

Analysing a Print Text

In this chapter, I offer a close analysis of a print text. In keeping with my concluding remarks to Chapter 1, this analysis will be concerned with language in use and the way in which patterns of meaning as socially constructed versions of reality – discourses – are embedded and disseminated in texts. It will be critical because a central concern of the act of analysis will be to highlight the potential social effects of the meanings that a reader of a text is positioned or called upon (*interpellated*) to subscribe to. Box 5.1 is a newspaper editorial, entitled 'A matter of attitude', published on 31 October 1997 in the *New Zealand Herald*, an Auckland-based daily with the largest circulation in the country.

A focus on sociocultural practice

The immediate situation prompting this editorial was the Māori school drop-out rate in Northland, the most northerly region of New Zealand. Its focus is the relative educational non-achievement of Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand, in the mainstream schooling system. A number of statistics are quoted to support the editorial's concerns. Readers with scant knowledge of New Zealand are likely to be unaware of the social context of this editorial. Relevant information would include some knowledge of Māori-European (Pakeha) relations

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in New Zealand/Aotearoa since the days of first contact; the struggle of the Māori to establish a parallel education system operating according to Māori tikanga (customs); and information about Northland itself, a region of the country which attracts many tourists but is poor in socio-economic terms. In 1996, a year before the editorial's publication, the official Māori unemployment rate of 19 per cent was three times that of non-Māori (6 per cent). In Northland, however, the unemployment rate for Māori was the highest in New Zealand (24 per cent) (Te Puni Kokiri 1999). Another factor not mentioned in the editorial is the black market economy in marijuana in Northland and the high incidence of marijuana dependence among Māori compared with non-Māori.

One can identify a number of discourses available to the editorial writer as he/she addresses the causes of Māori educational failure. Some of these are race-related. While New Zealand often projects an image of itself as a racially harmonious society, there is no compelling reason to expect its media to be exempt from the racist discourses reported by van Dijk (1991) as suffusing Western media.

Most blatantly in the past and usually more subtly today, the Press has indeed been a main 'foe' of black and other minorities ... Until today, its dominant definition of ethnic affairs has consistently been a negative and stereotypical one: minorities or immigrants are seen as a problem or a threat, and are portrayed preferably in association with crime, violence, conflict, unacceptable cultural differences, or other forms of deviance. While paying extensive attention to these racialized or ethnicized forms of problems or conflict, it failed to pay attention to the deeper social, political, or economic causes and backgrounds to these conflicts. (pp. 20–1)

Other available discourses more particularly relate to

education itself. Different discourses construct educational failure differently. Some construct it in terms of an inappropriate or badly designed curriculum; some in terms of ineffective pedagogy. A common one – the ‘deficit’ model – constructs school failure as arising from certain (cultural) deficiencies in the home of the failing child. This discourse has a long history in the Western world, so one would expect to find it in the New Zealand setting.

Box 5.1 Herald editorial: ‘A matter of attitude’

A matter of attitude

- (1) One of the more telling observations in a three-year study on Maori educational performance in Northland states: ‘I see primary-age children, all Maori, pushing their parents’ trolleys around the supermarket at 11 am on a Friday – and they’re not sick.’
- (2) The research reveals a tragic and disturbing cycle of intergenerational ignorance and confirms what has long been suspected: among Northland Maori there is an appalling school drop-out rate.
- (3) If the realities exposed by Oneroa Stewart are to be reversed it will require a degree of honesty and candour that is rarely evident in such matters. The first point to be faced is that educational failure is mostly, although not exclusively, a problem for Maori.
- (4) Maori make up 45 per cent of the Northland secondary school population. Just 11 per cent of Northland Maori students complete their seventh-form year compared with 18 per cent Maori nationally, and 46 per cent of all students. And the situation is actually getting worse than those statistics reveal because many Maori students drop out of school long before reaching the seventh form.
- (5) Mr Stewart, a doctoral student at Auckland University, finds that nearly half the Maori boys in Northland have disappeared from school by the end of the fourth

form. They leave not to work but to join the huge and growing pool of unemployed – and unemployable. They have no skills and an education that is barely adequate for day-to-day survival in the modern world.

- (6) The study suggests some remedies that schools should attempt, such as employing a visiting teacher for face-to-face interviews with parents. Yet it is not schools, teaching methods, or the curriculum that is the problem – it is the attitude of Maori parents and the Maori community that is being passed on from generation to generation.
- (7) Apologists, of whom there are far too many, will make nebulous claims that the education system is failing Maori. Nonsense. Maori are failing Maori. All the specialist measures that are conceived will not make a jot of difference to the Northland educational tragedy until Maori can turn around the attitude of Maori to education. In fact, various special measures risk doing more harm than good because they divert resources and skills from addressing the underlying cause.
- (8) The fact is that most Maori parents in Northland put little value on education and inculcate their children similarly. As Mr Stewart observes, there are high levels of Maori student absenteeism, including condoned truancy. There is absolutely no reason why Northland Maori children cannot achieve at school if they have the will to do so and parents who accord education the same priority as do many parents from other ethnic and socio-economic groups.
- (9) A change in attitude towards education needs the collective will of Maoridom. The children need role models they respect to push the cause of education. Maori leaders and organisations need to apply the same energy to improving the next generation’s learning as is being given to the grievance industry.
- (10) Unless they do the generational cycle of failure will continue.

A focus on text

In this section, I analyse the text proper using the headings proposed by Gee (1996) and discussed in Chapter 4. These headings are: 1. Prosody; 2. Cohesion; 3. Discourse organization; 4. Con-textualization signals; and 5. Thematic organization. In accordance with the self-reflexivity strictures discussed in Chapter 3, I must reiterate that this analysis is an act of interpretation and therefore subject to contestation and critique. Box 5.1 is the full text of the editorial reprinted in this chapter. Paragraph numbers have been inserted for ease of reference.

1 Prosody

Obviously, this editorial is a written piece. However, if we read it with our ears, it is clear that the writer is using certain print equivalents of the devices of an orator. The pregnant pause, for example, can be heard in paragraph 5 in the dash following the word 'unemployed' and in paragraph 6 after the word 'problem'. The latter pause is a key one because it constitutes the fulcrum of an antithesis (where the writer is comparing a *naïve* view of the problem with his/her enlightened view). A similar function is served by the one-word sentence 'Nonsense' in paragraph 7. It can be thought of as an emphatic, voiced pause serving also as the fulcrum of an antithesis, which again contrasts the naïve view of the problem with the editorial writer's view.

These antitheses are rhetorically designed to underline a central binary opposition in this editorial: the perceptiveness and authority of the writer and the naïveté and dubious authority of other observers. (Binary oppositions are words or concepts that have been constructed as opposed, for example, black and white, rational and emotional, mind and body. Often one particular 'pole' is

privileged in a discourse and the other 'pole' condemned or suppressed. CDA allows for binaries to be exposed and contested.)

2 Contextualization signals

This is the fourth of Gee's systems. However, I find it convenient to discuss it at this juncture.

One verbal indicator of the prosodic feature of *stress* is the use of intensifiers. There are a number of these in this editorial, including the words 'long' in the phrase 'long been suspected' (paragraph 2); 'rarely' (paragraph 3); 'actually' (paragraph 4); 'barely' (paragraph 5); 'far', 'a jot of' (paragraph 7) and 'absolutely' (paragraph 8). To these we might add the intensifying adverbial phrase, 'In fact' (paragraph 7) and the intensifying main clause 'The fact is' (paragraph 8). Collectively, these emphatically intensify the writer's argument, reinforcing his/her authority by a form of reiteration.

We don't know who the writer is, of course. And we should be cautious about attributing to him/her a single voice, though I'm talking as if there is a single voice coming through this editorial. In keeping with the purpose of CDA, I'm more concerned with the *complex* of discourses speaking through him/her.

These intensifiers have a role in evoking the context of this editorial. As Gee points out, the context is not a given but something constructed in the act of textual engagement. Putting it another way, the writer positions us to view the participants in this situation in a certain way. As mentioned, *he/she* is presented as an insightful and authoritative seer, with the role of 'revealing' (a word I will be coming back to) 'what has long been suspected'. *Our* role is complementary. We are the receivers of the 'truth' he/she is concerned to deliver.

The construction of the context serves to represent

other participants in particular ways also. Another intensifying main clause (introducing a noun clause) occurs in paragraph 3 – ‘The first point to be faced is’. This clause highlights another aspect of how the writer wants to be seen – not just as a seer but as a courageous and outspoken truth-sayer who calls a spade a spade. Thus projected, the writer suggests an additional binary opposition between him/herself and those shallow and cowardly commentators – those ‘apologists’ who make ‘nebulous’ claims (for example, that the fault may lie with the education system).

So far, we have three categories of participant: the writer, readers and those naive commentators whose ‘nonsense’ must be disregarded. Another important participant is the researcher, Oneroa Stewart. The editorial writer boosts his/her authority by directly quoting Stewart and mentioning the statistical data in the latter’s report. Mr Stewart is described as a ‘doctoral student at Auckland University’ but there is no mention of his ethnicity. (A Māori name in the New Zealand context does not necessarily indicate Māori ethnicity.) However, it is in paragraph 6 that the writer’s real purpose is revealed. With the use of the adverb ‘Yet’, the writer is distanced from the remedies suggested by Stewart, who is effectively consigned to that group characterized as naive and misguided.

There are other participants who are positioned by the way the writer constructs the context within which he is writing. These include Māori parents, non-Māori parents and Māori leaders and organizations. These are discussed below.

3 Cohesion

Cohesive links ‘are part of what stitches a text together into a meaningful whole; they are like threads that tie

language, and, thus, also, sense together’ (Gee 1996: 97). These devices include conjunctions, pronouns, demonstratives, ellipsis, various adverbs and repeated words and phrases. Let’s look at a number of these.

Conjunctions Conjunctions serve to establish relationships of either co-ordination or subordination.

- *And:* co-ordinating conjunctions tend to suggest parallelism. Paragraph 2 begins with a compound sentence which is separated by a colon from a simple statement. The subject of the sentence – ‘The research’ (of Oneroa Stewart) – does two parallel things: (1) It ‘reveals a tragic and disturbing cycle of inter-generational ignorance and (2) confirms what has long been suspected: among Northland Māori there is an appalling school drop-out rate.’ The use of ‘and’, which suggests a similarity in these two ‘revelations’, actually conceals a logical subordination of cause and effect. Revelation (2) can be established factually. Revelation 1, however, interprets the Māori drop-out rate back to a cause. Is this Stewart’s interpretation? Or is it the editorial writer’s?
- *If:* conjunctions such as ‘if’ and ‘because’ are often used to establish subordinating cause–effect type relationships. In paragraph 3, the effect (the reversal of ‘the realities’ Stewart’s research exposes) will be established by the exercise of ‘honesty and candour’ (cause) – which, fortunately, this editorial writer has in abundance. In paragraph 8, the effect (Māori scholastic achievement) depends on Māori will-power and parental prioritization. As illogically argued in paragraph 4, the exacerbation of Māori scholastic non-achievement (effect) is a result of young Māori dropping out of school ‘long before reaching the seventh form’.

Pronouns 'Māori students' (in paragraph 4) are linked to 'Māori boys' (in the first sentence of paragraph 5). In paragraph 5, the pronoun 'They' links the last two sentences to the first. The word Māori appears five times in paragraphs 4 and 5 before it is taken up by the repetition of 'they'. With seven pointed references, it's clear that this is, indeed, a Māori problem.

Listing Argumentation often utilizes lists. If we make a statement and follow it up with a number of reasons, we might say 'first' or 'second'. In paragraph 3 there is the sentence: 'The first point to be faced is that educational failure is mostly, although not exclusively, a problem for Māori.' We are led to expect a series of points about the Māori drop-out rate. After all, the word 'first' has established a platform for the enumeration of various causes for this problem. However, there are no second or third points made – hence a kind of *dis-cohesion*. The reason is clear, as we realize that this writer has eyes for only one cause of the problem – a cause he/she wants to locate fairly and squarely with the Māori themselves.

Auxiliaries The auxiliary 'will' occurs four times in this editorial, in paragraph 3, in paragraph 7 (twice) and in paragraph 10. It is worth considering some of the auxiliaries the writer *might* have used, and thereby changed the verb modality. If we substitute the future form 'is/are going to' or the more conditional 'may', the tenor of these sentences changes dramatically. The repetition of 'will' suggests conviction (a tone of authority) as opposed to tentativeness.

Words in general The following are some of the key words repeated, thereby setting up a complex web of connectedness throughout the text:

- 'attitude' (headline, paragraphs 6, 9)
- 'parents' (paragraphs 1, 6[$\times 2$], 8[$\times 3$])
- 'generation/s/ational' (paragraphs 2, 6[$\times 2$], 9, 10)
- 'cycle' (paragraphs 2, 10)
- 'trag/ic/edy' (paragraphs 2, 7)

Clearly, the situation is hopeless, with the problem neatly identified as psychological and ethical ('a matter of attitude'), of tragic proportions (but like tragedy, associated with the conduct of flawed human beings), inevitable (the hand of fate in tragedy and the sense of cyclical repetition) and endemic to families and patterns of family relationships.

Suppressed is any mention of the opposite poles of these binaries. The following words are *absent*.

- economical situation
- political leaders and government strategists
- structural reforms
- chain of damaging events
- com/ic/edy

Marginalized are stories that view the Māori drop-out problem in terms of structurally induced poverty, governmental policy decisions and (specifically) the wholesale restructuring which occurred in New Zealand in the 1980s and 1990s that changed it from a welfare state to a market-driven economy. There is no place for the recognition of specific events (for example, factory closures and falling returns for primary produce). Nor is there any room for the comic world of free human agency and happy endings. (However, we will see that there is an unresolved binary in this editorial between determinism and free will.)

4 Discourse organization

In analysing cohesion, we have focused on the linkages within and between sentences. In looking at the discourse organization (or structure) of this editorial, we are concerned with the ways in which sentences cohere into larger units (in this case paragraphs) and with the organization of the paragraphs themselves. A structural plotting of this editorial might be represented thus (the numbers denote paragraphs):

- 1 Vignette: a concrete illustration to highlight the general problem.
- 2 Statement of general thesis: (Māori) 'intergenerational ignorance' is a tragic problem.
- 3 First solution to problem: in abstract terms this is 'honesty and candour', plus example – a reformulation of the thesis that this is a 'Māori' problem.
- 4 Statement of evidence for thesis: concrete catalogue of statistics.
- 5 Further concrete evidence provided to support general thesis.
- 6 Possible remedies (1) advanced and refuted: restatement of general thesis.
- 7 Possible remedies (2) advanced and refuted: restatement of general thesis.
- 8 Another restatement of thesis + evidence for thesis + advancement of second solution.
- 9 Restatement of second solution.
- 10 An assertion of belief that this tragic problem will continue if the writer's solution is not adopted.

A number of things become clear when we highlight the discourse organization in this way.

- The rhetorical strategy being employed relies heavily

on statement or assertion. The major thesis (the Māori drop-out rate poses a severe problem; Māori have an attitude problem) is asserted in five out of ten paragraphs.

- As paragraph 2 indicates, this thesis has two prongs: 1) There is a serious drop-out rate; 2) There is a Māori attitude problem. Evidence is provided for the first prong in two paragraphs (drawing on Stewart's study). Evidence for the second prong, which is the major thesis statement, is more scant. An attempt to provide evidence for it is found only in paragraph 8. Even here, the evidence is weak since *condoned* truancy is only a part of the total truancy picture and the writer has not indicated how *big* a part it is.
- Part of the editorial writer's stance is to position him/herself as a revealer of *causes* rather than advocate for superficial and ineffectual *remedies*. The editorial mentions 'special measures' and 'remedies' but cites only one example of these (visiting teachers). These remedies are viewed as ineffectual because they connect the problem (Māori scholastic non-achievement) with such potential causes as schools, teaching methods and the nature of the curriculum. These potential causes are barely entertained before being dismissed without the provision of any evidence at all.
- The rhetorical structure of the argument tends to present the causes of Māori educational 'failure' as fitting into a neat home/school binary. Whereas the researcher has clearly allowed for school-based causes, the editorial writer is determined to locate the cause in the home. However, as the discussion with respect to cohesion has shown, the reduction of causality to such a binary suppresses any consideration of other kinds of causality (e.g. structurally induced poverty, economic reforms, colonization, and so on).

5 Thematic organization

I have already mentioned a number of themes this editorial develops. In the following discussion, I will simply identify some examples of what I would term *motifs* and show how they underpin the discursive structure of this editorial and advance its position.

- *Hallowing the fact-finder*: the following words (numbers in brackets indicate the paragraphs they occur in) form a thematic cluster: 'observations' (1), 'see' (1), 'reveals' (2), 'exposed' (3), 'reveal' (4), 'finds' (5) 'underlying cause' (7) and 'observes' (8). They suggest a particular relationship to experience – close observation leading to finding/revealing/exposing an underlying causality. I would call this a popular or naive scientific discourse because it also suggests that 'truth' is something out there *in* phenomena waiting to be unearthed ('exposed') rather than something constructed.

The editorial writer clearly aligns himself with this discourse and uses it as a platform from which other sorts of observers (and their positions) can be attacked. Hence the attack on (by implication, *non-scientific*) 'apologists' and their 'nebulous' claims. The word 'nebulous' suggests a kind of fuzziness in thinking which is in contrast to the hard-edged truth-telling of science.

As one might expect of a proponent of the empirical method, this editorial writer is hot on facts. The word occurs twice, in paragraphs 7 and 8. The irony, however, is that in both instances the word prefaces the assertion of what are (in fact) opinions: the first that 'special measures risk doing more harm than good'; the second that 'most Māori parents in Northland put little value on education'.

- *A deficit model of education*: the verb 'need/s' is repeated

in each sentence in paragraph 9. Repetition, as well as being a cohesive device, is being used for powerful rhetorical effect. The word 'need' positions readers of this editorial to view Māori as operating in terms of a deficit model of culture. Foregrounded is a notion of Māori insufficiency. Suppressed, in terms of this binary, is any sense of Māori sufficiency.

- *Pulling yourself up by your boot straps*: another thematic cluster – 'turn around' (7), 'achieve' (8), 'will' (8), 'will' (9), 'push' (9), 'energy' (9), 'industry' (9) – occurs towards the end of the text, where editorial writers, having stated and analysed a problem, generally advocate a course of action. The phrasal verb 'turn around' is a recognizable neo-liberal, economic discourse marker. It's what poorly performing businesses do (often through 'restructuring') when their profits are declining. Here it is being applied to a race, which is poorly performing in the educational sector.

What these Māori parents clearly need is the 'energy', 'will' and 'industry' of those old-fashioned capitalist entrepreneurs who pulled themselves up by their bootstraps and 'achieved' success. What this particular discourse discounts is any sense that the current situation is *not* a 'level playing field'. There is no tolerance for such concepts as 'disadvantage' or 'structural poverty'.

There is, though, an unresolved binary underpinning this editorial – the traditional one between free will and determinism. On the one hand, with its reference to tragedy and a generational cycle, the editorial suggests a picture of inexorability and inevitability. On the other hand, with its adoption of the discourse of capitalistic free enterprise, it suggests a solution which calls on the exercise of individual free will.

- *After all, we are all equal*: in paragraph 8, the editorial

neatly establishes a binary between Māori parents and 'parents from other ethnic and socio-economic groups'. It contributes to the argument that there is 'absolutely no reason' why young Māori shouldn't succeed at school, if only *their* parents were like other parents. Māori parents are different in their attitude to education from other parents (whom they should aspire to emulate). In this case, difference should submit to sameness.

To sum up, this editorial addresses Māori non-achievement in the mainstream educational system of New Zealand as indicated by conventional measures of scholastic achievement. The reader is positioned to regard the editorial writer as a courageous and outspoken commentator who is prepared to challenge those *other* naïve, shallow and cowardly 'apologists' who represent contrasting views. In a number of ways, the cause of Māori non-achievement is identified as a problem *for* and *in* Māori themselves. The real cause is neither social nor systemic. It is not to be located in the schooling system, nor in social changes brought about through such agencies as economic restructuring nor colonization. Rather, the problem is psychological and ethical – the result of a failing in Māori themselves, particularly Māori parents. Indeed, the writer, in comparing Māori with other ethnic groups, appears to be suggesting that the race itself is flawed in a certain respect. In terms of educational theory, the discourse propounded here is a deficit model, which locates the cause of non-achievement in the home of the pupil.

A focus on discourse practice

As discussed in Chapter 4, analysis at the level of discourse practice focuses on aspects of a text's production, distribution and consumption. This level connects the micro-level of a particular text (in this case an editorial) with the macro-level of the socio-cultural context. It looks in particular at issues of interdiscursivity and manifest intertextuality in the production of texts – ways in which texts become links in intertextual chains in acts of distribution; and ways in which they are *received* by their readership or audience. Interdiscursivity has been discussed in the previous two sections of this chapter. In this section, I make some general points about the editorial as genre, manifest intertextuality, intertextual chains and text interpretation.

According to van Dijk (1991), 'the mass media have nearly exclusive control over the symbolic resources needed to manufacture popular consent, especially in the domain of ethnic relations' (p. 43). Newspapers can be thought of as compendia of particular genres (see Chapter 2). Of these, news stories, headlines, editorials, opinion pieces, columns, political cartoons and feature articles can be prime loci for the discursive deployment of these 'symbolic resources'. A newspaper editorial is characterized by its privileging in terms of location, its typical anonymity (the writer's identity is usually suppressed) and its rhetorical purpose – to convey the newspaper's carefully weighed viewpoint on a topical issue. It uses various means to establish the authority of its argument, for example, by recourse to statistics and the views of others. Its structure typically commences with an introduction to the topic (for example, through a vignette), proceeds to a number of argued points (for or against one or more central propositions) and concludes with a judgement or call to action. Its diction is formal but

plain. Its syntax is often complex and rhetorically balanced as befits its argumentative purpose.

Manifest intertextuality occurs when another text is overtly drawn upon in the construction of a particular text. Such is the case with Box 5.1, which quotes from the study of Oneroa Stewart. Key issues for a discourse analyst are *how* a text is used and the effect of this usage. In this text, quoting scholarly research serves the editorial writer's desire to appear authoritative. However, we have already noted that the writer parts company with Mr Stewart over issues of causality and solutions. This parting of the ways occurs more than half-way through the editorial, though, and a casual reader (who might also assume Mr Stewart to be a Māori on the basis of his first name) would be tempted to assume that the researcher and the writer share a similar position.

Newspapers, of course, are more likely to attract casual readers than university doctoral students. For the six months to 30 September 2002, the *Herald*'s average net circulation was 211,246, more than twice the circulation of any other daily newspaper in New Zealand and 47 per cent of the country's total metropolitan newspaper circulation. (It is generally regarded as a conservative, right-wing paper and has the nickname 'Granny'.) I'm quoting this from a press release – from the *Herald* itself – accessed readily via the Internet. The same press release states: 'The Herald has reinforced its position as a newspaper that makes a difference.' Oneroa Stewart was not so easy to track down. Having completed his studies, he currently lives in the small Northland town of Kerikeri. He also wants to make a difference.

Dr Stewart's initial response to my email contact was: 'Kia ora ra e Terry. Gee, someone out there actually reads my work! Thanks for your making contact' (Stewart 2003). According to his account, the *Herald* sourced the quotation in its editorial from an earlier news story in a

regional newspaper – the *Northern News*. 'Since INL [the owners of the *Herald*] owns just about every sausage wrapper in the country I guess that's how the *Herald* got hold of the news' (*ibid.*). Stewart learned of the editorial after it was published. Was he happy with its use of his work?

No, not really ... I feel the *Herald* editor took some licence from my modus operandi. What I don't like to do is bash my parents (blame the victims, etc). So I certainly did not like the paragraph beginning: 'The fact is that most Māori parents in Northland put little value on education and inculcate their children similarly.' I know definitely, that when given the opportunity, parents are very keen to participate. So I designed new situations where parents could act their *tino rangatiratanga* by facilitating groups of parents to come into classes to make student compositions in *te reo* [the Māori language]. My thesis was all about following the rules of engagement between these participating parents and teachers. (*ibid.*)

Summarizing his research findings, Stewart writes that the Māori parent community 'Have high aspirations for the future of their children, are highly intelligent in their grammatical knowledge of *te reo*, but are often excluded by school practices, so are highly critical and often despondent at the value of schooling.' He found that pupils whose parents came into their classrooms to share in marking and assessment achieved 100 per cent in their examinations (Stewart 1997, 2003).

What is clear here is that the argument for causality in the editorial is at odds with the case Stewart has made in his thesis. The editorial writer positions readers to adopt a 'deficit' model to explain Māori non-achievement which the researcher explicitly rejects (Stewart 2003). In contrast, Stewart explains Māori non-achievement in terms of a communicative failure on the part of schools. The

Herald writer's intertextual practice has worked to hijack Stewart's research in order to bolster his/her authority while at the same time effectively (if not literally) misrepresenting his findings.

In terms of intertextual chains of distribution, it is interesting to read Stewart's comment that he was comfortable with the original *Northern News* story because he knew the local editors and could 'make well prepared statements in order to get my message across' (Stewart 2003). In other words, at the initial level of textual transformation – from thesis to news story – Stewart felt a degree of control over modes of representation. By the time this local news story had been transformed into an editorial in a large circulation daily newspaper, his control had evaporated.

A further point in respect of interdiscursivity can be made here pertaining to the accountability constraints operating on the two writers – the editorial writer and the researcher. Who or what is the editorial writer answerable to and how does this affect 'what can be said'? A *who* answer might point to a newspaper's readership profile and its ideological orientation, or to the newspaper's owner (despite assurances of editorial 'independence'). A *what* answer might be couched in terms of discourses or ideologies that legitimate the dominance of particular groups, e.g. New Zealand pakeha (van Dijk 1991: 39). As a *Māori* researcher, Stewart is constrained by culturally constructed protocols (or *kawa*). Regardless of any sympathy he might have for the editorial writer, 'I would not say so in public. On my own *marae* [tribally based meeting place] I am not afraid to shoot from the hip and say what has to be said to my own people. My *kaumatua* [elders] encourage and support me in this. But we prefer to hang out our own washing on our own lines and not anyone else's' (Stewart 2003). In the shift from first person singular to plural in this email message, the communal

discourse of the tribe asserts itself over the individual voice of the academic researcher.

Finally, there is the question of the 'effect' of a text on individual readers. This chapter has previously identified through an interpretive act a preferred reading of a single newspaper editorial. What impact did this editorial have on the newspaper's readers? The blunt answer is that I don't know. A reasonable hypothesis would suggest that collectively, a massive diet of powerful texts framed by similar discourses are likely to play a major role in the reproduction of a particular hegemony. Readers interested in how research might be conducted on the way in which such texts have an impact at the micro-level on individual readers are referred to van Dijk's (1991) study of racism in the British press in the late 1980s.