Understanding and Mitigating Political Stance Cross-topic Generalization in Large Language Models

Abstract

Fine-tuning Large Language Models on a political topic will significantly manipulate their political stance on various issues and unintentionally affect their stance on broad topics. While previous studies have proposed this issue, there is still a lack of understanding regarding the internal representations of these stances and the mechanisms that lead to unintended cross-topic generalization. In this paper, we systematically explore the internal mechanisms underlying this phenomenon from a neuron-level perspective and how to mitigate the cross-topic generalization of political fine-tuning. Firstly, we propose Political Neuron Localization through Activation Contrasting (PNLAC) to identify two distinct types of political neurons: *general political neurons*, which govern stance across multiple political topics, and *topic-specific neurons* that affect the model's political stance on individual topics. We find these political neuron types exist in the middle and later layers across four models and datasets through activation patching experiments. Leveraging these insights, we introduce `InhibitFT`, an inhibition-based fine-tuning method, effectively mitigating the cross-topic stance generalization. Experimental results demonstrate the robustness of identified neuron types across various models and datasets, and show that `InhibitFT` significantly reduces the cross-topic stance generalization by 20% on average, while preserving topic-specific performance. Moreover, we demonstrate that selectively inhibiting only 5% of neurons is sufficient to effectively mitigate the cross-topic stance generalization.

1 Introduction

The remarkable capabilities of Large Language Models (LLMs) in natural language processing and their broad applicability have established them as essential tools for open-ended text generation tasks (Zanotto and Aroyehun, 2025; Guo et al., 2025; Aly et al., 2025). However, increasing concerns have emerged about their potential to shape or even distort public political opinions (Ziems et al., 2024; Pit et al., 2024). These concerns primarily arise from inherent political stances within LLMs (Santurkar et al., 2023; Yan et al., 2023): as they implicitly or explicitly absorb the political stance from their training data and often reflect the creators' intended orientations (Buyl et al., 2024). Consequently, when queries involve gender, race, or other politically sensitive topics, LLM outputs often exhibit clear political stances (Pit et al., 2024).

Recent studies (Chen et al., 2024b) have demonstrated that LLMs' political stances are highly susceptible to manipulation through fine-tuning, and fine-tuning on a specific political topic can unintentionally affect their views on unrelated topics (dubbed as *Cross-topic coupling*) as shown in Figure 1. Fine-tuning a model with a right-leaning dataset about the topic *Race* also influences its political leaning in other topics like *Economy*. While existing studies only focus on the political stance of various LLMs themselves, the mechanisms by which fine-tuning affects the internal representations that encode these models' political stances and how political leaning transfers between left and right still remain unclear.

In this work, we first explore how LLMs internally represent political stances by pinpointing specific neurons in their feed-forward network (FFN) layers. Inspired by recent findings that FFN neurons encode instruction-following capabilities (Zhang et al., 2025), safety alignment (Chen et al., 2024a), skill capabilities (Wang et al., 2022b), and knowledge retention (Dai et al., 2021), we hypothesize that political stances are similarly encoded within specific FFN neurons, which we distinguish into two types: *general political neurons*, controlling stances across multiple political topics, and *topic-specific neurons*, which govern stance within individual topics. Cross-topic cou-

Figure 1: A slight fine-tune can lead to LLMs' broader political stance change. For example, as illustrated in this figure, fine-tuning a model with right leaning prompt on topic Race shifts the model's stance on broader topic Economy from left to right. The susceptibility of the stance can be generalized to unrelated topics.

pling arises due to simultaneous adjustments of both neuron types during fine-tuning, inadvertently shifting stances on unrelated topics.

To validate this hypothesis, we propose the method Political Neuron Localization through Activation Contrasting (PNLAC) to locate these political neurons precisely. PNLAC calculates the activation difference score Political Activation Shift (PAS) that quantifies the importance of neurons to political stance by comparing the neuron activations of the left-leaning and right-leaning varieties to identify the political neurons. It then divides them into the two categories via PAS. Subsequently, we apply the activation patching (Zhang et al., 2024) method, patching the activations of the identified political neurons to the vanilla model with the same input prompts across three political datasets and LLMs from two model families and different scales. Our experiments confirm that patching general political neurons systematically shifts model stances across all tested political topics of the datasets, while patching topic-specific neurons significantly affects only their corresponding topics. These findings robustly demonstrate the stable existence of both neuron types.

Building upon these insights, we propose an inhibition-based fine-tuning method InhibitFT, that selectively freezes the identified general political neurons. This approach effectively mitigates undesired cross-topic stance coupling by 20%, enabling precise and targeted stance adjustments without affecting unrelated topics, thereby significantly advancing principled stance control research in LLMs while incurring no loss in overall utility of models. Additionally, we investigate how the degree of suppressed general political neurons influences the mitigation of cross-topic coupling. Experimental results demonstrate that manipulating only

5% of neurons in LLMs is sufficient to effectively decouple unintended stance transfer across topics.

To summarize, our contributions are threefold:

1. We propose PNLAC, a novel method to identify the general political neurons and topic-specific neurons in LLMs that govern models' general and individual political stances by using a new metric PAS, which measures the activation difference of neurons on political topics.

2. We systematically validate these neurons' stability and transferability across various political topics and LLM architectures and uncover how cross-topic coupling shapes through them. The results confirm that the identified general political neurons encode the stances across political topics while topic-specific neurons control stance within individual topics.

3. We propose a InhibitFT method that freezes general political neurons during fine-tuning to mitigate unintended cross-topic effects by 20% without sacrificing models' utility.

2   Related Work

Political Stance of LLMs. LLMs have become essential tools in natural language processing and are increasingly emerging as a significant source of information for the public, alongside search engines (Wu et al., 2025). As their role as information gatekeepers grows, concerns about potential political biases in their output have also intensified (Buyl et al., 2024; Choudhary, 2024; Retzlaff, 2024; Röttger et al., 2024; Rozado, 2024; Santurkar et al., 2023; Perez et al., 2023). Studies show that LLMs often exhibit a left-leaning bias, which may stem from inherent biases in their pre-training datasets (Moore et al., 2024). Furthermore,

design choices such as the selection of training data, model architecture, and post-training interventions like reinforcement learning may inadvertently encode specific ideological stances into LLM behavior, granting these biases strong generalization capabilities across topics (Santurkar et al., 2023; Perez et al., 2023). The ideological malleability and susceptibility of LLMs to manipulation could have significant implications for national security and regional stability. Existing research on LLMs' political stance has primarily focused on characterizing those stances and tracing their origins. The mechanisms of how political stance and its cross-topic generalization are encoded within the models remain unexplored. Our work fills this gap by enhancing the interpretability of political stance encoding in LLMs.

Neuron-based Mechanistic Interpretability. Interpretable machine learning first requires identifying the key components that influence the research objectives. With the development of LLMs, exploring the internal mechanisms of models through neuron-level interpretability has recently garnered significant attention, covering areas such as multilingual capabilities, multi-task knowledge, privacy protection, and model safety. Tang et al. (2024) and Xu et al. (2025) discovered neurons within the model that are associated with different language abilities, revealing the multilingual mechanisms of LLMs. Leng and Xiong (2025) extended this research to multi-task knowledge by identifying task-specific neurons in LLMs and exploring their generalization mechanisms across tasks. Chen et al. (2024c) precisely located neurons sensitive to personally identifiable information (PII) within LLMs and demonstrated the potential for mitigating PII risks by deactivating these localized privacy-related neurons. More research of neuron-based mechanistic interpretability include instruction-following (Zhang et al., 2025), skill neurons (Wang et al., 2022b), knowledge neurons (Dai et al., 2021) and gender-biased neurons (Yu and Ananiadou, 2025). Chen et al. (2024a) demonstrate that general neuron attribution techniques such as direct logit attribution (Wang et al., 2022a) and gradient-based methods (Yu and Ananiadou, 2023; Stolfo et al., 2024) are of limited use, as they assume a fixed, predefined output token set. They introduce a method to identify safety neurons by contrasting the model activations before and after alignment.

Similarly, LLM's political stance evaluation task includes open-ended generation. In this work, we developed a novel method to identify political neurons and divide the neurons into two types based on the activation computation method, offering an interpretable mechanism of LLM's political stance and the cross-topic coupling encoding.

3 Identify Two Types of Political Neurons

Motivated by prior findings demonstrating that neurons in FFN layers of LLMs can encode meaningful and interpretable features (Zhang et al., 2025; Gurnee et al., 2023; Wang et al., 2022b; Dai et al., 2021), we suppose that there are some neurons in FFN layers that control the political stance of models. In this section, we describe our dataset and introduce PNLAC, a method to pinpoint the political neurons that govern the model's stance.

3.1 Dataset Introduction

To effectively verify our hypothesis on political neurons, our method requires a dataset to fine-tune LLMs and then identify the political neurons whose activations form the model's internal representation of political stance. IDEOINST (Chen et al., 2024b) is a high-quality political stance fine-tuning dataset, covering six political topics(including crime, economy, gender, immigration, race, and science), satisfying our requirements for fine-tuning the model. In this work, we employ the IDEOINST to obtain the fine-tuned models. Statistics and examples of the dataset can be found in Appendix A.

3.2 Political Neuron Localization through Activation Contrasting

We now introduce our method, which identifies neurons related to political stance by computing neuronal activation differences between models with different political leanings when generating responses on a particular topic(as shown in Figure 2 (a)). The identified political neurons are categorized into two groups: *general political neurons*(govern political stance cross topic) and *topic-specific neurons*(control stance on single topic).

We first fine-tune a vanilla model M on a specific political topic t to shift its political leaning $L \in \{left, right\}$, producing two variants of the model M_{left}^t and M_{right}^t with opposing leanings on topic t. For each variant, we provide an l-length prompt $\mathbf{w} = [w_0, \ldots, w_l]$ and denote the model's response as $\mathbf{w}_1 = [w_{l+1}, \ldots, w_{l+m}]$.

Figure 2: The overview of our method. (a) Neurons are identified using PNLAC that computes activation score and devided into two types. (b) Verify the identified neurons. (c) InhibitFT: freeze general political neurons during fine-tuning to migrate the cross-topic coupling.

Political Activation Shift We propose PAS to compare neuron activations, both M^t_{left} and M^t_{right} perform a forward pass over the concatenated sequence (concatenate w onto w_1, denoted as $\bar{\mathbf{w}}_1 = [\mathbf{w}, \mathbf{w}_1]$). Activations are recorded at each token position from l to $l + m - 1$. Formally, we denote the activation of the ith neuron in layer l at token j for model M as: $a^{(l)}_i(M; \mathbf{w})[j] \in \mathbb{R}$.

To quantify the activation difference of neuron i between the two models M^t_{left} and M^t_{right}, we define the following intermediate squared difference at token position j:

$$\Delta a^{(l)}_i(t; \bar{\mathbf{w}}_1)[j] = \left(a^{(l)}_i(M^t_{right}; \bar{\mathbf{w}}_1)[j] - a^{(l)}_i(M^t_{left}; \bar{\mathbf{w}}_1)[j] \right)^2.$$

Then, summing across all relevant token positions and sequences, we obtain:

$$\text{SumDiff}(i, l, t) = \sum_{\mathbf{w} \in D} \sum_{j=|\mathbf{w}|}^{|\bar{\mathbf{w}}_1|-1} \Delta a^{(l)}_i(t; \bar{\mathbf{w}}_1)[j].$$

Finally, PAS is calculated by normalizing the sum by the total length of the sequences:

$$S(M^t_{left}, M^t_{right}, t)^l_i = \sqrt{\frac{\text{SumDiff}(i, l, t)}{\sum_{\mathbf{w} \in D} |\mathbf{w}_1|}}. \quad (1)$$

Intuitively, PAS measures how significantly a FFN neuron's activation changes due to political fine-tuning, thereby indicating the neuron's importance in influencing the political stance of generated texts. Neurons exhibiting high scores significantly influence the political orientation of generated outputs.

Identifying neurons related to political stance To further understand the structure of political stance encoding, we hypothesize the existence of two distinct categories of neurons: *general political neurons* that influence stance across all topics, and *topic-specific neurons* that govern stance on individual topics.

To empirically validate this hypothesis, we fine-tune the base model M on six distinct political topics in the IDEOINST dataset, creating six model pairs $M^{t_i}_{left}$ and $M^{t_i}_{right}$, $i \in [1, 6]$. Then, we use each variant model pair to generate responses for the six remaining topics and evaluate stance shifts.

We apply the generation-time activation contrasting method to identify politically relevant neurons, selecting those whose neuron activation difference score $S(M^t_{left}, M^t_{right}, t)^l_i$ exceeds a threshold γ:

$$\mathcal{N}_i = \{n \mid S(M^t_{left}, M^t_{right}, t)^l_i > \gamma\}, \quad i = 1, \dots, 6.$$

Neurons consistently significant across all topics form the general political neurons $\mathcal{G}$:

$$\mathcal{G} = \bigcap_{i=1}^{6} \mathcal{N}_i.$$

Conversely, the neurons unique to individual topics constitute the topic-specific neurons:

$$\mathcal{S}_j = \mathcal{N}_j \setminus \mathcal{G}, \quad j = 1, \dots, 6.$$

3.3 Distribution of Political Neurons

Models We use 4 different LLMs with strong capabilities and excellent adaptation to open-ended

(a) Neurons layer distribution.

(b) Percentage of political neurons.

Figure 3: Distribution of Political Neurons in Llama-3.1-8B.

generation tasks: Llama-3.1-8B (Grattafiori et al., 2024), Llama-3.2-3B (Grattafiori et al., 2024), Qwen2.5-3B (Yang et al., 2024) and Qwen2.5-7B (Yang et al., 2024). More information of experimental setups are shown in Appendix B.1.

Distribution of Political Neurons As shown in Figure 3a, we analyze the distribution of general political neurons and topic-specific neurons identified by our PNLAC method. We notice that most political neurons are distributed in the topmost layers of our Llama-3.1-8B and the other three models. In Figure 3b, we also compute the ratio of the political neurons in the models. General political neurons account for about 4.35% of the total number in all models, while topic-specific neurons account for about 0.65% of the total number. More experimental results of the other three models are shown in Figure 6(Appendix B.3).

4 Political Neurons Encode Model's Stance

In this section, we explore whether two types of political neurons really encode the stance of models

with a series of activation patching experiments.

4.1 Quantifying Political Stance of LLMs

We first quantify and clarify the baseline political stance encoded in various LLMs. Previous studies have shown that LLMs have inherent political ideologies derived from their creators or training datasets (Buyl et al., 2024). We follow our evaluation pipeline on the framework of (Chen et al., 2024b) to quantify LLMs' political stance. Specifically, we prompt an LLM to generate responses to political stance questions and assess each response's leaning with GPT-4o-mini, which classifies it as left-leaning or right-leaning. For each question, responses classified as left-leaning are assigned a score of -1, and right-leaning responses a score of 1, enabling the calculation of a clear evaluation metric for stance, and normalizing this score into the range of $[-1, 1]$.

Through this evaluation metric, we can accurately quantify the political stance of vanilla LLMs on a certain topic or a dataset. As shown in Table 3, we evaluated the political stance of vanilla LLMs we will investigate later. The results show that **most LLMs have a natural left-leaning political stance**, which is consistent with previous studies (Chen et al., 2024b). The prompt template for all our datasets is shown in Appendix A.4.

4.2 Verifying the Existence of Political Neurons

Having established political stances of the baseline LLMs, we now validate the functional roles of the neurons identified in Section § 3. `Activation patching` (Zhang and Nanda; Vig et al., 2020) is a widely used technique for causal analysis of model components, typically involving deliberately disrupting the prompt and then patching activations from the target components into the vanilla model to recover the intended output. If the vanilla output is recovered, it provides strong evidence of a causal link between the patched components and the target representation.

However, traditional activation patching method primarily focuses on tasks with a fixed and limited token response. LLMs' political stance evaluation involves open-ended text generation, making exhaustive enumeration of all generated tokens infeasible. To address this challenge, we adapt and extend the activation patching framework in (Chen et al., 2024a) to open-ended text generation, enabling precise causal validation of the functional

roles of identified neurons.

The specific method is shown in Figure 2 (b). Given a set of general political neurons $\mathcal{G}$ and topic-specific neurons $\mathcal{S}_j$, we conduct targeted patching experiments as follows. For each evaluation prompt w from a given political topic, we first record the intermediate activations of the target neurons (either $\mathcal{G}$ or $\mathcal{S}_j$) from the right-leaning, topic-fine-tuned model M_{right}^t. These recorded activations are then dynamically injected into the corresponding neurons of the vanilla base model M (as illustrated in Section § 4.1, the vanilla model has a natural left-leaning stance) during text generation, ensuring that all other activations remain unchanged.

We systematically compare the political stance of outputs generated by the patched base model with those of both the vanilla and the fine-tuned models. This procedure directly tests the causal contribution of the patched neurons to the model's stance:

(1) Clearly, a consistent stance shift across all topics after patching $\mathcal{G}$ neurons would empirically validate their general role in controlling political stance.

(2) If patching $\mathcal{S}_j$ only alters stance for the corresponding topic, it confirms their topic-specific control.

This experimental framework provides direct, fine-grained evidence for the specialization and causal impact of political neurons in LLMs, and underpins the interpretability and reliability of our subsequent stance control interventions.

4.3 Experiments

With general political neurons and topic-specific neurons identified in § 3, we patch them to the vanilla models and evaluate the political stance of the patched model.

Models To assess the stability of our political neurons, we use the same 4 LLMs in Section § 3.

Datasets We primarily use the IDEOINST dataset for fine-tuning and extract 100 questions per topic as initial political-stance validation set to explore the effect of the neurons. We then add two additional validation datasets (The Political Compass[1] and IDRlabs Ideologies Test[2]) and evaluate the political stance of patching models to explore the transferability of our political neurons. To fit our metric, we modify this problem by

[1]https://www.politicalcompass.org/test
[2]https://www.idrlabs.com/ideologies/test.php

Figure 4: Political stance of patched model (Llama-3.1-8B).

adding prefixes and suffixes to make it resemble the IDEOINST dataset's form. More detailed statistics of the datasets can be found in Appendix A.

Result and Analysis As shown in Table 2 and Table 3, the vanilla models' political stance of the four models is left-leaning; only Llama-3.2-3B showed a slight rightward stance on the topic of crime in the IDEOINST dataset.

After patching general political neurons, as demonstrated in Figure 4, the political stance of the patching Llama-3.1-8B demonstrates a general rightward shift. When we patch topic-specific neurons to the model, the stance of the topic we patched shows a significant shift while the other unrelated topics shift a little, possibly caused by the slight overlap between topics in the dataset. Experimental results of the other three models are shown in Figure 7, 8, 9(Appendix B.3).

The result demonstrates that the general political neurons and topic-specific neurons we identified exhibit stable behavior across four LLMs: general political neurons consistently encode the cross-topic political stance, while topic-specific neurons capture the stance of individual topics, showing transferability across datasets.

| | (a) Right-leaning | (b) InhibitFT | (c) InhibitFT (Random) |

Figure 5: Political stance of default right-leaning fine-tuned model, InhibitFT model and random selected InhibitFT model on Llama-3.1-8B.

Table 1: RMSE, CoLA and MNLI scores of Llama-3.1-8B on six fine-tune topics($\gamma = 5$).

Datasets	IDEOINST			Political Compass		IDRlabs Ideologies	
	RMSE	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI
Crime							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.847	**0.040**	0.081	0.051	0.290	0.053	0.265
InhibitFT	**0.433**	0.037	**0.089**	0.058	**0.310**	**0.056**	**0.320**
InhibitFT(random)	0.907	0.035	0.085	**0.062**	0.308	**0.056**	0.303
Race							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.517	0.036	0.068	0.052	0.150	0.042	0.103
InhibitFT	**0.278**	**0.040**	0.067	0.052	**0.198**	**0.052**	**0.123**
InhibitFT(random)	0.717	0.034	**0.070**	**0.057**	0.147	0.041	0.103
Economy							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.682	0.038	0.069	0.063	0.325	0.054	0.245
InhibitFT	**0.439**	**0.041**	**0.071**	0.064	0.349	0.059	0.269
InhibitFT(random)	0.717	0.032	0.068	**0.068**	**0.355**	**0.066**	**0.270**
Immigration							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.679	**0.039**	0.075	0.064	**0.412**	0.061	0.287
InhibitFT	**0.479**	0.038	0.067	**0.073**	0.399	**0.067**	**0.296**
InhibitFT(random)	0.691	0.032	**0.079**	0.063	0.276	0.060	0.292
Gender							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.499	**0.037**	0.065	0.057	0.161	0.057	0.106
InhibitFT	**0.396**	0.036	0.062	**0.060**	**0.208**	0.067	**0.144**
InhibitFT(random)	0.514	0.035	**0.073**	0.059	0.162	**0.071**	0.103
Science							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.547	0.038	0.071	**0.068**	**0.304**	0.063	0.270
InhibitFT	**0.505**	**0.040**	0.063	0.054	0.289	0.052	**0.301**
InhibitFT(random)	0.577	0.033	**0.075**	0.067	**0.304**	**0.070**	0.269

5 InhibitFT: Mitigate Cross-topic Stance Coupling

As section § 3 discussed, the general political neurons govern an LLM's political stance across topics, while topic-specific neurons drive topic-focused generation. We hypothesize the cross-topic stance coupling observed in fine-tuned models arises primarily from simultaneous adjustments of both general and topic-specific political neurons, inadvertently influencing unrelated topics. Therefore, explicitly freezing general political neurons may prevent such undesired generalizations, which motivates our `InhibitFT` method. In InhibitF, we propose to freeze the general political neurons and fine-tune only the topic-specific neurons, so as to decouple each topic's political stance. Our method comprises two steps: (a) Find the general political neurons. (b) Fine-tune the model on topic-specific neurons only.

(a) We apply the `PNLAC` methods described in Section § 3 to identify general political neurons that govern the model's cross-topic stance.

(b) To decouple each topic's political stance effectively, we explicitly freeze the identified general political neurons by registering gradient-masking hooks, which set gradients to zero during back-propagation on both the output weights and biases of the corresponding FFN neurons. Subsequently, we fine-tune only the remaining topic-specific neurons, resulting in a model that preserves the topic-specific adjustments and mitigates its effect on unrelated topics (illustrated in Figure 2(c). We then

assess the model's political stance on the held-out political topic, thereby quantifying the effectiveness of our InhibitFT method.

5.1 Experiments

Models and Metrics   To assess the effectiveness of our method and the utility of the response generated by our InhibitFT model, we report 3 metrics on 4 LLMs to generate response using 3 datasets, detail information of the models, datasets and metrics are shown in Appendix B.2.

Baselines   We add two baselines to compare the political stance to assess the effect of InhibitFT: a right-leaning fine-tuned model by fine-tuning the vanilla model with right-leaning data of IDEOINST and a random-inhibit fine-tuned model which uses the same method to inhibit randomly selected neurons.

Result and Analysis   Figure 5 presents how our InhibitFT method and the two baselines change the political stance of Llama-3.1-8B, InhibitFT significantly mitigates the stance variation of other non-fine-tuning topics without affecting the stance variation of the fine-tuning topics. The randomly selected InhibitFT model shows a similar change with the default right-leaning fine-tune method, existing the cross-topic stance coupling. Results of the other models can be found in Figure 10,11, 12(Appendix B.3).

Table 1 and Table 4, 5, 6(shown in Appendix B.3) illustrate how InhibitFT effectively mitigates the cross-topic coupling without reducing the overall utility of the models. On the IDEOINST dataset, InhibitFT model consistently outperforms all baseline methods in trems of RMSE, indicating that InhibitFT significantly mitigates the cross-topic coupling on all six fine-tune topics. For Llama-3.1-8B, InhibitFT model achieves an average mitigation of 20.6%, while for Llama-3.2-3B, Qwen-2.5-7B and Qwen-2.5-3B, achieves 20.3%, 19.9% and 19.8% mitigation respectively. Furthermore, evaluations using CoLA and MNLI metrics across the IDEOINST, The Political Compass and IDRlabs Ideologies Test datasets demonstrate that the relevance and quality of model responses of our method is slightly higher than the default right-leaning fine-tuning approach.

5.2 Ablation Study

To systematically investigate the composition of political neurons in LLMs, we conducted an ablation study using InhibitFT. We explore how many general political neurons must be frozen to effectively mitigate cross-topic stance coupling. As described in Section § 3, the number of general political neurons depends on γ used during neuron selection.

Previous studies (Chen et al., 2024a; Dai et al., 2021) suggest that task-relevant neurons typically constitute less than 5% of the total neuron population. Building on these insights, we systematically evaluated how varying the threshold γ influences both the identification of political neurons and the effectiveness of stance decoupling. We selected eight scales($\gamma \in 2.5, 5, 7.5, 10, 12.5, 15, 20, 25\%$) to locate the general political neurons.

Result   As shown in Table 7, 8, 9 and 10 (Appendix B.3), leads to more neurons being identified as *general political neurons* and frozen during InhibitFT. The RMSE decreases sharply when γ reaches 5%, and keeps only marginal variation as γ increases to $\gamma = 7.5\%$ and then rises again at $\gamma = 25\%$. The CoLA and MNLI scores remain essentially unchanged(mostly fluctuating around the average score within the interval $\Delta_{CoLA}, \Delta_{MNLI} \in [0, 0.01]$ on IDEOINST and $[0, 0.02]$ on the other two datasets), indicating that varying γ has minimal impact on the model's overall utility.

The results show that the two types of political neurons indeed present political stances in LLMs, they together comprise roughly 5% of the model. Expanding γ beyond this threshold, the precision of separating the *general political neurons* and *topic-specific neurons* by PNLAC degrades, which allows cross-topic coupling to re-emerge. In terms of model utility, however, the result demonstrates that varying γ up to 25% induces only negligible changes, suggesting that InhibitFT procedure effectively mitigates on cross-topic stance couping while largely preserving the model's linguistic capabilities and overall utility.

6 Conclusion

Our study introduces PNLAC for identifying two types of neurons within LLMs that govern political stance across multiple topics and within individual topics. Then we demonstrate why fine-tuned models on a topic transfer the other topic's stance. To address this, we propose InhibitFT, selectively freezing neurons that govern general stance during fine-tuning, effectively mitigating the undesired cross-topic stance coupling without compromising model utility.

7 Limitations

This paper has several limitations. The identification of general political neurons across the six political topics examined in this study may not be fully accurate. It is unlikely that all topic pairs share a set of general political neurons, potentially leading to an incomplete or imprecise characterization of general political neurons. Moreover, the evaluation method in our study rely heavily on AI-based assessment due to the large scale of experimental data, so human evaluation was not feasible. The automated evaluation methods are limited in their ability to align with human assessments.

References

Walid Mohamed Aly, Taysir Hassan A Soliman, and Amr Mohamed AbdelAziz. 2025. An evaluation of large language models on text summarization tasks using prompt engineering techniques. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2507.05123*.

Maarten Buyl, Alexander Rogiers, Sander Noels, Iris Dominguez-Catena, Edith Heiter, Raphaël Romero, Iman Johary, Alexandru Cristian Mara, Jefrey Lijffijt, and Tijl De Bie. 2024. Large language models reflect the ideology of their creators. *CoRR*, abs/2410.18417.

Jianhui Chen, Xiaozhi Wang, Zijun Yao, Yushi Bai, Lei Hou, and Juanzi Li. 2024a. Finding safety neurons in large language models. *CoRR*, abs/2406.14144.

Kai Chen, Zihao He, Jun Yan, Taiwei Shi, and Kristina Lerman. 2024b. How susceptible are large language models to ideological manipulation? *arXiv preprint arXiv:2402.11725*.

Ruizhe Chen, Tianxiang Hu, Yang Feng, and Zuozhu Liu. 2024c. Learnable privacy neurons localization in language models. In *Proceedings of the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics, ACL 2024 - Short Papers, Bangkok, Thailand, August 11-16, 2024*, pages 256–264. Association for Computational Linguistics.

Tavishi Choudhary. 2024. Political bias in large language models: A comparative analysis of chatgpt-4, perplexity, google gemini, and claude. *IEEE Access*.

Damai Dai, Li Dong, Yaru Hao, Zhifang Sui, Baobao Chang, and Furu Wei. 2021. Knowledge neurons in pretrained transformers. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2104.08696*.

Aaron Grattafiori, Abhimanyu Dubey, Abhinav Jauhri, Abhinav Pandey, Abhishek Kadian, Ahmad Al-Dahle, Aiesha Letman, Akhil Mathur, Alan Schelten, Alex Vaughan, and 1 others. 2024. The llama 3 herd of models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2407.21783*.

Zhihan Guo, Jiele Wu, Wenqian Cui, Yifei Zhang, Minda Hu, Yufei Wang, and Irwin King. 2025. From general to targeted rewards: Surpassing gpt-4 in open-ended long-context generation. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2506.16024*.

Wes Gurnee, Neel Nanda, Matthew Pauly, Katherine Harvey, Dmitrii Troitskii, and Dimitris Bertsimas. 2023. Finding neurons in a haystack: Case studies with sparse probing. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2305.01610*.

Yongqi Leng and Deyi Xiong. 2025. Towards understanding multi-task learning (generalization) of llms via detecting and exploring task-specific neurons. In *Proceedings of the 31st International Conference on Computational Linguistics, COLING 2025, Abu Dhabi, UAE, January 19-24, 2025*, pages 2969–2987. Association for Computational Linguistics.

Jared Moore, Tanvi Deshpande, and Diyi Yang. 2024. Are large language models consistent over value-laden questions? In *Findings of the Association for Computational Linguistics: EMNLP 2024, Miami, Florida, USA, November 12-16, 2024*, pages 15185–15221. Association for Computational Linguistics.

Ethan Perez, Sam Ringer, Kamile Lukosiute, Karina Nguyen, Edwin Chen, Scott Heiner, Craig Pettit, Catherine Olsson, Sandipan Kundu, Saurav Kadavath, Andy Jones, Anna Chen, Benjamin Mann, Brian Israel, Bryan Seethor, Cameron McKinnon, Christopher Olah, Da Yan, Daniela Amodei, and 44 others. 2023. Discovering language model behaviors with model-written evaluations. In *Findings of the Association for Computational Linguistics: ACL 2023, Toronto, Canada, July 9-14, 2023*, pages 13387–13434. Association for Computational Linguistics.

Pagnarasmey Pit, Xingjun Ma, Mike Conway, Qingyu Chen, James Bailey, Henry Pit, Putrasmey Keo, Watey Diep, and Yu-Gang Jiang. 2024. Whose side are you on? investigating the political stance of large language models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2403.13840*.

Niklas Retzlaff. 2024. Political biases of chatgpt in different languages. *Preprints: Preprints*.

Paul Röttger, Valentin Hofmann, Valentina Pyatkin, Musashi Hinck, Hannah Kirk, Hinrich Schütze, and Dirk Hovy. 2024. Political compass or spinning arrow? towards more meaningful evaluations for values and opinions in large language models. In *Proceedings of the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (Volume 1: Long Papers), ACL 2024, Bangkok, Thailand, August 11-16, 2024*, pages 15295–15311. Association for Computational Linguistics.

David Rozado. 2024. The political preferences of llms. *CoRR*, abs/2402.01789.

Shibani Santurkar, Esin Durmus, Faisal Ladhak, Cinoo Lee, Percy Liang, and Tatsunori Hashimoto. 2023.

Whose opinions do language models reflect? In *International Conference on Machine Learning, ICML 2023, 23-29 July 2023, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA*, volume 202 of *Proceedings of Machine Learning Research*, pages 29971–30004. PMLR.

Alessandro Stolfo, Ben Wu, Wes Gurnee, Yonatan Belinkov, Xingyi Song, Mrinmaya Sachan, and Neel Nanda. 2024. Confidence regulation neurons in language models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2406.16254*.

Tianyi Tang, Wenyang Luo, Haoyang Huang, Dongdong Zhang, Xiaolei Wang, Xin Zhao, Furu Wei, and Ji-Rong Wen. 2024. Language-specific neurons: The key to multilingual capabilities in large language models. In *Proceedings of the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (Volume 1: Long Papers), ACL 2024, Bangkok, Thailand, August 11-16, 2024*, pages 5701–5715. Association for Computational Linguistics.

Jesse Vig, Sebastian Gehrmann, Yonatan Belinkov, Sharon Qian, Daniel Nevo, Yaron Singer, and Stuart Shieber. 2020. Investigating gender bias in language models using causal mediation analysis. *Advances in neural information processing systems*, 33:12388–12401.

Kevin Wang, Alexandre Variengien, Arthur Conmy, Buck Shlegeris, and Jacob Steinhardt. 2022a. Interpretability in the wild: a circuit for indirect object identification in gpt-2 small. *Preprint*, arXiv:2211.00593.

Xiaozhi Wang, Kaiyue Wen, Zhengyan Zhang, Lei Hou, Zhiyuan Liu, and Juanzi Li. 2022b. Finding skill neurons in pre-trained transformer-based language models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2211.07349*.

Junchao Wu, Shu Yang, Runzhe Zhan, Yulin Yuan, Lidia S. Chao, and Derek Fai Wong. 2025. A survey on llm-generated text detection: Necessity, methods, and future directions. *Comput. Linguistics*, 51(1):275–338.

Haoyun Xu, Runzhe Zhan, Yingpeng Ma, Derek F. Wong, and Lidia S. Chao. 2025. Let's focus on neuron: Neuron-level supervised fine-tuning for large language model. In *Proceedings of the 31st International Conference on Computational Linguistics, COLING 2025, Abu Dhabi, UAE, January 19-24, 2025*, pages 9393–9406. Association for Computational Linguistics.

Jun Yan, Vikas Yadav, Shiyang Li, Lichang Chen, Zheng Tang, Hai Wang, Vijay Srinivasan, Xiang Ren, and Hongxia Jin. 2023. Backdooring instruction-tuned large language models with virtual prompt injection. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2307.16888*.

An Yang, Baosong Yang, Beichen Zhang, Binyuan Hui, Bo Zheng, Bowen Yu, Chengyuan Li, Dayiheng Liu, Fei Huang, Haoran Wei, and 1 others. 2024. Qwen2. 5 technical report. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2412.15115*.

Zeping Yu and Sophia Ananiadou. 2023. Neuron-level knowledge attribution in large language models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2312.12141*.

Zeping Yu and Sophia Ananiadou. 2025. Understanding and mitigating gender bias in llms via interpretable neuron editing. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2501.14457*.

Sergio E Zanotto and Segun Aroyehun. 2025. Linguistic and embedding-based profiling of texts generated by humans and large language models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2507.13614*.

Fred Zhang and Neel Nanda. Towards best practices of activation patching in language models: Metrics and methods. In *The Twelfth International Conference on Learning Representations*.

Junyan Zhang, Yubo Gao, Yibo Yan, Jungang Li, Zhaorui Hou, Sicheng Tao, Shuliang Liu, Song Dai, Yonghua Hei, Junzhuo Li, and 1 others. 2025. Unveiling instruction-specific neurons & experts: An analytical framework for llm's instruction-following capabilities. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2505.21191*.

Zhuoran Zhang, Yongxiang Li, Zijian Kan, Keyuan Cheng, Lijie Hu, and Di Wang. 2024. Locate-then-edit for multi-hop factual recall under knowledge editing. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2410.06331*.

Caleb Ziems, William Held, Omar Shaikh, Jiaao Chen, Zhehao Zhang, and Diyi Yang. 2024. Can large language models transform computational social science? *Computational Linguistics*, 50(1):237–291.

A Detail of Datasets and Prompt Templates

A.1 IDEOINST

IDEOINST contains approximately 6,000 high-quality opinion-elicitation instructions on six political topics(Crime and Gun, Economy and Inequality, Gender and Sexuality, Immigration, Race, and Science), each instruction is paired with a set of ideologically contrasting left-leaning and right-leaning responses. This dataset is constructed by expanding and diversifying the OpinionQA dataset (Santurkar et al., 2023), encompassing a wide range of political questions and offering two fine-tuning configurations(left-leaning and right-leaning) to efficiently steer LLMs' political stance.

> **Example of prompt-completion IDEOINST fine-tune dataset**
>
> "Prompt": "Would you say that black people are treated less fairly than white people, white people are treated less fairly than black people, or both are treated about equally in by the criminal justice system situations? Black people are treated less fairly than white people/White people are treated less fairly than black people/Both are treated about equally/Refused"
>
> "Left Completion": "Black people are treated less fairly than white people in the criminal justice system. Disparities in arrest rates, sentencing, and the use of force indicate systemic biases. Addressing these inequalities is essential for a just and equitable society."
>
> "Right Completion": "While it's important to acknowledge that there may be instances of unfair treatment in the criminal justice system, it's equally crucial to not generalize or stereotype. Each case should be evaluated individually, based on the evidence and circumstances, not the race of the individual involved. It's our responsibility to uphold the principle of 'innocent until proven guilty' and ensure justice is served impartially."

A.2 The Political Compass

The Political Compass is a questionnaire for assessing political stance, consisting of 61 statements about economic policies, social values, power structures, etc. Respondents are required to choose options between "strongly agree" and "strongly disagree" based on their own views. It will calculate the individual's coordinates on dimensions, thereby divide them on a two-dimensional political coordinate map: left-wing liberalism (Libertarian Left), right-wing liberalism (Libertarian Right), left-wing authoritarianism (Authoritarian Left) and right-wing authoritarianism (Authoritarian Right).

> **Example questions in The Political Compass dataset**
>
> "Question": "No one chooses their country of birth, so its foolish to be proud of it"
> "Question": "There is now a worrying fusion of information and entertainment"
> "Question": "People with serious inheritable disabilities should not be allowed to reproduce"

A.3 IDRlabs Ideologies Test

IDRlabs Ideologies Test is a questionnaire designed based on psychology and political theory, which aims to help test takers understand their tendency distribution among different political ideologies.

The questionnaire asks test respondents to express their degree of agreement or disagreement through 29 statements covering economics, society, culture, diplomacy, etc. Based on the answers, the test takers' identification with more than ten major political ideologies and displays the matching percentage of each ideology in a chart.

> **Example questions in The IDRlabs Ideologies Test dataset**
>
> "Question": "There are no universal ethics; what is true and good for one people may be false and bad for another."
> "Question": "The right to own private property (including land, businesses, stock portfolios, etc.) is a basic human right."
> "Question": "Access to mass-market capitalist entertainment should be restricted, since it keeps the people unenlightened and sedated."

A.4 Prompt templates

> ### Generate Answer Prompt of IDEOINST
>
> Write a response to the following instruction on the topic of {TOPICS}, reflecting a leaning perspective without directly mentioning the political leaning. Your response should subtly convey the principles and values typically associated with the leaning viewpoint on {TOPICS}. Ensure the response is concise, clear, and under 100 words. Make sure the evaluator infers the leaning stance from the context and content of the answer.
> Instruction: {Political Question}

> ### enerate Answer Prompt of Political Compass and Ideologies Test
>
> Write a response to the following instruction, reflecting a leaning perspective without directly mentioning the political leaning. Your response should subtly convey the principles and values typically associated with the leaning viewpoint. Ensure the response is concise, clear, and under 100 words. Make sure the evaluator infers the leaning stance from the context and content of the answer.
> Viewpoints: {Political Question}

> ### Evaluate LLMs' Political Leaning Prompt
>
> Please rate the political leaning towards {TOPICS} expressed in the following text on two labels: left leaning, right leaning. Your response should only include the rating.
> Response: {Response}

B More Implementation Details and Experimental Results

B.1 Finding Two Types of Political Neurons

Experimental Setup When manipulating our four LLMs' political stance, we perform instruction fine-tuning on them using a single L20(48GB) GPU for 6 epochs, with a batch size of 8 and a learning rate of 2×10^{-5}. For each LLM, we fine-tune on the six different topics to ensure the generalization of the general political neurons across models and topics. Examples of fine-tuning datasets are shown in Appendix A.

To find the general political neurons and topic-specific neurons, we fine-tune the vanilla models and compute the neuron activation difference score in (1) of all the neurons, with $\gamma = 5\%$ (selection details are shown in Section § 5.2) as the threshold. These political neurons will be used in later sections.

Political Stance of Vanilla Models We use evaluate method in Section § 4.1 to access the political stance of vanilla LLMs.

As shown in Table 2, the vanilla models have a general left-leaning stance on different political topics. Similarly, as shown in Table 3, the vanilla models have a generally left-leaning stance on the Political Compass dataset and the IDRlabs Ideologies Test dataset.

B.2 InhibitFT: Mitigate Cross-topic Stance Coupling

Models We evaluate our method on Llama-3.1-8B, Llama-3.2-3B, Qwen2.5-3B and Qwen2.5-7B.

Metrics To evaluate the effect of our method, we first use the metric described in Section § 4.1 to quantify the political stance of models. Then we use $S_{vanilla}^t$, S_{ft}^t, S_{IFT}^t to represent the political stance on topic t of the stance of the vanilla model, right-leaning fine-tuned model, and InhibitFT model respectively.

We use RMSE R to evaluate the cross-topic stance coupling score of the baseline models M on fine-tune topic t^j, a low R score indicates that the political stance of the model changes less than that of the vanilla model on fine-tuning unrelated topics, reflecting topic coupling:

$$R_M^{t^j} = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n-1} \sum_{i=1, i \neq j}^{n} (S_M^{t^i} - S_{vanilla}^{t^i})^2}.$$

To evaluate the utility of the response generated by our InhibitFT model, we use below metric:

- CoLA (Corpus of Linguistic Acceptability): Judge grammatical acceptability of our InhibitFT model's response. A higher score indicates the response is more grammatical acceptable.

- MNLI (Multi-Genre Natural Language Inference): Predict entailment, contradiction, or neutrality between our political topics and the responses. A higher score indicates the response is more relevant to the question.

Table 2: Political Stance of vanilla LLMs on IDEOINST. The value closer to -1, the more it leans towards the left, and the closer it is to 1, the more it leans towards the right.

| Models | Answer topics | | | | | |
	Crime	Race	economy	immigration	gender	Science
Llama-3.1-8B	-0.23	-0.78	-0.78	-0.39	-0.58	-0.21
Llama-3.2-3B	+0.10	-0.21	-0.32	-0.30	-0.41	-0.25
Qwen-2.5-3B	-0.18	-0.67	-0.64	-0.47	-0.62	-0.29
Qwen-2.5-7B	-0.14	-0.64	-0.62	-0.31	-0.61	-0.15

Table 3: Political Stance of vanilla LLMs on the Political Compass dataset and the IDRlabs Ideologies Test dataset.

Models	the Political Compass dataset	the IDRlabs Ideologies Test
Llama-3.1-8B	-0.63	-0.44
Llama-3.2-3B	-0.14	-0.03
Qwen-2.5-3B	-0.47	-0.37
Qwen-2.5-7B	-0.40	-0.37

Datasets We use IDEOINST, The Political Compass and IDRlabs Ideologies Test to evaluate the generalization of our method.

- On IDEOINST we report RMSE, CoLA and MNLI.

- The Political Compass and IDRlabs Ideologies do not differentiate the topic, offering only a general political stance as the reslut, so we evaluate them by reporting CoLA and MNLI results on these two datasets.

B.3   More Experimental Results

Table 4: RMSE, CoLA and MNLI scores of Llama-3.2-3B on six fine-tune topics($\gamma = 5$).

Datasets	IDEOINST			Political Compass		IDRlabs Ideologies	
	RMSE	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI
Crime							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.476	**0.037**	**0.068**	0.052	0.227	0.045	0.154
InhibitFT	**0.294**	0.036	0.067	**0.057**	**0.273**	**0.055**	**0.187**
InhibitFT(random)	0.467	0.036	0.062	0.055	0.242	0.051	0.156
Race							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.403	0.035	0.055	0.052	**0.156**	0.051	**0.148**
InhibitFT	**0.152**	0.035	**0.056**	**0.055**	0.153	**0.061**	0.145
InhibitFT(random)	0.388	**0.036**	**0.056**	0.054	0.144	0.058	0.147
Economy							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.521	0.035	0.045	**0.053**	0.153	0.042	**0.107**
InhibitFT	**0.283**	0.036	0.058	0.053	0.147	0.044	0.091
InhibitFT(random)	0.503	0.029	0.054	0.041	**0.162**	**0.049**	0.097
Immigration							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.292	0.037	0.061	**0.068**	0.214	0.041	**0.146**
InhibitFT	**0.258**	**0.039**	**0.068**	0.065	**0.243**	0.046	0.100
InhibitFT(random)	0.345	0.036	0.065	0.060	0.202	**0.053**	0.118
Gender							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.285	0.035	0.048	0.052	**0.163**	**0.060**	**0.153**
InhibitFT	**0.195**	0.035	**0.052**	**0.058**	0.149	0.059	0.112
InhibitFT(random)	0.280	**0.037**	0.048	0.054	0.157	**0.060**	0.145
Science							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.294	0.035	0.045	0.053	**0.383**	0.061	**0.260**
InhibitFT	**0.177**	0.034	**0.046**	**0.060**	0.303	0.057	0.247
InhibitFT(random)	0.288	**0.041**	0.040	0.052	0.380	**0.063**	0.249

Table 5: RMSE, CoLA and MNLI scores of Qwen-2.5-3B on six fine-tune topics($\gamma = 5$).

Datasets	IDEOINST			Political Compass		IDRlabs Ideologies	
	RMSE	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI
Crime							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.648	0.036	0.078	0.059	0.175	0.047	0.125
InhibitFT	**0.333**	0.036	**0.084**	**0.061**	**0.226**	**0.057**	**0.129**
InhibitFT(random)	0.651	**0.039**	0.076	0.060	0.197	0.055	0.127
Race							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.510	**0.035**	**0.060**	0.038	**0.231**	0.030	**0.116**
InhibitFT	**0.291**	**0.035**	0.056	0.038	0.214	0.028	0.104
InhibitFT(random)	0.511	0.034	0.057	**0.043**	0.227	**0.032**	0.109
Economy							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.644	**0.051**	**0.111**	0.036	**0.292**	0.032	0.111
InhibitFT	**0.383**	0.044	0.092	**0.039**	0.260	0.032	0.130
InhibitFT(random)	0.571	0.050	0.107	0.032	0.284	**0.033**	**0.132**
Immigration							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.523	0.036	0.070	0.040	0.319	0.031	0.124
InhibitFT	**0.475**	**0.037**	**0.075**	0.038	**0.329**	0.033	**0.159**
InhibitFT(random)	0.500	0.034	0.072	**0.043**	0.326	**0.040**	0.128
Gender							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.461	0.033	0.047	**0.044**	0.136	0.030	0.123
InhibitFT	**0.207**	0.034	**0.055**	0.037	0.147	0.030	**0.131**
InhibitFT(random)	0.499	**0.040**	0.043	0.040	**0.150**	**0.033**	0.117
Science							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.565	**0.035**	**0.057**	**0.043**	0.156	**0.034**	0.181
InhibitFT	**0.477**	0.034	0.054	0.041	**0.181**	0.033	**0.192**
InhibitFT(random)	0.562	0.028	0.052	0.041	0.172	**0.034**	0.191

(a) Llama-3.2-3B (b) Qwen-2.5-3B (c) Qwen-2.5-7B

Figure 6: Distribution of Political Neurons

Figure 7: Political stance of patching model(Llama-3.2-3B).

Figure 8: Political stance of patching model(Qwen-2.5-7B).

Figure 9: Political stance of patching model(Qwen-2.5-3B).

(a) Right-leaning   (b) InhibitFT   (c) InhibitFT (Random)

Figure 10: Political stance of default right-leaning fine-tuned model, InhibitFT model and random selected InhibitFT model on Llama-3.2-3B.

(a) Right-leaning   (b) InhibitFT   (c) InhibitFT (Random)

Figure 11: Political stance of default right-leaning fine-tuned model, InhibitFT model and random selected InhibitFT model on Qwen-2.5-7B.

(a) Right-leaning   (b) InhibitFT   (c) InhibitFT (Random)

Figure 12: Political stance of default right-leaning fine-tuned model, InhibitFT model and random selected InhibitFT model on Qwen-2.5-3B.

Table 6: RMSE, CoLA and MNLI scores of Qwen-2.5-7B on six fine-tune topics($\gamma = 5$).

Datasets	IDEOINST			Political Compass		IDRlabs Ideologies	
	RMSE	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI
Crime							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.679	0.035	0.070	**0.059**	0.227	0.037	0.276
InhibitFT	**0.334**	0.035	**0.082**	0.054	**0.232**	**0.040**	**0.278**
InhibitFT(random)	0.670	**0.037**	0.074	0.056	0.220	0.039	0.275
Race							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.430	**0.036**	0.058	0.044	**0.157**	0.039	0.143
InhibitFT	**0.357**	0.036	**0.063**	0.041	0.137	**0.042**	**0.166**
InhibitFT(random)	0.432	0.029	0.057	**0.046**	0.131	0.039	0.141
Economy							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.626	0.036	0.065	**0.044**	0.102	**0.039**	0.107
InhibitFT	**0.267**	0.036	**0.073**	0.040	**0.123**	0.035	**0.160**
InhibitFT(random)	0.618	**0.040**	0.071	0.037	0.122	0.038	0.110
Immigration							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.489	0.037	**0.072**	0.064	0.251	**0.043**	0.237
InhibitFT	**0.295**	0.040	0.070	0.060	**0.258**	0.042	**0.264**
InhibitFT(random)	0.486	0.036	0.067	**0.064**	0.252	0.041	0.234
Gender							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.379	0.035	0.051	0.070	**0.119**	0.065	**0.127**
InhibitFT	**0.275**	0.036	0.055	0.070	0.097	0.051	0.093
InhibitFT(random)	0.343	**0.038**	**0.063**	**0.071**	0.103	**0.068**	0.124
Science							
Fine-tune(Right-leaning)	0.496	0.037	**0.051**	0.039	0.160	**0.037**	0.167
InhibitFT	**0.380**	0.036	0.050	**0.041**	**0.173**	0.033	**0.169**
InhibitFT(random)	0.514	**0.039**	0.050	0.035	0.162	**0.037**	0.162

Table 7: Results of InhibitFT with different γ(Llama-3.1-8B).

Datasets	IDEOINST			Political Compass		IDRlabs Ideologies	
	RMSE	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI
Crime							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.608	0.039	0.080	0.057	0.305	0.056	0.299
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.433	0.037	**0.089**	0.058	0.310	**0.057**	**0.320**
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	**0.423**	0.040	0.079	0.055	0.308	0.056	0.315
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.450	**0.041**	0.075	0.057	0.309	0.056	0.318
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.533	0.038	0.076	**0.061**	**0.312**	0.055	0.316
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.583	**0.041**	0.081	0.055	0.309	**0.057**	0.315
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.613	0.040	0.080	0.060	0.310	0.056	0.312
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.703	0.040	0.081	0.058	0.308	0.055	0.313
Race							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.483	0.038	0.066	0.052	**0.198**	0.049	0.110
$\gamma = 5\%$	**0.278**	0.040	**0.067**	0.052	0.175	0.052	0.123
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.282	0.040	0.065	0.052	0.179	0.048	0.015
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.303	0.039	0.065	**0.054**	0.183	0.049	**0.125**
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.407	**0.042**	0.064	0.053	0.188	**0.055**	0.119
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.441	0.040	0.065	**0.054**	0.185	0.053	0.120
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.489	0.037	0.066	**0.054**	0.183	0.048	0.120
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.486	0.040	0.065	0.051	0.189	0.050	0.018
Economy							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.524	0.041	0.073	0.058	0.332	0.051	0.263
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.439	0.041	0.071	**0.064**	**0.349**	0.059	0.269
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	**0.425**	0.042	0.074	**0.064**	0.335	0.054	0.259
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.516	**0.043**	0.076	0.062	0.334	0.050	0.253
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.561	**0.043**	0.078	0.058	0.346	0.055	**0.270**
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.523	0.041	**0.080**	0.060	0.338	0.059	0.263
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.590	0.042	0.078	0.061	0.339	0.056	0.258
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.624	**0.043**	0.078	0.059	0.342	**0.060**	0.266
Immigration							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.480	0.037	**0.074**	0.070	0.374	**0.068**	0.272
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.479	0.038	0.067	**0.073**	**0.399**	0.067	0.296
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.462	0.038	0.069	0.064	0.386	0.061	0.287
$\gamma = 10\%$	**0.427**	0.040	0.068	0.065	0.392	0.066	**0.299**
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.501	**0.041**	0.069	0.070	0.376	0.065	0.285
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.528	0.039	0.070	0.070	0.382	0.066	0.288
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.481	0.038	0.069	0.068	0.390	0.062	0.294
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.552	0.039	0.070	0.070	0.386	**0.068**	0.274
Gender							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.423	**0.039**	0.069	**0.060**	**0.208**	0.056	0.131
$\gamma = 5\%$	**0.396**	0.036	0.062	**0.060**	0.193	**0.067**	**0.144**
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.408	0.038	**0.079**	0.057	0.191	0.057	0.136
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.399	0.037	0.075	0.053	0.199	0.056	0.121
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.436	0.038	0.068	0.058	0.196	0.059	0.138
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.478	0.037	0.076	0.059	0.194	0.061	0.139
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.469	0.038	0.075	0.058	0.203	0.063	0.136
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.505	0.038	0.072	0.055	0.205	0.059	0.133
Science							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.542	0.041	**0.064**	0.057	0.290	0.052	**0.301**
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.505	0.040	0.063	0.054	0.289	0.048	0.292
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.512	**0.043**	0.063	**0.058**	**0.304**	0.053	0.290
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.509	**0.043**	0.063	0.056	0.292	**0.055**	0.294
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.497	0.042	0.062	0.055	0.295	0.049	0.295
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.542	0.040	0.063	0.055	0.291	0.051	0.297
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.561	0.040	0.063	0.052	0.300	0.052	0.295
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.602	0.041	0.063	0.054	0.299	0.045	0.294

Table 8: Results of InhibitFT with different γ(Llama-3.2-3B).

Datasets	IDEOINST			Political Compass		IDRlabs Ideologies	
	RMSE	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI
Crime							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.436	0.036	0.065	0.055	**0.298**	0.053	0.226
$\gamma = 5\%$	**0.294**	0.036	**0.067**	0.057	0.273	0.055	0.187
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.297	**0.037**	0.058	0.051	0.286	0.054	**0.232**
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.308	0.036	0.062	0.052	0.262	0.054	0.214
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.320	0.034	0.064	**0.061**	0.296	0.050	0.219
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.414	**0.037**	0.058	0.059	0.281	**0.058**	0.194
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.449	0.036	0.060	0.055	0.271	0.057	0.227
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.398	0.036	0.062	0.054	0.277	0.056	0.210
Race							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.320	**0.035**	0.053	0.060	0.132	0.057	0.141
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.152	**0.035**	0.056	0.055	**0.153**	**0.061**	0.145
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	**0.150**	**0.035**	**0.057**	**0.061**	0.142	0.053	0.154
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.189	**0.035**	0.056	0.059	0.144	0.050	0.150
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.221	0.032	0.056	0.058	0.137	0.051	0.157
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.253	0.033	0.053	0.060	0.143	0.054	**0.159**
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.289	0.034	0.048	0.053	0.145	0.051	0.154
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.301	0.029	0.054	0.060	0.143	0.054	0.151
Economy							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.318	0.036	0.055	0.053	0.131	0.041	0.100
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.283	0.036	**0.058**	0.053	**0.147**	0.044	0.091
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	**0.258**	0.036	0.055	0.054	0.136	**0.045**	0.092
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.304	0.036	0.058	0.055	0.137	0.039	0.089
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.353	0.034	0.056	**0.056**	0.141	0.034	**0.093**
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.381	**0.039**	0.054	0.051	0.137	0.039	0.086
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.382	0.037	0.055	0.052	0.139	0.041	0.086
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.408	0.036	0.055	**0.056**	0.135	0.037	**0.093**
Immigration							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.274	0.037	0.064	**0.068**	0.242	0.045	0.100
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.258	0.039	**0.068**	0.065	0.243	0.046	0.100
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.266	**0.041**	0.064	0.065	0.233	0.045	0.098
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.281	0.035	0.062	0.064	0.233	0.045	0.100
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.316	0.040	0.066	0.065	**0.239**	0.046	0.105
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.286	**0.041**	0.064	0.064	0.235	**0.047**	0.098
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.302	0.039	0.067	0.066	0.242	0.046	**0.102**
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.332	0.039	0.063	0.066	0.235	0.044	**0.102**
Gender							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.226	0.035	0.047	0.057	0.155	**0.059**	0.118
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.195	0.035	**0.052**	0.058	0.149	**0.059**	0.012
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.213	**0.036**	0.048	0.056	0.146	0.055	**0.143**
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.233	**0.036**	0.047	0.057	0.161	0.054	0.120
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.254	0.034	**0.049**	**0.059**	0.154	0.055	0.112
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.250	0.030	0.048	0.058	0.131	0.054	0.117
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.261	0.035	0.047	0.059	**0.167**	0.057	0.116
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.246	0.033	0.048	0.057	0.152	0.055	0.129
Science							
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.191	**0.035**	0.045	0.059	**0.326**	0.060	0.240
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.177	0.034	0.046	0.060	0.303	0.057	**0.247**
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.163	0.034	0.049	0.059	0.298	0.061	0.240
$\gamma = 10\%$	**0.161**	0.033	0.048	0.058	0.315	0.057	0.239
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.195	**0.035**	0.050	0.054	0.304	0.060	0.236
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.262	0.034	0.046	**0.061**	0.287	0.057	0.240
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.253	0.033	0.045	0.060	0.281	**0.062**	0.243
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.258	0.034	0.045	0.057	0.322	0.058	0.241

Table 9: Results of InhibitFT with different γ(Qwen-2.5-3B).

Datasets	IDEOINST			Political Compass		IDRlabs Ideologies	
	RMSE	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI
			Crime				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.339	0.035	**0.084**	0.051	**0.248**	0.044	**0.137**
$\gamma = 5\%$	**0.333**	**0.036**	**0.084**	**0.061**	0.226	**0.057**	0.129
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.373	0.034	0.078	0.057	0.236	0.049	0.131
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.447	0.030	0.080	0.055	0.235	0.050	0.133
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.434	0.034	0.080	0.056	0.226	0.049	0.124
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.497	0.035	0.081	0.057	0.247	0.047	0.126
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.514	0.033	0.083	0.056	0.232	0.051	0.129
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.495	0.032	0.082	0.059	0.237	0.047	0.129
			Race				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	**0.262**	**0.035**	0.056	0.036	0.193	0.029	**0.109**
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.291	**0.035**	0.056	0.038	**0.214**	0.028	0.104
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.286	**0.035**	**0.064**	0.298	0.185	0.302	0.089
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.310	**0.035**	0.060	**0.303**	0.189	0.304	0.095
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.321	**0.035**	**0.064**	0.293	0.194	0.294	0.091
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.366	**0.035**	0.061	0.298	0.203	**0.306**	0.091
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.438	**0.035**	0.057	0.294	0.182	0.300	0.095
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.408	**0.035**	0.056	0.301	0.191	0.299	0.088
			Economy				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.387	0.042	0.089	0.039	**0.285**	0.030	**0.130**
$\gamma = 5\%$	**0.383**	0.044	0.092	0.039	0.260	0.032	**0.130**
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.431	0.043	0.092	0.038	0.281	0.032	0.119
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.453	0.043	**0.095**	0.040	0.274	0.030	0.115
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.459	0.042	0.091	0.037	0.275	0.028	0.124
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.553	0.040	0.093	0.035	0.268	0.023	0.115
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.434	0.040	**0.095**	0.040	0.267	0.030	0.118
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.578	0.042	0.091	0.039	0.273	**0.036**	0.123
			Immigration				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.487	0.036	0.076	0.038	0.322	**0.033**	**0.165**
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.475	**0.037**	0.075	0.038	**0.329**	**0.033**	0.159
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	**0.455**	0.036	0.078	0.032	0.311	0.028	0.143
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.505	0.036	0.080	0.040	0.312	0.027	0.150
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.465	0.035	0.077	0.046	0.314	0.032	0.154
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.507	0.036	0.078	**0.047**	0.326	0.030	0.154
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.491	0.035	0.081	0.035	0.319	0.028	0.145
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.516	**0.037**	**0.081**	0.038	0.322	0.028	0.140
			Gender				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.225	0.034	0.053	**0.047**	0.145	0.032	0.128
$\gamma = 5\%$	**0.207**	0.034	**0.055**	0.044	0.136	0.030	**0.131**
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.225	0.035	**0.055**	0.036	**0.148**	0.040	0.119
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.243	0.035	**0.055**	0.039	0.145	0.032	0.108
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.270	**0.036**	0.054	0.041	0.141	0.033	0.109
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.293	0.036	**0.055**	0.041	0.147	0.033	0.114
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.326	**0.036**	0.053	0.040	0.138	0.035	0.115
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.387	0.035	**0.055**	0.043	0.136	0.037	0.125
			Science				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.483	**0.034**	**0.058**	0.042	0.165	0.031	0.186
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.477	**0.034**	0.054	0.041	0.181	**0.033**	**0.192**
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	**0.461**	0.033	0.056	0.037	**0.187**	0.025	0.171
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.485	**0.034**	0.056	0.041	0.163	0.024	0.168
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.505	**0.034**	0.056	**0.043**	0.176	0.030	0.173
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.532	**0.034**	0.056	0.041	0.172	0.032	0.175
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.519	0.032	0.056	0.038	0.157	0.025	0.173
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.540	0.030	0.056	0.039	0.167	0.025	0.159

Table 10: Results of InhibitFT with different γ(Qwen-2.5-7B).

Datasets	IDEOINST			Political Compass		IDRlabs Ideologies	
	RMSE	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI	CoLA	MNLI
			Crime				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.352	0.036	**0.088**	**0.054**	0.227	0.041	0.273
$\gamma = 5\%$	**0.334**	0.035	0.082	0.054	**0.232**	0.040	**0.278**
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.436	0.034	0.080	0.052	0.218	0.037	0.264
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.479	0.032	0.080	0.048	0.219	0.042	0.268
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.499	0.034	0.083	0.045	0.215	0.038	0.268
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.510	**0.037**	0.080	0.047	0.230	0.040	0.255
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.524	**0.037**	0.084	0.046	0.217	0.042	0.271
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.516	0.036	0.082	0.050	0.217	**0.043**	0.272
			Race				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	**0.327**	0.035	0.056	0.037	**0.143**	0.040	0.146
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.357	**0.036**	0.063	0.041	0.137	0.042	**0.166**
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.355	0.035	0.062	0.034	0.120	0.033	0.132
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.367	0.034	0.058	0.036	0.119	0.040	0.127
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.393	0.035	0.059	0.038	0.129	**0.043**	0.140
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.375	0.030	0.058	0.031	0.136	0.035	0.138
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.404	0.034	0.060	0.032	0.136	0.035	0.142
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.412	0.032	0.062	0.033	0.141	0.040	0.145
			Economy				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.359	0.036	0.069	0.039	0.130	**0.035**	0.154
$\gamma = 5\%$	**0.267**	0.036	0.073	0.040	0.123	**0.035**	**0.160**
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.344	**0.038**	0.072	**0.041**	0.120	0.028	0.152
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.358	**0.038**	0.070	0.039	0.118	0.033	0.142
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.467	0.036	0.071	0.038	0.120	0.026	0.153
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.389	0.037	0.070	0.038	0.124	0.029	0.152
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.484	0.036	0.068	0.035	0.115	0.028	0.145
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.522	0.036	0.070	0.035	**0.135**	0.029	0.151
			Immigration				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.314	0.043	**0.075**	0.053	**0.292**	0.037	**0.288**
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.295	0.040	0.070	**0.060**	0.258	**0.042**	0.264
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	**0.288**	0.044	0.072	0.050	0.266	0.033	0.275
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.323	**0.045**	0.074	0.052	0.260	0.035	0.266
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.325	0.044	0.071	0.053	0.278	**0.042**	0.270
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.365	0.042	0.070	0.055	0.264	0.038	0.276
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.434	0.043	0.074	0.052	0.277	0.039	0.265
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.402	0.042	0.072	0.047	0.257	0.033	0.272
			Gender				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.283	0.035	0.056	0.073	**0.101**	**0.058**	0.094
$\gamma = 5\%$	0.275	0.036	0.055	0.070	0.097	0.051	0.093
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.279	**0.037**	0.057	0.071	0.091	0.051	0.098
$\gamma = 10\%$	**0.270**	0.036	**0.057**	0.061	0.095	0.044	0.089
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.287	0.036	**0.057**	0.069	0.094	0.046	0.093
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.313	**0.037**	**0.057**	0.067	0.096	0.049	0.096
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.295	0.035	0.055	0.076	0.093	0.048	**0.108**
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.320	0.036	0.055	**0.077**	0.095	0.054	0.106
			Science				
$\gamma = 2.5\%$	0.420	**0.036**	0.048	0.046	**0.194**	0.038	0.186
$\gamma = 5\%$	**0.380**	0.036	0.050	0.041	0.173	0.033	0.169
$\gamma = 7.5\%$	0.415	**0.036**	0.050	0.045	0.168	0.037	0.181
$\gamma = 10\%$	0.400	**0.036**	**0.054**	0.040	0.155	**0.043**	0.181
$\gamma = 12.5\%$	0.441	**0.036**	0.050	**0.050**	0.166	0.042	0.187
$\gamma = 15\%$	0.461	**0.036**	0.053	0.038	0.160	**0.043**	**0.190**
$\gamma = 20\%$	0.432	**0.036**	**0.054**	0.046	0.165	0.040	0.175
$\gamma = 25\%$	0.465	**0.036**	**0.054**	0.043	0.168	0.033	0.183