

CRISIS COMMUNICATION

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Summary

For organizations they are pervasive, difficult to keep quiet in today's global multimedia environment, challenging, can be catastrophic or even opportunities for organization's to thrive and emerge stronger. They are crises. Crises come in many shapes and sizes including incidents such as media blunders, social media activism, extortion, product tampering, security issues, natural disasters, accidents, or negligence just to name a few. The first research on crisis communication appeared in 1953 and since then the field has grown steadily. However, in the last five to six years there has been an explosion of theory development, international engagement, methodological diversity, and topic diversity within the field to reflect the growing multinational and multiplatform environment in which organizations and people interact.

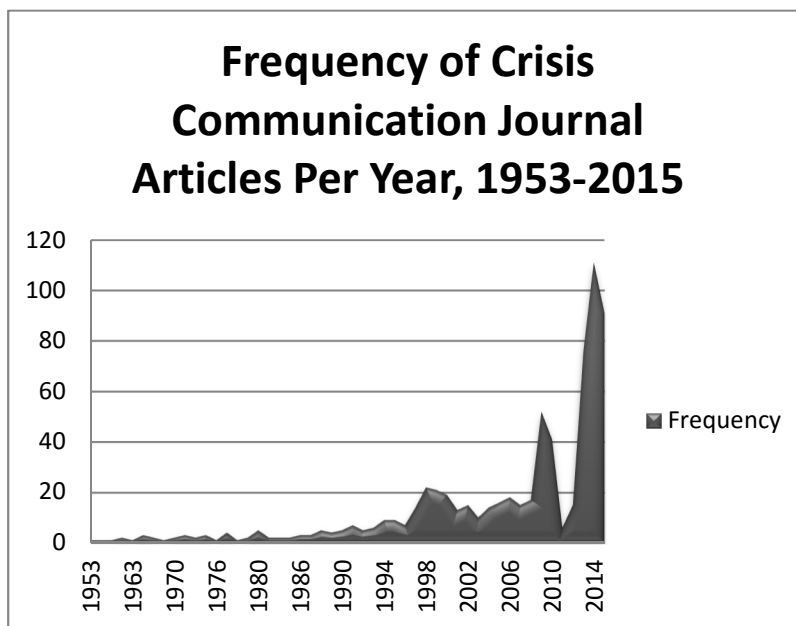
Therefore, in order to understand the field of crisis communication, as a public relations and management function, it is important to focus on the critical factors that affect our understanding of the concept and proliferation of research and practice in the area. There are five critical factors that drive our understanding and research in crisis communication: (1) issues and reputation management as crisis mitigation and prevention; (2) crisis types in a modern global environment; (3) organizational factors affecting crisis response; (4) stakeholder factors affecting crisis response; and (5) response factors to consider in crisis response. In addition, it will review the critical trends in crisis communication research, challenges within the field, and resources for further development.

Keywords: crisis communication, crisis type, ethics, stakeholders, crisis response strategies, issues management, reputation management, intergroup communication

Crisis and Crisis Communication in a Modern Context

A crisis is typically defined as an untimely but predictable event that has actual or potential consequences for stakeholders' interests as well as the reputation of the organization... That means a crisis can harm stakeholders and damage the organization's relationship with them... Respond well and survive the crisis; respond poorly and suffer the death of the organization's reputation and perhaps itself (Heath & Millar, 2004, p. 33).

Heath and Millar's (2004) description of crises lays an effective groundwork for understanding the critical components of crisis communication in a modern organizational environment. Crises have been defined in a number of ways but most of them center on the crisis itself being a low-probability, high-impact event that may threaten the viability of the organization (Pearson & Clair, 1998). Accordingly authors often point out that a central challenge for organizations in managing crises is that the crises are often ill-structured and complex in nature (Mitroff, Alpaslan, & Green, 2004). Certainly, these kinds of crises are well-documented with examples ranging from those types of crises where the organization is clearly at fault to situations that are entirely out of the organization's control such as extortion, product tampering, security issues, natural disasters, accidents, or negligence. However, the assumption that crises are low-probability events has been called into question in recent years. In fact, Coombs and Holladay (2012) argue that in the emerging social and global media environment organizations are also likely to face high-probability but low-impact events primarily threatening their reputation and broad relationship management approaches with a range of stakeholder groups. This suggests that for the practitioner or scholar who is interested in the field of crisis communication, the environment is constantly changing and increasingly complex to understand.



Because crises are inherently public events (Moore, 2004), there has long been a connection in crisis management and crisis communication to topics like strategic planning (Fishman, 1999) and issues management (Heath, 2002). As the field of crisis communication has evolved as an area of study since 1953, beginning in the early 1990's the field saw an explosion of interest and research (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Frequency of Crisis Communication Journal Articles per year, 1953 to 2015 (Diers-Lawson, 2017a).

Much of the modern focus in crisis communication research has focused on identifying different crisis communication tactics and strategies with taxonomies describing them (see Figure 2). The literature around this dominant approach to crisis communication has emphasized factors like message evaluation, and the development of descriptive theories like image repair theory (Benoit, 1995) or situational crisis communication theory (Coombs, 2006) with an emerging body of research providing a menu of response tactics and strategies that organizational decision makers could use when developing crisis response strategies. Therefore, this paper's purpose is to not only present an introduction to crisis communication and the factors most directly influencing it, but also to present an initial conversation about the state of the field, its strengths, its weaknesses, and future directions for exploration. The paper will first provide the context for understanding crisis communication by exploring the five dominant types of factors that influences crisis communication and then explore the crisis communication literature itself.

Figure 2. Taxonomy of Crisis Response Tactics Potentially Used By Organizations

<i>Strategy Category</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Strategy Description</i>	<i>Example Key Author(s)</i>
Self-Enhancement	Marketing	Emphasizing product quality, prices, safety, promotions	Heath (1994), Proto & Supino (1999), Scott & Lane (2000)
	Image Advertising	Providing information to make the organization look positive. Framing an issue for the stakeholders	Heath (1994; 1998), Scott & Lane (2000)
Routine Communication	Communication of Mission/ Vision	Communication emphasizing organizational goals/ mentioning mission/ vision	Heath (1994)
	Annual Reports	Report monetary assets, liabilities, future liabilities, interest in cooperation to increase market value	Heath (1994), Proto & Supino (1999)
	Newsletters	Report monetary gains, attention to stakeholder concerns	Fiol (1995), Heath (1994), Proto & Supino (1999)
Framing the Crisis	Accounts	Development of dominant narrative, use of narrative to explain the problem	Kauffman (2001), Massey (2001), Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Information Dissemination	Delivering information regarding the issue to educate, often with the goal of increasing stakeholder sense of empowerment	Martinelli & Briggs (1998), Rowan (1996), Sellnow (1993), Slovic (1987)
	Issue Salience	Communicating importance, often uses risk or fright factors and/or scientific discourse	Bennett (1998), Sellnow (1993), Slovic (1987), Williams & Olaniran (1998)
	Preconditioning	Influencing stakeholders to the organization's position on a crisis and their opinions about the organization by: downplaying damage, putting act in a more favorable context, or attacking accusers	Benoit (2004; 1997), Sturges (1994)
Framing the Organization	Ingratiation	Efforts to create positive image by reminding stakeholders of past good works or qualities	Coombs & Schmidt (2000)
	Organizational Promotion	Presenting the organization as being highly competent, effective, successful	Marra (1998), Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Issue Management	Issue diagnosis, advocacy advertising	Cheney & Christensen (2001), Gonzales-Herrero & Pratt (1998), Hayes & Patton (2001)
	Supplication	Portraying the organization as dependent on others in effort to solicit assistance	Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Organizational	Making task success appear unlikely in order to	Mohamed, et al. (1999)

	Handicapping	have ready-made case for failure	
	Bolstering	An effort to separate the organization from the crisis by emphasizing past accomplishments, stress good traits	Benoit & Czerwinski (1997), Benoit (2004), Coombs & Schmidt (2000), Kauffman (2001), Sellnow & Brand (2001)
Anti-social or Defensive	Noncompliance	The organization cannot/ does not choose to act	Henriques & Sadorsky (1999)
	Disclaimers	Explanations given prior to an action that might be embarrassing to ward off negative implications to image	Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Defensive Compliance	Indicating that actions are driven by compliance or requirements	Henriques & Sadorsky (1999)
	Evasion of Responsibility	De-emphasizing role in blame by: emphasizing lack of control over events; emphasizing accident; or emphasizing good intentions	Benoit (2004; 1997), Benoit & Czerwinski (1997), Coombs & Holladay (2002), Coombs & Schmidt (2000), Henderson (2003), Ray (1999)
	Shifting the Blame	The most defensive strategy—shifting or minimizing responsibility for fault	Benoit (2004), Benoit (1997), Coombs & Holladay (2002), Coombs & Schmidt (2000), Ray (1999)
	Simple Denial	The organization did not perform the act	Benoit & Czerwinski (1997), Benoit (2004), Coombs & Schmidt (2000)
	Strategic Ambiguity	Not releasing many details, able to keep stories consistent	Sellnow & Ulmer (1995), Ulmer & Sellnow (2000), Sellnow & Ulmer (2004)
	Intimidation	Representing the organization as powerful or dangerous, willing and able to adversely affect those who oppose its efforts	Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Minimization	Emphasizing act or event not serious	Benoit (2004: 1997), Benoit & Czerwinski (1997), Coombs & Schmidt (2000)
	Transcendence	Emphasizing more important considerations	Benoit & Czerwinski (1997); Benoit (2004)
Accommodative	Corrective Action/ Compensation	Effort to ‘correct’ actions adversely affecting others. Can include announcements of recall or offers of compensation	Benoit (2004; 1997), Benoit & Czerwinski (1997), Coombs & Holladay (2002), Coombs & Schmidt (2000), Henderson (2003), Martinelli & Briggs (1998), Mohamed, et al. (1999), Ray (1999)
	Apologia	Communication of contrition, admission of blame including remorse and requests for pardon, mortification	Benoit (2004; 1997), Benoit & Czerwinski (1997), Coombs & Holladay (2002), Coombs & Schmidt (2000), Hearit (1999), Henderson (2003), Martinelli & Briggs (1998), Mohamed, et al. (1999)
Accommodative (continued)	Compassion	Communication of concern over well-being/ safety of public; helping people psychologically cope with crisis	Martinelli & Briggs (1998), Mohamed et al., (1999), Sturges (1994)
	Offering Reassurances	‘This will never happen again...’ Assertions that problems are corrected	Henderson (2003)
	Eliciting Sympathy	Asking stakeholders to feel sorry for the organization because of what happened	Ray (1999)
	Transparency	Emphasizing complete compliance, openness to inquiry, requesting information seeking	Greer & Moreland (2003), Kauffman (2001), Sellnow

			& Seeger (2001), Sellnow & Ulmer (1995), Williams & Olaniran (1998) Gregory (2000)
Excellence/ Renewal	Volunteering	Seeking stakeholder involvement with the organization as a means of resolving the crisis	
	Dialogic	Emphasizing openness and willingness to engage about the issue	Das & Teng (1998), Milliman, et al. (1994), Nielson & Bartenuk (1996), Williams & Olaniran (1998)
	Exemplification	Portraying the organization as having integrity, social responsibility, moral worthiness	Benoit & Czerwinski (1997), Henriques & Sadorsky (1999), Marra (1998)
Interorganizational Relationships	Pro-social Behavior	Engaging in actions to atone for transgression and persuade stakeholders of positive identity	Mohamed, et al. (1999), Sellnow & Brand (2001)
	Blaring Others	Identifying negative link to undesirable other	Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Blasting	Exaggerating negative features of an undesirable other	Mohamed, et al. (1999), Sellnow & Brand (2001)
	Burying	Obscuring or disclaiming a positive link to an undesirable other	Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Blurring	Obscuring or disclaiming a negative link to a favorable other	Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Belittling	Minimizing traits or accomplishments of a negatively linked other, attacking accuser's credibility	Benoit & Czerwinski (1997), Coombs & Schmidt (2000), Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Boosting	Minimizing undesirable features of a positively linked other	Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Boasting	Proclaiming a positive link to a desirable other	Mohamed et al., (1999)
	Burnishing	Enhancing desirable features of a positively linked other	Mohamed, et al. (1999)
	Collaboration	Emphasizing desire to change and work with another organization to resolve the crisis	Henriques & Sadorsky (1999), Martinelli & Briggs (1998), Milliman, et al. (1994)

Figure 2. Taxonomy of Crisis Response Tactics (Diers & Tomaino, 2010)

Five Critical Factors to Understand Crisis Communication

While the discovery and categorization of different crisis response strategies has been the most prevalent feature of crisis communication studied, the literature also suggests that there are several factors that are critical for understanding crisis communication as a more fully developed area of study. For example, Seeger (2002) argues that understanding factors like crisis characteristics and organizational factors are critically important for identifying the potential success of crisis response. Likewise, the importance of stakeholders and their reactions to crises has been a cornerstone of understanding crisis communication since the first studies emerged in the mid-1960's (Chesler & Schmuck, 1964). Stakeholder importance, however, has received substantially more focus since 2000 with the emerging relevance of social media in a global information environment (Ki & Brown, 2013). Our understanding of crisis communication has also been enriched by a growing assumption that the practice of crisis communication begins before the crisis emerges (De Bruycker & Walgrave, 2014). As such, while there are many 'testable' factors that will affect crisis communication practice and research, there are five that have emerged as essential. First, issues management is an exercise in mitigating or avoiding crises is essential factor to understanding crises in a

modern context. Second, identifying the type of crisis helps researchers and practitioners to more effectively identify the risks of the crisis to the organization. Third, to understand a crisis and its impact, there are organizational factors that must be understood. Fourth, introducing stakeholders factors helps to provide an inside-out and outside-in perspective on crisis communication to help tailor responses effectively. Finally, naturally understanding crisis response is critical in developing a working understanding of crisis communication.

Issues and Reputation Management

Heath (1998, 2004) has argued that crisis management is necessary when issues management fails. Heath (2002) describes issues management as a process helping organizations to detect and mitigate risks related to trends or changes in a complex socio-political environment – it is an anticipatory strategic management process. More importantly, he describes issues management as a process emphasizing an organization’s responsibility to be stewards of stakeholders’ and stakeseekers’ interests in the organization. This suggests then that issues management is also about creating socially responsible organizations – those that stakeholders believe are genuinely stewards of their interests in the organization’s work (Kim & Lee, 2015; Lacey, Kennett-Hensel, & Manolis, 2014; Sohn & Lariscy, 2014; Vanhamme & Grobbs, 2009). Yet, even in a modern context event being socially responsible may even represent a risk or issue to be managed (Coombs and Holladay, 2015).

If failed issues management can often lead to the emergence of a crisis, how should issues and issues management be viewed? Heath and Palenchar (2009) argue that issues often represent a violation of stakeholders’ expectations about how the organization should conduct itself within a specific context, that is, regarding a particular topic. They suggest that issues management combines strategic business planning, social responsibility, a clear systematic process for managing emerging issues, as well as a clear communication strategy involving defending the organization and being proactive in engaging stakeholders.

Summary of the issues management process. There are a number of complementary models (Heath & Palenchar, 2009; Larkin & Regester, 2005; Palese & Crane, 2002) for issues management that suggest four recursive stages in the process – scanning, monitoring, decision-making, and evaluation (see Figure 3). The critical goal in the scanning process is to understand the organizational environment by understanding an organization’s social (reputation), economic, political or regulatory, and competitive environment.

By engaging in both formal and informal research methods to explore the environment, organizations’ should be able to identify potential risks that could evolve into issues. This moves the issues management process into the second stage – monitoring. While the scanning and monitoring are often conflated, they are separate steps. In the monitoring stage, most organizations create or update their risk register – a document that summarizes information about the emerging risks, allows them to be categorized, and updated if the risk escalates into an issue or even a crisis. The critical goals of the monitoring process are to identify a risk’s threat to the organization and identify real or potential influence of the risk amongst critical stakeholders.

Steps in Issues Management



Figure 3. Steps in the Issues Management Process

As risks are identified, organizations must make strategic decisions about how to address them, if the resources exist to address them, and how to prioritize the risks in comparison to the rest of the organization's environment. As such, decision-making represents the third stage of the issues management process. In this stage organizations make three key decisions about a risk or emerging issue. First, they prioritize the risk by assessing its consequences, probability, severity, and timescale of impact. Second,

organizations identify their realistic strategic options including risk mitigation actions, the opportunity cost of risk mitigation, and who within the organization will own the actions. Finally, the decision-making process includes the action phase where the objective clarity, contingency recommendations, and prioritization of risk mitigation actions are implemented.

Fourth, the evaluation stage is both a strategic and reflective stage where clear measurable objectives are established for the organization. In addition, the organization should be evaluating its own policies and programs to determine present and future strategy as well as capturing lessons learned from successes and failures in managing risk and emerging issues.

Issues management, social responsibility, reputation, and crises. When the process for issues management is considered, it becomes clearer how social responsibility and reputation connect. As part of the decision-making process throughout, an organization's values and priorities are highlighted. Based on an organization's decisions and its priorities, stakeholders build a set of expectations for the organization's actions that can help to mitigate or intensify situations. For example, when expectancy violation theory is applied to a crisis context, findings consistently reveal that relationships that existed between organizations and their stakeholders before crises were amongst the greatest predictors of the negative reputational impact of a crisis (Kim, 2014a). When it comes to perceptions of an organization's social responsibility, this means that when the stakeholders believe the organization's actions are consistent with the sum total of its actions, they judge the organization's intentions to be socially responsible; however, when there are inconsistencies they are more likely to view the organization's intentions as being self-serving (Lacey et al., 2014).

As the first factor influencing crisis communication, understanding issues management and how an organization manages its relationships with its critical stakeholders, researcher and practitioners can develop a stronger understanding that crisis communication does not begin at the point that a crisis emerges; rather, it is a long term process of engagement, reputation building, and relationship building with stakeholders.

Crisis Type

However, as crises emerge, the type of crisis that emerges can reveal much about the risks posed to the organization as a result of the crisis, potential stakeholder reactions to the situation and organization, as well as help guide crisis response strategies (Coombs, 2007b; Pearson & Mitroff, 1993; Seeger, 2002). Table 1, compiles previous research on crisis types (Diers & Tomaino, 2010) and with the addition of reputational crises (see e.g., Coombs & Holladay, 2012) and provides a heuristic that classifies crises into four primary types based on material blame assignment and type of affect they may have on people. Separating crises based on potential for impact and organizational blame follows from the communication needs in these cases. Crisis response has been found to be fundamentally different depending on stakeholder attributions of blame for the situation (Brown & White, 2010; Bundy & Pfarrer, 2015; Kim, Kim, & Cameron, 2009; Ping, Ishaq, & Li, 2015). Moreover, there are also substantially different stakeholder needs based on the type of impact a crisis may have in their lives and thus a crisis type heuristic should also consider stakeholder risks as they help us understand crisis response needs (Covello, 2002; Rickard, McComas, Clarke, Stedman, & Decker, 2013; Sellnow & Sellnow, 2014).

Transgressions. The first type of crisis in the heuristic includes transgressions, described as crises where the organization is materially to blame for the situation, that is, the organization has done something ‘wrong’. Transgressions vary in the potential impact on stakeholders. However, transgressions do assume that the crisis affects at least some stakeholders.

Organizational events. The second type of crisis includes organizational events where blame attribution is likely more complex. Events can be triggered by actions an organization takes (e.g., layoff) in response to a situation; however, there may not be a necessary ‘wrong’ that the organization has committed, but that does not absolve organizations of blame in terms of stakeholder perceptions. Like transgressions, organizational events assume that at least some stakeholders are meaningfully affected by the crisis.

Table 1

Types of Crises

<i>Crisis Category</i>	<i>Crisis Type</i>	<i>Definition/Example</i>	
Organizational Transgressions	Illegal Corporate Behavior	Intentional or unintentional activities of an agent or organization, done for the organization's benefit. Examples: conspiring to fix prices, antitrust violations, disparate treatment involving discrimination, patent infringement, securities fraud	
	Technical Breakdown Accident	Accident caused by technology or equipment failure. Example: airline crashes	
	Technical Breakdown Product Recall	Recall of a product because of technical or equipment failure	
	Megadamage	A technical breakdown accident that produces significant environmental damage. Example: the Exxon Valdez crash	
	Human Breakdown Accident	Industrial accident caused by human error.	
	Human Breakdown Recall	Product recall that is a result of human error.	
	Organizational Misdeed with No Injuries	Occurs when management knowingly deceives stakeholders, but no injury results to stakeholders.	
	Organizational Misdeed with Injuries	Occurs when management knowingly places some stakeholders at risk and some are injured and/or killed.	
	Organizational Events	Mergers and Failed Mergers	Combination (or failure to) combine, to some degree, with another organization.
		Strikes	The stoppage or threat to stop work at an organization by a union or group of workers with specific goals of negotiation with management
Economic Downturns Resulting in Organizational Action		Examples: downsizing or layoffs	
Workplace Violence		Attacks on the job by organizational members or former members resulting in violence. Examples: Post Office Shootings, Columbine, Sexual Harassment	
Disasters	Malevolence/ Product Tampering	Damage of products or services by an external agent that harms the organization	
	Natural Disasters	Naturally occurring event that harms the organization and/or its stakeholders. Examples: Tornado, Earthquake	
	Terrorist Attack	Actions by an outside agent with an array of impacts from loss of stakeholders, employees, infrastructure, collapses in demand, significant secondary effects (e.g., customer service, breakdowns in transportation and communication)	
Reputational Attacks	Paracrisis	Potentially high-frequency, low-impact crises involving complaints about an organization's behaviors.	
	Rumor	The circulation of false information designed to hurt the organization.	
	Challenge	Confrontation by disgruntled stakeholders claiming the organization has acted wrongly. Examples: Pressure Group Activism, Boycotts	
	Shifting Political Attitudes	As the political attitudes change products, services, company ideals, etc. become less desirable to stakeholders	

*Adapted from Diers & Tomaino's (2010) taxonomy to incorporate reputational crises

Disasters. The third type includes those events that are beyond an organization's control. In the previous literature, on which Diers and Tomaino (2010) constructed their typology, these crises included a range from protests and boycotts to terrorist attacks. In light of developments in crisis communication research, it is sensible to revise this category to focus more directly disasters as the primary descriptor for events outside the organization's locus of control. From a conceptual point of view, there is an emerging body of research focused on these as unique and distinctive crisis events that require active communication and may have reputational aspects to them, but are focused on the threatening impacts of such events. In other words, these crises are disasters. As such, the organization is blameless for

the material crisis itself; however, these crises are likely to significantly affect stakeholders as well as the organization. The body of research in disaster and communication was not well-addressed in crisis communication until an explosion in interest from 2009 to present. As such, its development warrants a separation in crisis type as findings indicate that communication needs are substantially different for these types of crises (Chae et al., 2014; Garnett & Kouzmin, 2009; Liu, Faustino, & Jin, 2015; Venette, 2008).

Reputational attacks. Finally, as Coombs and Holladay (2012) point out in their discussion of paracrises, there is a shift in the types of crises that organizations experience from low frequency, high impact crises to more frequent but lower impact crises. Therefore, when revising existing typologies of crises, adding a final category to focus on reputational attacks in a modern social-media environment is a logical evolution of the typology. In so doing, reputational attacks may incorporate claims about an organization's behaviors; however, the crisis itself is often about the debate as to whether the organization's actions are appropriate. For example, paracrises directly involve complaints against an organization's behaviors. However, in a world of 'alternative facts' organizations must also more actively manage rumors, online activism, consumer engagement, and varying levels of 'fan' support and criticism (Claeys & Cauberghe, 2015 3082; Rhee & Yang, 2014; Veil, Reno, Freihaut, & Oldham, 2015).

Organizational Factors

As the first two factors of issue management and crisis type suggest, understanding crisis communication is about simultaneously looking outside the organization and within to critically assess the situation. Likewise, in considering crisis communication it is also essential to understand some of the critical organizational factors that contribute to crises and how organizations handle them. Two broad theories help to frame the core organizational considerations in crisis communication. First, Loosemore's (1999) theory of crisis management provides some grounding for the internal challenges organizations face. In his analysis, he argues that crises also create unique challenges within organizations as crises often encourage conflict within organizations with power struggles coming to the surface and yet communication is often primarily connected to efficiency and not necessarily relationship management because crises also discourage collective responsibility for the situation. As such Loosemore (1999) argues that organizations that are successful in managing crises have four core qualities – they are able to adjust to the challenging social environment, they effectively manage behavioral instability, they rely on a strong social structure, and they effectively balance supportive and destructive crisis management efforts making decisions that shorten the crisis and build team capacities.

Stacks' (2004) multidimensional model of public relations builds on Loosemore's perspective arguing that crisis management is primarily a matter of marshaling internal resources effectively to manage public perceptions of the crisis. His model assumes an inside-out approach building on the strengths of communication professionals and the crisis management team to account for the type of organization, its subsystems, and tailor its messages to specific and intended audiences. Therefore, the model argues that organizational structure, infrastructure, stakeholders, relationships, and message strategy all interact in order to manage crises effectively.

Taken together, these two theories highlight the importance of an inside-out understanding of crisis communication as a concept that is both internally and externally oriented. Yet, most of the research in crisis communication focuses exclusively on the external components. Where strong research does exist, it tends to focus on three key attributes of an organization that influences crisis communication.

Industry. First, the influence of structure, infrastructure, relationships, social environments, and stability are often strongly related to the industry that an organization is in. As such industry is likely to influence an organization's experience with crises as well as its reaction to them. Industry contributes to an organization's capabilities, identity, and even its reputation. This is no more clearly evidenced than in the banking industry after the financial crash of 2008 where the industry's reputation created credibility problems throughout the industry – no matter the particular financial institution (DiStaso, 2010). But also there is good evidence that industry identities provide organizations within different communication needs in crisis (Sellnow & Sarabakhsh, 1999). There are two ways that industry is often considered in terms of its influence.

First, industries affect organizations and their experience with crises. For example, Elsbach's (1994) analysis of the California cattle industry examined the construction and effectiveness of verbal accounts across the industry as it faced different crises. One industry that is often studied is the airline industry with research centering on crisis response to specific events or broad industry reactions to changing conditions (Goyal & Negi, 2014; Greer & Moreland, 2003). But certainly there are similar studies across different industries with travel and tourism, automobile, manufacturing, financial, sports/entertainment, and technology industries often studied. However, the second way that industry is often considered within crisis communication, reflecting some of the more common industries analyzed, is by examining industry in terms of crisis communication within crisis prone versus non-crisis prone industries. Previous research has identified seven industries as crisis prone including finance and insurance; professional, scientific, and technical services, information (e.g., telecommunications, computer software and hardware); transportation and warehousing; manufacturing; mining; and travel (Coombs & Holladay, 2004; Diers & Tomaino, 2010; Millar, 2004). Consistently, these findings suggest that a history of crises changes the ways that organizations react to crises. However, the internal view of the influence crises on organizations is seldom studied and there is little indication of how industry influences internal crisis communication.

Organizational values. Labeled broadly, an organization's values should be considered as an important factor influencing its crisis communication. When we consider the concept of an organization's values, most of our understanding of crises and organizational values focuses on connections between crises and organizational culture, ethics, and corporate social responsibility (CSR). An organization's culture is often difficult to tangibly identify; however, Trice and Beyer's (1993) conceptualization of organizational culture provides an effective heuristic for communication scholars to understand and identify evidence of an organization's culture that would be relevant to understanding its crisis communication. They argued that while an organization's culture is a social system of shared ideologies that it is manifested in four tangible forms that reflect the organization's ideology, norms, and values. Table 2 summarizes Trice and Beyer's (1993) forms of organizational culture. Understanding organizational values, as they are evident in the artifacts of an

organizational culture, can provide academics and practitioners with strong clues as to how different stakeholder groups are likely to react to crisis response strategies. In today's world, authenticity and message credibility are essential components to crisis response (Ott & Theunissen, 2015) with stakeholders looking for evidence that organizations really mean what they say. What both stakeholders and communications professionals have to rely on in making these judgments is the sum total of what an organization has said and done. Stakeholders are therefore judging crisis response messages against what they can find or know about an organization. This makes the forms of culture vital in supporting the credibility and perceived authenticity of crisis response messages.

Table 2

Trice and Beyer's Forms of Organizational Culture

Form	Definition	Examples
Symbols	Tangible representations of abstract values	Objects, settings, performers (e.g., leaders)
Language	Ways that members interact and represent the organization	Jargon, slang, gestures, signals, signs, songs, humor, gossip, proverbs, slogans
Narratives	Stories that organization members tell to convey messages about the organization and organizational life	Sagas, legends, myths, accounts
Practices	Direct behaviors and performances of work	Rituals, rites, ceremonies, traditions

Organizational leadership. The final vital organizational attribute is an organization's leadership. Across studies of organizational crises, leaders represent an organizational factor that can make or break the credibility of an organization's response to a crisis. For example, leadership gaffes during the 2010 BP spill in the Gulf of Mexico from, in particular, CEO Tony Hayward complicated BP's ability to respond effectively with leadership or PR problems emerging as a central reputational issue during the crisis itself (Diers & Donohue, 2013). Other studies have explored the public relations implications of leadership finding that the types of responses can dramatically affect not only organizational outcomes but also community healing after major disasters (Griffin-Padgett & Allison, 2010).

While there is little clear indication about the 'type' of leadership that might best serve a crisis, there is an understanding of the functions that leaders serve. During crises, they serve a number of critical roles during crises that affect both the material and reputational responses organizations make to crises. For example, they serve a psychological and emotional role for people affected by the crisis (Sandler, 2009). That is, leaders can help to reduce fear and anxiety, help build trust in the crisis response efforts, and generate optimism in the situation. However, as Sandler (2009) argues, for leaders to be effective emotional leaders they must provide prompt and considered action in responding to crises, be perceived as honest and consistent in their crisis responses, create an emotional connection with stakeholders, and ideally inspire people.

However, leaders also have functional roles to play during crises. In part, this is because they are most typically viewed as the actors with the legitimate authority to act during a crisis (Alder, 1997). Being legitimate actors lets them create or enact appropriate procedures to respond, which is critical to managing uncertainty and maintaining response integrity. Aside from crisis management roles that leaders typically play, organizational leaders also have an important public relations role to play. Conventional wisdom suggests

that the CEO should be a primary spokesperson about the crisis but can also largely depend on the timing and severity of the situation (Carroll & Hatakenaka, 2001; Lucero, Kwang, & Pang, 2009). The conventional wisdom regarding CEOs serving as primary spokespersons during crises are grounded by agenda setting theory and research suggesting that when effective organizational leaders serve an important agenda setting function about crises. Their engagement about crises can control the narrative, specific messages, and even the stories covered throughout the media's coverage of a crisis (Oliveira & Murphy, 2009; Veil & Ojeda, 2010).

Stakeholder Factors

These first three factors emphasize the situation and context surrounding crises. However, the biggest 'x-factor' in crises is how stakeholders will react to the issues, type of crisis, and organization. Yet, in the study of crisis communication, stakeholder factors remain one of the most challenging and under-studied factors influencing crises. More attention is typically paid to the response strategies that organizations deploy (Oles, 2010; Piotrowski & Guyette, 2010; Weber, Erickson, & Stone, 2011) than measuring stakeholder evaluations and the social psychological factors influencing those evaluations of crisis response strategies. In fact, analyses of stakeholder evaluations of crises are limited in number and somewhat fragmented in focus. From a theoretical standpoint, relatively little is known about how people create to crises and organizational responses (Coombs, 2007a). In addition, few factors beyond crisis type and organizational response messages have been examined in research with the impact of concepts such as emotional reactions to crises and stakeholder attitudes remaining relatively understudied (McDonald, Sparks, & Glendon, 2010). Some of the critical work in understanding the role that emotion plays in stakeholder reactions to crisis has come from Jin and her colleagues (see e.g., Jin, 2010; Jin, Liu, Anagondahalli, and Austin, 2014) exploring and measuring the role of emotions in stakeholder reactions. Such gaps are accentuated by a lack of cultural contextualization or a narrow understanding of the role that stakeholders' cultural background plays in crisis management (Falkheimer & Heide, 2006; Lee, Woeste, & Heath, 2007). However, in recent years, there has been an increased recognition that national identity matters in crisis response (Chen, 2009; Rovisco, 2010).

While these limitations in crisis communication's understanding of stakeholder attitudes certainly exist, there are a number of themes that have been well-tested throughout the years but are seldom discussed cohesively that draw together literature from crisis communication, public relations, advertising, and persuasion. Diers' (2012) introduction of the stakeholder relationship model was an adaptation of Haley's (1996) model for advocacy advertising (see Figure 4). Both authors argued that if organizations want to be successful in communicating with important stakeholders, it is vital to understand three relationships from the stakeholder perspective. Additionally, both authors argue that these relationships influence each other; that these relationships cannot be fully separated from each other. That is to say, for example, that a stakeholder's evaluation of the role that an organization has played in a crisis can easily be influenced by their own relationship with that organization or their attitudes about the crisis issue.

Stakeholder Relationship Model

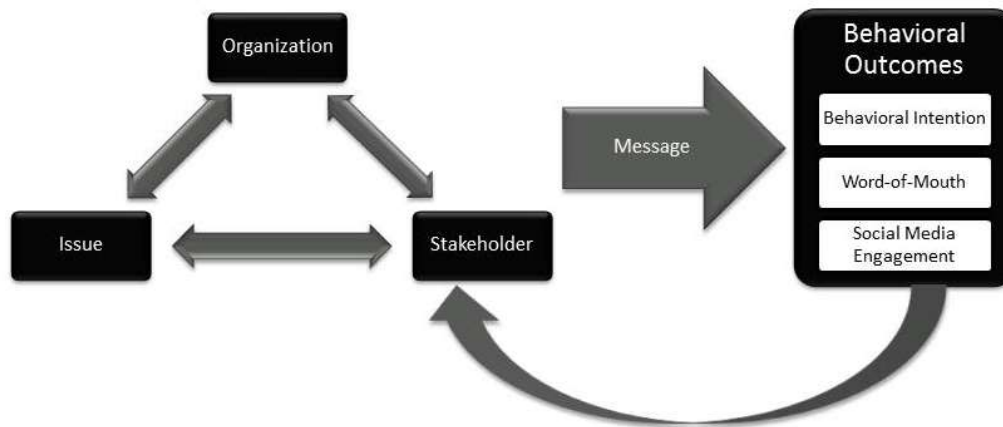


Figure 4. Adaptation of Diers (2012) Stakeholder Relationship Model

Stakeholder evaluations of an organization's role in a crisis. The first relationship focuses on the stakeholder's assessment of how connected an organization is with any particular issue. As has already been discussed, the nature of crisis issues substantially affects an organization's prospects for managing them. However, given that a critical assumption about issues management is that issues typically emerge as problems because they violate stakeholder expectations (Heath & Palenchar, 2009), then to understand issues management involves understanding the factors that influence the stakeholder expectations.

Previous research suggests there are a number of factors influencing how stakeholders might evaluate the relationship between an organization and a crisis issue. Chief among them is blame attribution. Questions about how stakeholders assign blame to organizations have been asked since the 1970's with Schwartz and Ben David's (1976) analysis of blame, ability, and denial of responsibility in the face of emergencies. Evaluations of an organization's competence in crisis management is, by contrast, a newer evolution in the field's understanding of this relationship emerging in analyses like Sohn and Lariscy's (2014) discussion of reputational crises. Certainly, competence had long been considered from the crisis management perspective, but not necessarily from the stakeholder perspective. Likewise, other factors like stakeholder beliefs that the organization fully intends to manage the issue responsibly, that organizations have a clear causal association with the crisis, and are genuinely concerned about the crisis are also relatively new factors emerging from crisis research (Kim, 2014b; Spence, Lachlan, Lin, Sellnow-Richmond, & Sellnow, 2015). In many cases, stakeholder evaluations of an organization's intentions towards a crisis come down to their belief that the organization is genuinely committed to improving the situation (Diers-Lawson & Pang, 2016; Mazzei & Ravazzani, 2014).

Stakeholder attitudes towards organizations in crisis. Stakeholder attitudes towards organizations in crisis represents the relationship in Diers (2012) model that has been studied the most in crisis communication. Often treated as an outcome of a crisis, these judgments have been assessed across multiple fields of study from communication and marketing to industry-specific studies in such different areas like health care and tourism. If researchers and practitioners want to understand this relationship, they should be directly analyzing factors like changes to an organization's reputation with an immense body of study ranging from the evolution of image restoration in the 1990's (Benoit, 1995) to studies of reputational crises themselves (Carroll, 2009) to experimental evaluations of factors evaluating the impact of crises on reputation (Kim & Lee, 2015). However, Diers (2012) found that other factors like stakeholders' perceived knowledge of the organization not only changed under different crisis circumstances but also influenced their overall perception of the crisis. For example, she found that if a crisis made stakeholders feel like they had less knowledge about an organization, the stakeholders were more likely to evaluate the organization negatively. Evaluations of stakeholder attitudes towards organizations also tends to invoke more personal feelings about organizations, like stakeholder assessments of whether an organization is fundamentally trustworthy (Freberg & Palenchar, 2013), or whether they believe the organization in crisis has values that are congruent to their own (Koerber, 2014), or even whether they feel strong relationship satisfactory (Ki & Brown, 2013) or loyalty to the organization in crisis (Helm & Tolsdorf, 2013).

Stakeholder attitudes towards crisis issues. Despite a rich, albeit piecemeal, body of research addressing the first two relationships in Diers' (2012) stakeholder relationship model in crisis communication, there has been limited research evaluating how a stakeholder's attitudes towards crisis issues influences their judgments about organizations in crisis. Yet in Diers-Lawson's (2017b) analysis of factors influencing indicators of anger and expressions of anger amongst stakeholders from nine countries, she found that prior beliefs, crisis specific attitudes, and individual factors (e.g., demographic characteristics) not only helped to explain their assessments of an organization's competence in a crisis and their blame attribution for the crisis but also how likely they were to speak negatively about the organization as well as their purchase intention in the near future. Her findings support a growing body of research that suggests that attitudinal and emotion-based factors must be considered if we are to understand crisis communication as a concept (Jin, et al., 2014; McDonald & Cokley, 2013). This research points to several key factors ranging from demographic characteristics as critical predictors of attitudes towards crisis issues but also more issue-specific attitudes, prior experiences, efficacy, emotion, and information expectations.

Taken together, stakeholder factors should be viewed as an interplay in their identities, attitudes towards the organization in crisis and issues, as well as their evaluation of the organization's connection to the crisis issue. These evaluations may be quite different compared to directly measurable evaluations of the issue and the organization's connection to it. The best example of these differences might be the case of the 2010 BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico. While many analysts, media outlets, government agencies, and the public more broadly panned BP for being socially irresponsible in its management of the crisis, the reality was that when the messaging strategy is more closely examined BP's response strategy emphasized social responsibility and worked to communicate a strong connection with people affected by the crisis (Diers-Lawson & Pang, 2016; Diers & Donohue, 2013). In the case of crisis communication, anytime there is a gap between measurable behaviors and stakeholder evaluations of the communicative behaviors understanding factors influencing

stakeholder assessments should shine a light on the credibility gaps that simply understanding the nature of the issues, crisis type, or organizational factors alone cannot explain.

Response Factors

While the previous four factors are vital components in understanding crisis communication, the value that communication scholars add to the field's understanding of crisis is the communication element. Crisis response tactics or strategies have been studied for more than 20 years with several taxonomies emerging including Benoit's (1997) summary of image repair tactics, Coombs (2007b) discussion of tactics used in situational crisis communication theory, or Mohamed, Gardner, and Paolillo's (1999) taxonomy of organizational impression management tactics along with a host of individual studies identifying different individual tactics. The result of this work was the identification of more than 40 distinctive response tactics that could be used in a nearly infinite number of combinations in order to respond to a crisis.

Crisis response tactics. In their taxonomy of crisis response tactics, Diers and Tomaino (2010) grouped into eight categories (see Figure 2). The first of these categories are self-enhancement tactics that focus on making the organization look good, despite the crisis, through traditional marketing or image advertising techniques. Certainly not all marketing and image advertising strategies are related to crisis response, but a good example of using image advertising as a form of crisis response emerged with Toyota's decision to respond to their accelerator problem by launching an advertising campaign that acknowledged the problem, their responsibility, and focused the company's message on repairing the problem emphasizing their commitment to excellence and their customers. This same theme certainly emerged with Domino's Pizza in the US after mounting criticisms of the pizza quality and pictures of poor products began to surface. The CEO of the company used the poor performance as a way to launch Domino's new approach, new options, and to emphasize a new era for the company. Finally, in the United Kingdom after the horsemeat scandal of 2012 emerged, companies used packaging to provide reassurance to customers that their beef products were 100% British beef.

Similarly, routine communication techniques may also be used to address crises where the organization focuses on its mission or vision as a part of responding to a crisis or even uses outlets like their annual reports or employee newsletters to directly discuss the crisis. Often these meant to reassure stakeholders about the situation.

However, in shifting focus from tactics that can be applied to crises to crisis-specific tactics, the third category focuses on tactics that frame the crisis. If an organization can be viewed as a reliable source of information about the status of the situation, provide persuasive accounts of what is happening, then it is well-positioned to have its voice heard across multiple platforms. Organizations may also frame themselves emphasizing their ability or inability to prevent or manage the situation. That is, in framing the organization instead of focusing on the situation, the organization may choose to focus on its role in a way that works to give context to stakeholders about what it can or cannot do. This approach is quite different from the anti-social or defensive tactics which center on minimizing blame

attribution with a range of tactics from denial to obfuscation to fairly aggressive tactics like intimidation. By contrast, organizations may also choose to be very pro-social in their crisis response approaches by apologizing, focusing on repairing the problems, communicating empathy, or at the very least showing that they have nothing to hide. In some circumstances, organizations may also choose to demonstrate their excellence in crisis response by promoting dialogue with stakeholders, discussing the organization's leadership in the time of crisis, or emphasizing its corporate social responsibility. Finally, organizations may also choose to emphasize positive or negative interorganizational relationships to either try to borrow credibility from positively viewed partners, distance themselves from other organizations with a negative reputation, or even directly attack organizations as a way of shifting attention away from themselves.

Examples of crisis response in action. Certainly, crisis response involves critical decision-making that works to balance the nature of the crisis, the organization, and stakeholders in order to create strategic messages that help an organization manage its crisis issues. Effective crisis response involves the identification of critical objectives for the crisis response (Austin, Liu, & Jin, 2014), targeted stakeholders (Wertz & Kim, 2010), identification of key messages (Claeys & Cauberghe, 2014), as well as the platforms to communicate (Canhoto et al., 2015) (see Figure 5).

Strategically Selecting CRS



Figure 5. Factors to Consider in Responding to Crises

In many cases, organizations select many different tactics to use in various combinations to develop their response to crises across platforms. For example, Diers and Donohue's (2013) study of BP's crisis response across its press releases, Twitter, and Facebook posts from April to October, 2010 found that the core elements of the company's crisis response across its owned platforms emerged in

press releases with Twitter and Facebook posts each applying this strategy differently. Yet, in the case of BP, there have been a host of analyses of its crisis response strategies in various platforms suggesting that crisis response can be an incredibly dynamic and complex use of many different tactics depending on the platform and communicators.

In an analysis of responses to 133 crises Diers (2009) identified a number of different strategy sets emerging from the taxonomy of crisis response tactics that provides a good sense of how the crisis tactics may be strategically combined. For example, she identified a future-oriented strategy that focused on an organization's desire to look beyond the present crisis to a 'better future' for the organization and the stakeholders. The tactic categories included self-enhancement, excellence/ renewal, and interorganizational relationships and

this strategy was most typically used by crisis-prone organizations. An example of this strategy comes from Epson after winning a lawsuit against a large manufacturer of off-brand print cartridges:

We are pleased by this important progress in the multi-union case. We will continue vigorous enforcement of our intellectual property rights to protect our innovative printers and printer supplies against unfair competition of all types including patent infringement, unsubstantiated performance claims, and counterfeiting.

Another example of an emergent strategy is an aggressive strategy characterized by a direct defense of the organization as well as an effort to interpret the crisis itself in a manner that complements the organization's defense of itself. It incorporates the tactics from the framing the crisis as well as anti-social/defensive category and was most likely to be used in the utility, information, and arts/entertainment industries when the crisis was either a transgression or event outside the organization's control. An example of this strategy emerged from Harrah's President, Gary Loveman, when speaking about a culinary worker's strike in Atlantic City, New Jersey:

Despite the inconvenience the labor action creates, Harrah's is not willing to concede on the contract link. I worry about their capacity to strike me everywhere at the same time. What they would like to do is set it up so they could do that. That's what the strike is all about, we'll just have to wait it out. We will stand firm in this position no matter how long this unfortunate situation persists. We will not ratify a contract that threatens the health of our company and that of the industry broadly.

Studies analyzing organizational responses to crises vary in their discussion ranging from particular tactics to strategies and accounts of the crises themselves from the organizational and stakeholder perspectives. However, by understanding the underlying tactics, it is easier to think about the construction of crisis response strategy. Yet, crisis response can never be divorced from the other four factors – the crisis issues, specific type of crisis an organization is facing, organizational factors, and stakeholder factors – because in the context of response strategy, each of these plays an important role in understanding not only what tactics to select but how to apply them in a multi-platform, fast-moving crisis environment.

Discussion of Crisis Communication Literature

If these are the five dominant factors in crisis communication, it is important to situate them within the literature. As figure 1 suggests, while the study of crisis communication has been around since the 1950's, it has only been since the mid-to-late 1990's that the field began to emerge as a distinctive area of study within public relations and organizational communication with a large proliferation of research all within the last decade. This means that while researchers and practitioners have a variety of books, edited volumes, and journal articles on the subject, the field is still maturing. Therefore, to discuss the main threads in scholarship, past approaches, and current trends, we should look to a systematic review of the English-language crisis communication journal articles from 1953 to 2015 (see Diers-

Lawson, 2017a for the full list of sources analysed) to get a flavor of the field's development over the last 60 years. While the field certainly has used monographs and edited books to advance theory and research focusing on journal articles provides the most accessible view of the literature with 690 articles analysed for year, type of article, research method, country(ies) directly analysed, primary theory used (where applicable), and keywords or concepts directly addressed in each of the articles. Using some data reduction techniques focusing on categorization of the data, themes, and constant comparative method (see Diers-Lawson, 2017a for a more complete discussion of methods used), it is possible to offer a brief summary of the field of research over the last 60 years.

Threads of Scholarship in Crisis Communication

Crisis communication scholarship represents a diverse field of study encompassing many different fields of study, regions, related concepts, and theoretical perspectives. The systematic review of literature found that while crisis communication research most often appears in journals emphasizing management, business, social science, and of course communication; it is also published in journals emphasizing health, science, technology, and industry-specific needs (see Table 3).

Table 3

Fields of Study in Crisis Communication Journal Articles 1953-2015

Summary Journal Category	Sub-Categories	N	%
Medicine & Health	Medicine Health Policy Infectious Diseases Public Health Environmental and Occupational Health Health Professions Emergency Medical Science Epidemiology	47	6.8
Science, Engineering, & Technology	Environmental Science Computer Science Engineering Human-Computer Interaction Computer Graphics and Computer Aided Design Applied Mathematics Modeling and Simulation Industrial Manufacturing Engineering Agricultural and Biological Sciences Food Science Earth and Planetary Sciences Chemistry Planning and Development	96	14
Management & Business	Business, Management, & Accounting Business & International Management Management of Technology & Innovation Strategy & Management Public Administration Organizational Behavior & Human Resource Management Finance, Strategy, & Management Economics, Econometrics, & Finance Marketing	443	64.5

	Decision Sciences		
	Management Information Systems		
	Industrial Relations		
	Management		
	Management of Technology and Information		
	Management Science & Operations		
Social Science & Humanities		452	65.9
	Arts & Humanities – Social Science		
	Sociology & Political Science		
	Psychology		
	Cultural Studies		
	Education		
	Social Psychology		
	Social Sciences		
	Anthropology		
	Political Science & International Relations		
	Policy & Law		
	Urban Studies		
	Women’s Studies		
Industry Specific		59	8.6
	Development		
	Tourism		
	Leisure and Hospitality Management		
	Safety Research		
	Sports		
	Building & Construction		
	Safety, Risk, Reliability, Quality		
	Energy		
Communication & Language		383	55.5
	Communication		
	Language & Linguistics		
	Media Studies		
	Journalism		
		Total	690

¹ Based on SCImago Journal Listing Categories. Categories are not mutually exclusive

However, one of the field’s core weaknesses is that it is highly American-centric (Diers-Lawson, 2017a) with more than 60 percent of empirical journal articles focusing on American organizations alone (see Figure 6) and very little research addressing crisis communication in most regions.

Region Studied in Crisis Communication Journal Articles 1953-2015

- North America
- Asia (East)
- Asia (South & Southeast)
- Africa
- Central & South America, Caribbean
- Australasia
- Middle East
- Europe

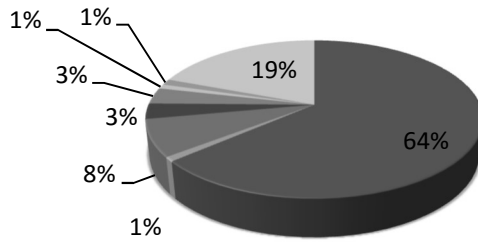


Figure 6. Region studied in crisis communication journal articles.

Despite the geographical limitations in the field, there are a host of concepts and research interests in the field that are explored in the literature (see Table 4) with topics like crisis contexts, industries, crisis response, crisis management, organizational assessments, social media, and stakeholders representing important themes in the literature. However, there are a number of smaller concepts addressed ranging from emotion to crisis training and education to media analysis to name just a few. Finally, to complement the subject area and conceptual diversity within the study of crisis communication, the field has a rich engagement with theory as well.

Table 4

Keywords and Concepts Studied¹ in Crisis Communication Articles 1953-2015

Concept Categories	Concepts	N	%
Crisis Type	Transgressions	87	12.6
	Organizational Events		
	Events Outside Control		
	Reputational		
Crisis Context	Accidents	253	36.7
	Activism		
	Advertising		
	Celebrity		
	Corruption		
	Counter branding		
	Disease		
	Emergency response		
	Environmental		
	Financial		
	Food/ food quality		
	Globalization		
	Health		
	High reliability organization		
	International relations		

	Multinational corporation		
	Natural disaster		
	News/ breaking news		
	Nuclear disaster		
	Politics		
	Pop culture		
	Product harm crisis		
	Public safety		
	Scandals		
	Terrorism		
	Urban crisis		
	War/ Cold War		
Industry/ Organization Type		163	23.6
	Agricultural		
	Airline		
	Automobile		
	Defense (national)		
	Finance		
	Food manufacturing		
	Fortune 500		
	Hospitality		
	Journalism		
	Marketing		
	Mining		
	Nonprofit/ Charity		
	Oil/ Energy		
	Pharmaceuticals		
	Police/ Law Enforcement		
	Public Relations		
	Public Sector/ Government		
	Retail		
	Schools/ Universities		
	Small Business		
	Social Movement Organizations		
	Sports		
	Technology		
	Tourism/ Travel		
	Unions		
Crisis Response/ Message Assessment		240	34.8
	Accounts		
	Ambiguity		
	Apology		
	Argumentation		
	Crisis spokesperson		
	Dialogic communication		
	Diplomacy		
	Discourse		
	Forgiveness/ atonement		
	Message effectiveness		
	Message involvement		
	Persuasion		
	Renewal		
	Response strategies		
	Rhetoric		
	Strategic communication		
	Symbols/ metaphors		
	Third person effect		
	Timing		
	Visual communication		
Relational Factors		41	5.9
	Relationship management		
	User-generated content		
Media Analysis		68	9.9
	Agenda setting		
	Media		
	Media effects		
	Media coverage		

Crisis Management	Television]Audits Crisis management Decision-making Knowledge management Media relations	162	23.5
Crisis Planning	Contingency planning Crisis plans/ planning Documentation	41	5.9
Internal Crisis Management	Human Relations Internal PR/ Employee Relations Team/ Teamwork	32	4.6
Leadership		58	8.4
Interorganizational Relationships	Boundary Spanning Strategic Alliances	15	2.2
Issue Management	Issue Management SWOT Analysis	26	3.8
Crisis Training & Education	Pedagogy Simulations Training	14	2.0
Crisis Assessment	Blame attribution Conflict Sensemaking Severity Urgency	60	8.7
Organizational Assessments	Charisma Commitment Credibility Crisis history Halo effect Image Impression management Legitimacy Organizational behaviour Organizational change Organizational culture Organizational identity Power Trustworthiness Values/ value congruence	220	31.9
Attitudinal Assessments	Attitudes Efficacy (self & response) Self-protective behaviour Susceptibility Uncertainty	52	7.5
Crisis Outcomes	Community development Crisis outcomes Crowdsourcing Customer loyalty Negative publicity Organizational learning Public opinion Sponsorship Sustainability Trauma Word-of-mouth	94	13.6
Culture & Cultural Analysis		70	10.1

	Cross-cultural comparison		
	Culture		
	Cultural change		
	Individualist/ collectivist		
	Power distance		
Emotion		39	5.7
	Emotion		
	Humor		
Information Management		46	6.7
	Information clarity		
	Information consumption		
	Information expectations		
	Information sharing		
Demographics		16	2.3
	Gender		
	Race/ Ethnicity		
Risk		52	7.5
	Risk		
	Risk communication		
	Risk management		
	Risk perception		
Social Media		126	18.3
	Big data/ analytics		
	Blogs		
	Digital convergence		
	Engagement		
	Facebook		
	Internet		
	Online community		
	Social Media		
	Technology		
	Twitter		
Stakeholders (external)		106	15.4
Meta-analysis, Methods		18	2.6
	Best practices		
	Meta-analysis		
	Paradigm influence, philosophy		
	Research methods		
Corporate Social Responsibility		27	3.9
Ethics		29	4.2
Networks		11	1.6

¹Multiple concepts and keywords possible for each article

However, theory development remains a need for development within crisis communication because nearly 40 percent (see Table 5) of journal articles have no specific theoretical perspective grounding the analysis. That said, within the research that does use theory, the theoretical include theories reflecting stakeholder, psychological, organizational, public relations or communication, management, media, and leadership across all ontological traditions from critical to post-positivist.

Table 5

Theories Applied, Developed in Crisis Communication Articles 1953-2015

Theory Categories	Theories/ Theory Type	N	%
None		268	39.5
	Practical		
	Descriptive		
Image Repair Theory		37	5.4
Situational Crisis Communication Theory		38	5.5
Stakeholder		19	2.8
	Stakeholder theory		
	Stakeholder relationship management		
Psychological		54	7.8
	Decision-making		
	Conflict management		
	Impression management		
	Behavioral resistance		
	Cognitive appraisal		
	Congruence theory		
	Expectancy violation theory		
	Uncertainty avoidance		
	Cognitive functional model		
	Emotional dimensionality theory		
	Identity theory		
	Discrepancy theory		
	Social cognition theory		
	Self-determination theory		
	Social approval theory		
Organizational		32	4.6
	Institutional theory		
	Organizational behaviour		
	Systems theory		
	Sensemaking theory		
	Network theory		
	Social capital		
	Organizational change		
	Organizational learning		
	Organizational perception management theory		
	Groupthink		
Public Relations & Communication		58	8.4
	Dialogic theory		
	Argumentation theory		
	Excellence theory		
	Theory of publics		
	Third person effect		
	Anticipatory impression management		
	Narrative		
Management		6	.9
	Human resource development		
	Ownership theory		
	IDEA model		
	Integrated strategic management model		
	Brand commitment		
Persuasion		9	1.3
	Extended parallel process model		
	Theory of planned behavior		
	Elaboration likelihood model		
	Inoculation theory		
Media		55	8.0
	Media framing		
	Digital convergence theory		
	Information exchange theory		

	Agenda setting		
	Media richness theory		
	Diffusion theory		
	Media dependence theory		
	Theory of channel complementarity		
	Dissonance theory		
	Uses and gratifications theory		
Culture		7	1.0
	Hofstede's dimensions of culture		
	Cultural trauma		
	Theory of cultural competence		
	Public diplomacy		
Rhetoric		11	1.6
	Deliberative rhetoric		
	Symbolic interaction		
	Burkean rhetoric		
Attribution		14	2.0
	Blame attribution		
	Attribution theory		
Leadership		3	.4
	Leadership performance		
	Leader member exchange theory		
	Situational leadership theory		
Other Crisis Theories		38	5.5
	Crisis knowledge governance		
	Apologia		
	Crisis behaviour model		
	Ethical crisis response		
	General failure type model		
	Early warning signals		
	Crisis, emergency, & risk communication model		
	Stage model for crisis response		
	Learning in crisis		
	Strategic crisis management model		
	Internet crisis potential model		
	Social mediated crisis communication		
	Mass, material, access, and motivation model		
	Enthymematic crisis rhetoric		
	Crisis lifecycle model		
	Integrated crisis mapping model		
	Crisis management theory		
Corporate Social Responsibility		1	.1
Education		1	.1
	Adult learning theory		
Critical		8	1.2
	Critical theory		
	Gender power theory		
Contingency		8	1.2
	Contingency theory		
Issue Management		3	1.4
Risk Communication		7	1.0
	Risk communication models		
	Social amplification of risk framework		
Other		2	.3
	Chaos theory		

¹Only 1 principle theory was coded per article. Articles whose purpose were theoretical comparison were excluded from this analysis

Past Approaches and Current Trends in Crisis Communication Scholarship

Broadly speaking, there are three types of research in crisis communication. First are non-data based articles including conceptual, theoretical, and practical recommendations. Making up 188 of the 690 articles between 1953 and 2015, this type of analysis represents approximately 27 percent of all journal publications in the field. Second, applied or case study research represents the most prevalent type of research in the field with 335 or nearly 50 percent of all articles. In a relatively young field working to understand the nature of the concept of crisis communication, this approach makes sense and connects with an emphasis on crisis response strategies. Third are the 167 cross-sectional studies making up about 24 percent of the research in crisis communication. One of the clear trends in the field is away from case studies to more cross-sectional research working to apply, test, and develop theory in different ways in the field. This is represented by the mean date for the prevalence of each of these types of research. The average publication date for non-data based articles was 2002, compared to the average publication date for applied/ case studies in 2005, and average publication date for cross-sectional research in 2008. This suggests a clear evolution in the study of crisis communication.

The evolution in the study is also reflected in the primary methodologies used in crisis communication research over the years. There are six primary broad methodology categories in the field. First, are conceptual studies including best practices. While these represent roughly one-third of all journal articles published ($N = 198$), their average publication date was the earliest in 2002. The field then evolved its approach to crisis communication to focusing on rhetorical analyses with an average publication date of 2005. From there, the field of study and methodology expanded relatively quickly with qualitative analyses, representing the smallest methodological approach with just about eight percent of studies and an average publication year of 2007. Then with an average publication date of 2008 quantitative analyses (including questionnaires and content analyses) began to grow in common use with 24 percent of all studies applying this method. Finally, experimental methods began to more commonly be applied in crisis communication with an average publication date of 2009 and about nine percent of all journal articles. Together, this suggests that research focus and methodology is constantly evolving within the field as it continues to mature.

As crisis communication has developed, the fields of interest, regional interest, and key concepts have also substantially changed. When we evaluate crisis communication, there are a number of significant trends that emerge (see Table 6).

Most notably, there are three major trends. First, crisis communication's attention in the management literature has significantly grown over the last 60 years compared to all other fields of study. Second, while crisis communication has been an American-centric field of study for most of its history, there are meaningful trends away from exclusively studying the U.S. with significantly more focus on Europe and China in particular with a general growing trend towards analyzing crisis communication in other countries and in cross-cultural contexts. Third, over the decades the field has also changed in the types of concepts and interests studied with topics like crisis management, crisis planning, and internal/ employee management all falling in recent years and substantial growth in interest in studying different

types of crises, contexts, industries, social media, and emotion. Finally, there are significant differences in the theories applied to crisis communication over the years (see Table 7) $F(21, 657) = 3.08, p < .00; \eta^2_p = .09$.

Table 6

Regression Model Critical Changes in Crisis Communication Research 1953-2015

Regressor	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Beta	SE	<i>t</i>	Beta	SE	<i>t</i>	Beta	SE	<i>t</i>
Intercept		1.53	1303.61		6.47	308.20		7.45	265.50
Management	.16	.91	3.92***	.16	.88	4.15***	.23	.84	6.21***
US				-.16	1.25	-3.00**	-.14	1.16	-2.77**
China				.07	2.45	1.64	.03	2.28	.76
Sweden				.05	2.52	1.28	.07	2.33	1.71
All Other Countries				.11	1.35	2.21*	.13	1.25	2.76**
Crisis Type							.01	1.55	.22
Crisis Context							.15	.85	3.93***
Industry							.13	.91	3.56***
Crisis Mgmt Planning							-.08	.97	-2.05*
Internal							-.07	1.89	-2.07*
Social Media							.24	1.05	6.59***
Emotion							.12	2.16	2.48*
F	15.35***			13.24***			15.47***		
ΔF	15.35***			12.44***			15.32***		
R^2	.02			.10			.25		
$R^2_{adj.}$.02			.09			.23		
R^2 change	.02			.07			.15		
<i>df</i>	1, 617			4, 613			8, 605		

Notes. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 7

Differences in Theory Use in Crisis Communication Articles 1953-2015

Theory Category	M	SD	N
No Theory – Practical or Descriptive Article	2005	11.77	268
Image Repair Theory	2006	6.46	37
Situational Crisis Communication Theory	2010	3.81	38
Stakeholder	2005	12.81	19
Psychological	2003	12.84	54
Organizational	2000	14.73	32
PR/ Communication	2006	7.40	58
Management	2007	7.68	6
Persuasion	2012	3.70	9
Media	2008	10.47	55
Culture	2011	3.68	7
Rhetoric	1989	15.24	11
Attribution	2006	10.74	14
Leadership	2009	8.72	3
Corporate Social Responsibility	1983	-	1
Education	2013	-	1
Critical	2002	13.96	8
Contingency	2000	9.86	8
Issue Management	2012	3.06	3
Risk	2004	8.17	7
Other	2009	9.19	2

As a field of study crisis communication is evolving in an increasingly complex global environment where organizations and stakeholders must communicate. It is a field rooted in communication traditions but branches out across many disciplines, areas of interest, research methodologies, and ontological traditions. This is reflected in the five critical factors discussed here arguing that to understand crisis communication means to understand how issues and reputation management, crisis type, organizations, stakeholders, and crisis response messages converge. From the earliest analyses of crisis communication in the 1950's through the exponential growth of the field in the 1990's and on, it is clear that we have a much stronger understanding of crisis communication today. However, it should be clear that there is yet much work to do as the field develops theory and practice in crisis communication. As a field of study, crisis communication is not merely a context for the study of public relations, marketing, or strategic communication; rather the findings and theory development indicates that it is distinctive, requiring a specialized understanding of human and organizational behaviors, communication, and stakeholder relationship management. This bodes well for the continued development of the field in the next 60 years.

Primary Sources

For scholars and practitioners interested in further exploring the field, Diers-Lawson's (2017a) identification of journal articles most relevant to crisis communication from 1953 to 2015 provides a nearly comprehensive list of readings for those interested in immersing themselves in the crisis communication literature and Tables 3 – 7 discussed earlier provide a starting point for investigating the field. However, much of the vital theoretical work in the field has also been captured in monographs and edited volumes. Therefore, Table 8 reflects some of the most useful individual books related to crisis communication.

Table 8

Recommended Monographs and Edited Volumes in Crisis Communication

Author(s)/Editor(s)	Year	Title	Publisher
Austin, L. L. & Jin, Y. (eds)	2017	Social Media and Crisis Communication	Routledge
Coombs, W. T.	2007	Ongoing Crisis Communication: Planning, Managing, and Responding	Sage
Coombs, W. T. (ed)	2011	The Handbook of Crisis Communication	Wiley-Blackwell
George, A. M., & Kwansah-Aidoo, W.	2017	Culture and Crisis Communication: Transboundary Cases from Nonwestern Perspectives	Wiley-Blackwell
Heath, R. L., & O'Hair, H. D.	2010	Handbook of Risk and Crisis Communication	Routledge
Millar, D. P., & Heath, R. L.	2003	Responding to Crisis: A Rhetorical Approach to Crisis Communication	Routledge
Schwarz, A., Seeger, M.W., & Auer, C.	2016	The Handbook of International Crisis Communication Research	Wiley & Sons
Regester, M., & Larkin, J.	2008	Risk Issues and Crisis Management in Public Relations: A Casebook of Best Practice	Kogan
Seeger, M. W., & Sellnow, T.L.	2016	Narratives of Crisis	Stanford Univ.
Sellnow, T. L., & Seeger, M.W.	2013	Theorizing Crisis Communication	Wiley & Sons
Tench, R., Sun, W., & Jones, B.	2012	Corporate Social Irresponsibility: A Challenging Concept	Emerald Group
Ulmer, R. R., Sellow, T.L., & Seeger, M. W.	2011	Effective Crisis Communication: Moving From Crisis to Opportunity	Sage

Further, there are some very strong online resources for crisis communication including the Crisis Communication Coalition at <http://crisiscommunication.uga.edu>, and the Museum of Public Relations at <http://prmuseum.org>.

Further Reading

Finally, for an abbreviated list of some of the most influential pieces of research in crisis communication representing the diversity of ontologies, theoretical traditions, field development over time, cases, cultural perspectives, and topical perspectives Table 9 provides a starting reading list for those interested in crisis communication.

Table 9

Recommended Reading List for Crisis Communication

Theme	Core Reading	
Reviews of Crisis Communication Literature and Field Overviews	Avery, E., Lariscy, R. and Kim, S. and Hocke, T. (2010). A quantitative review of crisis communication research in public relations from 1991 to 2009. <i>Public Relations Review</i> , 36(2), 190-192.	
	Diers-Lawson, A. (2017). A State of Emergency in Crisis Communication an Intercultural Crisis Communication Research Agenda. <i>Journal of Intercultural Communication Research</i> , 46(1), 1-54.	
	Ha, J. H., & Boynton, L. (2014). Has crisis communication been studied using an interdisciplinary approach? A 20-year content analysis of communication journals. <i>International Journal of Strategic Communication</i> , 8(1), 29-44.	
	Kim, S.-Y., Choi, M.I., Reber, B. H., & Kim, D. (2014). Tracking public relations scholarship trends: Using semantic network analysis on PR Journals from 1975 to 2011. <i>Public Relations Review</i> , 40(1), 116-118.	
	Kim, S., Avery, E., & Lariscy, R. (2009). Are crisis communicators practicing what we preach?: An evaluation of crisis response strategy analyzed in public relations research from 1991 to 2009. <i>Public Relations Review</i> , 35(4), 446-448.	
	Lalonde, C., & Roux-Dufort, C. (2013). Challenges in Teaching Crisis Management Connecting Theories, Skills, and Reflexivity. <i>Journal of Management Education</i> , 37(1), 21-50.	
	Shifflet, M., & Brown, J. (2006). The use of instructional simulations to support classroom teaching: A crisis communication case study. <i>Journal of Educational Multimedia and Hypermedia</i> , 15(4), 377.	
	Zhao, Y. (2014). Communication, Crisis, & Global Power Shifts: An Introduction. <i>International Journal of Communication</i> , 8, 26.	
	Theory Development in Crisis Communication	Aldoory, L., Kim, J.-N., & Tindall, N. (2010). The influence of perceived shared risk in crisis communication: Elaborating the situational theory of publics. <i>Public Relations Review</i> , 36(2), 134-140.
		Benoit, W. L. (1997). Image repair discourse and crisis communication. <i>Public Relations Review</i> , 23(2), 177-187.
Coombs, W. T. (2007). Attribution theory as a guide for post-crisis communication research. <i>Public Relations Review</i> , 33(2), 135-139.		
Coombs, W. T., & Holladay, S. J. (2002). Helping crisis managers protect their reputational assets: Initial tests of the Situational Crisis Communication Theory. <i>Management Communication Quarterly</i> , 16(2), 165-186.		
Diers, A. R. (2012). Reconstructing stakeholder relationships using 'corporate social responsibility' as a response strategy to cases of corporate irresponsibility: The case of the 2010 BP spill in the Gulf of Mexico. In R. Tench, W. Sun, & B. Jones (Eds.), <i>Corporate Social Irresponsibility: A Challenging Concept</i> (Vol. 4, pp. 177-206). United Kingdom: Emerald.		
Elsbach, K. D., & Sutton, R. I. (1992). Acquiring organizational legitimacy through illegitimate actions: A marriage of institutional and impression management theories. <i>Academy of Management Journal</i> , 33(4), 699-738.		
Falkheimer, J., & Heide, M. (2006). Multicultural crisis communication: Toward a social constructionist perspective. <i>Journal of Contingencies & Crisis Management</i> , 14(4),		

- Fishman, D. A. (1999). ValuJet Flight 592: Crisis communication theory blended and extended. *Communication Quarterly*, 47(4), 345-365.
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- Freberg, K. (2013). Using the theory of planned behavior to predict intention to comply with a food recall message. *Health communication*, 28(4), 359-365.
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