QUALITATIVE RESEARCH IN THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE
(ON THE EXAMPLE OF ELECTION LEAFLETS FROM XX–XXI CENTURIES)

ABSTRACT

The article discusses the use of qualitative research in the analysis of a political text – an electoral leaflet, which is one of the genres of electoral text in political discourse.

The source material consisted of leaflets from the elections to the Parliament and from local elections that took place in Poland in the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century.

Qualitative research enables the analysis of the sender, the sender’s intention, the recipient, and the content of the text, including its informational and persuasive layers as well as the analysis of the rhetoric principles used in the text, the criteria of textuality, or the influence of the context. Qualitative research helps to better understand the factors that determine the intelligibility, unambiguity, informational fullness of the text and, hence, its effectiveness in political communication.

The qualitative method makes it possible to study the content of the text, its functions, structure, and thus the quality of the volatile text and, more broadly, the quality of political discourse.

Key words:
qualitative research method, political discourse, election discourse, text, electoral leaflet, persuasion, rhetoric, textuality criteria.

Introduction

The goal of the researcher in any scientific activity is to obtain reliable, unadulterated and unchanged data. Researcher in the humanities and social sciences strives to learn and understand a certain social phenomenon,
slice out social reality, the relation: the individual – the social environment\textsuperscript{1}. Qualitative research is helpful in this case\textsuperscript{2}. It is particularly important after the postmodern turn, when traditional philosophical categories such as: truth, subject and principles of causality were destroyed\textsuperscript{3} 3. The truth is hence more strongly dependent on the context, determined by the dominant group. Truth and other values are socially constructed. Qualitative research makes it easier to recognize this phenomenon and to separate truth from falsehood.

Qualitative research is used in the humanities and social sciences. It is an alternative to quantitative research, when the latter is not useful and feasible\textsuperscript{4}. It can be used with full success in analyzing documents.

The subject of qualitative research may be, for example, volatile printed texts, and more precisely the election leaflet, which is one of the genres of political discourse\textsuperscript{5}.

The analysis of the election leaflet expands the knowledge about electoral discourse. It points out the directions of changes that take place in political and public discourse under the influence of socio-political and

\textsuperscript{1} An investigator who represents humanities or social sciences often faces a choice between qualitative and quantitative research. The choice of research strategy is the subject of debate in the academic community. An example is the conference Modern media 10. Problems and methods of media research, which took place at the Faculty of Political Science of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin on April 19-20, 2018. The conference was devoted to this issue in relation to media research (post-conference volume in print).


\textsuperscript{4} This is the case, for example, of implicit observation involved in field trials. See. e.g. G. Majkowski, Outsiderzy. Współczesny dyskurs młodzieży z OHP, Wyd. MHPRL, Warszawa 2018.

ideological factors\textsuperscript{6}.

In qualitative research, we can refer to the findings of researchers dealing with linguistic genology, text research from the communicativ and functional point of view\textsuperscript{7}.

Qualitative research shows the changes taking place within this genre of public discourse and enables the analysis of regularities and transformations that occur against the background of existing social conditions.

The electoral leaflets concerning elections to the Parliament and local elections that took place in Poland in the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century serve as illustrative material (see List of sources in alphabetical order of their abbreviations).

**Electoral leaflet – a definition**

The election leaflet is a genre that is essential in every campaign and belongs to political discourse\textsuperscript{8}. Boguslaw Dunaj defines the leaflet as ‘a print containing a short, concise text that has the character of political propaganda or serves as an advertisement’\textsuperscript{9}.


\textsuperscript{8} Genre characteristics and changes occurring within the genre of election flyers as a cultural and linguistic convention (taking into account the communication and cultural context) were presented in the work of G. Majkowski, *Ulotka jako gatunek tekstu wyborczego*, MHPR, Warszawa 2015. At the same time, directions of changes in the electoral were indicated and, more broadly in the political discourse, which depends on the changing socio-political situation and ideology.

On the basis of the criterion of volume and pagination, it is assumed that the leaflet is a print from 1 to 4 pages\textsuperscript{10}. Because of its content, the leaflet is classified as belonging to social life documents or informative publications that reflect social life\textsuperscript{11} and are usually not intended for bookselling.

The leaflet is used to provide information, for example, about the activities of an institution, a political entity, its program or about the product and serves to convince the recipient about the benefits in the case of support of a candidate a party in the elections, purchase of goods or services. It is a print distributed in places with large clusters of people (streets, city centers, etc.), i.e. with a free, easily accessible recipient of the message.

Election leaflet is a type of electoral text\textsuperscript{12}. It is a text consisting of, a finite and ordered sequence of linguistic elements that can jointly fulfill a communicative function, and thus constitute one global sign\textsuperscript{13}, an organized whole. These properties can be examined – in relation to the leaflet – with the use of the qualitative method\textsuperscript{14}.

In research on the election leaflet and in general in the analysis of the election discourse, apart from the phenomenon of the text and the leaflet itself, it is worth bearing in mind the meaning of other terms: elections, campaign, voter and the analyzed phenomenon of changes in Poland (including the language of politics) that have occurred since the transformation of 1989\textsuperscript{15}.


\textsuperscript{11}There, s.v. documents of the social life.

\textsuperscript{12}Other types of electoral texts are: slogans, electoral programs, election folders, letters to voters, election posters, election songs, election books, electoral convention texts, election newspapers – day tickets, press interviews with candidates, radio ads, TV ads, texts from television debates, texts from speeches during meetings, conventions, rallies, electoral visiting tickets, texts on the Internet with great diversity, cf. K. Ożóg, Język w służbie polityki. Językowy kształt kampanii wyborczych, University of Rzeszów, Rzeszów 2004, pp. 15-16.


\textsuperscript{14}Text is a phenomenon omnipresent in our lives. We pass and receive information through the text and convince us to change or modify attitudes. We communicate using texts. The text can be considered from two points of view: in a dynamic aspect, from the side of its creation and understanding (psycholinguistics, psychology) and in static aspect, as a finished product, a product of the creative process (this aspect includes linguistics, especially text linguistics, text theory).

\textsuperscript{15}On this subject, see e.g. G. Majkowski, Ulotka jako gatunek tekstu wyborczego, Wyd. MHPRL, Warszawa 2015.
Qualitative research in the analysis of the election leaflet

Political discourse, including the electoral one, is a communication event that includes the following categories participants i.e. senders and recipients (-political messages – an election flyer), the purpose of communication, broadcasting intentions, so communication situation as a whole, code (written language), text itself, context and the effect of communication.

Election leaflet as a text is a communicative unit – language in use. It is not only information about something, but also information from someone to someone, information passed for some purpose, in a certain context.16

In this case, we are interested in the communication situation – the sender, the recipient and the relations between them, the function of expression in the event of which it is a part.

Qualitative research allows an analysis of the sender, the intentions of the sender, an analysis of the recipient, the content of the text – both it’s information layer and persuasive layer, an analysis of the – rhetorical principles use and – , the impact of the context on the text.

The category of Sender in the leaflet

Text, including volatile printing, is information from someone for someone (to someone). The qualitative study discovers the sender. The sender is present in the text – specifies the topic, introduces his/her judgments and assessments, organizes the content. The sender uses his/her lexical resources and specific syntactic constructions. The sender is present in the text also after its completion. The qualitative study allows us to reconstruct the image of the sender in the text.

16 The communication situation is composed of the following elements: sender and recipient of the text and relations between them (parent – child, candidate in the election – voter, while electoral discourse, campaigning situation, acceptance of the candidate and electoral role, allows the sender to propose and present his person to promote beliefs, presentation of the objectives of activities, proposing solutions, for establishing a certain common knowledge and for the appropriate linguistic shape of the text, the recipient allows the sender to be assessed); situational context, i.e. an event whose text is a part (here: written text replaces direct oral communication); functions and goals of the text in this event (here: the function of the text is to convince oneself, the professed system of values and causing specific actions of the recipient – participation in elections in the election act and casting the vote – voting).
Note the complexity of the sender of the election leaflet. In modern political communication, the broadcaster is often a multi-player team. The sender as ‘the one who speaks from the leaflet’ is the foremost (direct) broadcaster. He is named by name. Usually, it appears in the picture integrated into the structure and content of the volatile printing and in the information segment of the leaflet. The following example illustrates this:

imię [M...] nazwisko [S...]
urodzony w Wigilię Bożego Narodzenia 1973 roku, żonaty, dwóch synów, wykształcenie średnie, bezpartyjny, społecznie radny w Radzie Osiedla Kawiary – Osiniec, zawodowo koordynator w Agencji Pracy Tymczasowej. 

(KWWObyw Gniezno, 2014)

[first name [M …] surname [S …]

(KWWObyw Gniezno, 2014)

We find the sender in the act of presenting the candidate. Here are examples:

Naszymi kandydatami do Senatu są:
1. Edmund Jan OSMANCZYK – przed wojną działacz związku Polaków w Niemczech, obrońca praw ludu śląskiego, członek Komitetu Obywatelskiego przy Lechu Wałęsie, publicysta, członek zespołu ds. reform politycznych przy okrągłym stole. [...].

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17 The complexity of the message creation process applies in general to modern communication, including communication in advertising and mass media. Jerzy Brałczyk calls the message producers broadcasting system. In the case of advertising text, the broadcasting system includes: the client of the message, the advertising agency – the institutional constructor of the message, the authors of the text, see J. Brałczyk, Język na sprzedaż, PWN, PWN, Warszawa 2000, for: J. Fras, Komunikacja polityczna. Wybrane zagadnienia gatunków i języka wypowiedzi, University of Wrocław, Wrocław 2005, p. 53. In the mass media, the creator and performer of the communication is a team of people involved in the development of the concept and implementation of the message, assisted by assistants, work organizers, contributors to the communication, see M. Mrozowski, Media masowe. Władza, rozrywka, biznes, Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra, Warszawa 2001, Warszawa 2001, p. 52.

18 Excerpts – examples were presented for the first time in the work of G. Majkowski, Ulotka jako gatunek tekstu wyborczego, Wyd. MHPRL, Warszawa 2015.
Naszymi kandydatami do Sejmu są:

W okręgu Kędzierzyn-Koźle:
2. prof. dr Stefan KOZŁOWSKI – geolog, specjalista z zakresu ochrony środowiska, współprzewodniczący stolika ekologicznego przy okrągłym stole ze strony opozycyjno-solidarnościowej, członek Komitetu Obywatelskiego przy Lechu Wałęsie. […].

(KomitetMieszkań, 1989)

[Our candidates for the Senate are:
1. Edmund Jan OSMANCZYK – before the war, he was an activist of the Poles 'Union in Germany, a defender of the rights of the Silesian people, a member of the Lech Wałęsa Citizens’ Committee, a publicist, and a member of the Round Table Political Reform Team. […]].

Our candidates for the Sejm are:

In the district of Kędzierzyn-Koźle:
2. prof. dr Stefan KOZŁOWSKI – geologist, specialist in the field of environmental protection, co-chair of the ecological table at a round table on the part of opposition and solidarity, member of the Citizens’ Committee by Lech Wałęsa. […].

(Fathers Committee, 1989),

The sender reveals himself in the act of promise. Here is an example:

Obiecuję:
– konsultować ważne decyzje z Mieszkańcami,
– wspierać ludzi zaangażowanych w kulturę naszego miasta,
– zwiększyć finansowanie rozwoju sportu wśród dzieci […].

(SojuzMój, 2010)

[I promise:
– to consult important decisions with residents,
– to support people involved in the cultural life of our city,
– to increase funding for sports development among children […].

(AllianceMy, 2010)].

In addition to individual senders, there are also broadcasters. They are expressed directly in the names of their own political parties, associations and electoral committees. Examples:

Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe                     (ZwiązekLud, 1930)
[Polish People’s Party                        (ZwiązekLud, 1930),

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One should also remember the secondary broadcaster (contractual) – a team of creators and leaflet makers. In the contemporary election discourse, these are teams of people – members of the electoral staff (editors of propaganda messages) and / or employees of advertising companies, specialists in the field of political marketing.

The category of Recipient in the leaflet

Electoral leaflets are texts “for someone”, for a potential, imaginary recipient.

The recipient is therefore the second essential component of the text. The leaflet is intended for a specific group of recipients.

The qualitative research reveals whether and to what extent the sender takes into account the knowledge and interests of the recipient – whether he treats it subjectively or objectively.

The broadcaster builds a broadcasting strategy in which he/she takes into account the model recipient. Imagines them and takes into account their knowledge and interests in the text.

We test the language of the sender: language competence in general, that is the knowledge of the language system, but also the vocabulary, we check whether the words and expressions used do not go beyond the scope of the recipient’s passive mental lexicon.

We examine whether the sender considers the recipient’s linguistic knowledge and knowledge about the world. We examine whether the knowledge of the common sender and recipient is taken into account.

The problem is whether the scope of common knowledge, a “common language”, which facilitates agreement has been established and how the proportions between the expressed and the hidden knowledge are distributed.

We examine whether the message is understandable “for someone” and is interesting “for someone”, whether reflects the knowledge of the recipient, his interests (this serves to present the candidate’s interests, values, usually to please the recipients; the sender emphasizes that he is a physically active person, an amateur jogger, etc.)

We study, therefore, how the addressee is inscribed in the text. The addressee is present in the linguistic layer of the text through the selection of vocabulary, the choice of terminology the selection of information. We are therefore investigating whether the sender has placed the text at the level on
which the addressee functions, what strategies ether which he used to achieve that, i.e., whether he took the recipient into account.

In political discourse, the recipient, the person whom the leaflet addresses directly is the voter, i.e., 'the person entitled to participate in the vote, who has the right to cast his vote in the elections': Meeting of presidential candidates with voters. Voters voted for someone\(^{19}\). Examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Obywatele wyborcy!} \hfill (ZwiązekObyw, 1930),
  \textit{Voter Citizens!} \hfill (Relationships, 1930),
  \item \textit{Obywatele chłopi! Zbliża się dzień wyborów do Sejmu.} \hfill (ZarządObyw, 1935)
  \textit{Peasants Citizens! The election day to the Sejm is approaching} \hfill (Management Board, 1935),
  \item \textit{Towarzysze! Robotnicy! Wyborcy!} \hfill (PartiaNad, 1928),
  \textit{Comrades! Workers! Voters!} \hfill (PartyNad, 1928),
  \item \textit{Do [...] wszystkich członków Stronnictwa Ludowego pow. lubelskiego} \hfill (ZarządCzłon, 1935)
  \textit{To [...] all members of the People’s Party, Lubelskie} \hfill (Managing Board, 1935),
  \item \textit{Do wszystkich mieszkańców gmin. Po całej Polsce brzmi dziś radosny głos.} \hfill (StronnictwoWszysc, 1918),
  \textit{To all residents of municipalities. There is a joyful voice all over Poland toda} \hfill (StronnictwoWszysc, 1918),
  \item \textit{Drodzy Sąsiedzi!} \hfill (KKW SLD-UP, 2002)
  \textit{Dear neighbours!} \hfill (KKW SLD-UP, 2002).
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Text functions}

As mentioned above, the leaflet is a text – a message given by someone – a specific sender hidden in the text for someone (to someone), and thus for a specific recipient entered in the text. It is transmitted for a specific purpose; a fully defined function.

The qualitative study enables the analysis of text functions. This is the most important research activity in the case of a volatile text – an electoral text.

The basic function of the text is a communicative one – information function (information transfer). In addition to this, it has a persuasive, appela-

tive, also expressive, emotive, creative (poetic), aesthetic and other functions. We are looking for a dominant function in the leaflet. We examine how fleeting texts inform and how they convince.

a) Information function

The text informs, for example, who is the sender (collective). Here is the excerpt:

*Opolski Komitet Obywatelski „Solidarność”* (KomitetMieszkań, 1989) [Citizens’ Committee “Solidarity” of Opole (KomitetMieszkań, 1989)].

The recipient also receives information about the type of election campaign. In the case of a self-governmental campaign in the name of the sender of the leaflet, the noun basis (agreement, community) is usually developed with the local government attribute: local government agreement, self-government community. Example:


The leaflet also provides information directly about the candidate in the election. It informs about the basic data of the candidate: age, education, profession, place of work, family status, etc., as in the examples above.

From the leaflet, the recipient also gets information about the candidate’s election program, such as

Program:

Liquidation of old cells threatening to collapse.
Making a playground for children within the framework of the civic budget,
Repairing two access roads to the housing estate from Sobieski Street.

(KWW Tręb, M. Grab. 2014)

Information – as in the case of an electoral program – is closely related to persuasion, with the basic function of electoral text.
b) Persuasive function

Electoral leaflets are primarily intended to convince voters to vote for a candidate or an election organization.

In the democratic system during the election campaign, communication activities are used to persuade the recipient to vote in the elections for the presented candidate, the electoral committee or party allows the exchange of power, and most importantly, without the use of physical strength. This is due to the very essence of the democratic system. The texts of the leaflets are saturated with linguistic means with a persuasive function. Here is an example:

To wszystko można osiągnąć pod warunkiem porozumienia społecznego i wzniesienia się ponad partyjne układy. Miasta, w których udało się osiągnąć takie porozumienie rozwijają się lepiej, dynamiczniej i stabilniej.

(KWW Unia, 2002)

[All this can be achieved on the condition of social understanding and rising above party parties. Cities in which such an agreement has been achieved develop better, more dynamically and more stably.]

We also examine the ordering of information and arguments, their hierarchies – order, volume, content, capacity, location. How are the arguments and information organized in order to be included in the inference scheme. We analyze how information and, above all, arguments are written into the inference scheme. In an elusive text, the sender chooses an inductive scheme – from detail to the general. We examine, therefore, whether the manner of ordering arguments reflects the proper scheme of inference.

At the same time, we examine persuasion support with non-verbal messages, such as size, type of font (italics, antiquities), its color, incorporation of a photo, text background color, i.e., measures that affect emotions and aestheticize text.

Content and structure of the message

The qualitative study allows the analysis of the content and structure of volatile printing. We study how the text was embedded in the communic-
tion situation, between the sender and the recipient, within the event in which it is to play a specific role, and thus how the topic was prepared. We are investigating whether the text of the leaflet has been adapted to a specific, attached leaflet as a genre of the electoral text of the stylistic norm.

Each text has a specific style and realizes some sort of social communication. Qualitative research makes it possible to check whether and to what extent the super-individual, individual, subjective and objective factors shape the speech how hey influence – the choice of language material (vocabulary and phraseology, syntactic constructions, etc.) and the construction of the text (its organization, type of composition, paragraph structure). It enables us to verify if the requirements related to a specific text genre and stylistic convention are satisfied.

We therefore examine the impact of the communication situation on the text (its content, function, structure).

Qualitative research allows us to analyze the criteria of textuality: cohesion, or surface cohesion of a text – a formal connection of surface text components (inside a paragraph and between paragraphs). – This includes the following – (i) syntactic means, such as: ellipsis, parallelism, conjunctions, (ii) lexical means, e.g. antonyms repetitions (exact and non-exact, such as) synonyms, hypernyms, paraphrase (iii): coherence, or semantic linking of textual components of the text, (iv) intentionality i.e. the attitude of the sender whose goal is to construct a consistent and coherent text serving some purpose, acceptability, or the recipient’s readiness to receive a coherent text making sense for this particular recipient, (vi) informativeness, or the degree to which the occurrence of a given text is expected or not;(vii) situationality, or matching the text to the situation in which it occurs; (viii)intertextuality, or the dependence of one text on other texts. Qualitative research makes it possible to analyze the initial and final formulas of the text.

Conclusion

We examine in the text what is necessary for its full informative content, clarity and intelligibility, accuracy and unambiguity. We refer to the principles of text construction and to what is necessary from the point of view of the sender and the recipient.

We study the content of the text, its function and structure. Thus, we examine the quality of volatile text. In this way, we contribute to the field of research on (political) discourse using the qualitative method.

As said at the outset, the researcher is guided by the idea of scientific inquiry in his actions. He aims to obtain reliable and unadulterated data as well to explain the problem in an objective, orderly way. The valuable elaboration of the problem requires that the researcher should adjust the method to the situations studied and to the collected source material. He has a choice between quantitative and qualitative methods. In many cases, it is a qualitative method that will be effective and beneficial for scientific objectives.

LIST OF SOURCES IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER
OF THEIR ABBREVIATIONS

Komitet Mieszkań, 1989 – Apel do mieszkańców Opolszczyzny, Opolski Komitet Obywatelski „Solidarność” (wybory do sejmu i senatu, 4 czerwca 1989 r.)
KKW LPR, 2002 – Komitet Wyborczy Liga Polskich Rodzin (wybory samorządowe 2002 r.)
KKW ObywGniezno, 2014 – Komitet Wyborczy Wyborców Obywatelskie Gniezno, Kandydat do Rady Miasta Gniezna (wybory samorządowe 2014 r.)
KKW PS „Wspólnota”, 2002 – Komitet Wyborczy Wyborców Porozumienie Samorządowe „Wspólnota” (wybory samorządowe 2002 r.)
KKW Tręb, M. Grab. 2014 – Komitet Wyborczy Wyborców M. G. (wybory samorządowe 2014 r.)
KKW Unia, 2002 – Komitet Wyborczy Wyborców Unia dla Częstochowy (wybory samorządowe 2002 r.)
Sojusz Mój, 2010 – Mój pomysł na nasze miasto, Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (wybory samorządowe 2010 r.)
Stronnictwo Wszyscy, 1918 – Do wszystkich mieszkańców gmin. Po całej Polsce brzmi dziś radosny głos […] , Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (wybory, grudzień 1918 r.)


ZwiązekObyw, 1930 – Obywatele wyborcy! Związek Obrony Prawa i Wolności Ludu, Stryj (wybory do sejmu, 16 listopada 1930 r.)

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STRESZCZENIE

W artykule podjęto temat wykorzystania badań jakościowych do analizy tekstu politycznego – ulotki wyborczej, która stanowi jeden z gatunków tekstu wyborczego w dyskursie politycznym.

Materiał źródłowy stanowiły ulotki z wyborów do sejmu, senatu, wyborów samorządowych, które miały miejsce w Polsce w XX w. i na początku XXI w.

Badania jakościowe umożliwiają analizę nadawcy, intencji nadawcy, analizę odbiorcy, treści tekstu – warstwy informacyjnej i perswazyjnej tekstu, użytych zasad retoryki, kryteriów tekstowości, wpływu kontekstu. Pozwalają lepiej poznać czynniki, które decydują o zrozumiałości, jednoznaczności, informacyjnej pełności tekstu i tym samym jego skuteczności w komunikacji politycznej.

Metoda jakościowa umożliwia badanie zawartości tekstu, jego funkcji, struktury, a więc jakości tekstu ulotnego i szerzej, jakości dyskursu politycznego.

Słowa kluczowe: metoda badań jakościowa, dyskurs polityczny, dyskurs wyborczy, tekst, ulotka wyborcza, perswazja, retoryka, kryteria tekstowości.