding or contributing to it' (Gal et al. 2020:5). With algorithmic opacity, this creates an ethical problem because the drivers at PickMe do not develop the internal good of their practice as trishaw drivers when the decisions given through the application seem clouded in mystery, are nonsensical or perceived as arbitrary to their actual performance. Simply put if performance feedback is nonsensical, then performance development is hindered, creating an ethical problem.

Within the realm of datafication, People Analytics and Algorithmic Management often get accused of reducing human beings to 'collections of objective digital data that they produce actively and passively as they go about their work' (Gal et al. 2020:6; Constantiou & Kallinikos 2015). This reductive practice can dissuade workers from truly reflecting on their practice and improving; when workers are 'fed back oversimplified representations of their behaviour, they are unlikely to be able to meaningfully reflect on their actions and their effects' (Gal et al. 2020:6)

When manipulative nudging (though, as noted, this was not readily observed in this study) is taking place through Algorithmic Management, it undermines a worker's ability to practice and improve their performance because they are prompted (via nudging) to achieve outcomes reflective of third party interests (Mittelstadt 2016; Gal et al. 2020).

For the ethical challenges of algorithmic opacity and datafication, the core problem is the lack of recognition of the personhood of the institutional members in the managerial task. The institutional member becomes simply a data point or are patronised and talked down to through the opacity of the algorithm. In this process, institutional members can feel as if they are not regarded as beings capable of moral judgement and decision-making. This speaks to the newly suggested Institutional Work strategy of Autonomy and the role of agency and free decision-making in Virtue Ethics. Within institutions, it is believed that possessing the agency to change and grow as a moral person is vital. The Capabilities Approach and the role of dignity are relevant here. Certainly, algorithmic opacity and datafication will tend to suppress this type of agency by

taking the decision power out of the hands of the institutional members. In addition, with respect to section 3.4.1 and IBE, algorithmic opacity and datafication deny members the possibility of being intrinsically motivated in their ethical practice. If institutional members are unclear about how the algorithm functions or feel that the algorithm doesn't properly regard their personhood as being just another 'number', it can rob them of that motivation. As another study in Sri Lanka suggested: the 'right action of employees via intrinsic motivation is a far more effective process than an externally formulated set of rules' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:245). This would be a notion that is worth further research, looking at the role of Moral Motivation in contexts like this.

As mentioned in section 3.4.5, concepts in the Capabilities Approach suggest that such actions can rob individuals of their sense of dignity, which makes the process of embedding virtuous conduct in a given group all the more challenging. Scholars in Institution Work suggest that giving agency and dignity to institutional members is a necessity to promote virtue within an institution (Marti & Fernandez, 2013).

In the Literature Review section 3.4.5, several other problems highlighted in Algorithmic Management practices of decision-makers over the autorickshaw drivers were shared (Ahmed et al. 2016; Kumar et al. 2018). Those problems include workers' sense of control, workers' sense of choice, workers' sense of powerlessness, the asymmetry of information between management and the drivers, and the complexity of pay scale systems for the drivers.

As mentioned in our findings in section 6.4.1, from the qualitative interviews, there was some evidence of a sense of lack of control, choice, and powerlessness among the drivers, in addition to a lack of transparency and complexity in the pay scale, which was mediated by the Algorithmic Management application. However, the results about this were mixed. In fact, there was some sense that the PickMe app brought more clarity, fairness, and transparency to the drivers and the trishaw industry.

Many of the drivers also felt like the loyalty programme provided clarity and transparency about what was required to succeed and improve in their practice as trishaw drivers. Future researchers

would be encouraged to explore this further, to research the selective transparency in some Sharing Economy applications and how that gives agency and control to the user.

As was mentioned in section 7.3, the positive regard that drivers had for the star rating and loyalty programmes may be due to some of the Institutional Work strategies of the institution. Keeping in mind that PickMe and companies like it revolutionised the ride-sharing industry with the introduction of their application, it is highly possible that the key IW creation strategies of defining, creating identities, and educating played key roles in formalising the industry, bringing transparency and fairness to a community where it didn't exist before. In addition, the IW maintenance strategies of policing, deterring, and embedding and routinising may also have a similar effect. The positive feelings many of the drivers felt for the application and systems at PickMe could be reflective of an internal yearning for more trustworthiness, more organisation, and more safety and respect within their industry, and the introduction of ride-sharing applications like PickMe's seemed to fulfil this yearning.

As was mentioned in section 3.1, within Virtue Ethics, the key role of management is the role of fostering virtue in their employees. With the use of the PickMe application and the role it plays in functioning as proxy managers for the organisation, it is important to question whether such digital managers are capable of fostering virtue for institutional members. Something as nuanced as human psychology and moral reasoning is perhaps beyond the present capabilities of current artificial intelligence programmes and algorithmic management systems. The role of digital applications in fostering moral development among human stakeholders is a topic that is becoming increasingly relevant with the advent of artificial intelligence and is worthy of further research.

The specific contributions of Sri Lankan ethics will now be discussed.

7.5 Discussion of Sri Lankan Ethics

This research has shown how virtue and Virtue Ethics in Sri Lanka and the virtues resident and affirmed in the natural culture as well as how PickMe sought to influence those virtues among

the trishaw drivers. In the Literature Review section 3.3, the concept of isomorphism was mentioned: the practice of looking to peer organisations for cues on structure and social behaviour in a business context (Scott 2008). Conforming to the prevailing systems in the environment 'earns the organisation legitimacy' (Scott 2008:59).

With respect to these various national cultural virtues, it must be noted that urban contexts (and specifically in Colombo) present a unique locality for virtue embedding. As Fernando and Moore note in their study, in the urban context of Colombo, where this case study is set, residents are influenced towards an individualistic orientation from the West (Fernando & Moore 2015) which needs to be acknowledged when considering the adoption of virtues from western cultures. Though not definitive, synthesising the espoused virtues in Theravada Buddhism with those mentioned in other studies in Sri Lanka, a working list of virtues was created (see Figure 21).

Virtues Espoused in Sri Lanka
• Fairness & Equity
• Charity
• Temperance, Contentment & Equanimity
• Compassion & Empathy & Loving-Kindness
• Sympathetic Joy
• Family
• Other-mindedness
• Diligence and Discipline

Figure 21: Virtues Espoused in Sri Lanka

7.5.1 Discussion on Expressed Virtue

Many of the virtues articulated in the list were evidenced in the data analysis from interviews with the drivers. From the interviews, it was confirmed the presence of Diligence and Discipline, Temperance & Contentment, Other mindedness, Compassion, Empathy, Charity, Fairness, Equity and Family. Virtues that were not expressed in the data were Affiliation (the value of social contact and close relationships), though affiliation is not so much a virtue as a human need, which Sri Lankans have shown they prioritise over achievement (Ranasinghe 1996; Carter 1979). In addition, affiliation as a need involves social contact and close relationships, which incorporates related virtues of other-mindedness, empathy, compassion, and charity in that they relate to emotional contact with others.

Also noted is that many of the virtues mentioned in Figure 21 are people-oriented, which is consistent with findings in Sri Lanka. Fernando's research suggested that perhaps Sri Lankan businesses are, in fact, more 'excellence oriented' than counterparts in the UK, and that there

seems to be a 'dominance of "soft" management aspects such as loyalty, trust, co-operation, compassion, tolerance, morality and empathy over "hard" measures such as profit, sales or return on investment' (Fernando & Moore 2015:198). This seems to be the case among the autorickshaw population and the PickMe drivers as well.

It is evident that honesty and transparency were highly espoused and acknowledged by the autorickshaw drivers. It could be argued that many of the virtues mentioned in section 5.3.1 were apparent because of the specific function of their jobs (taxing passengers from various parts of Colombo); requiring and perhaps demanding certain types of virtues because of the nature of the work. Autorickshaw drivers themselves facilitate transactions for their services multiple times during the day and thus have the opportunity to choose honesty and transparency over the opposite. Still, as noted in section 2.2, by reputation, many taxi drivers in Colombo have been perceived as being thugs and gangsters by the riding community (Kumarage et al. 2009). They were regarded as untrustworthy and likely to take advantage of passengers at any opportunity. In this context, the fact that honesty, fairness, equity, trustworthiness, and transparency were so highly beheld and regarded was quite notable.

In addition, one virtue which was hard to find correlation with known virtues in Sri Lanka can be expressed through this quote from one of the founders:

'We started doing training for them, which means how, to dress to how to comb their hair, how to brush and all, how to wear, you know. It was a full complete training we did.' (SM2)

One might describe this as the virtue of <u>self-respect</u> or <u>personal care</u> for physical appearances or simple cleanliness. We described this virtue as self-care, and it was a dominant virtue that management sought to impart to drivers, especially during the ethics training sessions at the beginning of their employment.

One might find this at odds with Virtue Ethics thinking since virtues tend to be other-regarding. However, one could regard it as other-mindedness if the developed habit is for the sake of others and the desire to create a pleasant and safe environment as well as project a pleasant and safe

appearance. Others have argued that self-care is a meaningful virtue insofar as Virtue Ethics' main encouragement is to 'be good for *ourselves* and others' (emphasis mine) (Austin 2022:8).

One other notable finding from this research was the presence of what I will call *Acquiescence*, which Webster's Dictionary describes as the 'passive assent or agreement without protest' (merriam-webster.com 2023). This was evident by this response from Driver 21: 'I never get into disputes with anyone. If I face any loss, I accept it as it is. There is no point fighting with one another.' (D21) This virtue resembles the divine virtue of equanimity in Buddhism, which is defined as calmness especially in a difficult situation. This virtue was aggregated with the known virtues of Temperance and Contentment, but based on the representative data, this virtue takes on a slightly different connotation. It is evident that acquiescence comes not from contentment or inner peace but rather from a calculation that there is no benefit that could come from disputing. Though it has a different connotation, the virtue of acquiescence seems to originate from Buddhist teaching. This was confirmed from Driver 17 who commented: 'Some people sometimes call us and scold us because we are late for a hire, but one shouldn't get mad at that. If you can peacefully live your life, that is what is *saradharma* (teachings of the Buddha)' (D17). This notion of letting things go and not protesting when disagreement comes so that you can 'peacefully live your life' seems to be an entrenched virtue for many of the drivers and one that they (fortunately or not) practice regularly in the course of their work life. It is worth noting that this is the opposite of what Aristotle referred to as 'Righteous Indignation' in his catalogue of virtues (see Figure 14). This reinforces an earlier point about MacIntyre's views of virtues, that virtue ethics are not prescriptive from a single moral philosophy, but incorporative of the various tradition-informed virtues from all around the world.

Lastly, one virtue came to light when discussing with the drivers how they manage their income. This virtue was referred to as a lack of greed or envy in the findings in Chapter 4. This concept of virtue goes beyond simply a lack of greed but represents an aversion to acquiring wealth beyond a self-defined limit. Fernando's research in Sri Lanka confirmed that the gathering of wealth is negatively perceived and that in the business context of Sri Lanka, this notion has had a negative impact on financial performance (Kumarasinghe and Hoshino 2010). For definitional reasons, this

virtue can be termed *moderation* since it's not a reflection of charity but more a general aversion to excessive wealth. Moderation, also described as temperance or sound-mindedness, is one of the four cardinal virtues in classical philosophy and was considered by Plato to be the most important virtue (ThePlatonist.Com 2015).

These new empirically recognised virtues can be observed in Table 28.

Table 21: New Empirically Recognised Virtues in Trishaw Drivers

Virtue	Definition
Acquiescence	passive assent or agreement without protest
Self-Care	the practice of taking an active role in protecting one's own well-being and happiness, including cleanliness
Moderation	the avoidance of excess or extremes, especially in one's behaviour, political opinions, or the accumulation of wealth

One of the observed shifts in the work habits of the trishaw drivers is that when they joined the PickMe institution, they disassociated from the taxi stand where they normally gathered with other trishaw drivers for community and social interaction. This is because the way that the PickMe application (and most ride-sharing applications) function is that the driver will drive the passenger from one location to another and then try to pick up the next passenger from a location proximate to where they dropped the last passenger. The advent of PickMe and other ride-sharing organisations has caused a precipitous decline in the level of social interaction among the drivers, in practice because they no longer have a taxi stand or union that they revert to when they aren't transporting passengers.

Though the data analysis from the interviews did not reveal a sense of loss at this shift in their social interaction, it begs the question of whom or where these drivers are deriving their workplace community. Further to this, a question remains as to what virtues are being inhibited because the drivers don't have peers in their industry whom they regularly interact with to help in sharpening their virtuous conduct or professional conduct. This shift in the social interaction by autorickshaw drivers, brought on by the introduction of ride-sharing organisations, is worthy of further research.

A discussion of where the drivers derived their influence on their thinking on virtues follows.

7.5.2 Discussion of the Influence of Virtue

Here the source of the drivers' sense of ethics will be discussed. As mentioned in the Findings chapter section 5.3.2, a primary finding from this data suggests that there is a great variety of influences on a driver's professional conduct, with the PickMe institution itself being a minority influencer. Influence from family and religion was much more dominant, with experience from previous jobs as well as influence from the passengers themselves. Influence from the PickMe institution was fifth in mentioned influences on the driver's ethical practice.

These findings merely highlight the influences that were identified by the drivers themselves as sources of their ethical thinking. However, it does not account for subconscious attribution of influence. Many of the drivers commented that the reputational effect of joining the PickMe institution improved their standing in the community.

One can infer that the status afforded many of the drivers by virtue of joining PickMe effectively influences them in how they behave. Also, the fact that the drivers did not name the institution as a primary influencer in their virtuous conduct could be attributed to the length of time that most of the drivers served under PickMe. A vast majority had been working with the PickMe institution for less than a year, meaning they had less time to really inculcate the values of the institution. In addition, the influences from family and religion (specifically Buddhism) are not surprising given the high value that native Sri Lankans place on family (Ranasinghe 1996) (Perry 2012) and the religious affiliation, both in intensity and identity, adopted by everyday Sri Lankans (Gallup 2009).

As mentioned in the discussion on the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics in section 7.2, the locus of influence on ethical practice was not from management, but from the passenger, vis-à-vis the PickMe application. It was clear that management had intended to utilise the PickMe app to bind the passengers and the drivers together with daily, 360-degree feedback loops so the drivers would grow in virtuous conduct in response to that constant feedback.

Lastly, in the finding chapters section 5.2.1, the *telos* (the end goal) that management sought to influence the drivers in was examined. In the cited management interviews, management originally sought to bring respect and uplift to the trishaw community, seeing that state of flourishing as a community of trishaw drivers that have status and significance and dignity, as well as projecting fairness and transparency to passengers in the city. This aligns with Institutional Work strategies of Creating Identities insofar as management is attempting to remake the institutional actor and his/her relationship to the field he/she works in. Management certainly employed such strategies in its attempt to impart virtue and excellence to the trishaw driver community.

It was also observed that the PickMe application was used as a mechanism for generating empowerment and improvement of the drivers' professional conduct. The holistic state of flourishing that management sought to produce in their slogan 'Joyful Mobility' was applied to all the institution's stakeholders: drivers, passengers, and institutional employees. The PickMe institution understood both the passengers and the drivers as its customers and thus sought to impart virtue not just to the driver but to all its institutional stakeholders. PickMe adopted a stakeholder theory approach (a hallmark of many 21st-century businesses), considering the needs and wants of all internal and external stakeholders in their managerial decision-making (Lin 2018). However, as noted in section 7.1, the intentionality towards pursuing *eudaimonia* within PickMe has declined since its origins. In addition, as was observed in section 7.3.5, PickMe was not always equitable in its investment in both stakeholders, tending to be deferential towards passengers and (as the interviews suggested) overly harsh with the drivers. As the institution attempts to influence the mindset of drivers, these intended states of flourishing (eudaimonia) by management are important to acknowledge.

7.6 Chapter Summary

Within this discussion chapter, an attempt was made to synthesise and transform the findings presented in chapters 5 and 6. The novel insights were brought forth as well as a linking back to theory. An attempt was made to link the three categories of literature that have been utilised in

this study and suggest new notions and concepts that emerged from the primary findings. Below will be found a summary of those discussion subjects.

As was discussed, the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework is applicable in the context of economically depressed populations in non-western contexts and among a population that doesn't function in a formal, traditional business organisation. In addition, notions of success and excellence and the incompatibility of the IJIE research tool with this specific population were discussed. With regard to organisational purpose, the ethical leadership decline at PickMe from its more altruistic intention was discussed, as well as the ways in which subordinating managerial decision-making to a digital application, as addressed in Algorithmic Management, could suggest a reason for that decline. Also, the novel finding that success precedes excellence and its ties to the economic situation of many of the drivers were discussed.

Ethical programmes and the role of IBE were discussed. There was a breakdown of each of the IBE variables and their merits in contributing to virtuous conduct in the organisation. In addition, the novel finding of a new implicit variable, the Ethical Feedback Loop, was discussed. Though not intended by management, its role in facilitating virtuous conduct was quite valuable as drivers developed daily habits of reflecting on their performance and seeking ways to grow in their professional conduct.

Having defined ethics institutionalisation variables, the theory and findings on Institutional Work were discussed. The Institutional Work strategies were most prominent were Defining, Constructing Identities, Educating, Policing, Deterrence, Embedding and Routinising. The new IW strategies of Design Autonomy, Creating Association, Summarising and Feedback, Creating Multiple Channels, Maintaining Reflective Practices and Leveraging Inherent Skills Sets were discussed and connected to Virtue Ethics, the Capabilities Approach and Algorithmic Management.

Algorithmic Management was also discussed at length. Typical characteristics among digital applications were apparent from the data at PickMe as well, that of surveillance, responsiveness, automated decision-making, automated evaluations, and nudging. Each aspect of AM was

connected to specific Institutional Work strategies from the institution. The management by algorithm allowed the organisation to scale and grow but was also cold and impersonal, creating challenges in promoting virtuous conduct. The ethical challenges of Algorithmic Management and Datafication were evident. However, Manipulative Nudging did not evidence itself. It was noted as well, that many drivers thought the digital application gave greater clarity and transparency than their previous situation afforded, suggesting that a need for organisation was a partial motivation for many of the drivers to join the institution.

Lastly, the inherent and traditional virtues acknowledged in Sri Lanka were discussed. Many of those same virtues were evidenced in the data, and a few were not. Virtues that did not show in the literature included Acquiescence, Self-Care, and Moderation, with Self-Care being the one virtue that was imparted from management. In addition, the influences on the driver's ethical thinking were discussed, with the PickMe institution being fifth on the list of influencers in their ethical framework. Many of the drivers attributed their childhood, religious background, and the customer as primary influencers. Regarding the last, a novel finding was that PickMe had designed, through the application, for passengers to be a primary influence on the professional conduct of the driver, meaning that management entrusted passengers with promoting and encouraging virtuous conduct. The primary IW role management to create identities within the drivers as respectable, professional drivers was also discussed.

Now that a full discussion on the novel findings, theories and new concepts has been conducted, we will conclude with how this research has answered the fundamental research questions mentioned. In addition, the core contribution to research will be discussed, as well as the limitations and future research potential. Lastly, my final thoughts will be shared, and a preview of the epilogue and appendix chapters will be given.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.0 Introduction to Conclusion

To conclude this research project, four sub-sections will be explored. First, answers to the five specific research questions will be given. Second, a concise summary of the research contribution to theory will be provided. Thirdly, research limitations and possibilities for future research will be suggested. Lastly, I will share my final thoughts on this research project. A preview of the epilogue and the appendix chapters will also be shared.

8.1 Review of the Research Questions

In this sub-section of the Conclusion chapter, brief summary answers will be given to the initial research questions that began this research project, which were stated in the introductory chapter, section 1.2.

8.1.1 RQ1 – 'How does MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework help us understand virtuous conduct among institutions operating in non-western, loosely organised autorickshaw communities?'

In answer to the question 'How does MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework help us understand virtuous conduct among institutions operating in non-western, loosely organised autorickshaw communities?', it can be seen, as suggested above, that the framework helps in a variety of ways. As was evident from the study conducted in Sri Lanka among larger companies (Fernando & Moore 2015) and in Taiwan among SMEs (Chu & Moore 2020), the framework itself is relevant and applicable in this non-western context and among businesses which are loosely organised, such as peer-to-peer driver applications in the sharing economy.

Though the IJIE quantitative tool was not as useful, notions of success (external goods) and excellence (internal goods) were helpfully explored, with a significant finding being that a majority of the economically deprived community of autorickshaw drivers understood success to precede excellence, which was a departure from other studies. In addition, the role of

management in maintaining and sustaining the pursuit of the internal good of the institution was disrupted by the proxy management from the PickMe application. The digital application effectively re-orientated the drivers to listen and adhere to the direction of passengers rather than management. This is perhaps more reflective of 21st century Urban Sharing Organisations (USOs) where management delegates managerial functions to other entities, in this case to the proxy digital application and to passengers who give frequent performance feedback to the drivers.

Referring to the specific components of the Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework, the findings suggest that there are many native virtues that are operative for the trishaw drivers, though many of the drivers were influenced in their virtue thinking from entities outside the institution. The virtues did function to enable the generation of internal goods for the institution in the practice of safely delivering passengers from one location to another. From the perspective of the trishaw drivers, management at PickMe did take an active role in balancing the prioritisation of excellence (internal goods) and success (external goods), though the fostering of the institution's internal good was only partially understood. Within the practice-institution distinction, contrasting the findings in the Fernando and Moore study (2015), the drivers at PickMe uniquely prioritised 'institution' over 'practice' by believing that they could only pursue internal goods (excellent customer service towards passengers) after they acquired a baseline amount of external goods (daily minimum salary which was individual to each driver). Lastly, much like previous empirical studies, notions of the internal and external goods seemed to overlap one another, owing to what Fernando and Moore refer to as the 'essential but complex circularity between internal goods and external goods' (Moore 2012:388) in this context.

The subordination of these managerial roles intensifies the complexity of the MacIntyrean role of management to foster virtue and the pursuit of the internal good in the practice of trishaw driving. It would seem that though management at PickMe is no longer capable of 'making and sustaining' the institution through prioritisation of the internal good, the prioritisation of the internal good is heavily influenced by the wishes of the passengers. Helpfully however, recipients of the practice of the PickMe institutions (the passengers) are generally more concerned with

excellence over success in the practice of driving the autorickshaw and thus, it would seem that virtue and the internal good is fostered after all. Whether this was designed by PickMe's management or a mere coincidence is worthy of further research.

8.1.2 RQ2 – 'How do network institutions effectively encourage and sustain virtuous conduct in autorickshaw drivers in Sri Lanka?'

In order to fully study the institutional actions taken by management to encourage and promote virtuous conduct within institutional members, the theories of Institutional Theory and Institutional Work were utilised. Through the work of Lawrence & Suddaby, it was possible to highlight strategies such as the institutional creation work of Defining, Constructing Identities, and Educating in this thesis. Aspects of institutional maintaining work in Policing, Deterring, Embedding and Routinizing were highlighted. Though the analysis from this study did not reveal direct institutional strategies related to bridging (Jarzabkowski et al. 2016), enhancement and experimenting works (Mair & Marti 2009), and bricolage (Battilana & D'aunno 2006), what did emerge were other new Institutional Work strategies including:

- ❖ Designing Autonomy (to respond to passenger complaints)
- ❖ Association (the reputational effects of being associated with the institution)
- ❖ Summarizing and Feedback (use of technology to summarise and feedback performance reviews)
- ❖ Creating Multiple Channels (designing multiple touch points between institutional stakeholders)
- ❖ Creating Reflective Practices (the institutional routine of reflecting on one's performance and making adjustments based on those reflections)
- ❖ Leveraging Inherent skill sets (designing business models around the service culture of the drivers).

All these comprise what drivers perform to create and maintain the institution, as articulated by Lawrence and Suddaby (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006).

As to the effectiveness of such Institutional Work, as it relates to ethical conduct, the strategies of constructing identities (trustworthy driver), educating (in how to exhibit professional conduct) and embedding and routinising (specifically in the purposeful reflective practices the application encourages) were the most effective of the Institutional Work strategies for encouraging virtuous conduct. The most effective strategy for encouraging virtuous conduct was the IW strategy of educating, specifically during the onboarding training most drivers received. The reputational effect of associating with PickMe and the summarised feedback they received from the PickMe application both represented fundamental shifts from their normative work practice prior to joining the institution. These measures also impelled willing drivers to grow in their professional conduct in a way that they hadn't before joining the institution.

Lastly, it should be acknowledged that many of the measures taken by management may have only accidentally encouraged and sustained virtuous conduct. The initiatives of encouraging autonomy and reflection are examples of what might be called 'happy accidents', in that these institutional forces were geared towards ensuring organisational success but, in addition to this, accidentally happened to encourage and sustain virtuous conduct.

8.1.3 RQ3 – 'What effect (both positive and negative) have ethical mechanisms for embedding ethical conduct had on the overall institutionalisation of virtuous conduct among the autorickshaw drivers?'

Besides the institutional work strategies mentioned above, the ethical programmes and management strategies mentioned in the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics (IBE) were investigated with respect to PickMe. Ethics Training was the programme most clear, while a Code of Ethics was mentioned in the management interviews though never verified. A Rewards and Sanctions programme was evident. However, it regarded the pursuit of external goods (success) and rarely the internal good (excellence). The one exception to this was the star rating system, which implicitly motivated drivers to grow in professional conduct because feedback from the passengers often regarded ethical behaviour.

Organisational Culture as an ethical variable took a non-traditional direction, as management, in lieu of imposing and creating an ethical culture, instead tapped into the existing culture of hospitality, and sought to highlight it in the design of the application's design. Open Communication was used mostly in the IW strategies of policing and deterrence. Missing variables included Ethics Officers, Ethical Mentorship, Leadership and Ethical Valorising.

In addition, the implicit ethical variable called an Ethical Feedback Loop was introduced by the institution and held great potential to influence drivers' professional conduct in that it encouraged drivers to constantly reflect on their performance and take action to improve. In all, and in answer to the question, programmes such as the Ethics Training and Ethics Feedback Loop were the most effective in training drivers in virtuous conduct.

8.1.4 RQ4 – 'In what ways has PickMe designed systems and technology to specifically promote virtuous culture among autorickshaw drivers?'

Five key ways have been observed, based on prior research (Mateescu & Nguyen 2019), that the PickMe organisation has designed their PickMe application to promote virtuous behaviour, that being: Data and Surveillance (Prolific data collection and surveillance of workers through technology), Responsiveness (Automated or semi-automated decision-making), Automated Evaluations (Transfer of performance evaluations to rating systems or other metrics), and Nudges (The use of 'nudges' and penalties to indirectly incentivise worker behaviours). All these elements were operative in the PickMe application and were designed, sometimes in small ways, to encourage the internal good of the trishaw driver (his virtuous professional conduct). The surveillance aspect of the application had the greatest potential to encourage virtuous conduct as it often captured feedback from passengers that regarded professional conduct.

However, the data analysis did show some impediments to promoting virtue in PickMe's Algorithmic Management, those of Algorithmic Opacity, Datafication and Manipulative Nudging. Opacity was a challenge to promoting virtuous conduct because the drivers were disincentivised to reflect on and seek to improve their behaviour since the data coming from the algorithm was often considered arbitrary or confusing. Datafication was a challenge to virtue promotion

because the drivers felt their value to the institution was reduced to a number (their star rating) and like opacity, they were disincentivised to reflect on their holistic performance and seek excellence as a whole person. Manipulative Nudging was less apparent in the data analysis; Nudging was apparent, but it was unclear whether institutional management really was, in fact, exploiting the drivers' psychology using the PickMe application. Also, the ethical challenges deny the trishaw driver of being intrinsically motivated in their professional conduct; a key aspect of virtuous conduct is that drivers have control and autonomy in their moral decision-making.

Other problems relating to other peer-to-peer applications in previous studies are 1) workers' sense of control, 2) workers' sense of choice, 3) workers' sense of powerlessness, 4) the asymmetry of information between management and the drivers, and 5) the complexity of pay scale systems for the drivers. All of these were present to some degree, but contradictory data was also present, as many of the drivers affirmed the clarity, fairness, and transparency of the PickMe application and, by implication, the algorithm.

In sum, PickMe's use of Algorithmic Management is commonplace among Urban Sharing organisations and even their counterparts in Sri Lanka no doubt used such managerial tactics. As mentioned, the PickMe application was the primary means by which the drivers would receive motivation, encouragement, feedback, and complaints from management. This would have links to Human Resource Management and Business Ethics Management literature. The system holds great potential for embedding and encouraging professional and virtuous conduct among the driver partners. However, it is not without its challenges, namely that the opacity and datafication employed in Algorithmic Management could work against management's goals to encourage ethical conduct.

8.1.5 RQ5 – 'How do autorickshaw drivers understand virtue in the workplace, and what are their primary influences on virtuous conduct? What role does the institution, their context and other externalities play in their understanding of virtue?'

Several virtues within Sri Lanka were recognised, including Diligence and Discipline; Temperance & Contentment; Other-mindedness; Compassion; Empathy; Charity; Fairness; Equity and Family.

Virtues that did not come out in the data but were recognised in the literature included Affiliation (the value of social contact and close relationships). New empirical virtues that the literature didn't mention included Acquiescence, Self-Care, and Moderation. Self-care was the one virtue that the PickMe institution made great efforts to impart to the drivers.

Regarding the influence on virtues, a driver's family, childhood, religion, and influence from the passengers themselves were the primary influences on the virtue thinking of the drivers. The institution was fifth, owing perhaps to the short time the drivers had been with the institution or because the advent of the PickMe application shifted the influence on ethics from the institution to the passengers. This was probably the design of management. Also, among the interviews, a common thread in the discussions was the imbalance in the mediating role and how PickMe management favoured the passenger over the driver in matters of dispute.

A summary of the research contribution will now be explored.

8.2 Research Contribution

This thesis had four overall objectives. The first was to extend the many empirical studies on MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics and discover if his Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework is relevant and applicable in a non-western context within a loosely organised network institution. The second objective was to see how effective that given institution could be in imparting and embedding virtue and virtuous conduct within a community that was hitherto disorganised and independent. The theory of Institutional Work was used to test the mechanics of institutional creation and maintenance towards virtuous conduct. The third objective was to draw on ideas in Institutional Theory and specifically Institutional Work to test the efficacy of such creation and maintenance strategies (as well as discover new strategies) to embed such virtue within the institution. The fourth objective, which was developed later and not included in the planned research proposal, entailed the exploration of the benefits and challenges of Algorithmic Management for Urban Sharing Organisations (USOs) and their ability to facilitate or inhibit virtuous conduct among its users. The research aim was to perform a case analysis on the diffusion of virtue within a relatively new ride-sharing organisation in the city of Sri Lanka,

Colombo. Along the way, the empirical research unveiled unexpected data on Algorithmic Management and the use of technology as a proxy for human managers in encouraging professional conduct in the workplace.

Regarding the first objective, the generalizability of the MacIntyrean practice–institution framework for business organisations has been confirmed. Though it performed differently among Sri Lankan autorickshaw drivers, the body of evidence from European, South Asian, and Confucian / Taiwanese studies from large organisations to SMEs has confirmed its usefulness. This study adds to those with a confirmation of the framework's validity among organisations in non-western contexts in a disorganised industry in the sharing/platform economy. Secondly, MacIntyrean notions of the internal and external good within institutions were explored. 'Virtuous' and 'vicious' organisational purpose was examined and confirmed the challenge with regard to the Interactive Joint Inquiry Exercise (IJIE) tool pioneered by Crockett (Crockett 2005a). The IJIE's use in this Sri Lankan context was abandoned because of the subjects' general confusion about quantifying the organisation on a success-to-excellence gradient. Still, through qualitative interviews, this study was able to plumb the depths of their understanding of the prioritisation of the internal and external goods within the institution. In general, a primary finding from this data is that the drivers' understanding of whether success and excellence had priority was much more evenly balanced than their understanding of *management's* prioritisation of success and excellence. This finding seems clear insofar as it is much easier for a driver to be aware of and articulate his own ethical understanding than the understanding of stakeholders external to them. In contrast to previous studies, many drivers in *this* study believed as a baseline that success precedes excellence as a matter of sequence, and, thus, for them, institution is prioritised first and practice second.

The benefit and intention of conducting a qualitative study was that, in my role as a researcher, I would be better positioned to understand the autorickshaw driver's perceptions, values and beliefs. A previous researcher studying MacIntyrean ethics in Taiwan concluded that maintaining comparability with the Moore (2012) and Fernando and Moore (2015) studies meant that there were gaps that emerged in her research, commenting, 'it is only with hindsight that it can be seen

that it would also have been valuable to have included questions which would have provided more information on the interviewees' deeper motives and influences' (Chu 2018:304). It was precisely to find these deeper motives and influences that this study became what it did. One unique contribution to research that this project undertook was to understand deeply the ethical priorities of autorickshaw drivers and locate a catalogue of common virtues held by many drivers in addition to discerning the influences of those ethical convictions.

In addition, this project was able to extend studies on national culture and isomorphism within businesses in Asia and confirm that many of the long-held virtues adopted by Sri Lankans were extant among the autorickshaw driving community and the locus of influences on their virtue thinking came primarily from the family and religion more than their current institutional arrangement (PickMe). However, this finding deserves more research, as many of the subjects in the research had been with the PickMe institution for less than a year and had less time to be influenced by institutional managers and virtue agents. Many of the virtues articulated from the list in Figure 21 were evidenced in the data analysis from interviews with the drivers. From the interviews, the presence of discipline & diligence, temperance & contentment, other-mindedness & charity, fairness and equity and family were confirmed. Virtues that were not expressed in the data were Affiliation (the value put upon social contact and close relationships), Sympathetic Joy and Equanimity. Virtues expressed by drivers but not evident in the literature review of native Sri Lankan virtues were the virtues of acquiescence (closely related to equanimity), moderation (like contentment) and self-care, which was one of the virtues that institutional management intended to impart to drivers, but which was not included in the list of virtues mention above.

Thirdly the use, whether by intention or by accident, of many Institutional Work strategies to effect and encourage virtuous conduct was validated. These strategies were highlighted and in use by the PickMe institution to effect virtuous change: within Institutional Creation (Defining, Constructing Identities, and Educating) and within institutional maintenance (Policing, Deterring, Embedding and Routinising).

As mentioned in the discussion chapter section 7.2.6, though the analysis from this study did not reveal directly institutional strategies related to bridging, enhancement and experimenting works and bricolage, what did emerge were other new Institutional Work strategies including Autonomy, Association, Summarizing and Feedback, Creating Multiple Channels and Reflection. The use of Institutional Work in this case study certainly enhanced an understanding of effective change measures in emerging institutions in the East.

Fourthly, the theories on Algorithmic Management were examined, and it was confirmed the presence of several aspects of the PickMe application, which are Data and Surveillance, Responsiveness, Automated Evaluations, and Nudges (Mateescu & Nguyen 2019). I confirmed the presence of many challenges in Algorithmic Management when it comes to disseminating virtue in an institution, that of Algorithmic Opacity and Datafication. Though Manipulative Nudging was not confirmed in this research, it has been empirically verified as an ethical challenge for institutions that utilise Algorithmic Management, including Facebook (Gal et al. 2020).

One important research contribution is the combined use of MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics, Institutional Work and nascent theories on Algorithmic Management. The novelty exists in applying these theories together in a non-western context and a non-traditional institutional arrangement (a network institution). Additionally, incorporating the high religiosity of Sri Lankas and the integration of non-market Institutional Work strategies including the influence of religion and family in ethical decision making are also a vital contribution to knowledge.

The specific focus on institutions embedding virtuous conduct in the ride-sharing economy is also novel and vital because such institutions have a tremendous and growing footprint in Asian contexts. In addition, the focus on institutions and workers who function in lower socio-economic levels like drivers in the trishaw industry is a departure from previous studies and warrants specific notice. The population of autorickshaw drivers in Sri Lanka that PickMe partners with is well over 100,000. This affords a tremendous opportunity for virtue agents to influence and embed ethics using institutional arrangements and strategies. This type of institution connects

with everyday Sri Lankas in a way that large and small corporations do not and thus, their institutional actions hold the potential for a radical transformation of the professional conduct in Sri Lankan society and the world at large.

8.3 Research Limitations and Future Research

Over the course of this empirical study, it became apparent that there were some limitations that came up while conducting this research. I will group my description of the limitations into three separate categories: the collection of the qualitative data, the scope of the research design and the size of the sample, as well as the cultural and contextual issues which affected the research.

The first limitation has to do with the fact that this was a single case study and not a comparison of different firms like the Moore (2012), Fernando and Moore (2015) and Chu and Moore (2020) studies had done. This allowed me, however, the energy to concentrate research time on doing a more full-breasted case study research by interviewing institutional members, from senior managers to the trishaw drivers in the company. It also afforded the opportunity to look at secondary data and speak to customers to shed light on the activity of the PickMe institution. However, what is lost in being a single firm case study is the comparability, which specifically hampered the ability to do virtue mapping of organisations and compare across different contexts.

In addition, the actual collection of data presented a challenge because of my lack of linguistic abilities in Sinhala. A challenge emerged when my translator translated the questions given in the interview guide while never questioning the definition or meaning of some of the more nuanced language in the interview questions. This was especially true during the Virtue Ethics questions when notions of 'success' and 'excellence' were mentioned. Further to this, many of the limitations related to my translator are articulated and elaborated on in the Methodology Chapter, section 4.8.

As mentioned in the Methodology chapter section 3.8, while these issues are regrettable, I observed over several days of interviewing that the translator was by and large adept at

conversing with the drivers, building a good rapport with them during the interview and would turn to me when he needed guidance about what to ask next. In addition, despite the few instances of mistranslation, all the original answers from the interviewees were recorded, meaning an analysis of their direct responses was possible. In addition, the translator himself being a native Sri Lankan, had his own vital perspective on virtue, institutions, and of course the culture and traditions in Sri Lank. His contribution to the final analysis of this research cannot be understated.

It can be difficult to analyse the institutional influence on virtue for drivers who have only been associated with the institution for less than a year. This highlights another limitation, in that this was not a longitudinal study, and thus, the data consists of mere snapshots of the senior managers' and drivers' perspective of virtue within PickMe, meaning the ability to understand the inculcation and embedded of virtue *over time* within PickMe is more limited. Lastly, as far as the body of evidence collected for the case analysis on the PickMe institution, it was obviously a limitation that I was unable to acquire the training materials and codes of conduct and ethics as documentary evidence on the institution. The difficulties of obtaining the training materials from PickMe management is itself a significant finding. Some of PickMe's training material can be found online on YouTube, but I failed to translate and transcribe the training videos in a timely fashion and thus they were omitted from the corpus of data involved in this research.

The third limitation has to do with the cultural context in Sri Lanka and my positionality as a researcher. In Chu's study in Taiwan, she suggests that her findings support Koehn's (2013) contention that the combination of East and West virtue traditions suffers 'intractable and incommensurable differences' to which MacIntyre drew attention (MacIntyre 1991:113; Chu 2018). However, as Chu mentions in her context in Taiwan, the context in Sri Lanka begs for further research from a researcher with a Sri Lankan / Buddhist background to further this type of Virtue Ethics research. Such as it is, it was with great humility and care that I attempted to give a catalogue of the virtues embedded in the culture and espoused by native Sri Lankans, given that I am not from Sri Lanka. This dovetails with a similar limitation, which is how much can one really understand about the depths of ethics, values, success and excellence and the perspective

of Sri Lankans when one only spends two weeks in primary research. Future research could benefit from a more immersed researcher who conducts multiple interviews in their native tongue to really plumb the depths of the Sri Lankan worldview regarding virtue and ethics. Scholarly work has suggested that the Institutionalisation of Business Ethics is an ongoing process 'whose operation can be observed only through time' (Barley & Tolbert 1997:100). Because of this, it is important to acknowledge that this case analysis was done in two distinct snapshots, the limitation being that observation of the embedding of virtue over time to see the long-term effect of these Institutional Work practices did not happen.

Speaking of time, it should also be acknowledged as a limitation of research that the two snapshots of time were 1) pre-COVID-19 (January 2020) and 2) during the COVID-19 / Financial Crisis in Sri Lanka (The Economist 2022). These macro-shifts in the political/economic/social context in Sri Lanka provided a volatile environment to study institutional change and work. It has been shared that 'institutional change is best studied during times of apparent stability, where the new complexities it produces are no longer novel, but settled in routines that allow actors to balance competing demands continuously and dynamically' (Adelekan 2022:257; Smets et al. 2017). Therefore, it is recommended that future studies find more stable times to conduct case studies in the Sri Lankan context, to the extent that they are able, to mitigate the effects these macro changes might affect 'changes to their rules, norms, values, and objectives, as well as the work done to realise such changes' (Adelekan 2022:257).

Alongside this, I would encourage future research in the platform / sharing economy with institutions which are more network oriented like PickMe. Firms in this category have a much more complex interaction with embedded and inherited ethical frameworks because of their lack of hierarchical structure as compared with large and small (SME) institutions.

With respect to the virtue and value system interaction between Western and Eastern thinking, and the merging of capitalistic institutions and the Buddhist / Hindu / Muslim / Christian amalgam that forms the basis of Sri Lankan ethical decision-making, more studies would be welcome. On this note, the role of faith, religiosity, and the influence on the impact of social enterprises and

network institutions would also be beneficial. As mentioned in section 1.1.4, Sri Lanka is one of the most religious contexts in the world, and religion plays a significant role in the day-to-day business activities of everyday Sri Lankans. Secondly, the emergence of the platform economy and the advent of Algorithmic Management through digital mechanisms like the PickMe application have raised awareness of its uses and abuses and its interactions with Sri Lankans who work in traditional structures with traditional Sri Lankan values.

Lastly, one opportunity for future research would be the possible merging of the robust theoretical frameworks in MacInytrean Virtue ethics, Institutional Work and Algorithmic Management. As Urban Sharing Organisations grow in size and number in non-western contexts, the merging of MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics with Institutional Work for empirical research could produce some novel and important findings, especially if it generates greater insight on how virtue can be embedded and promoted.

8.4 Recommendations for Management Practice and Policy

Here I humbly suggest recommendations for the PickMe institution (and other Urban Sharing Organisations that exist in similar contexts) on their policy and practice as an institution. Based on the findings, it is suggested that management pursue three fundamental changes to their practice:

Firstly, the core finding that success precedes excellence in work practice of autorickshaw drivers suggests that the drivers cannot feel emboldened to practice excellence in driving (the quality of their service and the practice of virtues in their craft and towards others) until they earn enough income for the day. As such, management could consider incentivising excellence with monetary rewards. Since the star rating system is the *de facto* means by which excellence is measured, a solution is to structure the commission rates such that drivers who procure higher star rates from passengers earn more for that ride (achieved by PickMe taking a smaller commission rate on a sliding scale). In addition, management could re-arrange its bonus structure such that monetary bonuses are not only given for the number of jobs taken during the day or week, but also given when the drivers achieve a consecutive number of five star

rated rides. This way, drivers would be incentivised to practice success and excellence with each ride. One complication to this, as mentioned earlier, is that rewarding excellence could confuse the trishaw drivers. As Moore describes, 'it seems that in each case people were offended by the effort to convert their intrinsic motivation to cooperate into extrinsic motivation—being paid to do good' (Moore 2017:132). This is a potential issue if the institution decides to incentivise excellence.

Secondly, the reflective practices introduced by the application were a valuable addition to the daily rhythms of the autorickshaw drivers. However, the reflection that was prompted by the application did not always lead to lasting change in the professional habits of the drivers. It is suggested that PickMe expand the feedback mechanism from passengers to drivers so that the feedback given by the passengers has the potential to be more relevant, precise, and actionable for the driver.

It was also noted the lack of ethical leadership, ethical mentorship and ethical valorising as programmes initiated by management. Also, it was noted that many of the drivers joined PickMe from autorickshaw unions that persisted throughout the city and provided a social context where drivers could potentially model, encourage, and mentor one another in professional practice. It is suggested that PickMe consider re-introducing those practices by linking drivers to one another with the intention of fostering peer-to-peer mentor relationships. Initiatives such as:

- ❖ Linking more seasoned, high-star rated drivers to newer drivers
- ❖ Linking urban origin drivers with rural origin drivers
- ❖ Creating regional hubs and spaces for drivers to engage with drivers who originate from their same area
- ❖ Instituting ride-along programs for new drivers or drivers who are struggling with a low star rating
- ❖ Highlighting and profiling drivers who exhibit excellent ethical conduct in the media and internally.

❖ Providing frequent in-service (paid) trainings to encourage, equip and train drivers in excellence and ethical conduct, using current and seasoned drivers as the trainers.

Regarding the virtues embedded in the autorickshaw drivers, it should be acknowledged the positive effect the institution has had on influencing the drivers to grow in cleanliness and self-care. Management could consider ways to reinforce and encourage the inherent virtues of honesty, transparency, reliability, compassion, helpfulness, and tenacity, in addition to the newly recognised virtues of acquiescence and moderation. One practical initiative that has succeeded in other similar contexts is giving recognition to drivers who exhibit virtues that management holds in high regard. The Peace Auto Initiative in Bangalore holds annual Peace Awards for the driver who excels in his professional conduct (peaceauto.org 2013).

One reality that management surely faces is that the institution maintained a comparatively low amount of influence on the ethical and professional conduct of the drivers who joined the institution. Parents, family, school, previous work experiences and religion held greater influence than the institution in influencing the ethical mindset of the driver. In light of this, it recommended that institutional managers consider how to learn from and grow in the understanding of the ethical framework that the drivers are bringing into the community when they join the institution so that they can build upon and support the ethical thinking the drivers already possess. This could be achieved through Open Communication (and implicit ethical programme in IBE) that is bi-lateral in nature, recognising the inherent humanity of each of the drivers and learning how they make moral decisions in their life and work. As noted in section 3.2.1, firms in the Netherlands found success in imparting professional practice through what they refer to as a 'dialogue strategy', making ethical dilemmas that employees encounter open to conversation and collective decision-making (Driscoll & Tesfayohannes 2009). This they found led to a strong community of interconnectedness (Gibb 2005). Such a dialogue strategy might be useful in the South Asian context among institutions in the Sharing Economy.

Lastly, PickMe and other USOs could consider the ways in which they can minimise the negative effects of algorithmic management on the virtuous conducts of their employees. Here greater communication from management about the design of the application would benefit the drivers. As mentioned in section 3.4.5, the inscrutable nature of the application can lead the drivers to feel devalued and confused (Gal et al. 2020). The effects of algorithmic opacity and datafication, which found evidence in the data in this case study, can rob the driver of their ability to cultivate virtue or contribute to the decision-making process of the digital application. Therefore, it is recommended that management reverse the opacity of the application by welcoming the drivers into the application's design process, even incorporating decisions on things like the rating system, rewards and punishments, and what criteria would give rise to blocking drivers from using the app. Management could set up a technology committee made up entirely of experienced drivers who can learn about the various design elements of application and their effect. It would be vital that the drivers have a voice in the design process and that their contributions aren't minimized.

Now that we have covered the management practice and policy recommendations, I will share my final thoughts from this research project.

8.5 Final Thoughts

The title of this thesis is 'Fostering Virtue Among Autorickshaw Drivers: Embedding Virtuous Conduct in Network Institutions in Sri Lanka: A Case Study of an Urban Sharing Institution'. The title implies that trishaw drivers are in a state of needing virtue fostered in their context. This was partially true as our introduction chapter shared that the public perception of autorickshaw drivers in Asia and specifically in Sri Lanka had a perception among the riding public as cheaters and thugs. Most, however, would acknowledge that the industry is not altogether corrupt and vicious. In addition, it is not true that the new sharing economy forces at play in the industry have been so influential in their impact as to persuade autorickshaw drivers to forego their 'vicious' habits and adopt virtuous ones, though this case study has shown that the institutional forces from PickMe have made some impact.

As hopefully this research project has shown, the PickMe institution did have some influence on the industry in Sri Lanka and specifically on the trishaw drivers that joined the institution. Using Institutional Work strategies, PickMe management effected change, sometimes significantly so, in the professional conduct of the drivers, in addition to virtuous practices that developed over time among the drivers. Along the way, the usefulness of the MacIntyrean Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution framework in non-western, loosely organised contexts has been validated, as well as notions of external and internal goods (fundamental for the understanding of Virtue Ethics) in such a context and among such a population. The benefits and challenges of Algorithmic Management were touched on, a strategy employed by an increasing number of technology firms, especially in the Sharing Economy. In sum, I hope that this thesis has succeeded in articulating the planned research, findings, and conclusions with contributions to those disciplines; ultimately, in extending research on how institutions can promote and embed virtue for the good of society and for the glory of God.

CHAPTER NINE: EPILOGUE - Implications for the Transformational Mission of the Christian Church

9.1 Links between the Bible, Transformational Mission and Ethics

As I mentioned in section 1.5, which spoke to my motivations for this research, the reason this research project intrigued me as a researcher was that I believed that part of the Christian Church's mission must be to encourage, promote and embed virtue in institutions throughout the world and society at large. Surely, I believed, the faith that holds as its greatest commandment to 'love others the way you want to be loved' (a command mentioned in many places in Scripture, perhaps most succinctly in Mark 12:28-34) must have a purposive role in promoting virtue and character within institutions outside the halls of the church. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, there might exist methods and means by which the church itself can learn how to encourage virtuous conduct and create virtuous institutions from non-Christian case studies such as these. This was the basis of my inquiry and why my research was conducted in partnership with the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies in Oxford.

Various sources make clear the root of ethics in the mission of the Christian Church and will be examined here. It can be seen from the Old Testament that the ultimate source of the Christian Ethic is God himself. As Rem Edwards suggests, in the Christian metaphysic, God 'gives the universe its basic order' and its 'formal statistical patterns', which are referred to as His natural laws (Edwards 2017:62). Further to this and with regard to the ethical order created by the God of the Bible, Beach suggests that 'Eternal Law is the transcendent blueprint of the whole order of the universe... Natural Law is the enactment of God's eternal law in the created world and discerned by human reason' (Beach 1988:11–12). Aquinas divided the ethical law into four separate but interrelated categories, the eternal, divine, natural, and positive. The divine law he defined as the portion of the eternal law, the overarching plan of creation, which God has chosen to reveal to men in the Bible (Carnes 1967)

There are many Old Testament scriptures which describe and extol the Divine Law. One of the more poetic meditations on the ethical order the God of the Bible created can be found in Psalm 19, which says:

The Law of the Lord is perfect, restoring the soul;

The testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple.

The precepts of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart;

The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes.

The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring forever;

The judgments of the Lord are true; they are righteous altogether.

They are more desirable than gold, yes, than much pure gold;

Sweeter also than honey and drippings of the honeycomb.

Moreover, your servant is warned by them;

In keeping them, there is great reward.

(Psalm 19: 7-11, NASB)

From this Psalm, it is evident that the Law of God (his ethical code of conduct for humanity) bears many characteristics. Firstly, it is observed that the origins of the Law of God is God himself. Secondly, the redemptive, restorative power inherent in this code of conduct for those that habituate its commands is evident. Also, there are the elements of Virtue Ethics' notions of the internal good (restoring the soul, enlightening the eyes, making wise the simple, etc.) and external good (great reward) for those who, in fact, form a habit of 'keeping them'. Notice that the Psalmist does not qualify the biblical ethic as for the faithful alone, but the promises of enlightenment, restoration and reward are for anyone who adopts His Law as a habit for life. Later in the Old Testament, the Prophet Micah summarises God's will for humanity simply by stating: 'He has told you, mortal one, what is good; And what does the Lord require of you, but to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?' (Micah 6:8 NASB). In this, it can be seen that the God of the Bible has laid out His ethical code plainly, that He promotes

things that are 'good', and that the substance of that code highlights justice, kindness, and humility.

Jeremiah 29:7 is a key biblical verse regarding the mission of God's people to encourage virtue. Written for the displaced Prophet Daniel who was exiled with others in Babylon, the author Jeremiah writes, 'Seek the shalom (peace) of the city to which I have carried you' (Jeremiah 29:7 NASB). On this, Christopher Wright comments that 'Shalom, as is well known, is a wonderfully broad word. It goes beyond peace as the absence of conflict or war to the all-around welfare of well-being. It speaks of the wholeness of life and the kind of prospering that the Old Testament included in the blessing of God as the fruit of covenant faithfulness' (C. J. H. Wright 2010:359). It is my contention that implicit in this wholeness of life (Shalom) is the command to followers of Christ to seek the propagation of virtuous conduct.

Within the New Testament, a central biblical verse for ethical conduct is what is popularly known as the Golden Rule. Jesus may have shared the golden rule many times, but he did so particularly towards the end of the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5-7), considered by many to be the greatest homily on moral behaviour in the New Testament. In summary of these moral teachings, Jesus remarks, 'In everything, therefore, treat people the same way you want them to treat you, for this is the Law and the Prophets' (Matthew 7:12). Here, Jesus is summarising all the Old Testament Law and Prophets in a single command. Known in scholarly terms as the 'ethics of reciprocity', the golden rule has been described by scholars as 'neighbourly love, including for strangers', which is 'stressed throughout Christian tradition' (Melé 2009:231). Uniquely, the golden rule has been articulated in a variety of religious and non-religious traditions and holds the rare position of being 'one of the few candidates for a universally acceptable moral' ethic (Burton & Goldsby 2005:372). Some scholars believe the golden rule to be more a meta-ethic, a biblical ethic from which all other ethical norms flow (Maxwell 2003).

The key text on mission in the New Testament is found in Matthew Chapter 28, when Jesus gives what is popularly known as the Great Commission. In Jesus' final words to his disciples and the church that would follow, he said, 'All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to Me. Go, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to follow all that I commanded you; and behold, I am with you always, to the end of the age.' (Matthew 28:19-20, NASB) Of note here is the use of the word 'disciple' as well as the command to teach others 'all that I have commanded you.' Richard Higginson argues that the use of the word disciple implies that Jesus is charging his disciples to make 'faithful and intimate followers' and not just believers who make a verbal or mental assent of belief (Higginson & Robertshaw 2017:204). He goes further to suggest that this use of the word 'disciple' and teaching them 'all I have commanded' implies an intentional, consistent life of modelling, demonstrating and instructing others in the commands of Jesus, i.e. the moral and behavioural imperatives that Jesus taught the disciples earlier (Higginson & Robertshaw 2017). In Higginson's own research project on Christian entrepreneurship, one Christian interviewee remarked, 'The question is not whether discipling takes place, but rather, 'What are employees like after they have been discipled?' School leavers and graduates come to us at eighteen or twenty-three years of age. They stay with us for a period and as their first boss, we shape their attitudes to work, clients, the profession, service, colleagues, money and many other things' (Higginson & Robertshaw 2017:205). In fact, in the authors' 50-interview study, one of four themes that emerged about the mindset of the Christian entrepreneurs was that they believed followers of Jesus should embody 'Christian values – expressed in the highest standards of business ethics which flow from Christian faith' (Higginson & Robertshaw 2017:205). In sum, the great commission, as articulated in Matthew Chapter 28, seems to suggest that the mission of the Christian Church necessitates Christians entering non-Christian contexts that model, demonstrate and speak about the ethical imperatives implicit in Jesus' commands.

Of course, Jesus was not the only speaker on ethics in the New Testament. Much has been written about the Christian Ethic of the Apostle Paul. Schreiner believed that the foundations of Paul's ethical views centred on the cross of Christ (Schreiner 2006). Other scholars suggest that 'Paul has more to say about human nature [and ethical behaviour] than any other early Christian author' (Engberg-Pedersen 2001:165). Particularly in the books of 1 Corinthians and Ephesians, scholars suggest that Paul is enjoining Christians to 'practice the cross' by living in unity, with self-sacrifice and with Christian hope as a motivation for ethical conduct. Williams suggests that 'The cross is increasingly recognised as providing a general foundation for Christian ethics' (Williams 2003:131). Romans 6 says that the 'free gift of God is eternal life through Christ our Lord' (Romans 6:23 NASB), which was facilitated by Christ dying on the cross. Christians' belief in Christ's sacrifice and living the resurrected life afforded by that sacrifice allows followers of Jesus to 'do those things that lead to holiness and result in eternal life' (Romans 6:22 NASB). Here it is evident that the Apostle Paul's statements about the cross of Christ are a key pivot point in the practice of virtuous conduct.

Philippians provides a taught explanation of how Christians ought to regard God's ethical code of conduct. Appealing to the Philippian church's moral inclination, he writes:

'Finally, brothers and sisters, whatever is true, whatever is honourable, whatever is right, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is commendable, if there is any excellence and if anything, worthy of praise, think about these things. As for the things you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, practice these things, and the God of peace will be with you' (Philippians 4:8-9 NASB).

It is the injunction to both 'think about these things' and 'practice these things' which accords with MacIntyrean Virtue Ethics regarding 'character traits, such as a habitual action or a settled sentiment' (Hursthouse 2018:2). A virtue is 'what happens when someone has made a thousand small choices, requiring effort and concentration, to do something which is good and right but which doesn't 'come naturally' – and then on the thousand and first time, when it really matters, we find that they do what's required 'automatically' as we say' (N. T. Wright

2010:20). Later, scholar N.T. Wright states that 'virtue is what happens when the wise and courageous choices have become 'second nature'' (N. T. Wright 2010:20). Wright goes further to describe how Christians should espouse virtue in the public square when he writes:

'there are many things out there in the wider world which, because of God's goodness in creation, really are true, holy, upright, pure, attractive, well-reputed, virtuous, and praiseworthy. Christians should not be mealy-mouthed about this. We should be the first to give praise where praise is due, and equally, to 'think through these things', to ponder them, to inquire how they work and the effect they have' (Wright 2011:198).

It is this intentional, purposive practice of demonstrating and espousing virtue and ethics to the non-believing world that seems inherent in the mission of the Christian Church.

Christopher Wright considers 1 Thessalonians and Paul's injunctions to 'make it your ambition to lead a quiet life and attend to your own business and work with your hands' (1 Thessalonians 4:11 NASB) when discussing ethics and the mission of the church. He remarks:

'Paul's frequent exhortations to "do good" should not be construed merely as "being nice" … the term also carried a common social connotation of public service and benefaction. Christians should be among those who bring the greatest public good to the public arena and thereby commend the biblical gospel' (C. J. H. Wright 2010:364).

This interpretation highlights the link between bringing a public good (virtue) to society and the mission of the Christian church to spread the good news.

In a summary description of the many followers of God written about in the Bible, Christopher Wright writes:

'The distinctiveness of God's people in the Bible is not merely religious (we happen to worship a different god from most other people), but ethical (we are called to live by different standards). And this includes public as well as private morality, though they cannot really be separated' (C. J. H. Wright 2010:366).

It is evident that from Old and New Testament sources, ethics is integrally linked to the mission of the Christian Church. Through this, the charge for Christians is not just to be ethical but also to promote ethics, virtues, and principles in the world. More recent examples of how ethics links with the mission of the Christian Church in mission studies will now be explored.

9.2 Modern Mission Examples of the Prominence of Ethics

During the Reformation, Martin Luther became an advocate for the mission of God extending to the workplace. He espoused the idea that believers were called to the workplace as a context where they glorified God by providing a service to others (Childs 1995; Werner 2008). Four centuries later, in 1974, the Lausanne Covenant spoke about bringing the whole gospel to the whole world. One of their statements highlighted to need to deploy Christian men and women to enter the business world as a critical step in fulfilling the great commission:

'God is raising up a new workforce of men and women from around the world. These men and women are on a mission for God's glory in and through business. Christian leaders in business, church, missions and beyond have all concurred that God is at work and business as mission is dynamically meeting the various needs of a world in desperate need of the whole Gospel! These people (or potential ones) hold some of the most critical keys to potentially demonstrate the kingdom of God' (Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization 2004:29)

Implicit in this command is that businesses are a vital context where the kingdom of God is demonstrated. Vishal Mangalwadi in his popular book Truth and Transformation decries the moral depravity of the East and the declining moral fibre of the West. He goes on to share a story to highlight the value and merit of ethical instruction prior to the gospel advancing among the lost. In reading this example it should be borne in mind that the British colonisation of India is morally suspect, and the actions of Charles Grant, whilst motivated by a desire to promote a moral transformation in India, can legitimately face a charge of hypocrisy.

'Charles Grant, who played the most important role in starting the moral transformation of the British rule in India, witnessed the practical outworking of the philosophy of moral relativism. In

the 1770s and early 1780s, he saw hordes of hundreds and thousands of sannyasis (religious ascetics and priests) who came into Malda, in Bengal, to loot and plunder. Grant was amazed that the Indian soldiers in the British army refused to fight against these religious robbers because to oppose sannyasis was sacrilegious. Grant began the campaign for giving India a philosophical basis for moral absolutes. This mission aimed at a religious-philosophical / moral transformation of India via evangelisation' (Mangalwadi 2009:212)..

Another anecdote illustrating the link between the mission of the Christian Church and ethics, is the example of the China Inland Mission (CIM) and their response to the destruction of mission compounds, churches and martyrdom of many missionaries and Chinese Christians during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. After the Boxer Uprising finally ended, reparations were offered to CIM for the financial loss they suffered during the uprising. CIM refused the reparations because of their own integrity not to show dependence on the state, but rather to depend on God himself for provision and as a demonstration of love and generosity towards the government and others in need (Fung 2010). The strength of character was so powerfully demonstrated in this act that the governor of Shanxi, who himself was not a Christian, posted several placards throughout his province on 11 October 1901, placing them wherever CIM had suffered grievous loss during the rebellion, which read:

'The Mission, in rebuilding these Churches with its own funds, aims in so doing to fulfil the command of the Saviour of the World, that all men should love their neighbours as themselves, I, the Governor, charge you all, gentry, scholars, army and people, those of you who are fathers to exhort your sons, and those who are elder sons to exhort your younger brothers, to bear in mind the example of Pastor Hoste [and the China Inland Mission], who is able to forbear and forgive as taught by Jesus to do so… signed by the Governor of Shanxi' (China Inland Mission 1902:33,36).

Now that the biblical basis for ethics and the mission of the Christian Church has been examined, as well as modern missionary demonstrations of such, the specific findings from this study will be explored as they connect with the mission of the Christian Church.

9.3 Implications from Virtue Ethics for the Mission of the Christian Church

There are many findings in the field of Virtue Ethics that relate to the effectiveness of the mission of the modern church in Sri Lanka and outside of that context. As was mentioned in our Introduction Chapter section 1.1.4, Christianity has a complex and somewhat problematic history in Sri Lanka. Christianity came to Sri Lanka in the 6th century AD but didn't take root until the 15th century through Portuguese missionary efforts (Elliott 1995). Later, under British rule, the conversion of Sri Lankans to Christianity was brought about through colonialism. It was a coordinated effort by the British to convert members of Sri Lankan society, not only to Christianity, but also to a western way of life (Jayawardena-Willis et al. 2019). This emergence of what they called the Black Englishmen fits historian Lord Macaulay's description of one who was 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect' (Viswanathan 2014:16). The result was what Jayawardena suggests was a general neglect and rejection of native languages and culture. (Jayawardena-Willis et al. 2019) The Christian Church today has an opportunity to learn from past mistakes as well as present-day institutions (like PickMe) about how to persuade Sri Lankans (no longer from a position of power) positively and humbly to a Christian understanding of virtue, virtuous conduct, and the Christian Ethic.

One key finding was that many of the Sri Lankan drivers attributed notions of success to their workplace behaviour and decorum. This accords with biblical notions of integrity and the pursuit of something other than external rewards (e.g., money). In addition, notions of Excellence and Quality work were readily understood by the Sri Lankan drivers. Many of them understood and valued excellence as a practice of helping others, thinking about others, respecting others as well as being reliable and working hard and honestly. This accords with many of the Bible's injunctions and any mission engaging with Sri Lankan drivers will find many sympathetic listeners as several of their practices align with those of Christianity. In the catalogue of noted virtues from the qualitative interviews, humility, patience, respect and courtesy, hospitality and honesty were widespread in their driver community.

There are many empirical studies that validate this link between Ethics and the Mission of the Christian Church. In Fernando's study on spirituality in the workplace in Sri Lanka, he found that many of the senior managers in Sri Lanka held that if an organisation 's leadership 'promoted religion-based spirituality in the workplace, it would be a 'loss making' and 'a foolish thing' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:239). They believed that doing so would privilege one religion over another. This, no doubt, is a controversial issue in any country, but certainly one as diverse as Sri Lanka, that could 'foster zealotry at the expense of organisational goals, offend stakeholders and decrease morale and employee wellbeing' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:245; Giacalone et al. 2005). In speaking about what levers management can use to promote virtuous conduct, Fernando espoused their self-actualisation model and stated that the 'right action of employees via intrinsic motivation is a far more effective process than an externally formulated set of rules' (Fernando & Nilakant 2008:245). All this leads to suggestions for the Christian Church to engage with Sri Lankan institutions. If Fernando's findings are to be taken at face value, the Christian church should at least consider ways to promote and embed the right action using non-religious based spirituality and through intrinsic motivation within the context of Sri Lanka. A deeper and more nuanced discussion is warranted here; the implications of such findings may lead to concerns that the mission element of the church is being lost, but this need not necessarily be so.

Other business scholarship has made significant strides in research on virtue in a non-Christian context. A study of German and British Christian entrepreneurs found the conceptual framework of 'holiness' to be highly influential in the leadership of these owner-managers (Werner 2008). Holiness is a concept that 'in the Christian tradition usually refers to the moral qualities of believers such as purity, integrity, moral perfection and sanctity, which believers should develop as a response to God's holiness' (Werner 2008:455). Many of the owner-managers, in line with Mikolaski's work, understood Jesus as a 'role model or pattern of holiness' in their functions as businessmen and among their colleagues and subordinates (Werner 2008:455; Mikolaski 1992). This supports the notion that the ethical and moral practices within Christianity were meant to be modelled from person to person, with the prime model being Christ.

As far as the influences toward virtuous conduct are concerned, there is hope for any mission or church looking to engage with Sri Lankan drivers. Many of the drivers in this research acknowledged that the PickMe institution did influence them in their virtuous conduct, as well as customers, family, school, and religious affiliation. The influence of the institution was most clearly demonstrated by this remark from Driver 19 (via the interpreter): 'But once he joined PickMe, they automatically become disciplined and adopted good habits like wishing customers a good morning or giving up smoking.' Ethical qualities often were inculcated in the drivers when they join PickMe. They are told at the beginning by the PickMe management how to do their job. Drivers are told to be patient and not aggressive. Since PickMe is a partnership between the rider and the company, PickMe generally expects them to be good, responsible drivers and be honest when paying the commission. They consider understanding between the company and drivers to be an adequate foundation of trust. This gives hope for the church's transformational mission strategy, which should, based on the argument presented above, have an inherent desire to express influence on the ethical practices of those outside the church. However, as mentioned above, the locus of influence on virtuous conduct was not held by those inside the institution but from a multitude of entities, giving encouragement to churches and missions that influence is possible from a variety of sources.

Virtues Espoused in Sri Lanka

- Fairness & Equity
- Charity
- Temperance, Contentment
- Equanimity
- Compassion & Empathy & Loving-Kindness
- Sympathetic Joy
- Family
- Other-mindedness
- Diligence and Discipline

Figure 22: Virtues Espoused in Sri Lanka

In addition, while I have not produced a comparative analysis of the differences between Buddhist and Christian Ethics, there is considerable overlap between the catalogue of virtues in both religions. Of the espoused virtues in Sri Lanka (of which Buddhist virtues form a foundation) that were mentioned previously, many are shared in the Christian faith: Fairness, Contentment, Compassion, Loving-Kindness, and Other-mindedness, to name a few have their counterparts in Christianity. One virtue that Aristotle himself considered a vice, *humility*, is also shared between Christianity and Buddhism (MacIntyre 2007). All this is to say that there is a tremendous opportunity for the Christian Church to leverage resident virtues within Buddhism to influence ethical conduct.

What is missing from the Buddhist catalogue of virtues that Christianity supplies? Many Christian Ethicists, including MacIntyre himself, consider *faith, hope* and *love* to be the primary virtues in the Biblical canon (MacIntyre 2007). These three virtues form the key theological virtues in the Christian tradition. They are articulated in 1 Corinthians chapter 13, which states 'But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love' (ASV). Strikingly missing from the catalogue of virtues mentioned in Figure 21 are the Christian virtues of faith and hope. Given this, it is therefore suggested that the Christian Church consider approaching the Sri Lankan non-believer with the virtues of faith and hope.

In addition, the verse in 1 Corinthians states that Love is that greatest of the theological virtues, and Buddhists define loving-kindness as a virtue. However, their definitions for love are different. Loving-kindness is defined in Buddhism as the 'individual's ability to altruistically connect and care for others by wishing them happiness' (Jayawardena-Willis et al. 2019:3). By contrast, the highest form of love in the Bible is *agape* love, being defined as an unconditional, sacrificial love which seeks the serve the recipient with humility (Garland 2023). This is the type of love which is modelled by Jesus on the cross. The Buddhist definition of love is employed in the Bible with the Greek word *phileo* which is defined as brotherly kindness. *Phileo* love, however, is subordinate to *agape love* being the 'highest kind of love' (Garland 2023:2) and the Christian Church should consider how they might garner interest in Christianity through the sharing and modelling of *agape* love.

9.4 Implications from Institutional Theory for the Mission of the Christian Church

Within the scope of Institutional Theory, there were many findings that crosslinked with the Mission of the Christian Church and that can be highlighted. The first one regards notions of Defining Rules Systems. Managers at PickMe were able to help drivers understand protocols for greeting the customer and projecting a friendly demeanour, as well as taking care of one's body and cleanliness. Within the Institutional Work practice of creating identities, management at PickMe was effective in helping upgrade many of its drivers in their identities as skilled, disciplined, and responsible drivers. Lastly, PickMe Management was effective in policing and

deterring poor behaviour primarily vis-à-vis the ride-sharing app. They used many of the Institutional Work functions of monitoring, inducing, and enforcing to modify and improve the driver's behaviour. All these, taken into consideration suggest a considerable amount of influence from institutional managers over the PickMe drivers. This suggests that any church or mission interested in engaging rickshaw drivers at this level has the potential for a great deal of influence on the habits and identities of those with whom they engage.

In addition, it is notable that despite the fact that autorickshaw industry has existed independent of institutional influences for many decades, in the present day there seems to exist an openness to influence from institutional managers. The drivers seemed open to change in their professional conduct, especially if there were monetary incentives to do so, and the drivers were not set in their ways nor averse to adopting new habits. This is commendable and presents an advantage for any church looking to engage with this community. Also, in the spirit of love and humility, the church should influence autorickshaw drivers with an eagerness to respectfully listen, showing concern and interest for the drivers, avoiding exploitation of any kind demonstrated by the imperialistic failures of the past.

9.5 Implications from Algorithmic Management for the Mission of the Christian Church

As has been shown, Algorithmic Management concerns the use of digital applications and software as digital intermediaries expressing management functions from one member in an institution to another. It became clear in my research on the PickMe institution that the PickMe application had become the *de facto* means by which the leaders managed their driver-partners in the execution of their roles. This study found that management had created the application to clearly express managerial actions through the use of surveillance, automated decision-making, automated evaluations, and nudging (through in-app pop-ups and SMSs). These actions gave rise to many ethical challenges in the use of Algorithmic Management, those of: Algorithmic Opacity, Datafication and Nudging (Gal et al. 2020). As was mentioned earlier in the Findings chapter on Algorithmic Management in section 6.4, these challenges can potentially limit drivers' 'ability to cultivate virtue and flourish' (Gal et al. 2020:1). Certainly, the passengers themselves had a large

role in influencing the professional conduct of the drivers through the rating system, but how PickMe's algorithm is organised, summarised and ultimately utilises that information should give some cause for concern.

These findings might suggest a cautionary tale for churches and missions looking to create institutions using Algorithmic Management as a general practice. Christianity is fundamentally relational and the moral and ethical modelling required to disciple others in Christian virtues could be hampered if the expression of influence functioned primarily through a digital application. The challenges of algorithmic opacity, datafication and nudging can potentially rob users of their humanity and the ability to be known and truly understood but others. This can prevent the bringer of good news from truly engaging with the personhood of the non-believer and modelling the life of Christ through personal relationships. As the world becomes increasingly digitised and the use of technology deployed to promulgate the Christian message, it may be worth further investigation as well.

Lastly, let me end this chapter with a quote on the importance of moral behaviour and virtuous conduct. Christopher Wright describes the importance of ethics with these remarks:

'Moral integrity is essential to Christian distinctiveness, which in turn is essential to Christian mission in the public arena. Integrity means that there is no dichotomy between our private and public 'face'; between the sacred and the secular in our lives, between the person I am at work and the person I am in the church; between what we say and what we do; between what we claim to believe and what we practice' (C. J. H. Wright 2010:367).

As Wright suggests, moral integrity is essential to the Christian mission in the public arena. A study such as this on how to promote and encourage virtuous conduct within non-western institutions should warrant serious consideration by the Christian Church.

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APPENDIX I – Interview Questions from January 2020

Preliminary / Introductory Questions (Name, Contact Info, When and why they joined PickMe, Role in the PickMe)

1. How would you describe the mission and purpose of PickMe?

2. How do you view success in your professional conduct?

3. How do you view excellence in your professional conduct?

4. How does PickMe view success as an institution?

5. How does PickMe view excellence as an institution?

6. What is the relationship between excellence and success? Does excellence lead to success, or success to excellence, or are they unrelated?

7. Score the present balance in the organisation on a 1–10 scale between pursuit of excellence and success.

8. What is the ideal balance for PickMe on a 1–10 scale between pursuit of excellence and success?

9. What are practical, formal, or informal, ways that PickMe encourages excellence in your daily work?

10. How effective are these ways in encouraging excellence?

11. How would you describe the mission and purpose of PickMe?

12. How do you view success in your professional conduct?

13. How do you view excellence in your professional conduct?

14. How does PickMe view success as an institution?

15. How does PickMe view excellence as an institution?

16. What is the relationship between excellence and success? Does excellence lead to success, or success to excellence, or are they unrelated?

17. Score the present balance in the organisation on a 1–10 scale between pursuit of excellence and success.

18. What is the ideal balance for PickMe on a 1–10 scale between pursuit of excellence and success?

19. What are practical, formal, or informal, ways that PickMe encourages excellence in your daily work?

20. How effective are these ways in encouraging excellence?

APPENDIX II – Interview Questions from March 2022

Preliminary / Introductory Questions (Name, Contact Info, When and why they joined PickMe, Role in the PickMe)

1. What is the relationship between excellence and success? Does excellence lead to success, or success to excellence, or are they unrelated?

2. In what way is ethical behaviour crucial to the makeup and functioning of PickMe? (Singhapakdi et al. 2010). (IBE)

3. What are practical, formal, or informal, ways that PickMe encourages excellence in your daily work? How effective are they?

4. What types of ethical programmes exist at PickMe to encourage ethics and excellence in the workplace? (e.g., code of ethics, ethics training and manuals, corporate culture, expectation of high level of professionalism and honesty)

5. What are some of the rewards (benefits) or sanctions (punishments) offered to drivers to adopt ethical practices? (IBE)

6. What are the mechanics of the star system? What virtues or values is it attempting to encourage? (Rating System)

7. Where do you feel PickMe's approach is inappropriate or lacking in encouraging ethics in the workplace?

8. How would you describe the mission and purpose of PickMe?

9. How do you view success in your professional conduct? (any examples)

10. How do you view excellence in your professional conduct? (any examples

11. How does PickMe view success as an institution?

12. How does PickMe view excellence as an institution?

13. What is the relationship between excellence and success? Does excellence lead to success,

14. How would you describe PickMe's managers' role in providing moral leadership for the organisation ? To what extent and how do they see themselves in nurturing the moral excellence of PickMe's individual members? (Virtue Ethics)

15. What messages does PickMe try to convey to drivers about the reason(s) for being ethical? (Moral Motivation)

16. To what extent and how does PickMe encourage problem-solving in moral dilemmas that the drivers face? (Moral Motivation)

17. What would you suggest are the values or virtues held in high regard by most Sri Lankans? (previous studies show strong dedication to the task, commitment to quality and personal attention to customers (Ranasinghe 1996) (Isomorphism) How these virtues impact their work?

2022 ஆம் ஆண்டு மார்ச் மாதத்தில் இலங்கை, கொழும்பில் முச்சக்கர வண்டி ஓட்டுநர்களுடன் நேர்காணலுக்கான முன்மொழியப்பட்ட கேள்விகள்

ஆரம்ப / அறிமுகக் கேள்விகள் (பெயர், தொடர்புத் தகவல், அவர்கள் எப்போது, ஏன் PickMe இல் இணைந்தனர், PickMe இல் அவர்களது பாத்திரம்)

1. வெற்றியிலிருந்து மிகச் சிறப்பினை அடைவதற்காகவா, அல்லது அவை தொடர்பில்லாதவையா?

2. PickMe இன் அமைப்பு மற்றும் செயற்பாட்டிற்கு நெறிமுறை நடத்தை எந்த வகையில் முக்கியமானது? (Singhapakdi et al. 2010). (IBE)

3. PickMe உங்கள் அன்றாட வேலையில் சிறந்து விளங்குவதை ஊக்குவிக்கும் நடைமுறை, முறைசார் அல்லது முறைசாரா வழிகள் யாவை? அவை எவ்வளவு பயனுள்ளதாக இருக்கும்?

4. பணியிடத்தில் நெறிமுறைகள் மற்றும் சிறப்பை ஊக்குவிக்க PickMe இல் என்ன வகையான நெறிமுறைத் திட்டங்கள் உள்ளன? (உ.ம். நெறிமுறைக் கோவை, நெறிமுறைப் பயிற்சி மற்றும் கையேடுகள், பெருநிறுவன கலாசாரம், தொழில்வாண்மை மற்றும் நேர்மை தொடர்பான உயர் மட்ட எதிர்பார்ப்பு)

5. நெறிமுறை நடைமுறைகளைப் பின்பற்ற ஓட்டுநர்களுக்கு வழங்கப்படும் சில வெகுமதிகள் (அனுகூலங்கள்) அல்லது தடைகள் (தண்டனைகள்) என்ன? (IBE)

6. நட்சத்திர அமைப்பின் இயக்கவியல் என்ன? இது என்ன நற்பண்புகள் அல்லது மதிப்புகளை ஊக்குவிக்க முயற்சிக்கிறது? (தரப்படுத்தல் முறை)

7. PickMe இன் அணுகுமுறை பொருத்தமற்றது அல்லது பணியிடத்தில் நெறிமுறைகளை ஊக்குவிப்பதில் குறைபாடு உள்ளதாக நீங்கள் எங்கு உணர்கிறீர்கள்?

8. PickMe இன் செயற்பணி மற்றும் நோக்கத்தை எவ்வாறு விவரிப்பீர்கள்?

9. உங்கள் தொழில்வாண்மை நடத்தையில் வெற்றியை எப்படி நோக்குகின்றீர்கள்? (ஏதாவது உதாரணங்கள்)

10. உங்கள் தொழில்வாண்மை நடத்தையில் சிறந்து விளங்குவதை நீங்கள் எவ்வாறு பார்க்கிறீர்கள்? (ஏதாவது உதாரணங்கள்)

11. வெற்றியை ஒரு நிறுவனமாக PickMe எவ்வாறு பார்க்கிறது?

12. PickMe ஒரு நிறுவனமாக சிறந்து விளங்குவதை எவ்வாறு பார்க்கிறது?

13. சிறப்பிற்கும் வெற்றிக்கும் உள்ள தொடர்பு என்ன? சிறப்பு வெற்றிக்கு வழிவகுக்குமா,

14. நிறுவனத்திற்கு தார்மீக தலைமைத்துவத்தை வழங்குவதில் PickMe இன் முகாமையாளர்களின் பங்கை எவ்வாறு விவரிப்பீர்கள்? PickMe இன் தனிப்பட்ட உறுப்பினர்களின் தார்மீக சிறப்பை வளர்ப்பதில் அவர்கள் எந்த அளவிற்கு, எப்படி தங்களைப் பார்க்கிறார்கள்? (அறம், நெறிமுறைகள்)

15. PickMe நெறிமுறையுடன் இருப்பதற்கான காரணங்களைப் பற்றி ஓட்டுநர்களுக்கு என்ன செய்திகளை தெரிவிக்க முயற்சிக்கிறது? (தார்மீக உந்துதல்)

16. ஓட்டுநர்கள் எதிர்கொள்ளும் தார்மீக இக்கட்டான சிக்கல்களைத் தீர்ப்பதை PickMe எந்த அளவிற்கு, எப்படி ஊக்குவிக்கிறது? (தார்மீக உந்துதல்)

17. பெரும்பாலான இலங்கையர்களால் உயர்வாகக் கருதப்படும் விழுமியங்கள் அல்லது நற்பண்புகள் என்ன என்று நீங்கள் பரிந்துரைப்பீர்கள்? (முந்தைய ஆய்வுகள் பணிக்கான வலுவான அர்ப்பணிப்பு, தரத்திற்கான அர்ப்பணிப்பு மற்றும்

வாடிக்கையாளர்களுக்கான தனிப்பட்ட கவனம் (ரணசிங்க 1996) (சமவுருவுடைமை (ஐசோமார்பிசம்), இந்த நற்பண்புகள் அவர்களின் வேலையை எவ்வாறு பாதிக்கின்றன?

කොළඔ රැකියාව කරන ත්‍රී රෝද රට රියදුරන්ගේ සම්මුඛ පරීක්ෂණ සඳහා යෝජිත ප්‍රශ්න - 2022 මාර්තු

මූලික / හඳුන්වාදීමේ ප්‍රශ්න (නම, දුරකථන අංක / සම්බන්ධ කරගත හැක්කේ කෙසේද , ඔවුන් PickMe හා සම්බන්ධ වූ කාලය සහ හේතුව, PickMe තුළ ඔවුන්ගේ කාර්යභාරය)

1. or success to excellence, or are they unrelated? වඩාත් හොඳ කැපී පෙනන සේවාව/විශිෂ්ටත්වය ද නැත්නම්, සාර්ථකත්වය ද නැත්නම්, ඒ දෙක අතර සම්බන්ධයක් නැතිද?

2. PickMe හි ව්‍යුහය සහ ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වය සඳහා සදාචාරාත්මක ලෙස හැසිරීම වැදගත් වන්නේ කෙසේද? (Singhapakdi et al. 2010). (IBE)

3. ඔබේ දෛනික වැඩ කටයුතු හොඳින් / විශිෂ්ට ලෙස කිරීම සඳහා PickMe වෙතින් සපයා ඇති ප්‍රායෝගික, විධිමත් හෝ අවිධිමත් ක්‍රම මොනවාද? ඒවා කොතරම් ඵලදායීද?

4. සේවා ස්ථානය තුළ ආචාර ධර්ම සහ විශිෂ්ටත්වය ගොඩ නැඟීම සඳහා PickMe සතු ආචාරධර්ම වැඩසටහන් මොනවාද? (උදා. ආචාර ධර්ම සංග්‍රහය, ආචාර ධර්ම පුහුණුව සහ අත්පොත්, ආයතනික සංස්කෘතිය, ඉහළ මට්ටමේ හැසිරීමක් සහ අවංකභාවයක් අපේක්ෂා කිරීම)

5. සදාචාරාත්මක පිළිවෙත් වෙත යොමු වීමට පෙළඹවීම සඳහා රියදුරන්ට පිරිනමන දීමනා (ප්‍රතිලාභ) හෝ සම්බාධක (දඬුවම්) මොනවාද? (IBE)

6. Star පද්ධතිය ක්‍රියාත්මක වන්නේ කෙසේද? ඉන් දිරිමත් කිරීමට උත්සාහ කරන්නේ කුමන ගුණධර්ම හෝ සාරධර්මද? (Rating System)

7. PickMe විසින් රැකියා ස්ථානයේ ආචාර ධර්ම දිරිගැන්වීමේ දී අඩුවක් ඇත්නම් හෝ එය කිරීමේ නොගැලපෙන අවස්ථා ඇත්නම්, ඒවා මොනවාද?

8. PickMe හි මෙහෙවර සහ අරමුණ ඔබ විස්තර කරන්නේ කෙසේද?

9. සාර්ථක වෘත්තීමය හැසිරීමක් ඔබ දකින්නේ කෙසේද? (ඕනෑම උදාහරණයක්)

10. රැකියාව තුළ ඔබේ හැසිරීම කැපී පෙනන බව/විශිෂ්ටත්වය ඔබ දකින්නේ කෙසේද? (ඕනෑම උදාහරණයක්)

11. ආයතනයක් ලෙස PickMe, සාර්ථකත්වය දකින්නේ කෙසේද?

12. ආයතනයක් ලෙස PickMe, කැපී පෙනන සේවාව/විශිෂ්ටත්වය අර්ථ දක්වන්නේ කෙසේද?

13. කැපී පෙනන සේවාව/විශිෂ්ටත්වය සහ සාර්ථකත්වය අතර සම්බන්ධය කුමක්ද? Does excellence lead to success, කැපී පෙනන සේවාව/විශිෂ්ටත්වය නිසා සාර්ථකත්වය ලැබෙනවාද?

14. ආයතනයේ සදාචාරය පිළිබඳ නායකත්වය ලබා දීමේදී / හොඳ හැසිරීම් දිරිමත් කිරීමට PickMe කළමනාකරුවන්ගේ කාර්යභාරය ඔබ විස්තර කරන්නේ කෙසේද? එක් එක් PickMe සාමාජිකයින්ගේ සදාචාරාත්මක විශිෂ්ටත්වය පෝෂණය කිරීමේදී ඔවුන් කොතරම් දුරට සහ කෙසේ සහාය වන්නේද? (Virtue Ethics)

15. ආචාර සම්පන්න වීමට හේතු වශයෙන් PickMe ආයතනය රියදුරන්ට ලබා දීමට උත්සාහ කරන පණිවිඩ මොනවාද? (Moral Motivation)

16. සදාචාරය පිළිබඳව රියදුරන් මුහුණ දෙන ගැටළු විසඳීමට කෙතරම් දුරට PickMe ඉදිරිපත් වන්නේද සහ විසඳුස් දෙන්නේ කෙසේද? (Moral Motivation)

17. බොහෝ ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයන් වැදගත් යැයි සලකන සාරධර්ම හෝ ගුණධර්ම මොනවාදැයි ඔබ සිතන්නේ කුමක්ද?(මීට පෙර කරන ලද සමීක්ෂණවලින් පෙන්නුම් කරන්නේ කරන වැඩ ගැන ඉහල උනන්දුවක් දැක්වීම, ගුණාත්මකභාවය පිළිබඳ දැඩි අවධානය සහ පාරිභෝගිකයාට හොඳ සේවයක් ලබාදීම (Ranasinghe 1996) (සමරූපතාව) මෙම ගුණධර්ම ඔවුන්ගේ කාර්යභාරයට බලපාන්නේ කෙසේද?

APPENDIX V – Interviewee Table

Referred Name	Code	Role	Interview Date	Interview Language	Method	Recorded Length
Senior Manager 2	SM2	Senior Manager / Founder	03 JAN 2020	English	In-person	1 hour approx.
Driver 1	D1	Trishaw Driver	04 JAN 2020	Sinhala	In-person	46 minutes
Driver 2	D2	Trishaw Driver	04 JAN 2020	Sinhala	In-person	31 minutes
Driver 3	D3	Trishaw Driver	04 JAN 2020	Sinhala	In-person	24 minutes
Driver 4	D4	Trishaw Driver	05 JAN 2020	Sinhala	In-person	35 minutes
Driver 5	D5	Trishaw Driver	05 JAN 2020	Sinhala	In-person	29 minutes
Driver 6	D6	Trishaw Driver	05 JAN 2020	Sinhala	In-person	17 minutes
Driver 7	D7	Trishaw Driver	05 JAN 2020	Sinhala	In-person	18 minutes
Senior Manger 2	SM2	Senior Manager / Founder	08 SEPT 2021	English	Zoom	57 minutes
Driver 8	D8	Trishaw Driver	03 MAR 2022	Tamil	In-person	26 minutes
Driver 9	D9	Trishaw Driver	03 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	33 minutes
Driver 10	D10	Trishaw Driver	03 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	28 minutes
Driver 11	D11	Trishaw Driver	03 MAR 2022	Tamil	In-person	26 minutes
Driver 12	D12	Trishaw Driver	03 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	28 minutes
Driver 13	D13	Trishaw Driver	03 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	33 minutes
Driver 14	D14	Trishaw Driver	03 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	18 minutes
Senior Manager 3	SM3	Senior Manager / Founder	04 MAR 2022	English	Zoom	51 minutes
Driver 15	D15	Trishaw Driver	04 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	28 minutes
Driver 16	D16	Trishaw Driver	04 MAR 2022	Tamil	In-person	107 minutes
Driver 17	D17	Trishaw Driver	04 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	14 minutes
Driver 18	D18	Taxi / Four Wheel Driver	04 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	43 minutes
Driver 19	D19	Trishaw Driver	05 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	26 minutes
Driver 20	D20	Trishaw Driver	05 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	29 minutes
Driver 21	D21	Trishaw Driver	05 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	23 minutes
Driver 22	D22	Trishaw Driver	05 MAR 2022	Sinhala	In-person	18 minutes
Senior Manager 1	SM1	Senior Manager / Founder	05 MAR 2022	English	Google Meet	40 minutes
Passenger	P1	Customer / User of PickMe rides	04 JUL 2022	English	Email	n/a

APPENDIX VI – Transcript of Email Interview with Passenger of PickMe Trishaws
04 July 2022

Hi Mr. Chris,

So it's been some time since I have lived there, so I'm going to do my best:

1. **What is your overall impression of PickMe in Sri Lanka? What value do they have? What reputation? How do they compare with other mobility apps there? What is your impression of the drivers who drive with PickMe (particularly the trishaw drivers)?**

My overall impression is that they are a reliable company because they are both local and have a contact centre in Sri Lanka allowing passengers to quickly raise complaints if need be.

The reputation at least to my knowledge is of one where the company takes action immediately whenever an issue is raised. This can be issues like rude drivers, drivers not accepting rides because of the mode of payment and so on.

Well the only other competitor is Uber if I am not mistaken and comparatively PickMe offer good value in terms of more drivers and have an image as the cheaper alternative.

It is a tough one, some are polite, some are not. However, since PickMe drivers get paid more promptly as a result of having localised operations, there is a less likelihood of them passing over that displeasure onto passengers.

2. **What is the value proposition (as you see it) of PickMe? What are their values?**

As I see it the value proposition is passenger experience. Values seem to be one where passengers are the priority judging by the quickness they respond to complaints and suggestions.

3. **What is your impression of trishaw drivers in general? Do you see a difference between independent trishaw drivers and PickMe trishaw drivers?**

I do feel like the slightly older, more senior and experienced trishaw drivers are more polite and pleasant. This can be due to their years of experience and age, their trishaw leases have been paid and the like. Whereas the younger drivers can be rude, may not listen well and even their driving may not be the safest. Again this is just a broad generalisation.

I do see a difference which is that owing to the regulated nature of PickMe in comparison to independent trishaw driving, PickMe drivers are more concerned of the experience they give to passengers. As their volume of rides are often determined by the ratings they get from passengers. Having said that there are some independent drivers who are very good this is because of their years of experience, reputation and clientele as a result, that gives them the liberty to remain independent.

4. **Do you have any experiences with PickMe driver's being particularly ethical or unethical?**

I am afraid none I can recall as of now.

Hope this was helpful Mr. Chris.

(TRANSLATOR): For how long have you been with PickMe?

DRIVER 19: About five months.

(TRANSLATOR): Only five months? Oh, that means you used to ride as an independent three wheeler?

DRIVER 19: Yes, I joined PickMe because of COVID-19.

Relating his story: He is from Battaramulla. Close to the parliament. That is where the Waters' Edge hotel is.

Chris (Researcher): Is it in Colombo?

(TRANSLATOR): Further from Colombo. Thalawathugoda, Battaramulla are in the same area. Beyond the city limits. And he has been riding a three wheeler for 20 years. Five months ago he has been riding with PickMe because there are less hires now. He takes personal requests for hires and whenever he gets a request through the App he takes those hires as well. The reason for joining PickMe is to make more money because there are less opportunities for independent riders now. This is the beginning of his story.

(TRANSLATOR): Has PickMe given you any training?

DRIVER 19: Not really.

(TRANSLATOR): Not even when you join?

DRIVER 19: On the day we join, they briefly explain how to work with this. It is not too hard to understand how this works.

(TRANSLATOR): It is a smart decision to join a company like PickMe during periods when there are less requests for ride than running independently, right ?

DRIVER 19: Yes

Relating his story: he said beginning he was trained and was given usual lessons that is given to everybody. There has not been any other training since. He says he has not encountered any big issues as he follows the rules. And he earns the money. After experiencing COVID-19 situation, it is better to have some company back up rather than doing this job independently. Which made him choose PickMe to keep him occupies with frequent rides as a way of earning more money. It may not generate a significant income, but it is something. So that was the reason for joining.

(TRANSLATOR): So you have always been riding a three wheeler, no?

DRIVER 19: Yes

(TRANSLATOR): This gentleman is an American. He is a professor at a university. He is doing a research. When we think of drivers, we always think of them as aggressive and rowdy. His objective is to inculcate business ethics like being pleasant with customers in drivers. He is hoping to join with Uber and PickMe in the future. He will channel a lot of funds to develop a programme that will benefit drivers. So we are collecting this information for that purpose. Your company has given us permission. We have scheduled a discussion with your company at 3:00pm today. That is why we are taking PickMe now. We just want to

talk to PickMe drivers. Did you always know about ethics from your childhood or did you learn them when you joined PickMe?

DRIVER 19: We always try to deliver a good service to our customers to the best of our ability. It has always been the case. I am from Battaramulla. I usually take rides from Battaramulla and I have to build a good rapport with them. If I am unpleasant with them, they will not request services from me. So I always try to be humane and pleasant. Because of PickMe I have been able to expand my network.

(TRANSLATOR): So ethics like respecting others and thanking people have been inculcated in you from childhood? From school and through parents?

DRIVER 19: Yes. I also went to Sunday school. More than school, it was the Sunday school that played a bigger role in inculcating these ethics.

Relating his story: he says he is popular among his community in Battaramulla. He is friendly towards them and served them in a good way. After joining PickMe he had more customers and got to know more people. Then he became more popular through word of mouth and the recommendations of his customers. The other thing about ethics is that as Buddhists, we attend *dhamma* school (Sunday school). *Dhamma (preaching of lord buddha)* indicates religion and spiritual studies. Every Sunday Buddhist children wear white clothes and go to the temple to attend the Sunday school and learn about religion from monks. He says from his childhood he has been brought up in a Buddhist background and taught how to do things the right way and to respect people. After joining PickMe he has always been practicing his learnings by thanking customers and wishing them well. You cannot do this job if you are not good with people. we received a totally different answer from you today.

Chris (Researcher): Does he interact with other drivers? Does he go to gatherings and functions?

(TRANSLATOR): As in with other PickMe community people?

Chris (Researcher): Yeah

(TRANSLATOR): In the PickMe community, there must a lot of drivers about ten to fifteen thousand. How do you perceive them and their social background?

DRIVER 19: what do you mean?

(TRANSLATOR): Do you see other three wheeler driver and car drivers associated with PickMe as a decent lot? What kind of an attitude do you have about them?

DRIVER 19: We often go to the PickMe company too. The workers at the office are very decent. I have no complaints about the decency of drivers either. There are very humane people.

(TRANSLATOR): They must have been affiliated with the company for some time. So even if they start as aggressive drivers, once they get accustomed to the PickMe system they must be learning to be more pleasant and humane, right ?

DRIVER 19: Yeah, they automatically become better. Anyway when you work with PickMe, you tend to be more disciplined.

(TRANSLATOR): Ah ha. That is what we wanted to know.

Relating his story: He says most of the drivers in PickMe respect people and are disciplined. Those who join PickMe, may not have good attitudes at the beginning. But once they join PickMe, they automatically become disciplined and adopt good habits like wishing customers a good morning or giving up smoking.

All these qualities get inculcated in people when they join PickMe. They are told at the beginning by the PickMe management how to do their job. That this is a different type of job. So they are told to be patient and not be aggressive. Since PickMe is a partnership between the rider and the company, company expects them to be good and responsible drivers and be honest when paying the commission. They consider that understanding between the company and drivers to be an adequate foundation of trust. Beyond that, there is no other intervention. He also says he got used to the PickMe system. Once you get used to it, you are okay. There will be problems when you are not used to the system.

Chris (Researcher): How does he pay the commission? Once a week?

(TRANSLATOR): How do you pay your commission to PickMe? Weekly or monthly?

DRIVER 19: It is like this. They charge 12% from us for rides. We get requests for hires that are paid through cards. Let's say I earned around Rs 3,000 yesterday and now I owe Rs 400 to the company. So if I take a request for card payment today that is worth Rs 500, then they charge Rs 400 from that payment and deposit the balance Rs 100 to me. If not, we can settle in cash also. But it gets charged from car payments usually.

(TRANSLATOR): So it is not really a weekly or monthly basis? The commission you owe today will be charged from you tomorrow? Commissions that you settle in cash might have a little flexibility with payment time then?

DRIVER 19: there is no regulation from them that on this day you have to pay the full commission.

(TRANSLATOR): So you have to keep in touch with them? Can you collect the full commission you owe the company and settle it once a month?

DRIVER 19: Usually there is no room for commissions to get collected for a period of one month. In fact, over the past 5 months that I have been riding for PickMe I have not had the chance to settle commission arrears in cash. Because it gets charged from card payments anyway.

(TRANSLATOR): Let's say you ride 12 hours from 7am to 7pm a day. Because you cannot ride less anyway no. Once you deduct your food expenses and fuel cost, what is the net amount that you manage to retain in hand?

DRIVER 19: If I ride from 7am to 7pm, I can earn about Rs 6,000. Then I would have to set aside Rs 600-650 as the commission. There are other costs worth around Rs 1,000. Then I can retain Rs 4,500 in hand.

(TRANSLATOR): Then you would also have to set aside some of that for vehicle care like oil checks and servicing the vehicle?

DRIVER 19: Even with all those costs, I can retain Rs 3,000 a day for sure.

Relating his story: he says they are paying 12% commission. When they take a request for a ride that is paid through card, then the commission will be paid to the PickMe. If they are too busy to pay the commission in person, the due will get automatically deducted from their card payments the following day. He says he has not encountered any issues so far with regards to paying the commission because all dues get paid in time.

Chris (Researcher): Does he pay attention to the rating system? Does he care about how the customers rate him?

(TRANSLATOR): You get a star rating through the app that indicates the quality of your service delivery? What do you think of that? Do you pay attention to that? Do you think it is better to get a good rating? If yes, do you actively try to improve your rating? Because at the end of the day, that is how the customers decide what kind of a driver you are. We only have a very brief encounter with you and once we leave the vehicle we have no relationship with you. So the rating is the only indication available to us about you and your service delivery. So do you pay attention to it?

DRIVER 19: Anyway we try to improve our rating. Then the customers are also okay. Then there is no room for grievances.

(TRANSLATOR): have you heard of 'success' and 'excellence'. Of these two, what do you try to achieve? Do you want to achieve success or excellence?

DRIVER 19: I would like to reach excellence

(TRANSLATOR): So do you make the required compromises and take the required efforts to reach excellence?

DRIVER 19: Yes, for sure.

Relating his story: he says out of success and excellence, he would like to reach excellence. At the moment he does his best to become the best and to offer the best service he can in order to maintain a good reputation in his field. He has always been practising that and he is happy. Anyway you have to agree with the company to obey their regulations. If not, you should walk away.

Chris (Researcher): From his perspective, is PickMe more focused about the volume of requests or how customers are treated?

(**TRANSLATOR):** Out of taking up more requests and generating more money and treating customers right, which aspect is PickMe more skewed towards?

DRIVER 19: They try to strike a balance between the two because that is how the company would sustain. Even you as a customer would request another ride again only if you had a pleasant experience with us. Yes, we do need rides. But we also need to do right by the customers because if we did not they will not request a ride again. Then it is not only my loss but the entire PickMe community's loss.

Relating his story: When they take requests from customers they have to be very polite and understanding.

(TRANSLATOR): So you can only achieve other targets by striking a balance between the two?

DRIVER 19: Yes. Earlier you asked me if I would like to reach success or excellence. When you join PickMe, you would anyway reach success. That is why I said I want to reach excellence. Because I have already reached success. I know because I was riding as an independent three wheeler for years now. I regret not joining PickMe earlier. Because, by joining PickMe, I have been able to overcome a lot of the issues that I used to encounter when I was riding as an independent three-wheeler.

Relating his story: He says that out of success and excellence, there is no question about success. Because as far as you are with PickMe, you are successful. He recovered a lot of his previous problems through the income he generated via PickMe. He regrets not having joined PickMe earlier. He says all that depends on the quality of his service delivery to the customer and obeying rules and regulation.

Chris (Researcher): If he has a dispute with a customer, how does PickMe handle that? Do they investigate that? Do they often take the side of the driver or the customer?

(TRANSLATOR): If you have a conflict with a particularly problematic customer, how does PickMe usually intervene? Do they investigate the dispute? Do they take your side or the customer's side? Do you have any experience like that?

DRIVER 19: So far, I have not had any experience like that. I think if a customer complains, PickMe would have the driver and the customer on a conference call and manage the dispute.

Relating his story: he says, so far he has not gone through any such experience. But according to what he has heard, if anything goes wrong and the customer complain to PickMe, they will put them through a conference call and solve the problem to the degree they can. If it is beyond repair and they may have to pay the loss, the driver will have to pay from his side. That is what he has seen and heard.

Chris (Researcher): Does he feel PickMe has brought some respect and dignity to him?

(TRANSLATOR): Do you think the way you are viewed by society when you ride as an independent driver and when you ride with PickMe is different? Do you feel more respected by society being affiliated with PickMe? Because now you have a bigger network that you have developed through PickMe. Has it contributed to improving your social status?

DRIVER 19: Yes, for sure.

Relating his story: He says that joining PickMe has brought him more recognition. Even when we hailed him, even though we did not know him, we were able to build a good relationship so far. Likewise, customers may be more inclined to view PickMe drivers more respectfully than they view independent drivers, solely because of their association with PickMe.

APPENDIX VIII – Transcript of Sample Zoom Interview with a Senior Manager 2 at PickMe

08 September 2021

Senior Manager #2 (05:36)

Hello. How are you?

Researcher (05:39)

Good. How are you? It's good to see you.

Senior Manager #2 (05:42)

Yes. How are you?

Researcher (05:44)

Good. I'm here in the UK right now connecting with the supervisors for my research work. So things are pretty good in the UK. There's no lockdown or anything, so it's been relatively easy. Yeah. Thank you. How are things for you? How's your family?

Senior Manager #2 (06:11)

All okay being safe, but I locked down.

Researcher (06:19)

Okay. So you're currently under a locked in right now.

Senior Manager #2 (06:24)

But here the situation is little bad. Let's see. Okay. It might bounce back.

Researcher (06:37)

Okay. So COVID cases are spiking quite a bit in the country, in Colombo.

Senior Manager #2 (06:43)

Yeah. You got it.

Researcher <u>(06:46)</u>

Wow. Have you been healthy, your family, are they doing okay?

Senior Manager #2 <u>(06:51)</u>

Yeah.

Researcher <u>(06:59)</u>

Okay. Well, that's good to hear that you're being safe.

Senior Manager #2 <u>(07:06)</u>

How about you and your family all okay?

Researcher <u>(07:09)</u>

Yes. Thank God. Before we left for the US, we were vaccinated in Dubai and then we've been traveling in the US and then here in the UK, and thankfully because of the vaccine, we haven't had any problems. But, yeah, we did have to quarantine when we travelled just for safety reasons. But that was okay. Yeah. Everyone's been well. Thank you. Thanks for asking. Yeah. It feels like a long time since we had coffee together that one evening.

Senior Manager #2 <u>(07:50)</u>

Yes. You got it.

Researcher <u>(07:53)</u>

Well, thank you. You're kind of the first since I talked to you that one night. Then I went on to interview about seven more drivers with picnic.

Senior Manager #2 <u>(08:09)</u>

Okay.

Researcher (08:09)

And I had a translator and they went really well.

Senior Manager #2 (08:15)

Okay.

Researcher (08:17)

But my supervisors encouraged me to come back and get more interviews with drivers, but also talk to people that either were currently or had worked in the PickMe's management to find out how organizations worked. And so that's why. Right.

 (08:34)

Okay.

Researcher (08:36)

I'm using LinkedIn to try and connect with some of the people at PickMe currently and inviting them to consider being interviewed. So we'll see how that goes. But thank you for being the first to say yes. So I just wanted to let you know that all this information is going to be anonymous. So whatever work is published from my research is going to anonymize your name and all the driver's names and even the organization's name so that everything is confidential and no one can trace anything back to anything. So just to let you know about that. But yeah, let's see what other things I want to say. Yeah. So I guess I just have a few starter questions to help me. So remind me again how you got started with PickMe. You were one of the founders, is that correct?

Senior Manager #2 (09:44)

Yeah.

Researcher (09:47)

So how did that come about?

Senior Manager #2 (09:50)

Yeah time, I think early, late 2014.

Senior Manager #2 (10:02):

We are looking at a product company, myself and other co founders. He's the CEO right now. We were trying to see what he's is happening in the market. So we kind of build up one time to see whether we can put it into the market. Then we came up this Uber kind of concept. We look at Uber, then we thought, okay, maybe we can replicate here. Then my inviting me to go to India to look at Ola.

Researcher (10:48)

Okay.

Senior Manager #2 (10:49)

Then we bought brand. When I look at how Ola is operating, I was so convinced that this is going to be the game changer here.

Researcher (10:59)

Yeah.

Senior Manager #2 (11:00)

So that's how we started.

Researcher (11:01)

Okay. And then what led to you kind of I remember you talking about, you're kind of a serial entrepreneur. You like to get something started and move on. What led to you kind of departing the organization?

Senior Manager #2 (11:15)

Yeah, let's say before I was involved in a company called Anything Doctor, which is Daras. Now, it was brought up by a company called Dialogue, which is the largest telecommunication company in the country. Then they sold it to Daras, which is under Alibaba. Okay. So in that company, I was involved in this technology. Then I saw how it was a similar product, like Groupon. That time there was something called Groupon. So it was a similar concept, like Groupon. Then I saw how if you bring a worldwide phenomenon to a localizing or hyper localized, how the local market converting it. So then we catch this Uber wave. Like, we build Uber kind of a company, and we saw how the whole market is shifting. But

from my early stage, I was looking at a business there. I can take it to the world. But by the time we became quite a large company in anything, that whole Groupon wave has gone. It came up and it is traded off. Then when we started PickMe, and by the time it became largest in the country, by the time all the other markers where we can expand is already captured by different companies like Grab Korean and all these people there.

Senior Manager #2 (13:11)

So there was no market for us to go into. Let's say if I want to build a company which will go global, I need to catch a wave because I am quite good at hyper localizing, a concept which is quite good in the world. I'm good at hyper localizing it. So then I thought maybe let's catch up a wave or catch up a company, a new concept which is coming up. So I also can build a company and expand outside. Okay. So that's why I started a company called Yoho. This is very similar to OOH. Okay. So by the time I'm moving out of **PickMe**, it became profitable company, and it became a company which needed more processes. It is in the mid of transferring to a corporate.

Researcher (14:18)

I see.

Senior Manager #2 (14:19)

So then I thought, okay, it was a real good timing for me to move out because companies also on the transition and I also wanted to build a company where I can go to out of country. Then it was kind of an agreement. We had that early stage itself. We will build something and I will move out. So then in Yoho, which is more towards accommodation and hospitality industry because of cobalt and also the whole revenue is in Indian standstill. So I had to just before COVID, we were almost to expand to Pakistan and Bang, unfortunately, even we signed agreements with the local parties in those countries and we got all the documents ready and all the finance ready, all that. But unfortunately we couldn't do it. So then we hibernated that company and I was looking at other opportunities. That's why I got into a company called Disturb which is operating in Indonesia. So this is the whole story. Short answer is I wanted to build a company beyond real estate and since I'm good at hyper localizing, so I was looking at new concepts which can allow me to build it and quickly go out.

Researcher (16:10)

Okay. Thank you. That's great. Okay, so going back to **PickMe**'s origins, how did you and X, is that his name? How did you guys define the sort of mission and purpose of the organization?

Senior Manager #2 (16:29)

Yeah. So that time it was very visible. The transport industry, the major disruption because our public transport is pretty bad. Public transport is pretty bad because of that. People opt into taxis or they don't. Because of public transport, people don't commute much and the economy was slow. But even though people don't realize it was a pain for them, then we thought, okay, we wanted a better service, for better service for transport. So when we look at Ola, it became very evident that we can replicate in Sri Lanka and do a job that can contribute to the whole economy itself because we both are coming from, let's say X was the CPO at we both saw how the whole market changed when we bring this technology. So then when we look at Ola, then we were so convinced that we also can do the same thing again in this market.

Researcher (18:03)

Okay, great. A lot of my research has to do with these concepts of success versus excellence. So pursuing success, meaning profit, and then excellence, which means just doing the job well and serving the customer, or however one would define that. So how would you say PickMe sort of viewed success versus excellence specifically at the driver level, like when you encourage drivers in their job, those concepts of success in us, excellence, how would you define that?

Senior Manager #2 (18:47)

From day one, we were more focused on that to get it done is better than perfect. So we wanted to get it done first, then perfect eventually, right?

Researcher (19:00)

Yeah.

Senior Manager #2 (19:00)

We were so focused on the bank get more and more trips connected than those trips completing. Then we started taking up the complaints that we are getting. And we started to fix this, fix that. And then it was very evident for everyone that we are fixing the problems continuously. So people are patient enough and they also encourage to patiently wait that we are fixing and we will fix and improve our service.

Researcher (19:40)

I see.

Senior Manager #2 (19:42)

So that's how we achieve our excellence. And we tried our best to keep it very transparent with the customers and with the driver. And we did a lot of periodic updates. So because of that, people started to believe on us and they started to depend on things, but they started to depend on our business or depend on our service more and more. And we keep on improving. Even today, also, we get complaints, but we see how to fix those things.

Researcher (20:29)

And then when you guys were designing the business, what things, either formal or informal things did you put in the business so that the drivers were encouraged to pursue excellence, not just to do the trip, but actually serve the customer? What were the kind of mechanisms you put in place for that?

Senior Manager #2 (20:54)

We did a couple of quick changes from the beginning. That is, we started to let's say at the time when you're starting a taxi driver job in Sri Lanka is not respectable job. Right. People don't. It's not a respectable thing. So we started bringing some respect for them. We started addressing them, as we said, we started addressing them like respectable people. So that was the first thing we did. So all our call centre, everyone in our staff was asked to address them in a respectful way. That's the first thing that gave them a lot of coverage. And we started doing training for them.

Researcher (21:42)

Okay.

Senior Manager #2 (21:42)

Which means how to dress, to how to form their hair, to how to brush. And it was a full, complete training we did every time, let's say every new driver coming in, he has to go through a one day complete training.

Researcher (22:01)

I see.

Senior Manager #2 (22:02)

Then we gave them technology like a phone or smartphone. So what happened is if you take a try show sometimes that time, most of the time who are traveling with him, he's not using a smartphone, but the driver is using a smartphone.

Researcher (22:22)

Okay.

Senior Manager #2 (22:23)

So that plays a major psychological role for the driver because he automatically gets himself upgraded thinking he's technologically advanced. He's living in a progressive world than the person who's sitting behind.

Researcher (22:43)

I see. Okay.

Senior Manager #2 (22:45)

Right. This played a major role in bringing excellence. And we also used to talk to them, give lot of content about what's happening and all that.

Researcher (23:05)

For the background noise. How crucial do you think it is the customer service and excellence is to the makeup of PickMe. Is that like a core part of you?

Senior Manager #2 (23:19)

Yeah, I think that is the most important part. Right. If we don't have the customers, we don't have a business. Right? Sure. It is very important. Also excellence, also getting the job done right at the right time.

Researcher (23:43)

Right.

Senior Manager #2 (23:44)

Sometimes you might notice, like, okay, let's say if you want to go from one place to another place, you want a vehicle to go. Right. You might have AC, you might not have AC, you might not have a property to

sit. But if the car engine is running and if you can go from A to B, that's what's important if you don't have any vehicle.

Researcher (24:15)

Right.

Senior Manager #2 (24:16)

That is called excellence for that moment.

Researcher (24:19)

I see. Yeah, that makes sense, right?

Senior Manager #2 (24:22)

Yeah. We were so focused on that at the beginning. Then when more and more trips were fulfilled, then the requirement comes like, okay, now I need to see Tango, then I need an AC right. Then. Now I need a better car. Clean car. That's how we bought excellence into the business.

Researcher (24:53)

Yeah, that makes sense. The accessibility to the Tri shot in the first place is your offer of excess.

Senior Manager #2 (25:02)

And then after that, yes.

Researcher (25:04)

Affects the ride itself.

Senior Manager #2 (25:06)

Yeah.

Researcher (25:09)

So how is this kind of and you talked about the training that you did and the phones and such. Did you guys have like a code of ethics or a code of conduct for drivers? Did you have training on how to treat the customers?

Senior Manager #2 (25:27)

Yeah, we had a number of code of conduct. How they need to address the customer, how they need to get a customer into the vehicle, what they need to do. Let's say customer is there on waiting. We used to tell them not to the driver should go out of the car and say it's, especially the lady drivers there. So all that has been thought to them, like how to answer a call when they speak, how you answer it, how you be politely say certain things if you want to say no, how you tell no. So the one day training is almost 90% is soft skills training, only the 10% is technical skills.

Researcher (26:29)

Technical. Yeah. That's great. So of all those things that you guys did to help the drivers grow in their excellence in customer service, which one do you think is the most effective or work the most as far as helping them grow in their abilities as riders?

Senior Manager #2 (26:54)

Yeah, I'd the training played a major role.

Researcher (26:59)

Okay.

Senior Manager #2 (27:00)

Because these guys were not groomed in life. They have gone to some school, but that school has not been taught them how to behave in the society, how to adapt to the society. So when we say this is how you brush your teeth, some people have come and said, we never knew these things.

Researcher (27:25)

Yeah.

Senior Manager #2 (27:25)

Okay.

Researcher (27:29)

There's this theory about rewards and ethics, like rewarding good behaviour and punishing poor behaviour. Did you guys have any mechanism for that? Like if there was a rude driver or somebody that didn't I know you have a star system, but what are some reward.

Senior Manager #2 (28:02)

Let's say the reward and punishing system. We did it through technology. So we completely relied on the complaint mechanism. And for people to complain, we need number of channels, which means not only in the app, they can call and complain, they can go to social media and complain. We had people answering all those complaints and generating tickets and solving that. Okay. And drivers, we use certain techniques. Like if I go on a trip, I made a complaint on a driver, I might not get that driver again. Yeah, right. Those kind of technologies we build and put it in so the customer will never get that driver again.

Researcher (29:01)

I see. And the app will know that. Right. You can sort of.

Senior Manager #2 (29:10)

Use that. And let's say if the rating goes down and down and down, let's say the priority for the higher will go down for the driver, which means if in the same vicinity. Let's say just imagine two drivers are in the same location. One has 4.5 rating and one has 4.3 rating.

Researcher (29:39)

Yeah.

Senior Manager #2 (29:39)

Then if a higher comes, we prioritize to 4.5 driver because he serves better and he will get the first higher.

Researcher (29:48)

I see.

Senior Manager #2 (29:50)

All right. When the rating goes down, the rating go down. This opportunity for higher will drastically goes down.

Researcher (30:06)

And then for Ppl, people that are really star performers who do really well, I guess. Is there any kind of what kind of reward do you guys give notice or any kind of metals?

Senior Manager #2 (30:21)

Yeah. So we have categories for drivers now, like, let's say gold, gold drivers, platinum drivers, that is there for some time. So that also encouraged them. Plus, drivers who are doing good, they earn more money. That also makes quite a lot of encouragement for them. Those are the things great. And we have different programs, like time. We run programs. If you complete 50 or higher, you get this much of money, those bonus programs, we run quite a lot.

Researcher (31:02)

Yeah. I want to ask you about the app and the rating system, too, because when I was talking with some of the drivers, there was like some of them were a little like, oh, this is frustrating. Naturally, it was difficult. Sometimes they get low ratings and that they felt like they didn't deserve. But do the customers is it kind of like Uber, where it's one rating, zero to five or something? Do they get to rate on aspects of the service that were provided or anything or how does it work?

Senior Manager #2 (31:47)

No, not yet. No. They rate only one to five, but we run some algorithms for them to have a weighted average.

Researcher (31:59)

Okay.

Senior Manager #2 (31:59)

So even though one customer put low rating, overall rating won't go down, right? Yeah. So we are running some machine learning and different algorithms now for Handle, let's say we have a kind of a rated average. Like, let's say the driver also can rate the customer. Then we're if two for a driver, the

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weighted average score will not affect his affect the driver's score because the passenger itself is itself having a low rating.

Researcher (32:57)

Right. Oh, that makes sense. Yeah. Yeah, the 360 rating. Yeah.

Senior Manager #2 (33:03)

Yes.

Researcher (33:06)

Thank you. Yeah, that's great. Let's see, I remember you'd telling me a story two years ago about uplift. You called it uplift and how some of these drivers were coming in and they got training and practice kind of dealing with customers and got skilled in that. And then I remember you said something about one of the things you are most proud of is like when people leave the company and they get better job because PickMe had done such a good job to train them up and impart skills that they wouldn't otherwise have. So I'm just thinking about this idea of moral leadership in an organization. To what degree? Like PickMe as sort of a social business that's bringing virtue and ethics and uplift to these drivers. Do you think that is true of PickMe that that is your ambition in the zip? Higher as an organization.

Senior Manager #2 (34:32)

Unfortunately, we are a third world country and even though we have a high rate, that's not reflecting in people that much. So if we want to run a successful business, we want to have a good environment or good ecosystem around our business. Right. So if you saw the drivers, intellectual intelligent, discipline is not that great. So if you want to build a business, we need to empower them, improve them, and we need to do that, then only we can survive as a business. So we thought, okay, let's take that up. And that also helping it immensely. Help them by way of revenue, by way of bringing more discipline to their life, by way of teaching them more human skills, which will make them intelligent and kind of more professional guys. Right. So on that process, we saw some drivers were able to really up their game because of that. They moved in their ladder very fast. So that's fine with us. We are happy for that because they moved up, they moved on to different fields or they have upgraded themselves from trishaw to car or car to vehicle. So it was a great satisfaction for us.

Senior Manager #2 (36:29)

Do you know, more and more people will come in if the quality if the driver's life is getting uplifted, then more and more parents will ask them to go and join wives. They ask their husbands to go and work here because they see a clear improvement in their life. Quality of life.

Researcher <u>(36:55)</u>

That's great.

Senior Manager #2 <u>(36:56)</u>

Right. Once you saw this Quadrant is working, we were really pushing towards it and you saw a lot of output out of this.

Researcher <u>(37:08)</u>

Yeah, I understand, at least in India. And I think this is true in Sri Lanka that prior to PickMe and other things like Ola and Uber, a lot of these auto rickshaw trishaw drivers, they had like local unions that they were a part of, but they weren't a part of an institution or organization that really had rules and regulations and systems. They were basically all independent contractors, like their own boss. Apart from just the government maybe setting some minimal rules on fairs. They could do whatever they wanted. Was that difficult for PickMe to try and come in and say, no, you guys need to have a code of conduct. If you want to use our app, you guys got to adhere to these. Was that difficult as an institution to enter and have those employees adopt those practices?

Senior Manager #2 <u>(38:22)</u>

In the initial time, it was difficult. What we are trying to do, we are trying to get them more discipline. Obviously, in Sri Lanka, they had a couple of unions in that space. But fortunately, those unions are not strong. Right. Even though they said a lot of numbers, it was not strong. Because of that, we were able to infiltrate pretty fast. And people started to see their revenues grew exponentially. Let's say in Sri Lankan rupees, people who earned RS2000 for a day, they started to earn RS5000 for a day. That was a massive jump. And when that came in, all the other things became secondary.

Researcher <u>(39:23)</u>

Yeah, I see.

Senior Manager #2 <u>(39:30)</u>

Until it became very visible that there's a revenue jump. We had issues. We had to solve a lot of issues. Once that revenue jump became visible, things became very easy. Yeah.

Researcher <u>(39:48)</u>

Are you familiar, by the way, with this? It's called Peace Auto. It's a thing in Bangalore, India, and it's just a collection of about a couple of thousand auto rickshaw drivers in Bangalore. But it's not an app. It's not a ride sharing app.

Senior Manager #2 (40:06)

Okay.

Researcher (40:07)

It's really sort of like a Union of drivers who have decided we want to be ethical in our practice.

Senior Manager #2 (40:14)

Okay.

Researcher (40:15)

But their numbers have not increased a lot because there's no financial benefit. It's only people that decide we want to be more ethical. We don't want to be considered corrupt. And so we're going to adopt this code of conduct and hold ourselves accountable. And then they put this thing called piece auto on their auto rickshaw. But there's no monetary benefit to that other than hoping that customers will prefer them over other auto rates.

Senior Manager #2 (40:50)

Yeah. So I'm kind of see any movement that don't have a motivation feature, let's say the obvious or the most fastest motivator is whatever. It's financial reward, right? Sure. Any movement which doesn't have that financial reward out for a change in the society, it is kind of hard. It takes years and years to change. Right. Let's say Martin Luther took years and years to change the whole thing because Martin Luther King, there was no financial reward, but they were trying to come out of their problems. Right. But for the people to understand, it takes decades. But if it's a clear financial improvement, it reflects month on month. Like this month, I earned this next month, I have more money than more and more people start joining, right?

Researcher (42:04)

Yeah it was interesting. I interviewed one driver with **PickMe** who said a lot of people leave their cell phones in the car mobiles and whilst they're trying to return the mobile they're not taking a new trip. So it's a decision to give good excellent customer service but it does have a financial cost because that

means they can't take that or like I had one guy who it was an old lady who needed oh no. He said sometimes we get people that need to go to the hospital and they don't have the means to pay and so we'll come without consideration. So my curiosity is what motivates you to do that? Knowing that you're giving up a potential. So I'm kind of digging into that a little bit in this research.

Senior Manager #2 (43:06)

That is more kind of a cultural effect on our society because Sri Lankans are more hospitable people so that is already in. So people help each other without really thinking what is the outcome I will get, right? Yeah it is very evident in our even day to day life. We don't really see okay if I help him, he has to help me back. So that is kind of a normal in the society. People help when they see people are in trouble. That's kind of there, right. People don't wait till some money, some don't give the money to help the others. They see whatever they can, they try to help that is already there. So if someone can't go to hospital taking them to your charge, it's pretty common with the driver. It's pretty common.

Researcher (44:25)

Because I've been trying to study the history of Sri Lanka in ethics and I'm curious about the influence of things like Buddhism and maybe other religions too on the values that the people hold. Like you said, this value on hospitality. Do you see any influence of Buddhism or any religion on kind of how you guys designed PickMe and what you want to encourage in the drivers.

Senior Manager #2 (45:00)

Yeah. So when we are designing we did think of that but we knew our people are more hospitable people so they will have event will happen, they will patiently wait for certain things to come. Yeah but that quality maybe would have come because of most of the people live with. It's a small country and if you look at most of the parts in Colombo and other parts you will see temple Masters, Church coil, everything in a very close proximity which means all four religions people were living together. So all four had their strengths and weaknesses. Maybe Tamils are more intellectual, Muslims are more traders, Singhis are more loyal and loyal people among everyone. And Christians are like the people who bridge everyone in the society. That practice was there for a long time even though it was not realized. I see this gave a lot of confidence that if I help him he will help someone else. Everyone is dependent on everyone. Muslims who run businesses. Most businesses they depend on Tamils for the intellectual part of it and they depend on Singhallis for the rest of the work because of their loyal. And they will be in the business for a long, long time.

Senior Manager #2 (47:05)

And Christians put a very spice on the whole thing because they come with a little off market and they are kind of appeals and all they are able to project themselves pretty well because that will help the whole business and whole community even though it was not put it out. This is how the culture has

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been built among us. Even though whatever we had last 36, 50 years, this culture is still there. By and large when we are hiring people, when we work with others, we really look at this kind of there are so many businesses I have seen single age business. They give the whole responsibility of Muslim guy. You run the business and after the month I have come, you can give me but they will not get into accounts. Also they'll say, okay, you tell me what is what is for me. I'll take it on a boat.

Researcher (48:20)

Oh, really?

Senior Manager #2 (48:21)

Interesting enough, there are so many numbers.

Researcher (48:25)

I see. That's really interesting. I just have two more questions for you if you don't mind.

Senior Manager #2 (48:33)

Go ahead. Yeah, go ahead.

Researcher (48:52)

To what extent do you I don't want to ask that question. So what do you hope the drivers will take away with? I know you were talking about increased professionalism, but as the reason why we do good by the customer, what do you hope the drivers will not just because PickMe says I need to, but what do you hope that they internalize about helping a customer?

Senior Manager #2 (49:28)

Yes, you are right. We really hope whether they work for us or not, we really hope they become a good citizen in the country where they can build their children up in a better way. They can be a good product for the country or good product for the world overall even though we had our profiting motive. But we back off our mind. We think this we wanted to show how you live as a better person, how you respect others even though they have different opinions, how you respect a customer. You may be a customer, but how you respect it, how you communicate things, how you do better for the others and how you take the responsibility of another person who is in difficulties when they wanted to travel from A to B. So we itself being examples for that. Let's say I remember at the early stage there was a flood in the major part of the country because of some construction and the whole major part of the city got

flooded. Then as a company we started a boat service for people to rescue. We started showing that we need to take care of the people.

Senior Manager #2 (51:26)

Then that started reflecting to the drivers. So even during COVID, we started giving free vaccines. Initially. We started giving vaccines as early as possible for them. We made sure they are vaccine properly. All that we started to support them. So that support had a ripple effect on the other side. So overall, what we wanted, let's say up to now, we would have trained at least about 400,000 drivers, which is about quite a large population. We were able to train so that 400,000 has 400,000 families. And if you take 400,000 families, that has at least three people, four people in the family, almost about 1.21 .5 people. We were able to empower them or let's say we were able to bring good for them, which will affect their which will cascade down to their children. So this is the satisfaction we have. And I think we want to do more and more on this for the country. And let's say we don't do a lot of CSR. So this is our CSR.

Researcher (53:10)

Yes. That's great. So my last question is you sort of talked about this when you talked about hospitality, but what are the virtues that Sri Lankans already possess? What are some things that every driver, for the most part, who came in to PickMe already had within him. Yeah.

Senior Manager #2 (53:44)

So most of them had the serving culture. 95% of the drivers, they wanted to serve and be genuine. Even though they don't make a lot of money, they want to be genuine and make a living out of it. So they had that 5% not on that thinking, but 95% of the people wanted to serve and make a genuine living. So when you start trading them, that started reflecting it, they started to understand, okay, with me was able to give them give them a better life over there. We are improving their life to serve the customers better and get a genuinely more income. So we saw these two major components, and they also wanted to get into technology pretty fast. They were eager to adopt the technology. So we actually trigger these three faster for the great.

Researcher (55:13)

That's great. Well, I want to honour the time commitment.

Senior Manager #2 (55:19)

There's another one more. The fourth effect they used to talk means people used to refer. I made money out of this. Why don't you go there? That kind of sharing culture was there. So we also triggered that pretty fast.

Researcher (55:37)

Yeah. I've heard Sri Lankans are good at networking and leveraging.

Senior Manager #2 (55:43)

Networking networks.

Researcher (55:44)

Yeah. Thank you so much. This has been really beneficial. I very much appreciate your time.

Senior Manager #2 (55:52)

Thank you very much.

Researcher (55:53)

Next time in Sri Lanka, I'll ring you up. Maybe we can have coffee again.

Senior Manager #2 (55:57)

Definitely.

Researcher (55:59)

And I'll be praying for your family, too, in the midst of the lockdown. I know it's a struggle.

Senior Manager #2 (56:04)

Cool. Thank you.

Researcher (56:06)

Great. Well, take care. Thank you so much for your time.

Senior Manager #2 <u>(56:09)</u>

Bye. Thanks. Bye.

APPENDIX IX – NVIVO Nodes – Inductive and Deductive

Below are the Inductive and Deductive codes that were used in NVIVO to do the thematic analysis of the interviews. In addition, codes for Methodology related findings were also inputted.

1st Order Concept Inductive Nodes	Theory Driven Nodes
BEFORE JOINING PICKME	App and Feedback System
BIO INFO	Artifacts of institutional work
CHALLENGES IN THE INDUSTRY	Channels for institutional work
COMMUNICATION	Competition
COMPLAINTS	Dignity
DIGNITY - STATUS - REPUTATION - RESPECT	Embedding of Ethics
	Ethics as a basis for Institutions
EXCELLENCE	Excellence (Internal Goods)
FAMILY	Identity
HELPING	Influence of and on Family
INFLUENCES	Initial Training and Follow up
INSURANCE	Institutional awareness
MAINTENANCE	Institutional entrepreneurship
MISSION - VISION - PURPOSE	Institutional Response to Moral Dilemmas
RATING SYSTEM	
RELIGION	Institutional work and Institutional change
REWARD	
SUCCESS	Institutionalisation of Business Ethics
TARGETS	Isomorphism
THE APP	MacIntyre's Virtues-Goods-Practice-Institution Framework
TRAINING	
TRUST	Media
UBER AND OTHER APPS	Moral Agents - Leadership and Virtue Agents within institutions
VILLAGE ORIGINS	
VIRTUES	Moral Motivation
WORLDVIEW	Personal Virtues - Values
	Religiosity
	Resources
	Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs)
	Status and Reputation
	Success (External Goods)
	Virtue Ethics
Methodology Nodes	
Background info	
Briefing Script	
Confusion	

RESEARCH ETHICS - confidentiality RESEARCH ETHICS - Informed consent RESEARCH ETHICS - permission to interview from management Translation Inconsistency Translator inaccurate in explanation What does this mean	

APPENDIX X – NVIVO Nodes – Management Related Nodes

Below are the nodes in the NVIVO relating to the interviews with management.

Management Related Nodes	
addressing as 'sir'	once requirement is fulfilled, build off of it
Alibaba	'opportunity for hires goes drastically down'
Bangladesh	Origins of PickMe
catch a wave	Pakistan
Convert worldwide to localize	parents of drivers
game changer	perfect company over time
Hyper Localize	PickMe couldn't go global
Institution can prioritise drivers based on rating	PickMe expansion slowed
intellectual intelligence	Platinum system
looking at other businesses	politeness
management communicates with riders about p increases	Prioritize drivers with high rating
	Professional Attire
management doing ride alongs to be both rider for a day	Professional Hygiene
	Progressive World
management focus on operations of the compar	'public transport is pretty bad'
management follows up on negative feedback to	Psychology of Driver
management has improved a 'lot on the driver li	quite good at...
management helps drivers enter the banking ecc	rating effects success
management is very hands on	Rating of Customer effects rating of Driver
management looks at ways to increase efficiency	Regarding Jiffry Zulfer
appease riders	replicate in Sri Lanka
management response to negative feedback is b	replicating other business
chat about giving support	Respect conferred because of smartphone
management saw the effects of uplift on drivers	respectable people
management taking complain calls to listen dire	Reward and Sanctions
driver and customer feedback	serving the customer
management use the app to 'make sure that the	Soft Skills
applications work perfectly well'	Technical Skills
management wants drives and riders to be able	Technologically Advanced
them	technology drives driver behaviour
market changed with technology	Third World Country
market is shifting	Trishaw Driver not a respectable profession
Meaning of Excellence	Uber
'more discipline to their life'	Upgrade or Upgraded
Motivated to ethics by financial reward	Value Proposition
move up the ladder	wanted to build an international company
offering better service for transport	'We couldn't do it'
Ola	What they trained the driver's in
	Zero to Five Rating

APPENDIX XI – Statement of Ethics

Researcher's Name: Chris Jensen

Main Supervisor: Revd Dr Richard Higginson

Second Supervisor: Dr Andrea Werner

Research topic: FOSTERING VIRTUE AMONG AUTORICKSHAW DRIVERS IN SRI LANKA: A Case Study of an Urban Sharing Institution

Is your research purely text-based, e.g., biblical studies, theological studies? YES/<u>NO</u> (please delete as appropriate) *Note: if your research is purely text-based, please jump to the end of the document on Declaration to sign and date this document.*

Please read all the relevant sections of the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics which can be located via the ESRC website (please choose the latest version): <u>http://www.esrc.ac.uk/about-esrc/information/framework-for-research-ethics/index.aspx</u>. In particular, pay attention to the section 'Research potentially requiring a full ethics review'.

Research Guidelines

The following guidelines, though an extraction, are seen as overall principles that directly apply to this research shall be followed. These have been extracted from the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics and considered applicable to this research.

- ❖ The specific identity of any participant in this research will be protected, unless informed consent has been granted by a participant.
- ❖ Research will NOT involve people from a vulnerable group as defined by the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics
- ❖ Research will NOT involve anyone lacking capacity as defined by the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics
- ❖ Research will NOT potentially sensitive topics as defined by the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics
- ❖ Approval will be requested from the Main Supervisor of this research and from the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies on research to which responses maybe needed through the internet.
- ❖ Approval will be requested from the Main Supervisor of this research and from the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies on any matters that maybe considered sensitive or in which the identity of informants is required or in any matters in which clarification is needed.

Statement of Agreement

 The researcher shall abide by <u>The Six Key Principles</u> as extracted from 'Our principles and expectations for ethical research' in the ESRC document:

1) Research participants should take part voluntarily, free from any coercion or undue influence, and their rights, dignity and (when possible) autonomy should be respected and appropriately protected.

2) Research should be worthwhile and provide value that outweighs any risk or harm. Researchers should aim to maximise the benefit of the research and minimise potential risk of harm to participants and researchers. All potential risk and harm should be mitigated by robust precautions.

3) Research staff and participants should be given appropriate information about the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks and benefits, if any, are involved.

4) Individual research participant and group preferences regarding anonymity should be respected and participant requirements concerning the confidential nature of information and personal data should be respected.

5) Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure recognised standards of integrity are met, and quality and transparency are assured.

6) The independence of research should be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality should be explicit.

To implement these principles:

❖ The responsibility for conduct of the research in line with relevant principles rests with the principal investigator and the research / employing organisation.

❖ The responsibility for ensuring that research is subject to appropriate ethics review, approval and monitoring lies with the research organisation seeking or holding an award with the ESRC and which employs the researchers performing it, or some of the researchers when it is acting as the co-ordinator for collaborative research involving more than one organisation.

❖ Research organisations should have clear, transparent, appropriate and effective procedures in place for ethics review, approval and governance whenever it is necessary.

❖ Risks should be minimised.

❖ Research should be designed in a way that the dignity and autonomy of research participants are protected and respected at all times.

❖ Ethics review should always be proportionate to the potential risk, whether this involves primary or secondary data.

❖ Whilst the secondary use of some datasets may be relatively uncontroversial, and require only light touch ethics review, novel use of existing data and especially data linkage, as well as some uses of administrative, internet-mediated data and controlled data will raise issues of ethics.

❖ Research involving primary data collection will always raise issues of ethics that must be addressed.

Declaration

This researcher shall follow the ethical framework as established by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) of the United Kingdom. This ESRC Framework for Research Ethics referenced in this statement can be located via the ESRC website (please choose the latest version): http://www.esrc.ac.uk/about-esrc/information/framework-for-research-ethics/index.aspx. I have read all the relevant sections of the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics.

Student's Signature:

Date: 24/4/2018   Revised: 11/6/2018