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## Care in Crisis: An Applied Model of Care Considerations for Ethical Strategic Communication

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### Abstract

Crises ranging from organizational wrongdoings to natural disasters cause destruction and even deaths. Communication is crucial for reducing harm and protecting public interest. This work forms foundations for ethical public interest communications (PIC) based organizational communications throughout the crisis lifecycle and across contexts. The Applied Model of Care Considerations (AMCC) is proposed and developed. The AMCC presents cross-cutting care considerations (i.e., relationships, interdependence, vulnerability, reciprocity) and four landscapes of care (i.e., physical, cultural, political/economic, human). Model constructs are applied to: (1) Nestlé's decades-long global baby-formula-promotion controversy, and (2) #DeleteUber consumer outrage surrounding the ride-sharing app's perceived profiting from travel-ban protests. Rooted in feminist normative philosophies, this research addresses literature's lack of: (1) general crisis ethics theory, (2) applied crisis communications ethics, and (3) feminist-theory-oriented crisis communication.

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## Introduction

Many practitioners and researchers working in the public interest communications (PIC) arena likely view it as weaved with an ethical fabric, a cloth stitched by prosocial goals. Indeed, PIC merges theory and practice by examining the development, implementation, and evaluation of science-based strategic communications efforts to achieve publics' attitudinal and/or behavioral changes regarding a public interest issue (cf. Fessmann, 2017).

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A discipline of chief contribution to PIC is public relations (Fessmann, 2017), and one of the most prolific areas of public relations scholarship is crisis communications (Sommerfeldt, Paquette, Janoske, & Ma, 2013). One way crises can occur is when publics' expectations of an organization are violated (Coombs, 2015). A variety of relational expectation abuses can incite crises, ranging from perceived ethical transgressions to human or material harms (e.g., Coombs, 2015; Coombs & Holladay, 2013; Schultz, Utz, & Göritz, 2011). Further, when publics perceive that an organization values profit over care for consumer safety and wellbeing, they often rise in response, launching boycotts, protests, and other consumer activism (e.g., Coombs & Holladay, 2013; Schultz et al., 2011). The simmering potential of crises to erupt when publics perceive organizations to be uncaring may be compounded by globalization's spreading of Western market-economy values and placing organizations in new contexts with myriad relational expectations and power disparities (Dutta, 2012). Accordingly, special attention to ethics in crises, which entail violated expectations and possible harm to the wellbeing of public interest, is warranted.

Yet, public relations and crisis communications scholarship suffers weaknesses, some of which PIC perspectives are positioned to help remedy. Arguably the greatest such weakness is that dominant research perspectives are broached from management standpoints with market-based organizational concerns as the focus (e.g., protecting reputation, profits) (Fraustino & Liu, 2017; Heath, 2010). Further, despite that crises can cause vast cognitive, emotional, and material damages to organizations *and* publics, minimal scholarly attention has been given to ethics in crisis communication, especially in global contexts, despite that globalization is on the rise (Dutta, 2012). Additionally, studies that do examine crisis communications ethics (e.g., Ulmer, Seeger, & Sellnow, 2007; Veil, Sellnow, & Wickline, 2013) tend to favor traditionally masculine morality, with little input from feminist theories and normative philosophies.

Without purposefully and systematically applying ethical philosophies and theories to practical activities in ways that can be tangibly integrated into the development, implementation, and evaluation of strategic communications efforts, academics and practitioners risk straying from PIC's altruistic roots. To address that risk, this work is an effort to bolster PIC's ethical underpinnings by proposing an applied ethics model for crisis communication—one that is not only helpful for nonprofit or activist communicators, but also for those operating from a business advocacy standpoint wanting to incorporate a more PIC-centered approach to their work.

That is, PIC, PR, and crisis scholarship might benefit from theoretically and practically considering situational variables based on traditionally feminine values, such as interdependent relationships, relational contexts, and emotionality. Such considerations could contribute to understanding and implementing effective and *ethical* communications efforts that hold public interest (vs. primarily organizational interest) at their core, even when practiced from an organizational or management perspective. Thus, rooted in feminist theory, this work forms a foundation for and develops the Applied Model of Care Considerations (AMCC) for crisis communication. The model is useful for engaging in ethical strategic communications before,

during, and after crises as well as across contexts and geographies. The AMCC presents several foundational cross-cutting care considerations (i.e., relationships, interdependence, vulnerability, reciprocity) and four distinct but related landscapes of care (i.e., physical, cultural, political/economic, human) (Kennedy, 2016; Milligan & Wiles, 2010).

Ultimately, acknowledging key literature gaps, this critique and model development addresses a relative lack of public relations and crisis communications scholarship on applied ethics, along with limited feminist perspectives in crisis communication. To inform these efforts, we first discuss literature on public relations and crisis and the state of ethics scholarship in those realms. Next, we examine additional ethical stances particularly fitting for public relations and crisis theory development, primarily ethic of care and landscape of care philosophies, and global implications. We then describe two conceptually useful crisis illustrations for model application: one that food and beverage company Nestlé experienced when its communications practices peddling infant formula in poverty-stricken countries provoked a 10-year boycott and prompted restrictive international policies, and another that the ride-sharing app Uber experienced when consumer outrage manifested in the #DeleteUber movement surrounding the company's perceived profiting from Trump administration travel-ban protests. We offer variables for a newly proposed model, the AMCC in public interest crisis communication, and suggest directions for future work.

## Literature review

To inform model development, this section describes public relations and crisis communication, ethics, and care-based feminist theories (ethics of care and landscapes of care).

### Public relations and crisis communication

Public relations, a main contributor to and foundation of public interest communications (Fessmann, 2017), involves the strategic process of managing communications between an organization and publics to build relationships and achieve mutual benefits (J. E. Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Crisis communication, like PIC, is often considered a subdomain or offshoot of public relations (cf. Avery, Lariscy, Kim, & Hocke, 2010). Much of the interdisciplinary crisis scholarship arises from public relations perspectives.

In a dominant portion of this crisis communications scholarship, a crisis is “the perception of an unpredictable event that threatens important expectancies of stakeholders related to health, safety, environmental, and economic issues, and can seriously impact an organization's performance and generate negative outcomes” (Coombs, 2015, p. 3). The crisis communications lifecycle is not confined to the immediacy of an urgent event, however. Instead, a three-phase conception of crisis communications is widely accepted, including (1) *pre-crisis* stage (e.g., engaging crisis planning and preparation, scanning the environment for issues that may blossom

into crises), (2) *crisis* stage (e.g., identifying the trigger event, managing response to mitigate harm), and (3) *post-crisis* stage (e.g., launching recovery, using knowledge to inform new pre-crisis efforts and prevent similar future events) (Coombs, 2015). These stages are cyclical rather than linear. Yet most crisis communications scholarship has focused on the crisis event itself (Avery et al., 2010). Such research has been criticized for having a managerial bias, referring to the intense focus on market-based organizational concerns (e.g., reputation, legitimacy, impact on the bottom line) to the exclusion of publics-centered concerns (e.g., safety, coping, cocreation of meaning) (e.g., Fraustino & Liu, 2017; Heath, 2010; Liu & Fraustino, 2014).

### Ethics in public relations and crisis communications

Crisis communications scholarship is among the most flourishing areas of public relations, but examinations of crisis ethics in public relations are less stout. In fact, systematic quantitative reviews of public relations and related journals spanning more than 30 years, from 1975 to 2009, mentioned not a single article centered on ethics in crisis communications (An & Cheng, 2010; Avery et al., 2010). However, crisis and disaster communications can be considered as also within the public-relations-dominated domain of public interest communication, which studies the development, implementation, and evaluation of science-based strategic communications efforts to achieve publics' attitudinal and/or behavioral changes regarding a public interest issue (Fessmann, 2017). That is, the attempt to ethically manage crises (before, during, and after) is a social issue affecting the public interest, particularly considering the potential for crises to cause catastrophic human and material damages. However, crisis communications scholarship is rarely examined from a public-interest, audience-oriented (vs. business-oriented) perspective, despite the ethical underpinnings PIC holds (Fraustino & Liu, 2017).

Also problematic is the focus of the limited literature in crisis ethics. Despite public relations scholars' calls for attention to feminist values (e.g., L.A. Grunig, Toth, & Childers Hon, 2000), crisis communications ethics research favors traditionally masculine perspectives to the marginalization or exclusion of traditionally feminist perspectives. That is, examining extant literature, current interdisciplinary crisis communications and issues management ethics articles tend to fall into one of seven philosophical camps: (1) deontological ethics (e.g., Bowen & Heath, 2005), (2) virtue ethics (e.g., Sandin, 2009; Seeger & Ulmer, 2001), (3) consequentialist/utilitarian ethics (e.g., Snyder, Hall, Robertson, Jasinski, & Miller, 2006), (4) ethics of justice (e.g., Xu & Li, 2013), (5) ethics of significant choice (e.g., Sellnow, Sellnow & Vinette, 2012), (6) ethics of first and second things (e.g., Anthony & Sellnow, 2011), and (7) ethics of care (e.g., Linsley & Slack, 2013). Explanations of each of these stances are beyond this work's scope and space, but it suffices to note that the first six to some degree value universality, rationality, abstraction, and impartiality—what generally can be considered traditionally masculine thought—whereas ethics of care values particularity, relational responsibilities, and partiality—or traditionally feminine thought. Greater consideration of feminist and traditionally feminine approaches in crisis public relations, therefore, is warranted.

Broadly, researchers have evoked feminist ethics such as ethic of care, a perspective that privileges relationships, context, partiality, and considerations of interdependence and vulnerability (i.e., traditionally feminine values) over hierarchy, abstractions, impartiality, duties/rules, and calculated rationality (Gilligan, 1982; Held, 2006; Jaggard, 1992). However, such investigations primarily focus not on organization–public relationships, but on other areas such as doctor–patient communications (e.g., Gartrell, 2014; Sherwin, 1992). Public relations, as a relationship-building communicative function of organizations, is ideally situated to theoretically and critically examine organizations’ communications and recommend how organizations can enact more effective and ethical communications from a feminist perspective emphasizing public interest. Yet, organization–public communications from the standpoint of relationship building and co-creating meaning, hallmarks of public relations, has only minimally embraced this perspective (e.g., Coombs & Holladay, 2013). It is worthwhile to investigate next how feminist normative philosophies might apply in crisis public relations.

### Ethics and landscapes of care

The ethical qualities of care have been widely theorized (Dias & Blecha, 2007). Thus, this section will map the intersections of care, ethics, feminism, and geography, concluding with a critical interrogation of how care is transformed in neoliberal market economies.

### Feminist ethic of care

In feminist theory, Gilligan (1982) proposed an ethic of care as an alternative to normative masculine and rationalistic ethics that privilege justice and detached objectivity and view feminine emotionality as morally and cognitively inferior to reason. Gilligan’s research suggested an alternative interpretation: Women’s and girls’ everyday experiences traditionally condition them to care as a normative feminine role in society. Thus, care-based ethics and practices are markers of moral maturity (Gilligan, 1982; Held, 2006; Noddings, 1984). Care in this context is grounded in relationships and interdependence, requiring reciprocity and attention to others’ needs and vulnerability. Gilligan held that an orientation to caring is bound up in women’s logics and morals. Ethic of care fills a void in dominant ethics that ignore relational, subjective, and affective impulses, offering an alternative for those who do not identify with detached masculine ethics (Friedman & Bolte, 2007).

Ethic of care has been widely applied across disciplines including, to a smaller extent, public relations. Indeed, Coombs and Holladay (2013) posited, “The ethic of care’s focus on interdependence, mutuality, and reciprocity mirrors our perspective on public relations” (p. 40). Public relations’ engagement with feminist ethic of care is growing but limited (e.g., Coombs, 2014; Holtzhausen, 2012; Surma & Daymon, 2014). Given the focus on relationships in both ethic of care (Gilligan, 1982) and public relations (Ledingham, 2006), it is surprising how seldom ethic of care appears in public relations literature. Ethic of care in crisis communications is even less visible (although see, for example, Linsley & Slack, 2013; Simola, 2003) and even

more rarely done with a public relations approach (e.g., Coombs & Holladay, 2013). On the other hand, ethic of care has gained prominence in a wide range of other disciplines, such as feminist geography (Dias & Blecha, 2007), reviewed next to provide a context for later discussion of landscapes of care.

### Feminist geographies

Feminist geography has emerged as a sub-discipline of geography that interrogates systems of power and domination embedded in the spatial and structural features of place, with a critical eye to how gender is embedded and enacted in human geography (Dias & Blecha, 2007). Dias and Blecha (2007) explained, “Feminist geographies share a commitment to situating knowledge, highlighting the myth of objective and value-free research and emphasizing the partial, context-specific, and interpretive nature of knowledge production” (p. 2). Although they share many goals with academic feminism, “feminist geographies make a particular contribution through their attention to spatial location and spatial relations” (Dias & Blecha, 2007, p. 2). Feminist geographers historicize geopolitical events and structures to reveal how physical and ideological landscapes are shaped over time (Dias & Blecha, 2007). In short, feminist geographies politicize and problematize normative geography as a discipline, practice, and way of mapping the world. Feminist geographers engage a range of topics other than (but always related to) gender—including care.

### Landscapes of care

One theory emerging from feminist geographies is landscapes of care, which operates under the assumption that “practise of care reflects the conditions under which it takes place” (Skærbaek, 2011, p. 43). The theory integrates feminist sensibilities of care ethics with the critical study of human geography, grounding studies of care (as an abstract concept and as concrete practices) in a specific time, place, and geopolitical landscape. Features of specific landscapes that affect care are both material and ideological. For example, lack of access to clean water and soap, antibiotics and immunizations, and adequate food supply are material and concrete realities for many caregivers that impact their capacity to provide care (Kennedy, 2016). Care also happens in landscapes of ideological and cultural norms that dictate where and when care should happen, and by whom (Milligan, Atkinson, Skinner, & Wiles, 2007). Some cultures locate care in the home (private, domestic sphere) and caregivers as women or girls; other societies conceive of care more collectively as a community responsibility (Milligan et al., 2007). Different locations also vary in the level and nature of involvement of the state in caregiving, as seen in diverse state welfare policies and more or less institutionalized medicine (Milligan, 2000). Therefore, it is important to define how we conceptualize care.

## Defining care

Milligan and Wiles (2010) simply stated: “Care is the provision of practical or emotional support” (p. 737). They further characterized care as marked by interdependency, reciprocity, and multidirectionality. The multidirectionality of care, they explained, happens in several ways, such as through networks, including both physical and affective attributes, and providing benefits for multiple parties (including the caregiver). Green and Lawson (2011) defined care more critically, through a lens of Westernization:

What is care? Is it something natural and emotional; a sense of obligation, concern and responsibility; a discrete set of practices within certain kinds of relations? In the Euro-American discourses around care, which are fast becoming globalized, the category of care is simultaneously all of these. (p. 639)

Milligan et al. (2007) went beyond describing care to commenting on the essential nature of it: “[T]he ontological status of care has been bound up with issues of ethics, morality, responsibility and social justice...the spatiality of care is interpreted as an ethical issue emerging from the so-called ‘moral crisis’ that threatens contemporary western society” (p. 135). This statement speaks to the intrinsically ethical component of landscapes of care.

Skærbaek (2011) argued a single theory of ethics cannot explain the complexity of care, but that ethical approaches in landscapes of care must recognize interdependence and situated knowledges determined by specific social, spatial, and temporal locations. Thus, a landscape of care ethic must be grounded in material practices and the lived experiences of ourselves and our partners in care. We argue that these feminist theories of care espouse values—interdependence, subjectivity, and privileging situated knowledges and everyday lived experiences, for example—that can and should be practically taken up by organizations to inform ethical and effective crisis public relations. Further, ignoring those feminist care-based values can be harmful not only to publics in crisis, but also organizations, as is illustrated in the Nestlé and Uber crises.

## Developing the applied model of crisis considerations for crisis public relations ethics

Before leveraging the Nestlé and Uber illustrations to elucidate possible considerations for enacting organizational care throughout landscapes across the crisis lifecycle, it is worthwhile first to address what is likely a main reason ethic of care has not been more widely adopted in applied communications literature. Ethic of care was originally conceived as an ethic of the private sphere, the domain that, in the United States, women have traditionally occupied to tend to the home and care for children and family (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984). Gilligan (1982) and Noddings (1984) argued that care-based moral development is exclusive to the private sphere, because public sphere morality—based on rationality, fairness, and justice (i.e.,

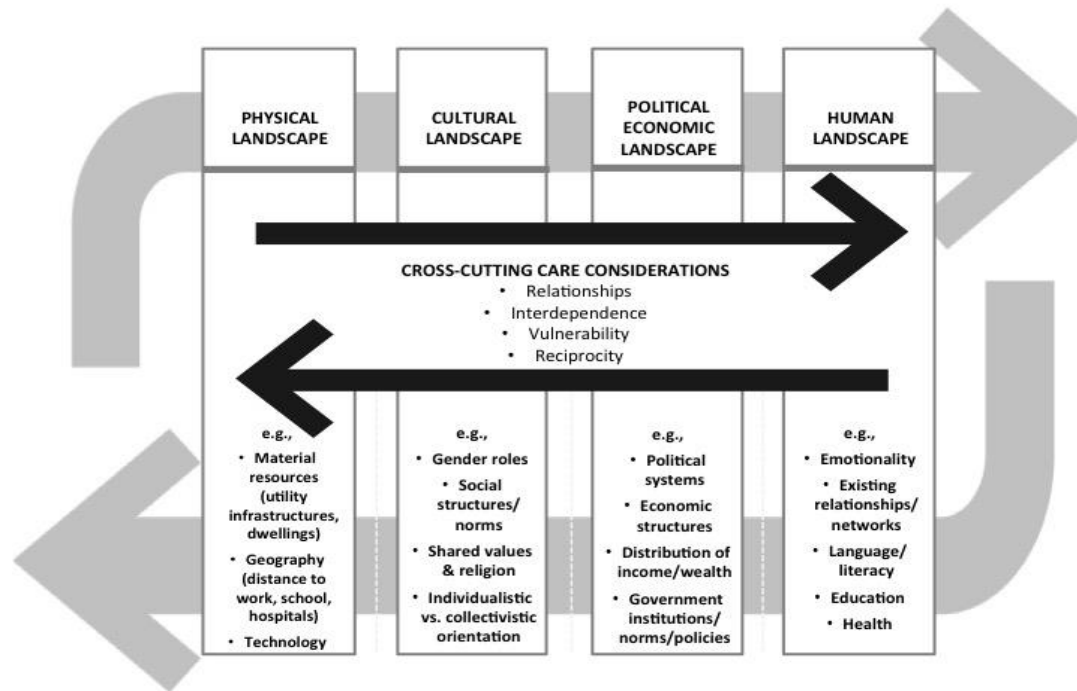
traditionally masculine thought)—reduces individuals to abstractions and thereby strips the relational attachment on which traditional care is built. That is, one exhibits ethic of care toward those with whom interpersonal relationships have been established.

However, ethic of care also presumes a humanity-wide desire to be cared for (Noddings, 1984) and that “we remain at least partly responsible for the moral development of each person we encounter” (p. 15). Thus, herein we contend that limiting moral development to the private sphere’s interpersonal settings is inconsistent with the spirit of care. Instead, organizations should approach an ethic of care centered on vulnerability of potentially affected populations, treating them as though an intimate relationship exists. Ethics philosopher Clement (1996) and mass media scholars Vanacker and Breslin (2006) supported this idea, explaining that a primary motivation to care for those with whom we hold close relationships in the private sphere is based on our knowledge of interdependence, that we hold power to impact their lives. Similarly, then, organizations that hold power to impact publics, particularly vulnerable publics, should approach action and communicate with these publics from a stance of care. When people trust or rely on an organization’s information, especially when the information they glean is incomplete and linked to potentially dangerous or fatal consequences (as was the case with Nestlé, for example, and described next), that organization has an obligation to take responsibility for its power and treat its publics with care for their related wellbeing. Correspondingly “if we take this vulnerability as the anchor point for an ethic of care, there is no reason that a care ethic could not be applied to the public realm” (Vanacker & Breslin, 2006, p. 204). Congruently, Steiner and Okrusch (2006, p. 108) affirmed that large-scale, actionable care ethics are possible and require “extending the world of moral considerability well beyond local and family relationships.”

To assist communicators in applying abstract ethical theory to concrete decision-making in daily public relations activities throughout the crisis lifecycle, we therefore integrate feminist normative philosophy to propose the Applied Model of Care Considerations (AMCC) for public relations and crisis communication (see Figure 1). This model reflects that organizational communications must stem from foundational cross-cutting authentic care considerations of (a) broadly cultivating and respecting *relationships*; (b) assessing *interdependence* among those relationships, with recognition of and adjustments for power disparities; (c) determining related *vulnerabilities* and treating them with care, and (d) integrating understanding of capabilities for *reciprocity*—each as discussed in greater detail below. The model also proposes a set of care considerations across four landscapes relevant to public relations practitioners in all times, spaces, and places: (1) physical, (2) cultural, (3) political/economic, and (4) human. These landscapes are addressed briefly in turn, drawing from the Nestlé and Uber crisis exemplars for conceptual application, as discussed next.



Figure 1. Applied Model of Care Considerations (AMCC)



### Illustration 1: Nestlé and the infant formula crisis

A century ago, powdered artificial milk formula was produced as an alternative to human breast milk for feeding infants (Koerber, 2013; Palmer, 2009). Formula became popular among physicians and parents and began to displace human milk as the preferred food for infants in industrialized countries (Palmer, 2009). In the mid-1900s, however, birthrates in industrialized nations began to decline, and formula manufacturers sought to create new markets in impoverished and agrarian countries, a move that proved catastrophic (Baker, 1985).

Nestlé, a Swiss-based corporation and industry leader, began marketing formula on a large scale in developing nations in the 1950s (Baker, 1985; Finkle, 1994). Promotion of powdered formula in poor countries was problematic for many reasons, one being the (unethical) marketing strategies themselves. For example, Nestlé not only supplied hospitals and physicians with free samples of their products to distribute to mothers, it also gave expensive gifts and promotional products to healthcare professionals, plausibly construed as incentive for recommending Nestlé formula to patients over other formula—and most notably as a replacement for breast milk. A perhaps even more poignant example of unethical marketing, Nestlé was infamous for its milk nurses, sales representatives dressed as nurses who went to impoverished communities to distribute samples, giving the impression that medical professionals were recommending and dispensing Nestlé formula (Palmer, 2009). Aside from not being medical professionals, milk

nurses also rarely instructed mothers how to properly prepare, store, and use the formula. Moreover, Nestlé's formula packaging and instructions for use were often printed in a language (e.g., English) foreign to the mothers receiving it. Further, low literacy rates prevented many mothers from reading even native-language instructions. In turn, improper use of formula by unknowing mothers caused many babies to become ill and even die (Palmer, 2009).

Compounding such issues, when lactating mothers begin supplementing or replacing breastmilk with formula, lactation slows or stops, making future breastfeeding difficult or impossible. Thus, most poor mothers directed by milk nurses or hospital doctors to introduce formula—and who were given free samples to do so—would presumably run out of the formula they had become dependent on (because they could no longer breastfeed) yet could not afford. This, too, led to increased rates of infant disease and mortality.

Illness, malnourishment, and mortality of babies were not caused by the formula's physical properties. Rather, these outcomes were linked to unethical promotion choices and exacerbated by the geopolitical contexts in which the formula was presented. The number of babies becoming ill, starving, and dying from misuse of formula, along with Nestlé's promotion strategies, drew international attention to the industry. Many groups responded to the crisis, including the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations International Children's Economic Fund (UNICEF), the World Council of Churches, and the British activist group War on Want, to name just a few (Palmer, 2009). In the late 1960s, influential organizations including WHO and UNICEF initiated discussions about formula use in developing countries, marketing practices, and increased regulation of the infant food industry (Baker, 1985). In 1974, War on Want published a provocative pamphlet called *The Baby Killer*, charging Nestlé with infant deaths (Palmer, 2009). Nestlé sued for libel and won, having broken no laws. Still, awareness was raised about formula industry practices in low-income countries (Boyd, 2012; Palmer, 2009).

Publicity from the pamphlet and lawsuit prompted the activist group Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT) to develop (Baker, 1985). INFACT widely disseminated mailings calling the formula crisis “a global Jonestown where instead of Kool-Aid, formula milk is the agent of death” (Baker, 1985, p. 183). An international boycott of Nestlé products led by INFACT, bolstered by many churches' support, quickly spread (Baker, 1985). In 1981, the World Health Assembly passed the International Code of Marketing of Breast-Milk Substitutes (Palmer, 2009), which, if adopted and made into legislation by individual countries, would effectively ban all marketing of formula. The United States has not adopted the Code, but many nations have (Palmer, 2009). Although the formula industry survived scrutiny, boycotts, and the Code, some companies fared better than Nestlé. Many experts argued that Nestlé was singled out as the main target or victim of anti-formula activism because it was the biggest formula maker at the time (e.g., Baker, 1985), but Boyd (2012) asserted that a pervasive unethical environment in Nestlé's upper management positioned the company as the main antagonist.

Nestlé's responses to the crisis were particularly defensive, even hostile. In addition to filing the libel lawsuit against War on Want, Nestlé employed a variety of defensive and offensive strategies for responding to its critics. Predictably, Nestlé publicly opposed the Code, a move

that only strengthened boycott support (Baker, 1985). Additionally, Nestlé hired public relations firm Hill+Knowlton to combat the boycott and possible regulation (Baker, 1985; Boyd, 2012; Palmer, 2009). One strategy suggested by Hill+Knowlton was to mail 300,000 letters defending Nestlé's position to U.S. clergy members; unfortunately for Nestlé, this strategy backfired, as many of the recipients only first learned about the crisis from reading the letters (Palmer, 2009). Over time, as defensive strategies did not end the boycott or the Code, Nestlé's responses became slightly more conciliatory, such as publishing statements in support of breastfeeding (Baker, 1985). In 1981, the formula industry itself formed a would-be self-regulatory International Council on Infant Food Industries (ICIFI) in response to worldwide activism, negative publicity, and shareholder pressure (Baker, 1985). ICIFI members created their own code for formula promotion practices, though they were often accused of violating both it and WHO's Code (Baker, 1985). Despite Nestlé's efforts, the boycott and the Code remained intact. In 1984, Nestlé joined ICIFI to meet with boycott coordinators and reticently agreed to abide by the Code to end the boycott (Palmer, 2009). In the end, "the boycott cost Nestlé US\$2billion in PR expenditure and a loss of turnover which may have amounted to US\$1.5billion" (Palmer, 2009, p. 380).

Although the Nestlé illustration is not recent, it nonetheless provides myriad opportunities to develop and apply the AMCC, holding relevant considerations in each landscape of care. The #DeleteUber crisis provides a more contemporary exemplar that incorporates the evolving media landscape. Thus, #DeleteUber is briefly discussed next, after which we apply both illustrations to the proposed model.

### Illustration 2: #DeleteUber crisis

According to its website, "Uber's mission is to bring transportation—for everyone, everywhere" (Uber Newsroom, 2018, para. 1). Uber further describes itself as "a global logistics layer that's bridged the divide of bits and atoms with a quickly expanding on demand network" that grew from a "simple idea in San Francisco" in 2009 (Uber Newsroom, 2018, para. 5). Since then, Uber, a ride-hailing online and app-based service and trailblazer of the sharing economy that connects service providers and users in peer-to-peer exchange of goods (Hamari, Sjöklint, & Ukkonen, 2016), has indeed grown to an expansive network of more than 40 million riders and 2 million drivers (who work as contractors) completing 10 million trips every day across 616 cities in 77 countries globally as of 2017 (Uber Newsroom, 2018). The "[r]ide-hailing giant" (Siddiqui, 2017, para. 1) spans the technology and transportation industries and houses 16,000 employees in offices around the world (Uber Newsroom, 2018).

Alongside its impressive growth and international popularity, however, Uber has been the target of seemingly endless lawsuits, regulation, and consumer activism in response to alleged unethical and illegal business practices that have repeatedly violated the trust and expectations of riders, drivers, employees, and even broader publics. According to numerous insiders and ex-employees of Uber, the company's biggest problems were rooted in cutthroat, "hustle-oriented"

values (Wong, 2017, para.7) and a notoriously toxic corporate culture—some have colorfully described it as “bro culture” (Illing, 2017, para. 10) or “asshole culture” (Lacy, 2014, para. 2)—that fosters overt misogyny and sexual harassment and encourages questionable profit-driven decisions that have repeatedly put publics at risk of physical and emotional harm (Illing, 2017).

Founder and ex-CEO of Uber Travis Kalanick, under whose leadership the purported toxic and reckless organizational climate flourished, was frequently in the public eye during his tenure at the company, both at the center of his own share of scandals and (often at the same time) responding to Uber’s critics as the leader and spokesperson of the troubled organization (Isaac, 2017a). For example, one of Kalanick’s moves that angered many consumers, activists, employees, members of the technology industry community, and other publics was joining Trump’s economic advisory council in December 2016 (Isaac, 2017a).

The scope of public scandals that arose from the alleged internal dysfunction and plagued Uber in 2017 alone is and too vast to cover here, but one notable controversy that prompted widespread backlash unfurled shortly after Trump signed an executive order in January of that year barring entry into the United States for refugees and immigrants from seven Muslim-majority countries including Syria, which was then facing what the UN Refugee Agency (2016, para. 1) called “the biggest refugee and displacement crisis of our time.” Trump’s order, commonly referred to as the travel or refugee ban, was unpopular among many groups on all sides of the border, such as technology industry workers, “many of whom are immigrants themselves and who advocate globalization” (Isaac, 2017a, para. 6).

Another group vocally opposed to the refugee ban was the New York Taxi Workers Alliance (NYTWA), with a majority of its 19,000 members being Muslim. The New York taxi drivers held a strike at John F. Kennedy International Airport (JFK) in opposition to the ban and in solidarity with affected immigrants and refugees everywhere, and with the local demonstrators who gathered en masse at the airport to protest the ban (Chandler, 2017). A brief review of the facts and events surrounding Uber, Trump’s refugee ban, and New York taxi drivers—and resulting in #DeleteUber—are presented in the following rough timeline:

**December 2016:** Uber’s then-CEO Travis Kalanick joins President Trump’s economic advisory council.

**Friday, Jan. 27:** Trump issues an executive order closing U.S. borders to refugees and immigrants from seven Muslim-majority countries. Protests begin against the refugee ban.

**Saturday, Jan. 28:**

- The NYTWA condemns the refugee ban and announces a one-hour strike at JFK during which taxis would not pick up passengers.
- **6-7 p.m.:** Taxi drivers join thousands of protesters demonstrating outside of the airport while Uber continues service at surge pricing (surge pricing occurs when rates are raised during times of high demand). Many perceive Uber as opportunistic and profiting off of the striking taxi drivers.
- **7 p.m.:** The taxi strike ends and drivers resume picking up at JFK.

- **7:30 p.m.:** Uber tweets: “Surge pricing has been turned off at #JFK Airport. This may result in longer wait times. Please be patient.”
- Twitter erupts with angry responses accusing Uber of “effectively undercutting taxi drivers as they returned to work after protesting” (Chandler, 2017, para. 3) and the hashtag #DeleteUber would soon trend on Twitter (Isaac, 2017b).
- Word of Uber’s actions spreads quickly via social media, and protesters assemble at airports across the country (Chandler, 2017). Thousands on social media post screenshots of deleting the Uber app and promise never to use Uber again.
- Uber and Kalanick respond quickly to deny any intent to break the strike and oppose the travel ban: “Last tweet not meant to break strike. Our CEO’s statement opposing travel ban and compensating those impacted: <http://t.uber.com/eo>.” In a Facebook post, Kalanick promises financial support to Uber drivers abroad and unable to reenter the country.
- Kalanick announces he will remain on Trump’s advisory board to fight the ban from inside: “[W]e’ve taken the view that in order to serve cities you need to give their citizens a voice, a seat at the table.” More Uber and social media users delete their Uber apps and accounts and vow to quit Uber.

**Sunday, Jan. 29:**

- While #DeleteUber trends on Twitter, Lyft, Uber’s main U.S. competitor, and Lyft’s co-founders John Zimmer and Logan Green, who were quiet throughout Saturday’s outcries, issue a scathing statement against Trump and the refugee ban:

We created Lyft to be a model for the type of community we want our world to be: diverse, inclusive, and safe... Banning people of a particular faith or creed, race or identity, sexuality or ethnicity, from entering the U.S. is antithetical to both Lyft's and our nation's core values. We stand firmly against these actions, and will not be silent on issues that threaten the values of our community. (Lyft, 2017, para. 1-2)

Zimmer and Green conclude the letter by pledging to donate \$1 million to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) over four years. Response to Lyft’s statement and pledge is overwhelmingly positive, and Lyft achieves record high downloads of its app and new users.

- After Lyft’s pledge to the ACLU, Kalanick publicly pledges \$3 million for a fund to aid Uber drivers affected by the travel ban, as well as free legal assistance.

**Tuesday, Jan. 31:** At an all-hands meeting at Uber headquarters in San Francisco, Kalanick responds to questions and concerns regarding his choice to continue serving on Trump’s advisory council. Again, Kalanick (2017, para. 7) claims he plans to use his “seat at the table”

to advocate for just immigration policy from the inside, but many employees are unsatisfied with his answer.

**Wednesday, Feb. 1:** Uber employees begin “circulating a 25-page Google document titled ‘Letters to Travis’ to tell the chief executive how and why his willingness to engage with the administration had affected them” (Isaac, 2017a, para. 20).

**Thursday, Feb. 2:** In the face of persisting internal and external pressure, Kalanick sends an email to Uber employees announcing his resignation from Trump’s advisory council, reiterates his support for immigrants and opposition to the ban and “the implicit assumption that Uber (or I) was somehow endorsing the Administration’s agenda has created a perception-reality gap between who people think we are, and who we actually are” (Solomon, 2017, para. 11).

#DeleteUber is estimated to have cost Uber 200,000 users while boosting Lyft’s app downloads and sales to new highs. By the end of 2017, Lyft was still gaining ground and benefiting from the #DeleteUber ordeal, but Uber was not feeling the effects of #DeleteUber as strongly—while the company lost some market share in areas around the country, it had recovered in sales in most U.S. cities (Bhuiyan, 2017). In other words, Lyft benefited more from #DeleteUber than Uber suffered.

Less than a month after Kalanick resigned from Trump’s advisory council in hopes of quelling unrest surrounding Uber’s stance on immigration and actions at JFK during and after the taxi strike, the next crisis hit, and Uber was again playing defense in light of sexual harassment allegations and more. Although the focus of our analysis and application of the AMCC remains on the original #DeleteUber campaign explained above, it is important to mention other crises Uber has confronted before and after the taxi strike debacle since crises are not linear with cut and dried implications. Instead, crises must be contextualized in the specific times and places that they happen, which the following sections will do with both illustrations (Nestlé and Uber) using the landscapes of the AMCC: physical, cultural, political-economic, and human.

### Physical landscape

This landscape of care addresses the material and embodied realities that audiences and publics face. Rather than exhibiting rational or fair application of one-size-fits-all communications management that can be deaf to physical contextual variances among recipients, this consideration urges public relations practitioners to fully evaluate the physical, lived realities of consumers, message receivers, clients, stakeholders, publics, and partners. For some examples, attention to the physical landscape could include: access to material resources such as utility infrastructures, dwellings, and businesses; geographical constraints such as distances in traversing to work, school, hospitals, and support systems; transportation; and technology access.

Considering care in this landscape, Nestlé should have assessed the material realities mothers in low-income countries experienced. Such consideration would have revealed many/most women did not have access to clean water, refrigerators, or bottle cleansers—or even

means to boil contaminated water. Because water is essential for mixing Nestlé's infant formula, the company's efforts to widely promote formula, especially without adequately educating women on the plethora of related risks, violated ethics of care in this landscape. Prior consideration and implementation of knowledge of this landscape in the pre-crisis phase may have motivated Nestlé to adapt communications efforts that were properly educational, thereby mitigating infant harm and possibly circumventing the subsequent crisis. In the crisis phase, Nestlé should have immediately halted all communicative and related behavioral initiatives once aware of these physical realities and ramifications, at least until making proper adjustments. And in the post-crisis phase, learning from the neglect of physical and material considerations should have informed more ethical choices and communications in this area in the future, which research into the Nestlé palm-oil sourcing crisis (initiated by the activist organization Greenpeace via social media) revealed has not entirely been the case (Coombs, 2014).

On the other hand, this landscape has less obvious and arguably less significant implications for #DeleteUber than it did for those affected by the formula crisis and Nestlé's failure to consider material realities, which led to substantial physical harm and even death. However, if we flip this application, it opens up the possibility that Uber's ethical misstep was not a *failure* to consider physical landscape, but rather a specific awareness and knowledge of it, and how that knowledge was used. Leaders and decision makers at Uber, including Kalanick, are certainly aware that potential riders (customers) in need of a ride are in constant supply at busy international airports such as JFK. Supposing they were also aware of the protests and events unfolding at JFK—and the taxi union's publicly announced strike planned that evening—it follows that Uber knew there would be an unusually large supply of riders in demand of rides and probably more willing to pay high surge prices if Uber was the only ground transportation option available to them. At the lower (organizational) level, the driver must have also possessed specialized knowledge of the physical landscape and how to navigate it to most efficiently pick up and deliver riders to their destinations. The intimate and instrumental knowledge of the physical landscape and how to expertly navigate it, and Uber's executive decision to operate during the taxi strike for inflated fees to consumers and profits to Uber, demonstrates how awareness and consideration of a landscape can aid effectiveness—but something more or different is needed for the ethical foundation.

### Cultural landscape

This landscape of care addresses the cultural contexts in which audiences and publics are engrained. Rather than organizations' communicating in ways that assert dominance of their own cultural understandings and norms on others, this domain urges public relations practitioners to acknowledge and transcend their own situational knowledges that are necessarily constituted and obstructed by specific social, spatial, and temporal locations. Authentically attempting to understand and respect cultural differences can inform more effective and ethical communication. For some examples, attention to the cultural landscape could include: gender

roles/identities, social structures, social norms, shared values, religion, shared personality traits, etiquette, individualistic/collectivistic orientations, masculinity/femininity traits (see also Hofstede, 1980; Kaplan & Manners, 1972, for popular discussions of culture), among others.

Considering care in this landscape, Nestlé should not have assumed that infant formula sales that benefit women and babies in Western cultures would automatically translate to benefits for women and babies in other cultures. Indeed, differing social norms, societal structures, trust of authorities, and other cultural factors likely contributed to poverty-stricken women's use of infant formula under dangerous circumstances. Probing these factors, Nestlé could have adjusted its communications management to ensure the building of mutually beneficial relationships rather than one-sided relationships based on profit for the organization and resulting in potential infant illness or even demise for unsuspecting mothers.

From another perspective, considering this landscape, Uber should have realized that although its officials likely were rooted in a business culture prioritizing the financial bottom line, and even though Americans are generally considered an individualistic culture (and embrace a capitalist economy), the social culture surrounding community protest could clash with those characteristics. Such cultural misgivings left open the door for other corporations that did incorporate an understanding of the need to risk financial loss out of respect for political protest with strong social underpinnings, such as by engaging in actions that aligned with social and cultural values. For example, Uber's competitor Lyft donated \$1 million to the ACLU in response during the same timeframe (Zimmer & Green, 2017).

### Political/economic landscape

This landscape of care addresses the political systems and economic structures in which audiences and publics are integrated. This domain urges public relations practitioners to consider how political and economic factors contribute to recipients' access to, responses to, and processing of messages. Political and economic realities have drastic implications for power disparities and the formation of vulnerable publics. For some examples, attention to the political/economic landscape could include: political systems; economic structures; relative wealth and poverty; distribution of national income and wealth; government structures, norms, and policies; censorship; military access and power; hierarchies and authority; public service expectations; labor rates; taxation; and international policies/relations.

Considering care in this landscape, in a broad sense across the crisis lifecycle Nestlé should have more carefully navigated propagating market economy values and commoditizing care, especially in countries with great wealth disparities and/or overall poverty. Nestlé also could have become more familiar with the knowledge and expectations of individuals within other economic structures related to persuasive activities. For example, whereas people in the United States might be skeptical of a woman dressed as a Nestlé milk nurse handing out Nestlé formula samples, people in economic settings less attuned to corporate marketing and persuasive attempts might understandably have assumed a genuine medical support of Nestlé (and other) formula.



From another perspective, considering this landscape, Uber should have incorporated into its communications and other actions that in the U.S. capitalistic economy, raising surge pricing during times of high demand created by a taxi strike and then lowering the price shortly after the taxis returned to work after the protest would paint a picture of undercutting the taxi market's efforts to take a political stand—all just to make a buck, especially given that the company was already politicized by its CEO's having recently joined Trump's economic advisory panel (Isaac, 2017a). In the political climate at the time, many were on edge fearing the displacement of friends and relatives from the Muslim-majority countries on the travel ban list, and many also bristled at perceptions of stereotyping and white nationalism they believed were supported by the administration's various actions. These political contexts increased sensitivity to any organizational activities perceived to capitalize monetarily on political acts seeming to further entrench viewpoints regarded as detrimental to multicultural tolerance.

### Human landscape

This landscape of care addresses the individual and collective human elements that highlight need for situational and contextual sensitivities in tailored communications efforts. For some examples, attention to the human landscape could include: assessments of emotionality and affect, individual histories and experiences; existing relationships, families, and networks; education, language, and literacy; and health.

Considering care in this landscape, Nestlé should have learned that some women in some low-income countries have low levels of education and literacy and hold various language familiarities. Thus, writing infant formula instructions with language, grammar, and syntax relevant for Western women but not decipherable to many in poor and uneducated regions of developing countries violates ethics of care in the human landscape. Similarly, although women in many wealthy areas are knowledgeable about human anatomy and biology, women in low-income and developing areas are often not similarly educated (e.g., not knowing that refraining from breastfeeding while using formula samples could result in cessation of breast milk production and formula dependence; or understanding nutritional deficiencies that could arise from diluting formula). Considering human constraints, Nestlé could have created messaging that was more ethically accommodating and encouraging of informed decision making.

From another perspective, considering this landscape, Uber should have taken steps to understand that in a multicultural nation of immigrants, a large portion of people in the United States would hold strong ties to their ethnic roots, many of whom came from or could identify with people from nations included in the travel ban. Emotions were running high in a charged political climate, and those emotions were especially strained for the many individuals who were personally affected, had family members affected, or knew others affected by the travel ban and other political moves proposed by the administration (for another example, the main campaign promise of a physical wall proposed by the president to run across the Mexico border to purportedly curb illegal immigration by Mexicans—whom the president referred to as “rapists”

who were “bringing drugs” and “bringing crime”; Reilly, 2017, para. 1). Considering these personal contexts, Uber could have realized that although company officials might not have intended for their actions to portray insensitivity to people’s individual realities and fears during a tumultuous time, such insensitivities would be deeply felt and responded to with outrage by many. And with the growth of social and digital media, that consumer outrage could gain quick traction, as indeed it did with the #DeleteUber hashtag. ‘

## Limitations and future directions

As noted above, this is perhaps the first scholarly attempt to build a framework for creating a feminist-theory-driven model of applied ethics in crisis communications from a public relations and PIC perspective. As this model is itself in its infancy, it is inherently limited with immense research venues remaining. We built this model by merging feminist theories of ethics and related literature relevant to organizational crisis communication, and we applied those understandings to two single illustrative events (i.e., Nestlé’s infant formula promotion crisis and the ride-sharing app’s #DeleteUber crisis—providing perspectives from an established global event as well as a contemporary domestic event incorporating emerging media, respectively) to identify applied considerations. Thus, the care variables we identified and defined may be expanded and adjusted through further empirical and non-empirical research. For example, applying the model via case studies in various crisis settings will help researchers refine existing components and uncover additional variables. Further, explication of each of these the model’s concepts will help identify empirical indicators. Interviews and surveys with practitioners and experiments testing the effects of variations in these variables on traditional crisis outcomes can help flesh out the applicability and grow the predictive capacity of the model. Additionally, we have research underway to determine whether/how various landscape considerations might contribute to crisis resilience in natural disaster settings (both of the illustrations herein were based in organizational crises as opposed to disasters).

## Valuing ethics in crisis

To sum up, this work has endeavored to address three major gaps in public relations and PIC literature pertaining to: (1) lack of theory in crisis communications ethics, (2) lack of theory-based applied ethics in crisis communications relevant to practitioners, and (3) lack of feminist theory applications in crisis communications using a public relations and/or PIC lens. To address these limitations in extant scholarship, we examined feminist normative philosophies of relevance to crisis communications in public relations and applied them to a jarring illustration

based on Nestlé’s (unethical) means of promoting infant formula in developing countries as well as to a contemporary digital media example found in the #DeleteUber movement. We ultimately presented the initial framework for the AMCC for ethical and effective strategic communications domestically and globally. The model presents several foundational cross-cutting care considerations (i.e., relationships, interdependence, vulnerability, reciprocity) as well as four distinct but related landscapes of care particularly relevant to crisis communications (i.e., physical, cultural, political/economic, human). It is our hope that the public relations, public interest communications, and crisis communities will join in efforts to refine and expand this model, demonstrating through scholarship that despite the relative dearth of previous literature, our field does indeed place high value on *ethical* communications that builds mutually beneficial relationships before, during, and after crises and prompts prosocial attitudinal and behavioral change.

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