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Vienna, June 2011

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**"I can't forgive you until you have
apologised in front of the media."**

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Verbal and non-verbal language, attitudes,
values, belief systems, disbelief systems and
behaviors - that is accepted and expected by an
identity group
(Singer 1998: 6)

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1. Introduction

Every day, wrongdoings and injustices are topics on television. When turning on the news, we see, amongst other things, scenes of crime, accusations and people who seem to have lost track of what is right and what is wrong. There is no argument that very often, crimes are simply inexcusable and the only way to reach justice for the ones who perpetrate the crimes is to face their felony in a trial and later in a lifelong sentence in prison. In some cases, however, the offenders get the chance to choose another path to go: They apologize publicly. Naturally, the circumstances for such an apology have to be right, not everything can be forgiven. In many instances, sorry is simply not enough.

However, those times when a public apology is possible, many factors are of utmost importance for the public apology to reach the effectiveness wished for. Obviously, an apology and therefore also a public apology can be seen as a request of forgiveness. However, it is not the only reason why one might choose to apologize publicly. Very often, there are things at stake that go beyond forgiving the offender. Political careers can be at risk, relationships between parties, groups of people and even nations can be jeopardized. The wrongdoings of a public person can mean a chain reaction of problems for the people related. Therefore, it can be said that a public apology is a decision which has to be greatly pondered upon.

What lies behind such a public apology? What aids are used in order to gain effectiveness?

These questions shall be answered in the course of this study. Since most public apologies are broadcasted on television, the hypothesis under review will be that television increases the effectiveness of public apologies. Therefore, this study attempts to describe the relations between public apologies and television.

For this purpose, theoretical aspects of apologies shall be of concern in the first part of the thesis.

The first chapter will deal with history of public apologies, different definitions of apologies and the characteristics of public apologies. Furthermore, it will give an overview of different points of view on how effectiveness can be reached in an apology.

The next section of this study will deal with different aspects of visual culture, especially television. Visual signs and how they are perceived will be of concern. In this chapter, thought will be given on how theoretical aspects of visual culture and the study of television can be assigned to public apologies.

Finally, twelve public apologies will be analyzed in order to answer the question whether visual aids can or cannot increase the effectiveness of a public apology. For this purpose, the apologies, will be investigated from linguistic, psychological and visual points of view. First of all, apology strategies will be of concern. After that, it will be analyzed whether the psychological needs according to Lazare are achieved in the twelve apologies. Finally, the visual signs in each apology will be under review and together with that, there will be comments on what cannot be seen. According to Macherey, what is not to be seen is equally important to what can be seen. This will be discussed in greater detail later in this study.

After the analysis of twelve public apologies, possible conclusions will be drawn and there will be an attempt to answer whether television can increase the effectiveness of a public apology.

2. Apologies on the Rise

2.1. History of Public Apologies

According to Howard-Hassmann and Gibney, apologies were, historically seen, not given much significance (2008: 1). The strong did what they pleased and the weak had to accept it. Public apologies, however, form a phenomenon which goes exactly in the opposite direction. The powerful apologize for the “relatively powerless“ (Howard-Hassmann, Gibney 2008: 2). What does it mean? Political apologies have been rising rapidly since 1995. Howard-Hassmann and Gibney name a number of changes which could be possible reasons for this notion. According to them, there have been paradigm-shifts in religious as well as non-religious matters since World War II regarding the relations between the powerful and the powerless. The thought-changes in religion were forced upon by the fact that the Nazis murdered six million Jews. The role of the Catholic Church during the war was being discussed intensively, especially in its relation to other religions. (Howard-Hassmann, Gibney 2008: 3).

Additionally, there were debates about the “Church’s role in colonial and postcolonial oppression of Third World peoples“. By 1998, the Catholic Church had given ninety-four apologies. However, these were not direct apologies to victims but apologies to God for the Church’s misbehavior (Howard-Hassmann, Gibney 2008: 3).

However, changes in thought did not only happen in religion. In the 1960s and 1970s, a considerable number of social movements took place. There was the civil rights movement in the United States followed by the women’s liberation movement and the gay and lesbian liberation movement after that. According to Howard-Hassman and Gibney (2008: 3), these movements brought forth a group marked by “self-expression and awareness“ and, most importantly, the

movements asked for “acknowledgement of the harms done to the groups they represented“. Moreover, voices were given to the so-called “voiceless“ groups, such as children or the disabled. What followed was a series of reactions to those movements. People all over the world from different nations demanded acknowledgements, apologies and reparations for human injustices. Queen Elizabeth II and the prime minister of New Zealand apologized to the Maori people for the crimes the white settlers had done to them. Canada acknowledged minorities by bringing forth a policy of multiculturalism and consequently, “new politics of recognition of others“ were stressed in state affairs. Apologies were used to show empathy to those who had suffered (Howard-Hassmann, Gibney 2008: 4).

However, public apologies is not a trend which only occurred after World War II. Freeman (2008) mentions several instances of public apologies in history. This survey attempts to give an overview of examples of public apologies in history and consider not only the power relations but also the meaning of the word “apology“ in certain points in time.

It is virtually impossible to pinpoint the beginning of public apologies. However, one can say that public apologies have been an issue for thousands of years. One particular event is set in the year 360 B.C. It is the time of Socrates and his student Plato. Plato wrote down many speeches by Socrates, one of them was “The Apology of Socrates“. It is a speech given by Socrates where he defends himself against the accusations of not believing in the Gods and misleading the youth due to his philosophical reveries (<http://depthome.brooklyn.cuny.edu/classics/dunkle/studyguide/apology.htm> 15 June 2011). The word “apology“ here still has its original meaning. It derives from the Greek word “*απολογία*“ which means “speaking in defense“ (www.oed.com 16 May 2011). It is the discipline of defending one’s position through the methodical use of reason. However, Socrates was not successful. He was sentenced to death by the cup of hemlock.

Numerous years later, in the year 1077, another very significant event regarding the history of public apologies can be uncovered. Henry IV, King of England and Lord of Ireland trekked across the Alps merely to seek for forgiveness. Henry had been excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII for trying to suppress his authority and assigning the Pope's bishops for Henry's duties. It was a very dramatic apology and it was one of many turning points in the countless power struggles between royals and religious leaders in the Middle Ages. The scene of Henry IV bowing in front of the pope was subject to a number of artists of that time. (Brooks 1999: 3)

Fig. 1 Pope Gregory and Henry IV



This Gicleé print on canvas was painted by Frederico Zuccari (1540-1609). It can be seen in the Vatican Gallery. Hence, even almost 500 years later, the apology of Henry IV was still important enough to create a work of art about it. However, the apology did not last very long. Three years later, in 1080, Henry IV deposed Pope Gregory VII from his responsibilities and the Pope died in exile. The picture shows that, unlike in public apologies after World War II, the powerless person is

apologizing to the powerful one. The relations of power are made visible. The pope sits high up, in the upper right-hand corner, whereas Henry IV kneels on the ground, bowing.

Approximately 600 years later, there is another noteworthy story with a public apology in it. It deals with the life of Galileo Galilei, who publicly supported the heliocentric view of the earth, i. e. the earth moves around the sun, as opposed to the geocentric view where the earth is the center of the universe. Galileo's point of view determined the sun as the center of the universe. Naturally, his theory met harsh opposition and Galileo eventually had to decide between his own life and death and therefore he promised to abandon his support. However, he tried to defend his views all the same and he held numerous speeches where he tried to explain why he supported the heliocentric view. In this case, the original use of the word "apology" can be detected, as Galileo spoke in defense. However, he eventually confirmed that he no longer believed in heliocentrism, so he would not be sentenced to death. (<http://galileo.rice.edu/galileo.html> 16 May 2011)

In this instance, the apology has nothing to do with expressing empathy or acknowledgement to a minor group. In fact, the apology was a lie. Like Henry IV, Galilei was the weak one, apologizing to the strong party. It can be argued that the power relations in this example can be compared to the power relations between Henry IV and the Pope Gregory VII. However, they are completely different from the meaning of a public apology today.

Evidently, wars bring forth a plethora of crimes. One example is the American Civil War. In 1864, Abraham Lincoln apologized through a handwritten letter to General US Grant. Apparently, Lincoln recruited volunteer confederate prisoners to join the Union army in order to fight against the South during the Civil War. Grant rejected this kind of military action. The letter reads:

I send this as an explanation to you and to do justice to the Secretary of War. I was induced, upon pressing application, to authorize agents of one of the Districts of Pennsylvania to recruit in one of the prisoner depots in Illinois; and the thing went so far before it came to the knowledge of the Secretary of War that in my judgment it could not be abandoned without greater evil than would follow it going through. I did not know, at the time, that you had protested against that class of thing being done; and I now say that while the particular job must be completed, no other of the sort will be authorized without an understanding from you, if at all. The Secretary of War is wholly free of any part in this blunder.

Yours truly

A. Lincoln"(<http://www.worthpoint.com> 12 February 2011)

Note that the text does not use the word “sorry” or “apology” in it. Abraham Lincoln offers an “explanation” for what has happened and he wants to “do justice”. He writes that he “did not know” that the General “had protested”, i. e., Abraham Lincoln evidently defend himself. It is a letter of defense and therefore again contains the original meaning of the word “apology”. Moreover, the power relations seem to be shifting in this example. Abraham Lincoln writes a letter of defense to a General. It could be said that both positions are high in power and therefore, the apologizer is not a weak party apologizing to the stronger one.

Abraham Lincoln was one of the key figures in the American Civil War and therefore in the debate of slavery. African Americans suffered under slavery and it is still a major issue whether they should receive an apology or reparations or not. So far, they have not received anything. Neither have the Native Americans, who made various claims for redress. But why the debate? Why is it not clear and straightforward that both, African Americans and Native Americans should receive apologies? There have been many opinions on that matter. One example would be the infamous Scott-Sandford case where Dred Scott unsuccessfully tried to take action for his freedom. Although living in states where slavery was restricted, slaves were still seen as a property and therefore not

as a human being who could take legal action. Chief Justice Roger Taney stated that blacks were “beings of an inferior order . . . unfit to associate with the white race” and that “they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect” and that “the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit.” (Brooks 1999: 309)

According to Brooks (1999: 309) there have been numerous demands for an apology concerning slavery and nothing has happened. Today, the question arises why the federal government should issue an official apology now, 130 years later. He states that there are voices which say that African Americans should concentrate on their efforts on substantive reforms instead of dwelling on the past and that an apology can only come from those who were responsible for the human injustice in the first place. Therefore, so it seems, an apology can only be received by the ones who suffered from slavery and apparently, the African Americans who live now have not had such problems. He writes that the other critics argue that these are nothing more than vague excuses and that there are other reasons behind the fact that the federal government does not apologize for the crimes of the past. It has to do with money and power. A text from the U.S. News & World Report of April 6, 1998 confirms that. The article reads:

In stopovers in Africa last week, President Clinton was careful not to issue a formal apology for America's slave past, but rather to express regret and contrition. One reason, aides say, was to avoid being unnecessarily divisive at home. But another important factor - rarely discussed by the White House - is concern over the legal implications of a formal apology. If Clinton, as head of the U.S. government, issues such a statement, it could increase legal, as well as moral, pressure for reparations to the descendants of slaves, much as many Japanese-Americans won reparations for their illegal incarceration at the outbreak of World War II. That could not only prove very expensive, it could itself further inflame racial tension. That's why the White House is particularly grateful for the Rev. Jesse Jackson's defense of Clinton's handling of the issue. White House officials say privately that Jackson, who accompanied Clinton to

Africa, has been especially effective in giving Clinton credibility on the apology question within the press corps and, they believe, with many African-Americans.

“Jackson has given us a lot of help on this, and we’ll all remember him for it,” said one senior official. (Hall 1999: 352)

Evidently, one of the reasons why the U.S. government has not formed an apology for slavery is to avoid political tensions within the United States. However, more importantly, an apology could mean not only political but financial pressure for the country. If Bill Clinton had apologized for slavery, he would have admitted guilt at the same time and therefore would have created a large contact surface for demands like reparations or more apologies for other human injustices of the past. In this particular situation, Rev. Jesse Jackson came in handy since he is an African American civil rights activist and close friend of the former president. With a black political activist backing him up, Bill Clinton had no problem explaining why it is a bad idea to apologize to the African Americans for slavery. (Brooks 1999: 311) More reasons why people do not apologize will be discussed in the chapter 2.2. The Importance of Apologies.

One of the biggest instances of human injustices and with it demands for public apologies is World War II. The crimes during the Holocaust claimed many victims. Behind it lies a racial ideology which had its roots in the 19th century, when the topic of race and biological determinism was a topic that concerned the world. The ideology of the Nazis was a racial hygiene in order to refine the German racial stock. Therefore, measures were taken to prevent new non-Aryan births on the one hand and to get rid of existing non-Aryans on the other. Compulsory sterilizations and mass euthanasia programs served the purpose and there were laws which restricted marriages between non-Aryans. Along with that, Aryan marriages were promoted (Davies 1999: 24). In concentration camps people starved to death, received lethal injections and died in gas chambers. The cruel actions of the war have not gone by without a trace. Since 1949, there have been numerous

compensation acts implemented by the German government and they all clearly show Germany's desire to make restitutions for past wrongdoings. Here are some examples:

The first act of compensation was already taken in 1949, four years after the war had ended. Konrad Adenauer, the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) stated on 27 September 1949: "In our name, unspeakable crimes have been committed and demand compensation and restitution, both moral and material, for the persons and properties of the Jews who have been so seriously harmed." He later invited the state of Israel to represent Jews all over the world in negotiations for redress measures for the Nazi crimes. (US Department of Justice Foreign Claims Settlement Commission 1999: 61)

The overall name of the laws dealing with compensation for Nazi crimes in Germany is "Bundesentschädigungsgesetz". The English name is "Federal Law for the Compensation of the Victims on National Socialist Persecution". There have been three laws in Germany which codify compensation efforts. The first law is called "Supplementary Law for the Compensation of the Victims of National Socialist Persecution" was enacted on 1 October 1953. It was followed by the "Federal Law for the Compensation of the Victims of National Socialist Persecution" on 29 June 1956. This law expanded the number of those receiving compensation. On September 14, 1965 the "Final Federal Compensation Law" enacted and this law increased the number of persons entitled to receive compensation. (US Department of Justice Foreign Claims Settlement Commission 1999: 62)

A considerable number of people have benefitted from Germany's compensation laws. In 1996, for instance, the German government paid 72 billion deutsche marks to Israel and to actual survivors of

the Holocaust in Israel. This was made possible through programs negotiated between Israel, the United States of America, Germany and Jewish groups. (Brooks 1999: 19).

Another noteworthy example which could be seen as a public apology is the infamous “Kniefall von Warschau” (German for “Warsaw Genuflection”)

Fig. 2 Warsaw Genuflection



Willy Brandt (1913-1992) was a German social-democratic politician. In 1970, he visited Poland as the German Chancellor. On 7 December, during the visit of a monument of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Brandt laid a wreath. After that, to everyone's surprise, he spontaneously knelt down and remained silent in this position for a few seconds. Since he was surrounded by cameras, the pictures went around the world. The picture indicated that, compared to Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII, the power relations here are completely different. The powerful party apologizes to the weak one. Willy Brandt kneels in front of a monument. The reason why Brandt had travelled to Poland was a treaty which was to be signed shortly after the incident. It was the Treaty of Warsaw between West Germany and the People's Republic of Poland to guarantee German acceptance of the new borders of Poland. The Warsaw Genuflection was one of the key events regarding Détente. It eased the relations between the two countries (Gibney, Roxtrom: 928).

Willy Brandt later talked about his actions and states:

I had not planned anything, but I had left Wilanow Castle where I was staying, with a feeling that I must express the exceptional significance of the ghetto memorial. From the bottom of the abyss of German history, under the burden of millions of victims of murder, I did what human beings do when speech fails them. Even twenty years later, I cannot say more than the reporter whose account ran: ‘Then he who does not need to kneel knelt, on behalf of all who do need to kneel but do not - because they dare not, or cannot, or cannot dare to kneel. (Gibney, Roxtrom: 928)

All these different events in history point out the fact that apologies have different faces and that an apology is not something finite. It has to be seen as a process rather than a product, as the performance of the apology as such is equally important as the story that lies before and after it. This study shall take the phenomenon of public apologies as a process into consideration as it will uncover the events that led up to the apology as well. There will be a short description of the background of every apology analyzed later in this study.

Past events show that apologies have the power to heal. Therefore, apologies are a powerful tool when it comes to human interactions. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

2.2. The Importance of Apologies

2.2.1. What makes apologies important?

One of the most profound human interactions is the offering and accepting of apologies. Apologies have the power to heal humiliations and grudges, remove the desire for

vengeance, and generate forgiveness on the part of the offended parties. For the offender, they can diminish the fear of retaliation and relieve the guilt and shame that can grip the mind with a persistence and tenacity that are hard to ignore. The result of the apology process, ideally, is the reconciliation and restoration of broken relationships. (Lazare 2004: 1)

The paragraph above by Aaron Lazare indicates that there are already several reasons why apologies are so important. An apology is a “profound human interaction”, it has the “power to heal” and it can restore broken relationships. Apologies, if used correctly, are a very powerful tool when it comes to social interactions. They can change a situation within a second.

A more linguistic term for “social interaction” is “speech act”. The term was first introduced by John Searle. He argues that “the simplest cases of meaning are those in which the speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says.” (Searle 2007: 59). According to him, the speaker produces a number of “illocutionary forces” in order for the hearer to understand the speaker’s intention. This happens by a set of rules which both, speaker and hearer share. He argues that the speaker does not only mean what he (or she) says, there is “something more” in every meaning. There can be a sarcastic meaning to a sentence (Searle 2007: 59) or, in the case of apologies, apologies can have a sarcastic undertone and be not meant the way they appear to. Every apology is a speech act performed by a certain speaker. So far, there has been a wealth of literature over the past years concerning apologies as a speech act in private, i. e. informal situations. The work on public apologies, however, is relatively limited. Private in this context means that the research work which has been done mainly focuses on offenses caused by speech acts which “violate a social or cultural norm” and are therefore connected to “impoliteness or rudeness” (Harris, Grainger, Mullany 2006: 717). Nevertheless, speech act theory is essential for research on public apologies, as it is not concerned with the “ideal” language but with everyday

language. This type of research is called *Ordinary Language Philosophy* and it is one of the predecessors of speech act theory. (Patočka 2010)

According to Patočka, an utterance has no meaning as such, it depends on the use of the phrase. Therefore, “I’m sorry” could be an apology but it could also be a piece of information (What did he just say? - I’m sorry.) or an accusation (“Every time we have an argument, all you can come up with is: I’m sorry. Can you for once tell me what you think?”), when put in a context.

Another very essential aspect of speech act theory is the fact that speaking can be seen as an operation or activity. In other words, with the act of an apology there are several sub-acts which are performed simultaneously. According to John L. Austin, there are three different sub-acts. The first one is the locutionary act, which is the utterance itself. In the case of an apology this would be something like “I’m so sorry. I was not paying attention. It won’t happen again.”. The second sub-act, the illocutionary act, names what the action should cause. In this particular example, the cause of the apology should be forgiveness. Finally, there is the perlocutionary act, which is the effect the utterance actually has on the hearer. This could be forgiveness but also anger or sadness. (Patočka 2010)

Most people are familiar with the emotion of being angry at a person for quite some time and you think this can never change. However, when the offender apologizes, things look completely different. It is due to the fact that one suddenly has the feeling that the offending party now understands one’s grief. Understanding is one of the keywords when it comes to apologizing. Moving on, there is a necessity to describe the research area of apologies and public apologies in greater detail.

According to Lazare (2004: 5), there was only one published book on apologies in 1991. *Mea Culpa. A Sociology of Apology and Reconciliation* by Nicholas Tachuviz. Lazare states that, according to Nicholas Tachuviz, there is not much change in the frequency of apologies. Tachuviz writes “It is difficult to state with any certainty whether nowadays we show a lesser propensity to apologize than in the past or recognize fewer occasions that specifically call for apologies“. He does however mention the growing importance of apologies in the public sector, in this case in legal matters: “As impersonal and legal systems of social control proliferate in our own culture and in other cultures, apologies may loom even larger than they have in the past as voluntary and humane means for reconciling personal and collective differences.“ (Tachuviz 1991: 6). He was right that things would start to change quite soon. Only two years later, in October 1993, the *Time* magazine published an article with the title *Who’s sorry now? Last month everybody apologized for past horrors*. . Lazare decided to do a study on the frequency of the word “apology“ or “apologize“ in articles in the two very influential American newspapers: the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The period under review were the years from 1990 to 1994 and 1998 to 2002. He used LEXIS®-NEXIS® for his research. (Lazare 2004: 6)

In the first five-year period there were a total of 1,193 articles with “apology“ or “apologize“ in it and in the second five-year period, there were a total of 2,003 articles. (Lazare 2004: 6) Hence, there were 810 more articles in both newspapers combined. Evidently, the frequency of apologies has grown since 1990 and newspapers picked up this phenomenon. Nowadays you read a lot about who should apologize to whom and the topic of apologies is mentioned in television shows, newspaper articles, cartoons and even comedians found it useful. There are parodies of influential politicians and their apologies and it seems that not a month goes by without an athlete or celebrity apologizing for whatever crime they have or have not committed.

But what is the reason that the frequency and the importance of apologies have grown so much in the past twenty years? Lazare (2004: 10-18) gives six distinctive reasons for this phenomenon:

The first reason he mentions is the dawn of the millennium. There was, first of all, the Y2K-problem and people got scared and started thinking about what could happen. Additionally, the year 2000 was generally seen as a time for new beginnings by many people and the years running up to it were used as occasions for soul searching and moral reckoning so that they could have a fresh, clean start into the new millennium. Therefore, one felt the impulse to apologize and the trend came from all walks of life. There were apologies in the sports world, in politics and many more. Another reason for the rise of apologies could be the Roman Catholics and the year 2000. The year 2000 was particularly important for Roman Catholics as it was a Holy Year and the first one that fell on the turn of the millennium. Pope John Paul II writes in the letter *Tertio Millennio Adveniente*: "... the Church should make this passage with a clear awareness of what has happened to her during the last then centuries. She cannot cross the threshold of the new millennium without encouraging her children to purify themselves, through repentance of past errors." (Lazare 2004: 11). Moreover, Lazare states that the Global Village has a lot to do with the growing importance of apologies.

Globalization is another explanation for the vast increase of public apologies since 1991.

Tremendously growing technology makes it possible that the world is constantly shrinking into what is called the "global village ". Means of communication and media devices like television, cell phones, faxes, email, digital photography and of course the internet itself are responsible that information can travel around the world within seconds. (Lazare 2004: 11)

Hence, it has become possible to access information from cultures which are geographically distant, but through globalization they become closer in the sense of cultural practices. Therefore, a private

person can become a public person within the blink of an eye. One example would be the salmonella outbreak across the USA in August 2010. Wright County Egg, an egg-selling company in Galt, Iowa was the reason for a nationwide salmonella outbreak, The founder Austin DeCoster became known nationwide within one day, having to face his wrongdoings during a trial. 380 million eggs were recalled across the United States while even more were already in US-households. Thousands of people became sick and DeCoster was found guilty. The reason for the outbreak was ignorance towards safety regulations. (absnews.go.com 17 May 2011)

According to Lazare (2004: 12), globalization increases the importance of the apology process in two ways: First, it is a crucial means of conflict resolution and second, the fact that we are constantly exposed to the world makes it almost impossible to perform secret behavior which could be regarded as offensive. Communication mostly happens uncensored. Just think about Facebook. Things come to the surface which the creator would have rather kept secret.

Lazare gives an example of unwanted exposure due to the Internet is the incident with North Carolina State Representative Donald S. Davis . One day, he received an email from an Internet site saying: “Two things made this country great: White men and Christianity.“ (“Lawmaker forwards supremacist email“, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, August 23, 2001). The email went on explaining how early successes in the United States were thanks to the Christian Bible and the Ten Commandments. Davis did not feel that the email was racist, as he later stated: “There’s a lot to it that’s truth, the way I see it. Who came to this country first - the white man, didn’t he? That’s who made this country great.“ („Lawmaker forwards supremacist email“, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, August 23, 2001)). After the weekend, Davis forwarded the email to every single member of the North Carolina House and Senate. (Lazare 2004: 13)

The result is rather unsurprising. Complaints were spread by the colleagues and Davis had to form an apology: “ I humbly want to apologize if the e-mail forwarded from my office . . . was offensive or disrespectful to any one in this General Assembly, state or nation.” (Lazare 2004: 14.) He goes on to say that the the email was only meant for “information and to show the type of messages that come across the Internet.” (Lazare 2004: 14.) In addition, he stated that he was not “a racist or white supremacist.” (Lazare 2004: 14.) The example of Donald S. Davis will be discussed again, as it indicates an unsuccessful apology.

Moreover, Lazare mentions the “destruction of human life in the past century“ (Lazare 2004: 14) as a reason for the sudden accumulation of public apologies. In the past century, new weapons of mass destruction were introduced and used and as a consequence of numerous war crimes, many human lives were destroyed. After World War II, victims sought for justice and the public longed for politicians to show morality . As a result, governments made apologies to the victims of war crimes. The German government apologized to the Jews and the U.S. government made apologies to Japanese Americans who were held prisoner. However, it has to be stated that an apology is not always enough. In most cases of war crimes there are further steps to be made in order to grant the victims full justice, for instance reparations. (Lazare 2004: 14)

According to Lazare, another reason for the increasing frequency of apologies could be the balance of power which has been “shifting among groups and nations over the past several decades“ (Lazare 2004: 15). Formerly suppressed groups have reached more rights and therefore the possibility to speak up. Hence, it has become inevitable for the the suppressing groups to apologize in order to maintain a peaceful relationship.

One example of groups which gained more power would be women as well as African Americans and their right to vote. They have been disempowered for a long time and now they use their newly gained rights to receive justice for past crimes. However, it has to be kept in mind that neither women nor African Americans have reached equal treatment yet.

According to Lazare, another very important factor concerning the rise of apologies is the influence of women in the public domain. Although there are still very few women in leading positions, the number of them is growing. They have been emerging as leaders in corporate governance, the clergy, political office and other very influential positions and a woman's perspective is generally different from that of a man. Hence, they bring a different perspective on the apology process as well (Lazare 2004: 16). According to Lazare, women apologize more often and are more capable of admitting guilt. Therefore, they are more likely to use an apology in order to decrease tension. His point of view is based on personal experience and is shared by other scientists as well. The sociolinguist and author Deborah Tannen states that "women tend to focus more on the question, 'Is this conversation bringing us closer or pushing us further apart?' Men, on the other hand, tend to focus more on the question 'Is this conversation putting me in a one-up or a one-down position?' (Tannen 1999: 69). Janet Holmes, a linguist from the Victoria University of Wellington, did a study called "Sex Differences and Apologies: One Aspect of Communicative Competence". She, too, discovered that women apologize more often than men. (Holmes 1999: 194). One more example of women's likelihood to apologize more often than men is a review by Jane Bybee. She observes that "compared to males, females more frequently mention guilt arising in the context of co interpersonal relationships," and "are more likely to admit culpability" and "offer more numerous and complex concessions for wrongdoing", compared to males. (Bybee 1998: 113-122). It could be argued that men are socialized differently compared to men. Therefore, they use distinct

strategies when facing a problem. Hence, they tend to use apologies more often than men. It seems to be an effective instrument for dealing with interpersonal imbalances.

All in all it can be said that the world grows closer together through the outcomes of globalization and, like in private human relationships, conflicts arise more easily when there is no way of having a place to hide and be on one's own for a little while. Additionally, formerly suppressed groups have gained more power and therefore more rights. Hence, a desire for justice emerges amongst those groups. Another reason why apologies are becoming more and more important is the gaining of more power amongst women. Women are distinct in their behavior and as a result, they use apologies as a strategy for restoring human relationships more often.

The study by Lazare has shown that apologies are on the rise, the number of newspaper articles with the word apologize or apology in it has been growing tremendously and a public apology by a politician, clergies, people in leading positions, sportsmen or women has become a common thing in our everyday lives. The next section will deal with the question whether a person decides to apologize or not to apologize. The survey will mainly concentrate on the work by Aaron Lazare.

2.2.2. Why apologize?

I would like to give general reasons for apologies first and will then move on to a list of reasons for public apologies. Lazare (2004: 134) divides the motives to apologize into two different categories. The first motive implies that people apologize “in response to strong internal feelings” (Lazare 2004: 134), i. e. it is a response to guilt or shame. The second category, however, explains that people apologize “in response to strong external pressures” (Lazare 2004: 134) meaning that they want to affect the way people behave towards them. Any apology can be seen as either a response to

internal feelings or external pressures or a combination of both. In addition, there are three psychological concepts which lead up to the motive of apologizing. The first concept is empathy. A person is aware of another person's feelings and "understands how another person thinks and feels" (Lazare 2004: 134). Guilt is the second concept. When a person feels guilty, it means that he/she knows the difference between right and wrong. According to Lazare, guilt is a kind of emotional punishment. We do it to ourselves when our actions were wrong. The third motive is shame. Lazare (2004: 135) states that everyone has a certain image of oneself. When we do not live up to that image, we experience shame.

It has to be noted that the three concepts are strongly linked to each other and that they very often co-occur. All three motives can be reasons why one feels the urge to apologize. However, not only internal pressures might cause a person to apologize. According to Lazare (2004: 145), external pressures can be equally important. In this context, apologies might serve the purpose of "avoiding abandonment, stigmatization, damage to reputation, retaliation or punishment of any kind".

According to Lazare, an apology can restore peace and emotional balance. Therefore, it can go beyond internal pressures. An apology can improve state relations, it can restore harmony and it can remove grudges (Lazare 2004: 146). Hence, there are different motives for apologies. However, there is not only a psychological point of view to apologies. The linguistic one is equally important. Therefore, the next section will make an attempt to summarize a linguistic point of view towards apologies.

2.3. The Rules and Regulations of Apologies

2.3.1. What is an Apology?

The SAGE Dictionary of Cultural Studies does not contain the word “apology“. Hence, one could conclude that apologies have nothing to do with the field of cultural studies. But is this really the case? The literature available on the topic of defining apologies suggest the contrary. Apologies have something to do with society, with culture and with politeness. This chapter aims at looking into the matter in more detail.

As stated in the chapter “The Importance of Apology“, apologies are part of speech act theory and a speech act is not a finite expression but a whole process. Therefore, apologies are part of an apology process as well. This is a view supported by Lazare (2004) and by modern text-based linguistics. Linguists in this area define the speech act, such as an apology, not as a finite set of utterances but as a process (Patocka 2010).

Meier (2004) introduces a model which shows that the expression of an apology is part of a process (S = speaker):

S's image \Rightarrow S's linkage to a norm violation \Rightarrow S's damaged image \Rightarrow apology \Rightarrow S's repaired image. (Meier 2004: 3)

She states that an apology derives from “a need or desire for image maintenance“ and that apologies “repair the harm incurred to a speaker's image“, as it is visualized in the model. the linkage between the apologizer and the norm violation is useful because it “allows cases in which the apologist takes responsibility for another's actions“, which is often the case with political apologies. Meier further argues that “apologies come to the rescue and repair the speaker's damaged image, thereby effecting a convergence of the speaker's and hearer's worlds“. (Meier 2004: 4)

Holmes (2004) heavily focusses her definition of an apology on politeness theory. She argues that apologies are politeness strategies. The features she describes in her study are based on a corpus of 183 apologies in New Zealand English. Furthermore, she states that apologies are defined as a “primarily social acts conveying affective meaning“. (Holmes 1990: 155) Politeness theory is essential for the study of apologies. Brown and Levinson (1978) argue that apologizing is a polite act as the apologizer pays attention to the recipient’s face needs.

According to Holmes (1990), an apology should not be restricted to utterances such as “sorry“ or “I apologize“. She states that Goffman’s idea of an apology as a remedy (1971: 140) is how one can best describe an apology. Moreover, Holmes claims that the apology is “the one essential element in a remedial interchange“ (1990: 159). The function as a speech act has been mentioned in the beginning of the chapter. Holmes (1990) underlines the function of an apology as a “speech act“ as well. Hence, Holmes’ definition of an apology is rather function-based:

An apology is a speech act addressed to B’s face needs and intended to remedy an offense for which A takes responsibility, and thus to restore equilibrium between A and B (where A is the apologizer, and B is the person offended.) (Holmes 1990: 159)

In her opinion, an apology aims at maintaining a successful relationship between the entities involved. I can be argued that this maintenance of a functioning relationship is strongly influenced by underlying cultural values, as opinions on how to preserve a good relationship might differ due to other cultural practices. This study will take under review the values reflected in thirteen different public apologies and see how they contribute to the effectiveness of the apology.

Another related function of apologies is the desire to restore the recipient’s face needs (Holmes 1990: 157). Furthermore, communicative competence is needed on both sides. The apologist

decides to form an apology out of his or her own interest and the hearer needs to receive the apology and decide the level of forgiveness. If they succeed, both sides have proven communicative competence.

Holmes (1990) gives a list to indicate that nearly every indirect speech act could theoretically serve the purpose of an apology when put in the right context:

That was stupid of me.
I thought it was first come first served.
Oops!
We're out of coffee.
I didn't realize it was raining.
I forgot my key.
Bus was late.
I've just done it again.
(Holmes 1990: 160)

According to Searle (1979) an indirect speech act is what was previously described as the "illocutionary act". Searle claims that "In indirect speech acts the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer". (Searle 1975: 178) Apologies are a perfect example for indirect speech acts. None of the expressions above contain the word "sorry" or "apologize". Nevertheless, they can all serve as apologies in the right context. The list is theoretically unlimited. According to Owen (1983) it is not the speech act as such which determines an utterance as an apology. It is the context which the decision if an expression is interpreted as an apology depends on. Neither Owen

nor Holmes believe that there is a limited number to the ways one can express an apology. Holmes (1990) claims that there are three conditions necessary:

- (a) an act has occurred;
 - (b) A believes that the act has offended B and
 - (c) A takes some responsibility for the act.
- (Holmes 1990: 161)

If these conditions are fulfilled, it is very likely that B will interpret A's utterance as an apology. However, there is always a probability that A chooses not to apologize and might therefore give an expression which is highly unlikely to count as an apology. Holmes (1990: 161) gives three examples:

That's the way the cookie crumbles.
Next please.
Time for lunch.
(Holmes 1990: 161)

Wierzbicka (1985: 145) points out that linguistic notions in politeness are strongly related to cultural notions. She regards cultural notions as much more significant than linguistic rules in politeness theory and further states that these linguistic rules are always linked to cultural notions. She names spontaneity, intimacy, affection v. indirectness, distance and anti-dogmatism as examples. She further argues that the concept of politeness can only then be fully established when cultural practices and cultural values and with them attitudes towards politeness are considered as well. However, she does not elaborate on this. This study will make an attempt to show the relations between culture and linguistics regarding apologies. These relations shall be of interest in chapter 4.

“The Role of Television in Public Apologies“. Suszczynska (1999) supports the view that linguistics and cultural studies are strongly connected and refers to a definition of apology by Olshtain:

A speech act which is intended to provide support for the H (hearer) who was actually or potentially malaffected by a violation (X). Hence the act of apologizing is face-saving for the H and face-threatening for the S (speaker), in Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms. (Suszczynska: 1999)

Suszczynska shares Holmes' view that the main function of an apology is “to restore equilibrium“. However, she points out that it needs to be done in a culturally appropriate way. However, she does not elaborate on this.

Bergman and Kasper (1993: 82) define an apology as a “compensatory action to an offense in the doing of which S (the speaker) was causally involved and which is costly to H (the hearer)“. The opinion is confirmed by Goffman (1971) who points out the importance of social harmony between communication partners.

2.3.2. Apologies and Face

As has been discussed before, apologies serve the purpose of restoring the recipient's face and in some cases also that of the apologizer. Brown and Levinson (1987) call both of these speech acts “face-supportive acts“ (FSAs). Speech acts which endanger the addressee's face are called “face-threatening acts“ (FTAs). Offenses are such face-threatening acts. Holmes additionally underlines Austin's idea (1988), who introduced another term, which Holmes sees as sub-category of FTAs: the face attack act (FAA). It is an intended attack on the addressee's face, whereas FTAs do not happen on purpose. Still, it is possible that the addresser will form an apology after an FAA.

To this end, it can be argued that there are speaker-supportive and hearer-supportive definitions of apologies. Speaker-supportive definitions see apologies as “instruments of impression management or image restoration (Meier 1998: 221), whereas hearer-supportive orientations focus more on the face needs of the offended party.

2.3.3. Public Apologies

Although there now are many research papers on apologies, public apologies have been somewhat neglected. Harris, Grainger and Mullany (2006: 716) made the attempt to focus on political apologies and the refer to it as a “form of political speech with increasing significance and power“. Furthermore, they point out that the sudden increase of political are the consequence of public demands. They very often create many conflicts and debates and they are culturally and politically significant.

According to them, it is rather surprising that public apologies have been given very little attention. They are a feasible source of “natural language data“ and, most importantly, comparatively easy to access (2006: 717). Moreover, Luke (1997: 366) argues that “the politics of the public apology provide us with evidence of a ‘fear‘ of the power of the world“. They come from a demand for a reconstruction of history.

A political apology is an apology which “centrally involves a politician (or other prominent public figure associated with political life) as the perceived apologizer“ (Harris, Grainger, Mullany 2006: 719). They claim that such apologies are culturally essential and that they very often include severe

consequences in the political life of the apologist. Furthermore, they are so important because we have access to them. This is also what makes them public.

The characteristics of political apologies are that they are broadcasted by the media and therefore reach a large audience. A private audience is also possible, depending on the political influence of the apologizer. Harris, Grainger and Mullany suggest that mass media has a high influence on the form of political apology. Moreover, they claim that mass media also has an impact on the readiness of politicians to make an apology. Holmes (1998; 234) argues that an audience is very likely to influence an apology and that such influences are worth investigating. This point of view is essential to this study, as it will make the attempt to see what influence television has on public apologies.

Political apologies are driven by conflict and controversy and one can use a wide range of strategies for a political apology. Apology strategies will be discussed later in this chapter. Moreover, political apologies are characterized by a major difference in status and power between the speaker and the hearer. Political apologies can be divided into two types: Apologies for events in history and apologies which have been demanded by the actual victims. In the first type, the person who apologizes is not personally responsible for the human injustice. It is a moral act. In the second type, an offended party demands an apology. This type usually has a lower level of seriousness (Mullany 2006: 718).

The analysis of the thirteen public apologies will deal with apology strategies. It will closely look at which strategies are used and then compare the apologies and the frequency of strategies to each other. Therefore, the next section gives an overview about apology strategies.

2.3.4. Apology Strategies

According to Holmes (1990), there are a considerable number of studies which had the aim to determine a finite set of apology strategies. She claims that most of the research compares different languages due to the fact that the interest in apology strategies comes from second language teaching. Holmes used a New Zealand corpus of 183 apologies in her study and she formed to following categories, based on the research work of Alshtain & Cohen (1983):

Table 1: Strategies used in Apologies

(Holmes 1990: 167)

Strategy		Example	Number	%
A.	An explicit expression of apology			
	offer apology/IFID (Illocutionary force indicating device)	"I apologize"	15	5
	express regret	"I'm afraid", "I'm sorry"	149	49.3
	request forgiveness	"excuse me", "forgive me"	18	6
B.	an explanation or account	"I wasn't expecting it to be you."	70	23.2
C.	An acknowledgement of responsibility			
	accept blame	"It was my fault."	8	2.6
	express self-deficiency	"I wasn't thinking."	9	3
	recognize H is entitled to an apology	"You're right."	3	1
	express lack of intent	"I didn't mean to."	7	2.3
	offer repair/redress	"We'll replace it for you."	18	6
D.	a promise of forbearance	"I promise it won't happen again."	5	17
Total			302	100

As the table shows, Holmes determines four main categories which all have sub-categories and points out that either of the categories can be combined with each other, which means that they can co-exist. This table will form the basis of the analysis of apology strategies in the applied section. She concludes that, considering all possible combinations, there can be over 180 different apology strategies. One example where more than one strategy is used could be: “Oops. That’s right. I’m sorry. I forgot. Next time I’ll remember“ (Holmes 1990: 167).

She also provides a table which summarizes the possible combinations of apologies. Holmes argues that the categories A and B are the very basic and mundane kind of apologies and are therefore classified as a rather light form of strategy. Category C, however, is more extensive and therefore classified as more weightily than the first category.

Table 2: Combinations of apology strategies

(Holmes 1990: 168)

Strategies	Number	%
A	79	43.2
AA	5	2.7
AAB	1	0.5
AB	47	25.7
ABA	1	0.5
ABC	5	2.7
ABCC	1	0.5
AC	17	9.3
ACC	1	0.5
ACCC	1	0.5
AD	4	2.2
Subtotal	162	88.3

Strategies	Number	%
B	4	2.2
BA	5	2.7
BAC	1	0.5
BACA	1	0.5
Subtotal	11	5.9
CA	2	1.1
CB	3	1.6
CC	2	1.1
CBAD	1	0.5
CCA	1	0.5
CCC	1	0.5
Subtotal	10	5.3
Total	183	99.5

Table 2 shows possible apology combinations in private apologies. These combinations will be redundant for public apologies, since they are part of a whole speech and therefore have much more combinations. However, it is important to note that the decision whether to choose an apology of the types A, B or C depends on the seriousness of the offense. Category C is used for rather severe types of offenses whereas types A and B are often used for the “light” kind of apology. Interestingly, only strategies A and B do, in fact, occur alone, B only four times. Therefore, it can be concluded that an apology is more likely to consist of a combination of strategies. (Holmes 1990: 169)

Suszczynska (1999) also uses a model based on Olshtain and Cohen (1983). She categorizes apology strategies into six main categories:

Table 3: Apology Strategies according to Suszczynska (1999: 1056)

- (1) Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs)
 - a) an expression of regret, e. g. *I'm sorry*
 - b) An offer of apology, e. g. *I apologize*
 - c) A request for forgiveness, e. g. *Excuse me/Forgive me/Pardon me*
- (2) Any external mitigating circumstances, 'objective' reasons for the violation, e. g. *The traffic was terrible*
- (3) Taking on Responsibility
 - a) Explicit self-blame, e. g. *It is my fault/my mistake*
 - b) Lack of intent, e. g. *I didn't mean it*
 - c) Expression of self-deficiency, e. g. *I was confused/I didn't see you/I forgot*
 - d) Expression of embarrassment, e. g. *I feel awful about it*
 - e) Self-dispraise, e. g. *I'm such a dimwit!*
 - f) Justify hearer, e. g. *You're right to be angry*
 - g) Refusal to acknowledge guilt
 - Denial of responsibility, e. g. *It wasn't my fault*
 - Blame the hearer, e. g. *It's your own fault*
 - Pretend to be offended, e. g. *I'm the one to be offended*
- (4) Concern for the hearer, eg. g. *I hope I didn't upset you/Are you all right?*
- (5) Offer of Repair, e. g. *I'll pay for the damage*
- (6) Promise of Forbearance, e. g. *It won't happen again*

She argues that the speaker uses a limited number of apology strategies and she claims that the six main categories occur in every language, whereas the sub-categories are culture-dependent. Holmes does not make this distinction. In comparison to Holmes (1990), Suszczynska introduces two more main categories, which are "Concern for the Hearer" and "Offer to Repair" (see Table 3). Moreover, she defines new sub-categories, such as "Refusal to acknowledge Guilt". It could be argued that categories such as "denial of responsibility", "blame the hearer" or "pretend to be offended" do not really count as apologies. According to Holmes' conditions, two of them are not fulfilled. A does not believe that the act has offended B and therefore does not take on responsibility. However, in

Holmes' opinion, these are two crucial points without which it is highly unlikely that a A will form an apology.

Meier (1998) states that the most frequently used apology strategy is the "formulaic expression of apology". This is an utterance which has the words apologize, sorry, forgive, excuse or pardon in it. Furthermore, the most frequently used formulaic apology is "sorry". According to Meier, this view is supported by Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984), Holtgraves (1989), Owen (1983) and Trosborg (1987). Meier further names three studies (Holmes 1990, Meier 1992, Owen 1983) in which the most frequent strategies are sorry with a complement (for example "sorry that I broke your car") and sorry plus about. She also claims that the seriousness of the offense plays an important part in the choice of strategy. Therefore, she shares opinions with Holmes' study (1990). She also points out the importance of combinations of strategies and that combining strategies is a very common way to form an apology. This has been discovered in three studies: Holtgraves (1989), Holmes (1990), Meier (1992) (Meier 198: 118). Another very important part of apology strategies is the seriousness of the offense. According to Holmes (1990), the complexity of the apology is linked to the severity of the event. Meier (1992), however, could not observe such notions in her study.

All in all, it can be said that, when it comes to apology strategies, not all has been said and done.

Although Suszczynska (1999) claims that there is a finite set of supercategories, other studies show rather different findings. Meier (1998: 220) concludes that "the preceding overview produces a less than unified picture of 'facts'".

Harris, Grainger and Mullany (2006: 721) introduce apology strategies specifically for political apologies:

- 1) an IFID (Illocutionary force indication devise) token
- 2) an expression which indicates acceptance of responsibility and/or blame
- 3) an explanation or account
- 4) and offer or reparation
- 5) a promise of future forbearance. (Harris, Grainger, Mullany 2006: 721)

They claim that the first two strategies are obligatory, whereas the other three are optional. An explicit IFID contains the word “sorry“ or “apologize“. However, one has to be careful with these words, as they can both be ambiguous. If a politician said something like “I’m sorry that your husband died at war.“, he or she would show remorse but would not take any responsibility for the event. And even if “apologize“ brings an apology to its point, one can always apologize for someone else’s crime. This is very common in political apologies. Harris, Grainger and Mullany argue that a political apology is first and foremost a moral act and indicates moral growth of the politician or even of the country. A promise of future forbearance is rather rare with political apology. It is very often expressed that the entity involved has learned from mistakes but there is no promise that this will never happen again. Similarly, the offended party will not give the apologizer any kind of absolution, for example “That’s okay, never mind!“ (Harris, Grainger, Mullany 2006: 723) It has to be noted that the model by Harris, Grainger and Mullany is very similar to the model by Janet Holmes. Therefore, in the applied section, Holmes’ model will be taken to determine apology strategies in the public apologies under review. An attempt will be made to show whether this model can, in fact, be applied to public apologies and information will be given on the frequency of strategies used. Additionally, the results will be compared to the model by Harris, Grainger and Mullany.

2.3.5. The Apology Process

The linguistic approaches claim that every apology is part of a process and that the background of the apology has to be considered as well. It has even been stated that it is equally important.

However, most studies tend to focus more on the apology itself than on the process which lies behind it. Lazare (2004) takes on a purely psychological approach. He sees the apology as a process. The view is supported by modern text-based linguistics. Linguists in this area share the view that a speech act, such as an apology, is not to be seen as a finite set of utterances but as a process (Patocka 2010). Meier (2004) introduces a model, which shows that the expression of an apology is part of a process.

Lazare (2004: 107) introduces four parts of the apology process: Acknowledging the offense, communicating remorse and the related attitudes of forbearance, sincerity and honesty, explanations and reparations. In his opinion, “acknowledging the offense“ is the most essential part of the process because without it, the process could not even start. The first part of the apology process consists of four sub-party: correctly identifying the party or parties responsible for the grievance, as well as the party or parties to whom the apology is owed, acknowledging the offending behaviours in adequate detail, recognizing the impact these behaviours had on the victim(s) and confirming that the grievance was a violation of the social or moral contract between the parties (Lazare 2004: 75). He points out that an apology can only be effective if all four parts are fulfilled.

Hence, the question arises what constitutes a successful apology. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

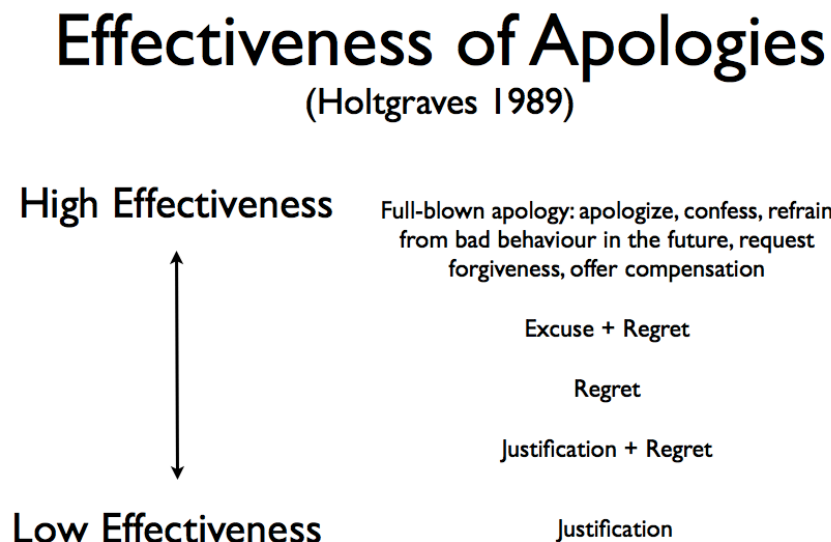
2.4. What Constitutes a Successful Apology?

The literature available on apologies only gives little information on what can be considered as an effective apology. It seems that every apology and the process around it have to be seen as a distinct event and only if all components are included, one can make the attempt to classify the apology as successful or unsuccessful. However, there are some authors who have made an effort to define what characteristics a successful apology should have. None of these theories try to pinpoint the apology as a finite set of characteristics. Nevertheless, the attempts to identify what constitutes a successful apology are very useful for describing relations between apologies, in particular public apologies. Therefore, they are useful for the purpose of this study.

Meier (2004) reflects on studies which have been done regarding the effectiveness of apologies. She states that there are basically two types of studies: One type of research focusses on authentic apologies which have actually occurred in certain situations and it concludes that these apologies have in fact been successful. These studies are typical for the field of applied linguistics. She then points out that this type of research approach focusses not so much on the effectiveness of apologies than on strategy types. (Meier 2004: 7) It is a fact that apology strategies are closely connected to the effectiveness. The following paragraphs will demonstrate this in more detail. The second type of research uses experiments in order to determine the effectiveness of apologies. Therefore, this kind of study draws from the expertise of the socio-psychological field. The centers of attention are the strategies expression of regret, confessions, excuses and justifications. According to Meier (2004), Holtgraves (1989) presented a list of apologies regarding their effectiveness. He used four different criteria and the hearers had to categorize the apologies. The four criteria are hearer satisfaction, difficulty of use, helpfulness in solving conflict and likelihood of use. The study is represented in Figure 3.

Fig. 3 Effectiveness of Apologies according to Holtgraves

(Meier 2004: 9)



The figure shows that only justification used for an apology has little effectiveness, whereas an apology with a combination of strategies is likely to succeed.

However, as Meier (2004) points out, apologies are not identical. According to Weiner, Amirkhan, Folkes and Verette (1987), one can differentiate between „good excuses“ and „bad excuses“. A bad excuse includes reasons for the offense which are „intentional, controllable, stable and internal“. These reasons would fail to give the reassurance to the hearer that the offending party regrets what has happened. It would indicate that the apologizer does not share values with the hearer. (Meier 2004: 10)

Good excuses, however, indicate that the apologizer does in fact have the same values as the offended party. Such apologies give „unintentional, uncontrollable, unstable and external“ reasons

for wrongdoings. It can also be concluded that the degree of forgiveness is influenced by the effectiveness of the apology. (Meier 2004: 11)

There has been a study by Weiner, Figueroa-Munoz and Kakihara (1991) where three experiments with college students have been made. The experiments dealt with false excuses, both in past, real-life events and in artificial situations. They concluded that every human being knows a prototype for a good excuse. Additionally, Ferrari and Beck (1998) discovered that 75.5 % of their students used „personal illness“ as a false excuse. Weiner (1987) states that illness or family emergencies are good excuses and therefore college students very often use it as a false excuse (Meier 2004).

Poor excuse strategies would be “blaming others or playing down the importance of a wrongdoing“ or “denial of intention“. This is even worse than justification (Meier 2004: 11). Additionally, taking the blame for others does not bring you more acceptance.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Lazare takes on a fully psychological approach regarding the effectiveness of apologies. This approach will be used in the applied section in order to determine whether an apology is effective or not. He suggests that apologies can only heal and thereby be effective, when they meet at least one, but in most cases several psychological needs. He proposes a list of these psychological needs. This list will form one part of the study in chapter 4, where it will be analyzed whether the psychological needs according to Lazare are fulfilled in the twelve public apologies under review.

- restoration of self-respect and dignity
- assurance that both parties have shared values
- assurance that the offenses were not their fault
- assurance of safety in their relationships

- seeing the offender suffer
- reparation for the harm caused by the offense
- having meaningful dialogs with the offenders

(Lazare 2004: 44)

The restoration of self respect and dignity can be compared to the restoration of the hearers face needs (Holmes 1990). In both theories, the hearer's needs have been offended and need to be restored. Lazare states that many offenses cause a type of humiliation and hence, self-respect and dignity are harmed and have to be restored. He defines humiliation as "the emotional response of people to their perception that they have been unfairly lowered, debased, degraded, 'dissed', or reduced to inferior positions in situations in which they feel powerless." (2004: 45)

One very extreme example of humiliation is the treatment of particular groups in World War II, which were referred to as "*Untermenschen*" (literally "underpeople") by the Nazis. These groups were marked by either racial, religious or physical difference and were regarded as somehow lower than human (Lazare 2004: 45).

Humiliations can have causes which the offender might not be aware of. The offended person might have sleepless nights, feel somehow stunned and powerless and, after some time, might form serious grudges against the offender. According to Lazare, "A characteristic of grudges is that it takes very little to return residual anger and memory into the full-blown rage that ensued from the original event" (2007: 46).

The second psychological need is "assurance that both parties have shared values". Lazare states that, by apologizing, the offender gives the recipient to understand: "I really am the person you

thought I was.“ (Lazare 2007: 53). This assurance of shared values rebuilds trust and gives the feeling of a safe relationship again.

According to Lazare, there are situations where the offended party might seek for the reason of the offense in their own behavior. The third psychological need, the reassurance that it was not the offended party's fault, gives the victims certainty that they did not ask for what happened. Lazare argues that this is a very strong need when it comes to accepting an apology (2007: 58).

Safety in a relationship, the fourth psychological need, gives the assurance that there is no danger for the same thing happening again. Lazare states that, in such an apology, the offender very often has question towards the motives for the offense. When these motives are explained, the need for safety in the relationship is satisfied.

Seeing the offender suffer is the fifth psychological need Lazare names. It means that the offender gets what he or she deserves, be it shame, guilt, remorse or humiliation. In any case, by suffering Lazare means emotional suffering, not physical suffering. Suffering makes it evident to the recipient that the apology is sincere.

The last but one psychological need Lazare names is “Reparation for the Harm Caused by the Offender“. Lazare regards this as especially important to public apologies. He says that “in the end, it is reparations - or the lack of them - that determine the success of the official apology“.

The last psychological need is “having meaningful dialogs with the offender“. This is an interactive process where the victims need to express their feelings towards the offender (Lazare 2007: 67).

Having elaborated on theoretical aspects of the apology phenomenon, it is now time to do the same on television, since this study attempts to combine aspects of apologies and aspects of television. In the next chapter, television theory will be discussed and an attempt will be made to connect the ideas to public apologies. However, first of all, theoretical aspects of visual culture as such and what makes looking at something so pleasant will be of interest.

3. The Power of the Visual

3.1. The Pleasure of Looking

In the process of looking, the viewer makes meaning out of what is being seen. Therefore, the viewer can have a rather strong relationship with the images because of their power. The viewer can also be called spectator, which is an ideal, socially constructed subject. Looking at something gives us pleasure. In order to function in our social environment, we actively repress various desires, fears, memories and fantasies. However, the unconscious is aware of that and looking at something releases the suppressed desires which our cultural conventions forbid us to practice. Our desires are satisfied when we have the role of a spectator. (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 75)

The spectator is not only one viewer, it is a concept, an “ideal subject“ . The spectator is a socially constructed figure with no individual identity. (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 73) It could be argued that there is an ideal viewer for any kind of television program or cinema movie. Hence, there is also an ideal subject for an apology broadcasted on national television and the viewer can identify with the spectator and, in a way, becomes the ideal subject. Sturken and Cartwright give a description of the spectator by Christian Metz:

The viewer suspends disbelief in the fictional world of the film, identifies not only with specific characters in the film but more importantly with the film's overall ideology through identification with the film's narrative structure and visual point of view, and puts into play fantasy structures (such as an imagined ideal family) that derive from the viewer's unconscious. (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 73)

The unconscious plays an important role in psychoanalysis and the theory of the spectator draws heavily from this area of expertise. Unconscious mental processes are a crucial aspect of the concept of the spectator. Psychoanalytic theory suggests that in order to work properly, humans "actively repress various desires, fears, memories, and fantasies" (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 74). However, the unconscious is always present, eager to come to the surface. It is there in our dreams and occasionally comes out when we are awake. The desire of the unconscious is satisfied when we have the role of the spectator. Part of the reason why this is the case can be explained by the concept of the mirror phase by Jacques Lacan, a French psychoanalyst who dealt intensively with the questions why and how humans turn into subjects. According to him, infants go through the mirror phase when they are approximately 18 months old. During this stage, they establish self-awareness and therefore become capable of separating themselves from others. The "other" in this context is mainly the person they most depend on, in most cases the mother. When the child looks into the mirror, it no longer sees itself as fragments which are connected to someone else but recognizes itself as separate from the other people in the mirror. The child sees a whole body and therefore a fully functioning human being. The infants see the image in the mirror as both, different and as their own reflection. Evidently, the child cannot have control over the mirror-image, especially when it is someone else they see there, for instance the mother. Nevertheless, it is believed that the infant fantasizes about controlling the image. It is an important factor in the development of a child

because they become aware of their capability to have an impact on the world. (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 75)

It is important to understand how the infants see themselves in the mirror. On the one hand, they see a reflection of themselves but on the other hand it is not themselves they see, but rather an ideal version, so not the same. Therefore, it can be said that the mirror stage has to do with recognition but also with misrecognition. It helps to understand how we become subjects and it partly explains the fascination with cinema. The cinema creates an environment where it seems as if the viewer looks into a mirror. Therefore, he or she loses the ego temporarily and identifies with the one on the screen, similar to Lacan's mirror stage. (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 77)

But the concept of the mirror phase is not the only reason why looking at a screen is so pleasant. The camera can be seen as an instrument for voyeurism and it is also an instrument of power. The camera gives the viewer the opportunity to gaze, which means "to stare with eagerness or desire" (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 78). The spectator can look at someone with this eagerness or desire without having to fear that it is socially unacceptable. This gives the spectator a feeling of power, which makes the viewing so pleasant. However, the images on the screen possess a certain power as well. The concept of "discourse" by Michel Foucault helps to understand how images can be "instruments of power" (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 80)

According to Foucault, discourse is the body of knowledge that both defines and limits what can be said about something. It means that discourse regulates what can or cannot be said. Naturally, this knowledge changes over time and it is thus essential to the apologizer to choose the right moment for the public apology. Power relations establish criteria for what gets to count as knowledge in a given society and knowledge, again, produces power relations. One could conclude that power

produces knowledge and knowledge produces power. For instance, the word of a news-person can become more important than that of the apologizer. Therefore, if the press said that an apology was unsuccessful, it would be perceived to be true in the eyes of the viewer. This indicates how television can be a very powerful tool when it comes to apologizing. This shall be specified in the following chapter.

3.2. The Power of Television

The media, especially television, unites audiences across national boundaries. People usually individually marked by difference are addressed as members of a specifically national culture. All viewers are addressed as the same. For example as American viewers in the USA. The television is a pedagogical medium which gives meaning and influences culture and citizenship. Live television is the defining part of the meaning of the TV in American culture. Live television can create a sense of the national identity. It uses the living room a virtual space and brings what is different, strange and interesting into the viewer's familiar, domestic world, overcoming notions of public and private. (Sturken 2002: 185)

Public Apologies imply that they have to be somehow broadcasted to a broad audience. Television is a domestic technology, a television is embedded into a home amongst other media devices and they all compete with each other for attention. The purpose of this study is to have a close look at apologies which have been broadcasted on television and are now available on youtube. Therefore, TV studies and studies which have been done regarding youtube have to be taken into consideration. I will base the survey on Jonathan Bignell's *Introduction to Television Studies* and *Practices of Looking* by Martita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright in addition to my own observations

regarding public apologies on television. Additionally, I will give an extract on youtube based on Jean Burgess' and Joshua Green's *Youtube Digital Media and Society Series*. Again, there will be observations on public apologies, since youtube forms the primary source for the public apologies which will be analyzed later in this study.

3.2.1. The Study of Television - Broadcasting Public Apologies

Broadcast television is part of popular culture, i.e. a cultural text which is created by "ordinary" people and not by an "elite" group. It is therefore also meant for ordinary people. An apology broadcasted on television reaches a large audience. Moreover, it is the most personal way to apologize as a public person since the television brings the apology to the living room and therefore into the personal space of the recipient. However, a public apology on television does not only reach the audience intended but also an audience which has not been offended. Therefore, an apology on television can not only change the offended people's behavior towards the apologizer but also the behavior of the rest of the audience. They might not be familiar with the background of the story but nevertheless, the apology creates cultural meaning. This will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

According to Bignell, A television program can be seen as cultural text. This means that a TV program is watched by people who share attitudes and ways of life and therefore the same culture. A cultural text in this context is "an object such as a television program, film or poem, considered as a network of meaningful signs that can be analyzed and interpreted" (Bignell 2004: 15). Television programs create meaning by using images and sounds in certain ways and they always are part of a flow. This means that a public apology, when broadcasted on television, never stands on its own. There has been a program or a commercial before and there will be one afterwards.

Television is an “unbroken sequence” (Bignell 2004: 17) and watching television therefore is a completely different experience than cinema. Public apologies are part of public service television. It aims, amongst other things, at informing audiences about recent events with a certain significance. The viewer has the chance to witness events in the real world, as opposed to cinema, which functions in order to open a fictional world to the viewer. At the beginnings of television, all broadcasting was live because the idea to record signals had not been introduced at that time. Hence, excitement of watching television was to see the real world at the same time in a distant place. This is partly still the reason why television is so pleasing. Therefore, television might influence the ‘public sphere’, meaning “the world of politics, economic affairs, national and international events, as opposed to the ‘private sphere’ of domestic life“. Television has an impact on our attitudes towards these things and therefore influences the direction in which society heads. It has been mentioned before that a public apology might have an influence on a viewer who is not familiar with the offense. A public apology seen by such a person might still have an impact on him or her. A political apology on television, for instance, might change the viewer’s attitude towards the politician’s party and therefore influence possible upcoming elections. Hence, it could be argued that public apologies shown on TV could also be strategic. This has already been touched upon in more detail in the section “Political Apologies“.

Bignell argues that television broadcasting relates the viewer to the world in a way that no other medium can. The viewers turn on the television and see what happens in a distant place at exactly the same time. However, one should bear in mind that television shows the viewer only a part of reality. There are things which are invisible to the spectator and they are invisible for a reason. Television always underlies legal regulations which can differ from nation to nation (Bignell 2009: 20). For example, if Richard Nixon had started stuttering during his resignation speech and maybe had used swear words, this would not have been visible to the nation out of two reasons: Swearing

is strongly restricted on US public television and a swearing president would dissuade the viewers from forgiving Nixon for his wrongdoings. The importance of what cannot be seen will be discussed in a separate section in this chapter.

The spectator is exposed to a world of “realities“ and “facts“ and very often, television already tells the viewer what to think about the images and sounds on the screen. According to Bignell, television only presents a selection of images and sounds and this selection is chosen by a certain group of people for certain reasons. The images and sounds are not chosen by the spectator. He further states that if television only shows “partial versions of information“, the viewer then has no chance to be critical about the events, since there is no way of getting a glimpse at the big picture. Therefore, the television viewer can see discussion and participation but cannot be part of it. The spectator is disempowered and left alone with a flood of opinions. (Bignell 2004: 20)

Bignell argues that social science research concerning TV studies investigates how television influences the social order. It is concerned with how television adopts “public speech“ such as parliament, academia and the judicial system and how this stands in contrast to adoptions of “private speech“, such as gossip, everyday talk and the language of subcultural groups such as football fans or youth subcultures (Bignell 2004: 21). He states that, when these aspects are analyzed, it can be found that television “gives different kinds of value and legitimacy to different facets of social life, and separates out or unifies people with each other.“ (Bignell 2004: 21)

It could be argued that this is what a public apology broadcasted on television aims to do. When Bill Clinton lied about his relationship with Monica Lewinsky, he betrayed the trust of the nation. This trust could only be regained by an apology with an appearance of national television. This, again, indicates that apologies are perceived differently depending of the recipient and therefore

also on the country. It could be said that different cultures have different attitudes towards apologies. Public apologies might have been flourishing in the USA in recent decades. In Austria, however, there are not so many, even though there have been many political disputes and misunderstandings where a public apology might have been useful. Examples would be Barbara Rosenkranz' statement about the re-enacting of national socialism and her strategy to swear an oath to prove that she would not share any nazi ideas. According to Bignell, "television should provide resources to answer people's needs and raise cultural standards or television should give people what the majority seem to want and what makes the most profit" (Bignell 2004: 21). Clinton's apology served each of these purposes. His apology will be further discussed in the applied section.

It has been stated before that television only shows a part of the truth. The camera is a device of capturing reality but the perception of the image is tremendously subjective. An example video for what is not there to be seen is that of the beating of the motorist Rodney King in 1992. The example is given in *Practices of Looking* by Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright. The videotape was made by George Holliday, a witness who saw the event from his apartment. He first brought the videotape to the police, who did not seem interested. So, he gave it to a local news station and they broadcasted the tape on the news. In the same year, there was a trial and the tape was the most overwhelming evidence to show the policemen's uncontrolled behavior. However, the defense managed to disburden the policemen with the exact same videotape, showing that their actions were appropriate and that Rodney King was the one to be accused. (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 286)

Fig. 4 The Beating of Rodney King



In this image, it looks as if the policemen are about to hit King with their batons and King seems to be curled up on the ground, trying to endure the beating he is getting. However, the defense slowed the video down, made screenshots and showed the viewers where to look. They showed the audience in court that Rodney King was actually making threatening moves and that he kept provoking the policemen. (Sturken, Cartwright 2001: 286)

This example shows that, even though a video seems to hold a high degree of authenticity to the viewer, there might be many things we miss. This could be the case either because things are not shown to the spectator on purpose or because an event passes the eye so quickly that, only by slowing it down, can it show things which have not been visible before and therefore create a new reality. This will be of importance during the analysis of visual signs in the public apologies under review.

Nowadays, television as an institution is essential because it is a very fruitful business, There are very big cooperations which bring television programs to a considerable number of receiving devices. This all costs money and is therefore a large part of economy. However, it has to be kept in mind that the internet is a serious competitor. Television stations have recognized this threat and there are now a number which offer online services as well. Hulu.com offers online streaming of the latest TV shows if you access it from the United States of America and with youtube, almost any clip desired can be found online. Some TV stations even offer their own stream to watch episodes online, for example Comedy Central offers an online service of the Daily Show with John Stewart. The show is so popular, it now has its own website.

The main difference between television and internet streaming is that watching shows online is similar to watching shows on demand. Internet streaming is not part of the television flow. It gives the viewer more freedom to chose what to watch. Hence, the viewer can be much more selective. Youtube as a platform for video streaming will be discussed later. First of all, however, the global factor of television shall be the center of focus.

According to Bignell, the term globalization can mean several things, such as:

- products of global corporations, whether these are concrete products like shows or textual products like television programmes.
- the distribution system which circulates these products, like the global network of transmission satellites used by television broadcasters.
- the consumers of products distributed in this way, the global audiences. (Bignell 2004: 66)

In television, globalization means that a program is made suitable for any audience. However, it might be perceived differently by different cultures. If for example a public apology by Bill Clinton for his lies towards his relationship with Monica Lewinsky was aired on Austrian television a few days after the live broadcasted in the USA, there are a few reasons why the apology is perceived differently by the Austrian audience. First of all, it is very likely that nobody has felt offended by Clinton's actions. He has lied to the American public and Austria had nothing to do with it. Secondly, Austrians might deal differently with a public apology, since it has a different value in a different country. Public apologies do not seem to be used as a political strategy in Austria. This assumption is based on the perception that there is no evidence to indicate that there are public apologies by Austrian politicians.

The third reason why an American apology on Austrian television might be perceived differently is that time and space of the local culture are disrupted. Information wanders across the globe through different time zones. According to Bignell (2004: 72), "the local time and the sense of people's familiar space can be understood as partial and local variations within a global, international time and space". Global television enforces new ways of understanding space and people around the world "negotiate their sense of place, time and community in relation to local, regional and global television cultures and they do this by borrowing from or resisting ways of thinking and living shown on the screen" (Bignell 2004: 80).

The advantages of global television are that actualities from different places claim immediacy, which is very useful for the research of public apologies. The global culture is an information society which demands access to information immediately. Waiting for the evening news has become unthinkable in the global village. However, it has to be kept in mind that perception differs from culture to culture, place to place and person to person.

Summing up it can be said that if one wants to study television in an effective way, national and international television cultures have to be considered in their interrelationship in the context of globalization (Bignell 2004: 82). Therefore, when studying television, one has to take the glocal factor into account, i. e. that an audience might think globally and act locally.

Furthermore, it has to be kept in mind that television communicates cultural and political values and its perception depends on the audience. Hence, the globalization of television has positive and negative effects, due to the understanding of the local audience. Meaning changes according to where a television program is seen. Viewers relate their own identity to what they see and then make meaning out of it. Additionally, television has an impact on the behavior of a cultural group according to the many ways it addresses the viewership. (Bignell 2004: 82)

For public apologies, this means that an audience which feels offended might react differently than an international audience which might not have any relation whatsoever to the apologizer. Hence, the effect might be a different one. An offended audience may or may not accept an apology and then think differently about the apologizer, whereas an international audience might for example be only introduced to the character of the apologizer. For example, if an Austrian farmer watches Tiger Woods' public apology on the local news channel, he or she might not have known him beforehand and therefore be introduced to a nice and polite character of an American sportsman, not knowing the background of the apology. An American golf fan on the other hand could have felt very offended by Woods' escapades and therefore finally forgive his wrongdoings due to the public apology. Hence, the audience has to be taken under consideration in order to fully analyze the effectiveness of the apology.

3.2.2. Television and Signs

From a linguistic point of view, television has a particular type of language. According to Ferdinand de Saussure, the spoken language is the most significant human meaning-making quality and he states that all other media can be regarded as a correspondence to spoken language. He differentiates between *langue* and *parole*. *Langue* is the system of a language, so for example the grammatical rules of the English language, whereas *parole* is the language performed by an actual speaker.

Bignell (2004: 87) applies this idea to television and suggests that the “*langue*“ of television would be the whole system behind the scenes, i. e. all the rules, conventions and operations necessary to produce a particular television program. “*Parole*“, on the other hand, would be an actual scene or sequence of scenes within a specific television program.

In linguistics, the relationship between a word (i. e. a sign) and its meaning is arbitrary and therefore, a tree for instance is a symbolic sign for the word “tree“. It means that there is no natural or “iconic“ relationship between a word and its referent. In television however, these signs become iconic. For instance, a cat on television resembles a real cat. Hence, it is an iconic sign. Television and its images therefore attempt to create a world of realism and it wants the viewer to accept it. The signs on the screen have to function as a portrayal of the real world, which can be very challenging, as two-dimensional images have to represent a three-dimensional world. (Bignell 2004: 87)

According to Bignell, consideration has to be given to the fact that television very rarely only denotes signs. They are in fact “produced and understood in a cultural context which enriches them

with much more meaning“ (Bignell 2004: 88). For example, this medium close-up shot of the President of the United States of America already contains a significant number of signs. The desk in front of him and the suit he is wearing could be a sign of authority, formality and/or education. The American flag in the background could be a sign for patriotism and the wedding ring in the front could be a signifier for family or love. (Idea taken from Bignell 2004: 88)

Fig. 5 Obama



All these signs attempt to appeal to the viewer. This screenshot represents American values and it wants the spectator to identify with them. Again, this might be perceived differently by a non-American viewer.

Summing up, it can be said that signs form a supporting role in television. They enhance what is being said. They help the viewer to form a relationship between what they see and their own identity. According to Bignell, the viewer has to identify in a way with what is being seen. It has to be constructed for the audience (Bignell 2004: 97). It is the same with an apology. Ideally, the apologizer says what the audience wants to hear and they forgive him or her because they can somehow accept the fact that he or she has made the mistake. Hence, it could be argued that the viewer has to feel offended in order to count as an intended audience.

According to Bignell, television has overtaken newspapers as the dominant source of news in many countries because of its immediacy. Nowadays, however, the internet has an even better immediacy than television. Through the world wide web, the audience is linked to the rest of the world in a way that has never been there before. Pieces of information can be accessed through a mouse-click from every spot in the world with an internet connections and these information bits change in a tremendously fast manner. For example, when the news that Osama Bin Laden had been killed during an intended attack on 2 May 2011 reached Austria, the Wikipedia entry of him had already been changed to the past tense and his date of death was added.

3.3.3 What is not there

Attention has to be drawn to another very important aspect of television: Censorship. It refers to things on television which cannot be seen. An image on a screen does not only show the obvious but it also represents underlying truths which are not seen. The act of seeing and making sense of the television image is the first precondition for censorship (Bignell 2004: 230). For instance during the broadcast of an alleged murderer's trial, the images do not show the alleged crime but there are signs which represent or even reflect those images. During an apology, this is also the case. During Bill Clinton's apology for his lying about the sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky, the only person to be seen is himself. However, during the apology, seeing him reminds the person watching of Monica Lewinsky. She is not there but in a way, she is present through the images shown on the screen. Censorship in television can happen due to several reasons. First of all, some things might not be suitable for an audience and therefore have to be restricted. When Bin Laden was killed, some television channels in Pakistan showed the blemished face of a corpse, claiming it was Bin Laden's. However, these pictures were not shown on Austrian television because they are regarded

as not suitable for the audience. The second reason why things are not shown on television could be personal issues. Television creates realism and therefore, the audience is very likely to believe what is being seen. Television producers utilize this and might not show things which are there all the same. This can be important during an election campaign. The candidates may only wish to show their best qualities while they might eagerly try to hide possible scandals they were involved in. The other party's opponent, on the other hand, might be very eager to unleash scandals from the other party in order to damage the opponent's reputation. According to Bignell, "looking at what we cannot see can tell us much about what seeing and understanding mean" (Bignell 2004: 230). The study of what is not seen will be part of the analysis in the last chapter and will therefore be discussed in greater detail in the chapter "Methodology".

Based on perception, it could be argued that censorship has become very challenging ever since the internet started its triumphal procession towards the fastest means of communication. It goes without saying that the internet is the fastest way to access information. Since the internet platform "youtube" forms the main source for the clips of the public apologies which will be analyzed later in this study, it deserves attention. The meaning of youtube will thus be elaborated in the following section.

3.3.4. Other forms of television: Video Streaming with Youtube

Youtube is a part of mainstream media and therefore it deserves acknowledgement in this study. Additionally, it forms the main source for the public apologies which will be analyzed in the last chapter. And youtube deserves attention, as it is part of contemporary popular culture. It is also part of popular culture, as it is made by ordinary people for an ordinary audience. Burgess and Green

(2009) describe youtube as “participatory culture“, since the platform is a content provider and not a content producer. The producers are the youtube community.

Although there is no doubt that television is one of the most influential devices in creating cultural meaning, there is one other instrument that has risen rapidly in popularity through all generations: The Internet. Television nowadays seeks to have its own niche in the world wide web. There are internet platforms where the latest episodes of television shows or movies can be viewed, such as hulu.com or netflix.com. However, one of the most dominant internet databases for videos, clips and TV shows is youtube.com. Not only does it provide a large database of short clips from private sources, it is also an important database for shows which have been on public television, such as public apologies.

The website youtube.com was officially launched in June 2005, where it only had a small amount of users. Registered users of the website could upload, publish and view streaming videos. In October 2006, Google bought youtube for \$ 1.65 billion and from then on, the website became more and more popular. One year later, youtube was the most prominent site for entertainment in Great Britain and in 2008, it had a permanent spot in the top ten most viewed websites world-wide. In April of the same year, there were 85 million videos that could be viewed, which is ten times more than the year before. The internet market research company comScore Inc. has stated that 37 per cent of all videos watched online within the United States are youtube videos (Burgess, Green 2009: 2)

According to Burgess and Green, the reason why youtube’s popularity increased so rapidly was due to “four key features“: “Video recommendations via the ‘related videos‘ list, an email link to enable

video sharing, comments (and other social networking functionality), and an embeddable video player“ (2009: 3).

According to Burgess and Green, another very important aspect of youtube’s success are the videos which became youtube hits. One example would be the “Charlie bit me-video“ with over 315 million views.

Despite the doubtless success of youtube, there have been a number of debates about what youtube actually is and what it is for (Burgess, Green 2009: 3). It could be argued that youtube opens up a completely new world of television. The borders of private and public become less clear as there are private people as well as companies who post home videos or clips once shown on television. But not only the youtube community is marked by difference, also the audience could not be more different. In addition, the website opens up completely new opportunities to the people and their behavior towards watching television. Not only are the clips very short, since there is a maximum length of fifteen minutes. It is also possible to comment on the clips and therefore bring ones own contribution to the world of television.

Stephen Heath (1990: 267) describes television as

a somewhat difficult object, unstable, all over the place, tending derisively to escape anything we say about it: given the speed of its changes (in technology, economics, programming), its interminable flow (of images and sounds, their endlessly disappearing present), its quantitative everydayness (the very quality of this medium each and every day). (Burgess, Green 2009: 6)

Youtube has all of these characteristics in an even stronger manner. It is a very unstable object of study and it is marked by change, diversity of content and everydayness. This has already been indicated with the example of Osama Bin Laden. However, it has a completely different rhythm and flow than that of television. It is a service accessible on demand. Hence, it could be argued that the users can decide for him or herself, which clips to watch and therefore this creates a personalized flow.

All in all it can be said that, thanks to the world wide web, new ways of viewing television have emerged and will continue to emerge. It could be argued that television is a totally different medium to that of 20 years ago and therefore, conventional television viewing habits are rapidly changing and television stations may need to consider this. Videos can now be rent via iTunes in several languages and video streaming websites such as youtube give an opportunity to instantly access whatever clip the mind pleases. Television stations, such as CNN or BCC World News reacted with a constant update on the news without any pauses.

Having given a survey about the power of television and the importance apologies have gained, it is now of importance to elaborate on the question what links these two together. The purpose of this study is to look at public apologies and see how television is used in their favor. First of all, it has to be decided which methodology to use, which shall be the center of attention in the next chapter.

4. The role of television in public apologies

As it has already been established, the motive of this study is to determine whether television increases the effectiveness of public apologies and if so, which mediums are used in order to succeed in apologizing.

For this purpose, twelve public apologies will be analyzed from three different perspectives. There will be a short description on the background of every apology as well as transcripts of each public apology in the appendix. In addition, the appendix will provide a list of the abbreviations used in this section. However, first of all, the methodology has to be considered. In every public apology, the apology strategies according to Holmes (1990) will be determined. Additionally, thought will be given to the question which psychological needs are met with each apology, according to Lazare's list of psychological needs (Lazare 2004). Then, there will be a shot by shot analysis of each video followed by an examination of the visual signs in the public apology and what they could mean. In addition, there will be comments on what is missing and what is not seen and why this could be the case. Finally, the findings will be compared to each other and possible conclusions will be drawn.

As stated in point 2.3.4. "Apology Strategies", Janet Holmes (1990) has formed categories of apology strategies in line with a study based on a New Zealand corpus of 183 apologies. This categorization of apology strategies will be taken in this section in order to determine the strategies used in the videos mentioned in the methodology section. Holmes has four main categories of apology strategies and she adds sub-categories to them. The list of abbreviations used in order to

discover the strategies can be found in the appendix. Opposites will be marked with a minus. The full transcripts of the public apologies will be found in the appendix as well.

This first type of analysis, the apology strategies, takes on a mainly linguistic point of view. The second part of the analysis will concentrate on a psychological point of view and hopefully will shed light on the question whether television increases the effectiveness of a public apology.

According to Lazare (2004), there are seven psychological needs to be fulfilled in order to gain effectiveness. A list of these needs can be found in chapter 2.4. “What constitutes a successful apology“. This survey will look into the question whether these needs are fulfilled at all and if they are fulfilled only by speech or also by visual enhancements. Again, the list of abbreviations can be found in the appendix.

In chapter 3.2.2. “Television and Signs“ it has been stated that television has a certain language and it has been established what the components of this language are. Bignell (2004) points out that television produces signs which are deciphered in a cultural context. It has further been discussed that these signs always contain meaning and that in television, signs are mostly iconic, so they closely resemble the images of reality.

Moreover, the chapter “The Pleasure of Looking“ points out that the act of looking is pleasing and several examples have been given of why this is the case. Considering all these factors, it must also be pleasing to look at someone apologizing. Watching television is part of the fascination with what is being seen. We temporarily identify ourselves with what or who is on the screen and the feeling that we are part of what we see, makes the looking even more pleasing.

But how do we become part of a public apology? This should be of concern in this section as well. According to Bignell (2004), television brings home events from distant places, which we could not be part of without it. In the case of a public apology, it is similar. If a public apology was only read in the newspaper as a transcript, the distance between the apologizer and the recipient would remain. The television, however, brings the apologizer's face right into the viewer's living room and therefore creates a much more personal atmosphere. This could already be an indicator in favor of the hypothesis that television does, in fact, improve the effectiveness of public apologies. This section will make an attempt to analyze visual and possibly non-visual signs in the twelve public apologies under review. Moreover, it will be discussed what is not there or what is not being shown. This will be based on the work by Pierre Macherey, who picked up on the work of Althusser and made the attempt to apply symptomatic reading to literature studies (Storey 1998: 117). Storey explains that "a problematic is structured as much by what is absent as by what is present (1998: 117). Therefore, "in order for things to be said, other things must be unsaid" (1998: 120).

Consequently, the reasons why things are not there must be discussed as well. What a work does not say and does say, is equally important. Therefore, it is essential to ask which ideology lies behind a cultural text, in this case a public apology. Althusser calls ideology a "system of representation" and Storey states that "It is through ideology that men and women live their relations to the real conditions of existence" (Storey 1998: 116).

Thus, the last part of the analysis will discuss the following questions:

- What signs are there to be found in the twelve public apologies?
- What ideology is represented through these signs?
- What is not there and why is it missing?

- How does the visual factor influence the public apology?

The twelve apologies will be analyzed in detail with regard to the three perspectives explained above and at the end, possible conclusions will be drawn.

4.2. Analysis of the Videos

4.2.1. Tiger Woods

4.2.1.1. Tiger Woods Apology Strategies

A2: I am deeply sorry for the irresponsible and selfish behavior I engaged in.

I am so sorry.

I want to say to them that I am truly sorry.

A3: I want to ask for your help. I ask you to find room in your hearts to one day believe in me again.

B: I convinced myself that normal rules didn't apply.

I never thought about who I was hurting.

I thought I could get away with whatever I wanted to.

I felt that I had worked hard my entire life and deserved to enjoy all the temptations around me.

I felt I was entitled.

C1: Elin and I have started the process of discussing *the damage caused by my behavior*.

I am also aware of the pain my behavior has caused to those of you in this room.

I have let you down.

I have let down my fans.

My behavior has been a personal disappointment.

I have let you down, personally and professionally.

My behavior has caused considerable worry to my business partners.

I know I have bitterly disappointed all of you.

I have made you question who I am and how I could have done the things I did.

What I did is not acceptable and I am the only person to blame.

I brought this shame on myself.

I hurt my wife, my kids, my mother, my wife's family, my friends, my foundation, and kids all around the world who admired me.

I knew my actions were wrong.

I thought only about myself.

I recognize I have brought this on myself.

I am the one who needs to change.

C2: I know people want to find out how I could be so selfish and so foolish.

I am embarrassed that I have put you into this position.

I was unfaithful.

I had affairs.

I cheated.

I was wrong.

I was foolish.

Obviously, I lost track of what I was taught.

C3: Every one of you has good reason to be critical of me.

I owe all those families a special apology.

C5: For 45 days, from the end of December to early February, I was in inpatient therapy, receiving guidance for the issues I’m facing. I have along way to go. But I’ve taken the first steps in the right direction.

I need to make my behavior more respectful of the game.

D: It is now up to me to make amends and that starts by never repeating the mistakes I have made.

As I move forward, I will continue to receive help because I have learned that is how people really do change.

Starting tomorrow, I will leave for more treatment and more therapy.

Fig. 6 Tiger Woods Apology Strategies



Figure 5 is a bar chart showing the frequency of usage of the different apology strategies. As it can be see in the chart, Tiger Woods uses a wide range of apology strategies. There are only two, he does not use. The apology strategy used most by Tiger Woods is C1, accepting blame. He used this

strategy in 16 cases. Evidently, it was very important for him to deliver the message that he accepts blame for what he has done. It can be said that the C-strategies are used most often. They all fall under the category of “an acknowledgement of responsibility“. All in all, Woods used a strategy 40 times. 28 of them were C-strategies, whereas he only used an explicit expression of apology four times. He gave an explanation five times and he promised forbearance three times.

4.2.1.2. Tiger Woods Psychological Needs

In the following table, it can be seen which psychological need can be detected how many times.

Table 4: Psychological Needs, Tiger Woods Apology

	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1	2	1
PN2	5	1
PN3	4	0
PN4	1	0
PN5	6	5
PN6	0	0
PN7	1	0

When only considering the non-visual aspects, PN2 (Assurance that both parties have shared values), PN3 (Assurance that the offenses were not their fault) and PN5 (seeing the offender suffer) seem to be similarly prominent. Television, however, mostly shows Tiger Woods‘ suffering. The description of psychological need number five already implies seeing and it seems to be very effective when the viewer can in fact see, that the apologizer is sorry. This is the case in Tiger Woods‘ apology. He makes long pauses where one can see his shaky eyes and one can guess that it is not easy to speak about one‘ s personal life in front of an audience. Moreover, Woods‘ mother is shown three times, two of which she is looking rather sternly on the floor, not showing empathic

gestures for her son. This, too, shows Woods' suffering, this time towards his mother. It has to be noted that the strong emotions Woods talks about are not shown as such in the video. This will be elaborated upon in the next section.

At the end of his apology, Woods goes up to his mother and hugs her. Both of them look revealed. This not only re-establishes his mother's self-respect and her dignity. it also shows that Woods and his audience have shared values, the values of family bonds.

4.2.1.3. Tiger Woods Visual Sings

Fig. 7 Tiger Woods - Mea Culpa



This is the first shot of the Tiger Woods-apology. In this medium shot, it can be seen that Tiger Woods is wearing a button shirt and it can later be seen that he is wearing a suit. He does not wear a tie. Therefore, it could be said that he makes a reliable impression. Apparently, the suit is appropriate to the apology. Woods looks directly into the camera. Hence, he addresses the viewer

directly. The neutral background and him being the center of the screen allow for no distractions. Woods is talking to the viewer. The apology goes to the people watching him on television at that moment. In this particular shot, Woods has been talking about the way the media treated his wife and his family and he says: “They did not do these things. I did.” The screenshot shows that Woods has his hand on his chest when he forms the words “I did”.

Fig. 8 Mary Magdalene Mea Culpa



The gesture reminds of the confiteor in the Christian Religion where at the words “through my fault, through my fault, through my grievous fault” (mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa) one strikes the chest with the right hand three times. The painting above shows a painting by Tizian, where Mary Magdalene is depicted as a sinner. She performs the same gesture as Tiger Woods does. Therefore, it could be said that he is depicted as a sinner in the screenshot. He never says it in these exact words, but the gesture does, in fact, imply that he has sinned. Therefore, his gesture strongly emphasizes his apology.

The gesture could also be interpreted as a one of telling the truth. His hand is on his heart and it looks as if he was swearing an oath. Again, it stresses that he means what he says.

Fig. 9 Tiger Woods and Others



In this second screenshot, one can see that Woods has an audience. However, not the whole audience can be seen. The video only shows these three ladies in the front and two men in the background. The woman in the middle is his mother. Her presence could be a sign of the importance of family bonds, as it has already been of value in the analysis of the psychological needs. The other two women are Amy Reynolds and Kathy Battaglia, both of them worked for him at the time of the apology. In this particular screenshot, all the three of them look directly at him. Woods can be seen from the side. There is a desk in front of him, separating him from the audience and he has a speech prepared. Therefore, the apology is not spontaneous. It could be argued that the viewer can identify with the audience. They look at him in the way that the television viewer could look at him in the first shot.

Additionally, the words “special report“ appear occasionally on the screen. It implies that the recipient is going to see something important in this broadcast. At the very end of the apology,

Woods goes to his mother and gives her a hug. The hug lasts a couple of seconds and his mother strokes her son's back, reassuring him in his doing. During this scene, the reporter points out that Wood's mother had a rather stern look on her face during the presentation. According to Bignell (2004), what the reporter says is very important to what the viewer later thinks of a program, in this case of the apology.

However, there are some things which are missing during the apology. His mother and two women who work for him are there but his wife, his wife's family and his children are not there. During his statement, Woods points out that it is of utmost importance to him that his wife and his children are shielded from the press. This is emphasized by them being not there. In addition, it has to be pointed out that Woods talks about his emotions. He does, however, hardly show them. There are long pauses before every apology strategy and his eyes are rather shaky when he uses a strategy. However, his suffering and his emotions about the matter do not entirely equal the emotions he shows. Additionally, the things he has done are not part of the statement. He admits that he has been unfaithful. However, what he has done exactly, remains unsaid. He refers to his wrongdoings as "things".

It could be argued that, if Woods apologized for every single wrongdoing, it would be too much truth. The audience would probably be disgusted and find no way to forgive him. However, the real reasons why things remain unsaid, can only be speculated.

Woods attempts to re-establish the ideology he once represented. He represents an ideology of a man with values. The same values every American citizen has. He loves his mother, his wife and his children and he believes in the values, he has been taught as a young boy. For him, these values can be found in Buddhism. However, Christian values are reflected as well, as it was explained above.

He also represents a man who is truthful, also reflected in the gesture where he puts his hand to his chest. Before more conclusion can be drawn, however, the other apologies have to be analyzed.

4.2.2. Kobe Bryant

4.2.2.1. Kobe Bryant Apology Strategies

A2: I am so sorry to have put you and our family through this.

B: I am a human being.

I am a man just like everybody else.

C1: I sit here in front of you guys, furious at myself, disgusted at myself for making a mistake of adultery.

-C1: I'm innocent. (4 times)

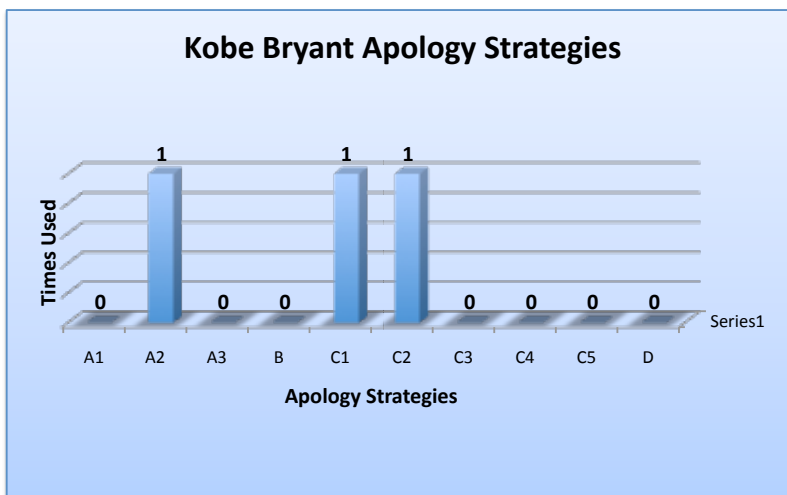
and together with my wife and I and my family we are gonna fight these accusations.

I've been falsely accused.

We're gonna fight this to the end.

C2: I mourn, I cry, must like everybody else and I sit here before you guys, embarrassed and ashamed for committing adultery.

Fig. 10 Kobe Bryant Apology Strategies



Kobe Bryant's apology is particularly interesting, because he does what no other subject does, he denies his responsibility on the case while apologizing at the same time. It could be said that this will probably not prove as an effective plan. In his statement, Bryant uses 3 different strategies and he states four times that he is innocent and denies his responsibility on the case 3 more times. Hence, Bryant states the opposite of accepting blame (-C1) seven times altogether. Therefore, there are more denials in the apology than strategies used. He only uses a strategy five times.

4.2.2.2. Kobe Bryant Psychological Needs

During his speech, Bryant seems to be very concerned with the restoration of his wife's self-respect and dignity. He says "I love my wife with all my heart", "You're a blessing", "You're the beats of my heart, you're the air that I breathe and you're the strongest person I know". Kobe Bryant has been unfaithful towards his wife, so her dignity and her self-respect were seriously harmed. This could be an explanation why this psychological need is so prominent during Bryant's speech. In addition, he explains his suffering by saying how ashamed and embarrassed he is. These psychological needs are enhanced visually by the presence of his wife next to him during the entire statement, holding her husband's hand. This could be seen as an attempt to ensure that Bryant and his audience have shared values, in this context the values of family bonds and love. Moreover, Bryant's suffering is made visible. Like in Tiger Woods' apology, the viewer can see that Kobe Bryant is in fact sorry for what he has done.

4.2.2.3. Kobe Bryant Visual Signs

Fig. 11 Kobe Bryant and Wife



This screenshot shows Kobe Bryant and his wife Vanessa arriving at the press conference. He helps her to be seated. This could be a sign of him being a good person. Throughout the whole video, there are indicators which reflect Bryant's innocence. This is one of them. Another one is his outfit. While his two attorneys are wearing suits, Bryant comes in jeans and a white long-sleeve shirt. Him not wearing a suit could be an indicator for him not feeling the need to dress as one would in court, it could be a reflection of him feeling innocent. The white shirt could be an indicator for his innocence as well. It reflects his clean record. In German figurative speech, a clean record is often referred to as "*eine weiße Weste haben*" (having a white vest). Moreover, the color white is the color of innocence in many cultures.

Fig. 12 Kobe Bryant and the Law



This next screenshot shows Bryant, his wife Vanesa and his two attorneys. This is the only shot, where the viewer can spot that there is an audience. More importantly, however, Bryant literally has the law on his side in this screenshot. In the video, this shot lasts a few seconds where nobody says anything. The viewer can already see Bryant's innocence without any comments on it. After that, the female attorney starts talking and she says that Bryant is, in fact, innocent and that he did not force the girl to do anything. She says that there was definitely a sexual encounter. However, both sides acted by choice. This shot also shows Bryant's wife, holding his hand. She does that throughout the whole statement and again, this reflects strong bonds between the married couple. Moreover, she looks at him through the entire presentation. It can be argued that Kobe Bryant's public apology follows the original usage of the word: "speaking in defense" (see chapter 2). He defends the accusations in his speech and the visual components support what he says. Another very important factor in Bryant's apology is his mimic. Bryant has very strong facial expressions during his statement. Here are two examples:

The first screenshot shows Bryant when he talks about his adultery towards his wife. His facial expression together with his gesture could be interpreted as shame. Bill Clinton made a similar gesture when he lied about his relationship towards Monica Lewinsky:

Fig. 13 Kobe Bryant/Bill Clinton Facial Expression



Fig. 14 Kobe Bryant Facial Expression



The screenshot above shows Bryant when he says the words “I’m innocent“. He has the same facial expression every time he says it. His eyebrows are raised. What these facial expression mean, can only be speculated, as one cannot look into a person’s head. However, it can be noted that seeing Kobe Bryant apologizing means seeing his emotions. He shows them throughout the whole statement.

Like Tiger Woods, Bryant attempts to act as a man of values. He shows that his wife is very important in his life and that he is ashamed and disgusted by the mistake he has made. However, the video also strongly emphasizes Bryant’s innocence and attempts to keep the balance between him as an innocent man and him ashamed of the mistake he has made.

4.2.3. Tony Hayward

4.2.3.1. Tony Hayward Apology Strategies

A2: To those effected in your families, I’m deeply sorry.

C1: BP has taken full responsibility for cleaning up the spill in the gulf.

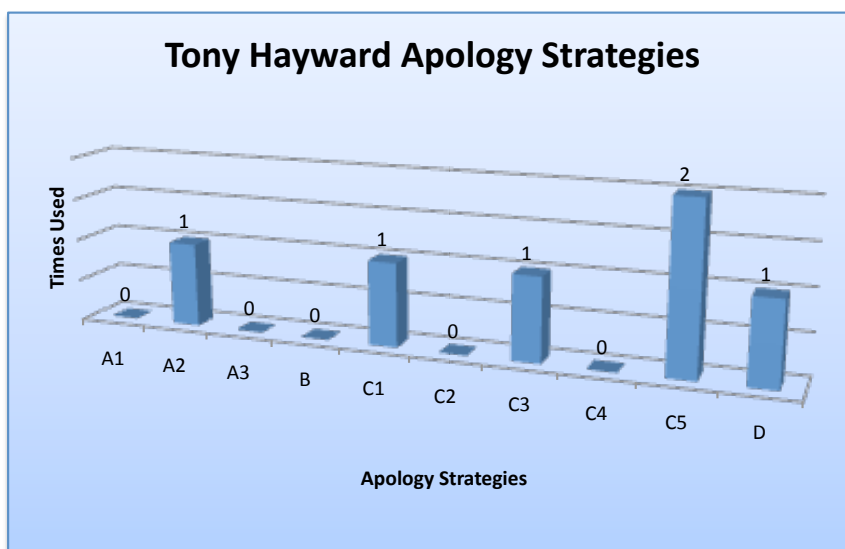
C3: We will honor all legitimate claims.

C5: We will get this done.

We will make this right.

D: We know it is our responsibility to keep you informed and do everything we can so this never happens again.

Fig. 15 Tony Hayward Apology Strategies



In his statement, Tony Hayward says that BP takes full responsibility for the cleaning up but not for the oil spill itself. This could be an issue because, according to Lazare (2007), apologizing for the wrong event could tremendously lower the effectiveness of an apology. This will be discussed in greater detail in the analysis of what is not to be seen. Nevertheless, Hayward uses a strategy six times. However, it can be observed that using strategies alone might not be enough in order to perform a successful apology. Perhaps, in order to make the apology more successful, visual enhancements may accompany the same. He expresses his regret once and expresses BP's responsibility afterwards. However, it is not the oil spill itself for which responsibility is taken but the aftermath. However, he talks about "honoring all legitimate claims" once and promises

forbearance, twice. Additionally, he offers redress by saying “We will get this done. We will make this right.”

4.2.3.2. Tony Hayward Psychological Needs

Tony Hayward’s public statement on the gulf spill is particularly interesting because it is the only apology where more psychological needs can be detected in the visual part than in the spoken part. if every single picture is counted. During his statement, there are 15 pictures of people working and two pictures looking back on the things as they were before the tragedy. It shows that both parties have shared values. However, it has to be noted that Hayward does, in fact, not apologize for the spill in the gulf. He only states that “BP takes full responsibility“ for cleaning it up. Therefore, this apology has to be determined as not effective. However, it will be discussed in the next section, whether the visual enhancements help to improve Hayward’s statement.

4.2.3.3. Tony Hayward Visual Signs

Fig. 16 Gulf Spill



This is the first shot of the apology video. It is stressed by the sentence “the gulf spill is a tragedy that never should have happened“. The pictures shows clear water of the sea and the clear sky in the upper half of the picture and the oil in the lower half. This should be a picture of the golf spill but it is in fact, a very nice picture of the sea. Only by having a second look, one can see the oil. This policy is maintained throughout the video. Tony Hayward talks about the tragedy and the clean-up and this is emphasized by many photographs. However, non of these photographs shows a tragedy. Here are two examples:

Fig. 17 Cleaning Up



This pictures shows workers on a clean beach, with clean gloves, clean clothes and nice weather. Although Hayward talks about a tragedy and an oil spill, no oil is to be seen.

Fig. 18 Washing the Bird



In this picture, three people work to clean up a bird. All of them are clean, the water is clean and the bird is clean. There are no traces of oil whatsoever. Hayward tries to reassure the viewers that BP takes care of cleaning up the oil spill. His last words are “We will get this done. We will make this right.” However, the gulf spill was an environmental catastrophe, which harmed thousands of animals and destroyed many habitats for them. In addition, the oil was still running out at the time of the statement. This video shows nothing of that, it only shows good things. It is highly questionable if an apology of this kind will meet understanding or forgiveness.

However, the pictures strongly attempt to represent how hard people work to clean everything up.

Fig. 19 BP Worker



This photograph shows one of the workers. One can see the BP-sign on his helmet. Again, he is clean. Although this video clearly attempts to show hard working people, it fails at doing so as the work seems not so hard when all of the workers remain clean. None of the photographs shows endeavor or the damage the gulf spill has done.

Fig. 20 Tony Hayward White Shirt



Tony Hayward himself wears a white shirt. Again, this represents innocence. However, this innocence is inappropriate since BP was, in fact, responsible for the oil spill in the gulf. He talks directly to the viewer and there is no audience. The direct address of the viewer creates a personal relationship between him and the audience in front of the television.

All in all it can be said that this video strongly attempts to represent the ideology of hard working people, people who are happy to work. However, the pictures fail to show hard work. After the tragedy of the gulf spill, one would expect a lot of damage and dirt. None of these things was shown in Tony Hayward's statement.

4.2.4. Akio Toyoda

4.2.4.1. Akio Toyoda Apology Strategies

A2: I regret that this has resulted in the safety issue described in the recalls we face today.

I am deeply sorry for any accident that Toyota drivers have experienced.

B: I would like to discuss what caused the recall issues we are facing now.

Quite frankly, I fear, the pace of which we have grown may have been to quick.

C1: I take full responsibility for that.

C2: We pursued growth over speed.

C3: In the past few months, our customers have started to feel uncertain about the safety of Toyota's vehicles and I take full responsibility for that.

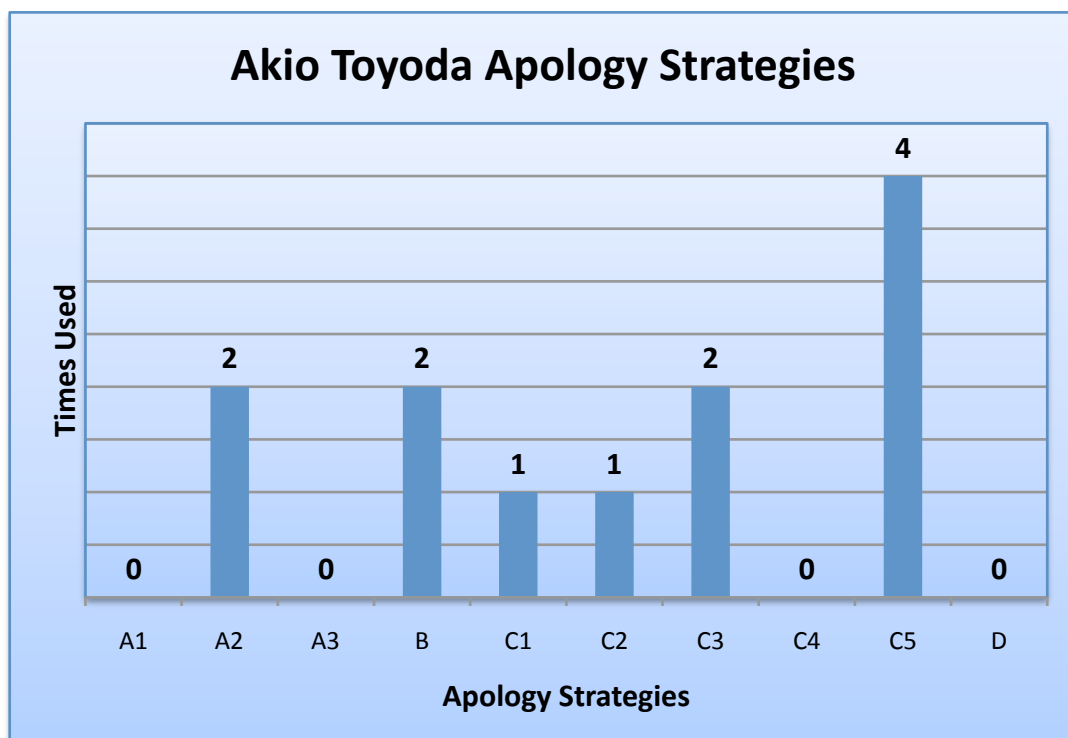
C5: I will ensure that the members of the management team actually drive the cars and that they check for themselves where the problem lies as well as its severity.

I drove the vehicle in the accelerator pedal recall as well as a Prius.

My name is on every car.

You have my personal commitment that Toyota will work vigorously and unceasingly to restore the trust of our customers.

Fig. 21 Akio Toyoda Apology Strategies



In his public apology, Akio Toyoda uses a strategy 12 times. The strategies focus mainly on category C5, offering repair/redress. This strategy is used four times, so one third of the strategies are offering repair/redress. Customers have bought a car from his company and they were unable to use it at that time. This being the case, offering compensations seems to be the right thing to do. All in all, a C-strategy is used 8 times. Therefore, Akio Toyoda states emphatically that he takes responsibility for the problems with the cars concerned. It has to be noted here that it was not Toyoda himself who caused the sticky accelerator pedal problem. However, he represents his company and therefore takes on full responsibility. It seems noteworthy that the strategy A3, requesting forgiveness is not used. Toyoda is a profit-orientated private enterprise and therefore, regaining the customer's trust is likely to be one of the company's top priorities. Interestingly, Jim Lentz, head of Toyota USA, does use this strategy several times. His apology will be the last to be analyzed. It seems evident that the conventions of how to form a successful apology differ from country to country.

4.2.4.2. Akio Toyoda Psychological Needs

In Akio Toyoda's apology, psychological needs in the visual part are not used. There are six ones which can be detected, all of them only in his speech. It could be argued that Toyoda is Japanese and therefore has different values than the Americans in the previous apologies. However, he is not the only apologizer who uses no visual enhancements regarding psychological needs. Toyoda makes an attempt to ensure that both parties have shared values by stating that his prayers are with the Saylor family, who lost a member due to a car accident because the pedal got stuck. This alludes to the values of God and family. Moreover, Toyoda explains what his beliefs are to show, that the values which are important to the people offended are also important to him. He does that by saying: "I believe that only by examining the problems on sight can one make decisions from the

customer perspective“. Naturally, he makes sure that no one is to blame but him (PN3) and he makes an attempt to ensure safety in the relationship between Toyota and its customers by explaining how a tragedy like this could have happened. He says that “business has been expanding rapidly“ and that “the pace of which we have grown may have been too quick“. Moreover, he explains that “our basic standards to listen to customer’s voices to make better products has weakened somewhat“.

Table 5 shows which psychological needs were satisfied. A full list of every apology can be found in the appendix.

Table 5 Akio Toyoda Psychological Needs

	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1	0	0
PN2	2	0
PN3	1	0
PN4	2	0
PN5	0	0
PN6	1	0
PN7	0	0

4.2.4.3. Akio Toyoda Visual Signs

Fig. 22 Akio Toyoda



Akio Toyoda's apology does not offer many valuable clues when only looking at it. He has a prepared speech and wears a suit with a tie, which can both be indicators for the severity of the problems. There is also a desk in front of him, which could represent seriousness and a certain agenda. There are people in the back, but it remains unclear who they are. Furthermore, it remains unclear who Akio Toyoda is talking to. There is no audience visible and he does not directly address the viewer. In addition it is not clear where he is.

The video of Toyoda's apology leaves many questions unanswered. However, it could be argued that Toyoda is shown as a businessman. He is the center of the video, he wears suit and tie and one can guess due to the noises and the lights that there are many cameras on him. It could be said that the video reflects the problem's severity and that Toyoda is taking it seriously. Yet, there are no signs of the damage Toyoda has caused.

4.2.5. Jim Lentz

4.2.4.1. Jim Lentz Apology Strategies

A1: I want to sincerely apologize to Toyota owners.

Once again I apologize for this situation.

A2: I am truly sorry.

A3: I hope you will give us a chance to earn back your trust.

C1: I know that our recalls have caused many of you concern.

I know that we have let you down.

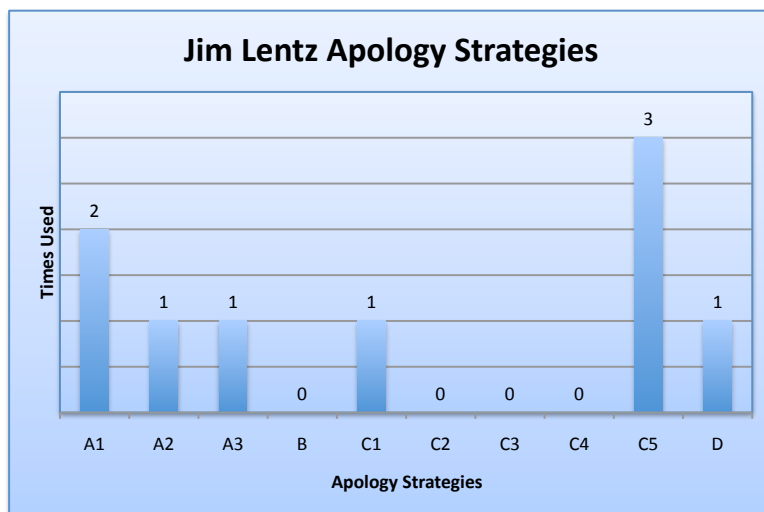
C5: Employees across North America will work hard to fix your vehicle properly and regain your trust.

In fact, many of our dealers will have extended hours and some will remain open 24 hours a day to get this job done.

We are doing this as quickly as possible.

D: We are redoubling our efforts to ensure this does not happen again.

Fig. 23 Jim Lentz Apology Strategies



Jim Lentz apologizes for the same thing Akio Toyoda does. He uses a strategy ten times. Lentz is the only one, who uses A1 “offering an apology” as a strategy and he uses it twice. C-strategies are used more often and they are closely followed by A-strategies. Lentz uses a C-strategy 5 times and an A-strategy 4 times. Unlike Toyoda, he uses A3, “request forgiveness” as a strategy as well. Additionally, he promises forbearance and offers repair/redress three times.

4.2.5.2. Jim Lentz Psychological Needs

Table 6 Jim Lentz Psychological Needs

	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1	0	0
PN2	1	0
PN3	0	0

	Non-Visual	Visual
PN4	0	0
PN5	0	0
PN6	5	0
PN7	0	0

In the public statement by Jim Lentz, there are no visual enhancements regarding psychological needs whatsoever. However, he offers redress six times and he talks about the value of “high quality, durable cars” (PN2).

4.2.5.3. Jim Lentz Visual Signs

Fig. 24 Jim Lentz



This is a medium close-up of Jim Lentz and at the same time the only shot in the statement. He is the only person to be seen in the video and the background is rather neutral. He addresses the viewers directly, telling them to their face that he apologizes for the harm caused. The only visual aid in the video is what can be seen in this particular screenshot. A phone number and Toyota’s homepage is shown. It supports what Lentz says, as he explains to Toyota customers how they will get their vehicle fixed.

Lentz himself is wearing a suit and a tie. appropriate to the severity of the problem. Moreover, his eyebrows are raised and contracted, giving his face a rather comforting expression. This is essential since Toyota's customers have been very irritated and scared about the sticky accelerator issue.

4.2.6. Bill Clinton

4.2.6.1. Bill Clinton Apology Strategies

A2: I deeply regret that.

I take my responsibility for my part in all of this.

A3: And so tonight, I ask you to turn away from the spectacle of the past seven months.

B: I can only tell you I was motivated by many factors.

First, by a desire to protect myself from the embarrassment of my own conduct.

I was also very concerned about protecting my family.

The fact that these questions were being asked in a politically inspired lawsuit, which has since been dismissed, was a consideration, too.

I had real and serious concerns about an independent counsel investigation.

C1: Still, I must take complete responsibility for all my actions.

I did have a relationship with Miss Lewinsky that was not appropriate.

In fact, it was wrong.

For which I am solely and completely responsible.

I know that my public comments and my silence about this matter gave a false impression.

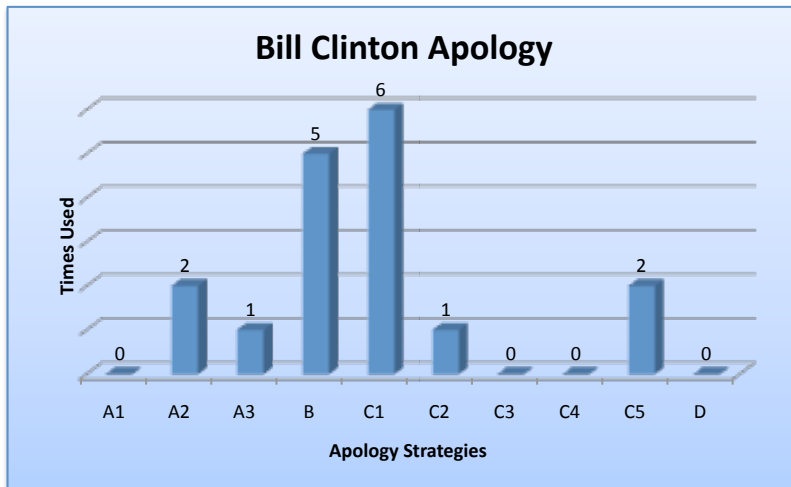
I misled people, including even my wife.

C2: It constituted a critical lapse in judgment and a personal failure on my part.

C5: I must put it right.

I am prepared to do whatever it takes to do so.

Fig. 25 Bill Clinton Apology



Bill Clinton uses six out of ten different apology strategies and he uses a strategy 17 times. Like Tiger Woods, “accepting blame“ is used most often. Bill Clinton uses the strategy six times, as opposed to Tiger Woods, who uses it 16 times. It is closely followed by B, an “an explanation or account“, which is used 5 times. Again, the C-strategies are the most popular ones. Clinton takes on responsibility 8 times. Therefore, almost half of the strategies used are C-strategies. There is no promise of forbearance and only three explicit expressions of apology.

4.2.6.2. Bill Clinton Psychological Needs

Bill Clinton’s apology is similar to that of Toyoda because they both have no visual enhancements to fulfill psychological needs. However, four different needs are fulfilled at a total of eight times. The first psychological need which is satisfied is that of suffering (PN5). Clinton states that he had to answer questions which nobody “would ever want to answer“ and this reflects suffering. However, the offended party does not really see the offender suffer. It is only a comment on it. The most dominant one is PN2, “Assurance that both parties have shared values“. This is reached by talking about the importance of his family and God. Moreover, he states that he and his nation have important work to do, this reflects his diligence. In addition, Bill Clinton ensures that his

wrongdoings were not anyone else's fault and he does that by taking full responsibility (PN3).

Finally, Clinton also gives an explanation for the offense and therefore ensures safety in the relationship between him and his nation (PN4). He explains that he was "very concerned about protecting" his family and that it felt not right to talk about his personal problems in front of a counsel.

4.2.6.3. Bill Clinton Visual Signs

Fig. 26 Bill Clinton Medium Shot



There are basically two shots in Bill Clinton's apology. This is the first one. It is a medium shot of him. Bill Clinton is wearing a suit with a tie. The peculiar component in this shot is the background. There are flowers in the left, a frame in the upper right-hand corner and what seems to be a dresser below. Bill Clinton was the president of the United States at that time but nothing in this picture enhances his position. It seems as if he wants to speak as a private person.

The video reflects a rather homelike scenery. He addresses the viewer directly and his speech seems prepared, although he does not have sheets. He must be reading the statement from a teleprompter.

This might also be the reason, why he is twinkling constantly. It makes a rather nervous impression. Additionally, the movement of his head supports every word. He does not use his hands for gestures but he uses his head, instead. He articulates the words with it and therefore attempts to stress their importance.

Fig. 27 Bill Clinton Medium Close-Up



This second shot of Clinton is a medium close-up. The audience is still being addressed directly. After having established a rather homey atmosphere, it is now only the president and his viewers. However, again it has to be pointed out that there are no signs of presidency in the video. There is no American flag or president flag in the background, as it is in Nixon's appearance. In short, he does not speak from the oval office. The video strongly supports what he says about private life. He states that "even presidents have private lives" and that he had to answer questions "no American citizen would ever want to answer".

Like McCreevey, Bryant and Woods, Clinton strongly stresses the importance of family. He also states that matters between a husband and a wife are private and their absence emphasizes the

statement. Moreover, he alludes to the importance of national matters and therefore to patriotism and unity.

4.2.7. Jim McGreevey

4.2.7.1. Jim McCreevey Apology Strategies

A3: For this I ask the forgiveness and the grace of my wife.

B: Yet, from my early days in school until the present day I acknowledged some feelings, a certain sense that separated me from others.

But because of my resolve and also thinking that I was doing the right thing I forced what I thought was an acceptable reality onto myself.

C1: Yet, be called to the pain and suffering and anguish that I have caused to my beloved family, my parents, my wife, my friends.

I am also here today because shamefully I engaged in an adult consensual affair with another man which violates my bonds of matrimony.

It was wrong.

It was inexcusable.

I realize the effect of this affair and my own sexuality it kept secret leaves me and most importantly the governor's office vulnerable to rumors, false allegations and threats of disclosure.

I accept total and full responsibility for my actions.

C2: It was foolish.

C5: I am required to do what is right, to correct the consequences of my actions and to be truthful to my loved ones, to my friends and my family and also to myself.

Given the circumstances surrounding the affair and its slightly impact upon my family and my ability to govern, I have decided the right course of action is to resign.

Fig. 28 Apology Strategies Jim McCreevey

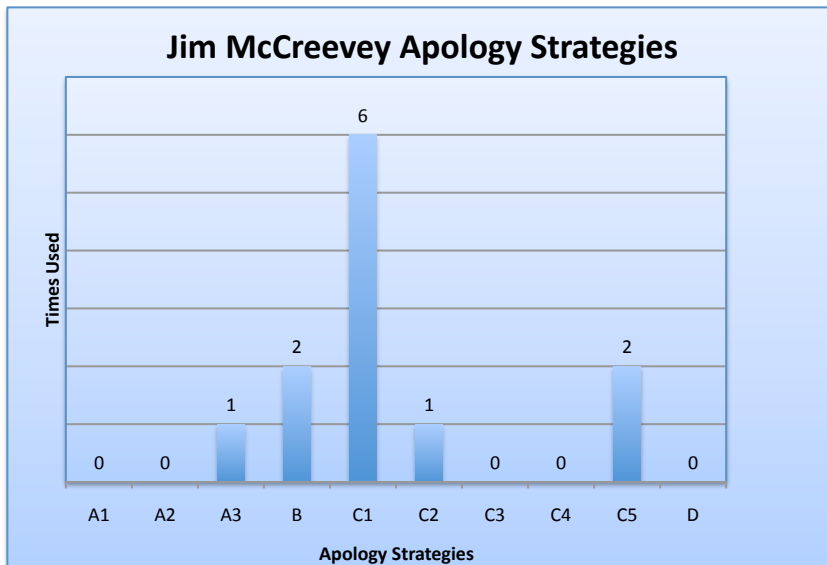


Figure 27 is a bar chart showing the frequency of apology strategies used in Jim McCreevey’s press conference. Again, the C-strategies are very prominent. They make up 75 per cent of all strategies used. The C-strategies are followed by B, “an explanation or account“. This strategy is used twice. However, the two explanations are rather comprehensive. It could be argued that McCreevey wants to explain his behavior in great detail. McCreevey uses a strategy twelve times. There is no promise of forbearance. It has to be stated, however, that McCreevey does not apologize for being homosexual but for cheating on his wife. A promise of forbearance, never to be engaged with another man again, would be uncalled-for in this context.

4.2.7.2. Jim McCreevey Psychological Needs

Jim McCreevey uses a total of seven psychological needs. However, only one of which is used as a visual enhancement. He starts off by talking about his two wives and his family. Therefore, he insinuates that to him, family bonds are as important as to anyone else. This is enhanced by him smiling when he talks about his memories. Moreover, the former New Jersey governor talks about the grace of God. Again, shared values matter. In this context, the values of God and religion.

Finally, McCreevey argues that America is a great country, calling upon the values of patriotism and unity. McCreevey also claims that he is the only one to blame for what has happened and he tries to give an explanation for what he did. He does that by explaining how he has felt different throughout his entire life and that he has now come to terms with himself and that he has to accept the fact that he is a “gay American“ (see transcript in the appendix). Moreover, he explains his suffering during the time when he felt that there was something wrong with him. However, the viewer can not see the offender suffer, McCreevey shows no suffering during his speech. Finally, McCreevey offers redress by resigning from his profession as a governor of New Jersey (PN6).

4.2.7.3. Jim McCreevey Visual Signs

Fig. 29 Jim McCreevey Mea Culpa



In the video of McCreevey’s apology, the governor is only shown from one angle. There is only one shot throughout the video. In this particular screenshot, it can be seen that McCreevey performs the same gesture Woods does. The gesture of mea culpa. However, when McCreevey performs them, he does not explicitly say that he has done wrong. He explains the struggles about his sexuality throughout his life.

When McCreevey talks about his two wives and therefore his life as a heterosexual man, he smiles. This supports his words. He says that his wives, his daughters and therefore his traditional American family have been a blessing to him. McCreevey does not directly address the viewer, he addresses an audience. However, no audience can be seen in the video. What can be seen, however, are the people standing around him. although they seem very stiff and do not make any gestures throughout the whole presentation. One cannot be sure why they are there and who they are.

McCreevey mentions that his wife Dina has shown “enormous grace throughout this ordeal“. Yet, she is not to be seen in the video. Neither are his two daughters. They might be in the audience but the viewer does not get this question answered. But his family is not the only thing which is absent. Additionally, it is not talked about what the consequences for his wrongdoings are. He calls himself a “gay American“ during the statement and he confesses that he has had a sexual encounter with another man. However, he does not talk about what this will mean for his marriage. Nor does the viewer get to see the man involved in the sexual encounter.

McCreevey uses many gestures during his speech, which he has prepared. The gestures underline what he says. He, like Toyoda, is wearing a suit with a tie. This again could be a sign for the severity of the wrongdoing. In addition, McCreevey is the governor of New Jersey in this video and as a politician, he might have to dress appropriately. McCreevey explains that he tried to “force upon“ him what he thought it meant to be a true American. He did everything he could and therefore stresses the importance of the American family. Yet, he failed and he now asks for forgiveness. However, throughout the video, it seems clear that the main message is that he is still the same person. He states that him being gay “makes no difference“. He still has the same values.

4.2.8. Richard Nixon

4.2.8.1. Richard Nixon Apology Strategies

A2: I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision.

A3: The first essential is to begin healing wounds of this nation, to put the bitterness and divisions of the recent past behind us.

By taking this action, I hope that I will have hastened the start of that process of healing which is so desperately needed in America.

C1: I would say that if some of my judgements were wrong, *and some were wrong*, they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the nation.

Sometimes I have succeeded and sometimes I have failed.

C4: In all the decisions I have made in my public life, I have always tried to do what was best for the nation.

They were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the nation.

I have fought for what I believed in.

I have tried to the best of my ability to discharge those duties and meet those responsibilities that were entrusted to me. Sometimes I have succeeded, sometimes I have failed.

I have done my very best in all the days since to be true to that pledge.

D: I pledge you tonight that as long as I have a breath of life in my body, I shall continue in that spirit.

I shall continue to work for the great causes to which I have been dedicated throughout my years as a congressman, a senator, a vice president, and president, the cause of peace not just for America but among all nations, prosperity, justice, and opportunity for all of our people.

Fig. 30 Richard Nixon Apology Strategies



It should be noted that Nixon's resignation speech is five pages long. However, he only uses a strategy 12 times, while Tiger Woods uses one 40 times in an apology which is half as long. It could be argued that the purpose of Nixon's resignation speech was not only to apologize, while Woods' press conference only served the purpose of apologizing. As it has been observed, the C-strategies are very dominant. Nixon acknowledges responsibility 12 times, so more than half of the strategies are C-strategies. Additionally, Richard Nixon makes explicit statements of apology. He also requests forgiveness and promises forbearance.

4.2.8.2. Richard Nixon Psychological Needs

There is only one visual enhancement concerning psychological needs in Richard Nixon's resignation speech, which is PN2 (Assurance that both parties share the same values). This is done by the American flag in the background. It alludes to the values of patriotism and unity. Shared values are also very dominant in the non-visual part of the resignation speech. Nixon elaborates on how he has worked very hard for this country, the things he has achieved and that leaving the office "before his term is abhorrent to every instinct in his body". He also states that all his actions were in the interest of the country.

In addition, Nixon mentions God's grace, so the values of religion are of importance as well.

Moreover, he tries to re-establish safety in the relationship between him and the nation by making an attempt to explain what went wrong. This is particularly important, since Americans have been rather disappointed with their politicians at that time. Finally, Nixon explains his suffering regarding the early leaving of his duties. Again, no suffering is shown, it is only explained.

4.2.8.3. Richard Nixon Visual Signs

Fig. 31 Richard Nixon Medium Long Shot



Moving on to the next president statement, here is a medium long shot of Richard Nixon during his resignation speech. The picture contains many clues which point to the fact that he is still the president of the United States. First of all, he makes a very serious impression. He is wearing a suit and a tie and he sits in front of an enormous desk, holding sheets in his hands. Secondly, this is taken from the oval office. The curtains are closed so there is no distraction and the flag of the United States and the president's flag are behind him. Though only for one more day, Nixon speaks as the president to his audience at home.

Fig. 32 Richard Nixon Medium Close-Up



The second screenshot shows Nixon in a medium close-up. It can be seen that he addresses the audience directly. There are no distractions any longer. It has been established that he speaks as the president and now it is only him and his viewers. This, again, creates a rather personal atmosphere, bringing the president to the living room.

Nixon talks a lot about his emotions towards his resignation. However, he does not show them. It could be an indicator for the fact that he has to be strong because he is the president. The same can be said for Clinton's apology. The absence of emotions could be an indicator for the strong president he is supposed to be.

Nixon represents the ideology of a fighter who never gives up and this is stressed by the words "I have never been a quitter". He represents a man of values and a hard-working person and giving up is "abhorrent to every instinct" of him.

4.2.9. Stephanie Rice

4.2.9.1. Stephanie Rice Apology Strategies

A2: I'm sorry

I am truly sorry.

I want people to know how sorry I am for what has happened.

C1: My comments were thoughtless and careless.

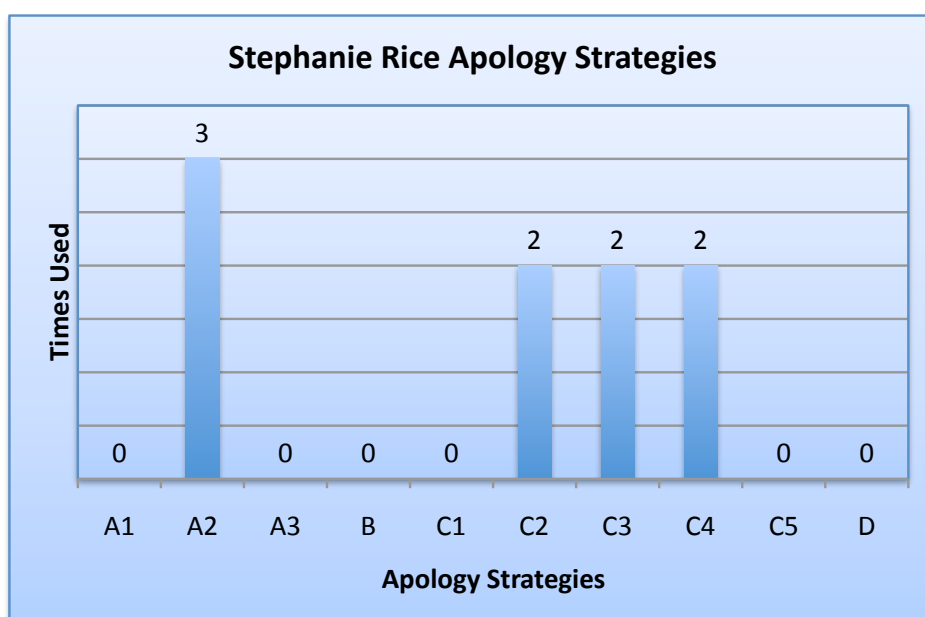
I broke basic rules of courtesy to others and consideration for others.

C3: No matter who people are, what they do or can't do, they are entitled to the dignity that we expect for ourselves.

I just really owe it to everyone to apologize for what happened.

C4: I also wanna say that it is just not me to give offense to other people no matter who they are. But I can assure you that when I made those comments on Twitter, I never meant to offend anybody.

Fig. 33 Stephanie Rice Apology Strategies



This bar chart shows that Stephanie Rice's apology is very short in strategies. However, the visual components play an equally important part here and will be discussed in the sections that deal with signs and the shot-by-shot analysis. She uses a strategy 9 times. The C-strategies are rather

dominant again, they make up two thirds of the strategies used. Rice only uses two types of strategies: A (an explicit expression of apology) and C (an acknowledgement of responsibility).

4.2.9.2. Stephanie Rice Psychological Needs

In Stephanie Rice's public apology, there are only three psychological needs fulfilled altogether. One of them is fulfilled visually. The viewer can see her suffer when she starts crying. In addition, she tries to re-establish self-respect and dignity of the offended party by saying that every person is "entitled to the dignity that we expect from ourselves". There are no more psychological needs to observe in her statement.

4.2.9.3. Stephanie Rice Visual Signs

Fig. 34 Stephanie Rice



Stephanie Rice's apology is the only one which has an advertisement in the back. Additionally, she has four microphones in front of her, which is an indicator for the importance of the statement. Like Kobe Bryant, she is wearing a white shirt, the color of innocence. During her speech, she does not look up once. She reads it from a paper. When she is finished with her speech, she starts talking freely and then she starts crying. Suddenly, cameras start clicking. This underlines her as a public person and it could be argued that, as such, she has a certain role mode function which she did not

fulfill. Moreover, she is wearing a high ponytail. This could be an indicator for her innocence as well.

4.2.10. Jimmy Swaggart

4.2.10.1. Jimmy Swaggart Apology Strategies

A3: And I would ask that your precious blood would wash and cleanse every stain until it is in the seas of good forgetfulness.

I beg for your forgiveness.

B: Maybe Jimmy Swaggart has tried to live his entire life as if though he was not human.

And I have thought that with the Lord, knowing that he is omnipotent and omniscient, that there was nothing I could not do.

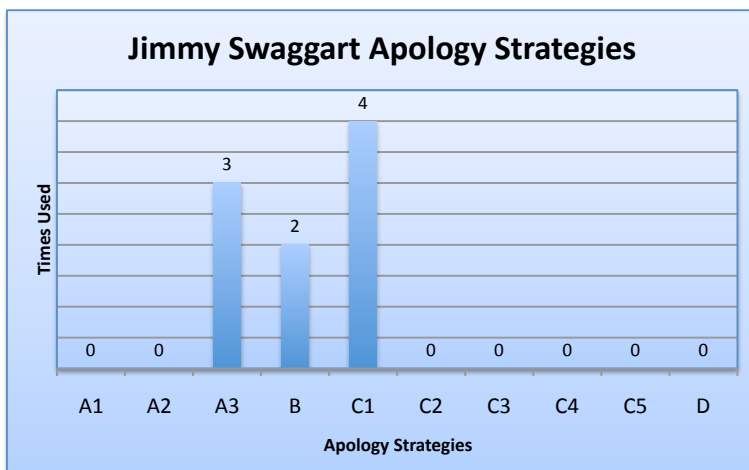
C1: I want to address myself as best as I know how to those that I have wronged, that I have sinned against.

I have sinned against you.

My sin was done in secret.

I have sinned against you my Lord.

Fig. 35 Jimmy Swaggart Apology Strategies



Every apology strategy used by Jimmy Swaggart refers to God in one way or the other. He uses a strategy eight times, four of which are C1 - accepting blame. Every C1-strategy has a variation of the word “sin“ in it. Moreover, Swaggart gives piece of explanation for his behavior. He also requests forgiveness twice.

4.2.10.2. Jimmy Swaggart Psychological Needs

In his sermon, Jimmy Swaggart only satisfies two psychological needs. Both of them are enhanced visually. He talks about his wife while the same is shown, nodding along to her husband’s words. In addition, his son is shown whispering “I love you“ three times. Again, the values of family and marriage are of importance. Swaggart also talks about his suffering and additionally, he starts crying, so his suffering is enhanced by television.

4.2.10.3. Jimmy Swaggart Visual Signs

Fig. 36 Jimmy Swaggart Medium Shot



This is the first shot in Swaggart's video. It is a medium shot. A choir in the back can be seen, although it is rather fuzzy. It is an indicator for the fact that the apology is part of a sermon, which strongly represents the importance of God and Christianity. Swaggart is wearing a suit with a tie, again, a rather serious appearance. During his speech he makes long pauses, which highlight the severity of the matter. Swaggart addresses the audience present, he does not address the television viewer.

Fig. 37 Swaggart's Wife



This next shot shows Swaggart's wife. She nods along when he talks about his sins. He states that "God never gave a man a better helpmate and companion to stand beside him" and the nodding of his wife strongly supports his words. Again, family bonds are represented in an apology video.

They are also represented in the next shot:

Fig. 38 Son and Daughter-In-Law



In this screenshot, Swaggart's son and his wife can be seen. The daughter-in-law tries to hold back her tears while Swaggart's son whispers "I love you" three times during this scene. This is a second attempt in the video, to represent the strong bonds and love between Swaggart and his family. The people in the video seem to already have forgiven the speaker. This could be understood as a request to the viewer to do the same. His son and his daughter-in-law seem to be proud of Swaggart.

Another thing that is shown is the sadness of the people around Swaggart and the sadness of himself. Here are two examples:

Fig. 39 Jimmy Swaggart "I have sinned against you"



Fig. 40 Swaggart with Audience



The first screenshot shows Swaggart when he first says: “I have sinned against you my Lord.” He looks up, which is an indicator that he is addressing God and his face is afflicted by suffering. He is crying in this scene. The second screenshot, although rather fuzzy, sheds light on how the people around him feel. There is a man in the right hand corner and he has a tissue in front of his face. He is crying. Throughout the video, people are shown, struggling with their emotions.

Hence, it can be said that in Swaggart’s apology, emotions are not only talked about, emotions are shown. Moreover, family bonds appear to be a very important factor and so are the values of church and God.

What cannot be seen or heard is the reason why Swaggart apologizes. He has had sexual encounters with prostitutes while being married. This is not spoken of nor shown in any way during the sermon. It could be argued that if it was subject of the apology or the video, it would give the wrong impression. Given what has been observed in the videos, the viewers do not seem to like the reason for the apology in front of them. What matters during the presentations is the apology itself, not the reason for it.

4.2.11. Chris Brown

4.2.11.1. Chris Brown Apology Strategies

A2: I wanted to publicly express my deepest regret.

I am sorry.

I am truly, truly sorry.

A3: I can only ask and pray that you forgive me.

B: As many of you know, I grew up in a home where there was domestic violence.

I aw first-hand what uncontrolled rage could do.

C1: I accept full responsibility.

What I did was inexcusable.

I have let a lot of people down.

What I did was unacceptable.

C2: I wasn't able to handle the situation both differently and better.

D: What occurred in February can never happen again.

And as I sit here today I can tell you that I will do everything in my power to make sure that it never happens again.

Fig. 41 Chris Brown Apology Strategies



Chris Brown's statement is rather short. Nevertheless, he uses an apology 13 times. This bar chart shows that C1 (accepting blame) is used four times followed by expressing regret. This strategy is used three times. He asks forgiveness once and promises forbearance twice. All in all it can be said that, like in most public apologies before, the C-strategies are the most dominant ones. However, he makes attempts to explicitly apologize as well. He uses an A-strategy four times. It can be said that Chris Brown uses a wide range of apology strategies, as he covers every category.

4.2.11.2. Chris Brown Psychological Needs

In Chris Brown's apology, there are no visual enhancements trying to fulfill psychological needs. However, he refers to shared values (PN2) by mentioning his gratitude towards God and by mentioning his mother and his "spiritual teachers" who "have taught me way better than that". Moreover, Brown takes full responsibility (PN3) for his actions. He also talks about his shame towards hitting Rihanna and that he is very sad about it. This can be seen as suffering, although it is not visualized. Finally, Brown promises to learn from his mistakes. This could be seen as a form of redress (PN6).

4.2.11.3. Chris Brown Visual Signs

Fig. 42 Chris Brown Medium Shot



Chris Brown's apology is an example without many visual aids. It is only him in a room which looks like an apartment or a hotelroom. He addresses the television viewer directly, there is no additional audience. The message, like Clinton's, Nixon's, Lentz's and Hayward's messages are meant only for the audience in front of the television.

It could be said that his presence with hardly any distractions again creates a face-to-face atmosphere between him and the viewer. The only things to be seen in the picture are him, half-closed curtains and parts of a houseplant. Like in Clinton's video, the intended message could be the homey atmosphere which again enhances the personal relationship between the viewer and the apologizer.

4.2.12. Pope Benedict XVI

4.2.12.1. Pope Benedict XVI Apology Strategies

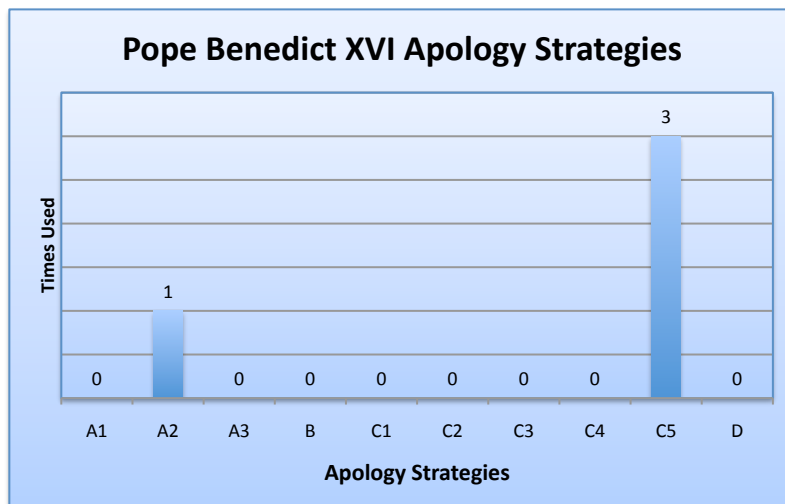
A2: I am deeply sorry for the pain and the suffering the victims have endured and I assure them that as their pastor I too share their suffering.

C5: I ask all of you to support and assist your bishops and to work together with them in combating this evil.

Victims should receive compassion and care and those responsible for these evils must be brought to justice.

It is an urgent priority to promote a safer and more wholesome environment, especially for young people.

Fig. 43 Pope Benedict XVI Apology Strategies



First of all, it has to be stated that Pope Benedict XVI apologizes for something that he has not done himself. However, as head of the catholic church, he assumes part of the blame. According to Lazare (2004), it is very hard to keep the balance between taking blame whilst not apologizing, when the apologizer is actually a representative and not the person who has done something wrong. Taking too much blame would raise the question if the Pope had something to do with the abuse himself and taking no blame at all would leave the victims unsatisfied with loss of faith in their church. Again, the real apology lies beyond the strategies and will be discussed later in the sign section under “What is not There“.

Nevertheless, Benedict XVI uses a strategy four times during his statement. However, he only uses two types of strategies: Expressing regret and offering repair/redress.

4.2.12.2. Pope Benedict XVI Psychological Needs

In Pope Benedict XVI’s statement about the abuse in Australia, the shared value of God and religion is rather obvious. He talks about the importance of the Catholic Church and Figure 34

shows that it is also reflected in the shot of him sitting in a church, wearing his dalmatic, pallium and miter. His appearance could be seen as a representation of church and religion.

Moreover, the Pope expresses that he shares the victims' suffering (PN5). However, it cannot be seen. In addition, the pope went to visit the victims of the abuse. (http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/25754069/ns/world_news-world_faith/t/pope-ends-aussie-trip-meeting-abuse-victims/ 28 May 2011) This could be seen as an offer of redress (PN6).

Fig. 44 Pope Benedict XVI Medium Shot



4.2.12.3. Pope Benedict XVI Visual Signs

The medium shot by the Pope in Figure 34 shows him in a church in Australia. He is wearing his dalmatic, pallium and miter, the traditional clothing of Benedict XVI when he is in a church. Next to him is a child, supposedly an altar boy. During his statement, he does not look up once. I could be said that he does not address anyone during his speech. He does not speak to an audience, nor does he speak to the television viewer.

The Pope talks about the suffering he shares with the victims. However, he does not show emotions. He looks straight down and never looks up. Moreover, there is no audience to be seen nor are there any victims.

It has to be noted that, after this speech, the pope had a personal meeting with the abused boys. This could be an indicator for the fact that, in some cases, sorry is simply not enough. One of these cases is child abuse.

5. Conclusion

Fig. 45 Strategies Total

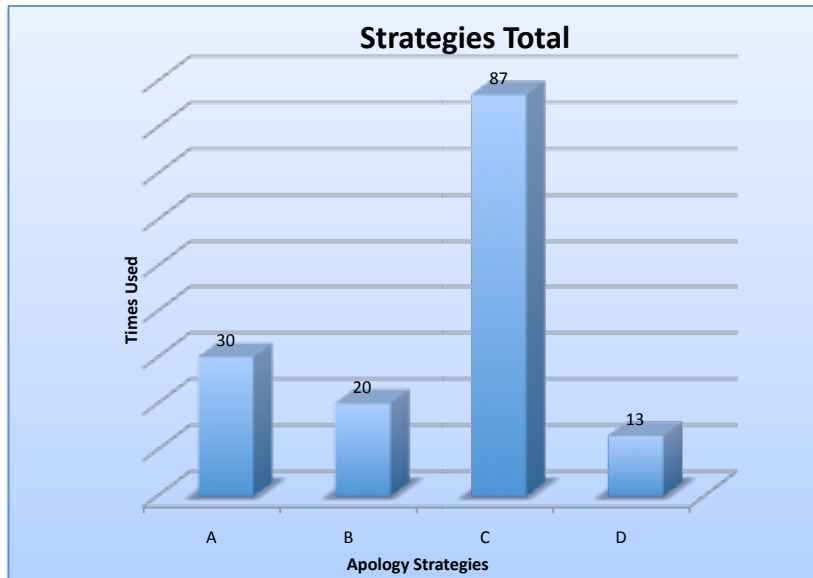


Figure 44 is a bar chart showing the total usage of apology strategies in all apologies together.

Altogether, a strategy was used 150 times. A C-strategy was used 87 times, therefore, over 50 per cent of the strategies used are C-strategies, which is “An acknowledgement of Responsibility“. The second-most used category are the A-strategies with a total usage of 30 times. They are already far behind the C-strategies. The A-strategies are followed by B, “an explanation or account“.

The least frequent category is D, a promise of forbearance. This could be the case for two reasons: First of all, the apologizer might not want to make such a promise for personal reasons. In the case of Jimmy Swaggart, he apologized for something he did over and over again in the coming years. Secondly some things are somewhat trivial and a promise of forbearance would be inappropriate. Benedict XVI cannot promise that no priest will ever abuse a child again, it is not in his hands. Jim McCreevey comes out during his speech and therefore, never having sexual intercourse with a man again would be an awkward promise. Nevertheless, it has to be looked at the sub-categories as well.

Harris, Grainger and Mullany (2006) argue that a promise of future forbearance is very rare in political apologies. As it has been touched upon in chapter 2.3.4., they give a model on political apology strategies. They split apology strategies into five types. The first category is IFID, this would comply with strategy A1. It has only been used twice in one apology. Hence, only two apologies out of 150 were IFIDS. This does not support their hypothesis that their category number one is obligatory. They say the same about category number two, “expression which indicates acceptance of responsibility and/or blame“. This conforms to strategy C1, accepting blame. Grainger, Harris and Mullany (2006) state that this strategy is obligatory in political apologies as well. The findings in the 13 public apologies support this hypothesis, as it is the strategy which is used most often.

Fig. 46 Strategies Total Sub-Categories

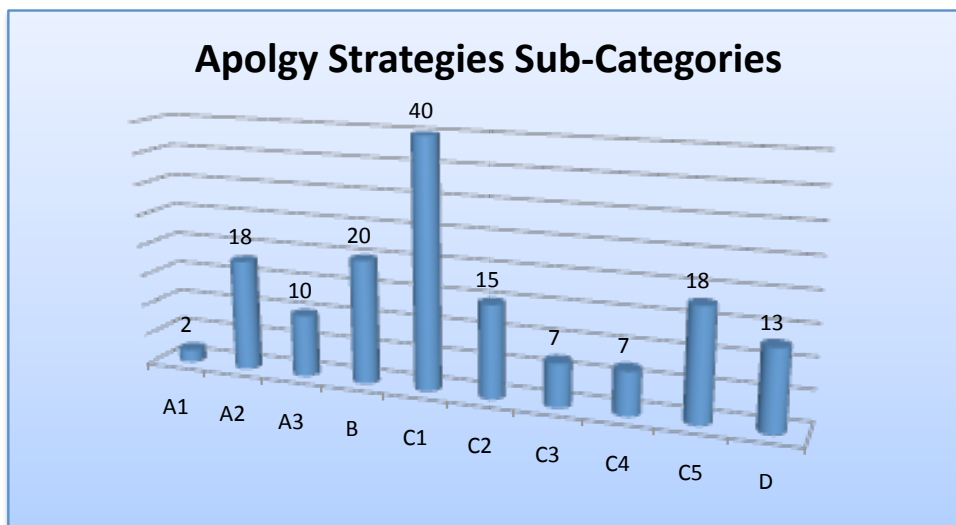


Figure 45 is a bar chart dealing with the usage of sub-categories in all apologies. C1 (accepting blame) is used most often, while A1 (offer apology) is the least used strategy. Only Jim Lentz uses this strategy. The second-most used strategy is not a C-strategy, but B, “an explanation or account“. It shows that the frequency of C-strategies is mostly due to the use of C1. A2 and C5 take the third place with 18 uses in all apologies. C2 (expressing self-deficiency) was used 15 times and D a promise of forbearance does not form the last place in this analysis. It was used 13 times. A3

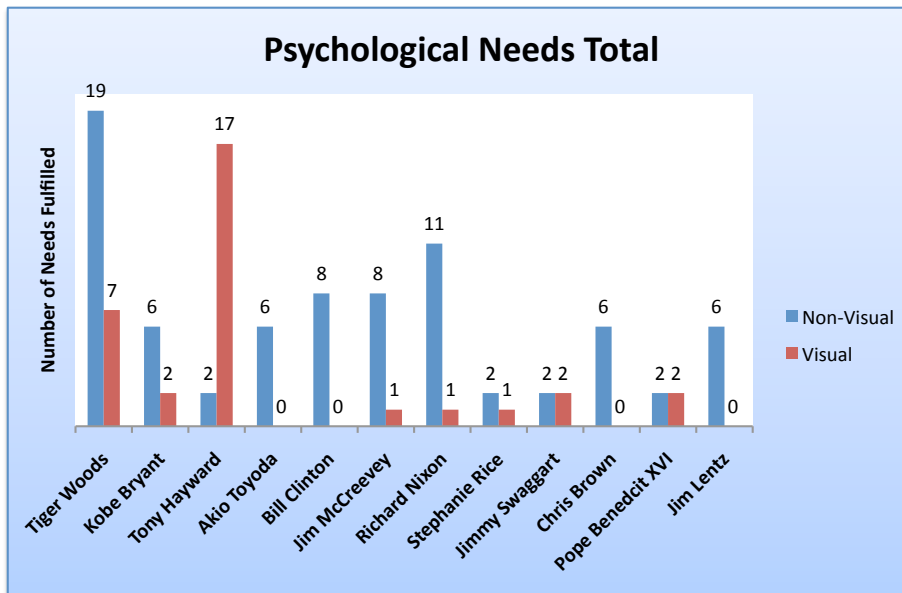
(request forgiveness) was used 10 times and C3 (recognize H as entitled to an apology) and C4 (express lack of intent) are the second-least popular apology strategies in the public apologies analyzed.

All in all it can be said that the analysis of apology strategies only does not give much insight into the question whether television increases the effectiveness of an apology. However, it can be argued that strategies alone might not be the reason why an apology is effective or not. There are more things behind a public apology. Janet Holmes (1990), in addition, gives a list of possible combinations for apologies. This list does not apply to public apologies. There are always combinations of strategies, a single strategy was never used in any of the cases. Therefore, it can be argued that public apologies need a wide range of strategies and combinations of them. In chapter 2.3.4. it has been argued that categories A and B are a rather “light“ form of apologies, whereas C is used for severe wrongdoings. Hence, it could be argued that the public apologies under review are regarded as reactions to severe wrongdoings in the eyes of the apologizer. Summing up, it has to be noted that Holmes’ model of apology strategies can, in fact, be applied to public apologies. Her model of strategy combinations (see chapter 2.3.4.), however, does not make sense with public apologies, as such an apology always consists of combinations. Public apology are part of a prepared speech and therefore, there is never only a single strategy in them. A full list of the strategies can be found in table 6 in the appendix.

Figure 6 gives an overview of the psychological needs occurring in the public apologies under review. In summary, it can be said that there is not a single public apology under review which fulfills all the necessary psychological needs according to Lazare. In total, 107 psychological needs were included in all apologies altogether, 74 of them were non-visual, whereas the other 33 were

gained through the use of television. However, it has to be discussed in greater detail. A full list of the psychological needs used can be found in the appendix.

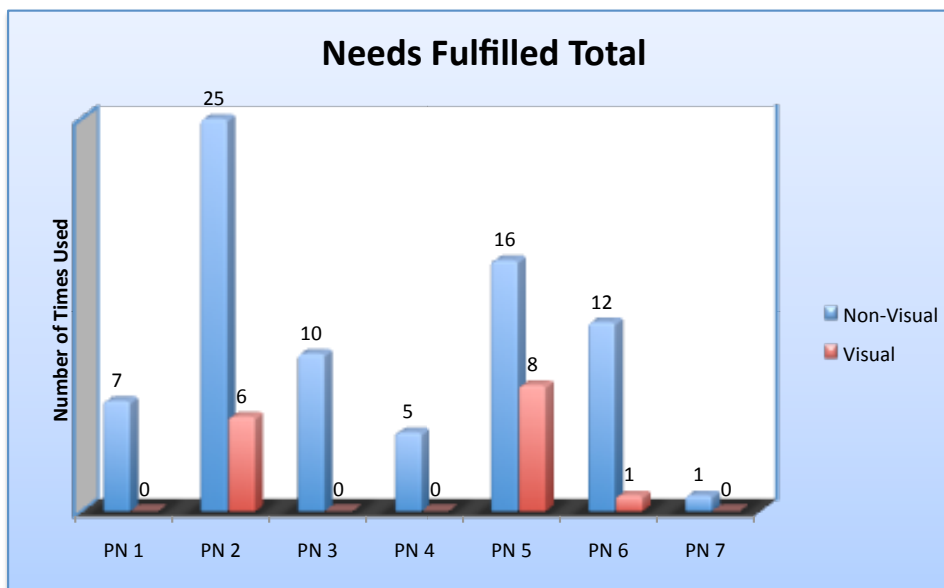
Fig. 47 Psychological Needs Total



This bar chart shows the total use of psychological needs in every apology. It can be seen that in general, the non-visual fulfillment is much higher than the visual one. However, every public apology is different. In Tiger Woods' apology, 19 psychological needs can be detected in his speech, while seven are on a visual basis. Tony Hayward's apology, in contrast, has only two attempts to fulfill a psychological need in his speech but 17 attempts to satisfy them visually. However, it could be argued that the 15 pictures of working people should only form one attempt. I will take this point of view as well, since 15 pictures of the same kind seem to falsify the findings. Evidently, this is a rather complicated matter. Therefore, every apology has to be discussed separately, before conclusions can be drawn.

To this end, it has been established that television can in fact have an impact on a public apology. However, television alone will not bring the success hoped for. It is more the balance and the mixture of all possible strategies which make an apology successful. However, at this point it is too early to talk about what mixture this is.

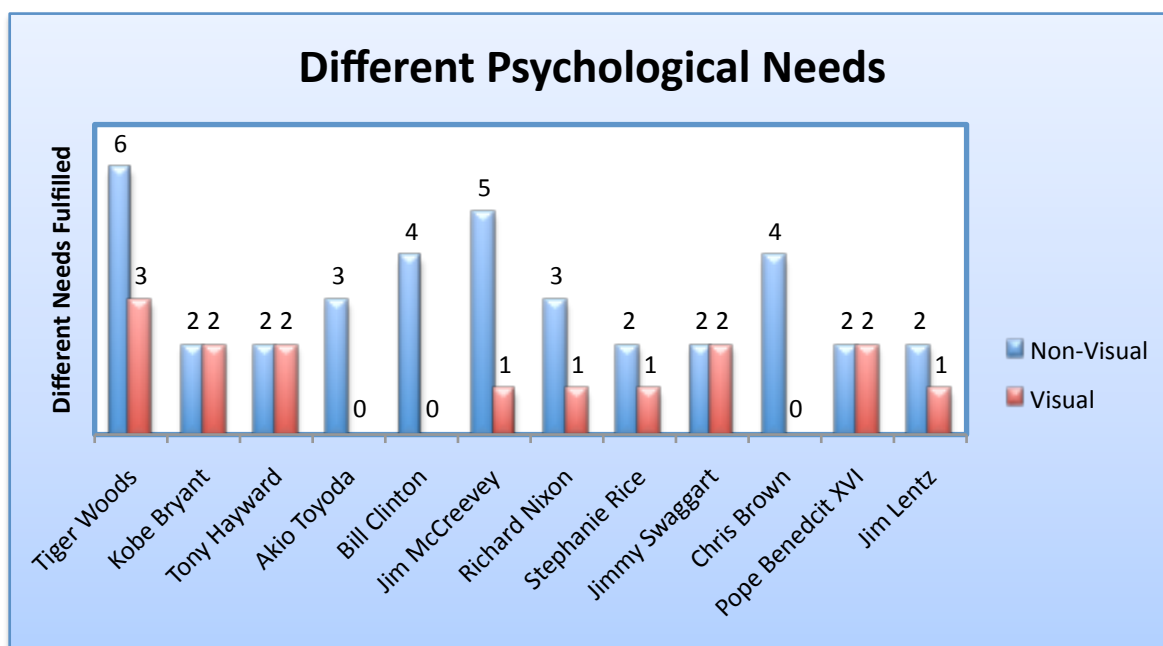
Fig. 48 Needs Fulfilled Total



This bar chart shows that the psychological need fulfilled most often in the statements is PN 2 (Assurance that both parties have shared values), whereas when visual aspects are considered, PN 5 (seeing the offender suffer) is most prominent. All other psychological needs are not fulfilled at all when only considering the visual parts, except for Tony Hayward's statement, which shows people working to clean up the gulf spill (PN 6). PN 7 (having meaningful dialogues with the offender) is only used once, when Tiger Woods states that he and his wife Elin have had several conversations with each other. However, it has to be noted that this psychological need is almost impossible to fulfill when apologizing to a large group of people, such as the American public (in the case of Nixon and Clinton) or to all of one's followers (Woods, Swaggart, Rice). The apologizer cannot have meaningful dialogs with every person offended.

The shared value used most often is the one of God and religion. There are only three apologies with no reference to God in them: Tony Hayward, Stephanie Rice, Jim Lentz. It could be argued that the trust in God is an important value for the recipients of the public apologies and that it is safe to use it in order to gain effectiveness. Another value which has been mentioned very often is that of family bonds. Tiger Woods, Kobe Bryant, Akio Toyoda, Bill Clinton, Jim McCreevey, Jimmy Swaggart and Chris Brown refer to the importance of family. Tiger Woods, Kobe Bryant and Jimmy Swaggart even use visual enhancements. Tiger Woods hugs his mother, while Bryant and Swaggart have their wives supporting the apology.

Fig. 49 Different Psychological Needs



In Figure 48 it can be seen that three public apologies do not use visual enhancements at all to fulfill psychological needs. All of them, however, use them in the speeches given. Tiger Woods satisfies six out of seven psychological needs. Therefore, his apology can be considered as successful according to Lazare (2004). Jim McCreevey satisfies five out of seven psychological needs during his apology. He does not have meaningful dialogs with the people offended (PN7) but as it has been mentioned before, this seems impossible during a public apology. Fulfilling five out

of seven needs, his apology can be considered as successful as well. Chris Brown and Bill Clinton fulfill four out of seven psychological needs, none of them visually. They still satisfy more than half of the needs according to Lazare. Considering that PN7 is rather impossible to manage, these apologies can still be counted as successful.

Akio Toyoda only satisfies three psychological needs, which are shared values (PN2), assurance of safety in the relationship of offender and recipient (PN4) and redress (PN6). Richard Nixon only satisfies three needs as well and it has to be noted that his attempts to apologize are rather vague: (“Sometimes I have succeeded and sometimes I have failed“). Therefore, the success of his statement is highly questionable. The success of this public apology could be seen as questionable. The effectiveness of the rest of the apologies is rather questionable as well. It has already been established that Tony Hayward apologizes for the wrong thing and that Kobe Bryant states that he is innocent. Therefore, these apologies cannot be successful. Jim Lentz’s apology is very powerful in terms of apology strategies but rather poor when it comes to psychological needs. However, it has to be noted that he offers repair constantly during his apology and this is highly important in the context of broken cars. Therefore, when only considering the factor of repair, the apology can be seen as successful. The Pope’s has a rather challenging job because he is not the one who actually abused the Australian boys. Therefore, he has to keep the balance between acknowledging their suffering and not apologizing too much, as it would raise the question why the Pope would apologize so intensively for something he did not do (idea taken from Lazare 2004). In this particular case, the visit of the victims can be seen as a more successful apology than the statement itself.

All in all it can be said that there is definitely a way to intensify the fulfillment of psychological needs through television. However, not all apologists do so. So far, it seems as if there has to be the

right balance between the use of strategies and the satisfaction of psychological needs. Tiger Wood's public apology uses a wide range of strategies and satisfies six different psychological needs, in his speech and visually. It can be argued that, if an apology draws from all available resources, it is most successful.

To this end, it has been established that visual aids can be used to increase the effectiveness of an apology. The visual signs used in the videos play an important role in this context. Every public apology represents certain ideologies. The most dominant ones are values of trust (hand to the heart, white shirt, forgiving wives), the ideologies of patriotism and unity (American flag, people working together, religious markers) and the ideology of the American family. In every apology, the speaker tries to imply that he or she is still a person who can be trusted. The apologizer is presented as someone who still, after all the wrongdoings, shares the same values with the audience. The study shows that the image of the person of values is strongly enhanced by visual aids in many apologies. Some apologies, however, do not make use of visual enhancements at all.

Summing up it can be said that there is definitely a possibility to increase the effectiveness of a public apology through television. However, representing ideologies through visual aids alone will not bring the results hoped for. A wide range of apology strategies have to be used and psychological needs have to be satisfied, visually and through speech. The main argument regarding the increase of success of a public apology shown on television has already been mentioned before: the live broadcast brings the apologizer right into the home of the recipients and therefore, it creates the illusion that the speaker apologizes directly to the viewer. This is enhanced by the apologizer looking directly into the camera and therefore directly into the face of the viewer. In addition, some shots show the apologizer together with the audience, for example in the case of Tiger Woods or

Jimmy Swaggart, The viewer then has the chance to temporarily identify with the audience and therefore becomes part of the public apology.

In addition, things that could harm the success of the apology can easily be left out in a video.

These things would be left to imagination if the public apology was only broadcasted on the radio or shown in a newspaper article. Very often, the “accomplices“ of the injustices or wrongdoing are not part of the apology. There are no prostitutes in Swaggart’s apology, the people connected to the Watergate scandal are not there in Nixon’s resignation speech and during Tiger Wood’s presentation, there is no sign of the people with whom he has engaged in sexual encounters.

This study shows that there is a lot of potential in the study of television with regard to public apologies. Additionally, there is a lot of potential in the way, a public person can apologize. A public apology is never spontaneous, it requires a lot of planning and the advantages and disadvantages of apologizing to the public have to be considered thoroughly. Visual aids are an essential factor. Everything from appearance to camera angle has to be considered. However, only visual aids are not enough. In order for a public apology to be effective, all factors have to be taken into consideration. Without the right balance, the public apology will fail to be successful.

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7. Appendix

List of Abbreviations

Strategy A: An explicit expression of apology

A1: offer apology/IFID (Illocutionary Force Indicating Device)

e.g.: “I apologize.”

A2: Express Regret

e.g.: “I’m afraid.”, “I’m sorry.”

A3: Request Forgiveness

e.g.: “Excuse me.”, “Forgive me.”

Strategy B: An explanation or account

e.g.: “I wasn’t expecting it to be you.”

Strategy C: An acknowledgement of responsibility

C1: Accept Blame

e.g.: “it was my fault.”

C2: Express self-deficiency

e.g.: “I wasn’t thinking.”

C3: Recognize H as entitled to an apology

e.g.: “You’re right.”

C4: Express lack of intent.

e.g.: “I didn’t mean to.”

C5: Offer repair/redress

e.g.: “We’ll replace it for you.”

Strategy D: A promise of forbearance

e.g.: “I promise it won’t happen again.”

Restoration of self-respect and dignity: PN 1 (Psychological Need 1)

Assurance that both parties have shared values: PN2

Assurance that the offenses were not their fault: PN3

Assurance of safety in their relationship:	PN4
(Explanation of Motives)	
Seeing the offender suffer:	PN5
Reparation for the harm caused by the offense:	PN6
Having meaningful dialogs with the offender:	PN7
(Idea taken from Lazare 2004: 44)	

The public apologies and their background

1. Tiger Woods

Tiger Woods is an American golfer and was known as the world's best golfer. In 2009 and 2010, he was implicated in a series of scandals including several cases of adultery. Due to his behavior, he and his family became the center of media attention, causing even more problems. Woods' behavior eventually led him to leave PGA temporarily. On 19 February, Woods apologized publicly for his wrongdoings during a press conference. (topics.nytimes.com last accessed: 11 May 2011)¹

2. Kobe Bryant

Kobe Bryant is an NBA basketball player who currently plays at the Los Angeles Lakers. In 2003, his personal life became the subject of media interest when he was accused of sexual assault. Though being declared innocent for the assault, it was true that he had sexual relations with a 19-year-old girl. In the press conference on June 18 2003, which declared his innocence, he apologized for his infidelity towards his wife. (topics.nytimes.com: 11 May 2011)

3. Tony Hayward

Tony Hayward is the former chief executive of BP. On 20 April 2010, the leaseholder of the Deepwater Horizon oil rig exploded and Hayward was criticized for diminishing BP's responsibility and underestimating the aftermath of the oil leak. There was a BP video shot where Hayward gave a statement of the status quo regarding the cleanup efforts and where he expressed his regrets. However, Hayward was replaced as chief executive on June 26 of the same year. (topics.nytimes.com 11 May 2011)

¹ The full links can be found in under References

4. Akio Toyoda

Akio Toyoda is the president of the Japanese carmaker company “Toyota“ and the founder’s grandson. He became known world-wide when his company had to recall certain models of vehicle due to a sticky accelerator pedal. The problem caused many accidents, some of which were fatal. In a press conference on February 17, 2010, he apologized for the recalls and for the trouble the company had caused. (topics.nytimes.com 11 May 2011)

5. Bill Clinton

Bill Clinton was engaged in several sexual encounters with Monica Lewinsky during his presidency. When being asked about his relations to Lewinsky during a deposition, he lied and said: “I did not have sexual relations with that woman.“ The American public became disillusioned with the fact that they had a lying president. On 17 August 1998, Bill Clinton held a speech which was nationally broadcasted, where he apologized for lying about the affair. (topics.nytimes.com 11 May 2011)

6. James McCreevey

Jim McCreevey used to be a New Jersey governor of the Democrats and now works as a volunteer in a church in Harlem. He is the only openly gay politician in the USA. During his life as a governor, he became involved in several extramarital affairs with other men. On August 12 2004, McCreevey announced his resignation as a governor during a press conference, where he admitted his homosexuality and apologized for his adultery. (<http://www.nytimes.com/2004/08/13/> 11 May 2011)

7. Richard Nixon

Richard Nixon was involved in the so-called Watergate-affair during his presidency. He was the first and so far the only American president ever to resign. The Watergate-affair has its name from a building complex, where burglars tried to install bugging devices. Nixon was implicated in these events and shortly after, the press revealed more scandals connected to the watergate-burglary. The trust of the American public’s faith in politicians was bitterly harmed and so, on August 8 1974, Richard Nixon gave a speech, where he announced resignation from his duties as a president. He apologized for any harm he might have caused.

8. Stephanie Rice

She is an Australian swimmer who made a homophobic comment on twitter after a rugby game. Her favorite team played a South African team and the Australians won. Rice posted “Suck on that, faggots!” on Twitter and had to apologize for the remark. (dailytelegraph.com 11 May 2011)

9. Jimmy Swaggart

Jimmy Swaggart is a former evangelist preacher, who did many sermons on television. He had numerous encounters with several women, including prostitutes while married. On February 21 1988 he gave a speech broadcasted on national television where he apologized for his sins. However, he was again seen with prostitutes and after a confrontation he stated that the Lord allows it. (www.bbc.co.uk 11 May 2011)

10. Chris Brown

Chris Brown had a relationship with the American singer Rihanna. In 2009, he was accused of assaulting his girlfriend. For this, he received five years of probation and six months of community service. He apologized via a video message for his wrongdoings towards Rihanna. The couple broke up in February 2009. (topics.nytimes.com 14 June 2011)

11. Pope Benedict XVII

In 2008 a church scandal in Australia came to light. Australians, now adults, were sexually abused by priests when they were children. On July 19 of the same year, Pope Benedict XVII commented on these events and said that he was sorry for the abuse. (topics.nytimes.com 11 May 2011)

12. Jim Lentz

Jim Lentz is the President of Toyota Motor Sales USA. He apologized in a similar way to that of Akio Toyoda for the sticky accelerator pedal issue and gave information to the victims on further procedures.

Apology Transcripts

Tiger Woods

Good morning. And thank you for joining me.

Many of you in the room are my friends. Many of you in this room know me. Many of you have cheered for me, or you worked with me, or you supported me, and now, every one of you has good reason to be critical of me.

I want to say to each of you, simply, and directly: (pause) I am deeply sorry for my irresponsible and selfish behavior I engaged in.

I know people want to find out how I could be so selfish and so foolish. People want to know how I could have done these things to my wife, Elin, and to my children. And while I have always tried to be a private person, there are some things I want to say.

Elin and I have started the process of discussing the damage caused by my behavior. As Elin pointed out to me, my real apology to her will not come in the form of words. It will come from my behavior over time. We have a lot to discuss. And however, what we say to each other will remain between the two of us.

I am also aware of the pain my behavior has caused to those of you in this room. I have let you down. I have let down my fans. For many of you, especially my friends, my behavior has been a personal disappointment. To those of you who work for me, I have let you down, personally and professionally. My behavior has caused considerable worry to my business partners.

To everyone involved in my foundation, including my staff, board of directors, sponsors, and most importantly, the young students we reach, our work is more important than ever. Thirteen years ago, my dad and I envisioned helping young people achieve their dreams through education. This work remains unchanged and will continue to grow. From the Learning Center students in Southern California, to the Earl Woods Scholars in Washington, D.C., millions of kids have changed their lives, and I am dedicated to making sure that continues.

But, still, I know I have bitterly disappointed all of you. I have made you question who I am and how I could have done the things I did. I am embarrassed that I have put you in this position. For all that I have done, (pause) I am so sorry. (pause) I have a lot to atone for.

But there is one issue I really want to discuss. Some people have speculated that Elin somehow hurt or attacked me on Thanksgiving night. It angers me that people would fabricate a story like that. Elin never hit me that night or any other night. There has never been an episode of domestic violence in our marriage. Ever.

Elin has shown enormous grace and poise throughout this ordeal. (pause) Elin deserves praise, not blame. The issue involved here was my repeated irresponsible behavior. I was unfaithful. I had affairs. I cheated. What I did is not acceptable. And I am the only person to blame. I stopped living by the core values that I was taught to believe in.

I knew my actions were wrong. But I convinced myself that normal rules didn't apply. I never thought about who I was hurting. Instead, I thought only about myself. I ran straight through the boundaries that a married couple should live by. I thought I could get away with whatever I wanted to. I felt that I had worked hard my entire life and deserved to enjoy all the temptations around me. I felt I was entitled. Thanks to money and fame, I didn't have far -- didn't have to go far to find them.

I was wrong. I was foolish. I don't get to play by different rules. The same boundaries that apply to everyone apply to me. I brought this shame on myself. I hurt my wife, my kids, my mother, my wife's family, my friends, my foundation, and kids all around the world who admired me. I've had a lot of time to think about what I have done. My failures have made me look at myself in a way I never wanted to before. It is now up to me to make amends. And that starts by never repeating the mistakes I have made. It is up to me to start living a life of integrity.

I once heard -- and I believe it is true -- it's not what you achieve in life that matters, it is what you overcome. Achievements on the golf course are only part of setting an example. Character and decency are what really count. Parents used to point to me as a role model for their kids. I owe all those families a special apology. I want to say to them that I am truly sorry. (pause) It is hard to admit that I need help, but I do. For 45 days, from the end of December to early February, I was in inpatient therapy, receiving guidance for the issues I'm facing. I have a long way to go. But I've taken my first steps in the right direction.

As I proceed, I understand people have questions. I understand the press wants me to - wants to ask me for the details of the times I was unfaithful. I understand people want to know whether Elin and I will remain together. Please know that as far as I'm concerned, every one of these questions and answers is a matter between Elin and me. These are issues between a husband and a wife.

Some people have made up things that never happened. They said I used performance-enhancing drugs. This is completely and utterly false. Some have written things about my family. Despite the damage I have done, I still believe it is right to shield my family from the public spotlight. They did not do these things. I did. I have always tried to maintain a private space for my wife and children. They have been kept separate from my sponsors, my my commercial endorsements, when my

children were born, we only released photographs so they ... so that the paparazzi could not chase them.

However, my behavior doesn't make it right for the media to follow my 2½-year-old daughter to school and report the school's location. They staked out my wife and pursued my mom. Whatever my wrongdoings, for the sake of my family, please leave my wife and kids alone.

I recognize I have brought this on myself. And I know above all I am the one who needs to change. I owe it to my family to become a better person. I owe to those closest to me to become a better man. That is where my focus will be. I have a lot of work to do. And I intend to dedicate myself to doing it.

Part of following this path for me is Buddhism, which my mother taught me at a young age. People probably don't realize it, but I was raised a Buddhist, and I actively practiced my faith from childhood until I drifted away from it in recent years. Buddhism teaches that a craving for things outside ourselves causes an unhappy and pointless search for security. It teaches me to stop following every impulse and to try and to learn restraint. Obviously, I lost track of what I was taught.

As I move forward, I will continue to receive help because I have learned that is how people really do change. Starting tomorrow, I will leave for more treatment and more therapy.

I would like to thank my friends at Accenture and the players in the field this week for understanding why I am making this - these remarks today. In therapy, I have learned that looking at the importance of looking at my spiritual life and keeping in balance with my professional life. I need to regain my balance and be centered so I can save the things that are most important to me: my marriage and my children.

That also means relying on others for help. I have learned to seek support from my peers in therapy, and I hope someday to return that support to others who are seeking help.

I do plan to return to golf one day. I just don't know when that day will be. I don't rule out that it will be this year. When I do return, I need to make my behavior more respectful of the game.

In recent weeks, I have received many thousands of e-mails, letters and phone calls from people expressing good wishes. To everyone who has reached out to me and my family, thank you. Your encouragement means the world to Elin and me. I want to thank the PGA Tour, Commissioner

[Tim] Finchem and the players (pause) for their patience and understanding while I work on my private life. I look forward to seeing my fellow players on the course.

Finally, there are many people in this room and there are many people at home who believed in me. Today, I want to ask for your help. I ask you to find room in your hearts to one day believe in me again. Thank you.

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FA7ty2LQwc0> 20 May 2011)

Kobe Bryant

I'm innocent. I didn't force her to do anything against her will. I'm innocent. You know, I sit here in front of you guys furious at myself disgusted at myself for making a mistake of adultery. I love my wife with all my heart, she's my back bone. You're a blessing.

You're the beats of my heart, you're the air I breathe and you're the strongest person I know and I am so sorry to have to put you and our family through this. I am a human being, I'm a man just like everybody else, I mourn, I cry, just like everybody else and I sit here before you guys embarrassed and ashamed for committing adultery.

You know if I could just turn back the hands of time, you know I love my wife so much she's so special to me, but I'm innocent and together my wife and I and my family are gonna fight these accusations. We have a lot at stake I have a lot at stake and that's not just , it has nothing to do with the game of basketball, it has nothing to do with endorsements, nothing at all, this is about us, this is about our family.

I've been falsely accused of something and I'm innocent and shoulder to shoulder we're gonna fight this to the end and I appreciate everybody out there for your support we're gonna need your support and prayers now more than ever.

Thank you

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SSamEqtPVao> 20 May 2011)

Tony Hayward

The gulf spill is a tragedy that never should have happened. I'm Tony Hayward. BP has taken full responsibility for cleaning up the spill in the gulf. We've helped organize the largest environmental response in this country's history. More than 2 million feet of boom, 30 planes and over 1300 boats are working to protect the shoreline. Where oil reaches the shore, thousands of people are ready to clean it up.

We will honor all legitimate claims and our clean up efforts will not come at any cost to tax payers. To those effected in your families I'm deeply sorry. The gulf is home to thousands of BP employees and we all feel the impact. To all the volunteers and for the strong support of the government. Thank you. We know it is our responsibility to keep you informed and do everything we can so this never happens again.

We will get this done. We will make this right.

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KKCrDaiGE2s> 20 May 2011)

Akio Toyoda

In the past few months, our customers have started to feel uncertain about the safety of Toyota's vehicles and I take full responsibility for that. I would like to discuss what caused the recall issues we are facing now. Toyota has for the past few years been expanding its business rapidly. Quite frankly, I fear, the pace of which we have grown may have been too quick.

I would like to point out here that Toyota's priority has traditionally been the following: First safety, second quality, third volume. These priorities became confused and we are not able to stop, think and make improvements as much as we were able to before and our basic standards to listen to customers voices to make better products has weakened somewhat.

We pursued growth over the speed of which we are able to be there to develop our people and our organization and we should sincerely be mindful of that. I regret that this has resulted in the safety issue described in the recalls we face today and I am deeply sorry for any accident that Toyota

drivers have experienced. Especially I would like to extend my condolences to the members of the Saylor family for the accident in San Diego. I would like to send my prayers again and I will do everything in my power to ensure that such a tragedy will never happen again.

I will ensure that the members of the management team actually drive the cars and that they check for themselves where the problem lies as well as its severity. I myself am a trained test driver. I drove the vehicle in the accelerator pedal recall as well as a Prius, comparing the vehicles before and after the remedy its various environmental settings. I believe that only by examining the problems on sight can one make decisions from the customer perspective. One cannot rely on reports or data in the meeting room.

My name is on every car. You have my personal commitment that Toyota will work vigorously and unceasingly to restore the trust of our customers. Thank you.

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CABQZPAvLiQ> 11 May 2011)

Jim Lentz

Hi, I am Jim Lentz, president of Toyota Motor Sales USA. And I want to let you know that we have developed a comprehensive plan to fix the sticking pedal situation in recalled Toyota vehicles. But first, I want to sincerely apologize to Toyota owners.

I know that our recalls have caused many of you concern and for that, I am truly sorry. Toyota has always prided itself on building high quality, durable cars that customers can depend on and I know that we have let you down. I want you to know that all 172,000 Toyota and dealership employees across North America will work hard to fix your vehicle properly and regain your trust. In fact, many of our dealers will have extended hours and some will remain open 24 hours a day to get this job done. And we're redoubling our efforts to ensure this does not happen again.

The fix can be completed within a short period of time, depending on the work flow at your dealership. We hope to start making those repairs in just a few days. Owners will be notified by mail when to set up a dealer appointment. In addition, our dealers have already started fixing the earlier-announced floor mat recall vehicles. We are doing this as quickly as possible, and we ask

that you contact your dealer when you receive our letter in the mail.

Some Toyota vehicles are involved in both recalls and we hope to coordinate your notification so you can take care of both repairs in one dealer visit. For more details, including a list of the vehicles involved in these recalls, please visit Toyota.com or call the Toyota Customer Experience Center.

Once again I apologize for this situation and I hope you will give us a chance to earn back your trust.

Thank you for your patience and understanding.

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZCb2dEFBq7I> 20 May 2011)

Bill Clinton

Good evening.

This afternoon in this room, from this chair, I testified before the Office of Independent Counsel and the grand jury.

I answered their questions truthfully, including questions about my private life, questions no American citizen would ever want to answer.

Still, I must take complete responsibility for all my actions, both public and private. And that is why I am speaking to you tonight.

As you know, in a deposition in January, I was asked questions about my relationship with Monica Lewinsky. While my answers were legally accurate, I did not volunteer information.

Indeed, I did have a relationship with Miss Lewinsky that was not appropriate. In fact, it was wrong. It constituted a critical lapse in judgment and a personal failure on my part for which I am solely and completely responsible.

But I told the grand jury today and I say to you now that at no time did I ask anyone to lie, to hide or destroy evidence or to take any other unlawful action.

I know that my public comments and my silence about this matter gave a false impression. I misled people, including even my wife. I deeply regret that.

I can only tell you I was motivated by many factors. First, by a desire to protect myself from the embarrassment of my own conduct.

I was also very concerned about protecting my family. The fact that these questions were being asked in a politically inspired lawsuit, which has since been dismissed, was a consideration, too. In addition, I had real and serious concerns about an independent counsel investigation that began with private business dealings 20 years ago, dealings I might add about which an independent federal agency found no evidence of any wrongdoing by me or my wife over two years ago. The independent counsel investigation moved on to my staff and friends, then into my private life. And now the investigation itself is under investigation.

This has gone on too long, cost too much and hurt too many innocent people.

Now, this matter is between me, the two people I love most -- my wife and our daughter -- and our God. I must put it right, and I am prepared to do whatever it takes to do so.

Nothing is more important to me personally. But it is private, and I intend to reclaim my family life for my family. It's nobody's business but ours.

Even presidents have private lives. It is time to stop the pursuit of personal destruction and the prying into private lives and get on with our national life.

Our country has been distracted by this matter for too long, and I take my responsibility for my part in all of this. That is all I can do.

Now it is time -- in fact, it is past time to move on.

We have important work to do -- real opportunities to seize, real problems to solve, real security matters to face.

And so tonight, I ask you to turn away from the spectacle of the past seven months, to repair the fabric of our national discourse, and to return our attention to all the challenges and all the promise of the next American century.

Thank you for watching. And good night."

(<http://www.zpub.com/un/un-bc-sp1.html> 9 May 2011)

James McCreevey

Good afternoon. Throughout my life, I have grappled with my own identity. Who I am. As a young child, I often felt ambivalent about myself. In fact, confused by virtue of my traditions and my community. I worked hard to ensure that I was accepted as part of the traditional family of America. I married my first wife Carrie out of respect and love and together we have a wonderful, extraordinary daughter. Carrie then chose to return to British Columbia. I then had the blessing of

marrying Dina, whose love and joy for life has been an incredible source of strength for me and together, we have a most beautiful daughter.

Yet, from my early days in school until the present day I acknowledge some feelings, a certain sense that separated me from others. But because of my resolve and also thinking that I was doing the right thing I forced what I thought was an acceptable reality onto myself. A reality which is layer and layered with all the “good things” and “right things” of typical adolescent and adult behavior. Yet, at my most reflective maybe even spiritual level there were points in my life when I began to question what an acceptable reality really meant for me. Were there right realities from which I was running? Which master was I trying to serve? I do not believe that God tortures any person simply for its own sake. I believe that God enables all things to work for the greater good. In this, the 47th year of my life, it is arguably too late to have this discussion but it is here and it is now. At a point of every person’s live, one has to look deeply in the mirror of one’s soul and decide one’s unique truth in the world not as we may want to see it or hope to see it but as it is.

And so my truth is that I am a gay American and I am blessed to live in the greatest nation with a tradition of civil liberties, the greatest tradition of civil liberties in the world and a country which provides so much to its people. Yet, be called to the pain and suffering and anguish that I have caused to my beloved family. My parents, my wife, my friends. I would almost rather have this moment pass for this is an intensely personal decision and not one typically for the public domain. Yet, it cannot and should not pass. I am also here today because shamefully I engaged in adult consensual affair with another man which violates my bonds of matrimony. It was wrong, it was foolish, it was inexcusable and for this I ask the forgiveness and the grace of my wife. She has been extraordinary throughout this ordeal and I am blessed by virtue of her love and strength.

I realize the effect of this affair and my own sexuality if kept secret leaves me and most importantly the governor’s office vulnerable to rumors, false allegations and threats of disclosure. So I am removing these threats by telling you directly about my sexuality.

Let me be clear. I accept total and full responsibility for my actions. However, I am required to do now ... to do what is right, to correct the consequences of my actions and to be truthful to my loved ones, to my friends and my family and also to myself. It makes little difference that as governor I am gay. In fact, having the ability to truthfully set forth my identity might have enabled me to be

more forthright and fulfilling and discharging my constitutional obligations. Given the circumstances surrounding the affair and its slightly impact upon my family and my ability to govern, I have decided the right course of action is to resign. To facilitate a responsible transition, my resignation will be effective on November 15th of this year. I am very proud of the things we have accomplished during my administration and I want to thank humbly the citizens of the state of New Jersey for the privilege to govern. Thank you.

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EPVxlBOjITI> 11 May 2011)

Richard Nixon

Good evening.

This is the 37th time I have spoken to you from this office, where so many decisions have been made that shaped the history of this nation. Each time I have done so to discuss with you some matter that I believe affected the national interest.

In all the decisions I have made in my public life, I have always tried to do what was best for the nation. Throughout the long and difficult period of Watergate, I have felt it was my duty to persevere, to make every possible effort to complete the term of office to which you elected me. In the past few days, however, it has become evident to me that I no longer have a strong enough political base in the congress to justify continuing that effort. As long as there was such a base, I felt strongly that it was necessary to see the constitutional process through to its conclusion, that to do otherwise would be unfaithful to the spirit of that deliberately difficult process and a dangerously destabilizing precedent for the future.

But with the disappearance of that base, I now believe that the constitutional purpose has been served, and there is no longer a need for the process to be prolonged.

I would have preferred to carry through to the finish whatever the personal agony it would have involved, and my family unanimously urged me to do so. But the interest of the nation must always come before any personal considerations.

From the discussions I have had with congressional and other leaders, I have concluded that because of the Watergate matter I might not have the support of the congress that I would consider

necessary to back the very difficult decisions and carry out the duties of this office in the way the interests of the nation would require.

I have never been a quitter. To leave office before my term is completed is abhorrent to every instinct in my body. But as president, I must put the interest of America first. America needs a full-time president and a full-time congress, particularly at this time with problems we face at home and abroad.

To continue to fight through the months ahead for my personal vindication would almost totally absorb the time and attention of both the president and the congress in a period when our entire focus should be on the great issues of peace abroad and prosperity without inflation at home. Therefore, I shall resign the presidency effective at noon tomorrow. vice president Ford will be sworn in as president at that hour in this office. As I recall the high hopes for America with which we began this second term, I feel a great sadness that I will not be here in this office working on your behalf to achieve those hopes in the next two and a half years. But in turning over direction of the government to vice president Ford, I know, as I told the nation when I nominated him for that office 10 months ago, that the leadership of America will be in good hands.

In passing this office to the vice president, I also do so with the profound sense of the weight of responsibility that will fall on his shoulders tomorrow and, therefore, of the understanding, the patience, the cooperation he will need from all Americans. As he assumes that responsibility, he will deserve the help and the support of all of us. As we look to the future, the first essential is to begin healing the wounds of this nation, to put the bitterness and divisions of the recent past behind us, and to rediscover those shared ideals that lie at the heart of our strength and unity as a great and as a free people. By taking this action, I hope that I will have hastened the start of that process of healing which is so desperately needed in America.

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 judgements were wrong, and some were wrong, they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the nation. To those who have stood with me during these past difficult months, to my family, my friends, to many others who joined in supporting my cause because they believed it was right, I will be eternally grateful for your support. And to those who have not felt able to give me your support, let me say I leave with

no bitterness toward those who have opposed me, because all of us, in the final analysis, have been concerned with the good of the country, however our judgments might differ. So, let us all now join together in affirming that common commitment and in helping our new president succeed for the benefit of all Americans.

I shall leave this office with regret at not completing my term, but with gratitude for the privilege of serving as your resident for the past five and a half years. These years have been a momentous time in the history of our nation and the world. They have been a time of achievement in which we can all be proud, achievements that represent the shared efforts of the administration, the congress, and the people. But the challenges ahead are equally great, and they, too, will require the support and the efforts of the congress and the people working in cooperation with the new administration.

We have ended America's longest war, but in the work of securing a lasting peace in the world, the goals ahead are even more far-reaching and more difficult. We must complete a structure of peace so that it will be said of this generation, our generation of Americans, by the people of all nations, not only that we ended one war but that we prevented future wars. We have unlocked the doors that for a quarter of a century stood between the United States and the People's Republic of China. We must now ensure that the one quarter of the world's people who live in the People's Republic of China will be and remain not our enemies but our friends.

In the Middle East, 100 million people in the Arab countries, many of whom have considered us their enemy for nearly 20 years, now look on us as their friends. We must continue to build on that friendship so that peace can settle at last over the Middle East and so that the cradle of civilization will not become its grave.

Together with the Soviet Union we have made the crucial breakthroughs that have begun the process of limiting nuclear arms. But we must set as our goal not just limiting but reducing and finally destroying these terrible weapons so that they cannot destroy civilization and so that the threat of nuclear war will no longer hang over the world and the people. We have opened the new relation with the Soviet Union. We must continue to develop and expand that new relationship so that the two strongest nations of the world will live together in cooperation rather than confrontation.

Around the world, in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, in the Middle East, there are millions of people who live in terrible poverty, even starvation. We must keep as our goal turning away from production for war and expanding production for peace so that people everywhere on this earth can at last look forward in their children's time, if not in our own time, to having the necessities for a decent life.

Here in America, we are fortunate that most of our people have not only the blessings of liberty but also the means to live full and good and, by the world's standards, even abundant lives. We must press on, however, toward a goal of not only more and better jobs but of full opportunity for every American and of what we are striving so hard right now to achieve, prosperity without inflation. For more than a quarter of a century in public life I have shared in the turbulent history of this era. I have fought for what I believed in. I have tried to the best of my ability to discharge those duties and meet those responsibilities that were entrusted to me.

Sometimes I have succeeded and sometimes I have failed, but always I have taken heart from what Theodore Roosevelt once said about the man in the arena, "whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs and comes short again and again because there is not effort without error and shortcoming, but who does actually strive to do the deed, who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, who spends himself in a worthy cause, who at the best knows in the end the triumphs of high achievements and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly."

I pledge to you tonight that as long as I have a breath of life in my body, I shall continue in that spirit. I shall continue to work for the great causes to which I have been dedicated throughout my years as a congressman, a senator, a vice president, and President, the cause of peace not just for America but among all nations, prosperity, justice, and opportunity for all of our people.

There is one cause above all to which I have been devoted and to which I shall always be devoted for as long as I live.

When I first took the oath of office as president five and a half years ago, I made this sacred commitment, to "consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations." I have done my very best in all the days since to be true to that pledge. As a result of these efforts, I am confident that the world is a safer place today, not only for the people of America but for the people of all nations, and that all of our children have a better chance than

before of living in peace rather than dying in war. This, more than anything, is what I hoped to achieve when I sought the presidency. This, more than anything, is what I hope will be my legacy to you, to our country, as I leave the presidency. To have served in this office is to have felt a very personal sense of kinship with each and every American. In leaving it, I do so with this prayer: May God's grace be with you in all the days ahead.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9: 01 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhI1xRUx8UI> 9 May 2011)

Stephanie Rice

I wish to those whom I have offended to publicly say I'm sorry.

I also wanna say it is just not me to give offense to other people no matter who they are. (breathing in) I'm not a person who judges others or who speaks in a way that hurts feelings of others . My comments were thoughtless and careless. (...) But I can assure you that when I made those comments on twitter that I never meant to offend anybody. No matter who people are, what they do or can't do; they are entitled to the dignity that we expect for ourselves. I broke basic rules of courtesy to others and consideration for others and for that I am truly sorry.

(cut)

Oh, I think, you know, a lot happened in the past couple of days and I've obviously felt pretty terrible about it and I think today was probably the more appropriate day for me because I have been so emotional about it and (..) (starts crying) I just really owe it to every (sigh) everyone to apologise for what happened. I want people to know how sorry I am for what has happened .

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LaU9E1muhEo> 20 May 2011)

Jimmy Swaggart

I want to address myself as best as i know how to those that I have wronged, that I have sinned against.

I have sinned against you (.) and I beg your forgiveness. (.) God said to David 3000 years ago, „you have done this thing in secret, but I will do what I do openly before all of Israel.” My sin was done in secret and God has said to me “I will do what I do before the whole world.” Blessed be the name of the Lord. I have sinned against you my Lord. And I would ask that your precious blood would wash and cleanse every stain until it is in the seas of good forgetfulness never to be remembered against me anymore. I say unto you that watch me today through his mercy, his grace and his love. The sin of which I speak is not a present sin, it is a past sin. I know that so many would ask why. Why? I have asked myself that 10, 000 times; through 10,000 tears. (.) Maybe Jimmy Swaggart has tried to live his entire life as if though he was not human. And I have thought that with the Lord, knowing that he is omnipotent and omniscient – that there was nothing I could not do. And I emphasize with his help and his guidance. And I think this is the reason in my limited knowledge that I did not find the victory I sought because I did not seek the help of my brother and my sister in the Lord.

(<http://abcnews.go.com/US/video/jimmy-swaggart-affair-apology-9876022> 20 May 2011)

Pope Benedict XVI

Dear friends, may this celebration, in the presence of the Successor of Peter, be a moment of rededication and renewal for the whole Church in Australia.

Here I would like to pause to acknowledge the shame which we have all felt as a result of the sexual abuse of minors by some clergy and religious in this country.

Indeed, I am deeply sorry for the pain and suffering the victims have endured and I assure them that

as their pastor I too share in their suffering.

These misdeeds, which constitute so grave a betrayal of trust, deserve unequivocal condemnation.

They have caused great pain and have damaged the Church's witness.

I ask all of you to support and assist your bishops, and to work together with them in combating this evil.

Victims should receive compassion and care, and those responsible for these evils must be brought to justice.

It is an urgent priority to promote a safer and more wholesome environment, especially for young people.

In these days marked by the celebration of World Youth Day, we are reminded of how precious a treasure has been entrusted to us in our young people, and how great a part of the Church's mission in this country has been dedicated to their education and care.

As the Church in Australia continues, in the spirit of the Gospel, to address effectively this serious pastoral challenge, I join you in praying that this time of purification will bring about healing, reconciliation and ever greater fidelity to the moral demands of the Gospel.

(<http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2008/07/19/2308503.htm> 20 May 2011)

Apology Strategies Total

Table 7 Apology Strategies Total

	A1	A2	A3	B	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	D
Tiger Woods	0	3	1	5	16	8	2	0	2	3

	A1	A2	A3	B	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	D
Kobe Bryant	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4
Tony Hayward	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	1
Akio Toyoda	0	2	0	2	1	1	2	0	4	0
Bill Clinton	0	2	1	5	6	1	0	0	2	0
Jim McCreevey	0	0	1	2	6	1	0	0	2	0
Richard Nixon	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	5	0	2
Stephanie Rice	0	3	0	2	0	2	2	2	0	0
Jimmy Swaggart	0	0	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
Christ Brown	0	3	1	2	3	1	0	0	0	2
Benedict XVI	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Jim Lentz	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	1
Total	2	18	10	20	40	15	7	7	18	13

Psychological Needs Total

Tiger Woods

Table 8 Tiger Woods

Tiger Woods	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1	Elin has shown enormous grace and poise throughout this ordeal.	Hugging his mother.
PN2	<p>Millions of kids have changed their lives, and I am dedicated to making sure that continues.</p> <p>I have stopped living by the core values I was taught to believe in.</p> <p>The same boundaries that apply to everyone apply to me.</p> <p>I once heard - and I believe it is true - it's not what you achieve in life that matters, it is what you overcome. Achievements on the golf course are only part of setting an example. Character and decency are what really count. Parents used to point at me as a role model for their kids.</p>	Hugging his mother --> shared values of family bonds.
PN3	<p>Now every one of you has good reason to be critical of me.</p> <p>Elin deserves praise, not blame.</p> <p>I am the only person to blame.</p> <p>They did not do these things. I did.</p>	
PN4	I convinced myself that normal rules did not apply. I never thought about who I was hurting. Instead, I thought only about myself. I ran straight through the boundaries a married couple should live by. I thought I could get away with whatever I wanted to. I felt that I had worked hard my entire life and deserved to enjoy all the temptations around me. I felt I was entitled.	

Tiger Woods	Non-Visual	Visual
PN5	<p>I brought this shame on myself.</p> <p>It is hard to admit that I need help, but I do. For 45 days, from the end of December to early February, I was in inpatient therapy, receiving guidance for the issues I'm facing. I have a long way to go.</p>	<p>Expression on his face when he says that he hurt his mother.</p> <p>The stern look of his mother during his presentation.</p> <p>The suffering of speaking in front of an audience in the second shot.</p> <p>The sniff at the end.</p> <p>The viewer can see that he is sorry.</p>
PN6		
PN7	Elin and I have started the process of discussing the damage caused by my behavior.	

Table 9 Kobe Bryant

Kobe Bryant	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1	<p>I love my wife with all my heart, she is my backbone.</p> <p>You're a blessing.</p> <p>You're the beats of my heart, you're the air that I breathe and you're the strongest person I know.</p>	
PN2	I'm a man just like everybody else.	The presence of his wife.
PN3		
PN4		

Kobe Bryant	Non-Visual	Visual
PN5	<p>I mourn, I cry just like everybody else.</p> <p>I sit here before you guys, embarrassed and ashamed for committing adultery.</p> <p>We have a lot at stake, I have a lot at stake.</p>	The viewer can see that he is sorry, he shows emotions.
PN6		
PN7		

Table 10 Tony Hayward

Tony Hayward	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1		
PN2	The gulf spill is a tragedy that never should have happened.	2 pictures show the land how it used to be.
PN3		
PN4		
PN5		
PN6	BP has taken full responsibility for cleaning up the spill in the gulf. We've helped organize the largest environmental response in this country's history. More than 2 million feet of boom, 30 planes and over 1300 boats are working to protect the shoreline. Where oil reaches the shore, thousands of people are ready to clean it up.	15 pictures strongly support what he says. (In one go - which is why it is counted as 1 in the analysis.
PN7		

Table 11 Akio Toyoda

Akio Toyoda	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1		
PN2	Especially I would like to send my condolences to the members of the Saylor family for the accident in San Diego. I would like to send my prayers again and I will do everything in my power to ensure that such a tragedy will never happen again.	
PN3	In the past few months, our customers have started to feel uncertain about the safety of Toyota's vehicles and I take full responsibility for that.	
PN4	Toyota has for the past few years been expanding its business rapidly. Quite frankly, I fear, the pace of which we have grown may have been too quick. I Our basic standards to listen to customers voices to make better products has weakened somewhat.	
PN5		
PN6	I will ensure that the members of the management team actually drive the cars and that they check for themselves where the problem lies was well as its severity.	
PN7		

Table 12 Jim Lentz

Jim Lentz	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1		

Jim Lentz	Non-Visual	Visual
PN2		Toyota has always prided itself on building high quality, durable cars that customers can depend on.
PN3		
PN4		
PN5		
PN6	<p>We have developed a comprehensive plan to fix the sticking pedal situation in recalled Toyota vehicles.</p> <p>North America will work hard to fix your vehicle properly and regain your trust.</p> <p>And we are redoubling our efforts to ensure this does not happen again.</p> <p>We hope to start making those repairs in just a few days.</p> <p>In addition, our dealers have already started fixing the earlier-announced floor mat recall vehicles.</p>	
PN7		

Table 13 Bill Clinton

Bill Clinton	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1		

Bill Clinton	Non-Visual	Visual
PN2	<p>Now, this matter is between me, the two people I love most - my wife and my daughter - and our God.</p> <p>It is time to pursuit of personal destruction and the prying into private lives and get on with our national life.</p> <p>We have important work to do - real opportunities so seize, real problems to solve, real security matters to face.</p>	
PN3	<p>I constituted a critical lapse in judgment and a personal failure on my part for which I am solely and completely responsible.</p> <p>Our country has been distracted by this matter for too long, and I take my responsibility for my part in all of this.</p>	
PN4	<p>I can only tell you I was motivated by many factors. First, by a desire to protect myself from the embarrassment of my own conduct. I was also very concerned about protecting my family. The fact that these questions were being asked in a politically inspired lawsuit, which has since been dismissed, was a consideration, too.</p>	
PN5	<p>I answered their questions truthfully, including questions about my private life, questions no American citizen would ever want to answer.</p>	
PN6		
PN7		

Table 14 Jim McCreevey

Jim McCreevey	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1		
PN2	<p>I worked hard to ensure that I was accepted as part of the traditional family of America. I married my first wife Carrie out of respect and love and together we have a wonderful, extraordinary daughter. I then had the blessing of marrying Dina, whose love and joy for life has been an incredible source of strength for me and together, we have a most beautiful daughter.</p> <p>I believe that God enables all things to work for the greater good.</p> <p>I am blessed to live in the greatest nation with a tradition of civil liberties.</p>	He smiles when he talks about his family.
PN3	I accept total and full responsibility for my actions.	
PN4	<p>Yet, from my early days in school until the present day, I acknowledged some feelings, certain sense that separated me from others. But because of my resolve and also thinking that I was doing the right thing, I forced what I thought was an acceptable reality onto myself. A reality which is layer and layered with all the “good things” and “right things” of typical adolescent behavior and adult behavior. Yet, at my most reflective even spiritual level, there were points in my life when I began to question what an acceptable reality really meant for me.</p>	
PN5		

Jim McCreevey	Non-Visual	Visual
PN6	<p>However, I am no required to do what is right, to correct the consequences of my actions and to be truthful to my loved ones, to my friends and my family and also to myself.</p> <p>I have decided the right course of action is to resign.</p>	
PN7		

Table 15 Richard Nixon

Richard Nixon	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1		
PN2	<p>In all the decisions I have made in my public life, I have always tried to do what was best for the nation. Throughout the long and difficult period of Watergate, I have felt it was my duty to persevere, to make every possible effort to complete the term of office to which you elected me.</p> <p>But the interest of the nation must always come before any personal considerations.</p> <p>I have never been a quitter.</p> <p>Our entire focus should be on the great issues of peace abroad and prosperity without inflation at home.</p> <p>All of us, in the final analysis have been concerned with the good of the country.</p>	American Flag as shared value of patriotism and unity.
PN3		

Richard Nixon	Non-Visual	Visual
PN4	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 bet interest of the nation.	
PN5	<p>I would have preferred to carry through to the finish whatever the personal agony it would have involved, and my family unanimously urged me to do so.</p> <p>To leave office before my term is completed is abhorrent to every instinct in my body.</p> <p>I shall leave this office with regret at not completing my term.</p>	
PN6		
PN7		

Table 16 Stephanie Rice

Stephanie Rice	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1	No matter who people are, what they do or can't do, they are entitled to the dignity that we expect from ourselves.	
PN2	<p>It is just not me to give offense to other people, no matter who they are.</p> <p>I am not a person who judges others or who speaks in a way that hurts feelings of others.</p>	
PN3		
PN4		
PN5		She starts crying.
PN6		

Stephanie Rice	Non-Visual	Visual
PN7		

Table 17 Jimmy Swaggart

Jimmy Swaggart	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1		
PN2	God said to David 3000 years ago, "you have done this thing in secret, but I will do what I do openly before all of Israel".	shots of wife and son
PN3		
PN4		
PN5	I have asked myself 10,000 times throught 10,000 tears.	crying
PN6		
PN7		

Table 18 Chris Brown

Chris Brown	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1		
PN2	What I did was inexcusable. God has been generous and given me the ability which has brought me fame and fortune.	
PN3	I wanted to publicly express my deepest regret and accept full responsibility.	
PN4		
PN5	I am very sad and very ashamed for what I have done.	

Chris Brown	Non-Visual	Visual
PN6	I hope that others learn from my mistake. I intend to live my life so that I am truly worthy of the term “role model”.	
PN7		

Table 19 Pope Benedict XVI

Pope Benedict XVI	Non-Visual	Visual
PN1		
PN2	In these days marked by the celebration of World Youth Day, we are reminded of how precious a treasure has been entrusted to us in our young people, and how great a part of the Church’s mission in this country has been dedicated to their education and care.	Presence in the church and his clothes.
PN3		
PN4		
PN5	I, too, share their suffering.	
PN6	Meeting with the victims.	
PN7		

8. Illustrations

Fig. 1 Pope Gregory and Henry IV

(<http://www.myartprints.com/a/federico-zuccari/pope-gregory-vii-b1020-ab.html> 12 February 2011)

Fig. 2 Warsaw Genuflection

(http://www.deutschland-polen.diplo.de/Vertretung/deutschland-polen/de/___00/Bildergalerie___Deutschland___Polen.html?offset=12 17 February 2011)

Fig. 3 Effectiveness of Apologies according to Holtgraves

(Meier 2004: 9)

Fig. 4 The Beating of Rodney King

(http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_jmhiEtcPCE8/ScFRMeWW-WI/AAAAAAAAAnU/bef0i_3SGyM/s320/rodney+king.jpg:

21 April 2011)

Fig 5 Obama

(http://images.politico.com/global/news/090624_obama_desk_ap_297.jpg 2 May 2011)

Fig. 6 Tiger Woods Apology Strategies

Fig. 7 Tiger Woods - Mea Culpa

Fig. 8 Mary Magdalene Mea Culpa

(www.malerei-meisterwerke.de 26 May 2011)

Screenshots:

Fig. 9 Tiger Woods and Others

Fig. 10 Kobe Bryant Apology Strategies

Fig. 11 Kobe Bryant and Wife

Fig. 12 Kobe Bryant and the Law

Fig. 13 Kobe Bryant/Bill Clinton Facial Expression

Fig. 14 Kobe Bryant Facial Expression

Fig. 15 Tony Hayward Apology Strategies

Fig. 16 Gulf Spill

Fig. 17 Cleaning Up

Fig. 18 Washing the Bird

Fig. 19 BP Worker

Fig. 20 Tony Hayward White Shirt

Fig. 21 Akio Toyoda Apology Strategies

Fig. 22 Akio Toyoda

Fig. 23 Jim Lentz Apology Strategies

Fig. 24 Jim Lentz

Fig. 25 Bill Clinton Apology

Fig. 26 Bill Clinton Medium Shot

Fig. 27 Bill Clinton Medium Close-Up

Fig. 28 Apology Strategies Jim McCreevey

Fig. 29 Jim McCreevey Mea Culpa

Fig. 30 Richard Nixon Apology Strategies

Fig. 31 Richard Nixon Medium Long Shot

Fig. 32 Richard Nixon Medium Close-Up

Fig. 33 Stephanie Rice Apology Strategies

Fig. 34 Stephanie Rice

Fig. 35 Jimmy Swaggart Apology Strategies

Fig. 36 Jimmy Swaggart Medium Shot

Fig. 37 Wife

Fig. 38 Son and Daughter-In-Law

Fig. 39 Jimmy Swaggart “I have sinned against you“

Fig. 40 Swaggart with Audience

Fig. 41 Chris Brown Apology Strategies

Fig. 42 Chris Brown Medium Shot

Fig. 43 Pope Benedict XVI Apology Strategies

Fig. 44 Pope Benedict XVI Medium Shot

Fig. 45 Strategies Total

Fig. 46 Strategies Total Sub-Categories

Fig. 47 Psychological Needs Total

Fig. 48 Needs Fulfilled Total

Fig. 49 Different Psychological Needs

9. Abstract German

Die vorgelegte Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit öffentlichen Entschuldigungen in englischer Sprache und wie diese vom Fernsehen beeinflusst werden. Hierzu wird zunächst Stellung zu der Geschichte von öffentlichen Entschuldigungen genommen. Ein Beispiel wäre die Entschuldigung Heinrichs IV, der für eine Audienz beim Papst über die Alpen wanderte. Er war exkommuniziert worden, weil er die Autorität des Pontifex zu untergraben versucht hatte und war nun bereit, sich dafür zu entschuldigen. Nach der historischen Abhandlung legt diese Arbeit ihr Hauptaugenmerk auf die linguistischen Aspekte von Entschuldigungen. Hierzu wird zunächst dargelegt, warum Entschuldigungen wichtig sind, was sie wichtig macht und warum man sich entschuldigt. Außerdem werden verschiedene wissenschaftliche Standpunkte miteinander verglichen und der Versuch unternommen, sich an eine Definition von „Entschuldigung“ anzunähern. Darüber hinaus werden Entschuldigungsstrategien, der Prozess einer Entschuldigung und die Merkmale von Entschuldigungen im öffentlichen Bereich beschrieben. Schließlich beschäftigt sich der linguistische Teil mit der Frage, was eine erfolgreiche Entschuldigung ausmacht, wobei hierzu auch Ressourcen aus der Psychologie herangezogen werden.

Im zweiten Teil der Arbeit werden zunächst verschiedene Theorien zum Thema “Die Lust des Schauens“ dargelegt. Anschließend werden theoretische Aspekte von Film- und Medienwissenschaften in Betracht gezogen und mit Beispielen aus öffentlichen Entschuldigungen verbunden. Das Kapitel gibt Aufschluss darüber, wie kulturelle Konventionen bei der Wahrnehmung von Bildern eine Rolle spielen und wie Codes und Zeichen dem Zuseher zu verstehen geben, wie ein bestimmtes Bild aufgefasst werden soll. Zum Beispiel kann eine amerikanische Flagge im Hintergrund ein Zeichen von Patriotismus und Zusammengehörigkeit

sein. Ein Ehering und die Anwesenheit einer Ehefrau kann zeigen, dass dem Sprecher familiäre Werte wichtig sind und Tränen können zeigen, wie ernst jemand seine Entschuldigung meint.

Aber auch die Abwesenheit von gewissen Dingen können vom Zuseher interpretiert werden. Im Fall von Jim McCreevey zum Beispiel, einem ehemaligen Gouverneur aus New Jersey, spielt die Abwesenheit seiner Frau eine große Rolle. McCreevey entschuldigt sich für eine Affäre mit einem anderen Mann während er verheiratet war. Gleichzeitig aber gesteht er seine Homosexualität. Die Anwesenheit einer Ehefrau würde daher in diesem Live-Video nur für Verwirrung sorgen.

Im letzten Teil der Arbeit wird sich nun mit der Frage beschäftigt, ob das Fernsehen tatsächlich die Effektivität von öffentlichen Entschuldigungen positiv beeinflussen kann. Hierzu werden zwölf öffentliche Entschuldigungen nach den folgenden Kriterien untersucht:

Welche Strategien werden verwendet?

Welche psychologischen Bedürfnisse werden vom Sprecher gegenüber dem Zuseher erfüllt?

Welche Zeichen sind zu erkennen und welche Rolle spielen sie für den Zuseher?

Wie ist die Abwesenheit von gewissen Dingen zu interpretieren?

Anhand dieser Kriterien werden öffentliche Entschuldigungen von den folgenden zwölf Personen analysiert:

Tiger Woods, Kobe Bryant, Tony Hayward, Akio Toyoda, Jim Lentz, Bill Clinton, Jim McCreevey, Richard Nixon, Stephanie Rice, Jimmy Swaggart, Chris Brown und Papst Benedikt XVI.

Die Untersuchungen ergeben, dass es auf jeden Fall möglich ist, durch visuelle Behelfe eine öffentliche Entschuldigung noch effektiver zu machen. Jedoch muss gesagt werden, dass dies allein zu wenig ist. Man kann sagen, dass es auf die richtige Balance ankommt. Zunächst ist es sehr wichtig, bei den Entschuldigungsstrategien aus dem vollen zu schöpfen. Je mehr verschiedene desto besser. Darüber hinaus müssen natürlich auch einige psychologische Bedürfnisse erfüllt werden. In der Arbeit werden sieben genannt, jedoch erfüllt keine einzige untersuchte Entschuldigung alle davon. Ein Beispiel für ein solches Bedürfnis wäre, den Sprecher leiden zu sehen. Dies dürfte für den Erfolg einer Entschuldigung ausschlaggebend sein, da der Zuseher so erkennen kann, dass es dem Sprecher wirklich leid tut.

Zu den außersprachlichen Zeichen sei erwähnt, dass es auffällige Häufungen bei den Themen Religion, Patriotismus und Familie gibt. Zu diesen Kategorien gab es die meisten Zeichen und sie erstrecken sich über Flaggen, die Anwesenheit oder Abwesenheit von Ehepartnern und ehelichen Artefakten sowie zahlreiche Anspielungen an Gott und Religion. Sie spielen bei vielen untersuchten Entschuldigungen eine große Rolle. Es gibt jedoch auch solche Videos, wo kaum visuelle Behelfe verwendet werden. Dies ist zum Beispiel bei den Entschuldigungen von Akio Toyoda und Chris Brown der Fall.

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass eine visuelle Unterstützung sehr wohl den Erfolg einer Entschuldigung beeinflussen kann. Sollte man sich aber nur darauf verlassen, ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass der Sprecher mit seiner Entschuldigung weitgehend scheitern wird.

10. Curriculum Vitae

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Education:

1989-1992:	Elementary School Korneuburg, Lower Austria
1992-1996:	Grammar School Stockerau, Lower Austria
1996-2001:	Business School HAK Korneuburg, Lower Austria
2003-2011:	English and German (Teacher Training), University of Vienna

Work:

2002-2003:	Au Pair in New York City, USA
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