Dogwhistle content is intriguing to me (JT) because of the parallels to projective content, as well as obvious differences:

1. Theoretical analyses of dogwhistles in semantic/pragmatic and philosophical literature:
   - different characterizations of the phenomenon, different properties attributed to different dogwhistles: suggests need for a taxonomy
   - analyses make testable predictions
   - few empirical investigations (except those in political science)
   - empirical focus on English (especially US American context)

2. Dogwhistle content appears to depends on
   - speaker identity
   - listener identity
   - linguistic context
   - social context
   ….and can therefore also be taken to signal information about these aspects of context.

3. Dogwhistle content is detachable: consequences of the form/meaning pairing

Goals of pilots
1. Which expressions are dogwhistles in German?
2. Can we provide empirical evidence for German dogwhistles?

Overview

- Potential dogwhistles (PDWs) identified through researcher intuition by reading AfD webpages
    - two PDWs are broadly used with non-DW meaning, sometimes even defined
        - *Volk* 'people'
        - *Hilfe vor Ort* 'help locally'
    - one PDW is not used broadly, not objectively offensive, but "icky" due to use of "Kampf" in connection with "Deutschland"
        - *Kampf für Deutschland* 'fight for Germany'

Pilot 1: Collect expressions that describe traits of speakers who use PDWs (*Volk* 'people' in two uses)
Pilot 2: Which traits are ascribed to speakers who use PDWs? (collect speaker evaluations, based in pilot 1 expressions)
Pilot 3: Is the content of PDWs plausibly deniable? (collect contradictoriness ratings)

Key results:
- Whether *Volk* 'people' is a dogwhistle depends on its linguistic context.
- *Kampf für Deutschland* 'fight for Germany' is a dogwhistle that primarily the ingroup reacts to.
- *Hilfe vor Ort* 'help locally' is a dogwhistle that primarily the outgroup reacts to.

Pilot 1 (n = 60)

- Materials:
  'Children are the future of our people.'
  - Kinder sind die Zukunft unseres **Volkes**. (PDW)
  - Kinder sind die Zukunft unserer Gesellschaft. (minimal variant)

  'Becoming a German national is connected to strict requirements.'
  - Die Aufnahme in das **deutsche Staatsvolk** ist an strenge Bedingungen geknüpft. (PDW)
  - Der Erwerb der deutschen Staatsbürgerschaft ist an strenge Bedingungen geknüpft. (minimal variant)

- Presented on two lists as utterances by two politicians. Participants were asked to give four attributes that describe the speakers.

- Visual inspection of the attributes for the PDW-uttering politicians resulted in the following eight attributes (positive and negative values were given by the participants):
  1. age (attribute given: old)
  2. fortschrittlich 'progressive'
  3. rassistisch 'racist'
  4. ehrlich 'honest'
  5. hilfsbereit 'helpful'
  6. intelligent 'intelligent'
  7. christlich 'christian'
  8. freundlich 'friendly'

Pilot 2 (n = 115) Which traits are ascribed to speakers who use PDWs?

Materials:

1. 'Children are the future of our people.'
    - Kinder sind die Zukunft unseres **Volkes**. (PDW)
    - Kinder sind die Zukunft unserer Gesellschaft. (minimal variant)

2. 'Becoming a German national is connected to strict requirements.'
    - Die Aufnahme in das **deutsche Staatsvolk** ist an strenge Bedingungen geknüpft. (PDW)
    - Der Erwerb der deutschen Staatsbürgerschaft ist an strenge Bedingungen geknüpft. (minimal variant)

3. 'This migration policy results in more local assistance in areas of crisis.'
    - Diese Migrationspolitik sorgt für mehr **Hilfe vor Ort** in Krisenregionen. (PDW)
    - Diese Migrationspolitik sorgt für mehr lokale Unterstützung in Krisenregionen. (minimal variant)

4. 'In 2022 we continue to fight for Germany.'
    - Auch 2022 geht unser **Kampf für Deutschland** weiter. (PDW)
   - Auch 2022 setzen wir uns weiter für Deutschland ein. (minimal variant)

The items were divided onto four lists of two utterances each (one PDW, one unrelated minimal variant).

Participants were told that the utterances were produced by two politicians. They were asked to assess the two politicians' properties based on the eight attributes on 5-point scales, and indicate an age range.

Participant properties

- Participants for all pilots were recruited on Prolific.ac. They were required to live in Germany and speak German.

- The participants are generelly pretty well-educated and pretty left-leaning (Green, SPD), when asked about which party they would vote for in the next election.

- We also collected participants' position on five issues from the Wahl-o-mat (which the government makes available, during election time, to help one determine which political party best aligns with one's own views):
  1. Das Tragen eines Kopftuchs soll Beamtinnen im Dienst generell erlaubt sein. 'Wearing a head scarf should be allowed for government employees while working.' [I disagree = conservative answer]
  2. In Deutschland soll es generell möglich sein, neben der deutschen eine zweite Staatsbürgerschaft zu haben. 'In Germany it should be possible to have a nationality in addition to being German.' [I disagree = conservative answer]
  3. Islamische Verbände sollen als Religionsgemeinschaften staatlich anerkannt werden können. 'Islamic groups should be recognized officially as religious communities.' [I disagree = conservative answer]
  4. Asyl soll weiterhin nur politisch Verfolgten gewährt werden. 'Asylum should continue to be given exclusively to politically persecuted people.' [I agree = conservative answer]
  5. Das Recht anerkannter Flüchtlinge auf Familiennachzug soll abgeschafft werden. 'The right of recognized fugitives' families to join them shall be removed.' [I agree = conservative answer]

- In the analyses, participants were binned into 'more conservative' vs 'less conservative':
  - For each issue: 2 points for conservative answer, 1 point for 'neutral', and 0 points for progressive answer (max. 10 points for 5 x conservative answer; max. mean score = 2; min. mean score = 0)
  - 'More conservative': mean score 1 or higher
  - 'Less conservative': mean score lower than 1

Pilot 2 participants (87 less conservative, 28 more conservative)
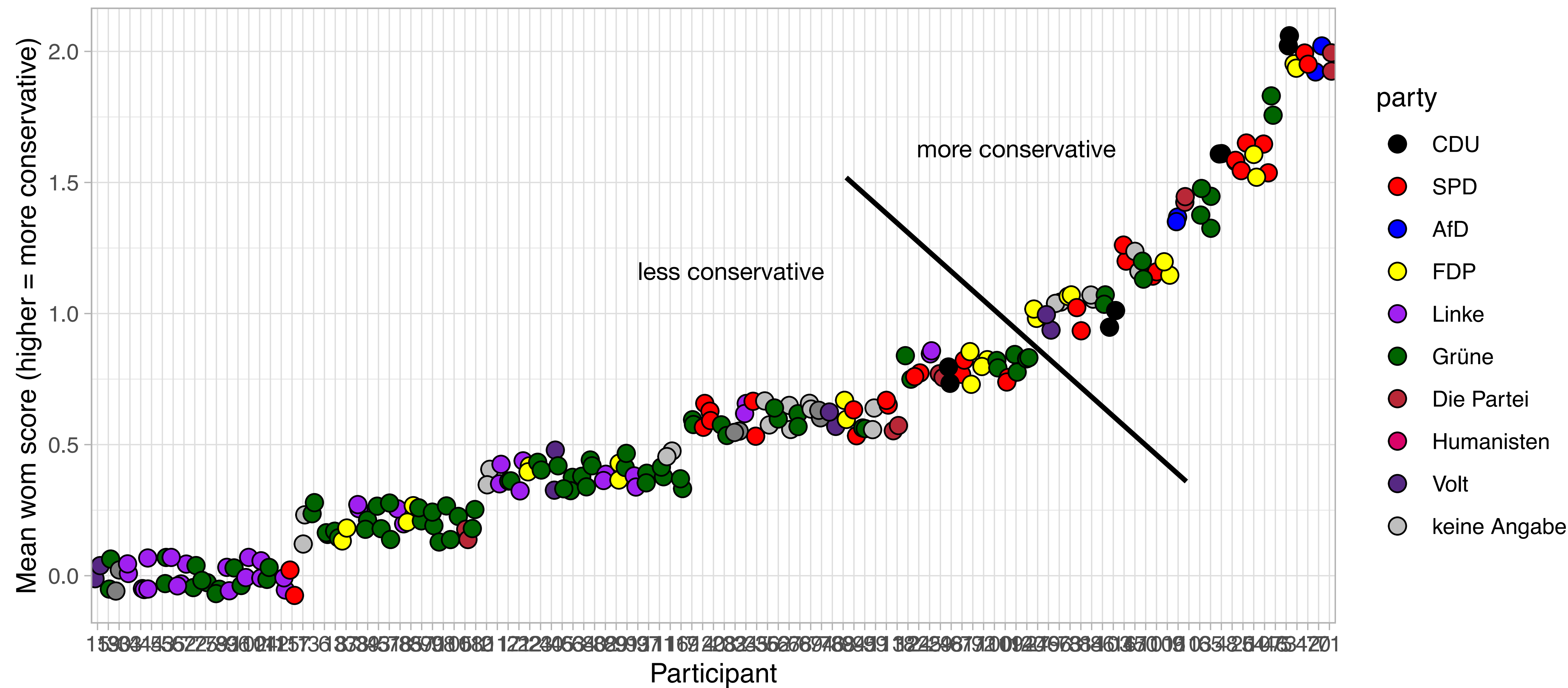
Pilot 2 select results 1/5: Which traits are ascribed to speakers who use PDWs? "racist"
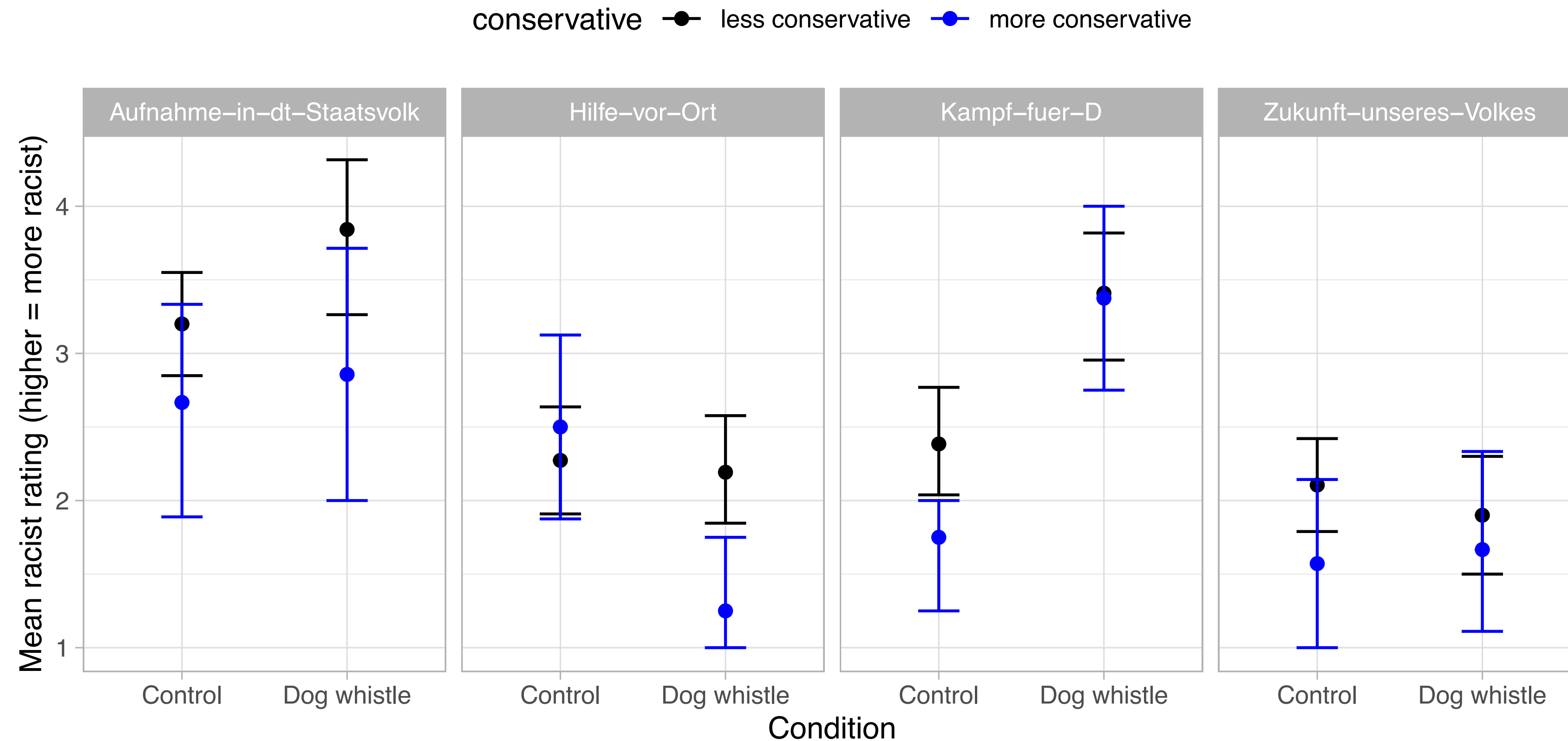
Results: lots of different patterns!
- "Aufnahme in das deutsches Staatsvolk": higher ratings, compared to control, from less conservative
- "Hilfe vor Ort": lowest ratings from more conservative, as if they recognize DW and want to deny it (though ratings from less conservative aren't very high, comparatively)
- "Kampf für Deutschland": comparatively high ratings from both groups, higher than control
- "Zukunft unseres Volkes": comparatively low ratings from less conservative, also for control, not a DW?
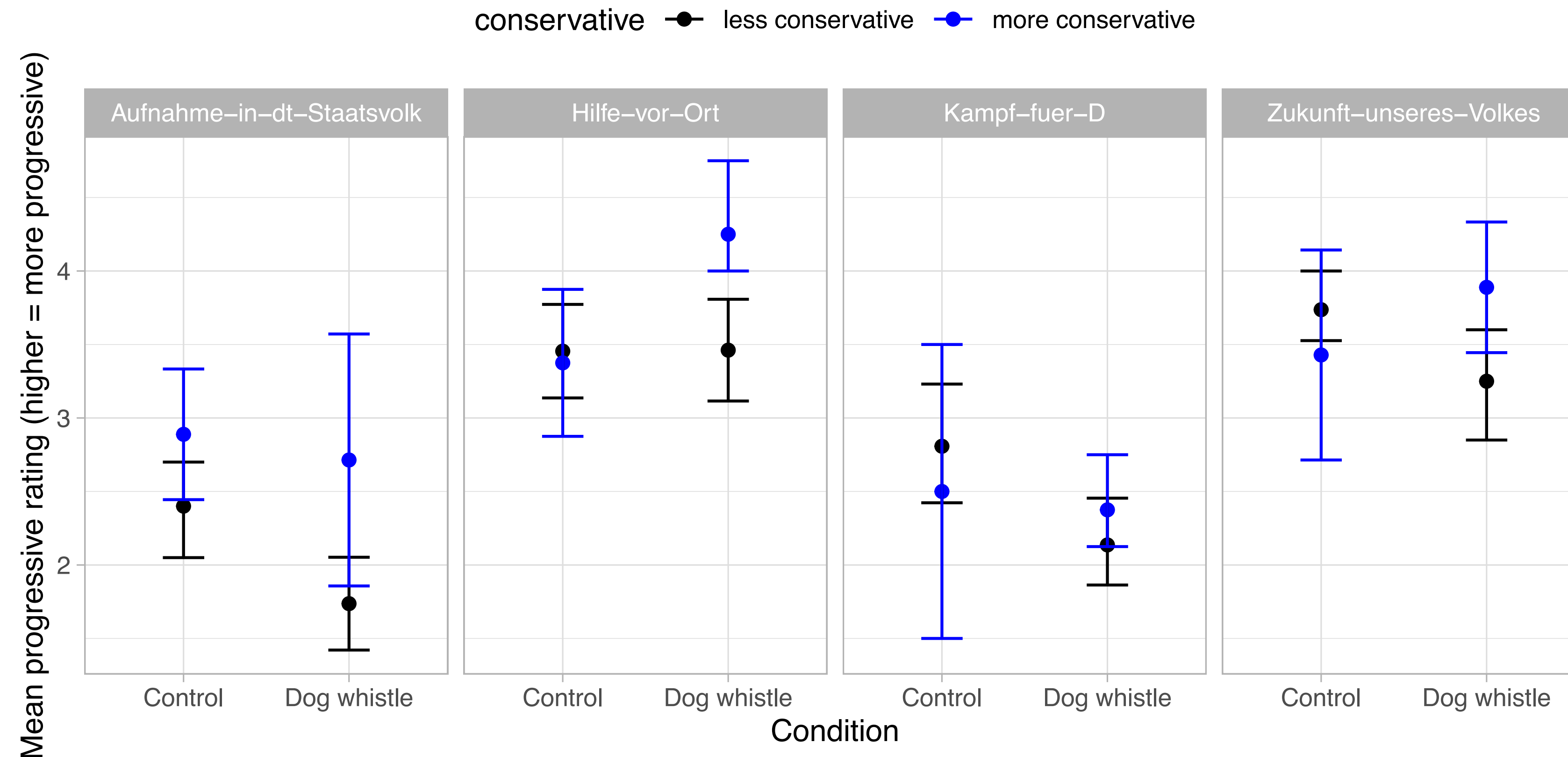
Pilot 2 select results 2/5: Which traits are ascribed to speakers who use PDWs? "party"

	deutsches Staatsvolk	Hilfe vor Ort	Kampf für Deutschland	Zukunft unseres Volkes
AfD	17	1	16	1
CDU	7	6	6	12

Results: lots of different patterns!
- "Aufnahme in das deutsches Staatsvolk": lots of AfD ascriptions!
- "Hilfe vor Ort": few AfD ascriptions (most participants said "Green" or "SPD")
- "Kampf für Deutschland": lots of AfD ascriptions!
- "Zukunft unseres Volkes": few AfD ascriptions (most people said "CDU" or "SPD")

Pilot 2 select results 3/5: Which traits are ascribed to speakers who use PDWs? "progressive"

Results: lots of different patterns!

- "Aufnahme in das deutsches Staatsvolk": drop in ratings, compared to control, from less conservative
- "Hilfe vor Ort": significantly higher ratings from more conservative, compared to control and less conservative participants
- "Kampf für Deutschland": comparatively lower ratings from less conservative compared to control
- "Zukunft unseres Volkes": compared to control, ratings drop for less conservative and increase for more conservative participants

Pilot 2 select results 4/5: Which traits are ascribed to speakers who use PDWs? "helpful"
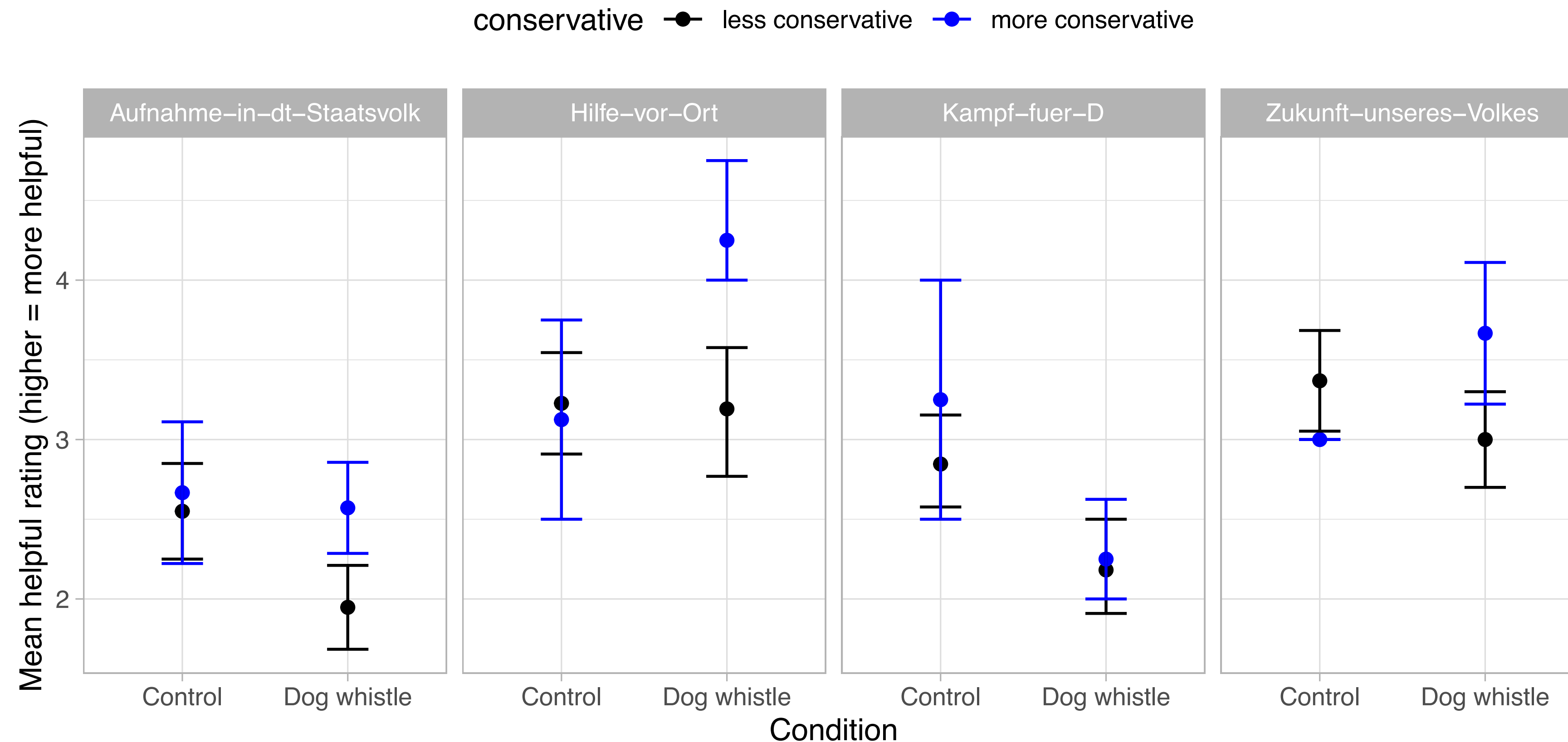
Results: lots of different patterns!
- "Aufnahme in das deutsches Staatsvolk": drop in ratings, compared to control, from less conservative
- "Hilfe vor Ort": significantly higher ratings from more conservative, compared to control and less conservative participants
- "Kampf für Deutschland": comparatively lower ratings from both groups compared to controls
- "Zukunft unseres Volkes": comparatively higher ratings more conservative, compared to control and less conservative participants

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Pilot 2 select results 5/5: "progressive" and "helpful" ratings appear to be highly correlated
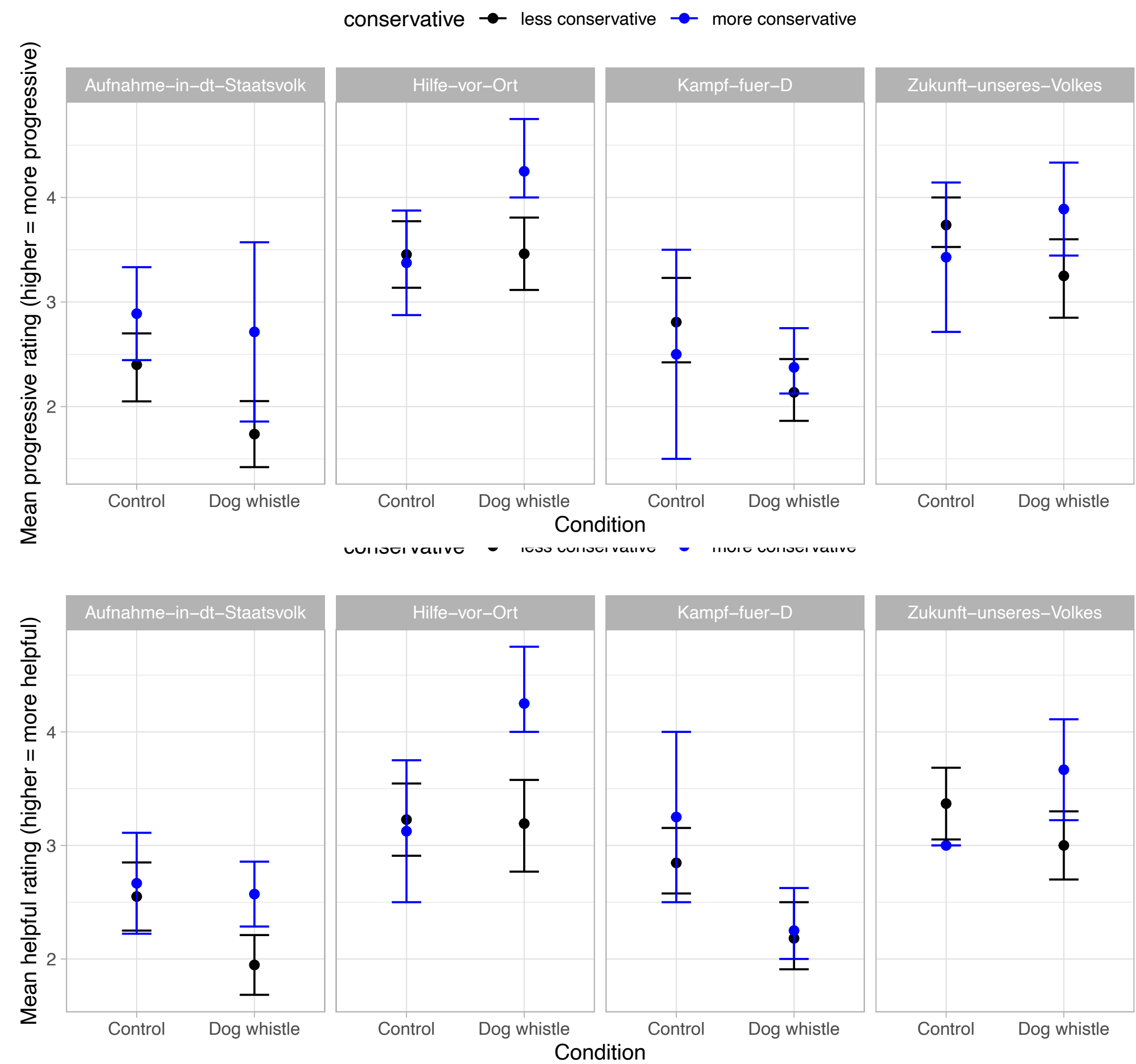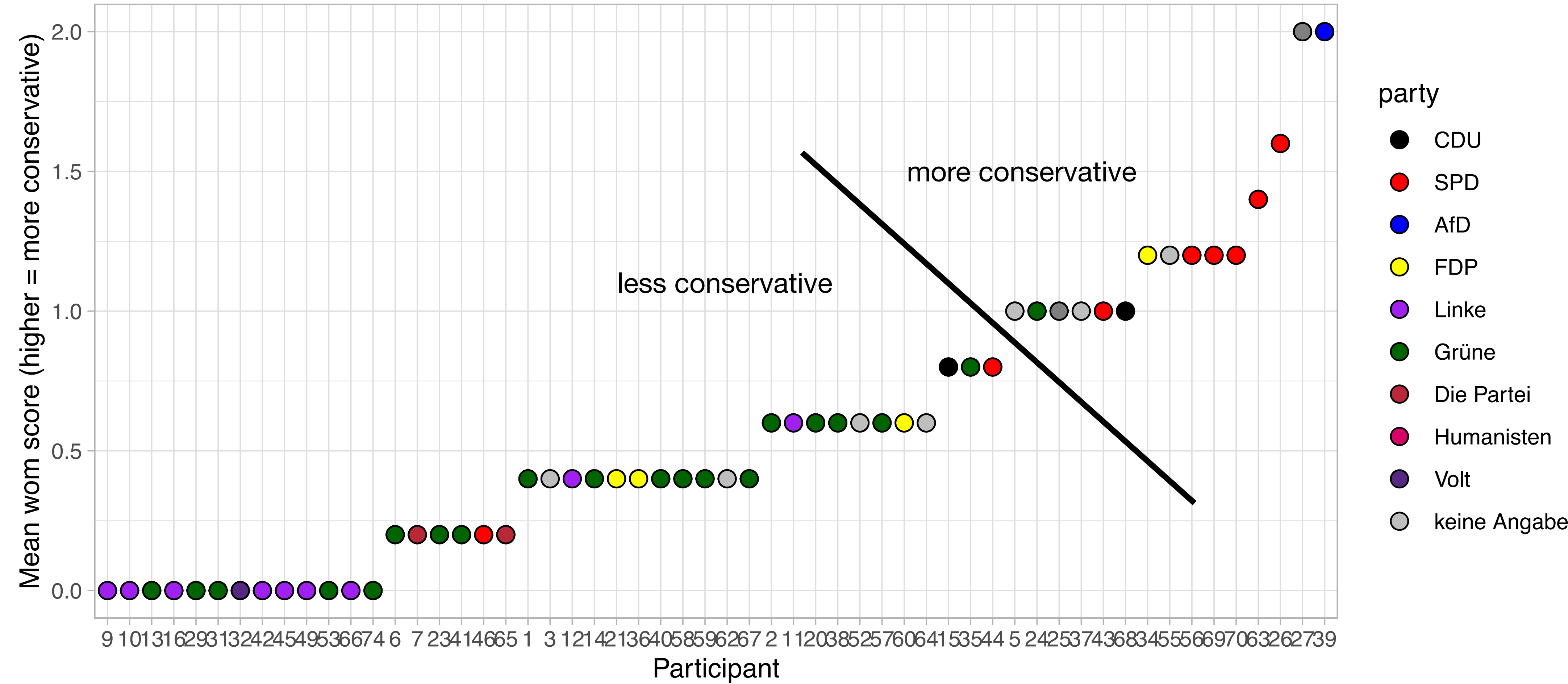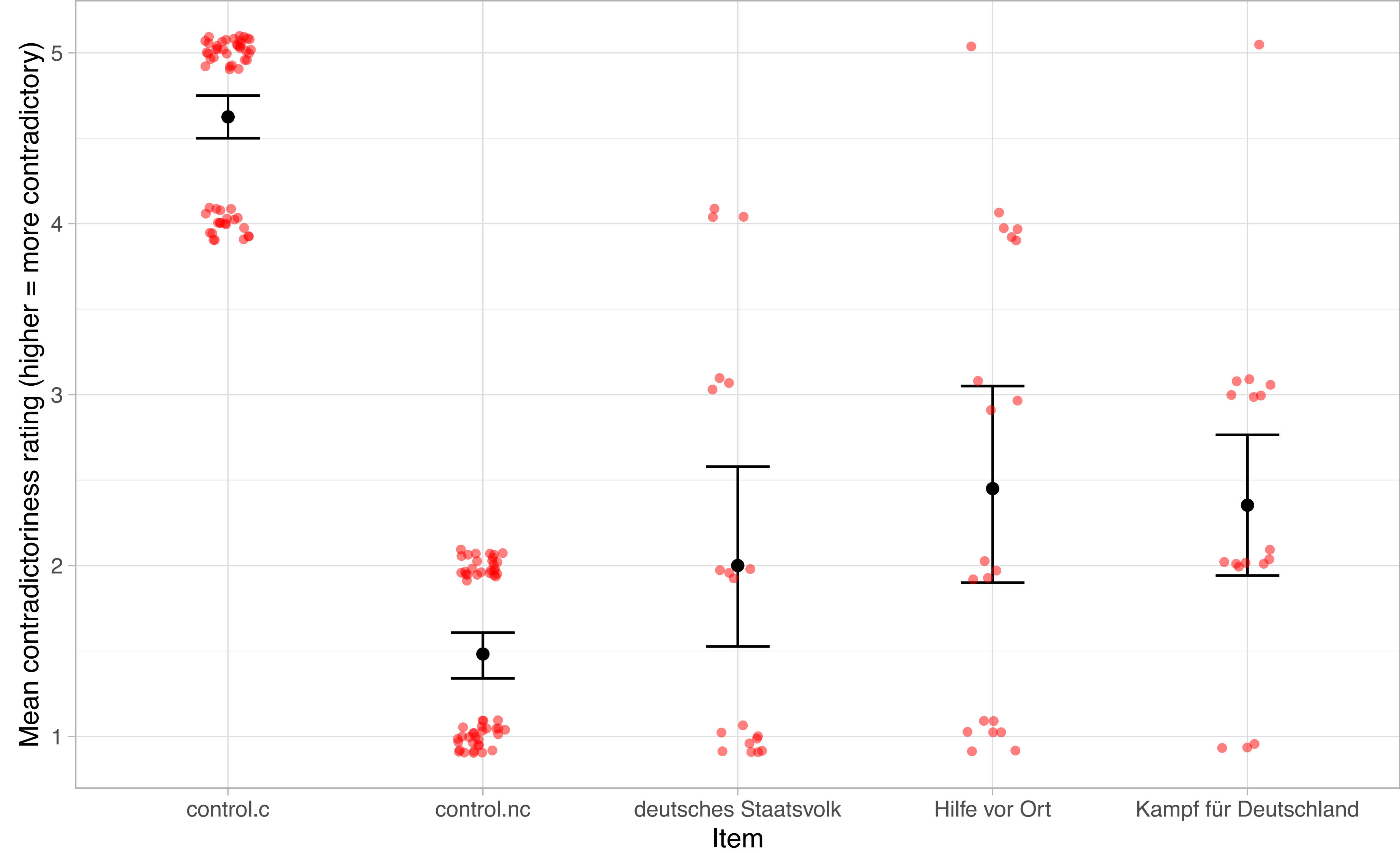
Pilot 3 (n = 74) Is the content of PDWs plausibly deniable?

- Control materials:
    1. Meine Frau hat mit dem Rauchen aufgehört. Aber nur weil ich das sage, glaube ich doch nicht, dass sie früher mal geraucht hat. 'My wife stopped smoking. But just because I say this doesn't mean that I believe that she used to smoke.'
    2. Mein Sohn ist echt gut in Mathe. Aber nur weil ich das sage, glaube ich doch nicht, dass ich auch gut in Mathe bin. 'My son is really good in math. But just because I say this doesn't mean that I believe that I'm also good in math.'

- Target materials (with PDWs)
    3. Die Aufnahme in das **deutsche Staatsvolk** ist an strenge Bedingungen geknüpft. 'Becoming a German national is connected to strict requirements.'
    4. Diese Migrationspolitik sort für mehr **Hilfe vor Ort** in Krisenregionen. 'This migration policy results in more local assistance in areas of crisis.'
    5. Auch 2022 geht unser **Kampf für Deutschland** weiter. 'In 2022 we continue to fight for Germany.'

- Materials were divided onto three lists of three items each: the two control items, in that order, then one PDW.

- Participants were asked to rate the contradictoriness of the utterances on a scale from 'not at all contradictory'/1 to 'very contradictory'/5.

- Excluded: Data from 18 participants who gave a rating of 3 or lower to control 1, or of 3 or higher to control 2.
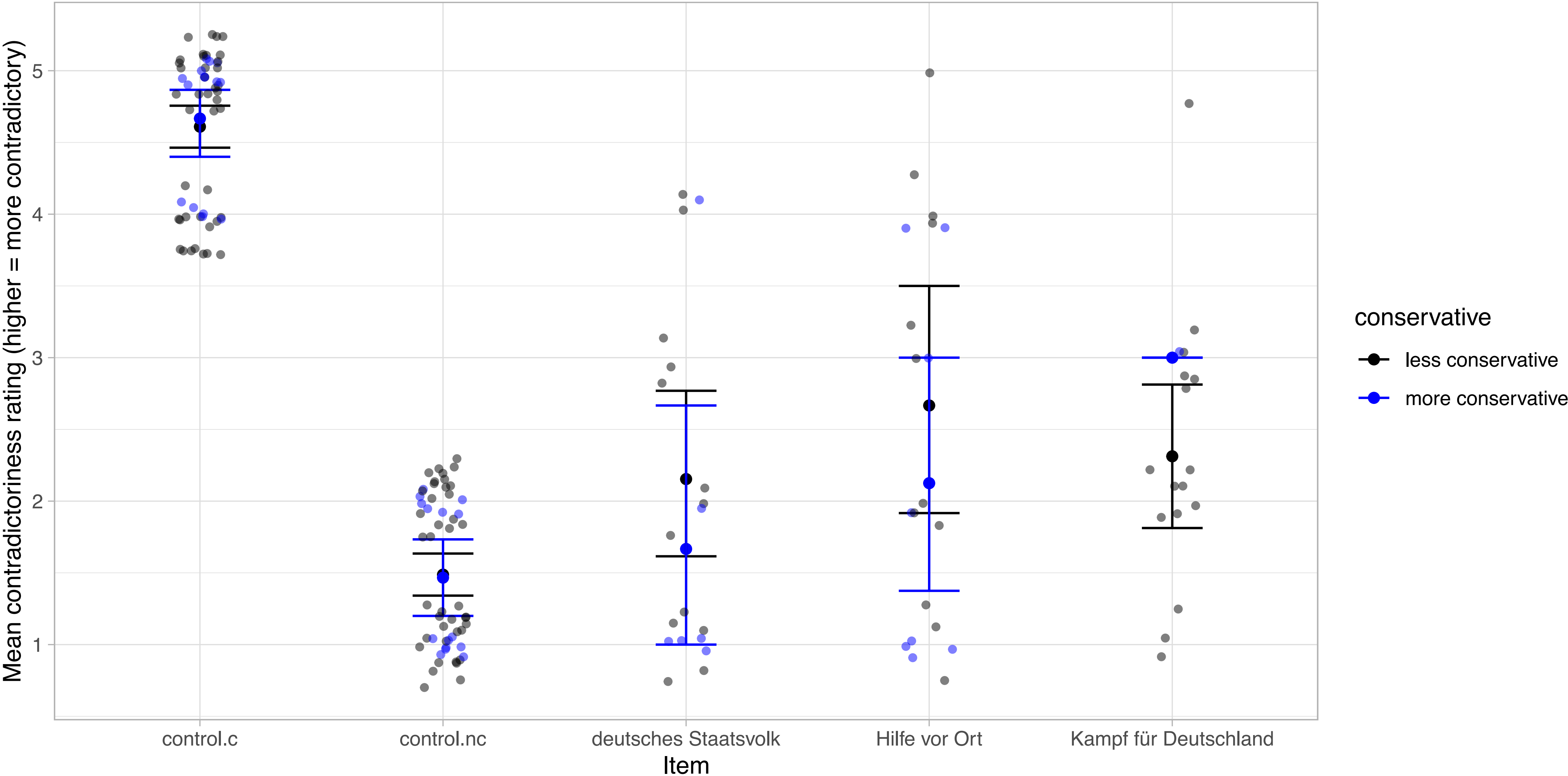
Pilot 3 participants (41 less conservative, 15 more conservative)

Pilot 3 results 1/2 Is the content of PDWs plausibly deniable?

Pilot 3 results 2/2 Is the content of PDWs plausibly deniable?

Summary: Each of these expressions shows a different pattern!

- "Kampf für Deutschland":
  - lots of AfD ascriptions
  - both **more** and **less** conservative participants rated DW-speakers as **more racist** and **less progressive/ helpful** than control-speakers, higher increase compared to control for more conservative participants
  - racist content is **least deniable** of the three expressions investigated; deniability is significantly different from deniable content; **plausible deniability is weaker for more conservative participants** than less conservative ones

- "Volk":
  - racism ratings are comparatively low, also for control, suggests that this may not be a DW in this sentence
  - comparatively higher progressive/helpful ratings from more conservative, compared to control and less conservative participants, so not an entirely neutral expression

- "deutsches Staatsvolk":
  - lots of AfD ascriptions
  - **less conservative participants** rated DW-speakers rated as **more racist** and **less progressive/helpful** than control-speakers; no difference for more conservative participants between speakers
  - racist content is **quite deniable**, especially for **more conservative participants**

- "Hilfe vor Ort":
  - **more conservative participants** rated DW-speakers as **less racist** and **more progressive/helpful** than control-speakers; no difference for less conservative participants between DW- and control speakers
  - racist content is **less deniable than clearly deniable content**, but only for **less conservative participants** (pretty much **deniable for more conservative participants**)

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