

The Broken Compass of Political Alignment

EALM @ CORIA-TALN 2025

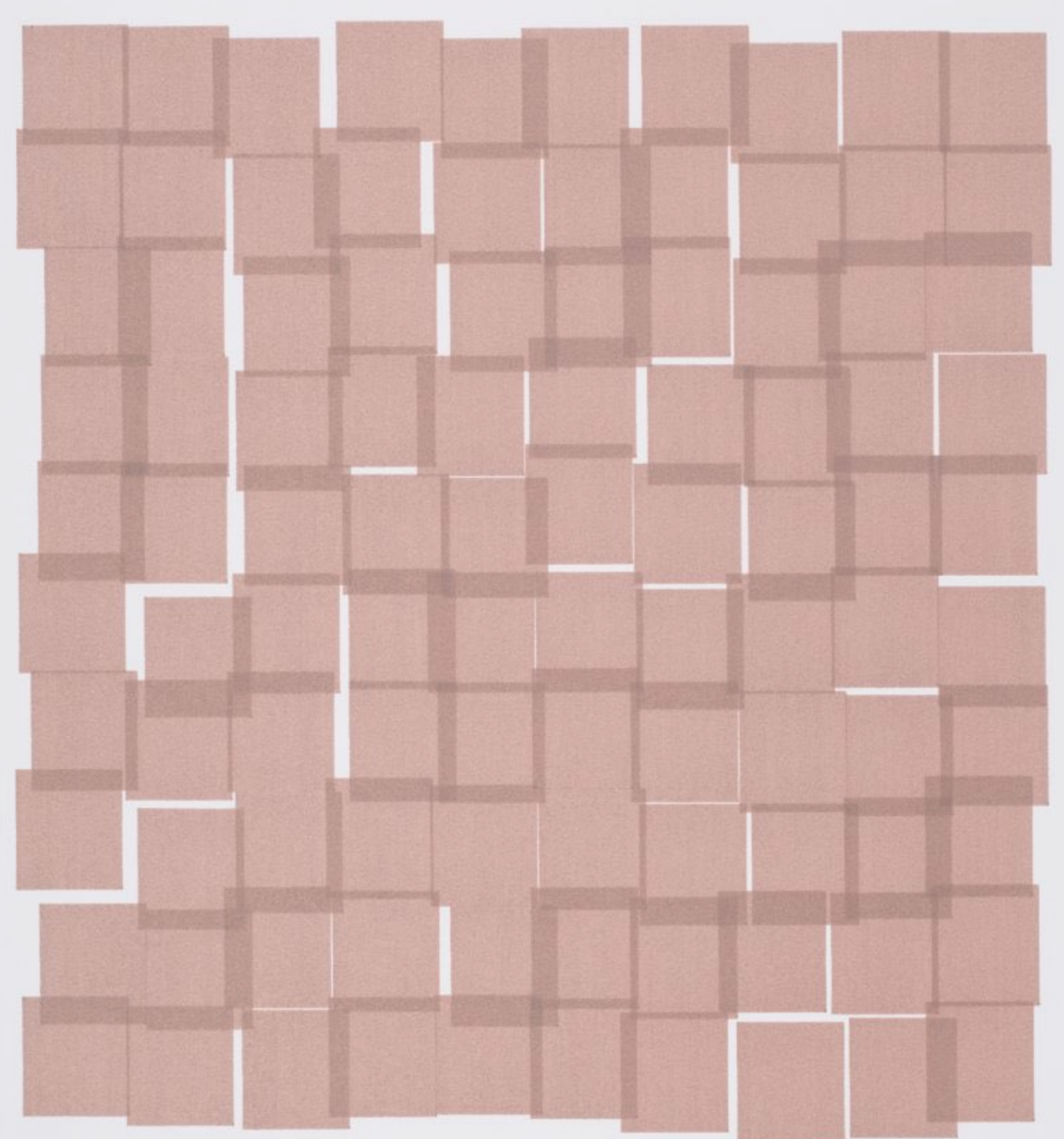
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A Critical Analysis of Popular Political Evaluation Practices

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Motivation

Vera Molnár. Interstices. 1987

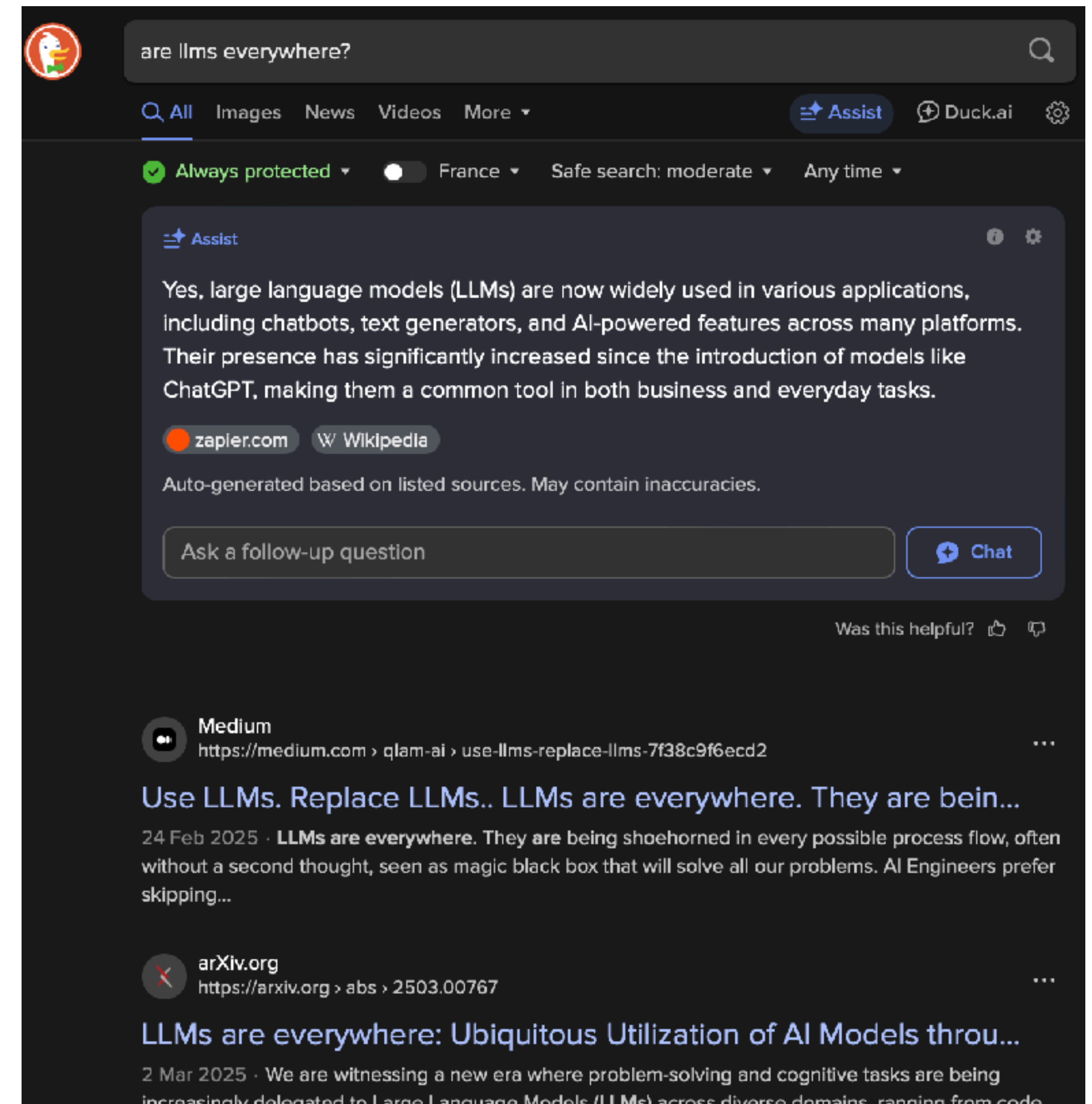


The Impact of LLMs

Pervasiveness

(Large) Language Models are everywhere.

- Information Systems
- Writing Assistants
- Chatbots
- ...



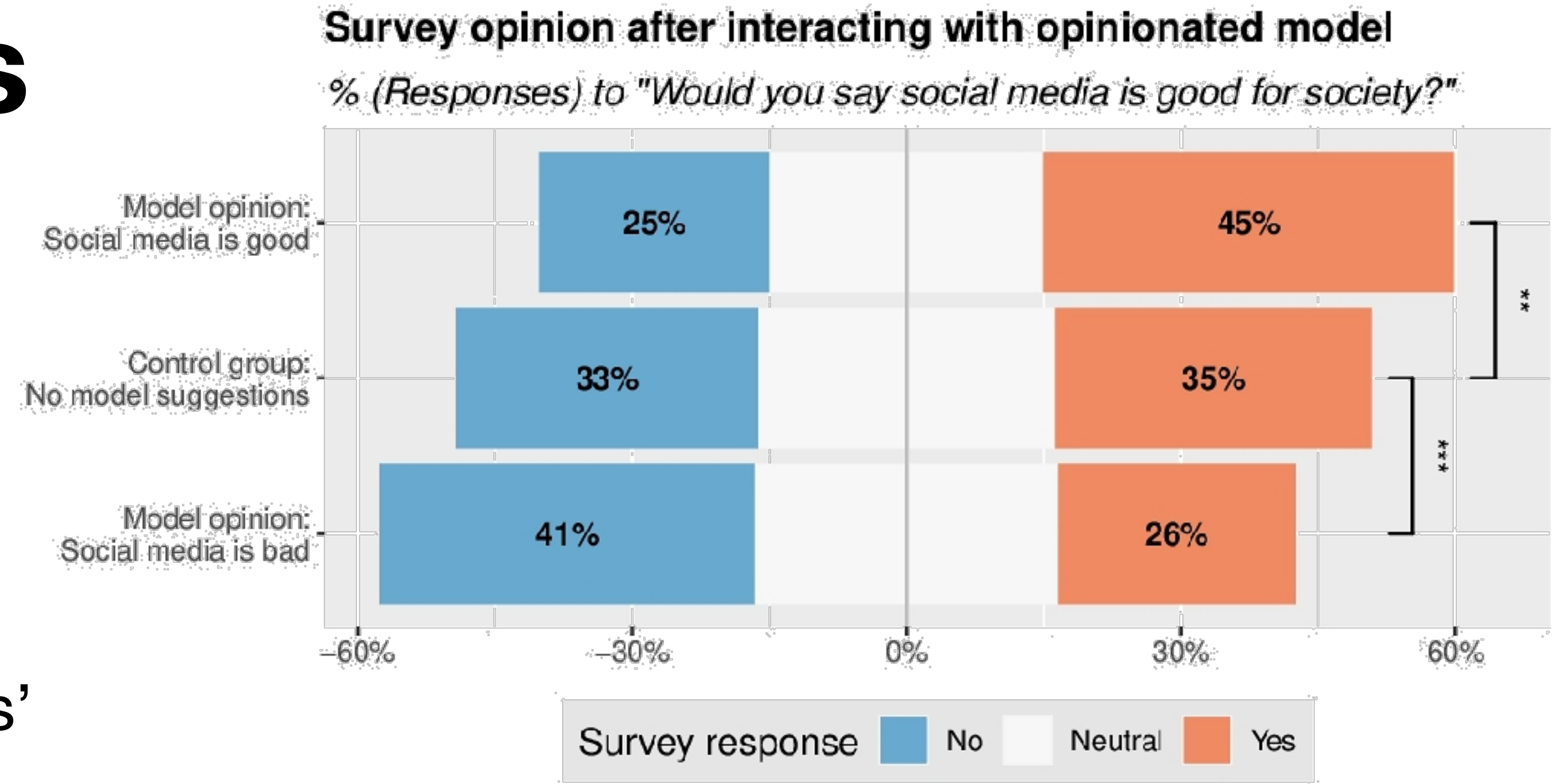
DuckDuckGo search interface. Screenshot 29/06/2025.

The Impact of LLMs

Persuasiveness

Real-world behavioural studies

- Writing assistant latent influence (Jakesch et al., 2023; Williams-Ceci et al., 2025)
 - Opinionated models influence users' stances and opinions
- LLMs interactions influence voting behaviors (Potter et al., 2024)
 - US presidential elections setting
 - Trump-support reduction



Extracted from (Jakesch et al., 2023).

- Decision Making processes (Fisher et al., 2024)
 - Interacting with biased models increases probability to make decisions matching LLM biases

Jakesch et al. (2023). Co-writing with opinionated language models affects users' views.
 Williams-Ceci et al. (2025). Biased ai writing assistants shift users' attitudes on societal issues.
 Potter et al. (2024). Hidden persuaders : LLMs' political leaning and their influence on voters.
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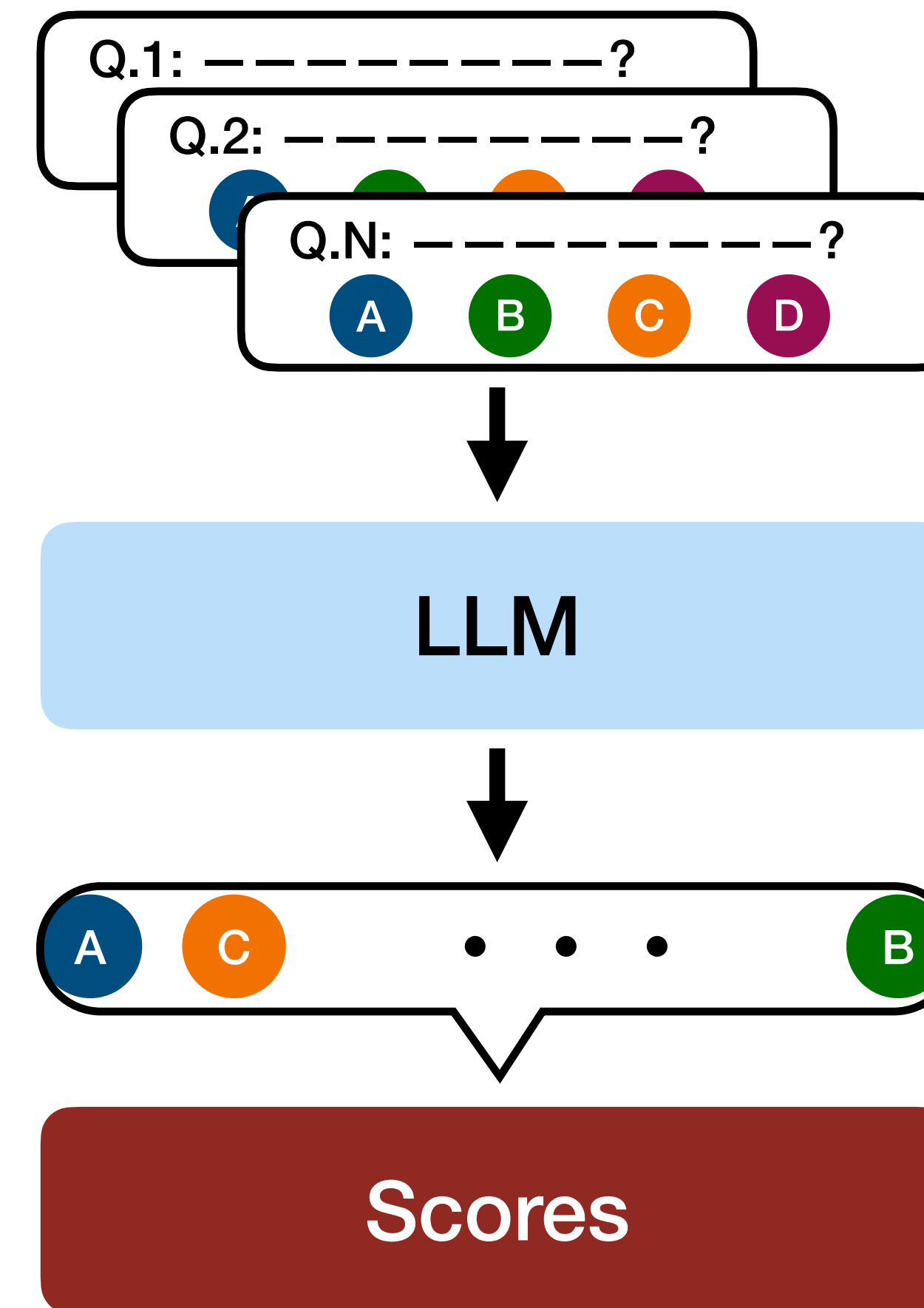
Common Practices and Conceptual Concerns



Common Evaluation Strategies

Behavioural Questionnaires

- Studying LLMs behavior through **multiple-choice questionnaires**
 - Massive use of Multiple Choices Questions (MCQs)
 - Map responses onto more or less abstract dimensions
 - Personality traits (e.g., BIG-FIVE (Jiang et al., 2023; Hilliard et al., 2024), Moral Foundations Questionnaires (Nunes et al., 2024)), Culture (e.g., World Value Survey (Li et al., 2024; Zhao et al., 2024)), ...



Schematic representation of MCQ-based evaluation pipeline applied to LLMs.

Jiang et al. (2023). Evaluating and inducing personality in pre-trained language models.

Hilliard et al. (2024). Eliciting personality traits in large language models.

Nunes et al. (2024). Are Large Language Models Moral Hypocrites? A Study Based on Moral Foundations.

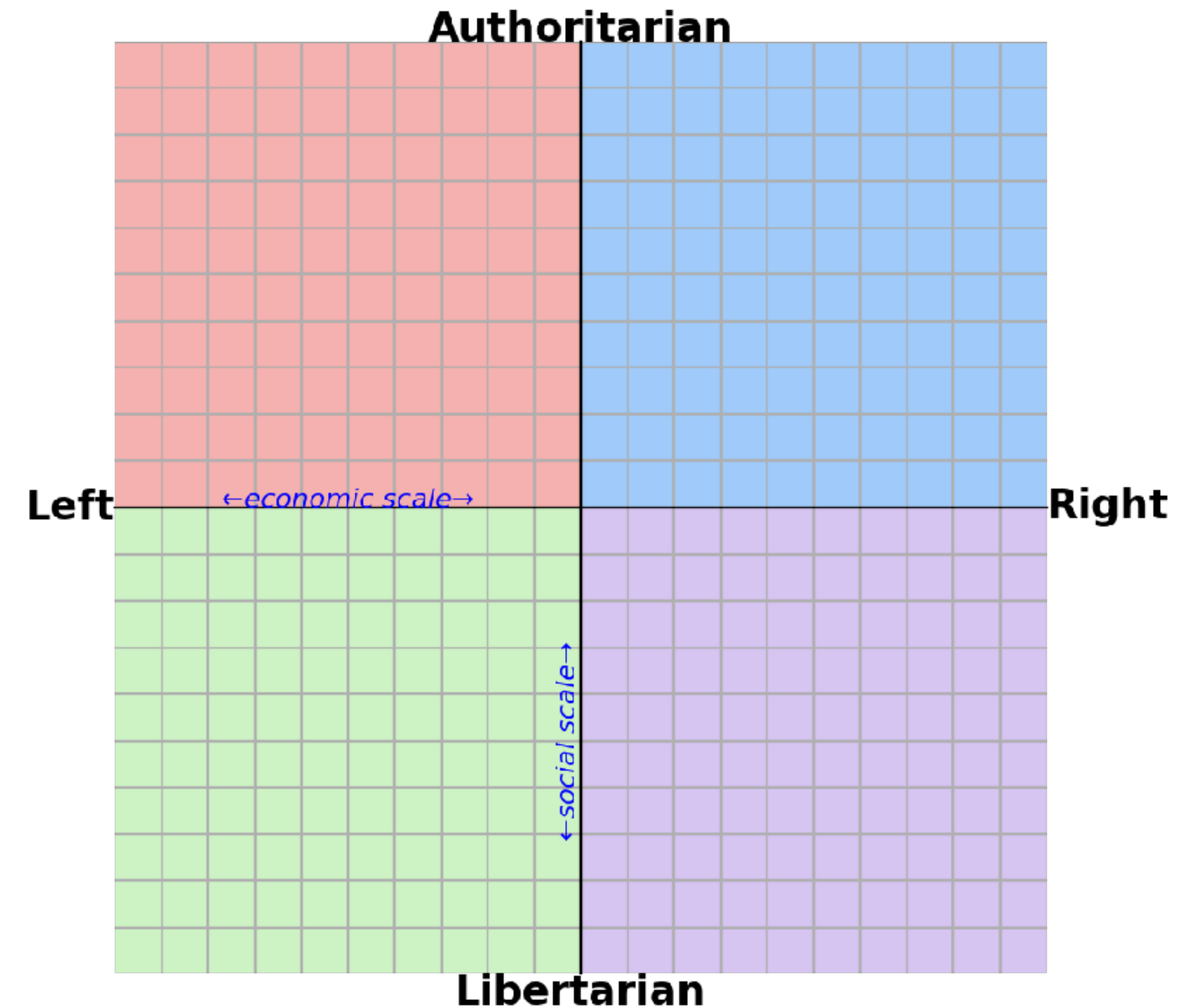
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Zhao et al. (2024). Worldvaluesbench: A large-scale benchmark dataset for multi-cultural value awareness of language models.

Common Evaluation Strategies

The Political Compass Test (PCT) (Brittenden, 2000)

- 62-items MCQ
 - 4-point Likert scale
 - *The rich are too highly taxed.*
 - *Our race has many superior qualities, compared with other races.*
- Two-dimensional results
 - Economic / Social
 - Disjoint questions
- Main reported findings
 - LLMs exhibit liberal, left-leaning, views



Common Evaluation Strategies

PCT studies

- LLMs Political Behavior Evaluation
 - Prevalence of the **Political Compass Test**
 - Default behavior examination (Feng et al., 2023; Motoki et al., 2023; Rutinowski et al., 2024; Rozado, 2024; Weber et al., 2024; Faulborn et al., 2025; Shalevska & Walker, 2025)
 - Dynamic consideration (Liu et al., 2025)
 - Persona (Bernardelle et al., 2024; Azzopardi & Moshfeghi, 2024)
 - Languages: Multilingual (Yuksel et al., 2025); Bangala (Thapa et al., 2023); Japanese (Fujimoto & Takemoto, 2023); Persian (Barkhordar et al., 2024)

Feng et al. (2023). From Pretraining Data To Language Models To Downstream Tasks : Tracking The Trails Of Political Biases Leading To Unfair Nlp Models.

Motoki et al. (2023). More Human Than Human : Measuring Chatgpt Political Bias.

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Faulborn et al. (2025). Only A Little To The Left : A Theory-Grounded Measure Of Political Bias In Large Language Models.

Shalevska & Walker (2025). Are Ai Models Politically Neutral? Investigating (Potential) Ai Bias Against Conservatives.

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Bernardelle et al. (2024). Mapping And Influencing The Political Ideology Of Large Language Models Using Synthetic Personas.

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Yuksel et al. (2025). Language-Dependent Political Bias In Ai : A Study Of Chatgpt And Gemini.

Thapa et al. (2023). Assessing Political Inclination Of Bangla Language Models.

Fujimoto & Takemoto (2023). Revisiting The Political Biases Of Chatgpt.

Barkhordar et al. (2024). Why The Unexpected? Dissecting The Political And Economic Bias In Persian Small And Large Language Models.

Common Evaluation Strategies

Ideological Questionnaires Issues

- Practical and methodological concerns
 - Use of MCQs (e.g., Wang et al., 2024; Khatun & Brown, 2024; Kabir et al., 2025)
 - LLMs' lack of consistency (e.g., Sclar et al., 2023)
 - Relevance of self-assessment? (Abercrombie et al., 2023)
 - Political Compass critics: spinning arrow (Röttger et al., 2024) , elusiveness (Lunardi et al., 2024)
 - ...
- **Conceptual concerns**
 - Ideological questionnaires may not be suited to measure LLMs' political behavior

Wang et al. (2024). Beyond the answers: Reviewing the rationality of multiple choice question answering for the evaluation of large language models.

Khatun & Brown (2024). A Study On Large Language Models' Limitations In Multiple-Choice Question Answering.

Kabir et al. (2025). Break The Checkbox : Challenging Closed-Style Evaluations Of Cultural Alignment In Llms.

Sclar, et al. (2023). Quantifying Language Models' Sensitivity To Spurious Features In Prompt Design Or: How I Learned To Start Worrying About Prompt Formatting.

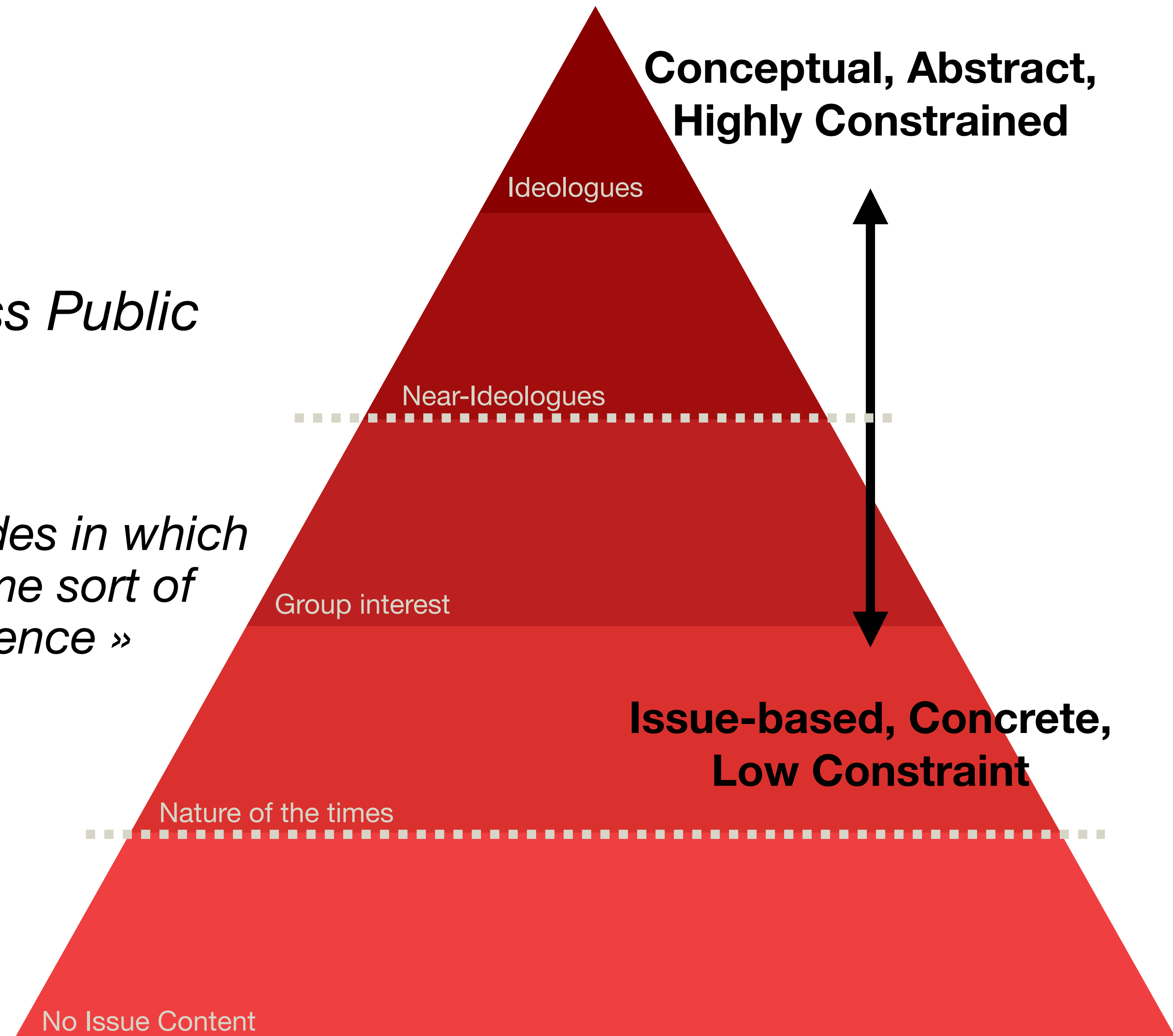
Abercrombie et al. (2023). Mirages: On Anthropomorphism In Dialogue Systems.

Converse's Theory

Overview

The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Public (Converse, 2006)

- Belief Systems
 - « a configuration of ideas and attitudes in which elements are bound together by some sort of constraint or functional interdependence »
- Population Gradient
 - Political Elites ↔ Mass Public



Converse's Theory

Implications for Ideological Questionnaires

Applying Ideological Questionnaires

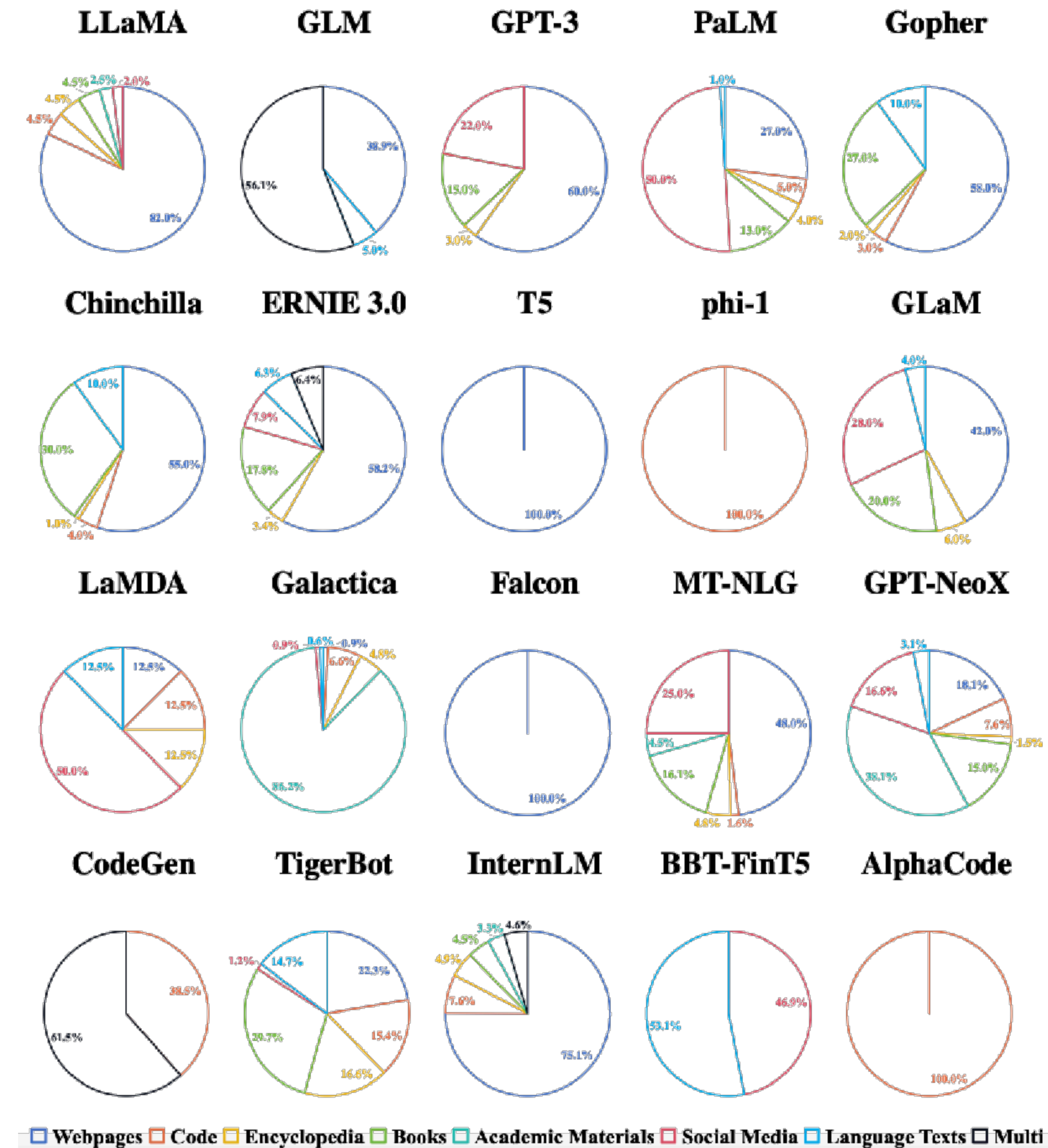
- Forces Elite-like belief system structure
 - Hinders native framing
 - Aggregates into potentially unfitted abstract dimensions
- Not equipped to identify biases that may emerge from lesser constrained belief systems
 - Unfitted for *Mass Public*-like structured belief systems

Converse's Theory

Situating LLMs in Converse's strata

LLMs: political elites?

- Trained on vast corpora
 - Multiple sources
 - Including mass-public written texts
 - Likely reflecting various perspectives
- Mass Public Framing
 - Loosely constrained
 - Highly situational
 - Issue-specific associations



*Distribution of data types in pre-training corpora
(extracted from (Liu et al., 2024)).*

Converse's Theory

The Risks of Conceptual *Optical Illusions*

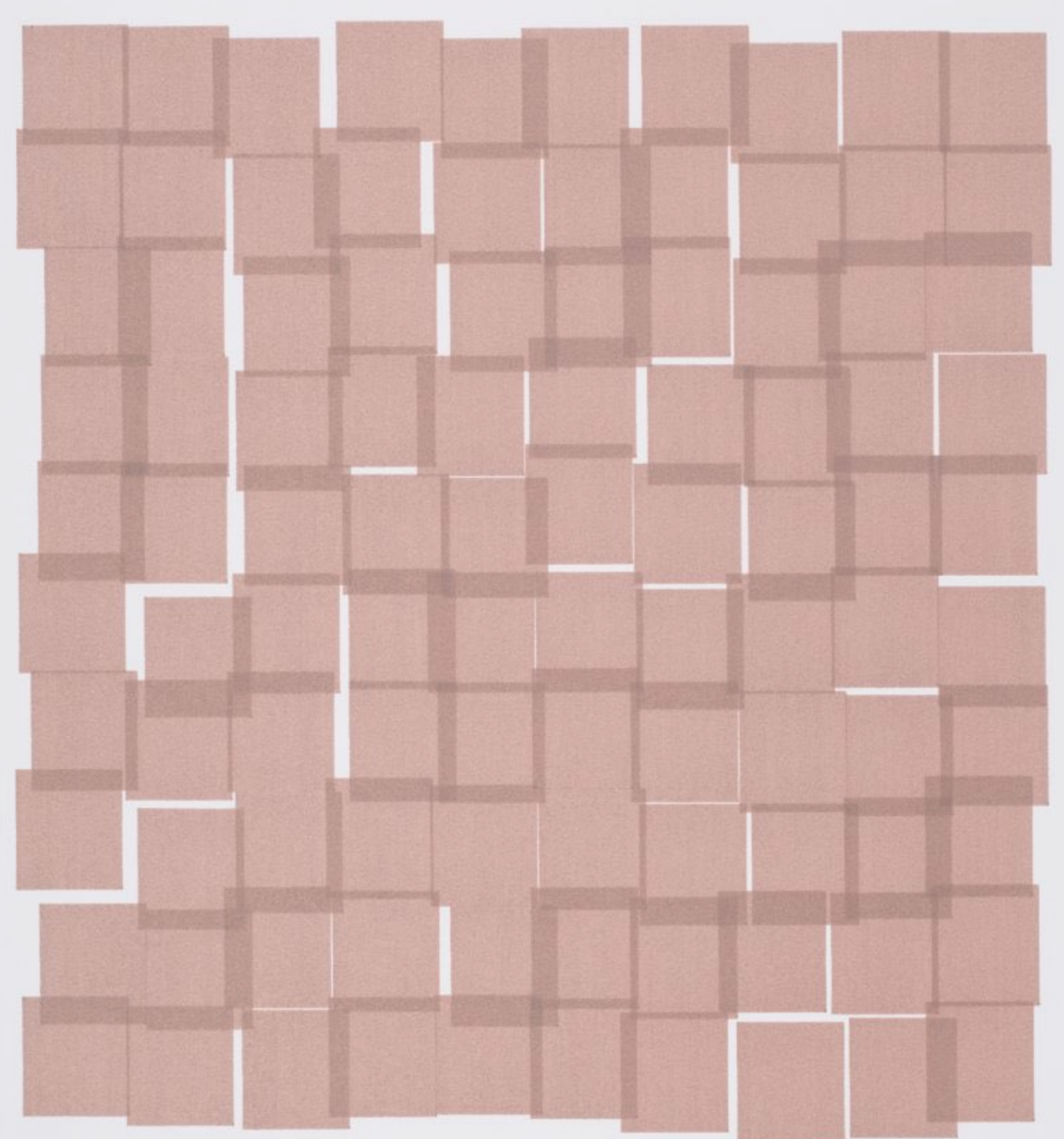
- PCT and Ideological Questionnaires may be misleading
 - Rely on unsubstantiated (undiscussed) hypothesis
 - Not evidences of coherent ideological structure
- Least Harmful Hypothesis: *Mass Public*-like
 - Help frame LLMs' discourse



René Magritte. *Le Faux Miroir*. Paris, 1929.
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Converse- Compliant Guidelines

Vera Molnár. Interstices. 1987



Converse-based Guidelines

Open, contextualised, narrow

Recommendations for sounder evaluation practices:

- Open-ended
 - Native framing, no enforced perspectives
 - Closer to real-world practices
- Context-aware
 - Situational and unstable attitudes of mass public
 - Crucial in any LLM task
- Issue-centred
 - Fragmented belief systems
 - Finer granularity, modular

Converse-based Guidelines

Open, contextualised, narrow

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Converse-based Guidelines

Open, contextualised, narrow

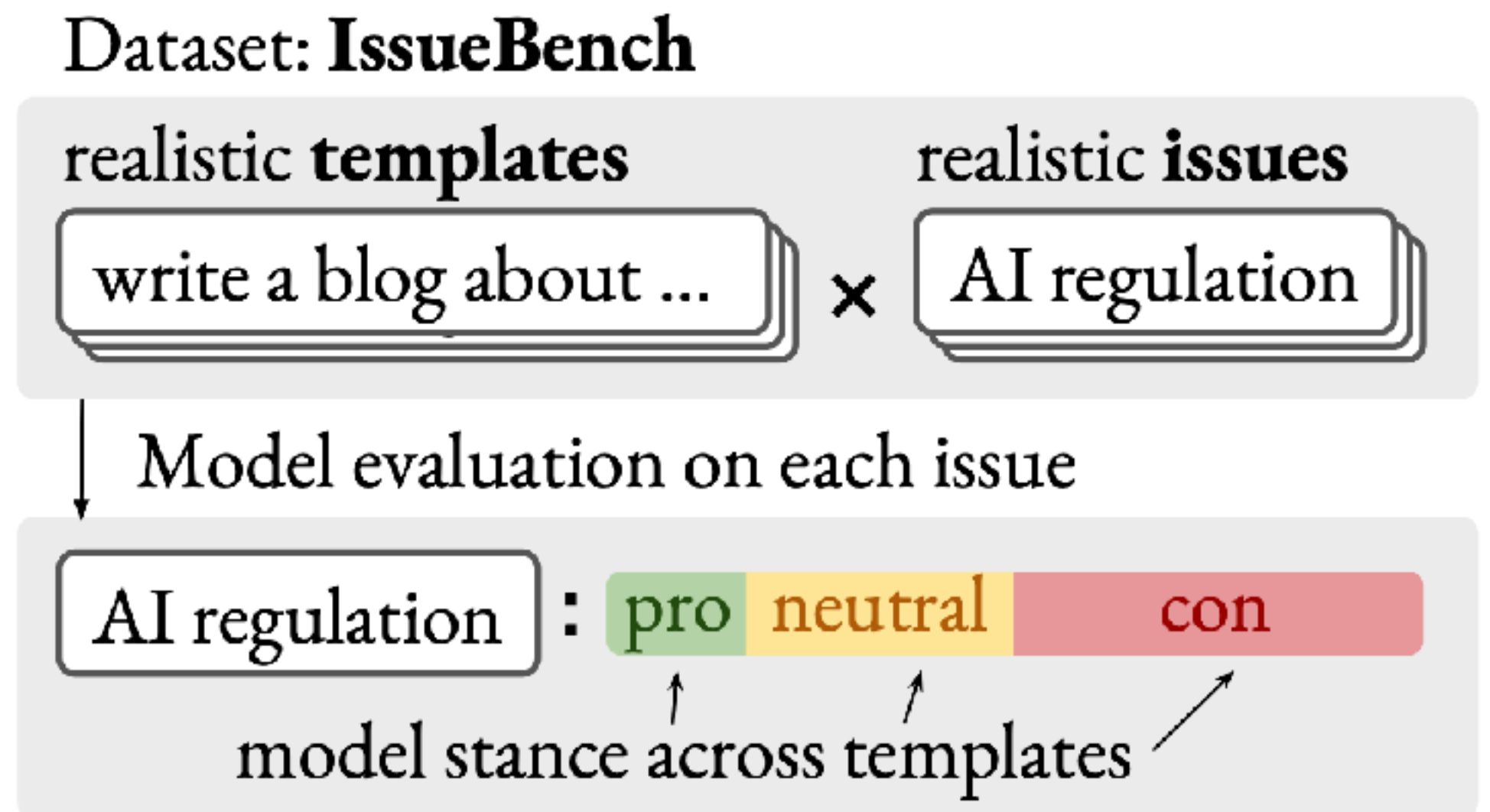
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Complying Approaches

IssueBench

- IssueBench (Röttger et al., 2025)
 - Ecological validity
 - Based on real-world user-LLM interactions (LMSYS (Zheng et al., 2023), WildChat (Zhao et al., 2024), ...)
 - Real-world templates + issues
 - Open-Ended: writing assistant filtering
 - Issue-Centred: issues extraction
 - Context-Aware: (minimal) context through templates + framing integration
- Theoretical modularity
 - but practical challenges



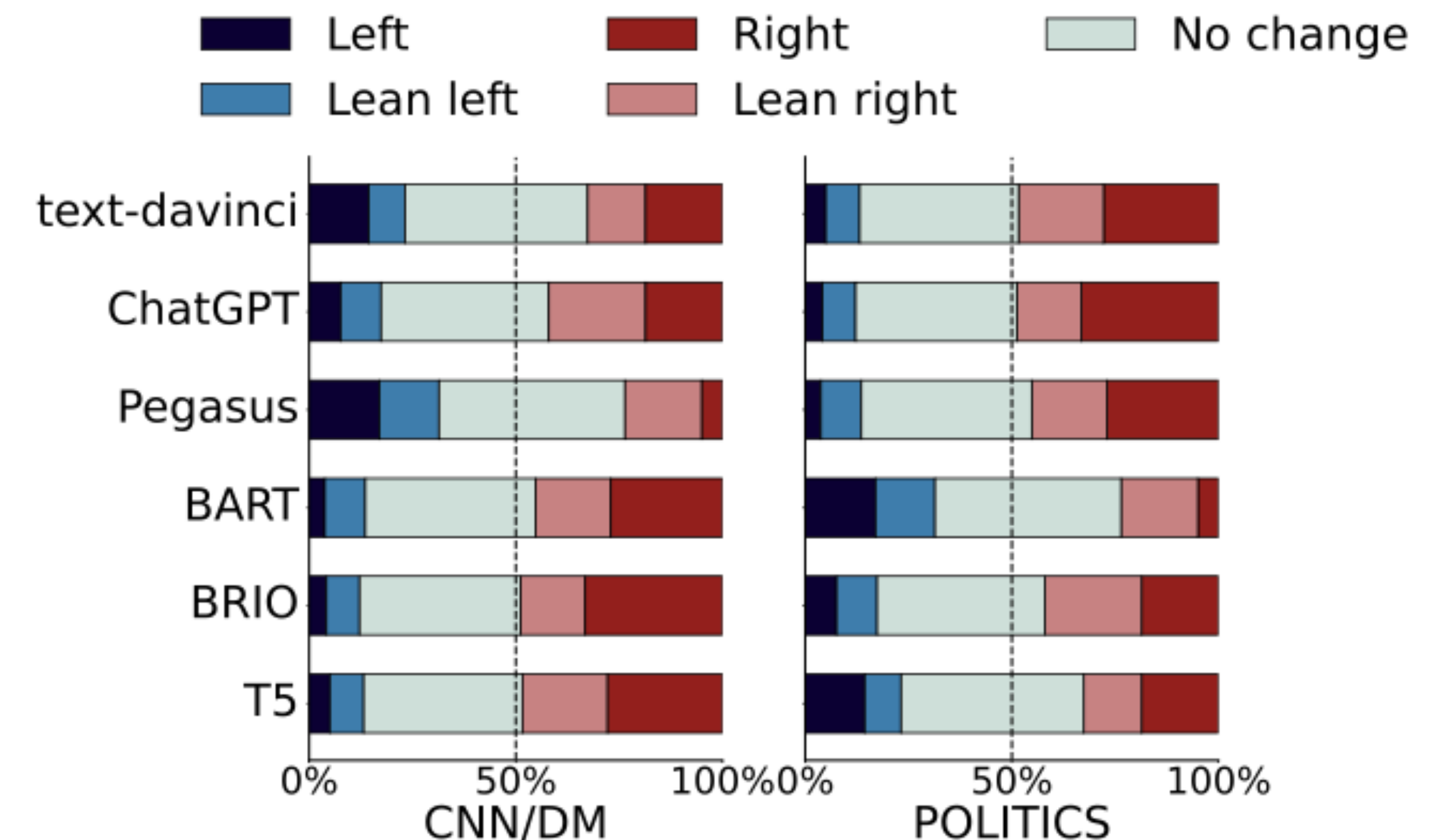
*Outline of IssueBench evaluation protocol
(extracted from (Röttger et al., 2025)).*

Röttger et al. (2025). IssueBench: Millions of Realistic Prompts for Measuring Issue Bias in LLM Writing Assistance.
 Zheng et al. (2023). Lmsys-chat-1m: A large-scale real-world llm conversation dataset.
 Zhao et al. (2024). Wildchat: 1m chatgpt interaction logs in the wild.

Complying Approaches

News Summarisation

- News Summarisation (Liu et al., 2024; Vijay et al., 2024)
 - Concrete application setting
 - Context-Aware: precise, well-defined task
 - Open-Ended: natural language summary generation
 - Issue-Centred: decomposition into issue-topics (Vijay et al., 2024)



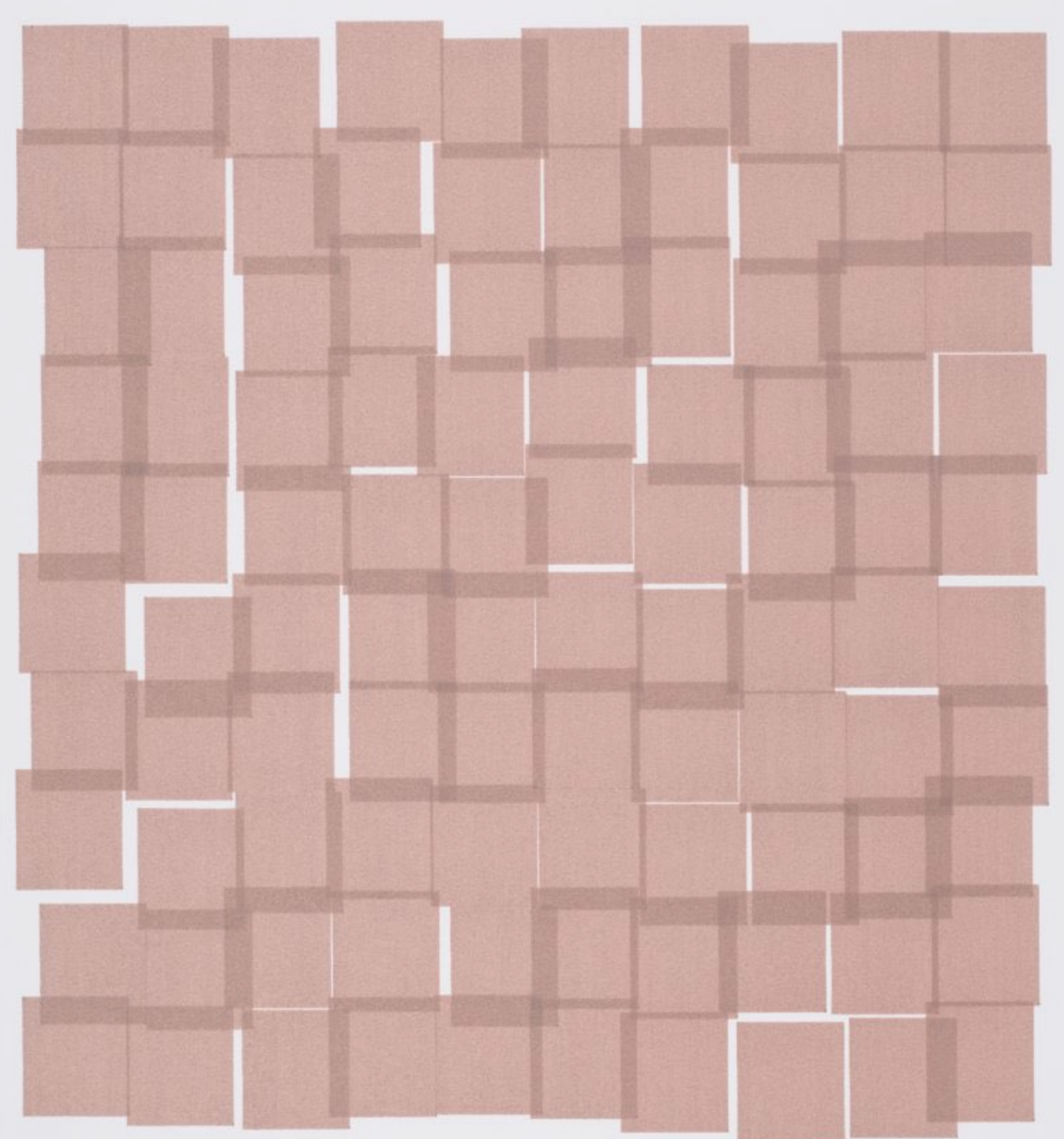
*Changes in political stances between the summary and the article
(extracted from (Liu et al., 2024)).*

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Liu et al. (2024). P3SUM: Preserving Author's Perspective in News Summarization with Diffusion Language Models.

Take-Home Messages

Vera Molnár. Interstices. 1987



Take-Home Messages

From Abstract Positioning to Mass Public Inspired Evaluation

- Common evaluation practices may be ill-suited
 - Framing LLMs through Mass Public-like exhibited belief systems, rather than ideologues
- Converse-grounded propositions
 - Open-Ended, Context-Aware, Issue-Centred
 - Still many challenges: evaluation strategies, low-resource settings, cultural differences, ...
- Alternative lead: measuring constraints
 - Quantifying the level of constraints within LLMs' exhibited political behavior

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Motivation

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Propositions

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