

# Institutional Preservation Work at a Family Business in Crisis: Micro-processes, Emotions, and Nonfamily Members

Organization Studies  
2019, Vol. 40(6) 887–916  
© The Author(s) 2019  
Article reuse guidelines:  
sagepub.com/journals-permissions  
DOI: 10.1177/0170840618818597  
www.egosnet.org/os  


**Elizabeth Long Lingo**

Worcester Polytechnic Institute, USA

**Michael B. Elmes**

Worcester Polytechnic Institute, USA

## Abstract

While research tends to focus on how family members respond to and manage crises arising in family businesses, nonfamily members play important roles as well. In this qualitative study, we demonstrate how nonfamily actors—employees, customers, and vendors—engage in institutional preservation work to save a family business. We develop a theoretical model of how a diffuse constellation of low-power individuals can come to identify and act as agents of institutional preservation and identify the three subprocesses comprising preservation work: intensifying and harnessing emotions, building collective identity, and articulating shared interests. This model offers insight into how nonfamily members can come to exert control over family businesses and contributes to emerging literature on the role of emotional escalation and social media in institutional and family business research.

## Keywords

emotion, family business, institutional work, nonfamily members, social media

## Introduction

What role do nonfamily members play in a family business in crisis? While nonfamily members—managers and employees—comprise the bulk of those employed within family businesses (Barnett & Kellermanns, 2006; Mitchell, Morse, & Sharma, 2003), they have received only scant attention in the family business literature (Bernhard & O’Driscoll, 2011; Chua, Chrisman, & Sharma, 2003). Most family business research assumes clear boundaries between what constitutes family and

---

### Corresponding author:

Elizabeth Long Lingo, WPPI, 100 Institute Road, Worcester, MA 01609, USA.

Email: [ellingo@wpi.edu](mailto:ellingo@wpi.edu)

nonfamily in managing family businesses (e.g., Lansberg, 1999; Leach & Pedder, 2009). This in turn informs the field's dominant theories, which focus on social and emotional dynamics among family relatives (Berrone, Cruz, & Gomez-Mejia, 2012) and intertwined systems of familial and business spheres (Habbershon & Williams, 1999). Within these systems, nonfamily managers may bring needed specialized expertise and external social capital (Sanchez-Famoso, Akhter, Iturralde, Chirico, & Maseda, 2015; Sonfield & Lussier, 2009b), yet most research focuses on addressing agency problems that nonfamily managers may present due to information asymmetries and competing interests (e.g., Fang, Memili, Chrisman, & Penney, 2017; James, Jennings, & Jennings, 2017). Nonfamily employees are typically seen solely as resources, whose commitment to, and identification with, the family and its business may create value for the firm (Carmon, Miller, Raile, & Roers, 2010; Vallejo, 2009). When conflict or crisis arises, research focuses on how family members and a board of directors respond to or manage the crisis (Kellermanns & Eddleston, 2004; Sorenson, 1999). Yet nonfamily members can exert significant influence despite their lack of power and control within family businesses. In this paper we ask: How can nonfamily members come to take significant and strategic action to preserve family businesses in crisis?

We engage institutional theory, and more specifically an institutional work perspective, to inform our study. An institution is theorized as a "more or less taken-for-granted repetitive social behavior that is underpinned by normative systems and cognitive understandings that give meaning to social exchange and thus enable self-reproducing social order" (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, & Suddaby, 2008, pp. 4–5). In a family business context, social behavior, norms, values, and understandings may be forged over multiple generations of family business involvement in a community. The institutional work perspective problematizes the maintenance of enduring institutions and highlights the activities and micro-processes that individuals and organizations undertake to maintain or repair existing institutions under threat (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009). Scholars have identified strategies used by powerful incumbents to actively preserve institutions benefitting them, including reinforcing institutional foundations (Dacin, Munir, & Tracey, 2010), adapting practices to preserve existing scripts and relationships (Currie, Lockett, Finn, Martin, & Waring, 2012; Lok & De Rond, 2013), and engaging in the more muscular repair work undertaken by professions (Micelotta & Washington, 2013) or government agencies (Herepath & Kitchener, 2016) in the face of institutional breaches or disruptions.

Scholars also have focused attention on how everyday, low-power, or marginalized individuals can come to identify and act as agents of institutional transformation and repair, and the role of emotion in these processes (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010; Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). These studies focus attention on the inhabited nature of institutions (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006), and "the socially embedded, interdependent, relational and emotional nature of persons' lived experiences of institutional arrangements" (Creed et al., 2014, p. 278). People's emotions, such as betrayal and disgust, triggered by disruptions to their social fabric (Creed et al., 2014; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Voronov & Vince, 2012), can help forge their identity as institutional actors and motivate strong responses to institutional violations. However, while emotions can serve as a powerful resource for everyday individuals lacking the legal, professional, or regulatory levers of institutional control afforded professionals and elites, they may not be sufficient to translate into successful institutional action in the face of significant power differentials (Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). Research is needed that explores the question of how low-power individuals, such as nonfamily members in a family business, can come to both identify, and successfully take action, to repair the "tearing apart" of long-standing institutions.

In this paper, we address this question by inductively analyzing the response of a diffuse constellation of low-power, nonfamily individuals—employees, customers, and vendors—to the Market Basket family business crisis unfolding between June 2013 and August 2014. Market

Basket is a family-owned, \$4.5 billion, nonunion food retailer, with over 70 supermarkets in the New England region. Over multiple generations of family ownership, Market Basket has become highly profitable serving low- and middle-income communities through “The Market Basket Way,” which emphasizes generous worker benefits, minimal employee turnover, exceptional service, low prices, and commitment to the local community. We focus on a period of profound crisis, when a shift in controlling ownership among feuding family members threatened the Market Basket Way and the organization’s survival.

Analyzing the experience and perceptions of individuals as documented in over 8,000 pages of social media data, we develop a theoretical model of the micro-processes through which low-power, nonfamily members within family businesses can come to identify and act as agents of institutional preservation. Our paper offers three primary contributions to family business and organization studies scholarship. First, we demonstrate how nonfamily members can engage in institutional *preservation work* to save a family business. Second, we contribute to scholarship on inhabited institutions and institutional work by illuminating the micro-processes—(1) intensifying and harnessing emotions, (2) building collective identity, and (3) articulating shared interests—by which non-elite individuals can successfully preserve their institutions in the face of powerful controlling owners. Third, we add to emerging streams of inquiry focused on how emotions and social media forge new possibilities for diffuse constellations of individuals to act collectively as institutional agents and family business strategic actors. Our findings illuminate the interplay among family business, nonfamily employees, and communities in which they are embedded, and encourage family business leaders to consider how nonfamily members can act as both a resource and constraint on action during times of crisis.

## Theoretical Background

### *Nonfamily members in family businesses*

Within the dominant theoretical frameworks that distinguish family business scholarship, nonfamily members are most often considered outsiders who have only limited roles within family businesses. As noted by Berrone et al. (2012)

for family principals and employees the firm becomes an integral and inescapable part of their lives. This contrasts with nonfamily shareholders or hired managers and employees for whom the relationship with the firm is more distant, transitory, individualistic, and utilitarian. (Berrone et al., 2012, p. 60)

The relational and emotional dynamics among relatives undergird the socioemotional wealth (Berrone et al., 2012; Fang et al., 2017) and “familiness” (Habbershon & Williams, 1999; Pearson, Carr, & Shaw, 2008) that provide family businesses with competitive advantage and serve as resources during crises. In contrast, nonfamily members are often cast as presenting agency and information asymmetry problems (Chua et al., 2003; Davis, Allen, & Hayes, 2010). Driven by fear of losing control to outsiders, family members often make suboptimal decisions (Lutz & Schraml, 2011), or use kinship, not qualifications or experience, as the basis for assigning roles and responsibilities (Haynes, Hitt, & Campbell, 2015; Verbeke & Kano, 2012). Despite these concerns, studies show that nonfamily managers often act as stewards of family businesses (James et al., 2017; Madison, Holt, Kellermanns, & Ranft, 2016; Miller, Le Breton-Miller, Minichilli, Corbetta, & Pittino, 2014), and bring needed resources to family firms, including financial expertise (Lutz & Schraml, 2011; Sonfield & Lussier, 2009a), social capital (Sanchez-Famoso et al., 2015; Sonfield & Lussier, 2009b), and expertise needed for internationalization (Kraus, Mensching, Calabrò, Cheng, & Filser, 2016).

Scholars have also examined how nonfamily employees' cognitions and perceptions may contribute to family business success and profitability. For example, employees' perceptions that human resource policies are just and fair (Barnett & Kellermanns, 2006; Carsrud, 2006), and employees' identification with the family and its business can positively affect employee behavior and attitudes (Carmon et al., 2010), profitability (Vallejo, 2009), commitment, and organizational citizenship behaviors (Matherne, Waterwall, Ring, & Credo, 2017). Nonfamily employees' sense of procedural justice (Barnett, Long, & Marler, 2012; De Massis, 2012), psychological ownership (Pierce, Kostova, & Dirks, 2001), and perceived control over their work (Bernhard & O'Driscoll, 2011) foster organizational commitment, job satisfaction, reduced turnover and extra-role behaviors (Ramos, Man, Mustafa, & Ng, 2014), as well as individual-level entrepreneurial behavior (Sieger, Zellweger, & Aquino, 2013).

Yet nonfamily employees are rarely given power or control over strategic decisions in family businesses, making family businesses a particularly opportune context in which to study how low-power individuals may come to take action to preserve their business in crisis. With their reliance on survey-based methods, however, extant studies do not fully capture nonfamily members' experience, nor situate these individuals within the context of long-standing values, norms, and behaviors fostered by family businesses over several generations. Vendors and customers may be equally invested in the business's viability, yet their roles in times of crisis have received scant attention. How a diffuse constellation of nonfamily employees, customers, and vendors may come to take action to preserve a family business in crisis remains an open question. To gain greater traction, we turn to literature on institutional work.

### *Institutional work and nonfamily members at a family business in crisis*

Scholars have long been interested in how institutions, such as those forged over multiple generations of a family business, shape the cognitions, behaviors, and norms of those embedded within those institutional contexts (Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence, & Meyer, 2017; Greenwood et al., 2008). More recently, scholars have called for approaches that "put humans back in" to studies of institutional processes (Hallett, 2010; Hallett & Ventresca, 2006) or that examine how individuals and collectives creatively and actively make sense of, interact with, maintain, transform, and repair institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). The institutional work perspective provides a useful theoretical model for illuminating how individuals' actions are both constrained and enabled by the institutions in which they are embedded, and importantly, how people's actions and interactions inform institutional processes of maintenance and transformation (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

A rich stream of institutional work focuses on how incumbents actively work to protect their institutions (Greenwood et al., 2017; Lawrence, Leca, & Zilber, 2013; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). This work may take a narrative turn, such as translating and embedding meta-narratives into organizational practices (Zilber, 2009), or involve creating legitimizing entities that reinforce the status quo (Trank & Washington, 2009). Other studies examine the everyday work involved to contain, negotiate, and restore large and "small tears in the institutional script" (Lok & De Rond, 2013, p. 186). For example, scholars show how Cambridge crew captains massaged existing narratives and scripts to address breakdowns in institutionalized practices (Lok & De Rond, 2013); how elites disciplined violators of formal dining rituals at Cambridge University to reinforce the British class system (Dacin et al., 2010); and how elite medical professionals in the English National Health Service counteracted new labor policies that undermined their control (Currie et al., 2012).

Micelotta and Washington (2013) extended this further to examine when institutions are torn asunder. They found that the Italian legal profession was unwilling to adapt simply to new government regulations and instead engaged in repair work to restore disrupted laws and policies benefiting them. This study is particularly relevant to our examination of the Market Basket crisis as it

focuses on understanding “how disrupted institutions can be maintained through the reversal of change and restoration of the status quo” (Micelotta & Washington, 2013, p. 1141). However, this study focuses on actions of powerful, high-status professionals seeking to maintain societal privilege, rather than the non-elite protagonists of our study, who were seeking to preserve living wages, access to low-cost food, and shared values of mutual respect, pride in one’s work, and responsibility for one’s community. Research is needed that helps explain how non-elite actors might engage in institutional repair work that serves low-power individuals and organizations.

Studies of how marginalized actors engage in institutional work provide important insight. Scholars studying Japanese middle-class housewives (Leung, Zietsma, & Peredo, 2014) and GLBT ministers in Protestant churches (Creed et al., 2010) find that micro-processes of identity work play a central role in how low-power individuals transform existing institutional orders. Lacking the privilege and power of professions or institutional elites to assume and exert control, marginalized actors must first wrestle with micro-processes of identifying as institutional actors with the potential to transform institutions (Creed et al., 2010).

Studies also find that emotions, particularly those of betrayal, shame, hope, and righteousness, play an important role in how low-power groups may come to identify and take institutional action (Creed et al., 2010; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). A focus on emotions animates the people who inhabit institutions and emphasizes the important relationship between the institutional context in which people are embedded and how people interpret, make sense of, and take action in response to those structures (Creed et al., 2014; Lok, Creed, DeJordy, & Voronov, 2017; Voronov & Vince, 2012; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018). For example, Creed et al. (2010) found that betrayal and shame are central to LBGT ministers’ institutional identity work, as they wrestle with the contradictions of their lived experience and prevailing institutional norms. However, emotions may not be sufficient to guarantee successful institutional action by low-power actors, especially when more muscular repair work is required. For example, “moral emotions” of guilt and anger among Pentecostal congregations were critical, but not sufficient, to enable low-power actors to challenge institutional incompatibilities among church leaders (Wijaya & Heugens, 2018).

Toubiana and Zietsma’s (2017) study of the Canadian Degenerative Disease Foundation and its members is informative, as it suggests that social media plays a role in amplifying members’ emotions of hope and betrayal (Hallett, 2003). These “social emotions,” emerging and escalating through social interaction enabled by social media (Toubiana and Zietsma, 2017), in turn influence and support members’ responses when institutional expectations are violated. For diffuse constellations of low-power individuals, who do not have professional associations or organizations to drive interpretation of and responses to institutional threats, social media may help forge the shared understanding, identity, and social emotions needed to motivate and sustain institutional action. Given the growing presence of social media in society, further research is needed to understand how social media might constrain or enable institutional repair work, especially among non-elite, low-power individuals.

Taken together, we extend research on micro-processes and emotions of institutional work as we examine how nonfamily members can come to identify, and act as, agents of institutional repair. We specifically focus on actors who are neither heroic institutional entrepreneurs (Creed et al., 2010; Lawrence et al., 2009) nor powerful incumbents, but rather a diffuse constellation of non-elite, working-class employees and stakeholders.

## Empirical Context

From its founding in 1917 by a Greek immigrant couple in Lowell, Massachusetts, Demoulas Market was oriented toward the area’s mostly immigrant working class. In the early years, many

customers bought their food on credit, making the Demoulas family “part grocer, part banker, all the while keeping (the store) closely tied to the fortunes of Lowell’s working poor” (Korschun & Welker, 2015, p. 9). Over multiple decades, the Demoulas’ sons, George and Telemachus, grew the company based on a culture dedicated to putting people first and offering high-quality goods, low prices, and exceptional service to lower-income families—a set of beliefs, norms, and practices called the Market Basket Way.

In 1971, George died unexpectedly, making Telemachus the Demoulas supermarket chain CEO. Telemachus and his son, Arthur T. Demoulas (ATD), who grew up working from the company’s lowest rung, continued to nurture and grow Market Basket, whose values and impact were infused throughout the local New England region. However, George’s loss set the stage for a series of lawsuits between the two sides of the family for years to come. The most consequential of these lawsuits led to a 1990 court ruling awarding George’s heirs 50.5% of the company and Telemachus’ side 49.5% (Korschun & Welker, 2015, p. 27). Since the court decision assigned five of the nine family shareholders to George’s side of the family (represented now by Arthur S. Demoulas (ASD), George’s son and ATD’s cousin), in theory this could have given ASD’s side control over the selection of board members who would pursue their interests. In fact, however, in 2002 one of those five family shareholders on the ASD side, Rafaela Evans (ASD’s sister-in-law), switched her vote in support of ATD. This meant that despite continuing animosity between the two sides of the family, the balance of board control after 2002 favored ATD, whose business philosophy, values, strategy, and practices as CEO embodied and reinforced the Market Basket Way.

ATD was the only family member who was involved in the day-to-day operations of the organization; he was beloved by employees and customers. As CEO and President, he not only led strong debt-free growth in company revenues and profits, but also remembered details about his employees’ personal lives and served as a stalwart proponent for generous employee bonuses and profit sharing. Under his leadership, Market Basket was known for building supermarkets in low-income neighborhoods, fostering a sense of respect for the lower-middle class, putting people before profit, and generously supporting the community through charitable donations.

These long-standing arrangements were threatened in June 2013, when Rafaela unexpectedly changed her vote and gave shareholder control to ASD’s side of the family. In turn, they elected a board favorable to ASD, who sought to redistribute financial capital from the business to shareholders and potentially sell the company, placing the future of the Market Basket Way in jeopardy.

## Methods

The Market Basket (MB) crisis presents an opportune context to study how a diffuse constellation of low-power, nonfamily members may come to take action to preserve an institution that was at first being threatened and then torn asunder. The thousands of pages of nonfamily members’ Facebook comments and posts allow us to examine the unfolding crisis from a nonfamily members’ perspective in real time. Further, MB’s roots in the local economy enabled us to situate our analysis within the larger social context and illuminate the interplay between family businesses in crisis, nonfamily employees’ perceptions and actions, and local communities in which they are embedded.

## Data

We brought together several data sources for our analyses. Our primary data source comprised approximately 40,000 posts and comments on the *Save Market Basket (SMB)* Facebook site by MB

employees and their family members, customers, vendors, and other interested parties during the crisis period. Posts began when the *SMB* Facebook page was created on July 12, 2013, just after control of the MB board had shifted to the ASD side, to when the company was sold to ATD in August of 2014. We also drew from multiple archival and media sources, including: (1) over 50 newspaper articles from the *Boston Globe*, *Lowell Sun*, *Wall Street Journal*, and WBUR's *Cognoscenti* from June 2013 to September 2014; (2) an MIT case study (Ton, Kochan, & Reavis, 2015); (3) the book *We Are Market Basket: The Story of the Unlikely Grassroots Movement that Saved a Beloved Business* (Korschun & Welker, 2015); and (4) the documentary *We the People: The Market Basket Effect* (Reid, 2016). The book and documentary draw heavily on interviews with case participants, newspaper articles and internal MB memos, and transcripts of various MB board meetings. We also hosted a screening of the documentary with the producer and facilitated discussion with employees and customers about their experiences.

### *Analytical approach*

We utilized a twofold analytical strategy that allowed us to remain sensitive to insights that emerged from the data and develop new theoretical acuity (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). First, we used a process perspective (Langley, 2009) to capture how nonfamily members perceived and responded to the institutional breach over time. A process perspective considers “phenomena dynamically—in terms of movement, activity, events, change and temporal evolution” (Langley, 2007, p. 271), and allows us to see how dynamics earlier in the crisis shape those occurring later. Second, because research on the experiences and roles of nonfamily members in a family business in crisis is limited, a grounded theory approach was warranted (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As described in more detail below, our analytic approach followed an iterative process of moving back and forth between our grounded data, our emerging understanding of unfolding micro-processes, and existing institutional and family business theories. Our approach comprised: (1) mapping key events; (2) coding the *SMB* Facebook data through an iterative process of developing and refining codes and themes from the data; (3) revisiting the process map to identify key phases and how micro-processes related to actions taken by antagonists and protagonists; and (4) validating codes and themes by triangulating with our archival data.

**Step 1. Mapping the crisis.** We oriented ourselves to our Facebook data by developing a detailed timeline of key events and actions, the relationships among these actions, and who enacted them. For example, we identified the initial event when the ASD side of the family threatened to fire ATD and how, in response, nonfamily members founded the *SMB* Facebook page and started a petition drive. As another example, ASD board members threatened to fire managers at the MB-owned Indian Ridge Country Club. In response, nonfamily members rallied to protest and were ultimately successful. As needed, we filled gaps in our process map (especially events preceding the crisis) using archival data. We provide a summary of key events and actions in Table 1.

**Step 2. Coding *SMB* Facebook data.** Using a combination of coding software, Atlas.ti, and handwritten notes and memos, we developed an expansive list of first-order codes from the *SMB* Facebook data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and identified different types of nonfamily contributors (where possible). While it was easier to identify employees and their family members, we conservatively coded participants as customers or vendors only if they self-identified as such in their posts. In doing so, we discovered a general pattern: that over time an expanding circle of nonfamily members participated. Phase 1 primarily involved employees and their relatives; by phase 3, customers, vendors, truckers, construction workers, social workers, and farmers became increasingly involved

**Table 1.** Timeline of Key Events, Actions, and Micro-processes by Phase.

Date	Event or Action	Preservation Work Micro-processes
<b>Phase I: Awakening Nonfamily Members</b>		
Actors: Arthur S. Demoulas (ASD) & Board; Arthur T. DeMoulas (ATD); Nonfamily members (NFM), primarily employees and their relatives		
6/1–7/10/2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Rafaele Evans switches board support from ATD to ASD</li><li>ASD expresses intent to fire ATD</li><li>ATD holds meeting with managers to share concern about his potential firing</li></ul>	<b>Awakening strong emotions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>NFM express statements of shock; share testimonials of pride and appreciation for the Market Basket (MB) Way, and as embodied by ATD</li></ul>
7/12/2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>NFM start SMB Facebook and effort to collect 500 signatures started</li></ul>	<b>Awakening identity as family and institutional actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>In testimonials, NFM describe how they have been treated like family, and how they experienced MB as family</li></ul>
7/18/2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>NFM collect over 45,000 signatures in support of ATD</li><li>NFM 4,000 individuals protest outside board meeting</li><li>ASD board hold meeting and defer ATD's firing</li></ul>	<b>Sharing individual interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>In testimonials, NFM share personal interests such as the Christmas bonus that are part of the MB Way</li></ul>



Table 1. (Continued)

Date	Event or Action	Preservation Work Micro-processes
<b>Phase 2: Forging a Sense of Agency</b>		
Actors: ASD & Board; ATD; NFM include primarily employees, relatives, some customers, and vendors		
8/22/2013	ASD board distributes \$300 million to family shareholders, changes profit-sharing plan, hires executive search firm, and recruits 3 non-independent board members	<b>Intensifying emotions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Initial sense of triumph when ATD remains CEO; statements of pride, appreciation and love for ATD and MB Way; expressions of anxiety, blame, and anger in response to growing series of threats; calls for calm in the face of anxiety</li></ul> <b>Strengthening collective identity as family and institutional actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Primarily employees (and increasingly customers) forge collective sense of identity as the real MB family; lay claims to better understanding MB business model and way, especially compared to ASD antagonists</li></ul> <b>Articulating threats to shared interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Sense of shared interests growing with potential loss of profit sharing and other MB Way employee benefits; potential implications (including likely dismissal of ATD) becoming increasingly clear to employees and others (customers and vendors)</li></ul>
9/4/2013	ASD board votes to fire trusted MB managers who were profit-sharing trustees	
9/9/2013	ASD board takes away ATD authority to sign invoices	
11/26/2013	ATD recommends 20% bonuses	
	ASD board grants only 15%	
12/19/2013	ATD thanks employees for overwhelming support in letter shared on SMB Facebook page	
April-June 2014	ASD board members absent from meetings to prevent business from taking place	
	ASD change rules so that directors have to show up to meetings or requirement for a quorum is suspended	
4/28/2014	ATD informs associates about fraud charges against new profit-sharing investment manager	
	ASD announces changes to profit-sharing investment strategy, reducing benefits to workers	
6/16/2014	ATD no longer in charge of employee compensation	
6/18-6/20/2014	ASD board member fires Indian Ridge management	
	NFM protest to support Indian Ridge employees	
	ASD board reinstates management at Indian Ridge	

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued)

Date	Event or Action	Preservation Work Micro-processes
<b>Phase 3: Actuating Preservation Work</b>		
Actors: ASD & Board; ATD; NFM include employees, relatives, customers, vendors, truckers, contractors, and others		
6/23/2014	• ASD board fires three top-level executives, including ATD	<b>Escalating and harnessing emotions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Outrage and disgust at ASD actions; defiance in face of attempts to undermine NFM; fear and anxiety about future; pride in existing MB Way and actions of extended MB Family; calls to stay strong in face of protracted strike; jubilation when strike is successful</li></ul>
Phase trigger	• ASD replaces ATD with co-CEOs (from Radio Shack and Albertsons)	
6/24/2014	• NFM: Six managers resign	
	• NFM: 300 employees hold rally outside flagship store	
6/29/2014	• NFM: "Resistance phase" announced on Facebook	<b>Expanding collective identity as family and institutional actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Growing constellation of NFM identify as MB Family, including vendors, customers, truckers and contractors; efforts to support vulnerable employees as strike continues</li></ul>
7/9/2014	• NFM managers meet with co-CEOs, "Resistance has turned into defiance"	
7/16/2014	• NFM MB associates send ultimatum to co-CEOs: "You have until 4:30 tomorrow to inform us of your decision of whether ATD will be reinstated"	<b>Recognizing threats to community interests</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Collective sense of individual and collective interests; sense of shared interest in vitality of local economy; shared interests in fighting for the working poor and middle-class way of life against "greedy corporate bastards"</li></ul>
7/17/2014	• ASD Co-CEOs to associates "...you will leave us no choice but to permanently replace you"	
7/18-8/27/2014	• NFM protest: 5,000 employees and customers hold strike at MB headquarters	
	• NFM warehouse and corporate office workers strike, stores empty	
7/28/2014	• July 20: ASD fire seven employees for organizing protests	
	• ATD offers to buy out ASD and family's 50.5% stake for \$1.5 billion; no deal made	
8/17/2014	• NFM Governors of MA and NH attempt to broker deal	
8/27/2014	• Deal made for ATD to buy out ASD and family's 50.5% stake for \$1.5 billion	

and self-identified as such. As the crisis heightened, single posts could often initiate 500 to 700 comments. For example, on August 7, 2014 one post spurred a conversation of 582 comments, of which 86% were from unique posters.

We then embarked on an iterative process of identifying patterns in these codes, considering possible second-order themes and their fit with the data and each other, and how these themes might relate to existing theoretical constructs and the dynamics we were observing. Following Gioia et al. (2013), we further abstracted second-order themes to identify three micro-processes present in the data. First, we recognized that emotions played a central role, and that the range and intensity of both positive and negative emotions grew over time. For example, early statements featured emotions of shock, but also pride in and gratitude for ATD and the Market Basket Way. As threats became more salient, additional emotions of anxiety and fear, love and admiration for ATD, and hope for a resolution were expressed. By the final phase of the crisis, nonfamily members also expressed outrage and disgust at the ASD side, gratitude for and pride in nonfamily employees, and despair and frustration as the crisis continued. Taken together, we abstracted these emotions into positive and negative themes, and then into our micro-process of intensifying and harnessing emotions.

Further, we identified a second micro-process related to building collective identity (Hunt & Benford, 2007), specifically as family within family business contexts. This micro-process is important for understanding how a diffuse constellation of low-power, nonfamily members could come to identify as institutional actors. At the start of the crisis, nonfamily posts focused on themes of how they were treated as family members, and the extent to which MB served as family for them. These collective statements then turned to claiming deeper understanding, and better stewardship, of the Market Basket Way vis-a-vis the ASD controlling side of the family, and statements of "WE ARE MARKET BASKET!" Finally, in the final phase, collective identity building expanded beyond employees to include customers, vendors, truckers, construction workers, and other interested parties. While these statements often included an emotional valence, we identified these as a separate micro-process of building collective identity.

Finally, we identified a third micro-process—articulating shared interests, by which nonfamily actors increasingly recognized the implications if the Market Basket Way were not restored. Themes related to articulating interests initially involved naming what was personally at stake but grew to include shared concern for the region's poor and working class, and then the local economy and community fabric more broadly. Figure 1 provides details of our data structure. Appendix 1 provides additional representative quotes for our second-order themes and aggregate micro-processes.

**Step 3: Identifying phases.** We then considered the inductively derived micro-processes and second-order themes in relation to the action and event mapping developed in step 1 to identify phases linked to our emerging theoretical model of preservation work. We found that phase 1, triggered by the change in controlling family ownership, involved a growing awareness of potential threats to the Market Basket Way. Further, it involved an awakening of nonfamily members as institutional actors through testimonials, sharing emotions, and articulating interests. This phase culminated with the triumph of initially retaining ATD as CEO. Phase 2 was marked by a growing series of threats to the Market Basket Way. Enabled by social media, this phase involved a strengthening of the diffuse constellation of nonfamily members' collective identity as both institutional actors and Market Basket family, a process that was reinforced by emotional testimonials and articulation of threats to shared interests. Finally, phase 3, triggered by ATD's firing, involved full institutional disruption and creative, strong preservation work by nonfamily members. This action was fed and sustained by reinforcing micro-processes of harnessing and strengthening emotions, collective

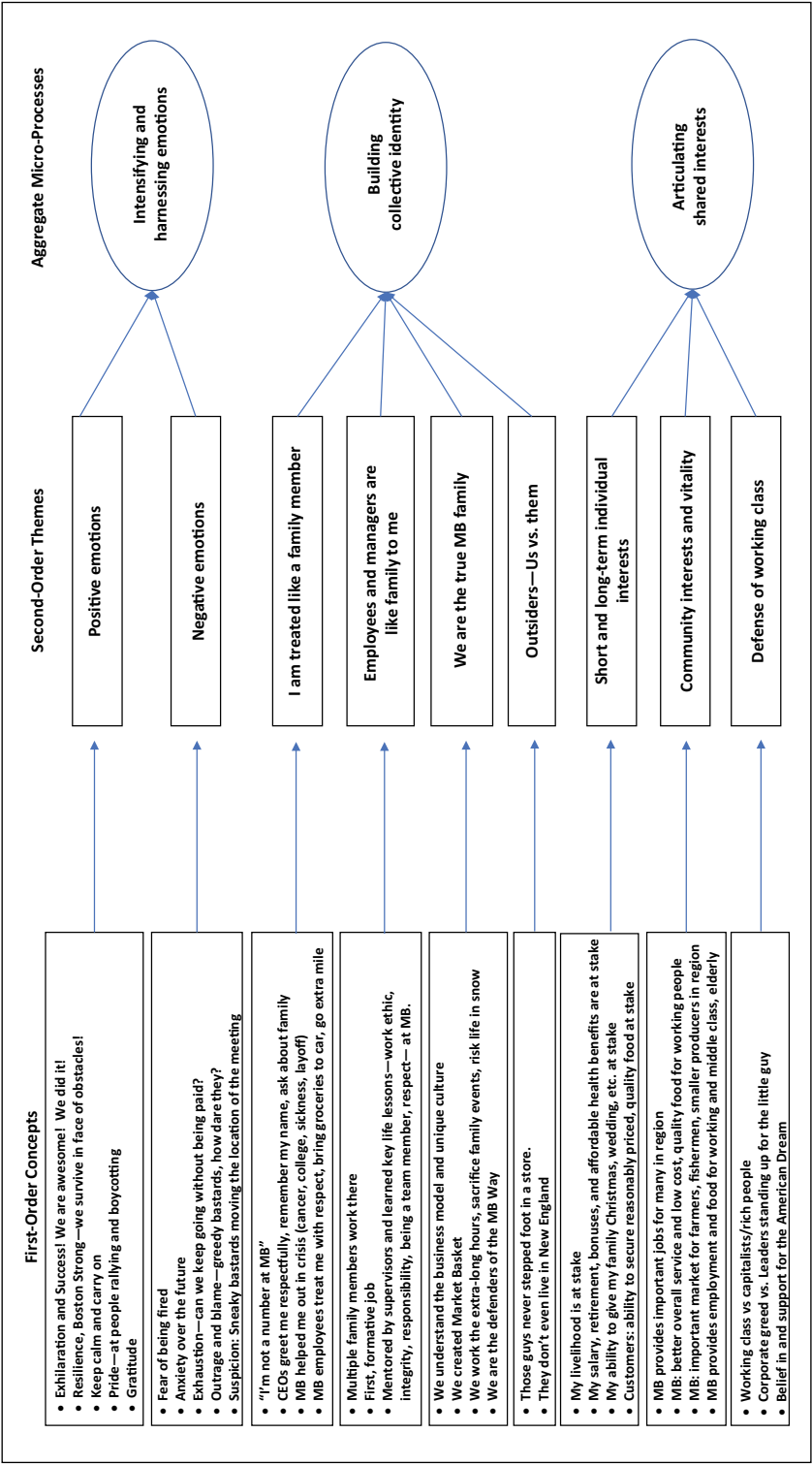


Figure 1. Data Structure.

identity building, and articulating interests, developed and supported over time via social media. Table 1 summarizes the link between events, actions, and micro-processes by phase.

*Step 4. Validating codes and themes.* Finally, we validated our findings by triangulating our second-order themes with the book and documentary that focused on the Market Basket crisis in its entirety, and from the nonfamily members' perspective. We observed all first-order concepts and second-order themes in these additional data sources.

## Findings: Institutional Preservation Work by Nonfamily Members

In this section, we describe how nonfamily members of a family business came to preserve their family business in crisis. We use the term preservation work to highlight the non-elite individuals who actuated this work, as well as the importance of micro-processes by which these individuals came to both identify and take action as institutional actors in response to institutional disruption. As summarized in Figure 2, and detailed below, institutional preservation work involves three intertwined micro-processes: (1) intensifying and harnessing emotions, (2) building collective identity, and (3) articulating shared interests. We present our findings by phase. Within each phase, we demonstrate how the three micro-processes reinforce and build upon each other over time and unfold in response to actions taken by both sides of the crisis.

### Phase 1: Awakening nonfamily members

Nonfamily members had held deep reservoirs of loyalty to ATD and Market Basket (MB) prior to the switch of board control to ASD. On July 10, 2013, ATD called a meeting of senior managers to inform them that board membership had changed, and he was likely to be fired. As Korschun and Welker (2015) note about the meeting,

The room was silent at first. It was a scene of shock and disbelief. How could a board remove a CEO who had such a strong track record for seven years? Managers believed that they had a winning business model and that the company was just hitting its stride. (p. 94)

*Awakening strong emotions.* In response to this emotional shock, Tom Trainer (a manager) and Jim Fantini (a trusted bakery vendor) set up the *SMB* Facebook site to garner petition signatures and mobilize associates to attend the next July 18 board meeting. This early post exemplifies the range of initial emotions that nonfamily employees felt as they were awakened to the potential threat to ATD and the Market Basket Way:

The timeline for the way this has gone down.

**DISBELIEF** Your store director comes back from the meeting and it's true. He/she looks stunned but keeps a game face on as they tell you what Artie said...after the store meeting the store directors go to a private place to reflect and think, some cry.

**NAUSEOUS** As the news sinks in you feel like you've been punched in the gut, you want to do something but what? You feel so helpless.

**LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL** You hear about a petition site from someone and you think at least someone is being done. The petition goes viral (23,000 this morning) and email sites and Facebook sites pop up. At the very least you feel like you are doing something, somebody is doing something. The board will have to listen...right?

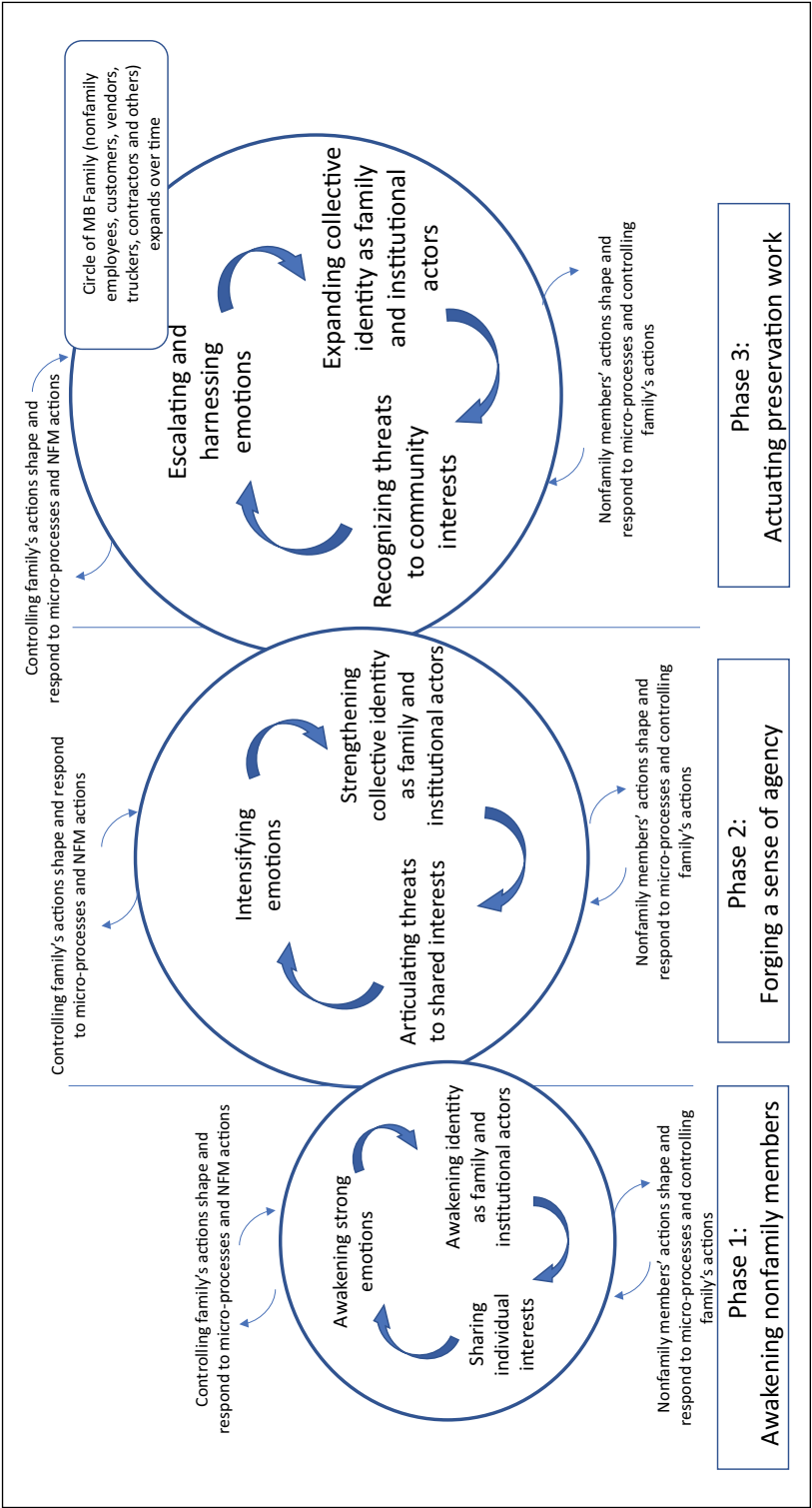


Figure 2. Model of Preservation Work.

PISSED OFF That's where you should be today, PISSED OFF!!! How could this happen? Who's to blame? What more can I do? Who do these people think they are?

PISSED OFF is where you should stay for the next few days, most people think, act and work better when they are pissed off. The culture of MB people is to pull together to get it done. This is no exception, WE WILL GET THIS DONE!

Associates responded with disbelief, hope, anger, and resolve—often all in one posting. Posts also included heartfelt testimonials and expressions of pride they felt in being part of the Market Basket Way. As one employee noted,

I started at 16 and now I'm 33. I've worked in over 20 stores in my 17 years whether it be helping with an opening, covering a vacation, or simply filling in for a sick day...I take great pride telling people I work for such a family orientated company.

Employees also expressed warmth and support for others' stories, "This has to be the most beautiful, insightful, inspiring, from-the-heart letter! It perfectly sums up the pride that we, THE MARKET BASKET FAMILY, all feel! Thank you!" The call and response of testimonials enabled both positive and negative emotions to become a strong undercurrent of nonfamily response throughout the crisis.

*Awakening identity as family and institutional actors.* Through testimonials, nonfamily members also began to awaken their identity as MB *family members* and blur the boundary of what constitutes "family" in a family business. Nonfamily members shared stories of how they were treated like family, and their deeply lived experience and understanding of the Market Basket Way, passed down over generations.

For example, employees felt that they were not just replaceable cogs, as was standard in the retail food industry. Instead, they were called "associates," and treated as individuals—with personal stories, characteristics, and challenges that were respected and valued. As one associate described:

In many companies, as we all know, employees are just a number, someone who punches a clock and is nothing more than a controllable expense. From the first time I met Arthur T Demoulas it was clear to me that he clearly thought more of all of his employees than just a controllable expense. Each time I would see him he remembered who I am and even more so about my wife, son and how everything is in Smithfield, Rhode Island, where I live.

Hundreds of associates shared similar testimonials, of being "seen," noticed, and remembered in ways that were congruent with their expectations for how family members ideally greet and interact with each other. As CEO, ATD was deeply committed to fostering a sense of family among his associates; managers and supervisors also embraced this approach. The sense of being treated as a family member was further supported by testimonials describing how managers and supervisors offered flexibility, accommodations, and financial and emotional support in times of need. An associate recalled this support at a critical moment in his personal history:

From the day I was born, Market Basket has played an integral part in my family's life. My father...a 31 year employee, always says how much respect he has for the company because when he got sick and had to take a summer off about 13 years ago he was told "What do you need to get you and your family through the summer?"...He was able to continue to raise us in the house we live in still today and make a scary

time in his life unknown to his two young children. When I was told about this story a few years back I was in absolute awe that a company really cared so much about its employees and their families and we have been forever grateful for that.

ATD, his father, and supervisors enacted a culture of taking care of employees as family, especially during emotionally charged periods of personal crisis. As this story also suggests, these critical moments were not only seared in associates' personal histories but were often shared by multiple family members, across several generations, who also worked at MB.

Testimonials also described tough but respectful mentoring by supervisors, who served as role models and inculcated a deep sense of respect for others, integrity, and responsibility: "I have been in the company for almost 10 years, started when I was 14. I have learned so much respect and responsibility. *I never thought a supermarket would teach me more than my family.*" For many associates their entire work experience had been at MB, and they were the inheritors of the Demoulas family values passed on through generations of nonfamily members. As one associate summarized, "MB is a family to me. The MB ways and values have been instilled in me and passed down for generations. I breathe it. You could say it's in my blood." Associates also contrasted their claims of family membership to those of controlling ASD family shareholders:

Maybe the shareholders should spend a day in the shoes of a store manager or grocery clerk. Do the shareholders wake up at 4:30 am and drive an hour to work? Do they stand on their feet from 6 am to 6 pm? Do they lift heavy boxes or stock shelves all day? Do they work 60 to 70 hours a week during the holidays? I can almost guarantee that the answer to all those questions is "no."

This comment not only highlights the sense that nonfamily members did the work, but also the prevailing opinion that the ASD side were outsiders to the operations and understanding of the family business enterprise and the Market Basket Way.

*Sharing individual interests.* During this first phase, employees and their own family members described what was at stake for them in maintaining the Market Basket Way. As one employee shared,

During the year...bonuses have helped my family get by in these struggling times, where it has provided me to stock up on food, [from MB] and pay bills to get ahead in this economy! The Christmas bonus has given my son and family many joyous holidays and has helped me get through the winter with heating costs! This so-called [extra spending] has given my family an unbelievable gift, which is being able to survive during the year!!

In sum, phase 1 saw hundreds of emotionally charged testimonials, each of which was positively commented upon and met with positive emotional responses of support and pride by other nonfamily members. The emotional testimonial call-and-response awakened a sense of identification as family within the MB family business and highlighted personal interests in preserving the Market Basket Way.

The sense that nonfamily members could exert control over the company's fate was encouraged by successes that culminated this phase. In the eight days leading up to the board meeting, nonfamily members garnered 45,000 petition signatures—well beyond the 400 originally targeted. More significantly, the board decided to retain ATD as the CEO at the July 18 board meeting. When ATD emerged after the meeting, associates greeted him with elation. Phase 1 ended on a high note and with expressions of celebration and success; yet the crisis had only just begun.



## *Phase 2: Forging a sense of agency*

Phase 2 was triggered when the board took significant actions that foreshadowed impending changes, including: (1) hiring an executive search firm; (2) approving a one-time \$300 million distribution to the Demoulas family shareholders in the company; (3) establishing a credit facility, which suggested a desire to use debt for expansion (something the company had never done); and (4) expressing the intention to replace two of three trustees of the company's \$500 million profit-sharing fund. As summarized in Table 1, the following 12 months were characterized by a growing series of threats by the ASD controlling family to change the fundamental MB business model and remove ATD. Social media enabled the diffuse constellation of employees and customers to be aware of these actions and respond as needed. During this time, ATD appeared willing to share information that would otherwise be unavailable to nonfamily members. For example, he informed associates of fraud charges against the new profit-sharing investment manager, precipitating posts expressing disgust at the lack of integrity and business acumen of the ASD board. Taken together, testimonials and comments shared over social media during this year strengthened identification as family, and heightened what was at stake for nonfamily members if the board ultimately fired ATD and disrupted the Market Basket Way.

*Intensifying emotions.* As threats grew, emotional expression continued to expand and intensify. For example, in response to growing threats, one employee called for staying positive and strong, "OK! Keeping calm, carrying on and let's add stay strong and stick together! Got to keep those positive vibes!!" Another employee interwove calls to keep the faith and take action, "Everyone needs to keep the faith!... Share, tweet, post, e-mail, write!!! ...Come on, LETS GO! We got this!" As threats intensified, other posts noted the growing fear and anxiety that characterized this phase. For example, one employee shared,

You are NOT alone... Trust me! A lot of people are just afraid to post on here... Obviously I am not afraid to post, but I am scared... Fear doesn't stop me, it fuels me! Hang in there! We got this!

As threats and actions continued, the emotional tenor escalated further, as this employee noted,

We will... make them see they messed with the wrong family! Their blatant disregard for our family speaks volumes to their integrity and respectability! I agree a change in our focus is needed, instead of looking for a dialogue, we now should be out for blood.

Expressions of fear and anger increased throughout phase 2, coupled with comments to "stay calm" and "stay strong" as perceived threats escalated.

*Strengthening collective identity as family and institutional actors: WE are family!* In response to these feared changes, posts by associates and their relatives also served to strengthen their identification as family members, especially in terms of their claiming a more nuanced understanding of the Market Basket business model, which is typically reserved for family members in a family business. Phase 2 marked more strident and targeted posts and comments that directly branded the ASD family shareholders and their selected board members as outsiders:

None of you has ever stepped foot in the stores, none of you has worked a shift in any department so you don't know how the culture of our company is. But I do ask you how you can try to fix something that you know nothing about, when it isn't broken.

This and other posts reinforced the collective sense that associates understood the strategic factors driving Market Basket's success vis-a-vis the ASD side. Other nonfamily members echoed, "We are all FAMILY. I truly feel this way every day walking through the doors to MB. Let's stay strong and hold our heads high!!!" Other comments reinforced the collective family identity: "Market Basket is like family. Families stick together, and together we will win this fight."

*Articulating threats to shared interests.* The series of increasingly threatening events in phase 2—taking away ATD's power to determine employee compensation and changing the profit-sharing investment strategy and trustees—triggered posts and comments in which associates articulated their interests in preserving the MB enterprise, separate from their identification as family members. Associates and their relatives explained how bonuses, profit sharing, and healthcare benefits had enabled them to provide a working-class livelihood for their families. As a wife of one associate wrote, "The thought of that changing is heart wrenching and many families would be financially devastated!!!" Posts during this phase collectively established and reinforced what were seen as clear threats to nonfamily employees' short- and long-term interests, making it more difficult for struggling working-class employees to make ends meet. Statements characterized the ASD side as "greedy bastards" who wanted to take Christmas, weddings, and a decent living away from employees.

Posts and comments during this period also highlighted the negative effects these changes would likely have on a larger set of stakeholders, especially when the ASD side stopped construction of new supermarket buildings. As one vendor noted,

Don't forget all the vendors, construction crews, and service techs that take pride in expanding and servicing the chain. Hundreds of those jobs are at stake too, and we don't get profit sharing or bonuses, just a pay check and the knowledge we are building one of New England's best.

An employee further elaborated:

Pretty telling that the Board can vote on the dispersal of \$300 million to the shareholders in a matter of just about a month, but can't vote on money needed to help the company grow. Just more HARD PROOF that they are out for their OWN self-interests, and definitely NOT the interests of the 22,000 of us employees, nor the thousands of contractors that EARN their money by building and maintaining stores for ATD.

Taken together, posts during this phase reinforced the sense of the growing numbers of nonfamily members who had a stake in fighting for the Market Basket Way, and whose interests were in opposition to those of the powerful and controlling ASD side.

Threats reached a new level in mid-June 2014, when a board member allied with ASD threatened to fire management staff at Indian Ridge Country Club, which was owned by MB. What had previously been perceived as only a possibility had suddenly become real. Threats reached a crescendo on June 23, 2014, when the MB board of directors fired ATD and two of his allied board members.

### *Phase 3: Actuating preservation work*

With this firing, the Market Basket Way was fully disrupted, and phase 3 began. Threats became reality, livelihoods were put on the line, and an expanding circle of employees, customers, and vendors were actuated to preserve the Market Basket Way. In combination, the micro-processes building since the start of the crisis—intensifying and harnessing emotions, collective identity

building, and articulating interests—enabled nonfamily members to engage in and sustain protests and boycotts to fight against the controlling interests of the ASD side.

Echoing earlier comments by associates and relatives, in phase 3, customers and vendors now regularly offered emotional testimonials establishing their collective identity as part of the MB family and as agents of preservation. Further, they escalated what was at stake if the Market Basket Way were not restored, expanding beyond individual jobs and livelihoods to include the vitality of lower and middle-class communities and the defense of working-class people. Phase 3 was also marked by highly charged emotional statements—ranging from deep despair, anxiety, and fear, to calls for strength, hope, gratitude, and triumph.

*Escalating and harnessing emotions.* Phase 3 marked a new phase of more dramatic emotions, often coupled with calls to action. One particularly poignant posting reveals the depth of feeling, as well as identification as family and self-interests that were instrumental in driving action:

Now's the Time to ACT!! Since that hot summer day last July when we came together as a family to fight for our boss, our company and our livelihoods we have been fighting the good fight and winning small battles here and there. Now we come to the biggest fight of our careers.... We are not going to take this lying down, they are NOT going to steal this company from us so they can strip the money out of it and sell the remains. We are not going to stand for it, this is OUR company and WE built it together and we will be damned if we are going to just let them walk in and take it without a fight!

Resisting and protesting were emotionally charged experiences for nonfamily employees. Posts reflected a dynamic tension between negative emotions of fear and anxiety, and positive calls to stay strong and calm. As one associate wrote:

Stay calm folks, and carry on. \*\*\*Please help us. \*\*\*Please rally with us... I am pleading with everyone to stay the course... We are MB We are MB We are MB. Stay steady. Stay strong. MB strong. Stop the panic. I will be out there tomorrow and the day after and the day after .... I will not bend and neither should you. Stay strong...you all know and understand the issues at stake here. Please stay strong and keep the faith. Thank you.

Another associate captured the emotional intensity of being on the picket line, where some of those passing by were not supportive of protests and boycotts:

We knew this would be hard. Don't allow how long this has gone on for, to distort why we began this journey. Who we were six weeks ago should be who we are today. Every day I go out before my store, I am afraid. I am afraid someone will say something mean and it will hurt me. I am that sensitive still. People say mean things, my feelings have been hurt, I have been scared by angry mean men in my face.

While anxiety and fear were ever-present, employees also expressed deep gratitude and positive emotion in response to the outpouring of support from their growing MB family, including customers, suppliers, vendors, government officials, and contractors. As one employee wrote, "Wow. How to be overwhelmed with warmth, caring, love and solidarity...all this at such a hard time for all of us. This speaks by action such volumes that words just escape me. I feel so honored."

*Expanding collective identity as family and institutional actors.* The micro-process of building collective identity also intensified as the newly instated co-CEOs threatened to fire nonfamily employees who were considering taking action or who did not fall in line with the ASD side:

This is an individual decision that each of you have to make, whether you wish to continue to work at Market Basket. To be clear—doing your job is continuing to do the same type of work that you regularly do everyday—not newly defined tasks from your supervisor. If you choose to abandon your job or refuse to perform your job requirements, you will leave us no choice but to permanently replace you. Any action is an individual choice and we hope that your top priority continues to be taking care of the Market Basket customer.

In issuing their threat to fire employees, the ASD side attempted to drive asunder the collective sense of family membership and call attention to the separation of collective identification and individual interests. Yet because of the micro-processes that had unfolded over the previous 12 months, employee solidarity did not splinter.

Following this threat, actions and counteractions unfolded rapidly. On July 18, approximately 2,500 employees and customers gathered at MB headquarters to voice their desire to shut down the company. More importantly, many in the company's warehouse staff took the day off or called in sick, disrupting incoming produce shipments and outgoing deliveries to MB stores. Vendors were also halting shipments. Before long, shelves at many stores were empty. On July 19, more than a hundred state and local politicians signed a petition urging a boycott of MB stores. On July 20, the board fired eight senior managers because of their involvement in protest organizing. On July 21, ATD issued a statement demanding the rehiring of those senior managers; approximately 5,000 people rallied outside the company's headquarters in support of ATD and fired managers. Employee protests and customer boycotts began and stretched on for six weeks in sweltering summer heat, with over 10,000 nonfamily members protesting on July 25 and August 5.

During this period, the circle of those identifying as MB family expanded to include an array of nonfamily members, including customers, drivers, vendors, and contractors. Customer testimonials recalled stories of compassion and generosity in times of sickness and difficulty. Vendors, many of whom had started as small, local ventures, shared stories of how MB had given them the chance to compete amid national competition and enabled an entire ecosystem of vendors to thrive over the long term. Customers and vendors remembered these moments from prior decades and drew upon them to construct and reinforce an expanded MB family. In addition to posting online and supporting boycotts, customers raised funds through multiple GoFundMe sites to support truckers and warehouse crews who were the first to strike. These actions echoed the ethos with which the company had treated its employees in time of need—family was there for each other. A customer shared, "I feel that you all have brought our community together! We will always be here right behind you. We are you and you are us and together we will stand up for what is right!" This collective identification as family served as an important resource during the protracted period of the strike and boycott.

*Recognizing threats to community interests.* Posts during this time revealed a deepening sense of what was at stake—not only for employees but also for customers and the region's vitality. For many in low-income neighborhoods, MB was not just a supermarket; it was the only place they could find affordable food. One customer shared, "I heard the Mayor of Haverhill needs to provide public transportation for a lot of residents that only have MB available to them. Send that bill to the BOD and the new CEOs!" Customers explicitly noted the relationship with the local economy:

Market Basket sets the bar high and other companies must pay more so their associates don't quit to work at MB. Better pay at MB also flows out to the local community supporting the local economy. MB also helps my tax bill by paying a wage that the employees can live on rather than letting welfare subsidize them.

Vendors noted the impact that losing MB would have on their local vendor ecosystem,

It's important to note that if MB is bought out by anyone but ATD, it'll be a national chain that probably will NOT use local suppliers. They will ship product in from the least expensive bidders across the nation. The vendors may be suffering losses now, but...allowing the board to sell the company...would be the worst possible scenario for the local economy.

Beyond these effects, nonfamily members began equating MB's survival with defending the middle and working classes amid corporate layoffs and shareholder payouts. The audacity of nonfamily employees and customers to risk their own livelihoods to preserve a family business—their family business—and in turn, the livelihoods of the working class, received national media attention.

The proliferation of emotions, coupled with a deep sense of family and expanded sense of interests in the company's viability, enabled nonfamily members to collectively sustain their resistance, despite the hardships. Customers continued to boycott, employees continued to protest, store shelves remained empty, and behind the scenes ATD negotiated to buy the company. Worker protests effectively shut down all 71 stores by the end of August, decimating company revenues. Finally, on August 27 a deal to sell the company to ATD was reached. Nonfamily members—including managers, employees, employees' families, customers, vendors, and truckers—were able to shut down the company and in so doing exercise control over key strategic decisions that would have otherwise been made by ASD family members and their board allies. Nonfamily members had saved the unique Market Basket Way.

## Discussion

In this paper, we demonstrate how nonfamily members engaged in institutional *preservation work* to save a family business embedded within their community. We use the term preservation work to highlight the diffuse, working class, and non-elite individuals who actuated this work, as well as the importance of attending to the micro-processes by which individuals are able to both identify, and take action, as institutional agents. We show that institutional preservation work involves three intertwined micro-processes that reinforce and build upon each other over time: (1) intensifying and harnessing emotions, (2) building collective identity, and (3) articulating shared interests. Our model offers insight into how nonfamily members can come to exert control over family businesses for the purposes of preservation work and contributes to literature on identity, emotion, and social media in institutional and family business research.

### *Nonfamily members in family businesses in crisis*

To date little research has focused on the role of nonfamily members in handling of crisis within family businesses. While most definitions of family business have some association with kinship or blood relations, our findings highlight the ambiguous and contested nature of the boundary between family and nonfamily (Carsrud, 2006). We find that what constitutes “family” in a family business can include nonfamily managers, employees, customers, and vendors. Rather than a static conception of family, our research illustrates a process by which an ever-expanding circle of nonfamily actors can identify and take strategic action as “family.” Employees first identified with the family business and its CEO, and then built collective identification as the “true” Market Basket family (vis-a-vis the controlling ASD side of the family). As the crisis unfolded, collective identity building expanded beyond employees to include a diffuse constellation of actors. Through

preservation work, this extended “family” was able to take strategic action to preserve their family business in crisis.

Our paper also advances an emerging stream of scholarship focused on nonfamily members more generally. While family businesses comprise about 80% nonfamily employees, research has rarely considered their perspective (Mitchell et al., 2003) or potential as strategic actors. Scholars have so far advanced important work regarding nonfamily members’ sense of procedural justice, identification with the family and business, and psychological ownership of the firm. However, with few exceptions (e.g., Mitchell et al., 2003; Morris, Allen, Kuratko, & Brannon, 2010), these primarily survey-based studies have failed to capture the competing interests and emotionally lived experiences of nonfamily employees. While our study is limited in that it draws primarily on Facebook data, our grounded theoretical framework nonetheless suggests that research on nonfamily members must consider not only nonfamily members’ identification as family or with the family business, but also their multitude of individual, community, and societal interests and emotional lives and narratives. Further, our model situates nonfamily members’ experience within the social context in which they and their family businesses are embedded, and points to the need for future research to examine collective processes of nonfamily members’ identity work, emotion, and negotiation of interests, as well as individual cognitive states.

Our findings also suggest that scholars exploring socioemotional wealth may need to consider a wider definition of “family” members. We found that nonfamily members are also keepers of socioemotional wealth in family businesses and can be a source of resilience for the firm, especially when family dynamics are dysfunctional or in times of crisis (Jaskiewicz, Combs, Shanine, & Kacmar, 2016). Scholars have examined how family relationships with employees, suppliers, and environmentalists can contribute to family socioemotional wealth (Cennamo, Berrone, Cruz, & Gomez-Mejia, 2012). Multi-generational family businesses, especially, may be heavily invested in a community logic that prioritizes these relationships and ecosystems alongside family and business interests (Reay, Jaskiewicz, & Hinings, 2015). Building from our study, future research could explore how the socioemotional wealth of nonfamily members may map onto or depart from those of family members, and factors that might foster or constrain the socioemotional wealth accumulated with, and by, nonfamily members.

### *Preservation work by non-elite institutional actors*

Our study also contributes to scholarship on inhabited institutions (Hallett, 2010; Hallett & Ventresca, 2006), and the effort required to repair and preserve disrupted institutions (Micelotta & Washington, 2013). Our theory of preservation work offers insight into the micro-processes by which a diffuse group of non-elite actors can exert control as institutional actors. These actors faced a two-fold action problem—the need to: (1) forge their collective identity as possible institutional actors, and (2) advance heroic action to repair their long-standing and previously taken-for-granted institutional arrangements. As such, our research bridges studies that examine the micro-processes by which low-power or marginal actors come to identify as institutional agents, and research on the micro-processes of institutional repair work advanced by institutional elites. Our study suggests that the three micro-processes of intensifying and harnessing emotions, building collective identity, and articulating interests, which reinforced and built upon each other over time, were critical to addressing this two-fold action problem. While we draw from only a single case, our study reinforces calls to focus on identity work, interests, and emotions as we “bring people back into” institutional studies, and especially, as we focus on marginal, non-elite agents of institutional maintenance, transformation, and repair (Creed et al., 2010; Lawrence et al., 2013; Leung et al., 2014; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). Future research is needed to examine how these

micro-processes might support non-elite actors advancing institutional work in other contexts or explain low-power actors' lack of success (Wijaya & Heugens, 2018).

Contributing to the burgeoning interest in studies of emotions in institutional studies (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018), we found that emotions played a critical role in explaining how nonfamily members interpreted, made sense of, and took action in response to disruption of their institutional context. In this case, nonfamily members were fighting to preserve the sacredness of the Market Basket Way, which was unique in the New England region for honoring and sustaining working-class values among workers, customers, and vendors. Would similar emotions be seen during disruptions in other contexts? Echoing Toubiana and Zietsma (2017), we observed cycles of negative emotional escalation; we also observed cycles of positive escalation that buoyed nonfamily members' emerging identity as institutional actors and strengthened their emotional resilience as they engaged deeply in preservation efforts. Future research could examine emotional micro-processes in more detail, especially the interplay between negative and positive emotions, which together may be a particularly important resource for low-power, non-elite institutional actors who cannot draw from the same social and financial capital as professional associations or elites as they advance repair work.

Our findings also reinforce calls to examine the role of social media in institutional processes (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017). In our study, social media played an important role in enabling what otherwise would have been a disconnected group of individual actors to take collective institutional action. It also enabled nonfamily members to be aware of and collectively make sense of emerging threats that might otherwise not have been widely known. In the era of social media, connections and commonalities among previously disparate stakeholders can be made stronger and more visible; emotions can be amplified; and information on actions and reactions to antagonists can be instantly exchanged and made discussable. Future research might explore the interplay between in-person and social media-based interactions in institutional repair work, or how relationships among participants serve to shape the unfolding micro-processes. Finally, while what happened at MB did not arise to bring about societal change, it was a collective action that was consistent with larger social movements such as Occupy Wall Street that seek to push back on corporate greed and abuse. As such, this study can add to the literature on the relationship between social movements and institutional work (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2017).

### *Implications for management practice*

Our study is a call for family business leaders to consider not only their own bottom line as shareholders but also the multiple bottom lines of employees, customers, and vendors who may identify with, have a stake in, or feel emotionally attached to the family business and the values it has fostered over generations. As our story suggests, family businesses operate within a social web of norms, behaviors, and social relations, which can both constrain and enable change. Nonfamily members can be important allies during change in a family business; they can also be fierce adversaries.

### **Acknowledgments**

The authors want to thank the special issue editors and anonymous reviewers for their extraordinarily helpful feedback and support throughout the review process. Also thanks to Frank Hoy, Steve Taylor, Hille Bruns, Daniel Korschun, Grant Welker, and Tom Kochan for their inspiration and feedback on various drafts of the paper.

### **Funding**

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

## References

- Barnett, T., & Kellermanns, F. (2006). Are we family and are we treated as family? Nonfamily employees' perceptions of justice in the family firm. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 30, 837–854.
- Barnett, T., Long, R., & Marler, L. (2012). Vision and exchange in intra-family succession: Effects on procedural justice climate among nonfamily managers. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 36, 1207–1225.
- Bernhard, F., & O'Driscoll, M. (2011). Psychological ownership in small family-owned businesses: Leadership style and nonfamily-employees' work attitudes and behaviors. *Group & Organization Management*, 36, 345–384.
- Berrone, P., Cruz, C., & Gomez-Mejia, L. (2012). Socioemotional wealth in family firms. *Family Business Review*, 25, 258–279.
- Carmon, A., Miller, A., Raile, A., & Roers, M. (2010). Fusing family and firm: Employee perceptions of perceived homophily, organizational justice, organizational identification, and organizational commitment in family businesses. *Journal of Family Business Strategy*, 1(4), 210–223.
- Carsrud, A. (2006). Commentary: "Are we family and are we treated as family? Nonfamily employees' perceptions of justice in the family firm": It all depends on perceptions of family, fairness, equity, and justice. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 30, 855–860.
- Cennamo, C., Berrone, P., Cruz, C., & Gomez-Mejia, L. (2012). Socioemotional wealth and proactive stakeholder engagement: Why family-controlled firms care more about their stakeholders. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 36, 1153–1173.
- Chua, J., Chrisman, J., & Sharma, P. (2003). Succession and nonsuccession concerns of family firms and agency relationship with nonfamily managers. *Family Business Review*, 16, 89–107.
- Creed, D., DeJordy, R., & Lok, J. (2010). Being the change: Resolving institutional contradiction through identity work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53, 1336–1364.
- Creed, D., Hudson, B. A., Okhuysen, G. A., & Smith-Crowe, K. (2014). Swimming in a sea of shame: Incorporating emotion into explanations of institutional reproduction and change. *Academy of Management Review*, 39, 275–301.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*, 4th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Currie, G., Lockett, A., Finn, R., Martin, G., & Waring, J. (2012). Institutional work to maintain professional power: Recreating the model of medical professionalism. *Organization Studies*, 33, 937–962.
- Dacin, M., Munir, K., & Tracey, P. (2010). Formal dining at Cambridge colleges: Linking ritual performance and institutional maintenance. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53, 1393–1418.
- Davis, J., Allen, M., & Hayes, H. (2010). Is blood thicker than water? A study of stewardship perceptions in family business. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 34, 1093–1116.
- De Massis, A. (2012). Family involvement and procedural justice climate among nonfamily managers: The effects of affect, social identities, trust, and risk of non-reciprocity. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 36, 1227–1234.
- Fang, H., Memili, E., Chrisman, J., & Penney, C. (2017). Industry and information asymmetry: The case of the employment of non-family managers in small and medium-sized family firms. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 55, 632–648.
- Gioia, D., Corley, K., & Hamilton, A. (2013). Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research: Notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organizational Research Methods*, 16, 15–31.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Greenwood, R., Oliver, C., Lawrence, T., & Meyer, R. E. (Eds.) (2017). *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Greenwood, R., Oliver, C., Sahlin, K., & Suddaby, R. (2008). Introduction. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby, & K. Sahlin-Andersson (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalism*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Habbershon, T. G., & Williams, M. L. (1999). A resource-based framework for assessing the strategic advantages of family firms. *Family Business Review*, 12, 1–25.



- Hallett, T. (2003). Emotional feedback and amplification in social interaction. *Sociological Quarterly*, 44, 705–726.
- Hallett, T. (2010). The myth incarnate: Recoupling processes, turmoil, and inhabited institutions in an urban elementary school. *American Sociological Review*, 75, 52–74.
- Hallett, T., & Ventresca, M. (2006). Inhabited institutions: Social interactions and organizational forms in Gouldner's *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy*. *Theory and Society*, 35, 213–236.
- Haynes, K., Hitt, M., & Campbell, J. (2015). The dark side of leadership: Towards a mid-range theory of hubris and greed in entrepreneurial contexts. *Journal of Management Studies*, 52, 479–505.
- Herepath, A., & Kitchener, M. (2016). When small bandages fail: The field-level repair of severe and protracted institutional breaches. *Organization Studies*, 37, 1113–1139.
- Hunt, S., & Benford, R. (2007). Collective identity, solidarity and commitment. In D. A. Snow, S. Soule, & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (pp. 433–458). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- James, A., Jennings, J. E., & Jennings, P. D. (2017). Is it better to govern managers via agency or stewardship? Examining asymmetries by family versus nonfamily affiliation. *Family Business Review*, 30, 262–283.
- Jaskiewicz, P., Combs, J., Shanine, K., & Kacmar, M. (2016). Introducing the family: A review of family science with implications for management research. *Academy of Management Annals*, 11(1), 309–341.
- Kellermanns, F., & Eddleston, K. A. (2004). Feuding families: When conflict does a family firm good. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 28, 209–228.
- Korschun, D., & Welker, G. (2015). *We are Market Basket: The story of the unlikely grassroots movement that saved a beloved business*. New York: Amacom.
- Kraus, S., Mensching, H., Calabrò, A., Cheng, C-F., & Filser, M. (2016). Family firm internationalization: A configurational approach. *Journal of Business Research*, 69, 5473–5478.
- Langley, A. (2007). Process thinking in strategic organization. *Strategic Organization*, 5, 271–282.
- Langley, A. (2009). Studying processes in and around organizations. *The Sage handbook of organizational research methods* (pp. 409–429). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Lansberg, I. (1999). *Succeeding generations: Realizing the dream of families in business*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- Lawrence, T., Suddaby, R., & Leca, B. (2009). *Institutional work: Actors and agency in institutional studies of organizations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawrence, T., Leca, B., & Zilber, T. (2013). Institutional work: Current research, new directions and overlooked issues. *Organization Studies*, 34, 1023–1033.
- Lawrence, T., & Suddaby, R. (2006). Institutions and institutional work. In *The Sage handbook of organization studies*, 2nd edition (pp. 215–254). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Leach, P., & Pedder, R. (2009). *Family businesses: The essentials*. Minneapolis, MN: Profile Books Limited.
- Leung, A., Zietsma, C., & Peredo, A. (2014). Emergent identity work and institutional change: The “quiet” revolution of Japanese middle-class housewives. *Organization Studies*, 35, 423–450.
- Lok, J., Creed, W. D., DeJordy, R., & Voronov, M. (2017). Living institutions: Bringing emotions into organizational institutionalism. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, T. Lawrence, & R. E. Meyer (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalism*, 2nd edition. London: SAGE Publications.
- Lok, J., & De Rond, M. (2013). On the plasticity of institutions: Containing and restoring practice breakdowns at the Cambridge University Boat Club. *Academy of Management Journal*, 56(1), 185–207.
- Lutz, E., & Schraml, S. (2011). Loss of control vs. risk reduction: Decision factors for hiring non-family CFOs in family firms. *CEFS Working Paper 2010–04*.
- Madison, K., Holt, D., Kellermanns, F., & Ranft, A. (2016). Viewing family firm behavior and governance through the lens of agency and stewardship theories. *Family Business Review*, 29, 65–93.
- Matherne, C., Waterwall, B., Ring, J. K., & Credo, K. (2017). Beyond organizational identification: The legitimization and robustness of family identification in the family firm. *Journal of Family Business Strategy*, 8, 170–184.
- Micelotta, E., & Washington, M. (2013). Institutions and maintenance: The repair work of Italian professions. *Organization Studies*, 34, 1137–1170.

- Miller, D., Le Breton-Miller, I., Minichilli, A., Corbetta, G., & Pittino, D. (2014). When do non-family CEOs outperform in family firms? Agency and behavioural agency perspectives. *Journal of Management Studies*, 51, 547–572.
- Mitchell, R., Morse, E., & Sharma, P. (2003). The transacting cognitions of nonfamily employees in the family businesses setting. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 18, 533–551.
- Morris, M., Allen, J., Kuratko, D., & Brannon, D. (2010). Experiencing family business creation: Differences between founders, nonfamily managers, and founders of nonfamily firms. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 34, 1057–1084.
- Pearson, A., Carr, J., & Shaw, J. (2008). Toward a theory of familiness: A social capital perspective. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 32, 949–969.
- Pierce, J., Kostova, T., & Dirks, K. (2001). Toward a theory of psychological ownership in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 26, 298–310.
- Ramos, H., Man, T. W. Y., Mustafa, M., & Ng, Z. Z. (2014). Psychological ownership in small family firms: Family and non-family employees' work attitudes and behaviours. *Journal of Family Business Strategy*, 5, 300–311.
- Reay, T., Jaskiewicz, P., & Hinings, C. R. (2015). How family, business, and community logics shape family firm behavior and “rules of the game” in an organizational field. *Family Business Review*, 28, 292–311.
- Reid, T. (Director). (2016). *We the People: The Market Basket Effect*. FilmBuff.
- Sanchez-Famoso, V., Akhter, N., Iturralde, T., Chirico, F., & Maseda, A. (2015). Is non-family social capital also (or especially) important for family firm performance? *Human Relations*, 68, 1713–1743.
- Schneiberg, M., & Lounsbury, M. (2017). Social movements and the dynamics of institutions and organizations. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, T. Lawrence, & R. E. Meyer (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Sieger, P., Zellweger, T., & Aquino, K. (2013). Turning agents into psychological principals: Aligning interests of non-owners through psychological ownership: Turning agents into psychological principals. *Journal of Management Studies*, 50, 361–388.
- Sonfield, M., & Lussier, R. (2009a). Family-member and non-family-member managers in family businesses. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 16, 196–209.
- Sonfield, M., & Lussier, R. (2009b). Non-family-members in the family business management team: A multinational investigation. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 5, 395–415.
- Sorenson, R. L. (1999). Conflict management strategies used in successful family businesses. *Family Business Review*, 12, 133–146.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Ton, Z., Kochan, T. A., & Reavis, C. (2015). “We are Market Basket” Case. In: MIT Sloan Management Case Collection.
- Toubiana, M., & Zietsma, C. (2017). The message is on the wall? Emotions, social media and the dynamics of institutional complexity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 60(3), 922–953.
- Trank, C., & Washington, M. (2009). Maintaining an institution in a contested organizational field: The work of AACSB and its constituents. In T. Lawrence, R. Suddaby, & B. Leca (Eds.), *Institutional work: Actors and agency in institutional studies of organizations* (pp. 236–261). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vallejo, M. C. (2009). The effects of commitment of non-family employees of family firms from the perspective of stewardship theory. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 87, 379–390.
- Verbeke, A., & Kano, L. (2012). The transaction cost economics theory of the family firm: Family-based human asset specificity and the bifurcation bias. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 36, 1183–1205.
- Voronov, M., & Vince, R. (2012). Integrating emotions into the analysis of institutional work. *Academy of Management Review*, 37, 58–81.
- Wijaya, H., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. (2018). Give me a Hallelujah! Amen! Institutional reproduction in the presence of moral perturbation and the dynamics of emotional investment. *Organization Studies*, 39, 491–514.

- Zietsma, C., & Lawrence, T. (2010). Institutional work in the transformation of an organizational field: The interplay of boundary work and practice work. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 55, 189–221.
- Zietsma, C., & Toubiana, M. (2018). The valuable, the constitutive, and the energetic: Exploring the impact and importance of studying emotions and institutions. *Organization Studies*, 39, 427–443.
- Zilber, T. (2009). Institutional maintenance as narrative acts. In B. Leca, R. Suddaby, & T. B. Lawrence (Eds.), *Institutional work: Actors and agency in institutional studies of organizations* (pp. 205–235). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### Author biographies

**Elizabeth Long Lingo** is Assistant Professor of organizational studies at the Foisie Business School at Worcester Polytechnic Institute (WPI) in Worcester, MA, USA. Her research focuses on the negotiated nature of collective creativity, and the relational practice and process of bringing people together across disciplinary, organizational, and cultural boundaries to advance novel solutions, entrepreneurial ventures, and systemic change. Elizabeth's research has been published in *Administrative Science Quarterly* (ASQ), *Work, Employment and Society*, *Poetics, Work and Occupations*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

**Michael B. Elmes** is Professor of organizational studies and director of the New Zealand Project Center at the Foisie Business School at Worcester Polytechnic Institute (WPI) in Worcester, MA, USA. His current research interests include sensemaking and social innovation, food systems and food security, and place in organization studies. He was as a Senior Fulbright Scholar to New Zealand (Victoria University) in 2005 and directs a project center in Wellington. His research has appeared in *Academy of Management Review*, *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, *Organization Science*, *Human Relations*, *Journal of Management Inquiry*, and *Business & Society*.

# Appendix 1. Additional Sample Quotes Illustrating Aggregate Micro-Processes and Second-Order Themes.

Second-Order Themes	Representative Quotes	Sources of Evidence*
<b>Aggregate micro-process: <i>Intensifying and harnessing emotions</i></b>		
Positive emotions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>E: If sheer determination and company pride could keep you as our CEO, Mr. DeMoulas, then we would have already succeeded! We've got your back, boss! :))))</li> <li>ER: I will forever be thankful that when my kids got their first job it was at Market Basket</li> </ul>	FB/WAMB/WtP
Negative emotions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>E: I fear for my future and the future of my family. Will this profit-sharing plan even still exist? Will I need to work until the day I die?... This madness needs to end.</li> <li>C: I cannot believe what a complete MAGGOT ASD is... I hope someone sees him on the street someday and really gives this asshole what he deserves...</li> </ul>	FB/WAMB/WtP
<b>Aggregate micro-process: <i>Building collective identity</i></b>		
I am treated like a family member	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>E: Mr. DeMoulas gave me a hearty handshake, made sure to call me by name, look me in the eye and have a genuine conversation about my family, our store, and my career ambitions.</li> <li>E: The Market Basket Family has always taken care of me and my family. We held our first jobs ringing groceries and learned the value of hard work. When I struggled with debt in college, Market Basket had a job for me – no questions asked – so I could pull myself up and put my life back together. When my brother joined the National Guard, Market Basket proactively sought to make accommodations.</li> </ul>	FB/WAMB/WtP
Employees and managers are like family to me	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>E/C: I write to you today not only as a customer but as lifetime member of the Market Basket "Family." I call it the MB family because this is the culture MB has created for its employees, their families and for its customers. My father is currently the assistant store manager at Seabrook store 30...42 years now. My mom is full-time produce clerk in Salem #31. She started at age 15 in the Salem... This is where my parents met and my father actually proposed to her in the laundry soap aisle #7!... As we grew up MB was all of our first jobs... My brother started with the company at age 15. He currently works in Portsmouth #21 and has been with the company for 18 years. My sister started at age 15 in Plaistow. She currently works full-time in Produce at Bedford #71 and has been with the company for 13 years. And lastly my [other sister] worked for the company in Seabrook and Plaistow for 7 years.</li> <li>E: I am no longer a Market Basket employee, but my values, work ethic and drive to serve my community were skills I learned during my years at MB and they have been the foundation of my current career as a nurse.</li> </ul>	FB/WAMB/WtP

## Appendix. (Continued)

Second-Order Themes	Representative Quotes	Sources of Evidence*
We are the true MB family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>E: We The People of Market Basket demand to be heard, this is OUR company, we built it, we work it every day and we love it! If you haven't noticed yet we will just not "shut up and do your job."</li> <li>E: Part of our culture of mutual respect is to call ourselves and each other associates, not employees, because we work together as a family. I suppose it is much easier on the conscience to call us employees when we lose our jobs to the sale of the company as you sail off into the sunset with yet another golden parachute...and please do not refer to Market Basket as "Our" company either. It is Our company, we built it together and you want to destroy it.</li> <li>C: I would love to lock this family in a room till they realize what family means. Let them look at our MB family and see that family takes care of each other not screw each other over for the mighty dollar!!</li> <li>ER: Those of the DeMoulas family who are factions of Arthur S. DeMoulas, who show no interest whatsoever in any of the hard-working people, who, without hesitation, show up to work each day to EARN a living to support themselves and their families, and to earn YOU money. Money that YOU HAVE NOT come out into the trenches to EARN. MONEY that has been GIVEN to you... MONEY you never have to worry if you have enough to scrape by on.</li> <li>E: Question? Does a board member ever remember what it is like to put food on a table? to buy diapers or formula for your babies?...I did not get silver spooned like most of you! I've earned and battled my almost twenty years!!</li> </ul>	FB/WAMB/WtP
Outsiders: Us vs them	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ER: Those of the DeMoulas family who are factions of Arthur S. DeMoulas, who show no interest whatsoever in any of the hard-working people, who, without hesitation, show up to work each day to EARN a living to support themselves and their families, and to earn YOU money. Money that YOU HAVE NOT come out into the trenches to EARN. MONEY that has been GIVEN to you... MONEY you never have to worry if you have enough to scrape by on.</li> <li>E: Question? Does a board member ever remember what it is like to put food on a table? to buy diapers or formula for your babies?...I did not get silver spooned like most of you! I've earned and battled my almost twenty years!!</li> </ul>	FB/WAMB/WtP
Aggregate micro-process: Short- and long-term individual interests	<p><b>Articulating shared interests</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>E: My home, my car, my wedding, family trips, my son's birthday parties. Market Basket has made all of this possible for me.</li> <li>C: The local farmers who sell directly to MB would likely lose their contracts under new leadership anyway since most of that stuff is done by bids. This fight is as much in their best interest as it is in the customers' best interest.</li> </ul>	FB/WAMB/WtP

(Continued)

**Appendix. (Continued)**

Second-Order Themes	Representative Quotes	Sources of Evidence*
Community interests and vitality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>E: Board of Directors; I beg you to consider the 25,000 associates, the 1.3 million customers we serve weekly, the thousands of vendors who call on us, and the thousands of real jobs created building new stores. Like the air we all breathe, we need Arthur T as CEO directing this great company.</li> <li>E: How is a MA company with thousands of employees and lots of real estate NOT a public policy issue? Aside from the economic effect to farmers, fishermen and vendors, etc, it becomes a big issue when unemployment goes up.</li> <li>C: I'm truly having deep concerns for all workers... The majority of the workers I know here in Gloucester live check to check in order to survive. If jobs are left, hours are cut or whatever in the negative, there are no other replacement jobs on this side of the bridge for all these good workers.</li> </ul>	FB/WAMB/WtP
Defense of working class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>C: Corporate greed has been taking over our country for too long. In the 1950s a man could drive a cab or a truck and support his family, that is no longer possible, everything went up but salaries, at least for the middle class, Thank you corporate America!!</li> <li>C: Thank you for standing up for the American workers, showing that if we just stand together for what is right we can bring back the achievable American dream and you put other greedy corporations on notice.</li> </ul>	FB/WAMB/WtP

\*Contributors denoted by E, employee; C, customer; V, vendor; ER, relative. FB, Facebook; WAMB, *We Are Market Basket* (book); WtP, *We the People* (documentary).