1-2014

# Enduring image: Capturing defining moments in crises

Benjamin HO
*Nanyang Technological University*

Augustine PANG
*Singapore Management University*, augustine@smu.edu.sg

Grace Xiao-Pei AUYONG
*Nanyang Technological University*

Liang-Tong LAU
*Nanyang Technological University*

# Enduring image: Capturing defining moments in crises

Benjamin Ho*, Augustine Pang, Grace Xiao-Pei AuYong, Liang-Tong Lau

*Wee Kim Wee School of Communications and Information, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore*

**ARTICLE INFO**

**ABSTRACT**

In today's media environment, crises are magnified as media events and are rich sites for the inception of images. Particular images, like a photograph or a sound bite are found to endure as representations of defining moments of crises. This study seeks to examine the concept of an enduring image, how it is engendered and how it impacts crisis communication efforts. The study utilizes five case studies of crisis with an inherent enduring image. An enduring image constitutes a prime representation of the accused in a given crisis. These images are loaded with symbolic potential and exhibit a sense of permanence in public consciousness. Understanding the implications of an enduring image can offer insights to organizations on how to better manage one's public and media image during or after a crisis. The study is arguably the first in examining the significance and potency of enduring images in crises.

## 1. Introduction

The study of image and reputation has been approached by either taking the internal (organizational) or the external (audience) perspective. From the organizational perspective, image can be constructed, projected, or desired (Pang, 2012). It includes notions that can be classified on a continuum ranging from organizational reputation – collective long-term assessments (Fombrun, 1996), to images – subjective, short-term transient impressions (Grunig, 1993). Many scholars also discussed the interdependent relationship between one's identity, image, reputation and the external images from the media and how these concepts contribute to the overall perception of an organization (Carroll & McCombs, 2003).

This study argues that certain images cannot be fully represented on the reputation-image continuum. In some crises, there are images engendered that exhibit not only the particularistic, subjective nature of transient images, but also a sense of permanence and salience that is atypical of how transient images are classified. This is what Pang (2012) described as an enduring image, the "shared image of first mention: When stakeholders think of the organization, what is the image comes to mind? This can be formed from their last experience, their consistent experience with the organization, or what they know of the organization through the media" (p. 372). These images can be developed from extracts of the crisis event and their defining moments found in a photograph or a sound bite. Such an enduring image lingers in the minds of the public, and can be revisited by the media as prime representations of that crisis.

The authors seek to explore the concept of an enduring image, determine what characterizes its engenderment, and evaluate how it impacts the organization. The recall value (Charles, Mather, & Carstensen, 2003), or how lasting a particular image is in the public eye, will also be examined. Five crisis cases and their respective enduring images will be

---

* Corresponding author at: 31 Nanyang Link, Wee Kim Wee School of Communications and Information, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore 637718, Singapore. Tel.: +65 6790 5844.
*E-mail addresses:* home0009@ntu.edu.sg (B. Ho), Augustine.Pang@ntu.edu.sg (A. Pang), Grace.Auyong@gmail.com (G.X.-P. AuYong), Lau.Liangtong@gmail.com (L.-T. Lau).

systematically examined to attain a deeper understanding of significant events that exacerbated the crisis through picking out the qualities that propelled certain events toward a defining moment, and exploring the engenderment of an enduring image. Observations from these case studies would serve as justification for the study's exploratory theorization for the concept of "enduring image". The study would also make recommendations for how organizations faced with negative enduring images should respond to win back the goodwill of their stakeholders. The concept of an enduring image is relevant to image management as it impacts how stakeholders think about the organization (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000).

## 2. Literature review

### 2.1. Corporate image

A key role of public relations practitioners is to help organizations project a favorable and consistent image to their multiple stakeholders (Christensen, Morsing, & Cheney, 2008). Benoit and Pang (2008) defined organizational image as the perception of an organization that is formed "through one's experience" interpreted based on past experience (p. 245). Gioia et al. (2000) argued that image is a "wide-ranging concept connoting perceptions that are both internal and external to the organization as well as perceptions that are both projected and received" (p. 66). Benoit and Pang (2008) argued that what stakeholders know about the organization is "filtered or interpreted by their personal attitudes and experiences" (p. 245). Therefore, an organization can have multiple images and when these fragmented images converge, they produce a strong reputation whereas when contradictory images emerge, the overall reputation suffers (Fombrun, 1996).

### 2.2. Images of an organization in times of crisis

In times of crisis, one's image is damaged. Ulmer, Sellnow, and Seeger (2011) argue that such damage could be so detrimental that an organization could risk losing its livelihood. Balmer and Greyser (2003) suggest that besides the organization's reputation, self image and corporate image, transient image, which is described as "an immediate, but fleeting, mental picture that is construed by the receiver through direct observation and interpretation of symbols . . . emitted by the organization" (p. 175), can also linger in stakeholders' minds. "Transient images" of an organization are "all verbal, graphic, and symbolic representations of an organization" and its words and actions are typically closely associated with immediate and "specific contexts, events, issues, and audiences" (Gioia et al., 2000, p. 66).

This study shall refer to such transient images as 'impressions' henceforth to reflect the theoretical distinction with better clarity. The primary focus of this study would be on the classification of such images that are external to the organization, coined "transient impressions" (Gioia et al., 2000, p. 66). The authors argue that Gioia et al.'s (2000) study lacked further differentiation of these external impressions.

### 2.3. Enduring images from crises

While most impressions of an organization are short-lived, in some instances some impressions are hard to get rid of (Christensen et al., 2008). Every crisis consists of many key events and crisis moments and arguably some are more significant than others, which compel the almost fanatical attention of the media and the public. The authors refer to such moments as *defining moments*. It is from these defining moments that an enduring image is engendered; a singular impression that is further, which collectively endures in the minds of the public. Pang (2012) described the above as "images of first mention which can subsequently serve as memory cues for crisis recall" (p. 372). Enduring images linger beyond the crisis timeline therefore presenting a tricky conjecture between theoretical image concepts. It conveys the idea of a snapshot in time (Fombrun, 1996) but seems to linger, as contrasted to the fleeting nature of "transient impressions" (Gioia et al., 2000, p. 66). The concept needs to be further clarified. The study seeks to examine:

RQ1: What are the characteristics of defining moments in times of crises?
RQ2: How do enduring images come about becoming etched in minds of stakeholders?

## 3. Method

The authors propose the use of case study analysis to examine the two RQs. The case study approach "involves an in-depth, intensive and sharply focused exploration" of the case; "a situation, an incident or an experience" (Willig, 2001, p. 70) or "rare phenomena" (Jackson, 2003, p. 55) such as the topic of enduring image. Case studies can be based on documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts (Yin, 1994). This study utilizes documentation and archival records in its analysis.

### 3.1. Data collection

Five crisis case studies were selected from a variety of crisis types, countries and cultures and they commanded intense public attention and debate at the time of its engenderment. The five crises were selected based on the opinions and

suggestions of a group of public relations practitioners, educators, and students. This method has been found to be a viable way of identifying the appropriate crises to analyze (Shin, Cheng, Jin, & Cameron, 2005). The case studies are: (1) *Jack Neo sex scandal (2010)*: Singapore movie director Jack Neo's extramarital affair which made front page news in March, 2010. Enduring image(gaffe) – "走开" ("Go Away!"); (2) *AWARE leadership saga (2009)*: The leadership at the "Association of Women for Action and Research" (AWARE) in Singapore faced a hostile takeover in April 2009. Enduring image(gaffe) – "Shut up and sit down!"; (3) *SQ006 crash (2000)*: Singapore Airlines (SIA) flight SQ006 crashed in Taiwan en route to Los Angeles on October 31, 2000, killing 83 of its 179 passengers. Enduring image – The hug; (4) *BP Oil Spill (2010)*: British Petroleum (BP) Deepwater Horizon explosion in 2010 caused the largest marine oil spill in history. Enduring image(gaffe) – "I'd like my life back"; (5) Sichuan earthquake (2008): A 7.8 Richter scale earthquake hit Sichuan province in China on May 12. Enduring image – "温伯伯" ("Grandpa Wen"). For the purpose of analysis, two separate sets of data were collected from secondary research to address specific research questions within this study.

*Data Set (1) to identify characteristics of the defining moment (see RQ 1)*. RQ1 requires a comprehensive understanding of the events that surrounded each defining moment. Benoit (2000) argued that news reports are a viable way of analyzing a crisis. To ensure greater objectivity and minimize individual media outlet bias, at least two mainstream media outlets were chosen as primary news sources for the examination of each case study. Only respective newspapers of record were used in the data collection for the cases.

*Data Set (2) to identify how an enduring image becomes etched in the minds of stakeholders (see RQ 2)*. Similar to data set one, news reports regarding the crisis were gathered using the Factiva database. However, search was limited to news articles published within specific time frames: at least one month following the defining moment of the crisis, to the month of November 2010. The media-hype theory (Vasterman, 2005) suggested that media attention in a crisis lasts about three weeks. Therefore, the timeframe of a month following the crisis was deemed suitable to identify how an enduring image can remain etched in the minds of stakeholders. The search terms utilized are further elaborated in Section 4. For supplementary data, the authors obtained information from informal media sources such as relevant online blogs and various online discussion forums (e.g. *OMY.sg*, *The Online Citizen*, *CNN news blog*).

### 3.2. Data analysis

Data set 1 was used to identify common characteristics of the defining moment. The description of these events provides contextual information which Stake (1998) argued facilitates the analysis of the characteristics of the defining moment. Using data from these news reports, the authors constructed a timeline of events for each case study to better understand retrospectively the sequence of events. The second stage of data analysis involved examining the proceedings of each crisis leading to the defining moment and assigning descriptive attributes. The authors then examined all attributes and distilled a list of common characteristics recalled across these case studies.

Data set 2 utilizes longitudinal data through the examination of media reports published in traditional and online news sources at least a month after the engenderment of the defining moment. The time frame beyond the defining moment was required to establish the enduring nature of the enduring image. The first stage of data analysis involved determining the recall value of enduring images by examining news reports for mentions and/or references to the respective enduring image. The second stage was the qualitative examination of how these images endured, paying attention to the form and significance of these images and how they relate to the crisis context. From the analysis, the authors distilled a set of common characteristics which describes an enduring image and how it lingers in media reports.

## 4. Findings and discussion

### 4.1. Understanding defining moments

RQ1 examines the qualities that characterize defining moments, which constitute an enduring image. From these cases, it is evident that there are several common attributes present in these defining moments, and consequently an enduring image. The study categorizes these characteristics into three branches based on their immediate association.

#### 4.1.1. Individual meaningfulness
These characteristics are associated directly with the individuals affected by the defining moment and the active publics.

*(1) Natural.* This refers to the perceived context of delivery. In the BP case study, both the context (on site as opposed to being staged) and the delivery of his response (informal and candid, as opposed to rehearsed), made it seem authentic. Likewise, in the Jack Neo case study, the defining moment happened at the end of the press conference, in what seemed like an instinctive outburst at the situation. Hence these reactions were seen to reveal a slice of true nature as opposed to a context which was staged or managed.

*(2) Impromptu.* This refers to the extemporaneous nature of the delivery itself. The tone of voice and structure of speech can contribute to that perception. In the BP case study, Hayward's conversational tone and mid-sentence pauses suggest that the speech is natural and unrefined. In the Aware case study, Sally Ang's callous outburst seems to portray a moment of true character.

*(3) Provocative.* An image becomes more memorable when it provokes a response from its public. In the Aware case study, the gaffe "Shut up and sit down" borders on the being blasphemous to members of an organization whose cause is women's rights. Furthermore, it insinuated condescension between the new leadership and its stakeholders. The provocation invited further public response and discussion and thus contributes to the moment becoming definitive.

*(4) Affective.* Most defining moments are found to appeal emotionally as opposed to technically. Emotions are instinctively comprehensible to the public without requiring further explanations or contextual knowledge. In the SQ case study, the hug was a compassionate moment that spoke volumes for the organization, though a simple gesture. Likewise, the emotionally charged "Shut up and sit down" from the AWARE case study greatly angered its audience and became the defining moment of the crisis.

### 4.1.2. Social environment meaningfulness

These characteristics are associated to the general social context behind the emergence of the defining moment.

*(5) Unexpectedness.* This refers to when an act contradicts the public's expectations or when events run contrary to typical "rules of engagement" that govern what is normative and/or proper in that situation. Unexpectedness could be viewed both in the positive and the negative sense. In the Sichuan earthquake case study, a premier's visit is not typically how the Chinese government handled rescue efforts, therefore it goes beyond public expectations. In the Aware case study, the new leadership had maintained professional conduct despite the heckling and disruption prior to Ang's outburst. This made the outburst seemed even more unexpected.

*(6) Symbolic.* For most defining moments, the individual morphemes would seem unremarkable without considering the social context in which it was formed. Hence, one reason a defining moment resonates with the public is its loaded symbolism in the context of the crisis, and after. In the BP case study, the defining moment became embodied in a self-serving declaration when Hayward said, "I'd like my life back," despite BP's actions affecting so many other lives. It portrayed the organization as arrogant, insensitive and impudent, to a public hungry for someone liable.

### 4.1.3. Media environment meaningfulness

These characteristics are associated with the affinity to the further representations and reproduction of the moment in the media environment.

*(7) Terse.* The simplicity and conciseness of these moments (which arguably are represented in their respective enduring images) aid recall and reproduction efforts by the media or the public as they can be perpetuated easily through both traditional and new media to an extensive audience. In the Aware case study, within minutes of Ang's outburst, the sound bite "Shut up and sit down" spread instantaneously across social media networks such as Twitter, even before the press reported it. Likewise in the Sichuan Earthquake, "Grandpa Wen's" compassion became known to the world when the picture of his visit to quake hit areas was widely circulated across media outlets and on social media platforms. Furthermore, the trait of brevity facilitated subsequent recall efforts for the public.

## 4.2. Characteristics of an enduring image

RQ2 explores how enduring images become etched in the minds of stakeholders. The study drew on a second set of longitudinal data (see Section 3.1) to investigate the extent of media recall for the enduring image after the crisis.

*Jack Neo* – News articles citing the enduring image were collected from various Singapore English news sources (*The Straits Times*, *The New Paper*, *TODAY*, *Channel NewsAsia*), and supplemented with data from news websites and web forums. 61 articles were analyzed, of which 29 had analyzable data. The enduring image appeared in the lead of *The New Paper* article, a Singapore tabloid, weeks after the crisis, demonstrating its endurance within public consciousness (Kwok, 2010). Other reports used the gaffe to demonstrate the chaotic nature of the press conference. The gaffe was also propagated as a mobile ring tone.

*AWARE* – 28 articles were collected for the AWARE case study (*The Straits Times* and *Channel NewsAsia*), out of which 12 made references to the enduring image, with the latest article appearing 15 months post-crisis. From informal news sources, direct references to the enduring image were more frequent, the latest mention dating 18 months post-crisis. When the AWARE crisis was named the top news story of Singapore in 2009, the gaffe was highlighted for being memorable ("The year in review," 2009). The gaffe even appeared in several local advertising campaigns.

*Singapore Airlines Flight SQ006* – A total of four articles were found with reference to the enduring image for the hug and generally regarded the incident as a well-managed crisis. When Clement resigned from Singapore Airlines four years later, "the hug" was mentioned as an act for which he was remembered for ("SIA public affairs," 2004).

*BP Oil Spill Crisis* – A total of 30 news articles were found with reference to the enduring image of the BP Oil Spill crisis from *Associated Press*, *BBC News*, and *CNN news*. Supplemental data was collected from the CNN news blog, *Just in Time*. In most articles, the enduring image was prominently referenced in the heading or the lead. President Obama's then chief-of-staff Rahm Emanuel also quoted the gaffe when speaking of the oil spill. On CNN news blog, the gaffe was used as part of Hayward's introduction ("BP CEO Tony Hayward: I'd like my life back," 2010).

*Sichuan Earthquake* – A total of 24 mandarin articles were found using the search terms "温爷爷" (Grandpa Wen) and "四川大地震" (Sichuan Earthquake). The presence of direct references to the enduring image in mandarin news articles were indicative of its recall value. Another nine articles were sourced from international media and analyzed. In these articles, Premier
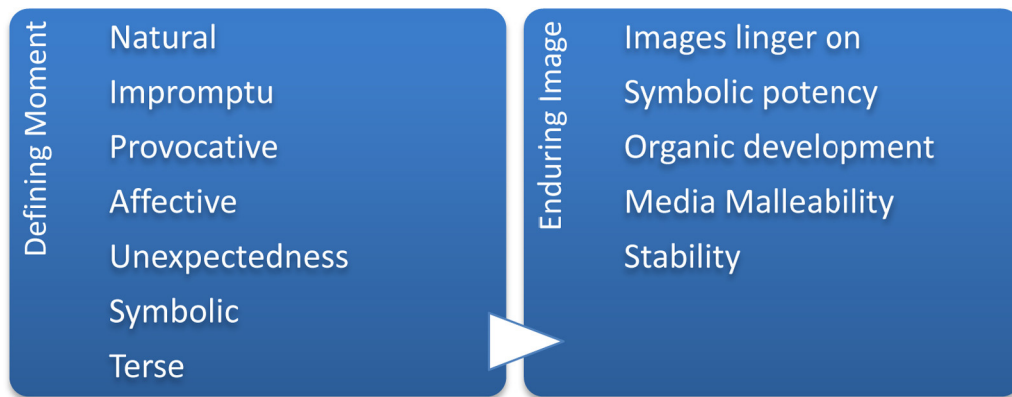
**Fig. 1.** Characteristics of defining moment and enduring image.

Wen is frequently referred as "Grandpa Wen", both in the media and by the public. That enduring image contributed to the perception that the Sichuan Earthquake was a well-managed crisis, boosting the reputation of China ahead of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. The phrase, "Grandpa Wen" portrayed the humanity shown by Premier Wen (Graham-Harrison, 2010), and that boosted his popularity immensely.

From the analysis of these five case studies, it is evident that enduring images are hardly as transient as we believe such impressions to be, although arguably to different degrees. The authors suggest that the difference could be due to the respective magnitude and nature of these crises. Toward the understanding of an enduring image, the study derives the following attributes of what characterizes an enduring image.

*(1) Images linger on*: The respective enduring image was found in subsequent news reports in all case studies. As expected, the frequency of mention for enduring image tends to gradually wear off in traditional news sources post-crisis. Vasterman (2005) suggests that for crises, a typical media hype cycle lasts for about three weeks. Comparatively on non-traditional media such as discussion boards, mentions of the enduring image were more visible especially among media that were thematically associated with the crisis and its respective enduring image. Suffice it to say, an enduring image, unlike transient images, seems to linger on even post-crisis.

*(2) Symbolic potency*: When an enduring image is mentioned, it was seldom accompanied by additional elaboration or back-story, which indicated a certain degree of antecedent familiarity among the general public. It functions like a symbol, which signifies through conventional association learnt through shared experience. Like all perceptions, the exact notions signified may differ across publics. However, as an image, the enduring image is a powerful perception since it mostly represents, almost instinctively, the initial public reaction to that defining moment, which unfortunately tends to be negative or damaging in most cases.

*(3) Organic development*: The study observed that when an enduring image develops, the accused did little to influence, mitigate or address the enduring image after its engenderment. Likewise, media reports on the enduring image during its onset were nothing out of the ordinary. Interestingly, an enduring image seemed to develop naturally when the public has some form of affinity or resonance with the image and hangs on to what it represents. The study suggests that this could be due to some of the characteristics raised in RQ1 but the main agent who purveys the image its enduring qualities seem to be neither the accused nor the media.

*(4) Media malleability*: Enduring images lingered in various media formats. While the sound bite or image of the enduring images itself are found across print news media, the authors found that because of their memorability, they have been equally reproduced in a myriad of other media formats, including videos, images, parodies, satirical articles, blog posts, ringtones and advertising materials.

*(5) Stability*: The study found that an enduring image generally retained its function as prime representations of the crisis or accused even after the crisis. Despite the subjective nature of images, the memorability and repeated mentions of the enduring image over a prolong time period instilled stability in what it represented. The longitudinal data in RQ2 revealed that general notion evoked by the enduring image remained fairly unchanged in their subsequent representations.

### 4.3. Explicating enduring image

The study seeks to explicate the concept of enduring image (Fig. 1). The authors contend that an enduring image is a shared image of first mention. While it conveys the idea of a snapshot (Fombrun, 1996), it seems to linger beyond the crisis timeline unlike what is expected of transient impression (Balmer & Greyser, 2003). The symbolic potential contained in the image is closely related to the defining moment from which the image is engendered. Therefore, an enduring image subsequently becomes the representation of the dominant perception of the defining moment in a crisis. Interestingly, an enduring image only crystallizes post-crisis from an interaction of media and public agenda. Unless an enduring image is

recalled repeatedly after its occurrence and contains some form of shared meaning in its usage, it cannot be deemed as "enduring". Such images can manifest in many different media formats and can be disseminated through both traditional and non-traditional media outlets. The occurrence and development of an enduring image also seemed organic and not attributable to any single agent.

Furthermore, the study argues that for a negative enduring image, there would be a more significant impact in terms of image retention and attention. A negative image has the capacity to sustain media attention, provoke public response and increasing exposure, thus making it more memorable and often utilized as a common reference point (Charles et al., 2003, p. 319).

Therefore, while crisis events are marked by their defining moments, in some cases, defining moments are regarded as "enduring images", or "shared image of first mention" (Pang, 2012, p. 372). Notably, not all crises contain defining moments and enduring images and the study is limited by its scope of case studies to establish with confidence the process through which an enduring image is engendered from the defining moment. However, suffice it to say, when an enduring image emerges, it becomes the prime representation of the crisis and consequently of the response from the accused during the crisis. For crisis communicators, such images could be the metaphorical thorn in the lion's paw and needs to be properly addressed for effective image repair for the accused.

## 5. Conclusion

The study takes an exploratory approach in the understanding of defining moments and enduring images in crises. The anecdotal usage of such enduring images in media reports and their presence in non-traditional media sites are indicative of high public recall and familiarity. More recently, a gripping photo of a grandmother and her grandchildren sheltering under a jetty during a blaze captured world attention and became the enduring image of Tasmania's bushfire in January 2013. Chosen by Time magazine as one of the top 10 pictures of the year it was described as the "image time won't forget" (2013). Consequently, an organization faced with an enduring image should respond appropriately. The study proposes several recommendations on how organizations should respond when an enduring image emerges in a crisis.

When a positive image is engendered:

- Attempt to leverage the positive predisposed outlook and reinforce that positive disposition in its communication and action.
- Action and communication should be congruent with the positive meaning contained in the enduring image.
- Seek to commit to these desirable notions and retain these notions as potential drivers of the organization's image.

When a negative image is engendered:

- Seek to bridge the image gap between what is represented by the enduring image, and the desired organization's image.
- Directly address the negative notions contained in the enduring image and demonstrate more accommodative image repair strategies such as remorse and corrective action.
- Avoid aggravating the public especially since the cloud of disaffection still lingers due to the effects of an enduring image.
- Commit to longer term efforts for effective image repair and public reacceptance due to an enduring image's pervasiveness, stability and endurance in public consciousness.

The study of enduring images does have immense significance in this age of media proliferation and the ease of propagation of images. An enduring image can play a key role in shaping public perception of the accused and ultimately its reputation. The understanding of enduring images and their impact can better prepare organizations in their crisis communication and image management efforts.

## References

Balmer, J. M. T., & Greyser, S. A. (2003). *Revealing the corporation: Perspectives on identity, image, reputation, corporate branding and corporate-level marketing an anthology*. London: Routledge.

Benoit, W. L. (2000). Another visit to the theory of image restoration strategies. *Communication Quarterly, 48*(1), 40–43.

Benoit, W. L., & Pang, A. (2008). Crisis communication and image repair discourse. In T. Hansen-Horn, & B. Neff (Eds.), *Public relations: From theory to practice* (pp. 244–261). Boston, MA: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.

BP CEO Tony Hayward: 'I'd like my life back. (2010). *The Huffington Post*. (video file). Retrieved from: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/06/01/bp-ceo-tony-hayward-video_n_595906.html Accessed 11.10.10

Carroll, C. E., & McCombs, M. (2003). Agenda-setting effects of business news on the public's image and opinions about major corporations. *Corporate Reputation Review, 6*, 36–46.

Charles, S. T., Mather, M., & Carstensen, L. L. (2003). Aging and emotional memory: The forgettable nature of negative images for older adults. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 132*, 310–324.

Christensen, L. T., Morsing, M., & Cheney, G. (2008). *Corporate communications: Convention, complexity and critique*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446214466

Fombrun, C. J. (1996). *Reputation: Realizing value from the corporate image*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Gioia, D. A., Schultz, M., & Corley, K. A. (2000). Organizational identity, image and adaptive instability. *Academy of Management Review, 25*(1), 63–81.

Graham-Harrison, E. (2010, April). Chinese President Hu to return home after quake. *Reuters,*. Retrieved from: http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN1521320720100415 Accessed 12.10.10

Grunig, J. E. (1993). Image and substance: From symbolic to behavioral relationships. *Public Relations Review, 19*(2), 121–139.

Image time won't forget. (2013, December). *The Mercury*. , p. 5.

Jackson, S. L. (2003). *Research methods and statistics: A critical thinking approach*. Belmont: Cengage Learning.

Kwok, K. P. (2010, March). I'm no gangster I just look fierce. *The New Paper*,. Retrieved from: http://global.factiva.com.ezlibproxy1.ntu.edu.sg/ha/default.aspx Accessed 11.10.10

Pang, A. (2012). Towards a crisis pre-emptive image management model. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal, 17*(3), 358–378.

Shin, J., Cheng, I., Jin, Y., & Cameron, G. T. (2005). Going head to head: Content analysis of high profile conflicts as played out in the press. *Public Relations Review, 31*, 399–406.

SIA public affairs chief Rick Clements resigns. (2004, April). *Business Times*. Retrieved from: http://global.factiva.com.ezlibproxy1.ntu.edu.sg/ha/default.aspx Accessed 12.11.10

Stake, R. E. (1998). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (pp. 86–109). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

The year in review: The top news of 2009 in Singapore. (2009). *Temasek Review*. Retrieved from: http://www.temasekreview.com/2009/12/31/top-ten-news-of-2009/ Accessed 12.11.10

Ulmer, R. R., Sellnow, T. L., & Seeger, M. W. (2011). *Effective crisis communication: Moving from crisis to opportunity* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Vasterman, P. L. M. (2005). Media-hype: Self-reinforcing news waves, journalistic standards and the construction of social problems. *Europe Journal of Communication, 20*(4), 508–530.

Willig, C. (2001). *"Quality in qualitative research," Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Yin, R. (1994). *Applications of case study research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publishing.