

**Public acts of contrition as apologies in the British and
French press:
Focus on evaluation and ideology**

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Thesis submitted in part fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Centre for Language and Communication Research
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December 2010

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the press uptakes (news reports) of public apologies in Britain and France. Apology, as used here, includes unequivocal apologies, equivocal apologies and refusals to apologise. The approach adopted in this study is primarily data-driven and relies on a comprehensive bilingual (English and French) data set including 268 news texts. The two corpora are compared to reveal any cross-cultural variations pertaining to the speech act of public apology. The main goal of the research is to provide a new account of public apologies by combining methodologies from pragmatics, critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics.

The research presented has four main aims:

- to further develop and re-interpret the four basic components of apologies, namely apologisee, apologisee, offence and remedy, in terms of their relation to public apology processes. This is achieved by emphasising the different ways used by public figures to apologise, the identity of apologisees and apologisees, and the types of offences involved in the corpora of media texts examined.
- to describe the evaluative stancetaking in news texts in order to determine the degree of variation in the evaluative strategies identified in the immediate framing of verbatim apologies, and in the explicitly and implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments found in the press uptakes.
- to explore cross-cultural variations in the perception of public apologies, with the particular aim of gauging any differences in representations of these apologies in newspapers in Britain and in France. This perspective considers the extent to which press uptakes in each country are indicative of the ways in which discourse meanings are verbally and situationally bound.
- to determine the ways in which ideology permeates press uptakes of public apologies. This is achieved by considering how evaluative stancetaking is used in the corpora, thereby accessing aspects of ideological positioning as represented in the media texts under scrutiny.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to first thank my supervisor Justine Coupland without whom this thesis would not be. Her comments on the thesis, probing questions and the conversations we have had have allowed me to gain an invaluable experience as a researcher. Academically speaking, it has made this research a most inspiring and rewarding journey. Of course any errors in the thesis are my own, but the success I owe to Justine. Thank you for your support. Thank you to Adam Jaworski too for his useful comments along the way.

I would also like to thank Lise Fontaine for her support and positive advice throughout the thesis as well as proofreading. You have inspired me in more than one way and for this I am really grateful.

A special thank you to Donna, Dinah, Martin and Kevan who also helped with the proofreading. Many thanks to the friends (you know who you are) whom throughout the years have shown support and faith in me, and kept encouraging me.

Within my family, I would like to thank my father and Lyne for their encouragements. Had my mother been alive, I know she would be proud of me. I thank her in particular for inspiring me to study. Mamie of course you have been great. Your constant support over the years has really touched me.

Last but certainly not least, I would like to thank Salif who has only known the 'worst' of me and coped with living with me towards the final stages of the thesis. Thank you for your outstanding patience, trust, care, and lovely meals! I wish we will spend more fun time in a near and distant future.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND TYPOLOGICAL CONVENTIONS¹

Independent	The Independent and The Independent on Sunday
Times	The Times and The Sunday Times
Guardian	The Guardian and The Observer
Telegraph	The Daily Telegraph and The Sunday Telegraph
Sun	The Sun
Mirror	The Daily Mirror and The Sunday Mirror
Mail	The Daily Mail and The Mail on Sunday
Humanité	L'Humanité
Monde	Le Monde
Figaro	Le Figaro
Aujourd'hui	Aujourd'hui en France
App.	Appendix
<i>Italics</i>	Citations from the literature or the data in French
N/A	This abbreviation is used to mean 'not applicable', i.e. to indicate a news story is not covered in the corpora. For example, in section 5.3.3 N/A indicates that there was no occurrence of 'international court' apology news stories in the corpora. In Table 6.1, N/A indicates that there was no occurrence of the apology news story regarding politician Ahern's apology for accepting donations in the French corpus.
<...>	Translations in English of text in French
[OC1 implicit comment]	Codes in the research
(...)	Text missing in data examples (usually indicates that it is not the start of the article/headline, but also used occasionally within quotes)
{Art. 58}	Newspaper article numbered 58 in qualitative analysis software
(Browne's apology for allowing the selling of stories)	Used in data examples following the title of the news story to give additional information to contextualise the news story
[Literal Direct Speech]	Used in data examples following the title of the news story to indicate focus of the analysis

¹ Abbreviations for newspaper titles are used in the appendices only. For example, *Mail* is used to refer to the *The Daily Mail* or *The Mail on Sunday* (*The Daily Mail's* sister newspaper) in the appendices but not in the body of the thesis.

Chapter one: Introduction

"I am very sorry that they were subject to such an ordeal and injustice. ... That is why I am making this apology today – they deserve to be completely and publicly exonerated."

Tony Blair's apology to the Guilford Four and Maguire Seven families - 09.02.05

1.1 Chapter overview

The coverage of apologies made by politicians in the press over the past few years would suggest that there has been a shift from a position where they should never apologise to the current situation where politicians use apologies far more readily². This might be extended to all public apologies and seems to be evidence of a new attitude towards the act of apologising. There is clearly no denying that apologies, in some Western cultures at least, are becoming increasingly pervasive. Nevertheless, further investigation into the phenomenon of the public apology is needed, for public apologising is far less homogeneous than we may first be inclined or encouraged to think. This lack of homogeneity within public apologising is confirmed in the variety of discussions surrounding public apologies in the media and public spheres which present a wide range of views and understandings of public apology.

The idea of a *public apology phenomenon* is corroborated by several recent publications: *The age of apology: Facing up to the past* (Gibney 2008); *The apology phenomenon* (Celermajer 2009), various academic works referring to the *Age of apology* (e.g. Kampf 2008; Harris, Grainger and Mullany, 2006; Meier 2004; Lazare 2004; Brooks 1999). However, despite their increasing and obvious relevance to public and media discourse, public apologies are far from being

² The article *The art of saying sorry; in Brighton on Tuesday, Tony Blair delivered an apologia – rather* (The Independent - 30.09.04) is illustrative of this point (provided in Appendix 1 Article 1).

amenable to systematic analysis. The reason for this is that apology research is often inadequate for the study of public apologising. As will be detailed later in this chapter, one of the main aims of this thesis is to address this inadequacy.

Public apologies have certainly evolved over time. In our modern society where the media is omnipresent, the public apology has developed into something quite complex. In order to better understand their current usage, the evolution of public apologies is explored in the next section. This provides an important diachronic perspective which allows us to better situate public apologies as they are currently used. The way public apologies are envisaged in the present research is examined in section 1.3, which mainly emphasises the need for a pragmatic focus on what counts as public apology. Section 1.4 introduces the data, i.e. press uptakes of public apologies (henceforth *apology press uptakes*). Finally, section 1.5 outlines the main questions asked in this research.

1.2 Evolution of public apologies

In Western culture, public apologies are considered to have a long history. Perhaps the best example of a very early apology is the one that was offered by Henry IV, when he was standing barefoot and repentant at the castle of Pope Gregory VII in 1077 (Brooks 1999:3). This apology was given after he was excommunicated over the question of lay investiture and is often cited as a prime example of ancient public apologies (Brooks 1999:3).

Andrew's (2002) historical account of public apologies in eighteenth-century London indicates, for example, that our current understanding of apologies is fairly new. In the eighteenth century, public apologies constituted newspaper advertisements in which one would apologise to someone else as a means to prevent prosecution. Eighteenth-century public apologies bore a close relationship to litigation and were preferred to other means of ending conflicts because they were flexible, quick and less expensive, which both contrasts with and echoes contemporary public apology use.

Much later in the post-WWII era, there was a resurgence of public apologies when countries involved in that war started apologising for crimes carried out during the

conflict (this view is referred to in Gerstbauer 2005:2; Wink 1998:57; Nobles 2003:3). This led to a renewed relevance of apologies in public life.

However, it is the period over the last 20 years that has captured the attention of researchers interested in public apologies, thus becoming the focus of most public apology literature. In an article published in *The Washington Post* by psychiatrist Lazare in 2005 (see Appendix 1 Article 2), where she questions the usefulness of public/political apologies in positively changing relationships between the parties involved in the public/political apology processes, these changes are traced back to the nineties. For Nobles (2003), this shift has been happening for a longer period of time, suggesting that 'public apologies and gestures of regret have appeared with increasing frequency over the latter half of the twentieth century' (Nobles 2003:3). Regardless of when this increase started precisely, understanding the way public apologies have evolved is useful in judging their current usage by public figures.

To conclude this historical perspective on public apologies, it is also noteworthy that the meaning of the verb, 'apologise', and its noun form, 'apology', has also significantly evolved (see Tavuchis 1991:16), which may well account for some of the different perspectives on public apologies over time. The examination of the etymology and current meaning of the verb 'apologise' and its noun form 'apology' indicates the discrepancy between the alleged meaning of these two lexeme and the way public apologies are understood. Based on the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), it appears that the verb 'apologise' is traced back to 1597 where it held the meaning 'to speak in, or serve as, justification, explanation or palliation of a fault, failure, or anything that may cause dissatisfaction; to offer defensive arguments; to make excuses'. Its modern meaning in the OED, on the other hand, is considered to be as follows: 'to acknowledge and express regret for a fault without defence, by way of reparation to the feelings of the person affected'. This meaning partly highlights the current dissociation between 'apologise' and other forms of account (or remedial acts) by not referring to them. As for the noun, 'apology', the OED claims it was first documented as having been used in 1533, clearly preceding the verb 'apologise'. Apology is considered to correspond to justification, explanation and excuse (i.e. accounts/remedial acts which will be discussed in section 2.2.3); however the way it is currently used in the public sphere often distinguishes it from

these other speech acts. Although the modern definition of ‘apology’ in the OED is apparently not distinguished from other forms of account (e.g. justification, excuse) in the OED, public apology usage and uptakes seem to suggest otherwise. The term ‘without defence’ in this modern definition may be held to indicate that apologies differ from accounts which mostly include a defensive dimension. Finally, it is noteworthy the definition includes no references to feelings which are often alluded to in the literature and news media uptakes.

In more recent years, there has been (in certain Western countries at least) a migration of public apologies into most areas of the public sphere (politics, business, sports, law, education, and health, etc.) and this has had a significant impact on their *illocutionary* and *perlocutionary* force (see chapter 3 for further information about these pragmatic concepts). This in turn has triggered the emergence of new social meanings. A definitive public apology format is therefore unlikely, as the use of public apologies in increasingly diverse situations points to the changing nature of this social practice. It is therefore precisely this variety which is under scrutiny in the present study.

In Britain, reference to public apologies in contemporary media (e.g. radio, newspapers, TV, magazines) now often leads to high profile news stories. Evidence of this media focus on apologies can be found in radio debates such as *Any Questions?* aired on BBC Radio 4 (18.02.05) during which panellists were invited to discuss whether Ken Livingstone (then London Mayor) should have apologised for calling a journalist a ‘Nazi’; or in the wide-ranging events organised around demands for an apology for slavery in 2008³ whether in the locality of former slave ports (e.g. the *Breaking the Chains* Heritage Lottery Funded slavery exhibition in Bristol) or nationwide. However, more generally debates concerning public apologies on TV or radio shows, in newspapers, conferences, online forums, as well as other public events have become familiar in the British and other Western media. As might be expected, this attention to apologies in the public sphere has impacted on the general public. Anecdotally, this has been confirmed by conversations I have had with people from a wide range of backgrounds in Britain and France while I have been carrying out this research.

³ These events marked the 200-year anniversary of the 1807 Act that abolished the British Transatlantic Slave Trade.

My interlocutors throughout the years mostly (if not always) had very clear opinions about public apologies. Of course, these conversations have often focussed on what were *hot topic* apology news stories at the time of the conversations and have indicated that public apologies have become a recognised public discourse genre.

This media presence has attracted the attention of increasingly varied academic disciplines. The particular relevance of public apologies to society at large is echoed in the increasing number of demands for apologies from social groups or individuals. Given this multifaceted nature of public apologies, defining what is and what is not a public apology is quite challenging. The next section thus discusses the most important aspects of public apologies and the definition taken in this study.

1.3 Towards a definition of public apologies

As discussed above, public apologies have not remained static over time; they have evolved in interaction with the societies in which they are given. It is evident that public apologies are becoming increasingly relevant to the public life of some countries. However, they often consist of a process rather than an isolated event, which makes their definition even more challenging. Existing definitions of apologies fail to account for public apologies because their focus is on private apologies or sub-categories of public apologies.

From the point of view taken in this thesis, a suitable starting point seems to be Goffman's (1971:113) long-established definition because it can be seen to include the breadth of public apologies.

An apology is a gesture through which an individual splits himself into two parts, the part that is guilty of the offence and the part that dissociates itself from the delict and affirms a belief in the offended rule.

The suitability of this definition for the investigation of public apologies may be attributed to its focus on the 'social role' of apologies, i.e. orientation of apologisers towards the rules having been broken, as opposed to the offence alone (Davies, Merrison and Goddard 2007:41). However, we encounter some difficulties when it comes to Goffman's (1971) metaphor on the dual identity of the apologisee since

this proves hard to apply to a number of public apologies, especially when apologies are made on behalf of an institution (e.g. heads of state apologising on behalf of nation states).

Other linguistic definitions such as those offered by Fraser (1981), Olshtain (1989) and Holmes (1990), for example, tend to be hard to apply to public apologising for they focus on specific aspects of apologies which are often partially adequate or relevant to the study of public apologies. These definitions echo some of the main issues related to linguistic definitions of apologies and might be criticised in a number of ways. For example, Holmes illustrates the issue concerning the assumption that apologies are aimed at attending to the apologisee's face needs, whereas some public apologies can be largely concerned with attending to the apologisee's face needs (e.g. the need to remain popular, which is clear in many apologies delivered by celebrities and will be discussed in further detail in section 2.2.6). Fraser's definition may be seen to be appropriate for it acknowledges the fact that some public apologies consist of an expression of regret for the offence triggered by the offensive act, rather than the act itself. Although this is an accurate description of some public apologies, I consider that these are marginal and disputed examples of public apology and thus that the position taken here is that focussing on these marginal examples and not others is not desirable in a definition of public apologies. Finally, Olshtain's definition raises a different problem. Indeed, it presupposes that apologies are aimed at those affected by the offence (i.e. victims), which is called into question with public apologies which are necessarily addressed to parties other than the victims. In fact, apologisees may not address the victims if these are deceased and the apology may instead be addressed to the relatives or descendants of the victims for example. Here, I use the term *victim* to refer to the person(s) who suffered as a consequence of the offending act (these are usually the apologisees) for which the apologisee (this is usually the offender) is apologising. Such a definition highlights that in some instances (i) there will be more than one victim and (ii) that it will sometimes be hard to identify who the speaker is apologising to. However, the definitions provided by Fraser (1981), Olshtain (1989) and Holmes (1990) all refer to the idea of the restoration of the equilibrium of an (endangered) relationship, which seems to apply to public apologies, although it is apparent that with some public

apologies restoring the equilibrium of an endangered relationship is less important than more public issues (e.g. preventing rioting, avoiding legal actions, or remaining popular).

Given the complexity of public apologies and their divergence from private apologies, it is very challenging to find a satisfactory defining frame for the public apology. Tavuchis' (1991) view that apologies are declarations intended to have a remedial effect in response to some transgression seems to come close to meeting the demands of public apologies and is taken as a starting point here. Following his definition, public apologies are perceived here as prime examples of remedies (also see Edmondson 1981:280 and Leech 1983:125 on the view that apologies provide a 'remedy' for an offence and restore social equilibrium/harmony). This view presupposes that public apologies belong to the area of remedial discourse, which is also referred to in academia as *defensive discourse*, *reconciliatory discourse*, *restorative discourse* or *image restoration discourse*.

Unsurprisingly, there is a lack of consensus over what public apologies and their sub-categories are. For example, Nobles (2003:3) suggests that public apologies are issued by: heads of state, governments, religious institutions, organised groups or individuals, non-governmental organisations. Although her enquiry into apologies by governments is useful in understanding the way this sub-category of public apologies works, her assumption that her list of public apologisers provides a 'fairly full view of apologies' (Nobles 2003:3) is misleading.

In the present study, the term *public apology* refers to equivocal/unequivocal apologies, and refusals to apologise (see section 2.2.2 for further detail). This position departs from other stances according to which apologies refer to explicit apologies (as in Goffman 1971 and Owen 1983). It also contentiously considers refusals to apologise as a form of *remedy*.

To conclude, it seems appropriate for researchers to distance themselves from conventional and prescriptive understandings of apologies and focus on instances when acts of contrition are *counted as* apologies. This pragmatic focus is echoed in many studies (e.g. Thomas 1995; Merrison and Goddard 2007:41; Jeffries 2007:12) which suggest that the most important aspect of apologies is that they should count as apologies for recipients, rather than follow a set of rules. Indeed,

there have been increasing attempts amongst scholars to depart from rule-governed views of what should count as an apology. This has been particularly true since the beginning of the public apology phenomenon, for the best way to access what counts as a public apology is probably through media reactions to public apologies.

Before exposing the focus of the thesis in section 1.5, the following section introduces the data investigated (a type of apology-related news story), namely press reports on public apologies.

1.4 Data

Considering the paucity of discourse-led studies on public apologies (see discussion in chapter 2) and the breadth of media discussions these apologies have engendered, the investigation into the discursive construction of public apologies in the press is timely. Indeed, the emerging public and media interest in apologies seems to often call into question the need for, and at times the usefulness of, public apologies. This section aims at introducing and describing the data, and justifying the way it was selected. Some of the reasons why the focussed data considered – apology press uptakes – is best suited for interdisciplinary work such as the present one are also explored.

1.4.1 Three types of apologies

It is perhaps worth mentioning first that situations requiring a public apology can potentially give way to verbal (e.g. radio debate) and/or non-verbal responses (e.g. ignoring situations requiring a public apology, remaining silent). The present study focusses on three types of verbal apologetic responses discussed in the print media: (i) full-blown or (ii) partial apologies (explicit performative attempts to remedy an offence), and (iii) refusals to apologise. As explained in section 2.2.2, where they are discussed in terms of their *equivocality*, these three types of verbal apologetic responses are referred to as *public apologies* in this study. Full-blown apologies, partial apologies, and refusals to apologise are distinguished in terms of their degree of compliance, whereby full-blown apologies are compliant verbal

responses to offences, whereas refusals to apologise are non-compliant. Partial apologies are included in the analysis provided they are represented in the press as instances of an apology. These debatable instances of apology behaviour (partially compliant verbal responses) are often discussed in terms of how they fail to be apologies, thus indicating the media's positive stance towards apologies. Full-blown and partial apologies serve a range of purposes. For example, they can indicate heartfelt repudiation of the offence or skilful avoidance of reparations. As might be expected, refusals to apologise are mostly perceived in negative terms. Considering the low number of refusals to apologise, this form of apology is not a prominent feature of the analytic chapters. In short, the two ends of a spectrum characterising public apologetic behaviour are explored, namely full acceptance of responsibility of the breach of a norm (full-blown apologies) and refutation of allegations (refusals to apologise). This echoes suggestions that remedial moves vary in terms of the concern for the hearer's face they denote and can be ordered on a continuum based on face concerns (Holtgraves 1989:8).

Although I had originally planned to use the term *non-apology* to refer to instances when public figures refuse to apologise, I used the more transparent terminology *refusal to apologise*. This is because the terms *non-apology* and *non-apology apology* (more extreme cases of non-apology) have recently been used in the press (see Appendix 1 Article 3 to see how *non-apology* is used in the media and Article 4 to find out about *non-apology apology*) to mean partial apologies. This is perceptible in Cohen's definition of non-apologies (2004:191-192):

A nonapology looks superficially like an apology and contains expressions of regret and sorrow. But it is not meant to acknowledge deliberate wrongdoing or responsibility for a specific misdemeanour. Indeed, it involves a painstaking attempt to avoid acceptance of legal liability. It usually concerns a dispute in which the parties fundamentally disagree in their interpretation of the injury or, indeed, whether a blameworthy offence occurred at all.

To avoid confusion, the term *non-apology (apology)* is therefore not used in the thesis.

1.4.2 Newspaper uptakes

This section stresses the fact that the focus here is not on public acts of contrition, but instead on the press reaction to (*uptake of*) full-blown apologies, partial

apologies and refusals to apologise. Considering that all communication undergoes some kind of mediation, the data examined here is a specific type of mediated communication. In this research, *uptake* refers to the ways in which full-blown apologies, partial apologies and refusals to apologise are interpreted, whether favourably or unfavourably, in the press. Apology press uptakes are therefore positive or negative alignment moves by *news writers* (here journalists writing news stories for the press) interpreting the stances taken by apologisers. Following Jaffe (2009:8), these uptakes are seen as traces of the stance of public apologisers. Nevertheless, the kinds of uptakes focussed on in the study are highly dynamic, for they are often significantly evaluative, thus explicitly/implicitly supporting or undermining the apologiser's original performance.

Prior to exploring the notion of uptake in further detail, it is probably worth recalling Austin's position according to which speech acts operate at three levels (1962). Indeed, besides suggesting that utterances not only have meanings but also do things hence the term *speech acts*, Austin famously perceived speech acts to have three forces – *locutionary*, *illocutionary* and *perlocutionary* – which underpin the analyses presented in the thesis. The *locutionary* force is best understood as what is literally said in an utterance (embodied in the propositional content of utterances), while the *illocutionary* force is what the speaker/writer of the utterance intends his or her speech act to be doing. Finally, the *perlocutionary* force of an utterance corresponds to what the speaker/writer may want his or her addressee(s) to do upon hearing/reading the utterance. The perlocutionary effect of an utterance is therefore concerned with the way addressees interpret (*take up*) the meaning of an illocutionary act and how they determine the consequences of that act in the future.

This much discussed *perlocutionary effect* in the pragmatics literature is here considered to overlap with the notion of *uptake* which was first introduced by Austin (1962) and which he perceived as the understanding of the meaning and the force of the locution, i.e. the way addressees *take up* the initiative of a speaker (here the apologiser). In this sense, the notion of uptake corresponds to the interpretation of the illocutionary force of an utterance. This means that the uptake is one of the two phases constituting the perlocutionary effect. This implies that if an addressee adequately recognises the illocutionary force of the speaker/writer,

the uptake is successful and vice versa. I thus consider that contrary to the notion of uptake, that of perlocutionary effect stresses the impact an utterance has on the addressee(s) (see Robins 1976:327 on the distinction between perlocutionary effect and uptake in relation to threats and promises). This follows Koelb (1983) who defines the notions of perlocutionary effect and uptake in relation to those of *illocution* and *perlocution*. Indeed, he suggests that 'the perlocution has its effect, the illocution secures uptake, after (usually immediately after) completion of the speech act' (1983:37-38). The scope of this research clearly did not permit further investigation into the distinction between uptake and Austin's perlocution-related notions (e.g. perlocutionary act). However, it should be noted that this distinction has been questioned (see Kurzon 1998:595 arguing that the notion of 'perlocutionary act' should be replaced by that of 'uptake'; or Sadock 1971 cited in Koelb 1983:37-38 on the close relationship between 'uptake' and 'perlocutionary effect').

For the purpose of this study, *apology press uptakes* are the a posteriori reaction (positive or negative) such as represented in the press following full-blown apologies, partial apologies and refusals to apologise. Although uptakes can both be verbal and non-verbal, focus is on verbal (media texts) reactions. As the analysis will further suggest, apology press uptakes are written over a longer period of time than other forms of uptakes (e.g. spontaneous reaction to an apology) and therefore offer more opportunities for various (more complex) responses and interpretations of the apologies under scrutiny. It is noticeable, however, that although apology uptakes may evidence a discrepancy between the illocutionary intent of the apologisee and the perlocutionary effect of the apology on the media, the apologisee usually has very little opportunity to react so as to address these misunderstandings. Such misunderstandings are apparent in the variety of press uptakes some apology news stories lead to. This variety needs to be understood in terms of the constraints of this professional practice mainly dictated by a pressure to maintain readership. This is why newswriters, although admittedly to different extents, have a vested interest in making their stories as newsworthy as possible. *News values* (see section 2.4.2 for further information about the origins of the concept) are therefore important to newswriters and thus recurrently studied in media research. The implications of news making processes

for media analysts have been discussed extensively, especially the ways in which the use of language by newswriters is affected (e.g. Bell 1991; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995b). This has led to the position in the present study that research into apology press uptakes must account in some way for the wider context of news making and how it can impact on news reporting. This is to avoid interpretations of the data which would fail to adequately account for the ongoing socio-historical context in which the apologies were made.

Of particular interest is the way some uptakes in this study contradict each other. This raises a series of questions from a pragmatic point of view, as this indicates that the illocutionary force of public apologies can give way to multiple interpretations (depending on the newspaper or news writer covering the news story). This would suggest that (i) the psychological state of the apologisee explicitly formulated via the propositional content of a public apology is perceived in various ways and/or (ii) that newspapers have different agendas which can transcend the apologetic performance. This fact that a single public apology can be interpreted as satisfactory, partially satisfactory or unsatisfactory depending on the source of the news (newspaper, channel, etc.) motivated the present focus on the uptake of apologetic performances rather than on the original public apology.

Newspaper uptakes on public apologies give us an invaluable access to social reality, particularly what pertains to *normative societal values*, for public apologies are linked to situations in which a breach of norm has occurred. Considering the extensiveness of the corpora in this study (see section 4.3 on the way the corpora were gathered), it may be argued that the study relies on a representative body of texts with a distinct social force. This usefulness of public apology uptakes is recognised by Celermajor (2004:18) who, commenting on political apologies, suggests that patterns of recognition, non-recognition and denigration emerge. It is evident that apology uptakes play a great role in shaping what *should* be socially sanctioned and what should not, thus potentially influencing stances on who should be accorded respect or recognition.

1.4.3 Reasons for studying public apologies and their press uptakes

The arguments presented in this section attempting to determine why apology press uptakes are a valuable object of study are mainly inspired by the array of

questions brought to pragmatists by the advent of this new phenomenon. Some of these questions have regarded the need to differentiate between private and public apologies for example, thus leading some researchers to consider public apology as a separate speech act (e.g. Borneman 2005).

A further aspect of public apologies which is particularly worthy of interest from a pragmatics point of view is the interactive nature of public apologies. This *interactiveness* is perceived in the way the hearers (the apologisees, the media or the public) often contribute to defining the meaning of public apologies with their uptake, how their involvement might be essential for the successful outcome of a speech act. This is also referred to as the *inter-subjective* (Wee 2004), and *collaborative* (Thomas 1995) nature of speech acts in the literature, or *co-construction* (term used in the thesis). However, *co-construction* in speech act realisation is a largely neglected area of study, with the exception of a few researchers amongst whom are Wee (2004), Leezenberg (2002), Jeffries (2007) and Lakoff (2001); the latter two focussing on public apologising. As suggested by Yamazaki (2004), considering that the recipient and the audience both participate in the 'construction' or 'co-construction' of public apologies has practical and theoretical implications, in that 'both parties [involved in the apology process] must want the process to succeed' and 'work to recognise and acknowledge the perspectives of the other' (2004:169). This obviously requires that we understand apologies and other forms of public or political discourse as *processes*, with the role of the media having particular salience in this process.

Another valid reason for studying apology press uptakes is the increasing overlapping between media, public and political spheres, triggering concepts such as that of 'mediatised politics' defined as 'politics that has lost its autonomy, has become dependent in its central functions on mass media, and is continuously shaped by interactions with mass media' by Mazzoleni and Schultz (1999:250). The position adopted here is that apology press uptakes go beyond the study of *media discourse* (an already well-established area of enquiry). They are considered, instead, as Johnson and Ensslin put it (2007:6), as 'media texts and practices where language is itself more or less explicitly thematised'. Following this definition, the corpora is held to represent the language used by the media to reflect on apologies, i.e. a form of *mediatised* discourse. This focus on *mediatised*

discourse (henceforth understood as *mediated by the media* as in Verdoolaee 2009) is hardly surprising as apologies, and indeed most forms of public discourse, can largely be accessed through media texts only. Furthermore, media representations of public apologies seem to offer more scope for an in-depth enquiry into the social relevance of public apologising than the original apologies themselves. This research therefore contributes to a fairly recent and well delimited body of research on the 'representation and/or construction of language, discourse and communication in the context of media texts and practices' (Johnson and Ensslin 2007:4).

An important aspect of public apologies deserving attention is the extent to which they are embedded in their *context*. In their article on student email apologies to academic staff, Davies, Merrison and Goddard (2007:39) rightly notice that the prolific linguistic research on apologies mostly ignores the surrounding discourse, i.e. co-text. The context of public apologies is considered to significantly impact on their interpretation and probably contribute to difficulty in defining public apologies. This has led some researchers to consider that public apology studies disregarding the influence of sociological, political and historical contexts can only lead to erroneous interpretations of public apologies. Murata, for example, suggests that 'real-life incidents which involve social, historical, economic and political issues' (1998:502) – which include public apologies – require that they be approached from linguistic, cultural, social and historical perspectives. Here, the notion of *context* (see Goodwin and Duranti 1992b for a thorough account on the social analysis of context) is considered to encompass that of *culture*, which is examined through the study of two national media cultures (via the examination of British and French newspaper articles). The comparison of British and French newspaper uptakes will allow me to use public apologies to explore cultural practices which we might not have access to otherwise. They are an indication of how cultures deal with wrongdoing and are therefore a good indicator of public discursive practices and their implications. This position is corroborated by Wolfson (1988:26):

By observing what people apologise for, we learn what cultural expectations are with respect to what people owe one another' and 'about the rights and obligations that members of a community have toward one another, information which is culture specific and not necessarily available to the intuitions of the native speaker.

As is explained later in the study, the cross-cultural variations in the apology press uptakes will be used as a means to critically investigate the ideologies represented in the British and French media. Cultural variation in speech act realisation is a well-researched area of pragmatics. Cross-cultural variations regarding the representations of public apologies in particular are evoked by Harris, Grainger and Mullany (2004:734):

They [responses to public apologies from the media and public] do instead, we would argue, reflect a set of cultural expectations as to what constitutes a valid apology as a formal speech act, and, as such, contain also a quite considerable degree of predictability. Indeed, it is in large measure the fact that listeners and viewers *do* have a sense of what constitutes an 'unequivocal apology' that perpetuates the discourse struggle.

Furthermore, apology press uptakes also seem to be evidence of the changes undergone by the media. First, it may be argued that they are possibly evidence of the *tabloidisation* (see Grisprud 2000) of media discourse. The proliferation of public apologies in some countries clearly indicates that the old maxim 'Never apologise and never explain', attributed to former British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, is being replaced by a view point that displaying feelings in the public sphere can be a positive move. Such a change implies that there has been and continues to be a shift in public and political discourse, thus the usefulness of looking into public apologising. In Britain, this change seems to date back to the time following the death of Princess Diana which seems to have triggered more interference of the realms of emotions in media discourse. Another change which apology press uptakes seem to be indicative of is the migration of religious and individual practices into secular liberal politics. On political apologies, Arendt suggests that public apologies are an 'aberration' because repentance belongs to the realm of the individual (1959:236 cited in Celermajer 2004:7). Interestingly, she also suggests that the secular sphere of liberal politics overlaps with religion. This is based on views (found in the literature and the media) that public apologies have religious connotations. They are related to Christianity in particular, as suggested by Dodds (2003:138) who considers that public apologies find their roots in Christianity or Cohen highlighting that 'apology in English-speaking culture is embedded in a Christian ethic of reconciliation' (2004:184). Nonetheless, Celermajer (2004:7) considers that Arendt is mistaken in assuming that political

apologies do not belong to the sphere of politics because they do not belong to the realm of the heart, i.e. 'this most private inner space', and invites us to reconsider the dichotomy between politics and the private sphere (2004:574). In this study, it appears that certain societal boundaries (e.g. private and public sphere) are blurred in the media (see section 7.5.4).

1.4.4 Interdisciplinary approach to the data

One salient aspect of this project is that it complies with the need for interdisciplinarity in the type of discourse analytic work undertaken here, as advocated by Lakoff (2001). Following Wilson (1990:2), I intend to contribute to the development of a pragmatic theory of language but also to the understanding of how the pragmatics of media language operates. The present study is interdisciplinary in that it relies on critical discourse analysis, pragmatics and corpus linguistics. The usefulness of an interdisciplinary approach in apology research is stressed by Lakoff (2001) who concludes that interdisciplinary approaches are best suited for the analysis of apologies due to their complexity. Indeed, her article consists of presenting nine ways in which apologies could be examined, and her main point of argument is that discourse analysts should not rebuff interdisciplinarity. The necessity for interdisciplinarity in research focussing on language in the media is further supported by Johnson and Ensslin (2007:5).

The analysis here is informed by critical discourse analysis, in that it is concerned not only with how public apologies are represented in the press, but also in how these representations are indicative of particular ideological positioning(s). The data gathering method, on the other hand, was inspired by corpus linguistics. Finally, the considerable influence of pragmatics (see Horn and Ward 2004) is noticeable in the choice to focus on a prototypical speech act: the public apology. Besides, since the study focusses on mediated representations of public apologies, the tools offered by pragmatics, as previously indicated in section 1.4.2, are particularly pertinent. Based on the distinction made by Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) with regard to the sub-fields of pragmatics, the thesis draws on pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics (see Thomas 1983:99). The pragmalinguistic dimension fits my aim to describe 'the particular resources that a given language [English/French] provides for conveying particular illocutions

[public apologies]', whereas the sociopragmatic dimension regards the study of the influence of the 'specific social conditions' (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989:3) in which public apologies occur and culture-specific strategies used for their realisation. Part of the aim of this study is therefore to account for this sociopragmatic dimension as suggested by the focus on two national media cultures and other elements of the context which affect the realisation and interpretation of public apologies.

1.4.5 Media discourse as a form of representation

The representational qualities of media/news discourse are noteworthy. Indeed, apology press uptakes (like any news stories) represent and construct particular *versions of reality* which involve some degree of *choice* and *representation* with regard to the ways in which the apology news stories are told (see Piazza 2009 making similar suggestions about news discourse in general). In that regard, Fowler's (1991:11) considerations regarding the 'selection' and 'transformation' of news stories are quite pertinent, for they respectively highlight that (i) events only become newsworthy through their inclusion in news reports, and that (ii) after having been chosen for inclusion in a news report an event is then treated differently by media bodies according to political, economic and social factors. This selection implies that some issues are suppressed, thus meaning that these apology press uptakes constitute a section of the media's representation of public apologising. Considering the issues of selection and transformation in apology press uptakes, these media texts give us access to the ideological beliefs of newspapers in relation to apologies. The view that the print/news media is constituted of (representative of) but also constituting/shaping ideologies and that language is the tool they use to do so is a long established line of argument (consider for example Fairclough 1995b; 2001) and is upheld in the present study, as the research questions will indicate. Following the broad definition of media discourse as 'a totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper' (O'Keeffe 2006:1), and the widespread view within ideology research that dominant discourses or ideologies, prompt or are particular versions of reality (e.g. Luke 2002), daily newspapers are perceived

here as a means to access the press representation and construction of common discourses and ideologies.

The focus on ideology is underpinned by the understanding that news discourse cannot be objective and will always carry traces of ideological positioning. Amongst others, this is accounted for by Gruber (1993:469):

While the basic ideology of journalism is that of 'objectivity' and 'reporting mere facts', most investigators of media discourse and journalist language stress the impossibility of these claims and describe the ways in which underlying ideologies bias news reports (Van Dijk 1987, McQuail 1988, Hall 1989, Fowler et al., 1979).

However, ideology carried by media discourse has to be attributed to someone, or something, which raises the issue of the 'reporting voice' (Jaworski and Galasiński 2002:463). Although most people would tend to perceive journalists as the final link in the newsmaking process, successful enquiries into ideology need to clearly take into account the fact the process of newsmaking is multi-layered (Bell 1991:34-36) and can vary tremendously depending on the complexity of the relationship between the newsmakers and thus impact on the number of changes written news may have to go through. From the point of view of ideology study, it is important to bear in mind that journalists, but also news editors, invited experts, etc., together form the reporting voice(s) of newspapers (Bell 1991:34-36). Goffman's distinction between 'animator', 'author' and 'principal' (1981:144-145) to define the role of the 'speaker' in interaction can help to account for the complexity of the reporting voice(s) in the apology press uptakes examined here (see Bell 1991:36-44 for a detailed account of the producer roles in news language inspired by Goffman's tripartite model). It is noteworthy that news reports do not only evidence newsmakers' perceptions of the world (or ideology/ies), but can also display those of their audiences. This applies to situations when newsmakers decide to align with their target audiences as a means to appeal to them more successfully. This view is upheld by Hartley (1982:87) who suggests that journalists are figures who can 'cultivate characteristics which are taken to be typical of the target audience and a relationship of solidarity with it, and can mediate newsworthy events to the audience in the latter's common sense terms'. This particular aspect of news reports highlights the complexity of speaker role or the reporting voice in the production of news discourse. This contrasts with the

more widely held view that news texts are representative of newsmakers' own ideological assumptions (see section 3.3.2 discussing ideology for further information). In the corpora, this impossible neutrality of the news means that news writers⁴ can be perceived as being in a privileged position allowing them to impose their preferred ideologically-loaded interpretation of the apologies. These interpretations or uptakes are in fact more prominent in the public sphere than apologisees' uptakes which are either absent or minimally represented (it is evident in apology press uptakes).

These processes of selection (e.g. reproduction, transformation, translation), although inevitable, convey the stance of news writers or press institutions they work for. The above-suggested and widespread view that news discourse, and by and large any discourse, cannot be neutral is therefore upheld (this is further suggested by Cameron 1995 on 'verbal hygiene'); and indeed evaluative stance in apology press uptakes is discussed in section 1.5.3.

All in all, the study supports Mautner's detailed account of the usefulness of studying the printed press as a means to create/produce and circulate knowledge and as a valuable indicator of 'the social mainstream' or 'dominant discourses' (Mautner 2008:32).

1.4.6 Database

As will be further explained in section 4.2, the present study uses qualitative analysis software: ATLAS.TI. It is used not only to manage the whole research project, but also to code (see section 4.4) and analyse the data. The appendices and the text of this thesis contain references to the media texts examined, the codes devised and the ways in which the data have been organised. A database of the full project is also included with this thesis (see CD-ROM in the sleeve at the back of this dissertation) to allow the reader to gain further understanding of the scope of the study. There are two parts to the database. The first is an HTML

⁴ Due to space issues, the term 'news writer' includes news writers as well as all other potential parties who might have taken part in the process of writing the articles I discuss in the thesis. The term is therefore understood as the reporting voices (of which the newswriters'). Practically speaking, it is not assumed, for example, that news writers are responsible for all traces of evaluation observed in the media texts under scrutiny.

version of the thesis project in ATLAS.TI, which includes all articles included in the final version of the corpora, a list of codes, and a list of the 34 news stories in the corpora (i.e. clusters of newspaper articles). As a hypertext document, it allows easy access to all news stories and codes. The second is an XML document which can be used in XML document viewers (e.g. Microsoft Excel or any XML query software) for an exploration of the corpora. The data provided on the CD-ROM thus provides an unprecedented database of press reports on full-blown/partial apologies and refusals to apologise from the British and French press.

The next section accounts for the focus of the thesis, explaining, for example, which excerpts from the news texts included for analysis are examined.

1.5 Thesis focus

This section presents the two core analytic categories in this study, namely *verbatim apologies* and *metapragmatic comments*, and explores the ways in which evaluation and ideology are indicated in apology press uptakes.

1.5.1 Two analytic categories

Amid what gets retold in apology press uptakes, I am particularly interested in the evaluation of apologetic performances through explicit indicators of 'metapragmatic awareness' (see Jaworski, Coupland, and Galasiński 1998:61 for further information on the notion of metapragmatic awareness). I focus on two analytic categories which are as follows:

- (i) equivocal/unequivocal apologies and refusals to apologise quoted verbatim (verbatim apologies) and their immediate framing
- (ii) metapragmatic comments (explicitly and implicitly evaluative)

Following Fairclough's (1995a:55) distinction between two domains of newspaper discourse, my focus is therefore on 'primary/reporting discourse' (discourse between news writers and the public, i.e. metapragmatic comments) and 'secondary/reported discourse' (discourse reported by the media, i.e. verbatim

apologies). The pertinence of studying verbatim speech and metapragmatic commentary is evidenced by Verschueren (1998:61) who considers that they are both indicators of metapragmatic awareness. Verbatim apologies (and their immediate framing) and metapragmatic comments are perceived to correspond to evaluative utterances having distinct functions in newspapers. The underlying assumption is that both types of data allow us to access media presuppositions about public apologies (issues of perception), especially what constitutes a *successful* or *unsuccessful* apology, and indicate distinct patterns in the way public apologies are represented (issues of representation). The approach to these two analytic categories as they are adopted here critically appraises the argument that news reporting is an exercise in stancetaking which can both be overt and covert (Partington 2007:1554).

For the purpose of the present research, *metapragmatic comments* (referred to as *metalinguistic commentaries* in Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński 1998) correspond to passages from the media texts under scrutiny where news writers attempt 'to influence/negotiate how an utterance is or should have been heard or try to modify the values attributed to it' (see Jaworski, Coupland, and Galasiński 1998:4). These are utterances when news writers indicate to the reader how public apologies (based on their wording or the performance of the public figure for example) should be interpreted. One of the reasons having prompted me to examine meta-talk (i.e. metapragmatic comments) is that apology press uptakes are primarily about talk or representing talk.

News reporting as stancetaking therefore indicates another salient aspect of this research, namely focus on *evaluation/evaluative stance* in apology press uptakes. The ways in which evaluative stance in news texts permeates newspaper articles is found to be largely uneven, i.e. certain news reporting activities lend themselves better than others to evaluation (e.g. explicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments). It is therefore assumed that evaluative stance is less salient in the *framing* of apologies (see chapter 6) quoted verbatim than in metapragmatic comments (dealt with in chapter 7). The assumption is that newsworthiness varies depending on the types of (news) text examined. Verbatim apologies and their immediate framing and metapragmatic comments are thus perceived as specific sites for evaluation.

1.5.2 Research aims

The research aims of the present study are fourfold. First, it intends to cast light on the four basic components of apologies (Deutschmann 2003:44; 46, echoing Goffman's 1971 notions of 'offence', 'offender', 'victim' and 'remedial interchange') in relation to public apology processes, namely the 'offender' (here referred to as *apologiser*), the 'offended' (here referred to as *apologisee*), the 'offence' and the 'remedy'⁵. It therefore strives to refocus public apology research by emphasising the particulars of sub-categories of public apologies (for example celebrity apologies), the identity of apologisers and apologisees and the types of offences leading to the public acts of contrition corresponding to the period under scrutiny.

Second, the study aims at gauging stancetaking in news reporting, more particularly in *fact-focussed* news reporting, i.e. reporting that is supposed to be *neutral* according to newswriters (see Schudson 1995 for discussion around the principle of neutrality in journalism). In reference to the choice of analytic categories presented above, one of the main aims of the present study in relation to stancetaking is to determine the degree of variation in the evaluative strategies identified in the immediate framing of verbatim apologies, and in the explicitly and implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments. In other words, trends and patterns regarding the stance taken by news writers in these parts of apology press uptakes are focussed on.

Third, the study focusses on cross-cultural variations in the perception of public apologies, with the particular aim of gauging any differences between the two national media cultures examined. This acknowledges the ways in which press uptakes under consideration are indicative of ways in which discourse meanings are verbally and situationally-bound, i.e. the 'contextual or (contexted)' dimension of discourse alluded to in Shi-xu (1997:38-40). Critical discourse analysts have largely focussed on the study of the influence of the context on discourse realisation (e.g. van Dijk 1985) and is considered in the present study alongside the constructive dimension of public apology press uptakes. Views that news

⁵ Deutschmann (2003: 44; 46) defines the 'offender' as 'the person feeling responsible for an act which merits an apology' (referred to here as the *apologiser*), and the 'offended' as 'the victim of the offence' (referred to here as the *apologisee*). He holds the 'offence' as 'the incident which merits an apology' (Deutschmann 2003: 45; 46). The concept of 'remedy' corresponds here to the equivocal apologies, unequivocal apologies and refusals to apologise.

stories are complex both from a discursive and cultural point of view (see Cotter IN PRESS; 2010b) are therefore upheld.

Fourth, the study sets out to access some of the ways in which ideology permeates apology press uptakes. Indeed, evaluative stancetaking is perceived and used as a means to access aspects of ideological positioning in the media texts under scrutiny.

1.6 Overview of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 presents the review of the literature directly related to the approach taken here to the public apology. This focusses on public apology research and studies on evaluation (particularly those related to news discourse).

Chapters 3 and 4 provide a detailed description of the design of this research. The former focusses on introducing the corpora and plurality of methodologies used, whereas the latter emphasises the ways in which the data was collected and coded. Chapter 4 is central to understanding the rationale of the present study, particularly the strength of using quantitatively-based corpus linguistic tools in critical discourse analytic or pragmatic research.

Chapter 5 is a thematic analytic chapter focussing on providing a systematic means of gauging public apology stories by looking at the main components of the public apology (Deutschmann 2003:44-46), i.e. apologiser, apologisee, offence and remedy (equivocal and unequivocal apologies and refusals to apologise⁶). It focusses on the public apologies in use within the time frame considered, namely between the 1st of July 2006 and the 30th of June 2007. It is the most descriptive of the analytic chapters. Categorisation of the aforementioned four components is achieved by reviewing the lists of stories included in early and quite exhaustive forms of the corpora (i.e. *Extensive lists of news stories* in Appendix 2).

⁶ Considering that, as suggested in the footnote on p. 22, refusals to apologise fall under Deutschmann's category 'remedy', it is important to note that as it is used in the thesis the term 'remedy' has less to do with the idea of *repair* or *making good*, than with finding a solution to a problematic situation requiring an apology in the public sphere, be it in the form of the expected response (e.g. a full blown apology) or not (e.g. an explicit refusal to apologise).

Chapters 6 and 7, interpretative analytic chapters, investigate the two analytic categories at the core of this research: verbatim apologies (and their immediate framing), and metapragmatic comments (explicitly and implicitly evaluative). Chapter 6 is primarily concerned with identifying evaluative stance in apology press uptakes in relation to verbatim apologies and their co-text. It also uses the wording of apologies (such as represented via verbatim apologies) to determine the strategies that public figures use when apologising. Different kinds of strategies are identified, namely *core* and *peripheral* public apology strategies. Chapter 7 focusses on ways in which evaluation and ideology permeate metapragmatic comments. It also examines the salience of particular lexical fields in apology press uptakes as indicating evaluative stance. Finally, chapter 8 summarises the findings of the study and situates them in the wider context of public apology research and the *apology phenomenon*.

Chapter two: Literature review on public apologies and evaluation

2.1 Chapter overview

As the previous chapter indicated, the media texts examined are quite complex owing to the multiple layers of interactants such texts involve and the types of inferences they are indicative of. In this chapter, a review of literature relevant to this study is presented. It is drawn from a broad variety of areas due to the multifacetedness of the texts investigated and the interdisciplinary nature of the research.

In the core literature on apologies, one thing in particular stands out: recurrent references to the paradoxical nature of apologies. The migration of apologies to the public sphere seems to have contributed further to the paradox which is described in a variety of ways, depending on the different aspects and types of apologies being considered. For Dodds, the paradox of political apologies lies in the fact that they 'seek to do the impossible, to undo a previous wrong, even though of course they cannot really do so' (2003:150). This paradox of political apologies was previously discussed by Tavuchis in a section of his seminal book entitled *The Paradox and Power of Apology* (1991:5-7) and can be considered to apply to public apologies in general. For Celermajer (2004:70), it is the fact that political apologies following serious offences are often treated as relatively trivial political acts that creates the paradox, whereas Thompson's philosophical article entitled *The Apology Paradox* (2000) highlights the paradox of collective apologies (historical apologies). Thompson indeed considers that these are inherently paradoxical because we cannot apologise sincerely for wrongs our ancestors did. She resolves this paradox by suggesting that collective apologies should be equated with the expression of a 'preference' that the existence of the apologisers did not depend on the regrettable deeds of their ancestors (2000:474).

The paradoxical nature of public apologies in particular finds resonance in the numerous questions public apologies have raised for scholars and media experts. To that extent, much of the debate around public apologies in the media could be interpreted as resulting from the paradox of public apologies. For example, media uptakes regarding apologies for historical wrongs indicate that taking responsibility for something one is not responsible for is non-functional (e.g. Blair's apology for slavery), thus indicating a kind of paradox. Media representations of apologies delivered by celebrities from rehabilitation clinics can also be perceived to illustrate a paradox in public apologies. This is perceptible in the way the media represent such celebrities as having chosen to issue their apologies from a rehabilitation clinic as a means to enhance the felicity of their apology, by sounding more trustworthy, for example. This applies to some of the apologies issued by Big Brother contestants for racism (news story covered in the British corpus). Overall, the paradox of public apologies seems to be primarily related to the range of ways public figures perform contrition and the variety of uptakes a single public act of contrition can lead to in the media.

In common with Gerstbauer (2005:11), the premise of this research is that private and public apologies share similar basic assumptions whilst also differing in a variety of ways. Many theorists regard public apologies as private apologies adapted for the purpose of public performance, and it is posited that differences between the two speech acts are overplayed and/or inadequately problematised in the literature. Goffman's theory of 'performative sociology' (1959) is most insightful in understanding the difference between public and private apologies. This theory most notably perceives people in interaction as 'stage actors' who perform in venues or 'regions' (1959:106). He distinguishes between 'front- and back-regions', also referred to as 'frontstage' and 'backstage'. Public apologies are therefore a display of *frontstage behaviour* because they are performed in the public sphere and are highly stylised performances. However, they can concern offences which have both occurred *backstage* (e.g. adultery) and *frontstage* (e.g. incident on TV).

This chapter is underpinned by the assumption that research on public apologies is under-theorised because it often relies on private apologising, sometimes assuming that public apologies have a lot more in common that they actually do

with private apologies, or attempting to veil their inherent complexity (e.g. Dodds 2003:160 on the complex nature of political apologies). This view that public apology research deserves further investigation is corroborated, amongst others, by sociologist Tavuchis' (1991) much acclaimed and insightful book in which he explores the social significance of apology drawing on a variety of disciplines (e.g. philosophy, law, sociolinguistics and religion), as well as a variety of sources ranging from comic strips to real life interactions. As regards the present study, it is considered that public apologies do not rely on an individual trope but on a public one which has implications in terms of understanding the uptakes of public apologies for example. Within public apology research, it is noticeable that political apologies, and more particularly British and American public apologies, have mainly been considered. As might be expected, studies considering public apologies in general in the literature are scarce, thus the focus of the present study on all categories of public apologies.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. The next section presents an overview of the main literature related to public apology research. This makes very clear the areas which remain to be accounted for in public apology research. Following this, section 2.3 concentrates on academic disciplines now studying apologies due to the public apology phenomenon. Finally, section 2.4 focusses on studies having investigated evaluation and more particularly the relevance of evaluation to news reports.

2.2 Public apologies: what we need to know

It is probably worth mentioning that public apologies have led to varied responses amongst scholars. Some, like Nobles (2003), may be considered to be a relative proponent of public apologies. Although she concedes that 'scepticism about their efficacy is warranted' (2003:14), she considers that they can actually encourage states to 'do the right thing' (2003:14). However, much of the discussions around some public acts of contrition do not serve positive purposes, but instead reflect the predictable manipulation of politicians and the media alike. Bias towards public apologies is also found in speculations about their future. For example, Lazare (2004:93) considers that public apologies are characterised by a new kind of

interdependence in which what the 'voter', the 'customer', the 'worker', the 'patient', 'women', and 'minorities' want matters more than before.

2.2.1 Key issues in public apology research

Many public apology studies have been concerned with the identification of the reasons behind and outcomes of public apologies. The view that public apologies can help address the breach of a norm is probably the most essential one. Gill (2002:115) suggests apologising is one amongst several ways of addressing the violation of a norm. The literature hints there are different kinds of norms (moral, social, legal, etc.) which lead to a variety of apologies. This recurrent reference to norms within public apology research emphasises their *soothing* dimension, in that by addressing the violation of a norm, apologies contribute to peace. It also emphasises their rootedness in conflict which they emanate from but also oftentimes engender. Public apologies are also described as means to respond to internal or external pressures, thus leading Kellerman (2006) in her article on leadership to propose that public apologies can serve four purposes: individual, institutional, intergroup and moral. She considers that on the whole public apologies are 'prompted by fear, guilt, and love – and by the calculation of personal and professional gain' (2006:76). This echoes psychologist Lazare who considers apologies to be motivated by internal or external motives or a combination of both (2004:134). Lazare identifies two main reasons why people come to apologise: (i) the need to address internal feelings such as empathy for others or inner feelings of guilt or shame, and (ii) the need to respond to external pressures with the intent to influence 'how others perceive them and behave toward them' (2004:134). In the case of apologies involving states (e.g. collective apologies, state apologies, transnational apologies, etc.), it is often said that they are meant to show that a state is not only apologising for the offence it has perpetuated, but is also committing itself to not making the same offence in the future. To that extent, Nobles finds these apologies are 'reliable indicators of future state intentions and actions' (2003:9). In other words, such apologies are motivated by a desire to indicate to addressees (i.e. the outside world and the apologisees), that a state is prepared to change its behaviour in the future in a way

that is favourable to the victims. The moral dimension of public apologies is a recurrent theme both in academic research and the media uptake of public apologies. Nobles suggests that public apologies are 'indicators of moral codes, illuminating what is right and wrong in social behaviour and interactions' (2003:10), and Cunningham that public apologies may contribute to social inclusion (1999:292). What this indicates is that apologisers perceived as adhering to the moral standards of society enhance the chances of the felicity of their apologetic performance.

As for the outcomes (and thus usefulness) of apologies, the attention devoted to this aspect of public apology processes is related to the fact that public acts of contrition are not always successful in helping to deal with offences. As a matter of fact, they can sometimes aggravate situations. Public apology outcomes are usually perceived as a change *for the better*. In the literature, this change is often considered in terms of empowerment of the victim(s). For Nobles (2003:12), political apologies empower the victims because they can give a voice to social groups who are usually disregarded:

Disavowal of the past strengthens demands and proposals for new political arrangements, since the old way of doing things usually meant disregarding and/or overriding indigenous ideas and preferences.

Nobles (2003:11-14) identifies three outcomes to historical apologies: an opportunity for new political arrangements, a means to revisit history and to overcome past power imbalances (echoed in Celermajer 2004). However, media discussions and some academic articles indicate that inter-state apologies often have ulterior motives. This is indicated in Barkan (2000:xxix) who argues that public apologies can indicate political stability and democracy, rather than shame. Focussing on the world's leading democracy, i.e. the United States, sociologists Gibney and Roxstrom (2001) rightly question the assumption that democracies are more likely to address wrongs than non-democracies. They focus primarily on Clinton's apology to Guatemala for the United States' support for the former Guatemalan murderous regime in 1999, recalling that it is sometimes unclear on which grounds some transnational state apologies are delivered and not others. Their reflections on the United States highlight the limitations of apologies delivered by powerful states in general. Indeed, they consider that the United

States has sometimes been 'intolerant of democratic impulses in other countries' or contributed to human rights abuses (2001:934). Gibney and Roxstrom are therefore able to show that power imbalances are sometimes perpetuated even though states might be involved in apology or reconciliation processes (Gibney and Roxstrom 2001:935; Schaap 2005:xii). This view is echoed in Borneman (2005:53) who considers that public apologies enable democratic governments to 'cleanse themselves of their criminal behaviours'. Borneman argues that when democratic governments refuse to apologise, they instead tend to attribute criminal behaviour to non-central groups. He suggests that immigrants in France, the poor black population in the United States, ethnic or religious others in Rwanda or India, for example, have been the victims of such displacement of criminality by democratic governments. In short, his arguments stress that apologising serves very different purposes depending on whether it is issued by democratic or undemocratic states. The literature also suggests that pacification is no longer a focus of Western countries and that it has been supplanted by a focus on terror since September the 11th 2001 (Schaap 2006:xii). This deviates from the view that political apologies should guarantee a change of behaviour in the wrongdoer. Although public apology research focusses primarily on apologies between nations, this dimension may be said to apply other kinds of apologies, such as front page apologies by *The Daily Express* and its sister paper *The Daily Star* (19 March 2008) to the parents of missing Madeleine McCann (March 2008) for making defamatory allegations regarding their alleged involvement in the disappearance of their daughter. The media uptake of these popular press apologies suggested these relatively rare performances of contrition could deflect future wrongs, indicating that these apologies should encourage popular newspapers to produce more fact-based news stories, thus favouring less damaging conjectures.

Gibney and Roxstrom also suggest that public apologies can be a means to promote and respect human rights, thus stressing their importance as political and moral statements, as well as in terms of law (2001:914; 926). Their conclusion is noteworthy, in that it brings the debate back to the realm of the individual, suggesting that apologies ought to be used as a means for us to recognise, not only inhumanity in others, but also in ourselves. This obviously departs from views

considering that apologies for distant past wrongs are pointless. However, considering what public apologies currently seem to lead to, one may question whether political apologies are successful in empowering the victims. In view of the numerous cases of demands for apologies being ignored by governments (e.g. Algeria's demands for an apology from France for the war atrocities committed during the Algerian war between 1954 and 1962) and the current grounds on which political apologies are issued, it is evident that there is more work to be done to account for the motives and outcomes of public apologies.

A lay assumption is that when apologising, people will display certain emotions, thus bringing the realms of non-verbal behaviour into the study of public apology. For example, people will often assume that apologisers need to look contrite or sincere. The connection between certain emotions and public apologies is echoed in the literature. Mbaye (2005:37), for example, considers genuineness to be crucial, Zutlevics (2002) focusses on empathy and Cunningham (1999) places the issue of sincerity at the heart of public apology processes. Indeed, he states that if sincere and accepted as such by the recipients, a public apology is successful. Some of these apology-related emotions sometimes clearly overlap, insofar as, for example, genuineness and sincerity can be considered to be near synonyms. The most salient issue concerning emotions in public apologies, however, is that emotions are not (and cannot) always genuinely be felt by public figures apologising. This applies to historical apologies where the public apologiser is perhaps more concerned (than in more personal public apologies) with the ostensibility/display of emotions rather than genuinely felt emotions. This has been confirmed by some scholars who assume that the notions of sincerity and genuineness by the apologiser – the display of remorse, regret, repentance, guilt, contrition – play a lesser role in public apologising as compared to private apologising. To that extent, and inspired by O'Neill (1999), Gerstbauer points to the irrelevance of emotional realms (2005:12):

Whereas interpersonal apologies are messages about feelings, meant to inform and give confidence about the future of the relationship, international apologies are aimed at management of honour and are more about communications to the world than to the offended party.

In addition to the fact that the display of emotions is not necessarily applicable to the interpretation of public apologies, it is worth mentioning that such abstract notions are not only hard to measure, but also that the true feelings of apologisers are not readily accessible in the case of public apologising (or in private either). Some researchers have gone as far as suggesting that public apologies do not need to be sincere. This is the view upheld by Gerstbauer (2005:11), Lazare (2004:39-40), and Dodds (2003:154) who all agree that public apologies, contrary to interpersonal apologies, do not need to be sincere but are concerned with public record. In that regard, much has been written about the inapplicability of emotions to collective apologies in particular. Nevertheless, as Dubiel explains (2001:7), collective guilt feelings are possible, in which case the guilt is said to be assumed by the representative of the nation which has committed a crime. Although it is understandable that we may find it difficult to believe that feelings usually attributed to individuals can be applied to groups, the public apology uses evidence that such feelings can be felt. Video footage of Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's apology to members of the Stolen Generations on 13 February 2008, for example, may be considered to give evidence of emotions on behalf of the apologiser and the victims, in that the victims wept and the Prime Minister was clearly emotional.

Public apologies are also singular in that the status of the apologiser is central to their realisation. Indeed, one can only issue a public apology if his or her status allows him or her to do so. Davies, Merrison and Goddard (2007) draw our attention to the impact of the identity of the apologiser in the way apologies are perceived by public figures. They suggest that if the person issuing the public apology is not in a position of power then he or she can only gain from the apology because losing face is not a major issue, whereas politicians may be considered to have 'everything to lose' (Davies, Merrison and Goddard 2007:39). Nevertheless, the identity of the apologiser seems to be grounds on which to reject an apology, as suggested by Mbaye who writes that 'to be successful the apology should come from the top' (2005:37). The range of identities of apologisers is mostly overlooked or misrepresented in the literature, which hinders the understanding of public apologies. Many attempts to list apologisers indicate little concern for accounting for differences between apologies delivered by public figures for a wrong they are

directly responsible for, as opposed to those delivered *on behalf of others* (e.g. Cunningham, 1999:285-286), of which historical apologies are a prototypical example. These typological issues concerning public apologies are addressed in chapter 5 which establishes a classification system based on the identity of public apologisers found in the corpora studied in this thesis. There are therefore inherently different ways in which the apologies and voices of these public figures are represented in media uptakes.

Public apologies may also be considered to stand out as apologies because of the degree of seriousness of the offences they are associated with. Various ways of assigning a degree of seriousness to apologies have been devised (Meier 1998:224). The offence type (Meier 1998:224) has also been found to be useful in discussing apology strategies. Allusions to the seriousness of the offences involved in public apologies also find resonance in claims that public apologies are highly face-threatening acts. In her business approach to apologies, Kellerman acknowledges that public apologies are a 'high-risk move' and should only be delivered if necessary (2006:73). This is often presented as particularly important for apologies delivered by politicians for whom the face threat is envisaged as losing practical outcomes (e.g. loss of votes).

Finally, there are a series of aspects of public apologies which are seen in the literature to characterise their uniqueness. One such aspect is any reparation (e.g. money compensation) which may be involved in the apology. Cunningham (1999:291) raises a series of relevant questions regarding the limitations of giving reparations to those wronged, notably the impossibility of identifying those who should obtain reparations and the criteria on which reparations would be based. Reparations are mostly associated with historical apologies (i.e. apologies for historical wrong) and are sometimes used as arguments for or against an apology, as evidenced in the corpora in relation to Blair's apology for the *Slave Trade* which is accused of being a failed apology because it does not address the issue of reparations. The timing of public apologies is also presented as a unique factor which can substantially affect the outcome of public apologies. Late public apologies are thus described as likely to be rejected because of the length of time having passed between the demand for a public apology and the issuing of the apology. Public apologies stand out as a speech act in that they can never be

spontaneous and are often preceded by a demand for an apology by or on behalf of the victim(s). Consequently, public apology processes are often more complex than their private counterparts because, for example, they can involve more than one apology/demand for apology. Indeed, it is common for a public figure to have to perform contrition more than once if the media or victims are dissatisfied. A good example of this is the Pope's apologies for his controversial remarks on Islam on the 12th of September 2006 as he addressed an academic audience at the University of Regensburg (this example is part of the data). Of further relevance to the timing of apologies are historical apologies which can be delivered hundreds of years after the time the offence occurred. This applies to Blair's apology for the Potato Famine (considered by *The Independent* in an article published on 02.06.97 to be the 'first apology expressed by the British authorities') which orients to an offence which occurred in the 19th century.

2.2.2 What are public apologies?

Many studies have examined how effective apologies are. For example, Holtgraves (1989:9) considers that remedial moves (which include apologies) are more or less effective depending on the type of concern for the hearer's face they encode. As the study will show, such views are suggested in the media texts examined here, although there seems to be much variation in the extent to which patterns can be identified. Nevertheless, considerations in the literature regarding the effectiveness of apologies strongly contribute towards understanding what count as a public apology. In the present study, the degree of effectiveness of a public apology is understood in terms of equivocality. The three types of public apologies considered in the thesis can therefore be understood in terms of how equivocal they are. Full-blown apologies are therefore *unequivocal public apologies*, also referred to as 'perfect' apologies or 'consummate' apologies (Davis 2002:169). Partial apologies are *equivocal apologies* (also referred to as 'pseudo', 'partial', 'conditional' or 'blotched' apologies) and correspond to instances of public acts of contrition which partially or completely fail. Finally, the refusals to apologise considered are all unequivocal. Responsibility is a further pertinent element in understanding the difference between the three aforementioned categories of

public apologies, for they can be held respectively to correspond to *full*, *partial* and *no acknowledgment* of responsibility. Partial acknowledgements of responsibility (i.e. equivocal apologies) clearly raise issues due to the ambiguity of their illocutionary force, and thus are interpreted in a wealth of ways in the media. Indeed, these instances of public apologies can be considered to be strategic (i.e. ways out of apologising) by some newspapers or a genuine attempt to apologise in others, thus the necessity to examine ways in which equivocal/unequivocal apologies and refusals to apologise are described as instances of apology in the media.

Research on refusals to apologise is extremely scarce and the present research project is one of the first to examine refusals to apologise in public. However, Jaworski's (1994) article on negotiation in speech act realisation stresses the value of examining how interactants negotiate the need to apologise, thus looking into apologies and refusal to apologise. The reason why the present study includes refusals to apologise is related to the surge in demands for public apologies which has led to explicit refusals to apologise being increasingly frequent. Prominent examples of refusals to apologise include Ken Livingstone's refusal to apologise for Nazi remarks (2005), or the Archbishop of Canterbury's refusal to apologise for disputes over *Sharia law* (2008). Trosborg (1987:149) identifies strategies associated with refusals to apologise (these will be discussed in detail in chapter 6 which examines public apology strategies):

- (a) Explicit denial of responsibility
- (b) Implicit denial of responsibility
- (c) Providing justification for the act
- (d) Blaming a third party
- (e) Blaming the complainer.

Cohen suggests that apologies and refusals to apologise are similar in that they deal with a face-threatening situation and contain 'expressions of regret and sorrow' (2004:191). Here, this view is applied to equivocal/unequivocal apologies and refusals to apologise. Cohen (2004:191-192) further suggests that refusals to apologise are attempts to avoid acceptance and legal liability, which can also be accompanied by expressions of sympathy towards the aggrieved party. Psychologist Bavelas (2004) offers insight into public refusals to apologise. She examines the negative consequences of both apologising fully and refusing to

apologise, and rightly suggests that a way of avoiding the face threat engendered by either of them is to 'equivocate' or issue a 'non-apology', i.e. 'sorry without responsibility' (Bavelas 2004:5). She devises a situational theory of non-apologies which is based on the concept of avoidance of conflict, i.e. our propensity to avoid negative consequences when we deal with situations. Unsurprisingly, refusals to apologise are generally perceived negatively in the corpora. This may be interpreted as the press' disapproval of public figures' decision to use a form of apology which tends to imply a denial of the offence. These negative uptakes, however, indicate that the media tends not to conform with the preferred type of response expected by the parties demanding an apology. To conclude, it should be recalled that there were fewer examples of refusals to apologise in the corpora, thus the reason why they do not achieve such prominence in the analytic chapters of this research.

2.2.3 Public apologies and accounts

There have been many attempts at classifying speech acts in terms of a taxonomy (e.g. Schiffer 1972; Hancher 1979; Bach and Harnish 1979) and they all assume that there is some linguistic marking, supported by contextual information, of a correlation between form and function. This suggests that a sentence type can be matched to a speech act; however this is problematic for two reasons in relation to public apologies.

First, on many occasions public apologies seem to indicate that the conventional association between a sentence form and an illocutionary force is overridden. To that extent, instances when a single public act of contrition is subsequently interpreted as a satisfying apology, a refusal to apologise and an expression of regret suggest that the form of the act of contrition can have more than one illocutionary force. This of course potentially applies to all speech acts. In relation to public apologies, this implies that 'I am sorry', for example, will be recognised as an apology by some news writers, a failure to apologise by others, an expression of regret by yet others. This therefore highlights the influence of the context and the presuppositions of the media. In relation to public apologies, more than one speech act can sometimes be interpreted as its core apologetic expression.

Second, and as suggested in the paragraph above, the correlation between form and function in public apologies is called into question. As might be expected, many studies have attempted to explain the form and function of apologies. Of particular relevance to this debate are considerations regarding a group of acts called accounts (or remedial acts) to which apologies are considered to belong (e.g. Owen 1983). These studies on accounts focus on the distinctions between the different types of speech act which are forms of account, but also emphasise that it is hardly possible to establish clear boundaries between accounts, which is of particular relevance to the present investigation of public acts of contrition discussed as apologies. Robinson (2004:292) stresses some of the areas of contention surrounding accounts, indicating that apologies are not always considered as a form of account, or can be considered as part of larger phenomena. The view that apologies are a type of account (adopted here) is echoed in Benoit who considers that apologies are 'the most effective form of account' (1995:47). However, as far as public apologies are concerned, apologies and other forms of account can co-occur in public apologetic performances, which is examined in detail in chapters 6 and 7. As will later be indicated in these chapters, Robinson's (2004:292) distinction between 'accounts' and 'offence-remedial-related' is applied to the data, for the latter category seems to also co-occur with public apologies (this is explored in section 6.4.2 on peripheral remedial strategies in public apologies). The apology strategies used by public figures in the data presented in chapter 6 relies on Schonbach's four broad responsibility-focussed categories of accounts (1980; 1985):

- (i) Concessions (apologisers acknowledge responsibility for the offence)
- (ii) Excuses (apologisers acknowledge responsibility for the offence, but attempt to reduce their responsibility for the offence)
- (iii) Justifications (apologisers admit deed but deny that it is bad, i.e. that it is wrongdoing)
- (iv) Refusals (apologisers deny responsibility for the offence)

This model was chosen as a starting point for the analysis of public apology strategies in chapter 6 because of its focus on responsibility and because it does not overlook refusals to apologise as a way to address problematic situations in the public sphere.

The following section explores the importance of being aware of the impact the context has on public apology processes, not least because the media is representative but also constitutive of the context within which public acts of contrition are performed.

2.2.4 Importance of the context

Until recently there has been widespread neglect of the role of context in linguistic studies in general. This clearly applies to studies on apologies, mainly due to the fact that speech acts were assumed to follow universal rules (e.g. Austin 1962; Searle 1969; 1979). Barron (2005:521) confirms this position, suggesting that 'pragmatics has long been concerned with the question of the universality of speech acts and of the strategies and linguistic means available for realising speech acts'. Focus on universality also finds resonance outside the field of pragmatics. For example, Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983) discuss the universality of politeness strategies, whereas Verschueren 1979 relies on comparisons across cultures to discover universals of linguistic actions and Grice (1975) bases his work on general principles of cooperation. This assumption that speech acts follow universal rules, as pinpointed by Jeffries (2008:4), prevailed in the mid-twentieth century and it was therefore the norm to focus on similarities (as in Searle 1969 for example). Views regarding the universality speech acts were echoed throughout the twentieth century, but have since then been critiqued. Murata (1998), for example, reminds us that Austin (1962) and Searle's (1969) contributions to the understanding of apologies, as well as researchers following from their work, widely neglect the wider context in which apologies occur. In her opinion, the interpretation of public apologies requires attending to the complex interplay between linguistic requirements and social, economic, political, historical and contextual factors (1998:510). Thus more recent pragmatic approaches to language use consider that speech acts vary across cultures and that these variations need to be accounted for (e.g. Green 1975; Cohen, Olshtain and Rosenstein 1986; Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Yu 1999; Wierzbicka 1991) and there is therefore an increasing recognition that language is best studied *in situ* as opposed to in isolation.

The issue of the importance of the context for the study of public apologies in particular is discussed by Davies, Merrison and Goddard (2007). The impact of context on the issuing and uptake of public apologies is considered to have sizeable implications in the present study. This is clearly echoed in the public apology literature. Cohen (2004), for example, emphasises the role of social and political structures in international disputes, suggesting these latter are suitable for the investigation of communities. He goes on to suggest that disputes are 'cultural constructs' which acquire their meaning within cultural contexts and in relation to the values and beliefs of members of the society (2004:179; 181). He therefore makes it clear that there is no universally valid paradigm of apology, which rightly challenges what was initially thought about the universal rules pertaining to speech acts. Cohen also indicates that we are often influenced by preconceptions in the English-speaking world (2004:177-178; 181-186), which public apology research shows little awareness of. Davies, Merrison and Goddard (2007:39) even suggest that apologies may be more situated, i.e. more inclined to vary in accordance with the context in which they are used, than any other speech act, thus pointing to the particular relevance of context for apology analyses.

Insofar as culture is considered here as an element of the context, the cross-cultural variability of apologies is a thoroughly examined aspect of context seen to influence speech act realisation (Coulmas 1981; Borkin and Reinhart 1978; Olshtain 1983). There is also strong evidence of cross-cultural variation in public apologies. This is echoed in Wagatsuma and Rosett (1986) with regard to apologies for serious injuries in the U.S. and in Japan. Indeed, they suggest that cultural assumptions 'influence many forms of social interactions', including apologies (1986:464). They find that there is more emphasis on group hierarchy and harmony in Japan, whereas individual autonomy is more important in the United States, which they claim leads to significant differences in apologetic behaviour. This indicates an inherent characteristic of public apologising which is often overlooked, i.e. that the very significance of public apologies varies across cultures, but also that there is danger of imposing a Western view on the degree of significance public apologies should have. In their discussions on public apologies, Liebersohn, Neuman and Bekerman also identify cultural variations (2004:942):

Public apologetic speech may be investigated by judging it according to a rhetorical approach and understandable only as embedded in a wider socio-rhetorical context (Billig, 1987; Harré, and Gillett 1995); that is, as a speech event that aims to achieve specific communicative-persuasive aim within a certain cultural political context.

In other words, they consider that public apologies are culturally-grounded and tap into different cultural rhetorical resources (historical, social and political contexts), which is the view adopted here. It seems that public apologies are mainly a Western phenomenon (e.g. they are very scarce in Israel as suggested in Liebersohn, Neuman and Bekerman 2004) and British politicians appear to use them extensively as compared to other European and non-European cultures. This is clearly indicated in the present study considering the discrepancy between the sizes of the British corpus in comparison to the French one. The importance of the cultural context for understanding public apologies is corroborated by Murata (1998:502) who focusses on cross-cultural variations of public apologies. In her article, Murata focusses on a letter sent by former Japanese Prime Minister (Murayama), to former British Prime Minister (Major), shortly before the 50th anniversary of the VJ day. Press uptakes indicate that the letter led to two different interpretations in Japan and in Britain, thus highlighting the ways in which culture can induce category blurring in public speech acts of contrition. It is represented as an *apology* in the British media, whereas it was apparently intended as a *letter of congratulation* to the British Prime Minister by the Japanese government. Murata (1998) addresses the issue of perception/reception and the validating/invalidating role of audiences with regard to political apologies and finds that the Japanese PM Murayama's address is an apology from a speech act point of view, although it was not intended as such by the Japanese. The suggestion that public apology research should take into account the culture in which public acts of contrition are issued is also found in Kellerman (2006:75) and Alter's report on serious wrongdoings for the Law commission in Canada (1999) takes account of the fact that cultural insensitivity on behalf of the apologisee can lead an apology to be misinterpreted (1999:23).

Thus the cross-cultural variability of (public) apologies is widely acknowledged by scholars. Considering that public apologies often emanate from and tend to be encouraged primarily in Western countries, public apologies may be perceived as an instance of cultural imperialism. To conclude, it is these views that apologies,

and more particularly public apologies vary cross-culturally, which have led me to consider apology press uptakes both in Britain and France.

2.2.5 Public apology felicity conditions

Felicity conditions, which are related to Speech Act Theory, are the conditions necessary for the success (or felicity) of a speech act. For Aijmer (1996:81), responsibility is at the core of apology felicity conditions. She postulates that apologies presuppose that an act has occurred which someone recognises as having offended another person and therefore takes responsibility for it. Recognition of felicity conditions are identified in other subject fields as well. For example, philosopher Davis (2002) highlights a paradigm underlying the practice of public apologising and identifies three prerequisites (apology felicity conditions) for an apology to be accepted (Davis 2002:169). His reflections are based on the idea of a 'consummate apology' (successful apology). His three prerequisites are that:

- (i) the consummate apologise should believe he has transgressed,
- (ii) he should feel self-reproach,
- (iii) he should be disposed to avoid transgression.

The third element, also referred to as 'promise of forbearance' (as in Olshtain's 1989 apology speech act set), is mentioned recurrently in the literature, although it tends to be a peripheral condition in other accounts on apology. Understandably apology felicity conditions can be gauged in a variety of ways. In the present study, the felicity conditions of public apologies are considered to be potentially accessible in two distinct ways. First, it is possible for the analyst to deduce public apology felicity conditions from what was said. Second, it is also possible to rely on media uptakes to access public felicity conditions. Understandably, relying on media uptakes implies that we have access to the media representations of the conditions of success of public apologies. In the present study, the latter is primarily focussed on, as will be further explained in section 7.3.2.

2.2.6 Supportive co-constructed speech acts

When envisaged in terms of the face threat they pose, apologies are usually considered to be hearer-supportive because they are perceived to attend to the victim's positive face wants. However, speaker-supportive approaches to speech acts have been upheld by social psychologists in the past (Meier 1998:221) and applied to public apologies by some researchers. This has led Davies, Merrison and Goddard (2007:40) to question how costly apologies are to the speaker, stressing that there are 'benefits to be had by the speaker/writer'. These studies are useful in that they highlight that public apologies can be used to maintain or restore apologisers' reputation, which is taken into account in the present study. The corpora offer much evidence of public figures apparently attempting to redeem their face by means of public act of contrition, and this can be, as will be suggested in section 7.3 on *Evaluation in explicit comments* negatively evaluated by news writers who seem to consider that the fact that public figures are seeking their own benefits undermines the potential success of the public act of contrition. In their discussion of the 'but-justification apology strategy', Davies, Merrison and Goddard (2007:4) consider this strategy to be identity work acting 'solely to improve the standing of the writer in the eyes of the addressee'.

The role of third parties (see section 5.5. for further information regarding third parties in public apologies) is an essential aspect of public apologies in that it is evident that apologies are a prime example of a speech act whose meaning is co-constructed (see section 2.2.6 where the idea of co-construction of speech acts is discussed). In the case of public apologies, their co-constructed nature of public apologies is best understood as the validating role of the media in particular in public apology processes. According to Thomas (1995), meaning is 'dynamic' and any utterance has a 'meaning potential'.

Making meaning is a dynamic process, involving the negotiation of meaning between speaker and , the context of utterance (physical, social and linguistic) and the meaning potential of an utterance.
(Thomas 1995:22)

The co-constructedness of certain speech acts is also evoked by Wee (2004:2163) who advocates a more 'inter-subjective' orientation to the interpretation of speech acts.

The next section focusses on areas of research where apologies have only recently become relevant due to the use of public apologies in increasingly diverse public spheres.

2.3 Recent views on apology research

Apology research is a long established subject area, but until recently, it was primarily based on private apologies and dominated by studies in the field of linguistics. Despite the obvious relevance of linguistics and other disciplines having an established interest in apologising (e.g. sociology, psychology, philosophy), the use of apologies by an increasingly varied array of public figures has triggered a number of academic studies in areas of research for which apologies were until recently fairly irrelevant. Lawyers, scholars from medical backgrounds, political scientists, business studies researchers, public relation experts, journalists and other media-related professionals have therefore started exploring public apologies. The most prominent areas of research for which public apologies are new are reviewed in the present section. These *new* areas of enquiry in public apology research are thus used as a means to call attention to the widening scope of apology research.

Only very recently have political scientists become interested in apologies; evidently emanating from the rise of political apologies. This interest in apologies is often part of a wider discussion on reconciliation between states. In fact, philosophers Murphy and Hampton (1988) have argued that holding a grudge can be useful. This is partially echoed by political scientist Rigby (2000) who questions the taken-for-granted assumption that truth-telling – which he claims is anchored in Christian ethics – is healthy for individuals and societies and proposes amnesia as an alternative to forgiveness (and thus public apologies). He uses the example of Spain in the post-Franco era, when there was a ‘pact of oblivion’ akin to a sort of ‘collective amnesia’ (Rigby 2000:101) which paved the way for a peaceful transition to a democratic state. This stands in stark contrast with much of what has been promoted on a global scale in terms of inter-state reconciliation, of which South Africa’s *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* in 1995 has become emblematic. Indeed, it has been assumed that to reconcile countries should

forgive each other, and apologies have been perceived as a means to achieve such forgiveness. Focus on collective apologies can be understood as part of a wider and fairly recent focus on transitional justice, peace studies, restorative justice and conflict resolution for example (echoed in Dodds 2003). This new focus may be perceived as a corollary of the growing interest in world peace, possibly an upshot of the inability of Western countries to avoid conflicts or to solve long-lasting conflicts, despite their alleged support of democracy. Amongst long-lasting conflicts we may mention the Israeli-Palestinian tensions, the tensions in Burma, the Colombian civil war or the unresolved tensions in Algeria; whereas the West's failure to avoid recent wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Ivory-Coast to name but a few may be considered to exemplify its failure to prevent conflict. The *Peacemakers Trust* (a Canadian charitable organisation), amongst others, exemplifies this interest in peace, in that it looks into conflict transformation and peace building in Cambodia, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Iraq. In short, political scientific studies in this research are useful in understanding the collective apologies which were found in the corpora (e.g. the apology for the Slave Trade by the legislators of Virginia).

The view of apologies takes on a different perspective in the area of law. Apologies within the legal system have been increasingly recognised and have a clearly delineated status in some countries. Law journals therefore demonstrate a marked interest in apologies. Morris (2003), for example, investigates apologies which have been formally considered by judges as part of a court case. Most apologies he considers are apologies following a car accident for which the party at fault apologises to the other party or apologies from doctors to patients for mistakes they made. The focus is therefore on apology legislation which contributes to further understanding the apologies as part of court cases in the corpora and thus the genre of public apologies. Alter's (1999) enquiry into serious wrongdoing explores the usefulness of apologising in legal situations. Her study points to the inherent differences between different kinds of public apologies, since she examines what apologies require, in the case of serious wrongdoings, to be *valid*. Lazare also suggests that legal proceedings coerce the offender (apologiser) in 'attending the victim's needs' (2004:87). This is contrasted with the *lay* view that apologies are voluntary and can potentially satisfy both parties (contrary to legal

proceedings), which highlights the intricacies of apologies by plaintiffs. Indeed, it can make us wonder about the validity of these coerced apologies. Whether explicitly ordered or not, it raises the issue of the validity of such apologies, and their status in comparison with other types of public apologies.

The increasing number of demands for apologies (and therefore performance of apologies) from doctors who have made medical errors has also been widely reported in the media and some research by doctors has investigated how/when apologies should be delivered in their field (see Dagmara 2006; Woods 2005). This has even led to the launch of a coalition in 2005 whose aim was to provide a 'middle-ground solution' to the medical malpractice crisis (*Sorry works! Coalition*, 2005). These apologies are now commonly reported in the media, as the description of the corpus collection in this study will indicate (e.g. apology delivered by hospital representatives for fixing the wrong leg in *The Daily Mirror*).

However, the public apology phenomenon also concerns businesses in the sense that admitting wrongdoing has proved an effective way of dealing with situations potentially damaging for a business' reputation. Apologies issued by the private sector are therefore primarily motivated by a desire to maintain or redeem one's reputation, with the aim of keeping customers. This is most obvious in the case of Toyota's recent apologies in the press for taking time to deal with the faulty cars which were sold and on the road (February 2010). Kellerman (2006) discusses business apologies, focussing on instances when leaders should or should not apologise and the advantages and disadvantages of apologies. She also considers that corporate apologies should serve both self-interest as well as larger social purposes, thus legitimising apologies meant to serve public figures' interest (this is discussed in section 6.4.4 concerning strategies used by public apologisers for their own benefit). Benoit's image restoration theory (1995; 1997a; 1997b) focusses on the choices available to organisations in times of crisis, i.e. in times when a loss of face is looming. He describes five strategies which are meant to help in dealing with corporation crisis situations. These are: denial, evasion of responsibility, reduce offensiveness, corrective action and mortification. Mortification (1995:17-20), which he considers to correspond to apologies, consists of an admission of wrongdoing combined with a request for forgiveness. This is based on Burke's (1998) writings and contradicts other studies on

apologies (for example Aijmer 1996:81) where taking responsibility is considered the most important element of an apology.

These new areas of research where apologies have emerged further indicate the complexity and variety of public apology research. Indeed, variation seems to apply to the range of identities of public apologisers and social contexts in which public apologies take place and seem to have implications in terms of the use and interpretation of public apologies.

The next section examines the concept of evaluation in order to support the ensuing analyses of evaluative stancetaking in the newspaper articles.

2.4 Evaluation

As previously stated in the introduction, the notion of evaluation is central to this study and is explored in relation to two distinct modes of representation in apology press uptakes, namely (i) apologies ostensibly quoted verbatim and (ii) metapragmatic comments. First, research on ways to express one's opinion is briefly examined so as to define the term *evaluation* as I shall use it here. Then, the extent to which evaluation is pertinent for the study of news discourse, metapragmatic comments and verbatim apologies is explored.

2.4.1 Evaluation and stance

Linguistic research into the ways in which opinions are expressed through language (mostly realised as studies on *evaluation* and *stance*), is broad and indicates terminological issues in the way evaluation and stance are understood, referred to and analysed. Research into evaluation and stance thus indicates that these two terms are at times used interchangeably, overlap, or are referred to by means of other terms. It is also noticeable that such research overlaps with other related frameworks, e.g. *appraisal* (Eggins and Slade 1997), *reflexivity* (e.g. Jaworski, Coupland, and Galasiński 1998; Lucy 1993; Giddens 1991), *discourse stance* (Berman 2004). The definitions of evaluation and stance in the literature are thus far from presenting a clear picture. I will start by focussing on evaluation,

then will include stance in the present discussion of the ways in which evaluation and stance are perceived in the present study.

On the whole, it is suggested that evaluation can be found at lexical, grammatical, textual and intertextual levels (e.g. Englebretson 2007:16) and in the present study evaluation is examined in lexical choices by news writers in relation to reporting apologies verbatim and writing metapragmatic comments.

Evaluation is defined in broad terms by Hunston and Thompson (2000:6-12) who consider that it is a means to 'express opinion', 'maintain relations', and 'organise discourse' (the three functional properties of evaluation according to Hunston and Thompson). In the present study, the first of these three functional properties is focussed on, insofar as evaluation is primarily perceived as a means to access the value or belief system (i.e. ideology) represented or constructed in apology press uptakes in Britain and France.

Stances are regarded as forms of evaluation, as suggested by Hunston and Thompson (2000:5): 'evaluation is the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about'. Besides, evaluation is perceived to follow certain parameters. Following Hunston and Thompson (2000:25), there are four parameters concerning stancetaking which are as follows (with constructed examples):

1. **Good-bad** (e.g. The study was beneficial to all participants)
2. **Level of certainty** (e.g. This pattern of behaviour may possibly indicate that Piaget's developmental stages are flawed).
3. **Expectedness** (There is no doubt that emerging countries will take advantage of the situation)
4. **Importance** (e.g. More importantly, it is apparent that...)

I consider that these parameters are useful in accounting for the multi-faceted character of evaluation and the different textual realisations these evaluative parameters can lead to. Bednarek's study (2006) can help us to further unpack this idea, for she considers that there are core and peripheral evaluative parameters (2006:41-58). Following her categories of evaluative parameters, the focus in this study can be perceived as being on the 'emotivity parameter', i.e. the writer's evaluation of aspects of events as positive or negative (2006:74). This

resembles Hunston and Thompson's 'good-bad'⁷ or 'positive-negative' parameter (2000:3; 22); or Hunston's (2002) 'value'⁸ function of evaluation (assessing the positive or negative value of discourse items and information). Focus on this positive-negative parameter in the corpora is in tune with the fact that apology press uptakes are primarily concerned with discussing the positive and negative qualities of the apologies.

References to evaluative stancetaking and evaluation in this research correspond to instances in the corpora when news writers indicate their position regarding the apologetic performance being discussed. To some extent, the apology press uptakes focussed on in the study, and more broadly the widespread meta-comments about public apologies evident in the time frame of this study, indicate that the evaluation of public apologies by the media takes precedence over other types of evaluation (e.g. the public's opinion of public apologies). This is primarily because our access to public apology uptakes is nearly always mediated (see Fetzer and Weizman 2006; Clayman and Heritage 2002; Fairclough 1998, on the mediatization of political discourse), thus giving a constraining effect in terms of our access to different kinds of stances towards public apologising, including that of apologisers and apologisees.

2.4.2 Evaluation in news discourse

Evaluation in news discourse has characteristics which need to be accounted for. The widespread assumption that neutrality is meaningless in news discourse in particular has strong relevance to the notion of evaluation. Gruber (1993:485) clearly illustrates this point, emphasising that 'the objectivity claim in news reporting, as well as the overall responsibility of journalists for the possible effects of their work' is impossible.

The position adopted in the present study in relation to the data is that the reporting voice (i.e. the voice of the news writer) is present throughout the articles.

⁷ Here the 'good' and 'bad' parameters are understood as *evidentially supportive* and *evidentially unsupportive*.

⁸ Hunston (2002) assigns two interrelated functions to evaluation: 'status' (evaluating the degree of certainty and commitment attached to the propositions expressed in the discourse) and 'value' (discussed in the page above).

To that extent, criteria of newsworthiness – *news values* – introduced by Galtung and Ruge (1965) are quite relevant, for they have been shown not only to guide news writers in their reports and impact on ways in which evaluation is presented in news texts. In short, and as suggested by Bednarek and Caple (2010), Bednarek (2006) and Hartley (1982) to name but a few, news values represent the values by which events or facts are judged more newsworthy than others. Bell distinguished 3 types of 'news values': values in news actors and events, values in the news process, and values in the news text. In the present study, the first category of news values is focussed on (adapted from Bell 1991:155-161).

(i) Values in news actors and events

- Negativity
- Recency
- Proximity
- Consonance
- Unambiguity
- Unexpectedness
- Superlativeness
- Relevance
- Personalisation
- Eliteness
- Attribution
- Facticity

In her definition of evaluation in her analysis of news stories, Schokkenbroek (1999) emphasises the bond between evaluation and newsworthiness. She suggests that evaluation is the means used by narrators 'to indicate the significance of the story' and 'why it was told' (1999:79). Besides stressing the importance of news values in understanding issues of selection and representation of news stories, and in gaining a greater understanding of news producers and the audience of news media, Bednarek (2006:16) also suggests that these values indicate social beliefs and attitudes, i.e. she indicates the usefulness of news values in understanding evaluation and ideology in news discourse. In this thesis, news values are perceived primarily as a means to understand processes of selection in apology press uptakes, in order to substantiate claims regarding evaluation and ideology in the news texts included in the corpora.

Another relevant point concerning the pertinence of the concept of evaluation to news discourse is successfully summed up by Cotter (2010). She claims that the actions and decisions in news reporting, which are constrained by the professional

practice and community/culture the news circulate in, have ideological, historical, and time-contingent entailments as well as discursive outcomes. This indicates that the evaluation we can identify in news discourse are embedded in the wider context in which news stories circulate.

2.4.3 Evaluation in metapragmatic comments

The more recent research area of metapragmatics which is of particular relevance to this research falls under research into *metalanguage*, and is considered to be 'the pragmatics of actually performed meta-utterances that serve as a means of commenting on and interfering with ongoing discourse or text' (Bublitz and Hübler 2007:6). In other words, metapragmatics is considered to focus on the conception of language as a self-reflexive and self-referential system. In the present study, metalanguage is considered as 'language in the context of linguistic representations and evaluations' (Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński 1998:4). Following Lucy in relation to his concept of 'reflexive language' (1993:10-29), I consider that there is a wide range of 'metalinguistic means and strategies that interactants may choose from' when making metapragmatic comments.

Metapragmatic comments/commentaries (see Jaworski and Galasiński 2002 for a detailed account on metapragmatic comments) can be described as comments which evidence the speaker's or reader's view on 'the appropriateness of language use' (Hübler and Bublitz 2007:5). The present study focusses on what may be construed as a regular metapragmatic activity, for the discourse genre under scrutiny is defined by a 'reflective' dimension on language (Bublitz and Hübler 2007:13). The public apology press uptakes considered here are what (Hübler and Bublitz 2007:24) refer to as 'metapragmatics in specialised use', i.e. explicit interpretations and evaluations of public figures' apologies. These are considered to be crucial in understanding public apologies, for they are evidence of press' evaluation and ideologies. The perception of metapragmatic comments as a site of ideological construction is supported by Jaworski and Galasiński (2002:450), and Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński (1998:4) cited below:

In doing metalinguistic commentary, for example “What I was trying to say was ...”, we can influence or negotiate how an utterance is or should have been heard, or try to modify the values attributed it.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature which is pertinent for understanding the background of the present study. The overview of the relevant studies offered a useful background for the understanding of public apologies. It indicated that the range of public figures issuing apologies is reflected in the range of disciplines now taking interest in apologies. The review of the main characteristics of public apologies, based on private and public apology research, indicated that there are a series of elements which are specific to public apologies (e.g. their particular relationship to time; or the impossibility of public apologisers’ words to be a true reflection of their inner contrite/sorry states).

It was made explicit that in this study the term *public apologies* refers to public acts of contrition represented as apologies (whether successful or not) in the media, and regards both *equivocal/unequivocal apologies*, and *refusals to apologise*. It was argued that the relationship between form and function in public apologies can be questioned, for similar sentence types do not seem to match similar speech acts of contrition. This point is of particular relevance to the present study, for media uptakes make it apparent that media interpretation of public apologetic performances often take precedence over the words which were uttered (public apology formulation). Besides highlighting the co-constructed nature of public apologies, this highlights one further point raised in the chapter, namely the fact that the formulation and interpretation of apologies is embedded in their context of use (e.g. political or historical). The concluding remarks to section 2.2 suggest that the felicity conditions of public apologies can be accessed in two ways: via the analyst’s critical interpretation, or the press representation of what characterises the success of public apologies, which is explored in section 7.3.2.

The last section of the chapter was devoted to the literature on evaluation, or fields pertinent to the study of evaluation (e.g. reflexivity). This primarily indicated that there are some issues in defining the term *evaluation* and in delimitating research on evaluation. It was therefore established that in this study, stance is considered

to be a form of evaluation and that the terms *evaluative stance* and *evaluation* are used interchangeably. It was also suggested that evaluation is prominent in news discourse and metapragmatic comments which, by definition, involve commenting upon. The impossible neutrality of news discourse was therefore recalled and this concept underpins the subsequent analyses.

Chapter 3 focusses on the design of the present research, discussing the data, methodology, and methods used. It explains the advantages of combining corpus linguistic tools and discourse analytic methodology in public apology research. As the chapter progresses, it becomes apparent that a combination of methodologies and methods was needed to address the complexity of the press uptakes under scrutiny.

Chapter three: Data and methodologies

3.1 Chapter overview

As this chapter will show, the methodologies developed here not only ensure the research aims outlined in the introduction are met but are also a contribution of the thesis. The next section of the chapter introduces the data under investigation, i.e. the two corpora of British and French newspaper accounts of public acts of contrition represented as instances of apologies. Section 3.3 concentrates on the methodologies selected for the purposes of examining the corpora in this study. The methodological positioning was carefully considered and three methodologies are at the core of the present study: critical discourse analysis, pragmatics and corpus linguistics. These three methodologies are considered to be the most appropriate for an examination of the press uptakes of public acts of contrition in order to gain a critical understanding of the meaning attributed to these speech acts by news writers. Considering that public acts of contrition are amenable to analysis emanating from a wide range of disciplines (as suggested in chapter 2), these methodological considerations delineate the area of research of the present work.

3.2 Data

A wide range of data has been used to investigate apologies (Bergman and Kasper 1993:84). Studies can be distinguished depending on whether the researcher has recourse to *constructed* examples of apologies (found mainly in theoretical work), *researcher-elicited* data (data which requires the intervention of the researcher) or *naturally-occurring* data. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989:3) suggest that constructed examples are suitable for theoretical studies but not empirical ones which should examine naturally-occurring data:

There is a strong need to complement theoretical studies of speech acts, based primarily on intuited data of isolated utterances, with empirical studies, based on speech acts produced by native speakers in context.

Researcher-elicited, on the other hand, data can be obtained by means of 'discourse completion tasks' (as in Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989), role-plays, questionnaires and so forth. Some rightly argue that as with constructed examples, researcher-elicited data does not reflect what happens in real life. For example, Jaworski (1994:190) questions whether the data from Blum-Kulka House and Kasper (1989) discourse completion tasks may have skewed their results by 'claiming overwhelming formulaicity in speech act realisation'. Recent preference for naturally-occurring data amongst pragmatics (in tune with the increasing dynamism of pragmatics) may be seen to result from such questioning of the type of data included in analyses. Davies, Merrison and Goddard illustrate this focus in their study of apologies:

Looking at situated apologies can offer insights into linguistic function and social role, as well as into the structural properties of the phenomenon.
(Davies, Merrison and Goddard 2007:1)

However, this interest in naturally-occurring data in pragmatics contrasts with most strands of linguistics which habitually overlook the context/situation in which language is used.

The *naturally-occurring* type of data examined in this research is a form of mediatised metadiscourse since original scripts of public performances of contrition are not considered. These apology press uptakes vary greatly and range from full endorsement to complete rejection of public acts of contrition. Considering the range of reactions the increasing presence of public apologies has engendered⁹, it is apparent that media uptakes are quite different from uptakes by individuals or social groups whose weight in the public sphere is limited (as opposed to that of media institutions). Thus, media uptakes might be perceived as forms of recognised metadiscourse, as opposed to the unreported uptake by members of the general public which are a form of unrecognised metadiscourse. This therefore confirms previous suggestions that the latter form of metadiscourse

⁹ To that extent bookmarks I have created on the Delicious website (<http://delicious.com/user/>) help us get a sense of the presence of public apologies in the media. These will be found if *clydeancarno* is typed in as a username.

is necessarily mediated and thus dominated by the media who can support or criticise public apologies. This, however, has not prevented discussions of public apologies by individuals, online groups (via websites, blogs, discussion forums for example¹⁰), and also face-to-face groups (via organised debates for example).

To be more precise, basic news stories with obvious reporting are included in the corpora. The study aims to investigate articles which are perceived by newspapers as presenting, as Fowler puts it (1991:209), 'pure fact' and 'report'. Press-release style announcements (with no obvious reporting), or articles whose function is to convey the newspapers' point of view (e.g. editorials and opinion columns) were not included in the corpora (see chapter 4 for detail on the data collection process). Following Bell's (1991) three broad categories of newspaper editorial copy, namely service information, opinion and news, the data in the study corresponds to the *news* category, but the distinction between hard news and soft news (feature articles) established by newswriters is not upheld in this study. Feature articles are also included in the corpora despite Bell's suggestion that feature articles are more likely to carry journalists' opinions and 'editorialise' (1991:14). More generally, the position towards the media texts in the corpora is based on the framework developed in Iedema, Feez and White (1994) which differentiates between objective and subjective voice in journalistic texts, i.e. between the reporting of facts and editorialising. They also rightly suggest that hard news reporting is not devoid of judgment, that it contains evidence of newsmakers' implicit judgment. This view is obviously quite pertinent to this research which focusses on ways in which evaluation is conveyed (more or less explicitly) in hard news.

3.2.1 Newspapers represented in the corpora

The present section explores the comparability of the two corpora, differences/similarities between popular or quality press on the one hand, and the political leaning of newspapers on the other hand.

¹⁰ Examples of these are included in the online bookmarks I have created on the Delicious website (<http://delicious.com/user/>). These can be accessed if *clydeancarno* is typed in as a username.

As previously explained in section 1.4.2, press uptakes of some public acts of contrition from Britain and France are compared so as to contrast the influence of culture on this relatively new Western phenomenon of public reconciliation. The two corpora are as follows: one corpus containing newspaper articles from Britain and one corpus containing newspaper articles from France. Following Bergman and Kasper (1993), the data used may be considered to be reasonably comparable. Nevertheless, the intent of this research, considering the discrepancies between the British and French corpora, is not to carry out a strict comparative analysis of the two corpora, but instead to explore cross-cultural variations between the two corpora through focussing on the way the two chosen national media cultures represent certain public acts of contrition. Besides, the limited scope of the French corpus (as clearly evidenced when the corpora are later introduced) made a strict comparative analysis unworkable. Equivalence therefore applies in terms of the *type* of public speech events being discussed, while the corpora clearly indicate that as a social practice public apologising is perceived differently across the two cultures. Indeed, British and French public figures seemingly do not apologise to the same extent and the French media include far less apology press uptakes. As a cultural practice, public apologising seems to correspond to similar behaviour in Britain and France. However, the discursive realisation of public apology processes (e.g. choice of lexical items to realise apologies and apology uptakes) calls into question the scope for comparison. This is taken account of when occurrences of particular lexical items are compared in section 7.2 .

The newspapers included in the corpora are the main daily national newspapers in Britain and France and span the width of the political spectrum (insofar as newspapers are considered to be politically situated). Three types of newspapers are identified (Cridland 2006): the broadsheet newspaper (quality press newspapers), the tabloid newspaper (popular press newspapers also called red-tab or red-top) and the middle-market tabloid (an 'upmarket tabloid aimed at affluent women' according to Cridland 2006). To a large extent, this distinction is inapplicable to the French press, which has no real equivalent to the popular press (i.e. tabloids and middle-market tabloids) in Britain.

Therefore, in the corpus of French newspaper articles, all newspapers considered are broadsheets apart from *Aujourd'hui en France* which is the closest French equivalent to British tabloid newspapers, for it does include some celebrity-focussed news reports although it is to a much lesser extent than in the aforementioned tabloids and is far less popular than British tabloids. It is also worth mentioning that *L'Humanité* was the newspaper of the French communist party (Parti Communiste Français/PCF). Although it is now independent, it is still strongly influenced by the PCF's views and held as a symbol of politically aware press in France and Europe. Owing to the significance of tabloids in the British press and the well-researched differences between popular and quality press, tabloids were included in the British corpus so as to gauge potential variation across newspaper types. Although this is not the main focus here, these differences have been called into question. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show all the newspapers incorporated in the study and their political leanings. Understandably, this can only be a general representation of more complex political positionings. All cited newspapers are published Monday to Friday but the Sunday copies were included in the corpora where applicable.

Table 3.1: Political leanings of French newspapers

Left	Centre	Right
Libération (broadsheet)	Le Monde (broadsheet)	Le Figaro (broadsheet)
L'Humanité (broadsheet)		
		Aujourd'hui en France (near tabloid)

Table 3.2: Political leanings of British newspapers

Left	Centre	Right
The Daily Mirror/The Sunday Mirror (tabloid)	The Independent/Independent on Sunday (broadsheet)	The Sun (tabloid)
The Guardian/The Observer (broadsheet)	The Times/The Sunday Times (broadsheet)	The Daily Mail/The Mail on Sunday (middle market tabloid)
		The Daily Telegraph/The Sunday Telegraph (broadsheet)

3.2.2 Timeframe

The articles in the corpora are taken from the national newspapers in Britain and France between the 1st of July 2006 and the 30th of June 2007, i.e. a one-year period, the most recent period that could be considered given the time constraints of the thesis.

Since the French presidential elections and electoral campaigns overlapped in this one-year period, there was a possibility that this factor might skew the results of the study given the potential for a rise in party political stories. However, although there was no election in Britain within this period, it coincided with Blair's decision to resign as the leader of the Labour Party. The ensuing news stories over his disputed departure date and the identity of his successor lasted for over a year. Indeed, Blair decided to stand down before the elections took place but on 10th May 2007 he announced the date of his departure as the 27th June 2007. Pilot searches were conducted for the two years preceding the 01.07.06-30.06.07 period so as to decide whether this time frame could be used for this project, i.e. whether there were no major events having affected the representation of apologies in the two national media cultures under scrutiny.

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 below show the number of articles identified by means of a similar keyword search 'at the start of the article' (terminology used in the database NEXIS discussed in section 3.2.3 in this chapter). In other words, what was considered was the headline and first paragraph of the articles for each of the newspapers within each of the three consecutive time periods. The keywords used

were 'excusi'¹¹, 'pardon' and 'désolé!' for the French corpus, and 'apolog!' and 'sorry' for the British one (see section 3.2.4 for further details on keywords). Although not equivalent from a lexical point of view, these are considered to ensure comparability of the corpora, in that they correspond to the most prototypical ways of apologising in both languages. This guarantees that all articles where a public speech act was discussed as an apology are identified.

What we can see from Tables 3.3 and 3.4 is that, for example, between 01.07.04 and 30.06.05, there were 259 articles in which the keywords were used in *Libération*, against 299 between 01.07.05 and 30.06.06 and 265 between 01.07.06 and 30.06.07.

Table 3.3: Number of hits for keyword search (three-year period – French newspapers)

French newspapers	01.07.04- 30.06.05	01.07.05- 30.06.06	01.07.06- 30.06.07
Libération	259	299	256
L'Humanité	13	80	81
Le Monde	192	195	235
Le Figaro	275	420	356
Aujourd'hui en France	0	0	14

Table 3.4: Number of hits for keyword search (three-year period – British newspapers)

British newspapers	01.07.04- 30.06.05	01.07.05- 30.06.06	01.07.06- 30.06.07
The Daily Mirror	1256	1148	1405
The Guardian	541	694	751
The Independent	800	744	469
The Times	931	1010	1177
The Daily Telegraph	633	661	711
The Daily Mail	618	649	926
The Express	586	570	594
The Sun	824	1196	1622

¹¹ The exclamation mark signifies a wildcard in NEXIS.

The figures in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 indicate the number of matches identified by NEXIS. They include unsuitable or off-topic articles, which are not directly relevant to the present study. Overall, most newspapers displayed a steady increase in the number of apology-related stories (apart from *The Independent* which evidences a significant slump in the number of articles). This echoes Lazare (2004:92) who noticed that apology stories doubled over the decade preceding the publication of his book. I therefore considered that these pilot searches did not display anything out of the ordinary in terms of the number of articles and decided to investigate the most recent period of time, which ran until the 30th June 2007. Any initial concerns I may have had about elections skewing results seemed not to be borne out and it is considered that the keywords chosen ensured that all articles relevant to the present study were turned up considering the focus on uptakes of public acts of contrition discussed as attempts to apologise in newspapers.

3.2.3 Data retrieval method (NEXIS)

Given the overall aim of drawing as comprehensive a qualitative picture of the public apology phenomenon as possible, the investigation of a substantial quantity of data, was a driving force in this study. Such an endeavour is now easily achievable due to the fact that large quantities of texts can now be handled electronically. The electronic newspaper articles were retrieved through the NEXIS online database (part of Reed Elsevier, Miamisburg, Ohio) which grants access to the newspapers. NEXIS was used to collect the corpus of British newspaper articles. This is a widely-used online database which allows users to search for articles in full. Articles were identified by means of keywords which, as previously explained, were looked for at the start of the articles, i.e. in the headline and first paragraph. Prior to gathering the corpus of French articles, keywords were typed in two newspaper databases for comparison of the results they presented and for the selection of the most reliable database. These databases were NEXIS (the Anglo-Saxon database used to retrieve the corpus in English) and Factiva (a French database). This was meant to allow me to check whether there would be significant differences in terms of the number of articles retrieved by the databases. As previously suggested, the data in this study is press reports

concerning speech acts discussed as apologies in the British and French press. Besides indicating that the constitution of the corpus was determined by media focus (i.e. whether a speech event was represented as an instance of apology or not), this means that no relevant articles could be missed by the searches. After carrying out identical keyword searches in the headline and the first two paragraphs of articles in FACTIVE, and the first paragraph in NEXIS, it appeared that the NEXIS database was also suitable for the collection of French newspaper articles. This is because it retrieved more articles for most newspapers, which not only multiplied the chances of identifying a larger number of relevant articles, but it also ensured consistency in terms of the data collection process, since NEXIS is the database used for the collection of the British articles.

3.2.4 Keywords

As stated in the previous section, keywords were used to identify the articles to be included in the corpora and to conduct pilot searches. This section presents the rationale behind the choice of keywords. It was crucial to find a way of searching for keywords that would ensure that all the articles concerned with the uptake of apologies would be systematically identified. Considering the focus in the present study, the criterion for inclusion of articles was that the articles discuss a public act of contrition as an instance of apology, whether successful or not. Articles with apologies explicitly referred to were therefore targeted. The apology data elicited and selected was not circular (see Holmes 1990; Jaworski 1994; Davies, Merrison and Goddard 2007:42 for discussions on problems regarding apology data collection). Indeed, owing to the focus on media texts in which apologies are referred to in explicit terms, issues in distinguishing explicit and implicit apologies could not apply.

It was decided that the keywords should be foregrounded in the articles, which accounts for my decision to look for keywords at the start of articles. I also decided to carry out stem searches by means of the NEXIS truncation tool. In NEXIS, truncation to the right is indicated by '!'. This exclamation mark therefore can replace any character and it works like a wildcard in the search, which means that

'apolog!' will identify all forms of apology, i.e. both noun and verb forms and their inflections (e.g. apology, apologies, apologises, apologising).

The choice of keywords was inspired from Aijmer's (1996) list of prototypical apology formulations. According to Aijmer, prototypical apologies include one of the following lexical items which can be modified in various ways (e.g. intensification, pre or post modification): 'sorry', 'pardon', 'excuse me', 'apologise', 'apology/ies' (1996:84-86). Aijmer's study is based on the London Lund corpus, which is a corpus of spoken English, which means that her data is very different from that used in the present analysis. Her list suggests that 'sorry', the noun 'apology/ies' or 'apologise' as a performative verb are the most explicit apology formulations, therefore, they are considered highly likely to appear in public apology uptakes because public apologies are considered to require explicit apology formulations. This is confirmed by Tavuchis who suggests that explicit apology formulations are necessary for public apologies:

(...) The offender has to be sorry and has to say so. These are the essential elements of an authentic apology. Other features, for example, offers of reparation, self-castigation, shame, embarrassment, or promises to reform, may accompany an apology, but they are inessential because, I submit, they are implicit in the state of 'being sorry'.
(Tavuchis 1991:36)

Aijmer (1996) notices that the performative verb 'apologise' occurred in formal contexts. Furthermore, Harris, Grainger and Mullany (2006:720-723; 734) claim that an explicit IFID/Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (i.e. 'sorry' and/or 'apologise') characterises political apologies. This is in common with my intention to use these expressions as keywords to gather the data and is further confirmed by Robinson (2004:293) who considers that:

'Explicit' apologies include Sorry-based units of talk (e.g. I'm sorry) and offers of apology, or what Olshtain and Cohen (1983) termed illocutionary force indicating device (e.g. I must apologise).

With regard to 'pardon', Aijmer suggested it was used primarily in situations in which the speaker had not heard what was said. Although pardon as in 'I beg you to pardon me' or 'I beg for your pardon' can be used as a form of apology, it was deemed unsuitable for the present study. As for 'excuse me', she indicated that it was used for minor offences and was therefore also discarded. Although these two

formulas could be used in public apologies, I considered that their uptake would necessarily refer to more explicit apology formulations, hence my decision not to use them as keywords. The prototypical apology formulations selected to determine which keywords would be used to collect the corpus of British newspaper articles are therefore 'sorry', 'apology/ies' and 'apologise'. The keywords used as search terms in NEXIS are therefore as follows: 'apolog!' and 'sorry.'

The keywords used to gather the French corpora relied on the most prominent research on apologies in French (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2001:129-130). I concentrated on Kerbrat-Orecchioni's perspective on 'direct' apologies, i.e. the use of performative expressions (e.g. '*demander pardon* <to beg for forgiveness>', '*faire ses excuses* <to present one's apologies>'). Kerbrat-Orecchioni's depiction of strategies linked to 'indirect' apologies (2001:129) was also pertinent for this study on public apologies. Indeed, she identified three types of indirect apology strategies:

- (i) *La description d'un état d'âme approprié (embarrass, regret, contrition...)* <Description of an appropriate state of mind for apologising>
- (ii) *La justification de l'offense* <Justification>
- (iii) *Explication de l'offense (ou reconnaissance de la faute)* <Explanation or acknowledgement of the offence>.

With respect to (i), Kerbrat-Orecchioni suggests that in English this is mainly realised by means of 'sorry', but she specifies that in French it is possible to use other expressions such as '*je suis vraiment navré/confus/embêté* <I am really sad/confused/bothered>'. Concerning (ii), she lists several strategies speakers use to justify the offence. Examples of these include expressions such as '*je n'ai pas pu faire autrement* <I couldn't do otherwise>' (responsibility is denied), '*on m'a poussé* <I was forced to do it>' (the blame is put on someone else). Finally in (iii), Kerbrat-Orecchioni considers Olshtain and Cohen's self-humbling strategies (1983) which can lead the speaker to express that the victim is in his or her right to feel offended, for example.

One of Kerbrat-Orecchioni's first indirect apology strategy, namely '*être désolé* <to be sorry>', was considered in this research to be explicit enough to be included amongst the list of prototypical expressions potentially used to publicly apologise or refuse to apologise. I therefore argue that Kerbrat-Orecchioni's view that '*être désolé* <to be sorry>' is an indirect apology is misled. This seems to be further confirmed by current usage of this apology expression in French which suggests that it is often used to apologise explicitly. The list of prototypical apology formulations in French is presented in Table 3.5. Understandably refusals to apologise would combine these expressions with a negative particle (e.g. *ne... pas* <not>).

Table 3.5: Prototypical apology formulations in French

	Translation in English
s'excuser (direct apology)	<To apologise>
présenter des excuses (direct apology)	<To present one's apologies>
faire des excuses (direct apology)	<To make an apology>
prier d'excuser (direct apology)	<To beg for forgiveness>
demander pardon (direct apology)	<To ask for forgiveness>
prier de pardonner (direct apology)	<To beg to be forgiven>
pardon (direct apology – elliptic formulation)	<Sorry>
être désolé (indirect apology)	<To be sorry>

In order to include this entire set of prototypical apology formulations, three keyword search terms were chosen to run searches in NEXIS. These are: 'excusi!', 'pardon' and 'désolé!'

To conclude, all articles identified at this stage will not be included in the corpora, as further explained in discussions of the data collection process (section 4.3). Besides, since two languages are examined, there is no strict correlation between the keywords used to gather the British corpus and French corpus. In that regard, Trouillot rightly points out that that seemingly equivalent expressions in different languages can have very different implications:

In the English vernacular, the noun 'apology' (even more than the French 'excuse' or the Spanish 'excusa') covers a wide range of speech acts, not all of which denote a

repentant subject. Similarly, much like the French 'désolé', the adjective 'sorry' can express anything from sadness and sympathy to commiseration and contrition, requiring Spanish translations as different as 'triste' and 'arrepentido'. (Trouillot, 2000:174)

Despite the inevitable discrepancy between apologetic expressions in British English and French, and thus the keywords used, the searches led to comparable outcomes and the skimming of the corpora (the decision regarding the inclusion or exclusion of articles from the corpora) was possibly the most critical stage of the data collection process.

The following section focusses primarily on introducing the qualitative analysis software used for the purpose of this research to manage and code the corpora, as it forms a constitutive part of the method of analysis applied.

3.3 Methodologies

Although the terms *method* and *methodology* are often used interchangeably (Grix 2002:179), the distinction is explained by Grix (2002:179) as follows:

It is because methodology is concerned with the logic, potentialities and limitations of research methods that the term is often confused and used interchangeably with the research methods themselves.

To clarify the use of these terms in the present work, I use the term *methods* to refer to how the analysis is carried out and *methodology* to point to the philosophical underpinning of these methods, or to the grounds on which particular methods are used. Here the term *methodology* is being used to describe the researchers' ontological and epistemological views of the world (Grix 2002) and thus the views a researcher has of the meaning of research, the ways in which it should or should not be carried out and/or the decisions regarding whether qualitative or quantitative methods should be selected. The philosophical assumptions at the core of the study posit that language grants access to social reality. The corpora under scrutiny are therefore a means to further our understanding of *reality*, in that the media texts under investigation allow access to the reality represented by the press, i.e. a mediated type of discourse. The social reality focussed on is that of public contrition, as the data consists of press accounts following public figures' verbal attempts to redeem themselves by means

of an unequivocal apology, equivocal apology or refusal to apologise. Several methodologies are combined to address the complexity of the data under scrutiny and the objectives of this research. This combining of methodologies is common in discourse analytic work, but the nature of public acts of contrition and mediated discourse in particular require interdisciplinary approaches for the reasons already discussed in chapters 1 and 2. The methodologies used in the present study are discussed below, namely critical discourse analysis, pragmatics, and, to a lesser extent, corpus linguistics.

3.3.1 Pragmatics

The fact that language is often used indirectly is clearly taken account of by discourse analysts, and even more so pragmaticians. In this sense, an examination of the pragmatics of public apologies implies that one would not only literally interpret the apologetic utterances themselves (and the assumptions pertaining to them), but also interpret the apparent meaning of the apologisee, the goals of participants in interaction, the actions performed by apologetic utterances and the way public apologies are perceived and interpreted. This must be necessarily inferred by the analyst but it is also clearly inferred by the recipient. This is a clear indication that pragmatics is an exciting but also potentially challenging area of linguistic study, for it involves examining complex aspects of language, namely what is not said but implied, what people have in mind and what is communicated without being said. Hence, pragmatics is a central methodology in the present study, for what is implied by news texts in the way public acts of contrition are contextualised is focussed on.

Speech Act Theory, one of the most prominent pragmatic theories the present work is drawing upon, originated with Austin's seminal book in 1969 which established that utterances are best considered as *actions* or *speech acts*. Utterances are attributed three forces, namely *locutionary*, *illocutionary* and *perlocutionary* forces (see chapter 1 where these are discussed in further detail). The concepts of illocutionary and perlocutionary force in particular are useful although these distinctions have been disputed. As suggested in section 2.2.5, the concept of *felicity conditions* can determine whether a speech act will be *happy*

(i.e. felicitous) or not. In pragmatic terms, inference refers to attempts by the reader/listener to identify the meaning implicated by the speaker/writer (i.e. implicature). Considering the data analysed, two types of speakers/writers may be identified in this study, namely apologisers and the media. As for hearer/readers, these correspond to the readership of newspaper. The present study thus focusses on inferences about public apologies as represented in the media. However, pragmatics is also useful in gauging issues such as the intended meaning of speakers/writers.

3.3.2 Critical discourse analysis

The critical discourse analytic dimension of the present study lies in its focus on the ways in which what is implied is ideologically loaded. Prior to discussing critical discourse analysis, it seems appropriate to discuss its discipline of origin, namely discourse analysis. The latter can be considered to be a versatile discipline in the wide ranging and long established field of linguistics, and has been increasingly recognised as a valuable method of enquiry, potentially casting light upon social phenomena via the investigation of language in context.

In addition to what was said above about the importance of examining naturally occurring data, Stubbs (1983) goes somewhat further in stressing this as he includes it as a defining criterion in his definition of discourse analysis: 'the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected spoken or written discourse' (1983:1 cited in Fielding and Leed 1991:18). The difficulty in defining discourse analysis partly springs from the versatility of the term *discourse*. Besides being used interchangeably with the term *text*, *discourse* is often attributed a wide range of meanings which are discussed extensively in the literature (e.g. Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter 2000:25). For this research, discourse is understood as 'actual language use in social context' (Shi-xu 1997:30). This means that discourse can be spoken or written, similarly to van Dijk's definition (1977 cited in Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter 2000:26). Considering the critical dimension of the present study, it is assumed that the texts in the corpora give access to the interests of actors involved in the press. This echoes van Leeuwen's definition of discourse (which draws on Foucault 1970) as:

(...) Socially constructed knowledges of some aspect of reality. By 'socially constructed' I mean that these knowledges have been developed in specific contexts, and in ways which are appropriate to the interests of social actors in these contexts, whether they are large contexts – multinational corporations – or small ones – a particular family – strongly institutionalised contexts – the press – or the relatively informal ones – dinner table conversations, etc.
(van Leeuwen 2005:94)

On the other hand, van Dijk considers that discourse analysis provides an 'insight into the forms and mechanisms of human communication and verbal interaction' (1985:4 cited in Fielding and Leed 1991:18). Outlooks on discourse analysis are numerous and definitions broad. Within this study, Stubbs' (1983) and van Dijk's (2005) definitions have resonance in the sense of using naturally-occurring data as a means to accessing mechanisms related to press institutions.

The pertinence of discourse analysis as a methodology granting access to candid and reliable versions of reality has caused it to be used by a range of social scientists for whom language was traditionally not their prime object of study. Ethnographers, critical psychologists, historians and sociologists, to mention but a few, have used discourse analysis as a methodology. In that regard, Coupland (1988:6) states that discourse analysis is better considered as 'an orientation to social explanation – as an openness to the interpretation of situated communication events where some non-linguistic dynamic is a candidate for analysis'. It is in this sense, discourse analysis is seen as less of a theory or method of analysis than a methodology. This particular point has been widely debated amongst linguists, but is largely beyond the scope of this study.

Depending on the approach upheld by researchers, discourse analysis can focus on various aspects of discourse, i.e. textual elements on the surface of texts are used to comment on concepts such as information structure, co-text and discourse markers for example. Here, the focus is on traces of evaluation in the discourse of apology press uptakes (more particularly verbatim apologies and explicitly and implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments), i.e. the pragmatic rather than textual elements of the media texts considered. However, a more recent evolution of discourse analysis is the area of critical discourse analysis.

Following Erjavec (2004:555), the approach to discourse analysis used here draws on Fairclough's conception of critical discourse analysis (1989; 1992; 1995a; 1995b; also see Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000 for a survey of this disciplinary

field), whereby discourse is defined as a linguistic/semiotic construction of one social practice from a particular perspective within another social practice (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). This definition of 'discourse' as 'social practice' implies that versions of reality are tied to the 'situation', and the 'institution' and 'social structure' attached to this discourse type (Wodak 1996:15 cited in Titscher Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter 2000:26). When discourse is perceived as 'social practice', it is a form of 'social action', as a part of the socio-cultural practices of society as well as its social context. As a result, discourse is considered to be socially shaped and socially constituted (Fowler and Kress 1979:190). In the corpora, the discourse of the media texts investigated provides evidence that news writers decide what to write in accordance with these discursive practices, but also that what is written is organised and structured by these practices. This highlights the dialectical relationships of discourse, whereby the saying and the doing reproduce the form of the discourse which corresponds to these practices. In turn, what is said and done is determined or conditioned by other aspects of society, i.e. context (the immediate, institutional and societal contexts). The media texts in the corpora are considered to have an inherently ambiguous relationship to reality, mainly because they reflect ideologies, while also contributing to constructing new ideologies or transforming/shaping already existing ideologies. In much of his work Fairclough (1989; 1992; 1995a; 1995b) suggests that each discursive event has three dimensions or facets: (i) it is a spoken or written language text (this aspect has been elaborated upon in previous paragraphs), (ii) it is an instance of discursive practice involving the production and interpretation of text (particularly relevant with media texts), and (iii) it is a piece of social practice. According to Blommaert (2005:29-30), discourse as social practice involves the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is seen to operate. This relates to the Foucauldian concept of 'orders of discourse' that highlight the link between discourse, social practice and ideology.

Critical discourse analysis originated with the work of critical linguists who initially relied on Hallidayian linguistics to explore language use in social institutions and the relationships between language, power and ideology. It is primarily concerned with the ways in which linguistic (inter)actions are shaped by and perform power differences, that is, how language is envisaged as a social act with ideological

processes which mediate relationships of power and control in society. Critical linguistics is called *critical* as it assumes that social meanings are not made explicit in the linguistic structures and therefore ought to be demystified so as to make these meanings transparent. Critical discourse analysis, on the other hand, is critical because it aims to unveil the interconnectedness between language, power and ideology (Fairclough 1989:5). Its critical slant is also often equated with a political stance (rooted in Marxist ideas) against the dominant and dominating modes of practices, especially those presenting themselves as features of existence which are meant to be (or 'naturalised' as explained in the next section). With that in mind, critical discourse analysts might arguably be considered to aim for the creation of a more equitable and just society (Kress 1996:15). The main premise of critical discourse analysis is that language and more broadly, discourse, are the instruments through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced (Foucault 1970). Bearing in mind this role of discourse in the dissemination of ideology, media discourse in particular has become a much favoured object of enquiry.

Research on the concept of *ideology* within and outside the area of linguistics is vast. Critical discourse analysts perceive ideology as a set of shared beliefs by a social group. In this thesis, Fairclough's more critical outlook on the notion of ideology as *commonsense* is also taken into account. This implies that ideology regards the 'normal' perceptions we have of the world as a system, i.e. the 'naturalised' activities that sustain, reinforce and reproduce patterns of power. This view focusses on the unequal relations of power, domination and exploitation (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:275-276) and underpins some of the considerations on ideology outlined in the present research project.

Van Dijk (1998:23-24) identifies three aspects of ideology, namely its 'social functions', 'cognitive structures' and 'discursive expressions'. The cognitive perspective on ideology presupposes that ideology involves beliefs or mental representations, although in the case of ideologies and the opinions of newspapers, these are usually not personal but social, institutional or political (van Dijk 1998). The social functions of ideologies imply that they are acquired and used in social contexts and thus shared/used by groups and members. This dimension stresses the need for people to further develop and use ideologies to

fulfill their desire to co-ordinate the social practices of group members in order to meet the needs and protect the interests of the social group, to sustain/legitimate/manage conflicts and to sustain relationships of power and dominance. The cognitive structures of ideology imply that specific group attitudes in relation to the basic interests of the group are organised. This emphasises the notions of *ingroupness* and *outgroupness*, for example, presenting themselves as *good* and others as *bad*. As for the discursive expression and reproduction of ideology in socially situated text and talk, it is visible in news reports in the way certain aspects of news stories are foregrounded and others overlooked. With regard to the thesis, the three aspects of ideology are touched upon. Van Dijk (1990:177) rightly specifies that the media is likely to be indicative of ideological frameworks reflecting the dominant ideology:

(...) Ideologies of dominant groups monitor the development of SRs [social representations], the formation of models, and the production of the action and discourse of group members in such a way that the group will maintain power and reproduce its hegemony with respect to dominated groups, as has been most obvious in classism, sexism and racism.

News events are necessarily ideological, as suggested by studies acknowledging the representational dimension of ideology (Jaworski and Galasiński 2002:450). The study of ideology in press uptakes is also a means to understand ways in which the media report on political news events, and thus account for the connection between public apologies and the sphere of politics. The different status of political apologies press uptakes is perceptible through the findings of studies which have investigated ideology in politics. The Gramscian view (1971), for example, perceives politics as a struggle for hegemony against resistance – a particular way of conceptualising power which emphasises how power depends upon achieving consent or at least acquiescence rather than just having the resources to use force amongst other things. From his point of view, the importance of ideology is in sustaining these relations of power. The relationship of ideology to politics is further evidenced by Jaworski and Galasiński (2002:450):

Accomplishing ideology is an important end in political (both with capital and small 'p') discourse because its acceptance by the audience (especially mass media audiences) ensures the establishment of group rapport (...).

An important aspect of research on ideology is the fact that interpretations of data such as the present one cannot be devoid of ideology (see Irvine and Gal 2000 on the consequences of the analyst's ideology for scholarship). Awareness of the ways in which scholars' own ideologies can interfere with their interpretations is therefore essential, especially for critical work such as the present one. Indeed, if the aim of such studies is to raise awareness in relation to particular power imbalances within society, it is important that accounts are as systematic as possible. The inductive approach adopted in the present work is part of my attempt to limit the interference of my belief systems in the thesis. Nevertheless, focussing on two European cultures I have a thorough experience of hampered the risk of interference of my own ideologies because my familiarity with the two chosen cultures limited the scope for misunderstandings based on cultural misinterpretations. More importantly, this allowed me to take an 'emic' perspective (Harris 1964; Pike 1967).

The issue of representation is central in this research. Van Leeuwen (2005:94-95) argues that the same issue can be represented differently through differing discourses. Here, this can relate to the different ways of knowing newspapers would carry, and thus the different ways of representing the same *object* of knowledge (i.e. news events). Van Leeuwen uses the example of wars to explain this point. Given that we know that wars exist and cause much harm and damage, van Leeuwen suggests that our knowing of wars, however, is socially constructed in and through discourse. This also means that the same individual can have different knowledges of wars and can talk about the same war(s) in several different ways, depending on the situation as well as his or her own individual interests, purposes, and affiliations. Van Leeuwen (2005:95-6) describes this as the plurality of discourse – a feature of discourse that he explains by using two different discourses of the heart. The heart can be represented as an organ via a scientific discourse or as an object to symbolise love in a poem, thus representing the heart through a discourse of love. This plurality of discourse shows elements of selection that may include or exclude certain representations in order to serve a particular perspective or purpose. This makes discourse ideological. This view is echoed by Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996:12) who advocate that discourse is an 'ideologically invested vehicle' whereby discursive practices are linked to the

interest of particular social groups, and certain practices may take on a more dominant role or position than other practices, to the extent that the former may seem natural or commonsensical to language users. This highlights two different dimensions of discourse, i.e. discourse as text and discourse as the ideological significance of text.

In summary, and following Fairclough's critical discourse analytic perspective, discourse is conceptualised here as involving texts, their production and interpretation, and the socio-cultural elements of their practice. It also follows the Foucauldian perspective of discourse as discursive representations or socially constructed knowledges of reality (as stated by van Leeuwen 2005). Both these perspectives view discourse as an instrument for the dissemination and reproduction of ideologies.

3.3.3 Corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistic studies inherently focus on large corpora of naturally occurring language, so as to unveil aspects of language use which analysts could not otherwise identify. Quantifying is therefore a salient aspect in corpus linguistics. Besides corroborating this view, Widdowson (1996) also emphasises the role of computers in the development of corpus linguistics, allowing the collection and analysis of large corpora of naturally-occurring spoken and written language.

As far as the present study is concerned, it strengthens its case by carrying out a discourse analytic examination of a large body of texts collected following corpus linguistic data collection methods. This led to the identification of aspects of media texts which *introspection* and *elicitation* alone would not have allowed. Partington (2003:208) and Meyer (2002:xiii) suggest that discourse analysis and corpus linguistics should be considered as 'methodologies' rather than 'schools of thought'. Partington (2003:4) argues that corpus-based research in discourse analysis (or pragmatics) can be justified if specialised corpora are used. According to Partington, it is possible to 'use concordance technology and the detailed linguistic evidence available in corpora to enhance the study of the discourse features of a particular genre of the language' (2003:3). Partington's position is exemplified in this project which consists of the close linguistic analysis of two

specialised corpora. What motivated this research is an intensive and systematic corpus-linguistic approach to the collection of data combined with a qualitative discourse-based investigation into the details of the language used by the media to discuss public acts of contrition represented as apologies. The original focus of corpus linguistics may be considered to be computer-supported studies commonly used in lexicography and grammar because large samples of text are explored, whereas that of discourse analysis would usually not be computer-assisted and based on fairly small samples of text. Although at first glance these may seem to be contradictory, the present study clearly indicates that these foci can complement each other in a way that significantly enhances the quality of linguistic research. The input of corpus linguistics in this research thus relates to the debate existing around the ways discourse analysis can benefit from corpus linguistic methodology (see Mautner 2009 on the potential of combining corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis).

3.4 Summary

This chapter focussing on the design of the present research indicated that the study focusses on newspaper articles published between the 1st of July 2006 and the 30th of June 2007, in five French newspapers and seven British newspapers. The media texts under scrutiny are presented as apology press uptakes, i.e. press reports following the delivery of speech acts which are discussed as instances (successful or not) of apologies.

The discussion around the methodologies used highlighted one of the strengths of the analysis, namely the unusual combination of corpus linguistic tools used in the pragmatic-discursive analysis of media texts carried out here. Indeed, the study enables qualitatively led claims to be backed up by quantitative evidence. Although findings are not subjected to statistical analysis in the present study, this combination of methodologies makes it apparent the potential of future research exploring such avenues. Pragmatics, on the other hand, was perceived to be useful in that it was seen to offer the most pertinent tools to investigate the different layers of meaning evidenced in the media representation of public apologies.

Chapter 4 introduces other aspects of the design of this research, namely the ways in which the collection and coding of the data was conducted.

Chapter four: Collection and coding of apology press uptakes

4.1 Chapter overview

This chapter describes an essential stage of the research conducted in the thesis, namely the ways in which the data to support the following chapters was collected and coded. This chapter is a direct follow-up from chapter 3, since it concerns the design of the research. As discussed earlier, the primary intent of the data collection process was to identify newspaper articles published in the British and French press between the 1st of July 2006 and the 30th of June 2007 which discuss prominent examples of public acts of contrition as instances of apologies. It is evident that in terms of how fact or opinion-based newspaper articles are, they are best considered as a hybrid of the two. It is hardly possible to delineate clear-cut categories of fact- or opinion-based newspaper articles, and distinguishing between purely fact-based newspaper articles, opinion-based ones, and articles which include both facts and opinions for example, would lead to a misconstrued outlook on press journalism (Bell 1991; Fowler 1991). It therefore seems more appropriate to consider that newspaper articles can be placed on a continuum ranging from news reporting to opinion. In this study, newspaper articles closer to the news reporting end of the continuum are focussed on. Editorials, opinion articles, debate and comments articles were therefore not included. Although this might seem to conflict with the focus on evaluation in this study, this decision was guided by a desire to examine ways in which evaluation permeates news reports where evaluation might be regarded as less prominent than in other opinion-oriented reports. In other words, focus is on media texts associated with the 'objective voice of hard news reporters' as opposed to 'the subjective voice of the news analysts or commentators' (Haarman and Lombardo 2009b:4). Feature articles, which conventionally encompass elements evidencing the opinion of news

writers, were included in the corpora because they were considered to be closer to the news reporting end of the continuum.

As previously stated, the approach to analysis adopted here is data-driven, that is, primarily based on the exploration of the data. The data collection and coding techniques described in this chapter thus emerged from this exploration. This inductive dimension of the method of analysis means that theories or hypotheses are not foregrounded. This implies that predefined categories were not used to carry out the analysis, which is fairly unprecedented as compared to most previous research on apologies outlined in chapter 2. Nevertheless, Haraway's (1991) suggestion that data must be viewed through particular theories reminds us that research cannot be non-positioned or objectively true. This is particularly pertinent for critical research and prompted me to be explicit and reflective with regard to the perspective taken in this research. One of the main foci has therefore been to ensure that the findings are as reliable as possible. As the person responsible for the evaluation of the data, I therefore have made every attempt to ensure that the influence of previous understandings, assumptions and theories about apologies be as limited as possible. Therefore, the literature was only used to come up with a clear definition of the analytic categories during the early stages of coding, but was not used to identify the recurrent themes in the news texts, nor group them into the five categories elaborated upon in section 7.2. The literature is only returned when these lexical items or groups of lexical items are analysed. The research carried out here is therefore evidently qualitative in essence.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 4.2 introduces the computer-assisted method of analysis used. In section 4.3 the process of building the corpora is explained in detail. Finally, the coding schema are presented in section 4.4.

4.2 Computer-assisted method of analysis: working with ALTAS.TI

The fact that the data sample was carefully selected (see section 4.3 for further details about the selection of the corpora), as opposed to collected randomly as happens in more quantitative approaches to language research, is evidence of the discourse-focussed approach of this study. Nevertheless, the design of this

research also highlights a concern for systematicity to permit repeatability and should someone else carry out the research in accordance with the guidelines provided here, it is assumed similar conclusions would be reached.

A large body of literature is concerned with the investigation of the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative studies which are often criticised as less reliable than the more popular quantitative studies. This debate has stereotypically placed the proponents of *traditional sciences* in opposition to those of *social sciences*, but more interestingly it has raised a series of issues in that social scientists now have access to a range of quantitative methods available to them because of the advent of computers and qualitative analysis software. Some social scientific studies have thus come to rely on quantitative methods to make sense of human behaviour. As previously indicated, the present study combines quantitative and qualitative methods because quantitative methods alone in linguistic studies do not grant us access to what is beneath the surface of language, nor to an understanding of human behaviour which is not directly observable. Coding was therefore a key element in getting access to the less obvious linguistic characteristics of the media text under scrutiny. It evidences the qualitative nature of the work undertaken here. It is introduced in section 4.4 and explored in greater detail in chapter 5 (thematic analytic chapter). The next section explores ways in which the software package used to manage and code the data impacted on the research.

4.2.1 Qualitative analysis software

The software package used in the thesis is called ATLAS.TI (code-based theory building qualitative software program). It is one of the software programs used for computer-assisted qualitative data software analysis¹² (CAQDAS). Such types of software are centred on the coding of chunks of data that can subsequently be retrieved to allow researchers to work with their data in a range of ways. This is suggested by Lewins and Silver (2007:7):

¹² For further information about CAQDAS, consult the *CAQDAS Networking Project* at the following address: <http://caqdas.soc.surrey.ac.uk/quiconlineqda.html> [last accessed 20.03.10]. Alternatively, its sister project Online QDA available on <http://onlineqda.hud.ac.uk/index.php> [last accessed 20.03.10].

Code-based theory building packages extend the abilities of search tools, allowing the researcher to test relationships between issues, concepts and themes, to develop broader or higher order categories, or, at the other extreme, to develop more detailed and specific codes where certain conditions combine in the data.

For Kelle (2000:293), 'the use of software packages can make the research process more systematic and explicit', which can enhance the reliability of research for discourse analysts and widen its scope. For these reasons, I decided to use ATLAS.TI for the present research. Indeed, this software seemed particularly suitable and relevant because the coding scheme in the research is non-hierarchical¹³ and large amounts of data are coded in a systematic manner. The identification of parallels, not possible if the coding had been carried out manually, was therefore made possible.

Admittedly, the coding of textual data can raise issues. For example, coding can be seen to break down the data in such a way that findings are fragmented, especially when software is used to assist the analysis. However, this could be avoided in ATLAS.TI because I had access to the full text of articles during the coding, which guaranteed easy access to the broader context of discourse realisation. This supported the data analysis on several levels, ranging from structural to semantic. Coding is central to the qualitative method (Lewins and Silver 2007:82), but it can be understood in various ways depending on the questions asked of the data. Coding can operate on many levels (for example, semantic, syntactic and grammatical) and is often a very detailed (if not intricate) process. This process, however, eventually gives way to a higher level of abstraction. There are many approaches to the qualitative task of coding data which vary depending on whether the approach is inductive or deductive for example, or on the type of task codes are meant to support within a study (Lewins and Silver 2007:82-90). For the purposes of the present study, one type of code was used, namely thematic/conceptual codes. Such codes are concerned with the interpretative stages of the research and are therefore grounded in the data. They enable segments of the data that were deemed to be representative of the same idea, concept, theme, to be pulled together. For example, one of the key codes in the thesis (i.e. the [OC1 explicit comment] code) allowed me to retrieve and

¹³ A non-hierarchical coding scheme implies that no specific way of coding the data is imposed. However, some qualitative data analysis software only allow hierarchical coding (e.g. the NVIVO software).

analyse all excerpts from articles relevant to the discursive representation of public acts of contrition in the corpora. These were excerpts from newspapers in which the evaluative stance of the news writer was explicit (i.e. clearly perceptible). The different types of thematic codes in the data are discussed in section 4.4.2.

To conclude, the primary use of using ATLAS.TI was to code the data and ask questions of the data, which I felt allowed me to improve the quality of the research by allowing the working method to be more transparent and rigorous.

4.2.2 Project and terminology in ATLAS.TI

Unsurprisingly, ATLAS.TI has its own terminology to refer to different components of research projects, or tasks with which it can assist researchers. This section of the chapter offers a brief view of ATLAS.TI terminology by navigating through the HTML version of the project in ATLAS.TI¹⁴. Only key terminology will be focussed on. Upon opening the thesis project in ATLAS.TI., primary documents/PDs¹⁵, quotations¹⁶, and codes¹⁷ (which are the backbone of the project managed in ATLAS.TI) are activated. These are clearly foregrounded in ATLAS.TI, as suggested by its interface (see drop down menus in the reproduction of the interface in Figure 4.1).

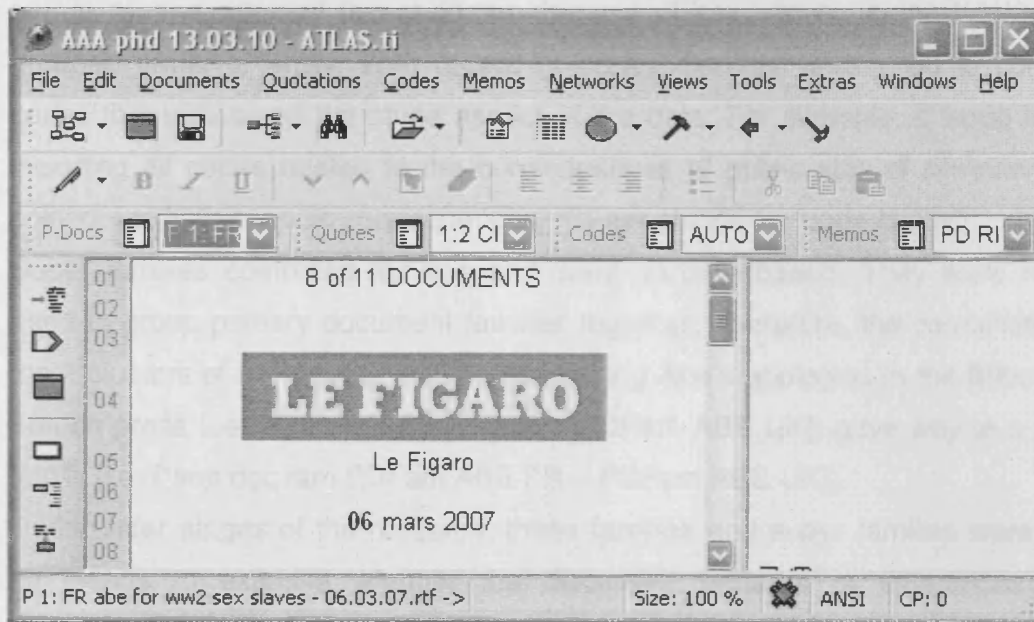
¹⁴ The CD provided alongside with the dissertation is the full version of the thesis project in ATLAS.TI. It includes all articles (*Primary documents*) considered in the thesis and themes having emerged (*Codes*).

¹⁵ These are the newspaper articles.

¹⁶ These are the excerpts from newspaper articles which I coded for later analyses.

¹⁷ These are the themes I identified in the newspaper articles, and more precisely in the quotations (i.e. data excerpts)

Figure 4.1: Interface of qualitative analysis software (ATLAS.TI)



Primary documents are the newspaper articles from the British and French press. Although ATLAS.TI supports textual, audio and video data, only textual data is examined here. *Quotations* are excerpts from the newspaper articles included in the project. In relation to textual data, quotations can consist of, for example, a word or a whole article. In turn, quotations can be assigned codes. *Codes* are therefore sets of quotations, here sections of the texts that were assigned a code. As will become evident in section 4.4.1 discussing the coding process, ATLAS.TI offers two ways of coding the data: automatic and manual coding. However, *semi-automatic coding* is also referred to in the data, which is a term I coined to refer to data coded by means of the *automatic coding* tool in ATLAS.TI with the intervention of the analyst. In practice, these semi-automatic codes mean that quotations were only coded if I agreed to include them.

Newspaper articles and codes could be managed by means of 'families' and 'super families' in ATLAS.TI, which was particularly useful in that a large amount of data was analysed. For example, all newspaper articles from the British press were grouped together under a 'primary document family' entitled [PDF AA CORPUS BRITISH] (PDF stands for primary document family, i.e. a cluster of newspaper articles). Families were also used to group articles covering a similar news story in the British or French corpus. For example, articles published in the

French press and discussing Japanese Prime Minister Abe's refusal to apologise (event 1) and apology (event 2) for the use of sex slaves during WW2 were grouped under a family. With regard to codes, families were used to combine codes that concerned the same aspect of the data. For example, a 'code family' including all codes related to the consequences of public acts of contrition was coined, i.e. [CFam apolo consequences] (CFam stands for 'code family').

Super families combined families and were variable-based. They were mainly used to group primary document families together. Therefore, the combination of the 2 clusters of newspaper articles concerning Abe's apologies in the British and French press (i.e. [PDFam ABE FR] and [PDFam ABE UK]) gave way to a super family [i.e. [*sup doc fam PDFam ABE FR + PDFam ABE UK]].

During later stages of the research, these families and super families were used as means to examine whether the discursive patterns or differences were associated with particular news stories, newspapers or the two national media cultures considered.

ATLAS.TI also offered the possibility of using 'comments' (writing tool available in ATLAS.TI which works as *post-it* notes), which in the present work were considered to be part of the coding process (further information showing how these were used is included in Appendix 2).

Considering the inductive discourse analytic approach to the data adopted, the data excerpts¹⁸ coded were the primary object of interpretation, and the possibility of focussing on the newspaper articles corresponding to a particular news story made it possible to retrieve all verbatim apologies in the newspaper *Aujourd'hui en France*, for example. The counts of data excerpts under the codes identified in the thesis project in each of the 268 newspaper articles included in the corpora (i.e. 'codes-primary documents-table' in ATLAS.TI) was another valuable source of information for the interpretative stages of the data analysis. ATLAS.TI also offered a variety of tools for the interpretation of the data which are discussed in Appendix 2 where further information on which tools were used is provided.

¹⁸ ATLAS.TI offers the potential to retrieve all data excerpts (i.e. quotations) under a particular code. For example, all verbatim apologies can be retrieved, for these correspond to the [OC1 verbatim apologies] code in ATLAS.TI).

The following section explores the stages of the data collection process, focussing on precisely accounting for the media texts included in the final version of the corpora which are at the core of chapters 6 and 7.

4.3 Data collection process

The collection of the corpora occurred in three stages. To start with, keyword searches were carried out separately for each newspaper, which implies that the early stages of the British corpus comprised of seven sub-corpora since seven British newspapers are included in the analysis. The French corpus contained five sub-corpora, each corresponding to one of the five French newspapers considered. As will be explained, the final version of the corpora focusses on the news stories rather than newspapers. In other words, the final version of the corpora is organised according to the 34 news stories kept for analysis (i.e. news stories having engendered the most press coverage). Nonetheless, as previously stated, primary document families allow for articles published in a particular newspaper or in the British or French press to be examined.

As the following sections will suggest, one of the strengths of the analysis lies in the systematic and comprehensive data collection technique adopted. The premise of the study, as previously suggested, is that the effectiveness of corpus linguistic data collection techniques for pragmatic discursive analyses is under-researched and the present work therefore positions itself as an attempt to combine these two research methodologies to further the scope of apology research. It is posited that the ability of the present study to explore the discursive construction of a wide range of apology press uptakes would not have been possible without the input of corpus linguistic tools.

Section 4.3.1 reveals the final version of the corpora, whereas sections 4.3.2 to 4.3.4 are concerned with the first, second and third stage of the data collection, each stage indicating that articles were discarded so as to give way to the corpora reflecting the most *newsworthy* apology news stories in the British and French press within the time period considered. Section 4.3.5, on the other hand, concerns the organisation of the data to optimise the forthcoming analyses.

4.3.1 Final version of the corpora

Table 4.1 provides a record of all the news stories included in the final version of the corpora. The last column on the right-hand side indicates which keywords were used to retrieve the articles with NEXIS.

Table 4.1: News stories in both corpora

	News story	Brit.	Fr.	Keywords used in NEXIS
1	Abe for WW2 sex slaves – 2 events	Yes	Yes	Abe
2	Baros for racism		Yes	Baros
3	Berlusconi for marriage proposal	Yes	Yes	Berlusconi
4	Big brother for racism – 7 events	Yes	Yes	Big brother
5	Blair for slavery – 2 events	Yes	Yes	Blair + slavery in British corpus Blair in French corpus
6	Blair for the times he fell short	Yes	Yes	Blair
7	Blue Peter for phone-in issue – 3 events	Yes		Blue Peter
8	British Navy crisis – 6 events	Yes	Yes	Navy No keyword for French corpus
9	Cameron for misuse of office	Yes		Cameron
10	Delarue for aggressive behaviour		Yes	Delarue
11	Devedjian for insult	Yes	Yes	Devedjian
12	Duviau for murder		Yes	Duviau
13	Ferry for anti-Semitism	Yes		Ferry

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14	Gibson for anti-Semitism – 3 events	Yes		Gibson
15	GMTV for phone-in issue – 2 events	Yes	Yes	GMTV
16	Granomort for murder		Yes	Granomort
17	Hewitt for issue over junior doctors – 2 events	Yes		Hewitt
18	Johnson for racism	Yes		Boris + Papua
19	Kony for war crimes		Yes	Kony
20	MacNeil for fondling with two girls	Yes		MacNeil
21	Newell for sexism – 2 events	Yes		New ell
22	Police for Forest Gate mistakes	Yes		Police
23	Police for investigation into Dizaei	Yes		Dizaei June 2007
24	The Pope for his remarks on Islam – 2 events	Yes	Yes	Pope in British corpus <i>Pape</i> <Pope> in French corpus
25	Prescott for adultery	Yes		Prescott
26	Royal for harsh remark		Yes	Royal
27	Serbo-Bosniac government for war crimes		Yes	Serb!
28	Sevrn for racism		Yes	Sevrn
29	Ahern for donations	Yes		Taoiseach
30	Canada for wrongful detention	Yes	Yes	Canad!

31	U.S. for discrimination	Yes	Yes	Venez!
32	Virginia for slavery	Yes		Virginia
33	Wolfowitz for partner's pay rise	Yes		Wolfowitz
34	Zidane for headbutt – 2 events	Yes	Yes	Zidane

This table shows that on the whole stories covered in the French press are not only less numerous in the French press (21 news stories for 61 articles), but also that most apology news stories in the French corpus are not covered in the British corpus and inversely.

The information presented in Table 4.1 complements that of the table in Appendix 2 presenting the summaries of the 34 news stories covered in the final version of the corpora. This table in Appendix 2 was adapted from the comments attached to news stories during the coding of the corpora. These summaries focus on the core elements of the public act of contrition under scrutiny, that is, information regarding the apologisee, the apologisee, the offence and the remedy (equivocal/unequivocal apology or refusal to apologise). These correspond to Deutschmann's main components of public apologies (2003) which are quite central in the forthcoming analyses (especially chapter 5).

With regard to apologies by the ship crew for entering Iranian waters and the apology by Browne for allowing the sales of the stories by the crew, both included under the British Navy crisis news story, it may be argued that the two apologetic events constituting this apology could have been described as separate news stories. However, since these apologies were occasioned by the same event, they were considered as the same news story. This may seem to apply to all news stories including more than one event. Apologetic stories including more than one event (henceforth *multi-event apology news stories*) may be explained in several ways. On the one hand, the occurrence of a second (or further) signifies that the first act of contrition was considered as unsatisfactory, thus the need to issue a second (or further) one. This applies to the news story concerning the Pope, particularly when he met with Muslim leaders to apologise a second time because his first attempt to make amends was not perceived as satisfactory. This is also

relevant for Abe's apology (second public act of contrition), following the U.S.-led uproar at his refusal to apologise (first public act of contrition). These news stories are obviously highly dependent on the media's perception of the events constituting them, as the reaction of apologisees or general public is necessarily mediated. As indicated by the Big Brother and Blue Peter news stories, the presence of more than one apologetic event may be indicative of the fact that several parties apologise separately because they share the responsibility for the offence. Besides showing the breadth of the corpora, the summaries of news stories in Appendix 2 emphasise that multi-event apology news stories can be quite complex, which is addressed in the analyses presented in chapters 6 and 7. However, it may be questioned whether this more complex unfolding of events is not a creation of the media. Indeed, public figures performing more than one public act of contrition can be directly related to demands for further apologies issued in the press. To that extent, the corpora indicate how the Pope's first performance of contrition is represented as having been followed by demands for a personal apology by some of the apologisees. This is evident in the following example:

(1) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [demands for apology] {Art. 218}

THE POPE said "sorry" yesterday to the world's Muslims if his comments on Islam were misinterpreted and upset them.

But some Muslim leaders still demanded a "personal apology" from the pontiff.

(The Sunday Mirror – 17.09.06)

This points to the perception and thus representation of some performances of contrition as unsatisfying by the press. As suggested in (1), the corpora indicate that demands for further contrition are often voiced through third parties or apologisees. Multi-event apology news stories can therefore be understood as evidence of the media's attempt to continue with the coverage of certain stories as a means to fuel the conflict dimension of stories which may increase their *news value* (Jaworski and Galasiński 2002:463).

4.3.2 Stage 1: Preliminary version of the corpora

This section concerns the first stage of the data collection process. Keyword searches were carried out in the 12 newspapers. The articles retrieved in this way

were reviewed by means of the 'expanded list' tool available in NEXIS. This means that the title and a few sentences where the keywords were used in the article were shown on the computer screen. This stage of the process allowed the most obviously irrelevant (i.e. off-topic) articles to be eliminated. As will be further explained in section 5.2.1, *one-off apologies* are focussed on, therefore articles concerning *generic apologies* were not included in the corpora. Most articles disregarded at this stage were not related to public apologising in any way. They were articles in which the keywords were used to perform a speech act other than that of public apology or to refer to something unrelated to accounts. Consider for example, '*trouver une excuse* <find an excuse>', '*l'excuse de minorité* <French statute ruling that juvenile offenders face a punishment that is half of the legal punishment that can be dealt to a person over 18>', '*mot d'excuses* <note of apology>' or 'sorry' to introduce a reformulation.

In some cases, newspaper articles were related to public apologies, but discussed aspects other than their uptake (focus of the present study). These were articles which were, for example, part of media discussions leading to apologies, articles focussing on the need for an apology (for example, the news writer considers that an apology is due but has not been issued and probably will not be issued) or demands for an apology for example. These were therefore duly omitted. Some of these disregarded articles were obviously potentially relevant to the understanding of public acts of contrition, but were not directly relevant to the research questions asked in the present study. Nevertheless, although these discarded articles were not included in the analysis, they informed my knowledge not only of the contextual background of the apologies included in the final version of the corpora, but also of public apologising in general in Britain and France within the time frame considered.

In view of the exponential growth of apologies in the sphere of sports, I decided to discard articles presenting highly routinised apologies by sports people that did not seem to fit in the present investigation into the representation of public acts of contrition discussed as apologies by the media. The reason for this is that they mention the acts of contrition (apologies rather than refusals to apologise) only in passing and are therefore examples of highly anecdotal public apologies, scoring low in terms of newsworthiness, with their uptake often being limited to one or two

newspapers. They are mainly found in the British press and it is noteworthy that most of these emanated from the sphere of football. Apologisers were players, managers, commentators and referees who apologised, for example, for their poor performance at a game, the poor performance of their team and their breaching of a social norm (e.g. violent behaviour, drunkenness, swearing, and racism). However, there were also a number of apologies by sports people whose newsworthiness appeared to be comparable to that of other types of public apologies, in that the press coverage was wide ranging. These were therefore kept for analysis. This decision does not overlook the fact that the aforementioned routinised examples of sports apologies have news value, but indicates that their main purpose was not to convey the uptake of an apology.

Uptakes of the decision by Ofcom to force Channel 4 to apologise were also excluded, although these were useful in understanding the overall process by which Big Brother and Channel 4 made amends to their viewers. It is worth noting, however, that Ofcom's decision led to much criticism, leading *The Daily Telegraph* to allude to the 'publicity-worthy' aspect of the issuing of these apologies (see Appendix 1 Article 13). Another example is that of an article from *The Daily Mirror* which was discarded, as it focussed on several instances of apologising. Furthermore, it was an opinion-based news report (not the focus of the present study). This article suggests that 'apologies rather than defiance, it seems, is the new humbler way public figures dig themselves out of holes', thus echoing the critical stance of this newspaper towards the growing frequency of apologies. Finally, on several occasions, although the same event was discussed in the British and French press, it turned out that the French press did not refer to an apology in its uptakes of the event, while the British press did. These French articles were therefore not included in the corpora. This may be considered to evidence the greater news value of apologies in Britain, which is further confirmed in the analytic chapters (chapters 5-7).

There was only one instance of apology withdrawal (see Appendix 1 Article 15) which was removed because it is not the focus here. This example, however, combined with the articles regarding equivocal/unequivocal apologies and refusals to apologise, indicates that apology processes vary in shape and form.

The full text of all of the articles identified in this first stage of the data collection process constituted a *raw* or preliminary version of the corpora comprising of, as previously mentioned, 12 documents, each forming a sub-corpus. The following section describes the second stage of the data collection process, which gave way to the compiling of lists of news stories covered in early stages of the British and French corpora.

4.3.3 Stage 2: Unfiltered version of the corpora

It is evident that the articles in the *raw* version of the corpora obtained after stage 1 of the corpus collection process varied greatly in terms of the degree to which they actually constituted press uptakes of public acts of contrition and the aim of this stage of the data collection process is to keep articles in which the apology uptake dimension is foregrounded. At one end of the scale, the *uptake dimension* of articles was at times *minimal*, i.e. consisting merely of recognition that a public apology or refusal to apologise was issued for example. At the other end of the scale, recognition could be *full-fledged*, in which case the articles' main purpose was to represent the reaction of newspapers to a public act of contrition discussed as an apology. In Appendix 1 (Article 9), an article with a minimal uptake is included for reference. It regards an apology presented by a magazine to the celebrity Victoria Beckham and which gives way to a *minimal* uptake.

Considering the focus of the present analysis, *extensive* uptakes are the main object of analysis. A list of such apology news stories covered by each newspaper was thus established (see Appendix 2 *Extensive lists of news stories* for British and French newspapers). This reviewing of the data gave way to a new version of the corpora, which included all articles concerning the uptake of a public act of contrition discussed as an apology. *Extensive lists of news stories* are a near-exhaustive record of all newspaper uptakes concerning equivocal/unequivocal apologies or refusals to apologise within the time period considered in both corpora. These extensive lists were obtained by reviewing 2361 articles for the British corpus and 293 articles for the French corpus. A summary of all stories covered was devised and included for ease of reference in these lists and aimed at facilitating forthcoming data collection stages. Table 4.2 is a reproduction of

Table 2.3 in Appendix 2 which presents the *Extensive list of news stories* for the French newspaper *Le Figaro*.

Table 4.2: Extensive list of news stories for the French newspaper *Le Figaro* (taken from Appendix 2)

Figaro: 103 articles reviewed
CELEBRITY. Delarue for assaulting staff on plane
CELEBRITY. Naceri for racist remarks and unsociable behaviour
CELEBRITY. Sevrin for racism
LAW. Duviau (murderer)
MEDIA. Parisien refuses to apologise to Royal
POLITICS. Jack Lang to Alain Hodique wrongly accused of being a paedophile (incarcerated for 1 year)
POLITICS. Royal to a student party member for harsh remarks in public
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Blair for slavery
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. United States to Venezuelan Foreign secretary Nicolas Maduro for holding him up in an airport
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. LRA leader Kony to Uganda for extreme violence against civilians
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. Pope for remarks about Islam (Jospin's uptake only – Jospin considers the pope should not apologise)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Footballer Dhorasoo refuses to apologise for calling his manager a liar
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Materazzi
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Milan Baros (Portuguese football player playing in Lyon) refuses to apologise for racist behaviour.

The summaries included in these tables provide information with regard to core apology elements (i.e. apologise, apologisee, offence and remedy).

Considering that the data in the *Extensive lists of news stories* (Appendix 2) is still quite broad (more than 2500 newspaper articles for both corpora), I decided to single out news stories that achieved prominence over others. This was aimed at eliminating news stories which gave way to very little press coverage, thus having

limited newsworthiness. Indeed, articles in these lists were all potentially relevant to the present analysis but many stories were covered in one newspaper only. This was interpreted as an indication of their limited perceived newsworthiness. The *Extensive lists of news stories* presented in Appendix 2 were therefore examined and only stories alluded to in at least two newspapers were kept. These are used as the source of commentary presented in section 4.3.4 of this chapter presenting the third (and final) stage of the data collection process and gave way to two lists of *News stories appearing in more than one newspaper* presented in Appendix 2.

The forthcoming section presents the last stage of the data collection process, namely the ways in which the most newsworthy apology press uptakes were identified so as to form the final version of the corpora. This was obviously problematic considering the limited press coverage of public acts of contrition in the French press.

4.3.4 Stage 3: Focus on most newsworthy articles

The concept of *newsworthiness* is widely used in media studies, for it points to the fact that news stories are far from being objective reports on reality. It has been conceptualised in various ways. The following quote from Yamazaki (2004) in her article on national apologies between Japan and South Korea implicitly refers to the selection process news stories undergo prior to publication. The concept of 'newsworthiness' is here equated with the frequency of apology news stories and the extent of their coverage in the press.

PM Kaifu's apology received little attention in comparison with the Emperor Akihito's. This may be because the Prime Minister did not have the 'star quality' of the Emperor, or perhaps because his statements were not presented in a public forum with pomp and circumstance that attended the Emperor's statement. Indeed the media (and scholars) practically ignored PM Kaifu's first official use of the word 'owabi' (apology). (Yamazaki 2004:169)

As previously stated, focus is primarily on the most newsworthy apology stories within the period under consideration. It is apparent that public acts of contrition are far less newsworthy in the French press than in the British press. In addition, numerous articles in the British corpus at this stage of the data collection process

(i.e. based on the list of *News stories appearing in more than one newspaper*) still scored quite low in terms of the most newsworthy examples of public apologies. In order to arrive at the final version of the corpora, newsworthiness was gauged in two ways. First, the number of newspapers a story appeared in was considered and it was assumed that the most newsworthy stories would be covered in a wide range of newspapers. Second, the nature of the offence being discussed was taken into account. In other words, stories which dealt with very trivial offences that were often discussed only in tabloids were disregarded. This is because the primary intent of such articles appeared to foreground the scandalous dimension of the offences rather than to convey the uptake of public apologies. The criteria used for discarding news stories are indicated in the right-hand column in tables 2.1 and 2.2 listing news stories (Appendix 2). This only applied to the British corpus. The very limited scope of apology press uptakes in France means that all articles identified after stage 2 (i.e. all stories covered in more than one newspaper) were included, namely 61 articles.

Nevertheless, two articles from British newspapers were included because they offered scope for cross-cultural comparison. These are the apology by the U.S. for holding a Venezuelan minister at an airport and the apology by the Canadian government to a Canadian citizen for being wrongly detained by the U.S. on suspicion of being a terrorist. The inclusion of these articles was mainly due to the limited range of apology news stories in the French corpus.

This therefore led to the *List of news stories included in the corpora* (see Appendix 2) which depicts the list of apology news stories that are deemed the most newsworthy within the timeframe considered. I consider that they are representative of the press interest in public acts of contrition at the time. This list of news stories indicates that there are 26 stories in the British corpus and 21 stories in the French corpus. Twelve stories are shared by the French and British corpora, which means that altogether the study encompasses 34 different news stories. NEXIS was used to retrieve the articles which were to be included in the final version of the corpora. The keywords used to identify the articles are indicated in the *List of news stories included in the corpora*. This gave way to 268 documents (corresponding to the coverage of the 34 news stories in the British and French press) which were imported into ATLAS.TI.

4.3.5 Data organisation

The way data sets are organised is critically important in that it can significantly enhance analysis at a later stage. Therefore, prior to exporting the aforementioned 268 documents in ATLAS.TI, the bundles of articles were formatted in a way that would best support the analysis. The structure or content of articles was not altered during this formatting of the corpora. The 268 British and French newspaper articles were all imported in ATLAS.TI. There were 207 newspaper articles corresponding to the 26 news stories covered in the British press and 61 newspaper articles for the 21 news stories covered in the French press. Following Lewins and Silver's suggestion according to which 'any known characteristics amongst respondents or (repeated) features in the data can be organised' (2007:195), factual or known characteristics of the data were used to organise the data. These were obviously underpinned by elements of the research questions outlined in the introduction and handled by means of the family and super family tools offered in ATLAS.TI. Understandably, there is sometimes overlapping between the organisational features such as those discussed in this section and the conceptual *codes* discussed in section 4.4 in this chapter (Lewins and Silver 2007:196).

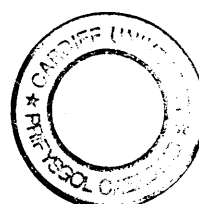
26 clusters of newspaper articles were created for the British corpus and 21 for the French corpus. Two separate clusters were coined to include all British newspaper articles on the one hand, and all French articles on the other hand. With regard to the 12 news stories covered in both corpora, these gave way to 12 clusters of newspaper articles combining British and French news reports. Finally, clusters of newspapers articles were also set up to account for the 12 newspapers covered in the corpora. Detailed information regarding the specifics of news stories (for example, identity of the apology actors and the nature of the offence) was included in comments attached to the clusters of newspaper articles corresponding to each news story.

4.3.6 Data collection for the study of discourse

The nature of the research questions asked required that a substantial amount of articles be disregarded, without causing an artificial or skewed representation of reality. It is evident that data collection for discourse analytic work often requires that much care be given to ways in which the data is collected, i.e. that researchers be more selective about what to include in their corpora. This may be seen to distinguish it from data collection procedures for corpus linguistic work. This issue of selection of the data is evidenced in the present study if we compare the decreasing number of stories/articles throughout the *skimming* stages of the data. Although admittedly a lengthy process, corpus sifting such as that described in the present chapter is instrumental in allowing focussed research and may be considered as the first stages of the analysis presented here. Moreover, the various stages of data collection allowed for an insight into the data, which could not have otherwise have been gained.

It is evident that there were other criteria that could have been used to collect the data. One of the main alternatives would have consisted in taking a more qualitative approach to this data. For example, particular apology news stories may have been chosen. The approach adopted here may be seen to be more focussed than Mautner advocates with regard to the collection of media texts (Mautner 2008:35-36). However, the corpora are seen as representative of the discourse genre under scrutiny. It was felt that the data collection technique adopted here left the work in a stronger position to account for public acts of contrition, thus distinguishing the present work from previous studies in which assumptions seem to have been made about the nature of public apologies. It is therefore considered that the combination of a quantitative paradigm with a qualitative one enhanced chances for this study to unveil elements of apology press uptakes which have been overlooked in the past.

The subsequent section presents a crucial aspect of the design of the research, namely the coding of the media texts collected.



4.4 Coding schema

The coding schema adopted here emphasises the breadth of the coding. This section explores the different phases of the coding process. These evidence the data-driven nature of the codes which emerged from reviewing the media texts in the corpora.

4.4.1 Coding process

Codes were mostly identified after repeated readings of the news texts, thus evidencing the aforementioned inductive approach. These several stages of coding – guided by the research questions outlined in the introductory chapter – have a strong bearing on the reliability of findings. In common with Lewins and Silver (2007), coding was carried out as systematically as possible:

There are two main issues to think about in coding: (i) the most appropriate means by which to generate codes (and) (ii) how different types of codes and coding techniques help at different times in the analysis.
(Lewins and Silver 2007:83)

The evaluative dimension of press uptakes was the main focal point throughout all stages of coding. It is evident that not all meaningful aspects of the media texts in the corpora could be accounted for. Focus on verbatim apologies and metapragmatic comments was meant to allow access to the evaluative stance of news writers, which obviously raises the question of explicitness, for the evaluative dimension of texts (i.e. the news writers' point of view) can be more or less explicit. The notion of explicitness is considered a very contentious one in linguistics, for it can be hard to define what is explicit in media texts and for whom this might be explicit (Johnson and Ensslin 2007:6). To that extent, issues of 'selection' and 'transformation' (Fowler 1991) are also relevant, for implicitness can both apply to things that are present but also absent in media texts.

There were two phases of coding. During the first phase, all newspaper articles included in the corpora were looked at (268 articles). This gave way to three codes¹⁹ which corresponded to the analytic categories at the core of this study, i.e.

¹⁹ Codes generated at this stage were preceded by [OC1] or [OC2] ('OC' stands for 'open code').

verbatim apologies and explicitly and implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments. Ways in which excerpts from the media texts corresponding to verbatim apologies were coded is elaborated upon in chapter 6 which focusses on evaluation through the verbatim apologies and their immediate framing. With regard to metapragmatic comments, they were coded following the definition of metalinguistic commentary or metapragmatic comment outlined in section 7.2. In terms of the number and range of quotations coded in this way, these metapragmatic comments were distinguished based on the explicitness of the evaluative stance of news writers, to help with the ensuing analysis of evaluative stancetaking in apology press uptakes. The two categories of metapragmatic comments were distinguished depending on whether they were used to (i) make explicit evaluative judgment on apologies (i.e. explicit metapragmatic comments) or (ii) make implicit evaluative judgment by commenting on or referring to apologies (i.e. implicit metapragmatic comments). Since metapragmatic comments are differentiated on the basis of the degree of evaluation attached to them, i.e. how much news writers' opinions of the public acts of contrition being discussed was perceptible, Partington's considerations about overt and covert evaluation were applied (2007:1554).

There is also a series of codes that regarded the representation of the core elements of apology processes, namely, apologiser, apologisee, and the offence and the apology itself. However, the latter are in effect very close to notes made by the analyst and were not focussed on in the analysis.

Considering that discourse analytic work consists of close attention to the details of language use in context, reviewing all articles in the corpora was not my intention. Six apology news stories were therefore examined during the second phase of coding, focussing on the particulars of news writers' evaluations of public acts of contrition. To decide which news stories would be examined, I reviewed the *List of apology news stories* for the final version of the corpora (see Appendix 2). I first focussed on news stories covered by more than 10 articles in the British or French corpus which are presented in Table 4.3 and may be held to be the most newsworthy stories in the corpora (following the definition of newsworthiness as extent of press coverage).

Table 4.3: Most newsworthy stories in both corpora

News story	Number of articles in British corpus	Number of articles in French corpus
Berlusconi for marriage proposal	12	5
Big Brother for racism	41	2
Blair for slavery	18	3
British Navy crisis	27	7
Ferry for anti-Semitism	10	0
MacNeil for adultery	10	0
Mel Gibson for anti-Semitism	15	0
Newell for sexism	19	0
Pope for comments on Islam	29	10
Prescott for adultery	13	0
Zidane for headbutt	12	11

The six news stories in grey in Table 3 were focussed on in the second phase of coding, for they offered an opportunity to cover a variety of social breaches, while offering scope for comparison with the French corpus. During this second phase of coding, themes which were deemed recurrent were coded and subsequently looked for in the remainder of the corpora. This was done by means of semi-automatic searches (semi-automatic coding is discussed in greater detail in section 4.4.2). This was meant to identify if the themes having emerged from the six news stories were story-specific or potentially pertinent to the genre of apology press uptakes. The second phase of coding therefore differs from the first one, in that it includes ‘axial coding’ (i.e. scrutinising coding phase according to Lewins and Silver 2007:84-85) which implied revisiting the multitude of codes which arose from the review of the above mentioned six news stories. This led some codes to be grouped into more general categories, or alternatively more detailed ones.

Following this, I read through the articles relating to these six news stories again in order to identify themes which emerged from the data focussing on news writers’ evaluative stance, focussing this time on the representation of the four core

components of apologies (i.e. apologise, apologisee, offence and remedy). Words which appeared to be used recurrently in the corpora were thus coded. At this stage, the word themselves were used as titles for the code ('in vivo' coding in ATLAS.TI) and allowed me to spot identical codes quite easily. Once all six articles had been reviewed, these words coded in vivo were looked for throughout the corpora. For example, 'shame' appeared to be a salient feature in the uptakes of the six news stories, but was also mentioned in other articles. A semi-automatic code entitled 'shame' was therefore created. Understandably, the semi-automatic searches carried out in the remainder of the corpora used words (or stems) that would enable me to retrieve as many quotations as possible relevant to the concept under scrutiny. Often a word (or stem) would function both as a noun and adjective (e.g. 'contrit' which could lead to the identification of instances when 'contrition' and 'contrite', for example, were used). These semi-automatic searches were carried out in a way that ensured that I was able to control which quotations would be included, thus the name *semi-automatic*. These semi-automatic codes therefore highlight salient (or not so salient) themes in apology press uptakes, and thus give us access to what is deemed to enhance news value by news writers. Unsurprisingly, some of these codes echo findings from previous research on apologies.

The coding process was admittedly complex and time-consuming, but offered opportunities to gauge the data in ways which would not have otherwise been possible. Although part of the background of the analysis, comments helped keep track of ideas about the codes that significantly changed over the course of coding.

4.4.2 Thematic codes

Codes are distinguished on the basis of the way they were generated, namely, *automatically* with the help of the 'auto coding' function in ATLAS.TI, *semi-automatically* (following my terminology), or *manually*. With regard to automatic and semi-automatic codes, the whole sentence in which the keyword appeared was coded to ensure access to the context when these quotes would be retrieved at later stages of the research.

Prior to the actual process of coding (i.e. assigning codes to data excerpts), keywords used to identify articles in NEXIS (see section 3.2.4) were *automatically* coded. There are therefore 3 such types of codes in the French corpus ('*désolé* <sorry>', '*pardon* <sorry>' and '*excus** <apology*>' were used as stems²⁰) and 2 in the British corpus ('sorry' and 'apolog*' were used as stems). These codes were coded automatically and assisted with the first stage of coding in particular, i.e. with the coding of the parts of the media texts corresponding to the two analytic categories (verbatim apologies and metapragmatic comments). Figure 4.2 lists the automatic codes as they appear in ATLAS.TI.

Figure 4.2: Automatic codes: keywords

AUTO keyword-FR-désolé
 AUTO keyword-FR-excuse
 AUTO keyword-FR-pardon
 AUTO keyword-UK-apolog
 AUTO keyword-UK-sorry

The semi-automatic thematic codes were generated semi-automatically, i.e. the data excerpts were coded only if deemed to be relevant to the theme that was being captured. Semi-automatic codes (preceded by [semi AUTO]) record themes which emerged from the data during the second phase of coding. These regard the ways in which apologies are represented in the corpora. Once the coding was completed, it emerged that semi-automatic codes could be grouped into five categories, which enhanced manageability and interpretation (see section 7.2 where these categories and the 91 semi-automatic codes corresponding to them are discussed). Far from being ad hoc, the devising of these categories was the result of iterative and systematic interpretation of the semi-automatic codes. These data-driven categories are summarised in Table 4.4, indicating the tags used to indicate which category semi-automatic codes belonged to: [APOLO], [CONSEQ], [DESCRIP], [FEEL], [RELATED].

²⁰ The asterix ('*') indicates a wildcard in ATLAS.TI

Table 4.4: Categories of semi-automatic codes

Semi-automatic code category	Description
APOLO	This regards ways in which public acts of contrition are qualified by news writers. They focus on the strongest collocations between the keywords used to gather the corpus and qualifiers. For example, it emerged that apologies were often described as 'grovelling' in the British press.
CONSEQ	These concern the representation of consequences of offences or acts of contrition. For example, the French press emphasises the polemical dimension of public acts of contrition.
FEEL	These discuss the display of emotions or performance of public apologisers.
RELATED	These regard a variety of aspects of public apology processes given prominence in the press. For example, there are several references to Boris Johnson's tendency to commit 'gaffes'.
DESCRIP	These regard ways in which public acts of contrition are referred to. This excludes reference to public acts of contrition as the IFIDs encapsulated by keywords. This indicates that when not referred to as offers of apology or sorry-based apologies, public acts of contrition tend to be referred to as expressions of regret in the British and French press.

Thematic codes were also generated *manually*, this means that parts of the articles that were relevant to the analysis were highlighted and codes were subsequently attached to them. This concerns the identification of parts of the texts which correspond to previously mentioned analytic categories, i.e. verbatim apologies (and their framing), explicitly and implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments. Figure 4.3 indicates the main manual codes in the study.

Figure 4.3: Manual codes concerning analytic categories

OC1 explicit comments
 OC1 implicit comments
 OC1 verbatim

To conclude, Figure 4.4 indicates a series of codes which were not included in the analyses presented in the analytic chapters (chapters 5-7), but nonetheless informed the contextualising of the data. These codes concerned information about the context in which apologies or refusals to apologise were issued, the

headlines of articles, the core element ('core el') of equivocal/unequivocal apologies or refusals to apologise (i.e. information regarding the apologiser, the apologisee, the offence and the remedy, which corresponds to Deutschmann's main components of public apologies 2003) and the uptake of parties other than the media (i.e. the uptake of apologisees or other third parties).

Figure 4.4: Manual codes concerning the contextualisation of the data

- DC headline
- OC2 context historical
- OC2 context other apologies
- OC2 context present
- OC2 core el actor 3rd parties
- OC2 core el actor apologisee
- OC2 core el actor apologiser
- OC2 core el offence
- OC2 uptake apologisee
- OC2 uptake third party

As might be expected, the amount of data thematically coded for the purpose of this investigation increased and decreased as themes, concepts and ideas underwent recoding, uncoding, were merged (Lewins and Silver 2007:85) or were supplanted by semi-automatic codes. It is apparent that the qualitative task associated with manual and semi-automatic codes on the one hand, and automatic codes on the other hand, differ greatly, thus their distinct purposes in the analyses.

4.5 Summary

Similar to chapter 3, this chapter regarded the design of the present research. It presented the ways in which the media texts included in the corpora were collected and coded. A large part of the chapter was therefore dedicated to accounting for the implications of using qualitative analysis software to manage this research project and code/interrogate the data. Description of the data collection process clearly evidenced that the combination of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis, respectively quantitatively-led and qualitatively-led methodologies, affected the corpus collection in a way that reflects the aims of the present study. Namely, the various stages of the collection of the data indicated

how a consistent corpus of news stories discussing acts of contrition as apologies could be gathered. However, this data collection process also highlighted another strength of the study, namely the richness of information which could be gained from the various stages of the corpus data collection process. This arises in chapter 5, which examines the identity of apologisers and apologisees, the types of offences represented, and categories of public apologies and is primarily based on information provided in the *Extensive lists of news stories* (i.e. earliest and most inclusive form of the corpora based on the review of just over 2500 articles) introduced in this chapter.

Issues raised by the process of coding the media texts, on the other hand, stressed the precision with which the coding schema was devised. Differentiating between the purposes of different types of codes was at the forefront of these considerations. The codes used in this study are all thematic codes having entirely emerged from the data. These are differentiated based on the way in which they were generated, i.e. *automatically*, *manually* or *semi-automatically*. Each type of thematic code served different purposes. Indeed, automatic codes mainly consisted in supporting the navigation of the data, for they correspond to sentences in which keywords used to collect the data (IFIDs) appear. Manual codes correspond to verbatim apologies and metapragmatic comments (analytic categories) focussed on in the analysis. These are the excerpts of the media texts upon which the analyses presented in the subsequent two analytic chapters focus. As for semi-automatic codes, they encapsulate the most salient themes represented in the corpora. Their purpose is to indicate patterns in the discursive representation of apologies in their press uptakes and what this may indicate in relation to stancetaking in the media.

In chapter 5, ways in which the four basic components of public apologies can be accounted for and classified (i.e. apologisers, apologisees, offences and remedies) are examined.

Chapter five: Understanding the basic components of public apology processes

5.1 Chapter overview

So far, it has been pointed out that research on (public) apologies requires further investigation into the pragmatics of the speech act of public apologies, particularly the role of the media in shaping our understanding of public apologies (see chapter 2). Chapters 3 and 4 indicated the importance and relevance of the data collection to the design of the present research. Besides, these chapters also emphasised the prominence of interdisciplinarity which was relied upon to address the complexity of the speech act of public apology. Most public apology studies simply acknowledge the elaborated nature of the public apology phenomenon. One of the issues pointed out in the literature review is that there is lack of agreement over what public apologies are, which is reflected by the absence of a classification system which could account for public apologising as a whole.

This thematic analytic chapter is primarily concerned with delineating the data and examining in detail the four components of public apologies (Deutschmann 2003:44-46), i.e. apologiser, apologisee, offence and remedy. The information highlighted in this chapter therefore supports the discursive analyses which will follow in chapters 6 and 7 (interpretative analytic chapters) where the discourse of media texts included in the data set are investigated so as to reveal evaluative and ideological stancetaking in the apology press uptakes.

The relative frequency of some of public apology features (e.g. particular types of offence or apologiser) is discussed in the chapter, but results are by no means quantitatively led, for the size of the British and French corpora is not taken into account and statistical tools are not used to gauge the reliability of claims regarding the relative frequency of certain aspects of apology processes. Claims made are thus representative of public apology use within the time period

considered, although some might also be held to be indicative of stable features, or changes applying to public apologising as a whole.

As previously stated, coverage of public apologies in the French press is far more limited than in the British press. This is seen to indicate the following: a lesser interest of the French press in public apologies; the apparent lesser propensity of public figures in France to apologise; and a potentially different attitude in France towards the types of social breaches warranting public apologies (i.e. public face threats are possibly envisaged differently in France). This suggests that the speech act of public apology is perceived in different ways in the two national media cultures investigated.

In section 5.2, the types of offences leading to public apologies are explored. Section 5.3 presents a classification system for public apologies developed inductively and systematically from the labels coined during the coding of the data (this concerns all the public acts of contrition in the corpora). The public apology classification system introduced is based on the identity of apologisers and the distribution of the apology categories identified is commented upon. Section 5.4 explores ways in which the various public apology categories in the corpora are represented, so as to determine whether certain categories are deemed more newsworthy than others. In section 5.5, Goffman's (1981) general outlook on 'participation frameworks' and 'production formats' in social interactions is used to account for the participation frameworks of public apologies. The two main participant roles identified in relation to spoken interaction – roles of speaker and hearer – are examined, providing further evidence of the unsuitability of traditional models of talk treating interaction as a dyadic exchange (this was the premise of work on participants in interaction carried out at the start of the seventies; e.g. Hymes 1972; 1974; Goffman 1979). Particular attention is paid to ways in which Goffman decomposes the role of speaker and hearer. As suggested in the introduction, Goffman (1981) recognised, for example, three speaker roles: author, animator and principal.

5.2 Reasons behind public apologies (offences)

The examination of offences leading to public apologies is important because it gives an insight into what are considered as infringements of the *social norm* in Britain and France. This highlights that *social breaches* are at the core of public apology processes, *social* in the sense that they may involve a large number of people, as opposed to *interpersonal* apologies. In the literature, the notions of *norm* or *social breach* are often mentioned in relation to public apologies. For Gill (2002:115), apologies are one amongst several ways of addressing the violation of a norm in the public or private spheres.

The value of examining offences related to apologies is acknowledged by Holmes (1989:201) who suggests that 'one of the most obviously relevant components of the situation in describing apologies in discourse is the type of offence which appears to require remedial work'. She recognises the value of offences as societal indicators. In the present analysis, it is considered that insight into the range of offences represented to have led to apologies in the press indicates what is apologiseable for or worthy of a public apology and more broadly what is represented as breaches of the social norm in the news media. The types of breaches associated with public apologies and represented in the corpora range from trivial personal quarrels all the way up to complex international conflicts. This evidently has implications in terms of studies into public apologies, and yet there have been no previous attempts to list offences related to public apologising as a whole, probably due to the breadth of public apologising. Deutschmann (2003) comments on existing taxonomies of offences (such as those described in Holmes 1990:178 and Aijmer 1996:109 for example) and the lack of consensus concerning them. He (2003:62) emphasises that an offence is essentially an 'object of regret' which 'motivates an apology' and whose nature and severity determine the form of the apology related to it (also see Coulmas 1981:75-76). In short, research on public apologies conveys a very disparate picture of the types of offences which lead to public apologies, as such research tends to focus on particular categories of apology (rather than public apologies as a whole).

Tables indicating the categories of offence in the corpora included in Appendix 3 are based on the summaries provided in the *Extensive lists of news stories* (most

comprehensive form of the corpora presented in Appendix 2 based on the review of 298 articles for the French corpus and 2361 articles for the British corpus). They record the offences related to the news stories in this early form of the corpora. These tables indicate that there is a wide range of offences related to public apologies which other taxonomies have mostly failed to identify because of their focus on private apologies. This inadequacy applies to the offence categories identified by Deutschmann in the spoken part of the British National Corpus (2003:62-62) for example. His offence categories are: accidents, mistakes and misunderstandings, breach of expectations, lack of consideration, talk offences, social gaffes, requests, hearing offences, offences involving breach of consensus. However, it is important to bear in mind that the data only gives us access to the breaches of the social norm which the British and French press have deemed newsworthy, i.e. all breaches of norm having led to public apologies or deserving apologies cannot be accessed. Therefore, the offences listed in the tables in the sections *Categories of offences* in Appendix 3 are directly related to news value. Offences presented in these tables are grouped in categories to avoid repetition when offences were similar in kind.

As might be expected, on several occasions offences were hard to typify. For example, Boris Johnson's apology for describing the people of Papua New Guinea as 'cannibals' and 'chief killers' could potentially be interpreted in a number of ways (e.g. offensive comment towards another social group, gaffe, racism, etc.). This potential for multiple interpretations of an offence seems to be exploited by the press to maximise or minimise offences. On several occasions, the breadth of interpretations of offences had to be simplified, but since such complicated cases were in the minority, the list of offences presented in Appendix 3 can be held to be representative of the types of offences having led to apologies within the time period considered. Considering the fact that offences can be referred to in a variety of ways (including implicitly), the offences listed in Appendix 3 evidence the most salient representations of the offences found in the news stories covered in the corpora.

A recurrent way of differentiating between offences in the literature is the seriousness (also referred to as gravity or severity) of the offence. This has been used to differentiate between public apologies. This applies to Harris, Grainger

and Mullany's work (2006:724) where they identify three degrees of seriousness of offences, leading to three types of public apologies: (i) apologies issued after a social gaffe, (ii) apologies generated by serious past events and (iii) apologies generated by offences which are both current and of high magnitude (2006:724-726). Harris et al (2006) identify that the seriousness of the offence has an impact on the form of apologies and leads to different degrees of social relevance. To that extent, it is noticeable that in the corpora triviality of the offence does not necessarily mean that the apology will be less face-threatening for the public figure. This issue of category blurring in speech acts (Thomas 1995:107), i.e. the fact that boundaries between speech acts are blurred or fluid, means that the same speech act verb may cover different phenomena or that a single speech event may be covered by a multitude of speech acts. We may see an example of category blurring in speech acts in relation New York governor Spitzer's alleged apology to his family and the public for his link with prostitution (March 2008). Although it was not made clear what he was apologising for in his speech, this apology is an example of apology after a social gaffe portrayed as trivial in the media (although the family might see it as serious). However, the media uptake at the time indicated that social gaffes can lead to resignation (Harris, Grainger and Mullany 2006). Indeed, media uptakes of his apology refer to the possibility/necessity of his resignation. As might be expected, discussions around resignation are also observed in relation to more serious offences, such as recently with the MPs' apologies in Britain (i.e. apologies for the abusive expense claims revelations which caused scandal).

The tables concerning the categories of offence (Appendix 3) also indicate that certain types of breaches are recurrent in the British and French press. These are racism, sexism and anti-Semitism in particular which indicates the greater newsworthiness of certain social breaches or the greater concern of society about certain social breaches in Britain and France.

Apologies for racist remarks may be interpreted as evidence of the growing concern over racial discrimination, which has led public figures and people in general to steer clear of language or behaviour which could be (mis)construed as racist. Such apologies can therefore be considered to be directly related to the broader public discourse around racism. Based on the corpora, it would seem that

racism is fairly systematically represented as a serious offence, i.e. recognised as a social breach of the norm. However, owing to the neutrality of the uptakes in the French press following Baros' refusal to apologise for behaviour construed as racist (during the course of a football match Baros pinched his nose and waved his hand at Mbia as if he was repelling an offensive odour which was reported in the media to have 'deeply hurt' the Cameroon player), it might therefore (contentiously) be suggested that racism is not condemned as systematically in the French media as it is in the British one.

Similar conclusions might be drawn from apologies regarding behaviour which is (mis)construed as sexist or anti-Semitic. In Britain these breaches of the social norm appear to be severely reprimanded in the media and public figures seem to apologise fairly systematically and unequivocally. The unequivocality of apologies for such breaches may therefore suggest that media disapprobation of the social breach compels explicit apologising.

Over recent years, there have been a few instances when public figures have had to apologise for what might be called anti-Islam/islamophobic behaviour. This is supported by Pope Benedict XVI's notorious comments about Islam during a lecture (September 2006) which led to an apology which is covered in the corpora, but also the apologies in relation to the uproar and controversy caused by the British teacher in Sudan who allowed her students to call a Teddy Bear after the Muslim prophet Mohammed (December 2007) and the caricatures of the aforementioned prophet by a Danish cartoonist (September 2005). With regard to these increasingly frequent apologies for social breaches related to islamophobia, the pattern seems to differ. These apologies are probably better understood if considered as part of the overall discourse around Islam, especially the changes having occurred since the attacks on 9/11 and the ensuing war on terror and fundamental Islamic groups (e.g. the Taliban in Afghanistan). These changes seem to have impacted on Muslim communities worldwide with demands for apology seemingly more readily issued when Muslim communities feel the representation of Islam in public discourse undermines their belief system. Based on the Pope's apology for his remarks on Islam, islamophobia is seemingly not yet perceived as a social breach in all circles of the media. This contrasts with media representations of previously mentioned social breaches (e.g. racism) which are

almost systematically followed by negative uptakes. Yet, these media representations of islamophobia may seem unsurprising considering Islam-related fears in Europe, for example that Islam should take over leading to something akin to *Eurabia* (see Appendix 1 Article 5). In general, press representation of discrimination against Muslims, as well as other types of discrimination (e.g. ageism), may indicate that these breaches have not yet been recognised by the press institutions as significant social breaches.

In relation to Britain, it may be argued that despite its apparent preference to be perceived as a liberal democracy valuing diversity, its apology press uptakes sometimes clearly evidence the opposite. Public apology news reports indeed indicate that certain breaches of the social norm are clearly perceived as less problematic than others. These media representations of certain acts as more condemnable than others are useful in indicating social change in progress, but more importantly in stressing that the media play an key role in the representation of certain behaviour as fair, decent, and appropriate.

5.3 Public apology classification system

This section clearly emphasises the usefulness of the categorisation of public apologies in the present analysis. This is in the sense of showing that categorising apologies helps in examining the impact of variables exogenous to the interaction which traditional apology research has shown to impact on apologies. These are for example the 'degree of relational closeness, degree of offence, type of offence, social status (including age), power, and gender' as discussed by Robinson (2004:292). In the present analysis, those primarily considered are the status of the apologisee and the seriousness of the offence.

5.3.1 Broad public apology categories

Before introducing the classification system developed here and underpinning the remainder of this study, it is necessary to establish how public apologies might be categorised in broader terms. To do so, I rely on Lakoff (2001) who distinguishes between *generic apologies* and *one-off apologies*.

The term *generic apologies* refers to apologies mostly delivered by institutions (e.g. universities, television channels, newspapers). The apologisee's commitment to the apology is therefore limited or non-existent, for they are apologies made on behalf of institutions. Generic apologies are highly conventionalised/formulaic and the offences at stake are mostly trivial. In some instances, they have become systematic and are used routinely to deal with the same face threat (e.g. apologies by railway companies for delayed trains). Generic apologies imply that sincerity conditions (Lakoff 2001) are usually flouted. Like other broad public apology types, they have been increasingly present in the media, their aim being to maintain the custom of viewers, readers, clients or users for example.

One-off apologies correspond to apologies for which the person who publicly apologises is clearly identifiable. Lakoff distinguishes 'one-off public apologies' depending on the relation of the apologisee to the offence (2001:6). She identifies two categories which are particularly pertinent in the corpora: 'public-personal apologies' and 'public-official apologies'. 'Public-personal apologies' refer to apologies uttered by non-political figures as well as political ones. They can be uttered by politicians, celebrities, religious figures, members of the Royal Family, and criminals for example. 'Public-official apologies' (e.g. inter-state apologies, apologies delivered by the Catholic Church) are those apologies uttered by politicians or other official figures on behalf of their institutions (e.g. previous offices, Church of England). The individuals apologising in the case of public-personal apologies are directly responsible for the offence, whereas they are not in relation to public-official apologies.

The study therefore focusses on one-off apologies (i.e. public-official or public-personal apologies) because generic apologies are considered to have more to do with routine behaviour.

5.3.2 Ways of classifying public apologies

Amongst all the potential variables which could be used to devise a classification system for public acts of contrition, the identity of the apologisee stands out in terms of its importance for public apology processes (including public apology uptakes). The status of the apologisee is considered to be a better source of

categorisation than the other core components of public apologies, namely offences and apologisees. This relates to one of the premises in this study: there is a strong correlation between the identity of the apologisee and the newsworthiness of an apology. Indeed, an apology uttered by a Prime Minister is not perceived in the same way as one uttered by a celebrity, or a local MP for example. Apologies for slavery exemplify this relatedness between the identity of the apologisee and the types of inferences drawn from an apology. Indeed, if we compare apologies for the Slave Trade by Reverend Bessant (of the Church of England) in February 2006, Blair in November 2006 (covered in the corpora) and the Northern Ireland Secretary Peter Hain in February 2007 (this was for Ulster's role in the Slave Trade) it appears that although the offence being apologised for is similar, the identity of apologisees can impact on the illocutionary and perlocutionary force of the apologies. Indeed, the apparent intention of these three apologisees apologising for the same offence differ, which impacts on the way we interpret these apologies. These three apologies indicate that the news value of some apologies is linked primarily to the status of the apologisee in public life, rather than the apology itself. Another argument in favour of the identity of the apologisee as a source of categorisation is its ability to account for the fact that many apologies depart from the *I apologise for what I did wrong* scenario, i.e. the fact that many apologies are issued by public figures for offences they are not directly responsible for. These are what shall be referred to as *apologies on behalf* (they are further discussed in section 5.5 on the participation frameworks for public apologies). In some ways, these apologies on behalf allow to understand why some public figures (especially politicians) apparently find it easier to apologise for things they are not directly responsible for, i.e. why they find it easier to issue public official apologies rather than public personal apologies. This therefore highlights the link between the degree of face threat felt by the apologisee – usually greater in the case of public personal apologies than public official apologies – and the likelihood of public figures to apologise. In relation to political apologies, the corpora suggest that the ultimate face threat is mostly equated with resignation. In the corpora, it is suggested that Ahern should resign following his apology for accepting cash donations (Article 74 in Appendix 5). There is also one article related to the Big Brother news story (Article 88 in Appendix 5) which

mentions that Duncan – then Channel 4's CEO – should resign over the screening of racism in Big Brother. However, this particular article may be seen to raise a contentious idea, for Duncan is institutionally responsible for the offence rather than personally responsible and thus suggestions of his resignation may seem quite extreme. However, with the rise of public apologies, the sphere of politics now seems to perceive the public apology as a lesser threat to career than it used to be and the threat value of resignation seems to have been diminished.

Arguably, the offence having led to an apology or refusal to apologise could also be used as the basis of a classification system, although this would emphasise a different aspect of public apology processes. Such a classification system, however, would put the type of breach at the centre of the analysis, which is at odds with the focus of the present analysis on the *current* breadth of the public figures now apologising. Nevertheless, as suggested in section 5.2 an understanding of the events which are apparently treated as *apologisable for* is necessary to draw a clear picture of what public apology processes entail.

Finally, as pointed out by Cunningham, a classification system based on the identity of apologisees is also possible and his tripartite distinction between apologisees indicates that apologisee-based classification systems would primarily focus on the time 'when the events at issue occurred' and the 'matter of reparation or restitution' (Cunningham 1999:287). This also departs from the focus of the present study. Besides, although Cunningham's article sets out to account for public apologies in a general sense, the list of three potential categories of apologisees he identifies seems to apply to apologies for historical wrongs only.

5.3.3 Public apology categories explained

When the *Extensive lists of news stories* (i.e. the earliest version of the corpora presented in Appendix 2) and *Lists of news stories appearing in more than one newspaper* (Appendix 2) were devised, stories were labelled depending on the identity of the apologisee. These labels (which indicate that a fairly well-delineated set of public figures carries out acts of contrition) were useful in organising the news stories, and thus simplifying the handling of the data during the collection of the corpora. These labels are therefore dependent on the frequency and amount

of press coverage of apology news stories. These are listed in Table 5.1 where a distinction is made between apology news stories being part of national news and those being part of international news in Britain and France, as indicated by the two columns in the table. This means that the label 'International politics', for example, refers to apologies uttered by political figures or institutions in countries other than Britain or France depending on which corpus I was focussing on.

Table 5.1: Labels attached to apology news stories in both corpora

Labels for national acts of contrition	Labels for international acts of contrition
Politics	International politics
Business	International business
Celebrity	International celebrity
Sports ²¹	International sports
Media	International media
Religion	International religion
Court	N/A
Society	International society
Police	International Police
Hospital	N/A
School	N/A

Compared with Cunningham's (1999:287) list of apologisers (individuals, professional and commercial organisations, religious organisations, spiritual leaders and governments, heads of state) or Nobles' (2003:3) cited in the introduction, Table 5.1 highlights further categories of apologisers who are usually not accounted for. These regard apologies by sportspeople and celebrities which proliferate in the data, but also apologies by schools, hospitals and the Police which came across as being *new* types of public apologies. Table 5.1 also indicates that two labels are not found in international news stories (i.e. 'School' and 'Hospital'). This may hardly seem surprising for these labels are part of a fairly

²¹ In Appendix 2, the label 'Sports' is followed by an indication of which sport is under scrutiny. (e.g. 'Sport- Cricket').

recent phenomenon, but more importantly stresses the usefulness of examining naturally-occurring data.

Table 5.2 presents the categories of public apologies (i.e. categories of equivocal/unequivocal apologies and refusals to apologise) identified in the corpora. Each label gives way to an apology category which is fairly similar in name. Hence, the label 'Celebrity' corresponds to the apology category 'Celebrity apology'. It is akin to a working classification system and in accordance with the inductive approach adopted here, no pre-established categories were used. These public apology categories are commented upon in the forthcoming paragraphs.

Table 5.2: Apology categories in both corpora

Labels	Apology category
Politics	Political apology
Sports	Sports apology
Celebrity	Celebrity apology
Media	Media apology
Business	Business apology
Court	Court apology
Religion	Religious apology
Society	Societal apology
Police	Police apology
School	School apology
Hospital	Hospital apology

Societal apologies correspond to apologies by various individuals or social groups (e.g. a 17-year old girl's apology for severely damaging her parents' house during a party she organised). This label is the most all-encompassing label covering one-off apologies issued by a range of social groups and individuals. They tend to be relevant to public opinion at large, but mostly relate to trivial offences (for which the face threat may be perceived as limited in comparison to other categories of public apologies).

School, hospital and Police apologies might have arguably been assigned the label 'Society', and thus considered as societal apologies. However, the

recurrence of acts of contrition emanating from these institutions in the corpora led me to decide that a label should be coined for apologies by each of these social groups. School apologies are reported to be mainly issued by schools (i.e. head teachers) and teachers for malpractice within their school. School apologies delivered by head of schools always consist of *apologies on behalf*, for the heads of school are never directly responsible for the offence they are apologising for. *Hospital apologies* seem to indicate a clear shift from a position according to which medical staff/institutions should never apologise to a fairly recent position suggested in the news media according to which apologising is a positive move which allows situations involving malpractice to be settled more quickly. These are usually referred to as apologies delivered by 'hospital bosses' in media texts. Examples of such apologies in the corpora regard hospital staff apologising for operating on the wrong leg of a patient, returning the corpse of a baby without brain to its parent or gluing a patient's eye shut. The representation of hospital apologies may be interpreted as evidence of an apparent existing trend of the media to discursively construct hospitals in negative ways²². *Police apologies* mainly consisted in recognising a mistake was made by the Police forces (e.g. Gardai's apology to the family of O'Toole for running him over and not telling the family how he died) and often emanated from top officials. The surfacing of these three unexpected categories of public apologies may be interpreted in various ways. It may illustrate a conventionalisation of the public apology speech act reflecting topical concerns of the time period under scrutiny. The fact that earlier work has not accounted for these three types of apologisers clearly indicates ways in which major institutions (here health, education and order-related institutions) appropriate or are forced to take on board emerging discursive practices in the public sphere (here the speech act of public apology). On the one hand, these institutions can be said to have accepted and integrated apologies as a means to settle down conflicts, possibly because of the growing popularity of the speech act of public apology; and on the other hand the way the apologies by these institutions are represented in the media can be seen to influence further how public reconciliation might be perceived by the general public. In short, the use of

²² This has recently been prominent in the news media, following a controversy by *Panorama* first broadcasted on 8 March 2010 (BBC One) entitled *Trust Us, We're an NHS Hospital* and which indicated that failures of hospitals are leading to unnecessary deaths.

apologies by these institutions may be seen to reflect *commonsense discourse* intending to constrain public discourse, i.e. control what gets said.

With regard *sports apologies*, 6 sports are mentioned in the corpora: football, rugby, golf, tennis, boxing or cricket. Apologies by sportspeople were distinguished from apologies issued by other celebrities (insofar as sportspeople are considered to be a type of celebrity) because they clearly stood out in the corpora, i.e. sportspeople (especially footballers) appeared to have recourse to public apologies far more extensively than other celebrities. *Sports apologies* have a distinct societal relevance, but can be mystifying from a pragmatic point of view in that they often seem to fail to follow the basic requirements of apologies (i.e. one has made a mistake for which he or she must apologise). Indeed, in the case of apologies for poor performance which led to the losing of a game, apologisers seem to be expressing their desire that things had unfolded differently, i.e. that they had been able to fulfill their fans' expectations and win the match, rather than take responsibility for inadequacy. The excerpt below (from an article which was not included in the final version of the corpora because it achieved little prominence in the British newspapers) points to the ritualisation or routinisation of a specific type of sports apology, namely by football managers for the poor performance of their team. Interestingly, the uptake indicates that the expression of regret is interpreted as an apology.

Hargreaves next on United's shopping list

The manager is determined to further strengthen his squad as he attempts to bring the title back to Old Trafford.

MANAGERS usually apologise to fans after matches, seldom before. Yet Sir Alex Ferguson is sorry. "We have put ourselves in this situation and historically that's what we are like. We put our poor supporters through the mill in a big, big way - and me and everyone else too," he said.

After winning their first three matches, Group F was supposed to be a dawdle for Manchester United. Now hearts are racing and bums are getting squeaky.

(Times – 03.12.05)

As for *business apologies*, they echo the body of research stressing the usefulness of apologies in the sphere of business (see Kellerman 2006). As might be expected, they always concern a wrong (e.g. railway accident, overcharging customers, manipulation of stock options) which is may cause loss of custom and thus loss of income or popularity.

Other distinguishable apologisers were the media or media representatives, thus giving way to *media apologies* which are often aimed at making amends with viewers who may feel they have been wronged.

Concerning *court apologies*, the most discussed apologisers in this category are murderers and sex offenders, but more minor offenders are also sometimes talked about in uptakes (e.g. vandals). It is apparent that apologies have come to play an increasingly important role in the sphere of law, but besides the changes within the law, which members of the public are often unaware of, there are now numerous examples of media uptake of apologies made by relatives of the offenders to victims and demands for apologies.

With regard to *religious apologies*, the Pope's apology for his remarks on Islam, as the corpora suggest, received a lot of attention in the press. Besides, sexual abuse perpetrated by members of the religious organisations stands out as a prominent form of offence.

Finally, *political apologies* clearly differ from other types of public apologies which are discussed hereafter. First, there is clear evidence that the previous assumption that politicians should not apologise no longer applies in the same way. This is apparent in contemporary news reports on political apologies representing politicians as liable for their mistakes on the one hand and apologies as an appropriate course of action to address situations where such mistakes have occurred on the other hand. Besides being a prominent type of public apology, political apologies also distinguish themselves from other public apologies, in that they belong to the wider area of *political discourse* which has become a thoroughly researched area of study. The relevance of linguistics or discourse analysis for the analysis of political discourse and the need for further cooperation amongst linguists and political scientists has been discussed widely (see for example Schäffner 1997; Ensink, van Essen, and van der Geest 1986; Wilson 1990). Although there is often confusion over what political discourse constitutes (Ensink, van Essen and van der Geest 1986:7), there is no denying that it manifests itself in various ways and that it is therefore difficult to define (Schäffner 1997:1). A view is that political discourse is any discourse resulting from political action, regardless of whether the producer of such discourse is a political figure or not (Schäffner 1997:1). Such a broad definition therefore includes casual conversations about

politics/political matters between friends and radio programs covering a political news story or political speeches for example. Bell and Garrett's (1998:146) discourse analytic definition of political discourse echoes Schäffner's. Indeed, they suggest that political discourse includes 'different orders of discourse of the political system (conventional, official politics), of the media, of science and technology, of grassroots sociopolitical movements, of ordinary private life, and so forth'. They also argue that the relationship between these different orders of discourse within political discourse changes (thus evidencing the changing nature of politics). In this research, political apologetic speeches/letters leading to some of the press uptakes examined in the corpora belong to the order of discourse of the political system, insofar as they are produced by political figures. However, political apology press uptakes means that we are dealing with mediatised political discourse (see Bell and Garrett on political discourse in the media 1998:148; Fetzer and Weizman 2006) .

Trognon and Larrue rightly acknowledge the influential character of political discourse (1994:12), but also emphasise that it is rarely neutral. Indeed they consider that 'le discours politique est rapporté, relayé, reformulé et transformé <political discourse is reported, second-hand, reformulated and transformed>'. They also comment that political discourse is staged or performed and submitted to a series of transformations triggered by the advent of political marketing, communication advisers and television. Since television often serves as a contextual frame for political discourse, they stress that putting on a show for the sake of entertainment, amongst other things, impacts on the content of the political message. In relation to political apologies, this suggests that they, like other types of political discourse, are a compositionally complex discourse type. However, this may be seen to apply to all public apologies under scrutiny in that public apologies can rarely be held to be neutral but all concerned to some extent with self promotion. As might be expected, boundaries between the labels are not always clear cut, since public figures' acts of contrition can sometimes fall under more than one label depending on the position from which the apologisee is acting. By way of example, the apology by broadcaster and journalist Janet Street-Porter for verbally abusing her neighbour was assigned the label 'Celebrity' (rather than 'Media') because, although she is a media representative, it seemed to be her

acquired celebrity status which warranted the apology, or the reporting of it as news. To conclude, further enquiry into the breadth of press coverage in relation to public apology categories is required in order to successfully gauge differences between the British and French press on the one hand, and broadsheet and tabloid newspapers on the other. This is discussed in the forthcoming sections which focus on the relative amount of press coverage per apology category (nationally and internationally) both in the British and French corpora. This is based on the *Extensive list of news stories* (i.e. most inclusive version of the corpora included in Appendix 2).

5.3.4 National and international apologies

The list of labels used in the British and French corpora is presented in two tables in Appendix 2 (*Lists of labels attached to news stories*). Based on these, Table 5.3 indicates which apology categories appear in the British and French corpora both as part of national and international affairs.

Table 5.3: Distribution of apology categories (national and international) in both corpora

Apology category	British national	British international	French national	French international
Political apology	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sports apology	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Celebrity apology	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Media apology	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Business apology	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Court apology	Yes	No	Yes	No
Religious apology	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Societal apology	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Police apology	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
School apology	Yes	No	No	No
Hospital apology	Yes	No	No	No

School, hospital and religious *national* public apologies are not present in the French corpus, which possibly reflects the more limited coverage on public apologies in the French media, the lack of interest of the French people or the lesser propensity of French public figures to apologise for example. The absence of school and hospital apologies is hardly surprising, not least in view of their newness (as indicated in the corpora) in Britain, but indicates that the speech act of public apology is not as popular in France as in Britain. The absence of national religious apologies, on the other hand, may seem more surprising but shows that religious bodies may be less likely to acknowledge wrongdoing in France than in Britain. This on the whole is in phase with the apparent overall reticence of French public figures to apologise, or the reticence of the French press to report on public apologies.

Regarding *international* public apology categories, it is noticeable that a significantly narrower range of international apologies appear in the French corpus. Most noticeable is the absence of international celebrity apologies, a category which is fairly prominent in the British press. This may be linked to the inclusion of tabloid newspapers in the British corpus which tend to focus on celebrity matters, but have no equivalent in France. This is further evidenced in Figure 5.1 indicating the number of news stories (national and international) covered per apology category. This point stresses the need to account for the differences in newsworthiness of the categories of public apologies identified in the corpora, which is the purpose of section 5.4.

5.4 Interpretation of the apparent newsworthiness of public apology categories

The distribution of apology categories in the most comprehensive form of the corpora (i.e. based on the *Extensive lists of news stories*) and the final version of the corpora (which focusses on the most newsworthy apology stories) were used to gauge whether there is a correlation between the press coverage of certain categories of public apologies and the type of newspaper news stories are being published in. This section therefore intends to highlight potential differences between British and French newspapers and broadsheet and tabloid newspapers in the extent to which public apology categories are represented.

5.4.1 Distribution of public apology categories in the *Extensive lists of news stories*

The chart in Figure 5.1 displays the overall number of news stories (national and international) covered under each apology category in the British and French corpora (based on the *Extensive lists of news stories*). The numbers in Figure 5.1 record different stories (regardless of the amount of press coverage they have engendered). In contrast, the final version of the corpora (i.e. list of articles imported in ATLAS.TI) represents different versions of the same stories across newspapers. If we consider that 'types' (concepts) are constituted of sets of 'tokens' (see Widdowson 1996:29-30 for further explanations on the distinction between types and tokens in linguistics), the above mentioned news stories are *types* and articles covering these news stories are their *tokens*. In the final version of the corpora, the focus is on *tokens*, i.e. the instantiation of the *types* (apology news stories) under scrutiny. This means that the numbers in Figure 5.1 indicate the news stories having emerged under each category of apology (focus on *types*). So, although *tokens* are not considered in the *Extensive lists of news stories* upon which Figure 5.1 was devised, these lists indicate the breadth of the corpora originally reviewed. As shown in Figure 5.1, the vertical axis represents the number of news stories covered. Four different numbers emerge for each apology category depending on whether apologies are national or international,

and whether they are found in the British or French corpora. Apology categories on the horizontal axis are presented in order of newsworthiness, i.e. political apologies are overall the apology category having engendered the most press coverage (164 news stories across corpora), whereas school apologies engendered the least press coverage (8 news stories across the corpora).

Figure 5.1: Distribution of news stories (national and international) across apology categories in both corpora

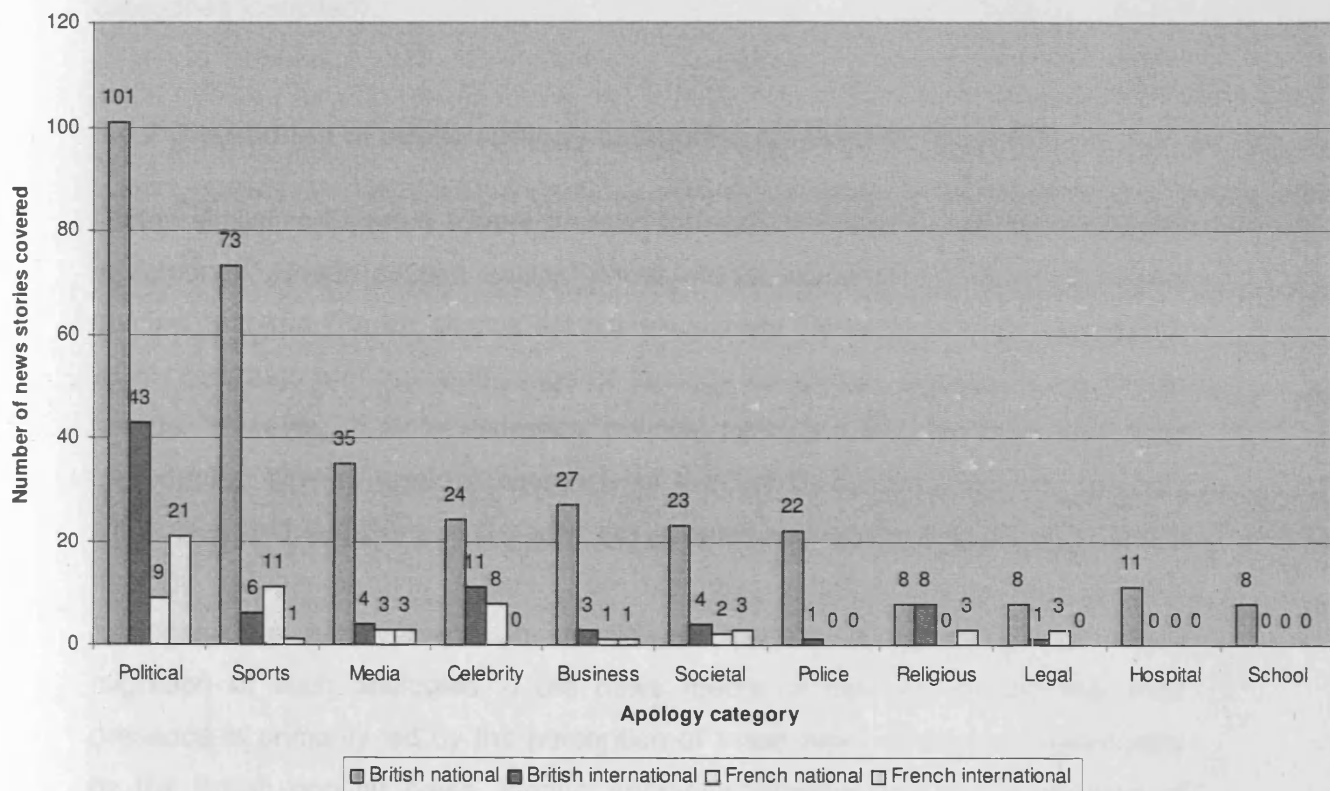


Figure 5.1 indicates that the number of news stories under each apology category in the British and French press clearly reinforces the claims that apology news stories are far more prevalent in the British press. This is particularly evident if the number of political apology news stories (the most newsworthy category of public apology in both corpora) in the British and French press is compared. Indeed, there are 144 political apology news stories identified in the British corpus (inclusive of both national and international news stories), against 30 in the French corpus. Figure 5.1 also indicates that comparatively the French press focusses

more on international apologies than the British press, thus further emphasising the lesser propensity of public figures to acknowledge wrongdoing in France (or greater propensity of the British to commit wrongdoing), or at least suggesting the reluctance of the French press to report on acknowledgments of wrongdoing. Figure 5.1 also indicates that public apology categories greatly vary in terms of newsworthiness and establishes even more clearly the limited relevance/irrelevance of business, court, religious, societal, police, school and hospital apologies in the French corpus (i.e. seven out of the eleven apology categories identified).

5.4.2 Distribution of public apology categories across newspapers

Charts similar to Figure 5.1 were devised for each newspaper and are presented in Appendix 2 (see section entitled *News stories statistics*). First, these charts confirm that the French corpus almost exclusively focus on political apologies, which contrasts with the wide range of apology categories covered in the British corpus. However, in all newspapers, political apologies are the most frequently represented type of apology category. In the British corpus they also indicate similarities and variations in the way the popular and quality press cover certain apology categories over others. For example, hospital school and societal apologies are mostly found in tabloid newspapers. Considering the recent migration of such apologies in the news media, it may be argued that their presence is primarily led by the perception of these news stories as newsworthy by the British popular press. Finally, another noticeable fact is the salience of celebrity apologies in both the popular and quality press, thus possibly suggesting the *tabloidisation* of certain topics in the quality press.

5.4.3 Distribution of public apology categories in the final version of the corpora

In the final version of the corpora which focusses on the most newsworthy apology news stories, political apologies are also the category of apology most represented (see *List of apology news stories* in Appendix 2). However, in terms of the amount

of press coverage generated by each apology category, there does not seem to be a correlation between the amount of press coverage and the apology category under scrutiny. The *List of apology news stories* in the final version of the corpora (see Appendix 2), indicating the number of articles for each story, highlights that some apology categories are clearly more readily represented in the media than others. The corpora also suggest that newsworthiness depends on the qualities of individual news stories. The Pope's apology, for example, illustrates this point, for although religious apologies are one of the least prominent apology category in the press (see Figure 5.1), the Pope's apology is the apology news story having engendered the most press coverage with 32 articles across the two corpora. The list of news stories included in the final version of the corpora in Appendix 2 present the most newsworthy apology news story at the top of the table and the least newsworthy at the bottom. This table further suggests that there is a significant discrepancy in the way apologies are represented in the British and French media. Indeed, most if not all coverage regarding the most popular apology news stories are covered only in the British corpus and the least popular ones correspond to stories covered in the French corpus alone. These are clearly variations which need to be taken into account in public apology research. Following this chapter's aim to account for the basic components of public apologies, the next section explores the different facets of participatory framework of public apologies.

5.5 Participation in public apologies

Considering the complexity of apology processes, it is clearly necessary to delineate participation in public apology processes to support the discursive analyses in chapters 6 and 7. In that regard, I will adapt Goffman's considerations regarding the 'participation framework' and 'production format' of social encounters, the conceptualisation of (i) the participants and (ii) of the notion of speaker respectively, which he presented in his essay on 'Footing' (1981).

To start with, it is worth mentioning that Goffman (1981:144) asserts that 'the whole situation, the whole surround' of conversational encounters must be considered to fully appreciate the participation framework, which is the view

adopted here. In relation to the media texts included in the corpora, participation refers to the parties (i.e. apologisers, apologisees and third parties) who can be both directly and indirectly involved in public apology processes. Goffman's (1981) perspective on participation in social encounters is that the role and function of all members in a social gathering can be defined in relation to the speaker, the apologiser in the present study. Goffman (1981) focusses essentially on the notions of *speaker* and *hearer*, notions which are used in the present section. However, it is worth noting that in the context of public apologies these notions are probably best understood as *producer* and *recipient* which cover both written and spoken discourse (insofar as a few public apologies consisted of letters). Apologisers (producers of public apologies), and third parties and apologisees (recipients of public apologies) are examined in sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2.

5.5.1 Apologisers

In regards to Goffman's speaker roles (1981), the role *animator* is an analytic role similar in kind to that of the person who produces utterances. When considered as the *author*, the speaker is then perceived as the 'person having selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded'. Finally, the role of *principal* corresponds to the social identity or role of the speaker, i.e. this role emphasises the speaker's commitment to the words that are delivered. This tripartite conceptualisation of the notion of speaker corresponds to the aforementioned 'production format of an utterance' (Goffman 1981:145).

In relation to public apologies, this model can account for the overlaying of roles assumed by apologisers. Indeed, this explains how the roles of author, animator and principal can be seen as being often discrepant in relation to public apologies (frequent in institutionalised talk). With regard to *authorship* in relation to public apologies, it has to be borne in mind that most apologetic speeches undergo some degree of preparation (e.g. a speech might be memorised or a script might be used to deliver the apology). In other words, public apologisers *animate* (position of animator) words which they might have had no (or very little) hand in formulating. Examples of instances when the three roles do not overlay in the corpora are when apologisers speak *on behalf of* someone else (e.g. on behalf of

a nation state or a business). In that instance, Goffman's (1981) outlook on the production format of utterances allows to acknowledge that apologisers assume the role of animator (they utter the words), but are not necessarily assuming the authorship of their apologies (they are not necessarily formulating their own words), nor necessarily staking out their own position through it (i.e. not necessarily assuming principalship of the text). This applies to apologies for historical wrongs in particular. With regard to the notion of principalship, it is essential to acknowledge that apologisers do not always or necessarily *feel* apologetic. This point is clearly evidenced in press uptakes emphasising that apologisers as not feeling sorry, not displaying appropriate feelings, etc. Finally, it is also possible for apologisers to switch between these roles while performing their apology.

5.5.2 Apologisees and third parties

As has already been suggested, the term apologisee (offended party of victim) may include more than one person, i.e. the apologisee may apologise to the victim and his or her relatives for example. However, in some instances it can be hard to define who the apologisees really are. Although apologisees are the key recipient of public apologies (without an offended party public apologies become superfluous), recipients in public apologies are far more numerous. In his attempt to account for the non-dyadic nature of much social interaction, Goffman distinguished between two types of recipients (1981:131-132). First, 'ratified' recipients who have an official status in the social encounter and can be addressed or not. Second, 'unratified' or 'unaddressed' recipients who do not have an official status in the social encounter and therefore act as overhearers or eavesdroppers for example. Goffman's considerations regarding the position of the hearer in social encounters highlights its complexity and ambiguity (1981:131-132), which seems particularly true of much media discourse (of which apology press uptakes).

In the case of public apologetic speeches, there is a range of ratified and unratiated recipients. Amongst the ratified recipients associated to public apologies, we may for example count apologisees, the media or the public opinion; whereas unratiated

recipients (not considered in this study) would for example include the camera crew filming an apologetic speech.

Distinguishing between the ratified recipients other than apologisees (apologisees will be returned to in section 5.5.3) can be a complex task for these can be more or less directly involved in the public apology process or addressed by the apologisee. Indeed, they include co-present audiences (e.g. media representatives, fellow political party members present when an apologetic speech is issued, apologisees) or imagined and absent audiences (e.g. wider audience such as TV audiences who will watch the apologetic speeches or reports on the apology). This distinction between a speaker having 'coconversationalists' as opposed to 'audiences' is explored by Goffman (1981:138) who emphasises the ambivalence of the notion of *audience*. In the corpora, both categories of audiences are relevant, and in some ways apology press uptakes may be seen to present accounts on apologies by an immediate audience (newspaper journalists) for the imagined audience (readership of newspapers).

This point raises an important issue in relation to recipients of public apologies, namely the role of *third parties* (i.e. parties who at some point express their views on the apology but are not related to the apologisee or apologisee). 'Third parties' are discussed in great detail by Tavuchis (1991:50-64), which leads him to conclude that public apologies are triadic rather than dyadic, although he remains quite elusive with regard to the identity of these third parties in relation to public apologies. Third parties can be media representatives, experts, members of the public, newspaper readerships or officials, to mention but a few. Based on Tavuchis' suggestion that third parties are synonymous with 'a third set of interests' (1991:51), it is considered here that relatives of the apologisees and apologisees (i.e. parties commonly representing the interests of apologisees and apologisees) probably form a distinct category of third parties. This is because their views often reinforce the point of view of the apologisee or apologisee, rather than introduce a distinctly different points of view. However, focus in the present research is on one category of third party in particular – the media – and such categorisation issues are thus not pursued further.

A point worthy of noting is therefore the fact that the voice of third parties in general is by definition always mediated in apology press uptakes and the range

of third parties in public apology processes also varies depending on the news story considered. It is also clear that media uptakes in apology processes prevail over that of other third parties. The notion of access in van Dijk's work (1993; 1996) resonates quite strongly with this last point issue. Indeed, the ability of the media – a third party – to dominate the other addressees within public apology frameworks, due to the mediated nature of most (if not all) public apology representations, is evidence of the media's privileged access to public discourse and communication. This can therefore be seen to possibly indicate a form of media dominance. I understand dominance here in critical discourse analytic terms, i.e. as 'a form of social power abuse' (van Dijk 1996:85). In addition, the involvement of the media seems a key element in determining the degree of effectiveness of apologies, in that often media uptakes carry more weight in the acceptance or rejection of apologies than the victims themselves (apologisees). This is evident in relation to the Australian Prime Minister Rudd's apologetic speech for the child migrant program (screened in November 2009²³) during which the applause of the co-present victims may be interpreted as their acceptance of the apology, while the media went on to produce a negative uptake of the apology. The involvement of third parties in public apology processes, as suggested in the literature (e.g. Yamazaki 2004:169 on national apologies), constitutes one of the main elements distinguishing private apologies from public ones. The premise here is that third party constraints must be systematically acknowledged in public apology research.

To conclude, the above considerations regarding the production formats and participation frameworks associated with public apologies highlight the non-dyadic nature of participation in public apologies. The non-dyadic nature of much communication has received a great deal of attention from linguists. For example, Linell (1998:105-107) alludes to the 'dyadic bias' in communication research in her study on talk-in-interaction in general and Pontecorvo, Pirchio and Sterponi (2000) discuss the limitations of dyadic models for their study of family diner conversations to name but a very few. Indeed, limitations concerning dyadic models of interaction have also been noticed in relation to computer-mediated

²³ A video footage is available the New York Times website:
<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/17/world/asia/17migrants.html> [last accessed 10.03.10]

communication and televised talkshows for example. The next section builds on these considerations by exploring further the identity of apologisers and apologisees in the corpora.

5.5.3 Identity of apologisers and apologisees as represented in the Extensive lists of news stories

This section concerns the representation of the range of identities covered by apologisers and apologisees in the corpora. This is based on the *Extensive lists of news stories* (Appendix 2) so as to present a comprehensive picture of this range of identities as represented in the news media.

The tables under the *Categories of apologisers and apologisees* section of Appendix 3 list the identities of apologisers and apologisees. These are based on the information given by the early stages of the corpora (i.e. based on the *Extensive lists of news stories* in Appendix 2). As previously stated, *Extensive lists of news stories* upon which this table is based include summaries of news stories only. These summaries were often based on the headline and lead paragraph of the newspaper articles and accounted (whenever possible) for the apologiser, apologisee and offence at stake. In view of the way the information presented in the *Extensive lists of news stories* was gathered, it is apparent that these summaries do not account for the fact that the news media can have different opinions about whom apologised or whom an apology was aimed at, or alternatively decide not to identify them. This is especially true of apologisees.

Based on the corpora, the news media seem to be less clear about the identity of apologisees than it was with regard to apologisers, thus the identity of apologisees was on the whole harder to identify than that of apologisers. For example, apologisees could be a group of people that is itself impossible to identify (e.g. apology for slavery), or simply hard to identify (e.g. publicity-led apologies such as apologies by footballers in which apologisees might be the fans, the spectators, etc.). When there was more than one apologisee, all were included in the tables concerning the identity of apologisers and apologisees (Appendix 3).

When listing apologisers, apologies *on behalf of* were problematic for they could possibly be attributed two apologisers, namely the institution apologising or the

individual apologising *on behalf of* the institution. For example, when a government apologises, the apology is carried out by an individual. However, depending on the uptake, either the individual (e.g. the Prime Minister of the country concerned) or the institution (e.g. the British government) can be held to have apologised. When appropriate both are listed, although it has to be borne in mind that only further enquiry into press uptakes could adequately predict whether the uptakes mostly represented the individual or the institution as having apologised.

Besides, in relation to some apology news stories apologisers and apologisees can be multiple. An example of this issue of multiple identity of apologisers and apologisees is found in the news texts reporting on the apologies delivered in relation to the Blue Peter news story (the TV program faked the results of a phone-in competition). Indeed, apologies are represented as having been issued by the program's presenters, the Controller of BBC Children's Television (Richard Deverell) and the program's editor (Richard Marson).

Bearing in mind the difficulty in identifying apologisers and apologisees for some news stories, the tables listing apologisers and apologisees for each category of apology in Appendix 3 nonetheless provide exhaustive information regarding the range of identities of apologisers and apologisees within the time period considered. Indeed, these tables meticulously record the identity of apologisers and apologisees depending on the category of public apology, and whenever applicable, examples are provided to illustrate the categories of apologisers and apologisees identified. Since the tables included under *Categories of apologisers and apologisees (British and French corpora)* in Appendix 3 are based on the early stages of the corpus collection (*Extensive lists of news stories* in Appendix 2), it is evident that some of the examples mentioned in these tables relate to news stories not included in the final version of the corpora.

On the whole, these tables indicate that there is a significantly narrower range of apologisers and apologisees in the French corpus, which is in line with previous claims that the speech act of public apology is less pertinent to the French press and probably less often used in France. This may be understood in relation to the concept of conventionalisation, i.e. it may be suggested that this speech act has undergone processes of conventionalisation in Britain (as well as other Anglo-

Saxon countries), which have not occurred in France (and most likely other European and non-Western countries). Considering how little work has been carried out in the area of public apologies' participation frameworks, the present exploration into the identity of apologisers and apologisees has hopefully contributed to further understanding of this complexity and shown the prominence of the media in public apology processes.

5.6 Summary

Focus on the four core public apology components presented in this chapter led to the creation of a classification system for the public acts of contrition examined in the study. This constitutes a working typology rather than a prescriptive model. The types of offences covered in the corpora provided us with a valuable insight into the types of breaches public apologies are related to, but also on the basis of this sample at least, into the types of breaches which tend to be represented in the media. The aim here was to present as exhaustive a picture of the aforementioned four core components as possible, *Extensive lists of news stories* in Appendix 2 form the basis of the findings of this chapter. Further enquiry into the public figures having delivered public apologies and the parties receiving them in the time frame under consideration gave us access to the identities of the range of apologisers and apologisees.

The next chapter focusses on one of the two analytic categories at the core of this study, namely verbatim apologies (and their immediate framing). The corresponding data excerpts are therefore explored as a means to access ways in which evaluation permeates these excerpts, but also gauge the role of verbatim apologies in apology press uptakes.

Chapter six: Reporting and framing: Apologies quoted verbatim

6.1 Chapter overview

As indicated in chapter 3, public apology press uptakes are a rich source of data in terms of understanding public apology processes and the discursive features of news reporting. By introducing the codes having emerged from the data set, chapter 4 implied that there are patterns operating at lexical and thematic levels which are suggestive of evaluative stances in press reports on public apologies. The categorisation/classification of public apologies presented in chapter 5 stressed the usefulness of a typography of public apologies for the present study and for public apology research in general, and the potential connection between the newsworthiness of public apologies and the status of apologisers in interaction.

As previously stated in chapter 4, quotations under the [OC1 verbatim] code include apologies ostensibly quoted verbatim in the corpora and their immediate framing. Following Goffman on radio and TV talk (1981:137-138), public apologies, like much of public discourse, can be said to be highly stylised forms of discourse (i.e. staged and prepared). What is more, and as underlined by the three speaker roles (discussed in section 5.4) identified by Goffman (1981), public apologisers do not always speak their *own* words. Indeed, the preparation of public apologies can involve intensive communicative marketing and the intervention of a variety of external contributors aiming at increasing the effectiveness of communication, which suggests that in some instances the apologiser fulfils the role of animator, but his authorship is often partial due to the intervention of other parties during the writing of the apologetic statement. If we consider the pressure under which some public apologies are likely to be delivered, whether explicit (e.g. demand for an apology), or implicit (e.g. social pressure, need to protect one's public image), it seems likely that apologisers are not always committed to their words. This

therefore calls into question their status as *principals*. Although this is not the primary focus of this study, it is apparent that uptakes are akin to attempts by journalists to attribute intent to the apologise. Indeed, the news text under scrutiny may be seen to focus on revealing whether apologisees are *principals* of their performances or not, and even if not, whether they are using someone else's *script* while still managing to perform as if *sincere*.

This first of two interpretative analytic chapters is organised as follows. Section 6.2 explores the significance of verbatim apologies in the news media, while section 6.3 introduces the practice of quoting of apologies verbatim in the media texts included in the final version of the corpora. Based on verbatim apologies and their immediate framing, section 6.4 examines the formulation of public apologies and the strategies (core and peripheral) associated with them. This leads to the proposal of a non-prescriptive classification system of public apology strategies. Finally, section 6.5 explores evaluative stance as perceptible in the choices made by news writers in their selection of verbatim apologies and the ways in which verbatim quotes are commented on and evaluated in their immediate framing.

6.2 Verbatim quotes in the news media

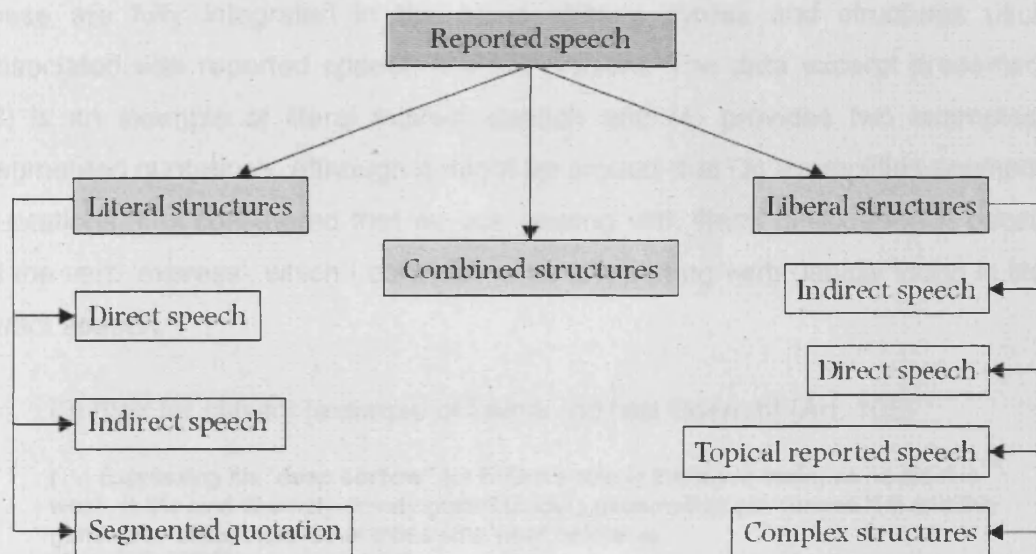
The present section concerns ways in which speech or writing are quoted verbatim in the media, so as to further understand the extent of verbatim apologies in the corpora.

6.2.1 Defining *verbatim* in the media

The media discourse sub-genre under scrutiny stands out in comparison to other types of news reporting due to the fact that the event focussed on is an apologetic speech/letter and quotes from this event are therefore at the core of uptakes. The reporting of apologetic words is therefore recurrent in apology press uptakes and is confirmed in the media texts of the data set in which news writers often rely on a representation (or mis-representation) of what apologisees said in their uptakes. Literature on the representation of spoken or written words in the media indicates that verbatim quotes are only one of several methods used by

news writers to report speech. For example, considering that verbatim quotes are instances of direct speech, it is apparent that there are ways to report speech more indirectly (e.g. summaries, gists of what was said). Here, Smirnova's (2009) classification of news discourse reproduced below in Figure 6.1 is adopted. The decision to use Smirnova's model lies in the fact that she examined news discourse.

Figure 6.1: 'Classification of structures with reported speech in argumentative newspaper discourse of Modern British English' (Smirnova 2009:83)



Following Smirnova's classification, the type of reported speech falls under the category of 'literal direct speech' and 'literal indirect speech'. Smirnova's 'literal' and 'liberal' structures (2009) differ in terms of attribution. Literal structures do not pose problems of attributions (i.e. it is evident who uttered the words being reproduced) and aim at a verbatim reproduction of the initial message, whereas liberal structures display a greater flexibility in the way reported words are represented. Smirnova suggests that literal and liberal structures are sometimes combined (these are referred to as 'combined structures' 2009:84). This is illustrated in (2) which exhibits the use of 'literal direct speech', 'literal indirect speech', 'segmented quotation' and 'liberal direct/indirect speech', but all of these are not included in the analysis.

(2) Abe for WW2 prostitution (First event - refusal to apologise)
[example of Combined Structure] {Art. 62}

(...) "I must say we will not apologise even if there's a (US) resolution," Mr Abe told MPs in a lengthy debate [**Literal Direct Speech**], during which he also said he stood by Japan's landmark 1993 apology on the brothels [**Liberal Direct/Indirect Speech**]. Last week he said there was "no evidence" [**Literal Indirect Speech**] that Japan had coerced as many as 200,000 mainly Chinese and Korean "comfort women" [**Segmented Quotation**] to work in military brothels between the early 1930s and 1945. South Korea accused him of attempting to "gloss over a historic truth" [**Literal Indirect Speech**].

(The Guardian – 05.03.07)

Like literal indirect speech, segmented quotations also embed verbatim quotes but these are fully integrated in the news writer's syntax and structures usually associated with reported speech are not present. The data excerpt presented in (3) is an example of literal indirect speech and (4) provides two examples of segmented quotations. Although it might be argued that (3) exemplifies segmented quotations, it is considered that we are dealing with literal direct speech because of the verb 'express', which I consider to be a reporting verb usually found in literal direct speech.

(3) Blair for slavery [example of Literal Indirect Speech] {Art. 105}

(...) Expressing his "**deep sorrow**" for Britain's role in the slave trade, as he did this week, is the kind of empty, trendy grandstanding gesture that glamorises him and this generation at the expense of those who went before us.

(The Daily Telegraph – 29.11.06)

(4) British Navy crisis [example of Segmented Quotations] {p122}

(...) Next came an interview with junior sailor Nathan Summers. The 21-year-old apologised for entering Iran's waters '**without any permission**', but clumsy editing showed a clear splice after the word '**apologise**', suggesting his words were chopped around.

(The Daily Mail – 03.04.07)

Due to the interference of the reporting voice (domination of the author's syntax over the verbatim quotation) in relation to segmented quotation structures, these were not included in the corpora. However, literal indirect speech was presumed to be more likely to give way to explicitly evaluative statements than literal direct speech.

Focus on literal direct and indirect speech is due to the fact that amongst the other options news writers have with which to report what was said or written, these are considered as more *objective* and *fact-oriented* than other speech reporting

options, assuming quotation marks are used faithfully. In line with Smirnova who considers that literal direct speech in particular increases claims of authenticity (2009:97), verbatim apologies (especially literal direct speech structure) are considered to offer less opportunity for news writers to convey their evaluative stance. Having now elucidated in greater detail what verbatim quotes correspond to, the next section examines ways in which these are indicated in the corpora.

6.2.2 Speech quoted verbatim in the corpora

In the British corpus, single and double quotation marks are used to indicate verbatim quotes, which is common practice. On the whole, double quotation marks are given preference throughout the British corpus (example 5) and single quotation marks are mainly used in the *Daily Mail* (example 6). However, *The Daily Mirror* also uses single quotation marks on a couple of occasions in the body of articles, whereas *The Sun*, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* seem to reserve the use of single quotation marks for headlines where speech is reported (example 7). In the French corpus, news writers have recourse to the conventional means used to indicate speech quoted verbatim in French, namely *guillemets* <angle quotation marks> (example 8). However, in *Libération* and *Le Monde*, English double quotation marks are used (example 9), which are increasingly frequent in the French press probably due to the use of keyboards or software which do not allow the utilisation of guillemets.

(5) Abe for WW2 prostitution [English double quotation marks] {Art. 62}

(...) "I **must** say we will not apologise even if there's a (US) **resolution**," Mr Abe told MPs in a lengthy debate, during which he also said he stood by Japan's landmark 1993 apology on the brothels.
(The Guardian – 05.03.07)

(6) Abe for WW2 prostitution [English single quotation marks] {Art. 65}

(...) 'I **sympathise** and apologise for the situation the women found **themselves in**,' he said.
(Daily Mail – 27.03.07)

(7) Blair for the times he fell short (valedictory speech) [English single quotation marks in headlines] {Art. 108}

'I did what I thought was right'
(The Guardian – 11.05.07)

(8) Baros for racism [French guillemets, «, <angle quotation marks>] {Art. 5}

(...) Cette fois, il a été plus clair encore : « **Il n'y a eu aucune coercition**, telle que des enlèvements, perpétrée par les autorités japonaises. Aucun témoignage fiable ne corrobore **cela**. » Rappelant que le gouvernement japonais avait présenté des excuses, partielles et du bout des lèvres, en 1993, il a aussitôt modulé : « **Ce n'est pas** comme si la Police militaire avait pénétré dans les domiciles des gens et les avait emmenés comme **des ravisseurs**. »

< This time, he was even clearer : « **there was no coercion** such as kidnappings, practiced by Japanese authorities. No reliable account can corroborate **this** ». Recalling that the Japanese government had apologised – half-heartedly – in 1993, he then added: « **it is not** as if the military Police had come into people's homes and **abducted them**. » >
(Le Figaro – 21.04.07)

(9) Berlusconi for marriage proposal [English double quotation marks] {Art. 6}

(...) Réponse du Cavaliere, communiquée le jour même à l'agence de presse Ansa : **"Ta dignité** est un bien précieux que je garde dans mon coeur même quand mes lèvres profèrent des blagues irréflechies. (...) Je te prie de m'excuser et de prendre ce témoignage public de mon orgueil qui cède à ta colère comme un acte **d'amour**."
< Reply from the Cavaliere, passed onto the press agency Ansa on the same day: **"Your dignity** is a precious gift which I keep in my heart even when my lips utter thoughtless jokes. (...) I beg your pardon and ask you to take this public display of my pride which gives in to your anger as an act of **love**." >
(Libération – 01.02.07)

Although this chapter focusses on instances when speech is evidentially reported verbatim, it is worth noting that there are times when British news writers seemingly do so without using quotation marks. Such examples are useful in understanding the findings in this chapter. An example of speech quoted verbatim without quotation marks is illustrated in (10) in relation to Ahern's apology for cash donations. It appears in the opening line of an article published in *The Sun*. This excerpt may be argued to invite the reader to interpret the utterance as the actual words spoken by Ahern because of the combination of a speech reporting verb ('says') with a semi-colon. As might be expected, comparison with the apology reported in the articles regarding this story confirm that Ahern did not say 'I took the cash but did nothing wrong' (see *Core and peripheral strategies identified for the 34 news stories in the final version of the corpora* in Appendix 4).

(10) Ahern for donations [opening sentence] {Art. 73}

He says: **I took cash but did nothing wrong.**
(The Sun – 04.10.06)

This example of arguably misleading verbatim quotation may be evidence of perceived news value of stories by news writers. Two occurrences of 'I am so sorry' used in headlines without quotation marks are also relevant to the study of ostensible verbatim quotes without quotation marks. These both correspond to utterances when the verbatim do not involve 'I am so sorry' and yet is represented as such in the headline (by means of apparent verbatim quotes without quotation marks). These two examples indicate negative evaluation and are illustrated in (11) and (12). The data excerpts in (13) and (14) are included to show that they do not match the original wording. Admittedly the article published in *The Daily Mirror* with regard to the Pope's apology only grants us access to a third party's representation of the apologetic words, but verbatim quotes in other articles also confirm that the Pope did not say 'I am so sorry'. In fact, although he is reported to have said 'I am deeply sorry' during his first attempt to make amends for his remarks on Islam, this act of contrition is almost unanimously perceived as a refusal to apologise. The unfavourable evaluation in (11) and (12) may arguably be perceptible in the use of the intensifier 'so' which might be perceived as indication of irony.

(11) MacNeil for flirting with two adolescents [absence of quotation marks in headline] {Art. 186}

I am so sorry, says married anti-sleaze MP who took teen girls to hotel room
(The Daily Mail – 09.04.07)

(12) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [absence of quotation marks in headline] {Art. 218}

POPE: I'M SO SORRY
(The Daily Mirror – 17.09.06)

(13) MacNeil for flirting with two adolescents [apology wording] {Art. 186}

(...) In a statement yesterday, Mr MacNeil, 36, said: '**I bitterly regret** that this incident occurred and **I apologise to my family** for causing them embarrassment and hurt. 'I also apologise to the young women involved and their families. I really should have known very much better.'
(The Daily Mail – 09.04.07)

(14) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [absence of quotation marks in headline] {Art. 218}

(...) Vatican official Tarcisio Bertone said yesterday:

"The Holy Father is **very sorry** that some passages of his speech may have sounded offensive to the sensibilities of Muslim believers."

(The Daily Mirror – 17.09.06)

It is noteworthy that (11) and (13), and (12) and (14) are taken from the same article. In other words, the news texts suggest in the body of their articles that their headline is a representation of the apologetic words, rather than a verbatim quote. This type of representation of apologies in headlines deserves attention, for examples where news writers do not make the distinctions clear might indicate a greater degree of (intentional) distortion on behalf of 'newswriters' (Bell 1991:14). In any case, the absence of quotation marks in relation to utterances denoting verbatim quotation gives us an indication of the potential that the media has of manipulating the ways in which speech is reported.

The next section is based on the analysis of verbatim quotes (without their immediate framing) and aims to account for what public figures are represented as having said in the media.

6.3 Verbatim apologies in the data

Although the term *verbatim apologies* is used throughout this chapter, it has to be understood as the ostensible verbatim reproduction of apologisers' original messages in the press. This distinction is important in that it adds strength to the argument that the media texts included in the corpora only give us access to parts of the original written or spoken texts which are quoted *as if* verbatim. More importantly, this corroborates part of the intent of the chapter to gauge ways in which what is quoted as verbatim apologies in the press can depart from the original words spoken by public figures and convey news writers' evaluative stance. As for what verbatim apologies include, it needs to be borne in mind that the term *apologies* includes equivocal/unequivocal apologies and refusals to apologise discussed as instance of apologies in the press. Verbatim apologies can therefore concern refusals to apologise or expressions of regret (equivocal apology) for example. For the purpose of this study, immediate framing

corresponds to the co-text of verbatim apologies and is directly relevant to the interpretation of the latter. It includes the sentence within which speech reported verbatim occurs, or adjacent sentences (preceding and/or succeeding) that contextualises the verbatim quote. The immediate framing of verbatim apologies therefore consists of introductory statements with reporting speech act verbs (e.g. say, tell, persist, etc.) and helps with the understanding of verbatim quotes or encourages a certain reading of them. An example of framing is given in (15) where it mainly precedes, but also follows, the quoted speech.

(15) Canada for wrongful detention by the U.S. [example of framing] {Art. 144}

(...) Yesterday, he received a formal apology from the Canadian prime minister, Stephen Harper, in parliament. "On behalf of the government, I wish to apologise to you . . . and your family for any role Canadian officials may have played in the terrible ordeal that all of you experienced," Mr. Harper said.
(The Guardian – 27.01.07)

Some verbatim quotes are also commented upon mainly *a posteriori*, as illustrated in (3).

(16) British Navy crisis (First series of events - apology by crew member)
[example of framing] {Art. 19}

(...) « Nous sommes entrés dans les eaux iraniennes sans autorisation et avons été arrêtés par les garde-frontières iraniens et j'aimerais présenter des excuses pour cela au peuple iranien », a déclaré le jeune homme, quelques heures après que le président Ahmadinejad eut exigé de Londres des excuses en bonne et due forme
< (...) « We entered the Iranian waters without authorisation and we were arrested by the Iranian border guards and I would like to offer my apologies for this to the Iranian people », **declared the young man several hours after the President Ahmadinejad demanded that London apologise in due form.** >
(Le Figaro – 31.03.07)

Alternatively, the immediate framing can be more evenly interspaced with the reported speech. This applies to instances when the reporting structures are literal indirect speech structures (following Smirnova's 2009 classification system of reporting speech discussed in section 6.2.1). Here, literal indirect speech is taken to correspond to instances when verbatim quotes are embedded in their immediate framing and follow the pattern of indirect speech. An example of this kind of embedding is given in (17). The parts in bold indicate the verbatim quotes, thus emphasising their immediate framing.

(17) Blair for slavery [Literal Indirect Speech] {Art. 12}

(...) Alors que les Britanniques s'apprêtent à célébrer au printemps le bicentenaire de l'abolition de la traite des Noirs, le premier ministre Tony Blair a dénoncé hier un « **crime contre l'humanité** », et exprimé sa « **profonde douleur qu'il ait jamais existé** ».

< (...) While Britons are getting ready to celebrate the bicentenary of the abolition of the Slave Trade in the spring, Prime Minister Tony Blair denounced yesterday « **a crime against humanity** », and expressed his « **deep sorrow that it ever existed** ».

>

(Le Figaro – 28.11.06)

In the present study, the immediate framing is taken to imply that press representation of apologies when quoted verbatim is achieved via the processes of selection and transformation which follow news values (see section 2.2.2 for a detailed discussion on the concept of *news values*) and is necessarily evaluative. This is acknowledged by many researchers, notably Fowler (1991:231) who recognises that news discourse transforms what people say and responds to 'conventions for rendering speech newsworthy'. As previously suggested in the introduction, the position taken in this thesis (following Fowler 1991) is that news discourse cannot be neutral. This idea is considered to apply equally to apologies quoted verbatim in the press, as indicated by Caldas-Coulthard in her study of direct speech in narratives (1994) and Linell (1998:28-32)) in her criticism of certain assumptions in the field of semantics and pragmatics (she explores the notion of 'written language bias') who stress the inevitable shift of meaning even when people are quoted verbatim. This echoes Calsamiglia and Ferrero (2003:149) as they claim that such a position contradicts views in journalism.

We consider both levels as a whole from a critical perspective that favours the view that citation means managing the words of others to convey and serve the purpose of the writer, giving a slant to what is said. This contrasts with other views, such as those presented in journalism training, arguing that citation not only makes the writer's discourse more objective and credible, but frees him or her from any responsibility.

This viewpoint has led to the articulation of two questions underpinning this chapter. These have helped to develop our understanding of stancetaking in fact-focussed news reporting.

- (i) How do *ostensible verbatim apologies* convey evaluative stancetaking and ideology in newspapers?
- (ii) How does *the framing of ostensible verbatim apologies* convey evaluative stancetaking and ideology in newspapers?

Verbatim citations from apologetic speeches and letters form the basis of this chapter, i.e. the analysis of data excerpts under the [OC1 verbatim] code underpin all analyses presented in this chapter. Table 6.1 presents the number of verbatim apologies (and their immediate framing) signalled by quotation marks (as in examples 2-4) in the corpora and for each news story in the British and French corpora.

Table 6.1: Number of verbatim apologies in both corpora

Apology category	News story	French corpus	British corpus
Political apology	Abe for WW2 prostitution - (2 events)	5	5
Political apology	Ahern for donations	N/A	9
Political apology	Berlusconi for marriage proposal	2	7
Political apology	Blair for slavery - (2 events)	4	14
Political apology	Blair for the times he fell short	3	9
Political apology	Cameron for misuse of office		2
Political apology	Canada for wrongful detention	1	1
Political apology	The British Navy crisis - (6 events)	1	20
Political apology	Devedjian for insult	4	1
Political apology	Hewitt for issue over junior doctors - (2 events)	N/A	4
Political apology	Johnson for racism	N/A	2
Political apology	Kony for war crimes	3	N/A
Political apology	MacNeil for flirting with two adolescents	N/A	10
Political apology	Prescott for adultery	N/A	5

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Political apology	Royal (French politician) for harsh remark	3	N/A
Political apology	Serbo-Bosniac government for war crimes	0	N/A
Political apology	U.S. for discrimination	0	0
Political apology	The State of Virginia for slavery	0	6
Political apology	Wolfowitz for his partner's pay increase	0	4
Sports apology	Baros for racism	3	N/A
Sports apology	Newell for sexism - (2 events)	N/A	8
Sports apology	Zidane for headbutt	5	8
Celebrity apology	Big Brother for racism - (7 events)	N/A	13
Celebrity apology	Delarue for aggressive behaviour	3	N/A
Celebrity apology	Ferry for anti-Semitism	N/A	6
Celebrity apology	Gibson for anti-Semitism (2 events)	N/A	5
Celebrity apology	Sevrin for racism	1	N/A
Media apology	Blue Peter for phone-in issue - (3 events)	N/A	10
Media apology	GMTV for phone-in issue - (2 events)	0	3
Court apology	Duviau for murder	0	N/A
Court apology	Granomort for murder	2	N/A
Police apology	The Police for Forest Gate mistakes	N/A	5
Police apology	The Police for investigation into Dizaei	N/A	2
Religious apology	The Pope for his remarks on Islam - (2 events)	4	13

It is apparent in Table 6.1 that verbatim apologies are used more extensively in some stories than others, but it also indicates that the stories which engender the most verbatim apologies correspond to the most newsworthy stories, i.e. those having led to the most extensive press coverage in comparison to others. Despite the small size of the French corpus, it seems that verbatim apologies in apology press uptakes in the French press are proportionally less numerous. There were only three news stories in the French corpus where no verbatim apologies were

found. These are: 1. Duviau for murder; 2. U.S. for discrimination (holding Venezuelan minister at the airport); 3. Serbo-Bosniac government for war atrocities. Two of these news stories (1 and 2) are only discussed in the French corpus. The third is covered in both corpora but it was included in the British corpus for cross-cultural comparison purposes at the time the corpora were gathered (see Appendix 2 Table 2.1). The absence of verbatim apologies in these three news stories may therefore be attributed to their low profile. Overall, this seems to suggest that verbatim apologies correlate with newsworthiness.

Prior to investigating the data, considerable preliminary work was carried out. This consisted of reviewing the uptakes presented in all 268 newspaper articles in the corpora in relation to the 34 news stories covered. Comments assigned to individual newspaper articles, as well as those assigned to news stories which were discussed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 were used. When uptakes were complex, articles were read through again so as to make sure the nature of apology uptakes was properly understood, examine the range and nature of uptakes in relation to each news story, and thus systematise the inclusion of data to support claims regarding the evaluative stance of news writers.

Section 6.4 examines in greater detail what public figures said/wrote to apologise in the news stories covered by the corpora.

6.4 Wording of public apologies and strategies

This investigation into what public figures say or write to apologise is two-fold. First, the form of public apologies, i.e. *core* remedial acts used by public figures to apologise is explored. Then, and considering the complexity of the public apology speech act set, verbatim apologies are reviewed once again to engage with the *peripheral* strategies used by public figures in their acts of contrition. These peripheral strategies are differentiated as follows: strategies enhancing the felicity of apologies (mainly attending to the apologisees' positive face needs), strategies undermining the felicity of apologies (mainly attending to the apologisee's positive face needs). As will become apparent, in certain circumstances public figures may have a vested interest in not fully committing themselves to their apologies, which is indicated both in their choice of core and peripheral strategies. The objective in

exploring core and peripheral strategies is therefore to cast light on the much ignored or misrepresented issue of what *constitutes* a public apology both in the literature and the media.

The findings in this section of the chapter are based on the tables listing public apology strategies for each news story (see *Core and peripheral strategies identified for the 34 news stories in the final version of the corpora* in Appendix 4) which was developed by examining the verbatim apologies for each news story. These tables therefore indicate what the press represented to have been said in relation to the public apologies under scrutiny. The abbreviated strategies are indicated within these verbatim quotes from the news texts (between square brackets, [...]). A list of these abbreviations is provided for each section, but these are also examined and commented upon hereafter. Given that some apology news stories consist of more than one public act of contrition (see Summaries of news stories in Appendix 2), the number of events covered for each news story is noted. This is to ensure that it is always clear which event the verbatim apologies analysed correspond to. The strategies were identified on the basis of the verbatim quotes from apologies. Core and peripheral apologies emerged, which is explored in the next two sections

6.4.1 Public apology form: core remedial acts

Given the formal nature of their context, the wording of public apologies is expected to be explicit (also suggested in section 3.2.4). Following Aijmer (1996), we can stipulate that public figures will possibly privilege IFIDs with the performative verb *apologise* over other explicit apology expressions, since Aijmer draws a parallel between the use of the performative verb *apologise* and formality. The present section focusses on accounting for the form of public apologies by examining verbatim quotes from apologetic speeches, letters, etc, (based on the information provided in the tables under *Core and peripheral strategies identified for the 34 news stories in the final version of the corpora* in Appendix 4).

Appendix 4 contains both a section regarding core and peripheral apology (see Table 4.2 (App.)) expressions and a section where a table listing core apology expressions alone is included (see Table 4.1 (App.)). The table focussing on core

apology expressions used to apologise forms the basis of some of the considerations in this section. It indicates that core apology expressions are mainly verbatim quotes, unless quotation marks are not used, in which case it is indicating literal indirect speech. It therefore appears that verbatim apologies are mentioned in the press uptakes in relation to 47 events, due to the fact that some of the news stories comprise more than one event. As previously stated, abbreviations were used to indicate strategies. The abbreviations used in Appendix 4 to discuss core apology expressions are as follows:

Def: explanation which takes the form of a defence, i.e. the apologisee defends his or her position

DenO: denial of offence

DF: demand of forgiveness

ENR: expression of no regret

EReg: expression of regret

EResp: expression of respect

ESham: Expression of shame

ESorr: expression of sorrow

OAn: offer of apology with the noun *apology/ies*

OAp offer of apology with the performative verb *apologise*

RTA: refusal to apologise

SA: sorry-based apology

Core apology expressions in the corpora in Table 4.1 (App.) indicate that even the core of public apology expressions can be quite complex, which is examined in detail later in this section. This is further indicated in Table 6.2 which focusses on whether apologisees used an IFID or another form of apology (the abbreviations OAp, OAn and SA are taken from the list above). The category *Other*, however, covers anything apart from noun-based and performative verb-based offers of apology (i.e. OAp and OAn) and sorry-based expressions of apology (i.e. SA). The distinction between OAp and OAn follows the distinction made by Robinson (2004:293). Explicit apologies include (i) offers of apology or what Olshtain and Cohen (1983) termed *illocutionary force indicating devices* (e.g. 'I must apologise'), and (ii) *sorry-based* units of talk (e.g. 'I'm sorry').

Table 6.2: Number of occurrences of explicit apology expressions in the corpora

	OAp	OAn	SA	Other
Total	19	6	9	13

Table 6.2 indicates that public figures mostly use two IFIDs to apologise, namely 'sorry-based expressions' or 'offers of apology' (with the performative verb 'apologise' or the noun 'apology/ies') in the British and French corpora ('*demandeur pardon* <forgive>' is absent from verbatim apology representation in the French corpus). The number of occurrences of these explicit apology expressions (presented in Table 6.2) also shows that offers of apology with the performative verb 'apologise' prevail over offers of apology with the noun apology/ies or sorry-based apologies. Indeed, 19 of 47 public apologies are performed by offers of apology with the performative verb 'apologise' ('*s'excuser*' in French). Aijmer's findings, according to which offers of apology with the performative verb 'apologise' characterise formality, are therefore confirmed by both corpora. Table 6.2 also indicates that sorry-based apology expressions are preferred over offers of apology with the noun 'apology/ies'.

Considering the association between the performative verbs 'apologise' in English, '*s'excuser* <apologise>' in French, and formal contexts, the public figures' preference for these IFIDs emphasises the formal nature of the public apology context. With this evidence, the corpora would seem to indicate that public apologies are both explicit and formulaic speech acts.

Table 6.2 also indicates that 13 out of 47 public apologies are performed by an apology expression other than an offer of apology or a sorry-based apology. This shows that the wording of public apologies in the press often can vary from the aforementioned explicit apology formulations. These are expressions of regret, expressions of shame, denials of offence, for example, and the uptakes suggest that these can both be judged as poor and successful apologies in the press, although from a pragmatic point of view some clearly fail to fulfill the conditions of felicity of public apologies.

The examination of the number of times keywords are used in apology press uptakes may be perceived to indicate the way apologies are referred to in the media texts included in the corpora. This is the purpose of Tables 6.3 and 6.4 which record the number of times the keywords occur in the British and French newspapers covered by the corpora. These tables mainly show that representations of apologies as 'offers of apology' (with the performative verb 'apologise' or the noun 'apology/ies') seem to be privileged in the data set.

Table 6.3: Number of occurrences of keywords in French newspapers

French newspapers	' <i>désolé</i> <sorry>'	' <i>excus</i> <apolog>'	' <i>pardon</i> <forgiv>'
Le Figaro	0	38	5
Le Monde	1	41	5
Aujourd'hui en France	2	7	2
L'humanité	1	13	3
Liberation	2	26	6
Total	6	125	21

Table 6.4: Number of occurrences of keywords in British newspapers

British newspapers	'apolog'	'sorry'
The Daily Mirror	96	55
The Guardian	127	22
The Independent	81	21
The Times	58	15
The Daily Telegraph	65	29
The Daily Mail	119	41
The Sun	48	21
Total	594	204

Tables 6.3 and 6.4 indicate that 'sorry' is used more in *The Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Mail* than in other newspapers, which may denote a preference by tabloids for shorter words whose impact is likely to be more immediate, or exemplify tabloid newspapers' preference for emotion-related language, for as suggested by Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2001:129) 'sorry' is an 'indirect' apology strategy describing a state of mind. On the other hand, the scarcity of '*désolé* <sorry>' in the French corpus, in comparison with the 204 occurrences of 'sorry' in the British corpus, suggests that 'sorry' has become an increasingly accepted way to represent public apologies in Britain. Considering the more interpersonal and private nature of this IFID as a form of apology than offers of apology (with or without the performative verb 'apologise'), it could be suggested that public apologies are discussed more informally in British news discourse than in its French counterpart.

The identification and listing of core apology strategies presented in Appendix 4 relies on gauging the degree of responsibility taken by public when they apologise. This follows the position that, as Aijmer suggests (1996:81), acceptance of responsibility is at the core of apologies. With regard to public apologies, this acknowledgement of responsibility appears to be considered carefully due to the far greater face threat potentially associated with them in comparison to private apologies. This is evident in relation to Ahern's apology (example 18), in which, although an explicit offer of apology is included, the apologisee also indicates that he had extenuating circumstances ('difficult and dark times' which are interpreted as the break up of his marriage in *The Times* – 04.10.06), that his offence was not a breach of the law or code of conduct and that he had suffered from the aftermath of his revelations regarding his conduct.

(18) Ahern for donations {Art. 69}

(...) 'It was a misjudgment although not in breach of any law or code of conduct at the time. It was not illegal or impermissible to have done what I did.'
'But I now regret the choices I made in those **difficult and dark times**. The bewilderment caused to the public about recent revelations has been deeply upsetting for me, and others near and dear to me. To them and to the Irish people, I offer my apologies.'
(The Daily Mail – 04.10.06)

Based on the detailed account of strategies used by public figures to apologise in the corpora and the more focussed information on core apology expressions presented in Table 4.1 (App.), it can be established that there are three types of core apology strategies which can be defined in terms of whether responsibility on behalf of the apologisee is (i) acknowledged, (ii) partially acknowledged, or (iii) denied. As previously indicated, these are now going to be explored. Each category of core apology strategies starts with a list of the corresponding *prototypical* apology strategies identified in the corpora.

(i) Apologies for which responsibility is acknowledged:

[OAp]: offer of apology with the performative verb *apologise*
[OAn]: offer of apology with the noun *apology*
[SA]: sorry-based apology
[DF]: demand for forgiveness

(19) Granomort for murder [sorry-based apology] {Art. 29}

(...) **'Je veux dire aujourd'hui à ses parents que je suis désolé que leur fils se soit trouvé sur le chemin de ma balle'.**

< (...) **'Today, I'd like to tell his parents that I am sorry that their son found himself in the path of my bullet'.** >

(Aujourd'hui en France – 06.02.07)

(20) The British Police for investigation into Dizaei (ethnic minority officer)
[offer of apology] {Art. 214}

(...) Part of yesterday's statement said: **'In acknowledging these mistakes and making this apology**, the Met hopes to restore to the Black Police Association a measure of trust and confidence in our organisation.'

(The Daily Mail – 06.06.06)

These strategies confirm that, as previously stated, acknowledgements of responsibility are mainly IFIDs. However, public figures also sometimes only partially acknowledge responsibility, as indicated below.

(ii) Apologies for which responsibility is partially acknowledged:

[EReg]: expression of regret

[ESorr]: expression of sorrow

[ESad]: expression of sadness

(21) The State of Virginia for slavery (apology delivered by Virginia's legislators) [expression of regret] {Art. 251}

(...) Legislators have expressed **"profound regret"** for the enslavement of millions of Americans. "The moral standards of liberty and equality have been transgressed during much of Virginia's and America's history," a resolution says. It calls the enslavement of millions of Africans and the exploitation of native Americans "the most horrendous of all depredations of human rights and violations of our founding ideals in our nation's history".

(The Guardian – 26.02.07)

(22) Blair for slavery [expression of sorrow] {Art. 94}

(...) On the slave trade he said: "Personally I believe the bicentenary (of its ending) offers us a chance not just to say how profoundly shameful the slave trade was - how we condemn its existence and praise those who fought for its abolition - but also to **express our deep sorrow** that it ever happened, that it ever could have happened and to rejoice at the different and better times we live in today" (New Labour times, naturally).

(The Guardian – 01.12.06)

(23) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [expression of sadness] {Art. 34}

"Je suis vivement attristé par les réactions suscitées par un bref passage de mon discours (...) considéré comme offensant pour la sensibilité des croyants musulmans alors qu'il s'agissait d'une citation d'un texte médiéval qui n'exprime en aucune manière ma pensée personnelle.

< "I am deeply saddened by the reactions to a brief passage of my speech (...) considered offensive to the feelings of Muslim believers when they were in fact only a quotation from a medieval text which does not in any way express my personal thought. >
(Libération – 18.09.06)

Requests for forgiveness and expressions of sadness are present only in the French corpus, which seems to be the result of linguistic constraints. To that extent, '*demander pardon* <ask for forgiveness>' is probably best understood as a formal explicit expression of apology comparable to an offer of apology. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that Berlusconi's apology, assuming it is verbatim, is translated as a demand for forgiveness in the French press and predominantly as an offer of apology and a sorry-based apology in the British press (as illustrated in examples 24-27).

(24) Berlusconi for marriage proposal [demand for forgiveness] {Art. 6}

(...) Réponse du Cavaliere, communiquée le jour même à l'agence de presse Ansa : "Ta dignité est un bien précieux que je garde dans mon cœur même quand mes lèvres profèrent des blagues irréfléchies. (...) **Je te prie de m'excuser** et de prendre ce témoignage public de mon orgueil qui cède à ta colère comme un acte d'amour."
< Reply from the Cavaliere, passed onto the press agency Ansa on the same day : "Your dignity is a precious gift which I keep in my heart even when my lips utter thoughtless jokes (...) **I beg you to forgive me** and to take this public display of my pride which gives in to your anger as an act of love. " >
(Libération – 01.02.07)

(25) Berlusconi for marriage proposal [demand for forgiveness] {Art. 9}

(...) "**Je te demande de me pardonner** et d'accepter comme un acte d'amour ce témoignage public de mon orgueil cédant à ta colère ", écrit M. Berlusconi dans sa lettre, qui se conclut ainsi : " Un parmi tant d'autres. Grosses bises. Silvio. "
< (...) "**I ask you to forgive me** and to accept as an act of love this public display of my pride giving in to your anger ", Mr Berlusconi wrote in his letter which ended as follows : " One amongst many. Big kisses. Silvio. " > - (AFP, Reuters)
(Le Monde – 02.02.07)

(26) Berlusconi for marriage proposal [offer of apology] {Art. 80}

(...) "Dear Veronica, **here are my apologies**," Mr Berlusconi wrote.
(The Independent – 01.02.07)

(27) Berlusconi for marriage proposal [sorry-based apology] {Art. 80}

(...) "**Here I am, saying I'm sorry**. I was recalcitrant in private, because I am playful but proud too.
(The Independent – 01.02.07)

The variety exemplified in these examples seem to suggest that the press does not always prioritise accurate or verbatim translation of apologies. This suggests that newsworthiness (and therefore the recourse to particular news values by the press) underpinning apology-related news reporting can take precedence over accurate reporting of apologetic words, thus stressing the media's evaluative stance in public apologising. The impact of news values on media discourse, namely the pressure on 'newsgivers' (Bell 1991:14) – the perceived source of the news (e.g. journalist or newsreader) – to write stories which will maintain readership, has been thoroughly investigated in research on discourse in the media. Therefore, some newspapers' decision to represent Berlusconi's apology as trivial can be interpreted to indicate newsmakers overlooking *facticity* in these news reports.

As for expressing sadness, this strategy only appears in the French corpus in relation to the Pope's first attempt to end the controversy engendered by his remarks on Islam (this is apparent in example 23). However, the Pope's apologetic words are translated as a sorry-based apology modified by 'deeply' in the British press. This may be seen to indicate the apparent greater propensity of the British press to translate apologetic expressions as explicit apology formulations and to exploit the newsworthiness now attached to the speech act of public apology. This seems further supported by the fact that although the Pope is reported to have used an apology formulation that tends to be perceived as a successful form of apology, his speech is widely reported as a failure to apologise by the British press.

Based on examples 24-27 it appears that some apologies which involve partial acknowledgement of responsibility can be modified by intensifying adjectives to boost the felicity of the core apology expression. In examples 21-23, this is achieved by means of the adjectives 'deep' and 'profound' (or their adverbial equivalent). Although these partial acknowledgements of responsibility are often disputed in press uptakes, their combination with certain adjectives or adverbs seems to enhance their felicity, as suggested by the fact that they are sometimes explicitly commented on as successful forms of apology. The addition of an intensifying adjective/adverb in particular seems to transcend the fact that the act of contrition involves a partial acknowledgement of responsibility. Finally, and of

particular relevance to refusals to apologise, a number of strategies indicate that the apologisee denies responsibility for the offence.

(iii) Apologies for which responsibility is denied:

[ENR]: expression of no regret

[RTA]: refusal to apologise

[DenO]: denial of offence

(28) Baros for racism [denial of the offence] {Art. 7}

L'attaquant tchèque de Lyon, Milan Baros, a refusé de s'excuser, hier, auprès du défenseur de Rennes, Stéphane Mbia, à la suite d'une polémique au sujet d'un geste équivoque lors du match de Ligue 1, Lyon-Rennes (0-0), mercredi à Gerland. « **Je n'ai rien dit de raciste à Mbia, mais on s'est parlé entre nous comme cela se passe dans tous les matchs de football** » .

< The Czech striker from Lyon, Milan Baros, refused to apologise, yesterday, to the defender from Rennes, Stéphane Mbia, following a controversy about a dubious act during a League 1 match, Lyon-Rennes (0-0), Wednesday in Gerland. « **I didn't say anything racist to Mbia, but we talked to each other as we usually do in all football matches.** » >

(L'Humanité – 21.04.07)

(29) Zidane for headbutt [expression of no regret] {Art. 56}

(...) « J'ai réagi par un geste qui n'est pas pardonnable et je m'en excuse auprès des gens et des enfants et des éducateurs aussi. Je tiens à le dire haut et fort, ce n'est pas un geste à faire. **Mais je ne peux le regretter car cela voudrait dire qu'il a eu raison de dire ce qu'il a dit.** Et cela, non, surtout pas. »

< (...) « I reacted with an act that is unforgiveable and I apologise to people and children and youth workers too. I am not scared to say it loud, this not an act to be done. **But I cannot regret because it would mean that he was right to say what he said.** And this, no, certainly not. » >

(Le Figaro – 13.07.06)

(30) Abe for WW2 prostitution [refusal to apologise] {Art. 62}

(...) "I must say we will not apologise even if there's a (US) resolution," Mr Abe told MPs in a lengthy debate, during which he also said he stood by Japan's landmark 1993 apology on the brothels.

(The Guardian – 05.03.07)

Examples 28-30 above indicate that public figures also choose to address situations where they are held responsible for some wrongdoing by denying responsibility for the offence they are being accused of. Although far more limited in use than the other two categories of core apology strategies, these ways of addressing wrongs which are not driven by a desire to *remedy* in its conventional sense should not be overlooked in public apology research.

Based on this overview of core apology strategies, public apologisees are found to use IFIDs, as well as other forms of *account* and *offence-remedial-related acts* to

perform contrition in public. This terminology is inspired from Robinson (2004:292-293). In relation to the corpora, the term *accounts* is used to refer to expressions of regret (or no regret) and refusals to apologise, whereas 'offence-remedial-related acts' corresponds to all other strategies used (e.g. expressions of sorrow). However, and as suggested by the categorisation presented above, it appears more appropriate to focus on the degree of responsibility taken by the public apologise. The position adopted is therefore that public apologies can be realised via a wide range of speech acts. The corpora also suggests that core apologies are sometimes combined, presumably as a means to warrant positive uptake. This seems to apply to the Big Brother news story for example, when explicit apologies by Lloyd and Goody for their racist remarks towards another contestant of Indian origin combine an 'offer of apology' with a 'sorry-based apology' (see examples 31 and 32).

(31) Big Brother for racism (Goody's apology) [combination of core apology strategies] {Art. 88}

(...) **'I want to sincerely apologise** to anybody of any ethnic region or any race white, black, Indian or anything else. **I'm so sorry.**'
(The Daily Mail – 22.01.07)

(32) Big Brother for racism [combination of core apology strategies] (Lloyd's apology) {Art. 92}

(...) **"I'd like to apologise** for the words I've said. They were not meant to be racist, I'm not a racist.
"Shilpa is a fantastic, beautiful lady and I'm really, really sorry."
(The Daily Mirror – 30.01.07)

Although the uptake of their apologies in the press is mostly unsupportive, this negative stance could stem from the media's disapproval of O'Meara's (one of the three Big Brother contestants accused of racism) previous explicit refusal to apologise accompanied by a promise of non-forbearance as indicated in bold in example 33, as well as the overall handling of the issue by contestants and the BBC which led to much controversy in the British press.

(33) Big Brother for racism (O'Meara's refusal to apologise) [promise of non-forbearance] {Art. 91}

(...) Jo, 27, said: "I am NOT a racist and I am NOT a bully. I was bullied a lot at school and I hate bullies. It made me bulimic. I can't say sorry for something I'm not guilty of."

If I went back in there then I'd say it all again. I wouldn't change a thing from my BB experience, even now, because I know the truth. Big Brother has shown me unfairly. They have not shown me as I am."
(The Daily Mirror – 28.01.07)

Media reactions to apologies are particularly relevant for the more contentious instances of public contrition which lead to contradictory uptakes in the press. The Pope's apologies for his remarks on Islam, for example, emphasise the fact that boundaries between categories of core apologies can be tied up with the uptake by the media. To that extent, the press reaction to the Pope's first attempt to make amends suggest that 'be very deeply sorry' is not an acceptable form of apology which seems at odds with other public apologies for which 'be sorry' is used and accepted as an apology. Uptakes of the Pope's apologetic performances are probably the most varied of all news stories covered in the corpora, partly because the story involves several events, but also because the Pope's initiative to put wrongs to right triggered strong reactions. The British and French press treat the Pope's apology very differently. In relation to the Pope's initial apology, this difference seems to lie in the fact that the Pope's apologetic words are translated as a sorry-based apology in the British press, whereas the French press focussed more on his expression of sadness (see examples 34-36). The perception of the Pope's apology as a sorry-based apology is also corroborated by *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*.

(34) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [presented as the Pope's words]
{Art. 36}

« **Vivement attristé** », « profondément désolé », le pape Benoît XVI a tenté hier de calmer le tollé qu'il a suscité avec ses propos d'un autre âge sur l'islam durant son voyage en Allemagne la semaine dernière.

< « **Deeply saddened** », « profoundly sorry », Pope Benedict XVI last night attempted to calm the controversy caused by his remarks from another age on Islam during his trip to Germany last week. >

(L'humanité – 18.09.06)

(35) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [presented as the Pope's words]
{Art. 218}

THE POPE said "sorry" yesterday to the world's Muslims if his comments on Islam were misinterpreted and upset them.

(The Daily Mirror - 17.09.06)

(36) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [presented as the Pope's words]
{Art. 225}

(...) Speaking to pilgrims from the balcony of his summer residence at Castel-Gandolfo, south of Rome, at midday yesterday, he said he was "**deeply sorry** for the reactions to a brief passage considered offensive to the feelings of Muslim believers".
(The Independent – 18.09.06)

In the French press this apology is described as an expression of regret, whereas the British press considers it to be both a satisfying apology and a failure to apologise.

A second difference in the way the British and French press report on this news event relates to an event which is only mentioned in a few articles, namely Tarcisio Bertone's (Vatican Secretary of State) statement the day after the Pope delivered his controversial speech (example 37).

(37) The Pope for his remarks on Islam (Vatican Secretary of State's statement) {Art. 218}

(...) Vatican official Tarcisio Bertone said yesterday: "**The Holy Father is very sorry** that some passages of his speech may have sounded offensive to the sensibilities of Muslim believers."
(The Daily Mirror – 17.09.06)

Considering that Tarcisio Bertone is an official representative of the Pope, it is surprising that not many articles refer to this event, although we can assume that news writers have knowledge of it. In some instances, it is even implicitly referred to, e.g. an article published in *The Times* (26.09.06 - *Pope sees Islamic envoys in attempt to heal rift*) indicates that the Pope tried to make amends four times during the course of the controversy. The Pope's apologies clearly indicate that the media is prone to interfering with speech representation and source attribution. This particular apology news story indicates ways in which accuracy is sometimes overlooked, in favour of news value. Besides, this indicates that the socio-historical context of public apologies sometimes exert greater influence on the nature of apology press uptakes than the apologetic words.

As suggested above in relation to the use of particular lexical items to modify the core of apologies, combining more than one explicit acknowledgement of responsibility is a strategy which seems to be used by public figures as a means to enhance the felicity of the act of contrition. This is further confirmed by MacNeil's

apology for flirting with two girls aged 17 and 18 which includes two offers of apology with the performative verb *apologise* and a sorry-based apology. However contrary to Goody and Lloyd's (examples 31 and 32) apologies, his performance is perceived as a successful form of apology by most newspapers, as suggested by the discourse in example 38.

(38) MacNeil for flirting with two adolescents [core apology strategies]
{Art. 185}

(...) He said: "I bitterly regret that this incident occurred, **apologise** to my family for causing them embarrassment and hurt."

"I also **apologise** to the young women involved and their families. I really should have known very much better."

He added: "Yes, some foolishness took place at a post-ceilidh party, which was wrong and stupid. There is no allegation that anything further happened and I wish to make that absolutely clear."

"It was a lapse of judgment two years ago, for which I **am sorry**."

(The Times – 09.04.07)

The tables showing core and peripheral strategies in Appendix 4 also highlight that core remedial strategies are rarely used in isolation. This is illustrated in (39), where a reinterpretation of events, defence, explanation, attempt on behalf of Browne (the apologisee) to present himself as a victim, perform self-promotion and implicitly deny responsibility occur in his apologetic speech within the same apologetic act.

(39) Newell for sexism [combination of strategies] {Art. 196}

(...) 'I obviously apologised to Amy but we talked about things and she was fine [REvent].

Of course I think there is a place for women in football but what I don't agree with is having women in football just for the sake of it [Def]. If they are not good enough it amounts to tokenism and that is unacceptable [Expl].

'Sometimes you get chastised for being honest [Vict]. I've spoken to my wife about it and she agrees with me. So does my mum and so does my sister [Def/SP].

I rarely say things I don't mean but I probably need to hold my tongue sometimes [DenO].'

(The Daily Mail – 14.11.06)

In addition to any positive or negative impact such discursive practices have on the core illocutionary force of public acts of contrition (i.e. illocutionary force of the core apology expression), which can impact on their chances of felicity, these discourse practices have implications in terms of the existing debate on the definition of public apologies, especially the relationship between accounts and

offence-remedial-related actions in apologising. This is part of the focus of the next section examining *peripheral* public apology strategies, i.e. strategies used in combination with core strategies.

6.4.2 Public apology form: *peripheral* remedial acts

Based on the study of the corpora, peripheral strategies can be largely defined in terms of the way they modify the illocutionary force of core apology expressions. This leads to the distinction between two categories of peripheral public apology strategies, namely those which enhance the felicity of public acts of contrition and those which undermine it. As suggested by Wee (2004:2161-2162), the studies having examined the modification of illocutionary force have largely tended to focus on the attenuating (here referred to as *ambiguating*) rather than boosting (here referred to as *enhancing*) of the illocutionary force. The information gathered from the interpretation of the strategies used by public figures to apologise in the corpora signify that the peripheral strategies used to enhance the felicity conditions of the apology correspond to a large extent to strategies which focus on saving the apologisee's face, whereas, those undermining the felicity of the apology are often aimed at protecting the apologisee's face (this is discussed in section 6.4.3). After having briefly defined the peripheral strategies identified in the corpora, these are discussed in the sections 6.4.4 and 6.4.5.

(i) Peripheral strategies (beneficial to the apologisee):

[Def]: explanation which takes the form of a defence, i.e. the apologisee defends his or her position

[DownO]: downplaying of the offence (e.g. 'the offence is not that bad')

[E]: explanation of the event, i.e. information regarding the context of the apology process (e.g. Berlusconi stating in his letter to his wife that he could not apologise because his days were 'mad')

[IF]: apologies if/for the offence caused, i.e. prototypical partial apologies

[PNF]: promise of non forbearance (e.g. 'If I was in the situation I would do the same thing again')

[REvent]: explanation which takes the form of an overt reinterpretation of events, i.e. the apologisee gives information which is meant to positively impact on the recipient's perception of the breach (e.g. 'this is not exactly what happened' or 'I haven't apologised yet because I couldn't think of the best way to do it')

[SP]: statement of self-promotion, i.e. overt self-promotion (e.g. Newell stating 'I wanted to do this because I am big enough and man enough to apologise for what I said')

[Vic]: attempt by the apologisee to present himself or herself as a victim so as to gain the sympathy of the audience (e.g. Gibson talking about his relapse into alcoholism)

(ii) Peripheral strategies (beneficial to the apologisee):

[AG]: admission of guilt, i.e. overt acknowledgement of wrongdoing or responsibility

[EEmp]: expression of empathy, i.e. the apologisee indicates that he or she feels empathy towards the apologisee

[AR]: proposition of additional remedy

[RO]: repudiation of offence, i.e. overt move by the apologisee to show that he disapproves of the offence

[DissO]: dissociation from offence

[PF]: promise of forbearance (e.g. 'I will not do it again')

[SD]: Self denigration (e.g. Goodys' apology for her racist remarks contains the following: 'I am a prick')

[Boos]: instances when apologisees combine their core apologies with a lexical item which is meant to enhance/boost the felicity of the apology (e.g. apologisees present their 'unreserved apologies' or 'sincere regrets')

[EResp]: expression of respect (e.g. The Pope's expression of 'respect' towards Muslims)

Some of these evidently overlap with findings in the literature on accounts/remedial acts. To that extent, Benoit's work is useful in that it provides a detailed list of theories of accounts (1995:51-61). However, the strategies presented here are all driven by the data, which means that distinctions identified are thus specific to the media texts included in the final version of the corpora. These peripheral remedial acts or actions indicate that their pragmatic value(s) can vary depending on the intended illocutionary force of the core apologetic words, thus highlighting the great complexity with which public apologies are both formulated and interpreted.

6.4.3 Peripheral strategies (beneficial to the apologisee)

These strategies are perceived to attend to the apologisees' positive face needs and this seems to be achieved in a variety of ways. As suggested in the list of such peripheral strategies provided in section 6.4.2, they can involve impingement on the apologisee's negative face needs, as it is suggested in relation to promises of forbearance for example. Quite a few seem to consist of the apologisee deliberately undermining his positive face, by denigrating himself or herself for example. However, most strategies seem to consist of the apologisee attending to the apologisees' negative face needs (e.g. offer of additional remedy), or attending to apologisees' positive face needs by expressing empathy or respect for example. To some extent, repudiations of offence and denials of offence may be perceived

as being borderline types of strategies, as these can also allow the apologisee to present himself or herself in a better light. These were included in the category of peripheral strategies beneficial to the apologisee because they tend to indicate face threat for apologisees in the corpora. With regard to instances when public apologisees used lexis that enhanced the felicity of their core apology strategy (e.g. combination of 'unreservedly' and an offer of apology), these seemed to be mostly aimed at indicating to the apologisee the unequivocalness of the apology being delivered. However, the corpora also indicates that these are used strategically by apologisees to secure a positive uptake of an apology that may have otherwise failed. Indeed, at times, the impact such lexical choices can have is such that they seem to counteract strategies which might have been perceived to undermine the core apology. This therefore indicates that the use of such enhancing lexis does not ensure genuineness on behalf of the apologisee. This is apparent with Newell's second apology for making sexist remarks to a female referee after the Luton Board meeting. His first apology was made shortly after the offence. His second apology followed a meeting of the Luton Board during which he was reprimanded. In this second act of contrition, he apologises unreservedly, but also denies the offence, as indicated in (40). However, the fact that his performance is mostly perceived as a successful apology in the British press (it is not covered in the French corpus) suggests the power of such lexical choices in enhancing the felicity of public apologies.

(40) Newell for sexism [denial of offence]{Art. 206}

(...) He said: "My apology to Amy Rayner and to anyone I've offended is unreserved. I was out of order. It's not the right time to be having that debate. **But there will come a time when I'm happy to argue my point .**"
(The Daily Mirror – 17.11.06)

6.4.4 Peripheral strategies (beneficial to the apologisee)

Peripheral strategies interpreted as beneficial to the apologisee seem to be synonymous with attempts on behalf of public apologisees to make their apologies more indirect, i.e. to mitigate the face threat of an otherwise full-blown apology.

Ambiguation²⁴ strategies here therefore correspond to what Caffi (1999:882) calls 'mitigation strategies', namely devices which reduce apologisers' obligations concerning the felicity conditions of public apologies. Ambiguation/mitigation strategies are therefore closely related to maintaining the smoothness of interaction and essentially consist of reducing risks for participants at several levels (e.g. risk of self-contradiction or conflict). In the corpora, ambiguation strategies relating to public apologisers alone are examined, indicating that apologisers can explicitly take responsibility while marking reluctance or performing some act of non-compliance as an act of self-determination. However, such strategies can cause apologies to be irreversibly flawed or their illocutionary force can be partially diminished (e.g. example 40).

There are two forms of 'excuses' which have not yet received much attention in the literature and which were identified as particularly salient in the corpora. These are explanations (implicit re-interpretations) and overt re-interpretations of the offensive event. They both represent attempts on behalf of public apologisers to contextualise (or re-contextualise) the offensive event so as to trigger a reading of the offence which supports a more favourable image of them in the eyes of the addressees (i.e. apologisees, media, general public). This applies to Ahern's aforementioned apology (example 18) in which he suggests that the break up of his marriage at the time affected his judgment in relation to the offence.

Alongside promises of forbearance, a new category of peripheral apology strategy evidently threatening to the apologisee's face emerged from the analysis: promises of non-forbearance, i.e. indications by apologisers that they would commit the offence again. These strategies denote various degrees of reluctance to apologise. Although they mostly are found with public acts of contrition which tend to be described as refusals to apologise, they are also found in combination with public acts of contrition discussed as apologies in the corpora.

Apologies for the offence caused or *apologies if* (i.e. examples of partial apologies), are a striking example of an ambiguation strategy. Ferry's apology wording for praising the aesthetic beauty of Nazi iconography, for example, illustrates this strategy. The seven articles concerning this apology news story

²⁴ Ambiguation or mitigation is here understood in its broadest sense, i.e. or as Caffi puts it (1999:882) 'a synonym of weakening, downgrading, downtoning (German *Abschwüchung*, Langner, 1994)'.

exemplify how apologies for which *an apology if* is used can be represented in positive term in the British press. In this instance, the speech act is considered to be a successful apology in press uptakes. This point about partial apologies is corroborated in relation to the Pope's apologetic performance which is accused of being inappropriate because the Pope allegedly did not apologise for the offence, but for the reaction/offence it caused (*The Independent*). This is conveyed through a third party's uptake in (41).

(41) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [partial apologising] {Art. 225}

(...) But another [Turkish] minister, Mehmet Aydin, pointed out that, in his statement of regret, **the Pope seemed to be saying he was sorry for the reaction to his remarks but not for the remarks themselves.** "You either have to say this 'I'm sorry' in a proper way, or not say it at all," he said. **"Are you sorry for saying such a thing, or because of its consequences?"**
(*The Independent* – 18.09.06)

Another way apologisers may be perceived to be saving their positive face is through the use of explicit apologies for the offence combined with expressions of no regret. Zidane's apology for headbutting Materazzi is a prototypical example of this combination and indicates his attempt to be reap the benefits of being perceived as having performed an apology, while clearly indicating that he is not sorry about the offence (as indicated in Appendix 4 in the table listing strategies concerning sports apologies), i.e. his apology regards something other than the offence (the hurt/disappointment his action caused). This is also noticed in the apparent pragmatic oddity of Newell's second apology for his sexist remarks. This is due to the fact that Newell is apologising for the offence caused to the female referee, while simultaneously indicating that he does not regret the offence. This combination strategy may be considered to indicate reluctance (act of self-determination) and seems increasingly used amongst public figures, thus pointing to the growing *routine* character of public apologies. However, Newell's apology is mostly perceived as an apology in the press uptakes, thus indicating that the strategy he used does not undermine the felicity of the public apologetic speech act. As a matter of fact, the focus is primarily on the future of Newell's career. A potential explanation for the perception of Newell's second act of contrition as an apology may be related to the fact that he admitted wrongdoing ('I was out of order'). However, considering his denial of the offence, Newell's admission of

wrongdoing seems to concern a different and unnamed offence (possibly his angry reaction). In *The Times*, the fact that Newell criticised the Chair of the Luton Board is represented as the offence which threatened his career (see example 42), whereas in *The Sun* the consequences of his sexist remarks are presented as the threat to his career (see example 43).

(42) Newell for sexism [future career] {Art. 199}

MIKE NEWELL may have talked himself out of a job at Luton Town after a day that started with the manager apologising to the female assistant referee whom he criticised on Saturday and ended with the club's board asking him to **explain his comments and criticism of Bill Tomlins, chairman of the Coca-Cola Championship club**. (...) Newell may regret his comments about Rayner -"she shouldn't be here" -**but it may yet be his stinging criticism of the Luton board that proves to be more costly**.
(The Times – 14.11.06)

(43) Newell for sexism [future career] {Art. 201}

MIKE NEWELL has kept his job as Luton manager but has been "severely reprimanded" at a meeting with the club's board. **Newell's future was in doubt** following comments he made at the weekend, when he said women officials had no place in professional football.
(The Sun – 16.11.06)

Accounts or justifications (perceived by the media as undermining the force of public apologies) are predominantly used by apologisers as ambiguating strategies meant to limit the face threat of the apology to their positive face. This is because justifications are interpreted as attempts to mitigate the face threat to apologisers and thus redeem their face. With regard to Devedjian's apology to a female politician for calling her a ' *salope <bitch>*', Devedjian's downplaying of the offence and his defence (see example 44) may be seen to undermine the core apology. Indeed, he suggests that he committed the offence because he believed that he was speaking in private, thus suggesting that Devedjian considers that his actions would not have been an offence if it had occurred in private, or at least that it would not have deserved an apology. Despite Devedjian's expression of regret, the use of these two peripheral strategies seem to shift some of the blame away from the apologiser.

(44) Devedjian for insult [combination of strategies] {Art. 145}

(...) In a public apology yesterday, Mr Devedjian said: "The exclamation I pronounced is not one of my most brilliant [**DownO**].

"I naturally deeply regret these words [Ereg] ... I expressed myself like that believing, by the way, that I was speaking in private [Def]."
(The Daily Telegraph – 30.06.07)

The fact that French newspapers did not include Devedjian's justification in their articles clearly indicates ways in which the press can represent verbatim apologies to potentially encourage readers to align with the stance presented in the article. This may therefore be interpreted as the French press' unspoken *support* of the apologiser, or alternatively its disinterest in reporting the news event.

On many occasions, accounts or offence-remedial-related actions are used in lieu of or in combination with explicit apology expressions, which may be understood as an ambiguation strategy. This is obviously pertinent to the debate regarding the distinction between accounts and the relevance of other remedial-offence-related actions to public apologising. Based on the data, it appears that there is no clear-cut answer with regard to the boundaries between the different forms of accounts/remedial acts.

The ambiguity seems to be a marker of the public apologiser's reluctance to issue a full-blown apology, for public figures tend to avoid the acknowledgement of responsibility characterising full-blown apologies (threatening to their positive and negative face). This reluctance can be interpreted in a variety of ways. First, apologies seem to often be perceived as inherently negative speech acts, as suggested in the press uptakes of Baros and Zidane's acts of contrition where these football players mention the fact that apologising equates with guilt in their apologies. Second, public figures are also wont to present themselves as having done 'nothing wrong' (wording often used in press uptakes) and apologies seem to allow them to cleanse themselves of the offences attached to them. Yet, this view that publicness requires decorum is at odds with the essence of the public apology speech act which is typically expected to involve acknowledgement of responsibility for an offence (see Aijmer 1996). Third, this reluctance may also be evidence of apologisers wanting to avoid legal liability (especially in relation to historical apologies).

The discussion presented in this section of the chapter should also consider the degree of preparation involved in public and political performances, which underlines that apologetic performances are strategic. To that extent, ambiguation strategies and the ensuing unclear illocutionary force of some apologetic

performances can indicate public figures' deliberate mitigation work to save their own face (i.e. they are withholding the complete self-sacrifice) to their audience (be they party members, their electorate, etc.). Considering the care with which apologetic speeches or letters are likely to be crafted, this raises issues of purposeful misleading and possibly manipulation on behalf of public figures. Indeed, some apologetic performances indicate that public figures sometimes appear to encourage their audience to believe that an apology has been issued, although from the perspective of critical pragmatics the apologetic words spoken/written do not meet the felicity conditions of public apologies. What is perhaps even more salient is that these pragmatically problematic apologies are often presented as a felicitous apology in press uptakes.

However, the multiple aims of some apologies, i.e. the fact that the speeches and letters used to publicly apologise often have aims other than to apologise, is bound to impact on press uptakes. This of course stresses the complexity of public apologies and the importance of their wider context of realisation in critically appraising them. To that extent, the fact that some news stories including apologies are followed by uptakes in the French press which do not focus on the apology (whereas the British press does) coincides with instances when the original speech has multiple aims, which therefore allows for a different focus in the interpretation of news events.

With regard to peripheral strategies beneficial to the apologisee, most seem to contribute to ambiguating the core apology used. The wording of the apologies by celebrities Ferry and Gibson both display an attempt on behalf of apologisees to enhance the felicity of their apologies. This is achieved by means of an explicit apology expression followed by dissociation from the offence as perceived. This strategy takes the form of an indication by both public figures that they abhor the offence-related stigma they have been associated with, respectively the Nazi regime (example 45) and Anti-Semitism (example 46 and 47). This strategy is akin to explicit distancing from offence-inducing stigma attached to the apologisee (perceived offender) by the media. It is interpreted as a strategy meant to enhance the core apology strategy used to apologise, for it seems to be intended to change the recipients' perception of the apologisee in a way that benefits the apologisee.

(45) Ferry for anti-Semitism [combination of strategies] {Art. 149}

(...) The singer, who is also a model for Marks and Spencer, issued a statement yesterday in which he said he was "deeply upset" [Vic] by the negative publicity his remarks had caused. It added: "I apologise unreservedly for any offence caused by my comments on Nazi iconography [OAp/IF], which were solely made from an art history perspective [REvent].

"I, like every right-minded individual, find the Nazi regime, and all it stood for, evil and abhorrent. [DissO]"

(The Guardian – 17.04.07)

(46) Gibson for anti-Semitism [combination of strategies] {Art. 156}

(...) 'I acted like a person completely out of control when I was arrested [AG] and said things that I do not believe to be true [REvent] and **which are despicable** [DissO].

(...)'

(Daily Mail – 05.08.06)

(47) Gibson for anti-Semitism [combination of strategies] {Art. 153}

(...) In the statement, Gibson asked for a meeting with Jewish leaders "with whom I can have a one-on-one discussion to discern the appropriate path for healing" and issued an apology to "everyone in the Jewish community" whom he had "personally offended" [OAp/OAn].

"There is no excuse, nor should there be any tolerance, for anyone who thinks or expresses any kind of anti-Semitic remark [RO]," he said.

"Please know from my heart that I am not an anti-Semite [DissO]. I am not a bigot [SP]. Hatred of any kind goes against my faith. [DissO]"

(Daily Telegraph – 02.08.06)

Given that apologies have sometimes been defined as attempts by apologisers to distance themselves from the offence attributed to them, explicit distancing from offence-inducing stigma attached to the apologiser by the media suggests that public apologising is partly about recognising the offence while effectively distancing oneself from the offence. This is therefore working as a means to redeem apologisers' positive face and thus public image, and highlights the discrepancy between the illocutionary force of public apologies and their intended perlocutionary effect.

The apology strategies identified in this chapter indicate that media representation of verbatim apologies is probably the closest readers/viewers get to the intended illocutionary force of apologies. The *mediatised wording* of apologies necessarily indicates evaluative stancetaking. This is explored in the following section whose aim is to examine ways in which evaluative stance permeates the framing of verbatim apologies. Particular reporting (or misreporting) strategies identified in

the framing of apologies are therefore used as a springboard to comment on the place of ideology in press representation of verbatim apologies.

6.5 Evaluative stance in verbatim apologies

The organisation of this section is as follows. First, the reporting of verbatim apologies is examined, including issues of selection and mis-presentation. Second, the presence of evaluation in the framing of verbatim apologies is focussed on.

6.5.1 Stance through selection: inclusion or exclusion of verbatim apologies

The present section examines the most prominent forms of selection associated with the quotation of apologies verbatim in apology press uptakes. Indeed, it is assumed that evaluation is potentially expressed first through the choice to include or exclude verbatim apologies from press reporting. These issues of selection, i.e. what is or is not included in news stories, are most pertinent from a critical perspective, for, in accordance with Fairclough (1995b:5) what is absent from texts may be as significant as what is 'in' the texts. In the present argument, the decision to quote apologies verbatim indicates that the apologisee, whose words are being reproduced, is being given a voice. The absence of verbatim apologies is thus presumed to indicate that apologisees are not given their own voice, potentially indicating that certain issues which might become apparent through verbatim citation are deliberately left out of news reports. Gruber (1993:482) clearly establishes the link between news writers' choice not to report on certain elements of news stories and their evaluative stance, which is the view adopted here in relation to verbatim apologies. Gruber (1993:482) states that 'the overall responsibility that journalists have for reporting certain utterances and neglecting others, and which is an evaluating device of its own'.

News stories reporting on multiple acts of contrition are useful in gauging the evaluative significance of the decision to include or exclude verbatim apologies from apology press uptakes. This applies to the British Navy crisis news story which includes two main *events*: (i) apologies by crew members for entering

Iranian waters and (ii) apologies for allowing the selling of stories by crew members and the Defence Secretary. In the British corpus, all but one of the 19 verbatim apology examples involve the second event. As a matter of fact, the 18 verbatim apologies that do concern the second event regard Browne's apology as the Defence secretary at the time for allowing the selling of stories (e.g. example 48). The other verbatim apology example regarding the second event concerns Arthur Batchelor's (former captive crew member's) apology for selling his story. This is illustrated in (49). This particular apology is not mentioned in other newspaper articles and might therefore be seen as a minor element of the apology process in terms of the apparent newsworthiness attributed to it by the media.

(48) British Navy crisis (Second series of events - Browne's apology) {Art. 128}

(...) Goaded by Tory MPs, he finally said: **"It seems clear to me that I have expressed a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology. If you want me to say, 'I am sorry', I am happy to say, 'I am sorry'."**
(The Independent – 17.04.07)

(49) British Navy crisis (First series of events - Crew member's apology) {Art. 123}

(...) He [Arthur Batchelor] said: "My understanding was that everyone would be giving interviews. I can see why they have done the U-turn but I would have rather been told beforehand."

"If they had told me beforehand I wouldn't have done it. I felt like I had disappointed the whole Royal Navy because only two of us did [interviews]." He added: "I am not a money grabber. I just wanted the whole country to know my personal opinion of what happened."

If I had caused any distress to families and friends of servicemen killed in action then I am sorry. Telling my story took a huge weight off my shoulders and has helped me come to terms with what has happened."

(The Independent – 12.04.07)

Focus on the wording of Browne's apology may be interpreted as evidence of widespread criticism of his allowing the selling of news stories in press uptakes. On the other hand, the absence of verbatim apologies in relation to the first event in the British corpus may be interpreted as the press' support of the British Navy crew members, as opposed to evidence of their reluctance to give them a voice (as previously suggested in relation to the absence of verbatim citations). This example points to unusual representations or perceptions of the original offence as warranted. The act of contrition thus seems to fail as an apology. Press uptakes of the first event which discussed the apologies issued by crew members prior to

their release were all supportive of the detainees who are often described as having been coerced to apologise by the Iranian government. This is illustrated in examples 50-53 where crew members are mostly represented as victims in the press uptakes (see emotions or behaviour attributed to the crew members which are in bold; e.g. 'distressed'). This is also apparent in the way the captors are described and the way crew members are reported to have been treated (also in bold; e.g. captors are said to be cowards). However, we can also sense a clear *othering* of Iran, as suggested by references to 'propaganda' and the negatively connoted 'head scarf' (in the West) which the female crew member was forced to wear.

(50) The British Navy crisis [evidence of press support] {Art. 138}

THE dad of kidnapped sailor Nathan Summers last night begged his **cowardly captors** to release his son and accused Iran of yet another sick **propaganda stunt**. Worried Roy Summers spoke after the 21-year-old sailor was **paraded on TV and forced to make a bogus apology** for straying into Iranian waters with 14 colleagues.

(...)

The pair spoke out after the hostages' **gutless captors forced** sailor Faye Turney to write a THIRD lying letter claiming she had been "sacrificed" by the UK and US governments.

(The Daily Mirror – 31.03.07)

(51) The British Navy crisis [evidence of press support] {Art. 122}

(...) The first volley in the propaganda war came last Wednesday, the fifth day of captivity, when footage of female sailor Faye Turney wearing an **Islamic headdress** was broadcast along with a letter to her family.

She was shown looking distressed and smoking cementing her image as an **immoral woman in Iranian cultural terms**.

Body language experts pointed to **clear signs of stress and coercion** her turned-down mouth, tense forehead and downcast eyes avoiding the camera, as well as her deadpan, monotone delivery.

(The Daily Mail – 03.04.07)

(52) The British Navy crisis [evidence of press support] {Art. 136}

(...) Her [female sailor Faye Turney] television performance, filmed in front of a floral curtain, was immediately called into question: the Foreign Office condemned the footage as unacceptable and body language experts cast doubt on the sincerity of her words. **Margaret Beckett, the Foreign Secretary, suggested that the sailor could have been coerced into making her statements.**

(The Times – 29.03.07)

(53) The British Navy crisis [whole article – evidence of press' support]
{Art. 135}

Hostage Faye forced to lie

Who do you think you are kidding, Mr Ahmadinejad?

IRAN'S lying president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad humiliated kidnapped British mum Faye Turney by parading her on TV in a sick stunt yesterday.

He forced Faye, 26, to COVER her head with a Muslim scarf, PRAISE her captors, LIE that she and 14 other Royal Navy captives entered Iranian waters and make a grovelling APOLOGY.

The bogus confession was immediately condemned by the Government and British diplomats.

(The Sun – 29.03.07)

The evaluative relevance of inclusion or exclusion of verbatim apologies is further evidenced in the French corpus. Although, as previously stated, the French corpus contains relatively few examples of verbatim apologies, one instance of a verbatim apology is identified in relation to the British Navy news story in relation to the first event. This may be indicative of the lack of relevance, and thus the lesser degree of sensitivity about the detention of British crew members, for the French print media and their readership. This therefore points to the working of the news value of *proximity* in the French press. The lesser positive evaluative stance of the French media in relation to this particular news story is further suggested in the focus of the French media on an alleged letter of apology written by Blair to secure the release of detainees. The latter is referred to in three of the four French articles covering this news story, with *Le Monde* explicitly suggesting that Britain was trying to hide the fact that a letter of apology was written (see example 54).

(54) British Navy crisis {Art. 18}

" Il n'y a eu aucun accord d'aucune sorte " : Tony Blair a réaffirmé, jeudi 5 avril, que la **libération des 15 marins britanniques n'avait été le résultat d'aucune transaction ni négociation. Interrogé sur l'existence d'une " lettre d'excuses " évoquée par Téhéran, le premier ministre britannique a éludé la question.**

< "There was no such agreement": Tony Blair reaffirmed on Thursday 5 April that the **release of the 15 British sailors was not the result of any transaction, nor negotiation. When asked about the existence of a "letter of apology", the Prime Minister eluded the question.** >

(Le Monde - 07.04.07)

It is remarkable that the alleged letter gets no mention in the British media, which may be related to the fact that the news story is not part of French domestic affairs, or that the French press intentionally took a seemingly unsupportive stance towards Britain. This latter assumption would therefore suggest that the mention of

the letter in the French press possibly reflects wider relations between the two countries, or at least indicate the perception of these relations by the French press.

On the other hand, if exclusion of verbatim apologies is indicative of a negative stance towards apologisers (seen as a means to silence rather than means to support apologisers as suggested in relation to the British Navy crisis news story), this also applies to the Big Brother news story which contains two series of events: (i) contestants' refusals to apologise for their racist remarks and (ii) contestants' apologies for their racist remarks. What is striking is that there is relatively little reference to verbatim apologies concerning the first series of events (i.e. 'I can't say I'm sorry'), i.e. the refusals to apologise, and, although to a lesser extent, to the second series of events. Absence of verbatim quotes from the press coverage of this news story suggests a potential attempt to background what was said, which is congruent with the press' overall condemnation of the behaviour of contestants, but also of the screening of racism by Channel 4 (although this is also addressed in the reporting of verbatim apologies). Besides, this may be seen to correlate with the fact that celebrity apologies are usually represented as less significant than other apology categories.

6.5.2 Stance through mis-presentation of words used to apologise

Most verbatim quotes seem to be accurate if we take consistency of verbatim quotes across newspapers as a measure of accuracy. This section explores ways in which verbatim apologies are transformed (insofar as transformation is understood as evidence of selection issues in media texts). Instances when ostensible verbatim quotes appear not to correspond to the words originally uttered (i.e. issues of potential misrepresentation) are focussed on. Observations are based on verbatim apologies alone (i.e. their co-text is excluded from analysis at this stage). Given that original apologetic speeches and letters are not examined, the findings in this section therefore regard ostensible misrepresentation as accessed through apology press uptakes.

Besides perceiving misrepresentation as a site for evaluative stancetaking and thus manipulation in news texts, the premise here is that original messages (i.e.

apologetic speeches or letters) can be distorted. When this is done intentionally, we are faced with deliberate attempts to deceive. Versions of events that befit news writers' perception of events are therefore given priority. On the contrary, unintentional distortions point to genuine mistakes.

Three types of misrepresentations (see Bell 1991) of verbatim apologies are differentiated and explored hereafter: (i) mis-editing, (ii) misquotations and (iii) mis-translations.

With regard to mis-editing, the corpora indicate that particular aspects of editing of verbatim speech can significantly impact on readers' interpretation of news stories in the press. To illustrate this, we might look at Abe's apology to comfort women for suggesting that Japan played no part in their enslavement. There are three different versions of the wording of Abe's apology in the British press (examples 55-57).

(55) Abe for WW2 prostitution {Art. 64}

(...) "I am apologising here and now as the prime minister, as it is stated in the Kono statement," Mr Abe said. **"I feel sympathy for the people who underwent hardships, and I apologise** for the fact that they were placed in this situation at the time."

(The Guardian – 27.03.07)

(56) Abe for WW2 prostitution {Art. 65}

(...) **'I sympathise and apologise** for the situation the women found themselves in,' he said.

(The Daily Mail – 27.03.07)

(57) Abe for WW2 prostitution {Art. 67}

(...) **'I apologise** now as prime minister. **I apologise** they were placed in that situation'.

(The Daily Mirror – 27.03.07)

Although differences between the three examples above may be related to translation issues, it can be safely inferred that *The Daily Mirror's* omission of the expression of sympathy signifies mis-editing with the intent to mislead, given that these words were the only words represented verbatim in the three newspapers quoted.

On the other hand, Devedjian's explicit apology for insulting a female politician probably exemplifies misquotation in the corpora. Indeed, the reflexive particle 's'

and the third person possessive pronoun 'son' in the following quote (example 58) suggests misquotation, in that is unlikely that Devedjian would use the third person reflexive particle. However, this may also relate to the fact that at times quotation marks are used for verbatim quotes which are approximate.

(58) Devedjian for insult {Art. 24}

(...) Patrick Devedjian a hier soir téléphoné à Anne-Marie Comparini pour « **s'excuser de son interjection déplacée.** »
< (...) Patrick Devedjian rang Anne-Marie Comparini last night to « **apologise for his unsuitable interjection.** » >
(Le Figaro – 29.06.07)

A parallel may be drawn between approximate quotations (my term) and literal indirect speech, especially when it consists of short verbatim quotes. Indeed, in this case reported speech is heavily embedded in media texts and the views represented in these texts. Both approximate quotations and literal indirect speech seem to suggest that the words of the apologise are omnipresent, i.e. that the reporting of speech verbatim is not the focus. The impact of such practices is therefore perhaps to give the reader an impression of authenticity.

However, most misquotations seem to be induced by translation inconsistencies or errors. Although access to the original words uttered (in the foreign languages other than English and French covered in the corpora) was not possible here, the corpora nevertheless seem to confirm suggestions in the literature that translation can lead to misrepresentation, thus pointing to potential avenues for future research into public apologising or more generally into reported speech in the news. For example, Berlusconi's explicit apology expression, it is translated in two ways in the French press (examples 59 and 60),

(59) Berlusconi for marriage proposal {Art. 6}

(...) '**Je te prie de m'excuser.**'
< (...) '**I beg you to forgive me.**' >
(Libération - 01.02.07)

(60) Berlusconi for marriage proposal {Art. 9}

(...) '**Je te demande de me pardonner** <I ask you to forgive me>'.
(Le Monde - 02.02.07).

The verbs 'excuser' and 'pardonner' can both be translated by 'forgive' in English, although 'pardonner' is oriented towards the notion of forgiveness in way that 'excuser' is not. The issue of translation in misrepresenting news events is further highlighted in the British press where three translations for Berlusconi's apology in his letter to his wife are found (examples 61-63).

(61) Berlusconi for marriage proposal {Art. 75}

(...) In an extraordinary statement sent to Italian news agencies, he said: 'Dear Veronica, **here is my apology.**'
(Daily Mail - 01.02.07)

(62) Berlusconi for marriage proposal {Art. 80}

(...) At 4.40pm, the wires reported the husband's reply. "Dear Veronica, **here are my apologies,**" Mr Berlusconi wrote.
(The Independent - 01.02.07)

(63) Berlusconi for marriage proposal {Art. 80}

(...) 'SILVIO: "**Here I am, saying I'm sorry.**"'
(The Independent - 01.02.07)

Considering the difference in illocutionary force of 'offers of apology' and 'sorry-based apologies', differences of translation of that sort need to be taken into account. However, in this instance two of the three variations are found in the same article, which would suggest a lack of concern for accuracy rather than intentional misrepresentation.

The differences in verbatim translation between or within the British and French press of the same apologetic speeches indicate how translation can induce misrepresentation. An accurate appraisal of the misrepresentation with a view to establish whether it is intentional or not would therefore require that the original text of the act of contrition be considered. The added issues posed by public apologies delivered in a foreign language suggest that future research might therefore be interested in comparing ways in which apologetic words may be represented in the press/media in the country where it was issued (or in countries sharing the same language) with countries speaking a different language.

Intentional misrepresentation in the corpora evidences the enhancing of the *authenticity* of claims in press uptakes in a deceptive way. This can therefore be useful in gauging evaluative stance in apology press uptakes. Verbatim reporting

of apologies would seem to present limited opportunities for distortion. However, with regard to misrepresentation, it is probable that some inaccuracies are related to the fact that news writers rely on second-hand sources rather than the transcript of the original apologetic speech for example. It is therefore evident that analysts need to acknowledge that they are dealing with 'secondary discourses' (following Fairclough 1995a) embedded within 'secondary discourses' (e.g. press releases reported in newspapers). This is not to say that news writers' misrepresentations are devoid of stancetaking in relation to verbatim apologies, but highlights the potential influence of news making processes at a discourse level.

The next section regards evaluative stancetaking in news texts as it can be accessed via the framing of verbatim apologies. This is done by examining the lexis used in the immediate framing of verbatim apologies.

6.5.3 Stance through the immediate framing of verbatim apologies

Evaluative stances in the framing of verbatim apologies seem to vary in accordance with the type of structures in which they are embedded (following Smirnova 2009). Indeed, the main patterns emerging from the corpora indicate that literal indirect speech structures lend themselves better to evaluative stancetaking than literal direct speech. Second, and related to the first point, is the fact that the shorter the direct quotes in literal indirect speech, the more prone to being surrounded by overtly evaluative co-text they are. Examples 64-66 seem to exemplify this point quite clearly, as suggested by the evaluative utterances in bold.

(64) Blair for slavery {Art. 97}

TONY Blair will today express his "deep sorrow" [**Literal Indirect Speech**] for Britain's role in the slave trade **but will stop short of issuing a full apology.**
(The Daily Telegraph – 27.11.06)

(65) British Navy crisis (Second series of events - Browne's apology) {Art. 133}

(...) **The condemned man**, Defence Secretary Des Browne, said 'sorry' [**Literal Indirect Speech**], then told the House of Commons yesterday that he was letting himself off [**Literal Indirect Speech**].
(The Daily Mail – 17.04.07)

(66) British Navy crisis (Second series of events - Browne's apology) {Art. 124}

DES BROWNE gained a **temporary reprieve** yesterday when he **finally** said "sorry" [**Literal Indirect Speech**] and admitted he had made a "mistake" [**Literal Indirect Speech**] in not blocking the sale of stories by sailors freed by Iran. The Cabinet and Labour MPs **staged** a show of support for the **beleaguered** Defence Secretary as he told the Commons he "profoundly regretted" [**Literal Indirect Speech**] any damage to the reputation of UK armed forces.
(The Daily Telegraph -17.04.07)

Thus, the way the main act of contrition is described in the framing of verbatim apologies can be quite pertinent for the appreciation of evaluative stancetaking in news texts. Adverbs used to describe these acts, for example, are often indicative of stance and thus impact on the interpretation of verbatim apologies, as illustrated in (67) where the adverb 'finally' and 'grudgingly' both suggest the apologisee's reluctance to apologise.

(67) British Navy crisis (Second series of events - Browne's apology) {Art. 126}

As mea culpas go, it was not exactly gushing. Des Browne, the defence secretary, having been nagged, cajoled and hectored, **finally** admitted to "a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology". Pressed to use the word "sorry", he said, **grudgingly**: "If you want me to say 'sorry', then I am happy to say 'sorry'." **He said it in a very loud voice, which made it sound even less rueful.**
(The Guardian – 17.04.07)

However, evaluation also transpires in the last framing utterance (in bold), which suggests a presupposition that voice volume allows access to apologisee's intentions, namely that an apology uttered in a low voice is more trustworthy. Evaluation in the immediate framing of verbatim apologies is also perceptible in the way apologisees are described. These descriptions are based on reporters' inferencing and are arguably a part of the enhancing of the news value of in news text, i.e. not based on factual evidence. In the corpora, explicit evaluation of apologisees is mainly negative (examples 68-71).

(68) Wolfowitz for his partner's pay increase {Art. 255}

(...) The World Bank President said that he would "accept any remedies" proposed by the institution's directors, representing its 185 member countries, after he admitted personal involvement in the pay rise and promotion for Shaha Riza, his partner. **A chastened and nervous Mr Wolfowitz** told a packed press conference: "I made a mistake, for which I am sorry."

(The Times – 13.04.07)

(69) Prescott for adultery {Art. 239}

(...) "This party has given me everything and I've tried to give it everything I've got," he said **in the voice of a little boy who had been caught red-handed**. "Over the last year I have let myself down. I let you down. So, I just want to say sorry."
(The Times – 29.09.06)

(70) British Navy crisis (Second series of events - Browne's apology)
[quote from third party mentioned in the article: Shadow Defence Secretary Liam Fox] {Art. 131}

(...) '**A visibly flustered Mr Browne** tried to defend himself by insisting his language could be 'equated with an apology' before adding: 'If he wants me to say sorry then I'm happy to say sorry.'
(The Daily Mail – 17.04.07)

(71) Zidane for headbutt {Art. 53}

(...) **Cela n'empêche pas le joueur de l'Inter Milan [Materazzi] de continuer à mettre de l'huile sur le feu**. « Pour l'instant, il ne m'a toujours pas demandé pardon, ce n'est surtout pas à moi de lui demander. Au plus, c'est à sa soeur que je dois des excuses, mais je jure qu'avant que tout ce « bazar » n'arrive, je ne savais même pas que Zidane avait une soeur. »
< (...) **This does not prevent the Inter Milan player from adding fuel to the fire**. « Up until now, he still hasn't apologised, it's not up to me to ask him to apologise. Besides, I owe apologies to his sister, but I swear that before all this 'nonsense' happened, I didn't even know that Zidane had a sister. » >
(L'Humanité – 06.09.06)

Examples 72 and 73, on the other hand, suggest that evaluation can be implicit. Indeed, in (72) evaluative stance seems to rely on irony (discussed in greater detail in section 7.4.2).

(72) British Navy crisis (Second series of events - Browne's apology) {Art. 130}

DES Browne is a lawyer. **And only a lawyer would say this when fighting for his job**: 'I have expressed a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology.'
(The Daily Mail – 17.04.07)

Implicit evaluation in the framing of verbatim apologies may also be found in instances where there is overt focus on emotions (mainly indicated in popular press newspapers in the corpora). Example 73, however, is found in a quality press newspaper seemingly having recourse to emotions more than other quality press newspapers.

(73) British Navy crisis (Second series if events - Browne's apology) {Art. 124}

(...) **In a highly charged Commons statement**, Mr Browne said he should have overruled the Navy's decision to allow sailors and Marines held by the Iranians to sell their stories.

(The Daily Telegraph – 17.04.07)

However, based on the corpora, it would seem that evidence of greater emphasis on emotions in the popular press may also be related to elements of apologies included in their verbatim quotes. In relation to Gibson's apology for his anti-Semitic remarks, *The Daily Mail* quotes excerpts from the apologetic speech which are not found in the other newspapers. These regard his disclosing of very personal information which may be seen as an attempt on behalf of *The Daily Mail* to appeal to the emotions of its readers (see parts in bold in example 75).

(74) Gibson for anti-Semitism {Art. 165}

'Also, I take this opportunity to apologise to the deputies involved for my belligerent behaviour. They **probably saved me from myself**.

'I disgraced myself and my family with my behaviour and for that I am truly sorry.

'I have battled with the disease of alcoholism for all of my adult life and profoundly regret my horrific relapse. I apologise for any behaviour unbecoming of me in my inebriated state.' Gibson said he was now taking the **'necessary steps to ensure my return to health.'**

(The Daily Mail – 31.07.06)

In short, evaluative stance in the representation and framing of verbatim apologies seems to confirm previous assumptions regarding news reporting according to which the representation of speech verbatim in the media cannot be devoid from the reporting voice's evaluation of the words being reported or of the news story.

6.6 Summary

This chapter has indicated that the media is prone to exploiting the complexity and ambiguity of public apologies in their uptakes. This is indicated in the way press uptakes sometimes represent or suppress the wording of apologies. The position argued here is that a focus on the reasons why public figures choose some strategies over others is probably less insightful in terms of understanding public apology processes than a focus on the extent to which these choices are discussed in the uptakes. Press uptakes appear to be highly context-dependent

and the analyses highlighted that the wording of apologies is quite often ignored or only very partially acknowledged.

To some extent, the apparent discrepancy between the press uptakes and the apologetic words they represent seems to be made possible by the ambivalent nature of public speeches. It is evident that the role of verbatim apologies in the press goes beyond evidencing instances of the two metalinguistic processes of intertextuality or interdiscursivity (defined in Fairclough 1992) between apologetic performances and press coverage.

This chapter indicated that the framing of verbatim apologies can indicate evaluative stancetaking. However, the news writers' decision to include or exclude verbatim apologies in their reports was also perceived to indicate evaluative stancetaking. Based on the findings in this chapter, it appears that verbatim apologies correlate with the *facticity* news value, for the interference of the reporter's voice was shown to be limited. However, evaluation seems to be implicated in two ways; through misrepresenting apologetic speeches/letters or using the immediate context of verbatim apologies. Public figures' apology formulations and strategies could be gauged through the press representation of original apologetic texts. It emerged that although public acts of contrition reported as apologies in the press are mostly performed by IFIDs (see Table 6.2); these core strategies are far from presenting a complete picture of speech events corresponding to public apologies. The chapter therefore stresses the need for peripheral remedial acts to also be taken account of to provide an accurate picture of public apology processes, for these can substantially enhance/undermine the felicity of public acts of contrition.

Evaluative stance in verbatim apologies was found to be fairly limited, but nonetheless potentially indicated through evidently biased representations of the four main components of public apologies in the immediate framing of verbatim apologies, or in the selection processes associated with the use of verbatim apologies (i.e. inclusion or exclusion of verbatim apologies).

In terms of understanding ideological positioning in the media texts examined here, the subsequent chapter further indicates that ideology which was found to play a minor role in relation to verbatim apologies, is far more salient in relation to explicit and implicit evaluative metapragmatic comments.

Chapter seven: Explicitly and implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments

7.1 Chapter overview

The previous chapter presented the results of the critical discourse analytic investigation of apologies represented as verbatim and their framing. It also focussed on the ways in which evaluation was found in this particular reporting activity in apology press uptakes. Considering the *fact-focussed* nature of verbatim reporting, in comparison to other speech representation options, the most subtle ways and means by which evaluation permeates the data were explored. The present chapter, on the other hand, focusses on data excerpts which are by definition evaluative, namely explicitly and implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments as first introduced in section 4.4.2 (henceforth explicit and implicit comments). As was discussed in section 2.4.3, metapragmatic comments are potential sites of ideological evaluation and construction, thus indicating the connection between evaluation and metalanguage. The pertinence of studying metapragmatic comments to access evaluative stancetaking in news discourse, and more broadly ideology in newspapers, has been discussed in the literature on metalanguage. For example, Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński (1998:3) suggest that the metalinguistic function of language concerns the way people ‘represent language and communication processes’. This, according to them, gives us access to the evaluations and orientations made by social groups with respect to language and communication.

In this second and final interpretative analytic chapter, the analysis of explicit and implicit comments is used to gauge the differences between evaluation in relation to these two reporting activities and the representation and construction of ideology in apology press uptakes. The enquiry into metapragmatic comments

presented in this chapter relies on the preliminary work on appraising the range of uptakes in relation to each of the 34 news stories (see section 6.3).

The difference between explicit and implicit metapragmatic comments can be understood in terms of the presence/absence (or inclusion/exclusion) scale (discussed in section 7.3). Although explicitly and implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments are present in the text, implicitly evaluative ones may be understood as content that is neither present or absent which echoes Fairclough's work on news discourse (1995b:5). This is part of the reason why implicit evaluation is more difficult to pinpoint. Both are highly significant in terms of understanding what is taken as *given* or *commonsense*, but the implicit dimension of media texts can be perceived as potentially more relevant than their explicit one. Focus on implicit metapragmatic comments in the analysis thus finds resonance with critical discourse analytic work which posits that implicit content is particularly pertinent for the study of ideologies, precisely because ideology tends to correspond to implicit assumptions (Fairclough 1995b:6). Besides being taken for granted, ideologies tend to be veiled and naturalised and this is what the study of implicit metapragmatic comments aims to address.

The chapter is organised as follows. In section 7.2, the most salient themes identified in the media texts under scrutiny (captured by the semi-automatic codes discussed in section 4.4) are examined to determine which elements of public apology processes are made salient in the discourse of apology press uptakes and whether these are indicative of stance towards the public acts of contrition they are reporting on. Sections 7.3 and 7.4 respectively discuss the discursive evidence of evaluation in explicit and implicit comments. One of the main aims of the section on explicit comments is to investigate the overt press representation of felicity conditions of public apologies which allows us to understand what the British and French press perceive to be successful apologies. Section 7.4, which deals with implicit comments, focusses on the use of irony and humour in apology press uptakes. To conclude, section 7.5 consists of a discussion of the findings presented in the chapter with the intent to cast light on the extent to which the media texts in the corpora are shaped by the ways in which news writers present and construct ideology through language.

7.2 Salient themes in apology press uptakes

As previously explained in section 4.4.2, the most salient themes in the data were captured by semi-automatic codes. Although these themes were originally coded as they emerged from the data (i.e. no pre-established concepts or ideas were imposed onto the data), I have grouped these under five categories showing fairly distinctive thematic patterns. These are as follows (see Tables 7.1-7.5 each showing codes included under each one of these categories) and indicate how:

- a. ... the performative verb 'apologise' or noun 'apology/ies' is modified
- b. ... the consequences of public acts of contrition are referred to
- c. ... public acts of contrition other than those encapsulated in the keywords (IFIDs) are referred to
- d. ... apologetic feelings are referred to
- e. ... other elements of public apology context are represented

These five categories²⁵ indicate prominent aspects of the discursive construction of apology uptakes in the press and are presented in Tables 7.1 to 7.5. In each table, codes identified in each corpus are indicated, followed by the frequency in curly brackets. As the study is qualitatively-led, issues regarding quantitative interpretations of the results presented in this section are not addressed.

Table 7.1 focusses on ways in which the performative verb 'apologise' in the British corpus or the nouns 'apology/ies' and 'excus' in the French corpus are modified at the level of syntax. It therefore presents a list of collocates of the keywords in the British and French corpora.

²⁵ In the HTML and XML version of the corpora provided on the CD, codes corresponding to each one of these five categories in the British corpus are either preceded by APOLO-UK-, CONSEQ-UK-, DESCRIP-UK, FEEL-UK or RELATED-UK, and APOLO-FR-, CONSEQ-FR-, DESCRIP-FR, FEEL-FR or RELATED-FR for codes in the French corpus.

Table 7.1: Collocates of offers of apologies

British corpus	French corpus
public {57} forced {30} personal {20} unreserved {20} grovelling {15} formal {13} short of {13} sincere {8} clear {7} official {7} humiliating {6} real {6} solemn {3} unequivocal {3} heartfelt {2} blown {1} halfhearted {0}	publi <public> {17} formel <formal> {5} officiel <official> {4} sincère <sincere> {3} claire <clear> {1} plates <unequivocal> {1} reelle <real> {1} forc <forced> {0} humiliant <humiliating> {0} personnel <personal> {0} solennelle <solemn> {0}

The lexical items used in combination with the performative verb 'apologise' or the noun 'apology/ies' suggest distinctive patterns in the way offers of apologies are discursively represented. The corpora indicate that certain collocations are so frequent that it may be argued that they are being conventionalised. As might be expected, this comes across much more strongly in the British corpus in which there are seven lexical items modifying the performative verb 'apologise' or the noun 'apology/ies' which occur more than ten times, against one in French corpus. 'Public' emerges as the most frequent collocate in both corpora, which seems to indicate that news writers in both national media cultures clearly recognise the existence of the speech act of *public apology*. However, and echoing the difficulty in determining what public apologies are, other collocates highlight that public apologies are also referred to as 'formal apologies' or 'official apologies'. The collocates listed in Table 7.1 also suggest that the British media is more inclined to use evaluatively connoted lexis, as suggested by the terms 'forced', 'grovelling' and 'short of' for example. Indeed, the way offers of apology are modified suggests an apparent attempt on behalf of the British news media to portray public apologies as problematic, which subsequently enhances their news value.

The list of terms used in the corpora to refer to the consequences of public acts of contrition presented in Table 7.2 illustrates a similar emphasis on the negativity news value through lexical choice.

Table 7.2: Press representation of the consequences of public apologies

British corpus	French corpus
controvers {46}	polémique <controvers> {20}
damage {28}	embarras <embarrass> {9}
scandal {22}	colère <anger> {8}
anger {20}	tollé <outcry> {3}
embarrass {19}	controvers <controvers> {1}
outrage {17}	outrage <outrage> {1}
confus {3}	protestations <protest> {1}
outcry {2}	scandal <scandal> {1}
uproar {0}	confus <confus> {0}
	dégats <damage> {0}

Evidence of the working of *negativity* as a news value in the representation of the consequences of public acts of contrition in apology press uptakes applies to both corpora. Indeed, all lexical items used to discuss consequences are negatively connoted (e.g. 'outcry', 'uproar'). On the whole, the representation of the consequences of public acts of contrition in both corpora seems to converge. The consequences are predominantly referred to as 'controversies' in the British corpus and '*polémiques* <controversies>' in the French corpus, and there is a clear overlap between the lexical items identified in the two corpora, although some are clearly more frequent than others. The explicit use of the term 'scandal' in the British corpus, however, may suggest that the British media have come to perceive some public apologies as elements in public discourse whose newsworthiness lies in their scandalous nature. In view of the alleged harmonising nature of apologies (Robinson 2004:292), these recurrent references to the scandalous, controversial or polemical outcome of apologies, for example, may be perceived as evidence of the ability of the media to foreground potential controversy so as to enhance their news value.

In view of the considerations in chapter 6 regarding the apology expressions used by public figures to perform acts of contrition, I argue here that IFIDs are not the only form of account discussed as instances of apologising, and that it is therefore necessary to have a model encapsulating all forms of public acts of contrition. Evidence for this is given in Table 7.3, which lists non-IFID forms of account identified in the corpora. Table 7.3 records which linguistic expressions are used to refer to public acts of contrition in the corpora. It excludes instances when the public acts of contrition examined are referred as instances of IFIDs (i.e. as offers

of apology, sorry-based expressions and demand for forgiveness) because these linguistic expressions are encapsulated in the five keyword codes. Understandably, these can then be represented as failed or successful attempts to apologise.

Table 7.3: Press representation of public apologies (IFIDs excluded)

British corpus	French corpus
regret {85} refus {24} sorrow {24} confess {12} guilt/culp {9} mea culpa {4} damage limit {2}	regret <regret> {35} coupab/culpab <guilt> {13} refus <refus> {6} mea culpa <mea culpa> {4} confess <confess> {1} chagrin <sorrow> {0} limitation dégats <damage limitation> {0}

Table 7.3 indicates that, when not discussed as IFIDs, both the British and French press mostly tend to discuss the apologies covered in the corpora as expressions of regret (35 occurrences of 'regret' in the French corpus and 85 occurrences in the British one). In the British corpus, this is followed in frequency terms by refusals to apologise or admissions of wrongdoing (24 occurrences in nine different news stories). Expressions of 'sorrow' in the British corpus all regard Blair's act of contrition for slavery for which the core apologetic expression was an expression of sorrow. This suggests that expressions of sorrow are not a very common way to perform contrition given that it occurs only once in 34 news stories. Finally, instances when public acts of contrition are referred to using the lexical item 'confession' are only found in the British corpus (12 occurrences). This may be perceived to echo findings in the literature according to which public apologies are characterised by their confessional nature. It is even indicated by some scholars that references to the confessional nature of public apologies may be perceived as evidence of the interference of the religious sphere in the public sphere (see Dodds 2003:138). In relation to political apologies in Western liberal countries (where secularism is upheld), such views may seem even more surprising. This could therefore suggest that the absence of any such reference in the French corpus may indicate France's particular concern over the separation

between state and religion²⁶, hence the absence of 'confessional' in the French corpus.

As previously stated, certain feelings are commonly attributed to apologisers. Despite suggestions in the literature that these feelings should not be taken account of, Table 7.4 indicates that apology press uptakes include recurrent reference to such feelings.

Table 7.4: Press representation of apologetic feelings

British corpus	French corpus
shame {21}	attrist <sadden> {6}
blame {14}	douleur <pain> {5}
contrit {13}	repent <repent> {3}
pain {10}	contrit <contrit> {1}
sad {9}	honte <shame> {1}
defiant {4}	remords <remorse> {1}
remorse {3}	triste <sad> {1}
repent {3}	
feel sorry {1}	
passionate {1}	

The first observation which may be drawn from Table 7.4 is that the French press refers far less to feelings in reporting on public apologies than the British press. Indeed, if we add up the number of references in Table 7.4, it emerges that there are 79 references in the British corpus and 18 in the French corpus, which can be perceived to confirm previous suggestions in this study that apology press uptakes in France are less emotion-driven than British ones. Furthermore, the feelings discussed in French articles, namely '*douleur* <pain>', '*attristé* <sadden>' and '*repentance* <repentance>' all refer to apologisers in a more positive light than those in the British corpus, where the prevalence of 'shame' and 'blame' in particular suggests a British focus on incriminating the apologiser. Considering the salience of the representation of emotions in apology press uptakes, news texts may be seen to overlook the 'indeterminacy and ambiguity' of verbal cues acknowledged in Jaworski and Galasiński (2002:452). Indeed, the above suggestions regarding the salience of feelings seems to suggest that they are, on the contrary, treated as reliable sources of evaluative interpretation. Press focus on apologisers' non-verbal behaviour therefore seems to be used to help the

²⁶ This dates back to the 1905 French law on the Separation of the Churches and State which established state secularism in France.

process of disambiguation of public apologies in the media and invite particular (more emotional) readings of the news stories.

Finally, Table 7.5 lists the other salient elements that have emerged from the data. These are considered to be elements of public apologies (besides those presented in Tables 7.1 to 7.4) considered to be important by the media.

Table 7.5: Press representation of core elements of apology processes

British corpus	French corpus
responsib {36} iraq {24} forgiv {24} compensation {14} reparation {9} gaffe {5} reconcil {3}	pardon <forgiveness> {21} responsab <responsib> {5} compensation <compensation> {1} réparation <reparation> {1} gaffe <gaffe> {0} reconcil <reconcil> {0}

Unsurprisingly, Table 7.5 echoes much of the research on apologies namely the centrality of acceptance of responsibility and forgiveness in apologies, for example. The semi-automatic codes presented in Tables 7.1 to 7.4 have shown that the evaluative stance emerges in the way public acts of contrition, the consequences they engender and the apologetic feelings which get *aired* in press uptakes are portrayed. Table 7.5, on the other hand, lists other elements of apology processes which are emphasised. Indeed, the British corpus suggests that the press tends to mention 'responsibility', 'forgiveness' and 'Iraq' recurrently in their reports on public apologies, which is partly echoed in the French corpus where 'forgiveness' and 'responsibility' are also foregrounded. What is most striking is that the French corpus seems to put significantly more emphasis on 'forgiveness' than the British corpus. However, considering the fact that '*demander pardon* <ask for forgiveness>' is an explicit apology expression equivalent to the performative verb 'apologise', the aforementioned foregrounding of 'forgiveness' may be interpreted as also partly evidencing the use of 'apologise' in the French corpus. It is also intriguing that 'Iraq' should appear in the British media as a core element of apology press uptakes. The mention of Iraq corresponds to comments raised by news writers as part of a public apology uptake on certain news story. It most probably adequately depicts the significant controversy over Blair's expression of regret for the war on Iraq which is mentioned recurrently in the

British corpus. Furthermore, reconciliation in apology press uptakes is hardly ever mentioned (3 occurrences in the British corpus and no occurrences in the French corpus). Considering the fact that the literature often emphasises the relationship between reconciliation and public apologies, this suggests that the media's perception of public apologies is at odds with the literature on this speech act. This may seem hardly surprising in view of the overall negative evaluation of apologies identified in the corpora and the positive connotations of the concept of reconciliation. Besides, returning to some of the findings in this and other chapters, instances of apologies covered in the corpora are, rightly or wrongly, mostly presented by the media as problematic performances of public contrition.

This section has therefore indicated that lexical patterns in apology press uptakes provide us with valuable insights into press evaluation of public apologies. Based on the corpora, it emerged that negativity as a news value is prioritised by the news media, but also that ways in which apologies are represented tend to contradict findings in the literature and point to the influence of the wider socio-historical context on press uptakes.

The forthcoming section explores press evaluation of public apologies as evidenced in explicitly evaluative comments, i.e. in excerpts from the corpora where opinions on apologies are conveyed overtly.

7.3 Evaluation in explicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments

In section 7.3.1, the use of explicitly evaluative comments in both corpora is gauged (i.e. quantity of explicit comments, apparent qualities of the stances presented within comments). Section 7.3.2 examines the way in which these explicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments evidence or implicate *overt* felicity conditions.

7.3.1 Explicit comments in the corpora

One of the most striking observations in relation to explicit comments is that they are almost completely absent from the French corpus. Considering the limited size of this corpus, it may seem hardly surprising that it only encompasses five explicit

comments (out of the 33 explicit comments identified throughout the corpora). Indeed, all but one of these five comments appear in one article published in *Le Monde* on the Pope's first public act of contrition for his remarks on Islam (the other one concerns celebrity Delarue's apology for assaulting staff aboard a plane).

The article published in *Le Monde* regards the news story regarding the Pope's apology for his comments on Islam but it includes metacomments regarding the phenomenon of public apologising as a whole (it focusses on the paradoxical nature of public apologies). These metacomments are used to convey the negative uptake of the Pope's apology. Indeed, *Le Monde* considers that the Pope should not apologise because he is innocent. This is illustrated in example 75. Although this excerpt is taken from an article regarding the Pope's apology for his controversial remarks on Islam, example 75 concerns another apology which the news writer thinks should be given. Indeed, the text refers to Aubry's (female French politician) failure to apologise to Royal (aforementioned female candidate at the presidential elections in 2007) for suggesting that her bodily shape would not allow her to win the elections. This article indirectly echoes a facet of public apologies which was previously discussed, namely the fact that public figures use apologies to attend to apologisees' face, as well as their own face. This is evident if we compare (75) and (76) which are taken from the same article.

(75) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [reference to Aubry's failure to apologise in the uptake] {Art. 38}

(...) Présenter des excuses reviendrait pourtant à se présenter sous un meilleur jour.

< (...) To apologise would nonetheless cause her to present herself in a better light. >

(Le Monde – 19.09.06)

(76) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [general comment on apologising] {Art. 38}

(...) Présenter ses excuses sert à dénouer une crise. C'est un art difficile parce qu'il oblige à ravalier sa superbe.

< (...) To present one's apologies is a means to end a crisis. It is a difficult art which involves showing humility. >

(Le Monde – 19.09.06)

Another paradox found in this article from *Le Monde* is illustrated in (77), namely the fact that in some instances public apologisers do not feel regret and even disagree with the interpretation of their action (or that they are apologising for) as an offence. The excerpt shown in (77) is the lead paragraph of the article. It raises the possibility that this view is shared amongst the French media and might be responsible for the limited coverage public apologies receive in France. The apparent absence of overt reference to this particular slant on public apologies in the British press is noticeable, and may be indicative of the British media's unwillingness to address a contentious aspect of public apologies.

(77) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [general comment on apologising] {Art. 38}

Faut-il toujours **s'excuser** ? Ou présenter ses regrets ? **S'excuser** d'avoir dit ce que l'on a dit même si on continue de le penser ? Présenter ses regrets même s'il n'y a rien à regretter ?

< Is it necessary to always **apologise**? To offer one's regrets? **To apologise** for what was said even if one carries on thinking it? To offer one's regrets even if there is nothing to regret? >

(Le Monde – 19.09.06)

The other article in the French corpus where an explicit comment was identified recalls the importance of the timing and explicitness of apologies (see lead paragraph in example 78). This echoes findings in public apology research presented in section 2.2.1, suggesting that public apologies bear a particular relationship to time, for they can be issued centuries after the offence occurred for example.

(78) Delarue for aggressive behaviour {Art. 21}

L'art consiste à s'excuser au bon moment. Franchement, carrément.

< **The skill consists of apologising at the right time. Frankly, explicitly.** >

(Le Monde – 03.04.07)

The relatively large number of explicit metapragmatic comments in the British corpus (28 out of 33 in total in the corpus) allows us to gauge further ways overt stancetaking in apology press uptakes is displayed. This is now discussed with respect to the British corpus. In the British corpus, explicit evaluative comments appear in the following news stories:

1. Big Brother for racism
2. Blair for slavery
3. Blue Peter for phone-in issue
4. The British Navy crisis
5. Ferry for anti-Semitism
6. Gibson for anti-Semitism
7. Hewitt for issue concerning junior doctors
8. Newell for sexism
9. The Pope for his remarks on Islam
10. Prescott for adultery
11. Ahern for donations
12. Zidane for headbutt

The examination of the 28 explicit comments identified in these news stories indicates that they are used primarily to convey negative evaluations of the apologies being discussed ranging from virulent to very subtle instances of criticism. Explicit comments are found to bear on individual public acts of contrition, but also public apologising in general. (78) and (79), for example, illustrate this point, with (78) indicating views on public apologies in general and (79) focussing on Blair's display of contrition for the Slave Trade. On the other hand, (79) also indicates open criticism of Blair and his performance of contrition, which is more nuanced in other newspapers.

(79) Blair for slavery [negative evaluation - explicit criticism] {Art. 94}

(...) Given his reputation for saying sorry at the drop of a hat, it is interesting to note that **he has hardly ever actually apologised for anything. He claimed to have apologised for the lies about WMD in Iraq, for which he is widely held responsible, but never actually uttered the penitent words.**

He did say sorry for the Bernie Ecclestone scandal, in which it was alleged that his government exempted formula-one motor racing from its ban on tobacco sponsorship in return for a donation to the Labour party, but at the same time vehemently denied the allegation. So his only full-fledged apology was for nothing at all.

(The Guardian – 01.12.06)

There is some evidence of positive evaluation in explicit comments (only found in relation to the Pope's apology for his remarks on Islam), although far more limited in scope than that of negative evaluation in the corpora. One such example is

shown in (80). Although (80) concerns the same apology as the one presented in (77), examples (77) and (80) are used to illustrate different phenomena.

(80) The Pope for his remarks on Islam [positive evaluation] {Art. 235}

I THINK the Pope should stop apologising. How many times does he have to say sorry to appease Muslim extremists?
(The Daily Mirror – 24.09.06)

The British corpus therefore suggests that *negativity* as a news value tends to be privileged in apology press uptakes, while also highlighting a potential correlation between explicit metapragmatic comments in news reports and negativity. On the whole, these negative evaluations tend to be indicative of unfavourable uptakes of the public act of contrition.

In reference to the presence/absence scale used by Fairclough (1995b), the near absence of explicit positive metapragmatic comments in the corpora suggests that favourable uptakes in the corpora probably rely mainly on implicit discursive strategies. These should obviously emerge from the study of implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments, but more importantly this is also evidencing an attempt by the news media to represent public apologies as negative events.

Explicit comments in the British press also cast light on the media's attempts to foreground their views on what successful public apologies are. They present a mediatised representation of public figures' intention(s) in apologising and more particularly public apology felicity conditions.

The following section therefore focusses on the kinds of public apology felicity conditions we can derive from explicit comments in the corpora, for it is quite pertinent from a critical discourse analytic point of view to have access to media representations of what successful apologies are construed to be or should be (felicity conditions), for our access to public apologies is principally mediatised.

7.3.2 Overt representation of the felicity conditions of public apologies

The close linguistic examination of the discourse of explicit metapragmatic comments is used to identify the most apparent public apology felicity conditions as represented in the corpora. This section focusses on two main issues relating

to public apology conditions: the formulation of public acts of contrition and the inferred intention of public figures when they perform public acts of contrition.

Firstly, explicit comments suggest that news writers have clear assumptions about what appropriate apology formulations are or what they should be. The overall assumption seems to be that successful public acts of contrition should be performed by offers of apology, as sorry-based expressions are sometimes judged insufficient. This is why expressions of sorrow, for example, are perceived as a way out of apologising, or more precisely a way out of having to deal with the consequences of explicit apologising. This is illustrated in the headline from *The Daily Telegraph* in (81). Although this admittedly reports third parties' views, it illustrates the unsupportive stance in the article. The excerpt shown in (82) emphasises the fact that the historical apology under scrutiny required an 'unreserved' apology. Considering the reference to reparations and the unsupportive stance of the news writer in this article, this may be seen to indicate that presuppositions related to public apologies within the news media vary depending on the kinds of misdemeanours under scrutiny. In addition, this further reinforces claims that the felicity of explicit offers of apology modified by positively connoted lexical items (here 'unreserved') is enhanced.

(81) Blair for slavery [headline] {Art. 103}

Blair's deep sorrow for slavery **'is not enough'** Critics say that Britain must pay a heavy price for its past.
(The Daily Telegraph – 28.11.06)

(82) Blair for slavery {Art. 99}

Tony Blair is to express Britain's **profound sorrow** over the slave trade, but **will not give an unreserved apology** for fear it will lead to **claims for reparations** from descendants of Africans sold into slavery.
(The Guardian – 27.11.06)

It is evident in (82) that the apology is perceived as not having yet occurred. Considering my focus on apologies which have already been issued, the inclusion of the article could be questioned. However, the reason why the article (as well six other articles published on the same day) was included is due to the fact that other newspapers reported that the apology had been delivered and also because it was considered that the representation of Blair's public act of contrition as a future

apology did not impact on the study of evaluative stance undertaken. The news reporting of the future, however, has other discursive implications, which is explored in Jaworski, Fitzgerald and Morris (2003).

In the corpora, the importance of the formulation of public acts of contrition in gauging their success in the media is also illustrated through references to the careful wording of apologies. This is illustrated in examples 83-85. Based on these examples, it would seem that there is a correlation in apology press uptakes between references to the careful wording of apologies and negative evaluation. Indeed, reference to the expected care with which public acts of contrition are worded is found within articles where apologies are judged to be unsatisfying.

(83) The Pope for his remarks on Islam {Art. 229}

(...) Given the scale of the offence, **the carefully worded apology**, actually, gives little ground; he recognises that Muslims have been offended and that he was only quoting, but there is no regret at using such an inappropriate comment or the deep historic resonances it stirs up.
(The Guardian -19.09.06)

(84) British Navy crisis (Browne's apology for allowing the selling of stories) {Art. 130}

(...) Of Mr Browne's statement? Did it constitute an honest apology?
Or, to use his language, even 'a degree of' an apology? Being Mr Browne, being this lawyer, **everything was phrased with care**.
(The Daily Mail – 17.04.07)

(85) Ferry for anti-Semitism {Art. 150}

(...) Not unpredictably, there has been a bit of a fuss about this. Now, Ferry has "apologised unreservedly for any offence caused", (**careful wording, that**) insisting that the comments were made from an "art history perspective" and that he has no political love of the far Right. Although he is pretty keen on the Countryside Alliance.
(Joke. Don't write in.)
(The Times – 17.04.07)

In (86), it is suggested that the news media have presuppositions with regard to the forms of account which enhance or undermine the felicity of apologies. What the news writer perceives to be an excusing behaviour/act in relation to Browne's apology (British Navy crisis story) for allowing the selling of stories by members of the sailors when they returned from Iran, for example, is represented as an undermining factor in public apologies. The text presented in (86) also suggests that explanations are a positive move in public apologies, as suggested by the

criticism of the fact that Browne did not explain why he decided to allow the selling of stories.

(86) British Navy crisis (Browne's apology for allowing the selling of stories) [explanation] {Art. 129}

Des Browne admitted that he had made a "mistake" in the naval captives' cash-for-stories debacle. He admitted very little more. He expressed regret that his handling of the affair had brought Britain's Armed Forces into disrepute, **but he attempted to excuse himself by saying that the decision was made in good faith.** He accepted responsibility for what happened, **but gave only the barest explanation of why such a decision was taken.**

(The Times – 17.04.07)

Although it might be argued that what is represented may also be seen as an instance of reinterpretation of event (following the classification introduced in section 6.4), example 86 indicates that Browne is represented as attempting to minimise the nature of the offence by suggesting that it was made 'in good faith'. The second clause in bold, on the other hand, indicates that the news writer is also sceptical of the apology, on the grounds that it did not provide enough explanation concerning the reasons why the offence occurred. This would seem to be supported by the wealth of explanations used by public figures to perform contrition and indicated in the tables concerning the interpretation of strategies used by public figures to apologise (Appendix 4), although these are often skillfully turned to the advantage of the apologisee.

Secondly, the success of public acts of contrition can also be enhanced through the inclusion of certain elements. The importance of *regret* in public apologies seems to illustrate this point and is foregrounded in relation to the Pope's apology for his remarks on Islam. Indeed, the absence of regret from his act of contrition seems to cause news writers to criticise it (example 87).

(87) The Pope's apology [importance of regret] {Art. 229}

(...) Even more bewildering is the fact that his choice of quotation from Manuel II Paleologos, the 14th-century Byzantine emperor, was so insulting of the Prophet. Even the most cursory knowledge of dialogue with Islam teaches - and as a Vatican Cardinal, Pope Benedict XVI would have learned this long ago - that reverence for the Prophet is a non-negotiable. What unites all Muslims is a passionate devotion and commitment to protecting the honour of Muhammad. Given the scale of the offence, the carefully worded apology, actually, gives little ground; he recognises that Muslims have been offended and that he was only quoting, **but there is no regret at using such an inappropriate comment or the deep historic resonances it stirs up.**

(The Guardian – 19.09.06)

Recognising the offence that one is being accused of is also represented as an important element of public apologies, thus causing denials of offence to be perceived as undermining elements. This is noticeable in the previously cited example from the news story related to Blair's apology for the Slave Trade (see example 88).

(88) Blair for slavery {Art. 94}

(...) Given his reputation for saying sorry at the drop of a hat, it is interesting to note that he has hardly ever actually apologised for anything. He claimed to have apologised for the lies about WMD in Iraq, for which he is widely held **responsible**, but never actually uttered the penitent words.

He did say sorry for the Bernie Ecclestone scandal, in which it was alleged that his government exempted formula-one motor racing from its ban on tobacco sponsorship in return for a donation to the Labour party, **but at the same time vehemently denied the allegation**. So his only full-fledged apology was for nothing at all.

(The Guardian – 01.12.06)

Based on the explicit comments in the British corpus, a series of context-bound felicity conditions also seem to apply. The timing of apologies, as it is suggested in the French corpus in relation to celebrity apology by Delarue was indicated in (78). In explicit comments in the British press, this is corroborated by the use of the lexical items 'finally' and 'grudgingly' in particular. The latter adverbs are used to indicate delay or reluctance in the delivery of the public act of contrition which is negatively evaluated. This is indicated in examples 89 and 90 concerning Ahern's apology for cash donations and Browne's apology during the British Navy crisis. In relation to these examples taken from British apology press uptakes, the implication is clearly that public apologies should be made quickly.

(89) Ahern for cash donations [headline - capitals in original] {Art. 69}

Bertie **finally** says sorry (grudgingly); THE GREAT EVADER TAOISEACH ADMITS AN 'ERROR AND MISJUDGMENT' BUT STILL INSISTS THAT HE DID NOTHING WRONG ACCEPTING MONEY FROM BUSINESSMEN

(The Daily Mail – 04.10.06)

(90) British Navy crisis (Browne's apology for allowing the selling of stories) {Art. 126}

As mea culpas go, it was not exactly gushing. Des Browne, the defence secretary, having been nagged, cajoled and hectored, **finally** admitted to "a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology". **Pressed** to use the word "sorry", he said, **grudgingly**: "If you want me to say 'sorry', then I am happy to say 'sorry'." He said it in a very loud voice, which made it sound even less rueful.

(The Guardian – 17.04.07)

The excerpt in (91) shows another contextual felicity condition applies to the apparent media assumption that public apologies should not be 'forced'. Upon looking at the corpora, it is apparent that the idea of a *forced public apology* is that of a public act of contrition (represented as an apology in the press) which is considered to have been delivered reluctantly by the apologiser. As suggested in section 7.2, references to public apologies as having been 'forced' are recurrent throughout the corpora, although this is indicated only in one explicit comment (example 91).

(91) Gibson for anti-Semitism {Art. 161}

(...) Mel didn't choose to go on television because he wanted to appear across the land chatting about his family, his career or his seven children. He was **forced** into this extraordinary act to get his new film released. This act of "repentance" was step one in the marketing plan for his epic, *Apocalypto*. Over a year ago, Mel struck a lucrative distribution deal for the project with Disney, which owns ABC.
(The Independent – 15.11.06)

Thirdly, besides the use of other forms of account, the media also seem to represent some of the long-term goals of apologisers as factors undermining the success of public apologies. Although from an analytic point of view we can have no access to public apologisers' intention, explicit comments suggest that the media have presuppositions regarding the intentions which discredit apologies. For example, apologisers who are considered to try to avoid the full-blown apology they should be delivering (to save face or avoid legal liability for example) can be portrayed negatively. References to litigation or reparations, which are costly to the apologiser, in particular, seem to evidence this. To that extent, Blair's use of a non-explicit apology formulation is interpreted as a means to avoid litigation and reparations, which is illustrated in (92).

(92) Blair for slavery {Art. 98}

(...) **There have been fears in Whitehall that a formal apology could open the way for legal claims and the payment of reparations to the descendants of slaves.**
(The Daily Mail – 27.11.06)

Furthermore, negative evaluation seem to be used by public figures who seem to be using apologies for their own benefit. Explicit association between public apologies and their potential in limiting damages illustrates this point. For example,

apologies for the Blue Peter phone-in scam or Gibson's apologies for his anti-Semitic comments while drunk are explicitly depicted as exercises in damage limitation (examples 93 and 94). Although public apologies may be construed to be little more than damage limitation exercises, these references in media texts clearly invite a negative interpretation of the act of contrition being discussed.

(93) Blue Peter for phone-in issue {Art. 113}

(...) **The BBC shifted into damage limitation mode yesterday.** Richard Deverell, controller of BBC Children's Television, said:
The decision to put a child on air in this way was a serious error of judgment. Blue Peter presenter Konnie Huq last night told viewers: We'd like to apologise to you because when this mistake happened we let you down.
(The Guardian – 15.03.07)

(94) Gibson for anti-Semitism {Art. 153}

(...) **But the damage limitation exercise has apparently come too late to save Gibson's collaboration with ABC** - a television mini-series based on the memoirs of a Dutch Jew who hid from the Nazis during the Second World War.
(The Daily Telegraph – 02.08.06)

References to apologies with the intent to avoid sanction or jail also surface and illustrate the media's apparent disapproval of public apologies used by apologisers for their own benefit. This is visible in the French corpus in relation to the more lenient sanction Delarue got following his apology for his aggressive behaviour on board a plane in (95). However, this is also suggested in parts of the news texts examined other than explicit metapragmatic comments. This is the case in (96), for instance, which regards Gibson's first apology and highlights the fact that he was not jailed.

(95) Delarue for aggressive behaviour {Art. 21}

(...) Ce geste [reference to the apology delivered by Delarue] a visiblement atteint son but. **Jean-Luc Delarue, passible d'une peine d'un an d'emprisonnement pour avoir mordu un steward, en avoir injurié un autre et s'être laissé aller à des gestes déplacés sur une hôtesse de l'air, s'en est tiré avec une peine symbolique : un stage de citoyenneté de trois jours. Un tarif allégé !**
< (...) This act [reference to the apology delivered by Delarue] seems to have reached its aim. **Jean-Luc Delarue, who could have been jailed for one year for biting a steward, insulting another and having inappropriate acts toward a stewardess, got out of it with a symbolic sentence: a three-day citizenship course. A light tariff! >**
(Le Monde – 03.04.07)

(96) Gibson for anti-Semitism {Art. 158}

(...) After appearing in court last month Gibson **avoided jail** and was placed on probation for three years.
(The Daily Mirror – 05.09.06)

Still in the same vein, apologies used by public figures to keep their jobs are also recurrently criticised in the corpora, as suggested in relation to apologies by Browne and Newell (examples 97-99).

(97) British Navy crisis (Browne's apology for allowing the selling of stories) {Art. 129}

(...) And, with some petulance, he told the Commons that if Members wanted him to say it, he was "happy" to say that he was sorry. **It was hardly the robust statement to save a tottering career. However, Mr Browne looks set to survive.**
(The Times – 17.04.07)

(98) Newell for sexism {Art. 202}

(...) Newell had plenty to say for himself after his team lost to Queens Park Rangers on Saturday, **but sorry seems to have been enough to save his £ 400,000 a-year job last night.**
(The Times – 16.11.06)

(99) Gibson for anti-Semitism {Art. 161}

He sat, pinned in his chair, a patch of sweat glistening through the thick makeup. The beard was gone, the crucifix he wears nowhere in sight. **Last Friday, Americans woke to the sight of the world's highest-earning actor trying to save his career by apologising on national television.**
(The Independent – 15.10.06)

Considering the fact that Blair's apology for slavery is a public-official apology (following the terminology used in section 5.3.1), the media's suggestions that Blair may have used it to favour his own positive face, namely 'win plaudits' (example 100) may seem more surprising than if it was related to a public-personal apology. As previously stated, Blair's expression of 'deep sorrow' for slavery was criticised in many newspapers. His apologetic performance, however, is considered to be an apology by *The Daily Telegraph* (example 100), but the article nevertheless relies on the negativity news value.

(100) Blair for slavery {Art. 98}

(...) By aligning himself with campaigners who have long been pressing for western countries to apologise for their past failings, **Mr Blair hopes to win plaudits.**
(The Daily Mail – 27.11.06)

Further evidence of the way the media can construct negative evaluations through the representation of apologisers as seeking their own benefit is indicated in (101).

(101) Blair for slavery {Art. 105}

(...) Expressing his "deep sorrow" for Britain's role in the slave trade, as he did this week, **is the kind of empty, trendy grandstanding gesture that glamorises him and this generation at the expense of those who went before us.**
(The Daily Telegraph – 29.11.06)

The prominence of negative evaluation in explicit metapragmatic comments indicates a belief within the media that public acts of contrition should be costly to the apologiser. This echoes traditional apology research which perceives apologies as essentially hearer-supportive speech acts (see section 2.2.6). However, most displays of public contrition can be largely equated with exercises in public image preservation and relatively rarely consist of unreserved or heartfelt apologies. Further evidence of the media's presupposition that public acts of contrition should be costly to the apologiser is supported by suggestions in the British corpus that they are sometimes too easy. Media representations of Blair's expression of 'deep sorrow' as not acceptable because it is not 'enough' (see example 102) or of Blair as apologising too often (see example 103) illustrate this point. These suggest that the apologiser, here Blair, is not trustworthy.

(102) Blair for slavery [headline] {Art. 103}

Blair's deep sorrow for slavery 'is not enough' Critics say that Britain must pay a heavy price for its past.
(The Daily Telegraph - 28.11.06)

(103) Blair for slavery [Blair's propensity to apologise] {Art. 94}

(...) **Given his reputation for saying sorry at the drop of a hat**, it is interesting to note that he has hardly ever actually apologised for anything.
(The Guardian – 01.12.06)

Explicit comments also suggest that the media consider that public figures should take responsibility in their apologies. To that extent, views presented in news texts that historical apologies are inherently flawed because the apologiser bears no responsibility are pertinent. This is evident in the way *The Daily Mirror* and *Daily Mail* report on Blair's act of contrition for the Slave Trade.

(104) Blair for slavery {Art. 104}

TONY Blair has now expressed regret for Britain's involvement in the slave trade: Marvellous. **Although it's always better to apologise for something for which one is directly responsible.**

(The Daily Mirror – 29.11.06)

(105) Blair for slavery {Art. 98}

(...) The statement marks the **third time Mr Blair has expressed regret for historical events for which he bears no responsibility.** In 1997, he expressed regret for Britain's role in the Irish famine of the 19th century. Last year, he apologised for the imprisonment of the Guildford Four, who were wrongly convicted of pub bombings when he was still student.

Both moves were widely seen as political manoeuvres to placate Irish republicans in the search for a peace deal in Northern Ireland.

(The Mail on Sunday – 27.11.06)

Fourthly, explicit comments in articles supportive of the public figure apologising in the British press also indicate a position according to which contrition is not (or no longer) necessary or required.

(106) The Pope for his remarks on Islam {Art. 235}

I THINK the Pope should stop apologising. How many times does he have to say sorry to appease Muslim extremists?

(The Daily Mirror – 24.09.06)

This may be seen to correspond to aforementioned fairly traditional views of apologies, i.e. those according to which apologies should be avoided. This perception of apologies as a sign of capitulation may be considered to be overtly expressed by Zidane and Baros in their acts of contrition where they claim that they cannot apologise because that would constitute an admission of guilt (see section 6.3.4). Indeed, both consider that they cannot apologise because it would mean that they are represented as guilty when they feel innocent, which also allows them to display strength by standing up for their principles. Besides indicating a potentially more traditional perspective on public apologising amongst French public figures and thus their lesser likelihood to issue apologies, it is also noteworthy that the French press uptakes in relation to Zidane and Baros' apologies evidence a more neutral reporting style on public apologies in the French press. This is suggested by the absence of comments on the apologisers' view that apologies equate with admissions of guilt in French uptakes.

To conclude, most of the felicity conditions highlighted above suggest the press represents apologies as an essentially difficult speech act to deliver. This is further illustrated in (107) and (108) which relate to how hard it was for Prescott to say sorry, which is represented as his reluctance to apologise and thus perceived negatively.

(107) Prescott for adultery {Art. 239}

For John Prescott, sorry has always been the hardest word. Yesterday was no exception, but he had no choice. I am sure that, when he had imagined his last conference speech, it was always a rabble-rousing triumph. Instead, it began with a whimper.
(The Times – 29.09.06)

(108) Prescott for adultery {Art. 240}

(...) This Sunday, let's spare a moment's sympathy for **a real one-off in British politics. Not Mr Prescott, who finally managed to say sorry** to loyal party members in Manchester some months after he had been caught with his pants down and his hands up Tracey Temple's skirt, but his long-suffering wife.
(The Independent – 01.10.06)

Examples 107 and 108 therefore highlight the layers of complexity of the felicity conditions presupposed by the news media. Figure 7.1 summarises the felicity conditions accessed through the above review of overt public apology felicity conditions having surfaced in explicit comments. Following the results yielded by the corpora, any combination of one or more of these may apply.

Figure 7.1: Overt public apology felicity conditions

- (i) Public acts of contrition should be prompt
- (ii) Public acts of contrition should be performed by explicit apology expressions
- (iii) Speakers should be personally responsible for the apologised event
- (iv) Speakers should explicitly take personal responsibility for the offence or admit guilt
- (v) Public acts of contrition should be delivered willingly
- (iii) Public acts of contrition may be undermined if:
 - ... public figures perform their public acts of contrition by means of an expression of sorrow or regret
 - ... public figures use apologies for their own benefit

The overt felicity conditions for the public apology presented in Figure 7.1 above confirm the findings given by Marrus (2007:79) who asserts that:

- With minor variations, complete apologies include the following four features:
1. an acknowledgment of a wrong committed, including the harm that it caused;
 2. an acceptance of responsibility for having committed the wrong;

3. an expression of regret or remorse both for the harm and for having committed the wrong; and,
4. a commitment, explicit or implicit, to reparation and, when appropriate, to non-repetition of the wrong.

However, Figure 7.1 also stresses the complexity of public apologies in comparison to private apologies and the propensity of some media uptakes to contradict these overt media representations of what successful public apologies are. This section of the chapter has therefore indicated that there are distinctive patterns of negative evaluation which news writers use in explicit comments in their uptakes of apologies. The findings also implicitly indicate what the news media consider to be elements of apology processes which can be easily recognised by their readership as prototypical examples of questionable apologetic behaviour, as opposed to their own views of what successful public apologies are/should be.

The subsequent section investigates evaluation in implicit metapragmatic comments, i.e. the covert ways in which the print media convey evaluation in apology stories.

7.4 Evaluation in implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments

The focus of this section is on two particular ways evaluative stance is indicated in implicit comments, namely (i) through *reversing* or (ii) *disguising* the illocutionary force of some of their utterances. Irony and humour in apology press uptakes as instances of implicit evaluative stancetaking are therefore the centre of attention.

7.4.1 Implicit comments in the corpora

As previously suggested in relation to explicit comments, implicit comments are less numerous in the French corpus. Indeed, implicit comments in the English corpus are relatively more frequent than in the French corpus (337 vs. 93). In both corpora, implicit comments were identified in most articles (56 out of 61 in the French corpus; and 190 out of 207 in the British corpus). The few articles where implicit comments are not used are mostly articles where explicit comments were identified. The very small number of articles containing neither explicit nor implicit

comments; however, all include verbatim apologies. Considering the limited scope of explicit and implicit comments in the French corpus and the view that metapragmatic comments in the news media is a pertinent site of evaluation, French apology press uptakes seem less opinion-oriented than British ones. Besides, the implicit comments also seem to suggest that French public apology press uptakes tend to be more fact-oriented than the British but this would need further investigation to be verified.

7.4.2 *Reversed or disguised illocutionary forces*

Of great interest for critical discourse analysts is the most subtle ways evaluation might be indicated in a text. In the data, besides what has been pointed out in the introductory chapter, this is also achieved through humour and irony. Because these two concepts require looking beyond the surface of discourse, gauging the implied meaning through shared knowledge with the apologisee and relying on inference, these have been considered challenging to define and analyse in the literature. The position adopted here is that despite their implicit nature, humour and irony contribute to making evaluative stancetaking apparent in apology press uptakes.

Accounting for ways in which humour has been investigated is a rich area of research (see Attardo 1994; 2003 for a detailed account on the multidisciplinary field of humour research). A pragmatic interpretation of humour is probably most pertinent for it acknowledges that apologisees sometimes use utterances (deliberately or not) whose illocutionary force is not readily accessible to the recipient. Humorous utterances often have more than one possible illocutionary force and are pragmatically potentially risky because they can engender breakdown in communication (e.g. offence or misunderstanding) if addressees wrongly assess the illocutionary force of a humorous utterance. Pragmatics considers that these utterances rely on the shared knowledge between apologisees and their addressees for the intention of the apologisee to be successfully deciphered by addressees. For the purpose of this research, humour is considered as an intentional disguise of the illocutionary force of utterances to provoke laughter. This definition both takes account of the pragmatic qualities of

humour and common perception of humour as 'quality of action, speech, or writing, which excites amusement; oddity, jocularly, facetiousness, comicality, fun' (OED). Considering the fact that humour requires cooperation from the reader, humorous utterances in the corpora are seen as evidence of news writers' attempts to get their readership to align with their stance, for successful interpretation of humorous utterances requires cooperation. The cooperative dimension of humour is salient when humour is envisaged from the point of view of Grice's notion of 'conversation implicature'. Indeed, following Grice's maxims of 'quality', 'quantity', 'relation' and 'manner' set out in his Cooperative Principle (Grice 1975), humour may be considered to mostly emanate from the violation of the 'maxims' set out by Grice (1975). However, because the illocutionary force of these utterances is humorous, the incongruity caused by the violation of these maxims becomes *appropriate*. Based on the corpora, humour seems to be used in relation to different apology categories. Examples 109-113 illustrate the apparent propensity of the press to be humorous if the offence regards relationship issues, possibly because the offence is not taken as seriously as others by the newspapers.

(109) Berlusconi for marriage proposal [headline – apologise is mocked]
{Art. 75}

Roué Silvio's **cheesy chat-up lines** land him in big trouble; (and with a Pounds 35bn fortune, he'd better hope apology to his wife works)
(The Daily Mail - 01.02.07)

(110) Prescott for adultery [apologise is mocked] {Art. 243}

(...) **Two Shags**, left, begged Labour's forgiveness.
(The Sun – 29.09.06)

(111) Prescott for adultery [apologise, Blair and politicians are mocked]
{Art. 241}

(...) But not if you're a politician. John Prescott said sorry yesterday for his affair with Tracey Temple - and **he's only quitting next year because his boss is going**.
(The Daily Mirror – 29.09.06)

(112) Prescott for adultery [apologise is mocked] {Art. 244}

(...) He delivered the news the nation has longed to hear in an emotional speech and finally uttered the word "sorry" - six months **after being caught with his pants down**.
(The Sun – 29.09.06)

(113) Prescott for adultery [headline – apologise and apologisee are mocked] {Art. 245}

Prezza was so sorry for letting them down (the delegates ... not his trousers)
(...) Pauline Prescott **and her perm** turned up.
(The Daily Mail – 29.09.06)

The above examples indicate that humour seems to be mainly centred around the apologisee and his offensive behaviour, although the examples also suggest that news writers might take the opportunity of a humorous utterance to mock other parties as suggested in (113). They also highlight that humour is achieved in various ways. For example, we find an unexpected description of the offence in (109), the use of nicknames (intertextual reference to a previous nickname 'Two jags' because of his cars) in (110), an overt negative uptake of Prescott's decision to resign in (111), references to the appearance of the apologisee's wife (to whom the apology is directed since the apology was mainly called for because he was found to have been adulterous) in (113), and mockery through reference to the offensive act as indicated in (109), (112) and (113). These examples also seem to point to the media's growing interest in public figures' private lives (especially sex scandals). It may be suggested that the lesser seriousness of such public acts of contrition leads news writers to have recourse to humour more readily, although it is used for public apologies related to serious offences too (see example 114). Another pattern related to the use of humour in apology press uptakes is the recourse to imaginary apologies or apologies which the news writer considers should be given (i.e. missing apologies). This is evident in the headline in bold in (114).

(114) Blair for slavery [headline - imaginary apology] {Art. 105}

He could say sorry to the whales. Or Wales.
Sometimes even I begin to feel sorry for David Cameron and Tony Blair, forever thrashing about like socks in a washing machine, while trying to look busy and important in front of the electorate.
(The Daily Telegraph – 29.11.06)

In terms of the way humour is discursively constructed, it tends to be less explicit in quality press newspapers. This is suggested in (115).

(115) Newell for sexism {Art. 194}

(...) We know this because he said so at the weekend following his team's 3-2 defeat by Queens Park Rangers. **He has since offered a sort-of apology for sounding like a cross between a misogynist and a dipstick, but in the heat of defeat he cast about for something to blame and alighted on the rare circumstance of a female with a flag in her hand.**

(The Daily Telegraph – 14.11.06)

Like humour, irony can be difficult to identify. Research on irony is more limited than on humour, especially studies which take account of authentic data (point raised in Partington 2007:1550). Although irony has long been considered as a form of negative evaluation (e.g. Partington 2007:1554), I will follow Gibbs and Colston's identification of irony (2007:384) as a form of positive or negative evaluation.

However, irony is not always a form of negative evaluation: rather, it is a way of communicating an evaluation gap. Thus, irony can very well express positive evaluations by stating them negatively (...).

Partington's (2007) differentiation between explicit and implicit irony is also deemed pertinent for the present enquiry into irony in apology press uptakes. Explicit irony corresponds to instances when irony markers are used (e.g. 'it is ironic that', 'ironically', 'in an ironic example of', 'there is a certain irony'), but implicit irony is focussed on, i.e. instances when the apologisee's metapragmatic meaning is unspoken. It is evident that irony is often used to achieve a humorous effect, thus calling into question the boundary between the two concepts. Example 116 illustrates the interplay between humour and irony in the corpora. Although this is a short article, it nevertheless shows the complexity of distinguishing these concepts in news discourse, but also seems representative of a tendency of the popular press in particular to have recourse to humour. Humour in (116) may be identified throughout the article in the way accounts are referred to recurrently (see bolded parts in the excerpt), most particularly the list of misdemeanours the news writer apologises for.

(116) Blair's apology for slavery [whole article] {Art. 95}

TONY Blair: An apology.

I am very sorry about Tony Blair. **I deeply regret** his destruction of the Labour party and its replacement with a Thatcherite clique hungry only for power.

I apologise unreservedly for his creeping privatisation of the NHS, the cash-for-honours scandal and the failure to provide an adequate state pension. **I am also deeply sorrowful** that so many innocent Iraqis had to die so that Blair could maintain his special poodle relationship with George Dubya Bush. And **I am saddened by** his failure to cut violent crime or to wean our nation off hard drugs. Not to mention the kids who can't read or write properly. You may say that this apology should have been given before, because he has been Prime Minister for nearly 10 years. **But he has only just half-apologised** for the abolition of slavery and that happened 200 years ago. Admittedly, he was a bit quicker off the mark with **his apology** for the Irish potato famine. That was only 150 years ago. So I sincerely hope you will accept my apology now. I really am very sorry about Tony Blair.
(The Daily Mirror - 01.12.06)

From a pragmatics point of view, irony may be defined as utterances where some kind of dissonance is identified, whereby there is a discrepancy between the presupposition attached to the ironic utterance and the suggested meaning of the sentence, often because the illocutionary force of the utterance is reversed (see Bollobàs 1981:331). This is the position I adopted. Examples of ironic utterances are found in relation to Blair's apologies for the Slave Trade as indicated in (117).

(117) Blair's apology for slavery

You may say that this apology should have been given before, **because he has been Prime Minister for nearly 10 years.** **But he has only just half-apologised for the abolition of slavery and that happened 200 years ago.** Admittedly, he was a bit quicker off the mark with **his apology for the Irish potato famine. That was only 150 years ago.**
(The Daily Mirror – 01.12.06)

This example denotes the fact that humour and irony are used to indicate their unsupportive stance. In relation to the corpora, it seems that irony is used as a means to emphasise the wrongdoing of the apologisee. To conclude, humour and irony are giving further evidence towards understanding the more subtle ways evaluation, especially negative evaluation which is more frequent in the corpora. These considerations on humour therefore potentially evoke another paradox in the uptakes of public apologies in the press, namely the superposition of a mode of discourse characterised by its seriousness (media discourse) and humour. This echoes Mulkay's (1989) findings on the dichotomy of the humorous and serious modes of discourse, i.e. the fact that the humorous mode can be used to 'accomplish serious tasks' (1989:217).

Considering the breadth of the analysis presented in this chapter, the following section attempts to bridge gaps between this analysis and what it might tell us about the press and its involvement in the representation and reproduction of ideology or ideologies.

7.5 Discussion

The present section aims at appraising ways in which ideology is represented and constructed in apology press uptakes. However, the assessment of uptakes initially carried out in chapter 6 (i.e. see reference to the preliminary work carried out in section 6.3) is also used to substantiate claims put forth in this section. The following discussion both perceives ideology in relation to the concept of *language ideology* and as *distortion* which may legitimise patterns of domination.

7.5.1 Ideology of language

The outlook on ideologies of language is as described by Rumsey (1990:346) who considers that they are 'shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world'. The concept of *language ideology* (or *ideology of language*) is pertinent to the present study, for the media texts examined are primarily reports about language. In this sense, the corpora are perceived to indicate ways in which social actions performed through language are represented by the media. Nevertheless, the corpora are also considered to constitute discursive evidence of language use. The metapragmatic comments examined in this chapter seem to encapsulate ideologies of language use as well as to contribute to the institutionalisation of discursive mechanisms in society (Silverstein 1993; Mertz 1998:151).

The following questions were formulated to guide the focus of this section:

- (i) What sets of beliefs concerning the nature of language in the world permeate the media texts included in the corpora?
- (ii) What sets of cultural conceptions about language permeate the media texts included in the corpora?

With regard to the first question, and based on the findings presented in this chapter, apology press uptakes seem to often carry some information regarding media presuppositions about ways in which public apologising should be done. However, the analyses presented both in this chapter and chapter 6 clearly present a variegated set of beliefs regarding the use of apologies in the public sphere. Indeed, the media texts under scrutiny seem to suggest that while the media seem to largely perceive offers of apologies and peripheral strategies which are beneficial to the apologisees as successful types of public apologies, the uptakes sometimes overtly contradict this position. Indeed, the success of offers of apologies was sometimes questioned, while more problematic cases of apologies (e.g. expressions of regret) were sometimes perceived as successful examples of public apology. Furthermore, the corpora indicate that in apology press uptakes these beliefs are more or less overtly displayed.

With regard to question two, an apparent discrepancy in the views the British and French media hold with regard to public apologies was revealed, thus suggesting that the corpora evidence examples of distinct national/cultural ideologies of language, although these admittedly largely overlap. This is an important point for it emphasises the fact that the literature (see section 2.2.4) largely fails to account for cultural variations in apology press uptakes or the views they carry about language (ideology of language).

7.5.2 Newspaper ideologies

Previous enquiries into newspapers' political leaning mainly stress the difference between quality press newspapers and popular press newspapers on the one hand, and right-leaning newspapers and left-leaning newspapers on the other. More recent approaches, however, have demonstrated that such distinctions no longer apply so clearly (Jaworski 1994; Bednarek 2006). These have recommended that differences across newspaper types should not be overplayed, which is taken account of in the present study.

The corpora confirm that there is limited evidence regarding potential differences in the way popular and quality press newspapers report on public apologies and the influence of their political leaning on their reports, or at least it does not go

beyond traditional findings in the literature that tabloids are more sensational and emotion-oriented than broadsheets. Although the analysis did not set out to explore differences between quality and popular press, the findings nevertheless suggest that some newspapers seem to communicate distinctive ideologies. It was noticeable, for example that through metapragmatic comments the quality and popular press expressed different discursive representations of events in their uptakes of apologies. For example, if we take references to emotions as indicative of the sensational journalistic style of the popular press,

To that extent, a noticeable feature of the British corpus is the tendency to have recourse to discursive strategies found in association with the popular press newspapers as happens with, for example, *The Guardian*. This is identified in its apparent reliance on emotions which is usually characteristic of the sensational journalism of the popular press. What may lead us to suggest this is the relatively higher number of references to apologetic feelings in the press reports included in the corpora. Indeed, the average number of references to apologetic feelings in the corpora is 11.2 for quality press newspapers and 12.7 for popular press newspapers. Considering that *The Guardian* has 13 occurrences, it may be suggested that, in this regard, it is closer to the style of popular press newspapers. In addition, bearing in mind that apology press uptakes are more frequent in popular press newspapers, it is also noticeable that the number of apology press uptakes in *The Guardian* (both in the early and final versions of the corpora) is higher than in the other quality press newspapers. However, these differences may arguably be considered to be relatively small and in view of the differences in size of the corpora and sub-corpora in this research, these claims need to be taken with caution. Furthermore, considering the fact that the differences between popular and quality press newspapers can sometimes be exaggerated, the findings in this study are probably best understood to echo other research according to which broadsheets increasingly share characteristics formerly attributed to tabloids. In other words, it may be considered that the British corpus provides evidence of the *tabloidisation* of news discourse. However, following Connell (1998), I argue that these differences between quality and popular newspapers are probably less about *polarisation* than *homogenisation*. I thus believe that it is more appropriate to see evidence of homogenisation rather

tabloidisation of news discourse in the corpora. As expressed by Connell (1998:15), such a position signifies that these discursive features of *The Daily Telegraph* are interpreted as evidence of *sensational* journalism (usually associated with the popular press) spreading to quality newspapers, rather than a migration of the quality newspaper towards 'middle' or 'serious popular' newspapers (the polarising view considers that there is a press spectrum ranging from quality to popular newspapers).

As for the most visible part of newspapers' ideologies, the influence of the political leaning of newspapers on news reporting, the data sets suggest that it is highly variable and perceptible only in relation to certain issues. In the corpora, the most political stance prevails in articles regarding political apologies. Newspapers' alleged political leanings influenced some apology uptakes very moderately and the corpora even suggest that apology press uptakes can lead to the representation of views traditionally not associated with the political leaning of the newspaper. To that extent, Blair's apology for 'the times he fell short', for example, may be seen to indicate that *The Guardian*, a newspaper usually perceived to belong to the political left, is critical of Blair. Considering the fact that we are focussing on hard news, textual evidence of the newspaper's disapproval are quite implicit. These can be noticed in the news writer's use of verbatim quotes from both Blair's speech and comments made about him by his aides. Indeed, Blair is reported to have apologised but also to have 'insisted "hand on heart"' that he had done what he thought was best for the country. Considering the co-text (i.e. Blair issued an apology and stated he did what he thought was right), the news writer's decision to quote verbatim 'hand on heart' may suggest that there is a sense of irony. This seems further confirmed by the use of a verbatim quote from Blair's aides in the sentence following the place where Blair is quoted verbatim in the article. Indeed, his aides are reported to have stated that Blair recognises 'he [Blair] recognises "in his own head" that it is time after 10 years in power to leave the British political stage'. The negative connotation associated with the expression to realise something in *one's own head* (the person is usually perceived as quite passive) and the reference to Blair leaving the political stage are not without reference to the controversy around his departure date and his loss of popularity following the Iraq war (including amongst newspapers traditionally

perceived as left-wing newspapers). However, it was also apparent in relation to other stories (e.g. Blair's apology for the Slave Trade) that the political leaning of newspapers would impact on the views presented a lot more, thus suggesting that further enquiry into the correlation between apology category and the presentation of politically-charged representations is needed. Indeed, it might be worth exploring whether variations across newspapers with alleged different political leanings are evidence of the much recognised divide between popular and quality press newspapers or left and right-leaning newspapers, or whether they might simply provide textual evidence of different 'professional visions', i.e. different socially organised ways of seeing and understanding (see Jaworski 2002:453).

With regard to variations across the British and French press, the corpora indicate that these two national media cultures have distinct and yet overlapping understandings of public apologies. This was particularly evident in how differently the same public apologies were sometimes perceived in the British and French press. Besides the fact that the coverage of apologies in the French press is far more limited than in the British press, the corpora indicate that the French media perceive apologies as less newsworthy than their British counterpart, as it has been recurrently mentioned in this study. It therefore emerges from apology press uptakes that the reporting style in the British and French media is different. Indeed, and as suggested on several occasions in this study, apology-related news reporting in French newspapers seems to be more *fact*-oriented than the British press, which certainly deserves further attention in the future to establish whether this applies to other news events, or whether it is related to a lack of interest of the media in public apologies. Finally, considering the findings yielded by the analyses, the corpora suggest that traces of evaluation in French apology press uptakes are far less frequent than in British ones.

7.5.3 Commonsense discourse on public apologies in the press

When envisaged as *commonsense discourse*, ideology often implies looking at evidence certain dominant groups suppressing non-dominant ones. Studies on ways in which the media construct particular commonsense views on the news are numerous (e.g. Fairclough 2001:64-65). This section presents findings indicating

ways in which the corpora display evidence of the representation and commonsense discourse on public apologies and the *naturalisation* of certain patterns of domination.

Considering the results yielded by the analyses, apology press uptakes seem to support that Western countries focus on display by the apologiser of the *right* state of mind, i.e. remorse and non-hostility (Wagatsuma and Rosett 1986:469). This is evidence that public apologies and their uptakes may be used to put forth ideologies which are relevant to Western countries. Considering the fact that the newspapers included in the corpora are Western publications, it seems inconceivable that findings should suggest otherwise. In that regard, pressure from some Western countries for non-Western countries to apologise, the misunderstandings having arisen between countries involved in public apology processes, or the reconciliation attempts in several African countries for example, seem to illustrate this point. The present study may therefore be seen to highlight that public apologies legitimise a Western view on apologies, to the detriment of other perspectives on apologising. This stresses the necessity for the media, pragmatics or critical discourse analysis researchers and by and large the general public with an interest in public apologising to take account of the different sensitivities non-Western countries may have towards apologies.

More specifically, the media texts studied are also indicative of commonsense discourse around the concept of socially acceptable behaviour. Whether considered as evidence of fear-mongering or genuine media-led debates around the concept of social acceptability, this discourse has proven quite prominent and varied in recent years (e.g. media focus on *Anti Social Behaviour Orders* in Britain) and has seemingly been used to reinforce ideas of the norm, or impose media's views on what the norm is or should be. When envisaged in these terms, it becomes apparent that the apology press uptakes examined in the present study reflect or have potential to influence commonsense ideas about the norm, but also that the British and French media have different perceptions on the norm concerning appropriate and acceptable social behaviour. In fact, it may be argued that apology-related news stories and other apology metadiscourses are used as a means to convey, transfer and impose particular views on the norm via normative discourses (i.e. discourses attempting to put forth suggestions of what the norm

is). One of the ways in which the display of commonsense views of the world seem to be largely enacted in apology press uptakes seems to be through the blurring of boundaries between spheres in society which used to be quite distinct. These mainly regard the public, private, political, religious and secular spheres/discourses, as well as the sphere/discourse of the media itself.

7.5.4 Blurring of societal boundaries

The blurring of societal boundaries in apology press uptakes is clearly varied, as the considerations in the following paragraphs suggest. Perhaps the most obvious form of blurring in apology press uptakes is the one occurring between public and private spheres. This particular blurring may be accounted for in two ways. On the one hand, the migration of the apology speech act in itself might be considered as evidence of this blurring. This is because the apology speech act has been traditionally primarily envisaged as a private one. This point is reinforced by the fact that the apology is considered to be an emotional speech act, thus suggesting that apology press uptakes are evidence of the *emotionalisation* of media discourse or *emotional politics* (see Furedi 2004). Besides the migration of an essentially private and interpersonal speech act into the public sphere, the blurring between private and public spheres is also perceptible through the media representation of private matters in the media (part of the public sphere). Based on the corpora, it seems that the migration of public figures' private lives into the public sphere is possibly more prominent in Britain, thus suggesting that private matters are deemed more newsworthy in Britain (especially sexual misbehaviour). This change in the British media may be traced back to the sixties with the love affair of politician Profumo (1961-1963) who was eventually forced out of government because of the affair. This marked the first time the private life of a politician led to extensive coverage in the British media. As implicitly suggested through such stories, the boundaries between private and political spheres also seem to be blurred.

With regard to the previously mentioned media representation of the confessional character of apologies, apology press uptakes may also be considered to give evidence of blurring between secular public discourse and religion. This echoes

findings in Celermajer (2004:73) who refers to the rhetorical style of the interpersonal and religious spheres.

The last section of this chapter summarises the findings of the present chapter.

7.6 Summary

The summary of this ultimate analytic chapter is underpinned by references to an aspect of news reporting of which there is no textual evidence, namely the news making process. Indeed, the variety of evaluative interpretations of public apologies identified in metapragmatic comments evidence the pressure media professionals are under to create news which maintain newspapers' readership, thus the necessity to interpret stancetaking within the wider context of news making. This implies that apology uptakes do not only comprise reporting on apologies, but that these media texts in the corpora are first and foremost news stories which, to varying extents, have to befit the editorial policy of a newspaper, which undermines their objective representation of events.

Considering the method of analysis adopted in the present research, the discursive strategies identified in relation to explicitly and implicitly evaluative metapragmatic comments are only the most prominent strategies observed throughout the corpora. This means that less frequently observed strategies are still to be explored. In short, although the scope of the present analysis led me to focus on the most salient strategies, further research into apology-related news could expand our understanding of evaluative strategies in the media.

Section 7.2 indicated that the prominence of certain lexemes in apology press uptakes are indicative of stance in the news media. Press reports on apologies therefore emerged as tending to have *negativity* as their dominant news value, thus confirming previous suggestions that news reporting relies on negativity to enhance the news value of stories. This was evidenced in the way the consequences and feelings discussed in uptakes were mostly associated with negatively connoted lexis. These salient themes also indicated that the speech act of public apology has come to be recognised by both media cultures considered, as suggested by the strong collocation between the lexical items concerning offers of apology (e.g. 'apologise', 'apology/ies') and 'public'. The study of recurrent

themes in apology press uptakes also showed that expressions of regret have seemingly become a public act of contrition which has gained recognition, considering references to 'regret' (as instances of apology) in the corpora. The potentially more surprising finding, however, was that reconciliation was not foregrounded in the corpora and was not one of the identified prominent themes. In sections 7.3 to 7.5 of this chapter, it was indicated that metapragmatic comments can be used (i) to assess the felicity conditions of public apologies (as represented in the media), (ii) to gauge explicit and implicit ways stance permeate news discourse and (iii) to further understand the representation and construction of ideology in media texts.

Explicitly evaluative comments (section 7.3) were mainly used to gauge media's assumptions about what is a successful apology and were dominated by negative evaluation. The list of public apology felicity conditions derived from explicit comments indicated that the media echo previous findings, while also contradicting public apology usage. Indeed, the felicity conditions, according to which public apology should be considered to be undermined if it benefits the apologiser, may be considered to negate most (if not all) instances of public apologies.

As for implicitly evaluative comments (section 7.4), evaluation was perceived to be indicated primarily by means of humour and irony, in that news writers alter the illocutionary force of their utterances by reversing it (irony) or disguising it (humour).

Finally, section 7.5 highlighted the variety of analyses ideology is amenable to. For the purpose of this chapter, a range of aspects of ideology were examined. Focussing on the concept of ideology of language, it was suggested that the media texts under scrutiny provide evidence of media's presupposition pertaining to language use. This was prevalent in section 7.3.2 on felicity conditions. With regard to newspaper-related ideologies, both the political leaning of newspapers and the national media cultures newspapers come from were discussed. On the whole, the political leaning of newspapers was considered to have only a fairly limited impact on the ideological preferences displayed in the news texts under scrutiny here, although admittedly further detailed investigations would be required

to establish the extent of these claims. As for national media cultures, they were found to have a significant impact on apology press uptakes.

As interesting as the findings regarding the textual evidence of media claims of felicity and infelicity of public apologies presented here might be, it has to be borne in mind that claims of felicity and infelicity of public apologies can be deduced through claims of felicity and infelicity by other parties involved in public apology processes (e.g. apologisees, experts or members of the public). These are obviously mediated and are conveyed in the corpora through reporting the non-acceptance of the apology by these other parties. This applies to the news story regarding the apology by Berlusconi to his wife, for example, in that several articles report her response to the apology was to go to convent to reflect. This thus represents the suspension of acceptance/non-acceptance in this particular instance. In the case of public personal apologies involving intimate matters, i.e. the type of public apology that is the closest to private/interpersonal apologies, it may be argued that when non-acceptance by the apologisee is reported by the media, we then have access to public representations of what may be perceived as a primarily private act of contrition.

The final chapter of this research draws conclusions based on the findings and limitations of the present research and public apology usage in the three years following the cut-off date of the corpora. It also offers suggestions for future research.

Chapter eight: Discussion and conclusion

8.1 Chapter overview

This study has exposed the growing importance of apology press uptakes in news discourse but has also shown the validity of these media texts as a source of evidence of the speech act of public apology. This confirms that the working of this public speech act is not necessarily found in the realisation of public apologetic speeches or letters, which corroborates Thomas (1995:204) who considers that the 'perlocutionary effect', 'commentaries by speakers' and 'co-text or subsequent discourse' of speech acts can all contribute to understanding speech act realisation. Besides, the (semi-)automatic and manual examinations of apology press uptakes have also made clear that news values vary across cultures and across media (a point raised by Bednarek 2006:16-18).

Sections 8.2 and 8.3 are respectively concerned with summarising the main contributions of the thesis, pointing out some of the limitations of this research and proposing future research avenues. These two sections return to the aims set out in the introduction, namely to further our understanding of the four main components of public apologies, to help appreciate evaluative stancetaking in apology press uptakes, to examine cross-cultural variations in the formulation and interpretation of public apologies and to promote the understanding of the representation and construction of ideology in apology press uptakes. To conclude, the more forward-looking section 8.4 examines apologies in the media after the time period covered by the corpora, concentrating on whether there might be new patterns in the way public apologies have been used and represented in the three years following the cut-off date of the corpora.

8.2 Key findings

The agenda for the research undertaken and rationale behind using focussed data in the present study are set in chapter 1. Besides accounting for the scarce yet diverse apology research, and defining the key terms in the research (e.g. *apologies* and *evaluation*) chapter 2 exposes the reasons why public apologies should be studied. It thus stresses the *co-constructed* nature of public apologies, the impact of their *context* of use on the way they are formulated and interpreted and the different ways *public apology felicity conditions* can be accessed (namely, via the analyst's critical interpretation, or via the media representations of what makes public apologies successful). The literature relevant to the considerations on evaluation (presented in chapters 6 and 7) indicates the centrality of evaluation in the analytic categories, namely verbatim apologies and metapragmatic comments. The breadth of the study is reinforced in chapter 3, which emphasises the large amount of newspaper articles included in the early versions of the corpora (e.g. *Extensive lists of news stories* in the newspapers in Appendix 2 based on the review of over 2500 articles) and in the final version of the corpora ²⁷ (268 articles in total). The methodologies this chapter introduces show how the study supports the argument for the use of corpus linguistic techniques in critical discourse analytic or pragmatic research (Mautner 2009) and more precisely in the study of news discourse. By bringing together two different areas of linguistics, the research not only highlights their theoretical compatibility but also contributes to addressing criticisms against pragmatics as relying too much on small numbers of, and even decontextualised, examples. The chapter makes it clear that categories are not imposed on the data, but that instead conversation and discourse analytic procedures are adapted so as to allow analytic categories to emerge from the data.

Besides accounting for the ways in which the findings are enhanced by the use of qualitative analysis software, chapter 4 introduces the way the codes are derived, emphasising the data-driven nature of this process. Chapter 4 acts as a preface to the analyses presented in chapters 6 and 7 (interpretative analytic chapters) which

²⁷ As suggested in chapter 1, the interested reader will gain an objective view of this by exploring the HTML and XML version the project made available on the accompanying CD-ROM, which includes all apology uptakes from the British and French press included in the data set (268 articles).

rely on the codes it introduces, whether these codes are data excerpts (e.g. verbatim apologies) or themes having emerged from the corpora (e.g. Iraq).

Chapter 5, the thematic analytic chapter of the study, contributed to developing further our understanding of *the main components of public apologies*, i.e. apologisee, apologise, offence and remedy. The corpora highlight that these components are essential for understanding the complexities of public apologies. In addition to the great variety in the range of identities of apologisees and apologisees, and in offences prompting apologies in the corpora, the types of apologies identified emphasise how varied the form and uptake of public apologies are. The working model of classification of public apologies which is based on the identity of the apologisee contributes to the problematisation of public apology research, thus departing from studies which have not taken account of the changes in the public apology phenomenon. This model seems flexible enough to adjust to the changeability of this phenomenon (i.e. the emergence or disappearance of public apology categories depending on their press coverage/newsworthiness). It also highlights the impossibility of formulating a systematic account of public apologies, due to the lack of clear boundaries between apology categories. The section focussing on the apparent newsworthiness of apology categories highlights that some apology categories (i.e. political, sport and celebrity apologies) achieve prominence over others, and further confirm that the British media treat public apologies as more relevant to public life than the French. With regard to variations across newspapers in the way apology categories are covered, it emerges that popular newspapers are responsible for most coverage related to new apology categories, thus highlighting the propensity of such press to include apologies in their news reports. This is attributed to the more sensational approach to news reporting in such newspapers (Connell 1998:14). As for the salience of the celebrity apology category in the British press, it is interpreted as a tabloidisation of certain news topics, thus potentially evidencing the 'homogenising view' (Connell 1998:14-15) on news discourse. Concerning the multiparty interactional structure of public apologies, the chapter suggests that the roles played by apologisees and addressees in the corresponding participatory frameworks are complex (see Verdoolaege's 2009 account of the complexity of a different, and yet topically related, participatory

framework based on the victim hearings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission). The media as a third party in apology press uptakes in particular highlights the complexity and non-dyadic pattern of sociation in public apologetic discourse. This supports Tavuchis' views on the triadic nature of public apologetic discourse (1991). What is noticeable in the discussion of the range of third parties in public apologies is the dominance (see van Dijk 1993; 1996 on the notion of *access* in discourse) of the media over other recipients evident in their privileged position in accessing public discourse and communication. This confirms suggestions regarding the power of the media. This is echoed in van Dijk (1995:9) who discusses the power of press not only in terms of its effects on audiences, but also in more broad terms. He indeed takes into consideration its effects on 'the social, cultural, political, or economic power structures of society'. In common with van Dijk (1993; 1996), I consider access to public discourse and communication as a major element of the discursive reproduction of power and dominance. Apology press uptakes are perceived as indicators of this dominance. The study of verbatim apologies and metapragmatic comments presented in the interpretative analytic chapters (chapters 6 and 7) stresses the flexibility of the form and uptake of public apologies, which makes a systematic account of public apologies or their uptakes impossible. In chapter 6, it emerges that public apologies are not only intricately related to the socio-historical context in which they are performed, but also, as suggested by the variety of core and peripheral strategies and the variety of ways they are combined, that public figures rarely apologise by using a single prototypical apology expression, i.e. an IFID containing an offer of apology. This latter point may be seen to confirm Holtgraves (1989:13) who identified that many remedial moves (in the private sphere) combine concessions and accounts, thus indicating that remedial moves rarely occur as 'pure forms'. Owing to the variety of ways public apologies are used, the corpora indicate that the differences and similarities usually identified in relation to apologies, accounts and offence-remedial-related actions (terms used by Robinson 2004) are called into question in relation to public apology processes. Indeed, the complex and varied ways in which strategies used to apologise by public figures are combined suggest that there is a clear need for apology research to conceptualise these differences differently. The issue of apologisers'

levels of acceptance of responsibility for the apologised-for act also finds resonance in this chapter. The media representations of these levels of responsibility in the corpora indicate that there is a significant discrepancy in the willingness of public apologisers to deliver public personal apologies and public official apologies. Indeed, apology press uptakes suggest that public figures are more inclined to take responsibility for offensive acts which they are not directly responsible for. It is also indicated that evaluation is perceptible in the decision to include or exclude verbatim apologies from apology press uptakes and in the immediate co-text of verbatim apologies. This display of evaluative stancetaking in the reporting of apologies verbatim, although to a much lesser extent than in metapragmatic comments, is perceived as indication of the usefulness of research on news discourse examining different report activities. Indeed, certain textual strategies in journalism (here the reporting of speech verbatim and the expression of evaluative metapragmatic comments) seem to be more or less evaluative and ideologically loaded.

Chapter 7 provides insights into the issue of evaluative stancetaking. Identifiable patterns of overt and covert evaluation in apology press uptakes surface in the corpora (e.g. use of irony), mainly confirming the status of the *negativity* news value as the basic news value in news discourse (Bednarek 2006:16; also see Bednarek and Caple 2010 on the prevalence of the negativity news value in environmental news stories in the Australian press). The analyses in this chapter indicate that public apologies in the press are represented as speech acts which should be costly to the apologiser. It appears that some lexical items are used recurrently in apology press uptakes (see analyses of prominent themes in the data presented in section 7.2). For example, there is emphasis on negatively-connoted consequences of public apologies, mainly through recurrent references to the controversies engendered by public apologies. These analyses of lexical items used recurrently in the corpora indicate that lexis in apology press uptakes can be used to encourage particular readings of apologies (e.g. through choosing lexical items which convey the negativity news value). The public apology felicity conditions of the media/press identified in section 7.3.2 (based on explicitly evaluative comments identified in the press uptakes examined) point out that apology press uptakes are news value-driven, thus providing evidence for

suggestions that evaluation is an indicator of newsworthiness (Bednarek 2006). With regard to implicitness/explicitness of the stances identified in the corpora, it emerges that explicit stancetaking is very limited, as may be predicted from the predominantly fact-focussed (as opposed to opinion-focussed) articles included in the corpora (this is confirmed by Bednarek 2006 and Iedema 1994). Interestingly, implicit metapragmatic comments suggest that humour and irony are the main way covert judgments are passed. This evidences the strategic use of these practices as a means to indirectly formulate evaluative stances which could otherwise be seen to break the professional goal of neutrality in journalism (Schudson 1995) and more particularly hard news reporting.

With regard to *cross-cultural variations in the formulation and interpretation of public apologies*, the data sets clearly represent what constitutes public apologies as far as the media is concerned in Britain and France over the time period covered in the study. The fact that media representations are the product of historical and social change embedded in culture is emphasised (see Cohen 2004:181 on public apologies variations across culture; Katan 1998:141 on the much shared view that news discourse involves 'cultural reconstructions of reality'). The analysis of two press cultures also suggests a stark discrepancy in the way public apologies are used by public figures in France in comparison with Britain (at least based on the news texts represented in the French corpus). The findings yielded in the analytic chapters suggest that public apologies are perceived in the French press as inherently less newsworthy news stories than in the British press. This indicates different perceptions of the sociocultural sanctions associated with breaches of norm in the two cultures examined. It also emerges that French news reports on apologies are seemingly less evaluative than their British counterparts, possibly echoing the more limited familiarity of the French media and general public with this speech act. The far more limited range of breaches reported on in the French press may indicate distinctions in terms of what is perceived, and therefore represented, as socially acceptable in the British and French press. Finally, considering that representations are influenced by cultural codes and conventions, media representations of public apologies such as those conveyed in the corpora are constitutive insofar as they actively shape what we think about public apologies. However, it is important to bear in mind that

media representations of public apologies are only influential because they are recognised and accepted by viewers, readers or listeners. Critical studies of the apology media uptakes can therefore allow us to resist/question readings which are otherwise encouraged or invited.

With respect to the *representation and construction of ideology in apology press uptakes*, the traditional view that media discourse varies in accordance with the political leaning of newspapers and their affiliation with the popular or quality press seems to be called into question (confirming findings in Jaworski 1994 and Bednarek 2006). Besides reconfirming that apology press uptakes are potentially evidencing the imposition of Western-biased views on public apologies, the corpora stress the prevalence of commonsense discourses in apology press uptakes. Finally, public apology press uptakes suggest that the media is overall presenting versions of realities where societal boundaries are blurred (e.g. between the public and private spheres).

From a theoretical point of view, the research has perhaps been most insightful in highlighting further a significant issue in recent pragmatic research: category blurring in speech acts. Indeed, the present enquiry into the press uptakes of public apologies has clearly shown that contextual contingency in speech act realisation is prominent, thus exposing the mis-construed perceptions aiming at imposing speech act labels onto speech acts and vice versa.

In order to conclude the present work appropriately, a number of caveats also need to be noted, which are explored in the next section along with suggestions about potential lines of future research.

8.3 Limitations of the research and suggestions for new routes of enquiry

The verbatim apologies examined in the research provide useful information regarding evaluative stancetaking in apology press uptakes. However, considerations for other illocutionary acts/speech acts quoted verbatim in the news texts would have allowed me to gain more understanding of how evaluative stancetaking in press operates and the patterns of dominance enacted within media discourse. Indeed, bearing in mind the findings yielded by the analyses,

further enquiry into verbatim quotes emanating from ratified recipients other than apologisees would probably emphasise how the press acts as a *dominant* group suppressing *non-dominant* ones. Indeed, the apologisees in particular are rarely given a voice and this type of focus would allow us to further indicate the *privileged access* of the media to public discourse and communication.

The decision to include hard news reports alone in the corpora, in common with my concern in this research for indirect means of evaluation in apology press uptakes, led me to decide not to consider editorials and other opinion-oriented news reports. Nevertheless, the study of opinion-led apology press uptakes (e.g. editorials, leading articles, comments articles, debate articles or opinion articles bearing on public apologies), I believe, constitute a compelling avenue for further research. These types of articles would give us access to further and more explicit media views on public apologies (as illustrated in Article 16 in Appendix 1).

Another valuable and unprecedented addition to public apology research would consist of enquiries into an emergent public apology-related meta-discussion genre. This concerns, for example, the discourse representative of the general public's reaction to public apologies or that of news groups which are not part of the mainstream media. From a critical discourse analytic perspective, these meta-discussions would be insightful in that they provide access to voices presenting an alternative point of view and to discourses calling into question the dominance of the media in apology uptakes. These emergent apology-related types of discourse become significant from the point of view of understanding ideology, for they provide access to non-mediatised (and therefore non-dominant) views on apologies and more broadly their views on social breaches in the public sphere. Furthermore, such discourses, although not as readily accessible as public apology media uptakes, have become an integral part of those very public apology-related uptakes, thus contributing to shaping our mental representations of public apologies.

Recently, a view that linguistic analyses of news texts should account for the news production process, as opposed to focus on the discursive realisation of the news alone has been given attention. It is upheld in Catenaccio, Cotter, De Smedt, Garzone, Jacobs, Macgilchrist, Lams, Perrin, Richardson, van Hout and van Praet (in press) who argue for the need of a 'linguistics of news production'. Another

interesting research avenue may therefore be studies where analysts actively engage with those involved in the making of the news. News writers and editors may be interviewed about their views on public apologies for example. Alternatively, we may consider that studies where the researchers take part in the process of the making of (apology) news discourse will also contribute to the critical appraisal of apology-related news discourse.

However, there are many ways in which studies into the burgeoning field of public apology research could contribute to further understanding public apologies and it is clear from the findings presented in this research that more studies of meta-discussions on public apologies seem likely to be key to develop our understanding of the public apology phenomenon (insofar as it exists in the cultures examined). This is because such meta-discussions (dominated by media uptakes) allow a comprehensive approach to discourse that is oriented to both the apologisers and hearers. Indeed, these meta-texts could significantly improve our understanding of public, media, and political discourse, and are highly pertinent in terms of gauging social and cultural ideologies in their changing contexts. To that extent, news texts as in the present study or taken from television, radio or online news, for example, have great potential to give us further insight into the nature of changes evidenced in apology media uptakes.

To conclude, and perhaps most important of all, it is worth stressing that more questions we may have about public apologies are already being answered, as the proliferation of recent public apology research suggests. This emanates from a range of disciplines such as pragmatics (e.g. Kimoga 2010), intercultural pragmatics (Glinert 2010) psychology (Fehr and Gelfand 2010), political sciences (Murphy in press), communication studies (Edwards 2010), to name but a few.

All in all, judging by public apology usage since the cut-off date of the corpora (01.07.07), the idea that the number of public apologies is still rising seems to be borne out. The next section thus briefly examines public apology usage in the three years following the time period covered by the corpora, so as to explore whether public apology news coverage has over this three-year period experienced any noticeable changes.

8.4 New trends in public apologising?

Public apologies between July 2007 and July 2010 indicate that the public apology speech act has become a *quasi*-routine element of news reporting in Britain, with high profile apologies surfacing in the news increasingly frequently. However, apologies are evidently not all seen as equally newsworthy. This newsworthiness is apparently determined by the identity of the apologisee, the nature of the offence and more broadly, the wider context of use of public apologies. The month of February 2010 alone, for example, indicates a few high profile apologies, namely Tiger Wood's apology for cheating on his wife, Toyota's apology for taking time to address issues with faulty cars, a Danish newspaper's apology for their cartoons of the prophet Mohammed (this apology was reported to have been issued in exchange of legal actions being dropped).

Despite the fact that the findings of the present study show that uptakes of public apologies in French media discourse are scarce, there is evidence to suggest media coverage of apologies has increased in France since July 2007. Apologies by French politicians in particular seem to have become more common. The French media thus reported, for example, on Kouchner's apology for suggesting in *Newsweek* that the Iraqi Prime Minister 'should be replaced' (August 2007), Sarkozy's apology for verbally abusing a member of the general public who refused that he touched him (February 2008) and Royal's apology to the Spanish Prime Minister for the comments she made about him (April 2009). However, the French press not only still focusses on political apologies but also seems to overlook apologies which are included in the televised news. Furthermore, after looking at the pragmatic realisation of some of these speech acts of contrition reported as instances of apologies in this three-year period, it appears that the boundaries between public acts of contrition are possibly more fluid in France than in Britain. Expressions of regret or justifications (as opposed to less ambiguous apology formulations), for example, are often reported as successful apologies in the French press. The apparent change in the coverage of public and political apologies in France seems particularly crucial in view of the fact that Sarkozy (whose presidency is hardly covered by the corpora) took a clear stance against apologising in the political sphere at the start of his presidency in May 2007.

Indeed, he then clearly indicated that he did not wish for France to show repentance for its historical past, suggesting that 'this form of repentance [historical apologies] is a form of self-hatred' (see article in *The Times*; Appendix 1 Article 17); and his refusal to apologise to Algeria for apologies for the war it waged against it (there had been many demands for such an apology) a couple of months later in July 2007 seems to confirm this stance. However, considering the apparent rise in media coverage of public apologies and more broadly political acts of contrition in France since he came into power, his stance against repentance seems to be limited to historical apologies. The rise in political apologies may therefore be interpreted as an indicator of the emotionalisation of politics, potentially corroborating Sarkozy's more personal approach to politics (e.g. evident through recurrent reports in the media on his private life) than his predecessors.

Evidently, more critical linguistic investigations into the discursive and cultural complexity of apology-related news stories and discourse is timely. Cross-cultural comparative studies in particular seem much needed, for this type of research is best positioned to develop our understanding of the cultural differences concerning the realisation and perception of the public apology speech act across cultures. This, from the point of view of Speech Act Theory, has considerable implications in that the main parties of public apology processes sometimes involve states, thus making potential pragmatic misunderstandings highly consequential.

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Appendix 1: Articles mentioned in the research

Art. 1/ The art of saying sorry in Brighton on Tuesday (...) – Never explain

The Independent - September 30, 2004, Thursday

THE ART OF SAYING SORRY; IN BRIGHTON ON TUESDAY, TONY BLAIR
DELIVERED AN APOLOGIA - RATHER

"Never explain: never apologise." The sentiment is attributed to Benjamin Disraeli, and, though it may run counter to the Biblical adage, "a soft answer turneth away wrath", is usually good advice for politicians. At least it was till recently. Now, in the age of Oprah, apologies are thought to be in order. Say "sorry" and all is forgiven. So, in Brighton on Tuesday, Tony Blair seemed for a moment to have apologised for taking us to war against Iraq on a false prospectus. Well, sort of apologised, anyway.

It's worth looking however at the word "apology" itself. It can of course mean simply saying "sorry". As Frankie Laine used to sing, "If I ever done you wrong, dear, I apologise". But "apology" is also brother to "apologetics" - which the dictionary defines as "the defensive argument or method", and "apology" itself has the meanings "a defence, justification, apologia", which last, as in Cardinal Newman's *Apologia pro vita sua*, means a written defence or vindication.

This was what Blair offered the Labour faithful and faithless alike: an apologia. Though he can do the quivering lip and moist eye stuff as well as anyone since Madeline Bassett last stared at Bertie Wooster "in a sad sort of way, like the Mona Lisa on one of the mornings when the sorrows of the world had been coming over the plate a bit too fast for her", this wasn't the occasion for that sort of stuff. Sure, the evidence for Saddam's possession of the celebrated WMD had proved to be wrong, and he could apologise for that, or rather for believing it and passing on the information to us, but, beyond that, "nuts to you". He wasn't going to apologise for having helped put Saddam in prison. The world was a better place for him being there, and not in power. As apologies, in the common sense of saying "sorry", go, this stopped a long way short of sackcloth and ashes.

It led instead straight to the apologia, the vindication. There were two views of the world since 11 September: that the attacks were like previous acts of terrorism, and that we were dealing with a "wholly new phenomenon". Our Tony is too much of a New Man to say outright that the former is a girly view, and that take Real Men like George W and himself take the second, sterner, line, but that's what he meant. So "the only path to take is to confront this terrorism, remove it root and branch and at all costs stop them acquiring the weapons to kill on a massive scale, because these terrorists would not hesitate to use them."

Those who had been led to believe by leaks through the usual channels that the Prime Minister was going to say "sorry about the war, chaps" had been well and truly fooled. Mr Blair may regret having lost the trust of a good many in his party, but he hadn't come to Brighton to beg their forgiveness. He wasn't throwing himself on the mercy of the British people. Far from it: in quiet conversational fashion, he was insisting that he was right - even while admitting that he was quite capable, of being "fallible, like any other human being, of being wrong".

Of course, if some of the delegates, and some of the TV audience, thought he had said sorry, that was fine. But he hadn't, not really. He had offered the other sort of apology, an apologia.

In private life an apology is often desirable, the right thing to offer. Erich Segal's "love means never having to say you're sorry" is one of the silliest lines in modern literature. "Sorry" is a necessary word in marriage and friendship,

unless you happen to be a saint, which is a rare condition. "Sorry" is balm to wounds, and breaks cold silences. It's often the prelude to kissing and making up. It may be painful to say "sorry". It means you have to swallow your pride. But such apologies have to be spontaneous to be worth anything. An apology extracted is a humiliation that satisfies only the pride of the recipient. It heals no wounds, may even breed resentment in the person forced to say "sorry".

When we demand apologies from others, what we are really doing is seeking to humiliate them. "I beseech ye, in the bowels of Christ," Oliver Cromwell said to the Scots Presbyterian ministers, "think ye that ye may be mistaken." They were unwilling to do so, unwilling to submit to the humiliation of confessing error, and so implicitly at least apologising for it. Cromwell himself was a "never explain: never apologise" man.

After "Black Wednesday" and Britain's ignominious fall out of the ERM, there were many who demanded that John Major and Norman Lamont should apologise for the failure of their policy, and the hardship it had brought and the damage it had caused. Mr Major remained unrepentant, privately and publicly. Mr Lamont said: "je ne regrette rien", and even declared that he had sung in his bath. That was foolish, but would an apology in reality have made matters better? Wouldn't it have been seized on as a sign of weakness? At best, apologies are political gambles.

The most famous apology for a crime or blunder in English history was Henry II's after the murder of Thomas a Becket. He went even further than we would demand of a modern politician, allowing himself to be scourged by the monks of Canterbury. His act of contrition may have saved his immortal soul (as he perhaps himself believed); but his authority never fully recovered.

Politicians do of course quite often apologise. It is, as I say, a modern fashion. But they tend to reserve their apologies for things for which they were not themselves responsible.

So Tony Blair apologises for the Irish famine of the 1840s, a painless cosmetic effort; and in 1997 Jacques Chirac becomes the first French President to apologise for the "irreparable" act which Vichy France had committed against the Jews, an apology which had his fellow Gaullist Philippe Seguin protesting against "this obsession with collective expiation". Sometimes indeed it seems that there is almost no historical event for which some politician will not apologise - always as long as it is sufficiently remote for no personal blame to be possibly attached. Such apologies - for the slave trade or discrimination against Roman Catholics, for instance - are easy to make, and pointless. They are in reality a species of self-flattery, a demonstration of superior sensibility. They can be made safely because they are impersonal; they do not in any way endanger the career of the person apologising.

It is very different when events are recent, and those responsible are still active. Nobody apologised for the failed policy of appeasement of Hitler. Michael Foot wrote a pamphlet, *Guilty Men*, published in 1940; but the "guilty men" stuck to their guns, or at least to office. Lord Halifax, Foreign Secretary at the time of Munich, might later ask the historian John Wheeler-Bennett, "Will I have to stand in a white sheet in the judgement of history?" but he showed no inclination to don the sheet and parade in it in public saying "Mea culpa: I apologise." When Wheeler-Bennett said he probably would, Halifax was indifferent. "My wivvers," he lisped, "are quite unwung".

There's a story, which may be apocryphal, of Cromwell visiting the chapel where the headless body of Charles I lay the night after his execution, and muttering "cruel necessity". Much of politics in any age is cruel necessity, or what seems like necessity at the time. Do you, should you, apologise for acting in response to what appears necessity? The question is foolish. It remains foolish, even when opinion subsequently determines that the perception of necessity was false. No American politician, in power at the time, has ever apologised for the Vietnam War, even though Robert McNamara has come closest to it by acknowledging mistakes that were made. Any such apology would be futile; it would also be dishonest.

For that is the point: an apology is worthwhile only if it is sincere; an honest expression of regret and confession of fault. Otherwise it is sheer sentimentalism, an exercise in self-indulgence. Of course a politician may see tactical advantage in a sort of apology such as that offered by President Clinton for "inappropriate behaviour" with regard to Monica Lewinsky. But few could doubt that the only thing Clinton really regretted was the embarrassment he had brought upon himself, and the difficulties in which his "inappropriate behaviour" had landed him.

When we demand apologies from a politician, we are not looking for an act of healing as a prelude to reconciliation, though we may persuade ourselves that this is what we are doing. Instead we are hoping to see him abase himself. It is not, as some suggest, a purification ritual. It is more like that scene in *Coriolanus* when the tribune says to Coriolanus that he should "submit" himself ... to the people's voices,

Allow their officers, and are
content

To suffer lawful censure for
such faults

As shall be prov'd upon you...

If Coriolanus will indeed submit to censure, apologise and "repent what you have spoke", as his friend Menenius advises him, then all will be well. Of course it isn't; he cannot submit to this humiliation. To apologise is to bow to another's will.

There is in reality for the politician only one satisfactory form of apology, and it is resignation. This satisfies because it is an admission of error which at the same time enables him to retain his honour and self-esteem. We in our turn admire the politician who says, "I got it wrong; sorry"; and then goes. But we do not admire the one who offers an apology which we feel and think to be insincere, because he still remains in office. Indeed he becomes an object of our deeper and sharper contempt.

Now Tony Blair was never going to resign on account of his conduct of the Iraq war; therefore he is right not to have offered an apology, and to have presented his party conference instead with an apologia, a vindication.

He may be due us an apology for taking the country to war on what now appear to be false pretences, but, as he said, even those who opposed the war, believed, as he did, in Saddam's WMD. Mr Chirac and Gerhard Schroder, for instance, didn't deny their existence; they argued only that the UN weapons inspectors should be given as much time as they needed to find them. So, on this point, Blair offered a sort of heavily qualified, apology: Sorry, I got that wrong.

But on the main issue, or what seems to him the main issue, the waging of the war and the deposition of Saddam, he believes he was right. Therefore, to his mind, he has nothing to apologise for. Indeed to do so would be absurd, unless he was also prepared to withdraw British forces from Iraq immediately.

To apologise for the war would cost him his self-respect, and leave his policy in ruins. More than that, it would finish him. The response wouldn't be renewed approval because he had apologised. It would be the loss of authority in the Cabinet, the party, and the country.

So, right or wrong - and he is convinced of his righteousness - there is no turning back, no apology. He must go on, either to something that may be styled success, even victory, or to the discovery that he is mixed up in a political and parliamentary version of the last Act of *Macbeth*. As for those who think he should say "sorry", they have one remedy - to vote him out of office.

HENRY II When four of his knights killed Archbishop Thomas a Becket in Canterbury cathedral in 1170, King Henry walked barefoot to the site of the murder, where he prayed whilst being whipped by monks. He begged forgiveness from the Pope, who later made Becket a saint

DAVID SEAMAN After failing to save the Ronaldinho free kick that put England out of the World Cup, June 2002 "I just want to say sorry to all the fans. I feel as

if I have let people down. I thought he mis-kicked the free-kick and I misjudged it"

CHERYL TWEEDY Member of girl band Girls Aloud, after her conviction for assaulting a toilet attendant in a Guildford club, November 2003

LESLIE GRANTHAM Eastenders' Dirty Den, after a newspaper published webcam pictures of the actor exposing himself in his dressing-room, May 2004. "I would like to unreservedly apologise to the cast and crew of EastEnders and the BBC for the embarrassment that has been caused by recent newspaper allegations. I very much regret that a moment's stupidity has cast a shadow over what I consider one of Britain's best shows of which I'm thoroughly proud to be a part. I am wholeheartedly ashamed of my behaviour"

THE DAILY MIRROR After publishing hoax photographs of British troops torturing prisoners in Iraq, which led to the resignation of editor Piers Morgan in May 2004. "The Daily Mirror published in good faith photographs which it absolutely believed were genuine images... However there is now sufficient evidence to suggest that these pictures are fakes and that the Daily Mirror has been the subject of a calculated and malicious hoax. The Daily Mirror therefore apologises unreservedly"

THE NEW YORK POST In July, the New York Post was forced into an embarrassing step-down when its front-page exclusive (left) claimed that John Kerry had chosen Dick Gephardt as his running mate. This was not in fact the case. The following day, it ran a humble correction (right) revealing that the chosen man was in fact John Edwards

DAVID BECKHAM The style icon and England midfielder made a public apology to the nation following his sending off against Argentina during the 1998 World Cup in France. England were knocked out after going on to lose the game. Beckham said: "This is without doubt the worst moment of my career...I want every England supporter to know how deeply sorry I am"

DENISE VAN OUTEN In June 1998, TV presenter Denise Van Outen apologised for taking an ashtray and a tissue box holder from Buckingham Palace and promptly sent them back to the Queen. Miss Van Outen took the items during a royal reception for a select group of trendy young Britons. The former co-host of Channel Four's Big Breakfast, apologised to the Queen in front of her viewers: "I am really sorry. It was just a bit of fun," she said. She said she also sent the Queen a stuffed camel with a note saying: "Sorry, Ma'am. I didn't mean to give you the hump"

Art. 2/ You Call That an Apology? – Evolution of apologies

You Call That an Apology? - The Washington Post

By Aaron Lazare

Sunday, July 3, 2005

The apology wars have broken out in Washington again. First it was Republicans, hollering for remorse from Sen. Dick Durbin for equating interrogation techniques at Guantanamo Bay with something out of the regimes of Hitler or Pol Pot. After stonewalling for several days, the Illinois Democrat apologized, sort of. Then presidential adviser Karl Rove made some derogatory remarks about liberals' reactions to 9/11, and it was the Democrats' turn to pounce, calling for his head, or at least some words of regret. No "sorry" from Rove, yet.

This, though, was just the latest round in what's been a bumper year so far for apologies -- or at least calls for apologies. We've had the Newsweek apology and the Larry Summers apology (over and over again). Republicans would like an apology from Democratic National Committee Chairman Howard Dean for

negative things he said about their party. Opponents of the war in Iraq would like an apology from President Bush for ever starting it and almost everything having to do with it. Meanwhile, the U.S. Senate offered a somber apology for not having passed an anti-lynching law in the last century.

All this apologizing isn't a new phenomenon -- I've been tracking an increase in public apologies for more than a decade -- but the rush of demands for political mea culpas needs to be recognized for what it is: a manipulative tool used for partisan advantage that threatens to turn what should be a powerful act of reconciliation into a meaningless travesty. Instead of healing breaches, these sorry exercises widen the gulfs between people.

The political apologies and demands for apologies have something in common: the attacks on the "offender" are overkill, and are meant to humiliate and weaken. The interplay between the offender and the offended resembles a duel, in which one party wins and the other loses. Neither side is seeking healing or reconciliation. A common tradition in dueling was that an apology by the offender would end the duel without bloodshed. Here, the apology is just another way of drawing blood.

Take the Durbin case. Referring to an FBI agent's report on the U.S. treatment of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, he said: "If I read this to you and did not tell you that it was an FBI agent describing what America had done to prisoners in their control, you would most certainly believe this must have been done by Nazis, Soviets in their gulags, or some mad regime -- Pol Pot or others -- that had no concern for human beings." Durbin's criticism was legitimate, but his rhetoric got him in trouble. The GOP, as well as Holocaust survivors and others, rose up in arms until the senator offered this tearful apology: "I'm sorry if anything that I said caused any offense or pain to those who have such bitter memories of the Holocaust. . . . I'm also sorry if anything I said in any way cast a negative light on our fine men and women in the military."

Did you catch that qualifier -- "if"? That's the signal that this is a pseudo-apology. The alleged offender only conditionally acknowledges that he did anything wrong -- only "if" his words caused offense or pain. Unfortunately, all too many apologies are of this nature. On the lecture circuit, I ask people how often they've offered an apology along the lines of "I'm sorry for whatever I did." It's remarkable how frequently we do that. People are capable of a creative assortment of methods to avoid the straightforward acknowledgement of an offense -- if indeed there has been one -- the forthright "I did it. It was wrong. I understand the damage I did, and I want to repair it."

Instead, they offer vague statements like Durbin's, or use the passive voice: "Mistakes were made." (This has been a favorite technique of American presidents.) They minimize the seriousness of the offense or apologize to the wrong party, like the criminal who apologizes to his family while ignoring the victim of the crime. They apologize for the wrong offense. They use the compassionate "I'm sorry," meaning "I feel bad for what happened to you, but I do not accept responsibility for the offense."

The irony of the administration's demands for apology from Newsweek and Durbin for their references to prisoner treatment is that neither President Bush nor Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has ever made more than a weak apology for the inappropriate behavior of the U.S. military at Abu Ghraib, which seriously damaged the image of the United States throughout the world. Rice said, "We are deeply sorry for what happened to these people, and what the families must be feeling." The acknowledgement of the offense is meager. The words "deeply sorry" would better fit a condolence call.

Bush, in a message communicated to King Abdullah of Jordan, said: "I was sorry for the humiliation suffered by the Iraqi prisoners and the humiliation suffered by their families. I told him I was as equally sorry that people who have been seeing those pictures didn't understand the true nature and heart of America." The president fails to accept responsibility for the offense that he never names. His "sorry," like Rice's, is the compassionate kind, not the apologetic. He almost seems to be suggesting that the Iraqis should apologize to America for failing to understand us.

I sensed an increase in the frequency of public apologies sometime in 1993 and felt supported by an article that same year in Time magazine titled: "Last month everybody apologized for past horrors." These included Pope John Paul II's apology on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church for its role in supporting the enslavement of Africans, Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa's apology for Japan's role in World War II, Russian President Boris Yeltsin's apology for the Soviet army's massacre of 15,000 Polish army officers in the Katyn forest during WWII, and Nelson Mandela's apology for atrocities allegedly committed by his African National Congress.

I subsequently analyzed the annual number of stories involving public apologies in The Washington Post and the New York Times during the 13-year period from 1990 through 2002 and found that it had doubled. The notable rise in apologies during the Clinton years, especially, leads me to think of him as a "professional apologizer." But like other presidents, he apologized for offenses committed by previous administrations -- rather than his own failings. Remember his famous non-apology for the Monica Lewinsky mess?

I also observed that public apologies seemed to occur randomly or in unpredictable waves. There would be several important apologies followed by months of quiet. What we are seeing now, I believe, is more of the same. During Bush's first term, there was relative quiet on the apology front. (This president, as has been frequently noted, rarely, if ever, apologizes.) Now, with the growing polarization between the administration and the opposition over presidential appointments and the conduct of the Iraq war, nastiness is on the rise, with a subsequent demand for apologies as a weapon in the battle for public approval.

But I hope the public won't be deceived into thinking that these politically motivated demands for apology and their responses are in any way representative of the true process of apology. A successful apology -- a real apology -- results in the dissolution of grudges and reconciliation between two parties. The offended parties feel like they have received "gifts" and usually attempt to offer "gifts" in return. People are brought together, not pushed apart.

The thirst for "apologizing" in Washington these days, though, is all about pushing apart. If you ask me, it's a sorry spectacle, indeed.

Art. 3/ Why can't more people just say sorry? – Non-apology

The Times - October 29, 2008 Wednesday

Why can't more people just say sorry?

As the BBC says sorry for offensive remarks made by Russell Brand and Jonathan Ross, Matthew Parris examines the art of the apology. And we look at the right and wrong way to do it

There are many of ways of not quite apologising, and they all take longer than the real thing. The real thing needs only one word.

"Sorry."

Or if you want to spin it out, "I'm sorry."

The moment you start adding words to these, you risk detracting from the force of the apology. But of course, consciously or otherwise, that's often what people are trying to do.

I have identified Seven Deadly Sins of non-apology. They are the Off-target, the Facetious, the Reproachful (you shouldn't be so stupid), the Reproachful (you shouldn't be so sensitive), the I-didn't-mean-it, the Vicarious and the Circumlocutory apologies.

Take Russell Brand's insolent attempt to express regret for the answerphone messages he and Jonathan Ross left on Andrew Sachs's machine: "I'd like to take this opportunity to issue a personal Russell Brand apology to Andrew Sachs, the great comic actor who played Manuel, for a message that Jonathan and I left on his answerphone, but it was quite funny. But, sometimes you mustn't swear on someone's answerphone and that's why I'd like to apologise personally."

If so, he failed. By being facetious he added insult to injury. He also usefully exemplified the first two of my Seven Deadly Sins of Non-apology. First the Off-target apology: avoiding the real offence and apologising for something irrelevant. The language, as Russell Brand well knows, was not the biggest problem about those calls. If he'd called to say Mr Sachs was f***ing brilliant the world would not be up in arms today.

Second - and Brand is guilty of this too - is the Facetious apology. Take the 18th-century playwright Richard Sheridan's apology to the Commons for calling a fellow MP a liar: "Mr Speaker, I said the hon member was a liar it is true and I am sorry for it. The hon member may place the punctuation where he pleases." Or Dennis Skinner MP who, on being ordered to withdraw his description of David Owen as a "pompous sod", offered to delete the word "pompous".

Next - and very famously - come the third and fourth evasions: two categories of the Reproachful apology, where the offender expresses regret that upset was caused, without entirely conceding that anyone ought to have been upset. The "you shouldn't be so stupid" variety of reproach carries a half-suggestion that it's actually other people's paranoia or misunderstanding that is to blame.

George Osborne's recent apology for talking about a donation to a controversial Russian, on his yacht - "In politics it is not just what you say or what you do, it's how things look. If I am honest, this didn't look very good and I regret that. I have changed the way that I am going to operate when it comes to fundraising, and I will not discuss individual donations with individual donors. That is an appropriate thing for me to do" - does go some way to expressing regret, but almost implies that his mistake was to overlook how (wrongly) mistrusting we all are.

The "you shouldn't be so sensitive" variety of reproach suggests that the culprit's real mistake has been not to realise what a delicate little flower the offended party was. Prominent among Boris Johnson's many apologies to the people of Liverpool was the thought that he'd never have published what he did if he had realised how thin-skinned Scousers can be on certain subjects.

Fifth comes the "I didn't mean it" apology. F.W. de Klerk, the former South African President, spoilt an otherwise perfectly acceptable apology for apartheid in 1992 with his first sentence: "It was not our intention to deprive people of their rights and to cause misery, but eventually separate development and apartheid led to just that. In so far as that occurred, we deeply regret it. Deep regret goes much further than just saying you are sorry. Deep regret says that if I could turn the clock back and if I could do anything about it, I would have liked to have avoided it. Yes, we say we are sorry."

Apartheid's injustices were not an unintended consequence of a fine theory, and to suggest this robbed the apology of some, not all, of its force.

Then - and this really infuriates people - there's the Vicarious apology: saying sorry for something somebody else did, sometimes a very long time ago. Politicians and priests are particularly prone to this because it gets the

apologiser cheap kudos without costing him anything. A telltale sign of an imminent vicarious apology is the tortured appearance of the passive tense: "Mistakes have been made," or "Lessons have been learnt," in place of that difficult little word "I...". Tony Blair has been good enough to apologise for the Irish Potato Famine; and in its "Sorry Day" the essentially white Australian majority apologised for their ancestors having taken the Aborigines' land from them. They did not offer to give it back.

It is important that the speaker feels a sense of real shame, even if on behalf of others. Ken Livingstone's apology, as Mayor of London - "As Mayor I offer an apology on behalf of London and its institutions for their role in the transatlantic slave trade" - lacks the necessary sense of personal shame. It is almost accusatory.

Seventh comes the Circumlocutory or roundabout apology. This contains all the elements of a proper "I'm sorry" without actually including those words. Like the little boy who won't say sorry to his sister (why are men so much worse at this than women? Pride?) the speaker just can't make himself spit them out. Here's the former Defence Secretary Des Browne, an essentially decent man, not quite pronouncing the S word after a PR gaffe in which service personnel who had been held captive in Iran were allowed to sell their stories: "I have expressed a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology."

Apologies like most of these can only add to the anger that injured parties feel, and the contempt felt by the rest of us. The rules for an effective apology are (1) Be quick: don't wait for it to be dragged out of you; (2) Be succinct: don't hedge, or qualify, or try to explain; and (3) Be sincere. If you don't feel sorry, don't pretend to be. Your audience will always know.

The ones who got it right

"I made a bad mistake. It's indefensible and I'm sorry about it"

BILL CLINTON on the Lewinsky affair (October 1998)

VERDICT

Short and to the point.

"I take full responsibility for my actions. I also accept that there are various personal issues that I need to address and have started taking the difficult, yet necessary, steps to resolve them. I want to apologise to all of the people I have let down because of my behaviour"

KATE MOSS, after being filmed taking cocaine (September 2005) VERDICT

Part apology, part Academy Award acceptance.

"This is without doubt the worst moment of my career. I will always regret my actions during last night's game. I have apologised to the England players and management and I want every England supporter to know how deeply sorry I am."

David Beckham after being sent off at the 1998 World Cup, which contributed to England's defeat to Argentina (July 1998).

VERDICT

What more could he have said? No wonder he's nicknamed Golden Balls.

"I want to apologise to my fans for screwing up again, and to promise them I'll sort myself out. And to say sorry to everybody else, just for boring them."

George Michael, after he was arrested in a public toilet in Hampstead, North London, in possession of crack cocaine and cannabis (September 2008).

VERDICT

The perfect way to handle a we've-been-here-before apology.

"Richard and I were very shocked and also angry on your behalf. We're very sorry."

TV host Judy Finnigan apologising to viewers over claims that callers were told to phone a premium-rate competition number even after contestants had been chosen (February 2007).

VERDICT

Not pointing the finger of blame, not admitting to any responsibility, siding with the aggrieved. Clever.

"Believe me, I never made any proposals of marriage to anyone. Therefore forgive me, I beg you, and accept this public apology that I yield to your anger as an act of love. One of many. A big kiss. Silvio."

Silvio Berlusconi, to his wife Veronica Lario after she accused the Italian Prime Minister of flirting with other women (February 2007).

VERDICT

Clearly not his first, and somewhat oleaginous, but Silvio gets away with it (as usual).

"I acted like a person completely out of control when I was arrested, and said things that I do not believe to be true and which are despicable. I am deeply ashamed of everything I said. Also, I take this opportunity to apologise to the deputies involved for my

belligerent behaviour. They have always been there for me in my community and indeed probably saved me from myself."

Mel Gibson on his barrage of abuse after being arrested for drink driving (July 2006).

VERDICT

Fantastic deviation. He's so busy supporting local causes that we've almost overlooked his anti-Semitic remarks. Almost.

THE ONES WHO GOT IT WRONG

I am heartsick about my personal legal situation and deeply sorry for the pain and difficulties it has caused our employees

MARTHA STEWART, after being found guilty of share trading (March 2004)

VERDICT

Is she apologising, or just regretting the fact she's been banged up?

"We all make mistakes, we all do things we regret. I hope in the end people will be kind enough to balance the good against the bad."

JEFFREY ARCHER, on his past behaviour (Nov 2005)

VERDICT

He might as well have said: "I do a lot for a charity."

"I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision. I would say only that if some of my judgments were wrong, and some were wrong, they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the nation."

Richard Nixon, resigning as US President (August 1974).

VERDICT

Best interests of the nation, or himself?

"The evidence about Saddam having actual biological and chemical weapons, as opposed to the capability to develop them, has turned out to be wrong. I acknowledge that and accept it. I can apologise for the information that turned out to be wrong, but I can't, sincerely at least, apologise for removing Saddam."

Tony Blair, on the Iraq dossier (September 2004).

VERDICT

Note: he could apologise but he doesn't actually do it.

"I will bigly, hugely admit that I was wrong, and I will apologise to Michael J. Fox if I am wrong in characterising his behaviour on this commercial as an act." Rush Limbaugh, on confronting Michael

J. Fox for "exaggerating the effects of Parkinson's disease" (October 2006).

VERDICT

Where do we start? Wrong on every level.

"In a life as busy and varied as mine, you make good judgments and bad judgments."

Jonathan Aitken, over his failure to disclose a secret Arab stake in the breakfast station TV-am (June 1997).

VERDICT

And there we were thinking he was immoral, when all along he was just trying to juggle his diary.

"I do apologise but I don't regret my behaviour because regretting it would mean he was right to say what he said."

Zinedine Zidane, on headbutting Italy defender Marco Materazzi in the World Cup final (July 2006).

VERDICT

We empathise, we really do. But attacking an opponent is not excusable, even when he insults your mother.

"The Duke of Edinburgh regrets any offence which may have been caused by remarks he is reported as making earlier today. With hindsight, he accepts what were intended as light-hearted comments were inappropriate."

Buckingham Palace, on Prince Philip saying a fuse box looked "as though it was put in by an Indian" (August 1999).

VERDICT

Apologising by proxy never works.

"Look, I regret the remark. It was in a light banter. She did a remarkable job."

John Prescott, on telling a TV show he didn't like Cherie Blair (October 2008).

VERDICT

Prezzer tries the Russell Brand "It was only a joke" tactic; to similar effect.

...AND THEN THERE'S BORIS

"In so far as it imposed an outdated stereotype on the whole of Liverpool, and thereby caused offence, I sincerely apologise" BORIS JOHNSON, in an open letter to the Liverpool Echo, in 2004, after writing a leader in The Spectator saying that Liverpudlians were "hooked on grief". Michael Howard, the Conservative leader at the time, sent Johnson to the city to make a personal apology.

"I am very sorry this decision has been taken in response to tabloid stories about my private life."

Boris Johnson, after being sacked from the front bench by Michael Howard, the Conservative leader, in 2004 after it emerged that stories of his affair with a journalist - denied by Johnson as "an inverted pyramid of piffle" - were not piffle at all.

"I meant no insult to the people of Papua New Guinea, who I'm sure lead lives of blameless bourgeois domesticity ... My remarks were inspired by a Time Life book I have which does indeed show relatively recent photos of Papua New Guinean tribes engaged in warfare, and I'm fairly certain that cannibalism was involved."

Boris, after referring to "Papua New Guinea-style orgies of cannibalism and chief-killing" in 2006.

"I do feel very sad that people have been so offended by these words and I'm sorry that I've caused this offence. But if you look at the article as written they really do not bear the construction that you're putting on them. I feel very strongly that this is something which is simply not in my heart. I'm absolutely 100 per cent anti-racist, I despise and loathe racism."

Boris, in July, on referring to black people as "piccaninnies" and referring to "watermelon smiles" in a column written six years ago.

I'M SORRY...MUSICALLY SPEAKING

I Apologise P.J. Proby

I'm Sorry Brenda Lee

Sorry Seems To Be The Hardest Word Elton John

Sorrow David Bowie

All Apologies Nirvana

Back for Good Take That

Please Forgive Me Bryan Adams

Who's Sorry Now Connie Francis

I Understand Freddie & The Dreamers

It Hurts Me Too Elmore James

Something Stupid

Robbie Williams & Nicole Kidman

Art. 4/ Mea culpa connoisseurs lap up tears – Non-apology apology

The Guardian - April 9, 2009 Thursday

Mea culpa connoisseurs lap up tears

What a golden season this is turning out to be for connoisseurs of public apologies. Many of us already considered ourselves spoilt by the sight of poor Jacqui Smith's husband slinking out of the garden gate to apologise to the nation for his softcore viewing habits - a scene so excruciating that it might have been conceived by the writers of *American Pie*, had it not differentiated itself from that cinematic series by contriving to be genuinely hilarious as well. Then in recent days we've had Lewis Hamilton's demi mea culpa for the business in Melbourne. And of course we've thrilled to the apologetic stylings of Barry Ferguson and Allan McGregor, whose show of contrition for a drinking bender consisted of sitting on the subs' bench at Hampden and targeting photographers with that classic classroom act of defiance - the V-sign disguised as a chin rest. Their resultant lifetime ban from playing for Scotland duly triggered a more traditional approach to regret, though this appeared somewhat belated. Plus, it was a disappointment for those of us who wished they'd followed through with the year-nine homage and issued a statement reading, "What? I was only stroking my chin! Sir! You can't ban me for life for stroking my chin! That's so totally unfair!" and so on, until a detention and lines were added. In sport, as in all areas of public life, there are distinct strains of apologies and, like Pokemon collectors, enthusiasts will want to catch them all. There's the "I was a hapless victim in all of this" non-apology-apology, neatly exemplified by Tonya Harding, who in 1998 faced Nancy Kerrigan with the words: "I would like to apologise again for being in the wrong place at the wrong time and with the wrong people."

The McLaren team principal Martin Whitmarsh's apology had a distinctly Westminsterish feel to it. For form's sake it should have been accompanied by a staged photocall involving his shooting a clenched-toothed grin across a garden gate, alongside the sacked sporting director, Dave Ryan, and the Hamiltons. (Lewis and Anthony, not Neil and Christine, although as veterans of such crisis management they should probably be brought in as consultants.)

Thereafter McLaren could announce a programme of charitable works to atone for their behaviour, perhaps along the lines of Derek Zoolander's Centre for Kids Who Can't Read Good and Wanna Learn to Do Other Stuff Too. If they felt especially confident down the line, they could start apologising for things for which no one holds them responsible. Slavery. Suez. Germany's conduct during the war.

Then there's the apology which adds insult to injury, an approach we can safely say was adopted by Ferguson and McGregor. This type of soz is a close relative of the sort which effectively disparages the plaintiffs as humourless idiots. Do recall Mark Bosnich explaining that his Nazi salute at the Tottenham crowd had been a joke, which he'd assumed they'd got. "Obviously I was mistaken."

This apology has echoes of the weaselly "I apologise if anyone was offended", which tends to be wheeled out when the offence feels pretty open and shut.

Take the NBA announcer who disputed a female referee's call with the instruction, "Go back to the kitchen. Go in there and make me some bacon and eggs, would you?"

"If I said anything that might have been insensitive or sexist in any way," ran his apology, "then I apologise."

For another type of disingenuousness, don't forget Tim Henman's apology for ordering the crowd to "make some fucking noise! It's fucking Wimbledon!", which was predicated on the phrase, "If I said some bad words . . ."

Elsewhere, many will have a weakness for apologisers who bring in "the children", as Zinedine Zidane did after being sent off for that headbutt in the 2006 World Cup final. "To the children," he quavered, "I want to apologise." And what is not to adore about a misdirected apology, such as Frank Lampard using his autobiography to express regret that his family had to find out about his videotaped Ayia Napa sex romp from the News of the World, instead of to express regret that the women should have been so humiliated in the manner they were?

Either way, let us hope the present run of apologies continues. These and other strains of abject sorrow should ultimately be collated in a till-side publication with the Christmas market in mind, upon which we shall confer the working title *The Little Book of Regret at Being Caught*.

Art. 5/ British Muslims plan a summer vision – Eurabia

The Times - July 12, 2008 Saturday

British Muslims plan a summer vision

The third anniversary of the tragic bombings on July 7, 2005, reopens the very difficult discussion about the place of Muslims in Britain today.

Quite rightly, we Muslims are asked what we are doing to deny theological oxygen to those who wish to harm others. The overwhelming majority of us argue that terrorism is against religion and outside religion, regardless of any claims otherwise. Many Muslims have worked hard to dissuade those who choose the futile path of violence. Our best defence is found in the traditions of our faith and the higher principles of justice and humanity embedded in it. Yet we are told that condemnation and community action are not enough. We are seeing the emergence of a powerful narrative that presents many young British Muslims as susceptible to terrorism, and presents Islam itself as leading to radicalisation. The most extreme form of this narrative is found in the idea of "Eurabia", an incendiary term that asserts the Muslim hordes have already breached fortress Britain and are now contaminating the nation's very DNA.

The recent Dispatches TV documentary on anti-Muslim bias in the UK by the journalist Peter Osborne was timely. Broadcast to coincide with the anniversary of the London Tube bombings and within days of the Lord Chief Justice's assertion that aspects of Islamic civil and family law should be recognised by English law, it provided a powerful insight into the relationship between Muslim communities and mainstream British society.

Osborne found a pervasive bias - ranging from misunderstanding to outright hostility - against Muslims in the UK, in newspapers, among ordinary people and even in government. A study by the Cardiff University School of Journalism found that around two thirds of all news "hooks" for reports about Muslims involved terrorism or highlighted cultural differences or Muslim extremism; only 5 per cent of reports concerned the problems facing British Muslims.

It was heartening to see an independent, well-researched documentary address the issue of Islamophobia. We have argued for many years that the climate of hostility towards British Muslims is damaging community relations and persuades some Muslims that they will never be regarded as fully British by their compatriots.

Our efforts have often been criticised as an attack on free speech or as ingratitude and disloyalty to Britain - even as a failure to understand what being British means. I hope that Osborne's critique, coming from the heart of the British mainstream and backed by the University of Cardiff's research, will not be so easily dismissed.

The 7/7 bombings were a shock to many Muslims in this country, and we were forced to acknowledge the cancer of extremism in our communities. We believe that all communities in Britain owe it to those who lost their lives to

prevent the seeds of division sown by the perpetrators of that awful crime to take root.

This summer affiliated bodies of the Muslim Council of Britain are organising a series of grassroots events under the title of "Looking Beyond the Terror Narrative". We need to provide aspirations for our young people, we want to offer hope and we are aiming to initiate a national conversation among British Muslims who will work towards achieving a cohesive, just and successful British society. This initiative is part of Muslim Council of Britain's strategy of challenging the peddlers of hate and bigotry wherever they may be. We believe this can only be done by addressing the sources of extremism within Muslim communities and the outside factors that exacerbate it. This includes the anti-Muslim bias that Osborne describes, but it also includes the social exclusion, low literacy and life expectancy, high unemployment and poverty of aspiration that afflict Muslim communities across the UK.

Finally, we are encouraging Muslims to reach out to their neighbours on a personal level and challenge the idea that we are extremists or separatists - to show that we do not want to ban Christmas or piggybanks and that we are not asking for special treatment. All we are asking for is for an equal stake in Britain's future.

Dr Muhammad Abdul Bari is the Secretary-General of the Muslim Council of Britain

Art. 6/ Police told to give public apology (...) – Request for apology (article discarded)

The Times - February 14, 2007, Wednesday

Police told to give public apology for mistakes made in Forest Gate raid

- * Disciplinary action not recommended
- * Only a few of the complaints upheld

The Metropolitan Police have been told to make a high-profile public apology to the families caught up in last year's anti-terrorism raid in Forest Gate, East London, in which an innocent man was shot.

The Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) ruled yesterday that officers had employed "very aggressive tactics" during the botched operation, and disclosed that at least three allegations of assault by police had been criminally investigated.

Although it accepted that police had no choice but to act on intelligence that an explosive device was being kept in one of the two houses raided, the commission also criticised police for failing to plan for the possibility that the intelligence could be wrong; taking people not arrested at the scene to a police station; and failing to change their response once it became clear that there had been an intelligence failure.

Police arrested only two men, Abul Koyair and his brother, Abul Kahar, who was shot in the shoulder, but released them a week later without charge.

"These families were victims of failed intelligence. I am not saying officers should be disciplined for that but it is grounds for an apology," said Deborah Glass, the IPCC commissioner.

"I've concluded that the police were right to take no chances with public safety. But they were wrong not to have planned better for the intelligence being wrong."

The commission has spent months investigating more than 150 complaints from 11 members of the families affected by the raid on June 2.

"Many of the complaints could have been avoided if the families had been treated with more care and compassion at the outset," the commission said in its report.

"The police must recognise the impact of high-profile operations such as Forest Gate on individuals who as a result of an operation are publicly branded as terrorists or associating with terrorists, but are not in fact charged with any offence...If police do not find an explosive device, this does not mean they were wrong to have launched the raid. But it may well be grounds for an equally high-profile public apology."

The commission has upheld only a few of the complaints, one of which -that police neglected to provide proper medication and meals for Mr Kahar while he was at Paddington Green station, West London -has resulted in an officer being given a written warning. The Crown Prosecution Service decided that there was not enough evidence to prosecute officers over the three allegations of assault - from each of the brothers arrested and their neighbour, who claims that he was hit on the head.

The Metropolitan Police said that it was glad an independent body had concluded that its actions at Forest Gate were proportionate, necessary and motivated by public safety.

Alf Hitchcock, the deputy assistant commissioner, said that he was happy to reiterate the three apologies the force had made, but he insisted: "We need to move on from repeating our apologies over and over again and need to learn the lessons around community engagement."

Tony Blair backed the police over their actions, saying: "I hope everybody understands that in doing that job they were faced with a difficult choice. Sometimes they were damned if they do and damned if they don't. If they take strong action they are liable to be criticised. Equally if they failed to take strong action after receiving advice they could be attacked even more strongly." However, Mr Kahar said that the commission's report was a whitewash. "At the end of the day, a lot of people understand we were innocent families, we were not what they said we were. We have still not had an apology. We are not terrorists, we are not a violent family."

The Kalams, another family caught up in the raid, said that the commission's recommendation for a public apology was eight months too late. "We each raised many complaints about our brutal treatment at the hands of the police with the IPCC, yet unbelievably no action is to be taken."

During the raid 15 officers, armed with machineguns and pistols and dressed in three layers of protective clothing, burst into two houses on Lansdowne Road at about 4am looking for a remote-controlled chemical bomb.

The 11 occupants of the houses, including a baby, were shaken from their beds and Mr Kahar was shot at close range in the shoulder. A separate IPCC inquiry found that Mr Kahar had been shot by accident as he tussled with an armed officer who he believed was a robber.

Police found no evidence of a bomb or that the brothers were involved in any terror-related activities.

Read the report in full timesonline.co.uk/news

THE RAP SHEET

The main findings of the IPCC inquiry:

- * Police must plan for the possibility that intelligence in anti-terror operations could be wrong
- * Police should publicly explain the process by which they evaluate and act on intelligence
- * Consider placing the word "police" more prominently on officers' clothing
- * Upgrade or relocate cell block at Paddington Green police station
- * A high-profile public apology to the families affected by raid

Art. 7/ Cops were right (...) – Request for apology (article discarded)

The Sun (England) -February 14, 2007 Wednesday

Cops were right to raid bomb suspects

But say sorry, says inquiry

COPS were RIGHT to carry out an anti-terror raid in which a suspect was shot, a police watchdog said yesterday.

But they were urged to apologise to the family of two brothers arrested - and to their neighbours.

Mohammed Abdul Kahar, 23, was shot in the shoulder and his brother Abul Koyair, 20, was kicked when officers stormed their home in the early hours after a tip-off about an alleged plot to explode a chemical bomb.

Tony Blair last night backed the police over the raid in Forest Gate, East London, saying the nation owed anti-terror cops a debt of gratitude for the difficult job they do. He said: "If they take strong action they are liable to be criticised."

The Independent Police Complaints Commission was given unprecedented access to intelligence files in a nine-month probe into the raid last June. It concluded police tactics were "forceful and aggressive" - but cops believed there was an "extreme threat". No bomb was found.

A separate inquiry has already ruled the shooting of Kahar by a marksman was accidental.

More than 150 complaints were made by the brothers and four of their relatives, plus the family living next door.

IPCC commissioner Deborah Glass said: "Police were right to take no chances with public safety." But she said officers were wrong to take people not under arrest to a police station. She added: "There are grounds for an apology."

The report also said armed cops on raids should wear clear markings and that care for suspects in custody should be improved.

The two brothers were in custody for a week before being released without charges.

Met police chiefs expect them to sue for £ 1/2million each.

Art. 8/ Voice of the Daily Mirror: So who's sorry now – Several apologies focussed on

The Daily Mirror - April 17, 2007 Tuesday

VOICE OF THE DAILY MIRROR: SO WHO'S SORRY NOW

ALL of a sudden, sorry seems to be the easiest word.

Defence Secretary Des Browne yesterday said sorry over the Royal Navy cash-for-confessions row.

Health Secretary Patricia Hewitt said sorry for the junior doctors recruitment fiasco.

And pop singer Bryan Ferry said sorry after apparently voicing his admiration for the Nazis.

Apologies rather than defiance, it seems, is the new humbler way public figures dig themselves out of holes.

Under-fire Browne shot the Tory fox, Liam Fox, by accepting responsibility for what happened after the return of the Iranian hostages.

Indeed Fox, the Tory defence spokesman, shot himself in the foot by stupidly comparing the row to the invasion of the Falkland Islands.

But, as Browne pointed out, we must not forget the sailors are home, safe, on our terms, in a victory for diplomacy.

David Cameron should now say sorry for foolishly suggesting the Defence Secretary should resign and think about finding himself a new shadow spokesman.

Art. 9/ Victoria Beckham wins damages over 'rude' claim – Minimal uptake

The Independent - June 26 2007

Victoria Beckham wins damages over 'rude' claim;

Victoria Beckham accepted substantial undisclosed libel damages over a claim by Star Magazine that the crew of her forthcoming American reality TV show considered her 'picky, demanding and rude'. Her solicitor told the High Court in London that the allegations in the article in April were 'untrue and unfounded'. The magazine's publisher, Northern and Shell plc, apologised.

Art. 10/ Foot in mouth disease (...) – Article on apologising in general

The Daily Mirror - September 18, 2006 Monday

FOOT IN MOUTH DISEASE;
THE POPE'S IN HOT WATER - BUT HE'S NOT THE ONLY VICTIM OF..

WE'VE all said and done things we regret, but on the world stage it can ruin careers, lose fortunes ... and spark riots

After cries of protest from millions of Muslims, Pope Benedict XVI has apologised for referring to the prophet Mohammed as "evil and inhuman". But the damage was done... although His Holiness is by no means the only person to drop a world-class clanger.

From Gerald Ratner's disastrous comments about his sherry decanters to John Lennon's "bigger than Jesus" remarks, the great and the good have an uncanny knack of putting their foot in it.

Now the biggest blunders of all time have been collected in a new book, fittingly entitled *Banana Skins*. Here we look at some of history's most splendid gaffes...

DOING A RATNER

IN 1990, Gerald Ratner was one of the most successful businessmen in Britain, having single-handedly built the world's biggest jewellery chain. But his fortunes were shattered when, in 1991, he addressed the Institute of Directors and told them the sherry decanters he sold were "crap". As a result, pounds 500million was wiped off the firm's stock market value.

DAN QUAYLE

THE man who served as US Vice President from 1989 to 1993 was notorious for his blunders. In the early days of his term he predicted "this President is going to lead us out of this recovery" while he later told reporters on a tour of Latin America: "My only regret is that I didn't study Latin harder in school, so I could converse with these people."

BIGGER THAN JESUS

WHEN John Lennon told a UK reporter the Beatles were "bigger than Jesus", the comment provoked little reaction. When the article was reprinted in the US in 1966, it provoked a huge anti-Fab Four backlash that even included public burnings of their records. Although Lennon apologised, the group's popularity Stateside never recovered.

McLIBEL

MCDONALD'S began the longest court case in British legal history when they sued two environmentalists for libel - and created one of the worst PR disasters ever.

After the two-and-a-half-year case, the judge ruled the company exploited children with misleading advertising, was culpably responsible for cruelty to animals, was antipathetic to unionisation and paid its workers low wages.

THE HOOVER GIVEAWAY

WHEN the vacuum cleaner company promised two free flights to Europe for every pounds 100 spent on its products in 1992, it seemed too good to be true.

And it was. After a string of legal claims from customers who'd failed to get their flights, the company had to charter planes to clear the backlog. The board was fired and the UK wing of the company sold off after losing tens of millions of pounds.

THE HITLER DIARIES

IN 1983, German magazine Stern thought it had pulled off the scoop of the century after being offered Adolph Hitler's private diaries.

But after being published around the world, scientists discovered chemicals in the diaries' paper that hadn't been invented during Hitler's lifetime.

EAU DE SIDCUP

WHEN it was launched in 2004, Dasani looked set to be another money-spinner for the Coca-Cola Company. Unfortunately, it was soon revealed that the bottled water had come not from a pristine spring but from a tap in Sidcup, Kent. After a potentially-carcinogenic chemical was found in the drink, half a million bottles were taken off the shelves leaving a pounds 10million bill.

VIRGINAL BRITNEY

AFTER bursting onto the music scene with her big hit Baby, One More Time, Britney announced she was a virgin - and would remain that way until she was married.

This made her a heroine for the American True Love Waits pro-chastity movement.

But suspicion was aroused when she disappeared for a three-day getaway in a Rio de Janeiro hotel with childhood friend Justin Timberlake.

And it was Justin who gave the game away saying: "She lost her virginity a while ago - and I should know."

VOLKSWAGEN

WHEN the Second World War ended in 1945, the Volkswagen manufacturing plant fell into the British Zone of occupation, giving the UK the chance to take over the motoring giant.

Yet the Society of Manufacturers and Traders scuppered the idea, saying the VW Beetle was inefficient.

In 1949, the firm was handed back to the Germans - and five years later, the millionth Beetle rolled off the production line.

CLINTON & LEWINSKY

WHEN former US president Bill Clinton was accused of having an extra-marital affair with intern Monica Lewinsky, he denied it, using the now infamous words: "I did not have sexual relations with that woman."

When he was asked to resign, Clinton said: "I would never walk away from the people of this country and the trust they've placed in me."

But an apologetic Clinton later appeared on national TV to admit he had had an "inappropriate relationship" with Monica Lewinsky.

ARCHER'S PERJURY

IN 1986 Tory MP and author Jeffrey Archer was accused by a paper of paying prostitute Monica Coghlan pounds 2,000 for sex.

He resigned as deputy chairman of the Tories to fight the claim, insisting: "I have never, repeat never, met Monica Coghlan, nor have I ever had any association with a prostitute."

But in July 2001 red-faced Archer was jailed for four years for perjury and perverting the course of justice after it emerged he had rigged his 1987 libel case against the newspaper.

Extracts taken from Donough O'Brien's Little Book of Banana Skins published by Bene Factum Publishing, out now, price pounds 9.99 paperback. Marston Book Services order line 01235 465500

Art. 11/ Iran : (...) <Iran: (...)> – no reference to apology in French articles

Le Figaro - 31 mars 2007

Iran : tous avec les Anglais

Face à la détention par l'Iran des quinze marins britanniques, la solidarité européenne à l'égard de Londres doit être sans faille. Le sort réservé à ces otages, exhibés à la télévision et contraints de se livrer à des excuses publiques, est odieux et inacceptable. Leur libération doit être obtenue le plus tôt possible.

Cela dit, ne soyons pas naïfs. Si Téhéran, ou plutôt certains responsables iraniens ont recours à une manoeuvre aussi méprisable, c'est parce qu'ils connaissent les ressorts de l'opinion en Occident, qu'ils ont une longue expérience de ce genre de situation et qu'ils espèrent, une fois de plus, tirer profit de l'indignation légitime qu'ils suscitent. Les marins britanniques sont entre les mains des gardiens de la révolution, les pasdarans, le secteur le plus dur du régime d'où est issu le président Ahmanidejad. Avec cette prise de guerre, les gardiens de la révolution disposent d'un atout inespéré dans la partie complexe qui se joue entre les différents centres de pouvoir de la République islamique. Que les marins aient été pris dans les eaux irakiennes ou iraniennes, l'avertissement est clair : les pasdarans veillent à la défense de la souveraineté nationale dans le secteur. Voilà de quoi renforcer le camp des ultras à Téhéran, au moment où l'autorité du président Ahmanidejad est remise en cause. Sur le plan extérieur, les gardiens de la révolution viennent de subir une succession d'affronts qu'ils ont hâte de laver. Il y a eu d'abord la capture, en Irak, de cinq des leurs par l'armée américaine. Les cinq « diplomates » iraniens sont toujours en captivité. Il y a eu, ensuite, la défection en Turquie de l'ancien général des gardiens de la révolution, Ali Reza Asghari. Il y a eu, enfin, dans les heures qui ont suivi la capture des marins, samedi dernier, l'adoption unanime par le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU de la résolution 1747 qui alourdit les sanctions liées au dossier nucléaire et qui cible intérêts et individus liés aux pasdarans. Il ne serait pas étonnant que ceux-ci recherchent l'escalade afin de mobiliser derrière eux un appareil d'État qui commence à flancher face à une pression extérieure de plus en plus forte. La crise suscitée par la capture des marins britanniques, pour dramatique qu'elle soit, serait le signe que les sanctions produisent l'effet désiré : exacerber les contradictions au sein d'un régime en bout de course. Dans ces conditions, il ne faudrait pas tomber dans le piège de la provocation des pasdarans en imposant à l'Iran des sanctions généralisées. Les Britanniques ne s'y sont pas trompés et gèrent la crise avec la maîtrise qui les caractérise. Le « gel » de leurs relations diplomatiques avec Téhéran est une réponse mesurée, eu égard à l'affront subi. Il n'y a eu ni rappel de l'ambassadeur anglais ni gel d'avoirs ou rupture des liens commerciaux. Des deux protagonistes, on voit bien lequel contrôle la situation. Le sang-froid de nos amis anglais mérite un soutien absolu et la voie des sanctions graduelles doit être suivie scrupuleusement.

Art. 12/ Londres (...) <London (...)> – no reference to apology in French articles

Le Figaro - 03 avril 2007

Londres et Téhéran s'efforcent de calmer le jeu

UNE PROVOCATION de plus ? Les nouvelles images de marins diffusées, hier, sur la télévision d'État iranienne n'ont pas de quoi encourager Londres

dans ses efforts déployés pour libérer ses ressortissants, arrêtés le 23 mars dernier. Et pourtant, malgré les déclarations incendiaires de certains politiciens conservateurs iraniens, le fil diplomatique est loin d'être rompu avec Téhéran. « Beaucoup de choses se déroulent en coulisses », déclarait, hier, depuis Londres, le porte-parole officiel du premier ministre britannique Tony Blair, en insistant sur le fait que les nouvelles images « n'affecteront pas la position britannique ». Derrière le tapage médiatique généré par ces vidéos, le ministère iranien des Affaires étrangères fit, en effet, discrètement transmettre, en fin de semaine dernière, une note à l'ambassade de Grande-Bretagne, sommant Londres de garantir que ses marins ne pénétreront plus dans les eaux iraniennes, mais se gardant d'exiger des excuses publiques. Un signe positif envoyé à Londres, qui s'empressa de répondre par un courrier dont le contenu n'a pas été dévoilé. À son tour, l'Iran étudie aujourd'hui la réplique à donner à cette lettre. Mais rien ne transparaît, néanmoins, sur la possibilité d'une sortie rapide de crise. Si l'affaire s'avère aussi compliquée, c'est justement parce que, dans ce dossier sensible, - comme dans beaucoup d'autres -, Téhéran ne s'exprime pas d'une seule voix. « On fait face à une multitude de signaux différents, venant, d'un côté, du président Ahmadinejad et des gardiens de la révolution, et de l'autre, des modérés. C'est pourquoi les Iraniens semblent mettre du temps à prendre des décisions », constate Chris Rundle, un ancien diplomate britannique en poste à Téhéran dans les années 1980, contacté par téléphone. À cela s'ajoute la paralysie liée aux vacances du Nouvel An persan, - célébré le 21 mars -, pendant lesquelles l'incident s'est produit. La réouverture des administrations, ce matin, pourrait permettre de faire progresser plus rapidement le dossier vers une issue positive. « Un procès télévisé des agresseurs » À moins qu'elle ne lui cause du tort. Certains députés conservateurs, qui font aujourd'hui leur rentrée, plaident fermement en faveur d'un projet de loi appelant à un échange des marins britanniques contre les cinq diplomates iraniens détenus par les forces américaines en Irak. « Nous devrions organiser un procès télévisé des agresseurs britanniques ! » suggère, pour sa part, la députée conservatrice Elham Aminzadeh, dans un entretien à l'agence de presse iranienne Fars. L'incident, survenu en pleine crise avec l'Occident sur la question du dossier nucléaire iranien, n'a fait que renforcer la rhétorique antioccidentale de la fraction conservatrice du régime de Téhéran. Pour certains analystes, l'arrestation des quinze marins, dans une région du Golfe connue pour sa frontière imaginaire difficilement identifiable, et à une période de pression occidentale renforcée, est le signe d'une paranoïa iranienne. « L'Occident a récemment isolé Téhéran politiquement, économiquement et militairement. Et du coup, l'Iran se trouve sur la défensive », commente l'analyste iranien Saeed Leylaz. Et de rappeler la symbolique de ce discours du guide suprême, l'ayatollah Ali Khamenei, le 21 mars, jour du Nouvel An persan, au cours duquel ce dernier mit clairement en garde contre une riposte iranienne face à des « actions illégales » venant des Occidentaux. Un discours perçu comme un « feu vert » par les gardiens de la révolution, à l'origine de l'arrestation des marins, deux jours plus tard. « En humiliant aujourd'hui les marins britanniques, la République islamique cherche à exprimer haut et fort sa frustration provoquée par l'échec d'un compromis avec l'Ouest sur son dossier nucléaire », conclut Saeed Leylaz.

Art. 13/ No alternative

The Daily Telegraph - May 30, 2007 Wednesday

No alternative

A new series of the television programme Big Brother will begin this evening, preceded by an ignominious - if hugely publicity-worthy - apology from Channel 4 for the offence caused by its companion programme, Celebrity Big Brother.

The double-edged nature of that announcement - so damaging to the broadcaster's reputation and yet so useful as an attention-grabbing device - sums up the dilemma that faces the channel, which stands to lose its last remaining element of public subsidy, free bandwidth, when television switches entirely to digital transmission in 2012. On the one hand, the furore that arose from the ugly race row between Jade Goody and Shilpa Shetty brought its management into more serious disrepute than any previous incident in the channel's contentious history. But on the other, it produced a flood of headlines that raised its public profile in an increasingly competitive commercial environment.

Channel 4 was created by an Act of Parliament as a deliberately anomalous invention. An "independent" television channel that was to receive some public subsidy while still relying largely on advertising, its remit was to offer "alternative" minority programming of a riskier and more experimental nature than mass-market ITV was able to provide. In its earliest incarnation, Channel 4 specialised in thoughtful documentaries and arts programming. But increasingly, the channel's management has come to define "alternative" programming to mean simply outrageously offensive. Reality television has been allowed to sink into a degrading spectacle which the channel exploits for cheap publicity, defending itself on the grounds that Big Brother is its main ratings-winner. Were it finally to lose its last element of public funding, its managers protest, then even such vestiges of quality as its highly regarded evening news programme would be under threat. But how much of an effort is Channel 4 making to fulfil its original remit? Having sunk so low in its fight for audience share, there seems precious little any longer to justify its claim to be a "public service" broadcaster.

Art. 14/ The voice of the Daily Mirror: So who's sorry now

The Daily Mirror - April 17, 2007 Tuesday

VOICE OF THE DAILY MIRROR: SO WHO'S SORRY NOW

ALL of a sudden, sorry seems to be the easiest word.

Defence Secretary Des Browne yesterday said sorry over the Royal Navy cash-for-confessions row.

Health Secretary Patricia Hewitt said sorry for the junior doctors recruitment fiasco.

And pop singer Bryan Ferry said sorry after apparently voicing his admiration for the Nazis.

Apologies rather than defiance, it seems, is the new humbler way public figures dig themselves out of holes.

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Indeed Fox, the Tory defence spokesman, shot himself in the foot by stupidly comparing the row to the invasion of the Falkland Islands.

But, as Browne pointed out, we must not forget the sailors are home, safe, on our terms, in a victory for diplomacy.

David Cameron should now say sorry for foolishly suggesting the Defence Secretary should resign and think about finding himself a new shadow spokesman.

Art. 15/ MacKenzie's Hillsborough (...) – Apology withdrawal

The Independent - December 2, 2006 Saturday

MacKenzie's Hillsborough: 'The Sun told The Truth'

There has been no lack of contrition from The Sun newspaper in the past 18 months as it seeks reconciliation with the people of Liverpool over its infamous reporting of the Hillsborough disaster. The paper published a full-page apology in July 2004 for what it called "the most terrible mistake" in its history and sent the managing editor Graham Dudman into local radio studios on a Boris Johnson-style mission.

That was then. Any hope of a lasting truce was shot to pieces last night as Kelvin MacKenzie, architect of a front page which has made The Sun a pariah in the city for 17 years, was reported as saying he was not sorry for his decision. He had apologised afterwards only because the newspaper's owner, Rupert Murdoch, had ordered him to do so.

Mr MacKenzie apologised publicly when the Press Complaints Commission condemned his paper's descriptions of Liverpool fans urinating on police officers at the scene and stealing from their bodies, in an edition headlined "The Truth". But judging by his comments to a business lunch staged by the law firm Mincoffs in Newcastle upon Tyne on Thursday, he did not mean a word of it.

"I was not sorry then and I'm not sorry now," Mr MacKenzie told his audience. "All I did wrong there was [to] tell the truth." Unrepentant barely defines what followed next from Mr MacKenzie. Responding to a seemingly innocuous question about how often he visited Liverpool, he launched into a general attack on Liverpoolians - possibly unaware that a journalist from The Journal, a local newspaper was present.

Mr MacKenzie, who had asked that his appearance fee be donated to a hospice charity, said of Hillsborough: "There was a surge of Liverpool fans who had been drinking and that is what caused the disaster. The only thing different we did was put it under the headline 'The Truth'. I went on [BBC Radio 4's] World at One the next day and apologised. I only did that because Rupert Murdoch told me to. I wasn't sorry then and I'm not sorry now because we told the truth." Mincoffs confirmed that Mr MacKenzie had addressed the lunch. A partner, Richard Arnot, said: "We do not condone anything that causes upset to the people of Liverpool." In a statement, The Sun said: "[We have] already apologised for what happened and we stand by that apology."

The backlash arrived quickly yesterday. The Liverpool Echo launched a withering attack on Mr MacKenzie while Phil Hammond, chairman of the Hillsborough Family Support Group, whose son died in the disaster, urged Mr MacKenzie to "come and tell the families this to their faces".

MacKenzie's front pages

4 May 1982. Gotcha!

The headline about the sinking of the Belgrano remains MacKenzie's personal favourite.

13 March 1986. Freddie Starr Ate My Hamster

The story had it that Starr put Supersonic the hamster into a sandwich.

19 April 1989. The Truth

Alleged that "some fans picked pockets of victims" and "some fans urinated on the brave cops".

Art. 16/ Return to the dark ages (...) – Opinion-focussed article

The Guardian - September 19, 2006 Tuesday

Comment & Debate: Return to the dark ages: By drawing on medieval poison about Islam, the Pope has boosted Muslim fears of a new crusade

The Pope's response to the anger his statements sparked in the Muslim world was more offensive than the statements themselves. He apologised not for what he said, but for Muslims' failure to grasp the intended meaning. That the Pope should have quoted from a Byzantine text on Islam is hardly surprising. The line of continuity between Emanuel Paleologos's conception of Islam - quoted in the papal speech - and Benedict's has never been severed. The massive body of terms, images and narratives on Islam which the church inherited from the middle ages survives intact. There, Islam is depicted as a false creed propagated through violence and promiscuity, with Muhammad as scoundrel, magician, heresiarch, and precursor of the anti-Christ. Though Constantinople's Latin enemies shed few tears over the loss of two-thirds of its territories to Muslims in the seventh century, they did much to ensure the survival of its literature on Islam. Between the 11th and 14th centuries, this was used by the church's propaganda machine as it strove to arouse crusading fervour across Christendom. The Reformation further developed this literary corpus and ensured its transmission into modern Europe. In a 17th-century Christian text, Muslims are described in the most chilling of terms. They are "poison, scabies, venomous snakes . . . the dogs in the church".

Even if this metaphorical language has retreated in favour of the profane language of reason and subjectivity, its structural foundations remain. Islam is still perceived as the other, the embodiment of evil. Only in this context can we make full sense of the Pope's statements, and indeed of much of what is said today on the subject of Islam. We must defend freedom of expression, but freedom of expression should not be used as a disguise for the incitement of hatred of other races and religions.

It is ironic that the Pope, who stresses the unity of reason and faith, which he uses as proof of Christianity's superiority over Islam, has inherited this formula from Ibn Rushd, or Averroes, the Andalusian Muslim philosopher. It was on the basis of this Rushdian equation that the medieval church could reconcile itself with Benedict's beloved logos.

The Pope speaks much of religious tolerance in his lecture. Unfortunately for him, the church's historical treatment of its religious others has been marked by violence and aggression, against pagans, Jews, heretics and infidels alike.

Not a day goes by without calls to reform Islam being raised - a mission which Pope Benedict XVI has declared impossible. Perhaps it is time to make the same demand of Catholicism and its infallible head. It certainly needs to introduce dramatic reforms to its terrifying conception of Islam, its prophet and followers. Rather than apologising for the church's bloody legacy against Muslims in the dark years of the Crusades and Reconquista, the Pope has chosen to twist the knife in the old wound. He has driven the gulf between the two faiths even wider. He has again pitted the cross against the crescent.

The Pope's statements have done much to convince Muslims from Tangier to Jakarta that an open war is being waged against them on three fronts: political, military and religious. The pontiff should not be surprised that his words generated such strong responses in a Muslim world seething with rage at being dragged back to the age of colonialism and civilising missions. Who is to convince Muslims now that the west is not waging a crusade against them, in an alliance between Bush and Benedict, between the powers of the temporal and the sacred?

Art. 17/ French give Sarkozy (...) – Non-repentance of France

The Times Online - May 6, 2007

French give Sarkozy a mandate for reform

Nicolas Sarkozy, the son of a Hungarian immigrant, has won the French presidency with a solid majority that he described tonight as a mandate for a moral renaissance and radical reform of the over-regulated welfare state. Thousands celebrated late into the night in the Place de la Concorde after the 52-year-old leader of President Chirac's Union for a Popular Movement defeated Ségolène Royal, the Socialist, with 53 percent of the vote. The turnout after their bitter fortnight's duel since the first round was a near-record 85 percent.

"Together we are going to write a new page of history," the pugnacious former Interior Minister told cheering supporters. "The page, I am sure, will be great and it will be beautiful." Ms Royal accepted defeat with a smile, telling supporters that she had nevertheless relaunched the left.

"Something has risen which will not stop. Let us keep in tact the energy and joy... of this campaign," she said. Her Socialist colleagues were, however bitter over the third presidential defeat of their party in succession.

"The flag of the Left lies on the ground," said Laurent Fabius, one of the most senior Socialists.

Mr Sarkozy delivered a lyrical victory speech, voicing his love for "this great and beautiful nation which has given me everything". He promised to be "the president of all the French" and fulfill his promise of immediate radical reform.

"The French have chosen to break with the ideas, habits and behaviour of the past," he said. "I will restore the value of work, authority, merit and respect for the nation."

He would also rid France of its habit of "repenting" for its past historical sins.

"This repentance is a form of self-hatred," he said.

Mr Sarkozy offered friendship to the United States, but urged Washington to act urgently on climate change. He also warned fellow European leaders that he expected them to join him in making the Union more protective.

"It must not be the Trojan horse for globalisation's ills," he said.

By choosing Mr Sarkozy, France turned a deaf ear to the warnings of Ms Royal and much of the left that his muscular plans for restoring the work ethic, cutting welfare and fighting crime would lead to violence and even insurrection.

Police were out in force in Paris and in immigrant districts on all the big city outskirts in case of violence by youths who see Mr Sarkozy, the Interior Minister for most of the past five years, as their enemy.

Accepting her defeat, Ms Royal told cheering supporters on the Boulevard Saint Germain: "I understand your disappointment, but I tell you, something has arisen which will not stop."

Smiling as some supporters wept, she added: "I undertook a profound reform of the political world and of the left. The high turnout rate showed the revival of political life in France."

Mr Sarkozy's victory, the first since 1969 by a candidate from the outgoing President's party, marks a change of generation after 12 years under President Chirac, 74, although he is not the youngest to be elected to the monarchical presidency of the Fifth Republic. His triumph followed a campaign in which all candidates offered paths for ending the relative economic decline and moral malaise that has afflicted France over over 15 years.

Mr Sarkozy, fiercely ambitious and hyper-energetic, had promised by the most radical -- and un-French -- recipe for restoring the country's pride and wealth.

"Work more to earn more" was the simple slogan that he used to convince the country that its renaissance lies with individual effort rather than reliance on the "social solidarity" which has created the world's shortest official working week and one of Europe's highest unemployment rates.

The defeat of Ms Royal, who was the favourite until Mr Sarkozy launched his campaign in January, is expected to lead to blood-letting in the Socialist party after general elections for a new Parliament in six weeks. Ms Royal, whose partner Francois Hollande is the party leader, was never fully supported by Socialist elders who objected to her single-handed attempt to modernise the left during her campaign.

In next month's elections, voters are expected to return a parliament dominated by the UMP, the former Gaullist movement, which Mr Sarkozy took over in 2004 and jettisoned the semi-socialist doctrines that had been applied by Mr Chirac.

Appendix 2: Data collection process

Summaries of news stories

Apology category	News story	Summary
Political apology	Abe for WW2 sex slaves (2 events)	Event 1: The Japanese Prime Minister (Abe) refused to recognise that women were coerced into sexual service during WW2 (5 March 2007). Event 2: Abe apologised for Japan's use of women for sexual service ('comfort women') during WW2, although he did not acknowledge that they had been forced into it by the Japanese military (26 March 2007). This provoked discontent amongst Asian victims, the countries these victims originated from, and the U.S.
Political apology	Ahern for donations	Event 1: Ahern's apology for accepting cash donations during the 1990s.
Political apology	Berlusconi for marriage proposal	Event 1: The former Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi apologised to his wife for flirting with other women in public. This followed a demand for an apology by his spouse in a rival newspaper after he failed to apologise in private.
Political apology	Blair for slavery (2 events)	Event 1: Blair's expression of deep sorrow over the slave trade. Event 2: Blair's expression of 'deep sorrow' in New Nation, a black community newspaper.
Political apology	Blair for the times he fell short	Event 1: Blair's apology for the times he fell short in his valedictory speech.
Political apology	British Navy crisis (6 events)	This regards the 13-day detention of British sailors having entered Iranian waters in April 2007. Uptakes are for apologies and/or refusals to apologise for (i) entering foreign waters without permission and therefore breaking the maritime law and (ii) for allowing the sale of the stories following the return of crewmembers to Britain. First series of events Event 1: UK's refusal to apologise (2 April 2007). Event 2: Hostages' apologies (3 April 2007). Event 3: Hostage Turney's apology (5 April). This apology was uttered by the only female crewmember. Event 4: Hostage Batchelor's apology (12 April 2007). Second series of events

		Event 5: Apology by Browne for allowing sales of stories and announcing two enquiries (17 April 2007). Event 6: apology by crew member (Batchelor) for selling his story to the press (after 12 April 2007).
Political apology	Cameron for misuse of office	Event 1: Cameron's apology for hosting fundraising lunches in his Common's office.
Political apology	U.S. for discrimination	Event 1: U.S. apologised to Venezuelan minister who was held at an airport.
Political apology	Devedjian for insult	Event 1: French politician Devedjian's apology for insulting female politician Comparini.
Political apology	Hewitt for issue over junior doctors (2 events)	Event 1: Hewitt refused to apologise for the new online job application system that threatened to leave 9,000 junior doctors without work (19 March 2007). Event 2: Hewitt apologised to junior doctors for the new online system (16 April 2007).
Political apology	Johnson for racism	Event 1: Boris Johnson's apology for describing the people of Papua New Guinea as 'cannibals and chief killers'.
Political apology	Kony for war crimes	Event 1: Kony (head of LRA movement in Uganda) allegedly apologised to Uganda for atrocities carried out on civilians since 1988. However, Kony later on suggested that he would not stand trial at the International Criminal Court because he had not done anything wrong.
Political apology	MacNeil for fondling with two girls	Event 1: MacNeil's apology for flirting with two girls aged 17 and 18.
Political apology	Prescott for adultery	Event 1: Prescott apologised for letting his party down by committing adultery. This happened during a speech in which he announced he would be stepping down as Deputy Prime Minister at the same time as Blair would leave power.
Political apology	Royal for harsh remark	Event 1: Royal's apology to a socialist student party member for talking to her harshly during a public meeting.
Political apology	Serbo-Bosniac government for war crimes	Event 1: Serbo-Bosniac government's apology to Muslim and Croatian victims during 1992-1995 war.
Political apology	Canada for wrongful detention	Event 1: Canada apologised for the U.S. wrongly detaining Canadian citizen (Harper) on the premise that he was a terrorist.
Political apology	Virginia for slavery	Event 1: Virginia apologised for slavery.

Political apology	Wolfowitz for partner's pay rise	Event 1: Wolfowitz apologised for granting his ex-partner a pay rise.
Sports apology	Baros for racism	Event 1: The footballer Baros (player in Lyon) refused to apologise for making racist comments to another player (Mbia) on the pitch.
Sports apology	Newell for sexism (2 events)	Event 1: Newell (manager of Luton's football team) apologised to female referee Rayner for making sexist remarks (14 November 2006). Event 2: Newell apologises for the second time (16 November 2006) for his sexist comments after the Luton Board of Football severely reprimanded him on the 15 November.
Sports apology	Zidane for headbutt (2 events)	Event 1: Footballer Zidane's apology for headbutting another player Materazzi during the final of the 1998 Football World Cup. Event 2: Footballer Materazzi's interview two months after the incident with Zidane during which he allegedly apologised.
Celebrity apology	Big brother for racism (7 events)	All events regard the controversy having arisen from racist comments made by Big Brother contestants (Jade Goody, Danielle Lloyd and Jo O'Meara) to another contestant of Indian origin (Shilpa Shetty). First series of events Event 1: Jade Goody's refusal to apologise. Event 2: Andy Duncan's failure to formally apologise for the screening of racism on Channel 4 (22 January 2007). Event 3: Jo O'Meara's refusal to apologise (26 January 2007). Second series of events Event 4: Jade Goody's apology to Shilpa Shetty (before 20 January 2007). Event 5: Jade Goody's apology to Indian people on an Indian television channel during a visit in India (25 January 2007). Event 6: Danielle Lloyd's apology (before 30 January 2007) Event 7: Jo O'Meara's apology (1 February 2007).
Celebrity apology	Delarue for aggressive behaviour	Event 1: Delarue's apology for being physically and verbally abusive towards staff on board of a plane.
Celebrity apology	Ferry for anti-Semitism	Event 1: Ferry's apology for praising Nazi iconography which resulted in him losing a work contract with Marks and Spencer.
Celebrity	Gibson for	Event 1: Mel Gibson's two apologies for using

apology	anti-Semitism (3 events)	anti-Semitic language whilst drunk when he was pulled over by the Police (28 July 2006). Event 2: Mel Gibson's second apology for using anti-Semitic language whilst drunk when he was pulled over by the Police (12-15 October 2006) Event 3: Appearance of Mel Gibson at U.S. talk show in which he apologised for his comments two months before.
Celebrity apology	Sevran for racism	Event 1: Sevran's apology for racist comments.
Media apology	Blue Peter for phone-in issue (3 events)	Event 1: Blue Peter presenters' apology for phone-in issue. Event 2: Controller of BBC Children's Television's apology (Richard Deverell). Event 3: Blue Peter editor's apology (Richard Marson).
Media apology	GMTV for phone-in issue (2 events)	Event 1: The company responsible for choosing winners on GMTV phone-in quizzes before lines had closed (Opera interactive technology) apologised for cheating viewers. Event 2: GMTV/The managing director of GMTV, Paul Corley apologised.
Court apology	Duviau for murder	Event 1: Duviau's apology for murdering two work controllers.
Court apology	Granomort for murder	Event 1: Policeman Granomort apologised for killing Quemener.
Police apology	Police for Forest Gate mistakes	Event 1: Police forces refused to apologise again for mistakes during a Police raid in Forest Gate (early June 2006). The raid had led to the wrongful arrest of two Muslim brothers and one of them was shot in the shoulder.
Police apology	Police for investigation into Dizaei	Event 1: Police forces apologised for racist discrimination against a police officer from ethnic minority background.
Religious apology	The Pope for his remarks on Islam (2 events)	Event 1: Pope Benedict XVI's first attempt to end the polemic caused by his comments on Islam in a speech from his residence Castel Gandolfo. The pope uses the following words: 'deeply saddened' and 'very/deeply sorry' (17 September 2006). Event 2: Meeting between the Pope and Muslim leaders during which the Pope expressed his 'profound respect' for Muslims and his desire to establish a 'sincere dialogue' between Christians and Muslims (25 September 2006).

List of apology news stories (final version of the corpora)

The number of articles for each news story in the final version of the corpora is indicated in a table format (below).

News story	Number of articles in the corpus
The Pope for his remarks on Islam	32
The British Navy crisis	25
Zidane for headbutt	20
Newell for sexism	16
Blair for slavery	16
Berlusconi for marriage proposal	14
Gibson for anti-Semitism	13
MacNeil for flirting with two adolescents	10
Abe for WW2 prostitution	10
Big Brother for racism	10
Prescott for adultery	9
GMTV for phone-in issue	7
Blair for the times he fell short	7
Ahern for donations	7
Ferry for anti-Semitism	7
Hewitt for issue concerning junior doctors	6
Blue Peter for phone-in issue	6
Wolfowitz for his partner's pay increase	5
The Police for Forest Gate mistakes	5
Cameron for misuse of office	4
Johnson for racism	4
The State of Virginia for slavery	4
Sevran for racism	4
Royal (French politician) for harsh remark	3
Delarue for aggressive behaviour	3

Kony for war crimes	3
The Police for investigation into Dizaei	3
U.S. for discrimination	3
Devedjian for insult	3
Baros for racism	2
Duviau for murder	2
Canada for wrongful detention	2
Serbo-Bosniac government for war crimes	2
Granomort for murder	1

News stories statistics: Distribution of news stories (national and international) for each newspaper

Figures 2.1 (App.)-2.12 (App.) are charts indicating the number of news stories for each apology category. This is based on the *Extensive lists of news stories* (i.e. the most comprehensive form for the corpora). The distribution of news stories for each of the 12 newspapers comprised in the corpora is therefore indicated in the charts below. National and international news stories for both media cultures are considered.

Figure 2.1 (App.): News stories statistics: The Guardian

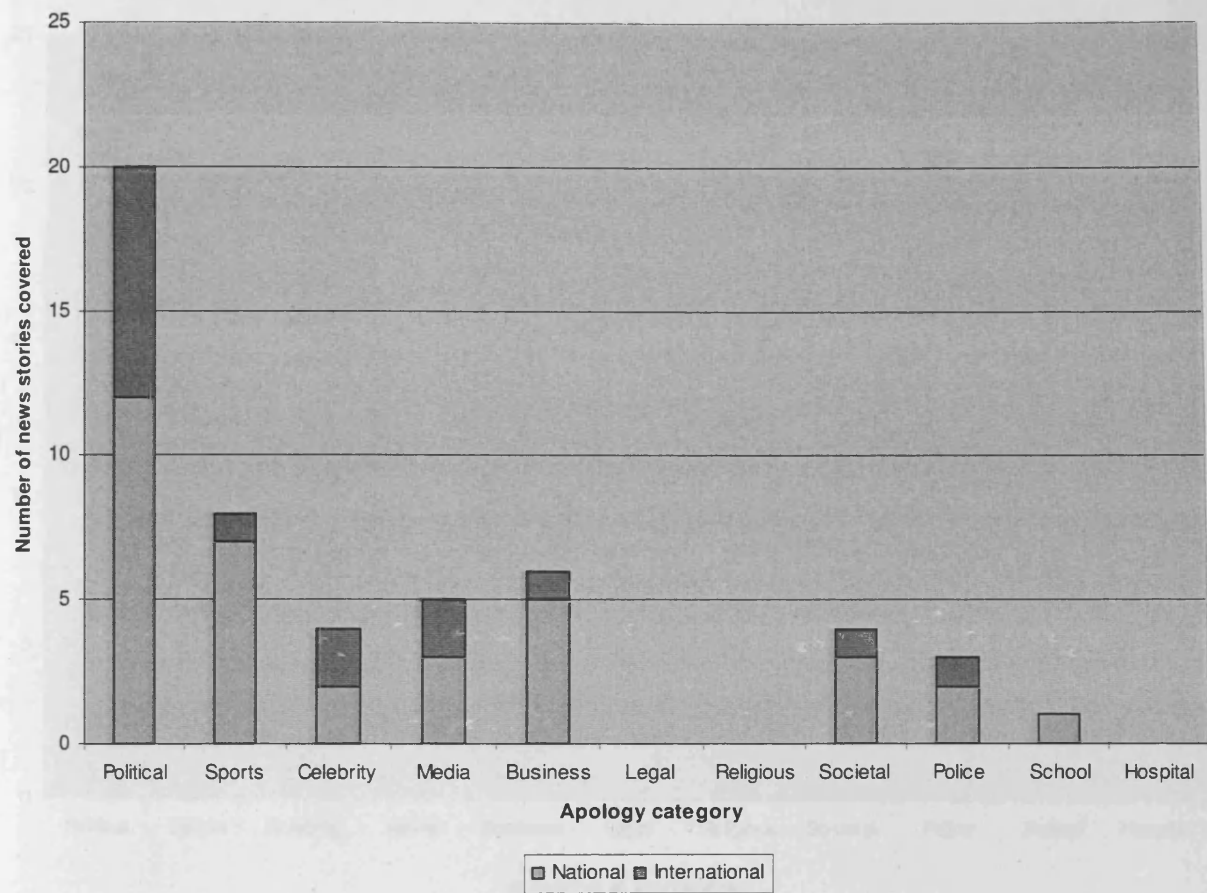


Figure 2.2 (App.): News stories statistics: The Independent

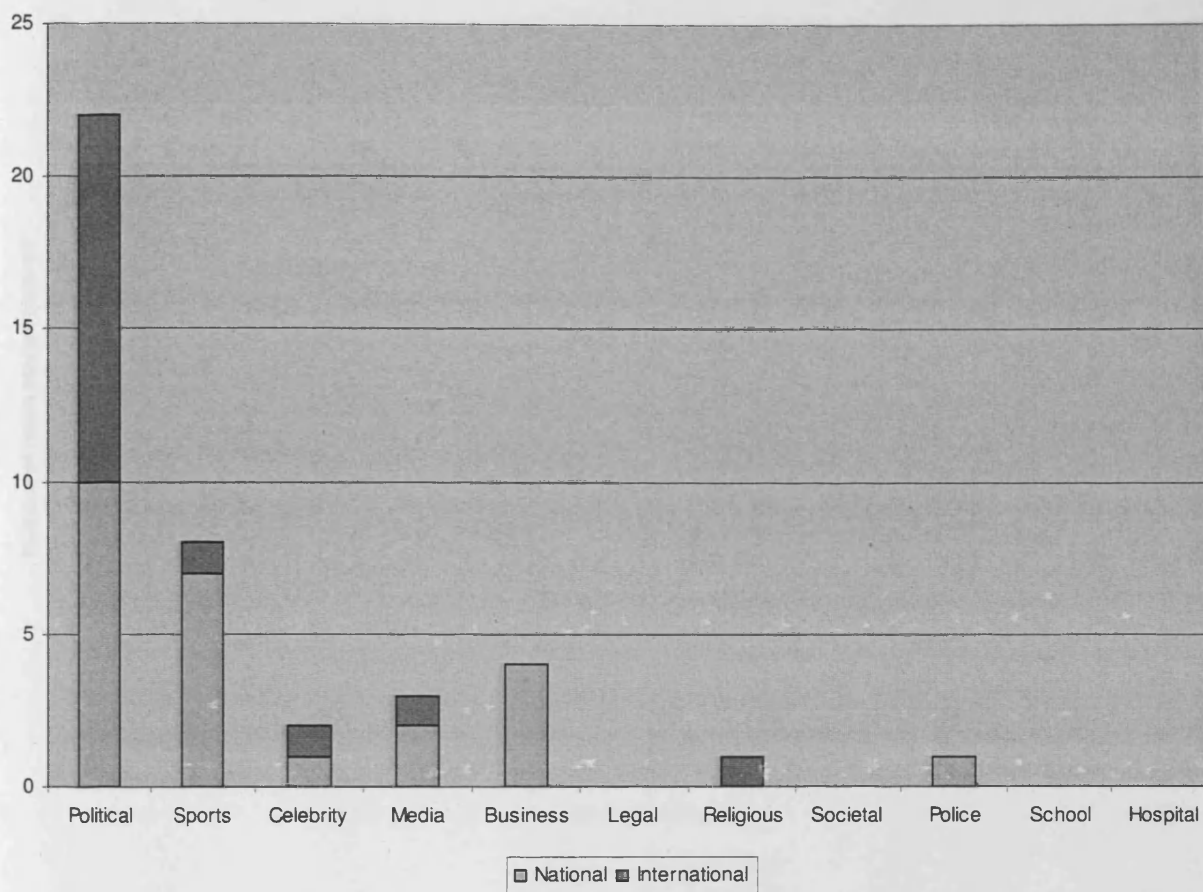


Figure 2.3 (App.): News stories statistics: The Times

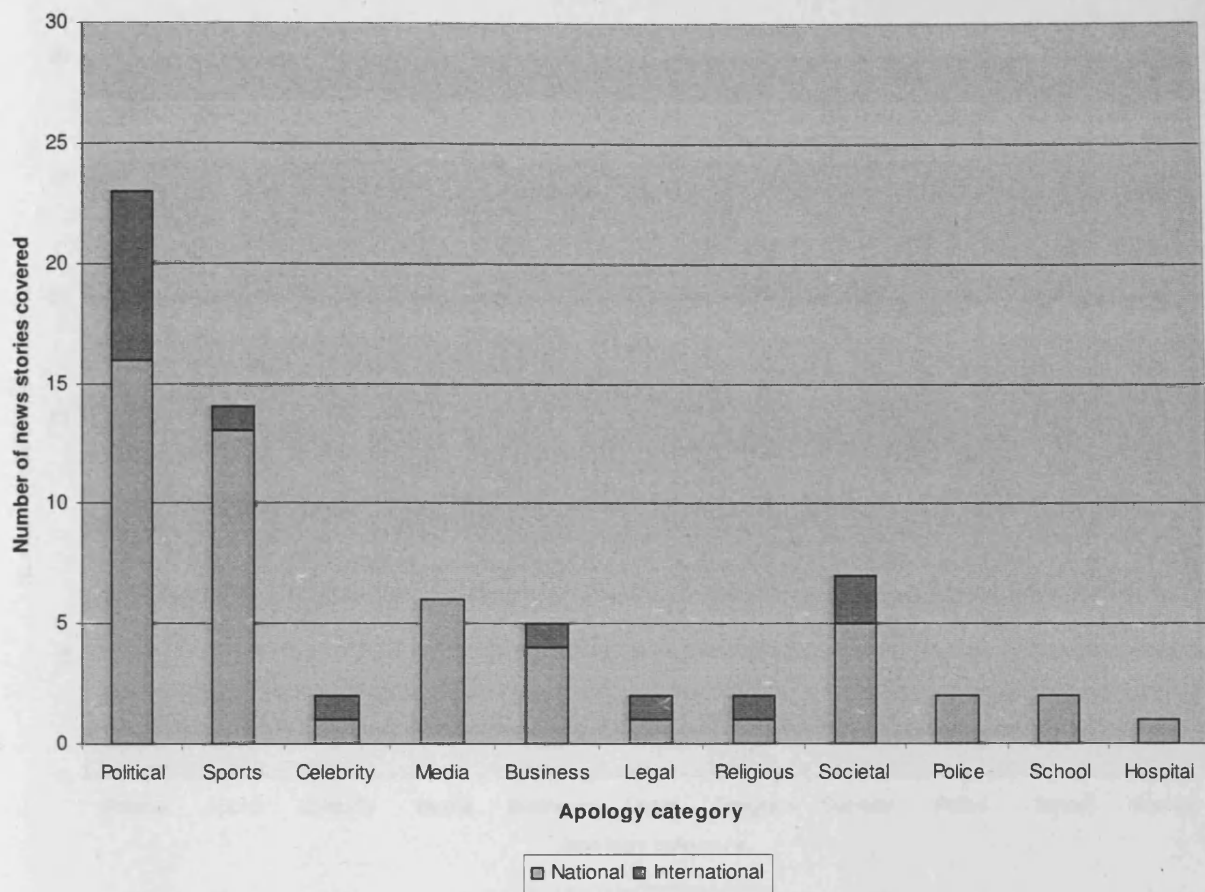


Figure 2.4 (App.): News stories statistics: The Daily Telegraph

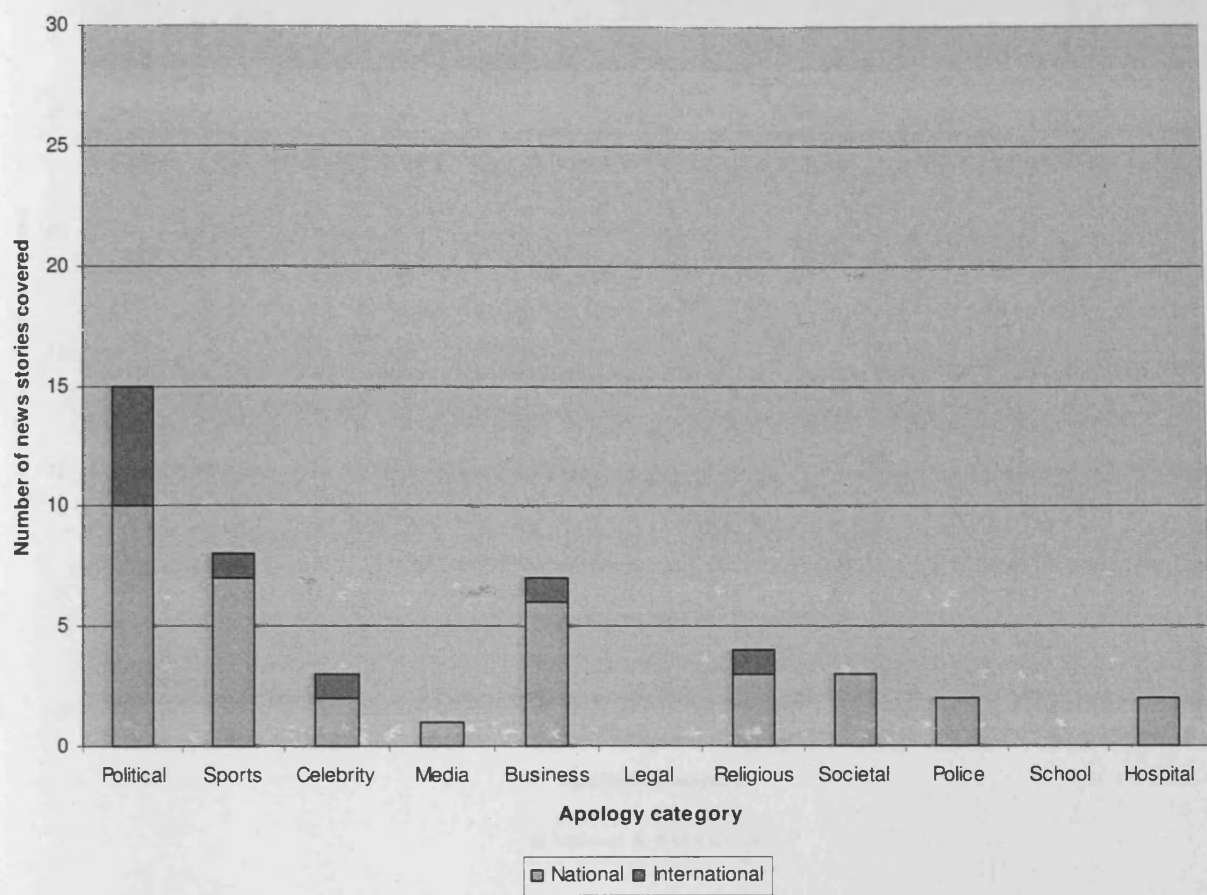


Figure 2.5 (App.): News stories statistics: The Daily Mirror

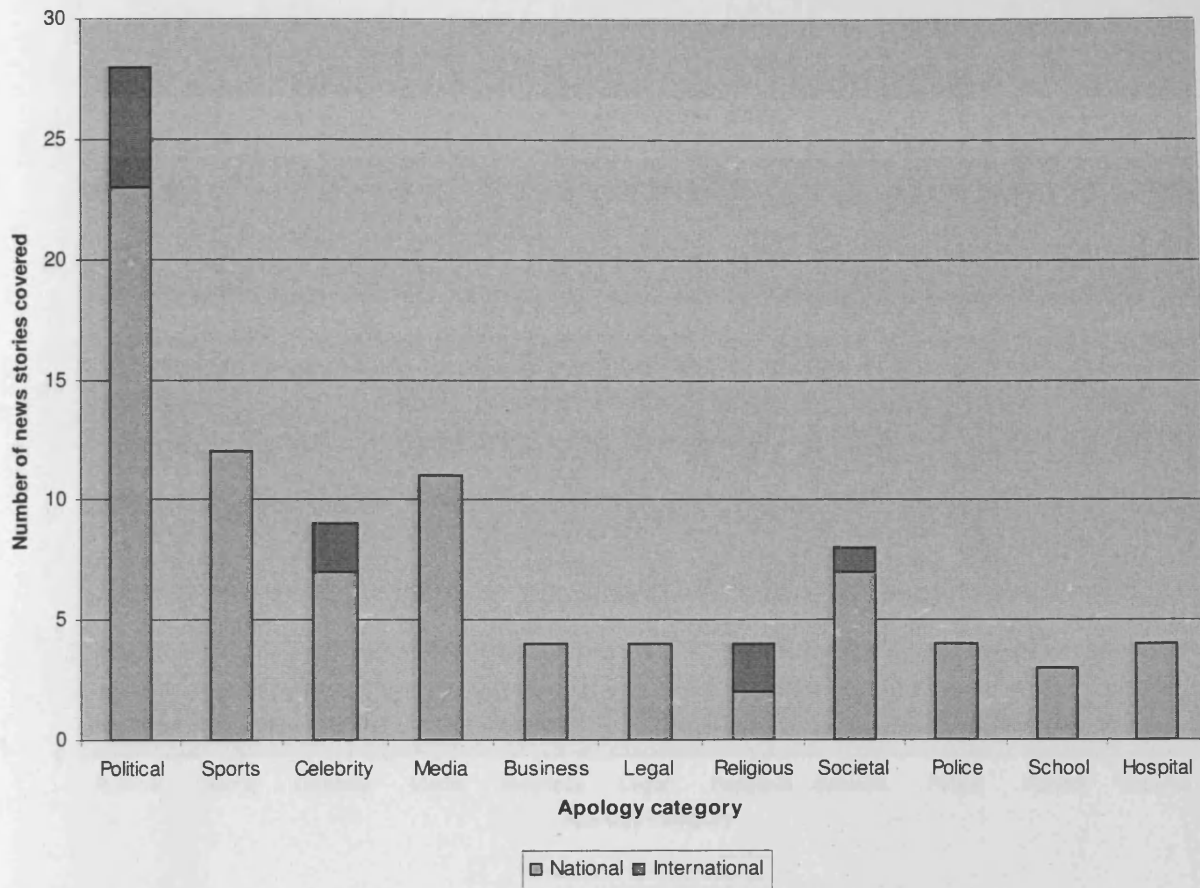


Figure 2.6 (App.): News stories statistics: The Sun

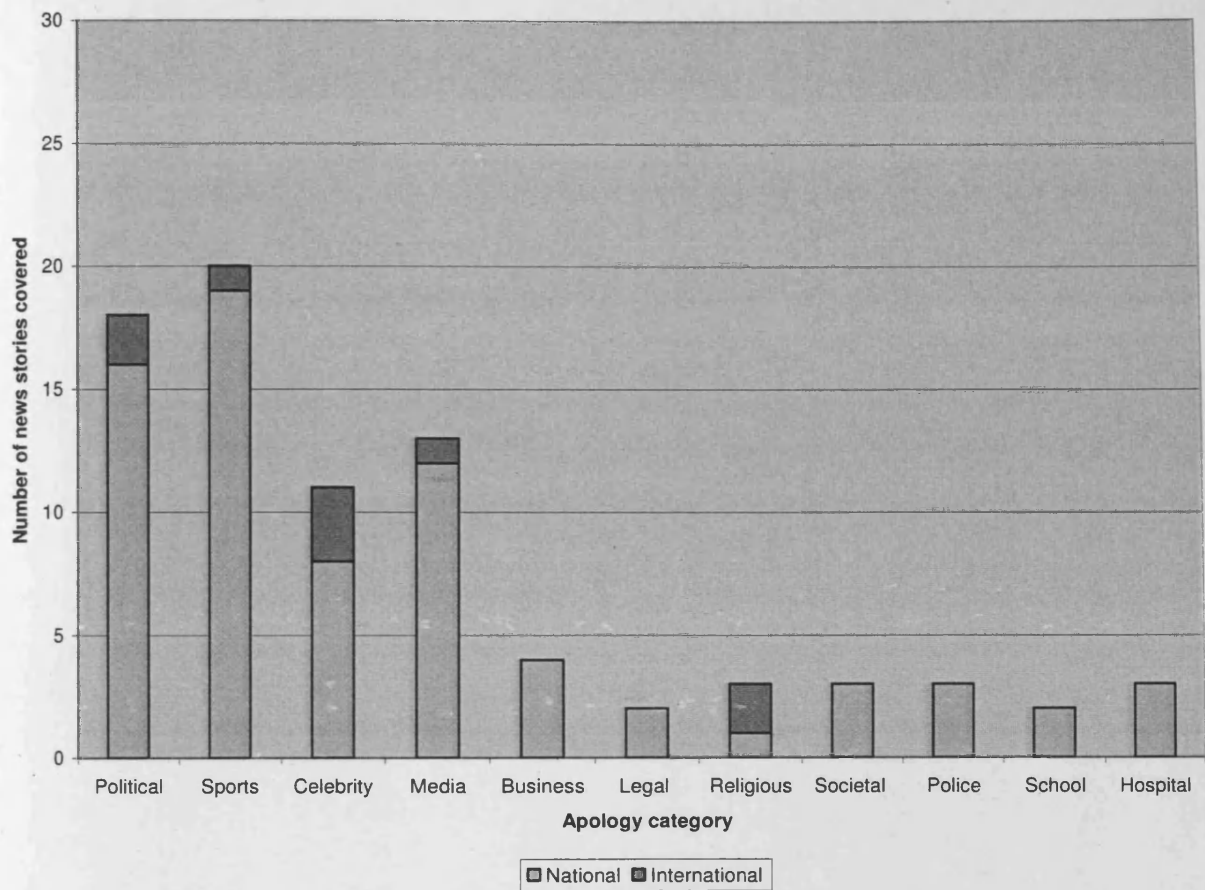


Figure 2.7 (App.): News stories statistics: The Daily Mail

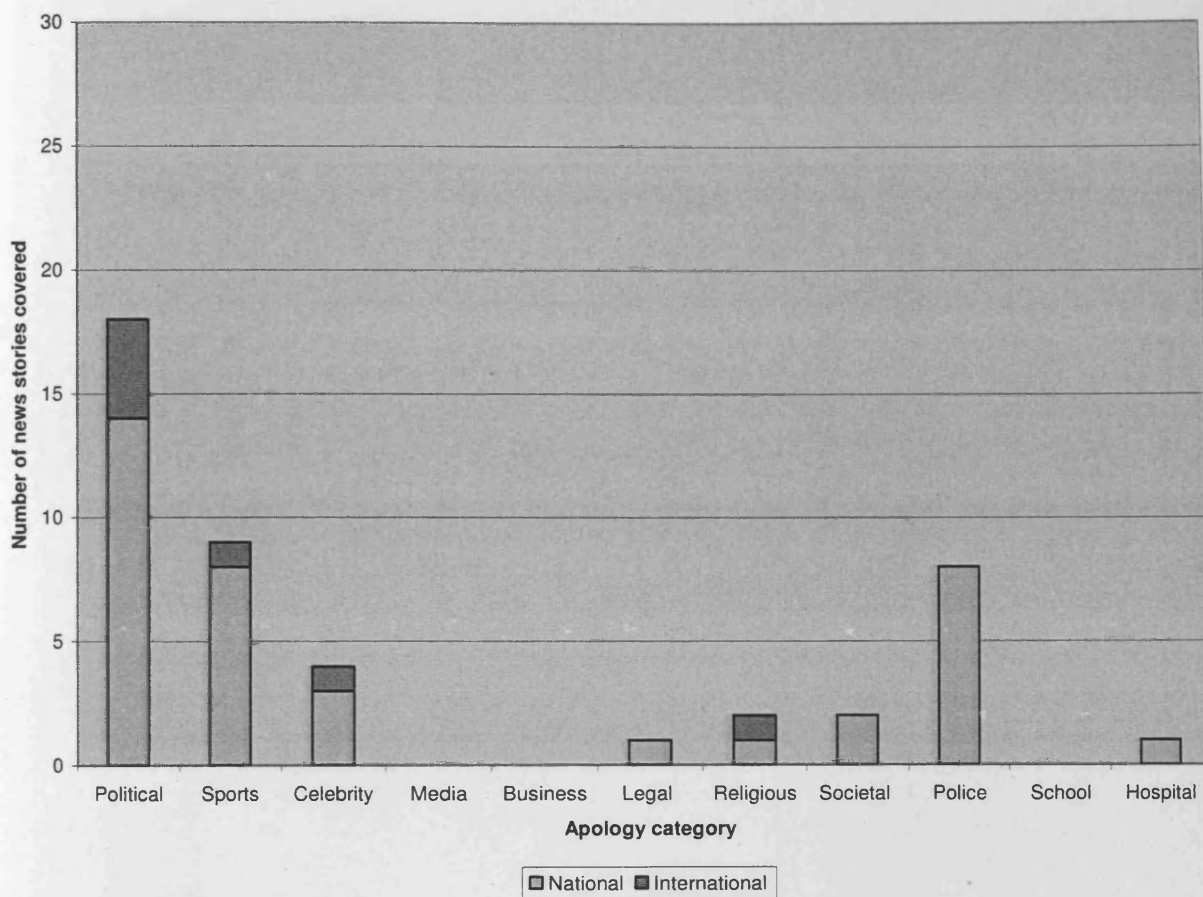


Figure 2.8 (App.): News stories statistics: Libération

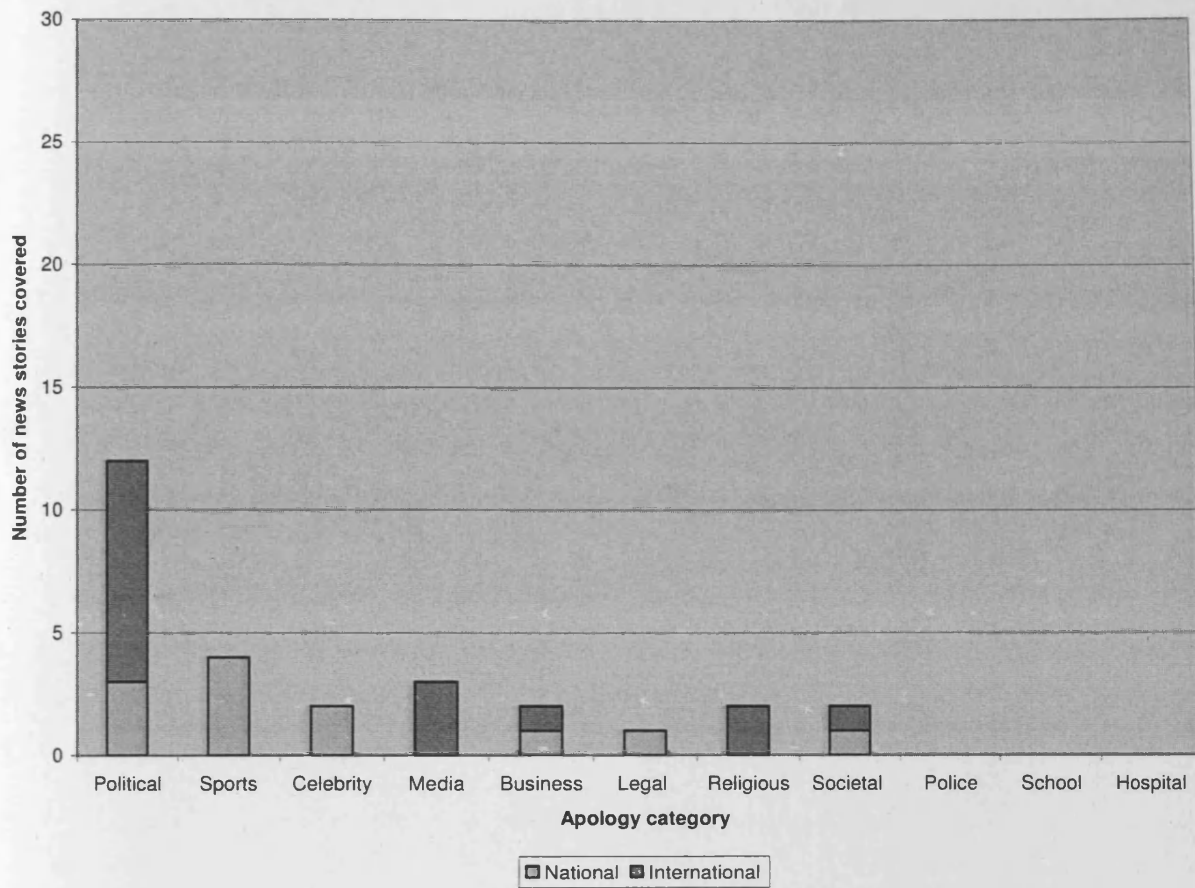


Figure 2.9 (App.): News stories statistics: Le Monde

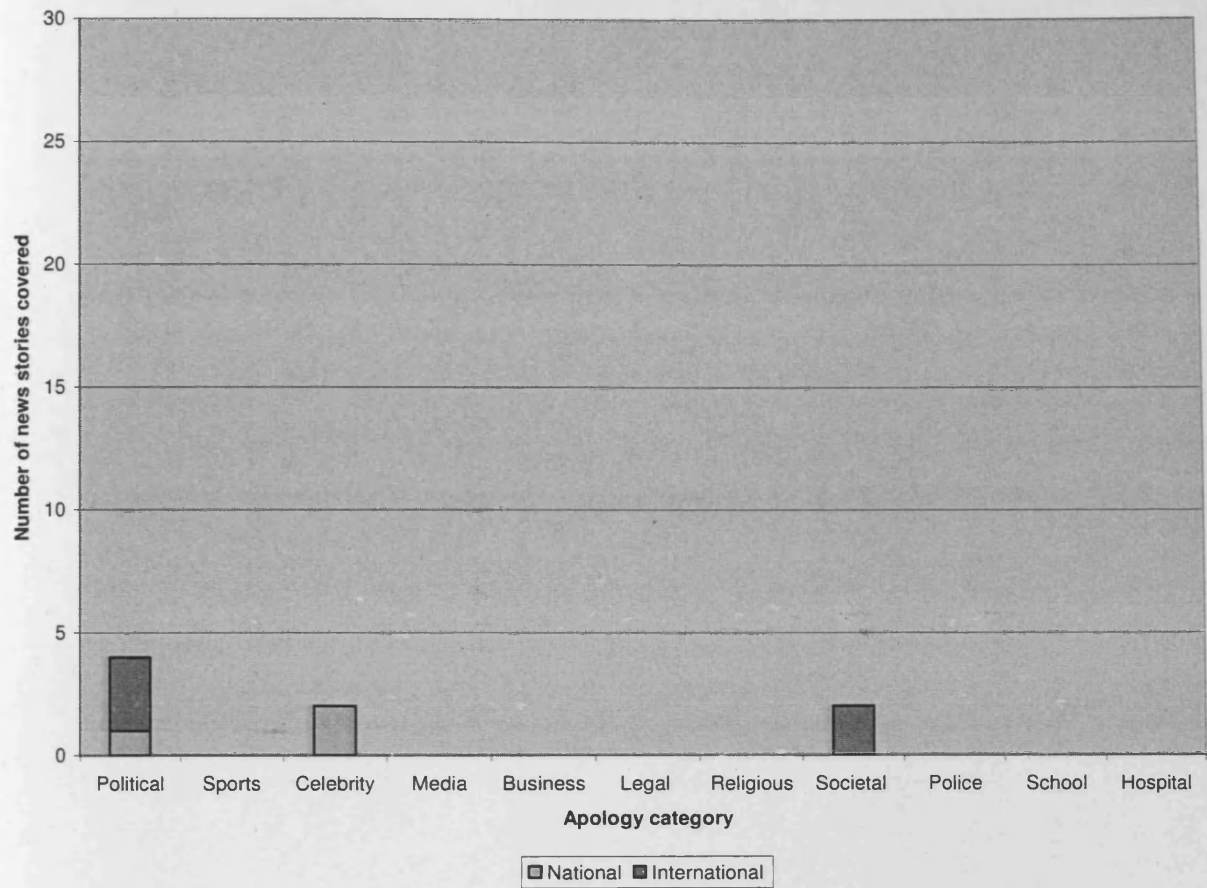


Figure 2.10 (App.): News stories statistics: Le Figaro

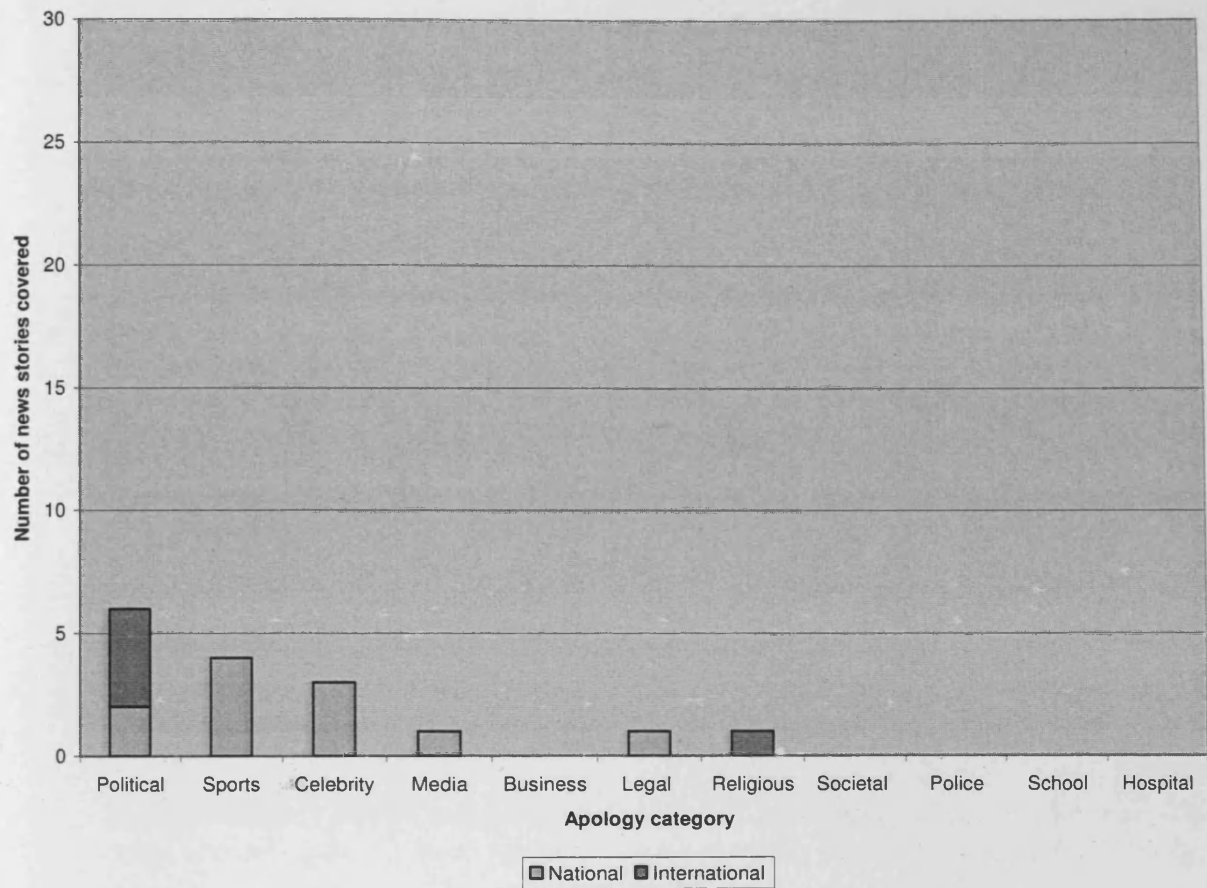


Figure 2.11 (App.): News stories statistics: L'Humanité

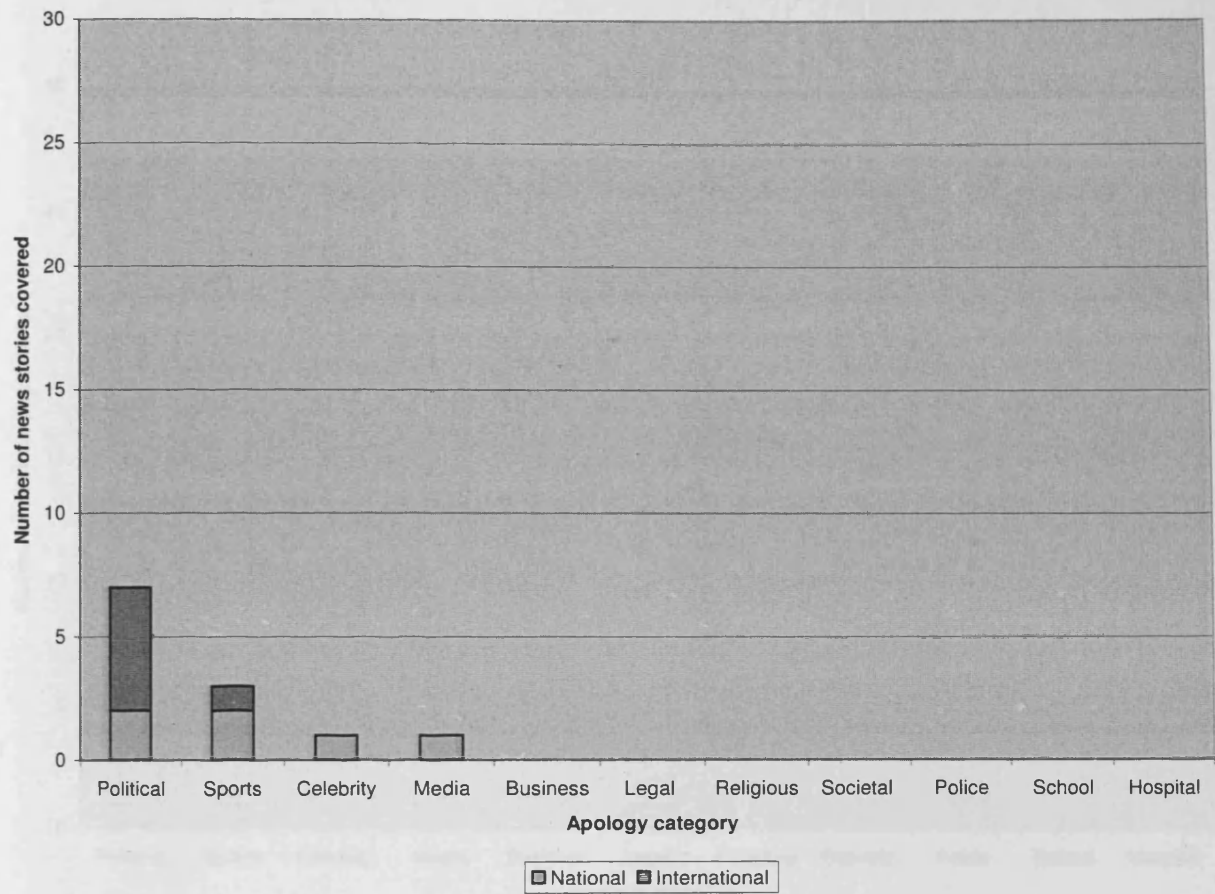
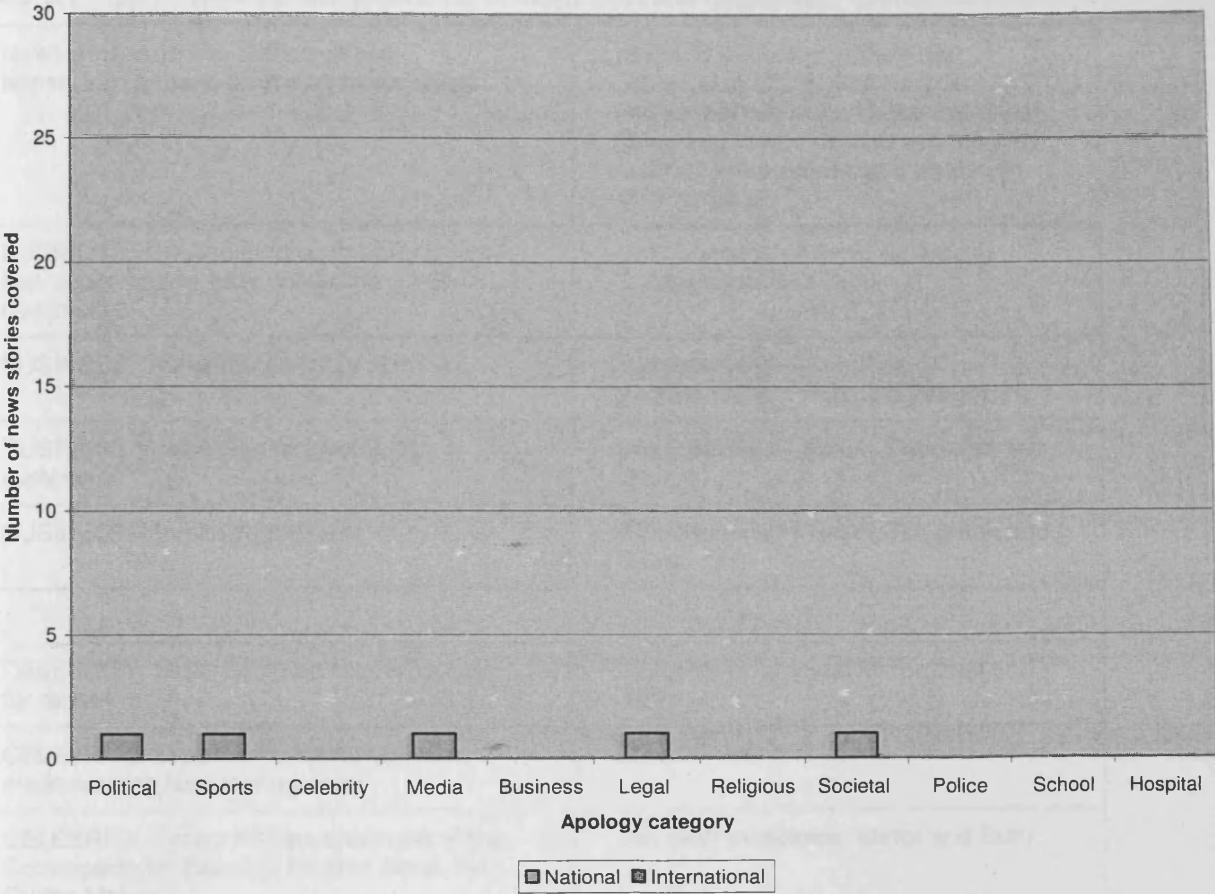


Figure 2.12 (App.): News stories statistics: Aujourd'hui en France



Lists of news stories appearing in more than one newspaper

Table 2.1 (App.): News stories appearing in more than one newspaper (British corpus)

News stories in the British press appearing in more than one newspaper	Stories included in the final version of the British corpus. When appropriate, I have indicated between brackets the reasons why stories were/were not included in the corpus.
BUSINESS. The firm bidding to open Britain's first 'super-casino' after producing a false document	No (business – Mirror, Guardian, Independent and Sun)
BUSINESS. Standard Life for racism	No (business – Guardian, Independent, Times and Telegraph)
BUSINESS. British Gas for overcharging customers	No (business – Mirror, Telegraph and Sun)
BUSINESS. Mars to vegetarians	No (business – Times, Telegraph and Sun)
CELEBRITY. MISS Scotland Nicola McLean for racism	No (only in tabloids: Mirror, Mail and Sun)
CELEBRITY. Bryan Ferry for remarks he made praising Nazi iconography	Yes
CELEBRITY. Trevor Phillips chairman of the Commission for Equality, for joke about the Queen Mother	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Gibson for anti-Semitic remarks	Yes
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Richard Gere for kissing Shilpa in India	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
HOSPITAL. A Hospital for putting a patient in a storeroom to die	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
COURT. Niamh Cullen for murder	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
MEDIA. RTE presenter Blathnaid Ni Chofaigh for comments about the Pope ('gaffe')	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)

MEDIA. John Sweeney for losing his temper with member of the Church of scientology	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
MEDIA. The Sun for pretending pictures of Prince Harry were recent	No (Guardian and Independent)
MEDIA. BBC weatherman for describing Scotland as 'nowheresville' ('gaffe')	No (Times and Sun)
MEDIA. The BBC to First Minister Alex Salmond over rude interview by 'Newsnight' presenter Kirsty Wark	No (Mirror, Times and Sun)
MEDIA. GMTV (phone-in)	Yes
MEDIA. Blue Peter (phone-in)	Yes
MEDIA. Richard Madeley and Judy Finnigan (phone-in)	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
MEDIA. Articles related to Big Brother TV crisis.	Yes
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. CNN after it accidentally confused Obama with Osama	No (Guardian, Times and Sun)
POLICE. Refusal to apologise for wrongly arresting two brothers over terrorist activities (3 apologies delivered before)-Forest Gate affair (refusal)	Yes
POLICE. Police to disappeared Jean McConville's family	No (Mirror and Guardian)
POLICE. Garda Commissioner Noel Conroy over death of John Carthy (mis-spelt in one newspaper=Carty)	No (only in tabloids: Mirror, Mail and Sun)
POLICE. Metropolitan Police commissioner Sir Ian Blair for racism in relation to the investigation into ethnic minority officer Ali Dizaei	Yes
POLICE. Gardai to the family of Derek O'Toole	
POLITICS. Blair for slavery	Yes
POLITICS. Blair for the times he fell short (May 2007) – Departure speech	Yes
POLITICS. Cameron for misusing his Commons Office (fundraising lunches)	Yes
POLITICS. MacNeil for being with two girls	Yes

POLITICS. The Ministry of Defence to all servicemen and servicewomen who suffered persecution and discrimination until 7 years ago	No (Times and Mail)
POLITICS. The Democratic Unionist Party for not giving Ian Paisley's daughter a job	No (Mirror and Guardian)
POLITICS. Minister for Labour Affairs Tony Killeen for early release of criminals	No (Mirror, Times and Sun)
POLITICS. Office minister Tony McNulty for Britons convicted in Europe	No (Mirror, Independent and Telegraph)
POLITICS. Taoiseach Bertie Ahern for suggesting Brown is autistic	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
POLITICS. Taoiseach Bertie Ahern for accepting cash donations in the early 1990s	Yes
POLITICS. Prescott to the Labour Party for having an affair (29 September 2006)	Yes
POLITICS. BORIS Johnson refused to apologise for describing the people of Papua New Guinea as cannibals and chief-killers.	Yes
POLITICS. HEALTH Secretary Patricia Hewitt for issues with the new online application scheme for junior doctors.	Yes
POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters (Mars-April 2007)	Yes
POLITICS. U.S. and U.K for death of Corporal Matty Hull (killed in friendly fire by U.S. forces)	No (The Guardian, Mirror and Sun)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Wolfowitz for help partner pay rise	Yes
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Mr Howard's (Australian PM) refuses to apologise to stolen generations	No (Guardian and Independent)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The State of Virginia for slavery	Yes
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The French president Nicolas Sarkozy refuses to apologise for taking a three-day luxury cruise (refusal)	No (Independent and Times)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Berlusconi to his wife	Yes
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Japanese PM Abe for stance regarding the enslavement of women during WW2 (Comfort Women)	Yes

INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam	Yes
SCHOOL. School for teacher calling a student a cripple	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
SCHOOL. School for teacher revealing truth about father Christmas	No (Mirror, Guardian and Times)
SCHOOL. School for teachers calling students 'dingbat' and 'wally'	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
SOCIETY. Blue Peter for showing goat being slaughtered	No (Times and Sun)
SOCIETY. Nightclub for death of son	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
SOCIETY. 17 year-old girl for party	No (Mirror, Guardian, Sun)
SOCIETY. 10 year-old ASBO boy apologises for a range of misdemeanours including assault, criminal damage, drinking alcohol in public and swearing at officers.	No (Mirror and Times)
SOCIETY. Professor Ian Robertson for sexist remark	No (Times and Mail)
SOCIETY. Judge for saying he would shoot burglars	No (only in tabloids: Mirror and Sun)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. KEANE. Roy Keane apologised to Quinn and Sir Alex Ferguson for previous behaviour (after taking on the position as Sunderland's new manager)	No (sports)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Calderon (real Madrid President) for insulting Beckham	No (sports)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Rooney refuses to apologise for his stamp on Ricardo Carvalho (refusal)	No (sports)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Sven for letting down supporters	No (sports)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Barry Robson for head butt	No (sports)
SPORTS/RUGBY. Referee Chris White for timing mistake	No (sports)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Mourinho to Cristiano Ronaldo for remarks	No (sports)

SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Mourinho to Johnson (Everton) for calling him a diver	No (sports)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Newell for sexist remark to female referee	Yes
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Arsene Wenger for losing his temper	No (sports)
SPORTS/CRICKET. Flintoff for drinking	No (sports)
SPORTS/GOLF. Thomas Bjorn for criticising his captain Ian Woosnam	No (sports)
INTERNATIONAL SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for head butting Materazzi (uptake by Zidane and Materazzi)	Yes
ADDED FOR COMPARATIVE PURPOSES	
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Patrick Devidjan for calling female politician Comparini a 'bitch'	Yes (not many articles but the article was added for comparative purposes)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Canadian citizen receives written apology from his government for being wrongly detained by the US which were assuming he was a terrorist	Yes (not many articles but the article was added for comparative purposes)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. U.S. to Nicolas Maduro, Venezuelan Foreign Minister, for being held in airport.	Yes (not many articles but the article was added for comparative purposes)

Table 2.2 (App.): News stories appearing in more than one newspaper (French corpus)

News stories in the French press appearing in more than one newspaper	Stories included in the final version of the French corpus. When appropriate, I have indicated between brackets the reasons why stories were/were not included in the corpus.
CELEBRITY. Delarue for assaulting staff on plane	Yes
CELEBRITY. Sevrin for racism	Yes
COURT. Antoine Granomort (murderer)	Yes
COURT. Duviau (murderer)	Yes

POLITICS. Royal to a student party member for harsh remark in public	Yes
POLITICS. Devidjan (UMP) to Comparini for insulting her	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters (Mars-April 2007)	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Japanese PM Abe for stance regarding the enslavement of women during WW2 (Comfort Women)	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Blair for the times he fell short (May 2007)	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Serbo-bosniac government to Muslim/Croatian victims of the 1992-1995 war	Yes
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Tony Blair (slavery)	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) leader Kony to Uganda for extreme violence against civilians	Yes
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Berlusconi to his wife	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. United States to Venezuelan Foreign secretary Nicolas Maduro for holding him up in an airport	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. GMTV for phone in scam	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. U.S. to Canadian citizen wrongly detained because he was thought to be a terrorist	Yes (also included in the corpus of British articles)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi (uptake by Zidane and Materazzi)	Yes
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Milan Baros (Portuguese football player playing in Lyon) refuses to apologise for racist behaviour	Yes

Extensive lists of news stories: French corpus

Table 2.3 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*Le Figaro*)

Figaro: 103 articles reviewed
CELEBRITY. Delarue for assaulting staff on plane
CELEBRITY. Naceri for racist remarks and unsociable behaviour
CELEBRITY. Sevrans for racism
COURT. Duviau (murderer)
MEDIA. Parisien refuses to apologise to Royal
POLITICS. Jack Lang to Alain Hodique wrongly accused of being a paedophile (incarcerated for 1 year)
POLITICS. Royal to a student party member for harsh remark in public
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Blair for slavery
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. United States to Venezuelan Foreign secretary Nicolas Maduro for holding him up in an airport
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. LRA leader Kony to Uganda for extreme violence against civilians
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam (Jospin's uptake only – Jospin considers the Pope should not apologise)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Footballer Dhorasoo refuses to apologise for calling his manager a liar
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Materazzi
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Milan Baros (Portuguese football player playing in Lyon) refuses to apologise for racist behaviour. NB: but his club apologises on its website (giving an explanation for his behaviour=NOT an apology and yet qualified as excuses embarrassées/embarassed apologies in one of the newspapers) (refusal)

Table 2.4 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*Le Monde*)

Monde: 92 articles reviewed
CELEBRITY. Delarue for assaulting staff on plane
CELEBRITY. Sevrans for racism
POLITICS. Jack Lang to Alain Hodique wrongly accused of being a paedophile and incarcerated for 1 year

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Japanese PM Abe for stance regarding the enslavement of women during WW2 (Comfort Women)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Salvatore Mancuso to Pizarro (Colombia)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. United States to Venezuelan Foreign secretary Nicolas Maduro for holding him up in an airport
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. Real life character Midnight Express (film) apologises for prejudices about Turkey engendered by the film
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. Novelist Asne Seierstad refuses to apologise to people described in her novel (Norwegian)

Table 2.5 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*Aujourd'hui en France*)

Aujourd'hui: 5 articles reviewed
COURT. Policeman Antoine Granomort for killing someone.
MEDIA. Jean-Loup Hahn to Anne-Sophie Lapix (journalist) for death threats via email
POLITICS. Devidjan (UMP) to Comparini for insulting her
SOCIETY. The council for forgetting a 3 year old girl in a bus for 4 hours.
SPORTS/TENNIS. Rezaï family to French captain Goven for insulting him

Table 2.6 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*L'humanité*)

Humanité: 28 articles reviewed
CELEBRITY. Patrice Chéreau to students
MEDIA. Liberation for forcing staff to leave
POLITICS. Freche refuses to apologise over racist remarks
POLITICS. Sarkozy refused to apologise to Algeria for crimes perpetuated during the Algerian war
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Tony Blair for the times he fell short
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Abe's apology for stance on comfort women
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Serbo-bosniac government to Muslim/Croatian victims of the 1992-1995 war
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. LRA leader Kony to Uganda for extreme violence against civilians
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Materazzi refuses to apologise to Zidane
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi

SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Milan Baros (Portuguese football player playing in Lyon) refuses to apologise for racist behaviour

Table 2.7 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*Libération*)

Libération: 70 articles reviewed
BUSINESS. Noos-Numericable to its customers for problems with services they offer
INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS. Toyota for hiding mechanical problem with a car for 8 years
CELEBRITY. Sevrin for racism
CELEBRITY. American channel E ! to Bradd Pitt for 2 of its journalists entering his property without authorisation
COURT. Duviau (murderer)
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. Reuters for using altered pictures
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. GMTV for phone in scam
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. Danish for caricatures of Prophet Muhammad
POLITICS. UMP deputy Lellouche to harkis for insulting remarks
POLITICS. Chirac for losing referendum
POLITICS. Royal to a student party member for harsh remark in public
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Serbo-bosniac government to Muslim/Croatian victims of the 1992-1995 war
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Berlusconi to his wife
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Canadian PM Stephen Harper to Maher Arar wrongly accused of being a terrorist by the U.S.
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Tony Blair for slavery
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Kerry to students
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Hungarian PM for hiding information
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. LRA leader Kony to Uganda for extreme violence against civilians
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Ehud Olmert for Israeli troops wounding 8 ONU personnel
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. Polish Catholic Church representative Wielgus for collaborating with former Polish Communist Secret Police
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam
SOCIETY. Mustapha A for drink driving
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. National weather forecast agency director in Japan for

wrongly predicting good weather
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Cisse for injury to other player (refusal)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Danish football supporter for assaulting a German referee
SPORTS/RUGBY. Mourad Boudjellal for racist remarks

Extensive lists of news stories: British corpus

Table 2.8 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*The Daily Mirror*)

Mirror: 593 articles reviewed
BUSINESS. Network Rail for Paddington disaster (only in this newspaper)
BUSINESS. The firm bidding to open Britain's first 'super-casino' on the site of the Millennium Dome after producing a document suggesting that local religious leaders were supportive of the development.
BUSINESS. BRITISH Gas for overcharging thousands of people
BUSINESS. Ribena for false claims about vitamins (only in this newspaper)
CELEBRITY. Donald Findlay for joke about the death of the Pope. (only in this newspaper)
CELEBRITY. Bryan Ferry for remarks he made praising Nazi iconography
CELEBRITY. Naomi CAMPBELL to New York cop John Fitzgerald for holding her handbag while she was doing her community service (only in this newspaper)
CELEBRITY. MISS Scotland Nicola McLean for racist remarks against singer Samantha Mumba (offence not described as racism)
CELEBRITY. Jo O'Meara for tormenting Shilpa Shetty.
CELEBRITY. DANIELLE Lloyd begged forgiveness from winner Shilpa Shetty.
CELEBRITY. CHRIS Tarrant for divorcing/having affair for 10 years (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Baldwin for phone abuse to his daughter
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Gibson for comments about Jews
HOSPITAL. Hospital for fixing wrong leg (only in this newspaper)

HOSPITAL. A HOSPITAL for putting a patient in a storeroom to die.
HOSPITAL. HOSPITAL bosses for taking nearly two days to treat an injured baby. (only in this newspaper)
HOSPITAL. HOSPITAL bosses to the family of a six-month-old boy who were given back his body with the brain missing. (only in this newspaper)
COURT. Niamh Cullen, Kelly Noble's friend, to Emma McLoughlin's family (killed by Noble) for giving her the knife she used to kill
COURT. Kelly Noble to Emma McLoughlin's family (killed by Noble) (see related article before) (only in this newspaper)
COURT. Swim coach Derry O'Rourke to his victims and their families (only in this newspaper) (NB: clear stance against early release of prisoners government initiative)
MEDIA. Endemol for faking 6 winners in TV program (only in this newspaper)
MEDIA. Simon Cowell to pop guru Louis Walsh for axing him from the X Factor. (only in this newspaper)
MEDIA. THE BBC to First Minister Alex Salmond for bad tempered interview with Newsnight's Kirsty Wark
MEDIA. Blue Peter for faking the results of a phone-in competition.
MEDIA. John Sweeney for losing his temper during interview with a member of the Church of Scientology
MEDIA. GMTV for phone in scam
MEDIA. RTE presenter Blathnaid Ni Chofaigh for remarks on death of Pope Jean Paul II
MEDIA. Blue Peter for faking the results of a phone-in competition.
MEDIA. RICHARD Madeley and Judy Finnigan for phone-in scam.
MEDIA. Channel 4 for the racist bullying of Bollywood star Shilpa Shetty by Jade, 25, Danielle Lloyd and Jo O'Meara on Celebrity BB.
POLICE. Gardai to the family of Derek O'Toole for running over him and not telling the family how he died
POLICE. Police representative to a court yesterday for ordering the destruction of evidence from a 1998 mortar attack. (only in this newspaper)
POLICE. POLICE to Disappeared Jean McConville's family, 20 years after series of mistakes led to the collapse of their first inquiry.
POLICE. GARDA Commissioner Noel Conroy over death of manic depressive John

Carthy.
POLITICS. Blair for early release of prisoners.
POLITICS. MINISTER for Labour Affairs Tony Killeen to mother of murder victim Robert Lynch for a letter sent asking for the release of Robert's murderer Christopher Cooney. (3 articles showing the other's negative uptake)
POLITICS. Minister Ian Paisley Jnr for allegedly saying homosexuality damages society. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Blair for the times he fell short
POLITICS. First Sea Lord Sir Jonathon Band for the 'tarnished' reputation of the Navy over the scandal of payments to the Iran hostages.
POLITICS. HEALTH Secretary Patricia Hewitt for issues with the new online application scheme for junior doctors.
POLITICS. Des Browne for allowing sailors to sell their stories once they were freed.
POLITICS. MacNeil, Scottish Nationalist MP for flirting with two girls
POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters (apology by only woman amongst the captives and Nathan Summers)
POLITICS. Cameron for misusing his Commons Office (fundraising lunches)
POLITICS. THE youngest election candidate in Scotland after pictures of him lying drunk (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Blair for slavery
POLITICS. THE US squadron responsible for killing 25-year-old Lance Corporal Matty Hull in a 'friendly fire' (four years after the event)
POLITICS. BRITONS CONVICTED IN EUROPE. HOME Office minister Tony McNulty for not knowing about the massive backlog of criminal records from Britons convicted in Europe. (Blair is said to have apologised for the offence in other newspapers)
POLITICS. THE Democratic Unionist Party for not giving Ian Paisley's daughter a job.
POLITICS. Blair for slavery
POLITICS. Tory Boris Johnson yesterday refused to apologise for his anti-Scots tirade. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Taoiseach Bertie Ahern 's for accepting cash donations in the early 1990s
POLITICS. George Osborne for suggesting that Chancellor Gordon Brown was autistic. (2 articles: in one he is said to have apologised, and in the other he is said to have refused to do so)
POLITICS. Prescott to the Labour Party for having an affair
POLITICS. BORIS Johnson refused to apologise for describing the people of Papua New Guinea as cannibals and chief-killers.

POLITICS. Blair for turmoil over his leadership.
POLITICS. Prescott to the Labour Party for having an affair
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Japanese PM Abe for stance regarding the enslavement of women during WW2 (Comfort Women)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Japanese PM for calling women 'birth giving device' (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Berlusconi to his wife
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Saddam Hussein not sorry for his crimes (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. A SENIOR US diplomat for saying President Bush's Iraq policy showed 'arrogance and stupidity'. (only in this newspaper)
RELIGION. THE Archbishop of Canterbury over the church's failure to turn paedophile Peter Halliday over to the Police. (2 articles: in one where the Church allegedly did not apologise) (only in this newspaper)
RELIGION. Priest who abused children. Oliver O'Grady. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. Pope Benedict XVI expressed regret at the abuse of children in the Co Wexford diocese - but refused to say sorry.
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam
SCHOOL. A school for teachers calling students 'dingbat' and 'wally' in confidential report.
SCHOOL. A school for teacher calling a student a cripple.
SCHOOL. School for revealing truth about Santa Claus
SOCIETY. Judge for saying he would shoot burglars
SOCIETY. Nightclub for death of son, Adrian Moynihan
SOCIETY. 10 year-old ASBO boy apologises for a range of misdemeanours including assault, criminal damage, drinking alcohol in public and swearing at officers.
SOCIETY. 17 year-old girl for trashing parent's house
SOCIETY. Mum for stealing equipment so she could listen to her unborn baby's heartbeat (only in this newspaper)
SOCIETY. Trevor Phillips, chairman of the Commission for Equality, for joke about the Queen Mother.
SOCIETY. One of the alleged July 21 bombers to the people he terrified by detonating a dud rucksack bomb on the Tube.

(only in this newspaper)
SOCIETY. Arthur Batchelor for making fun of his Iranian capture in a club
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. Richard Gere for kissing Shilpa Shetty.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Mourinho to Cristiano Ronaldo for calling him 'immature, ill-educated and disrespectful'
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Barry Robson to Lee Naylor for head butt
SPORTS/CRICKET. Flintoff for drinking
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. REFEREE Chris White for the 'misunderstanding' which cost Wales the chance of leaving Rome with at least a draw.
SPORTS/CRICKET. MICHAEL VAUGHAN for behaviour of his drunken cricketers (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. ARSENE WENGER for Arsenal's aggressive behaviour during the Carling Cup Final brawl
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. MOURINHO to Johnson for calling him a diver
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Newell for sexist remarks at assistant referee Amy Rayner
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Wenger for losing his temper with Alan Pardew.
SPORTS/GOLF. THOMAS BJORN to Ryder Cup skipper Ian Woosnam for his comments about him
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Rooney refused to apologise for world cup red card
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Sven for letting down supporters.

Table 2.9 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*The Guardian*)

Guardian: 256 articles reviewed
BUSINESS. Network rail for Ladbroke Grove tragedy (only in this newspaper)
BUSINESS. BA for using first class seats to store corpses (only in this newspaper)
BUSINESS. Tesco for its role in supplying contaminated petrol to the motorists of Britain. (only in this newspaper)
BUSINESS. Standard Life (insurance) boss for making racist remark.
BUSINESS. The firm bidding to open Britain's first 'super-casino' on the site of the Millennium Dome after producing a document suggesting that local religious leaders were supportive of the development.
INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS. Apple founder apologises for share options having been granted to executives at backdated prices.
CELEBRITY. Bryan Ferry for remarks he made praising Nazi iconography

CELEBRITY. The Queen's nephew Lord Linley refused to apologise yesterday after he was photographed pedalling along King's Road in Chelsea with his four-year-old daughter perched precariously on the rack of his folding bicycle. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Gibson for comments about Jews
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Comic actor Michael Richards for a racist outburst (comparable to other comedian's stance about Jews, interesting that so many apologies for jokes are covered)
MEDIA. GMTV for phone in scam
MEDIA. Lord Ryder, acting chairman of the BBC during the Hutton crisis, apologised for the information revealed in the Hutton report (sacking of Mr Dyke). (only in this newspaper)
MEDIA. The Sun for pretending pictures of Prince Harry were current when they were three years old.
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. CNN for accidentally confusing the potential Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama with Osama bin Laden (spelling mistake)
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. Murdoch to the families of Nicole Simpson and Ron Goldman for a show starring OJ Simpson (the show would have been a 'hypothetical' account of how he could have killed his wife and her friend) (only in this newspaper)
POLICE. Metropolitan Police commissioner Sir Ian Blair for racism in relation to the investigation into ethnic minority officer Ali Dizaei
POLICE to Disappeared Jean McConville's family, 20 years after series of mistakes led to the collapse of their first inquiry.
INTERNATIONAL POLICE. US Police chief says sorry after officers joked about shot woman (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Blair for the times he fell short
POLITICS. Des Browne for allowing sailors to sell their stories once they were freed.
POLITICS. MacNeil, Scottish Nationalist MP for flirting with two girls
POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters
POLITICS. Apology by British Ministry of Defence for preventing the release of the cockpit video relating to Matty Hull's death in a friendly fire.
POLITICS. TONY Blair apologised for the distress caused to Matty Hull's family by the delay in holding his inquest (Matty Hull was killed in a friendly fire in Iraq)
POLITICS. THE Democratic Unionist Party for not giving Ian Paisley's daughter a job.
POLITICS. Blair for SLAVERY
POLITICS. BORIS Johnson refused to apologise for 4 gaffes (after he apologised for some of them).

POLITICS. Cameron recognises that the Conservatives were wrong to impose the poll tax upon Scotland (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Ian Gibson, the Labour MP for describing constituents as 'inbred' (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. HEALTH Secretary Patricia Hewitt for issues with the new online application scheme for junior doctors.
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Wolfowitz for role in partner's pay rise
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Israel's foreign ministry for British deputy ambassador to Tel Aviv having to strip for a security search at the Israeli prime minister's office (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Japanese PM Abe for stance regarding the enslavement of women during WW2 (Comfort Women)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Mr Howard's (Australian PM) refuses to apologise to stolen generations
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The State of Virginia for slavery
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Canadian citizen receives written apology from his government for being wrongly detained by the US which were assuming he was a terrorist
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Dennis Hastert, the speaker of the House of representatives, for the Republicans' failure to investigate a congressman's behaviour towards teenage congressional pages (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam
SCHOOL. School for revealing truth about Santa Claus
SOCIETY. 17 year-old girl for trashing parent's house
SOCIETY. Barry Coppinger, Middlesbrough's executive member for community safety to Mrs Brewster for talking CCTV cameras wrongly accusing her of dropping litter (only in this newspaper)
SOCIETY. British people sorry march for slave trade (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. Pompidou apologises over smashed works (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/CRICKET. Flintoff for drinking
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Football REFEREE Chris White for the 'misunderstanding' which cost Wales the chance of leaving Rome with at least a draw.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Newell for sexist remarks at assistant referee Amy Rayner.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Wenger for losing his temper with Alan Pardew (Upton Park).

(Refusal although seen as apology in other newspapers)
SPORTS/GOLF. THOMAS BJORN to Ryder Cup skipper Ian Woosnam for his comments about him
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. KEANE. Roy Keane apologised to Quinn and Sir Alex Ferguson for previous behaviour
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Ben Thatcher for the callous forearm smash that knocked Portsmouth's Pedro Mendes unconscious and is being spoken about as one of the worst acts of violence perpetrated in a Premiership match. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi

Table 2.10 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*The Independent*)

Independent: 231 articles reviewed
BUSINESS. Cadbury's apologises for organising a treasure stunt in a cemetery. (only in this newspaper)
BUSINESS. British Airways to customers for the disruption caused by this week's aborted cabin crew strike (only in this newspaper)
BUSINESS. Standard Life (insurance) boss for making racist remark
BUSINESS. The firm bidding to open Britain's first 'super-casino' on the site of the Millennium Dome after producing a document suggesting that local religious leaders were supportive of the development.
CELEBRITY. Broadcaster and journalist Janet Street-Porter for swearing at a neighbour but denied she had used racist language (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Gibson for comments about Jews
MEDIA. Channel 4 on behalf of its news anchorman Jon Snow, who 'inadvertently' accused a Police officer of racism in a live television report. (only in this newspaper) (INTERESTING BECAUSE APOLOGY DOES NOT REGARD RACIST BEHAVIOUR BUT ACCUSATIONS THAT ONE MIGHT BE A RACIST)
MEDIA. The Sun for pretending pictures of Prince Harry were current when they were three years old.
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. Belgium presenter for implying Sarkozy was drunk at G8 summit (only in this newspaper)
POLICE. Refusal to apologise for wrongly arresting two brothers over terrorist activities - Forest Gate
POLITICS. Blair for the times he fell short

POLITICS. Des Browne for allowing sailors to sell their stories once they were freed.
POLITICS. Cameron for misusing his Commons Office (fundraising lunches)
POLITICS. Blair for slavery
POLITICS. Blair refuses to apologise for doing the right thing in Iraq (2nd one) March 2007
POLITICS. BRITONS CONVICTED IN EUROPE. HOME Office minister Tony McNulty for not knowing about the massive backlog of criminal records from Britons convicted in Europe.
POLITICS. Taoiseach Bertie Ahern 's for accepting cash donations in the early 1990s
POLITICS. Ken Livingstone for anti-Semitic remarks
POLITICS. BORIS Johnson apologised for describing the people of Papua New Guinea as cannibals and chief-killers.
POLITICS. David Cameron has distanced himself from one of Margaret Thatcher's key foreign policies, saying that she was wrong to have called the ANC 'terrorists' during the apartheid era. ((only in this newspaper))
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The French president Nicolas Sarkozy refused to apologise for taking a three-day luxury cruise in the Mediterranean at the expense of one of France's wealthiest men.
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Wolfowitz for role in partner's pay rise
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Japanese PM Abe for stance regarding the enslavement of women during WW2 (Comfort Women)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The State of Virginia for slavery.
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Berlusconi to his wife.
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Spain's Prime Minister, Jose Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, for putting his faith in the peace process with Basque separatists, after a deadly car bombing that has caused outrage. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. John Kerry, the former Democratic presidential candidate, has been forced to apologise to US troops over a 'botched joke' (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Mr Howard's (Australian PM) refuses to apologise to stolen generations
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Tasmania to 'Stolen Generation' of Aborigines.
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The French President, Jacques Chirac, has told the Turkish Prime Minister, Tayyip Erdogan, he is sorry that France has made it a crime to deny that Armenians were victims of genocide by Ottoman Turks. (only in this newspaper)

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. U.S. to Nicolas Maduro, Venezuelan Foreign Minister, for being held in airport. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Iraq's Prime Minister apologised to the Iraqi people for an American operation aiming at controlling violence in Baghdad. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Fletcher, the England coach, said sorry for his team's incompetence (good example of apology for poor performance and the presuppositions surrounding such apologies)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Calderon for comments made about Beckham
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. MOURINHO to Johnson for calling him a diver
SPORTS/GOLF. THOMAS BJORN to Ryder Cup skipper Ian Woosnam for his comments about him
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. KEANE. Roy Keane apologised to Quinn and Sir Alex Ferguson for previous behaviour
SPORTS/CRICKET. Hair apologises for his conditional offer of resignation in an email.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Rooney refused to apologise for world cup red card.
INTERNATIONAL SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi

Table 2.11 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*The Times*)

Times: 441 articles reviewed
BUSINESS. Mars to vegetarians after attempting to use animal products in chocolate bars (the art of corporate apology is commented upon)
BUSINESS. Standard Life (insurance) boss for making racist remark
BUSINESS. WARRINGTON The head of a regional development agency over a racist joke in a text message. (only in this newspaper)
BUSINESS. BP APOLOGISED last night for the death of a married couple who were killed in a huge explosion last year at the oil company's Texas City refinery. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS. Apple founder apologises for share options having been granted to executives at backdated prices.
CELEBRITY. Bryan Ferry for remarks he made praising Nazi iconography

INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Gibson for comments about Jews
HOSPITAL. Hospital bosses have apologised after an 85-year-old woman died lying in her own excrement after contracting two superbugs. (only in this newspaper)
COURT. A rapist who put a friend through a two-hour ordeal apologised to her and then went to say goodbye to his dying father before handing himself in to Police. (only in this newspaper)
MEDIA. THE BBC to First Minister Alex Salmond for bad tempered interview with Newsnight's Kirsty Wark
MEDIA. GMTV for phone in scam
MEDIA. Blue Peter for showing goat killing
MEDIA. Blue Peter for faking the results of a phone-in competition.
MEDIA. BBC weatherman after describing large parts of northern Scotland as 'Nowheresville'
MEDIA. Clive Goodman, 48, apologised to the Prince of Wales, Prince William and Prince Harry for a 'gross invasion of privacy' when he appeared at the Old Bailey yesterday. (only in this newspaper)
POLICE. Refusal to apologise for wrongly arresting two brothers over terrorist activities - Forest Gate
POLICE. Chief Constable Barbara Wilding apologised after an investigation found that her officers could have prevented for a three-year-old girl to be kidnapped and sexually assaulted by Craig Sweeney. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. The Ministry of Defence to all servicemen and servicewomen who suffered persecution and discrimination before the ban on homosexuality was lifted seven years ago.
POLITICS. Tony Blair 'apologising' to David Cameron for Gordon Brown's behaviour. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Des Browne for allowing sailors to sell their stories once they were freed.
POLITICS. HEALTH Secretary Patricia Hewitt for issues with the new online application scheme for junior doctors.
POLITICS. Des Browne for allowing sailors to sell their stories once they were freed.
POLITICS. MacNeil, Scottish Nationalist MP for flirting with two girls
POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters (apology by Leading Seaman Turney)
POLITICS. A Liberal Democrat MSP has issued a semi-apology after describing Scottish Nationalists as xenophobic. (only in this newspaper)

POLITICS. Blair for slavery
POLITICS. MINISTER for Labour Affairs Tony Killeen to mother of murder victim Robert Lynch asking for the release of Robert's murderer Christopher Cooney.
POLITICS. Prime Minister apologised to Justin Smith after hearing that he had been left homeless and paying for medical care after two tours in Iraq. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office will apologise to survivors of the tsunami disaster today, after a devastating report into the failure of British diplomats to deal with the aftermath of the Boxing Day disaster two years ago. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Blair for slavery
POLITICS. A Scottish Conservative party adviser apologised yesterday for calling Celtic fans 'gypsies' on the official Hearts website. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Prescott to the Labour Party for having an affair
POLITICS. Gordon Brown tried to make his peace with Tony Blair, apologised for their feuding and launched his campaign to succeed him as Labour leader and Prime Minister. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Japanese PM Abe for stance regarding the enslavement of women during WW2 (Comfort Women)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The French president Nicolas Sarkozy refused to apologise for taking a three-day luxury cruise in the Mediterranean at the expense of one of France's wealthiest men.
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Wolfowitz for role in partner's pay rise
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. A Democratic presidential candidate last night apologised for describing Senator Barack Obama as the 'first mainstream African-American who is articulate and bright and clean'. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The Israeli Prime Minister apologised after a large-scale Israeli army raid in Ramallah in which at least four Palestinian civilians were killed and dozens were wounded. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The Prime Minister of Japan has apologised to the nation and agreed to work for three months without pay after admitting that he helped to rig dozens of town meetings to give the impression that voters were overwhelmingly sympathetic to official policy. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Hungary's beleaguered Prime Minister, Ferenc Gyurcsany, apologised yesterday for his speech in which he admitted lying to the nation. ONLY IN THIS NEWSPAPER (only in this newspaper)

RELIGION. Church of England to victims of Smith (vicar) jailed for abuse (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam
SCHOOL. School for revealing truth about Santa Claus
SOCIETY. College sorry over cartoon Muhammad in magazine (only in this newspaper)
SOCIETY. 10 year-old ASBO boy apologises for a range of misdemeanours including assault, criminal damage, drinking alcohol in public and swearing at officers.
SOCIETY. A local authority has apologised to three children who were subjected to years of torture and beatings by a foster parent. (only in this newspaper)
SOCIETY. Professor Ian Robertson (university figure) for sexist remark
SOCIETY. Trevor White apologised (magazine publisher) – suggests it was satirical (only in this newspaper)
SOCIETY. ALMOST 70 years after Sir John Betjeman invited 'friendly bombs to fall on Slough' the much-ridiculed Berkshire town has received an apology from its famous tormentor's family. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. The US Attorney-General apologised yesterday to the eight lawyers sacked by his department, admitted that his own 'mis-statements' about his role in the affair had caused confusion and then pleaded with senators to let him keep his job. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. Koreans apologise for the damage caused by the quiet gunman (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. Steve Hughes, an Australian stand-up, told The Times that he regretted describing Richard Perle, an adviser to President George Bush, as 'that f***ing Jew Richard Perle'. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/CRICKET. Flintoff for drinking
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Motherwell football club to Scotland for racial abuse (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Calderon for comments made about Beckham
SPORTS/RUGBY. McCullough apologised by letter for racist language, but Ulster stressed that the apology did not constitute an admission of racist language. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/CRICKET. Michael Vaughan was today restored as England captain and his first act was to apologise publicly for the way in which the team performed in suffering the first Ashes whitewash for 86 years.

(only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. MOURINHO to Johnson for calling him a diver
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Newell for sexist remarks at assistant referee Amy Rayner
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. SCOTT PARKER has apologised unreservedly for sarcastically applauding Newcastle United supporters during their harrowing 1-0 defeat by Sheffield United last weekend. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Ferdinand on the defensive after inappropriate radio remarks (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/GOLF. THOMAS BJORN to Ryder Cup skipper Ian Woosnam for his comments about him
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. KEANE. Roy Keane apologised to Quinn and Sir Alex Ferguson for previous behaviour
SPORTS/CRICKET. Hair apologises for his conditional offer of resignation in an email.
SPORTS/CRICKET. Jones apologised for suggesting a South African Muslim batsman was a terrorist (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi

Table 2.12 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*The Daily Telegraph*)

Telegraph: 216 articles reviewed
BUSINESS. Mars to vegetarians after attempting to use animal products in chocolate bars
BUSINESS. BRITISH Gas for overcharging thousands of people
BUSINESS. Norwich Union for failing to offer them the 'lifestyling' option of switching their pension out of risky equity markets five year before retiring. (only in this newspaper)
BUSINESS. Wal-Mart for spying plan (only in this newspaper)
BUSINESS. Standard Life (insurance) boss for making racist remark
BUSINESS. Thames Water for leaving a customer to dig hole herself to have a water meter fitted in (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS. Sony executives for recall of its laptop batteries (only in this newspaper)
CELEBRITY. Bryan Ferry for remarks he made praising Nazi iconography
CELEBRITY. Former Australia batsman Dean Jones to South Africa's Hashim Amla for

calling him a 'terrorist' during a live broadcast (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Gibson for comments about Jews
HOSPITAL. Hospital for eye glued shut (only in this newspaper)
HOSPITAL. NHS for woman dying of blood poisoning (only in this newspaper)
MEDIA . Blue Peter for faking the results of a phone-in competition.
POLICE. Refusal to apologise for wrongly arresting two brothers over terrorist activities - Forest Gate
POLICE. North Wales's quixotic Chief Constable, Richard Brunstrom for young man wrongly arrested after an armed robbery. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Des Browne for allowing sailors to sell their stories once they were freed.
POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters (apology by Sailor Nathan Summers)
POLITICS. HEALTH Secretary Patricia Hewitt for issues with the new online application scheme for junior doctors.
POLITICS. Government's refusal to apologise for dismissing a report on collapsed company schemes (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Browne for the deaths of 15 of his BP colleagues (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. BRITONS CONVICTED IN EUROPE. HOME Office minister Tony McNulty for not knowing about the massive backlog of criminal records from Britons convicted in Europe.
POLITICS. DES BROWNE, the Defence Secretary for misleading MPs about plans to axe allowances to British troops on the front line (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Blair for slavery
POLITICS. Prescott to the Labour Party for having an affair
POLITICS. TONY Blair for embarrassing gaffe in which he broke the embargo on the official unemployment statistics. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Patrick Devidjian for calling female politician a 'bitch' (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Wolfowitz for role in partner's pay rise

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Berlusconi to his wife
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Senator John Kerry for remark that suggested dim students would end up as soldiers in Iraq (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. THE ISRAELI Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, apologised to Germany following two confrontations between their armed forces off the coast of Lebanon after 'misunderstandings' that led to an Israeli jet opening fire close to a German naval ship patrolling international waters. (only in this newspaper)
RELIGION. Church of England for slavery (in the form of March led by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York)
RELIGION. THE ARCHBISHOP of Canterbury to women clergy for questioning the contribution they have made to the Church of England (only in this newspaper)
RELIGION. Vicar for racist remark against Japanese (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam
SOCIETY. HM REVENUE & Customs (HMRC) for penalty errors (TAX) (only in this newspaper)
SOCIETY. HM Revenue and Customs for accusing small business owners of underpaying their taxes. (only in this newspaper)
SOCIETY. 3 men for taking personal belonging of Swedish woman on a beach (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/CRICKET. Flintoff for drinking
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. REFEREE Chris White for the 'misunderstanding' which cost Wales the chance of leaving Rome with at least a draw.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. ARSENE WENGER for Arsenal's aggressive behaviour during the Carling Cup Final brawl
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. MOURINHO to Johnson for calling him a diver
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Newell for sexist remarks at assistant referee Amy Rayner
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Wenger for losing his temper with Alan Pardew. (Refusal although perceived as apology in other newspapers)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Michael Ballack for the stamp which earned him the first red card of his career. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi

Table 2.13 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*The Daily Mail*)

Mail: 297 articles reviewed
CELEBRITY Katy French for labelling a heckler a 'knacker' (only in this newspaper)
CELEBRITY. Bryan Ferry for remarks he made praising Nazi iconography
CELEBRITY. MISS Scotland Nicola McLean for racist remarks against singer Samantha Mumba
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Gibson for comments about Jews
HOSPITAL. HEALTH bosses/NHS Lanarkshire 6 apologies for 6 mistakes in relation to patient who died in their care (e.g. failing to adequately explain the woman's medical condition and recording the wrong cause of death on her death certificate) (only in this newspaper)
COURT. Cork yesterday to apologise in person to the parents of 22-year old murder victim (only in this newspaper)
POLICE. Police chief Ali Dizaei to a white officer he attacked in his controversial book about Scotland Yard.
POLICE. Metropolitan Police commissioner Sir Ian Blair for racism in relation to the investigation into ethnic minority officer Ali Dizaei
POLICE. Garda Commissioner apologises to Shortt for being wrongly jailed (only in this newspaper)
POLICE. Gardai to the family of Derek O'Toole for running over him and not telling the family how he died
POLICE. Refusal to apologise for wrongly arresting two brothers over terrorist activities - Forest Gate
POLICE. The North Wales Police for wrongly holding innocent man at gunpoint (only in this newspaper)
POLICE. PSNI chief Sir Hugh Orde for murder (IRA). (only in this newspaper)
POLICE. GARDA Commissioner Noel Conroy over death of manic depressive John Carthy.
POLITICS. The Ministry of Defence to all servicemen and servicewomen who suffered persecution and discrimination before the ban on homosexuality was lifted seven years ago.
POLITICS. BRAZEN Beverley Flynn refuses to apologise for tax dodging. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Blair for the times he fell short.

POLITICS. Gordon Brown refused to apologise for his tax raid on pensions
(only in this newspaper)

POLITICS. Des Browne for allowing sailors to sell their stories once they were freed.

POLITICS. BERTIE Ahern to Frank Shortt for 10 years wrongly spent in prison
(only in this newspaper)

POLITICS. Margaret Beckett for deaths of Argentinean as well as British soldiers in the Falklands War.
(only in this newspaper)

POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters (televised apology by detainees)

POLITICS. MacNeil, Scottish Nationalist MP for flirting with two girls.

POLITICS. Blair for slavery

POLITICS. HEALTH Secretary Patricia Hewitt for issues with the new online application scheme for junior doctors.

POLITICS. Blair refusal to apologise for Iraq.

POLITICS. TWO Labour MPs for making a controversial spoof video of David Cameron
(only in this newspaper)

POLITICS. Taoiseach Bertie Ahern 's for accepting cash donations in the early 1990s

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Australian politician Heffernan to Gillard for calling her 'barren'
(only in this newspaper)

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Japanese PM Abe for stance regarding the enslavement of women during WW2 (Comfort Women)

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. The State of Virginia for slavery

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. George Bush to Tony Blair for using Prestwick Airport as a staging post for arms being transported to the Middle East
(only in this newspaper)

RELIGION. Michael Hogan to parishioners for being homosexual
(only in this newspaper)

INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam

SOCIETY. Professor Ian Robertson (university figure) for sexist remark.

SOCIETY. Cian Kelliher apologised for an email he sent to all staff celebrating his departure saying 'I'm outta here'.
(only in this newspaper)

SPORTS/CRICKET. Flintoff for drinking

SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Kingston to Conroy for calling him racist (football).
(only in this newspaper)

INTERSTING BECAUSE ABOUT ACCUSATIONS RATHER THAN RACIST BEHAVIOUR
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Garry O'Connor for his behaviour after a match (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. MOURINHO to Johnson for calling him a diver
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Newell for sexist remarks at assistant referee Amy Rayner
SPORTS/BOXING. Frank for taking cocaine (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/GOLF. THOMAS BJORN to Ryder Cup skipper Ian Woosnam for his comments about him
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. BIRMINGHAM captain Damien Johnson to the club's supporters for throwing his armband and shirt to the ground (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi

Table 2.14 (App.): Extensive list of news stories (*The Sun*)

Sun: 624 articles reviewed
BUSINESS. Mars to vegetarians after attempting to use animal products in chocolate bars
BUSINESS. BRITISH Gas for overcharging thousands of people
BUSINESS. Standard Life (insurance) boss for making racist remark.
BUSINESS. The firm bidding to open Britain's first 'super-casino' on the site of the Millennium Dome after producing a document suggesting that local religious leaders were supportive of the development.
CELEBRITY. BANISHED Emily Parr FOR INSULTING OTHER HOUSEMATE. (only in this newspaper)
CELEBRITY. Paul Burrell refused to apologise after he was caught slagging off Prince Harry, Charles and Camilla (only in this newspaper)
CELEBRITY. Bryan Ferry for remarks he made praising Nazi iconography
CELEBRITY. Radio 1 DJ Edith Bowman was ordered to apologise on air after reading out a racist joke about Japanese people. (only in this newspaper)
CELEBRITY. MISS Scotland Nicola McLean for racist remarks against singer Samantha Mumba
CELEBRITY. CAMPBELL for attacking her maid (only in this newspaper)

CELEBRITY. Jade Goody's apology for racist bullying
CELEBRITY. Jo O'Meara refuses to apologise to Shilpa-Big Brother
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Richard Gere for kissing Shilpa Shetty.
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Baldwin for phone abuse to his daughter
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY. Gibson for comments about Jews
HOSPITAL. A HOSPITAL trust apologised after a patient contracted TWO superbugs. (only in this newspaper)
HOSPITAL. A HOSPITAL for putting a patient in a storeroom to die.
HOSPITAL. Hospital 'sorry' for baby death (Anne and Sean O'Donovan). (only in this newspaper)
COURT. Niamh Cullen, Kelly Noble's friend to Emma McLoughlin's family (killed by Noble) for giving her the knife used (through her solicitor).
MEDIA. THE BBC to First Minister Alex Salmond for bad tempered interview with Newsnight's Kirsty Wark
MEDIA. Channel 4 for SCREENING racism.
MEDIA. John Sweeney for losing his temper during interview with a member of the Church of Scientology
MEDIA. RTE pay PR guru Monica Leech Euro 250,000 compo yesterday and apologise over false claims she had an affair with Martin Cullen. (only in this newspaper)
MEDIA. GMTV for phone in scam.
MEDIA. RTE presenter Blathnaid Ni Chofaigh for remarks on death of Pope Jean Paul II
MEDIA. Blue Peter for faking the results of a phone-in competition.
MEDIA. Blue Peter for showing goat killing
MEDIA. BBC's Saturday Kitchen refuses to apologise for phone in scam (only in this newspaper)
MEDIA. BBC weatherman after describing large parts of northern Scotland as 'Nowheresville'
MEDIA. RICHARD Madeley and Judy Finnigan for phone-in scam.
MEDIA. BBC bosses made a grovelling apology to Rangers striker Filip Sebo - after presenter Richard Gordon suggested the striker had been sold to Edinburgh ZOO. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. CNN for accidentally confusing the potential Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama with Osama bin Laden (spelling mistake).
POLICE. EMBARRASSED cops apologised last night for not acting on an Interpol tip-off about two child porn suspects in Ireland.

(only in this newspaper)
POLICE. GARDA Commissioner Noel Conroy over death of manic depressive John Carthy (spelling mistake Carty instead of Carthy)
POLITICS. LABOUR MP Anne Moffat refused to apologise for comparing new First Minister Alex Salmond with Adolf Hitler (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Des Browne for allowing sailors to sell their stories once they were freed
POLITICS. Leading Seaman Turney for entering their waters
POLITICS. MacNeil, Scottish Nationalist MP for flirting with two girls
POLITICS. British sailors to Iran for entering their waters (apology by Nathan Summers)
POLITICS. Blair for slavery
POLITICS. Slavery. NORTHERN Ireland Secretary Peter Hain for Ulster's role in slave trade (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Blair refusal to apologise for Iraq.
POLITICS. TONY Blair apologised for the distress caused to Matty Hull's family by the delay in holding his inquest (Matty Hull was killed in a friendly fire in Iraq)
POLITICS. Mr Killeen, Minister of State for Labour Affairs for asking early release of sex offender Nugent.
POLITICS. DEFENCE Chief Des Browne for misleading MPs over troops' pay. (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. Prescott to the Labour Party for having an affair
POLITICS. Taoiseach Bertie Ahern 's for accepting cash donations in the early 1990s
POLITICS. George Osborne for suggesting that Chancellor Gordon Brown was autistic.
POLITICS. Brown for clashing with PM Tony Blair (only in this newspaper)
POLITICS. BORIS Johnson refused to apologise for describing the people of Papua New Guinea as cannibals and chief-killers.
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Berlusconi to his wife
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Bush for the inefficiency of the government in handling the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina (only in this newspaper)
RELIGION. A TOP Muslim cleric was forced to apologise yesterday after claiming women who did not wear the veil risked being raped. (only in this newspaper)
INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope for remarks about Islam

INTERNATIONAL RELIGION. The Pope apologises to Irish sex victims in the Diocese of Fern. (only in this newspaper)
SCHOOL. A school for teachers calling students 'dingbat' and 'wally' in confidential report.
SCHOOL. A school for teacher calling a student a cripple.
SOCIETY. PRISON bosses to a man for freeing his wife's killer without telling him (Carol McMillan) (only in this newspaper)
SOCIETY. Judge for saying he would shoot burglars
SOCIETY. Trevor Phillips, chairman of the Commission for Equality, for joke about the Queen Mother.
SOCIETY. Nightclub for death of son, Adrian Moynihan
SOCIETY. 17 year-old girl for trashing parent's house
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. MICHAEL BALL last night issued a full apology after being charged over his stamp on Cristiano Ronaldo. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Barry Robson to Lee Naylor for head butt
SPORTS/CRICKET. Flintoff for drinking
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. LARYEA KINGSTON to ref Steve Conroy for calling him a racist. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. REFEREE Chris White for the 'misunderstanding' which cost Wales the chance of leaving Rome with at least a draw.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. ANTON FERDINAND apologised to West Ham for lying about his whereabouts. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. ARSENE WENGER for Arsenal's aggressive behaviour during the Carling Cup Final brawl.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. GARRY O'CONNOR to Walter Smith and the Tartan Army for walking out on Scotland. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Calderon for comments made about Beckham.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. PHIL NEVILLE for Everton's FA Cup surrender. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. MOURINHO to Johnson for calling him a diver.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Newell for sexist remarks at assistant referee Amy Rayner
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. ALAN PARDEW publicly apologised to Arsene Wenger for their

four-letter bust-up after West Ham's winner.
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. 20 West Ham fans to Italian court after clashes with rival supporters. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/RUGBY. MARK ROBINSON has apologised to Northampton for his foul-mouthed rant. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/GOLF. THOMAS BJORN to Ryder Cup skipper Ian Woosnam for his comments about him
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. KEANE. Roy Keane apologised to Quinn and Sir Alex Ferguson for previous behaviour
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. DUNDEE UNITED Chief Eddie Thompson insists he will NOT apologise to boss Craig Brewster for his weekend rant. (only in this newspaper)
SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Sven for letting down supporters.
INTERNATIONAL SPORTS/FOOTBALL. Zidane for headbutting Materazzi

Lists of labels attached to news stories

Table 2.15 (App.): Labels attached to news stories (British corpus)

Labels	'International' labels (when applicable)
Celebrity	International celebrity
Court	N/A
Media	International media
Politics	International politics
Business	International business
Religion	International religion

Sports (football/rugby/cricket/golf/boxing)	International sports (only for Zidanes' apology)
Society	International society
Police	International Police
School	N/A
Hospital	N/A

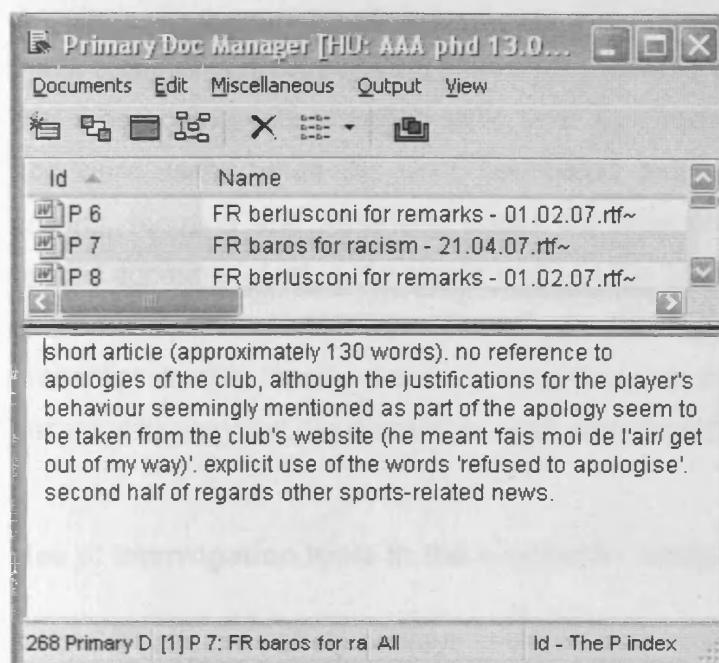
Table 2.16 (App.): Labels attached to news stories (French corpus)

Labels	'International' labels (when applicable)
Celebrity	N/A
Court	N/A
Media	International media
Politics	International politics
Business	International business
N/A	International religion
Sports (football/tennis/rugby)	N/A
Society	International society
Police	N/A

Use of comments in the research

During the first phase of coding (see section 4.3.2) all newspaper articles were assigned a 'comment' (ATLAS.TI terminology). This involved recording basic information which helped during the analysis. For example, comments for articles of less than 200 words included reference to the fact that these articles were 'short'. More importantly, comments were used to indicate the main uptake of the public act of contrition discussed in the newspaper articles. An example of a comment attached to a newspaper is indicated below in Figure 1 (App.) and regards Baros's apology for racism.

Figure 2.13 (App.): Example of comment attached to a newspaper article



Clusters of newspaper articles related to a particular story were also assigned comments summarising the key elements of the story (34 such comments altogether). these comments were used to indicate when news stories consisted of more than one event for example. These comments also included: the time span in which the articles were published, the identity of the apologisee and the apologisee, the type of breach under discussion (i.e. offence), and the particulars of the news story being discussed. These provided valuable information which greatly enhanced data interpretation, thus substantiating claims made in the analytic chapters (chapters 5-7). This would not have been otherwise possible for the information recorded was often complex and would have been very hard to manage manually. These comments underpin the table presenting the summaries of news stories (Appendix 2) which describes the 34 news stories included in the British and French corpora.

In relation to the six news stories during the second phase of coding (see section 4.3.3), existing comments were elaborated upon to give more precise information regarding ways in which apology news stories are constructed. These particular comments were essential to carry out the discursive analyses presented in chapters 6 and 7.

Comments were also assigned to all codes discussed in section 4.4. There were therefore 109 comments attached to the 109 codes used in the research. Each of these comments provides a brief summary of what the code refers to. It is evident that these comments changed over time as codes became increasingly precise and were useful when the data was being analysed. Such codes helped with coining, merging and renaming codes for example and gave way to the most refined accounts of what the media texts under scrutiny suggest about public acts of contrition. To conclude, although in the background of the discussions presented in the thesis, these comments (akin to notes to the analyst) were essential to carry out the discursive analyses presented in chapters 6 and 7.

Use of interrogation tools in the qualitative analysis software

ATLAS.TI offers a variety of ways in which data can be interrogated, which can be adapted depending on the premises of the study. In the thesis, the Object Crawler (interrogation tool in ATLAS.TI) was used to look for words in the media texts in the corpora and the comments attached to articles, clusters of newspaper articles or codes. It was useful, for example, in checking whether certain terms were used recurrently in articles or not or in tracing back ideas expressed in comments attached to newspapers or codes. The Query Tool (other interrogation tool in ATLAS.TI), on the other hand, allowed to retrieve data excerpts by their attached codes.

Appendix 3: Four main components of public apologies

Categories of apologisers and apologisees (British and French corpora)

The information presented in the tables below is based on the *Extensive lists of news stories* included in Appendix 2. They are organised per category of apology.

Celebrity apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>Celebrities</u> (e.g. <i>actor Baldwin</i> for abusing his daughter on the phone)	<u>Celebrities</u> (e.g. <i>actor Naceri</i> for racist remarks and unsociable behaviour)	The court General public <u>Students</u> (e.g. Patrice Chéreau to <i>students</i> of the school he decided not to work with) <u>Police officers</u> (e.g. Naomi Campbell for getting a <i>Police officer</i> to hold her handbag whilst doing her community service) <u>Other celebrities</u> (e.g. Jo O'Meara for tormenting <i>Shilpa Shetty</i>) Fans <u>Celebrity's acquaintance</u> (e.g. Broadcaster and journalist Janet Street-Porter for swearing at her <i>neighbour</i>)

Media apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>Broadcasters or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>BBC</i> to Salmond for Newsnight interview by bad tempered Wark; <i>Chairman of the BBC Lord Ryder</i> for the Hutton	<u>Newspapers or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>journalist Hahn</i> to other journalist Lapix for death threats via	<u>Politicians</u> (e.g. the newspaper <i>Le Parisien</i> refused to apologise to <i>politician Royal</i>)

crisis) <u>TV channels or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Belgian presenter</i> for suggesting the French President Sarkozy was drunk at a G8 summit) <u>TV programs or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Blue Peter</i> for faking the results of a phone-in competition) <u>Newspapers or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>The Sun newspaper</i> for publishing pictures of Prince Harry and implying they were current when they were three years old) <u>Media magnate</u> (e.g. <i>Murdoch</i> to the families of Nicole Simpson and Ron Goldman for a show starring O.J. Simpson during which O.J. Simpson would have made a 'hypothetical' account of how he could have killed his wife and her friend)	email) <u>News services or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Reuters</i> for altering pictures and publishing them without acknowledging the alterations)	Newspapers or representatives <u>Celebrities</u> (e.g. <i>Cowell</i> to <i>Walsh</i> for evicting him from X Factor) <u>TV Viewers</u> (e.g. <i>Blue Peter</i> to its <i>viewers</i> for Faking results of phone-in competitions) Families

Political apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
POLITICIANS <u>Prime ministers</u> (e.g. <i>Spanish Prime Minister</i> for supporting the peace process with Basque separatists after a deadly car bombing) <u>Heads of state</u> (e.g. <i>President Sarkozy's</i> refusal to apologise for taking a three-day luxury cruise in the Mediterranean paid by a wealthy French man) Ministers Lords <u>Members of parliaments</u> (e.g. <i>Labour MP Ian Gibson</i> for describing constituents as 'inbred')	POLITICIANS Prime ministers Heads of state <u>Political parties or representatives</u> (e.g. the <i>Democratic Unionist Party</i> for not giving Ian Paisley's daughter a job) GOVERNMENTS <u>Governments</u> (e.g. <i>Serbo-Bosniac government</i> to Muslim and Croatian victims)	<u>Defendants</u> wrongly accused or sentenced (e.g. <i>Jack Lang</i> to <i>Alain Hodique</i> who was wrongly accused of being a paedophile) <u>Countries or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Sarkozy</i> refused to apologise to <i>Algeria/the Algerian people</i> for crimes during the Algerian war; the Japanese PM to <i>the nation</i> for rigging town meetings to give the impression voters were sympathetic towards the official policy) <u>Members of the general public</u> (e.g. <i>Segolène Royal</i> apologised to a

<u>Political parties or representatives</u> (e.g. the <i>Democratic Unionist Party</i> for not giving Ian Paisley's daughter a job) GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS <u>Country's states</u> (e.g. <i>Virginia</i> for the slave trade or Tasmania to 'Stolen Generations' of aborigines) Countries (e.g. Britain for the slave trade) GOVERNMENTS AND GOVERNMENTAL BODIES <u>Military forces or representatives</u> (e.g. apologies from <i>ship crew members</i> during the 'Iran Navy crisis', or <i>U.S. squadron</i> for killing British Lance corporal Matty Hull in 'friendly fire') <u>Diplomacy or representatives or representatives</u> (e.g. a <i>senior U.S. Diplomat</i> for saying that President Bush's Iraq policy showed 'arrogance and stupidity') <u>Civil governments or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Canadian government</i> to one of its citizens for being wrongly detained) <u>Congress or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>speaker of the House of Representatives</i> in the U.S. for its failure to investigate a congressman) <u>Senate or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Senator John Kerry</i> for suggesting that dim students would end up as soldiers in Iraq) <u>Ministries or representatives</u> (e.g. the <i>Ministry of Defence</i> to all		<i>student</i> for humiliating her; Minister of Labour Affairs Killeen apologised to the <i>mother of</i> Robert Lunch after a letter was sent to ask the release of his murderer) <u>Social groups</u> (e.g. <i>descendants of slaves</i> in the case of Blair's apology for slavery, or Australian PM Howard for his refusal to apologise to <i>Stolen Generations of aborigines</i>) <u>Politician's relatives</u> (e.g. Berlusconi to <i>his wife</i> for flirting with other women) <u>Students</u> (e.g. Kerry to <i>students</i> for suggesting they would end up fighting in the Iraq war if they didn't study hard enough) <u>Homosexuals</u> (e.g. Minister Ian Paisley for saying homosexuality damages society) <u>Women</u> (e.g. Japanese Prime minister to <i>women</i> for calling them 'birth giving device') Constituents (e.g. Labour MP Gibson for describing his <i>constituents</i> as 'inbred') <u>Army</u> (e.g. former Democratic presidential candidate to <i>U.S. troops</i> for suggesting that bad students would end up in Iraq) <u>Member of the armed forces</u> (e.g. Ministry of Defence to <i>servicemen and women</i> who suffered persecution and discrimination before the ban on homosexuality was lifted) Political parties or representatives (e.g. Prescott to the <i>Labour Party</i> for letting it down) <u>Businesses</u> (e.g. HM

servicemen and women who suffered discrimination before the ban on homosexuality was lifted) <u>The British Foreign Office or representatives</u> (e.g. apology to the victims of the Tsunami for the failure of British diplomats to deal with the aftermath of the disaster) <u>Non-ministerial departments of the government or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs</i> for accusing small business owners of underpaying their taxes)		Revenue and Customs for accusing <i>small business owners</i> of underpaying their taxes)

Business apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>Businesses or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Network Rail</i> for Paddington disaster, <i>Ribena</i> for false claims about vitamins in its products, <i>firm bidding for Britain's first 'super casino' on the site of the Millennium Dome</i> for producing a document suggesting that local religious leaders were supportive of the development, <i>British Airlines</i> for using first class seats store corpses, <i>Tesco</i> to its customers for supplying contaminated petrol)	<u>Businesses or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>cable operator Noos-Numericable</i> to its customers for being unable to provide due services)	Train users British citizens Consumers <u>Motorists</u> (e.g. <i>Tesco</i> to <i>motorists</i> for supplying contaminated petrol) <u>Vegetarians</u> (e.g. <i>Mars</i> to <i>vegetarians</i> for attempting to use animal products in their chocolate bars) <u>Shareholders</u> (e.g. <i>Apple</i> computer chide executive Steve Jobs to his <i>shareholders</i> for manipulation of stock options)

Religious apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>Religious groups or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Church of England</i> for the slave trade; <i>Archbishop of Canterbury</i> for the Church's failure to turn paedophile Halliday to the Police)	<u>Religious groups or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>the Pope</i> to Muslims for his controversial quote about the Prophet Muhammad in one of his speeches; <i>the Polish Catholic Church representative Wiegus</i> for collaborating with former Polish Communist Secret Police)	<u>Victims of sexual abuse</u> (e.g. the Church of England to <i>sexual abuse victims</i> of Vicar Smith) People of other faiths

Sports apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>Players</u> (e.g. <i>footballer Johnson</i> to footballer Naylor for headbutt; <i>cricket player Flintoff</i> for drinking excessively after a match) <u>Team managers</u> (e.g. <i>Chelsea football team manager Mourinho</i> to footballer Johnson for calling him a 'diver'; <i>Chelsea football team manager Mourinho</i> to footballer Cristiano Ronaldo for calling him 'immature, ill-educated and disrespectful'; <i>Arsenal football team manager Wenger</i> for Arsenal players' aggressive behaviour during the Carling Cup Final Brawl) <u>Referees</u> (e.g. <i>referee White</i> for the 'misunderstanding' which cost Wales the chance of leaving with a draw) <u>Supporters</u> (e.g. <i>West Ham supporters</i> to Italian court for clashes with rival supporters after losing the game) <u>Football clubs or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Motherwell Football Club</i> to Scotland for its supporters racially abusing Scottish players during a game)	<u>Players</u> (e.g. <i>footballer Baros'</i> refusal to apologise for racist behaviour on the pitch) <u>Players' relatives</u> (e.g. <i>Rezaï family</i> to French tennis captain Goven for insulting him) <u>Supporters</u> (e.g. <i>Danish football supporter</i> for assaulting a referee)	Sports people Countries <u>Towns</u> (e.g. Ferdinand to <i>West Ham</i> for lying about his whereabouts) <u>Court</u> (e.g. West Ham fans to <i>Italian Court</i>) <u>Supporters</u> (e.g. Sven for letting down supporters)

Societal apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>High-rank offender</u> (e.g. <i>one of the alleged July 21 bombers</i> to the people he terrified by detonating the bomb, or one of the captives during the Iran Navy crisis for making fun of his capture in a club) Social groups or representatives <u>Judges</u> (e.g. <i>Monaghan District justice Sean McBride</i> for saying he would shoot burglars if they tried to penetrate his house) <u>Prison or representatives</u> (prison bosses to a man for freeing his wife's killer without telling him) College (e.g. <i>a college</i> for Muhammad cartoons in a college magazine)	Novelist Public institutions (e.g. council) Weather forecast agency Drink driver	<u>Individuals</u> (e.g. Novelist Seierstad refuses to apologise to <i>the people from real life she describes in her book</i>) <u>TV viewers</u> (e.g. the national weather forecast agency for wrongly predicting good weather) <u>Apologiser's relative</u> (e.g. teenage girl to <i>her parents</i> for ruining their house during a party she held) <u>Unidentifiable group</u> (e.g. one of the alleged July 21 bombers to <i>the people he terrified by detonating the bomb on the tube</i>) <u>Children</u> (e.g. a local authority apologises to <i>three children</i> for years of abuse by a foster parent) <u>Town</u> (e.g. family of Sir John Betjeman to <i>Slough</i> for Sir John Betjeman's ridiculing of the town 70 years ago) Individuals (e.g. Novelist Asne Seierstad refuses to apologise to <i>the people from real life she describes in her book</i>) <u>Lawyers</u> (e.g. the U.S. attorney general to <i>eight lawyers</i> dismissed by his department)

Court apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>Defendants</u> involved in court cases (e.g. <i>murderer Noble</i> to McLoughlin's family for	<u>Defendant</u> involved in court cases (e.g. <i>murderer Duviau</i> to his dead victims)	<u>The victims</u> (e.g. a rapist to <i>his victim</i>) <u>The relatives of victims</u> (e.g. Swim coach

killing her)		O'Rourke to <i>his victims and their families</i> General public

Police apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>The Police or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Police representative</i> for ordering the destruction of evidence from 1998 mortar attack, <i>the Police</i> to the family of disappeared Jean McConville for a series of mistakes) <u>The Irish Police officers/i.e. Garda/Gardai</u> (e.g. <i>Gardai</i> to the family of Derek O'Toole for running him over and not letting his family know how he died) <u>The Welsh Police or representatives</u> (e.g. The North Wales Police for wrongly detaining innocent man at gunpoint) The Police Service of Northern Ireland/PSNI or representatives <u>The Metropolitan Police or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>Ian Blair</i> for the wrong investigation into Dizaei, an ethnic minority officer) The US Police force or representatives Chief constable	<u>Police officers</u> (e.g. <i>Policeman Granomort</i> for killing someone while in service)	<u>Individuals</u> (Garda Commissioner to <i>Shortt</i> for being wrongly jailed) Families of murder victims

School apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>School teachers</u> (e.g. <i>a school teacher</i> for calling a student a 'cripple') <u>Schools or representatives</u> (e.g. <i>a school</i> for teachers calling students 'dingbat' and 'wally' in a confidential report).	N/A	Parents

Hospital apologies

Apologiser (British corpus)	Apologiser (French corpus)	Apologisees (British and French corpora)
<u>Hospitals</u> (e.g. <i>a hospital</i> for putting a patient in a storeroom to die; <i>hospital bosses</i> for taking two days to treat an injured baby) <u>Hospital trust</u> (e.g. a hospital trust after a patient contracted two superbugs) <u>NHS</u> (e.g. <i>NHS</i> to a patient for blood poisoning)	N/A	Patients <u>Relatives of patients</u> (e.g. <i>hospital</i> to <i>the family of a six-month old baby</i> who was given back his body with the brain missing)

Categories of offences (British corpus)

Political apologies

1. Early release of prisoners
2. Homophobia
3. Personal poor performance (e.g. Blair for the times he fell short in his valedictory speech)
4. Tarnishing the reputation of major institutions (e.g. tarnishing the reputation of the Navy during the Iran crisis)
5. Mistakes affecting particular social groups (e.g. junior doctors)
6. Adultery
7. Entering foreign waters without permission
8. Using taxpayer money inappropriately (e.g. use of office to raise money)
9. Excessive drinking
10. Historical wrongs
11. Killing by mistake (e.g. U.S. troop killing British officer by mistake)
12. Racism
13. Cash donations
14. Inappropriate remarks about other public figures (e.g. suggestions that Gordon Brown is autistic)
15. Inappropriate claims about other nations (e.g. suggesting that people of Papua New Guinea are cannibals)
16. Sexism
17. War crimes (e.g. enslavement, genocide, killing of people, torture, etc.)
18. Selling of Iran crisis related stories
19. Gaffe (e.g. comments about people of Papua New Guinea)
20. Imposing poll tax on Scotland
21. Inappropriate claims about constituents
22. Helping partner's pay rise
23. Wrongfully detaining someone in prison
24. Failure to investigate politicians whose behaviour is not appropriate
25. Taking a country to war (e.g. Blair for the Iraq War)
26. Backlog of criminal records from Britons convicted in Europe
27. Anti-Semitism
28. Suggesting South African ANC was a terrorist group
29. Luxury holidays
30. Supporting terrorist groups
31. Joke
32. Denying the existence of a genocide (e.g. Chirac about the Armenian Genocide)

33. Inappropriate claims about other political parties (e.g. Scottish nationalist described as xenophobic)
34. Early release of prisoners
35. Failure to look after people having served in Iraq
36. Failure to handle the aftermath of natural catastrophes
37. Calling Celtic fans 'gypsies'
38. Feuding between politicians
39. Rigging meetings to give impression that voters are sympathetic to official policy
40. Lying to the nation
41. Wrong accusations (e.g. small businesses underpaying their taxes)
42. Insulting
43. Discrimination
44. Tax dodging
45. Wrong imprisonment
46. Death of soldiers
47. Spoof videos of other politician (e.g. David Cameron)
48. Insults
49. Pay issues
50. Holding information (e.g. cockpit video)

Sports apologies

1. Offensive claims about other sports person
2. Headbutt
3. Excessive drinking
4. Unsatisfying referring
5. Physically aggressive behaviour
6. Abusive behaviour
7. Sexism
8. Losing one's temper
9. Getting a red card
10. Letting down supporters
11. Poor performance of football team (e.g. Fletcher for England's incompetence)
12. Sarcastic behaviour
13. Inappropriate remarks on radio
14. Drug use (e.g. cocaine)

Celebrity apologies

1. Joke
2. Pro-Nazism or Anti-Semitism
3. Mildly anti-social behaviour (e.g. Campbell asking a police officer to hold her handbag while doing community service)
4. Racism
5. Adultery
6. Carrying daughter on the rack of bicycle
7. Abusive language (e.g. swearing at neighbour)
8. Calling someone a terrorist

Media apologies

1. Phone-in scam/faking competitions
2. Evicting people from show
3. Inappropriate behaviour of TV presenters in their show
4. Joke
5. Racism
6. Publishing of pictures pretending they are current when 3 years old
7. Confusing people in news reports
8. Wrong claims about public figures (e.g. suggesting President Sarkozy was drunk at a G8 Summit)
9. Inappropriate screening on TV (e.g., goat killing on children's TV)
10. Discriminatory remarks against countries (e.g. parts of Northern Scotland as 'Nowheresville')
11. Showing inappropriate TV programs

Business apologies

1. Railway accident
2. Producing false evidence
3. False claims
4. Unsatisfying services (e.g. corpses in first class on British Airlines planes, contaminated petrol in Tesco)

5. Racism
6. Inconvenience caused by strikes
7. Disappointing customers (e.g. Mars to vegetarians for considering using animal products in their chocolate bars)
8. Joke
9. Death of people
10. Manipulation of stock options
11. Spying
12. Recall of goods (e.g. Sony's recall of laptop batteries)
13. Overcharging
14. Granting share options at backdated prices to executives

Court apologies

1. Murder
2. Helping murder
3. Rape
4. Unfair dismissal of lawyers
5. Anti-social claims (e.g. judge suggesting he would kill burglars coming to his house)

Religious apologies

1. Failure to help with the handling of paedophiles
2. Sexual abuse
3. Islamophobia
4. Racism
5. For being homosexual
6. Sexism

Societal apologies

1. Death
2. Joke
3. Terrifying people

4. Making fun of something serious
5. Kissing someone in public
6. Trashing parents' house
7. Damaging art work
8. Failure to attend children's needs (e.g. torture and beating by foster parents for years)
9. Sexism
10. Invasion of privacy
11. Humiliating towns (e.g. Slough)
12. Anti-Semitism
13. Penalty errors (e.g. HM Revenue and Customs)
14. Stealing
15. Inaction

Police apologies

1. Covering up facts (e.g. hiding from victim's family the conditions of the victim's death)
2. Destroying evidence
3. Mistakes during enquiries
4. Wrongly contributing to the death of someone
5. Racism
6. Joke
7. Wrong arrests (e.g. Forest Gate news story)
8. Failure to perform duties appropriately (e.g. failure to prevent child's ordeal)
9. Wrong imprisonment
10. Freeing of man without letting victim's family know
11. Mistaking the identity of an offender

School apologies

1. Inappropriate claims about students
2. Revealing truth about Santa Claus
3. Islamophobia
4. Bad treatment of children

Hospital apologies

1. Unsatisfying treatment (e.g. fixing the wrong leg, gluing eyes shut)
2. Taking time to attend patient
3. Making mistakes post mortem (e.g. returning a bay to his parents without the brain)
4. Contributing to death of patient
5. Contributing to patients
6. Contracting superbugs
7. Blood poisoning (Poor attention to patients)

Categories of offences (French corpus)

Political apologies

1. Wrong accusations (e.g. of being a paedophile/terrorist for example)
2. Humiliation of someone
3. Entering foreign waters
4. Historical wrongs (e.g. slavery, sex slaves)
5. Minor inconvenience (e.g. holding someone at airport)
6. War atrocities (e.g. Algerian war)
7. Genocide
8. Losing a referendum
9. Adultery
10. flirtation
11. Unacceptable threats (e.g. threatening students that they would end up in Iraq)
12. Deceiving behaviour (e.g. hiding information)
13. Insulting
14. Violence against civilians
15. Insulting remarks

Sports apologies

1. Physically aggressive behaviour
2. Racism
3. Insulting
4. Injuring other player
5. Assaulting a referee
6. Insulting team manager (apology from player)

Celebrity apologies

1. Aggressive behaviour
2. Racism
3. Disappointment
4. Unlawful behaviour (entering someone's property without permission)

Media apologies

1. Death threats
2. Forcing staff to leave
3. Using altered pictures
4. Phone-in scams
5. Caricatures

Business apologies

1. Poor quality of services
2. Concealing the truth

Court apologies

1. Murder

Religious apologies

2. Islamophobia
3. Collaboration with communist secret Police

Societal apologies

1. Representing prejudices in a movie
2. Offensively representing people in a novel
3. Forgetting 3 year old child on bus for 4 hours
4. Drink driving
5. Wrongly predicting good weather

Police apologies

1. Killing someone

School apologies

2. N/A

Hospital apologies

3. N/A

Appendix 4: Public apology strategies in the corpora

List of abbreviations devised to discuss core and peripheral apology strategies

Core strategies implying full acknowledgement of responsibility:

[DF]: demand for forgiveness
[OAn]: offer of apology with the noun 'apology'
[OAp]: offer of apology with the performative verb 'apologise'
[SA]: sorry-based apology

Core strategies implying partial acknowledgement of responsibility:

[EReg]: expression of regret
[ESad]: expression of sadness
[ESha]: expression of shame
[ESorr]: expression of sorrow

Core strategies implying no acknowledgement of responsibility:

[DenO]: denial of offence
[ENR]: expression of no regret
[RTA]: refusal to apologise

Peripheral strategies (beneficial to the apologiser):

[Def]: explanation which takes the form of a defence, i.e. the apologiser defends his or her position
[DownO]: downplaying of the offence meant to suggest that the offence is not as bad as it seems
[DR]: denial of responsibility
[Expl]: explanation of the event, i.e. the apologiser provides information regarding the context of the apology process
[IF]: apologies if/for the offence caused, i.e. prototypical partial apologies
[PNF]: promise of non forbearance, i.e. the apologiser commits himself or herself to not doing the offence again in the future
[REvent]: explanation which takes the form of an overt reinterpretation of events, i.e. the apologiser gives information which is meant to positively impact on the recipient's perception of the breach
[SP]: self-promotion which allows the apologiser to present himself or herself in a better light despite the face threat implied by the apology context
[Vic]: attempt by the apologiser to present himself or herself as a victim so as to gain the sympathy of the addressee(s)

Peripheral strategies (beneficial to the):

[AG]: admission of guilt, i.e. overt acknowledgement of wrongdoing or responsibility

[AR]: proposition of additional remedy

[Boos]: instances when apologisers combine their core apology expressions with a lexical item which is meant to enhance the felicity of the apology, i.e. the apologiser presents his or her 'unreserved apologies' or 'sincere regrets' for example

[DissO]: dissociation from the offence

[EEmp]: expression of empathy, i.e. the apologiser indicates that he or she feels empathy towards the apologisee

[EResp]: expression of respect towards the apologisee

[PF]: promise of forbearance

[RO]: repudiation of offence, i.e. overt move by the apologiser to show that he disapproves of the offence

[SD]: Self denigration

Core apology expressions

The table below presents the core strategies identified for the 34 news stories in the final version of the corpora.

Table 4.1 (App.): Core apology expressions

News story	Core apology expression used to apologise by public figures
Sports apology Baros for racism	Je n'ai pas à m'excuser car si je m'excusais, cela voudrait dire que je suis coupable [Def]. < I don't have to apologise because if I apologised, it would mean that I am guilty [Def]. >
Sports apology Zidane for headbutt (2 events)	Event 1 (Zidane's apology for headbutting Materazzi during the final of the 1998 football World Cup): "That is why I apologise, especially to the children of the world, hundreds of millions of children, who were watching [OAp]. I cannot say that I regret what I did [ENR], because to say that would be to accept that what he said was right [Def]." Event 2 (Materazzi's interview two months after the incident): Et Zidane, s'il le veut, sait comment trouver mon adresse [Def].
Political apology Abe to comfort women (2 events)	Event 1 (Abe's refusal to apologise for using women of Asian origin for prostitution during WW2 at the start of March 2006): I must say we will not apologise [RTA]. Event 2 (Abe's apology end of March 2006): I am apologising here and now as the prime minister [OAp].
Political apology Berlusconi to his wife	Dear Veronica, here is my apology [OAn].
Political apology Blair for slavery	Personally I believe the bicentenary offers us a chance not just to say how profoundly shameful the slave trade [ESham] was, (...) but also to express our deep sorrow that it ever happened, that it ever could have happened [ESorr] (...)
Political apology Blair for the times he fell short	I give my thanks to you the British people for the times that I have succeeded and my apologies to you for the times I've fallen short [OAn].

Political apology Boris Johnson to people of Papua New Guinea	I'm apologising for the offence caused [OAp/IF] - how about that?
Political apology The British Navy crisis (2 series of events)	First series of events (Crew member Summers' apology): I'd like to apologise for entering your waters without any permission [OAp]. (...) and again I deeply apologise for entering your waters [OAp]. Second series of events (apologies for selling stories by a crew member): If I had caused any distress to families and friends of servicemen killed in action then I am sorry [SA/IF]. Second series of events (apology by Mr Browne, Defense Secretary): And to the extent that what has happened has caused people to question the hard-won reputation of the armed forces, that is something I profoundly regret [EReg]. (...) It seems clear to me that I have expressed a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology [OAn]. If you want me to say, 'I am sorry', I am happy to say, 'I am sorry' [SA/IF].
Political apology Cameron for misuse of office	Mr Cameron apologised "unreservedly" [OAp].
Political apology Devedjian to Comparini	I naturally deeply regret these words ... [EReg].
Political apology Hewitt for issue over junior doctors (2 events)	Event 2 (apology following issue with online job application for junior doctors): This has been a time of great distress for junior doctors and their families and I apologise unreservedly to them for the anxiety that has been caused [OAp].
Political apology Kony LRA to Uganda	Le leader, Joseph Kony, a demandé « pardon » [DF] le 1^{er} août pour les atrocités commises par son mouvement. < The leader, Joseph Kony, asked for « forgiveness » [DF] on the 1 August for the atrocities carried out by his movement. >
Political apology MacNeil for flirting with two adolescents	I bitterly regret that this incident occurred [EReg], apologise to my family for causing them embarrassment and hurt [OAp]. (...) I also apologise to the young women involved and their families [OAp]. I really should have known very much better.
Political apology Newell for sexist remarks (2 events)	Event 1 (Newell's first apology on the 14.11.06) : My comments after the game were ill-timed and out of order and it was always my intention to apologise to Amy [REvent]. I wanted to apologise to her privately [REvent]. I wanted to do that first before I spoke to anyone publicly but I could not get hold of her [REvent]. I obviously apologised to Amy but we talked about things and she was fine [REvent/OAp]. Event 2 (Newell's second apology after the Luton board met on the 15.11.06): My apology to Amy Rayner and to anyone I've offended is unreserved [OAn].
Political apology	I want to start mine [his speech] by saying sorry [SA]. In the last year I let myself down and I let you down. So, conference, I just

Prescott for letting party down	wanted to say sorry [SA] .
Political apology Royal to a student party member for harsh remark in public	«Si elle s'est sentie humiliée, je le regrette [EReg] . Ce n'était pas du tout l'objectif, je m'en excuse [OAp] . < If she felt humiliated, I regret it [EReg] . It wasn't the aim at all, I apologise [OAp] . >
Political apology Serbo-Bosniac government to victims	NO VERBATIM APOLOGIES
Political apology Ahern for donations	To them [the public] and to the Irish people, I offer my apologies [OAn] .
Political apology Canada for wrongful detention	On behalf of the government, I wish to apologise to you . . . and your family for any role Canadian officials may have played in the terrible ordeal that all of you experienced [OAn] .
Political apology U.S. for discrimination	NO VERBATIM APOLOGIES
Political apology The State of Virginia for slavery	In a resolution that passed unanimously in both chambers of the state general assembly in Richmond, legislators offered their "profound regret" [EReg] for the enslavement of millions of Americans.
Political apology Wolfowitz for role in partners pay rise	I made a mistake, for which I am sorry, [SA] said Mr Wolfowitz, 63.
Media apology Blue Peter for phone-in issue (3 events)	Event 1 (Konnie Huq's apology, one of the program's presenters): We'd like to say sorry [SA] to you because when this mistake happened, we let you down. Event 2 (Controller of BBC Children's Television's apology (Richard Deverell): I would like to apologise unequivocally to viewers, to all the children who took part in the competition [OAp] , and we have already apologised directly to the child involved and her family for this incident [REvent] . Event 3 (Richard Marson's apology, Blue Peter's editor): We are absolutely committed to running competitions that are fair to all entrants and we are very sorry for the way this competition was conducted [SA] .
Media apology GMTV for phone-in issue (2 events)	Event 1 (Paul Corley's apology, Managing director of GMTV): Mr Corley told viewers: I'd just like to apologise for everything that's gone on [OAp] . Event 2 (apology by firm responsible for phone-in issue, Opera Interactive Technology): In a major U-turn, Opera Interactive Technology apologised "unreservedly" [OAp] to viewers.
Celebrity apology Big Brother apologies (from Jade Goody,	First series of events (O'Meara's refusal to apologise): I was myself in the house, absolutely. I'm not sorry [RTA] and I'd do it again.

Danielle Lloyd and Jo O'Meara to other contestant of Indian origin Shilpa Shetty for racism) (2 series of events)	Second series of events (Lloyd's apology): I'd like to apologise for the words I've said [OAp]. They were not meant to be racist, I'm not a racist. Second series of events (O'Meara's apology): I am genuinely sorry [SA]. Second series of events (Goody's apology just after being evicted from Big Brother): Sincerely, with my hand on my heart, I apologise to everyone I've offended [OAp]. Second series of events (Goody's second apology to News of the World): I want to sincerely apologise to anybody of any ethnic region or any race white, black, Indian or anything else [OAp]. I'm so sorry. Second series of events (Goody's third apology on Indian television): I'd like to approach the Indian people face-to-face and apologise for all the pain and hurt that I have caused them [OAp].
Celebrity apology Delarue for behaviour	Je regrette beaucoup ce qui s'est passé. Je tiens à renouveler mes excuses [OAn] vis-à-vis de l'ensemble des passagers et du personnel navigant pour avoir perturbé leur voyage. < I deeply regret what happened. I want to offer my apologies again [OAn] to all the passengers and the cabin staff for disturbing their trip. >
Celebrity apology Ferry for Nazi remarks	I apologise unreservedly for any offence caused by my comments on Nazi iconography [OAp/IF].
Celebrity apology Mel Gibson for anti-Semitism (3 events)	Event 1 (first apology end of July): I apologise for any behaviour unbecoming of me in my inebriated state [OAp]. Event 2 (second apology start of August): I want to apologise specifically to everyone in the Jewish community for the vitriolic and harmful words that I said to a law enforcement officer the night I was arrested [OAp].
Celebrity apology Sevrin for racism Difficult to tell whether it is verbatim or not	'Dans un entretien au Parisien, dimanche 10 décembre, Pascal Sevrin a exprimé ses regrets [EReg].
Court apology Duviau for murder	NO VERBATIM APOLOGIES
Court apology Granomort for killing	Je veux dire aujourd'hui à ses parents que je suis désolé [SA] que leur fils se soit trouvé sur le chemin de ma balle. < Today I want to tell his parents that I am sorry [SA] that their son was on the trajectory of my bullet. >
Police apology The Police for Forest Gate raid	We have apologised on three previous occasions, to the community for the disruption we caused and specifically for the injury we caused in relation to this, and I reiterate that today [iOAp].
Police apology The Police for	In acknowledging these mistakes and making this apology (...) We recognise that this has had a deep and lasting impact on certain individuals for which I apologise [OAp].

investigation into Dizaei	
Religious apology The Pope for his remarks on Islam (2 events)	Event 1 (The Pope Benedict XVI's first attempt to end the polemic caused by his comments on Islam): He [the Pope] said he was "deeply sorry for the reactions to a brief passage considered offensive to the feelings of Muslim believers [SA]. Event 2 (Meeting between the Pope and Muslim leaders) : Speaking during his weekly audience at St Peter's Square, he expressed a "profound respect" [EResp] for Muslims.

Core and peripheral strategies

The tables below present the core and peripheral strategies identified in the 34 news stories of the final version of the corpus.²⁸

Table 4.2 (App.): Core and peripheral apology expressions

Sport apology	Baros for racism (1 event)
	(...) « Je n'ai rien dit de raciste à Mbida [DenO 1], mais on s'est parlés entre nous comme cela se passe dans tous les matchs de football. Depuis le début, on s'échangeait des mots qui ne sont pas très sympathiques du style : 'Je vais te mettre des coups'. [Expl]» (...) « Je serais d'accord d'être puni si j'avais fait quelque chose, mais là, je n'ai rien fait [DenO 2]. Je n'ai pas à m'excuser car si je m'excusais, cela voudrait dire que je suis coupable. [Def]» (Le Figaro – 21.04.07)

Sports apology	Zidane for headbutt (1 event)
Zidane's apology for headbutting Materazzi during the final of the 1998 football World Cup	«J'ai réagi par un geste qui n'est pas pardonnable [AG] et je m'en excuse [OAp] auprès des gens et des enfants et des éducateurs aussi. Je tiens à le dire haut et fort, ce n'est pas un geste à faire [AG]. Mais je ne peux le regretter [ENR] car cela voudrait dire qu'il a eu raison de dire ce qu'il a dit. Et cela, non, surtout pas. [Def]» (Le Figaro – 13.07.06) "I cannot say that I regret what I did [ENR], because to say that would be to accept that what he said was right [Def]," Zidane said in a special live interview on Canal+ television in France "I would rather be punched in the face than hear words like that [REvent]." "What I did was unpardonable [RO]. I accept that. That is

²⁸ News stories are grouped per apology categories. When strategies are doubled up (e.g. [DenO/PNF]) this indicates that the utterance being analysed may be interpreted as an example of both categories. This obviously suggests the overlapping between certain categories, particularly [Expl], [Def], and [REvent], for the latter two strategies may be considered to be sub-categories of [Expl] with a particular focus.

	why I apologise [OAp], especially to the children of the world, hundreds of millions of children, who were watching. I have children of my own. I always tell them not to behave as I did [REvent]." (The Independent – 13.07.06)
Event 2 Materrazi's interview two months after the incident	« Pour l'instant, il ne m'a toujours pas demandé pardon, ce n'est surtout pas à moi de lui demander [REvent]. Au plus, c'est à sa soeur que je dois des excuses [REvent], mais je jure qu'avant que tout ce « bazar » n'arrive, je ne savais même pas que Zidane avait une soeur. [Expl] » « On fait la paix après une guerre terrible et nous ne pourrions pas la faire [REvent]. La porte de ma maison sera toujours ouverte [REvent/SP]. Et Zidane, s'il le veut, sait comment trouver mon adresse. [Def] » (L'Humanité – 06.09.06)

Political apology	Abe to comfort women (2 events)
Event 1 Abe's refusal to apologise for Japanese soliders coercing women into prostitution during WW2 (delivered at the start of March 2006)	"I must say we will not apologise [RTA] even if there's a (US) resolution," Mr Abe told MPs in a lengthy debate, during which he also said he stood by Japan's landmark 1993 apology on the brothels. (The Guardian – 05.03.07) « Il n'y a eu aucune coercition, [DenO] telle que des enlèvements, perpétrée par les autorités japonaises. Aucun témoignage fiable ne corrobore cela [Def]. » Rappelant que le gouvernement japonais avait présenté des excuses, partielles et du bout des lèvres, en 1993, il a aussitôt modulé : « Ce n'est pas comme si la Police militaire avait pénétré dans les domiciles des gens et les avait emmenés comme des ravisseurs [REvent]. ». (L'humanité - 06.03.07)
Event 2 Abe's apology (delivered at the end of March 2006)	"I am apologising here and now as the prime minister [OAp 1], as it is stated in the Kono statement," Mr Abe said. "I feel sympathy for the people who underwent hardships [EEmp], and I apologise for the fact that they were placed in this situation at the time [OAp 2]." (The Guardian -27.03.07)

Political apology	Berlusconi to his wife (1 event)
	In an extraordinary statement sent to Italian news agencies, he said: 'Dear Veronica, here is my apology [OAn 1]. 'I was recalcitrant in private because I am playful and also proud [Def]. When challenged in public the temptation to give in to you is strong. I could not resist. [Expl/REvent]' He said they had done 'many wonderful things' together, but added: 'My days are mad, as you know. Work, politics, problems, travel and the public eye [Expl]. It never finishes [Expl].' This, he wrote, 'opens little spaces of irresponsibility' and led him to make 'thoughtless comments' [Expl]. 'But believe me, I never proposed marriage to anyone [DenO].

	Therefore forgive me, I beg you [DF], and accept this public apology [OAn 2] that I offer up to your anger as an act of love. One of many. A big kiss. Silvio.' (Daily Mail – 01.02.07)

Political apology	Blair for slavery (1 event)
	"It is hard to believe that what would now be a crime against humanity was legal at the time [RO]." "Personally I believe the bicentenary offers us a chance not just to say how profoundly shameful the slave trade was [ESha/RO], how we condemn its existence utterly [RO] and praise those who fought for its abolition [ISP], but also to express our deep sorrow that it ever happened, that it ever could have happened [ESorr] and to rejoice at the different and better times we live in today [ISP]."

Political apology	Blair for the times he fell short (1 event)
	"I give my thanks to you the British people for the times that I have succeeded and my apologies to you for the times I've fallen short [OAn]." "To be frank, I would not have wanted it any other way [IPNF]. I was, and remain, as a person and as a Prime Minister an optimist." "Politics may be the art of the possible. But at least in life, give the impossible a go." "I ask you to accept one thing. Hand on heart, I did what I thought was right [IDenO]." "I may have been wrong, that's your call. But believe one thing, if nothing else-I did what I thought was right for our country [DenO/PNF]." (The Sun – 11.05.07)

Political apology	Boris Johnson to people of Papua New Guinea (1 event)
	Boris said: "I'm not retracting what I said. [DenO 1] "The point I made about what happened 200 years ago is valid [DenO 2]. I'm apologising for the offence caused [OAp/IF] - how about that? [DownO]" (The Daily Mirror – 09.09.06) "I'd be happy to show the book to the high commissioner [AR] but I'm of course also very happy to take up her kind invite and add Papua Guinea to my global itinerary of apology." (The Independent – 09.09.06)

Political apology	The British Navy crisis (2 series of events)
First series of events Crew member Summers' apology	"I'd like to apologise for entering your waters without any permission [OAp]. I know it happened back in 2004 and our government promised that it wouldn't happen again [PF], and again I deeply apologise for entering your

	waters [OAp]." (The Sun – 31.03.07)
Second series of events Apologies for selling stories by a crew member	He said: "My understanding was that everyone would be giving interviews [REvent]. I can see why they have done the U-turn but I would have rather been told beforehand [Vic]." "If they had told me beforehand I wouldn't have done it [Vic]. I felt like I had disappointed the whole Royal Navy because only two of us did (interviews) [Vic]." He added: "I am not a money grabber [SP]. I just wanted the whole country to know my personal opinion of what happened [Expl/REvent]. If I had caused any distress to families and friends of servicemen killed in action then I am sorry [SA/IF]. Telling my story took a huge weight off my shoulders and has helped me come to terms with what has happened [Vic/Expl]." (The Independent – 12.04.07)
Second series of events Apology by Mr Browne, Defence Secretary.	Later Mr Browne, who has been buffeted for nine days over his handling of the propaganda counter-offensive against the Iranians, told a packed Commons that "in retrospect" he had made a mistake in agreeing to advice from the Navy that sailors had to be permitted to sell their accounts. "Let me be clear with the house. I made a mistake [AG] - I have been completely open about that [SP]. And to the extent that what has happened has caused people to question the hard-won reputation of the armed forces, that is something I profoundly regret [EReg]." Under further pressure from the Tories he added: "It seems clear to me that I have expressed a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology. "If you want me to say, 'I am sorry', I am happy to say, 'I am sorry' [SA]." (The Guardian -17.04.07) "I take responsibility for what happened over last weekend [AG]. I've acted to put it right [SP/Def]." (The Sun – 17.04.07)

Political apology	Cameron for misuse of office (1 event)
	Mr Cameron apologised "unreservedly" [OAp] for breaking the MPs' code of conduct. He confirmed that he had hosted seven meetings of the Conservative "Leaders' Group" in his office suite in the House of Commons, and pledged that the lunches "will not happen again" [PF]. (The Independent – 30.03.07)

Political apology	Devedjian to Comparini (1 event)
	Patrick Devedjian a hier soir téléphoné à Anne-Marie Comparini pour « s'excuser de son interjection déplacée » [OAp]. (Le Figaro – 29.06.07) In a public apology yesterday, Mr Devedjian said: "The

	exclamation I pronounced is not one of my most brilliant [AG/DownO]. "I naturally deeply regret these words ... [Def] expressed myself like that believing, by the way, that I was speaking in private.' [Def] (The Daily Telegraph – 30.06.07) « J'ignorais que nous étions enregistrés... [REvent] je ne suis pas machiste... [DenO/SP] le respect en politique est très important... [RO] ce n'est pas un mot que j'ai l'habitude d'employer. [REvent/SP] » (Aujourd'hui en France – 30.06.07)

Political apology	Hewitt for issue concerning junior doctors (2 events)
Event 2 Apology following issue with online job application for junior doctors	"This has been a time of great distress for junior doctors and their families [AG] and I apologise unreservedly to them for the anxiety that has been caused [OAp]." (The Times – 17.04.07)

Political apology	Kony LRA to Uganda
	Le leader, Joseph Kony (AP.), a demandé « pardon » [DF] le 1^{er} août pour les atrocités commises par son mouvement. (Le Figaro – 28.08.06)

Political apology	MacNeil for flirting with two adolescents (1 event)
	He said: "I bitterly regret that this incident occurred, [EReg] apologise to my family for causing them embarrassment and hurt [OAp]." "I also apologise to the young women involved and their families [OAp]. I really should have known very much better." He added: "Yes, some foolishness took place [RO] at a post-ceilidh party, which was wrong and stupid [AG/SD]. There is no allegation that anything further happened and I wish to make that absolutely clear [REvent]." "It was a lapse of judgment two years ago, for which I am sorry [SA]." (The Times – 09.04.07)

Political apology	Newell for sexist remarks (2 events)
Event 1 Newell's first apology on the 14.11.06	Newell said: "My comments after the game were ill-timed and out of order [AG] and it was always my intention to apologise to Amy [REvent]." "I wanted to apologise to her privately. I wanted to do that first before I spoke to anyone publicly but I could not get hold of her [REvent]." "I have left messages for her and I have spoken to the head of referees [Expl]. I wanted to do this because I am big enough and man enough to apologise for what I said

	[SP]. "I have learned to hold my tongue a little bit. I very rarely say things I do not mean, but I know there are times when you do have to hold your tongue and not let frustration get the better of you. [SP]" (The Daily Telegraph – 14.11.06) 'I obviously apologised to Amy but we talked about things and she was fine [REvent]. Of course I think there is a place for women in football but what I don't agree with is having women in football just for the sake of it [Def]. If they are not good enough it amounts to tokenism and that is unacceptable [Expl]. 'Sometimes you get chastised for being honest [Vic]. I've spoken to my wife about it and she agrees with me. So does my mum and so does my sister [Def/SP]. I rarely say things I don't mean but I probably need to hold my tongue sometimes [DenO].' (Daily Mail – 14.11.06)
Event 2 Newell's second apology after the Luton board met on the 15.11.06	He said: "My apology to Amy Rayner and to anyone I've offended is unreserved [OAn]. I was out of order [AG]. It's not the right time to be having that debate [Expl]. But there will come a time when I'm happy to argue my point [PNF]." (The Daily Mirror – 17.11.06) But he said: "Everyone knows I've apologised publicly and privately [REvent] and, as far as I'm concerned, the matter is closed [SP]." (The Sun – 17.11.06) He added: "I'll probably count to 10 next time [PF]. When you're in such a passionate game and microphones and cameras are thrust in front of you and you've just been beaten is probably not the right time [Def]. So I'll be more careful [PF], but if anyone takes away your passion and the things you feel strongly about, you're worthless [Def]. I won't change [PNF], but I'll keep learning [PF]. People can judge me but I'm entitled to my opinion [Def]." (The Independent – 17.11.06)

Political apology	Prescott for letting party down (1 event)
	"Tony Blair began his speech by saying thank you. I want to start mine by saying sorry [SA]. In the last year I let myself down and I let you down [AG]. So, conference, I just wanted to say sorry [SA]." (The Sun – 09.06)

Political apology	Royal to a student party member for harsh remark in public (1 event)
	«Si elle s'est sentie humiliée, je le regrette. Ce n'était pas du tout l'objectif [REvent], je m'en excuse [OAp]. C'est manifester du respect aux jeunes que de leur dire d'aller au bout de leurs idées [REvent]», a expliqué la

	présidente de Poitou-Charentes. (Le Figaro – 12.09.06)

Political apology	Serbo-Bosniac government to victims (1 event)
	NO VERBATIM APOLOGIES

Political apology	Ahern for donations (1 event)
	'It was a misjudgment [Def/AG] although not in breach of any law or code of conduct at the time [REvent]. It was not illegal or impermissible to have done what I did [REvent].' 'But I now regret the choices I made in those difficult and dark times [EReg/Vic]. The bewilderment caused to the public about recent revelations has been deeply upsetting for me, and others near and dear to me [Vic]. To them and to the Irish people, I offer my apologies [OAn].' (Daily Mail – 04.10.06)

Political apology	Canada for wrongful detention (1 event)
	"Au nom du gouvernement du Canada, je tiens à vous présenter mes excuses pour le rôle que les responsables canadiens ont pu jouer dans la terrible épreuve que vous avez vécue en 2002 et 2003 [OAn]." (Libération – 27.01.07) "On behalf of the government, I wish to apologise to you . . . and your family for any role Canadian officials may have played in the terrible ordeal that all of you experienced [OAn]."

Political apology	U.S. for discrimination (1 event)
	NO VERBATIM APOLOGIES

Political apology	The State of Virginia for slavery (1 event)
	In a resolution that passed unanimously in both chambers of the state general assembly in Richmond, legislators offered their "profound regret" [Boos/EReg] for the enslavement of millions of Americans. "The moral standards of liberty and equality have been transgressed during much of Virginia's and America's history [AG]," the resolution says. It calls the enslavement of millions of Africans and the exploitation of native Americans "the most horrendous of all depredations of human rights and violations of our founding ideals in our nation's history [AG]". (...) "The abolition of slavery was followed by systematic discrimination, enforced segregation, and other insidious institutions and practices towards Americans of African

	descent that were rooted in racism, racial bias, and racial misunderstanding [AG]." (The Guardian – 26.02.07)

Political apology	Wolfowitz for role in partners pay rise (1 event)
	"I made a good faith effort to implement my understanding of that advice, and it was done in order to take responsibility for settling an issue that I believed had potential to harm the institution . . . In hindsight, I wish I had trusted my original instincts and kept myself out of the negotiations [REvent]." (The Guardian – 13.04.07) "I made a mistake, for which I am sorry," [SA] said Mr Wolfowitz, 63. (The Daily Telegraph – 13.04.07)

Media apology	Blue Peter for phone-in issue (3 events)
Event 1 Konnie Huq's apology, one of the programme's presenters	"We'd like to say sorry [SA] to you because when this mistake happened, we let you down [AG]." (The Daily Telegraph – 15.03.07)
Event 2 Controller of BBC Children's Television's apology Richard Deverell	"Whilst I am satisfied that there was no premeditated attempt to deceive or mislead viewers [REvent/SP], the decision to put a child on air in this way was a serious error of judgment [AG], and does not conform to either the BBC's own guidelines or the high standards we set ourselves in children's programmes [REvent/SP]," said Mr Deverell. (The Daily Telegraph – 15.03.07) He added: "I would like to apologise unequivocally to viewers, to all the children who took part in the competition [OAp], and we have already apologised directly to the child involved and her family for this incident [REvent]." (The Independent – 15.03.07)
Event 3 Blue Peter's editor Richard Marson's apology,	Mr Marson said: "We are absolutely committed to running competitions that are fair to all entrants [REvent] and we are very sorry for the way this competition was conducted [SA]." (The Daily Telegraph – 15.03.07)

Media apology	GMTV for phone-in issue (2 events)
Event 1 Managing director of GMTV Paul Corley's apology	Mr Corley told viewers: "I'd just like to apologise for everything that's gone on [OAp]. Two or three people at this telecoms company were taking it upon themselves to do this [REvent]." (The Guardian – 25.04.07)
Event 2	A spokesman said: "Investigations have shown certain

Apology by firm responsible for phone-in issue (Opera Interactive Technology)	irregularities in our internal processes which should have prevented anything like this from happening [Def]. We have put new systems and processes in place that will ensure that this can never happen again [PF]." (The Times – 25.04.07) In a major U-turn, Opera Interactive Technology apologised "unreservedly" [OAp/Boos] to viewers. (The Sun – 25.04.07)

Celebrity apology	Big Brother apologies (from Jade Goody, Danielle Lloyd and Jo O'Meara to other contestant of Indian origin Shilpa Shetty for racism) (2 series of events)
First series of events O'Meara's refusal to apologise	Refusing to apologise to Shilpa for her bullying racist remarks, she said: "I was myself in the house, absolutely. I'm not sorry [RTA] and I'd do it again [PNF]." (The Daily Mirror – 31.01.07) Jo, 27, said: "I am NOT a racist and I am NOT a bully [DenO 1]. I was bullied a lot at school and I hate bullies. It made me bulimic. I can't say sorry for something I'm not guilty of [DenO 2]. If I went back in there then I'd say it all again [PNF 1]. I wouldn't change a thing from my BB experience, even now, because I know the truth [PNF 2]. Big Brother has shown me unfairly [Expl]. They have not shown me as I am [SP]." (The Daily Mirror – 28.01.07) And the blonde singer hit out at her critics by declaring to host Davina McCall: "I'm no racist [DenO/SP]." (...) But after her exit to a chorus of boos, Jo insisted: "I'm not a racist person at all [DenO]. My cousin is married to an Indian man [REvent/Def]." (...) She added: "I didn't mean it in that way. I'm not a racist person at all [DenO]." (The Sun – 27.01.07)
Second series of events Lloyd's apology	Danielle, 23, interrupted as Shilpa spoke of her joy at winning and - clutching the actress's hand - said: "I'd like to apologise for the words I've said [OAp]. They were not meant to be racist, I'm not a racist [DenO]. "Shilpa is a fantastic, beautiful lady and I'm really, really sorry [SA]." (The Daily Mirror – 30.01.07)
Second series of events O'Meara's apology	The former S Club 7 star regretted any hurt she caused Bollywood actress Shilpa, saying: "I am genuinely sorry [SA]." (...) O'Meara, 27, admitted: "I am totally shattered and scared to go home [Vic]." She added: "Am I the first person in the world to make a mistake? [Vic] I'm devastated [Vic], sorry [SA] and have no idea what to do next [Vic]." (The Daily Mirror – 02.02.07)
Second series of events	"I shouldn't have done this [RO]. I'm a prick [SD/Vict]."

Goody's apology just after being evicted from Big Brother	This made my career - and it will end it [SD/Vic]." (...) It was nasty [RO]. 'Poppadom' wasn't meant in a racial form at all [Def]. "I'm not racist [DenO] but I can see why it had this impact. I look like the kind of person I don't like myself [SD]." Struggling to claw back her credibility, she insisted: "Sincerely, with my hand on my heart, I apologise to everyone I've offended [OAp]. I can't dignify myself, the video footage is nasty [AG]. "I'm not going to try to justify myself but I'm not racist, I don't judge people by the colour of their skin [DenO/SP]." (The Daily Mirror – 20.01.07)
Second series of events Goody's second apology to News of the World	'I want to sincerely apologise to anybody of any ethnic region or any race white, black, Indian or anything else [OAp]. I'm so sorry [SA].' (Daily Mail – 22.01.07)
Second series of events Goody's third apology on Indian television	The Celebrity Big Brother housemate, who has been invited to India by tourism chiefs, said: "I'd like to approach the Indian people face-to-face and apologise for all the pain and hurt that I have caused them [OAp]." (...) And Jade added: "I felt Shilpa was looking down upon me for not being very well educated and being common [Vic/Expl]." (The Daily Mirror – 26.01.07)

Celebrity apology	Delarue for behaviour (1 event)
	« J'ai vraiment pété les plombs [Def] », a-t-il expliqué hier midi sur RTL, ajoutant : « Je regrette beaucoup ce qui s'est passé [EReg]. Je tiens à renouveler mes excuses [OAn] vis-à-vis de l'ensemble des passagers et du personnel navigant pour avoir perturbé leur voyage. » (Le Figaro – 27.02.07)

Celebrity apology	Ferry for Nazi remarks (1 event)
	"I apologise unreservedly for any offence caused by my comments on Nazi iconography [OAp/IF], which were solely made from an art history perspective [REvent]. I, like every right-minded individual, find the Nazi regime, and all it stood for, evil and abhorrent [DissO]." (The Daily Telegraph – 14.05.07)

Celebrity apology	Mel Gibson for anti-Semitism (3 events)
Event 1 First apology end of July	'I acted like a person completely out of control when I was arrested [AG] and said things that I do not believe to be true [REvent] and which are despicable [DissO]. I am deeply ashamed of everything I said [AG/Vic]. 'Also, I take this opportunity to apologise to the deputies involved for my belligerent behaviour [OAp]. They probably saved me from myself [Vic]. 'I disgraced myself and my family with my behaviour

	[SD/Vic] and for that I am truly sorry [SA]. 'I have battled with the disease of alcoholism for all of my adult life [Vic] and profoundly regret my horrific relapse [EReg/Vic]. I apologise for any behaviour unbecoming of me in my inebriated state [OAp].' Gibson said he was now taking the 'necessary steps to ensure my return to health [REvent/Vic].' (Daily Mail – 31.07.06)
Event 2 Second apology start of August	"There is no excuse, nor should there be any tolerance, for anyone who thinks or expresses any kind of anti-Semitic remark, [RO]" Gibson said. "I want to apologise specifically to everyone in the Jewish community for the vitriolic and harmful words that I said to a law enforcement officer the night I was arrested [OAp]." He added: "I am in the process of understanding where those vicious words came from during that drunken display [REvent], and I am asking the Jewish community, whom I have personally offended, to help me on my journey through recovery [Vic]..." "I know there will be many in that community who will want nothing to do with me [SD], and that would be understandable [Vic]. But I pray that that door is not forever closed [Vic]." (The Independent – 02.08.06) "Please know from my heart that I am not an anti-Semite [REvent]. I am not a bigot [SP]. Hatred of any kind goes against my faith [Disso]." (The Daily Telegraph – 02.08.06)

Celebrity apology	Sevrán for racism (1 event)
	'Dans un entretien au Parisien, dimanche 10 décembre, Pascal Sevrán a exprimé ses regrets [EReg], tout en s'estimant victime d'une " manipulation [Expl] ". " Aux hommes et aux femmes que j'ai pu peiner, je veux dire ma tendresse et présenter mes excuses [OAn] ", a-t-il déclaré." Le racisme me révolte [RO]", a ajouté l'animateur, précisant toutefois : " Je veux dire que je soutiens le contrôle des naissances [REvent]", citant l'exemple de la politique chinoise. Dimanche, " Chanter la vie ", enregistrée à l'avance, a été diffusée sans qu'il soit fait mention de cette affaire' (Le Monde – 12.09.06)

Court apology	Duviau for murder (1 event)
	NO VERBATIM APOLOGIES

Court apology	Granomort for killing (1 event)
	Je veux dire aujourd'hui à ses parents que je suis désolé [SA] que leur fils se soit trouvé sur le chemin de ma balle. J'ai conscience de leur douleur. J'aimerais le leur dire en face. J'espère qu'ils me pardonneront un jour... [DF] (Aujourd'hui en France – 06.02.07)

Police apology	The Police for Forest Gate raid (1 event)
	"We have apologised on three previous occasions, to the community for the disruption we caused and specifically for the injury we caused in relation to this, and I reiterate that today [iOAp]. "I think we need to move on from apologising over and over again [IRTA]." (The Independent – 14.02.07)

Police apology	The Police for investigation into Dizaei (1 event)
	'In acknowledging these mistakes [AG] and making this apology [OAn], the Met hopes to restore to the Black Police Association a measure of trust and confidence in our organisation [PF].' (Daily Mail – 06.06.06) "The MPS accepts that in the course of Operation Helios amongst the conversations recorded and transcribed were some that were legally privileged and others which concerned matters confidential to the workings of the NBPA [AG]. The MPS recognises the damaging effect that this had on its relationship with both its own BPA, and the BPA nationally, as well as the wider effect on community relations [AG]. "We recognise that this has had a deep and lasting impact on certain individuals [AG] for which I apologise [OAp]. There is no evidence that the MPS misused any intercepted material and we have no knowledge of it being misused in any way [DenO]." (The Guardian – 06.06.06)

Religious apology	The Pope for his remarks on Islam (2 events)
Event 1 Pope Benedict XVI's first attempt to end the polemic caused by his comments on Islam	"Je suis vivement attristé [ESad] par les réactions suscitées par un bref passage de mon discours (...) considéré comme offensant pour la sensibilité des croyants musulmans alors qu'il s'agissait d'une citation d'un texte médiéval qui n'exprime en aucune manière ma pensée personnelle [REvent]", a déclaré dimanche le pape Benoît XVI lors de la célébration de l'Angelus. Il a également affirmé "espérer que cela servira à apaiser les coeurs et à clarifier le sens réel de mon discours, qui dans sa totalité [REvent] était et reste une invitation à un dialogue franc et sincère, dans le respect mutuel [EResp]". (Libération – 18.09.06) Speaking to pilgrims from the balcony of his summer residence at Castel-gandolfo, south of Rome, at midday yesterday, he said he was "deeply sorry for the reactions to a brief passage considered offensive to the feelings of Muslim believers [SA]". He went on: "These were, in fact, a quotation from a medieval text which does not in any way express my personal thought [REvent]. I hope this is

	sufficient to placate the spirits [EEmp] and to clarify the true meaning of my address which in its totality was and is an invitation to a frank and sincere dialogue, with mutual respect [REvent/SP]." (The Independent – 18.09.06) 'Durant cette audience d'une demi-heure, Benoît XVI a répété la "nécessité vitale" d'un dialogue "sincère et respectueux" [EResp] entre chrétiens et musulmans, et assuré ces derniers de son "estime" et de son "profond respect" [EResp]. (Libération - 26.09.06)
Event 2 Meeting between the Pope and Muslim leaders	Speaking during his weekly audience at St Peter's Square, he expressed a "profound respect" for Muslims [EResp].

Appendix 5: Full text of cited articles from the corpora

This appendix includes the full text of all newspaper articles from which the data examples analysed in this research are taken from. In the body of the thesis, examples indicate which newspaper articles they appeared in ATLAS.TI. This was indicated as {Art. 56}, for example, meaning the newspaper article was numbered 56 in ATLAS.TI. The articles below are therefore referred to as Art. 56; Art. 111, etc. and presented in chronological order.

Article Art. 5

Le Figaro - 21 avril 2007

Le Lyonnais Baros se défend d'être raciste après ses gestes envers Mbia, le Camerounais de Rennes

Quel sens donner aux images de Milan Baros, l'attaquant lyonnais, se pinçant le nez et agitant la main devant le Camerounais de Rennes Stéphane Mbia, comme pour éventer une mauvaise odeur ? Après l'incident qui s'est déroulé mercredi dans le rond central lors de la première période de Lyon-Rennes (0-0), le Tchèque de l'OL a tenu hier à préciser lors d'une conférence de presse : « Je ne suis pas raciste. » Et de poursuivre : « Je n'ai rien dit de raciste à Mbia, mais on s'est parlés entre nous comme cela se passe dans tous les matchs de football. Depuis le début, on s'échangeait des mots qui ne sont pas très sympathiques du style : »Je vais te mettre des coups.* » Après les excuses embarrassées du club lyonnais sur son site Internet (« Baros a simplement voulu lui exprimer ce qu'il ne sait pas dire en français : »Oublie-moi et fais-moi de l'air* »), l'incompréhension demeure.

Hier, le meilleur buteur de l'Euro 2004 au Portugal n'a d'ailleurs pas souhaité faire un quelconque mea culpa : « Je serais d'accord d'être puni si j'avais fait quelque chose, mais là, je n'ai rien fait. Je n'ai pas à m'excuser car si je m'excusais, cela voudrait dire que je suis coupable. » Défense classique. Côté rennais, le président Frédéric de Saint-Sernin s'est dit « choqué » par des « images dures et brutales » : « Même s'il ne s'agit que d'un geste pour chambrer, moi ça ne me satisfait pas. » Le lendemain du match, la commission de discipline de la Ligue de football professionnel (AFP) a annoncé qu'elle évoquerait l'affaire jeudi prochain. Le Tchèque, s'il est reconnu coupable d'attitude raciste, pourrait être suspendu pendant six matchs. Au-delà d'un inéluctable sixième titre, la fin de saison est plus qu'agitée dans la capitale des Gones. A. C. (avec AFP).

Art. 6

Libération - 1 février 2007

Veronica Lario obtient les excuses de son Berlusconi de mari; Les gens

A Rome

Silvio Berlusconi a appris hier à ses dépens qu'on ne badine pas avec la dignité de sa seconde épouse. Offensée de voir son mari courir les jupons, c'est dans une lettre ouverte, publiée sur une pleine page du quotidien de centre gauche La Repubblica, que Veronica Lario a exigé des "excuses publiques" de son mari, "faute d'en avoir reçu en privé" ! "Ma dignité de femme doit aussi servir de modèle à mes enfants", assène la mère "blessée" de trois des cinq rejetons de l'homme le plus riche d'Italie. Il y a quelques jours, l'ex-Premier ministre avait publiquement courisé une animatrice de télévision ("avec vous, j'irais n'importe où !") puis une députée de Forza Italia ("si je n'étais pas déjà marié, je l'épouserais tout de suite"). Réponse du Cavaliere, communiquée le jour même à l'agence de presse Ansa : "Ta dignité est un bien précieux que je garde dans mon coeur même quand mes lèvres profèrent des blagues irréfléchies. (...) Je te prie de m'excuser et de prendre ce témoignage public de mon orgueil qui cède à ta colère comme un acte d'amour."

Art. 7

L'Humanité - 21 avril 2007

Football. Baros refuse de s'excuser

L'attaquant tchèque de Lyon, Milan Baros, a refusé de s'excuser, hier, auprès du défenseur de Rennes, Stéphane Mbia, à la suite d'une polémique au sujet d'un geste équivoque lors du match de Ligue 1, Lyon-Rennes (0-0), mercredi à Gerland. « Je n'ai rien dit de raciste à Mbia, mais on s'est parlé entre nous comme cela se passe dans tous les matchs de football. » La polémique est née d'un geste équivoque de Baros en première période : le Tchèque s'est pincé le nez comme pour éventer une mauvaise odeur, en s'adressant à Mbia. L'OL, de son côté, a déclaré que son attaquant avait demandé au Rennais qui le marquait de près de lui faire « de l'air ».

Art. 9

Le Monde - 2 février 2007 vendredi

ITALIE; M. Berlusconi présente des excuses à son épouse

L'ancien président du conseil italien, Silvio Berlusconi, a présenté, mercredi 31 janvier, les excuses publiques que sa femme avait réclamées. Dans une lettre ouverte publiée par le quotidien La Repubblica, Veronica Berlusconi s'était émue des propos tenus par son mari lors d'une soirée de gala : " Si je n'étais pas déjà marié, je vous épouserais sur-le-champ et avec vous j'irais n'importe où ", avait-il déclaré à une jeune députée de son parti. " Je te demande de me pardonner et d'accepter comme un acte d'amour ce témoignage public de mon orgueil cédant à ta colère ", écrit M. Berlusconi dans sa lettre, qui se conclut ainsi : " Un parmi tant d'autres. Grosses bises. Silvio. "

Art. 12

Le Figaro - 28 novembre 2006

Blair condamne la traite des Noirs GRANDE-BRETAGNE...

Blair condamne la traite des Noirs GRANDE-BRETAGNE. Alors que les Britanniques s'apprêtent à célébrer au printemps le bicentenaire de l'abolition de la traite des Noirs, le premier ministre Tony Blair a dénoncé hier un « crime contre l'humanité », et exprimé sa « profonde douleur qu'il ait jamais existé ». Il n'a cependant pas présenté d'excuses pour le rôle qu'y a joué son pays. Radioactivité dans deux endroits de Londres GRANDE-BRETAGNE. De nouvelles traces de substances radioactives ont été trouvées dans deux lieux au centre de Londres après la mort de l'ex-agent russe Alexandre Litvinenko, empoisonné au polonium-210. Il s'agirait de bureaux dans le West End et d'un immeuble à Mayfair.

Art. 18

Le Monde - 7 avril 2007 samedi

Marins britanniques libérés : " Aucun accord ", selon Tony Blair

" Il n'y a eu aucun accord d'aucune sorte " : Tony Blair a réaffirmé, jeudi 5 avril, que la libération des 15 marins britanniques n'avait été le résultat d'aucune transaction ni négociation. Interrogé sur l'existence d'une " lettre d'excuses " évoquée par Téhéran, le premier ministre britannique a éludé la question. Il a écarté l'hypothèse d'un échange de prisonniers avec les cinq Iraniens arrêtés par les forces américaines dans le Kurdistan irakien, soulignant que ceux-ci étaient détenus " à cause de leur ingérence dans les affaires de l'Irak ". Tony Blair a promis de maintenir envers l'Iran une " stratégie duale ", " une approche ferme mais calme ", sans laquelle il " serait absolument naïf de croire que nos militaires auraient été libérés ". Il a constaté que " de nouvelles lignes de communication ont été ouvertes " avec Téhéran, et qu'il serait " sensé " de mieux les utiliser. Mais, a-t-il accusé, " il y a des éléments du régime iranien qui appuient, financent, arment et soutiennent le terrorisme en Irak ". Il a dénoncé " l'horrible réalité du terrorisme " qui s'est manifestée, jeudi, par la mort, près de Bassora (sud) de quatre soldats britanniques et de leur interprète, tués par une bombe.

Les 15 marins, arrivés jeudi en milieu de journée à Londres et aussitôt transférés vers la base de Chivenor, dans le sud-ouest de l'Angleterre, y ont retrouvé leurs familles. Dans son ensemble, la presse britannique s'est félicitée que la crise ait été résolue grâce à la " bonne vieille diplomatie ". La presse iranienne oscille, quant à elle, entre la jubilation et la condescendance envers la Grande-Bretagne, baptisée le " Petit Satan " par les médias radicaux. Cette affaire est une " gifle, selon le quotidien conservateur Resalat, pour les pays qui pensent pouvoir empiéter sur le territoire de l'Iran ". " Aucun pays, selon le journal gouvernemental Iran, ne peut jouer les gros bras pour faire peur à l'Iran. "

Art. 19

Le Figaro - 31 mars 2007

Téhéran fait parler un deuxième marin britannique

ASSIS devant un rideau à fleurs, le jeune marin Nathan Thomas Sommers a dû se prêter, hier, à son tour, à l'exercice des aveux devant la caméra d'al-Alam, la télévision iranienne en langue arabe. Ce second témoignage, qui a aussitôt déclenché la colère de Londres, révèle l'entêtement de Téhéran à obtenir des excuses officielles de la Grande-Bretagne avant de considérer la possibilité d'une libération des quinze Britanniques. « Nous sommes entrés dans les eaux iraniennes sans autorisation et avons été arrêtés par les garde-frontières iraniens et j'aimerais présenter des excuses pour cela au peuple iranien », a déclaré le jeune homme, quelques heures après que le président Ahmadinejad eut exigé de Londres des excuses en bonne et due forme. Une semaine après l'arrestation des 15 marins, Londres et Téhéran continuent à diverger sur le lieu précis de leur capture.

Pour la Grande-Bretagne, qui se réfère à des données de positionnement par satellite, l'incident s'est produit dans les eaux irakiennes. Or, d'après l'enregistrement vidéo et les cartes dont dispose la République islamique, il y aurait eu incursion dans les eaux iraniennes. La crise, qui a provoqué une hausse des prix du pétrole, s'avère d'autant plus délicate que la frontière imaginaire qui traverse le golfe Persique - et qui a déjà fait l'objet d'autres contentieux par le passé - est difficilement identifiable. « Il est très difficile de délimiter cette frontière séparant les eaux irakiennes des eaux iraniennes », note Ebrahim Yazdi, ancien ministre iranien des Affaires étrangères. La Grande-Bretagne, qui a gelé ses échanges diplomatiques avec l'Iran en dehors de toute discussion sur le sort de ses marins, a appelé hier l'Union européenne à adopter des mesures plus fermes contre l'Iran. La veille, elle avait obtenu du Conseil de sécurité une déclaration exprimant sa « profonde préoccupation ». Une initiative qui a aussitôt provoqué l'ire de Téhéran. « Le Conseil de sécurité a été malheureusement exploité une fois de plus en produisant une déclaration sur une affaire qui n'est pas de sa responsabilité et qui est complètement bilatérale », déclare un communiqué rédigé par la mission iranienne auprès des Nations unies. À l'occasion de la prière du vendredi, la majorité des imams ont également appelé, hier, à l'organisation d'un procès contre les marins. « Double langage » L'entêtement de Téhéran a néanmoins été légèrement tempéré par une autre déclaration plus modérée, émanant cette fois-ci d'une « note diplomatique formelle » remise à l'ambassade de Grande-Bretagne. Elle dénonce l'acte « illégal » des marins, et demande des « garanties pour éviter la récurrence de tels actes », mais ne formule pas, cette fois-ci, de demande d'excuses. Ce « double langage » est, en fait, révélateur, selon les analystes, des dissensions internes sur la façon dont la crise devrait être traitée. « Cette situation est révélatrice de l'absence d'un seul organe décideur dans notre pays. D'un côté, le ministère des Affaires étrangères s'efforce de régler l'affaire, mais d'autres organes parallèles sont en train d'entraver ses efforts », constate le chercheur Saeed Madani. Il fait référence, à mots voilés, au corps des Gardiens de la révolution, à l'origine de l'arrestation des marins. L'affaire, d'abord peu médiatisée à Téhéran - pour cause, tout simplement, de vacances du Nouvel An persan - commence aujourd'hui à inquiéter la classe intellectuelle. Elle y voit un risque d'isolement renforcé de son pays, à l'heure où Téhéran se trouve déjà dans le collimateur des Nations unies à cause de son programme nucléaire. « L'Iran ferait mieux de faire preuve de plus de prudence pour éviter un renforcement de la pression internationale », note le professeur d'université Youssef Molaie. « Elle aurait dû tenir compte de la sensibilité de l'opinion publique occidentale », ajoute-t-il, en faisant référence à la seconde vidéo des aveux. Lire aussi notre éditorial page 19

Art. 21

Le Monde - 3 avril 2007 mardi

L'art consiste à s'excuser au bon moment. Franchement, carrément. L'animateur de télévision Jean-Luc Delarue, qui avait gravement perturbé la tranquillité des voyageurs et du personnel de bord d'un avion d'Air France le 13 février, s'est exécuté en répétant plusieurs fois : " Je regrette beaucoup ce qui s'est passé. " Ce geste a visiblement atteint son but. Jean-Luc Delarue, passible d'une peine d'un an d'emprisonnement pour avoir mordu un steward, en avoir injurié un autre et s'être laissé aller à des gestes déplacés sur une hôtesse de l'air, s'en est tiré avec une peine symbolique : un stage de citoyenneté de trois jours. Un tarif allégé !

Le sort judiciaire qui lui a été réservé est le résultat d'une stratégie dont les excuses ne représentent en réalité qu'un élément. Jean-Luc Delarue, habilement conseillé, a procédé par étapes. Primo, il a largement fait savoir qu'il souffre d'une phobie de l'avion qui l'aurait conduit à absorber des somnifères et quelques verres de vin, mélange fatal. Secundo, tirant la leçon de son dérapage, il s'est aussitôt inscrit à un stage anti-stress proposé par la compagnie Air France aux clients anxieux. Tertio, il a laissé ses avocats négocier avec les trois salariés d'Air France afin d'aboutir à un accord financier et au retrait de leurs plaintes avant son procès. Enfin, il a bénéficié de la nouvelle procédure du plaider coupable : le procureur de la République lui a proposé une sanction qu'il a acceptée et qui a été homologuée par le tribunal la semaine dernière.

Ainsi va la justice, qui a requalifié à la baisse des faits de " violences et outrages sur personnes chargées d'une mission de service public, agression sexuelle et tentative d'entrave à la circulation aérienne ". Plutôt que d'accabler son laxisme, on aimerait qu'elle fasse preuve de la même clémence avec d'autres justiciables moins célèbres et moins fortunés.

Quant au présentateur de l'émission " Ça se discute " sur France 2, constatons qu'il pratique parcimonieusement le pardon des offenses. Sa phobie de l'avion se double d'une phobie des paparazzi. Il n'a pas apprécié qu'un hebdomadaire diffuse, sur son site Internet, deux vidéos parodiques où son sosie titube dans le couloir d'un avion, agresse les passagers et arrache finalement le bras d'un voyageur pour s'en servir de massue. L'animateur a exigé devant le tribunal de Nanterre 100 000 euros pour atteinte à son droit à l'image. Les juges lui en ont accordé 15 000. S'ils l'avaient écouté, Jean-Luc Delarue aurait presque équilibré ses comptes puisque le montant de son chèque aux trois agents d'Air France s'élèverait à 115 000 euros.

Pour les jeunes qui se sont heurtés aux policiers à Paris, gare du Nord, l'addition est d'une tout autre nature. A défaut d'avoir mordu un steward, ils ont lancé sur les CRS, au cours de la soirée d'émeute du 27 mars, des paires de chaussures et des canettes. Le tribunal a jugé quatre d'entre eux en comparution immédiate et les a condamnés à des peines allant de quatre mois de prison avec sursis à quatre mois de prison ferme. Vendredi, un jeune de 23 ans, coupable d'avoir balancé, du haut d'une galerie, une jardinière de 40 kilos qui aurait pu toucher des policiers en contrebas, a été condamné à six mois ferme.

Entre le pétage de plombs de Jean-Luc Delarue et la rage des " racailles " de la gare du Nord, il n'y a aucun rapport. Juste un rapprochement fortuit offert par l'actualité. Sans commentaire. On veut simplement croire que l'animateur parviendra à se réinsérer, et on espère que les loubards arriveront à s'intégrer. Il faudrait leur faire un geste.

On retiendra celui de Laure Manaudou émergeant des eaux de la piscine olympique de Melbourne et tendant à la face du monde sa paume sur laquelle elle avait écrit au feutre : " Love. "

Art. 24

Le Figaro - 29 juin 2007

Devedjian s'excuse auprès de Comparini **POLÉMIQUE...**; EN BREF

Devedjian s'excuse auprès de Comparini **POLÉMIQUE**. Patrick Devedjian a hier soir téléphoné à Anne-Marie Comparini pour « s'excuser de son interjection déplacée ». Dans un reportage, le secrétaire général de l'UMP avait qualifié hier la centriste de « salope ». Dominique Perben avait immédiatement « déploré » ces propos. Conseil des ministres en Alsace en septembre ÉLYSÉE. Nicolas Sarkozy a annoncé lors d'un déjeuner avec les élus UMP alsaciens qu'un Conseil des ministres aurait lieu en Alsace en septembre. Ce déjeuner était organisé pour calmer la colère des élus à la suite de la nomination de Jean-Marie Bockel au gouvernement.

Art. 29

Aujourd'hui en France - Mardi 6 Février 2007

DRAME DU PSG.; « J'espère que les parents de Julien Quemener me pardonneront »

ENCART: Deux mois après avoir tiré mortellement sur un supporter du PSG, le policier Antoine Granomort raconte le drame pour la première fois. Il exprime sa compassion pour la famille de Julien Quemener.

DEUX MOIS après avoir tué un supporter du Paris Saint-Germain et blessé un autre en portant secours à un jeune homme d'origine juive, Antoine Granomort, gardien de la paix de 32 ans, a repris son travail. Bénéficiant du statut de témoin assisté dans le cadre de l'enquête sur le drame survenu le 23 novembre 2006, le policier se confie pour la première fois. Pull beige à col roulé, jean clair et tennis à la mode, lunettes fines, Antoine Granomort se dit sincèrement désolé pour la victime et sa famille mais reconnaît qu'« il agirait de la même manière » si la situation se reproduisait. Quel est votre état physique et psychologique aujourd'hui ? Antoine Granomort. Je retravaille depuis le 26 janvier au Service régional de police des transports. J'étais pressé de reprendre. Mes collègues et ma hiérarchie me soutiennent. J'ai fait l'objet de pressions et de menaces. Désormais, je dors mieux, mais je pense toujours à ce qui s'est passé, en particulier quand il y a un drame lié à la violence dans les stades, comme ce week-end (NDLR : la mort d'un policier en Italie). J'essaie de rebondir, mais j'ai beaucoup de remords. Tuer quelqu'un dans le cadre de ses fonctions... Personne n'est prêt à affronter ce genre de situation. J'avais déjà sorti mon arme une fois, lorsque j'étais adjoint de sécurité. Cela s'est passé à la Foire du Trône : un jeune était en train de se faire frapper par d'autres. Je me suis interposé. Les jeunes ont sorti des couteaux. J'ai alors montré mon arme, ce qui avait eu, cette fois-là, un effet dissuasif. Pourquoi êtes-vous entré dans la police ? J'avais effectué mon service militaire dans la police. Ensuite, j'ai voulu reprendre mes études de mécanique auto. Puis, j'ai été engagé comme adjoint de sécurité. Mes proches m'ont encouragé à passer

le concours de gardien de la paix. Ce qui me plaît dans ce métier est d'être au contact des gens. A la sortie de l'école, j'ai choisi d'être affecté à Paris. Je me suis retrouvé à faire des gardes statiques. J'étais déçu. Puis, j'ai réussi à être au SRPT, où je peux faire un peu de terrain. Ce 23 novembre justement, avez-vous senti que la tension était particulièrement grande ? Pas du tout. Avant la fin du match, j'ai téléphoné à ma femme pour lui dire que c'était calme. Je n'ai rien senti venir. J'étais dans ma voiture. J'écoutais la radio pour suivre la rencontre. J'aime le football et le PSG. Dix minutes après le coup de sifflet final, un groupe de cinquante jeunes s'est retrouvé devant l'église, porte de Saint-Cloud. Ils ont commencé à lancer des objets sur les CRS et à les injurier. Je suis alors sorti de mon véhicule sérigraphié. J'ai mis mon écharpe, mon bonnet. Voyant le groupe avancer vers moi, je me suis dit : « Je vais scander Allez PSG ! ». Je me sentais plus en sécurité à l'extérieur du véhicule que seul à l'intérieur. J'ai vu alors un petit jeune courir devant moi...

« Je voyais une petite lumière bleue, celle du gyrophare de collègues qui ne bougeaient pas » Qu'avez-vous fait ? Une vingtaine de personnes couraient derrière ce jeune d'origine juive. Il était encerclé. Je me suis alors interposé entre lui et les jeunes du PSG. Je lui disais : « Reste derrière-moi. Je suis policier. » J'avais ma bombe lacrymogène à la main. Je disais aux supporters : « Reculez ! » Mais ils ne bougeaient pas. Le groupe est devenu plus imposant. Ils se sont retrouvés à un mètre de moi. J'ai alors donné un coup de lacrymogène. Je ne m'étais jamais servi de ma bombe et elle s'est vidée totalement d'un seul coup. Il y a eu un petit nuage jaune, qui est retombé sur le sol... Ils se sont de nouveau avancés vers moi. Au loin, je voyais une petite lumière bleue, celle du gyrophare de collègues qui ne bougeaient pas. J'ai alors sorti mon arme. Je tenais les supporters à distance mais ils avançaient de plus en plus. Ils brandissaient des ceintures et lançaient des insultes. J'ai continué à reculer. Ma radio de service ne fonctionnait pas. Votre arme n'a pas eu d'effet dissuasif... Effectivement. Un premier coup m'a fait chuter sur le côté gauche. Un deuxième sur le flanc, puis un sur la tempe ont fait tomber mes lunettes. Le temps que j'essaie de les ramasser et de revenir dans l'axe, j'ai vu un individu se jeter sur moi, puis d'autres. J'ai effectué un tir de riposte pour me dégager. On s'est réfugiés dans le McDo. J'entendais : « Sale juif, sale nègre, la France aux Français, Le Pen président... », des cris de singes. Ils ont fait exploser les vitres. Je suis monté à l'étage. J'ai emprunté un portable pour appeler mon service. Les renforts sont enfin arrivés.

« En garde à vue, j'ai pensé me pendre » Ignorez-vous avoir touché quelqu'un ? Absolument. Ce sont les policiers qui m'ont appris qu'il y avait un mort et un blessé grave. Je me suis effondré. J'ai pleuré comme un gamin. Je voulais péter la vitre qui était devant moi. Je me disais : « C'est pas possible, ce n'est pas moi. » Lorsque j'étais en garde à vue, j'ai pensé me pendre. J'avais fait mon métier et je me retrouvais privé de liberté, seul dans une cellule, sous une lumière de 3 000 watts. Je pensais à la famille de ce jeune homme : il était trop jeune pour partir. J'aurais préféré l'avoir face à moi sur un tatami et lui donner une bonne raclée... Je veux dire aujourd'hui à ses parents que je suis désolé que leur fils se soit trouvé sur le chemin de ma balle. J'ai conscience de leur douleur. J'aimerais le leur dire en face. J'espère qu'ils me pardonneront un jour... Je veux aussi dire à tous ces supporters de rentrer chez eux après les matchs : s'ils veulent se battre, qu'ils s'inscrivent dans un club de boxe ! Les experts ne vous ont pas signifié de jours d'incapacité totale de travail... J'ai fait pas mal de sport de combat et j'ai donc esquivé pas mal de coups. De plus, j'avais mon gilet pare-balles. J'avais quelques bleus, mais les jeunes n'ont pas eu le temps de me prendre en sandwich. Ce qui m'a le plus marqué, c'est qu'ils ne s'arrêtaient pas. Ce coup de feu m'a sauvé la vie et celle de Yaniv. Si la situation se reproduisait aujourd'hui, que feriez-vous ? Aurais-je dû tourner la tête à la vue du jeune ou me laisser frapper ? J'agisais, en fait, de la même manière, mais je sortirais ma carte de police, qui était au fond d'une sacoche et que je n'ai pas pu sortir. Qu'attendez-vous de l'avenir ? Je veux juste reprendre une vie normale. Continuer ce métier, passer le concours d'officier. J'aimerais

intégrer la brigade des mineurs ou celle des stupés. Avez-vous revu Yaniv ? Par hasard. Nous étions convoqués en même temps au commissariat. Il était heureux, presque en larmes...

Art. 34

Libération - 18 septembre 2006

Benoît XVI regrette sans s'excuser;
Religion. Suite aux réactions suscitées par ses propos sur l'islam et la violence, le pape a reculé. Une concession sans précédent.

"Je suis vivement attristé par les réactions suscitées par un bref passage de mon discours (...) considéré comme offensant pour la sensibilité des croyants musulmans alors qu'il s'agissait d'une citation d'un texte médiéval qui n'exprime en aucune manière ma pensée personnelle", a déclaré dimanche le pape Benoît XVI lors de la célébration de l'Angelus. Il a également affirmé "espérer que cela servira à apaiser les cœurs et à clarifier le sens réel de mon discours, qui dans sa totalité était et reste une invitation à un dialogue franc et sincère, dans le respect mutuel". Après la controverse soulevée par ses propos sur l'islam lors d'une conférence universitaire à Ratisbonne, en Bavière (lire ci-contre), le pape a exprimé ses regrets, hier, depuis sa résidence d'été de Castel Gandolfo où des mesures exceptionnelles de sécurité ont été prises. Mais il s'est refusé à présenter les excuses formelles exigées par nombre de représentants du monde musulman. Déjà, la veille, le nouveau secrétaire d'Etat Mgr Tarcisio Bertone avait affirmé que le pape était "absolument désolé" que ses propos sur l'islam et le jihad "aient été interprétés d'une façon qui ne correspondait pas à ses intentions".

Première. Certes, le chef de l'Eglise catholique ne bat pas sa coulpe en public mais une telle mise au point par un souverain pontife est sans précédent. "C'est la première fois qu'un pape se montre désolé quelques jours après une de ses interventions et qu'il semble vouloir faire marche arrière pour atténuer les critiques", remarque Giuseppe Alberigo, directeur de l'Institut pour les sciences religieuses de l'université de Bologne. Dans une interview au quotidien La Repubblica, il souligne que "Jean Paul II avait certes demandé pardon pour des erreurs historiques de l'Eglise mais pas pour l'un de ses discours. En outre, jamais ce pape marqué par les expériences dramatiques du nazisme puis du communisme n'avait prononcé des paroles suscitant des réactions aussi violentes et aussi dangereuses." Monarque absolu et en théorie infaillible, le pape n'a de comptes à rendre à personne. Mais là, il ne s'agit pas d'une question de doctrine ou d'organisation de l'Eglise, et le Vatican semblait de plus en plus embarrassé des conséquences des propos de l'ancien gardien du dogme et brillant théologien ultraconservateur qui semble parfois avoir oublié qu'il est devenu pape.

Au Vatican, toute l'institution fait bloc pour calmer les polémiques et souligner qu'il s'agit d'un malheureux malentendu. Mais certains s'inquiètent de l'absence de sens diplomatique du successeur du très politique et médiatique Jean Paul II. Ainsi, en juillet 2005, moins de trois mois après son élection, l'ex-cardinal Ratzinger oublia dans un discours place Saint-Pierre de citer Israël parmi les pays victimes du terrorisme, suscitant alors l'ire de Tel-Aviv. Lors de sa visite à Auschwitz, fin mai, il prononça un discours de haute tenue théologique sur l'horreur absolue de la Shoah dans l'absence de Dieu, mais réduisit le nazisme à "un groupe de criminels" s'emparant du peuple allemand, ce qui revenait à dédouaner ce dernier de toute responsabilité. C'était pour le moins maladroit dans la bouche d'un pape allemand qui fut dans sa jeunesse obligé de porter l'uniforme des Jeunesses hitlériennes. Les risques de dérapages sont d'autant

plus réels que, selon les rumeurs de la Curie, ce pape ne fait guère lire à l'avance à ses collaborateurs le texte de ses interventions, notamment celles qui ont un caractère avant tout théologique.

"Dialogue".

Samedi, dans un long document, le secrétaire d'Etat rappelait toutes les prises de positions publiques et sans équivoque du pape en faveur d'"un dialogue interreligieux et interculturel" entre chrétiens et musulmans "qui ne peut se réduire à un choix passager". Mais, en même temps, ce pape a toujours considéré que l'écoute de l'autre ne doit pas empêcher d'affirmer sa propre vérité. Ainsi à l'égard de l'islam. "Nous pouvons offrir le concept de liberté religieuse à une religion où est déterminant le poids de la théocratie, c'est-à-dire l'indivisibilité entre le pouvoir de l'Etat et la religion. Nous pouvons leur montrer un Dieu qui donne plus de liberté à l'homme et lui laisse de nouveaux espaces", expliquait en 2004 celui qui n'était encore que cardinal Ratzinger. C'est ce lien entre foi et raison dans le christianisme qu'il a mis en avant à Ratisbonne.

Art. 36

L'Humanité - 18 septembre 2006

Triste, le pape ne s'excuse pas

ENCART: Polémique . Benoît XVI est brièvement revenu hier à l'occasion de l'Angelus sur son discours de Ratisbonne. Des actes de violences se multiplient.

« Vivement attristé », « profondément désolé », le pape Benoît XVI a tenté hier de calmer le tollé qu'il a suscité avec ses propos d'un autre âge sur l'islam durant son voyage en Allemagne la semaine dernière. Le chef de l'Église catholique s'exprimait hier lors de la célébration de l'Angelus à Castel Gandolfo après un silence de plusieurs jours. « Je suis vivement attristé par les réactions suscitées par un bref passage de mon discours (...) considéré comme offensant pour la sensibilité des croyants musulmans alors qu'il s'agissait d'une citation d'un texte médiéval qui n'exprime en aucune manière ma pensée personnelle », a déclaré le pape. J'espère que la déclaration samedi de mon secrétaire d'État « contribuera à apaiser les esprits et à clarifier le sens véritable de mon discours qui (...) était une invitation au dialogue franc et sincère avec un grand respect réciproque », a ajouté Benoît XVI assurant que la citation qu'il avait faite d'un souverain byzantin « n'exprime en aucune manière mes pensées personnelles ».

Lors d'une conférence à l'université de Ratisbonne, le pape a cité l'empereur byzantin Manuel II paléologue qui, en 1391, accusait Mahomet d'avoir semé le mal et l'inhumanité pour avoir prôné la diffusion de son enseignement par les armes. Le discours étant écrit par le pape lui-même, l'éventualité d'un dérapage par une improvisation n'est pas crédible. Que cherchait donc le successeur de Jean-Paul II en se référant à des controverses du XIV^e siècle ? Son intervention dominicale est-elle de nature à désenfler la vague de protestation ? On en doute. L'ensemble des responsables religieux musulmans réclamaient des « excuses », Benoît XVI s'est contenté d'être affligé par la mauvaise interprétation qu'on a prêtée à ses propos. Grosse nuance et pas le moindre « mea culpa » attendu pour désamorcer la crise. Cette dernière sur le terrain se transforme en violence. Une religieuse catholique italienne a été tuée dimanche par des hommes armés non identifiés dans un hôpital de la capitale somalienne, Mogadiscio, ont indiqué des témoins et des sources médicales. Plusieurs églises ont été la cible d'attaques à Naplouse, Tulkarem et Tubas dans le nord de la Cisjordanie ainsi que dans la bande de Gaza. Le Maroc a rappelé samedi en consultation son ambassadeur au Vatican et le président de

l'Indonésie, le plus grand pays musulman du monde, a hier regretté à son tour les propos du pape tout en appelant à maintenir « l'harmonie » entre les religions présentes dans le pays. Enfin pour le moment, précise le Vatican, le voyage du pape en Turquie prévu pour fin novembre n'a « pas de raison pour l'instant » d'être annulé.

Art. 38

Le Monde - 19 septembre 2006 mardi

CHRONIQUE; " Demande pardon au monsieur... "

Faut-il toujours s'excuser ? Ou présenter ses regrets ? S'excuser d'avoir dit ce que l'on a dit même si on continue de le penser ? Présenter ses regrets même s'il n'y a rien à regretter ? Beau sujet de réflexion alors que le monde musulman s'offusque des propos du pape Benoît XVI sur l'islam, exige qu'il manifeste sa résipiscence, ordonne au Vatican de faire amende honorable.

Pour l'instant, Benoît XVI a exprimé ses regrets, non pas tant sur son argumentation de l'articulation entre la foi et la raison, mais parce que le texte de sa conférence a visiblement choqué une partie des musulmans et déclenché une vague de colère, notamment au Pakistan et en Iran. A l'évidence, tous ceux qui manifestent leur indignation n'ont pas lu le texte qu'ils réprouvent, et ceux qui brûlent des effigies du pape démontrent malgré eux un certain degré de violence dans l'expression de leur foi. Mais c'est déjà une autre histoire.

En réalité, le texte ample et exigeant de Benoît XVI - dont Le Monde a publié de larges extraits dans son édition datée 17-18 septembre - est devenu le prétexte commode à des manifestations contre les valeurs de l'Occident et son culte de la raison. Qu'importe ce qu'a dit ou voulu dire réellement le pape. L'affaire est politique, la théologie oubliée, et, avec elle, le goût de la dispute intellectuelle, de la critique et de l'autocritique.

Imagine-t-on des foules virulentes manifester en Israël, en Europe ou aux Etats-Unis pour exiger du président iranien qu'il retire immédiatement ses déclarations sur le sionisme et qu'il s'excuse solennellement pour avoir plusieurs fois affirmé qu'il convient de " rayer Israël de la carte " ? Non, bien sûr. L'exigence d'excuses est une arme que se réservent les fanatiques, les despotes, les fous d'orgueil et les tribuns populistes.

Qui a songé demander des excuses à Hugo Chavez après ses déclarations délirantes la semaine dernière sur le 11-Septembre ? Personne. Le président vénézuélien a pourtant très sérieusement dérapé en donnant sa version des attentats commis en 2001 à New York et à Washington. Selon lui, l'administration Bush pourrait avoir conçu et mené les attaques terroristes contre les tours jumelles du World Trade Center. Quand à l'attentat contre le Pentagone, à Washington, il n'y croit guère.

On ne sait pas trop ce que valent les excuses ou les regrets dans le domaine si codifié des relations internationales et de la diplomatie. Mais il apparaît aujourd'hui que leur usage est à géométrie variable. Les tyrans modernes les récuse : ils veulent bien en recevoir, mais refusent d'en présenter. Ni le président iranien ni le président vénézuélien, qui viennent de participer au sommet des pays non alignés à Cuba, n'ont songé à rétracter quoi que ce soit dans leurs discours négationnistes. Et sans doute est-il trop tard pour que Fidel Castro, devenu l'ombre de son ombre, offre ses regrets à son peuple pour l'avoir maintenu dans un état de grande misère.

Chez nous, on pratique beaucoup plus volontiers l'art subtil de la contrition - culture religieuse oblige. Présenter ses excuses sert à dénouer une crise. C'est un art difficile parce qu'il oblige à ravalier sa superbe.

En exprimant ses regrets au Parti socialiste et à son premier secrétaire, François Hollande, pour avoir fustigé leur " lâcheté " durant l'affaire Clearstream, le premier ministre a purgé un contentieux qui virait au drame d'honneur. En prenant l'initiative d'appeler la jeune militante socialiste Nolwenn, qu'elle avait cruellement raillée la veille au cours d'un débat, Ségolène Royal a partiellement réparé sa faute politique. Mais elle-même n'a pas reçu d'excuses de la part de sa camarade Martine Aubry, qui l'a brocardée en jugeant qu'il ne suffit pas d'avoir " les bonnes mensurations " pour gagner une présidentielle. Présenter des excuses reviendrait pourtant à se présenter sous un meilleur jour.

Art. 53

L'Humanité - 6 septembre 2006

Materazzi attend des excuses de Zizou

Suspendu deux matchs par la FIFA pour avoir provoqué Zidane lors de la finale du Mondial, lequel, en retour, lui asséna un coup de tête dans le plexus avant de se faire expulser, Marco Materazzi ne sera pas sur la pelouse du Stade de France ce soir. Cela n'empêche pas le joueur de l'Inter Milan de continuer à mettre de l'huile sur le feu. « Pour l'instant, il ne m'a toujours pas demandé pardon, ce n'est surtout pas à moi de lui demander. Au plus, c'est à sa soeur que je dois des excuses, mais je jure qu'avant que tout ce « bazar » n'arrive, je ne savais même pas que Zidane avait une soeur. » « On fait la paix après une guerre terrible et nous ne pourrions pas la faire. La porte de ma maison sera toujours ouverte. Et Zidane, s'il le veut, sait comment trouver mon adresse. »

Art. 56

Le Figaro - 13 juillet 2006

Zidane : des excuses, mais pas de regrets

DEPUIS trois jours, depuis son terrible coup de tête porté au thorax de l'Italien Marco Materazzi en finale de la Coupe du monde, le témoignage de Zinédine Zidane était attendu. Que s'était-il passé à Berlin ? Pourquoi avait-il « disjoncté » avec une telle violence ?

Tous les scénarios étaient évoqués. Toutes les hypothèses avancées. Dans une gigantesque paranoïa. Hier, le capitaine des Bleus est enfin sorti de son silence. Sur Canal + d'abord, puis sur TF1. Dans une campagne de communication savamment orchestrée. Veste militaire, jeans, Zidane, tendu et peu souriant, répond à Michel Denisot qui lui fait d'abord raconter sa Coupe du monde durant quinze minutes ! Avant d'arriver au coup de tête. Le capitaine des Bleus raconte alors : « Il (Materazzi) m'accroche le maillot, je lui dis d'arrêter que s'il veut, on l'échangera après. Et là, il dit des mots très durs, qu'il répète et qui me touchent au plus profond de moi. Les mots peuvent être plus durs que des gestes. Ce sont des choses très personnelles, avec maman, ma soeur. Vous les écoutez une fois, deux fois, j'ai essayé de partir. Et la troisième fois, voilà. Je reste un homme. Vraiment j'aurais préféré prendre une droite. » « J'ai réagi par un geste qui n'est pas pardonnable et je m'en excuse auprès des gens et des enfants et des éducateurs aussi. Je tiens à le dire haut et fort, ce n'est pas un geste à faire. Mais je ne peux le regretter car cela voudrait dire

qu'il a eu raison de dire ce qu'il a dit. Et cela, non, surtout pas.» Zidane insiste et ajoute : «On parle toujours de la réaction. Elle doit être punie. mais avant, c'est qu'il y a eu des provocations. C'est lui le coupable. celui qui provoque. Si j'ai réagi, c'est qu'il s'est passé quelque chose. Il faut sanctionner le vrai coupable. celui qui provoque. Mais mon geste n'est pas pardonnable et je m'en excuse.» Materazzi avait reconnu avoir proféré une «insulte» juste avant le coup. Le joueur de l'Inter Milan la justifiait par l' «arrogance» du Français. Sans donner de détail, Materazzi a toutefois relativisé la gravité de ses propos : c'était «une insulte de celles qu'on s'entend dire des dizaines de fois et qui nous échappent souvent sur le terrain». Mardi, la presse italienne rappelait la réputation de joueur provocateur et parfois violent de Materazzi. Mais en matière de réputation, Zidane a aussi la sienne : celle d'un joueur impulsif souvent exclu pour ses coups de sang. La polémique n'a en tout cas pas inquiété Materazzi qui est monté sur scène à Milan lors d'un concert des Rolling Stones. «Materazzi et Keith Richards (ndlr : opéré de la tête après une chute) ont un point commun», a plaisanté Mick Jagger. «Ils ont eu tous les deux des problèmes de tête». Après cette déclaration, l'heure est à l'apaisement et le ballon dans le camp de la Fédération internationale qui a diligenté une enquête disciplinaire. À elle de faire la part des choses et de savoir punir aussi bien le provocateur que le frappeur.

Art. 62

The Guardian - March 5, 2007 Monday

International: Japan rules out new apology to 'comfort women'

Japan's prime minister, Shinzo Abe, told parliament early this morning that he would not apologise again for his country's second world war military brothels, even if the US Congress passes a resolution demanding it.

"I must say we will not apologise even if there's a (US) resolution," Mr Abe told MPs in a lengthy debate, during which he also said he stood by Japan's landmark 1993 apology on the brothels.

Last week he said there was "no evidence" that Japan had coerced as many as 200,000 mainly Chinese and Korean "comfort women" to work in military brothels between the early 1930s and 1945. South Korea accused him of attempting to "gloss over a historic truth".

An apology in 1993 by the chief cabinet secretary at the time, Yohei Kono, acknowledged that many of the women had been forced to have sex. And yesterday Hiroshige Seko, an aide to Mr Abe, had said on TV: "Though there are many definitions of coercion, prime minister Abe has said . . . that he will stand by the Kono statement. He has not denied the statement."

Successive leaders have supported the statement, although most of the victims refused to accept it because it had not been approved by parliament.

Lee Yong-soo, a Korean, was 15 when snatched from her home in 1944 and taken to work in a military brothel in Taiwan. "The Japanese government is saying there was no coercion involved, but we didn't do this voluntarily," said Ms Lee, who testified at a US House subcommittee last month.

"We were taken forcibly by the Japanese. I want Japan to formally acknowledge what it did. And I want prime minister Abe to apologise to my face."

The issue threatens to sour US-Japan ties ahead of Mr Abe's expected visit to Washington in the spring. In the next few weeks Congress is due to vote on a nonbinding motion calling on Japan to "formally acknowledge (and) apologise . . . in a clear and unequivocal manner for its Imperial Armed Forces' coercion of young women into sexual slavery".

Japan has refused to compensate the women, insisting that all payout claims were settled in postwar treaties with its former enemies. A fund it launched in 1995 was denounced by most of the victims as an empty gesture because it depends on private donations. A group of 120 of Mr Abe's Liberal Democratic colleagues want to water down Mr Kono's apology. "Some say it is useful to compare the brothels to college cafeterias run by private companies, who recruit their own staff, procure foodstuffs and set prices," said its leader, Nariaki Nakayama.

Art. 64

The Guardian - March 27, 2007 Tuesday

Japan avoids full apology for war sex slavery

Japan's prime minister, Shinzo Abe, apologised yesterday for Japan's use of wartime sex slaves but stopped short of acknowledging that they had been forced into it by the Japanese military.

Mr Abe said he echoed a 1993 statement of apology to the victims - known as comfort women - issued by the then chief cabinet secretary, Yohei Kono. The statement expressed the government's "sincere apologies and remorse" for its role in forcing an estimated 200,000 mainly Chinese and Korean women to work in military brothels in the 1930s and 40s.

"I am apologising here and now as the prime minister, as it is stated in the Kono statement," Mr Abe said. "I feel sympathy for the people who underwent hardships, and I apologise for the fact that they were placed in this situation at the time."

Campaigners said what was really needed was an official apology by parliament and compensation, and accused him of trying to placate both international opinion and conservatives in the Liberal Democratic party.

Japanis worried about the issue's potential to sour relations with the US ahead of Mr Abe's planned visit to Washington in April. Soon after, the US Congress will vote on a motion calling on Tokyo to "formally acknowledge (and) apologise" for the sex slavery. Mr Abe said the resolution was riddled with errors and said he would offer no new apologies even if it is passed.

Art. 65

Daily Mail - March 27, 2007 Tuesday

Japan 'apology' for sex slaves

JAPANESE premier Shinzo Abe under fire for denying that Japan forced women from China and Korea to work as sex slaves during World War II offered an apology yesterday but refused to clearly acknowledge Japan's responsibility for the frontline brothels.

'I sympathise and apologise for the situation the women found themselves in,' he said.

Art. 67

The Daily Mirror - March 27, 2007 Tuesday

AROUND THE WORLD: JAPAN SORRY TO SEX SLAVES

JAPAN'S leader Shinzo Abe yesterday apologised for the country's use of women as sex slaves in World War II.

The apology came after Mr Abe was slammed by neighbouring Asian nations for comments casting doubt on whether the women were forced.

Mr Abe said: "I apologise now as prime minister. I apologise they were placed in that situation."

Art. 69

Daily Mail - October 4, 2006 Wednesday

Bertie finally says sorry (grudgingly);

THE GREAT EVADER TAOISEACH ADMITS AN 'ERROR AND MISJUDGMENT' BUT STILL INSISTS THAT HE DID NOTHING WRONG ACCEPTING MONEY FROM BUSINESSMEN

TAOISEACH Bertie Ahern issued a grudging apology to the Irish nation yesterday for accepting cash donations when he was Finance Minister in the early 1990s.

But while a surprisingly bullish Mr Ahern said taking the cash was an 'error' and a 'misjudgment', he insisted he had breached no law.

And instead of clearing up the cash payments controversy, Mr Ahern resisted any temptation to explain himself further over the receipt of E60,000 from friends in Dublin and businessmen in Manchester in 1993 and 1994.

In a 15-minute formal statement to a packed Dil chamber, Mr Ahern said: 'As I survey the events of the last two weeks, I realise that my judgment in accepting help from good and loyal friends and the gift in Manchester (albeit in the context of personal and family circumstances) was an error.

'It was a misjudgment although not in breach of any law or code of conduct at the time. It was not illegal or impermissible to have done what I did.

'But I now regret the choices I made in those difficult and dark times. The bewilderment caused to the public about recent revelations has been deeply upsetting for me, and others near and dear to me. To them and to the Irish people, I offer my apologies.' Clearly confident of the support of Tnaiste Michael McDowell and the junior Coalition partner before entering the Dil for the debate, the Taoiseach proceeded to give the Opposition an object lesson in the art of political whitewash, resisting any attempt to elicit a proper explanation for the £60,000 he received from up to 39 businessmen in 1993 and 1994.

Instead, his statement and subsequent answers to questions raised by Opposition leaders did little to address the two-week-old controversy.

It had been expected that the Taoiseach would attempt to provide more of the names of the 25 to 27 businessmen who attended the Manchester function in 1994, where he was given a gift of Pounds 8,000.

But in the event, the Taoiseach merely confirmed media reports of recent days of the presence of Senator Tony Kett, Manchester businessman John Kennedy and the late Tim Kilroe at the event.

He again insisted that he had attended the Manchester function organised at the city's Four Seasons Hotel by his friend Tim Kilroe in a private capacity.

He attempted to explain his presence in Manchester for the occasion, putting it in the context of his previous associations with the city.

'As is well known, I have always been a supporter of Manchester United Football Club and since my youth I have regularly travelled to Manchester. From 1979 to 1996, I would have attended roughly six Man United home games each season. I would travel with friends, sometimes by boat and sometimes by plane.

Over the years, I have developed a very close affinity with that city and its people.' Turning to the function where he had received Pounds 8,000 from businessmen, Mr Ahern insisted it was just a way for him to 'keep in touch' with members of Manchester's Irish community.

'At the end of the dinner, unsolicited by me, I was presented with cash of circa sterling Pounds 8,000 made up by individual contributions from the attendance of approximately 25 people. Mr Kilroe presented the monies to me and I presume he had collected them as well.' The Taoiseach attempted to explain his inability to provide any further names of those who had attended the dinner as a result of Mr Kilroe's death.

'It is not possible to obtain any list of attendees or contributors at this remove, 12 years later. If the names of any other people who attended come to my attention and if I can be certain that they attended I will pass those names to the tribunal.' He then went on to contradict his assertion in his RT interview of last Tuesday that he had engaged with the Manchester group for four hours in a talk about the Irish economy and had participated in a questions and answers session.

Playing down the significance of the event dramatically, he said: 'I did not receive the money as a fee for a speaking engagement. In fact, I did not even deliver a formal speech. I merely said a few words and engaged in an informal question and answer session.

I did not solicit the money and I did not expect to receive it.

'I believe Mr Kilroe organised a collection at the function for me because he knew, through my friends, of my personal circumstances, and that he may perhaps have told others.' Mr Ahern insisted the money had not been given to him by virtue of his office, but to him personally by a group to whom he had spoken in a personal capacity.

He said there had been no breach of Government procedures which had pertained at the time.

Mr Ahern insisted that he had been advised by two 'eminent tax advisers' that he had no tax liability in respect of the payment. He also insisted bluntly that there had been no 'quid pro quo' for the monies received in Manchester and none had been expected.

But the Opposition were not convinced. Fine Gael leader Enda Kenny said: 'This is supposed to be accountability day. This Taoiseach is still the great evader, still the great evader.' Mr Kenny reminded the Taoiseach of disgraced former minister Ray Burke. He recalled Mr Burke's fateful speech to the Dail where he denied being in receipt of corrupt payments, quoting the key line: 'I'm taking this opportunity to state unequivocally that I have done nothing illegal, unethical or improper'.

'They are the words of Deputy Burke in this house on September 10, 1997.

Same words, same standards, different application,' said Mr Kenny.

Labour Party leader Pat Rabbitte insisted that accepting the gift was wrong.

'Never mind the "no law was broken" defence. By any standards it was wrong.

'You believe in the tooth fairy if you believe that businessmen happen along to a function in a posh hotel to listen to any old Joe Soap talk to them about the Irish economy and then organise an impromptu collection to give him something for himself.

'In normal life you get gifts from your friends and you take loans from strangers. Yet Mr Ahern got loans from his friends and gifts from strangers.'

'In normal life you get gifts from your friends and you take loans from strangers. Yet Mr Ahern got loans from his friends and gifts from strangers.'

Labour Party leader Pat Rabbitte

'Does the following sound familiar? "I am taking the opportunity to state unequivocally that I have done nothing illegal, unethical or improper." These are the words of former Deputy Raphael Burke spoken in this House on 10 September 1997 same words, same standards, but a different application.'

Fine Gael leader Enda Kenny

'Where was the 50,000 resting since the then Minister, Deputy Bertie Ahern, did not have a bank account? Was it resting in a sock or in the hot press?'

Labour Party leader Pat Rabbitte

IT MIGHT have been the toughest two weeks of Bertie Ahern's political career, but his recent television appearances have been a ratings boost for RTE.

The audience peak for Bertie Ahern's interview with Bryan Dobson last week was 592,000, a massive increase in the average audience for the Six One news of around 500,000.

'This is significantly higher than the average audience,' said an RTE spokesperson.

Referring to the anticipated large audience for yesterday's Leaders' Questions she added: 'Leaders' Questions usually goes out at 11 am, so viewing figures would not be comparable as it would normally have been a much smaller audience.' She said she did not have average viewing figures for Leaders' Questions available.

However, the Irish public obviously think some things are more important than politics.

In May a massive 1,033,000 tuned in to watch the muchderided Eurovision Song Contest. Figures for yesterday's Dail debate are not yet available.

Art. 73

The Sun - October 4, 2006 Wednesday

Bertie: I'm sorry

EMBATTLED Bertie Ahern sensationally said sorry yesterday for accepting cash donations in the 1990s.

The Taoiseach's dramatic statement in a special Dail debate was seen as a last-ditch bid to stop the Progressive Democrats pulling out of government.

He said: "I now regret the choices I made...I offer my apologies." Later Tanaiste Michael McDowell said: "The question I put to you is, 'Do these matters render him unfit to continue as Taoiseach?' It's our judgment they don't."

Yeah Bert, No Bert - Page Four

Art. 74

The Sun - October 4, 2006 Wednesday

Yeah Bert no Bert

He says: I took cash but did nothing wrong

BERTIE Ahern made a Vicky Pollard-style apology yesterday for accepting two wads of cash from businessmen.

Like the teenage delinquent from TV's Little Britain he gave a 'yeah but...no but' explanation to the Dail.

YEAH...I'm sorry I ever did it - but NO...I never broke any rules by taking the handouts.

In a highly-charged address, the Taoiseach dramatically told TDs: "It was not illegal or impermissible - but I now regret the choices I made in those difficult and dark times."

Upsetting

The Government leader told a packed chamber: "The bewilderment caused to the public about recent revelations has been deeply upsetting for me and others near and dear to me.

"To them, Ceann Comhairle, to the Irish people, to this House, I offer my apologies."

His words brought CHEERS from his own party benches.

The future of the Coalition Government was reckoned to hinge on Mr Ahern's defence of a Euro 50,000 handout from a group of wealthy pals in 1993 - when he was facing legal bills during his split with wife Miriam - and another Euro 11,800 payment a year later at a dinner in Manchester. The Fianna Fail boss was flanked by Tanaiste and PD leader Michael McDowell, who showed no emotion and mostly looked straight ahead as Mr Ahern delivered his statement to a hushed chamber.

Earlier, the pair had discussed the wording in private - with sources indicating that anything less than an apology would have led the PDs to withdraw from government.

The debate was delayed by a row over the time allocated to the Taoiseach's statement. Labour leader Pat Rabbitte said it was unfair Mr Ahern could speak for 15 minutes while Opposition leaders had just five to respond.

Ceann Comhairle Rory O'Hanlon appealed for order amid heated exchanges as Opposition leaders launched attacks on the Government.

Mr Ahern repeated much of what he said in a televised interview last week about the money he got from a dozen business friends, telling how he repaid the loans last Friday with interest with cheques totalling Euro 90,867.

He said the Manchester gift, when he was Finance Minister, came after pals heard of his financial circumstances.

He cited legislation in the 1980s and 1990s to back his case that accepting the money in 1994 was neither illegal nor unethical.

He said he was advised by two eminent tax experts that the Manchester payment involved no tax obligations.

Mr Ahern added: "There are few of us who with hindsight would not change some of our past decisions. No one is infallible or perfect. If I had anticipated in 1993 and 1994 that my decision to accept loans would have caused such difficulties...I would not have accepted a penny.

"It was a misjudgment - although not a breach of any law or code of conduct at the time."

As he sat down, Fine Gael leader Enda Kenny sparked jeers as he likened him to corrupt former Justice Minister Ray Burke, who was jailed for tax evasion.

Greens leader Trevor Sargent demanded the Taoiseach resign.

Fairy

Mr Rabbitte said: "You believe in the tooth fairy if you believe businessmen happen along to a function in a posh hotel to listen to any old Joe Soap talk about the Irish economy then organise an impromptu collection for him." Earlier more businessmen had come forward to support Mr Ahern's version of events.

Matt Queenan, who was at the Manchester event, said the cash was given without strings.

He said Aer Arann founder Tim Kilroe, who organised the hotel bash, had told him they were having a whipround for a politician over from Ireland who was "having a rough patch, probably women problems or something".

Another businessman, Micheal Wall, originally from Cong in Co Mayo, said Mr Ahern was not aware of a collection until the money was presented to him.

Art. 75

Daily Mail - February 1, 2007 Thursday

Roue Silvio's cheesy chat-up lines land him in big trouble; (and with a Pounds 35bn fortune, he'd better hope apology to his wife works)

IN a controversial career as a politician and a media magnate, he has often come under attack.

But the latest criticism of Silvio Berlusconi comes from rather too close to home his own wife.

The former Italian prime minister has been humiliated after his wife publicly demanded an apology from him for chatting up other women.

Veronica Lario wrote an open letter about her Rightwing husband's playboy antics and it was published on the front page of Left-leaning La Repubblica newspaper.

She was enraged as she described how her 70-year-old husband had approached several women at a television awards ceremony and told them: 'If I wasn't married I would marry you straight away.' She added that her husband had also told another woman: 'I would follow you anywhere.' Berlusconi, who is worth Pounds 35billion, made his remarks to two women MPs from his Forza Italia party, blonde-haired Micaela Biancofiore and brunette Marfa Carfagna. Miss Carfagna, 29, a former topless model and actress, said: 'I'd have said yes straight away but he's married and he's not my age.' Another of the women involved was Venezuelan-born TV star Aida Yespica, who he told: 'With you I would go anywhere, even a desert island.' In her letter, Berlusconi's wife wrote: 'These were declarations that I see as damaging to my dignity and cannot be treated as just jokes.

'That is why I am asking for a public apology as I have not received one in private.' The 50-year-old former actress has been married to Berlusconi for more than 20 years and they have three children, Barbara, Leonora and Luigi. 'In the course of our relationship I have sought to avoid conjugal conflict even when his behaviour has created reasons for it,' his wife wrote.

'This line of conduct has one sole limit, my dignity as a woman, and for the example I have to give to our children.' Even her mother weighed in. Flora Bartolini, 76, said: 'As Veronica's mother and a woman I fully support her. She was very brave I mean, you have to defend yourself don't you?'

Ironically, the onslaught on Berlusconi came as he was telling Italian glossy weekly A Magazine: 'Veronica is a very special woman. She has been my passion and when I met her I lost my head for her. She has never made a fool of me, never, and she is so indulgent.

What else could I ask for?' In the same interview Berlusconi, one of the world's richest men, adds: 'I have got 50billion euro (Pounds 35billion).

I've got so much money, don't know how to spend it.' Last night his wife's letter seemed to have worked, as Berlusconi issued a grovelling apology.

In an extraordinary statement sent to Italian news agencies, he said: 'Dear Veronica, here is my apology.

'I was recalcitrant in private because I am playful and also proud. When challenged in public the temptation to give in to you is strong. I could not resist.' He said they had done 'many wonderful things' together, but added: 'My days are mad, as you know. Work, politics, problems, travel and the public eye. It never finishes.' This, he wrote, 'opens little spaces of irresponsibility' and led him to make 'thoughtless comments'.

'But believe me, I never proposed marriage to anyone.

Therefore forgive me, I beg you, and accept this public apology that I offer up to your anger as an act of love. One of many. A big kiss. Silvio.'

Whether Berlusconi's tactic had worked or not remained a mystery last night.

A spokesman for his wife said only: 'She has read Silvio's letter but she will not be making any further comment.'

Art. 80

The Independent - February 1, 2007 Thursday

Basta! Signora Berlusconi demands public apology over his womanising. And she gets it

It has long been one of the strangest marriages in international politics. But yesterday Silvio Berlusconi's wife Veronica Lario, his partner for 27 years, finally blew her stack.

In a letter dripping with dignity and disdain dispatched to La Repubblica, the Roman daily owned by one of Mr Berlusconi's deadliest business enemies, the wife of Italy's richest man and former prime minister did the impossible: driving the transfer of Ronaldo to Mr Berlusconi's football team AC Milan off the front pages.

The cause for her unprecedented outburst was a very ordinary bit of Berlusconi nonsense. During a gala dinner Silvio accosted the MP Mara Carfagna, one of a group of young women, with the gallant words: "Just look at Carfagna. If I wasn't married already I would marry you right away. I would take you anywhere."

Mr Berlusconi has long been famous for his gaffes, usually hinting at his innumerable conquests. "I love France and I always will," he once quipped. "You only have to count my [French] girlfriends."

"I had to use all my playboy tactics," he remarked of a diplomatic success with Finland's female Prime Minister, "and they haven't been used for some time." That provoked an official protest.

"Gerhard, let's talk of football and women!" he cried jovially once to Gerhard Schröder, the former German chancellor.

Veronica Lario, the dramatic blue-eyed blonde whose topless appearance on stage in Milan 27 years ago struck Mr Berlusconi "like lightning" as he said at the time, did not rise to these provocations. In all their years together she has been practically invisible. Once in a blue moon she escorts him on official functions- when George Bush came to call, for example. But most of the time she goes to great lengths to preserve her privacy and that of their three children. Occasionally she hints at a streak of wild frustration. Her dream, she once confessed, was to ramble around the world on her own, "a cross," she enthused, "between [Bruce] Chatwin and [Jack] Kerouac."

Mr Berlusconi claimed to live an idyllic existence with Veronica. But sometimes a darker truth seeps out. Speaking to her biographer, she revealed that they never holiday together. "Your husband is very busy, do you often get to see him or speak to him on the telephone?" a journalist asked her once. "There is not only the telephone," she answered smiling. "Sometimes I can even see him on television!" But it is precisely because she has been so good at keeping her head down that she is so devastating on the rare occasions when she decides to raise it. Such as yesterday.

"With difficulty I conquer the reserve which has distinguished my mode of being in the course of the 27 years passed alongside the public man??? who is my husband," she began. "I have maintained that my role must be circumscribed mostly within the private dimension, with the scope of bringing serenity and equilibrium within my family." But not any more.

Silvio's very public flirtation with women one-third his age was "injurious to my dignity", she wrote, "and cannot be reduced to a jocular outburst. I request a public apology from my husband ??? not having received one privately."

The demand was carefully phrased. She had always avoided complaining about her husband, she wrote, because of "extra-familiar" considerations and out of respect for their children.

But there was a limit to such self-effacement: namely, "my dignity as a woman, which must also be an example to our children". "For my daughters, already grown up??? the example of a woman capable of protecting her dignity in her relationships with men assumes a particularly pregnant importance." It was an awesome performance: the nation held its breath. At 4.40pm, the wires reported the husband's reply. "Dear Veronica, here are my apologies," Mr Berlusconi wrote. "I was recalcitrant in private because I am jocular, but also because I am proud. Challenged in public, the temptation to give in is strong. And I don't resist it ??? We are together for life."

Who said what

VERONICA:

"I have faced the conflicts and painful moments of a long conjugal relationship with respect and discretion. Now I write to state my reaction.

"These are statements that I see as damaging to my dignity, affirmations that ... cannot be reduced to jokes.

"To my husband and to the public man I therefore ask for a public apology, having not received one privately. This line of conduct has a sole limit, my dignity as a woman. Today for my female children ??? the example of a woman capable of defending her own dignity in her relationships with men takes on a particularly significant importance."

SILVIO:

"Here I am, saying I'm sorry. I was recalcitrant in private, because I am playful but proud too. Challenged in public, the temptation to give in to you is strong. I can't resist. We have been together for a whole life.[We have] three adorable children whom you have prepared for life with the care and loving rigour of the splendid person that you are, and which you have always been for me from the first moment that we met and fell in love. Believe me, I have never made a marriage proposal to anyone. So, I beg you, forgive me and accept this public display of a private pride that gives in to your rage as an act of love - just one of many."

Art. 88

Daily Mail - January 22, 2007 Monday

Sack boss of C4 over Big Brother racist row, say MPs

MPs last night demanded that Channel 4 sack its chief executive over the Celebrity Big Brother race row.

Politicians from all parties said Andy Duncan, who has failed to formally apologise for the fiasco, should either quit or be axed.

He is due to meet with the channel's board of directors today to explain why it took him so long to answer questions about the issue and why the broadcaster did not take any meaningful action to stop suspected racist bullying.

Critics also called for Channel 4 chairman Luke Johnson to be punished over his failure to answer questions on the row.

Trevor Phillips, chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, claimed Mr Johnson should be censured for his 'cynicism'.

He said: 'If the board does not take that stand then I think Tessa Jowell (Culture Secretary) has to step in and ask if this is a board that is capable of holding a public asset in trust for us.' Channel 4 has also been accused of manipulating the editing of the show to maximise ratings.

There are claims it broke rules by briefing contestant Jade Goody about the racism furore before she was evicted in a show watched by 8.8million. Channel 4 denies this.

Khalid Mahmood, Labour MP for Birmingham Perry Barr, said Mr Duncan 'should do the right thing and hand in his resignation'.

He added: If he does not I think the board should force him to go it was a real error of judgment.

'Somebody in his position should have known better and I think it's brought a lot of tension across the community and internationally.

'There's been no integrity involved in this. He has made a grave error of judgment and he should pay for the consequences.' Conservative MP and former minister Ann Widdecombe said: 'Bearing in mind he was the one that made all these statements supporting the programme he ought to consider his position.

There has been a failure of accountability to the public. I would prefer Big Brother never came back at all.' Over the weekend the Archbishop of York, Dr John Sentamu, said Celebrity Big Brother had revealed an 'ugly underbelly in society only too ready to point the finger at the foreigner, or those who might not fit in'.

According to sources, Channel 4's board is said to be reluctant to give a 'knee-jerk' response.

But there are bound to be concerns that the row could cost the channel millions in state funding after senior ministers, including Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell, spoke out as the number of complaints about the show reached 40,000.

Channel 4 is currently the subject of a funding review by media regulator Ofcom.

The station's board is chaired by restaurateur Luke Johnson, who refused to answer questions on the issue on BBC Radio 4's Today programme last week. It also includes Labour peer Lord Puttnam, web entrepreneur Martha Lane Fox and ex-BBC News head Tony Hall.

Miss Goody, who was accused of taunting fellow contestant Shilpa Shetty in the Big Brother house, is trying to rescue her career. She told the News of the World: 'My actions and words were wicked and cruel.

'I want to sincerely apologise to anybody of any ethnic region or any race white, black, Indian or anything else. I'm so sorry.' Her agent John Noel also represents show host Davina McCall who was criticised for giving Miss Goody a soft ride when she interviewed her after her eviction on Friday.

Mr Noel is believed to be planning to sign up Miss Shetty as well, with the prospect of publicity deals worth over Pounds 1million. Last night Miss Shetty's father broke his silence on the row. Speaking in Mumbai, he said he 'pitied' Miss Goody.

Art. 91

Sunday Mirror - January 28, 2007 Sunday

INDIANS SHOULD BE GLAD I SAID THEY'RE SKINNY, I THINK WE'D ALL LOVE TO BE THIN; EXCLUSIVE BB JO: NO SHAME

BIG Brother villain Jo O'Meara last night shamelessly refused to say sorry for bullying Shilpa Shetty... then attacked her for getting "special treatment" inside the house.

In a shockingly arrogant interview, she also defended her vile comments about Indians being skinny and said: "They should take what I said as a compliment." Amazingly, she then claimed the furious row surrounding the racist bullying of the Bollywood star has left HER on the verge of a nervous breakdown.

Jo, 27, said: "I am NOT a racist and I am NOT a bully. I was bullied a lot at school and I hate bullies. It made me bulimic. I can't say sorry for something I'm not guilty of. If I went back in there then I'd say it all again. I wouldn't change a thing from my BB experience, even now, because I know the truth. Big Brother has shown me unfairly. They have not shown me as I am."

The former S Club 7 singer added: "I was myself in the house, absolutely. But BB seems to have chosen all the bad bits. Everyone now thinks I'm a Fag-Ash Lil who hangs around in my dressing gown all day with unwashed hair - but it's not true."

Jo was kicked out by the public vote on Friday to jeers from fans outraged at her role alongside Jade Goody and Danielle Lloyd in making Bollywood star Shilpa's life hell. Viewers were horrified when Jo mocked Shilpa's cooking - claiming her chicken curry was undercooked - and imitated her accent. In the most astonishing outburst, she said: "All Indians are skinny because they get sick through eating undercooked food." But Jo yesterday refused to take back those words and said: "If anything, I look at that as a compliment. It's nice to be thin. It's what everybody wants to be."

She added: "I have no problem with Indian food. I don't mind it being made by hand. I have Indian food four times a week. But Shilpa's chicken was raw, it had blood spurting out of it and I know you can't eat raw chicken without getting extremely sick. Of course I wasn't going to eat it."

"I have been accused of mocking Shilpa's accent, but that's not racist. My cousin married an Indian and I make fun of their kids's voices. Then they make funny Cockney noises back at me. It's just a big game."

Yet the same Indian relative has slammed Jo's actions in the house (see left). At first, Jo had no idea who Shilpa was. She said: "When I first saw her I thought she was stunningly beautiful, but I didn't know who she was. There had been rumours of a Bollywood actress going in, so when I saw her I knew it was her."

"I admit we didn't get on - but I deny the friction was caused because of a culture clash. It was just that I was in a strange house with a lot of people and it is impossible to get on with everyone."

"I just couldn't bond with her - I don't know why. It's not that she is Indian, I just couldn't relate to her."

"I sometimes found her very dominating and controlling. Those things are magnified thousands of times in a house, where nothing goes on. Silly things like being fussy about cooking quickly gets on top of you."

"But it had nothing to do with race. Does it mean I hate Bradley from S Club because he's black? Him and me were incredibly close. We were like brother and sister. We still are and I know he will back me up 100 per cent. I was probably closer to him than anyone else in the band."

And she claimed: "I also felt Shilpa got special treatment. She was always in the diary room. I couldn't work out why she was going in there all the time. I thought she was a 'plant' sent in by BB like Chantelle last year. I started to distrust her. One day she decided she had to have a new bed because of problems with her back."

"All the housemates then had to wait outside the bedroom while this new orthopaedic bed was brought in. I also suffer from back complaints and thought that was excessive."

"When I complained, all Big Brother gave me was Ibuprofen. It wasn't fair. In the end I saw a physio, but I was never offered a new bed. It made me think Shilpa was getting whatever she asked BB for."

Fighting back tears, Jo also denied being part of a gang with Jade and Danielle. "I wasn't friends with Jade or Dan before the show, but in the house we really got on well. We were the young ones. We had a lot in common. I deny we were part of a 'gang' though. We didn't stick together."

"I'd go to Jade for a bit, then Dan, then Jermaine. Jade would spend most of her time with Jack or her mum, Jackie, and Dan would be off talking to everyone. The truth is I spent most of my time with Cleo. She was on my wavelength and

we giggled all the time. We had the same sense of humour." In the infamous argument about Oxo cubes between Jade and Shilpa, in which loudmouth Jade yelled: "You're a f***ing liar and a fake", Jo said: "Shilpa was in the wrong and so was Jade."

"Shilpa was asking for trouble by having a go at Jade about something so trivial. Jade isn't going to back down from that type of confrontation. I knew there was going to be an argument as soon as Shilpa opened her mouth."

"I hate arguments, they make me nervous. When that happened I just sat on the sofa not knowing what to do. It wasn't my argument. I didn't want anything to do with it. When Shilpa said, 'Jo, aren't you going to say something?' I didn't know what to do."

In fact, at the end of the row, Jo chuckled on camera: "That's made me feel better. I must say that's made my day." Yesterday, Jo said: "I was aware Jade was being aggressive, but thought I would sit there and hide away. Afterwards, when the bickering continued, I did think it had got to stop. I was bullied for years at school over my love of music."

"I had verbal and mental abuse - so I am dead against it. I now think BB created that tension and conflict on purpose to make the show interesting." Former A Team star Dirk Benedict was also on the receiving end of Jo's taunts. After branding him a "miserable old man" she told the housemates: "He's at breaking point. We just need to give him that extra tip over the edge." She later warned: "He's opening himself right up for torture. Wait 'til I start."

But last night Jo insisted: "Dirk and I were just winding each other up. We play-acted a lot of the time."

Jo also revealed that she suffered two panic attacks in the house. "They were both a nightmare. It was when I was at my lowest."

I MISSED home and couldn't speak to anyone. I missed being normal. I missed the telly. It was weird. I hated it. Once I calmed down I was OK though. Cleo and Ian helped me."

"Living in the house is awful. You can't sleep properly at night and they won't let you doze during the day. Whenever I closed my eyes in the day BB would play horrible noises including someone being sick and someone suffering from diarrhoea. It's enough to tip anyone over the edge."

Talking about her eviction on Friday, Jo said: "The crowd terrified me. It was the worst feeling I have ever had. When we went up the steps I held Cleo's hand and she looked at me as if to say, 'Come on kid, be strong'."

"I thought, 'With her there I can do this'. I thought I couldn't make it down the stairs my legs were shaking so much."

And Jo claimed she was terrified after receiving two death threats over what happened in the house. "I was told about them late on Friday. I couldn't sleep, and I haven't eaten. I feel very drained. I can't get my head around it."

"I don't know what's going to happen to me. I hope I'm not attacked in the street for what has happened in BB. It's not right."

She added: "Back at my hotel on Friday I was checking for cameras behind the mirrors. It's like I'm having a breakdown. I'm worried about being watched by helicopters. It's going to take a long time to get over this."

"I think I was naive going in there. I was aware everything we said and did was being picked up, but I wanted to be myself. I wasn't going to change."

"I'm glad I did it because now I really know how strong I am. I wanted to walk out a couple of times but I stuck with it. It's made me stronger in a lot of ways and I wouldn't change a thing. I am proud to have stayed in so long. I really am. I never had such pressure in S Club - the attacks in BB are so personal."

Jo added: "I know Jade gave her interview money to charity but I don't feel the need to do that. I have done nothing wrong."

"I don't know what to do now. I'm taking my time to see what happens. I never expected to relaunch my singing career on the back of BB."

"I am just going to go home and get my life back on track."

'People think I'm just a Fag-Ash Lil hanging out in my dressing gown' (ER, YES JO...THE Y WOULD!)

'I've no problem with Indians.. but Shilpa is dominant and controlling'
'I thought Shilpa was a BB plant, like Chantelle.. I didn't trust her'
'I'm terrified of death threats.. but being in BB made me strong'

Art. 92

The Daily Mirror - January 30, 2007 Tuesday

DANI BEGS: FORGIVE ME; SHILPA: MY STORY

DANIELLE Lloyd burst into the Big Brother press conference in tears to beg Shilpa's forgiveness.

Danielle, 23, interrupted as Shilpa spoke of her joy at winning and - clutching the actress's hand - said: "I'd like to apologise for the words I've said. They were not meant to be racist, I'm not a racist.

"Shilpa is a fantastic, beautiful lady and I'm really, really sorry."

The Bollywood star accepted the apology and said she forgave all the girls, even ringleader Jade Goody.

Danielle, stripped of her Miss Great Britain title before the show, is also desperately battling to save her relationship with soccer star Teddy Sheringham, 40, amid rumours he has dumped her.

She told ITV1's This Morning: "I haven't been able to speak to him yet.

Obviously, we have a lot to talk about and we'll take things from there."

But she believes they have a future - and later told how he left dozens of lovey-dovey texts and voice messages on her phone while she was inside.

Danielle said: "He'd written things like, 'Day 23 in the Big Brother house. I really miss you and I wish you knew what was happening in the outside world. I really love you. I feel bad about what's happening. I'm so sorry'."

She went on: "In my heart of hearts I knew Teddy wouldn't dump me over this.

"He knows the real me. He knows I'm not a racist."

Danielle also claimed Jade and Jo O'Meara were tipped off in the show's Diary Room about the furore they had caused.

She added: "I think Jade was told. She knew what was going on in the outside world and I think that Jo knew."

Art. 94

The Guardian - December 1, 2006 Friday

g2: We think he says sorry at the drop of a hat, but has Tony Blair really apologised for anything?

I used to think I understood what an apology was, but now I'm not so sure. A few years ago Tony Blair was reported everywhere as having apologised for the Irish potato famine of the 1840s. Now he is said to have failed to apologise for the slave trade. But there doesn't seem to me to be much difference between his statements on the two matters.

What he said on the 150th anniversary of the potato famine was as follows:

"Those who governed in London at the time failed their people through standing by while a crop failure turned into a massive human tragedy."

In other words, Britain had a rotten government at the time. Not a New Labour government, obviously. A New Labour government would have been humane and compassionate and done all the right things. So in what sense was that

statement an apology? You can't apologise for something somebody else has done unless you somehow share the responsibility for it.

On the slave trade he said: "Personally I believe the bicentenary (of its ending) offers us a chance not just to say how profoundly shameful the slave trade was - how we condemn its existence and praise those who fought for its abolition - but also to express our deep sorrow that it ever happened, that it ever could have happened and to rejoice at the different and better times we live in today" (New Labour times, naturally).

The difference between the two statements is that in the case of the slave trade the prime minister did not specifically single out a government for blame. But he recognised "the active role" Britain played in the trade prior to its abolition and the fact that "Britain's rise to global pre-eminence was partially dependent on a system of colonial slave labour". This means he must think that governments were deeply complicit in it.

Blair presumably understands that it is meaningless, as well as presumptuous, to make an apology on behalf of people who died long ago without feeling sorry for anything. So what is he to do when there is a clamour for him to apologise for every historic injustice? The commonsense response would be: "Don't be so silly." But that wouldn't go down very well, so he seeks to create an aura of penitence around things for which, quite rightly, he assumes no responsibility. Given his reputation for saying sorry at the drop of a hat, it is interesting to note that he has hardly ever actually apologised for anything. He claimed to have apologised for the lies about WMD in Iraq, for which he is widely held responsible, but never actually uttered the penitent words.

He did say sorry for the Bernie Ecclestone scandal, in which it was alleged that his government exempted formula-one motor racing from its ban on tobacco sponsorship in return for a donation to the Labour party, but at the same time vehemently denied the allegation. So his only full-fledged apology was for nothing at all.

An opinion poll in the Sunday Telegraph found majorities in both England and Scotland supporting a break-up of the United Kingdom. Fifty-two per cent of Scots said they wanted independence, and 59% of English said they would be only too glad to see the back of them.

But you can read what you want into opinion polls. If the Scots are so keen to be free, why should only a quarter of them have said that they regarded themselves as "Scottish, not British"? That suggests that a large majority of those north of the border still feel that their first loyalty is to the British state. The message seems to be that the Scots want to be British so long as they have as little as possible to do with the English. In a sort of way that makes sense. It is possible to like the idea of Britain while hating the other people living in the place. In fact, that's what the Scots may have been doing for a long time. Another survey, this one leaked from the BBC, revealed that the nation was far from united in the orgiastic response to Princess Diana's death. Forty-four per cent of people were repelled by the blanket media coverage of the event and its aftermath. They found it excessive and over-emotional. In a debriefing paper, the BBC confessed to having erred. "One of the things that became clear about the death and the immediate aftermath was that there was a range of public reactions to the death," it said. "There was no single public mood, rather there was a variety of moods." Even at this late stage it is a comfort to learn that we did not all go completely mad.

A terrible shock at the dentist's this week: the water in the glass beside the dentist's chair was coloured not pink but green. Since I started going to the dentist some 60 years ago, the water has always been pink. The reason, as I understood it, was to camouflage the blood that might come out of one's mouth during rinsing. The water was now green, I was told, because it tasted nicer and was more refreshing. But some blood did in fact issue from my mouth when I rinsed it, to form a garish little red cloud within the green water.

The dentist said that other older patients had been similarly taken aback by the new colour, but it must have been calculated that most people nowadays had become inured to the sight of blood, there being so much of it around. This week Alexander prepared himself for four days of Wagner's Ring in Cardiff by reading his brother John Chancellor's biography of the composer: "I was impressed by the way Wagner's chronic debts never sapped his vitality or stemmed the flow of his creativity." Alexander watched Das Rheingold on DVD: "Quite impressive, but not really the thing for the small screen."

Art. 95

The Daily Mirror - December 1, 2006 Friday

SUCH A SORRY STATE OF AFFAIRS, TONY

TONY Blair: An apology.

I am very sorry about Tony Blair. I deeply regret his destruction of the Labour party and its replacement with a Thatcherite clique hungry only for power. I apologise unreservedly for his creeping privatisation of the NHS, the cash-for-honours scandal and the failure to provide an adequate state pension. I am also deeply sorrowful that so many innocent Iraqis had to die so that Blair could maintain his special poodle relationship with George Dubya Bush.

And I am saddened by his failure to cut violent crime or to wean our nation off hard drugs. Not to mention the kids who can't read or write properly.

You may say that this apology should have been given before, because he has been Prime Minister for nearly 10 years.

But he has only just half-apologised for the abolition of slavery and that happened 200 years ago. Admittedly, he was a bit quicker off the mark with his apology for the Irish potato famine. That was only 150 years ago.

So I sincerely hope you will accept my apology now. I really am very sorry about Tony Blair.

Art. 97

The Daily Telegraph - November 27, 2006 Monday

Blair to express his 'deep sorrow' over slave trade

TONY Blair will today express his "deep sorrow" for Britain's role in the slave trade but will stop short of issuing a full apology.

The Prime Minister's personal condemnation comes as the Government prepares to set out its plans to commemorate the bicentenary next year of Britain's decision to abolish slavery.

John Prescott, the Deputy Prime Minister, has been drawing up ideas for the March 25 anniversary including the possibility of a "statement of regret" for Britain's involvement.

However, the Government has already ruled out a formal apology despite pressure from some black campaigners and community leaders.

In remarks appearing in the black community newspaper, New Nation, Mr Blair says: "It is hard to believe what would now be a crime against humanity was legal at the time.

"I believe the bicentenary offers us a chance not just to say how profoundly shameful the slave trade was - how we condemn its existence utterly and praise

those who fought for its abolition - but also to express our deep sorrow that it could ever have happened and rejoice at the better times we live in today." Government officials said the remarks were intended to set the tone for events to mark the bicentenary, which will be set out in a written ministerial statement to Parliament this week.

Britain was the first big slave-trading nation to abandon the practice in 1807. In February, the Church of England General Synod voted to apologise to the descendants of slaves.

At the height of the trade, Britain transported more than 300,000 slaves a year on disease-ridden boats to the Americas. It abandoned the trade in 1807 when there were still huge profits to be made.

Until the beginning of the 20th Century, the Royal Navy patrolled off the coast of Africa searching for slave trading ships, boarding them and freeing the slaves.

Art. 98

Daily Mail - November 27, 2006 Monday

Blair will today express his 'deep sorrow' over Britain's role in slavery

TONY Blair will today voice his 'deep sorrow' for Britain's role in the slave trade more than two centuries ago.

A statement due to be issued by Downing Street will describe the sale of millions of Africans as 'profoundly shameful'.

It will, however, stop short of a formal apology.

There have been fears in Whitehall that a formal apology could open the way for legal claims and the payment of reparations to the descendants of slaves.

The announcement is part of a campaign by the Prime Minister to win credit on the international stage ahead of his departure from office, which is expected next spring.

The move is likely to infuriate traditionalists and historians who will point out that Britain was the first nation to outlaw slavery, and led attempts to enforce the ban on the high seas.

The statement marks the third time Mr Blair has expressed regret for historical events for which he bears no responsibility. In 1997, he expressed regret for Britain's role in the Irish famine of the 19th century. Last year, he apologised for the imprisonment of the Guildford Four, who were wrongly convicted of pub bombings when he was still student.

Both moves were widely seen as political manoeuvres to placate Irish republicans in the search for a peace deal in Northern Ireland.

Today's announcement, published in the black newspaper New Nation, declares: 'It is hard to believe that what would now be a crime against humanity was legal at the time.'

'Personally, I believe the bicentenary offers us a chance not just to say how profoundly shameful the slave trade was, how we condemn its existence utterly and praise those who fought for its abolition, but also to express our deep sorrow that it ever happened, and to rejoice at the different and better times we live in today.' The announcement is a precursor to the celebrations to mark the 200 years since Parliament outlawed British participation in the Atlantic slave trade in March 1807. Slaves in the British empire were given their freedom in 1833.

Events commemorating the work of abolitionist campaigner William Wilberforce are being organised by Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott.

Today's statement has been in preparation for some time, and was leaked ten days ago when notes taken by Lords Leader Lady Amos were spotted after a Cabinet meeting.

They revealed that Mr Blair wanted to be identified with a bold gesture that would be 'internationally recognised'.

Her scrawled comments also confirmed that Britain is willing to back a United Nations motion sponsored by Caribbean countries honouring the victims of the transatlantic trade.

And they showed Mr Blair was willing 'to go further than he is being asked to' on the issue of an apology.

Lady Amos's notes from a meeting with Mr Blair contained the phrases 'window closing, political pressure mounts, get it out of way' and 'do it before end of year'. They also said the apology will be 'internationally recognised'.

The statement will reinforce suspicions that Mr Blair is hard at work burnishing his legacy before he leaves office to avoid having his reputation overshadowed by the failures of the Iraq war. He is said to be eager to secure a major international role to go alongside his expected work as a highly-paid after-dinner speaker.

By aligning himself with campaigners who have long been pressing for western countries to apologise for their past failings, Mr Blair hopes to win plaudits.

The Prime Minister clearly believes that British support for a motion will win over opinion in the Third World, where leaders have been alienated by Mr Blair's military adventures.

It is estimated that between ten and 28million Africans were sold into slavery in the Americas between 1450 and the early 19th century.

British traders operating out of cities such as Liverpool and Bristol were the major players in the slave trade.

Critics point out that the role of Africans themselves in capturing and selling slaves to white traders is insufficiently acknowledged. Slavery is said to continue today in parts of the Middle East and Africa.

Yesterday, the campaign group Rendezvous of Victory called for a full apology from the Queen and criticised Mr Blair. 'They do not understand contemporary enslavement,' said a spokesman.

Art. 99

The Guardian - November 27, 2006 Monday

Blair fights shy of full apology for slave trade

Tony Blair is to express Britain's profound sorrow over the slave trade, but will not give an unreserved apology for fear it will lead to claims for reparations from descendants of Africans sold into slavery.

The move follows pressure from African and Caribbean countries as well as Lady Amos, the black Labour leader of the House of Lords. It comes ahead of the 200th anniversary of slavery's abolition next March. Plans for Mr Blair's apology became public this month after Lady Amos showed notes from a meeting with the prime minister discussing whether to back a UN resolution on slavery tabled by Caribbean countries. The notes contained the phrases "window closing, political pressure mounts, get it out of way" and "do it before end of year". The notes said the apology would be "internationally recognised" and "status enhancing".

Mr Blair, in a statement to be published in the black New Nation newspaper, will say: "It is hard to believe what would now be a crime against humanity was legal at the time. I believe the bicentenary offers us not only a chance to say how profoundly shameful the slave trade was - how we condemn its existence utterly and praise those who fought for its abolition - but also to express our deep sorrow that it could ever have happened and rejoice at the better times we live in."

Many African countries insist that an apology would not lead to claims for reparations. In 1999 Liverpool city council apologised for the city's part in the trade. In February, the general synod of the Anglican church apologised for its role. The US has refused to apologise, leaving its leaders to make statements of regret.

Art. 103

The Daily Telegraph - November 28, 2006 Tuesday

Blair's deep sorrow for slavery 'is not enough' Critics say that Britain must pay a heavy price for its past. Jonathan Petre reports

TONY Blair reignited the debate on slavery yesterday by making a partial apology for Britain's role in the "profoundly shameful" trade. The Prime Minister said he felt "deep sorrow" for the country's involvement in what was "one of the most inhuman enterprises in history".

But his declaration, which comes ahead of next year's bicentenary of the abolition of the trade, fell short of the formal apology demanded by many campaigners and drew criticism as well as praise.

Black rights activists denounced it as "empty rhetoric" that failed to address the issue of reparations.

Mr Blair said in an article for the black community newspaper New Nation that although Britain was the first major nation to abolish the trade 200 years ago, it was right for the country to acknowledge its active role until then. "It is hard to believe that what would now be a crime against humanity was legal at the time," he said.

"Personally I believe the bicentenary offers us a chance not just to say how profoundly shameful the slave trade was - how we condemn its existence utterly and praise those who fought for its abolition - but also to express our deep sorrow that it ever happened, that it ever could have happened and to rejoice at the different and better times we live in today."

He said that the Government still needed to step up efforts to tackle modern-day slavery, to combat poverty in Africa and to celebrate the nation's "diversity" and shared heritage.

But his comments failed to satisfy Esther Stanford, the secretary of Rendezvous of Victory, an African-led pressure group that is demanding compensation.

A lawyer and vice-chairman of a linked organisation, the Pan African Reparation Coalition, she said Mr Blair's statement of regret fell far short of the hopes of many descendents of slaves.

"They are empty words, empty gestures," she said. "If he wants to do something that will restore his credibility he needs to set up a national commission to examine the legacy of the holocaust of slavery on the lives of people today."

"Reparation means to repair the harm. We need to have a full assessment made of the injuries done to us. We are talking about educational repairs, economic repairs, family repairs, cultural repairs, repairs of every kind that we need to sustain ourselves. It will cost."

"This nation has benefited extremely in financial and other terms in relation to African enslavement and colonisation, so it is right to hold this Government responsible." She said no one could put a figure on the level of the compensation needed until a commission had uncovered the facts, although money alone would never atone for the wrongs done.

Kofi Mawuli Klu, joint coordinator of Rendezvous for Victory, said Mr Blair should back up his words with actions, such as tackling the disillusionment of

many black pupils in the country's schools. Aiden McQuade, the director of Anti-Slavery International, said that he would have liked Mr Blair to "go a bit further". "It's good enough saying that you are sorry but we would like to see concrete actions," he said, adding that he wanted the history of the slave trade to become a compulsory part of the national curriculum. He said the Government could do more to write off the debts of African countries damaged by slavery and set up a fund to help poor communities made up of the descendents of slaves.

But the editor of New Nation, Michael Eboda, supported Mr Blair's statement, saying it was right to recognise the "magnitude of the wrong" and "now we can move on."

David Lammy, the culture minister, who is involved in coordinating some of next year's anniversary events, said he did not want to get into a "blame fest".

"In Tony Blair's statement today he recognises that there is a legacy from this period of history in Africa and that there is a legacy in relation to people living here in Britain," he said, adding: "Tony Blair has gone further than any other western leader." Commemorations are being planned for March next year to mark the 1807 Slave Trade Act when Britain became the first nation to outlaw the trade.

Art. 104

The Daily Mirror - November 29, 2006 Wednesday

CHERIE'S IN A FLAP

TONY Blair has now expressed regret for Britain's involvement in the slave trade. Marvellous. Although it's always better to apologise for something for which one is directly responsible.

So can we expect him to say sorry for wife Cherie, who manages to offend someone every time she opens her letterbox mouth?

I'm particularly concerned about her recent comment that journalism is not a "noble calling".

We journos are a tough breed. We can take criticism from those we respect and admire. But that doesn't include you, Mrs Frumpy Freeloader.

Art. 105

The Daily Telegraph - November 29, 2006 Wednesday

He could say sorry to the whales. Or Wales

Sometimes even I begin to feel sorry for David Cameron and Tony Blair, forever thrashing about like socks in a washing machine, while trying to look busy and important in front of the electorate. Most people realise the cold reality of the situation; here are another odd pair of wets, carried along by a spin cycle of events rather than controlling them.

At least Cameron has got an excuse. With no power behind him and no proper decisions to make, perhaps it's fair enough that he spends his time hugging hoodies, making speeches, liquidising organic broccoli for the kids' supper and generally appealing to his own inner tosser. But Blair should know better.

Expressing his "deep sorrow" for Britain's role in the slave trade, as he did this week, is the kind of empty, trendy grandstanding gesture that glamorises him and this generation at the expense of those who went before us.

Of course slavery was a crime against humanity, but it happened in different, harsher times, long, long ago. What is he going to do next? Apologise to the whale population for the whaling industry?

There are a lot of things that Tony Blair should apologise for, but slavery isn't one of them.

Art. 108

The Guardian - May 11, 2007 Friday

'I did what I thought was right'

Gordon Brown will today reveal his commitment to restore the wilting New Labour coalition when he launches his campaign for the premiership with a whistlestop tour of southern marginals, and a promise to rebuild any lost trust after he becomes the sixth Labour prime minister in British history.

Mr Blair announced the handover date in a conciliatory, confessional, almost humble speech in his Durham constituency, in which he apologised for when he had fallen short, but insisted "hand on heart" that he had always done what he had thought was right for the country. His aides say he recognises "in his own head" that it is time after 10 years in power to leave the British political stage.

Mr Brown will launch his 47-day campaign for the party leadership with a speech and press conference today, but he will hold back from publishing a fully-fledged manifesto until after MPs' nominations close next Thursday.

One of his closest political allies, Ed Miliband, hinted at a new Brownite style of government at a Progress rally at the London School of Economics, saying:

"There was a New Labour style that got us into power, which was about message, about being on-message. That is a style that belongs to the 1990s, it doesn't belong to the 2000s; partly because people are more intelligent than they are often given credit for, and you need to level with them and talk to them honestly about the challenges and dilemmas you face. And that is a very important part of winning back people's trust."

Mr Miliband also said that the government needed to talk more about inequality, and to strengthen the power of parliament over the executive.

As the world watched Mr Blair's farewell address in his Sedgefield constituency, frantic backroom politics was under way between the two putative leftwing candidates, Michael Meacher and John McDonnell, to see if either had enough support to prevent a coronation for Mr Brown, an event they insist the party membership and the public do not want.

The two men met three times at Westminster to try to agree which of them should try to go forward. As they divulged the names of their supporters to one another, it appeared they had 25 or 26 supporters each - but two MPs appeared to be supporting both candidates, leading to frantic efforts to discover their true allegiance. Mr Meacher and Mr McDonnell will reconvene on Monday.

Mr Brown has asked Mr Meacher and Mr McDonnell to debate with him at a Fabian event on Sunday, hours after the party national executive sets in train the leadership and deputy leadership contest.

Mr Blair's deputy, John Prescott, also announced his intention to resign, in a letter to his constituency party, expressing great pride to have served the most successful Labour prime minister ever.

The day had begun with a brief cabinet meeting at which Mr Blair told colleagues he was leaving. Mr Brown intervened to give a vote of thanks, before

Mr Blair headed to Trimdon Labour club in his constituency, his political birthplace.

In his speech he admitted expectations in 1997 had been "so high - too high, probably. Too high in a way for either of us".

Turning to Iraq, he said: "Removing Saddam and his sons from power, as with removing the Taliban, was over with relative ease, but the blowback since, from global terrorism and those elements that support it, has been fierce and unrelenting and costly. And for many it simply isn't and can't be worth it. For me, I think we must see it through."

He added: "I was, and remain, as a person and as a prime minister, an optimist. Politics may be the art of the possible; but at least in life, give the impossible a go. Hand on heart, I did what I thought was right. I may have been wrong, that's your call. But believe one thing, if nothing else. I did what I thought was right for our country."

It had been an honour to serve the country: "I give my thanks to you the British people for the times that I have succeeded and my apologies to you for the times I've fallen short. But good luck."

Art. 113

The Guardian - March 15, 2007 Thursday

National: Blue Peter admits rigging phone-in competition after technical hitch: Programme apologises for serious error of judgment: Girl on studio tour asked to stand in as winner

As well as its badges and vandalised garden, Blue Peter will for ever be associated with double-sided tape and sticky-back plastic. But the BBC children's institution has never been in quite such a fix as it was yesterday after admitting rigging results of a phone-in competition.

The show became the latest programme to be implicated in the furore over premium-rate lines after it confessed to fixing a contest in aid of its annual charity appeal in a programme last November.

After a technical hitch hit the Whose Shoes competition in which callers were asked to guess the identity of a mystery celebrity leaving a researcher unable to select a winner, someone decided to think on their feet.

Believing no one was getting through on the lines, they grabbed a girl on a studio tour and asked her to stand in as the winner. She was put on the phone and on air.

She knew the answer and was rewarded with the toys on offer as a prize. The presenters, unaware of the subterfuge, heard the girl say she was calling from London when in reality she was yards away from the studio in Television Centre.

The BBC shifted into damage limitation mode yesterday. Richard Deverell, controller of BBC Children's Television, said:

"The decision to put a child on air in this way was a serious error of judgment. Blue Peter presenter Konnie Huq last night told viewers: 'We'd like to apologise to you because when this mistake happened we let you down.'"

The public apology echoed the last time the programme was forced to say sorry, when presenter Richard Bacon was sacked for taking cocaine in 1998. MPs said the latest incident marked a new low and BBC insiders confessed it could damage viewers' trust. "When it's reached the point that even Blue Peter has been implicated in this sorry mess, then I think it's fair to say there has been a serious failure with the regulator," said Lib Dem culture spokesman Don Foster.

Jana Bennett, director of BBC Vision, said she had asked the corporation's former senior editorial policy adviser Andrea Wills for an immediate and independent review. A new winner from the original entrants has been chosen by an independent solicitor.

The competition, designed to raise money for Blue Peter's Shoe Biz appeal for children orphaned by Aids in Malawi, cost 10p to enter, with 3.25p going to Unicef and the rest to phone companies Telephone Express and Cable & Wireless.

In total 13,862 people entered, raising £450.52 for charity.

The incident came to light when another of the parents on the studio tour emailed BBC Radio 5 Live during a phone-in on the premium line row that has engulfed the BBC, ITV, Channel 4 and Five.

ITV has admitted overcharging red button voters on the last series of X-Factor and faces allegations over Soapstar Superstar, I'm a Celebrity and Ant and Dec's Saturday Night Takeaway while the BBC is accused of pretending a pre-recorded edition of Saturday Kitchen was live.

Premium phone rate regulator Ofcom said it would investigate the Blue Peter allegation. Last week, it ordered all broadcast-ers to undertake an urgent review, and unveiled a licensing regime designed to restore public confidence.

Art. 119

Daily Mail - April 2, 2007 Monday

The phoney mob targets embassy; Enemy at the gates as ordeal goes on for sailors held captive by Iran

HARDLINE Iranian students laid siege to the British embassy in Tehran yesterday, hurling rocks and fireworks and chanting 'death to Britain'.

With no end to the hostage crisis in sight, world leaders including President Bush and German Chancellor Angela Merkel voiced strong support for the UK, and called for the immediate release of the 15 sailors and Royal Marines seized by Iranian troops 11 days ago.

British ministers appeared anxious to calm the international battle of words and focus on behind-the-scenes diplomacy, saying they were in direct contact with Tehran. But Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad called the UK 'arrogant' for refusing to apologise over entering Iranian territorial waters which British officials deny.

And he raised tensions further by promising 'more details' of his country's controversial nuclear programme at a press conference tomorrow.

In Tehran the violent protest by 200 student activists at the British embassy appeared carefully staged.

Protesters, held back by police, chanted 'death to Britain' and 'death to America' as they threw missiles, and demanded the expulsion of ambassador Geoffrey Adams.

The demonstrators included members of the Basij, a hardline volunteer militia controlled by Iran's Revolutionary Guards. In a statement the group warned that the release of the 15 Britons who violated the 'pure waters of our country' would be 'unforgivable'.

The Foreign Office insisted there had been no injuries or damage.

Ministers appeared anxious to avoid threatening rhetoric against Iran.

Defence Secretary Des Browne said: 'We are anxious that this matter be resolved as quickly as possible and that it be resolved by diplomatic means and we are bending every single effort to that. We are in direct bilateral communication with the Iranians.'

Transport Secretary Douglas Alexander said: 'The responsible way forward is to continue the often unglamorous but

important and quiet diplomatic work to get our personnel home.' President Bush made his first public comment on the crisis, attacking Iran's 'inexcusable behaviour'.

In words which the Iranian foreign ministry said could damage the British cause, he said: 'Iran must give back the hostages. They're innocent, they did nothing wrong, and they were summarily plucked out of waters.' More support came from Chancellor Merkel, who said Britain had 'the full solidarity of the European Union', while Segolene Royal, the Socialist candidate for the French presidency, called for EU sanctions.

But president Ahmadinejad attacked Britain's 'arrogant and selfish spirit' in refusing to apologise over the incident in which the sailors and Marines were seized near the mouth of the Shatt al Arab waterway which divides Iran and Iraq.

The Royal Navy is considering sending a senior officer as a special envoy to Tehran, hoping to help secure the detainees' release by giving a formal undertaking not to enter Iran's territorial waters in future while not accepting they had done so on this occasion.

An opinion poll published yesterday showed a large majority in favour of continuing diplomatic efforts to end the crisis, with only 7 per cent believing military force should be used.

On Friday the Iranians released a second video showing some of the detainees reading out statements.

Further analysis of the text read out by Leading Seaman Faye Turney, the 26-year-old mother who is among the detainees, offered further signs that she and her colleagues were unwilling pawns in Iran's propaganda war.

At one point she told the camera: 'I have served in Foxtrot Nine Nine.'

The frigate HMS Cornwall's pennant number is F99, but British sailors do not refer to their ships in that way. MoD officials interpreted the mistake as a coded message from Faye Turney that she was being coerced.

The latest hostage to be named is Royal Marine Corporal Dean Harris, 24, from Carmarthen, West Wales. Others have been named as Paul Barton, of Southport, Merseyside; Royal Marine Adam Sperry, 22, of Leicester; Danny Masterton, 26, of Muirkirk, Ayrshire; and Joe Tindell, 21, of South London.

A British soldier was shot dead by insurgents in Iraq yesterday the 135th serviceman to die since the 2003 invasion began. The soldier from the 2nd Battalion the Duke of Lancaster's Regiment was shot when gunmen attacked a daylight patrol in the al-Ashar area close to the centre of Basra.

Art. 122

Daily Mail - April 3, 2007 Tuesday

In words and pictures, the telltale clues

THE detainees' televised confessions and apologies are far from convincing to a UK audience.

They are sprinkled with clues that the hostages are being forced to read out statements or write letters dictated by their captors admitting that they 'trespassed' into Iranian territorial waters.

But, however crude the Iranians' methods, there are signs that they are having the desired effect abroad, muddying the waters sufficiently to make it harder for British diplomats to build a united front on the world stage against Tehran.

The first volley in the propaganda war came last Wednesday, the fifth day of captivity, when footage of female sailor Faye Turney wearing an Islamic headdress was broadcast along with a letter to her family.

She was shown looking distressed and smoking cementing her image as an immoral woman in Iranian cultural terms.

Body language experts pointed to clear signs of stress and coercion her turned-down mouth, tense forehead and downcast eyes avoiding the camera, as well as her deadpan, monotone delivery.

The text of her letters revealed more clues. She wrote to her family that the British patrol boats had 'apparently' strayed into Iranian waters and then praised her captors as 'friendly and hospitable, very compassionate and warm'.

The second letter was addressed strangely to 'Representative of the House of Commons' a bizarre and clumsy way to describe MPs. Turney described herself as a sailor serving aboard 'Foxtrot Nine Nine'.

F-99 is the pennant number of the Royal Navy Frigate HMS Cornwall, but a British sailor would never refer to a ship by that number either in conversation or in writing.

One Navy insider said: 'It's like being asked what type of car you drive, and responding with its registration number. It's all wrong.' The text of this letter, and the next one addressed 'To British People', grew increasingly stilted and politically extreme. Turney apparently wrote: 'I am writing to you as a British service person who hoo [sic] has been to Iraq, sacrificed due to the intervening policies of the Bush and Blair governments.' She called for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Iraq one of Iran's key strategic goals in the region before condemning the treatment of prisoners by U.S. troops at Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad.

The unusual spelling used 'Abo Ghrayb' suggests a translation from Persian text, according to linguists.

Professor Clive Holes, of Oxford University's Oriental Institute, described the style of the letter as 'American-influenced

English-as-a-Foreign-Language', which you wouldn't expect from Faye Turney.

'I would bet my house on the fact that this is basically Persian speakers who have written this,' he added.

Next came an interview with junior sailor Nathan Summers. The 21-year-old apologised for entering Iran's waters 'without any permission', but clumsy editing showed a clear splice after the word 'apologise', suggesting his words were chopped around.

On Sunday night more footage was released showing Royal Marine Captain Chris Air and Lieutenant Felix Carman explaining their trespass into Iranian waters.

They appeared more composed, but tellingly both men also referred to HMS Cornwall as 'Foxtrot Nine Nine'.

A generation ago British troops were trained to give nothing away if they were captured except their name, rank and service number. Now they are taught to cooperate within reason if they believe it will help them to survive. One military insider told the Mail: 'Seeing these guys on TV it may look like they've gone native or lost the will to resist, but they're actually following their training and nobody here blames them.'

'They're in a very difficult situation. This isn't an old war movie. There's nothing to be gained from spitting in their captors' faces and bravely refusing to talk.'

Art. 123

The Independent - April 12, 2007 Thursday

'I thought everyone would be giving interviews'; Two pawns in the propaganda war; BRITAIN

The former captive Arthur Batchelor said he felt he had "disappointed the whole Navy" by selling the story of his capture by Iranian forces.

The 20-year-old able seaman, the youngest of the captives from HMS Cornwall, apologised yesterday for any distress the affair caused to families of service personnel killed in action.

He told The Herald newspaper in Plymouth, Devon, that he would have not accepted payment from the Daily Mirror if he had received guidance from Navy staff.

He said: "My understanding was that everyone would be giving interviews. I can see why they have done the U-turn but I would have rather been told beforehand.

"If they had told me beforehand I wouldn't have done it. I felt like I had disappointed the whole Royal Navy because only two of us did [interviews]." He added: "I am not a money grabber. I just wanted the whole country to know my personal opinion of what happened.

If I had caused any distress to families and friends of servicemen killed in action then I am sorry. Telling my story took a huge weight off my shoulders and has helped me come to terms with what has happened."

The operator mechanic from Plymouth added that he was "scared of a backlash" against his decision to sell his story. Able Seaman Batchelor told the Daily Mirror that he "cried like a baby" in his cell during the "nightmare" of his captivity in Iran after his captors likened him to the comedy character Mr Bean. He told the newspaper: "A guard kept flicking my neck with his index finger and thumb. I thought the worst, we've all seen the videos. I was frozen in terror and just stared into the darkness of my blindfold."

In his latest interview with the Daily Mirror yesterday, he defended his decision to sell his story.

He said: "I'm really hurt by all the criticism. People think I'm some kind of millionaire now, dining out on lobster and champagne, but I'm not ??? the money I've received will simply pay for a few driving lessons. I'm not even sure it will cover the cost of the actual test, let alone a car."

Art. 124

The Daily Telegraph - April 17, 2007 Tuesday

Browne says sorry over sailors fiasco as Cabinet shows support

DES BROWNE gained a temporary reprieve yesterday when he finally said "sorry" and admitted he had made a "mistake" in not blocking the sale of stories by sailors freed by Iran.

The Cabinet and Labour MPs staged a show of support for the beleaguered Defence Secretary as he told the Commons he "profoundly regretted" any damage to the reputation of UK armed forces.

Facing calls for his resignation as MPs returned to Westminster after the Easter recess, Mr Browne announced an inquiry into the media handling of the released sailors and marines - and a separate probe into how they came to be captured.

Liam Fox, the Conservative defence spokesman, said Mr Browne had "humiliated" the UK and his position was "becoming untenable".

But most Labour MPs rallied to Mr Browne's support and at least half the Cabinet, including John Prescott, the Deputy Prime Minister, and John Reid, the Home Secretary, sat beside the Defence Secretary on the Government front bench in a mark of solidarity.

Earlier, Downing Street made clear that the Prime Minister retained "full confidence" in Mr Browne, while Ministry of Defence officials disclosed that the

heads of the three Services - Admiral Sir Jonathan Band, Gen Sir Richard Dannatt and Air Chief Marshal Sir Glenn Torpy, as well as Air Chief Marshal Sir Jock Stirrup, Chief of the Defence Staff - had informed Mr Browne that he still had their backing.

Although Mr Browne survived his Commons ordeal, and headed off Opposition calls for his resignation, the view at Westminster was that his longer future as Defence Secretary was still in doubt.

Many Labour MPs believe he is likely to be moved to a less high-profile post in a reshuffle following the election of a new Labour leader in June or July.

However, Gordon Brown, widely seen as the Prime Minister-in-waiting, made a supportive telephone call to the Defence Secretary, according to Defence sources.

In a highly charged Commons statement, Mr Browne said he should have overruled the Navy's decision to allow sailors and Marines held by the Iranians to sell their stories.

The decision had been made in "good faith", in line with Queen's Regulations after the Navy had decided that the released detainees could tell their side of the story.

There were many offers of payment from the media for the stories, creating intense pressure on the sailors and their families. The Navy had concluded it was "impractical to attempt to prevent" them.

"I made a mistake. I have been completely open about that," Mr Browne said.

Dr Fox said that in a "more honourable time in politics", the resignation of a Cabinet Minister who had overseen such a humiliating fiasco would have been inevitable. "The Secretary of State said he took responsibility but the word 'sorry' never passed his lips," Dr Fox said.

Mr Browne replied: "If he wants me to say sorry, then I'm very happy to say sorry." But he added that he had an important job to do "and I intend to get on with it". An inquiry into the media aspects would be conducted by a senior military officer and a senior MoD official, unconnected with the decision, and led by an independent figure "with wide media experience".

A separate inquiry into the capture of the 15 personnel would be led by the Governor General of Gibraltar, Lt Gen Sir Rob Fulton, Royal Marines, taking about six weeks.

Mr Browne disclosed that it took 22 minutes to launch the frigate Cornwall's helicopter after contact was lost with the naval boarding party and another 40 minutes before they were located.

Mr Browne said he supported the decision of the Royal Marine captain not to resist capture. He defended the sailors and Marines against criticism that they had been too compliant with their Iranian captors.

Those who had carried out the debriefing concluded that the detainees' conduct was "well within the bounds of what was appropriate".

Art. 126

The Guardian - April 17, 2007 Tuesday

National: Iraq: Simon Hoggart's sketch A sorry expression of regret

As mea culpas go, it was not exactly gushing. Des Browne, the defence secretary, having been nagged, cajoled and hectored, finally admitted to "a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology".

Pressed to use the word "sorry", he said, grudgingly: "If you want me to say 'sorry', then I am happy to say 'sorry'." He said it in a very loud voice, which made it sound even less rueful.

I don't suppose many parents would think that was quite enough.

"Have you said 'sorry' to your sister for throwing her dolls out of the window, young man?"

"I have expressed a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology."

"You will say sorry to her, or you will not be playing football this afternoon!"

"Oh, all right, sorr-ee."

It was a magnificently evasive performance.

The Tories thought that, this time, they must have got him. But he slipped through their fingers, hurled himself over the side, and was last seen swimming frantically for the safety of the shore.

Now, he did admit that he had got some things wrong over allowing the 15 prisoners to sell their stories to the papers. But it was a professional politician's admission of guilt - in other words it was barely an admission of anything.

On Maundy Thursday he had received "a note" from the Navy HQ in Portsmouth telling him that it would be "impractical" to stop the payments going through. "I accept that in retrospect I should have rejected the note and overruled the decision."

"In retrospect" means "anyone else would have made the same mistake at the time."

"I should have foreseen that this attempt by the Navy in good faith to handle an exceptional situation . . ." means "nobody has had to face anything like this before. How was I supposed to know what to do, for heaven's sake?" Then: "Let me be clear with the house: I made a mistake. I have been completely open about that." (Or, "unlike you lot, I am honest enough to say so.")

"And to the extent that what happened has caused people to question the hard-won reputation of the armed forces, that is something I profoundly regret - but I remind people that precisely because this reputation is hard-won, it is not easily undermined."

This I took to mean, "do you seriously imagine that the victors of Agincourt, Trafalgar and Alamein could be affected by anything I might do or say?"

But Mr Browne was even more subtle. He almost always referred to the 15 prisoners as "young people", a term he used at least a dozen times, as in "these young people, exposed to such newsworthy events". Or "wars" as we used to call them.

Naturally this makes them seem like vulnerable folk who could not be expected to behave like adults, even adults armed with guns.

I wondered how Tennyson would have immortalised the event. "All in the valley of death/Rode the young people . . . editors to the right of them/Snappers to the left of them . . ."

Journey's End would have been a very different play. "I say, everyone, we're going over the top tonight, and the good news is, it's alcopops all round if we breach the German lines!"

The result of all this was that the only person to lay a glove on him - the Tories were, as ever, quite hopeless - was a Labour MP, Kate Hoey. She welcomed his apology. "But if he has made a mistake, what mistake does it take for him to consider whether he should offer his resignation?" Mr Browne declined to declare just how many more mistakes he needed to make before offering to go. Instead, he felt we should consider the "young people". It was not a reply.

Art. 128

The Independent - April 17, 2007 Tuesday

Browne clings on after Commons apology

Des Browne appears to have staved off the immediate threat to his position as Defence Secretary after saying yesterday that he was "sorry" the 15 Royal Navy personnel captured by Iran had been allowed to sell their stories to the media. Labour backbenchers and 15 cabinet ministers staged a show of support in the Commons which ensured Mr Browne survived Tory demands for his resignation. He also won the timely public backing of the four most senior armed service chiefs.

However, senior Labour MPs believe he has been damaged by his handling of the affair and predicted he would be moved from the Ministry of Defence when a new prime minister forms his first cabinet at the end of June after Tony Blair stands down. "If Blair were not quitting so soon, things would be different now," said one.

Mr Browne bought time by announcing two inquiries into the capture by Iran of the 15 sailors and marines, who were held for two weeks before being freed. One investigation will be into their capture and the other into the fiasco in which the 15 were initially allowed to be paid by the media for their stories - a decision later reversed by Mr Browne.

Yesterday, the Defence Secretary rejected a Tory charge that the capture of the Navy personnel had been a "national humiliation" for Britain, claiming Iran had lost the propaganda war. He also dismissed criticism by some MPs of the interviews given by the 15 while they were held in Tehran.

Liam Fox, the shadow Defence Secretary, said the incident should never have been allowed to happen because eight British sailors and marines had been captured by Iraq in 2004 in similar circumstances. He described the media handling after the 15 were released as "a shambles" that was "unforgiveable" and told Mr Browne his position was becoming "untenable" because he could not "command the necessary confidence in his decision-making".

In his Commons statement, Mr Browne accepted responsibility for the Navy's decision to allow the personnel to sell their stories, admitting he should have overruled it. "I should have foreseen that this attempt by the Navy in good faith to handle an exceptional situation would be interpreted as indicating a departure in the way the armed forces deal with the media," he said. He had "made a mistake" which he profoundly regretted because it had caused people to question the hard-won reputation of the armed forces.

Goaded by Tory MPs, he finally said: "It seems clear to me that I have expressed a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology. If you want me to say, 'I am sorry', I am happy to say, 'I am sorry'."

Nick Harvey, the Liberal Democrats' defence spokesman, said the real issue was not the media row but the original capture of the 15. He said: "It would not be right for him [Mr Browne] to resign his post over the media coverage of these events while the Prime Minister and the Cabinet who led us into the most disastrous foreign intervention in 50 years remain in post."

A six-week inquiry into the incident will be led by Lt Gen Sir Rob Fulton, Governor General of Gibraltar and former commander of Amphibious Task Forces.

Art. 129

The Times - April 17, 2007, Tuesday

Reprieved - for now

Des Browne admitted that he had made a "mistake" in the naval captives' cash-for-stories debacle. He admitted very little more. He expressed regret that his handling of the affair had brought Britain's Armed Forces into disrepute, but he attempted to excuse himself by saying that the decision was made in good faith.

He accepted responsibility for what happened, but gave only the barest explanation of why such a decision was taken. And, with some petulance, he told the Commons that if Members wanted him to say it, he was "happy" to say that he was sorry. It was hardly the robust statement to save a tottering career. However, Mr Browne looks set to survive.

He will do so for several reasons. The first is that the principle of honourable resignation to express contrition and accept blame has disappeared from public life. Indeed, the point was underlined by the Conservatives' invocation of Lord Carrington's resignation over the invasion of the Falklands. Liam Fox may have thought this a telling comparison. Unfortunately, it backfired. That resignation came at the outset of a war that cost more than 1,000 lives. The Iranian captivity of the Royal Navy crew lasted less than a fortnight, and, as Mr Browne repeatedly insisted, the 15 sailors and Marines returned home safely with no deal and no government apology.

That Mr Browne's decision was wrong was not in doubt: by a margin of 73 to 23 per cent, a Times/Populus poll found that Britons also believed that selling the captives' stories was wrong. The same poll, however, found that, by a two-to-one margin, Britons do not believe Mr Browne should lose his job. Significantly, a sizeable percentage -24 per cent -blamed the media, with the Ministry of Defence seen as the second most culpable, followed by Tony Blair (who was not even informed of the decision), the Royal Navy and only then Mr Browne, with 11 per cent blaming him and 6 per cent blaming the captives.

It has also become axiomatic that if a minister is cornered, especially by the media and the Conservatives, Labour MPs will rally round out of tribal loyalty. That was evident in the Commons yesterday. But the rallying was noticeably subdued. There were no roars of approval. There was no palpable warming to the embattled Mr Browne as he tersely accepted that he had erred.

If anything, his statement should occasion further worry about the clumsiness of a ministry that seems to have little strategic direction. Mr Browne gave an otiose minute-by-minute account of the doomed boarding party. He noted that the helicopter returned to the ship before the boarding operation was completed, but gave no explanation why this took place. He announced two inquiries in an apparent attempt to learn the lessons of the fiasco, but neither seems likely to provide greater insight or to restore the dented reputation of the Navy.

An inquiry into the event is clearly needed, but the Navy should already have drawn the strategic implications: it has, after all, been in the Gulf for decades. As for an independent look at the media handling, this will simply produce guffaws. Has that not been an issue, every day and every week, for at least a generation? What new insight can we expect?

Mr Browne remains in office for now. But he may not do so for long after Gordon Brown enters Downing Street. The Times poll also showed Labour's approval rating at its lowest since the leadership of Michael Foot. The Iran captives affair is both a symptom and a cause.

Art. 130

Daily Mail - April 17, 2007 Tuesday

His fingers had started to shake

DES Browne is a lawyer.

And only a lawyer would say this when fighting for his job: 'I have expressed a degree of regret that can be equated with an apology.' But that was the Defence Secretary's line, coughed up without a nun's blush, when he came to a nearly full Commons.

A degree of regret. It's almost the title to a sacked minister's memoirs.

Mr Browne survived, partly thanks to a sober delivery, partly thanks to discreet stage management. Whether or not he deserves to continue in office is a different matter, but he left to claps on the back from colleagues.

When Mr Browne arrived just before 3.30pm the mood felt dangerous and swollen. During the first half hour there was not much sense of anger from Hon Members. It was more serious than that.

When Mr Browne delivered his statement it was with a deep, steady voice. He had slowed his normal pace. He found the tone of a legal letter from a smart firm of solicitors who accept responsibility on behalf of their rich client but in no way agree to pay any form of damages.

The House, after a 'hear hear' from Labour the moment the Speaker called Mr Browne's name, settled down to silence. This, as we have remarked before, is generally a sign of trouble.

It appeared I say appeared that MPs might judge Mr Browne on his performance. This was not going to be one of those occasions when a minister is cheered regardless by his own side. Or was it?

First impressions can mislead. The more I looked at the Labour 'backbenches' the more I noticed that many MPs sitting there were not backbenchers at all.

They were ministers.

Not counting the Government bench (where numerous Cabinet ministers were on parade), there were about 90 Labour MPs present. These included no fewer than 27 junior ministers eg Andy Burnham, James Purnell, Dawn Primarolo, Tony McNulty. Add to this several ministerial aides and over a third of the apparently supportive Labour backbench presence was in fact 'payroll'.

Hmmmm.

of Mr Browne's statement? Did it constitute an honest apology?

Or, to use his language, even 'a degree of' an apology? Being Mr Browne, being this lawyer, everything was phrased with care.

'I accept responsibility', he said, eyes narrow. 'I agree that in retrospect I should have overruled the decision' slow, cautious. 'I made a mistake.'

Yes, but would he, after a vivid failure in Government and military affairs, accept the consequences and resign?

He would not.

Whips were dotted around the Chamber, perhaps to dissuade any independent-minded Labour MP from criticising Mr Browne. Kate Hoey (Lab, Vauxhall) was undeterred and asked if there were any circumstances in which Mr Browne felt a minister would resign. He declined to 'give her such parameters'.

Liam Fox, for the Tories, was brutal.

By the time he had finished Mr Browne's fingers had started to shake and he lost his temper. Repeatedly he referred to the Royal Navy sailors who sold their stories as 'young people who were in a very difficult situation'. It was as though they were cadets on an operation on the Solent, not professional warriors on the front line.

And despite all those ministers packing the place, I heard a voice from the Labour side grunt that the sailors 'should have shown a bit of dignity.' One other thing needs to be said. Mr Browne opened his statement by reading a list of the nine British service people lost since the week before Easter.

It is hard to see this, I'm afraid, as anything better than a dishonourable, improper abuse of a military roll of honour. The names of those fine women and men should not have been used as a diversionary tactic, as a shield for a minister who was there to answer for his own misdeeds. By reading that list of the dead Mr Browne craftily established a respectful mood in what might otherwise have been a scornful Commons. The names should have been announced at another occasion. It was quite, quite wrong to do it yesterday.

Daily Mail - April 17, 2007 Tuesday

Sorry bit I'm staying put

DES BROWNE faced Tory calls for his resignation last night after he was forced to say 'sorry' for his botched handling of the Iran prisoner fiasco.

A lacklustre Commons performance by the Defence Secretary raised fresh questions about the crisis that left Britain humiliated on the international stage. Shadow Defence Secretary Liam Fox raised the stakes by calling for the first time for Mr Browne's resignation, declaring his position 'untenable'.

Dr Fox asked: 'Does no one in the Government feel responsible for the national humiliation we have suffered at the hands of a pariah state?' Citing ministerial resignations in a 'more honourable time' following the Falklands invasion 25 years ago, Dr Fox said: 'He takes responsibility but he doesn't say sorry.' A visibly flustered Mr Browne tried to defend himself by insisting his language could be 'equated with an apology' before adding: 'If he wants me to say sorry then I'm happy to say sorry.' Under mounting pressure, Mr Browne announced two inquiries into the events in the Arabian Gulf that saw 15 Naval personnel held illegally for a fortnight by the Iranian government.

And he repeatedly expressed his 'degree of regret' for his 'mistake' that allowed two sailors to sell emotional accounts of their captivity to tabloid newspapers. An official inquiry led by the governor of Gibraltar, Lieutenant General Sir Rob Fulton, will report in six weeks and could prove devastating for Mr Browne if it finds that operational blunders led to a diplomatic disaster on his watch.

A separate investigation led by an independent figure with media experience is to look into the media handling of the return of the captives.

Last night Labour MPs appeared willing to allow Mr Browne the benefit of the doubt but said they would withhold judgment until the inquiry reports its findings. Mr Browne appeared in the Commons on the first day back for MPs following the Easter break, which was overshadowed by the release of Royal Navy and Royal Marines personnel held by Iran.

An orchestrated show of Government support saved Mr Browne from a Commons mauling, but more than a dozen Cabinet ministers but not Gordon Brown crowded the front bench alongside him, while at least 30 ministers were drafted in to fill the backbenches behind him.

The Chancellor's absence triggered speculation among some MPs that Mr Browne may lose his job when, as expected, Mr Brown takes over as Prime Minister.

A spokesman said Mr Brown was tied up in meetings with a Cabinet colleague at the Treasury, and then had to spend time with a delegation from China.

He pointed out that the Chancellor had issued a statement on Friday praising his colleague as an 'excellent' Defence Secretary.

Downing Street said Mr Browne had the Prime Minister's 'full confidence' and that he had been 'very open and frank' about his role in the row.

The 14 men and one woman were captured on March 23 by Revolutionary Guards.

On their return, two were allowed to sell their stories to tabloid newspapers, but the ensuing row forced Mr Browne to reverse the decision, which he claimed had been taken by Navy officers.

Yesterday the Defence Secretary told MPs: 'I made a mistake. To the extent that (it) caused people to question the hard-won reputation of the Armed Forces, that is something I profoundly regret.' And he insisted that despite widespread condemnation of apparent British weakness around the globe, the incident was resolved peacefully with the 'safe return' of British personnel.

'Let me be clear: there was no apology, there was no deal,' he said.

Among the issues the MoD inquiry is expected to examine is the military's 'conduct-after-capture training' amid criticism from some MPs that the personnel

had been too ready to apologise to the Iranians for their supposed violation of Iranian waters.

Ten questions that must be answered

THE inquiry announced by Des Browne will focus on the disastrous chain of events on March 23 which triggered the Iranian hostage crisis and left the Royal Navy an international laughing stock.

Should British forces have relied on the disputed boundary?

Britain has known for years that the Iranians dispute the territorial waters boundary in the northern Gulf, and they have a history of sparking disputes with arrests and seizures. Why was the Navy not more alert to the danger so close to the line?

Why were the Marines and sailors left so vulnerable?

The two small British boats were sent out of sight of mother ship HMS Cornwall into waters disputed by Iran.

If the warship could not follow into the shallow waters why did Cornwall's commanding officer Commodore Nick Lambert not send heavily armed patrol boats as protection?

Why was there no warning from HMS Cornwall?

The frigate boasts a powerful search radar able to track and classify surface craft up to 30 miles away and eavesdropping systems to monitor enemy communications.

How were Iranian gunboats able to creep up on the British boats?

Did the radios fail?

The hostages are said to have tried to call for help from HMS Cornwall as the Iranians approached but without success.

Were they let down by inadequate equipment? If they did lose radio contact, did they breach procedures by failing to return promptly to their mother ship?

Why did Cornwall's Lynx helicopter fail to help?

The helicopter monitored the initial boarding operation but returned to the frigate to refuel. That enabled the watching Iranians to spring their trap.

Once the alarm was raised, why did it take 22 minutes to launch the helicopter again to return to the scene?

Why did Commodore Lambert not use helicopters from other warships to ensure constant cover?

Why were the Britons not better armed?

The Royal Marines and sailors carried only assault rifles and pistols, while the Iranians had heavy calibre machineguns.

After months of watching Iranians, why were UK forces not similarly well armed, or accompanied by other gunboats?

Why didn't they put up a fight?

Tough and experienced Royal Marines offered no resistance when the Iranians surrounded them.

Did their Rules of Engagement strict guidelines governing when they can use force stop them putting up a fight? Were the rules too restrictive? Why did the Britons not fire warning shots or make a run for it?

Why did they allow themselves to be used as propaganda pawns?

The Britons were shown on Iranian television laughing and joking as they played ping pong. They made full 'confessions' that they had trespassed into Iranian waters.

Training in how to behave if captured has changed in recent years, but has the change gone too far?

Was there a failure of intelligence?

Three years earlier eight Royal Marines were seized by Iranian gunboats in very similar circumstances. Recently the Iranian authorities had publicly dropped hints and threats that they would try to capture western military personnel.

How did coalition intelligence gatherers fail to spot the heightened risk?

Will the inquiry findings be published?

A full version of Sir Robert Fulton's findings will be given to MPs on the Commons Defence Select Committee, but only a sanitised version will be published, excluding any sensitive information. Since the reasons for the fiasco centre on the failings of sensitive technology and secret procedures, will the report come up with any meaningful answers?

Art. 133

Daily Mail - April 17, 2007 Tuesday

FORGET BROWNE. SOMEONE IN THE NAVY MUST WALK THE PLANK; COMMENTARY

MPS came to see a hanging but instead, of course, heard the announcement of a reprieve. The condemned man, Defence Secretary Des Browne, said 'sorry', then told the House of Commons yesterday that he was letting himself off. We must ask the armed forces, he said, whether they still have confidence in him. He did not mention that, even if every man wearing a uniform wants him to quit, they will be in breach of his regulations if they say so.

The Defence Secretary now intends, he concluded, 'to get on with the job'. This means presiding over the continuing erosion of the finest armed forces of their size in the world, while they fight two of the most unpopular wars in Britain's history with grossly inadequate manpower and resources.

For all the advance speculation that yesterday would be high noon for Mr Browne, the outcome was predictable.

Nobody resigns from Tony Blair's government unless water is actually closing over his funnel. The Defence Secretary made the best case he could offer for the fiasco in the Shatt-Al-Arab waterway, announced an inquiry, and will now wait to see whether the fuss dies down.

It should not do so, of course. Even at a time when public interest in politics is very low, the British people are rightly galled by the humiliation which we have suffered. So much controversy has focused upon the issue of whether the sailors seized by the Iranians should have been allowed to sell their stories that not enough attention has been paid to the much more important question: how they could be captured in the first place.

For years Britain's armed forces on land, at sea and in the air, have been trying to do too much with too little.

Blame for this lies in Downing Street.

But it is impossible to exonerate successive chiefs of staff, who have acquiesced in silence for instance, by agreeing to participate in last year's Afghanistan deployment with woefully inadequate numbers of men and helicopters.

It is one thing for the services to adopt a 'can do' spirit. It is another, to accept commitments without the proper means to fulfil them. The head of the army, General Sir Richard Dannatt, was the first serving chief to break ranks, when he told the Daily Mail last November that it is essential to get out of Iraq soon. It is not surprising that it was a soldier who spoke, because the army bears the overwhelming burden of combat and casualties.

THE Royal Navy and RAF live and work in a very different ethos.

Only a tiny proportion of their personnel ever hear a shot fired in anger.

Most of their people operate in accordance with not uncomfortable routines.

Admirals and air marshals are preoccupied with the struggle to persuade government to give them more ships and planes, which seldom if ever see action.

This is no criticism of their services we need warships and planes. But it means that top airmen and sailors want to keep happy the ministers they serve.

They are playing a Whitehall game. They don't want trouble. They are managers, running bureaucracies whose personnel merely happen to wear uniforms.

Thus, of course, it comes as a horrible shock when they find themselves exposed to the sort of confrontation which took place in the Gulf last month. Des Browne cannot properly be held responsible for the capture of 15 sailors and Marines by the Iranians. Blame for that lies squarely within the Royal Navy, which bore the operational responsibility.

The most important question to be answered by the inquiry announced yesterday is why British personnel in two little rubber boats were caught in an Iranian ambush. Of course the sailors and Marines were right not to resist. Fault lay in the fact that they were out there on their own, within reach of the most unstable and reckless regime in the world, which for years has been helping to kill British soldiers ashore..

Responsibility must go beyond the naval officers on the spot. Deployments and rules of engagement are decreed at a much higher level.

Somebody somewhere, wearing naval uniform, must walk the plank for this. It will be for Sir Rob Fulton, the retired Marine general heading the inquiry announced yesterday, to decide who this should be if he does his job properly, and refuses merely to preside over a whitewash.

As to the selling of the sailors' stories, the irony is that this government has imposed on the services the toughest media restrictions in history. Under the rules enforced by Tony Blair's information gauleiters, even the most senior officers are forbidden contact with journalists except with the explicit consent of the Secretary of State. The Chief of Defence Staff, Air-Marshal Sir Jock Stirrup, is an invisible man.

Some of us have argued for years that the chiefs of staff were wrong to accept such political constraints, but accept them they did.

I am sure it is true that the Navy decided that it was best to allow the hostages to sell their stories. But it is absurd for Browne to pretend that he was a mere bystander. A vast army of political and civilian information staff, who take their orders from him, not from the services, control every media decision down to what colour shoes service interviewees wear on telly.

Only this week, we have learned that British casualties in Selly Oak hospital have been ordered to stay away from the media. Notice this: no one dares to suggest that wounded men are now happy with their aftercare at Selly Oak, which has been shameful. What matters to the MoD, and to Des Browne, is that they should be prevented from talking about it.

Every aspect of the Gulf saga suggests inadequate people in charge at Fleet Headquarters in the Ministry of Defence who made bad decisions on the spot. The pathetic behaviour of the 15 prisoners during their captivity reflects no more and no less than the mood of their service today. The Royal Navy's bosses have forgotten much of its great history. Sailors are imbued not with Nelson's motto 'Engage the Enemy More Closely', but instead with a semi-civilian ethos of nine to five and no overtime; run for a human rights lawyer if a petty officer says 'boo' to you.

DES Browne is, of course, a woefully inadequate secretary of state. We knew that before the Gulf fiasco. Like his predecessor Geoff Hoon, he is a typical Blair placeman, whose only virtue is loyalty to the Prime Minister. We should worry much more, I think, about the dismal picture of the Navy which this episode has given us. Putting that right, restoring to a great service its pride and yes, guts, is an essential priority.

Liam Fox the Tory defence spokesman, who spoke well yesterday, said that such an episode as this must never be allowed to happen again. But it will recur, unless our armed forces get the leadership and support which they need. It scarcely matters whether Des Browne stays or goes, though of course he should go. It is vital to all of us, that those responsible within the Royal Navy are seen to pay the price of their blunders, and that the armed forces learn the lessons of this grisly experience.

Art. 135

The Sun - March 29, 2007 Thursday

Hostage Faye forced to lie

Who do you think you are kidding, Mr Ahmadinejad?

IRAN'S lying president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad humiliated kidnapped British mum Faye Turney by parading her on TV in a sick stunt yesterday.

He forced Faye, 26, to COVER her head with a Muslim scarf, PRAISE her captors, LIE that she and 14 other Royal Navy captives entered Iranian waters and make a grovelling APOLOGY.

The bogus confession was immediately condemned by the Government and British diplomats.

Art. 136

The Times - March 29, 2007, Thursday

Captives on parade in Iran's propaganda war

- * Uneasy apology from captured British forces

- * Muslim nations join condemnation of Tehran

Her blonde hair covered with a black headscarf and puffing on a cigarette, Faye Turney enunciated each word carefully to her unseen interviewer.

Her patrol boat had "obviously" trespassed into Iranian waters, she said. But she and her fellow servicemen were being treated well by their "friendly, hospitable, thoughtful and nice" captors.

A letter apparently penned by Leading Seaman Turney, 26, in which she says she has written to the Iranian people to apologise for "apparently" entering their waters, was released simultaneously by the authorities in Tehran.

After parading the 15 British service personnel in their uniforms on television, Tehran demanded a similar apology and a formal admission of guilt from the British Government.

A few hours later, however, Iran's leaders softened their rhetoric, announcing that British officials would be allowed to visit all the captives, and hinting that Leading Seaman Turney would be released "as soon as possible".

In her "letter", she wrote of her hope of being freed in time for her daughter Molly's third birthday party. Describing herself as "well and safe", Leading Seaman Turney wrote that she and her fellow captives were being fed three meals a day.

"The people are friendly and hospitable, very compassionate and warm. Please don't worry about me, I am staying strong. Hopefully it won't be long until I am home to get ready for Molly's birthday party with a present from the Iranian people," she wrote. She signed off her letter with 12 kisses - a detail along with all the others that will be analysed closely in London.

Her television performance, filmed in front of a floral curtain, was immediately called into question: the Foreign Office condemned the footage as unacceptable and body language experts cast doubt on the sincerity of her words. Margaret Beckett, the Foreign Secretary, suggested that the sailor could have been coerced into making her statements.

The pictures recalled the footage of the party of eight Marines and sailors, seized by the Iranians in 2004, who were paraded blindfolded, led into a ditch and made to endure a mock execution for the cameras.

But diplomats suggested last night that the very different tenor of yesterday's images could amount to the start of a climbdown by Iran, which had realised that it had made a mistake and was trying to find a face-saving way out of its embarrassment.

The pictures aired after Tony Blair was cheered in the Commons as he told MPs that it was time to "ratchet up" the diplomatic and international pressure on Iran. He said that Tehran had to understand its "total isolation" on this issue. That isolation grew more apparent last night as Western and Islamic leaders rounded on Tehran. Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany, said that Iran's behaviour was "unacceptable". Turkey and Iraq intervened publicly on the Britons' behalf.

The gathering pressure on Iran followed the release by the Ministry of Defence of evidence that the Britons' vessels had not violated Iranian waters when they were seized last Friday, but had instead been in Iraqi waters.

The MoD backed up its assertion by releasing a photograph of a handheld global positioning satellite device in HMS Cornwall's Lynx helicopter as it flew over the searched merchant vessel, confirming its position. In a key disclosure Britain took the unusual step of divulging the contents of diplomatic exchanges that immediately followed the "ambush".

Iran, it emerged, gave coordinates to British diplomats as proof that the Royal Navy had strayed into their waters. But the compass points given were actually in Iraq's part of the Gulf, Mrs Beckett had told Manouchehr Mottaki, her Iranian counterpart, on Sunday.

Art. 138

The Daily Mirror - March 31, 2007 Saturday

COME HOME SAFE; EXCLUSIVE NAVY HOSTAGE CRISIS DAD'S PLEA TO FREE CAPTIVES AFTER HIS SON IS HUMILIATED ON TV IN IRAN

THE dad of kidnapped sailor Nathan Summers last night begged his cowardly captors to release his son and accused Iran of yet another sick propaganda stunt.

Worried Roy Summers spoke after the 21-year-old sailor was paraded on TV and forced to make a bogus apology for straying into Iranian waters with 14 colleagues.

Roy, 50, said: "I just want him home safe and well. It is wrong for the Iranians to parade the captives like that.

"Nathan is a man of few words. He was obviously given a script to read. I've seen people on Iranian TV saying 'Hang them'. I am terrified of the outcome."

Nathan's big brother Nick, also in the Navy, added: "It was a relief to see he's alive and well.

"It has been a big shock for all the family, especially my mum and grandparents.

"We're just trying to pull together and stay strong - and our message to him is: 'We can't wait to see you again.' "

The pair spoke out after the hostages' gutless captors forced sailor Faye Turney to write a THIRD lying letter claiming she had been "sacrificed" by the UK and US governments.

In a sickening move, 26-year-old mum Faye was made to compare the hostages' treatment with that of Islamic prisoners at Iraq's notorious Abu Ghraib jail.

She wrote: "It is now time to ask our government to make a change to its oppressive behaviour towards other people.

"Whereas we hear and see on the news the way prisoners were treated in Abo-Ghrayb (sic) and other Iraqi jails by British and US personnel, I have received total respect and faced no harm."

Tony Blair last night pleaded for patience over the hostage crisis, sparking fears the group could be held for weeks, not days.

But he could not contain his fury as he condemned Iran's cynical propaganda stunts.

Mr Blair said: "I don't know why the Iranian regime keep doing this. All it does is enhance people's disgust.

"Captured personnel being paraded and manipulated in this way doesn't fool anyone.

"What the Iranians have to realise is that if they continue in this way, they will face increasing isolation.

"We've got to pursue this with the necessary firmness and determination but also patiently because there is only one possible conclusion to this, and that is that our personnel are released safe and sound."

Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad last night escalated the crisis even further by ludicrously demanded an apology from Britain for "illegally entering its waters".

Naval mechanic Nathan, from Hayle, Cornwall, was forced to trot out the same line on al-Alam - the same TV station where Faye was paraded wearing an Islamic headdress on Wednesday.

With Faye and fellow captive Adam Sperry in the background, he said under clear duress and in heavily edited footage: "Since we have been arrested our treatment has been friendly.

"We have not been harmed at all. We trespassed. I would like to apologise for entering your waters without any permission."

The footage was shot at the former US embassy in Tehran, now home of the hardline Islamic Revolutionary Guards who snatched the sailors nine days ago. Defence chiefs have identified four more of the captured 15 sailors and Marines. Marine Adam Sperry, 22, lives with his widowed mum Sandra in Leicester. The former boxer is based at the Clyde Naval Base at Faslane with the Fleet Protection Group.

Close friend and fellow Marine Joe Tindell is also stationed at HMNB Clyde.

The 21-year-old, from Shooters Hill, South East London, lives with mum Julie, dad John and older brother Andrew.

Marine Danny Masterton, is also based at Faslane. The 26-year-old, from Muirkirk, Ayrshire, is the son of a former Ayr United footballer, also Danny. His mum Christine is sick in hospital.

Policeman's son Paul Barton, 21, is said to live with his mum Melanie and sister Stephanie in Southport.

Adam's younger brother James, 16, begged for his safe release. He told how Adam had joined the Marines to "prove himself" to their late dad. James added: "I just want him home so we can have a massive party for him when he gets back." Mum Sandra was too upset to talk.

But Adam's uncle Ray Cooper said his mum was "just glad he's still in good spirits". The 49-year-old market trader added: "We've been really worried but on the footage today there was no mistaking that cocky grin.

"It has made us feel a little better. Now we hope they will all be allowed home soon."

Joe's mum Julie was also too distraught to talk. But a close friend said: "We're all praying for his safe return. Joe will be all right and he will keep everyone else in high spirits."

Danny's dad, Danny Senior, 53, said: "We just want him home."

A close friend of Faye's last night confirmed the letters from Iran were in her handwriting - but not in her language.

Aileen Parry, 28, from Welshpool - who has known the Leading Seaman for 14 years - said: "I recognised her handwriting from the letters she used to write to me when she was away.

"But it is not written in the language she would use. Her daughter would be the first thing she would mention, not the last."

The UN Security Council last night called for a swift end to the crisis. Iran's embassy in London said Britain was in contact with its government to resolve the matter "in a mutually acceptable manner".

Art. 144

The Guardian - January 27, 2007 Saturday

Victim of US torture flights wins £4.5m in damages

A Canadian citizen who spent more than 10 months under torture in a Syrian prison after being swept up in the CIA's secret "extraordinary rendition" programme received a written apology from his government yesterday and C\$10.5m (£4.54m) in compensation.

The case of Maher Arar, a Syrian-born wireless technology expert whose life and career were devastated by what his lawyers call a smear campaign by the Canadian police, is the best-known example to date of the US practice of rendition - in which suspects are flown to other countries for interrogation under less humane conditions - during the "war on terror".

"The government of Canada and the prime minister have acknowledged my innocence," Mr Arar, 37, told reporters in Ottawa yesterday. "This means the world to me."

He was arrested during an airport stopover in New York on his way home from a family holiday in Tunisia in September 2002. After being shackled and interrogated by the US authorities for 11 days, he was flown to Syria. His lawyer said he was confined to a cell about a metre wide, never knowing when he would be dragged out and tortured. Mr Arar remained in that jail for more than 10 months before the authorities said they had no reason to continue to hold him.

It took until last September for the Canadian authorities to exonerate him. A judicial inquiry found he had no links to extremists or terrorist groups. It criticised the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for wrongly labelling him an extremist and a security threat, and said Canadian law enforcement officials had fed misleading and unfair information to the US authorities. That information was likely to have resulted in the decision to render him to Syria, the inquiry found. Yesterday, he received a formal apology from the Canadian prime minister, Stephen Harper, in parliament. "On behalf of the government, I wish to apologise to you . . . and your family for any role Canadian officials may have played in the terrible ordeal that all of you experienced," Mr Harper said. The award marks the largest settlement of an individual human rights case by the Canadian government.

In the three years since his release, Mr Arar was unable to find work. "My suffering and the suffering of my family did not end when I was released. The struggle to clear my name has been long and hard," he said. "I feel now I can put more time into being a good father, and to being a good husband and to rebuilding my life."

However, the US has refused to remove him from its terrorist watch list, despite repeated entreaties from the Canadian government. Mr Harper said Ottawa would continue to press Washington to remove Mr Arar from the list. "We think the evidence is clear that Mr Arar has been treated unjustly." He added that

Washington had yet to provide its reasons for considering Mr Arar security threat.

That standoff may end in the US Congress, now under the control of the Democratic party, which has pressed the Bush administration to explain why it deported a Canadian citizen to Syria. The US attorney general, Alberto Gonzales, has said that such information may be revealed privately to members of the Senate judiciary committee. But Mr Arar is taking no chances. "I still avoid US air space," he told reporters yesterday.

Art. 145

The Daily Telegraph - June 30, 2007 Saturday

Sarkozy ally says sorry for insult

NICOLAS Sarkozy was forced to castigate a close party ally yesterday for calling a rival female politician a " salope", the French word for bitch. Patrick Devedjian, the deputy secretary general of the Right-wing UMP, used the word in reference to Anne-Marie Comparini, the former centrist deputy of the Rhône, after she lost to the UMP candidate in legislative elections this month.

"This is no way to speak of women, nor of anyone at all," said Mr Sarkozy. The insult, captured by the Lyon-based channel TLM, was posted on a video-sharing website.

All opposition parties in parliament, barring the National Front, passed a motion to condemn Mr Devedjian's words as "unspeakable".

In a public apology yesterday, Mr Devedjian said: "The exclamation I pronounced is not one of my most brilliant.

"I naturally deeply regret these words ... I expressed myself like that believing, by the way, that I was speaking in private."

TLM insisted that Mr Devedjian knew that the camera was switched on.

Art. 147

The Daily Telegraph - May 14, 2007 Monday

M&S drops style icon Ferry Singer's apology not enough after he praised Nazis

BRYAN FERRY, the singer, has been dropped as one of the faces of a multi-million pound advertising campaign by Marks & Spencer after his controversial comments about the Nazis.

The veteran musician is no longer being used in the commercials for its Autograph range which has been a key factor in its re-emergence as a major force in High Street fashion.

The Roxy Music front man was forced to apologise after he praised the architecture and propaganda films of the Third Reich and admitted he calls his west London studio his Fuhrerbunker.

The interview in a German magazine caused outrage in the Jewish community and triggered a House of Commons motion urging shoppers to boycott M&S and refuse to buy Ferry's albums.

The retailer, founded by Russian Jewish refugee Michael Marks, was urged to consider its relationship with the singer. Ferry is no longer being used and there are no negotiations for a new contract.

In the interview in Germany's *Welt am Sonntag*, Ferry, 61, said: "The Nazis knew how to put themselves in the limelight and present themselves." He went on to praise the work of the film maker Leni Riefenstahl, who was notorious for her Nazi propaganda work, and the architecture of Albert Speer, who was Hitler's favourite designer.

"Leni Riefenstahl's movies and Albert Speer's buildings and the mass parades and the flags - just amazing. Really beautiful," he said. Ferry later issued a public statement in which he said: "I apologise unreservedly for any offence caused by my comments on Nazi iconography, which were solely made from an art history perspective. I, like every right-minded individual, find the Nazi regime, and all it stood for, evil and abhorrent."

Lord Janner, former chairman of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, yesterday welcomed the decision not to use Ferry in any more campaigns. He said: "This does not surprise me and if I were working with M&S I would have done the same. His comments were highly offensive."

Marks and Spencer said: "We haven't decided what we are going to do with our menswear advertising. It is under review. The decision hasn't been made. However, it's highly unlikely that we would ever use anybody for more than two seasons of advertising anyway."

The latest quarterly figures show a seven per cent improvement in sales for M&S which have been partly attributed to the retailer's marketing campaigns featuring Ferry, Twiggy, the 1960s model, the models Erin O'Connor and Lizzie Jagger and Dame Shirley Bassey, the singer.

Stephen Howard, Ferry's manager, told the *Independent* on Sunday:

"Technically he fulfilled the obligations of the contract when he did the last photo shoot. It was a successful association for both parties."

Art. 149

The Guardian - April 17, 2007 Tuesday

National: Ferry says sorry for lauding Nazi iconography

Bryan Ferry has apologised for remarks he made praising Nazi iconography. The 61-year-old singer sparked condemnation from Jewish leaders after he was quoted in a German newspaper describing the aesthetic behind Nazi Germany as "just amazing".

In an interview with *Welt am Sonntag*, Ferry also revealed that he calls his studio in west London his "Führerbunker".

He said: "My God, the Nazis knew how to put themselves in the limelight and present themselves. I'm talking about Leni Riefenstahl's movies and Albert Speer's buildings and the mass parades and the flags - just amazing. Really beautiful."

The singer, who is also a model for Marks and Spencer, issued a statement yesterday in which he said he was "deeply upset" by the negative publicity his remarks had caused. It added: "I apologise unreservedly for any offence caused by my comments on Nazi iconography, which were solely made from an art history perspective."

"I, like every right-minded individual, find the Nazi regime, and all it stood for, evil and abhorrent."

Jewish leaders, some of whom had called for Marks and Spencer to reconsider Ferry's contract, welcomed his apology.

Lord Janner, vice-president of the World Jewish Congress, said: "I'm very pleased he's apologised. My view is that the matter is now closed."

Nick Viner, the chief executive of the Jewish Community Centre for London, said: "He's made an apology quickly and responsibly. It goes a long way to mitigate his original remarks."

Art. 150

The Times - April 17, 2007, Tuesday

Ferry's Nazi apology

Relax. Bryan Ferry doesn't really like the Nazis. Much.

In a rather unwise interview with the *Welt am Sonntag* newspaper in Germany, Ferry, (61, and the singer with Roxy Music) went out of his way to praise Nazi aesthetics and iconography. "The way that the Nazis staged themselves and presented themselves, my Lord!" he crowed. "I'm talking about the films of Leni Riefenstahl and the buildings of Albert Speer and the mass marches and the flags -just amazing. Really beautiful."

Not unpredictably, there has been a bit of a fuss about this. Now, Ferry has "apologised unreservedly for any offence caused", (careful wording, that) insisting that the comments were made from an "art history perspective" and that he has no political love of the far Right. Although he is pretty keen on the Countryside Alliance.

(Joke. Don't write in.)

Art. 153

The Daily Telegraph - August 2, 2006 Wednesday

Gibson apologises for drunken tirade against Jews as TV series is pulled

DISNEY'S ABC television network is to pull a Holocaust-themed series it was developing with Mel Gibson despite an appeal from the actor for the Jewish community to forgive his reported anti-Semitic outburst to a Los Angeles police officer.

The actor and director, who launched an expletive-laden tirade against Jews after being arrested on suspicion of drink-driving early on Friday, yesterday issued a second lengthy apology in which he described his comments as "vitriolic and harmful".

In the statement, Gibson asked for a meeting with Jewish leaders "with whom I can have a one-on-one discussion to discern the appropriate path for healing" and issued an apology to "everyone in the Jewish community" whom he had "personally offended".

"There is no excuse, nor should there be any tolerance, for anyone who thinks or expresses any kind of anti-Semitic remark," he said.

"Please know from my heart that I am not an anti-Semite. I am not a bigot. Hatred of any kind goes against my faith."

But the damage limitation exercise has apparently come too late to save Gibson's collaboration with ABC - a television mini-series based on the memoirs of a Dutch Jew who hid from the Nazis during the Second World War.

"Given that it has been nearly two years and we have yet to see the first draft of a script, we have decided to no longer pursue this project with Icon," an ABC representative said.

ABC refused to say whether the cancellation of the project with Gibson's Icon Films was linked to his arrest. Disney, however, still appears on course to release Gibson's latest film, *Apocalypse*, a project about the decline of the Mayan empire, in December. After he was apprehended in Malibu, Gibson launched into a tirade against Jews.

According to a police report of the incident, he blamed them for "all the wars in the world" before asking James Mee, the police officer who arrested him, if he was Jewish. Gibson was found to have a blood-alcohol level of 0.12 per cent - the legal limit is 0.08 per cent.

News of the outburst stunned Jewish-dominated Hollywood, triggering widespread speculation about the extent of any damage to the career of the Oscar-winning star. Some industry figures called for Gibson to be ostracised despite an apology on Saturday for his "despicable" remarks.

Gibson, whose police mugshot has been widely circulated, has since checked himself into an unidentified rehabilitation facility.

The 50-year-old has acknowledged a lengthy battle with alcoholism and in 2004 told ABC's Diane Sawyer that he had considered jumping out of a window to escape his problems and the "demons inside".

The actor follows an ultra-traditionalist branch of Catholicism and was previously forced to deny claims of anti-Semitic sentiment following the release of his controversial film *The Passion of the Christ*. Some Jewish leaders said he had depicted Jews as the killers of Jesus.

Yesterday he insisted that what he said was "blurted out in a moment of insanity".

"I have begun an ongoing programme of recovery and what I am now realising is that I cannot do it alone. I am in the process of understanding where those vicious words came from during that drunken display," he added.

"I am asking the Jewish community, whom I have personally offended, to help me on my journey through recovery.

"This is not about a film. Nor is it about artistic license. This is about real life and recognising the consequences hurtful words can have. It's about existing in harmony in a world that seems to have gone mad."

Los Angeles police defended their handling of the incident amid allegations that an initial report of Gibson's behaviour was purged of his inflammatory remarks and that the actor received special treatment.

The case has been passed to the district attorney's office and a provisional court appearance for Gibson is scheduled for next month.

Art. 156

Daily Mail - August 5, 2006 Saturday

MAD MEL: THE SEQUEL

After his anti-Semitic outburst, can Mel Gibson survive? And, more pertinently, what does this week's furore reveal about modern Tinseltown? PRECISELY what happened on Malibu's celebrated Pacific Coast Highway in the predawn hours of Friday last week, when a Los Angeles police officer pulled over Mel Gibson's new Lexus LS-430, still seems difficult to pin down.

But what is certain is that the incident has become the most talked about issue in Tinseltown's recent history, and the veritable orgy of reactions speaks volumes about the mindset that is modern Hollywood.

First, the known facts. There are at least three separate investigations into the affair, one inquiring into the original offence and the two others into reports that Gibson's comments were subsequently covered up by senior police in Los

Angeles County over concerns they were 'way too inflammatory due to the scene in the Middle East'.

Certain facts are common to all versions: the police statement and Gibson's two separate apologies for his behaviour.

The 50-year-old Lethal Weapon star was on his way home to his \$32 million beachfront mansion when police officer James Mee and a female colleague clocked him travelling at 87mph in a 45mph zone.

A breath test indicated Gibson's blood-alcohol level was 0.12 per cent - the legal limit in California is 0.08 per cent. A three-quarters-full bottle of tequila was found on the back seat of the car.

Things got interesting when Officer Mee informed Gibson, once named as the world's 'most powerful celebrity' by Forbes magazine, that he was under arrest. A brief struggle seems to have ensued between Mee and his partner on one side and the actor on the other. At one point, Gibson allegedly tried to escape and had to be handcuffed.

'You mother*****, I'm going to f*** you. You're going to regret you ever did this to me,' he is recorded to have said.

Officer Mee also said Gibson 'continually threatened' him, saying he 'owned Malibu' and would 'use his money to get even' with him. The actor then asked if Mee was Jewish and proffered the opinion that all the world's wars were begun by those of Hebrew extraction.

At that stage, Gibson was formally cited for suspicion of drunk-driving and taken away for 'processing'.

In an unusual reaction, he is said to have 'swung like a monkey' on the bars of his cell and then threatened to 'p*** anywhere' if denied access to the bathroom. Gibson reportedly also tearfully told the police: 'My life is f****d' - a self-assessment that may turn out to be correct.

Two days ago, the authorities announced Gibson would be charged on three counts of 'misdemeanour drunk-driving', with a potential sentence, if convicted, of six months in prison. His hearing is scheduled for September 28, in Malibu Superior Court. Meanwhile, Gibson remains at liberty on \$6,600 bail.

The reaction within both Hollywood and the wider Jewish community was swift and, as might be expected, negative - particularly in the light of Gibson's controversial 2004 film, *The Passion Of The Christ*, about the last hours of Jesus's life, which was widely criticised for being anti-Semitic.

Gibson's agent, the hugely important chairman of International Creative Management, Jeff Berg, announced: 'I hate what he said, and so does he.'

Reassuringly, however, Berg added: 'We're not going to back away from Mel in his moment of need.' Meanwhile, a rival talent agent named Ari Emanuel, a partner at Endeavor, is publicly urging 'people in the entertainment community, whether Jew or gentile, to demonstrate that they understand how much is at stake in this by professionally shunning Mel Gibson and refusing to work with him'.

This being Hollywood, Mr Emanuel has an agent of his own, who, when pressed, let it be known that his boss stood by his words.

For his part, Rabbi Marvin Hier, founder of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in LA, notes that Gibson needs to begin a 'long, private process' to combat what Hier considers the actor's deep-seated racial prejudice. 'A press release, no matter how well written, is not a vaccine that wipes away anti-Semitism,' Hier says. Perhaps wisely, most of Gibson's fellow stars prefer to speak anonymously when discussing the incident.

One elderly actor, who appeared in the interminable Lethal Weapon series, told me: 'Mel is a great actor.'

He comes alive on screen in the same way Steve McQueen did.

'He's also one of the strangest men in Hollywood. I don't know that he's anti-Semitic, but I've heard him blow his stack about everything from the size of his trailer to issues he has about homosexuals. In my experience of Mel, he isn't a happy camper.' In a more robust response, the veteran producer Merv Adelson is vocally critical of the major studio heads for not, as yet, 'strongly and publicly'

condemning Gibson. 'Let's make ourselves proud and not support this jerk in any way just because he's a star,' says Adelson, cofounder of Lorimar Productions which over the years has given us TV hits as varied as *Lace* and *The Waltons*.

Michael Medved, the syndicated radio host and bestselling author of the 1993 book *Hollywood Vs America*, strikes a more conciliatory note.

He believes the industry has been overreacting to Gibson's tantrum, calling Emanuel's proposal of a boycott 'a new blacklist that focuses, for now, on Mel Gibson alone'.

In a refreshing perspective on the whole affair, Medved is currently offering five suggested punishments to fit Gibson's crime, among them that the actor be forced to watch *Lethal Weapon 4* until he memorises all the extremely irritating lines spoken by Joe Pesci.

Medved and others may feel entitled to wonder at the seemingly never-ending fascination of the American media for Hollywood in general and Gibson in particular.

With one or two exceptions, the same media paid scant attention to another event that took place on the same day Gibson was pulled over with his bottle of tequila.

That morning, a 30-year-old Muslim drifter called Naveed Afzal Haq tricked his way into the Seattle offices of the Jewish Federation, a charity that serves much the same purpose as an Oxfam shop on a typical British High Street. Once inside, Haq opened fire with two semiautomatic pistols. One volunteer, a mother of two children, was killed.

Five more women were wounded.

Strangely enough, the racially motivated execution of a charity worker and the attempted murder of five female volunteers has failed to generate a fraction of the interest being lavished on Gibson's misadventure.

Perhaps the Jewish Federation might be better served if, like Gibson, they hired a Hollywood spin doctor.

It seems only fitting that Gibson's initial response to his critics was issued through his publicist Alan Nierob, of the high-powered firm Rogers & Cowan. 'I acted like a person completely out of control when I was arrested and said things that I do not believe to be true and which are despicable,' Nierob announced on his client's behalf. 'I am deeply ashamed of everything I said.' Gracious as it may sound, Gibson's statement was met with a mixed response. Three days later, the actor offered a second, more spirited apology, another step down what one Gibsonwatcher calls 'the classic path of rehab and repentance'.

In his latest mea culpa, also issued if not written by Nierob, Gibson said: 'I want to apologise specifically to everyone in the Jewish community for the vitriolic and harmful words I said to a law enforcement officer.' He went on: 'Please know from my heart that I am not an anti-Semite. I am not a bigot.

Hatred of any kind goes against my faith. I'm not just asking for forgiveness.

'I would like to take it one step further and meet with leaders in the Jewish community, with whom I can have a one-on-one discussion to discern the path for healing.' Gibson then acknowledged that he has begun treatment for alcoholism and asked the same Jewish community 'to help me in my journey through recovery'.

He added: 'I know there will be many in that community who will want nothing to do with me, and that would be understandable. But I pray that the door is not forever closed.' All suitably well-polished and contrite stuff, and somewhat at odds with Gibson's alleged remarks to the female police officer at the scene of his arrest. 'What do you think you're looking at, sugar t**s?' he asked her.

Gibson's appealing to a group he had previously offended is a route he and Nierob have taken before. In 1992, the actor angered gay-rights groups by making seemingly homophobic remarks in a Spanish magazine interview.

Three years later, Gibson's traducing of a homosexual prince in his 'historical' film *Braveheart* drew further criticism from gays. Shortly afterwards, Gibson met

representatives of the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation to, in their words, 'discuss his relationship with the lesbian and gay community'.

As a result, Gibson hosted a oneday workshop for aspiring gay filmmakers on the set of his feature film Conspiracy Theory. His young audience came away suitably impressed.

It remains to be seen how the current furore will affect the fortunes of Gibson's recently completed project, Apocalypto, which his studio insists 'will be released as scheduled' in early December.

As one Hollywood insider says: 'Don't forget Mel is smart - he knows exactly what he has to do: go on TV, keep apologising and get himself photographed at a synagogue.

'You may find people who never normally go near a movie lining up for Apocalypto.' If so, it wouldn't be the first time that a show of contrition and some artfully handled PR has rescued a career apparently in freefall.

Who can forget the occasion, in June 1995, when Hugh Grant was arrested for 'lewd conduct' after LA vice squad officers found him with prostitute Divine Brown in his car.

A few days after his arrest, Grant shrewdly went into television's equivalent of the confessional box, an appearance on America's top-rated The Tonight Show with Jay Leno.

After apologising for being an idiot, Grant managed to remember he was starring in a new film, Nine Months, a dismally poor 'sex comedy' that happened to be released the following week.

To date, Nine Months has done a staggering \$140 million worth of business worldwide - a good omen, perhaps, for Gibson.

Art. 158

The Daily Mirror - September 5, 2006 Tuesday

MEL SAYS SORRY TO RANT COPS

DISGRACED star Mel Gibson has said sorry to the police officers he insulted during his boozefuelled arrest.

The devout Catholic, who made The Passion Of The Christ, also sent a \$400 bunch of flowers to a female officer he called "Sugar T**s".

Gibson, 50, was apologising for his behaviour while being arrested for drink-driving on July 28 near his Malibu home.

The Braveheart actor has invited the unnamed female officer and her colleague James Mee to the premiere of his new movie Apocalypto.

A friend of the woman said: "Mel has sent her the biggest bunch of flowers she's ever seen.

"She was quite touched and I'm sure that the two arresting officers will take him up on his invitation."

It was also claimed that Gibson, a recovering alcoholic, made anti- Semitic remarks to Mee, who is Jewish.

After appearing in court last month Gibson avoided jail and was placed on probation for three years.

Art. 161

Independent on Sunday - October 15, 2006 Sunday

The Passion of the Mel: playing big on a small screen near me

He sat, pinned in his chair, a patch of sweat glistening through the thick makeup. The beard was gone, the crucifix he wears nowhere in sight. Last Friday, Americans woke to the sight of the world's highest-earning actor trying to save his career by apologising on national television. For the second day running ABC's Good Morning America broadcast a long interview with Mel Gibson, who appeared uncomfortable and evasive on being questioned by Diane Sawyer about his anti-Semitic outburst when arrested for drunken driving in Malibu in July.

Mel didn't choose to go on television because he wanted to appear across the land chatting about his family, his career or his seven children. He was forced into this extraordinary act to get his new film released. This act of "repentance" was step one in the marketing plan for his epic, *Apocalypto*. Over a year ago, Mel struck a lucrative distribution deal for the project with Disney, which owns ABC.

The film, costing tens of millions of dollars, has been written and directed by Gibson, financed by the extraordinary profits he made from *The Passion of the Christ* - a highly controversial version of the New Testament which cost him just \$30m to make, and took hundreds of millions at the box office worldwide, making it the most successful independent movie ever. Gibson, who won an Academy Award for *Braveheart*, set up Icon Films so that he could totally control production.

He is a complicated fellow who has committed the cardinal sin in Hollywood of slagging off both the Jewish faith and Jews, in a town where they call the shots. Gibson has always been open about his strong religious beliefs - he belongs to a traditionalist Catholic splinter group - and his version of the *Passion* aroused a great deal of resentment among sections of the Jewish community who thought it contained anti-Semitic imagery. He felt this criticism was unjustified and that some reviewers were biased - certainly ordinary members of the public took little notice and the film was a hit. But to many in America, Gibson is a spokesperson for the religious right - and they think he has another agenda, using his work as a soapbox for his unpalatable views.

Apocalypto is a full-blown epic telling the story of the end of the ancient Maya civilisation. The project has been a huge gamble, starring unknowns who speak in the language of the time. How subtitles and a convoluted plot will play with the mass audience no one yet knows - the film is still being edited and lacks a music soundtrack.

Gibson's current problems began at the end of July when he popped into a bar in Malibu on his way home and didn't leave till 2.30am. When arrested for driving at 85mph in a 45mph zone, he had been swigging tequila from a bottle in his car. He started ranting and shouting that "the Jews are responsible for all the wars in the world" and asked the police officer: "Are you Jewish?"

According to reports on the internet, the officer's original report was shelved (as it was thought to be too incendiary), and the sheriff told reporters the arrest had been made "without incident". But that wasn't quite true. It seems that Gibson allegedly shouted at a female officer: "Who are you looking at, sugar tits?", threw a phone at the wall in the police station, and threatened to urinate on the floor of the cell where he was being held until he sobered up. A second, more anodyne, account of the arrest was made public, and there is a criminal investigation into how the first report ended up on the internet for all to read.

After Gibson pleaded guilty, he was ordered to attend three AA meetings a week and put on probation for three years. He issued a grovelling public apology and spent 30 days in isolation. He agreed to appear in public-service TV ads warning about the dangers of drinking. But the future of his latest epic still hangs in the balance' hence his two-day stint on Good Morning America. After his arrest, ABC dropped plans to make a TV mini-series about the life of a Dutch Jewish woman during the Second World War.

Gibson has another problem to contend with, his dad. Hutton Gibson, 87, lives in South Carolina and is even more right wing than his son - he has gone on record with statements expressing doubts that six million Jews died in the Holocaust. When Diane Sawyer asked him about Hutton, Mel refused to condemn him, and sat looking visibly uncomfortable. He was willing to say sorry, but not to diss his dad, saying the remarks had been "hyped out of all proportion".

Although Gibson said he was "quite ashamed", it was clear that the controversy over *The Passion* has left him a deeply troubled soul. All this exposure is bad for his pin-up status - another woman said: "He's turning into Dorian Gray before our eyes, becoming uglier by the day." And as one of my American girlfriends said: "Once we used to think Mel was so gorgeous, but now we just know too much about him. Every time he's on TV, I think he's digging his own grave. He purports to be a Christian, but he's only interested in selling his work." The story of the downfall of Mel Gibson is an epic that looks set to run and run. It remains to be seen if his version of repentance will play well in Tinseltown. He could end up having to move back to Australia!

Art. 163

The Guardian - July 31, 2006 Monday

Mel Gibson apologises for anti-semitic abuse: Star's outburst after alleged drink-driving: LA police accused of covering up remarks

Mel Gibson yesterday apologised for his "despicable" remarks after a Los Angeles police officer claimed that the actor had shouted a barrage of anti-semitic abuse, including a claim that "the Jews are responsible for all the wars in the world".

Gibson, 50, was arrested in the early hours of Friday after he was found driving his Lexus along the Pacific coast highway while allegedly drunk. A three-quarters-full bottle of tequila wrapped in a brown paper bag was found on the floor. He was booked on suspicion of driving under the influence of alcohol and released on \$5,000 bail.

The entertainment website TMZ published what it said was a four-page extract of the police report into the incident. It says that the actor had tried to run away from police and that he "became increasingly belligerent". The Australian star told the officer that he would regret arresting him and that he "owned Malibu". The report says: "Gibson blurted out a barrage of anti-semitic remarks about 'fucking Jews'. Gibson yelled out: 'The Jews are responsible for all the wars in the world.' Gibson then asked: 'Are you a Jew?'"

The incident gained further attention when it was alleged that the LA police department had tried to cover up Gibson's offensive remarks. A spokesman had told reporters on Friday that Gibson had been arrested "without incident".

Allegations of favourable treatment of the star are now being looked into by the city's office of independent review, which investigates allegations of police misconduct. It has also been claimed that the police officer involved was asked to rewrite his report omitting Gibson's anti-semitic remarks.

Mike Gennaco, who will lead the investigation, said: "I'd like to see if there was a legitimate law enforcement reason for asking that the report be altered."

Gibson served as a "celebrity representative" for the LA sheriff department's Star Organisation in 2002, a group which provides scholarships and aid for the children of officers killed in the line of duty. He donated \$10,000 to the step-daughter of an officer who died and also filmed public service announcements for the sheriff's relief committee.

Sheriff Lee Baca said the actor's behaviour after his arrest was not relevant to the criminal case. "There is no cover-up. Our job is not to (focus) on what he said. It's to establish his blood alcohol level when he was driving and proceed with the case."

Gibson, whose father told the New York Times that he did not believe the Holocaust happened, issued a statement apologising. He said: "I acted like a person completely out of control when I was arrested, and said things that I do not believe to be true and which are despicable. I am deeply ashamed of everything I said. Also, I take this opportunity to apologise to the deputies involved for my belligerent behaviour. They have always been there for me in my community and indeed probably saved me from myself."

He added: "I have battled with the disease of alcoholism for all of my adult life and profoundly regret my horrific relapse."

Art. 165

Daily Mail - July 31, 2006 Monday

Gibson the groveller; Shamed star blames his drink problems for anti-Semitic rant

MEL GIBSON has issued a grovelling apology for allegedly screaming anti-Semitic abuse at police who arrested him for drink-driving.

He blamed the outburst on his long-running battle with alcoholism.

The Oscar-winning star of Mad Max and Lethal Weapon was arrested in Malibu, California, in the early hours last Friday after being clocked driving at 87mph in a 45mph zone.

The devout Roman Catholic allegedly yelled at the sheriff's deputy who stopped him: 'F***** Jews. The Jews are responsible for all the wars in the world.' He is then said to have challenged officer James Mee: 'Are you a Jew?' Gibson, 50, last night claimed he was 'deeply ashamed' of his behaviour after getting drunk following 15 years of sobriety.

He said: 'After drinking alcohol, I did a number of things that were very wrong and for which I am ashamed.

'I drove a car when I should not have and was stopped by the Los Angeles County sheriffs. The arresting officer was just doing his job and I feel fortunate that I was apprehended before I caused injury to any other person.

'I acted like a person completely out of control when I was arrested and said things that I do not believe to be true and which are despicable. I am deeply ashamed of everything I said.

'Also, I take this opportunity to apologise to the deputies involved for my belligerent behaviour. They probably saved me from myself.

'I disgraced myself and my family with my behaviour and for that I am truly sorry.

'I have battled with the disease of alcoholism for all of my adult life and profoundly regret my horrific relapse. I apologise for any behaviour unbecoming of me in my inebriated state.' Gibson said he was now taking the 'necessary steps to ensure my return to health.' The allegations will be hugely damaging to the actor.

Although he remains one of cinema's biggest stars with a fortune estimated at Pounds 456million, Hollywood is highly sensitive to anti-Semitism. There will also be fears that his tirade could alienate fans.

Police said that after Gibson was stopped for speeding, Deputy Mee and a second officer noted he was slurring and 'aggressive'.

They then spotted a three-quarters-full bottle of tequila on the back seat of his Lexus. A breath test showed the actor's bloodalcohol level to be 0.12 per cent one and a half times the state's legal limit.

According to Mee's handwritten report, which appeared on the U.S. website TMZ.com, Gibson began 'swearing uncontrollably' at the officers and tried to run back to his car before being handcuffed and taken to a police station.

On arrival he allegedly shouted at a female officer: 'What do you think you are looking at, Sugart**s?' Mee said he 'continually threatened' him and boasted that he 'owned Malibu' and would spare no expense 'to get even'.

After five hours in jail, Gibson was released on bail. The allegations will fuel speculation about his beliefs. The Passion of the Christ, the 2004 film he directed about the last hours of Jesus's life, was widely criticised for being anti-Semitic.

Gibson's father, Hutton, has said the Holocaust has been 'exaggerated.'

Asked if he believed the Holocaust happened, Gibson Junior once said: 'Yes, of course.

Atrocities happen. War is horrible. World War II killed tens of millions of people. Some of them were Jews in concentration camps.' The actor, who was born in New York but raised in Australia, was lying low at his Malibu mansion yesterday with his wife of 26 years, Robyn, and their seven children.

He was arrested for drink-driving in Canada in 1984.

Art. 185

The Times - April 9, 2007, Monday

Cash-for-honours whistleblower in 'sex romp' disgrace

- * MP fondled and kissed teenage girls

- * Disclosure a blow to Scots Nationalists

The MP credited with blowing the whistle on the cash-for-honours affair was forced to issue a public apology yesterday after having a "drunken romp" with two teenagers.

Angus MacNeil, 36, the Scottish National Party's anti-sleaze champion, was the last MP anyone might have expected to be tainted by personal scandal.

However, as a crofter from one of Britain's most remote island communities it was perhaps fitting that his indiscretion took place not in the wine bars of Westminster but at a post-ceilidh party in the Shetlands.

While other politicians have been undone by orgies and serial philandering, Mr MacNeil's lapse appears to have gone no further than "heavy petting".

Mr MacNeil, who runs a sheep farm on Barra, in the Outer Hebrides and is a native Gaelic speaker, was forced to issue a grovelling apology after he was exposed by a Sunday newspaper as having "kissed and fondled" two girls aged 17 and 18 weeks before his wife was due to give birth.

"Cash for Honours MP's Sex Romp with Teen Girls" was the front-page headline in yesterday's Glasgow-based Sunday Mail, accompanied by:

"Exclusive: Pals Blow Whistle on Whistleblower".

Mr MacNeil, whose formal complaint to police prompted the cash-for-honours investigation that has engulfed Tony Blair's last months in office, admitted last night that he had been "wrong and stupid".

He said: "I bitterly regret that this incident occurred, and I apologise to my family for causing them embarrassment and hurt.

"I also apologise to the young women involved and their families. I really should have known very much better."

He added: "Yes, some foolishness took place at a post-ceilidh party, which was wrong and stupid. There is no allegation that anything further happened and I wish to make that absolutely clear.

"It was a lapse of judgment two years ago, for which I am sorry."

The encounter is believed to have taken place in July 2005 when the MP was visiting Shetland to watch the Island Games, a week-long tournament involving 15 sports and 25 islands, from the Falklands to Bermuda.

After playing darts and drinking with the girls in an hotel bar, Mr MacNeil invited them up to his room where they took part in a "three-in-a-bed romp", the Sunday Mail reported. It identified the girls as Judie Morrison, then aged 17, the daughter of a Church of Scotland minister who is one of the Queen's chaplains, and Catriona Watt, then 18. Both had only just left school.

Ms Morrison said: "We both kissed him and there was heavy petting. He was excited but we did not have full sex -we were all too drunk."

The girls are both now studying music at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama in Glasgow and play in a Gaelic folk band.

The disclosure is a blow to the SNP and came on the eve of a visit by Alex Salmond, the party's leader, to Mr MacNeil's constituency. The party is ahead of Labour in opinion polls and looks likely to become the biggest party in the Scottish Parliament following elections on May 3.

Art. 186

Daily Mail - April 9, 2007 Monday

I am so sorry, says married anti-sleaze MP who took teen girls to hotel room

THE MP who triggered the cash-for-honours probe has apologised to his family for cheating on his pregnant wife with two teenage girls.

Angus MacNeil described the tryst, just weeks before his wife gave birth, as 'wrong and stupid'.

The Scottish National Party MP shot to national prominence after making the police complaint that launched the cash-for-honours probe at Westminster.

But his reputation as a 'sleazebuster' was in tatters last night after it emerged that he drunkenly kissed and fondled the girls in a hotel room.

In a statement yesterday, Mr MacNeil, 36, said: 'I bitterly regret that this incident occurred and I apologise to my family for causing them embarrassment and hurt.

'I also apologise to the young women involved and their families.

I really should have known very much better.' Both the girls are from respected families. One is the daughter of one of the Queen's Chaplains.

Mr MacNeil seduced them after attending a sports event in Orkney in summer 2005.

Judie Morrison, then 17, and her friend Catriona Watt, then 18, had just left school and were on a pubcrawl when they met the MP in a hotel bar.

They drank together and played darts. He then invited them to his room in the early hours of the morning.

According to reports, they petted and kissed on his hotel bed but did not have sex.

Two weeks later, Mr MacNeil and his wife Jane celebrated the birth of Annie, the youngest of their three daughters.

Miss Watt said: 'We had too much to drink and it was a crazy kind of time.

Most young people do it but we made a mistake by going to his room. I know about politics and I know what he has done since with the cash-for-honours row.

'We were too drunk and we made a mistake.' The girls study music at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama in Glasgow.

They are both also singers and instrumentalists in a Gaelic band, Teine, that won a BBC folk music award two months ago.

Miss Watt plays fiddle and whistle and Miss Morrison plays fiddle and clarsach.

Miss Watt won the BBC Young Traditional Musician of the Year award for 2007.

Miss Morrison's father, Angus, is a Church of Scotland minister and one of the Queen's Chaplains.

Miss Watt's father, Calum, is an inspector for the Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in Stornoway in the Western Isles and her mother, Ann, is a midwife.

Mr MacNeil represents the Western Isles constituency and runs a sheep farm on the island of Barra.

Last night, he said: 'Some foolishness took place at a party, which was wrong and stupid.

'There is no allegation that anything further happened and I wish to make that absolutely clear.

It was a lapse of judgment two years ago, for which I am sorry.' Mr MacNeil said he was angry with himself for potentially allowing his political efforts to be overshadowed by his private life.

The revelations could damage the SNP, which has a clear lead over Labour in opinion polls with only a few weeks to go before the Scottish parliament elections.

Until now, Mr MacNeil has enjoyed a strong political career and has been tipped as a future leader of the Nationalists, thanks mainly to the cash-for-honours probe.

The scandal was triggered when Labour treasurer Jack Dromey discovered secret multi-millionpound loans to the party before the 2005 General Election. Four lenders had been nominated to the House of Lords by Tony Blair without the loans being declared to the vetting committee.

After being in the House of Commons for less than a year, Mr MacNeil uncovered a littleknown piece of legislation that makes it a criminal offence to sell honours for cash.

He made an official complaint to the Metropolitan Police, who launched an investigation in which more than 90 people have been questioned, including the Prime Minister.

Mr MacNeil has since spoken out repeatedly against political sleaze and last year won several prestigious political awards, including Channel 4's Opposition Politician of the Year.

Art. 194

The Daily Telegraph - November 14, 2006 Tuesday

Women have so much to offer, despite Newell's rant

NOT all modern societies think women are equal to men. The Taliban don't. The Japanese monarchy don't. The Marylebone Cricket Club certainly didn't. And neither did Mike Newell, the manager of Luton Town.

We know this because he said so at the weekend following his team's 3-2 defeat by Queens Park Rangers. He has since offered a sort-of apology for sounding like a cross between a misogynist and a dipstick, but in the heat of defeat he cast about for something to blame and alighted on the rare circumstance of a female with a flag in her hand.

Newell said that the presence of Amy Rayner, the female assistant referee who ran one of the lines in the game, was "a token effort for politically correct idiots.

When you start bringing women in, then you do have a problem... I know it sounds sexist but I am sexist. That's not the way to improve refereeing, by bringing women into the game. Why are women down for games like this? This is Championship football not parks stuff?"

It was a beautifully crafted rant, full of nothing but daft and over-wrought prejudice. Luckily, his wife (almost certainly) had made him say sorry for being such an ungracious loser. He won't do that again in a hurry. But it did shed a sudden burst of light on the football male's dim-watt thought process.

There are some men who simply see women as woefully inadequate men, forever doomed to reverse poorly into car parking spaces, or misuse a Workmate for the ironing, or - the apotheosis of horror - referee a football match in a pair of stilettos and applying her lippy just when she should be watching a penalty appeal.

As one dear old (male) caller on Radio Five Live said yesterday: "It doesn't look right. It's not natural. They haven't got the understanding of the game. It's a man's game. I'm not like this about anything else." (Oh, I bet he is.)

Let us be serious for a moment. To referee a football match you need to be: human, fit, observant, multi-tasking, incorruptible and unflinchingly ready to punish the devious miscreants. No one said anything about gonads.

In fact, reading that description, who does it most sound like? The man of the house, that couch-bound, toastie-chomping creature in the lounge whose idea of looking after the children is to shout: "Can one of you bring me a beer out the fridge."

Or the woman of the house, who doles out the food, the discipline, the chauffeuring, man-marks the toddlers in Tesco and still has the eyes in the back of her head to say "George, don't do that" when it matters.

Women, it would seem, are entirely suited to refereeing. They do it most of their lives. The trouble with football, and it is a trouble replicated in many other sports, is that the traditionally male idea of women is terribly narrow. Mums, tarts and waitresses: that is about it.

In fact, women have branched out a little since 1850, when football was beginning to get organised, and it could be greatly to the benefit of the sport to notice.

To be a referee is a desperate job. You may perform to a near state of perfection (which is more than most professional footballers can manage) and one mistaken decision will see you hounded, derided and surreptitiously wiping an abuser's spittle from your face. It takes enormous courage and confidence just to set foot on a pitch. There is a shortage at the moment.

Funny that, when at parks level you can be thumped, threatened and nearly mown down by the player you have just sent off in his car. Or at professional level, when managers, players and television replays queue up to blame you for failure.

Obviously, football needs all the refereeing help it can get and to spurn the offer from a group that forms 50 per cent of society is a trifle self-injuring. Fear and loathing on the touchline is not necessarily the outcome. Nor, conversely, will footballers suddenly become little Tinkerbells who would not dream of using industrial language in front of a delicate female.

To those who think women are offended by swearing, there is an answer: Janet Street-Porter. To those who think women cannot command respect: Margaret Thatcher in her heyday. To those who think women are fluffy, inconsequential creatures constantly in throes of PMT hysterics coming out of chain stores with a fag going...how about the Queen, Joanna Lumley and Clare Balding.

OK, there will be problems. Inordinate attention will be paid to the lady ref's shorts. And hair-do. Lord help her if she goes for a mullet.

Victoria Beckham will undoubtedly feel the need to bring out a book on lip gloss, leg waxing and breast surgery for the first wave of female Premiership referees. If Frank Lampard doesn't get there before her.

But when the novelty wears off and Neil Warnock is revived from his faint, it could be that there is no congenital weakness in women at all that stops them from blowing a whistle.

Art. 194

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Art. 196

Daily Mail - November 14, 2006 Tuesday

Newell says sorry; 'We talked about it and Amy was fine'

MIKE NEWELL issued a personal apology last night to the female assistant referee he claimed had 'no place' in football. But the Luton Town boss defended his position against 'tokenism' in the game saying 'his wife, his mother and his sister' agreed with him. Newell was left sweating on his job after the club's directors called an emergency board meeting in the wake of his remarks about Amy Rayner and his scathing attack on club chairman Bill Tomlins. The board issued a statement where it described Newell's comments about Rayner as 'completely unacceptable' and called a further meeting where they will ask him to explain his comments. Earlier in the day, Newell, who was furious with Rayner for denying his team a penalty and then awarding a corner that enabled Queens Park Rangers to condemn his side to a fourth successive Championship defeat on Saturday, contacted Rayner and had what he described as 'a good chat'. He said: 'I obviously apologised to Amy but we talked about things and she was fine. Of course I think there is a place for women in football but what I don't agree with is having women in football just for the sake of it. If they are not good enough it amounts to tokenism and that is unacceptable. 'Sometimes you get chastised for being honest. I've spoken to my wife about it and she agrees with me. So does my mum and so does my sister. I rarely say things I don't mean but I probably need to hold my tongue sometimes.' Newell went on Sky Sports yesterday morning and issued a public

apology to anyone he might have 'offended' and admitted he had been 'out of order'. But that did not stop the Luton board from calling a meeting at 4pm. As well as turning on Rayner, who did appear to get the corner decision wrong judging by video replay evidence, he strongly criticised his chairman, accusing Tomlins of contributing 'nothing in two years'.

Last night there were suggestions that other members of staff at Luton were being asked if Newell had made a sexist remark to them, while it also emerged that Newell has had problems with Tomlins dating back to the summer.

The two men are understood to have clashed over transfer policy and, in particular, the sale of players Newell believed Tomlins had undervalued.

Tomlins, it has been claimed, was ready to sell Steve Howard to Cardiff City for somewhere in the region of Pounds 500,000. After Newell intervened, Howard was sold to Derby County for Pounds 1million.

A statement on the club's official website said: 'Luton disassociates itself totally from the sexist comments made by Mike Newell, which have no place in this club and are completely unacceptable.

'Representatives of the board will be meeting the manager as a matter of urgency to ask him to explain his comments.'

STEVE BENNETT is favourite to referee the Premiership clash between Manchester United and Chelsea at Old Trafford on Sunday week. It is understood that Graham Poll, who refereed Chelsea's controversial defeat at Tottenham nine days ago, has not been considered to give other referees the chance to officiate in the big games.

Art. 199

The Times - November 14, 2006, Tuesday

Apologetic Newell to face unforgiving board

MIKE NEWELL may have talked himself out of a job at Luton Town after a day that started with the manager apologising to the female assistant referee whom he criticised on Saturday and ended with the club's board asking him to explain his comments and criticism of Bill Tomlins, chairman of the Coca-Cola Championship club.

Newell created a storm with his attack on Amy Rayner, a 29-year-old accountant who was an assistant to Andy D'Urso during Luton's 3-2 defeat by Queens Park Rangers, and he attempted to dig himself out of a hole -and save his job -by choosing his words carefully in a face-to-face meeting.

"It is my intention to publicly apologise to Amy Rayner and to anyone else I have offended," the 41-year-old manager said. "My comments were ill-timed and they were out of order. I wanted to apologise privately before apologising publicly."

Managers are obliged to answer questions from journalists after matches and Newell, a frank and open interviewee, did not hold back when he was asked to comment on Rayner's performance and his club's plight on Saturday. Newell may regret his comments about Rayner -"she shouldn't be here" -but it may yet be his stinging criticism of the Luton board that proves to be more costly.

The former Blackburn Rovers forward claimed that the club, who are sixteenth in the Championship, have gone backwards since Tomlins became chairman two years ago.

"I can't work with deceit and lies," Newell said on Saturday. "I get told the biggest load of bulls*** I've ever heard in my life and am expected to get on with it, but I have never been able to suffer fools and never will be. I am just about fed up with it all now."

After a three-hour board meeting last night, Luton issued a short statement that made it clear that Newell's apology to Rayner may not save his job. "The club disassociates itself totally from the sexist comments made by him (Newell). They have no place in this club and are completely unacceptable. Representatives of the board will be meeting the manager as a matter of urgency to ask him to explain his comments and other criticisms."

Art. 201

The Sun - November 16, 2006 Thursday

Newell warned

MIKE NEWELL has kept his job as Luton manager but has been "severely reprimanded" at a meeting with the club's board. Newell's future was in doubt following comments he made at the weekend, when he said women officials had no place in professional football. He also accused chairman Bill Tomlins of "messing up" everything he had been involved in since taking over in 2004. A statement read: "The board have severely reprimanded Mike Newell for the comments made, and warned him any repetition will not be tolerated. "The manager gave the necessary assurances and apologised."

Art. 202

The Times - November 16, 2006, Thursday

Newell given slap on wrist after hour of madness

MIKE NEWELL appeared to have talked himself out of a job last weekend, but the Luton Town board has decided to reprimand their manager instead of dismissing him for his scathing attack on women referees and his employers during a post match press conference. Newell had plenty to say for himself after his team lost to Queens Park Rangers on Saturday, but sorry seems to have been enough to save his £ 400,00-a-year job last night.

In an emotional outburst that nearly led to his dismissal after a 3-2 defeat in the Coca-Cola Championship, Newell condemned the performance of Amy Rayner, one of the assistant referees, described the use of female officials as tokenism and claimed that he had almost had enough of working for employers who had deceived and lied to him.

Newell's views about women officials attracted widespread condemnation and earned him a slap on the wrist from his employers, but it was his criticism of the board and specifically his observation that Bill Tomlins, the chairman, had "taken the club backwards" during the past two years that put his job on the line. After considering the options for most of yesterday afternoon, the board released a statement that made it clear that Newell was drinking in the last-chance saloon.

"Representatives of the board of directors of Luton Town Football Club met with the club's manager, Mike Newell, to discuss the comments made by him in the post-match press conference at last Saturday's game," the statement said. "The club disassociates itself totally with the comments he made regarding the assistant referee, which are completely unacceptable to the club and have accepted the manager's explanation and his subsequent public apology."

"The manager was also asked to explain his comments about the board and he has accepted that his remarks were totally inappropriate. The board have severely reprimanded Mike Newell for the comments made and have warned him that any repetition of such conduct will not be tolerated. The manager gave the necessary assurances and apologised for the comments he made and would like to thank the board for its support and understanding on this matter." Newell signed a four-year contract with the Bedfordshire club before the start of this season, after being linked with a number of more high-profile jobs, and he will be back in the dugout on Saturday when his team take on Derby County, but it remains to be seen what reception he receives at Kenilworth Road. His criticism of the board and its failure to move the club to a new stadium struck a chord with many supporters, but his comments about women officials have proved to be more contentious. Newell will face the press again this afternoon to preview this weekend's match, but anyone expecting him to talk about the role of women in sport, his relationship with the board or his future at the club is likely to be disappointed. The 41-year-old manager is expected to engage his brain before opening his mouth and stick to answering questions about football - such as how close is he to overcoming the injury crisis that has contributed to his team slipping to sixteenth in the table.

Art. 206

The Daily Mirror - November 17, 2006 Friday

FOOTBALL: 'SEXIST' NEWELL INSISTS HE STANDS BY HIS VIEW

MIKE NEWELL yesterday apologised for a second time for his sexist outburst last weekend - but warned he would argue his case "at the right time". The Luton boss, severely reprimanded for his comments by the Hatters' board, revealed he had spoken to assistant referee Amy Rayner over the phone to say sorry after branding the appointment of female officials "tokenism for the politically-correct idiots". He said: "My apology to Amy Rayner and to anyone I've offended is unreserved. I was out of order. It's not the right time to be having that debate. But there will come a time when I'm happy to argue my point."

Art. 214

Daily Mail - June 6, 2007 Wednesday

Met chief's grovelling apology on Dizaei inquiry

SCOTLAND Yard chief Sir Ian Blair made a grovelling apology last night for a controversial police corruption inquiry that he led. He said the probe into Iranian-born Chief Superintendent Ali Dizaei had caused a rift between his force and black officers and said it was time to 'acknowledge mistakes'. The Commissioner's comments came after the Met and the Black Police Association agreed to 'resolve all disputes' arising out of the multi-million pound inquiry into Mr Dizaei, an outspoken critic of racism.

The last involved a ruling that the Met had unlawfully tapped private phone calls made by Mr Dizaei during the inquiry.

They included calls in which Mr Dizaei gave advice to black and Asian colleagues in disputes with their own forces. It is believed the Met has agreed to pay tens of thousands of pounds in compensation.

Part of yesterday's statement said: 'In acknowledging these mistakes and making this apology, the Met hopes to restore to the Black Police Association a measure of trust and confidence in our organisation.' But officers linked to the investigation condemned the statement. One said: 'There was no need for Sir Ian to cave in like this. Again it appears he's bowed to political correctness to protect his back.' A four-year corruption investigation was launched against Mr Dizaei in 1999. He was accused of drug abuse, using prostitutes, spying for Iran and making a series of 'deeply unpleasant' threatening phone calls to a girlfriend.

In March this year, Mr Dizaei - now head of policing in Hammersmith and Fulham - wrote a controversial book about this time at Scotland Yard..

'A measure of trust'

Art. 218

Sunday Mirror - September 17, 2006 Sunday

POPE: I'M SO SORRY; APOLOGY TO MUSLIMS

THE POPE said "sorry" yesterday to the world's Muslims if his comments on Islam were misinterpreted and upset them.

But some Muslim leaders still demanded a "personal apology" from the pontiff. Pope Benedict XVI sparked after quoting an ancient text linking the Prophet Muhammad with "evil and inhuman" things.

The Vatican said the Pope was "extremely upset" that his words were misinterpreted and hoped Muslims would understand the true sense of his comments.

The 79-year-old Pontiff stopped short of an official apology or a retraction of his comments.

But he said he was sorry if his comments had offended Muslims.

He made the remarks in a speech about the differences between Islam and Christianity on Tuesday in his native Germany.

A wave of protests saw students in India burning effigies of the Pope and churches firebombed in the West Bank after he quoted a 14th Century Byzantine emperor.

Vatican official Tarcisio Bertone said yesterday:

"The Holy Father is very sorry that some passages of his speech may have sounded offensive to the sensibilities of Muslim believers."

There were still fears the remarks might jeopardise the Pope's visit next month to Turkey - a predominantly Muslim country.

Catholic bishops in Turkey will meet tomorrow to discuss the trip because of the "great reaction" to the comments.

Political and religious leaders in Muslim countries continued to condemn the remarks and demanded a personal apology from the Pope.

In Turkey, Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan called on him to withdraw his "ugly" comments.

In Saudi Arabia, the highest religious authority, Grand Mufti Abdul-Aziz al-Sheik, said Pope Benedict's comments were "all lies." Morocco withdrew its ambassador to the Vatican and Iran called the comments "a big mistake".

In Britain, Muslim Council general secretary Dr Muhammad Abdul Bari said the apology was a "welcome step".

But he warned the Pope needed to do more to restore relations between Muslims and the Catholic Church.

In his speech, the Pope said: "Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new, and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached." The words were quoted from Byzantine Emperor, Manuel II Palaeologus.

The Vatican tried to repair the damage by expressing the Pope's "esteem" for Muslims and insisted his remarks were intended to underline the fact that there could be "no place for violence in religion".

Art. 225

The Independent - September 18, 2006 Monday

Pope's apology fails to placate Muslims

Pope Benedict XVI has used his first public appearance since returning to Italy from Germany to try to defuse the crisis that has overtaken him since he quoted a Byzantine emperor who described Islam as "evil and inhuman".

Speaking to pilgrims from the balcony of his summer residence at Castelgandolfo, south of Rome, at midday yesterday, he said he was "deeply sorry for the reactions to a brief passage considered offensive to the feelings of Muslim believers". He went on: "These were, in fact, a quotation from a medieval text which does not in any way express my personal thought. I hope this is sufficient to placate the spirits and to clarify the true meaning of my address which in its totality was and is an invitation to a frank and sincere dialogue, with mutual respect."

But while the Pope was speaking, hundreds of miles south of Rome, in Mogadishu, at least two men shot a 70-year-old Italian nun four times in the back at a school where she worked. The nun, Sister Leonella, died in hospital. A senior Islamic source in Somalia cited by Reuters said there was "a high level of possibility" that the murder was linked to the speech. A suspect was arrested. The Pope's spokesman, the Rev Federico Lombardi, described Sister Leonella's killing as "a horrible episode ? Let's hope it will be an isolated fact." But it was not certain if the Pope's words would be enough to defuse a crisis that was beginning to look ominously like the one into which Islam's relations with the West were plunged by the Danish cartoon affair last year.

In Turkey, the Foreign Minister, Abdullah Gul, said the Pope's planned visit to the country in November was still on. "From our point of view, there is no change," he said. But another minister, Mehmet Aydin, pointed out that, in his statement of regret, the Pope seemed to be saying he was sorry for the reaction to his remarks but not for the remarks themselves. "You either have to say this 'I'm sorry' in a proper way, or not say it at all," he said. "Are you sorry for saying such a thing, or because of its consequences?"

The Pope seems to have been oblivious to the possibility that the quotation from the 14th-century emperor Manuel II Palaeologus, buried deep inside a learned address to scholars at Germany's University of Regensburg, could have angered pious Muslims. But given the phrase "evil and inhuman" and his failure to distance himself from it, that shows a lack of sensitivity in a figure whose words go around the world in minutes.

Yesterday the surge of violence continued. Two churches in the West Bank were set on fire, following five incidents in the West Bank and Gaza on Saturday, when five churches were firebombed and fired at.

In some quarters, there were signs that the Pope's remarks in Castelgandolfo were enough to draw a line under the affair. The second most senior leader of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood said he accepted the clarification.

But elsewhere, firebrand Islamic preachers continued to milk the crisis for all it was worth. In Iran's holy city of Qom, a hardline cleric, Ahmad Khatami, told demonstrators that the Pope and President George Bush were "united in order to repeat the Crusades". "If the Pope does not apologise, Muslims' anger will continue until he becomes remorseful," he went on. "He should go to clerics and sit and learn about Islam."

Protests were also reported in India and Turkey. This crisis and the cartoon affair have one thing in common: both started by depicting Islam as violent. The cartoon that caused most offence showed the Prophet with a turban as a tank. The Pope's quotation referred to the Prophet's "command to spread by the sword the faith that he preached".

Such references to Islam's alleged propensity for violence cause some Islamic followers to become so angry they go out and shoot nuns. This is a paradox that Benedict's "frank and sincere dialogue" will need to grapple with, if it is to get off the ground. But it will be a brave man who broaches the subject.

What Benedict XVI said

"? I am deeply sorry for the reactions in some countries to a few passages of my address at the University of Regensburg, which were considered offensive to the sensibility of Muslims," he told pilgrims at his summer residence of Castelgandolfo. "These, in fact, were a quotation from a medieval text, which do not in any way express my personal thought," the Pope said at his weekly Angelus prayer. "I hope this serves to appease hearts and to clarify the true meaning of my address, which in its totality was, and is, an invitation to frank and sincere dialogue, with mutual respect."

Art. 229

The Guardian - September 19, 2006 Tuesday

G2: 'A man with little sympathy for other faiths': Pope Benedict is being portrayed as a naive, shy scholar who has accidentally antagonised two major world faiths in a matter of months. In fact he is a shrewd and ruthless operator, argues Madeleine Bunting - and he's dangerous

Only 18 months into his papacy and already Pope Benedict XVI has stirred up unprecedented controversy. As the explanations and apologies pour out of the Vatican - and thousands of Catholic churches around the world - the questions about what exactly this man intended by quoting a 14th-century Byzantine emperor's insult of the Prophet Mohammed have only multiplied.

Some say this was a case of naivety, of a scholarly theologian stumbling into the glare of a global media storm, blinking with surprise at the outrage he had inadvertently triggered. The learned man's thoughtful reasoning, say some, has been misconstrued and distorted by troublemakers, and the context ignored. But such explanations are unconvincing. This is a man who has been at the heart of one of the world's multinational institutions for a very long time. He has been privy to how pontifical messages get distorted and magnified by a global media. Shy he may be, but no one has ever before accused this pope of being a remote theologian sitting in an ivory tower. On the contrary, he is a determined, shrewd operator whose track record indicates a man who is not remotely afraid of controversy. He has long been famous for his bruising, ruthless condemnation of those he disagrees with. Senior Catholic theologians such as the German Hans Kung are well familiar with the sharpness of his judgments.

But in the 18 months since Benedict was elected, the wary critics who have always feared this man were lulled into believing that office might have softened his abrasive edges. His encyclical on love won widespread acclaim and the

pronouncement on homosexuality being incompatible with the priesthood (and its inference that homosexuals were to blame for the child sex abuse problems in the church) were explained away as an inheritance from Pope John Paul II's reign.

But while the Pope has tried to build a more appealing public image, what has become increasingly clear is that this is a man with little sympathy or imagination for other religious faiths. Famously, the then Cardinal Ratzinger once referred to Buddhism as a form of masturbation for the mind - a remark still repeated among deeply offended Buddhists more than a decade after he said it. Even his apology at the weekend managed to bring Jews into the row. In fact, Pope Benedict XVI's short papacy has marked a significant departure from the previous pope's stance on interreligious dialogue. John Paul II made some dramatic gestures to rally world religious leaders, the most famous being a gathering in Assisi of every world faith, even African animists, to pray for world peace. He felt keenly the terrible history of Catholic-Jewish relations, and having fought with the Polish resistance to save Jews in the second world war, John Paul II made unprecedented efforts to begin to heal centuries of hostility and indifference on the part of the Catholic church to Europe's Jews. John Paul II also addressed himself to the ancient enmity between Muslims and Catholics; he apologised for the Crusades and was the first Pope to visit a mosque during a visit to Syria in 2001.

In contrast, Pope Benedict has managed to antagonise two major world faiths within a few months. The current anger of Muslims is comparable to the anger and disappointment felt by Jews after his visit to Auschwitz in May. He gave a long address at the site of the former concentration camp and failed to mention anti-semitism, and offered no apology - whether on behalf of his own country, Germany, or on behalf of the Catholic Church. He acknowledged he was a "son of the German people" . . . "but not guilty on that account"; he then launched into a highly controversial claim that a "ring of criminals" were responsible for nazism and that the German people were as much their victims as anyone else. This is an argument that has long been discredited in Germany as utterly inadequate in explaining how millions supported the Nazis. Given his own involvement in the Hitler Youth movement as a boy, and his refusal to make a clean breast of the Vatican's acquiescence in the horrors of Nazism by opening its archives to historians, this was a shabby moment in Catholic history. Not for this pope those dramatic, epoch-defining gestures that made the last Pope such a significant global figure.

Even worse, in his Auschwitz address, he managed to argue in a long theological exposition that the real victims of the Holocaust were God and Christianity. As one commentator put it, he managed to claim that Jews were the "themselves bit players - bystanders at their own extermination. The true victim was a metaphysical one." This theological treatise bears the same characteristics as last week's Regensburg lecture; put at its most charitable, they are too clever by half. More plainly speaking, they indicate a deep arrogance rooted in a blinkered Catholic triumphalism which is utterly out of place in the 21st century.

But if his visit to Auschwitz disappointed many and failed to resolve outstanding resentments about the murky role of German Catholicism, this latest incident seems even worse. Quoting Byzantine emperor Manuel II Paleologos, he said: "Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached." It was a gratuitous reawakening of the most entrenched and self-serving of western prejudices - that Muslims have a unique proclivity to violence, a claim that has no basis in history or in current world events (a fact that still eludes too many westerners). Even more bewildering is the fact that his choice of quotation from Manuel II Paleologos, the 14th-century Byzantine emperor, was so insulting of the Prophet. Even the most cursory knowledge of dialogue with Islam teaches - and as a Vatican Cardinal, Pope Benedict XVI would have learned this long ago - that reverence for the Prophet is a non-

negotiable. What unites all Muslims is a passionate devotion and commitment to protecting the honour of Muhammad. Given the scale of the offence, the carefully worded apology, actually, gives little ground; he recognises that Muslims have been offended and that he was only quoting, but there is no regret at using such an inappropriate comment or the deep historic resonances it stirs up.

By an uncanny coincidence the legendary Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci died last week. No one connected the two events, but the Pope had already run into controversy in Italy by inviting the rabid Islamophobe to a private audience just months ago. This is the journalist who published a bestseller in 2001 which amounted to a diatribe of invective against Islam. This is the woman who was only too happy to fling out comments such as "Muslims breed like rats" and "the increasing presence of Muslims in Italy and Europe is directly proportional to our loss of freedom." At the time of her papal audience, Fallaci's ranting against Islam had landed her in court and there was outrage at the Pope's insensitive invitation. The Pope refused to backtrack and insisted the meeting was purely "pastoral".

Put last week's lecture in Bavaria and the Fallaci audience alongside his vocal opposition to Turkish membership of the EU, and the picture isn't pretty. On one of the biggest and most volatile issues of our day - the perceived clash between the west and the Muslim world - the Pope seems to have abdicated his papal role of arbitrator, and taken up the arms in a rerun of a medieval fantasy. An elderly Catholic nun has already been killed in Somalia, perhaps in retaliation for the Pope's remarks; churches have been attacked in the West Bank. How is this papal stupidity going to play out in countries such as Nigeria, where the tensions between Catholics and Muslims frequently flare into riots and death? Or other countries such as Pakistan, where tiny Catholic communities are already beleaguered? Or the Muslim minorities in Catholic countries such as the Philippines - how comfortable do they feel this week? Two lines of thought emerge from this mess. The first is that the Pope's personal authority has been irrevocably damaged; how now could he ever present himself as a figure of global moral authority and a peacemaker after this? At the weekend, a message was read out from Cardinal Murphy O'Connor at all masses in Catholic churches in England; he spoke of the regret at any offence caused and urged good relations between Catholics and Muslims. For a church that prides itself on taking centuries to respond, this was unprecedented crisis management. It cannot but damage the pope's authority with the faithful that such emergency measures were necessary, and it compromises not just this pope but the papal office itself. (This is a job, after all, that is supposed to be divinely guided and at all times beyond reproach: a claim that looks a bit threadbare after the past few days.)

The second is a more disturbing possibility: namely, that the Catholic church could be failing - yet again - to deal with the challenge of modernity. In the 19th and 20th centuries, it struggled to adapt to an increasingly educated and questioning faithful; now, in the 21st century, it is in danger of failing the great challenge of how we forge new ways of accommodating difference in a crowded, mobile world. The Catholic church has to make a dramatic break with its triumphalist, bigoted past if it is to contribute in any constructive way to chart this new course. John Paul II made some dramatic steps in this direction; but the fear now is that Pope Benedict XVI has no intention of following suit, and that he has another direction altogether in mind *

Benedict XVI . . . he once referred to Buddhism as a form of masturbation for the mind

Sunday Mirror - September 24, 2006 Sunday

NO MORE REGRETS REQUIRED, HOLY FR

I THINK the Pope should stop apologising. How many times does he have to say sorry to appease Muslim extremists?

Yes, he could have been more careful when he choose to quote the 14th Century Byzantine Emperor who spoke of the Prophet Mohammad's "command to spread by the sword the faith he preached".

But any right thinking person would have to agree that the reaction to what the Pope said was totally over the top...burning of effigies and attacking Catholic churches in the Middle East...Al Qaeda groups declaring war on the Church, and Turkish religious officials calling for the Pope's arrest.

The Pope said he meant no harm by his remarks and he has apologised, three times now, for what he said. But he is still trying to make amends.

Tomorrow he is due to meet Muslim ambassadors to the Vatican and Italian Islamic leaders to try and calm the situation further. But will this do any good?

Not for the fund-amentalists who want to keep this going and use the Pope's words to cause more violence and issue more threats against the West.

I know the world is a scary place right now and no one knows when or where the next suicide bomber will strike. But we cannot let these extremists take over our lives. We cannot be afraid to speak our mind for fear of drawing the wrath of these people on us. We must stand up for ourselves, or values and freedom of speech.

The meeting with the Islamic leaders should be the last time the Pope has to apologise for his remarks.

Enough is enough.

Art. 239

The Times - September 29, 2006, Friday

We squirm, groan and smile - and shed a little tear

For John Prescott, sorry has always been the hardest word. Yesterday was no exception, but he had no choice. I am sure that, when he had imagined his last conference speech, it was always a rabble-rousing triumph. Instead, it began with a whimper.

"This party has given me everything and I've tried to give it everything I've got," he said in the voice of a little boy who had been caught red-handed. "Over the last year I have let myself down. I let you down. So, I just want to say sorry."

Delegates sat, eyes wide. There is no doubt that Prezzy had made himself a laughing stock with his antics but, at this point at the end of a week of fragile truces, delegates didn't want any more drama. Plus, we had all just seen his wife, Pauline, enter the hall with Cherie. The squirm factor was extremely high. They offered warm applause and prayed that he would say no more.

He didn't, at least on that subject, but the rest of the speech never quite found its groove. It was full of weird cul-de-sacs such as when he suddenly announced: "I'm also proud that British chefs are now among the best in the world!"

He turned to Tony Blair, on the platform and shouted: "Aren't they, Tony?" Tony looked confused, as indeed was everyone else.

Mr Prescott said that Jamie Oliver wanted children to have a balanced diet. "But I've got to say, 'Jamie! I'm still a fish and chip man!' As some people might even say, 'I'm 'Fat for Purpose'."

He followed this appalling joke with a strange passage about his upbringing. He noted that Gordon Brown had spoken "powerfully" about how his parents had influenced him.

"And I well recall my mother worrying about how she could raise the money to pay for the doctor's home visit," he said. "And, 15 years later, my brother was born with a harelip and a cleft palate. He required 20 years of surgery -almost from the day he was born. Treatment that was free, thanks to a Labour government."

Everyone was relieved when Mr Prescott left the land of therapy and began taking credit for things that he had not done. Apparently, he was the one who introduced the congestion charge in London.

He seemed very taken with canals and, indeed, urged us to go out and find a canal and look at it. Canals used to be derelict, now they are flourishing urban centres. And, oh yes, he also saved the Kyoto treaty (with Tony, of course).

Tony, Tony, Tony. What a team. At times it seemed as if Mr Prescott was speaking directly to the Prime Minister. Indeed, at times, he was, having stepped back from the lectern and turned his body towards him. They were a dynamic duo, like Batman and Robin without the rubber: "Tony," he cried, "I'm proud of what you and I have achieved together!"

Towards the very end, Mr Prescott slipped in the fact that this would be his last conference but insisted that he wouldn't give up campaigning. "Yes, I'll be swapping me government Jag for a bus pass to campaign for Labour," he announced.

"No doubt they'll be calling me 'Two Bus' Prescott." Well, only if it's true and, if it is, it was the shocker of the week.

There was an attempt to lift the whole event out of the realm of the strange by showing a video montage of Prezza's "best" moments set to Don't Stop Me Now by Queen. And so we saw Prezza on the campaign trail, Prezza dancing with Pauline (twice and possibly twice too many), and Prezza talking to a crab in a jar.

We also saw the famous Prezza punch in Rhyl. This jab (which surely would be worth an ASBO or two today) got the biggest cheer of the day.

The event didn't end with a bang but with an awkward (if short) moment on stage with Pauline and a lacklustre version of the Red Flag. It was a fond farewell but also, in many ways, sad.

Art. 240

Independent on Sunday - October 1, 2006 Sunday

Good riddance, Prezza. But do we have to lose Pauline too?

This weekend Pauline Prescott will be back at home in her Victorian mansion outside Hull, popping down to Asda for the shopping in full war paint and no doubt consoling her soon-to-be redundant hubby with one of her famous hotpots. This Sunday, let's spare a moment's sympathy for a real one-off in British politics. Not Mr Prescott, who finally managed to say sorry to loyal party members in Manchester some months after he had been caught with his pants down and his hands up Tracey Temple's skirt, but his long-suffering wife. Pauline and Kate Moss have got an enormous amount in common, haven't they? I know that Kate would fit inside the sleeves of one of Mrs P's jackets, and that a handful of dress sizes and several decades separate them, but I am sure that if they were to meet, they would be top mates.

Both women have spent the last few months resolutely standing by their men-chaps who the rest of the population see as comic buffoons, objects of derision. Kate and Pauline, united in their unquestioning, uncompromising, thoroughly

unfashionable devotion to their men. And neither has ever seen the need to make a public statement in the face of a barrage of criticism. They simply slap on the makeup and get on with things, looking gorgeous for their men. Pete Doherty lurches from one rehab unit to another, his once-sexy pipe-cleaner body starting to look chubby, sporting a black eye. He embarks on yet another comeback tour - this time in Ireland - and there's Kate, loyally standing at the side of the stage, helping out on vocals and willing him to stay clean. Back at the Labour Party conference, John Prescott, the man who has made his government a laughing stock, the minister who mangled the English language into gobbledegook and seemed dedicated to concreting over half of England, makes his goodbye speech with Pauline proudly looking on, as flamboyant as a galleon in full sail, with eyes made up like triple-decker tarantulas and a hairdo that taken a can of spray and a gallon of black dye. Pauline's not made up for the television cameras, she's made up to be noticed at the other end of the Arndale Centre.

John Prescott is said to be besotted by his wife, and loves the way she looks, mired in some Dynasty-style costume drama set in the mid-Eighties. Pauline, an iconic woman who clearly doesn't want to let her husband down, returns the compliment by never looking less than 100 per cent the part her spouse has decided he wants her to play. And how does Britain's most feeble politician return this goddess's devotion? He gives her a pathetic peck on the cheek. His ego is so massive, he can't even thank her or mention her in his self-aggrandising valedictory speech, in which he claimed the credit for more or less everything from congestion charging to better housing for all.

Prescott was defeated in the High Court last week by another remarkable woman, disabled pensioner Elizabeth Pascoe. Miss Pascoe bravely challenged the might of Prezza and his demolition squad who sought to tear down her house and 500 others in the Edge Lane area of Liverpool under the planned Pathfinder scheme, which would have seen perfectly habitable, terraced houses reduced to rubble to fulfil Prescott's nightmare vision for our inner cities. Miss Pascoe won an important court ruling which may yet see her neighbourhood saved from the wreckers.

The Pathfinder scheme is highly controversial - yet Mr Prescott has put it into operation without ever holding a public debate on its merits. Labour councillors who challenge it are simply moved aside. Prescott is a bully who turns off female voters, but I shall miss Pauline, who surely deserves better.

Art. 241

The Daily Mirror - September 29, 2006 Friday

JUDGE'S SEX LIFE A TRIAL

JUDGE Mohammed Ilyas Khan was unmasked in the "sex, lies and videotape" blackmail trial as the man who had affairs with his Brazilian cleaner and a female judge.

He did nothing illegal, though his judgment is open to question - pretty serious, if you're a judge.

But not if you're a politician. John Prescott said sorry yesterday for his affair with Tracey Temple - and he's only quitting next year because his boss is going.

Art. 243

The Sun - September 29, 2006 Friday

Prezza: Sorry for my fling

JOHN Prescott yesterday revealed he is quitting as Deputy PM - and said sorry for his sex scandal.

Two Shags, left, begged Labour's forgiveness. And John Reid pushed his way into contention for PM at the party conference.

Art. 244

The Sun - September 29, 2006 Friday

Sorry, but it's time to go

Two Shags' big apology as he reveals he will quit with boss

LOVE cheat John Prescott handed in his notice yesterday - with a grovelling apology over his sex shame.

He announced he would quit as

Deputy PM when Tony Blair stands down.

At the end of his speech, Prezza blew kisses to the crowd as wife Pauline, Tony and Cherie Blair joined him on the Labour conference stage for a final bow.

He delivered the news the nation has longed to hear in an emotional speech and finally uttered the word "sorry" - six months after being caught with his pants down.

Two Shags begged the party's forgiveness over his affair with diary secretary Tracey Temple, right, and admitted it had inflicted heavy damage on the party. He told the hushed rally: "Tony Blair began his speech by saying thank you. I want to start mine by saying sorry. In the last year I let myself down and I let you down. So, conference, I just wanted to say sorry."

There was no public apology for Pauline, who was in tears during parts of the speech. The audience were silent but burst into applause minutes later when Prescott, 62, revealed he had decided to go. He told delegates: "I always said I would inform you, the party, first about my intentions. So I want to tell you that this will be my last conference as your deputy leader.

"Thank you for electing me and thank you for all the support over the last 12 years. I am honoured to have served as Tony's Deputy Prime Minister and your deputy leader."

He then quipped: "I'll be swapping my government Jaguar for a bus pass to campaign for Labour."

He and Pauline shared a tender kiss on stage to rapturous applause.

Art. 245

Daily Mail - September 29, 2006 Friday

Prezza was so sorry for letting them down (the delegates, ... not his trousers)

NOW we've lost Two Jags.

This is turning into an England batting collapse.

Another wicket down. John Prescott, voice scraping like a chair leg on concrete, pushed his wobbly bits up the conference hillside one last time and announced he were off. Aye.

'This'll be my last conference as your deputy leader.' Pause. Under his Alan Titchmarsh hairdo he blinked. Another pause.

Come on, you lot, show the Deputy Prime Minister some appreciation! Alas, delegates greeted the news with a sort of toffee-sucking silence. I suppose if they had cheered at this point it might have sounded as though they were relieved the old lump was quitting.

This speech was, in fact, one of Mr Prescott's better efforts. He seemed marginally less furious than normal.

There was a sense of pride as he recalled the way his mum once fought to pay the doctor's bills, and how just a few years later his brother's cleft palate was treated on the NHS.

It helped that the speech had begun as it needed to with a clean 'sorry'. He was sorry he had let them down. (By 'them' I mean Labour delegates, not his trousers.) Pauline Prescott and her perm turned up.

We hadn't seen her all week but there she finally was, seated in the front row next to Cherie Blair.

As ever, Mrs Prescott was impeccably tweezered and tonged. What a monument to the British hairdressing profession she is.

And those eyebrows. Plucked as carefully as a Sandringham partridge.

Can we really be surprised that Labour quit the seaside for the first time since the 1940s to come to Manchester?

Pauline hates a shore wind. Pauline, I suspect, put down her foot.

Up on stage her very own Ollie Hardy was plopping through the hoops like an overfed labrador at the village dog show.

He had a bad start when a video of his career highlights refused to play.

And his friend Sir Jeremy Beecham said that he'd worked with Two Jags for years and did not know anyone 'with a quicker or keener intelligence'.

Up and down the country television viewers, at this point, may have done the nose trick into their coffee cups.

But back to our hero. He gripped the lectern, stared at the crowd with his Buzz Lightyear jaw, and talked about 'Tory Ypockressy'.

But we had less partisan nonsense than normal. The spite of all those years of anti-Thatcher rhetoric has finally gone.

Labour delegates this week have not quite known what to say about Cameron's crowd and they have normally ended up referring to the Tory leader as 'David' rather than 'Cameron'.

In such a hate-free age John Prescott is not needed. He finished his speech, gave Pauline's thick-powdered cheek a peck, and then left for a retirement of padlocked winceyette pyjamas, meat pies and fond reminiscences of how he wrecked the poncy Home Counties and their once green fields.

The day's far more telling event was the performance of John Reid.

The Home Secretary may be a bald Scot, and therefore a hard sell to England.

He may be a brutal former Communist with an under-defined idea of personal freedom.

But he made a clever, ambitious, slightly sinister speech easily the best of the week.

It sounded to me like the speech of someone who would love to be leader.

MR REID is a calm orator. He moves little. Does not shout. Yet he could barely exude more menace, even if he produced a gun or started doing karate kicks.

He told Al Qaeda 'loudmouths' that they would never stop him visiting Muslim communities. 'We will go where we please,' he said. 'That's what it means to be British.' Mr Reid's heavy authoritarianism is not necessarily the British way.

This week in Manchester I saw police urge some horribly aggressive alsatians to intimidate a group of trade union protestors.

It was like being in Communist East Germany. Reid is a thug.

But yesterday he showed he is better than Gordon Brown at plugging into the electorate. Gordon, beware.

Art. 251

The Guardian - February 26, 2007 Monday

Front: International: Virginia makes first apology for slavery

The US state of Virginia, the heart of the confederacy during the civil war, has issued the first official apology for slavery and the exploitation of native Americans by white settlers. Legislators have expressed "profound regret" for the enslavement of millions of Americans. "The moral standards of liberty and equality have been transgressed during much of Virginia's and America's history," a resolution says. It calls the enslavement of millions of Africans and the exploitation of native Americans "the most horrendous of all depredations of human rights and violations of our founding ideals in our nation's history".

Art. 255

The Times - April 13, 2007, Friday

Wolfowitz fights for job after memo ...

The World Bank leader's future was in the balance yesterday after an apology over his girlfriend's pay rise

Paul Wolfowitz, the President of the World Bank, was fighting for his job yesterday after being forced to make a humiliating apology for ordering a huge pay rise and a promotion for his girlfriend, an official at the bank.

The board of the World Bank was meeting in Washington last night to decide the fate of Mr Wolfowitz, the controversial former US Deputy Defence Secretary, after adjourning discussions earlier in the day. There was rising speculation that Mr Wolfowitz could be forced to resign or even be sacked, in what would be an unprecedented move, but some observers felt it to be likelier that he would escape with a severe rebuke.

The World Bank President said that he would "accept any remedies" proposed by the institution's directors, representing its 185 member countries, after he admitted personal involvement in the pay rise and promotion for Shaha Riza, his partner. A chastened and nervous Mr Wolfowitz told a packed press conference: "I made a mistake, for which I am sorry."

Earlier it was revealed that he had directly intervened in the arrangements for Ms Riza's transfer to the US State Department in mid-2005 to avoid a conflict of interest after his contentious appointment as head of the World Bank at the behest of the White House. Under World Bank rules, staff are banned for working under the direction of a colleague with whom they are romantically involved.

Details emerged of a memorandum from Mr Wolfowitz instructing Xavier Coll, the Bank's human resources head, over the terms for Ms Riza's secondment. This led to her being given an exceptional salary rise and enhanced annual pay awards, lifting her earnings to \$193,000 (£ 97,600) a year tax-free - a \$61,000 rise overall.

The memo also set out arrangements for her promotion.

Yesterday the Bank's staff association, which claims that the terms of Ms Riza's assignment broke its rules, called for full release of all documents related to the case. World Bank embarrassment over the disclosures was compounded because Mr Wolfowitz has been criticised by campaigners after pushing good

governance and anti-corruption efforts in poor nations to the top of the agenda of the world's most important development institution.

Mr Wolfowitz told reporters: "In hindsight, I wish I had trusted my original instincts and kept myself out of the negotiations...My real regret is that I did not more forcefully keep myself out of it."

He insisted that he had acted throughout in good faith, seeking advice in "extensive discussions" with the chairman of the World Bank's ethics committee on how to handle the conflict of interest over his girlfriend's role.

Mr Wolfowitz said that he had "never volunteered" to become directly involved. He had sought advice because he was concerned over an "unprecedented and exceptional" situation over Ms Riza's "involuntary reassignment".

He said: "I believed there was a legal risk if this was not resolved by mutual agreement. I did not attempt to hide my actions nor make anyone else responsible."

Mr Wolfowitz made a plea for understanding, saying: "Not only was this a painful personal dilemma, but I also had to deal with it when I was new to this institution, and I was trying to navigate in uncharted waters."

Until details of the memo to Mr Coll emerged yesterday, he had complained over media attention to the issue of Ms Riza's transfer.

Yesterday he tried to refocus attention on the World Bank's work at a time when it is negotiating with member countries over a new three-year mainstream funding package for its efforts in the developing world. "In the larger scheme of things, we have much more important work to focus on," he said.

* BANK CHARGES

* The appointment of Mr Wolfowitz, a former US Deputy Defence Secretary, as World Bank President provoked controversy, not least among critics of the Iraq war

* His reign at the bank has been criticised for heavy emphasis on action against corruption in developing nations

* He has been accused of surrounding himself with American acolytes

* Last September, Hilary Benn, Britain's International Development Secretary, threatened to withhold \$50 million of UK funding for the bank in protest over Mr Wolfowitz's policies

