

FROM BYTES TO BITES. DATA CAPITALISM AND FOOD DELIVERY BUSINESS IN EUROPE

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Abstract. In today's reality, where data reigns supreme, there is a crucial need to explore how traditional analog sectors adapt and integrate data-centric business logics. This research aims to unravel the intricate ways in which digital capitalism infiltrates previously analog domains, using major European food delivery firms as an example. Employing qualitative research methods, namely content analysis, rhetorical analysis, and semi-structured expert interviews, the study delves into both internal and external dimensions of European food delivery firms (FDFs) operations. Triangulating data from diverse sources ensures a comprehensive and reliable exploration of the evolving landscape.

The research uncovers six fundamental data capitalist logics embedded in the FDFs' business models. From the establishment of multi-sided platforms to the strategic use of algorithmic decision-making, and the subtle profiling of users, the findings shed light on the complex interplay between traditional service delivery and the data-centric demands of the digital age. This paper concludes by emphasizing the paradigmatic shift within the food delivery industry, from its analog roots to a data-driven, algorithmically governed landscape. It underscores the urgency for a nuanced understanding of data capitalism's influence on traditional sectors, calling for heightened awareness, ethical considerations, and regulatory scrutiny in this evolving digital frontier.

Key words: data capitalism, food delivery, business models.

JEL code: E70, L16, L22, O11

Introduction

Internet and related Information and communications technology (ICT) developments has acted as a catalyst for experimentation and innovation in business models (Amit & Zott, 2001; Grassmann, Frankenberger, & Choudury, 2020), and entire industrial sectors have evolved along radically new trajectories of innovation and offered new logic of value creation not seen in recent business history (Massa & Tucci, 2013). In the centre of those novel business models lies data. Once considered expensive by-product, now data has become the centre of attention. Nowadays it is hard to avoid the claims by various "experts", economists and self-proclaimed business gurus that "data is the new oil" or "everything is made of data". Such statements do not only reveal or reflect the world. Those are declarations. According to American philosopher John Searle, when someone makes a declaration, they are not just describing or requesting; they are actively bringing about a new reality through the act of speaking (Searle, 2010). This emerging reality places those with data capital in a position of access and authority. In such settings, the imperative to extract as much data from numerous sources, utilizing any available means, intensifies existing practices and gives rise to the development of new ones. While data is not the same as profit, they share a similar logic, and under specific conditions data can be converted into economic capital. Just as we expected corporations to be profit-driven, we should now expect organizations to be data-driven; that is, the drive to accumulate data now propels new ways of doing business and governance (Sadowski, 2019). This new trend is often referred to as data capitalism (DC).

For a large part of society and even many economists, DC is not fully understood and is often associated only with ICT related firms. In reality, all business landscape is changing and previously analog industries are increasingly transforming and focusing on data as commodity or capital. As Zuboff points out, DC *metastasized across diverse sectors from insurance, retail and finance, to agriculture and transportation, to the most intimate and predictive data residing in the two critical sectors of education and healthcare* (Zuboff, 2022). Still, there is not enough empirical evidence of this trajectory. Thus, the research question

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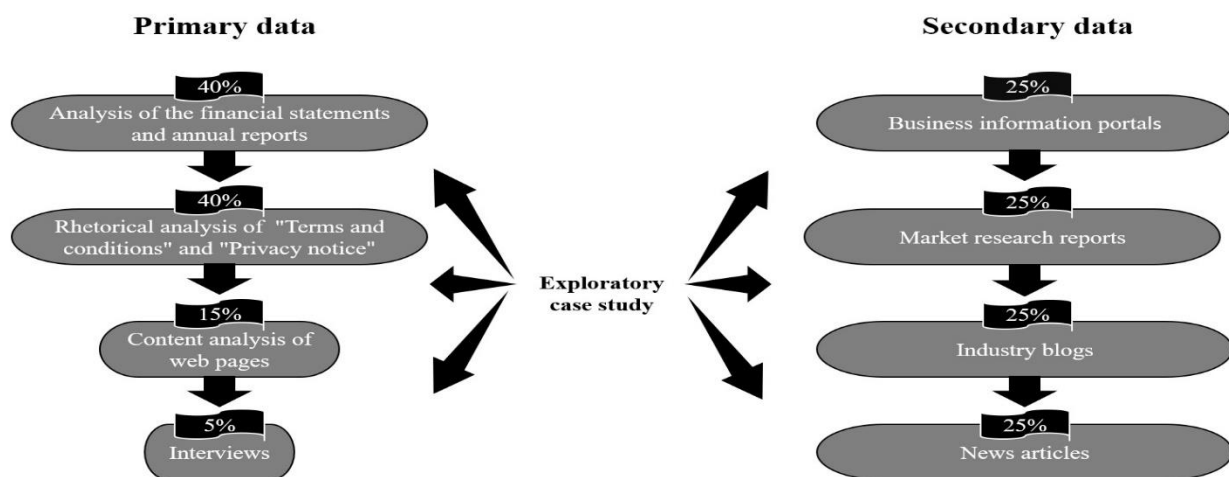
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is formulated as follows: **how digital capitalism migrates into previously distinctly analog economic domains, taking the largest food delivery firms (FDF) in Europe as an example.**

To answer research question following tasks has been set. (1) Research current literature on digital capitalism. With this we are aiming to provide a foundation for understanding the main characteristics and principles of DC. (2) Explore current food delivery business scenery in Europe. We are aiming to identify the major players of the food delivery business in Europe. (3) Analyse the business models of the largest European food delivery firms to identify the presence of DC Logics. We aim to search for specific elements within their business models that align with DC logics.

Methods and methodology

Given the novelty of the subject, this study was designed using qualitative research methods – namely, content analysis, rhetorical analysis, as well as semi-structured expert interviews. For empirical data analysis, the exploratory case study is used. Stringent controls were implemented to bolster the validity and reliability of our findings. This encompassed meticulous documentation of analytical procedures and transparent reporting of methodological choices. To mitigate the potential fallibility of any single data set, this study employs triangulation across multiple sources.



Source: authors' created figure

Fig. 1. Visual representation of data collection and analysis

Empirical data gathering started with extensive analysis of different business information and market research portals such as MordorIntelligence.com, Euromonitor.com, and Globaldata.com to identify the main players in the food delivery field in Europe. After careful consideration, six major companies were chosen for further analysis. The next step was to gather information and data that accurately depict the main value proposition and business logic of those firms.

Some scholars have already highlighted the institutionalization of secrecy within the policies and practices governing all facets of data capitalism (Zuboff, 2019, p. 63). Little did we know that, the similar tactics reigns in food delivery business. Persuading current or former managers of food delivery firms to talk about their business model was the most difficult task of this research. Similar as it is with Google or Facebook, all information disseminated to the public is carefully curated and polished by PR teams and employee contacts with "outsiders" are restricted. Current employees were hesitant to speak due to concerns of violating their employment contracts, while former employees are bound by non-disclosure agreements. Almost as the first rule of online food delivery business is: you do not talk about online food

delivery business. The answer received from one of the Bolt Food managers perfectly illustrates this common trend - "Sorry it took so long to get back to you, but I can't help, because the official position is that we don't provide info even if it's student work. Too much sensitive info ...I hope you understand. The only exception is if it's a study with Bolt, but then it has completely different objectives (e.g. research on improving traffic in the city x). Best regards XX". The few experts who agreed to participate in the study did so only under the strict condition of remaining anonymous. Thus, this research primarily relies on content analysis of the financial statements and annual reports, examination of corporate web pages, and rhetorical analysis of firms' documents, such as "Terms and Conditions" and "Privacy Notice." Four semi-structured interviews with one current and three former FDFs high-level managers were intended only to cross-check the facts found during the financial, rhetorical, or contingent analysis. Interviews were conducted between 14th December 2022 and 1st March 2023. All interviews were recorded, and later, interview transcripts were created. To protect the experts' identities, in the transcripts, company names were withheld, and experts were identified only by one randomly chosen alphabetic letter – A, B, C, or D.

To ensure a comprehensive and accurate analysis, the primary data was supplemented with secondary data sources, such as business information portals including Crunchbase.com, RocketReach.co, and Apollo.io, market research reports, news articles, industry blogs, and interviews given by founders and managers of 6 largest FDFs in Europe to various media outlets.

Our research methodology adopted a holistic and systematic approach to interrogate the complex interplay between data capitalism and the food delivery business. In the data analysis phase, content and archival data analysis of firms' webpages, press releases, financial statements, and other documents were deployed. To begin the data analysis process, all the clobber related to firms' annual reports, financial statements, "Terms and Conditions" and "Privacy policy" were downloaded and saved as MS Word or PDF files, all interviews' recordings were transcribed. Analytical content analysis was conducted on firms' annual reports and financial statements. This involved scrutinising numerical data from twelve documents, identifying value propositions and other key elements of firms' BM. Additionally, rhetorical analysis was employed to dissect the discourse embedded within public documents such as "Terms and Conditions" and "Privacy Policy." The process included an in-depth exploration of used language patterns and rhetoric used by companies to convey their policies and value propositions. By delving into the nuances of linguistic expressions, we were able to unmask the underlying communicative purpose and strategic intent embedded within these documents. The analysis of company website content was conducted *in vivo*. This involved the systematic analysis of firms' websites, alongside by the screenshots of the corresponding websites and the annotation of pertinent observations. This immersive approach yielded key insights into firms' business models and value propositions, laying the groundwork for further analysis.

Central to the research methodology was the adoption of a systematic approach known as critical realism, which facilitated a nuanced understanding of the interplay between ontological realism, epistemological relativism, and judgmental rationalism. This philosophical framework provided a robust ground upon which we built our analytical work, guiding our interpretation of empirical evidence and ensuring methodological rigour throughout the research process.

At the start of the analysis, each document was then systematically analysed to map out FDFs business model and value proposition. Detailed business model canvas was made for each of the companies subject of this research.

Key Partners Investors Restaurants / Food outlets Third party advertisers Riders Technology partners End Users (customers)	Key Activities Managing platform Managing merchants Managing customers Managing riders Managing orders Managing payments Managing third party advertisers	Value Propositions For customers: Access to multiple restaurants and food outlets via single platform Swift mobile ordering Real-time order tracking Fast delivery For merchants: Enhanced customer reach Accurate information about the users' habits and taste "Dark Kitchens" "Dark grocery Shops" Minimal marketing costs Access to delivery fleet Maximized revenue generation For third-party advertisers: Targeted advertising Massive local reach Build brand awareness	Customer relations Targeted e-mails Blogs Press releases Discount codes Referral bonus system Customer support service	Client Segments People who want food delivery from restaurants Brick-and-mortar restaurants Virtual restaurants Business ventures looking for additional advertising channels
	Key Resources Digital Platform Proprietary Software Riders IT personnel Customer service Technical support Sales & Marketing team		Advertising Channels Website Mobile App Affiliates E-mail Marketing News Agencies Online business portals Industry events	
Cost structure Technology (Data storage, development, deployment & maintenance) Human resources Marketing operations Real Estate Riders Fleet		Revenue streams Commission charges from merchants Payments from third-party advertisers Standard delivery fee Subscription fee from end-users Subscription fee from merchants		

Source: authors' crafted Business Model Canvas

Fig. 2. Visual representation of Just Eat Takeaway business model

To uncover any potential presence of DC logics in the firms' business models, we implemented a systematic coding process. We took a deep dive into the data, circling back again and again to pick out key phrases and sentences that resonated with pre-defined categories of data capitalism logics derived from the relevant literature. Through a process of constant comparison and consolidation, these categories were refined and synthesised into a comprehensive framework, illuminating the multifaceted dimensions of data capitalism within the food delivery business.

Through diverse analysis, rigorous methods, and strict controls, the research revealed nuanced insights into European food delivery business models.

Research results and discussion

The research delves into the complex dynamics of data capitalism and its convergence with the food delivery business in Europe. Unveiling the multifaceted landscape, the study scrutinizes the economic model where data emerges as the primary source of value and profit. Drawing on extensive examination of European Food Delivery Firms, the findings unearth a transformative journey marked by the integration of various data capitalism logics within the industry. From the evolution of food delivery as a simple business model to the dominance of a few major players, the research explores the pivotal role of digital platforms, massive data extraction, algorithmic decision-making, user profiling, and possible behavioural modification.

1. Data capitalism

DC is an economic model in which data is the main source of value and profit. It is based on the extraction, analysis and use of personal data (everydayness data) to create targeted advertising, personalized products and services and other forms of monetization. It is a system in which the commoditization of data enables an asymmetric redistribution of power that is weighted toward the actors who have access and the capability to make sense of information (West, 2019). As Sadowski noted, there are a variety of labels that refer to the politeconomic relationship between data and capitalism, such as "surveillance capitalism" (Zuboff, 2015), "informational capitalism" (Fuchs, 2010), "platform capitalism"

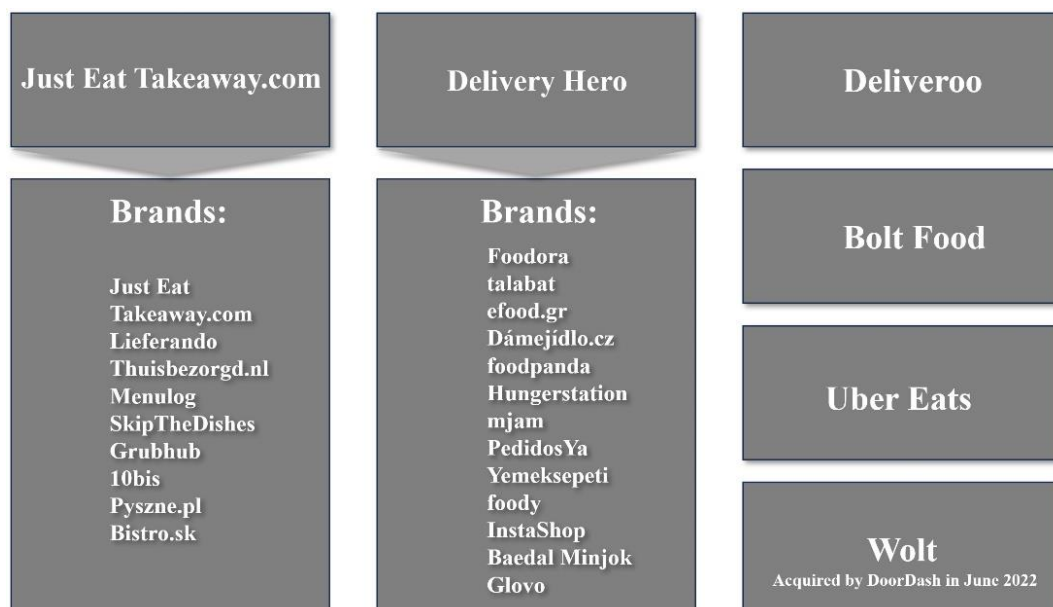
(Srnicek, 2016) and "iCapitalism" (Priestland, 2013). These different labels are not interchangeable, but they do share common themes and conclusions (Sadowski, 2019). DC is characterized by: (1) data as a commodity: personal data is seen as a valuable commodity that can be bought, sold and traded; (2) data extraction imperative: Data is collected from individuals and organizations in a variety of ways, including online activities, social media interactions and physical transactions; (3) asymmetric power dynamics: Data capitalists retain great, unilateral power over the collection, analysis and use of personal data and (4) Algorithmic governance: Algorithms are used to process and analyse data, make decisions about individuals and shape their experiences.

Many scholars have noted that under data capitalism, platform-based, data-driven, and artificial-intelligence-powered business models directly or indirectly control a growing share of economic life, and increasingly serve as role models for both start-ups and established companies (Seidl, 2023; Metra & Dobelniece, 2022; Zuboff, 2022).

2. Food delivery business

In general understanding, food delivery is a courier service in which a restaurant, store, or independent food-delivery company delivers food to a customer. This type of BM has been around for a very long time. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, several startups emerged with the goal of creating dedicated online food delivery platforms. Inexperienced observers still might think of food delivery firms as enthusiastic startups that are just trying to deliver great customer value propositions. In reality, the food delivery business is highly consolidated and attracts huge amounts of investment.

At this point, the food delivery business is dominated by a handful of large companies, some of which operate under many different brands around the world. The European market is no different. As of January 2024, the European food delivery market has become increasingly tight, with just six firms holding a significant share of the industry (Globaldata.com, 2024; Mordor Intelligence, 2024).



Source: authors' created chart based on information from Globaldata.com.

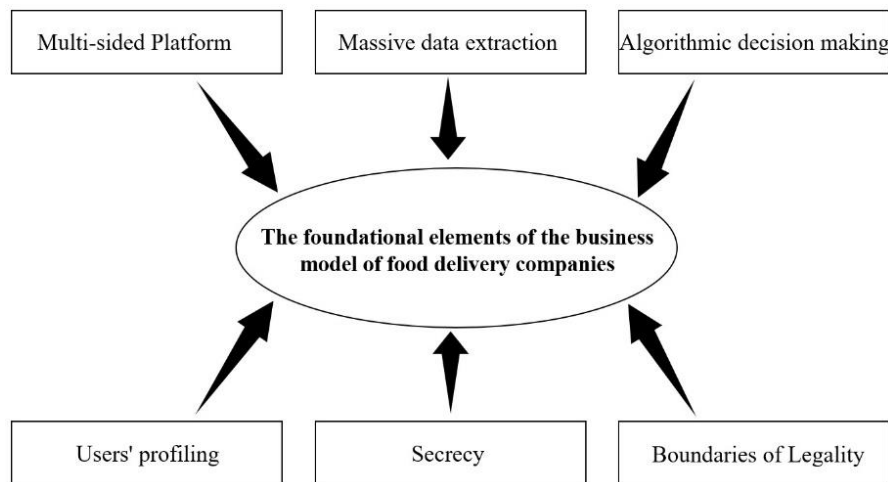
Fig. 3. Food delivery business landscape in Europe in January 2023

Still, the European food delivery industry remains highly competitive, and is expected to continue to grow in the coming years, with new innovations and technologies driving further disruption and change. The focus is likely to be on improving business model to achieve profitability, increase efficiency, reduce

delivery times, and enhance the overall customer experience. Therefore, the food delivering industry is interesting research object not just because their business model might incorporate logics of DC, and if so, then this is the case where data capitalism is transitioning from strictly online environment to brick-and-mortar businesses.

3. Findings

A comprehensive analysis of European FDF corporate websites, blog posts, industry news articles, interviews, and annual reports reveals a story of significant growth and transformation. Throughout this journey, the industry has embraced various DC logics.



Source: authors' created model

Fig. 4. Building blocks of modern food delivery business model

Multisided platform. Just before the whole world went online, food delivery BM was quite simple. As expert D counts: "We actually started as a business-to-business express delivery company. Down the road I realize that food is a needed commodity for many offices in certain hours. So, we started the lunch delivery as an additional product to our services. Our business model was straightforward: you order food, and we'll pick it up and deliver it straight to your office. We charged a fixed delivery fee for this service.". At the core of all largest contemporary European FDFs BMs lies digital platforms. These platforms: (1) allow companies to establish themselves as market intermediaries that connect supply with demand, and (2) allows extract huge amount of data on users' activities on this platform and beyond. It is not seen on users faced webpages, but in documents meant for investors, companies are quite clear about it - "We are a technology company known for our local commerce platform...()... Wolt's platform makes it easy for customers to order whatever they need on one app, for merchants to make additional sales, and for couriers to make meaningful earnings flexibly." (Wolt, 2022), or Delivery Hero offers its partner restaurants a point-of-sale system in order for them to immediately view and accept orders made on the platform. Furthermore, Delivery Hero offers products and services for restaurants, such as advertising. In addition to the online food ordering platforms, the Group also offers own delivery services to restaurants without this capability. The own delivery fleet is coordinated using proprietary dispatch software." (Delivery Hero, 2022).

The bottom-line is that even though online food delivery companies initially focused solely on delivering food, they've managed to extend their offerings beyond that basic service. This shift evolves deploying different business logics.

Massive data extraction and accumulation. Gathering essential customer data has been a necessary component for the success of food delivery businesses, even prior to their expansion into the online realm.

As former manager of the company that was one of the pioneers of food delivery business in Latvia, expert D stated "all *what we needed was, customer name or nickname (usually first name was enough), order information, delivery address and payment type (cash or card). Basically, that was it...we did not collect anything else because it was unnecessary*". Modest customer information collected in the past is no longer enough for complex operations of a modern food delivery business. As per European law, organizations are obligated to disclose their data collection practices to their customers or users; therefore, all FDFs provide information in their "Privacy Notice" and other documents outlining the data they collect. For illustration let's look at the Wolt's "Privacy Statement" - "We use various technologies to collect and store Usage Data and other information when the Users visit the Wolt Services, including cookies, storing website data, and using web and application telemetry." Their list contains 20 different data points, including "In addition to User Data collected from you and the Customer Organization, we process certain personal data third party service providers provide about you", "If you connect or login to your account with Facebook, Facebook shares with us personal information about you such as your profile picture, a sample of your Facebook friends and your Facebook ID", and "Where you followed a link to Wolt Services, and links you followed from Wolt Services". All firms examined in this research follow similar practices. Besides, FDFs don't focus on the instantaneous application of an extracted data. Instead, emphasis lies on the continuous flow of data creation. Data is frequently collected without specific purposes in mind. As expert A admitted: "*In the initial stages, we had an abundance of data but struggled with how to make the most of it. We just collected it, simply because we had the ability to do so, but to be honest, we were uncertain about how to effectively handle and utilize it*". The circumstances required for the transformation of data capital into economic capital might never come, yet this does not impede the ongoing cycle of accumulation.

Algorithmic decision making. Big data presents numerous possibilities not only for data monetization but also for automation and algorithmic decision making, as expert B stated: "We use algorithmic decision-making in a variety of areas, from logistics and delivery to customer service and marketing". Similarly, Deliveroo informs its investors that: "*We use deep learning to predict future network states and advanced optimization techniques to decide rider assignment, and we have vastly more data on which to train our models.*" (Deliveroo, 2022).

All FDFs claim that, apart from revenue growth and cost optimization, data analytics can help predict customer behaviour and retain valuable customers by improving customer experience, reducing fraud, and providing real time offers. For example Bolt Food's privacy policy states: "*Allowing you to use, or to continue to use our app and services - we may use information relating to the outcome of background checks, verification processes and behavioral analysis (such as where your behaviour appears to be consistent with money laundering or known fraudulent conduct, or is inconsistent with your previous submissions, or you appear to have deliberately hidden your true identity) to automatically decide whether we will allow you to use our apps and services, or to automatically stop you from using our apps and services.*". Overall, it seems that automated decision-making is becoming increasingly common in the online food delivery industry.

Users' profiling and behavioural modification. "We may apply profiles to you based on your personal data and behavioural information (such as the pages on the website or apps you have visited or interacted with, including by reference to personal data legitimately obtained and shared with us by third parties or publicly available data). Such profiles may be used as part of our advertising, analytics and provision of support.", states Bolt food "Privacy policy". Profiling could be seen as a form of behaviour modification; however, it is worth noting that usually FDFs deny using explicit behaviour modification techniques. "At this stage we can make pretty accurate predictions about consumption in general in given

district or in given city, but it is impossible to predict individual user's choices. Look at yourself for example, how often you change your eating habits, for some trivial reasons hard to predict?", assures expert C. Expert A claims: "Oh, I don't know if we're really manipulating our customers' behaviour...maybe just some trivial things like if we offer a special deal on burgers during the weekend, I can guarantee you that burgers will make up almost half of all the food sold during those days.". Just a coincidence, probably.

Secrecy. While almost all FDFs examined in this research are publicly traded companies and therefore have a legal obligation to disclose their operations and revenue streams, they tend to downplay the significance of users' data in their BM. To disguise massive data extraction operations FDFs deploy several tactics. First, the language used in FDFs privacy policy documents tends to obscure exploitative nature of dataveillance and blur the fact that it is potentially harmful process that involves people's personal information being taken without their full consent or understanding. Rhetorical analysis of firms' "Privacy policy" and "Terms and conditions" documents revealed at least three distinct rhetorical tactics deployed. Undoubtedly, the main tactic is benefiting rhetoric. Data extraction is framed as something that is primarily done in order to improve services for the user. The commercial value of the data is not mentioned. As Uber states in their privacy notice – "Uber uses personal data to enable reliable and convenient transportation, delivery, and other products and services". Another tactic used is sidelining rhetoric when practices related to the BM are downplayed or portrayed as a minor aspect of what these firms do. Therefore, indefinite grammatical forms such as 'we might' or 'we may' are used. For example, in Wolt privacy statement is written "we may process your personal data if there is an appropriate and justifiable interest (that is, a legitimate interest) to run, maintain and develop our business or to create and maintain customer relationships". Sometimes firms use *legal rhetoric* and operate with such terms as "our legitimate interests" and "lawful basis: to perform and fulfil our contracts with you". All the firms analysed in this research utilize at least two of the aforementioned rhetorical tactics in varying combinations.

Another technique employed by companies is use of **dark design patterns** which involves presenting desired choices in a simplified manner. In Europe, firms are obligated to obtain users consent when collecting certain behavioral data or use personal data for marketing purposes. For example, Uber's privacy notice states: "Uber does not sell or share user personal data with third parties for their direct marketing, except with users' consent.". The trick here is that all users by default are "opt-in" by clicking the "Agree" button during the registration. As Wolt's privacy statement informs: "...you may withdraw it at any time by contacting us or amending the respective consent setting for example within the Wolt App". So, there is action needed to "opt-out" which is often neglected from user's side.

Exploring the Boundaries of Legality. All European FDFs are constantly pushing the boundaries and testing the legal grounds for their operations. Let's start with previously mentioned "dark design" patterns. These design features that manipulate users into taking actions that they may not have intended or understood, such as giving consent for data collection are example of questionable legality. This practice clearly violates the GDPR's principle of "informed consent."

Often online food delivery firms are not keen to comply with local administrative rules either. For example, in 2017, Deliveroo was accused of bypassing planning local regulation rules and unlawfully cooking thousands of takeout meals at its "dark kitchens" without a proper permit (The Guardian, 2017). The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) published a report in 2021 called "The Uber Files," which consisted of thousands of documents leaked from Uber's corporate offices. The "Uber Files" revealed a range of concerning practices, including the company's ruthless tactics against competitors and regulators, and mistreatment of drivers, including those working for Uber Eats. Among the

report's key findings were revelations that Uber had created a secretive tool called "Hell" to monitor the locations of Lyft drivers and try to lure them to work for Uber instead. Additionally, the company had a dedicated team responsible for identifying and neutralizing regulators and law enforcement officials who stood in the way of Uber's expansion (ICIJ, 2021).

All largest online food delivery companies in Europe have been embroiled in legal battles over their classification of riders as self-employed contractors instead of employees. When faced with regulatory opposition, these companies call for public support for their services and mount political campaigns, supported by lobbying efforts, to effect changes in regulations. *"In Europe traditionally there's been this almost black and white battle between flexibility and security and we're trying to end that trade-off right now. So, we've been speaking to a lot of governments to say we also want to offer benefits, but we need that flexible working model to, to remain."*, says Deiveroo founder and CEO (Shu, 2018). Similar discourse keeps Wolt Baltic CEO Liis Ristal: *"It is clear that people primarily use platforms to earn extra income due to work flexibility. If this principle of flexibility disappears from platform work, then people will most likely lose interest in this type of work. It is evident that changes in labour legislation are not only desirable but also necessary, as we no longer live in the era of industrialization when people worked a set number of hours every day in factories and when labour laws were also created. We are currently in the 21st century, where people can flexibly decide how and when to sell their work time."* (Ristal, 2022).

Online food delivery companies have become powerful actors who set the rules of the game in their markets and exhibit monopolistic behaviour. In 2021 the Competition Council of Latvia identified certain conditions imposed by the food delivery firms Wolt and Blot Food, such as prolonged and constant promotions, one-sided platform actions that result in reduced operating hours or increased commission fees, and excessive demands for payments, which can create unfair treatment among companies that use platform services (KP, 2021).

The actions of European FDFs are marked by a continuous exploration of legal boundaries, as exemplified by questionable design patterns, non-compliance with local regulations, and contentious employment classifications. The power dynamics within the industry, characterized by monopolistic behaviour and strategic influence over market conditions, underscore the need for vigilant oversight and regulatory measures to ensure fair practices and protect the interests of all stakeholders involved.

Conclusion and recommendations

To sum it up, in today's rapidly developing technological world, businesses must be adaptable to survive and thrive. As a result, online food delivery firms have adopted various novel practices and new business logics that were not present in the traditional food delivery BM. The aim of this research was set to understand and to explore how DC migrates into previously distinctly analog economic domains, taking the largest food delivery firms in Europe as an example. After careful analysis of all empirical data, it is possible to conclude that all major European food supply companies have adopted at least 6 data capitalism logics.

- 1) In the centre of modern food delivery business lies multisided platform.
- 2) Big data plays an important role in this BM, so the existence of a digital platform is essential for data mining operations. Users' data extraction is institutionalized in the FDFs mobile apps, web infrastructure, "Privacy policy", "Terms and conditions" and other external and internal documents.
- 3) The BM of FDFs relies heavily on algorithms and other forms of automation.
- 4) Big data and algorithms lead to profiling of users and encourages behavioral modification.
- 5) Firms' reliance on users' data is hidden and shadowed.

6) As most of the technological firms, also FDFs see themselves as icebreakers and disruptive innovators, therefore often they have a little concern about established rules and regulations.

There was a time when digitalization and the internet were celebrated as the ultimate tools for liberation and true freedom, but unbeknownst to many, the emergence of DC led to an insatiable thirst for data. Now, it appears that data is the very fabric of our world. This all plays a major role in shaping BMs not just in the food delivery industry, but almost in all industries and sector of economy. It seems, that to succeed in this new brave world, firms must create some kind of digital platform, offer some useful product for free or at least push their prices as low as possible in order to build their customer base, increase data flow, and ultimately reap profits in the long-term.

Maybe data capitalism is our new normal. Still, the intertwining of data capitalism and the food delivery business raises critical questions about privacy, ethical practices, and the balance between market dominance and regulatory compliance. We as a society must discuss these things, because this this time blissful ignorance is no stance at all.

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