

# Detecting Implicitly Harmful Language in Political Discourse

Julia Mendelsohn

University of Maryland

*juliame@umd.edu*



# Content Warning

I will be talking about material that may be offensive and upsetting to some audience members.

*Democrats are the problem. They don't care about crime and they want illegal immigrants, no matter how bad they may be, to pour into and infest our Country, like MS-13. They can't win on their terrible policies, so they view them as potential voters!* ~  
President Donald Trump, June 2018



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*Good night to everyone but the massive amount of Soros-funded illegals who are trying to invade our border.*

*~ AZ State Sen Wendy Rogers, Sep 2021*



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## Anti-immigration

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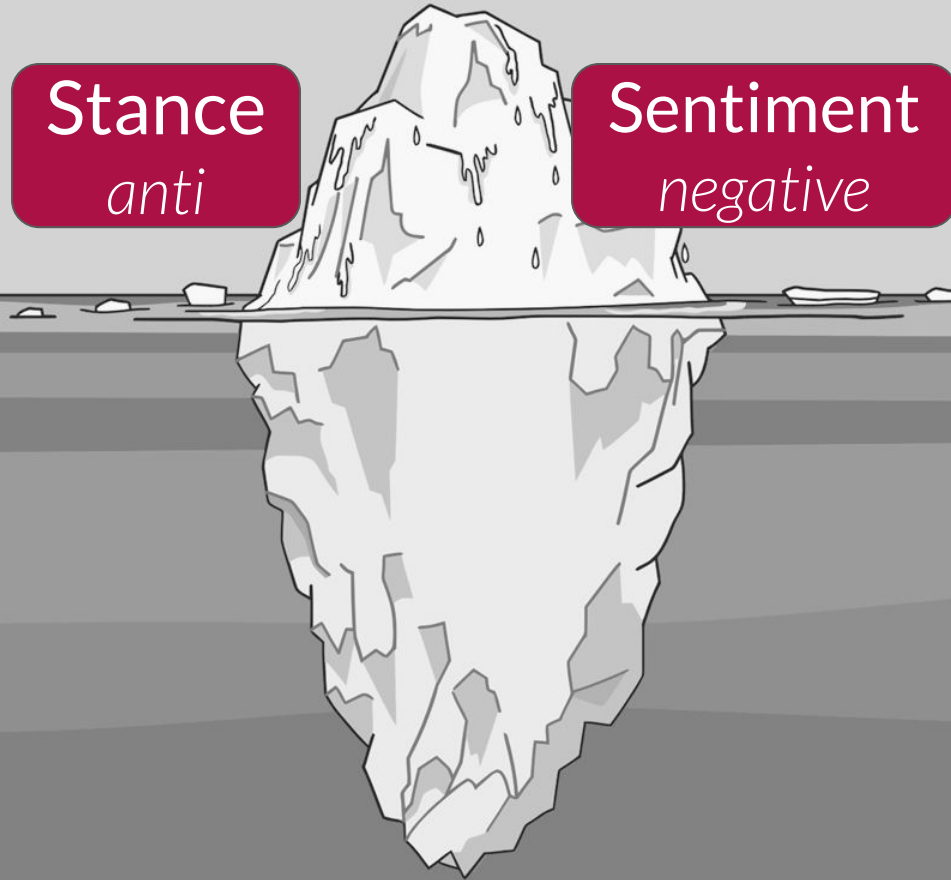
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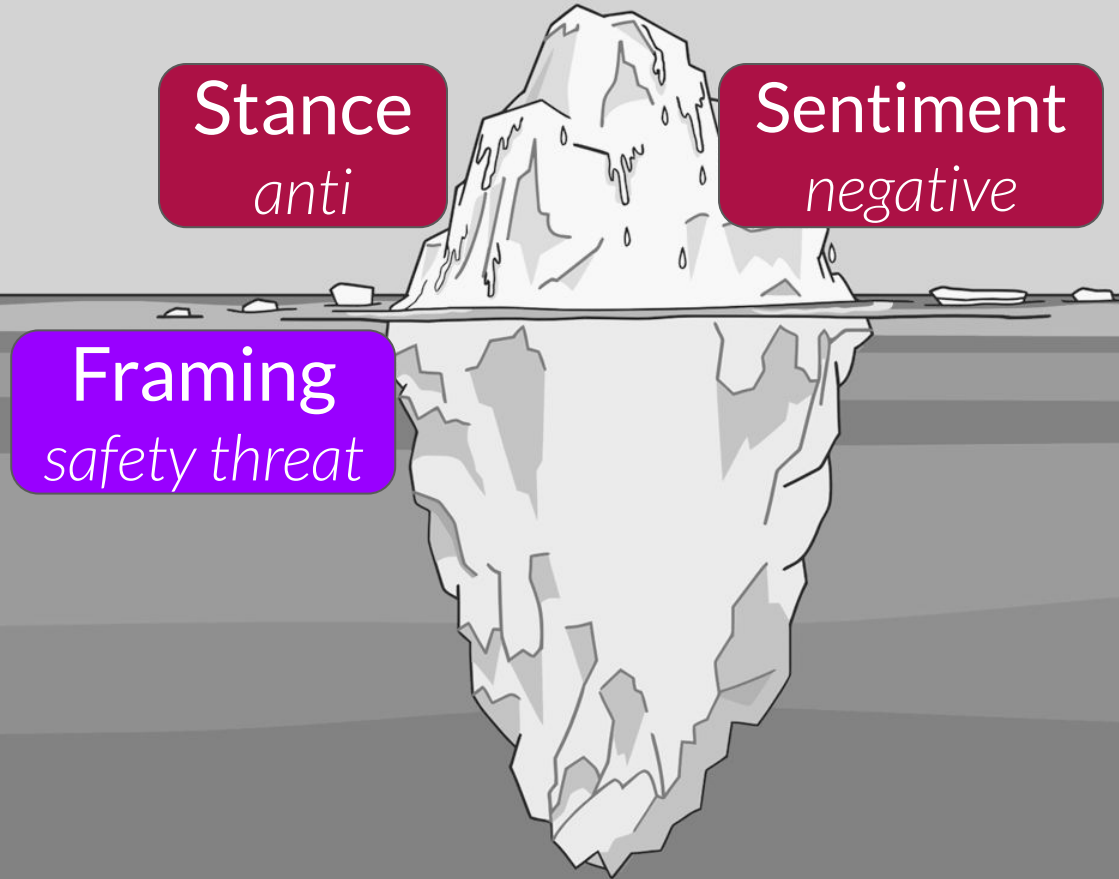
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# The Implicit Iceberg



# The Implicit Iceberg



# The Implicit Iceberg

**Stance**  
*anti*

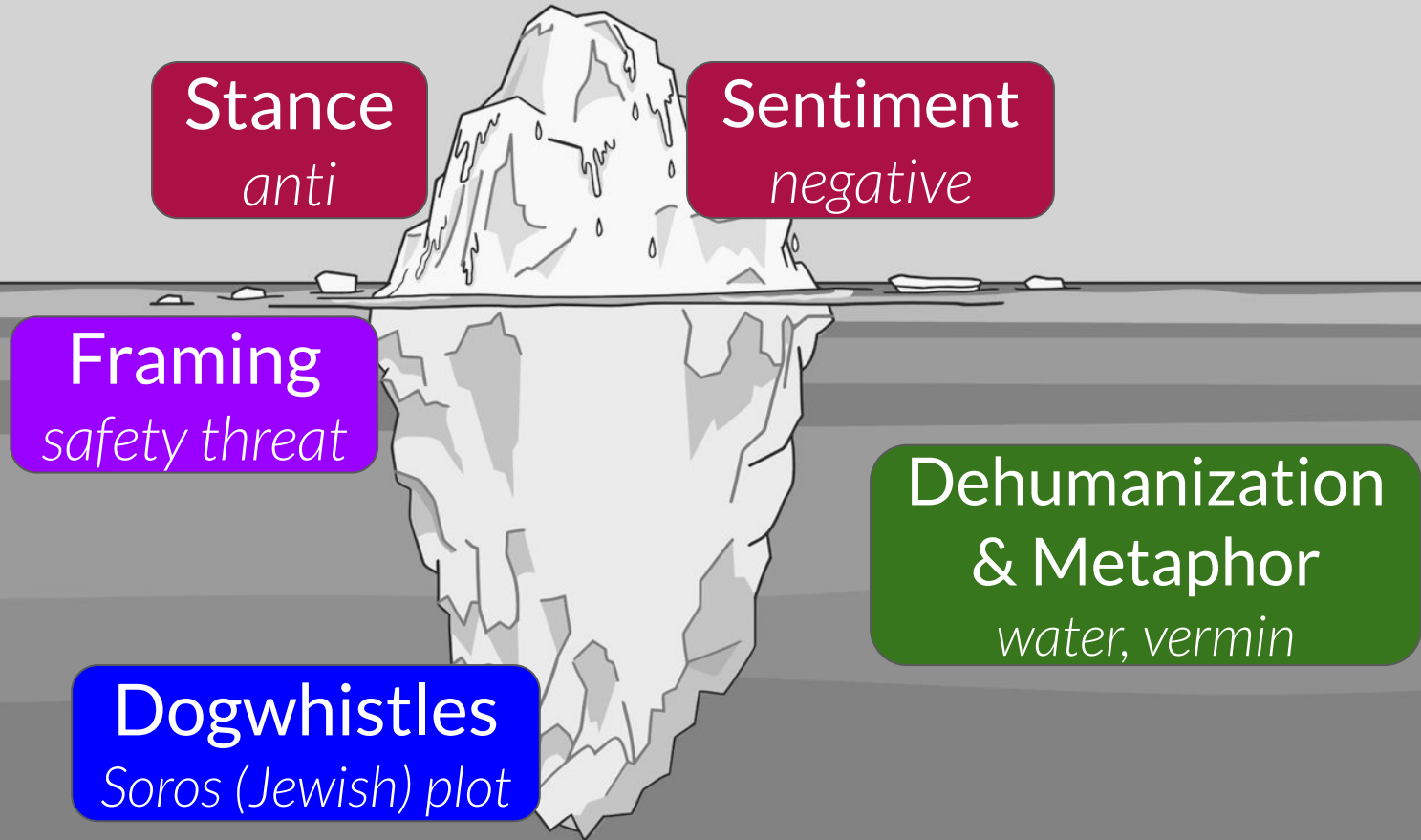
**Sentiment**  
*negative*

**Framing**  
*safety threat*

**Dehumanization  
& Metaphor**  
*water, vermin*



# The Implicit Iceberg



# These strategies shape *how audiences understand* political issues...



**Framing**  
*safety threat*

**Dogwhistles**  
*Soros (Jewish) plot*

**Dehumanization  
& Metaphor**  
*water, vermin*

...and are key elements of  
political communication

An illustration of an iceberg floating in water. The water surface is a horizontal line. Above the surface is the small tip of the iceberg. Below the surface is the much larger, jagged body of the iceberg. Three colored boxes are placed around the submerged part of the iceberg: a purple box on the left, a blue box at the bottom left, and a green box on the right.

**Framing**  
*safety threat*

**Dogwhistles**  
*Soros (Jewish) plot*

**Dehumanization  
& Metaphor**  
*water, vermin*

...and are key elements of  
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political communication

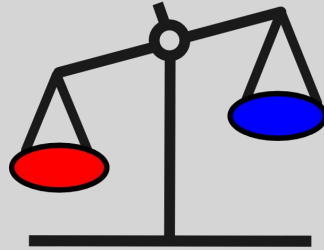


Campaigns  
[Tilley, 2020]

...and are key elements of  
political communication



Campaigns  
[Tilley, 2020]

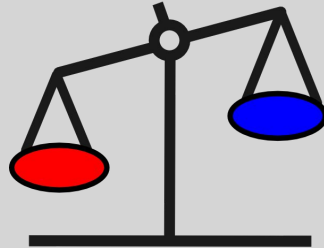


Media Bias  
[Esses et al., 2013]

...and are key elements of  
political communication



Campaigns  
[Tilley, 2020]



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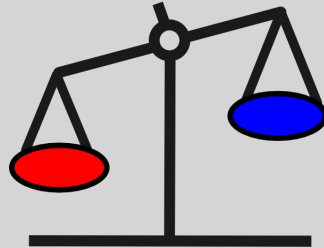


Misinformation  
[Henderson &  
McCready, 2019]

...and are key elements of  
political communication



Campaigns  
[Tilley, 2020]



Media Bias  
[Esses et al., 2013]



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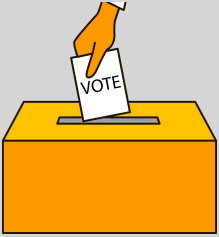


Propaganda  
[Landry et al., 2022]



...with far-reaching implications

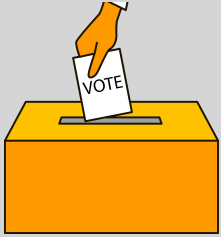
...with far-reaching implications



## Electoral Outcomes

[Haney López, 2014]

# ...with far-reaching implications

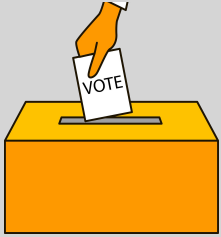


Policymaking  
[Walgrave et al., 2018]



Electoral  
Outcomes  
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# ...with far-reaching implications



**Policymaking**  
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**Public  
Opinion**  
[Jacoby, 2000; Chong  
& Druckman, 2007 ]

# ...with far-reaching implications



**Policymaking**  
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**Trust**  
[Hopmann et al., 2015]

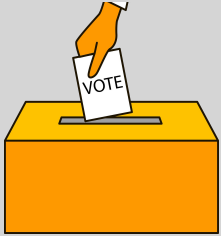
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**Public  
Opinion**  
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**Safety &  
Well-being**  
[Rai et al., 2017]

# Uncovering implicit language is challenging



**Framing**  
*safety threat*

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& Metaphor**  
*water, vermin*

Uncovering  
implicit language  
is challenging

But computational  
methods can help!



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# I develop computational approaches to study these strategies and their social, political & technological implications

My  
thesis

## Framing

NAACL (2021)  
EMNLP (2022)  
JQD (2024)

## Dogwhistles

ACL (2023)

## Dehumanization & Metaphor

Frontiers in AI (2020)  
PNAS (2022)  
ACL (2025)

# I develop computational approaches to study strategies of othering and their social, political & technological implications



**Framing**  
NAACL (2021)  
EMNLP (2022)  
JQD (2024)

The diagram features a white iceberg floating in a grey sea. Three colored boxes are positioned around the iceberg: a purple box on the left (above water), a blue box at the bottom (below water), and a green box on the right (above water). Red arrows connect the boxes: one from the purple box to the blue box, one from the blue box to the green box, and one from the purple box to the green box. The iceberg itself is white with grey shading to indicate depth and texture.

**Dogwhistles**  
ACL (2023)

**Dehumanization  
& Metaphor**  
*Frontiers in AI* (2020)  
PNAS (2022)  
ACL (2025)

# Many ways to think about framing



## Modeling Framing in Immigration Discourse on Social Media

**Julia Mendelsohn**  
University of Michigan  
juliam@umich.edu

**Ceren Budak**  
University of Michigan  
cbudak@umich.edu

**David Jurgens**  
University of Michigan  
jurgens@umich.edu

### Abstract

The framing of political issues can influence policy and public opinion. Even though the public plays a key role in creating and spreading frames, little is known about how ordinary people on social media frame political issues. By creating a new dataset of immigration-related tweets labeled for multiple framing typologies from political communication theory, we develop supervised models to detect frames. We demonstrate how users' ideology and region impact framing choices, and how a message's framing influences audience responses. We find that the more commonly-used issue-generic frames obscure important ideological and regional patterns that are only revealed by immigration-specific frames. Furthermore, frames oriented towards human interests, culture, and politics are associated with higher user engagement. This large-scale analysis of a complex social and linguistic phenomenon contributes to both NLP and social science research.

social media content enables us to compare framing strategies across countries and political ideologies. Furthermore, social media provides unique insights into how messages resonate with audiences through interactive signals such as retweets and favorites. By jointly analyzing the production and reception of frames on Twitter, we provide an in-depth analysis of immigration framing by and on the public.

Political communications research has identified numerous typologies of frames, such as *issue-generic policy*, *immigration-specific*, and *narrative*. Each of these frame types can significantly shape the audience's perceptions of an issue (Iyengar, 1991; Chong and Druckman, 2007; Lecheler et al., 2015), but prior NLP work seeking to detect frames in mass media (e.g. Card et al., 2016; Field et al., 2018; Kwak et al., 2020) has largely been limited to a single *issue-generic policy* typology. Multiple dimensions of framing must be considered in order to better understand the structure of immigration discourse and its effect on public opinion

Journal of Quantitative Description: Digital Media 4(2024), 1–61 10.51685/jqd.2024.iev

## Framing Social Movements on Social Media: Unpacking Diagnostic, Prognostic, and Motivational Strategies

JULIA MENDELSON  
MAYA VIJAN  
DALLAS CARD  
CEREN BUDAK  
University of Michigan, USA

Social media enables activists to directly communicate with the public and provides a space for movement leaders, participants, bystanders, and opponents to collectively construct and contest narratives. Focusing on Twitter messages from social movements surrounding three issues in 2018-2019 (guns, immigration, and LGBTQ rights), we create a codebook, annotated dataset, and computational models to detect diagnostic (problem identification and attribution), prognostic (proposed solutions and tactics), and motivational (calls to action) framing strategies. We conduct an in-depth unsupervised linguistic analysis of each framing strategy, and uncover cross-movement similarities in

## When People are Floods: Analyzing Dehumanizing Metaphors in Immigration Discourse with Large Language Models

Warning: this paper contains examples of upsetting and offensive content.

**Julia Mendelsohn**  
University of Maryland  
juliam@umd.edu

**Ceren Budak**  
University of Michigan  
cbudak@umich.edu

### Abstract

Metaphor, discussing one concept in terms of another, is abundant in politics and can shape how people understand important issues. We develop a computational approach to measure metaphorical language, focusing on immigration discourse on social media. Grounded in qualitative social science research, we identify seven source domain concepts evoked in immigration discourse (e.g. WATER or VERMIN). We propose and evaluate a novel technique that leverages both word-level and document-level signals to measure metaphor with respect to these source domains. We then study the relationship between metaphor, political ideology, and user engagement in 400K US tweets about immigration. While conservatives tend to use dehumanizing metaphors more than liberals, this effect varies widely across source domains. Moreover, creature-related metaphor is associated with more retweets, especially for liberal authors. Our work highlights the potential for computational methods to complement quali-

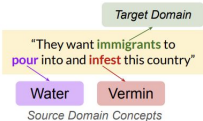


Figure 1: Dehumanizing sentence likening immigrants to the source domain concepts of WATER and VERMIN via the words “pour” and “infest”.

for measuring and analyzing metaphor at scale. We use this methodology to study dehumanizing metaphor in immigration discourse on social media, and analyze the relationship between metaphor use, political ideology, and user engagement.

From prior discourse analysis literature, we first identify seven *source domains*: concepts evoked in discussions of immigration such as WATER or VERMIN (Figure 1). We use large language models

# Modeling Framing in Immigration Discourse on Social Media

NAACL 2021

Julia Mendelsohn

Ceren Budak

David Jurgens



# What is framing?

“Selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and make them **more salient** in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular **problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation** for the item described” [Entman, 1993]

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  - *Immigrants as victims (e.g. of global economy or discrimination)*
  - *Immigrants as heroes (e.g. contributing to economy or cultural diversity)*
  - *Immigrants as threats (e.g. to jobs, or to public safety)*

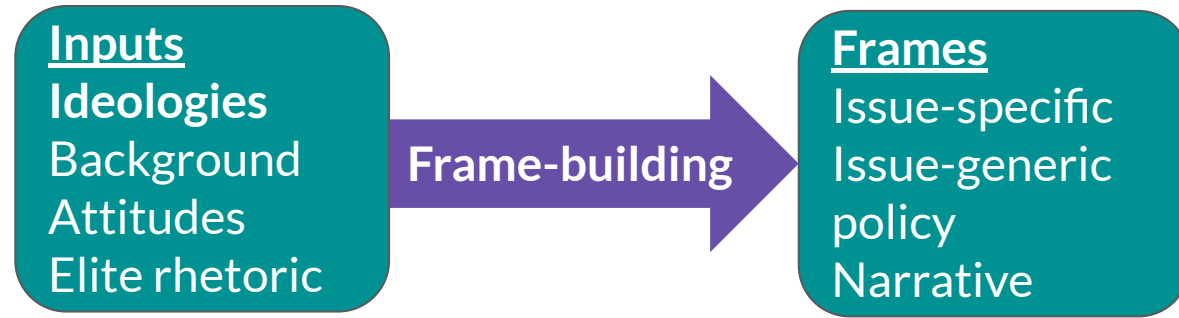


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- **Issue-generic Narrative** [Iyengar, 1991]
  - *Episodic: focus on specific actions, events, examples, or case studies*
  - *Thematic: focus on broader political, social, cultural context*

# Framing processes

- **Frame-building**: factors affecting how an issue is framed



# Framing processes

- **Frame-building**: factors affecting how an issue is framed
- **Frame-setting**: frame effects on audiences

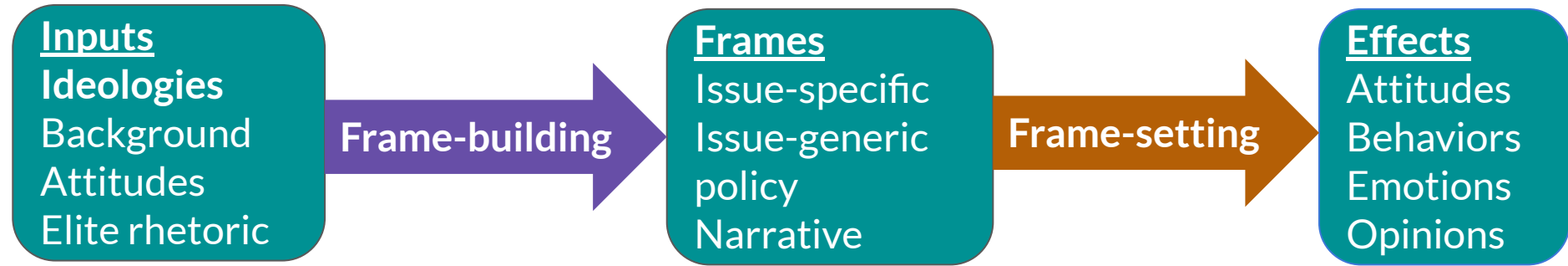


Figure & theoretical model adapted from de Vreese [2005] and is a simplification of Scheufele's [1999] four-process model



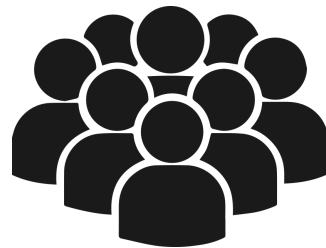
Dataset  
collection &  
annotation



Automated  
frame  
detection



Frame building:  
role of ideology  
in framing



Frame setting:  
effects on user  
engagement

# Data Annotation

## 3 typologies

## 27 categories

Frame Type	Frame	Description
Issue-Generic Policy	Economic	Financial implications of an issue
	Capacity & Resources	The availability or lack of time, physical, human, or financial resources
	Morality & Ethics	Perspectives compelled by religion or secular sense of ethics or social responsibility
	Fairness & Equality	The (in)equality with which laws, punishments, rewards, resources are distributed
	Legality, Constitutionality & Jurisdiction	Court cases and existing laws that regulate policies; constitutional interpretation; legal processes such as seeking asylum or obtaining citizenship; jurisdiction
	Crime & Punishment	The violation of policies in practice and the consequences of those violations
	Security & Defense	Any threat to a person, group, or nation and defenses taken to avoid that threat
	Health & Safety	Health and safety outcomes of a policy issue, discussions of health care
	Quality of Life	Effects on people's wealth, mobility, daily routines, community life, happiness, etc.
	Cultural Identity	Social norms, trends, values, and customs; integration/assimilation efforts
	Public Sentiment	General social attitudes, protests, polling, interest groups, public passage of laws
	Political Factors & Implications	Focus on politicians, political parties, governing bodies, political campaigns and debates; discussions of elections and voting
	Policy Prescription & Evaluation	Discussions of existing or proposed policies and their effectiveness
Immigration Specific	External Regulation & Reputation	Relations between nations or states/provinces; agreements between governments; perceptions of one nation/state by another
	Victim: Global Economy	Immigrants are victims of global poverty, underdevelopment and inequality
	Victim: Humanitarian	Immigrants experience economic, social, and political suffering and hardships
	Victim: War	Focus on war and violent conflict as reason for immigration
	Victim: Discrimination	Immigrants are victims of racism, xenophobia, and religion-based discrimination
	Hero: Cultural Diversity	Highlights positive aspects of differences that immigrants bring to society
	Hero: Integration	Immigrants successfully adapt and fit into their host society
	Hero: Worker	Immigrants contribute to economic prosperity and are an important source of labor
	Threat: Jobs	Immigrants take nonimmigrants' jobs or lower their wages
	Threat: Public Order	Immigrants threaten public safety by being breaking the law or spreading disease
	Threat: Fiscal	Immigrants abuse social service programs and are a burden on resources
	Threat: National Cohesion	Immigrants' cultural differences are a threat to national unity and social harmony
Narrative	Episodic	Message provides concrete information about on specific people, places, or events
	Thematic	Message is more abstract, placing stories in broader political and social contexts

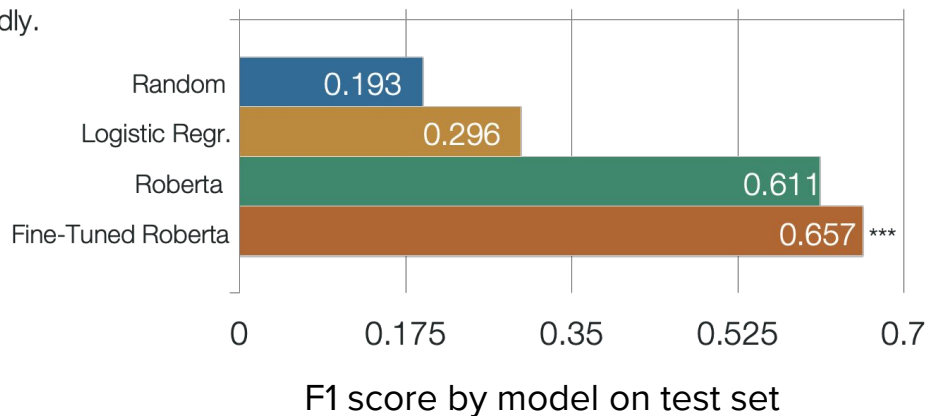
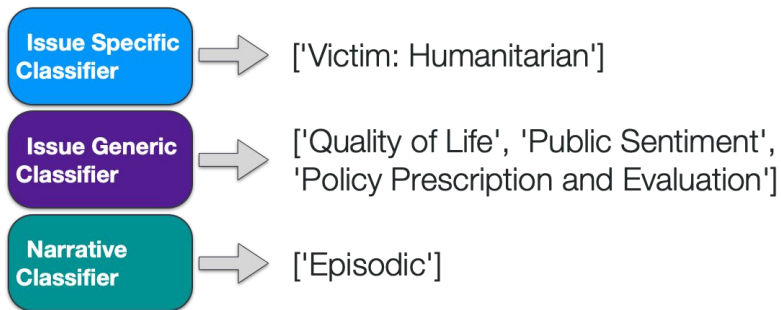
# Data Collection and Annotation

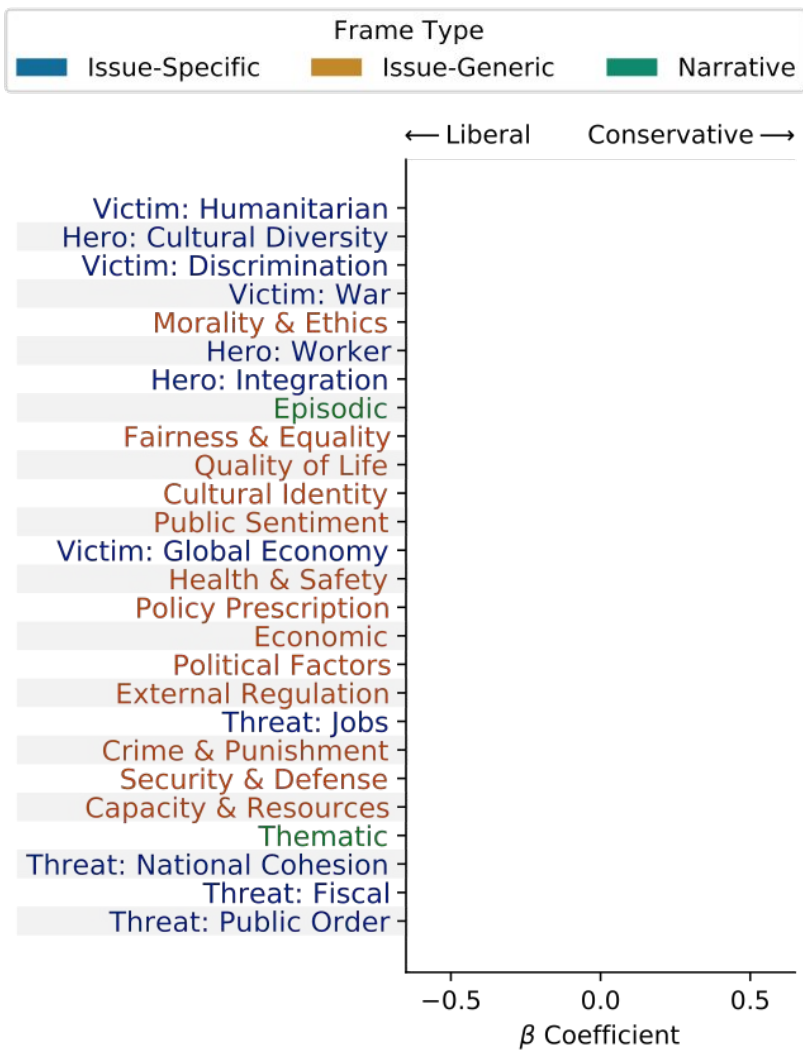
- 2.6M English tweets from 2018-2019 containing immigration-related term
- Ideology inference using existing network-based tool
- 4.5K tweets labeled by trained annotators for all frames explicitly cued.

# Frame Detection

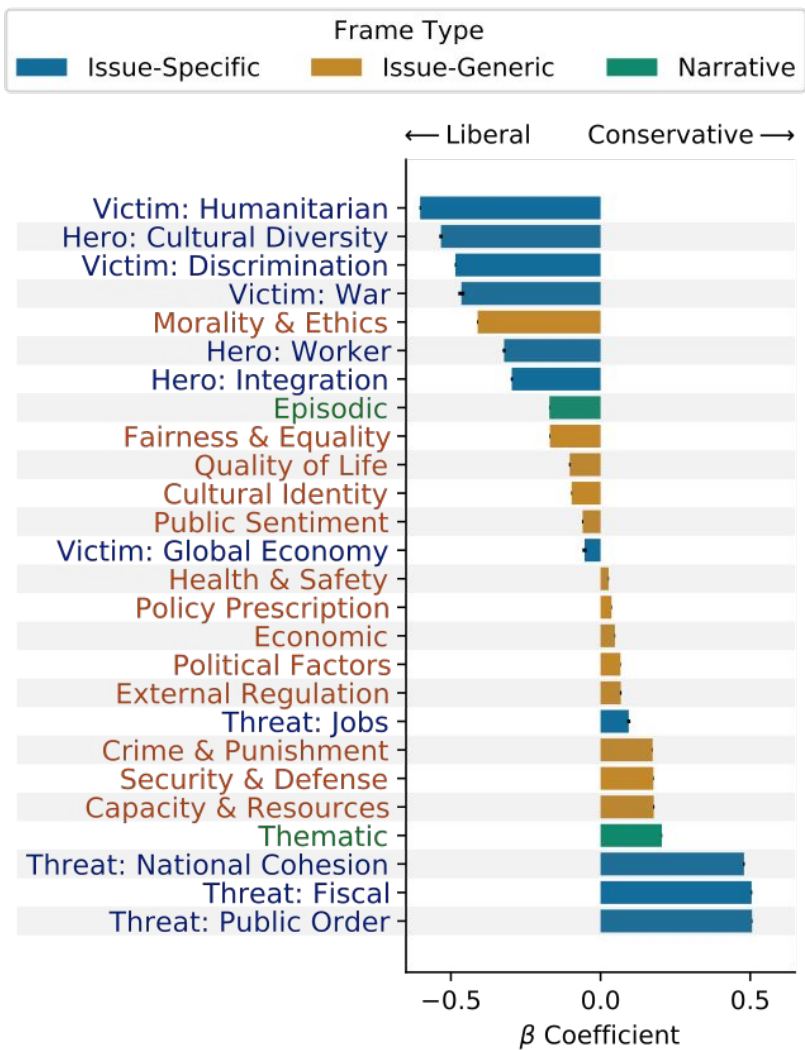
- RoBERTa-based multilabel classification models fine-tuned on full set of immigration-related tweets

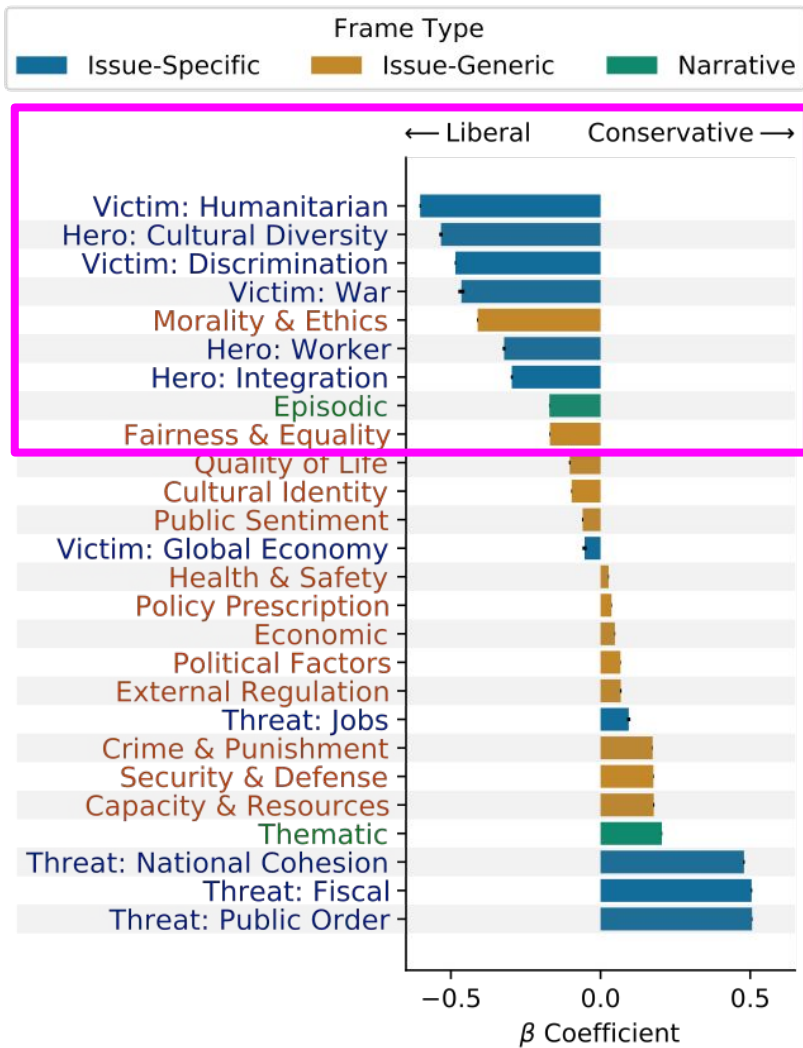
“The proposed #TitleX rule will exacerbate the negative experiences of undocumented students on campus. Get ready to speak your voice loudly. Go to <https://t.co/7kAlhYjeLI> to learn how with @endrapeoncampus”





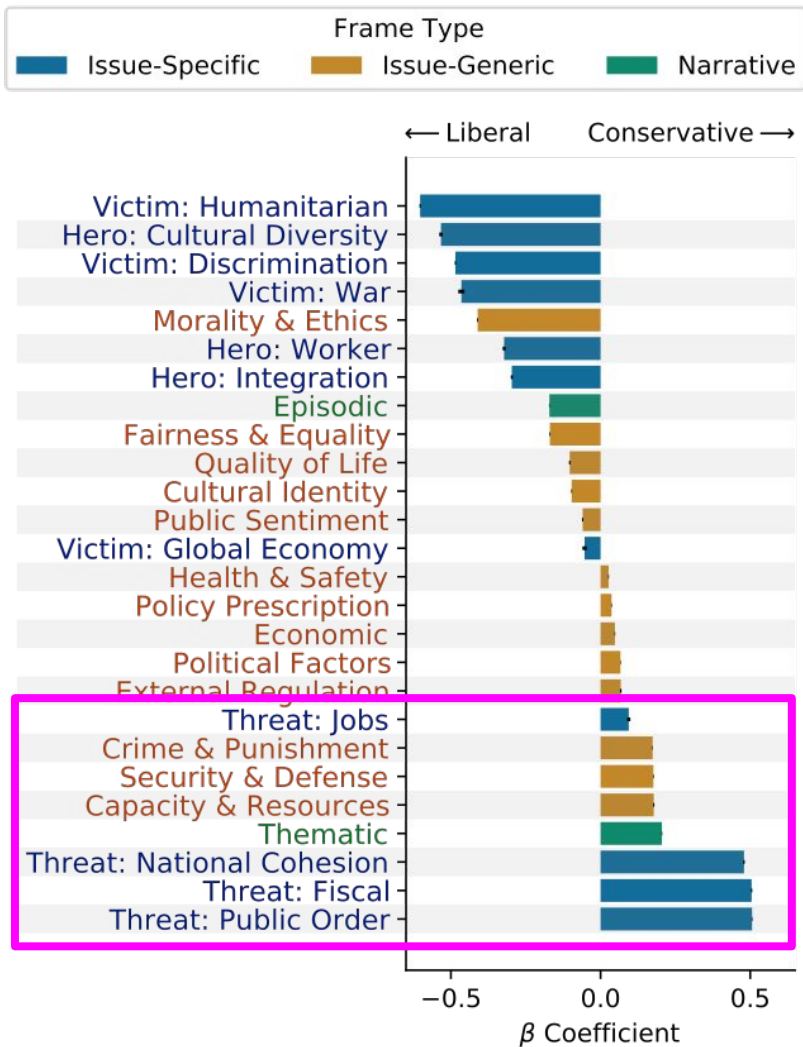






## Liberals frame immigrants as heroes and victims

- Liberals cue *fairness* and *morality*, framing immigrants as *victims of discrimination* and *inhumane* policies.

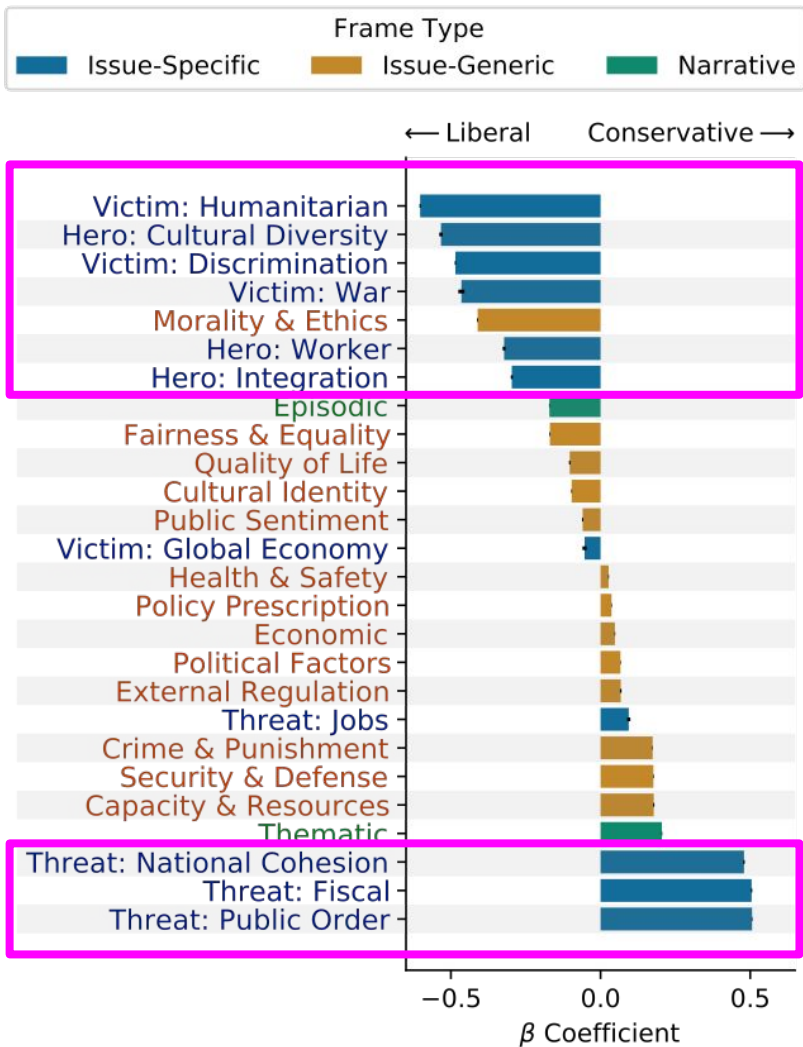


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## Conservatives frame immigrants as threats

- Conservatives cue *threat to public safety*, *burden on taxpayers & government programs*

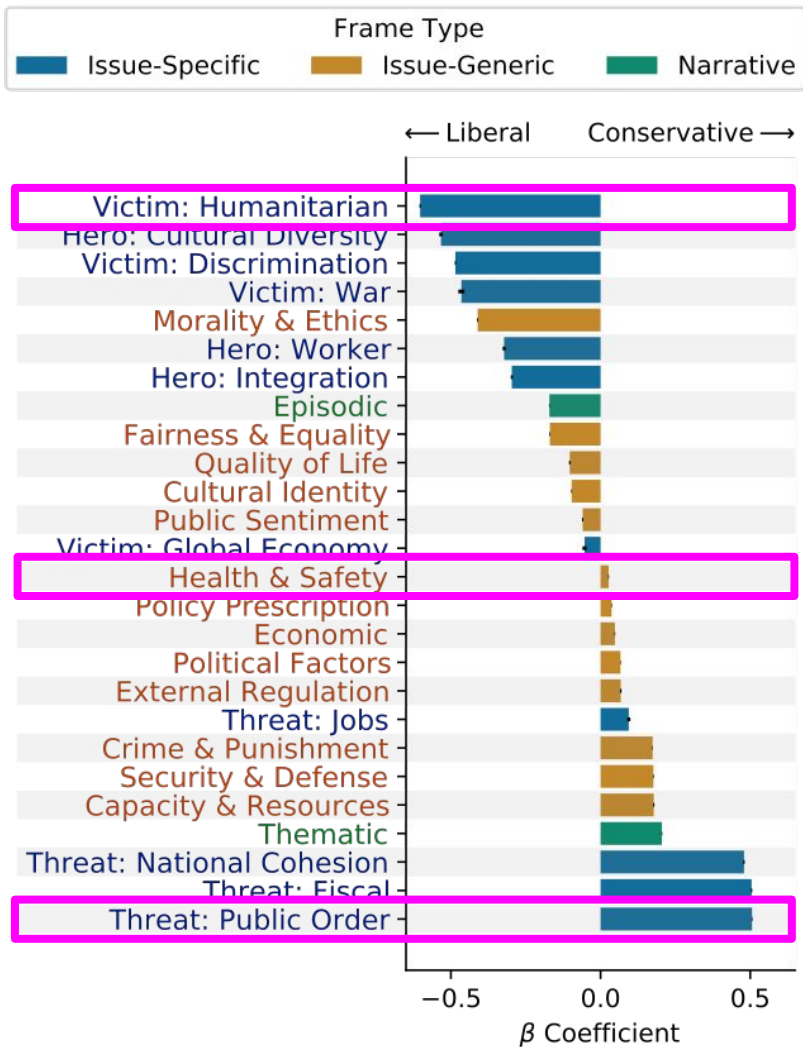


Each frame typology offers value

Issue-generic policy frames can be most accurately detected

but

Immigration-specific frames reveal ideological differences obscured by issue-generic policy frames



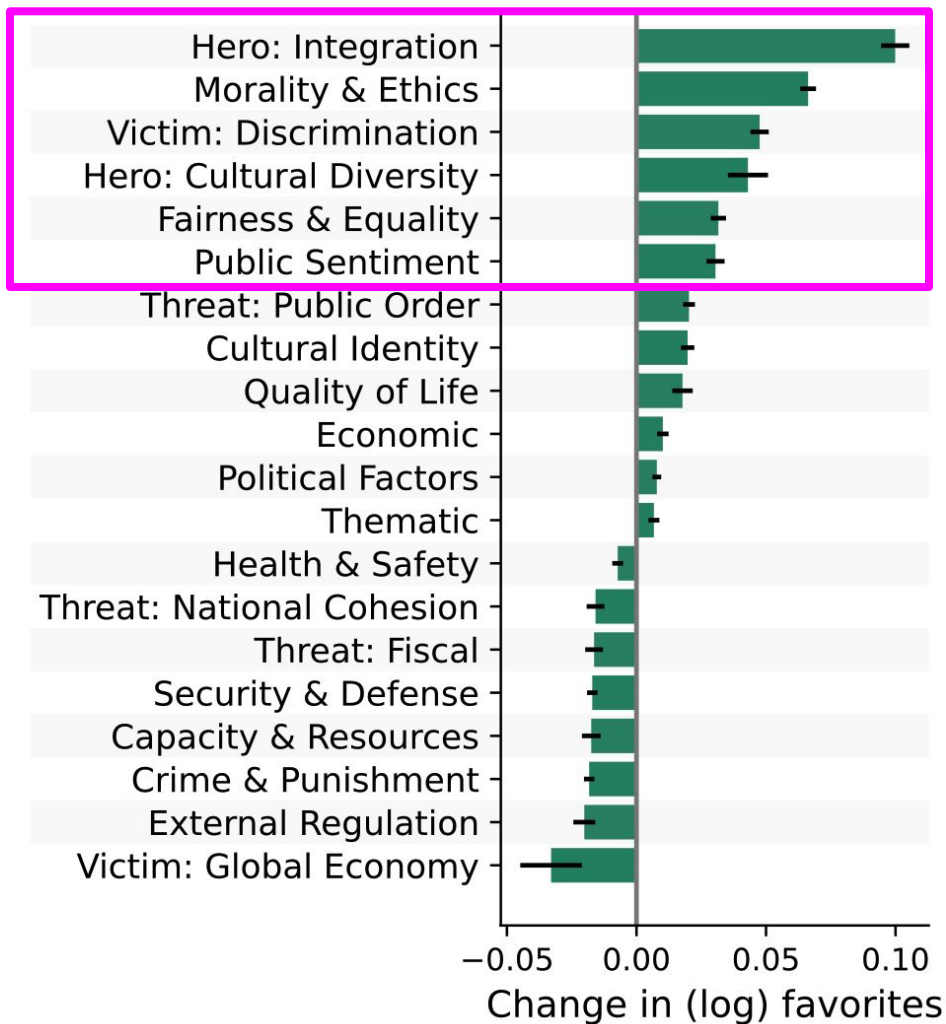
Each frame typology offers value

Issue-generic policy frames can be most accurately detected

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Immigration-specific frames reveal ideological differences obscured by issue-generic policy frames

(e.g. *health & safety*)



**Cultural** (*hero: integration*)  
**and human interest**  
(*morality, fairness,*  
*victim: discrimination*)

# Framing Social Movements on Social Media: *Unpacking Diagnostic, Prognostic, and Motivational Strategies*

Journal of Quantitative Description: Digital Media (2024)

Julia Mendelsohn  
Dallas Card

Maya Vijan  
Ceren Budak







SKOLSTREJK  
FÖR  
KLIMATFT



Adbusters Magazine

@Adbusters



Follow

September 17th. Wall Street. Bring Tent.

<http://bit.ly/re9ENL>

#OCCUPYWALLSTREET

Reply Retweet Favorite



Alyssa Milano

@Alyssa\_Milano

Follow

If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet.

Me too.

Suggested by a friend: "If all the women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted wrote 'Me too.' as a status, we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem."

1:21 PM - 15 Oct 2017

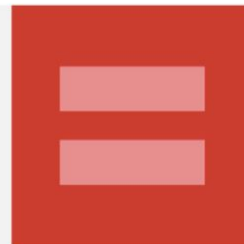
24,725 Retweets 53,346 Likes



Human Rights Campaign

26 March 2013

Who's wearing red tomorrow? Show your support for marriage equality -- make your profile image red for tomorrow and check out [www.hrc.org/StandForMarriage](http://www.hrc.org/StandForMarriage) for more ways to get involved!



Like · Comment · Share

19,543 678 70,652 Shares

52



# Social movements create meaning through framing

- Collective action frames are "intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" [Snow & Benford, 1988]
- Effective framing is important (perhaps, necessary) for social movement success [Della Porta & Diani, 2006]

# Core Framing Tasks [Snow & Benford, 1988; Benford & Snow, 2000]

## **Diagnostic**

Identifying social problems, their causes, and who to hold responsible

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## **Prognostic**

Proposing solutions, plans of attack, strategies for carrying out that plan

# Core Framing Tasks [Snow & Benford, 1988; Benford & Snow, 2000]

## **Diagnostic**

Identifying social problems, their causes, and who to hold responsible

## **Prognostic**

Proposing solutions, plans of attack, strategies for carrying out that plan

## **Motivational**

Persuading people to participate through “calls to action”

How do people use **diagnostic**, **prognostic**,  
and **motivational** framing in Twitter  
messages related to social movements?



## Dataset & Annotation



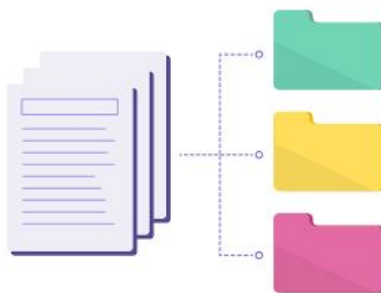
Dataset &  
Annotation



Classification



Dataset &  
Annotation



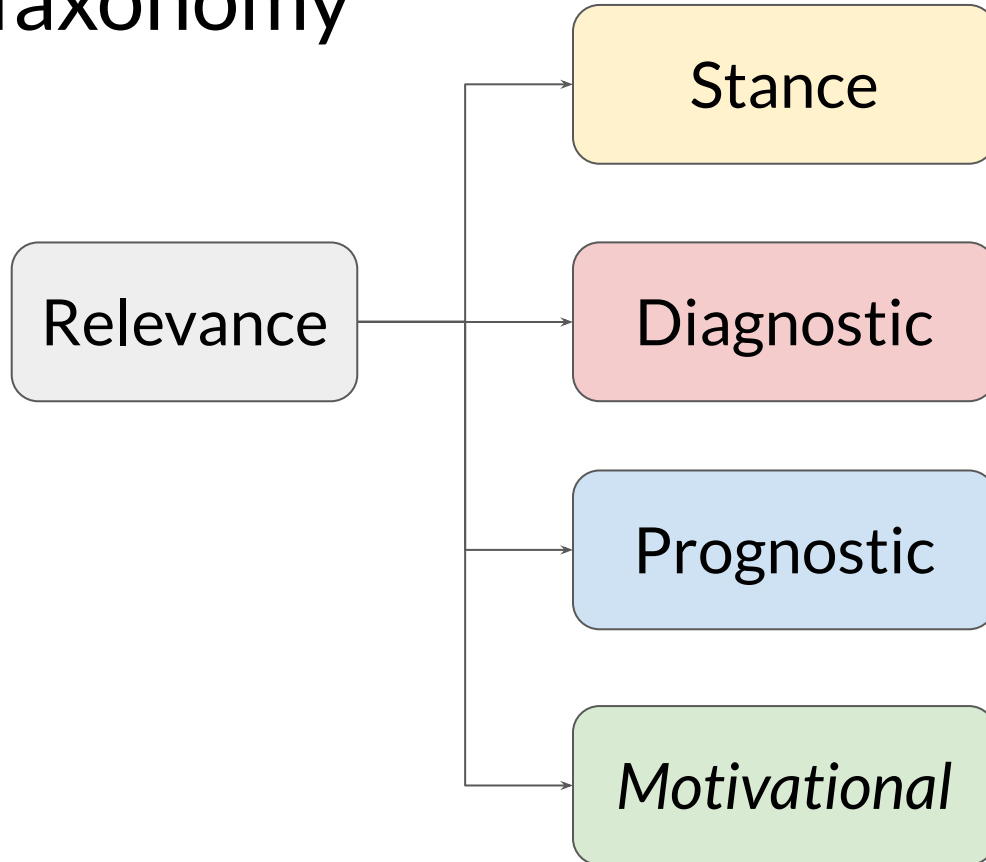
Classification



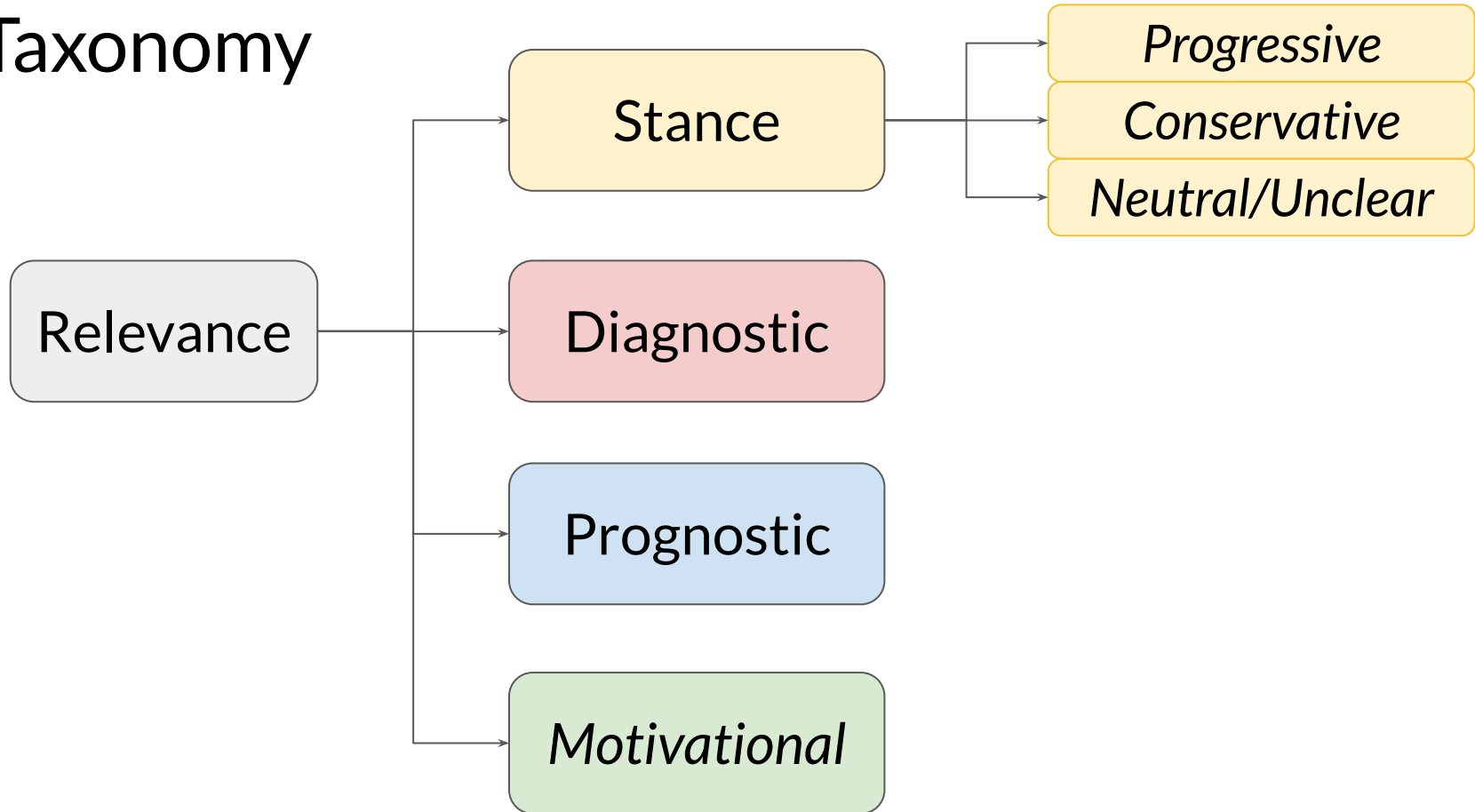
Sociocultural  
Context



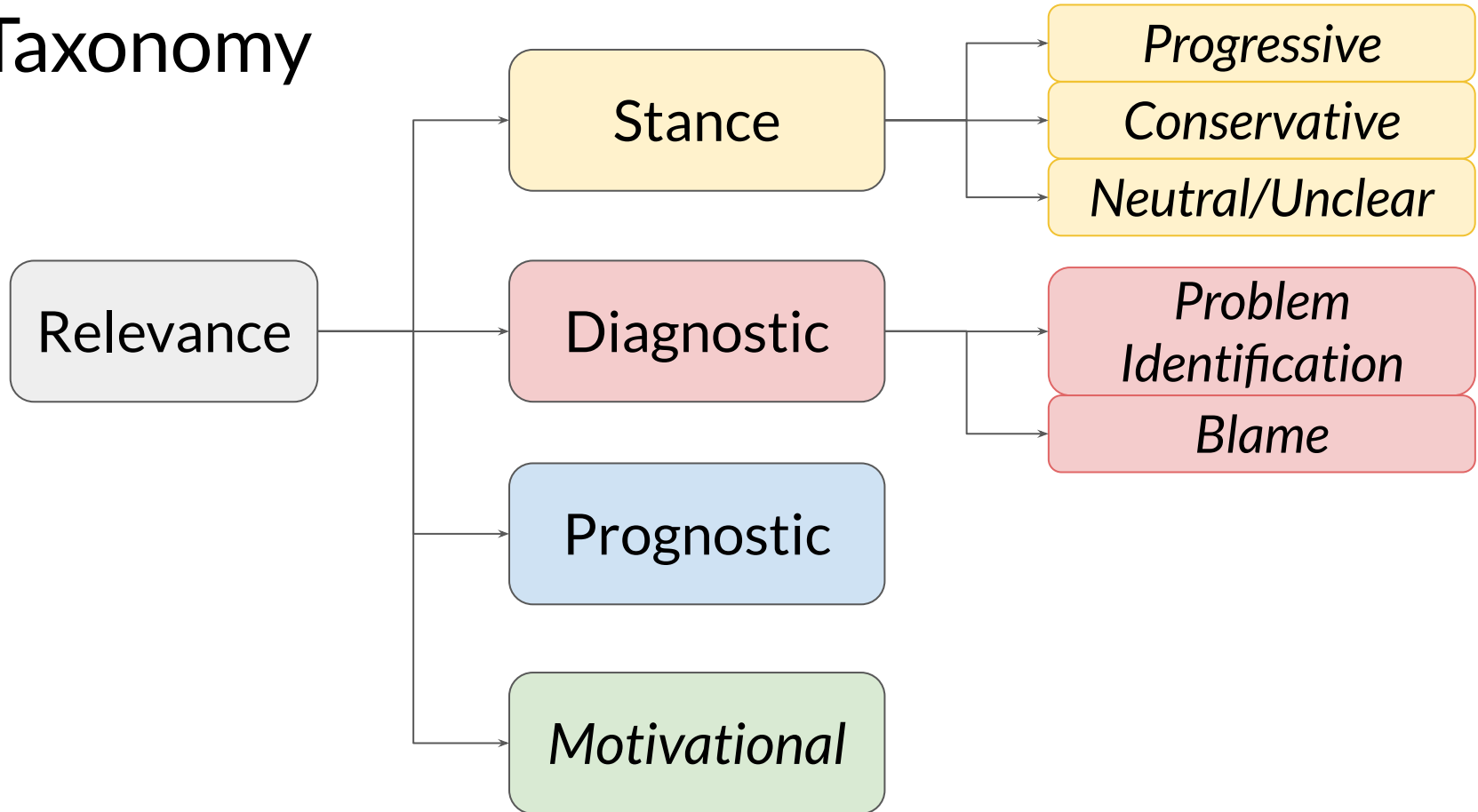
# Taxonomy



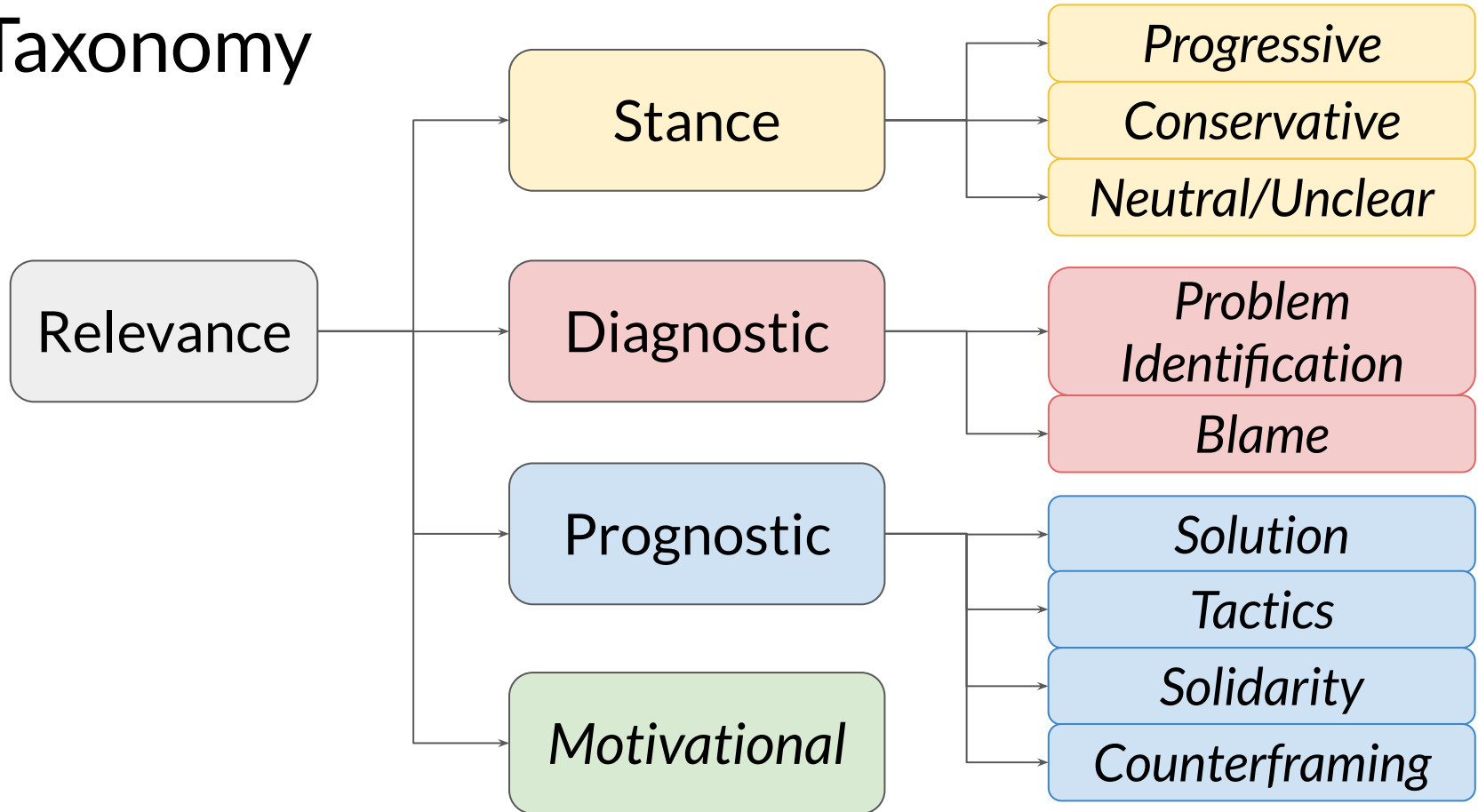
# Taxonomy



# Taxonomy



# Taxonomy



# Data Collection [from Bozarth & Budak, 2022]

- Tweets from movements focused on 3 issues: *guns*, *immigration*, and *LGBTQ rights* from 2018-2019
  - Both progressive & conservative movements
  - 2 months for each issue (1 high protest activity, 1 average level)

# Data Collection [from Bozarth & Budak, 2022]

- Tweets from movements focused on 3 issues: **guns**, **immigration**, and **LGBTQ rights** from 2018-2019
  - Both progressive & conservative movements
  - 2 months for each issue (1 high protest activity, 1 average level)
- **1.85M tweets** across all movements
  - 822K for guns, 763K for immigration, 268K for LGBTQ
- **6,000** manually-annotated tweets
- **4,859 (81%)** coded as *relevant*, labeled for stance & frames



Dataset &  
Annotation

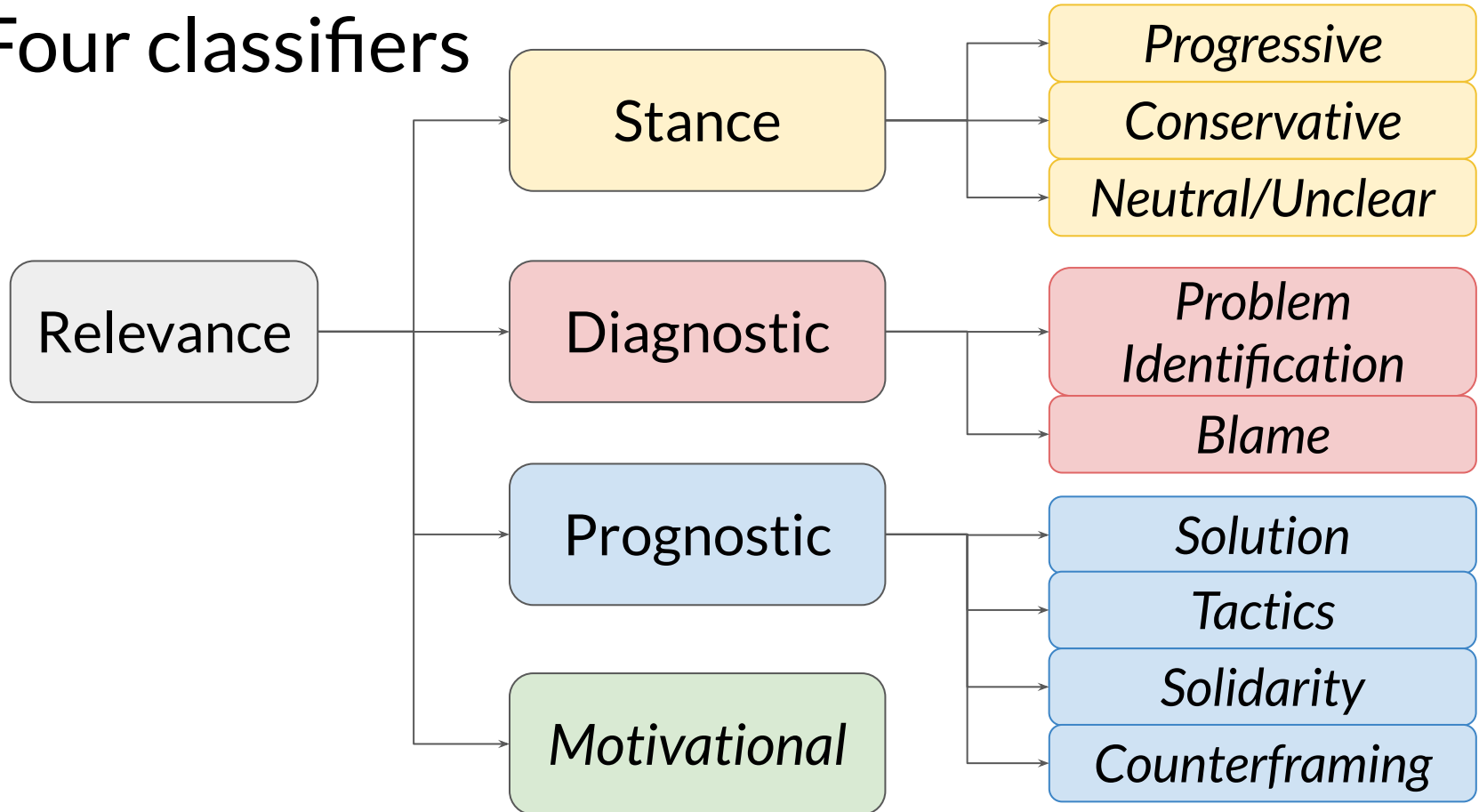


Classification



Sociocultural  
Context

# Four classifiers



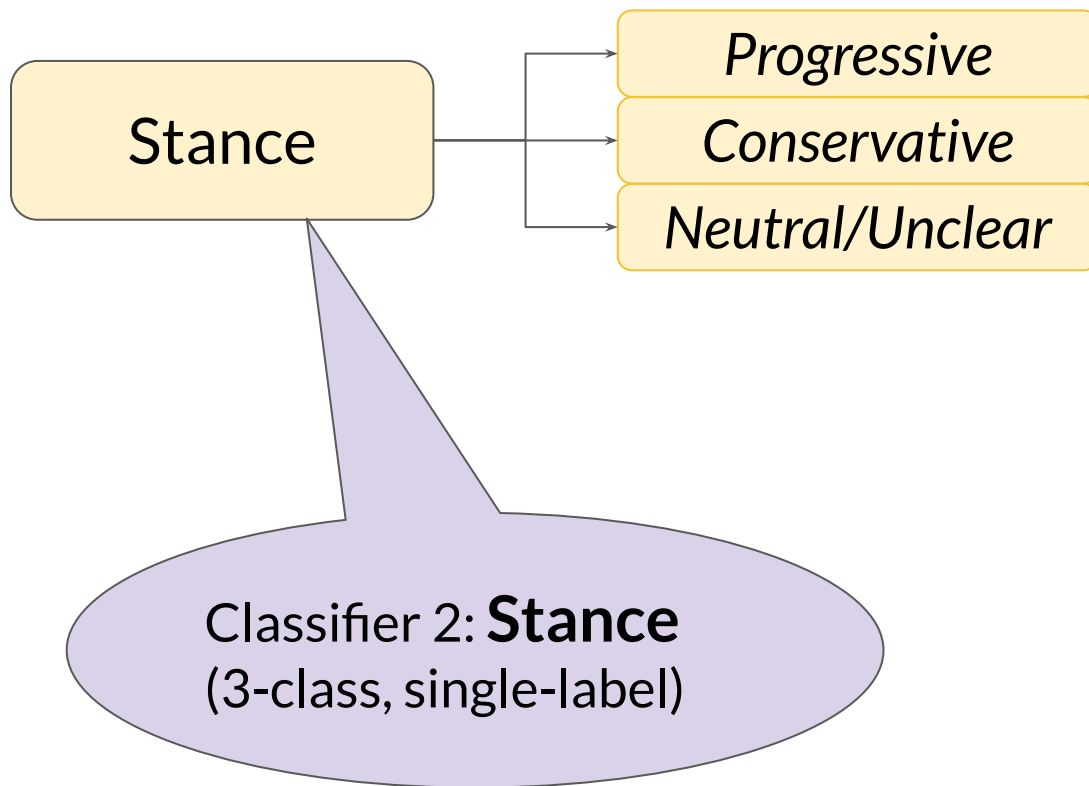


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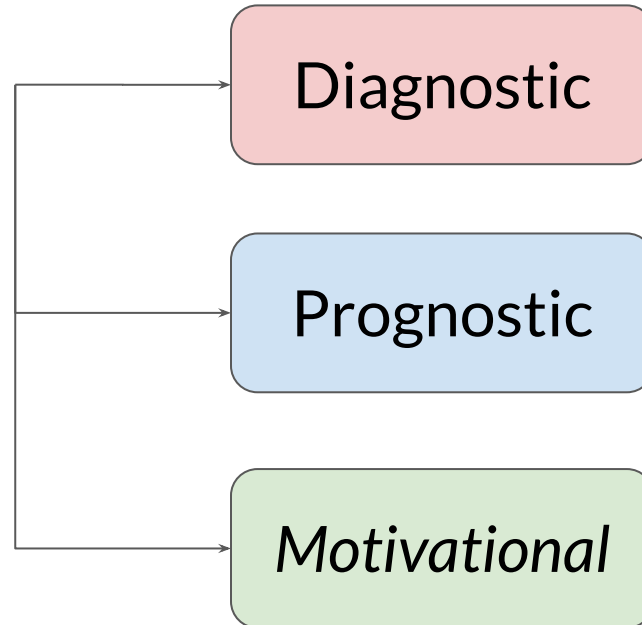
Relevance

Classifier 1:  
**Relevance**  
(binary, single-label)

# Four classifiers



# Four classifiers



Classifier 3:  
**Core Framing  
Task**  
(binary, 3-label)

# Four classifiers

Classifier 4:

## **Frame Elements**

*Categories we coded for  
(binary, 7-label)*

*Motivational*

*Problem  
Identification*

*Blame*

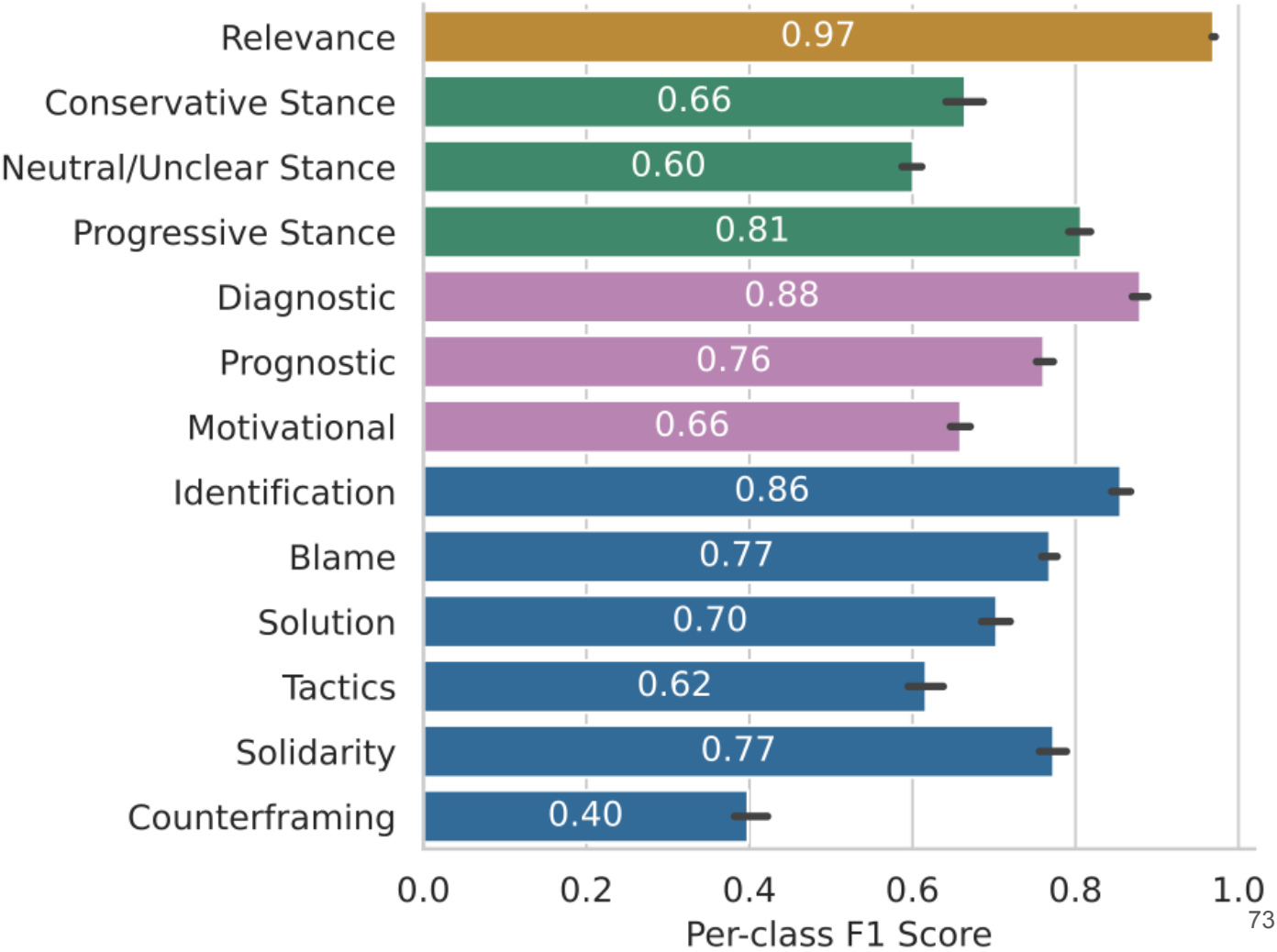
*Solution*

*Tactics*

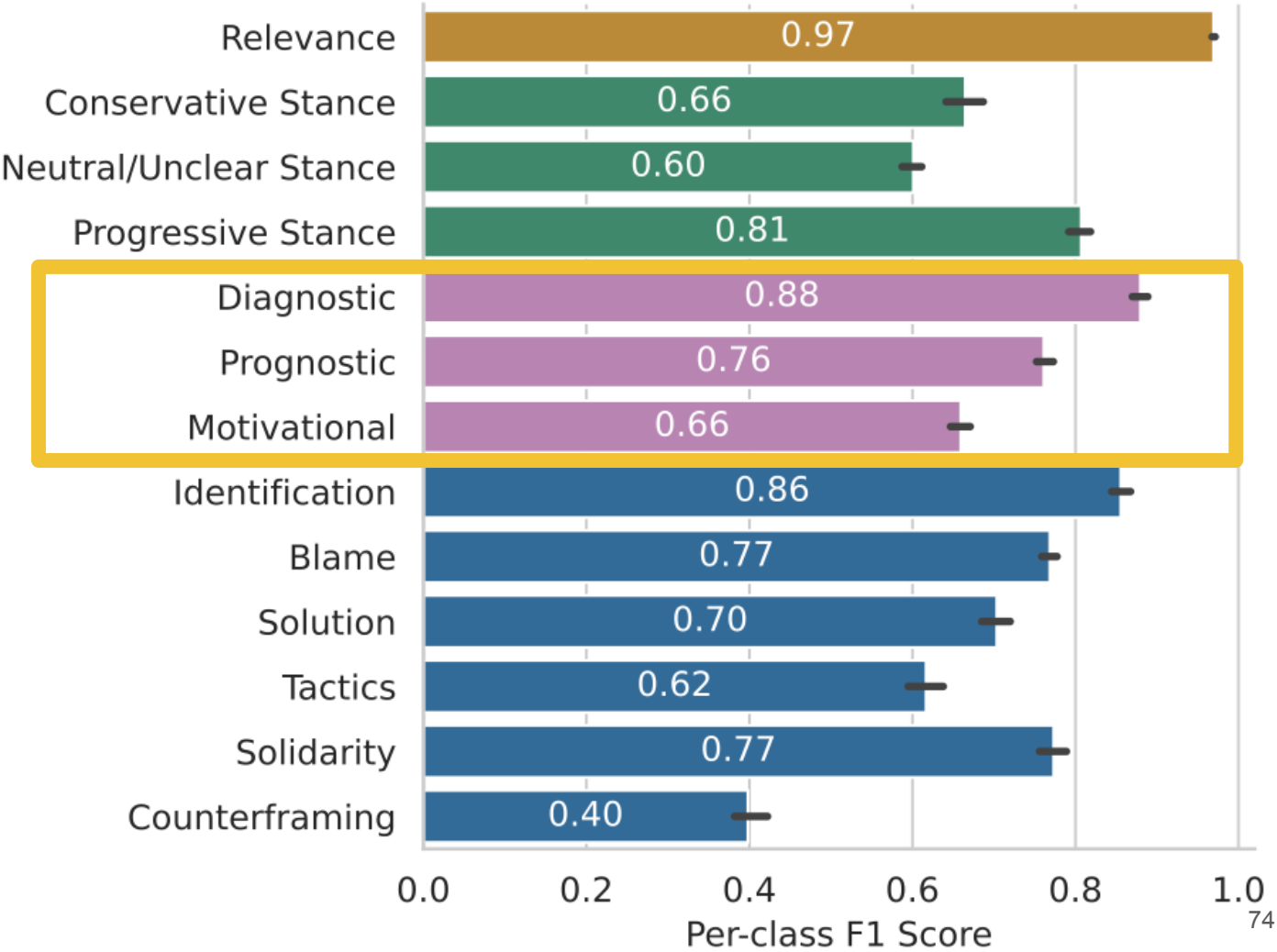
*Solidarity*

*Counterframing*

# Model Results



# Model Results





Dataset &  
Annotation



Classification



Sociocultural  
Context

## 3 movement-level factors

### Issue Area

*guns, immigration, LGBTQ*

### Stance

*progressive, conservative, neutral*

### Protest Activity

*High or average activity month*

## 2 message-level factors

### Author Role

*journalist, social mvmt org, other*

### Interaction Type

*broadcast, reply, quote tweet*

Logistic regression + marginal effect for  
diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames



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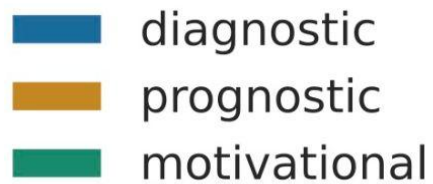
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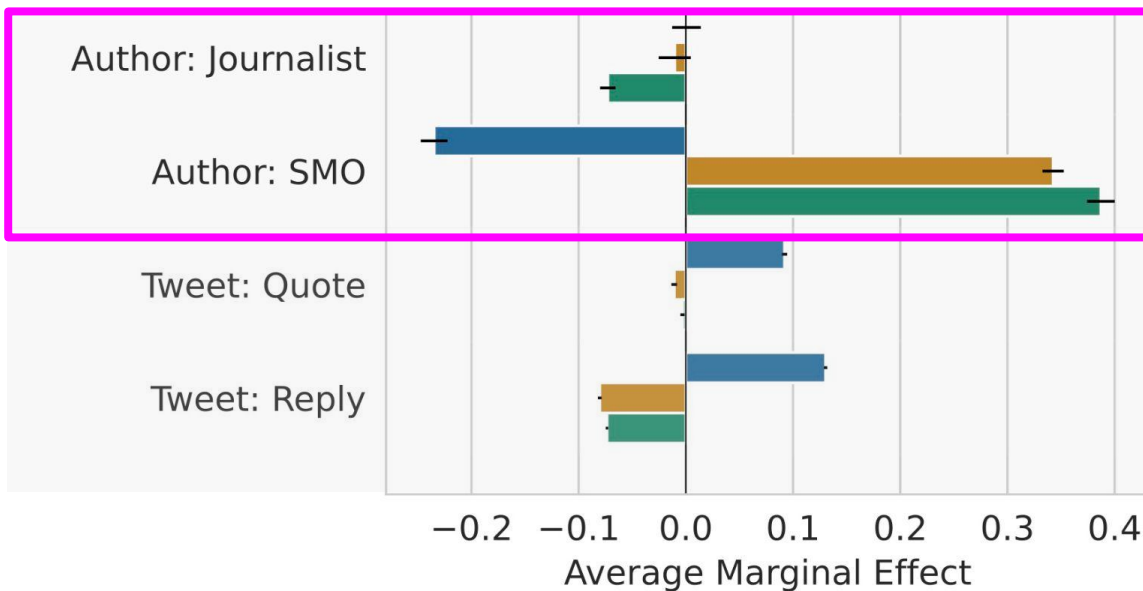
*broadcast, reply, quote tweet*

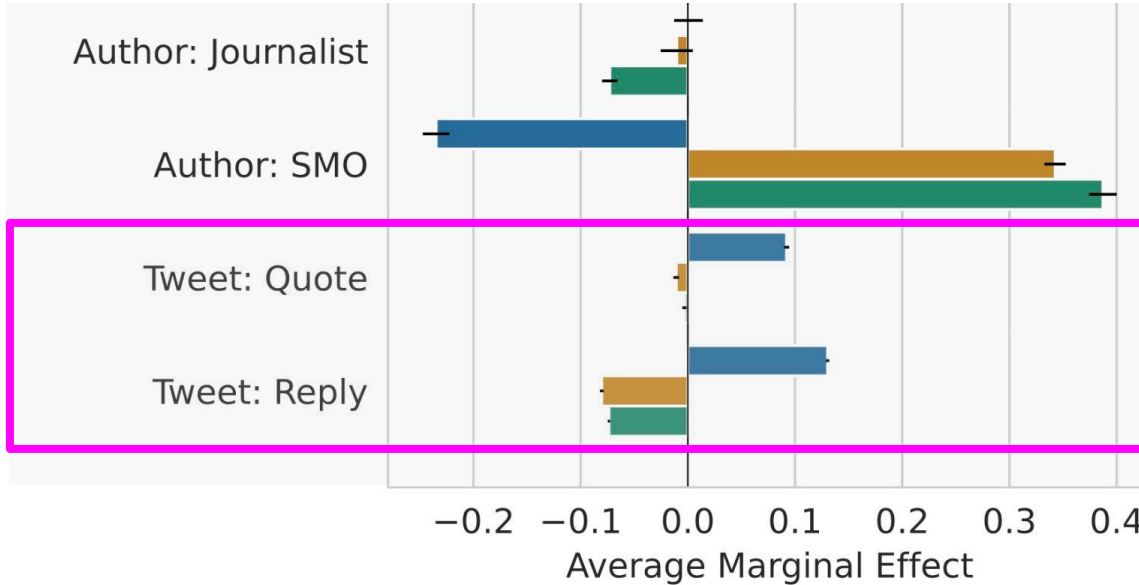
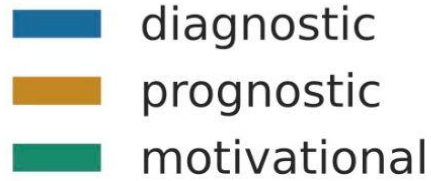
Logistic regression + marginal effect for  
diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames



Diagnostic: *not SMOs*  
Prognostic: *SMOs*  
Motivational: *SMOs*

“Other” is reference variable





**Diagnostic:** *QT & reply*

**Prognostic:** *QT & broadcast*

**Motivational:** *QT & broadcast*

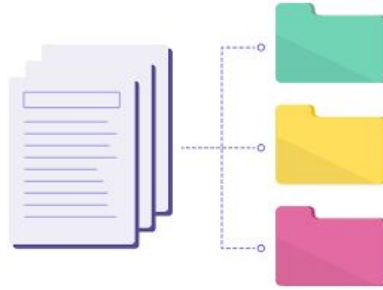
\**broadcast* is reference variable

# Framing Social Movements on Social Media:

## *Unpacking Diagnostic, Prognostic, and Motivational Strategies*



Dataset &  
Annotation



Classification



Sociocultural  
Context

- *Not discussed today: linguistic analysis within each frame category*

I spent *many months* manually annotating immigration-related tweets (over 10K tweets across papers!) and saw some really weird stuff....

Soros

Kalergi  
Plan

globalists

NWO

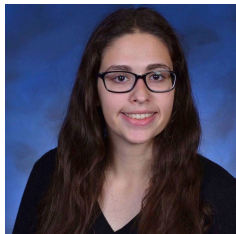
coastal  
elites

shadowy  
cabal

I saw tons of tweets covertly blaming Jews for the immigration “crisis”, but nobody seemed to notice

# From Dogwhistles to Bullhorns: Unveiling Coded Rhetoric with Language Models

Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL), 2023



Julia  
Mendelsohn



Ronan  
Le Bras



Yejin  
Choi



Maarten  
Sap

The **cosmopolitan elite** look down on the common affections that once bound this nation together: things like place and national feeling and religious faith...The **cosmopolitan** agenda has driven both Left and Right...It's time we ended the **cosmopolitan** experiment and recovered the promise of the republic.  
~*Josh Hawley (R-MO), 2019*



The **Jews** look down on the common affections that once bound this nation together: things like place and national feeling and religious faith...The **Jewish** agenda has driven both Left and Right...It's time we ended the **Jewish** experiment and recovered the promise of the republic. ~*Josh Hawley (R-MO), 2019*





# *Cosmopolitan* is a dogwhistle

**Dogwhistles** send one message to an outgroup and a second (often taboo, controversial, or inflammatory) message to an in-group [Henderson & McCready, 2018]

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**Dogwhistles** send one message to an outgroup and a second (often taboo, controversial, or inflammatory) message to an in-group [Henderson & McCready, 2018]

- In-group knows **cosmopolitan** → **Jewish**

# *Cosmopolitan* is a dogwhistle

**Dogwhistles** send one message to an outgroup and a second (often taboo, controversial, or inflammatory) message to an in-group [Henderson & McCready, 2018]

- In-group knows **cosmopolitan** → **Jewish**
- But Hawley has **plausible deniability**. He never says **Jewish**!

Source



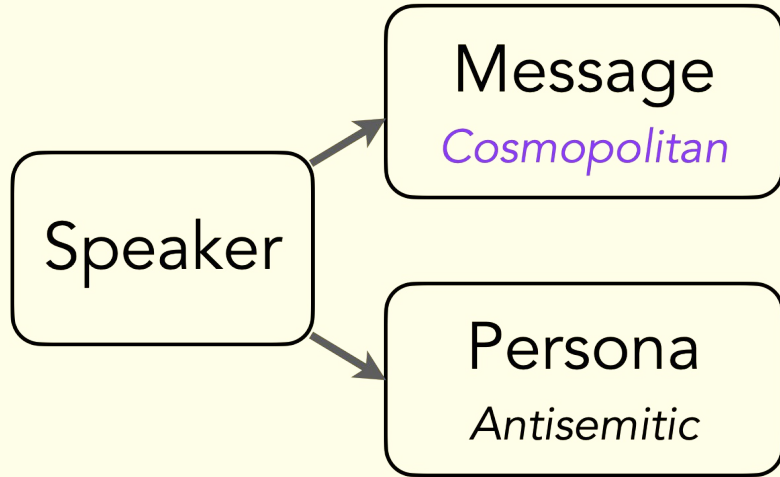
Message

*Cosmopolitan*

Speaker



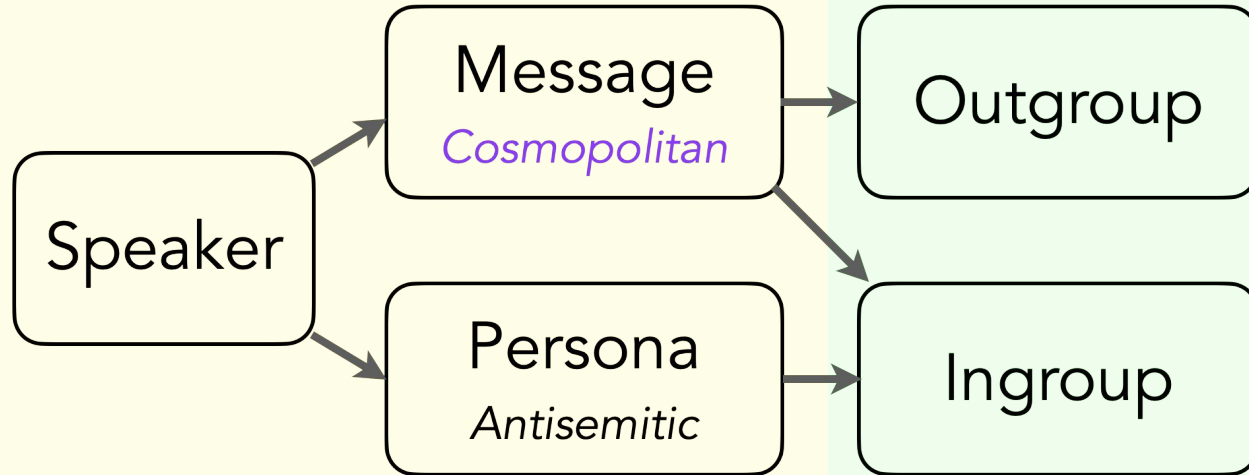
Source



Source



Audience



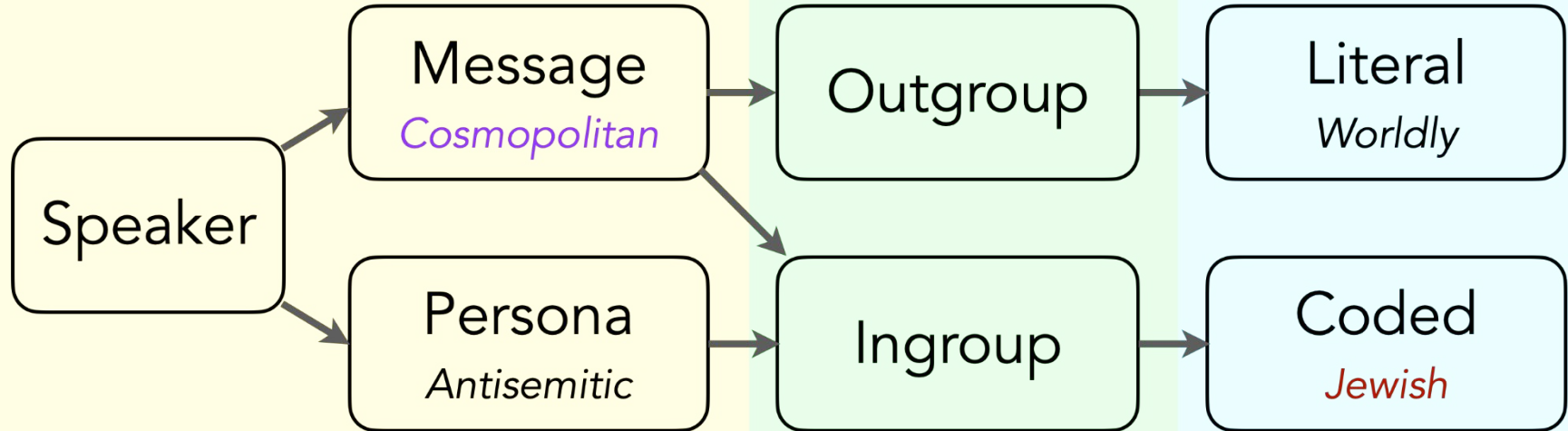
Source

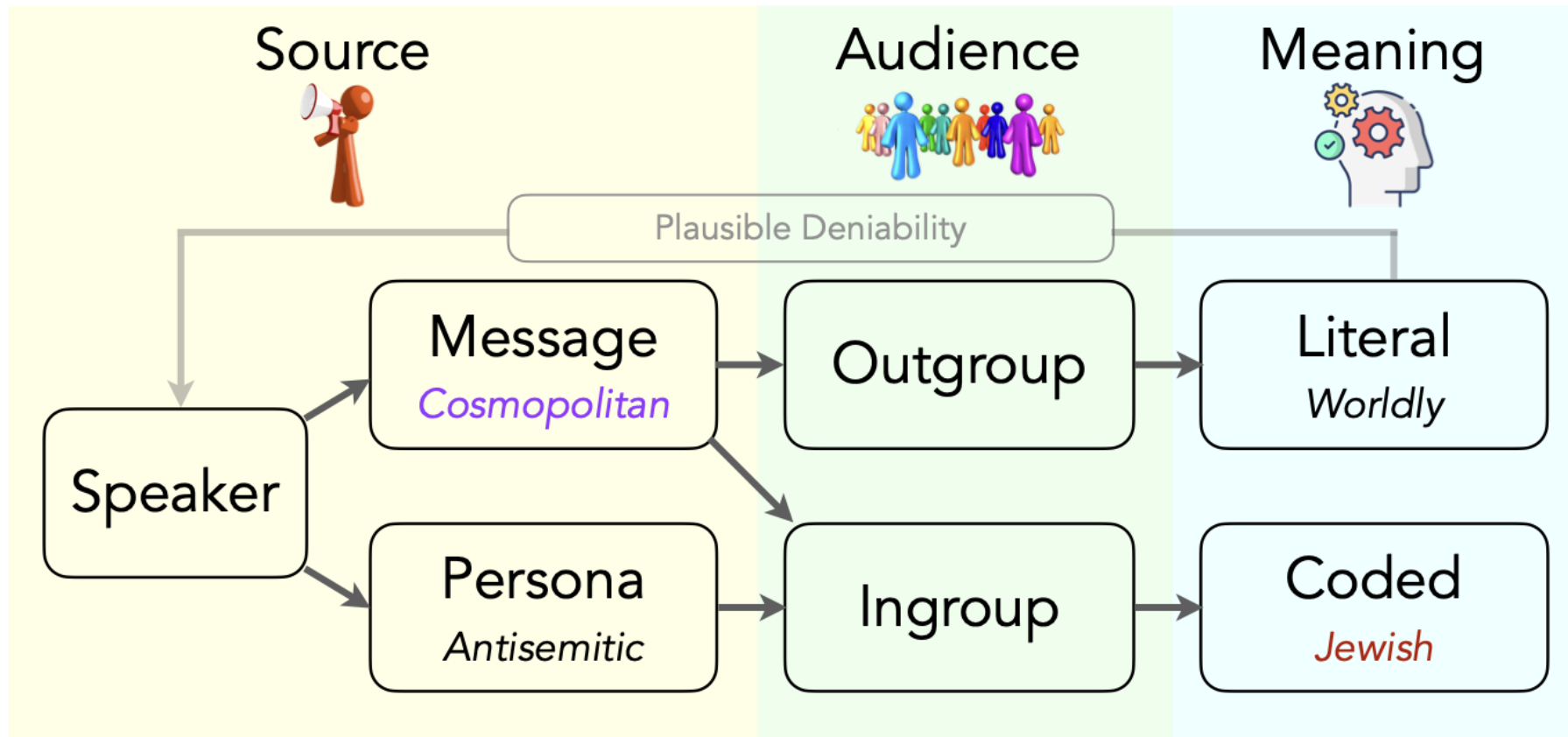


Audience



Meaning

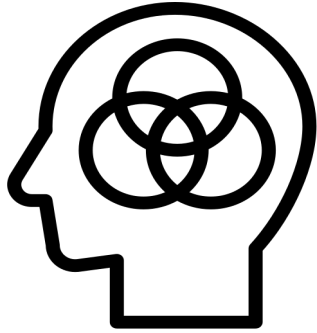






# Understanding dogwhistles is important

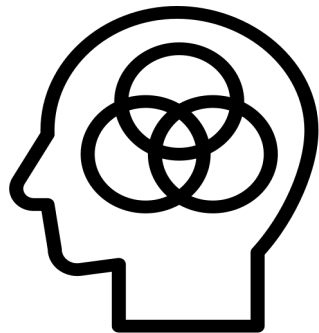
# Understanding dogwhistles is important



Meaning depends  
on speaker  
identity, context,  
and *multiple*  
audiences

[Henderson & McCready, 2018]

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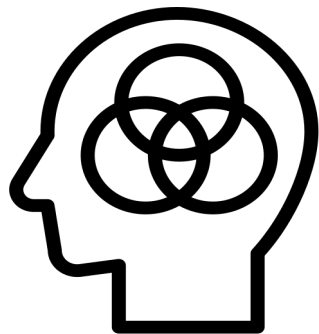
[Henderson & McCready, 2018]



Mechanism of  
political influence  
and persuasion

[Mendelberg, 2001;  
Haney López, 2014]

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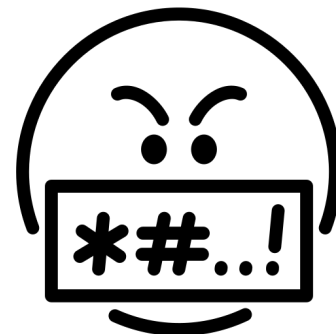
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[Henderson & McCready, 2018]



Mechanism of  
political influence  
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Enables hate while  
evading content  
moderation

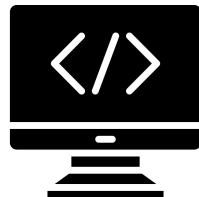
[Bhat & Klein, 2020]



Typology &  
glossary with  
rich contextual  
information



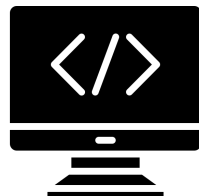
Typology &  
glossary with  
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Evaluate  
dogwhistle  
recognition in  
language models



Typology &  
glossary with  
rich contextual  
information



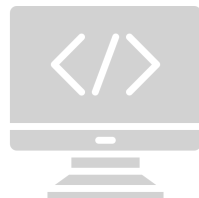
Evaluate  
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Show how  
dogwhistles  
evade content  
moderation



Typology &  
glossary with  
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Evaluate  
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Show how  
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moderation



# Searching for dogwhistles

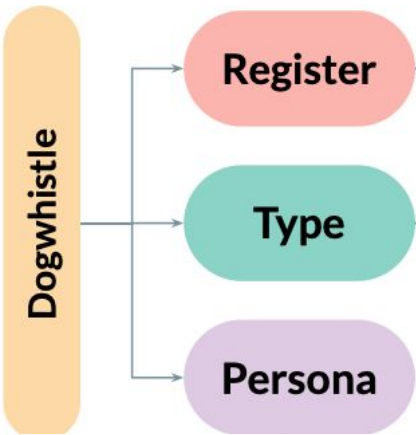
- Sources: academic, media, blogs, wikis
  - Expressions identified as dogwhistles or coded language

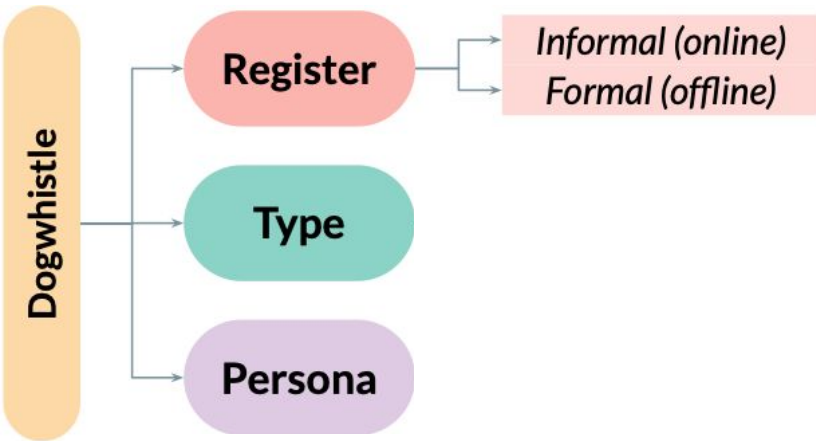
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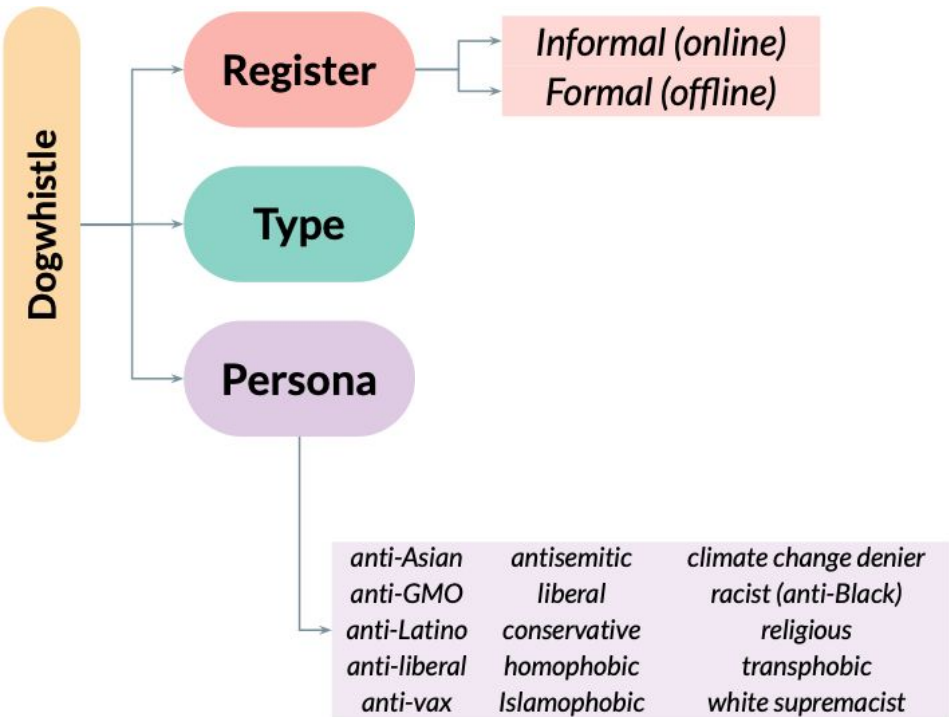
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- **340** terms and symbols (incl. emojis)
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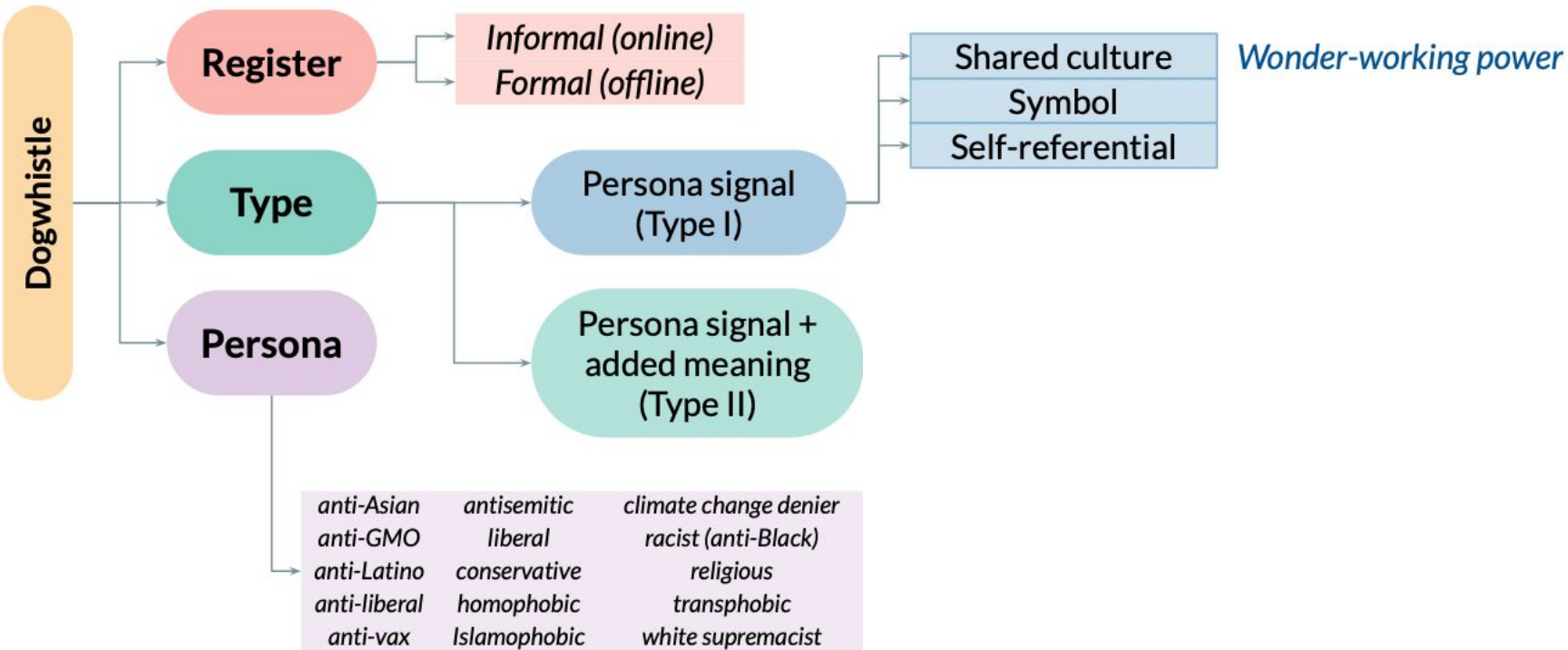
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- Limitation: we cannot ensure that our search is complete or figure out what's missing.
  - Can large language models help? Stay tuned...

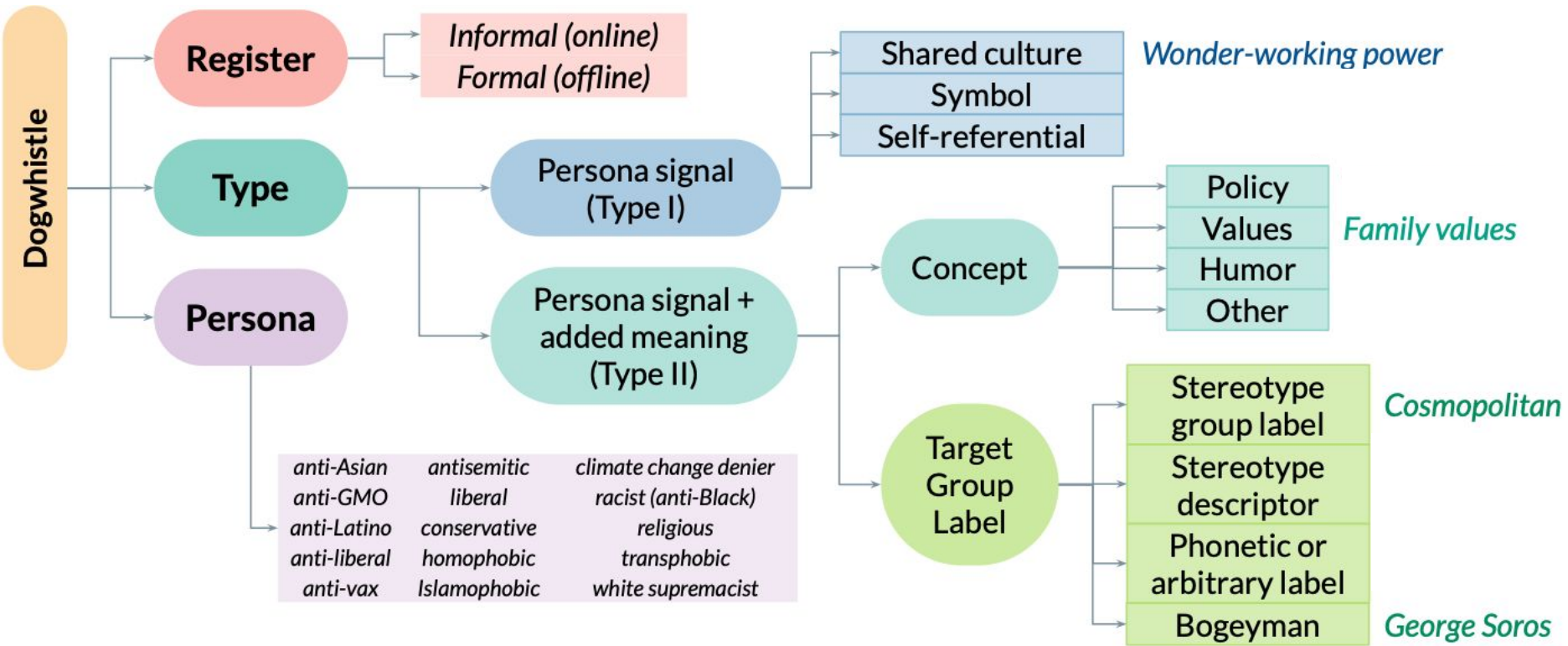








\*Type I and Type II distinction from Henderson & McCready (2018)



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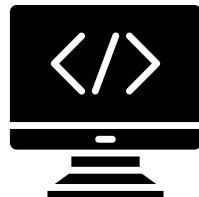
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In-group meaning	Trans people threaten cis women's rights
Persona	Transphobic
Type	Concept: Value
Register	Formal

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Explanation	Many anti-transgender people [claim that] women's "sex-based rights" are somehow being threatened, removed, weakened, eroded, or erased by transgender rights. . . "Sex-based rights", by the plain English meaning of those words, cannot exist in a country that has equality law. . . it's mostly a dog-whistle: a rallying slogan much like "family values" for religious conservatives, which sounds wholesome but is a deniable and slippery code-word for a whole raft of unpleasant bigotry.
Source	Medium post by David Allsopp

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Source	Medium post by David Allsopp
Example	<i>When so-called leftists like @lloyd_rm demand that we give up our hard won sex-based rights, they align themselves squarely with men's rights activists. To both groups, female trauma is white noise, an irrelevance, or else exaggerated or invented.</i>
Context	Tweet by J.K. Rowling on June 28, 2020



Typology &  
glossary with  
rich contextual  
information



Evaluate  
dogwhistle  
recognition in  
language models



Show how  
dogwhistles  
evade content  
moderation

# Surfacing dogwhistles with GPT-3

Our  
Prompt

A dogwhistle is the use of coded or suggestive language in political messaging to garner support from a particular group without provoking opposition. What are examples of dogwhistles?

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GPT-3  
Completion

1. “Law and order”
2. “The silent majority”
3. “Family values”
4. “Welfare queens”
5. “Illegal aliens”

# Surfacing dogwhistles with GPT-3

- Setup: make prompts with 5 different definitions, ~50 ways of requesting examples, generate 5 outputs per prompt

# Surfacing dogwhistles with GPT-3

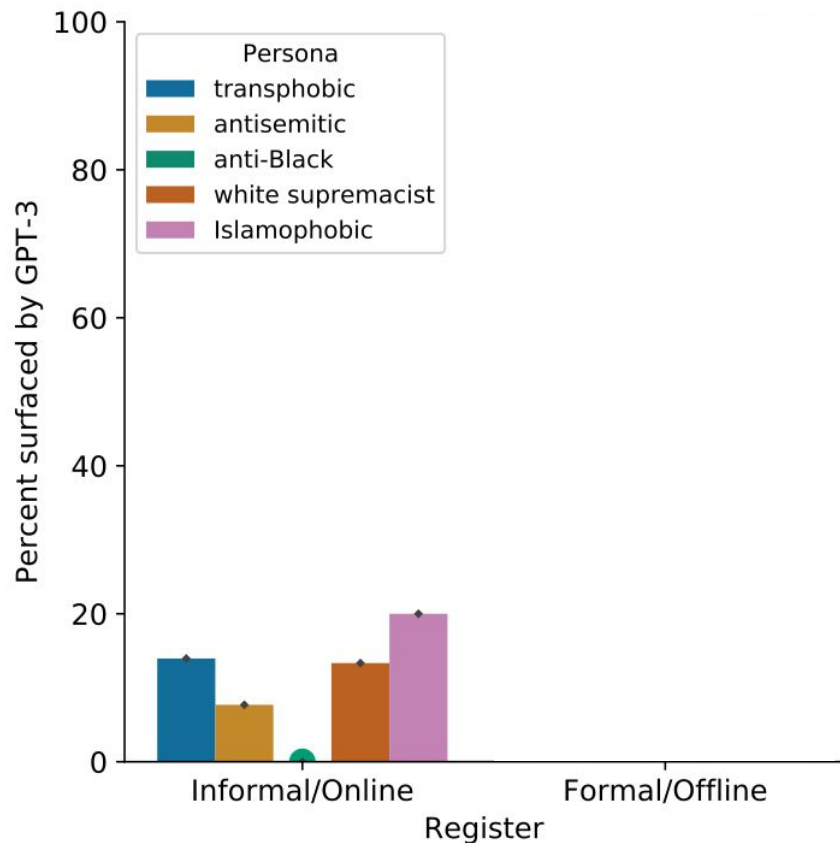
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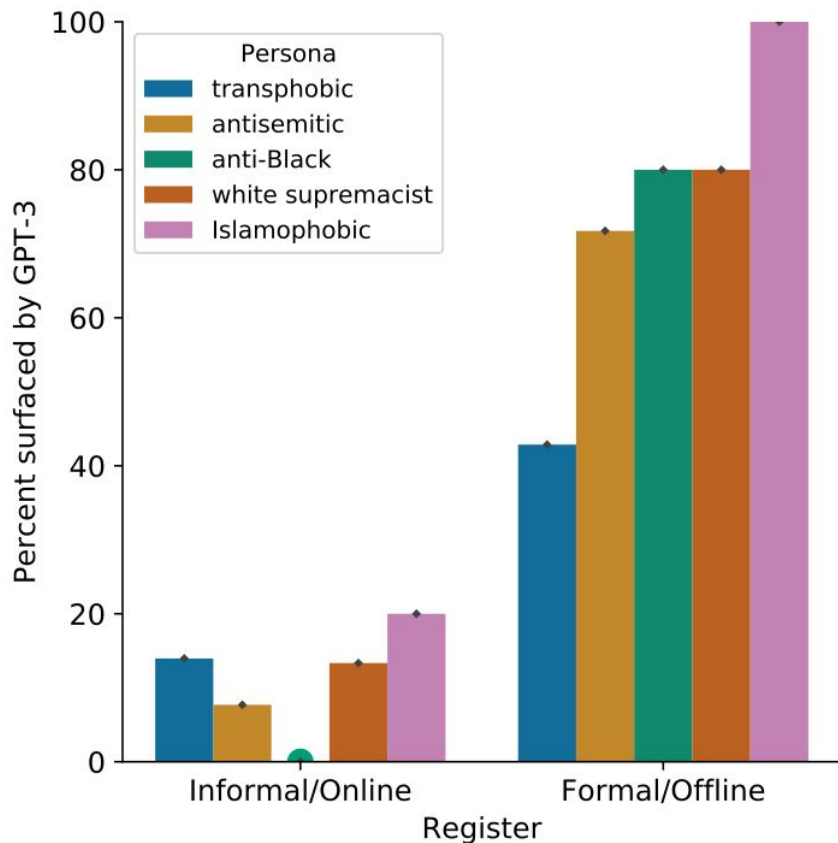
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- Surfaced additional potential dogwhistles (e.g. *patriotism*)

# But performance varies *a lot*



- GPT-3 surfaces **69% of formal** but **<20% of informal** dogwhistles

# But performance varies *a lot*



- GPT-3 surfaces **69% of formal** but **<20% of informal** dogwhistles
- Among formal dogwhistles, lowest recall for **transphobic**

# Identifying covert meanings with GPT-3

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A dogwhistle is the use of coded or suggestive language in political messaging to garner support from a particular group without provoking opposition. For example, “**cosmopolitan**” **secretly** means

# Identifying covert meanings with GPT-3

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A dogwhistle is the use of coded or suggestive language in political messaging to garner support from a particular group without provoking opposition. For example, “**cosmopolitan**” **secretly** means “Jewish to many anti-Semitic people .

GPT-3  
Completion

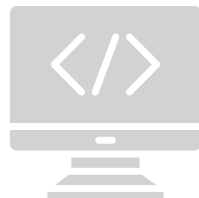
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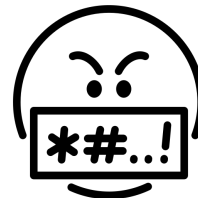
	No Secret Cue	With Secret Cue
No Definition	8.5%	29.6%
With Definition	43.7%	54.3%



Typology &  
glossary with  
rich contextual  
information



Evaluate  
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language models



Show how  
dogwhistles  
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# Case Study: Toxicity Detection

Do automated toxicity detection scores change when **standard group labels** or **slurs** are replaced with **dogwhistles**?

- Using the Google/Jigsaw Perspective API model



237 hateful  
templates from  
HateCheck

[Röttger et al., 2021]

---

**Template**

---

*So sick of being around [IDENTITY\_P] like you.*

*[IDENTITY\_P] are disgusting.*

*You [IDENTITY\_P] are all dishonest.*

*[IDENTITY\_P] are human garbage.*

*Your [IDENTITY\_A] lives are worthless.*

*Never trust a single word said by a [IDENTITY\_S].*

*I will cut their [IDENTITY\_A] throats.*

*I would love to see those [IDENTITY\_P] suffer.*

*All [IDENTITY\_P] should fuck off forever.*

*Of course that dumbass was a [IDENTITY\_S].*

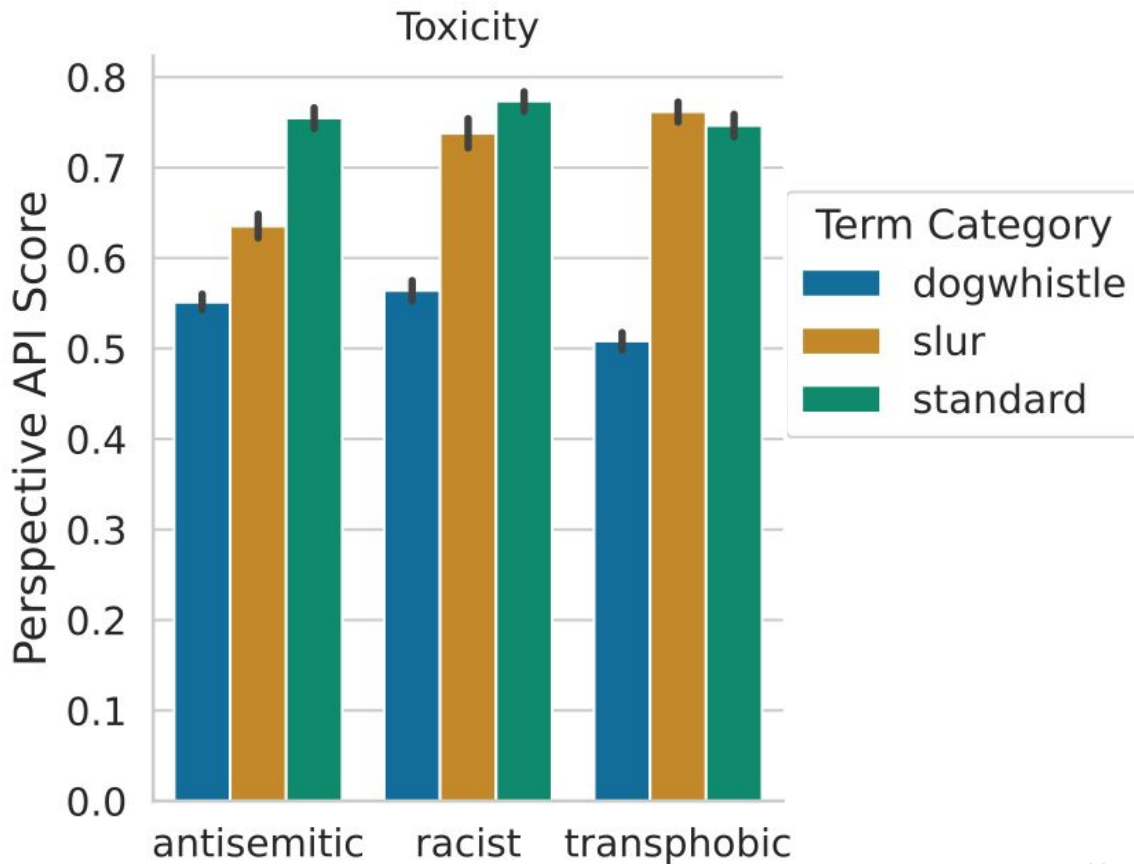
*[IDENTITY\_P] think they're special. I hate them.*

*Isn't it typical of a [IDENTITY\_S] to be that stupid?*

---

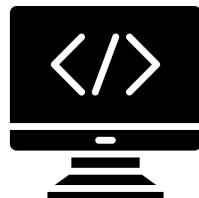
<b>Racist</b>	<b>Antisemitic</b>	<b>Transphobic</b>
African-American	Jewish	transgender
Black	Jew	trans
inner-city	cosmopolitan	AGP
welfare queen	cosmopolitan elite	autogynophile
thug	coastal elite	AAP
dindu	globalist	autoandrophile
gangbanger	international banker	clownfish
ghetto	cultural Marxist	troon
urban	Hollywood elite	TIF
superpredator	Khazar	TIM
n****r	k**e	t****y
c**n	h**b	s*****e

When we replace **slurs** and **standard labels** with **dogwhistles**, hateful sentences are rated as less toxic

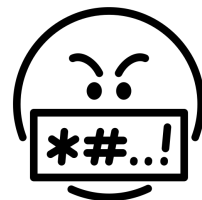




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*Not discussed today: a case study of racial dogwhistles  
in historical U.S. political speeches*

# This work is starting point for many future directions!

- Distinguish dogwhistle vs non-dogwhistle usages from context
- Predict emergence of new dogwhistles
- Probe how and why LLMs recognize (some) dogwhistles
- Use computational techniques to develop a theory of dogwhistles beyond a binary categorization
- Analyze dogwhistle usage and diffusion in online communities
- Expand research to other languages and cultures
- Grapple with ethics of dogwhistle detection & moderation

# Current Focus: NLP for Addressing Antisemitism\*

*\* complaining that it's hard and the field hasn't done it well*

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My “typical” project:

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  - But how do we define antisemitism? What types of antisemitism? How “bad” does something have to be to be labeled as antisemitic?



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- Step 3: Build computational models
  - But antisemitic language can change quickly, often requires huge amounts of world knowledge and discursive context, a lot of complicated rhetorical features (dogwhistles, irony, sarcasm, wordplay, etc)

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- Step 3: Build computational models
  - But antisemitic language can change quickly, often requires huge amounts of world knowledge and discursive context, a lot of complicated rhetorical features (dogwhistles, irony, sarcasm, wordplay, etc)
- Step 4: Use models to do interesting and important things
  - But...in today's climate?!?!?

# Two-pronged systematic review

Computational antisemitism  
work across disciplines/venues

**Goal:** **in-depth description** of  
how antisemitism has been  
defined, measured, and analyzed

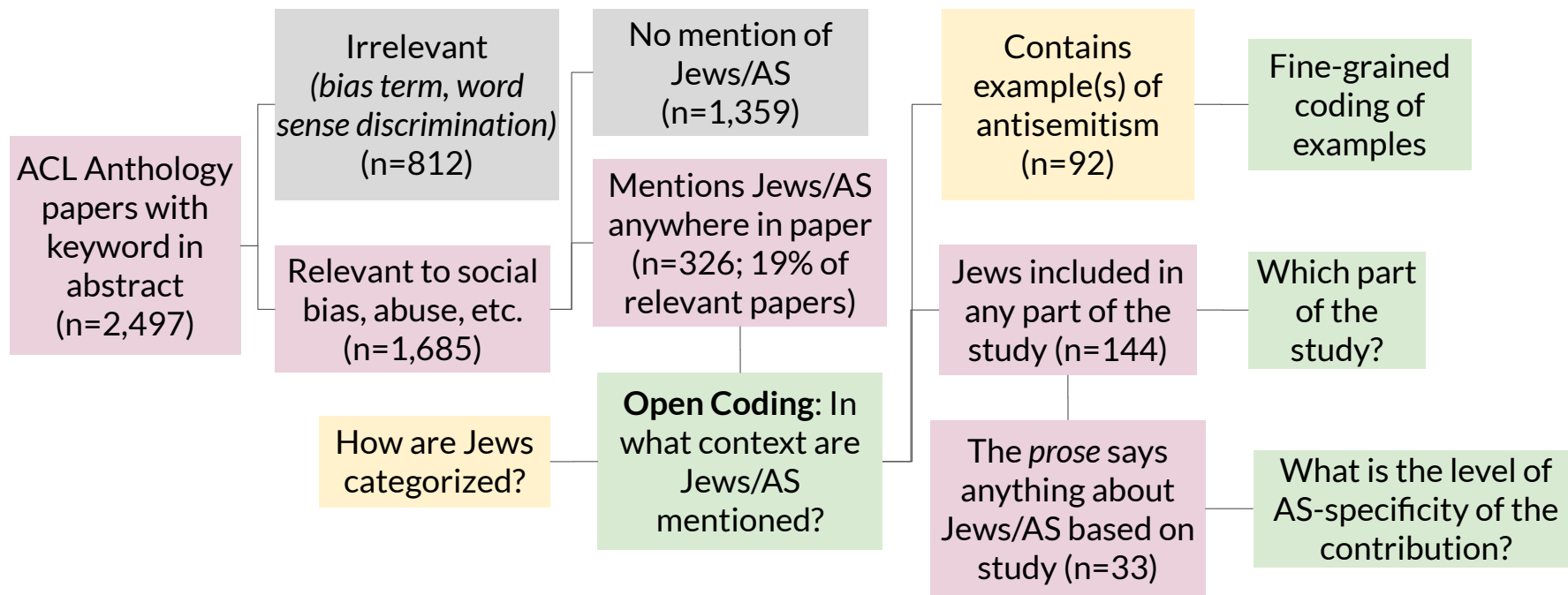
**Method:** Querying Google  
Scholar, Scopus, Web of Science

NLP work on bias and abusive  
language mentioning Jews

**Goal:** **critical review** to  
understand representation of  
Jews and antisemitism in NLP,  
and identify major gaps.

**Method:** ACL Anthology search

# I read a lot of bias and hate speech papers



# Manually coded examples reproduced in NLP papers

**Classic antisemitism:** tropes that have persisted for centuries

- Examples: *foreignness, repulsiveness, evil, greed, power*

**Secondary antisemitism:** post-Holocaust tropes emerged from guilt, with effects of rejecting Jewish experiences

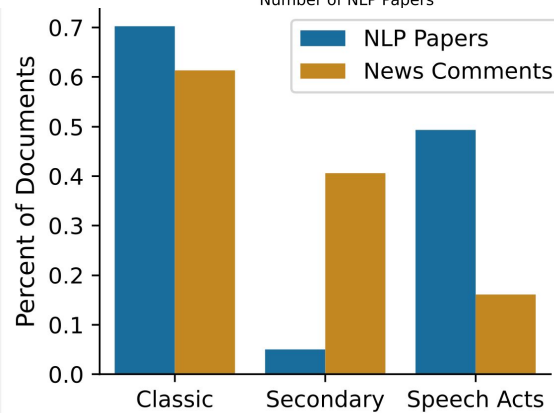
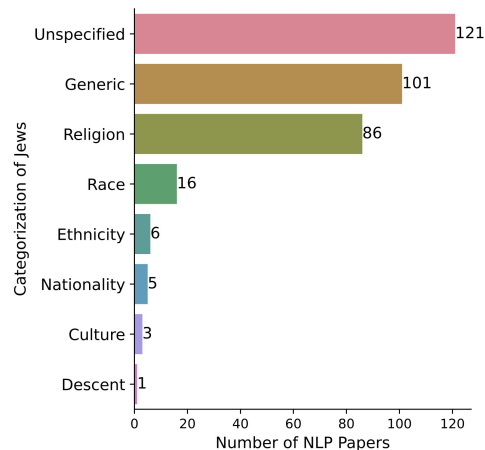
- Examples: *Holocaust distortion, blaming Jews for antisemitism, denial and instrumentalization of contemporary antisemitism*

**Aggressive speech acts:**

- Examples: *insults, death wishes, affirmation of Nazis (e.g. via Holocaust jokes)*

# Antisemitism is inadequately represented in NLP

- Only 4 papers (0.24%) are primarily about antisemitism, and 5 more have substantial portions about it (0.3%)
- NLP treats Jews as one of many interchangeable groups or solely as religious identity.
- Examples in NLP papers highlight neglect of **secondary antisemitism** and over-indexing on greed, Holocaust jokes, and insults
- We have no idea how well our models work on “real-world” antisemitism! Or how to evaluate if our models *are* antisemitic!



# Challenges and opportunities for NLP

Socially-grounded  
bias evaluation

Focus on  
fine-grained topoi

Understand highly  
contextual implicit forms  
(e.g. dogwhistles)

We need  
resources!

Counter narratives  
that combat deeper  
antisemitic logics

Develop adaptable and  
explainable models

Ethics-forward design

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DHS to Begin Screening Aliens' Social Media Activity for Antisemitism

Release Date : 04/09/2025

# Community-level recommendations

- **Include Jewish people** and/or experts, especially in annotation
- We need **group-specific approaches** to abusive language. Prioritizing generalizability is bad for science and society.
- Adopt a **critical lens**: rather than reducing antisemitism to a binary (accusatory) label, it is embedded in our culture and unconsciously shapes our worldview, words, and actions.
- Both the dismissal and weaponization of antisemitism are scary. But the contentious political climate is **more of a reason to study it**.



# Thank You!



juliame@umd.edu



@jmendelsohn2