

WHEN IDEOLOGY CLOUDS JUDGEMENT.

The Anchoring Effect Of Ideology On Opinion Change

Supplemental Material

Data Processing

Variables' processing: For the ideological classification of each population, five categories were generated according to who they voted for in the PASO elections. Given that the final result of the electoral process is not at stake in these elections, we can infer that participants voted for those candidates with whom they most closely identified ideologically. Although participants may have changed their vote in the general election and in the second round (left-wing voters voting for progressivism, or moderate right-wing voters voting for the libertarian right), it is assumed that their ideological identification remains the same and what changes is who they support in the electoral battle. It should be noted that the moderate right-wing population was evaluated separately according to who they voted for in the PASO, as subsequent analyses showed differences between groups.

Thus, from the PASO_vote variable, the levels referring to equivalent political forces/candidates were collapsed to create the PASO_vote_category variable, with the following levels: 1. Left-wing; 2. Progressivism; 3. Centre; 4. Moderate right-wing; and 5. Libertarian right-wing. Only in the case of Moderate Right-wing, the voter populations for each candidate competing in the PASO within the same political force were analysed separately; thus, Moderate Right-wing (a) corresponds to voters for candidate Larreta and Moderate Right-wing (b) to Bullrich. The reason for this segregation is that both populations, in a preliminary exploratory analysis, showed differences in the indicators assessed. All the full information is detailed in Supplementary Table 3.

For model generation, several variables were also collapsed. The variable Residence, which had all provinces of Argentina as levels, was grouped by region: North, Patagonia, Central, etc. Age was grouped according to these age ranges: 0-18, 19-35, 35-50, 50-70, 70-100 years. In the case of Peronist&anti-Peronist self-perception, they were grouped into three groups: A, B and C, the first being the group that perceives itself as Peronist, and the last as anti-Peronist.

Indices' creation: From the robust data, several indices were calculated to perform the analysis of results:

Positivity index: to assess whether emotionality during elections could be an impact variable in our study, the positivity index was calculated using an adapted and shortened

version of the Paez test (1). It consisted of 7 items for which subjects were asked to rank on a 5-point Likert scale. Items 3 and 7 had an inverted scale with respect to the others. The positivity index was calculated as the sum of the values (with items 3 and 7 inverted). Values higher than 17.5 correspond to higher positivity; lower values correspond to higher negativity.

Progressivism and Conservatism Indexes: They were obtained using a shortened version of the previously published scales (2). For both scales, 10 different items were presented, with either progressive or conservative content, and subjects were asked to rank their agreement or disagreement on a 5-point Likert scale. The items are described in the Supplementary Table 2. The index was calculated as the average of the responses. To aid in the visualisation of the results, the values of each item were inverted, so that a higher index value corresponds to a higher level of conservatism or progressivism. In addition to the responses for each item, response time was measured to calculate the mean and median response time associated with progressive or conservative indices.

Opinion Change Indexes (OCI): to assess whether association with a candidate changes the degree of agreement or disagreement that subjects have regarding progressive or conservative items, the Opinion Change Index was calculated by each item as:

$$OCI_{item(i;c)} = Item(i) - Item(i;c)$$

“*i*” refers to the item *i* within the conservative or progressive scale.

“*c*” refers to the ideological condition of the candidate associated with the item, whether right-wing or left-wing. Therefore, “*c*” can be “*r*” if it is associated with the right-wing candidate, or “*l*” if it is associated with the left-wing candidate.

In order to explore the general conditions for opinion change, 8 new variables were generated:

$$\begin{aligned} OCI_{con} &= \frac{\sum [Icon(i) - Icon(i;c)]}{n} & OCI_{pro} &= \frac{\sum [Ipro(i) - Ipro(i;c)]}{n} \\ OCI_{con;r} &= \frac{\sum [Icon(i) - Icon(i;r)]}{n} & OCI_{pro;r} &= \frac{\sum [Ipro(i) - Ipro(i;r)]}{n} \\ OCI_{con;l} &= \frac{\sum [Icon(i) - Icon(i;l)]}{n} & OCI_{pro;l} &= \frac{\sum [Ipro(i) - Ipro(i;l)]}{n} \\ OCI_{CON} &= \frac{\sum [Icon(i) - Icon(i;r)] + \sum [Ipro(i) - Ipro(i;l)]}{n} \\ OCI_{INC} &= \frac{\sum [Icon(i) - Icon(i;l)] + \sum [Ipro(i) - Ipro(i;r)]}{n} \end{aligned}$$

Where:

“*Icon(i)*” corresponds to item *i* within the conservative scale; as likewise “*Ipro(i)*” to the progressive scale.

“*c*” refers to the condition of the item associated with a candidate, whether right-wing or left-wing; while when analysing the change of opinion separately according to the

ideology of the candidate, “*r*” refers to the right-wing candidate, while “*l*” refers to the left-wing candidate.

“*n*” refers to all *items(i)* that correspond to the condition analysed and are summed.

“OCI_{CON}” refers to the congruent condition: progressive items associated to left-wing candidates and conservative items associated to right-wing candidates.

“OCI_{INC}” refers to the incongruent condition: progressive items associated to right-wing candidates and conservative items associated to left-wing candidates.

The exploratory analysis showed that there were no significant differences in the ratings of OCI_{CON;r}, OCI_{CON;l}, OCI_{CON;r}, OCI_{CON;l}, OCI_{PRO;r}, and OCI_{PRO;l}. For this reason, the central analysis of this article focuses on the change of opinion for each item. A relevant consideration is that our experimental design allows us to discriminate between congruent associations (OCI_{CON}: OCI_{CON;r} and OCI_{CON;l}) and incongruent associations (OCI_{INC}: OCI_{CON;l} and OCI_{PRO;r}). Such conditions were specifically analysed.

Besides, the difference in response time was calculated when items were associated with a candidate.

Statistical Analysis

All statistical analyses were performed with RStudio (R language) and VisualStudio (Python language).

Statistical models. To assess which independent variables are significant (and with what impact) in explaining Left-Right, Conservative-Progressive and Peronist-anti-Peronist self-perceptions, as well as the Indices of Progressivism and Conservatism, Generalised Linear Models (GLM) were run with a Gaussian distribution. Each model was first explored with all the variables of interest, and finally we were left with only the significant variables to build the final models. There was no evidence that the assumptions were not met in each case.

For Closeness to candidates, the data were processed to generate a binary dependent variable, created from the original ordinal variable by grouping its values into two categories: low (1-3) and high (4-5). This was done because the unbalanced data did not allow for fitting an Ordinal Model; therefore, Binary Models (BM) were used. Again, the final models were constructed by keeping only the significant variables. No evidence of non-compliance with the assumptions was observed in each case; except for the Milei Closeness (for General Elections data), for which the Progressivism Index variable does not meet the logit linearity assumption.

Finally, Robust Regression Models (RRM) were used to assess changes in opinion. The final models were constructed by retaining only the significant variables. No evidence was observed that the assumptions are not met in each case, except for OCI_{PRO;r} which does not meet the homoscedasticity assumption. However, it is not an essential assumption in the robust model.

Statistical analysis: To evaluate the significant differences in the variables of interest between the different populations, segregated by the variable PASO_vote_category, a Kruskal-Wallis and post-hoc Dunn Test was performed.

Clustering Analysis

To identify distinct patterns of political attitudes among participants, we performed a cluster analysis based on the subjects' responses to the conservative and progressive items. This analysis was conducted separately for each group of items to explore how individuals aggregated according to their ideological leanings in both the General and Ballotage elections.

Data Preparation and Distance Metric. The raw data consisted of Likert-scale responses to 10 conservative items and 10 progressive items. To quantify the divergence between participants' ideological profiles, we calculated a dissimilarity matrix using the ratio of mismatches (3). This measure defines dissimilarity as the proportion of elements (items) for which two subjects provided different responses. The choice of this metric is justified by the categorical nature of the survey items. By treating Likert responses as nominal categories, we avoid the problematic assumption that the distance between all adjacent response levels is uniform. This approach ensures that the clustering algorithm identifies groups based on the alignment or misalignment of response patterns, providing a more conservative and robust ideological segmentation.

Clustering Algorithm. We use agglomerative hierarchical clustering, a bottom-up approach that is also deterministic, unlike other clustering algorithms such as k-means. We selected the average linkage method. This method determines the distance between two clusters as the average of the distances between all pairs of individuals in the two clusters. Average linkage was chosen for its robustness and its ability to avoid the "chaining" effect—a phenomenon where clusters are merged based on single close elements rather than overall similarity, often resulting in long, poorly separated clusters (4).

Determination of Optimal Clusters. The optimal number of clusters for both group of items was determined using the Elbow Method. We evaluated the total within-cluster distortion (the sum of intra-cluster distances) for a range of clusters ($k=2$ to 10). Following this heuristic, we identified the point where the marginal decrease in distortion begins to level off, indicating the most parsimonious cluster solution by balancing model complexity and group interpretability (3).

Based on this criterion, a three-cluster solution ($k=3$) was identified as optimal for both group of items. Specifically, for the conservative items, although a $k=3$ solution resulted in one cluster with a small number of subjects, a $k=2$ alternative was found to be even more imbalanced, with a single cluster containing almost the entire sample. Therefore, the three-cluster model was retained to better preserve the granularity of the data structure. For the sake of analytical clarity and statistical power, only the two majority conservative clusters and the three progressive clusters are presented in the Results section.

Software and Implementation. All computational procedures were implemented in Python (version 3.14.2). We utilized the SciPy (5) library for calculating distance matrices (`scipy.spatial.distance.hamming`) and the Scikit-learn library (6) for the Agglomerative Clustering implementation (`sklearn.cluster.AgglomerativeClustering`). Data

manipulation and visualization were performed using pandas and matplotlib, respectively.

2023 Presidential elections: political scenario and options

The Argentine presidential elections of 2023 consisted of three stages. First, on August 13, the Open, Simultaneous and Compulsory Primary Elections (PASO) took place, where 28 lists of candidates for president and vice-president competed within 15 coalitions. Only the presidential coalition formulas that obtained more than 1.5% of the votes in the P.A.S.O. go on to the General Elections, which were held on October 22 (Figure 1B). As the two most voted political forces did not reach the minimum to win the elections, a third election was held on November 19 (ballotage) to resolve the competition between LLA (Milei) and UP (Massa) (Figure 1C).

The aim of our work is to assess whether political ideology can favour the change in the valuation of items, depending on whether or not they are associated with real candidates. We first conducted exploratory analyses without disaggregating the populations that performed experiment #1 or experiment #2. However, despite the fact that already here we detected evidence in favour of our hypothesis, the characterisation of the phenomenon became very noisy and biased. In both cases, although the experiments were conducted by subjects characterised across a broad ideological spectrum, the volume of subjects characterising themselves as from the centre towards progressivism (or left; depending on the scale) was significantly higher (Supplemental Table 1). In order to minimise this imbalance in the sample, we decided to evaluate the populations according to who they voted for in the PASO. To simplify communication, we will only mention each political force/candidate with a label/category that arises according to this ideological spectrum (and who votes in the PASO): 1. Left-wing; 2. Progressivism; 3. Centre; 4. Moderate right-wing; and 5. Libertarian right-wing. All the completed information is detailed in Supplemental Table 3. In a sense, this sub-grouping of populations reflects the perceived ideological spectrum for each candidate. Figures 1F-G show how the candidates were ideologically characterized by the experimental subjects.

The only case that merits clarification is that of the moderate right-wing. In PASO, two candidates competed within the “Juntos por el Cambio” force: a. Larreta; b. Bullrich. Their campaigns in themselves showed differences in the levels of discursive radicalisation, with Bullrich being more radical in her proposals. A previous analysis of the populations that voted for one or the other also showed differences with respect to the variables evaluated in this paper. In fact, an important part of the population that voted for Larreta in the PASO did not vote for Bullrich in the General Elections, nor for Milei in the Ballotage, while the population that voted for Bullrich kept their vote in the General Elections and mainly voted for Milei in the Ballotage (Figure 1D-E). Therefore, understanding that within the same original force at least two populations with different conservative profiles coexisted, from here on they were analysed in a disaggregated

manner. Figures 1F-G show how the candidates were ideologically characterized by the experimental subjects.

Supplementary Tables

Supplementary Table 1. Demographic description of populations and exclusion criteria

| Variable | General Election | Ballotage |
|---|------------------|-----------|
| Total n | 2839 | 1294 |
| Analysed n | 2786 | 1254 |
| Exclusion 1 | 41 | 34 |
| Exclusion 2 | 12 | 6 |
| Age (Mean; sem) | 38,03 | 40,83 |
| Gender | | |
| Female | 2214 | 961 |
| Male | 521 | 269 |
| Nonbinary/Other | 51 | 24 |
| E-social | | |
| Low | 103 | 78 |
| Low middle | 720 | 440 |
| middle | 1578 | 657 |
| high middle | 364 | 78 |
| high | 21 | 1 |
| Education | | |
| Primary | 17 | 13 |
| Secondary | 536 | 264 |
| Tertiary | 624 | 355 |
| University | 1136 | 463 |
| Post-graduate | 473 | 159 |
| Lef-wing & right-wing selfperception | | |
| <5 | 2222 | 992 |
| >5 | 564 | 262 |
| Conservative & progressist selfperception | | |
| < 5 | 295 | 162 |
| >5 | 2046 | 842 |
| Peronist & anti-peronist selfperception | | |
| < 5 | 1378 | 627 |
| >5 | 858 | 368 |
| Progressivism index | | |
| <2.5 | 150 | 82 |
| >2.5 | 2593 | 1151 |
| Conservatism index | | |
| <2.5 | 2502 | 1049 |
| >2.5 | 249 | 177 |
| Exclusion criteria 1: Outlier values of response time in IP items (3 standard deviations) | | |
| Exclusion criteria 2: Candidates in the 2023 step with very few n | | |

Supplementary Table 2. Conservative and progressive Items of Operational PI Scales

| Ítem Number | Text | Scale |
|-------------|---|---------------|
| 3 | El aborto es un crimen y debe ser perseguido y penado por la justicia en todas las circunstancias. <i>Abortion is a crime and should be prosecuted and punished by the justice system in all circumstances.</i> | Conservatism |
| 4 | La ley no debería permitir a personas homosexuales dar clases en las escuelas. <i>The law should not allow homosexuals to teach in schools.</i> | Conservatism |
| 5 | El Estado debería hacer consultas populares vinculantes antes de tomar grandes decisiones para el destino del país. <i>The State should hold binding referendums before making major decisions about the country's future.</i> | Progressivism |
| 6 | El Estado debería preservar el sistema de fondos de pensiones (jubilaciones) como un sistema eminentemente público. <i>The State should preserve the pension fund system as an eminently public system.</i> | Progressivism |
| 7 | A veces un gobierno militar puede ser preferible a uno democrático. <i>Sometimes a military government may be preferable to a democratic one.</i> | Conservatism |
| 8 | Sólo los padres tienen derecho a enseñar a sus hijos temas relacionados con la sexualidad; el colegio no debería intervenir en estas cuestiones. <i>Only parents have the right to teach their children about sexuality; schools should not intervene in these matters.</i> | Conservatism |
| 9 | Los servicios públicos esenciales (agua, luz, gas) deberían ser propiedad del Estado. <i>Essential public services (water, electricity, gas) should be owned by the State.</i> | Progressivism |
| 10 | El Estado debería asegurar más policías en la calle para el control del crimen y la delincuencia, aún si para ello fuera necesario recortar el presupuesto de otras áreas importantes como trabajo, salud y educación. <i>The State should ensure more police officers on the streets to control crime and delinquency, even if this means cutting the budget of other areas.</i> | Conservatism |
| 11 | El Estado debería promover campañas de concientización sobre el consumo responsable de sustancias como la marihuana. <i>The State should promote awareness campaigns on the responsible consumption of substances such as cannabis.</i> | Progressivism |
| 16 | El Estado debería otorgarle tierras a las comunidades indígenas que habitan en el país para que puedan autogobernarse. <i>The State should grant land to the native communities living in the country so that they can govern themselves.</i> | Progressivism |
| 19 | La educación sexual en jóvenes es peligrosa porque los motiva a una iniciación sexual temprana. <i>Sex education for young people is dangerous because it encourages them to become sexually active at an early age.</i> | Conservatism |
| 20 | El Estado debería garantizar un ingreso mínimo a todos los niños sin importar la situación laboral de sus padres. <i>The State should guarantee a minimum income for all children regardless of their parents' employment status.</i> | Progressivism |
| 22 | Está bien que el Estado sostenga económicamente a la Iglesia Católica. <i>It is acceptable for the State to financially support the Catholic Church.</i> | Conservatism |
| 23 | Ante la crisis económica, nuestro país debería ser menos permisivo con el ingreso de inmigrantes que compiten con los ciudadanos locales en la búsqueda de trabajo y mejores condiciones de vida. <i>In light of the economic crisis, our country should be less permissive with the entry of immigrants who compete with local citizens in the search for work and better living conditions.</i> | Conservatism |
| 24 | Está bien que desocupados y vecinos realicen piquetes y cortes de calles o rutas, ya que es la única manera que tienen para presionar y lograr que sus reclamos sean atendidos por los gobiernos <i>It is acceptable for unemployed people and residents to stage pickets and block roads or motorways, as this is the only way they have to exert pressure and ensure that their demands are met.</i> | Progressivism |
| 25 | El Estado debería hacer lo posible por evitar la concentración de medios de comunicación en pocas manos, y asegurar así la pluralidad de expresión. <i>The State should do everything possible to prevent the concentration of media ownership in a few hands, thereby ensuring plurality of expression.</i> | Progressivism |
| 27 | Cuando hay crisis económica, el Estado debería aumentar el gasto en programas de asistencia social y subsidios (como el programa nacional "jefas y jefes de hogar"). <i>When there is an economic crisis, the State should increase spending on social assistance programmes and subsidies (such as the national programme for female and male heads of household).</i> | Progressivism |
| 28 | La propiedad de la tierra debe ser de quien la trabaje <i>Land ownership should belong to those who work it.</i> | Progressivism |
| 29 | El Estado debería privatizar todas las empresas públicas ineficientes. <i>The State should privatise all inefficient public companies.</i> | Conservatism |
| 30 | No deberían utilizarse los medios de comunicación estatal para publicidad oficial o propaganda gubernamental. <i>State media should not be used for official advertising or government propaganda.</i> | Conservatism |

Supplementary Table 3. Clasificación de categorías

| Voted Candidate (PASO) | N Generales | N Ballotage | Category_PASO |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|
| Sergio_Massa | 652 | 339 | Progressivism |
| Patricia_Bullrich | 212 | 116 | Moderate_Right_B |
| Horacio_Rodriguez_Larreta | 208 | 45 | Moderate_Right_A |
| Javier_Milei | 185 | 93 | Right_Wing_Libertarian |
| Juan_Grabois | 573 | 235 | Progressivism |
| Myriam_Bregman | 382 | 127 | Left_Wing |
| Juan_Schiaretti | 84 | 43 | Centre |
| Guillermo_Moreno | 32 | 23 | Progressivism |
| Gabriel_Solano | 22 | 3 | Left_Wing |
| Manuela_Castañeira | 21 | 3 | Left_Wing |
| Blanco | 66 | 13 | Blank |
| No_Aplica | 325 | 172 | No_Apply |
| Prefiero_No_Decirlo | 24 | 42 | No_Response |
| TOTAL | 2786 | 1254 | |

Supplementary Table 4. GLM models

| Election | Dependent variable | n | Significant Variables (n) | R2 Deviance | AIC | BIC | F | Model P Value |
|----------|---|------|---------------------------|-------------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| GE | Left-wing&Right-wing Self-perception | 2786 | 16 | 0,5623 | 9656,32 | -16806,75 | 222,3597 | 1,11E-16 |
| GE | Conservative&Progressist selfperception | 2786 | 15 | 0,2575 | 11700,04 | -11223,47 | 64,0332 | 1,11E-16 |
| GE | Peronist&Anti-Peronist Self-perception | 2786 | 18 | 0,5636 | 11475,17 | -12054,54 | 198,5489 | 1,11E-16 |
| GE | Progresivism Index | 2786 | 17 | 0,70 | 2906,61 | -21499,70 | 383,06 | 1,11E-16 |
| GE | Conservatism Index | 2786 | 22 | 0,6365 | 1212,22 | -21823,78 | 219,9594 | 1,11E-16 |
| BE | Left-wing&Right-wing Self-perception | 1254 | 11 | 0,47 | 4785,85 | -5587,27 | 100,20 | 1,11E-16 |
| BE | Conservative&Progressist selfperception | 1254 | 11 | 0,23 | 5502,91 | -3062,00 | 34,63 | 1,11E-16 |
| BE | Peronist&anti-Peronist Self-perception | 1254 | 13 | 0,54 | 5404,68 | -3501,70 | 110,94 | 1,11E-16 |
| BE | Progresivism Index | 1254 | 15 | 0,72 | 1407,69 | -8612,09 | 212,84 | 1,11E-16 |
| BE | Conservatism Index | 1254 | 15 | 0,65 | 874,91 | -8781,73 | 153,83 | 1,11E-16 |

Supplementary Table 5. Significant Variables of Left-wing & Right-wing self-perception GLM models

| Election | Dependent variable | Significant Independet Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|----------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------|----------|
| GE | Left-wing&Right-wing Self-perception | Indice_Progresismo | -0,7115 | 3,03E-42 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | -0,1461 | 1,22E-30 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | 0,3342 | 3,98E-19 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | 0,1175 | 1,23E-18 |
| | | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 0,5394 | 1,31E-08 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | -0,4686 | 1,61E-08 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Left_Wing | -0,4817 | 1,86E-08 |
| | | Voto_2019_Nicolas_Del_Caño | -0,4451 | 1,21E-05 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_La_Nacion | 0,23 | 7,93E-05 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | 0,4322 | 1,36E-04 |
| | | Indice_Conservadurismo | 0,2522 | 3,52E-04 |
| | | Cercania_Massa | 0,0671 | 9,30E-03 |
| | | Voto_2019_JL_Espert | 0,5158 | 1,41E-02 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Prensa_Obrera | -0,3097 | 1,45E-02 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Diario_Universal | -0,6092 | 3,77E-02 |
| | | Region_Patagonia | 0,2235 | 4,28E-02 |
| BE | Left-wing&Right-wing Self-perception | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | 0,1493 | 2,72E-12 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | 0,4147 | 3,74E-12 |
| | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,5328 | 2,50E-09 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | -0,1065 | 3,18E-07 |
| | | Voto_2019_Nicolas_Del_Caño | -0,7473 | 9,38E-06 |
| | | Indice_Conservadurismo | 0,4514 | 3,12E-05 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | -0,441 | 1,40E-03 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Clarin | 0,3179 | 2,90E-03 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Prensa_Obrera | -0,5426 | 3,70E-03 |
| | | Genero_Otro | -0,8535 | 1,15E-02 |
| | | Cercania_Massa | 0,0991 | 1,95E-02 |

Supplementary Table 6. Significant Variables of Conservative & Progressist self-perception GLM models

| Election | Dependent variable | Significant Independet Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|----------|---|----------------------------------|---------|----------|
| GE | Conservative&Progressist selfperception | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | -0,3036 | 1,49E-31 |
| | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,9179 | 1,06E-19 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | 0,4763 | 9,66E-06 |
| | | Region_Centro | 0,4761 | 1,10E-05 |
| | | Red_Social_Facebook | -0,2976 | 1,09E-04 |
| | | Edad | -0,0139 | 2,46E-04 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | 0,1826 | 7,74E-04 |
| | | Region_CABA | 0,2882 | 1,50E-03 |
| | | Region_Patagonia | 0,5114 | 1,70E-03 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | 0,5073 | 1,90E-03 |
| | | Indice_Progresismo | 0,2386 | 2,10E-03 |
| | | Genero_Otro | 0,844 | 2,70E-03 |
| | | Cercania_Massa | 0,0944 | 4,40E-03 |
| | | Voto_2019_J_Gomez_Centurion | -1,5152 | 1,32E-02 |
| | | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 0,3273 | 1,40E-02 |
| BE | Conservative&Progressist selfperception | Indice_Conservadurismo | -1,0091 | 1,14E-12 |
| | | Indice_Progresismo | 0,669 | 1,79E-08 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | 0,446 | 2,32E-08 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | -0,1902 | 1,82E-07 |
| | | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 0,7258 | 5,58E-04 |
| | | Voto_2019_Nicolas_Del_Caño | 0,69 | 1,20E-03 |
| | | Edad | -0,0231 | 1,90E-03 |
| | | Genero_Otro | 1,1534 | 1,08E-02 |
| | | Genero_Masculino | 0,3597 | 1,72E-02 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | 0,3274 | 1,74E-02 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Tiempo_Argentino | 0,433 | 1,91E-02 |

Supplementary Table 7. Significant Variables of Peronist & Anti-Peronist self-perception GLM models

| Election | Dependent variable | Significant Independet Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|----------|--|----------------------------------|---------|----------|
| GE | Peronist&anti-Peronist Self-perception | Cercania_Massa | -0,5948 | 8,16E-64 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,2312 | 5,28E-21 |
| | | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 1,1477 | 2,36E-16 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | 0,3567 | 2,22E-11 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Left_Wing | 0,7555 | 2,97E-10 |
| | | Voto_2019_Nicolas_Del_Caño | 0,8089 | 1,01E-08 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | 0,8339 | 4,28E-07 |
| | | Voto_2019_JL_Espert | 1,223 | 2,75E-05 |
| | | Indice_Positividad | -0,049 | 6,10E-05 |
| | | Indice_Conservadurismo | 0,3767 | 8,18E-05 |
| | | Progressive_Cluster | -0,2636 | 8,53E-05 |
| | | Voto_2019_Roberto_Lavagna | 0,8446 | 1,76E-04 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_La_Nacion | 0,2777 | 1,20E-03 |
| | | Red_Social_Telegram | -0,2841 | 2,00E-03 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Popular | -0,5159 | 2,10E-03 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | -0,2547 | 2,60E-03 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | 0,4464 | 3,90E-03 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | 0,2976 | 7,10E-03 |
| BE | Peronist&anti-Peronist Self-perception | Cercania_Massa | -0,6278 | 1,80E-30 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,2362 | 7,95E-12 |
| | | Voto_2019_Nicolas_Del_Caño | 1,3911 | 1,33E-10 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | 0,4412 | 7,38E-09 |
| | | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 0,9058 | 4,12E-05 |
| | | Indice_Conservadurismo | 0,5838 | 9,28E-05 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | 0,6357 | 1,36E-04 |
| | | Indice_Positividad | -0,0687 | 1,45E-04 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Tiempo_Argentino | -0,5551 | 1,20E-03 |
| | | Conservative_Cluster | 0,3908 | 2,00E-02 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | 0,5486 | 2,20E-02 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | 0,7308 | 2,72E-02 |
| | | Region_Norte | 0,5282 | 3,49E-02 |

Supplementary Table 8. Significant Variables of Conservatism Index GLM models

| Election | Dependent variable | Significant Independet Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|----------|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------|----------|
| GE | Conservatism Index | Conservative_Cluster | -0,1856 | 1,44E-55 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | 0,0557 | 3,96E-28 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | -0,0164 | 1,40E-20 |
| | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,0743 | 6,03E-18 |
| | | Cercania_Massa | -0,0227 | 3,85E-10 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Clarin | 0,0564 | 6,82E-10 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | 0,0088 | 1,58E-06 |
| | | Genero_Masculino | 0,0372 | 7,85E-05 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,01 | 1,06E-04 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | -0,0318 | 1,75E-04 |
| | | Indice_Conservadurismo_Tiempo | 0,0027 | 3,69E-04 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Tiempo_Argentino | -0,04 | 6,06E-04 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | -0,0367 | 7,93E-04 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Left_Wing | -0,0365 | 9,42E-04 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | 0,0486 | 1,40E-03 |
| | | Red_Social_Youtube | -0,0234 | 2,40E-03 |
| | | Region_Norte | 0,0502 | 3,10E-03 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre | 0,061 | 4,50E-03 |
| | | Indice_Progresismo_Tiempo | -0,0018 | 4,70E-03 |
| | | Progressive_Cluster | -0,0213 | 5,40E-03 |
| | | Indice_Positividad | -0,0034 | 5,40E-03 |
| | | Voto_2019_Roberto_Lavagna | 0,0493 | 2,55E-02 |
| BE | Conservatism Index | Conservative_Cluster | -0,1781 | 1,17E-32 |
| | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,1121 | 2,91E-23 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | -0,0178 | 2,18E-11 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | 0,0446 | 3,17E-09 |
| | | Indice_Positividad | -0,0078 | 8,10E-06 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | 0,0114 | 8,54E-06 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | -0,0711 | 2,65E-05 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,0148 | 3,05E-05 |
| | | Indice_Conservadurismo_Tiempo | 0,0072 | 7,83E-05 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_La_Nacion | 0,0536 | 1,13E-04 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | -0,0506 | 3,38E-04 |
| | | Voto_2019_J_Gomez_Centurion | 0,238 | 5,60E-03 |
| | | Indice_Progresismo_Tiempo | -0,0039 | 1,10E-02 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre | 0,0825 | 1,16E-02 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_El_Cronista | 0,0447 | 1,72E-02 |

Supplementary Table 9. Significant Variables of Progressivism Index GLM models

| Election | Dependent variable | Significant Independet Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|----------|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| GE | Progresivism Index | Progressive_Cluster | 0,4395 | 4,94E-206 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | -0,0701 | 6,66E-40 |
| | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,1632 | 7,14E-15 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | -0,19 | 4,33E-09 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | -0,2001 | 2,36E-08 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre | -0,2163 | 2,98E-06 |
| | | Edad | 0,0036 | 4,82E-06 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Infobae | -0,0724 | 2,90E-05 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | 0,0796 | 3,03E-05 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | 0,0943 | 4,94E-05 |
| | | Cercania_Massa | 0,0277 | 6,50E-05 |
| | | Influencia_Redes | -0,024 | 6,50E-05 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Tiempo_Argentino | 0,1008 | 7,02E-05 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Right_Wing_L | -0,1497 | 7,24E-04 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | -0,0393 | 2,60E-03 |
| | | Indice_Progresismo_Tiempo | -0,003 | 5,30E-03 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | 0,0092 | 1,75E-02 |
| BE | Progresivism Index | Progressive_Cluster | 0,4431 | 6,10E-97 |
| | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,2094 | 4,12E-11 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | -0,3869 | 3,43E-09 |
| | | Cercania_Milei | -0,0894 | 1,08E-08 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Infobae | -0,1237 | 3,89E-06 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | 0,025 | 4,09E-06 |
| | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | -0,0326 | 5,30E-06 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | 0,155 | 1,24E-05 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | 0,1203 | 2,85E-05 |
| | | Indice_Positividad | 0,0118 | 6,36E-04 |
| | | Indice_Progresismo_Tiempo | -0,0078 | 9,76E-04 |
| | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Ri | -0,1319 | 4,20E-03 |
| | | Genero_Masculino | -0,0808 | 6,10E-03 |
| | | Conservative_Cluster | -0,0751 | 2,82E-02 |
| | | Medios_Prensa_Prensa_Obrera | 0,0991 | 4,01E-02 |

Supplementary Table 10. Closeness to candidates’ models

| Eleccion | Closeness to Candidate | n | Significant Variables (n) | Pseudo R2 McFadden | AIC | BIC | Chi2 | Chi2 P Value |
|----------|------------------------|------|---------------------------|--------------------|---------|-----------|---------|--------------|
| GE | Massa | 2786 | 14 | 0,31 | 2372,47 | -19638,11 | 1046,22 | 0,00E+00 |
| GE | Milei | 2786 | 7 | 0,57 | 575,09 | -21477,01 | 726,61 | 0,00E+00 |
| GE | Schiaretti | 2786 | 15 | 0,24 | 1431,92 | -20572,72 | 430,70 | 0,00E+00 |
| GE | Bullrich | 2786 | 10 | 0,47 | 791,39 | -21242,92 | 684,82 | 0,00E+00 |
| GE | Bregman | 2786 | 17 | 0,30 | 2666,13 | -19326,65 | 1132,18 | 0,00E+00 |
| BE | Massa | 1254 | 7 | 0,27 | 1149,52 | -7755,56 | 413,15 | 0,00E+00 |
| BE | Milei | 1254 | 5 | 0,55 | 327,09 | -8588,26 | 392,24 | 0,00E+00 |

Supplementary Table 11. Significant Variables of Closeness to candidates' models

| Election | Closeness to Candidate | Significant Independent Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|----------|------------------------|--|--------|----------|
| GE | Massa | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | 0,72 | 9,93E-32 |
| GE | Massa | Indice_Positividad | 1,16 | 2,28E-18 |
| GE | Massa | Categoria_PASO_2023_Left_Wing | 0,46 | 1,46E-05 |
| GE | Massa | Indice_Conservadurismo | 0,53 | 2,24E-05 |
| GE | Massa | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | 0,57 | 6,85E-05 |
| GE | Massa | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 0,25 | 9,95E-05 |
| GE | Massa | Voto_2019_Nicolas_Del_Caño | 0,42 | 3,50E-04 |
| GE | Massa | Progressive_Cluster | 1,51 | 6,04E-04 |
| GE | Massa | Medios_Prensa_Tiempo_Argentino | 1,62 | 7,36E-04 |
| GE | Massa | Edad | 0,98 | 8,15E-04 |
| GE | Massa | Influencia_Prensa | 0,88 | 1,80E-03 |
| GE | Massa | Categoria_PASO_2023_Right_Wing_Libertarian | 0,04 | 3,10E-03 |
| GE | Massa | Region_Norte | 1,88 | 1,04E-02 |
| GE | Massa | Red_Social_Tiktok | 1,37 | 1,28E-02 |
| GE | Milei | Categoria_PASO_2023_Right_Wing_Libertarian | 9,29 | 1,24E-21 |
| GE | Milei | Indice_Conservadurismo | 4,59 | 1,06E-12 |
| GE | Milei | Edad | 0,95 | 4,30E-06 |
| GE | Milei | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 1,32 | 6,65E-05 |
| GE | Milei | Indice_Progresismo | 0,50 | 5,36E-04 |
| GE | Milei | Red_Social_Tiktok | 2,03 | 4,60E-03 |
| GE | Milei | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | 1,13 | 1,15E-02 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre | 19,99 | 2,94E-28 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_A | 2,97 | 5,37E-06 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Categoria_PASO_2023_Right_Wing_Libertarian | 2,64 | 1,78E-04 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Region_Centro | 1,91 | 2,15E-04 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 1,16 | 6,20E-04 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Voto_2019_Roberto_Lavagna | 2,82 | 6,60E-04 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_B | 2,40 | 7,42E-04 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Influencia_Prensa | 0,83 | 7,92E-04 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Indice_Conservadurismo | 1,56 | 1,90E-03 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Edad | 0,98 | 4,60E-03 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Medios_Prensa_Tiempo_Argentino | 0,31 | 6,10E-03 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Red_Social_Facebook | 1,48 | 7,50E-03 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 1,60 | 1,56E-02 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Indice_Positividad | 1,06 | 1,85E-02 |
| GE | Schiaretti | Region_Cuyo | 1,77 | 3,13E-02 |
| GE | Bullrich | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_B | 4,38 | 1,53E-12 |
| GE | Bullrich | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 5,16 | 2,32E-12 |
| GE | Bullrich | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | 1,21 | 6,06E-06 |
| GE | Bullrich | Indice_Progresismo | 0,53 | 1,75E-04 |
| GE | Bullrich | Medios_Prensa_La_Nacion | 1,97 | 5,32E-04 |
| GE | Bullrich | Edad | 1,03 | 7,24E-04 |
| GE | Bullrich | Genero_Masculino | 0,44 | 1,90E-03 |
| GE | Bullrich | Influencia_Prensa | 0,79 | 2,40E-03 |
| GE | Bullrich | Indice_Conservadurismo | 1,66 | 5,40E-03 |
| GE | Bullrich | Voto_2019_J_Gomez_Centurion | 4,41 | 4,19E-02 |
| GE | Bregman | Categoria_PASO_2023_Left_Wing | 4,14 | 1,22E-18 |
| GE | Bregman | Indice_Progresismo | 2,05 | 1,78E-11 |
| GE | Bregman | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,78 | 6,26E-11 |
| GE | Bregman | Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario | 2,37 | 2,29E-08 |
| GE | Bregman | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | 1,12 | 2,38E-06 |
| GE | Bregman | Indice_Conservadurismo | 0,55 | 6,87E-05 |
| GE | Bregman | Influencia_Prensa | 0,85 | 7,78E-05 |
| GE | Bregman | Voto_2019_Nicolas_Del_Caño | 2,13 | 1,67E-04 |
| GE | Bregman | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 0,45 | 2,44E-04 |
| GE | Bregman | Medios_Prensa_Prensa_Obrera | 2,56 | 4,59E-04 |
| GE | Bregman | Edad | 0,99 | 2,00E-03 |
| GE | Bregman | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | 1,08 | 2,40E-03 |
| GE | Bregman | Medios_Prensa_Tiempo_Argentino | 0,67 | 5,10E-03 |
| GE | Bregman | Categoria_PASO_2023_Right_Wing_Libertarian | 0,30 | 5,30E-03 |
| GE | Bregman | Medios_Prensa_El_Cronista | 0,60 | 6,60E-03 |
| GE | Bregman | Red_Social_Facebook | 1,25 | 2,37E-02 |
| GE | Bregman | Medios_Prensa_La_Nacion | 0,78 | 3,20E-02 |
| BE | Massa | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | 0,70 | 1,13E-22 |
| BE | Massa | Indice_Positividad | 1,19 | 5,43E-16 |
| BE | Massa | Region_Patagonia | 0,34 | 1,20E-03 |
| BE | Massa | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | 0,25 | 6,00E-03 |
| BE | Massa | Medios_Prensa_El_Cronista | 1,65 | 1,94E-02 |
| BE | Massa | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_B | 0,25 | 3,32E-02 |
| BE | Massa | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 1,09 | 4,32E-02 |
| BE | Milei | Categoria_PASO_2023_Right_Wing_Libertarian | 8,84 | 5,60E-12 |
| BE | Milei | Indice_Progresismo | 0,27 | 3,76E-07 |
| BE | Milei | Indice_Conservadurismo | 3,55 | 9,35E-07 |
| BE | Milei | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 1,35 | 1,30E-05 |
| BE | Milei | Influencia_Redes | 0,79 | 3,13E-02 |

Supplementary Table 12. General Opinion Change's Robust models result (General Election)

| Dependent variable | n | | Ajusted R2 | AIC | BIC | F | Model P Value | Robust Scale | Significant Independent Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|--------------------|------|-------|------------|----------|----------|--------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------|----------|
| OCIcon | 2780 | 4,000 | 0,054 | 4738,610 | 4821,640 | 9,762 | 2,80E-20 | 0,320 | Red_Social_Tiktok | 0,059 | 2,97E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Clarin | 0,061 | 2,88E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | -0,056 | 2,33E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,317 | 1,66E-21 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| OCIcon;right | 2780 | 7,000 | 0,039 | 6636,000 | 6724,950 | 8,491 | 2,85E-18 | 0,634 | Edad | 0,004 | 3,55E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,031 | 1,80E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Cercania_Milei | 0,055 | 4,10E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Red_Social_Facebook | -0,063 | 4,73E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Clarin | 0,098 | 1,24E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,360 | 7,57E-20 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo_Tiempo | -0,005 | 3,34E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| OCIcon;left | 2780 | 4,000 | 0,044 | 4740,350 | 4817,450 | 7,271 | 2,85E-13 | 0,321 | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | -0,012 | 2,33E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Red_Social_Tiktok | 0,061 | 2,94E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Prensa_Obrera | -0,086 | 3,50E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,264 | 2,91E-14 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| OCIconpro | 2783 | 6 | 0,064 | 5268,980 | 5363,880 | 11,551 | 5,02E-28 | 0,387 | Conservative_Cluster | -0,132 | 1,80E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Edad | 0,003 | 3,92E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | 0,016 | 1,27E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,013 | 2,03E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,309 | 1,07E-33 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,131 | 3,82E-04 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| OCIconpro;right | 2783 | 6 | 0,046 | 6989,820 | 7061,000 | 12,859 | 3,82E-24 | 0,719 | Conservative_Cluster | -0,145 | 1,80E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,018 | 1,36E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Red_Social_Facebook | 0,108 | 9,16E-04 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Positividad | -0,012 | 3,04E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,315 | 1,22E-24 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,128 | 5,10E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| OCIconpro;left | 2783 | 11 | 0,056 | 5645,620 | 5764,240 | 7,197 | 2,68E-19 | 0,442 | Conservative_Cluster | -0,106 | 4,94E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Voto_2019_J_Gomez_Centurion | -0,572 | 1,47E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Left_Wing | 0,083 | 1,64E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | 0,018 | 6,70E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Cercania_Massa | 0,028 | 1,54E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Red_Social_Tiktok | -0,071 | 3,68E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Influencia_Prensa | -0,028 | 1,80E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | 0,058 | 4,80E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_El_Cronista | -0,095 | 4,63E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,308 | 1,76E-25 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,1373 | 1,20E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| OCIconG | 2786 | 6 | 0,053 | 4136,700 | 4243,490 | 8,073 | 2,77E-20 | 0,257 | Edad | 0,003 | 6,80E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Red_Social_Facebook | -0,042 | 3,86E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Influencia_Prensa | -0,019 | 4,63E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,175 | 1,02E-18 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,236 | 2,17E-16 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo_Tiempo | -0,003 | 2,93E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| OCIconC | 2786 | 6 | 0,042 | 3924,060 | 3989,310 | 10,612 | 7,52E-18 | 0,239 | Conservative_Cluster | -0,084 | 1,52E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,009 | 4,33E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Red_Social_Facebook | 0,046 | 1,55E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Positividad | -0,006 | 4,17E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,173 | 1,72E-21 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,196 | 1,21E-12 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |

Supplementary Table 13. Items Opinion Change's Robust models result (General Election)

| Dependent variable | n | | Ajusted R2 | AIC | BIC | F | Model P Value | Robust Scale | Significant Independent Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|--------------------|------|---|------------|----------|----------|-------|---------------|--------------|--|--|--|
| OCItem3;left | 986 | 3 | 0,053 | 2411,630 | 2480,140 | 2,630 | 1,30E-03 | 0,666 | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_A Medios_Prensa_Prensa_Obrera Medios_Prensa_Popular | -0,267 -0,285 -0,225 | 5,60E-03 5,40E-03 4,10E-02 |
| OCItem5;left | 943 | 8 | 0,074 | 2708,590 | 2810,420 | 3,863 | 2,81E-08 | 1,012 | Edad Genero_Masculino Region_CABA Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_A Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_B Indice_Progresismo Indice_Conservadurismo | 0,008 -0,306 0,166 0,247 -0,395 -0,384 -0,327 -0,295 | 2,65E-02 6,52E-04 3,20E-02 4,85E-02 1,82E-02 2,06E-02 1,73E-04 6,00E-03 |
| OCItem7;left | 1002 | 6 | 0,084 | 1981,430 | 2050,170 | 3,000 | 2,44E-04 | 0,417 | Conservative_Cluster Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri Categoria_PASO_2023_Left_Wing Cercania_Massa Cercania_Milei Indice_Conservadurismo | 0,262 0,224 0,163 0,040 -0,173 0,2191 | 7,40E-03 1,36E-02 1,16E-02 4,11E-02 3,90E-05 1,11E-02 |
| OCItem8;left | 1007 | 5 | 0,056 | 2419,020 | 2478,000 | 3,062 | 4,74E-04 | 0,639 | Region_Cuyo Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_B Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper Red_Social_Telegram Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,191 0,245 0,038 -0,116 -0,267 | 2,96E-02 4,71E-02 1,85E-02 4,90E-02 1,90E-03 |
| OCItem9;left | 984 | 8 | 0,036 | 2964,850 | 3038,230 | 3,121 | 8,57E-05 | 1,174 | Categoria_PASO_2023_Left_Wing Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre Cercania_Massa Medios_Prensa_Diario_Universal Medios_Prensa_Popular Medios_Prensa_Clarin Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 Indice_Progresismo | 0,217 -0,518 0,070 0,787 -0,295 -0,207 0,160 -0,195 | 1,75E-02 2,55E-02 4,29E-02 2,17E-02 3,23E-02 3,10E-02 4,94E-02 1,77E-02 |
| OCItem10;left | 990 | 8 | 0,061 | 2946,410 | 3014,980 | 5,121 | 7,30E-09 | 1,132 | Conservative_Cluster Progressive_Cluster Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri Red_Social_Instagram Medios_Prensa_Diario_Universal Medios_Prensa_Izquierda_Diario Medios_Prensa_Infobae Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,446 -0,160 0,312 -0,293 -0,838 -0,231 0,150 -0,535 | 1,12E-04 1,79E-02 1,24E-02 3,50E-02 3,09E-02 1,19E-02 3,05E-02 1,49E-07 |
| OCItem10;right | 990 | 8 | 0,052 | 3167,400 | 3231,070 | 4,868 | 7,81E-08 | 1,417 | Conservative_Cluster Region_Norte Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_A Cercania_Milei Red_Social_Telegram Medios_Prensa_Tiempo_Argentino Indice_Progresismo Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,242 -0,448 0,479 0,136 0,205 -0,220 -0,274 -0,667 | 2,28E-02 7,40E-03 2,10E-03 1,46E-02 4,53E-02 3,97E-02 3,00E-03 3,90E-08 |
| OCItem24;left | 917 | 5 | 0,051 | 2712,630 | 2760,850 | 4,812 | 2,69E-06 | 1,116 | Edad Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_A Autopercepcion_Izq_Der Medios_Prensa_El_Cronista Indice_Progresismo | 0,009 0,348 0,043 -0,284 -0,125 | 2,70E-02 1,66E-02 4,90E-02 1,29E-02 3,90E-02 |
| OCItem25;left | 1034 | 5 | 0,043 | 3011,780 | 3071,070 | 3,724 | 3,12E-05 | 1,065 | Progressive_Cluster Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre Autopercepcion_Con_Pro Influencia_Prensa Indice_Progresismo | 0,189 -0,545 0,044 -0,074 -0,366 | 3,04E-02 9,97E-04 7,90E-03 7,40E-03 5,28E-06 |
| OCItem30;left | 1005 | 3 | 0,061 | 3098,520 | 3152,560 | 5,789 | 1,66E-08 | 1,264 | Categoria_PASO_2023_Right_Wing_Libertarian Medios_Prensa_Clarin Indice_Conservadurismo | 0,537 0,195 -0,629 | 4,10E-03 2,36E-02 6,24E-09 |
| OCItem30;right | 1005 | 7 | 0,075 | 3059,100 | 3127,870 | 5,367 | 2,04E-09 | 1,212 | Conservative_Cluster Autopercepcion_Con_Pro Cercania_Milei Medios_Prensa_Perfil Medios_Prensa_Infobae Medios_Prensa_El_Cronista Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,275 -0,046 0,130 0,343 -0,169 -0,308 -0,665 | 1,21E-02 1,45E-02 1,74E-02 7,90E-03 3,66E-02 2,59E-02 1,76E-09 |

Supplementary Table 14. General Opinion Change’s Robust models result (Ballotage Election)

| Election | Dependent variable | n | | Ajusted R2 | AIC | BIC | F | Model P Value | Robust Scale | Significant Independet Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|-----------|--------------------|----------|-------|------------|----------|----------|-------|---------------|--------------|----------------------------------|---------|----------|
| Ballotage | OCIcon | 1251,000 | 2,000 | 0,0498 | 2224,540 | 2270,730 | 8,746 | 1,11E-11 | 0,344 | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,024 | 2,21E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,228 | 5,94E-10 |
| Ballotage | OCIcon;right | 1251 | 2,000 | 0,032 | 2777,880 | 2808,670 | 9,357 | 9,16E-09 | 0,537 | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,026 | 4,60E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,224 | 5,55E-08 |
| Ballotage | OCIcon;left | 1251 | 8,000 | 0,055 | 2458,950 | 2535,930 | 4,913 | 6,04E-09 | 0,413 | Genero_Masculino | -0,107 | 1,96E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Voto_2019_J_Gomez_Centurion | 0,426 | 7,90E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,022 | 4,76E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Influencia_Redex | 0,038 | 1,90E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Red_Social_Threads | 0,187 | 1,19E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | -0,101 | 2,48E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,262 | 1,89E-10 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo_Tiempo | 0,009 | 4,85E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ballotage | OCIcon;right | 1252 | 10 | 0,097 | 2412,140 | 2509,660 | 6,247 | 6,53E-15 | 0,396 | Region_CABA | 0,095 | 4,96E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Voto_2019_J_Gomez_Centurion | -0,504 | 2,58E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Voto_2019_Roberto_Lavagna | -0,337 | 6,43E-04 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,023 | 7,90E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Cercania_Milei | -0,060 | 7,80E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Influencia_Redex | -0,032 | 2,59E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Clarin | 0,139 | 6,10E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_La_Nacion | -0,133 | 4,30E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,316 | 7,92E-17 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,085 | 4,37E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ballotage | OCIcon;left | 1252 | 9 | 0,081 | 2876,470 | 2979,120 | 5,338 | 1,17E-12 | 0,573 | Region_CABA | 0,117 | 3,99E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Voto_2019_J_Gomez_Centurion | -0,508 | 9,10E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Voto_2019_Roberto_Lavagna | -0,530 | 5,16E-04 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,026 | 1,52E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Cercania_Massa | -0,045 | 3,85E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Clarin | 0,126 | 3,68E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_La_Nacion | -0,176 | 1,90E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,312 | 1,03E-12 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,134 | 2,22E-02 |
| Ballotage | OCIcon;right | 1252 | 7 | 0,073 | 2708,180 | 2780,040 | 5,612 | 4,82E-10 | 0,504 | Voto_2019_Roberto_Lavagna | -0,214 | 4,31E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre | 0,182 | 4,82E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,024 | 5,00E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Cercania_Milei | -0,082 | 1,70E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Influencia_Redex | -0,042 | 7,80E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Clarin | 0,147 | 9,90E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,304 | 9,03E-13 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ballotage | OCIcon;left | 1254 | 5 | 0,053 | 1663,430 | 1714,770 | 8,063 | 1,09E-11 | 0,219 | Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre | 0,161 | 1,57E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Cercania_Milei | -0,0445 | 2,08E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Prensa_Obrera | 0,0989 | 4,67E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,1667 | 8,41E-11 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,1882 | 2,14E-06 |
| Ballotage | OCIcon;right | 1254 | 5 | 0,072 | 1701,300 | 1788,580 | 5,807 | 2,41E-12 | 0,224 | Voto_2019_Roberto_Lavagna | -0,279 | 2,50E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Izq_Der | 0,018 | 2,92E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,014 | 2,64E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,160 | 1,46E-09 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,243 | 2,18E-10 |

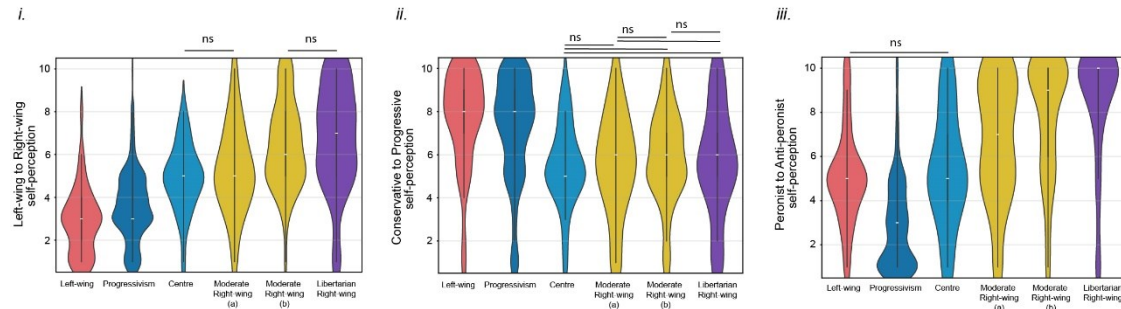
Supplementary Table 15. Items Opinion Change´s Robust models result (Ballotage Election)

| Dependent variable | n | | Ajusted R2 | AIC | BIC | F | Model P Value | Robust Scale | Significant Independet Variables | Coeff. | P value |
|--------------------|-----|---|------------|----------|----------|-------|---------------|--------------|--|--------|----------|
| OCItem22;left | 410 | 8 | 0,123 | 1163,540 | 1223,780 | 3,258 | 6,35E-05 | 0,965 | Progressive_Cluster | -0,294 | 1,30E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_A | -0,558 | 2,34E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre | -0,441 | 1,54E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Con_Pro | -0,054 | 2,53E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Influencia_Redes | -0,097 | 2,47E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Influencia_Prensa | 0,091 | 4,34E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,385 | 1,30E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo_Tiempo | 0,026 | 5,10E-03 |
| OCItem29;left | 421 | 4 | 0,089 | 1207,270 | 1235,570 | 5,852 | 7,15E-06 | 1,013 | Voto_2019_Mauricio_Macri | -0,449 | 2,12E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Infobae | -0,266 | 7,80E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,242 | 1,57E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,475 | 6,60E-03 |
| OCItem25;left | 429 | 7 | 0,091 | 1266,770 | 1319,560 | 2,626 | 2,20E-03 | 1,089 | Region_Patagonia | -0,598 | 1,53E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_B | 0,513 | 3,53E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,051 | 4,97E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Prensa_Obrera | 0,411 | 1,32E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Perfil | 0,336 | 3,25E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_El_Cronista | -0,435 | 1,09E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,333 | 9,30E-03 |
| OCItem30;left | 442 | 7 | 0,097 | 1431,780 | 1480,880 | 5,367 | 5,33E-08 | 1,455 | Conservative_Cluster | -0,497 | 4,44E-04 |
| | | | | | | | | | Region_Norte | -0,666 | 1,82E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_A | -0,584 | 2,64E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,053 | 3,23E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Influencia_Prensa | 0,105 | 3,92E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,290 | 3,23E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,495 | 2,18E-04 |
| OCItem6;left | 469 | 4 | 0,065 | 1438,830 | 1484,490 | 3,166 | 6,15E-04 | 1,230 | Conservative_Cluster | -0,325 | 1,67E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Genero_Masculino | 0,212 | 4,48E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Perfil | -0,314 | 4,16E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,245 | 4,50E-03 |
| OCItem11;right | 429 | 9 | 0,116 | 1351,960 | 1433,190 | 2,814 | 8,47E-05 | 1,307 | Conservative_Cluster | -0,460 | 1,92E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Edad | 0,022 | 2,60E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Moderate_Right_A | -0,692 | 4,91E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Centre | 0,679 | 1,40E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Cercania_Massa | -0,158 | 8,80E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Popular | 0,493 | 1,13E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Pagina_12 | -0,325 | 1,13E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,596 | 1,27E-04 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,437 | 1,43E-02 |
| OCItem7;right | 389 | 4 | 0,090 | 1086,620 | 1134,180 | 2,304 | 9,70E-03 | 0,928 | Categoria_PASO_2023_Left_Wing | -0,228 | 2,74E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Categoria_PASO_2023_Right_Wing_Libertarian | -0,465 | 7,00E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Red_Social_Tiktok | -0,301 | 1,27E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Medios_Prensa_Prensa_Obrera | 0,549 | 4,76E-02 |
| OCItem25;right | 429 | 3 | 0,085 | 1340,470 | 1381,090 | 3,417 | 4,52E-04 | 1,302 | Genero_Masculino | -0,288 | 4,02E-02 |
| | | | | | | | | | Autopercepcion_Per_Antiper | -0,078 | 6,80E-03 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Progresismo | -0,412 | 1,87E-04 |
| OCItem22;right | 410 | 2 | 0,054 | 1021,950 | 1042,030 | 5,882 | 1,31E-04 | 0,699 | Indice_Conservadurismo | -0,268 | 5,28E-05 |
| | | | | | | | | | Indice_Conservadurismo_Tiempo | 0,019 | 3,03E-02 |

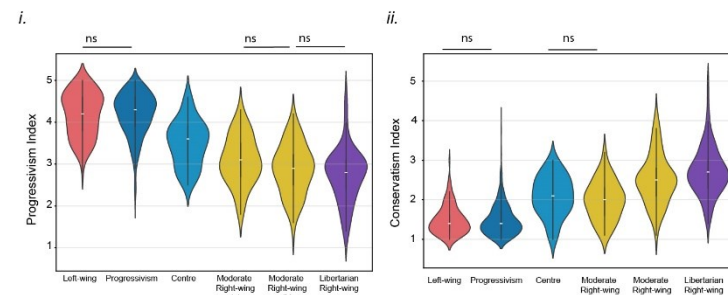
Supplementary Figures

Supplementary Figure 1.

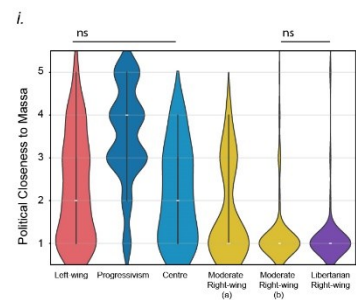
A. Symbolic Political Characterization of Populations



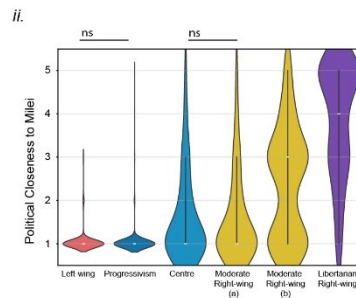
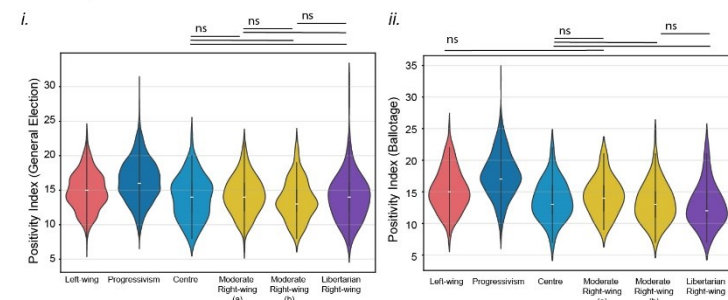
B. Operational Political Characterization of Populations



C. Political Closeness to Candidates



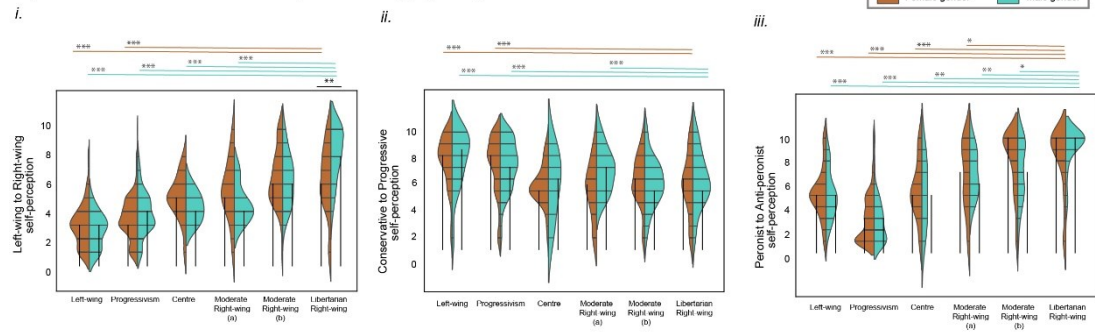
D. Positivity Index



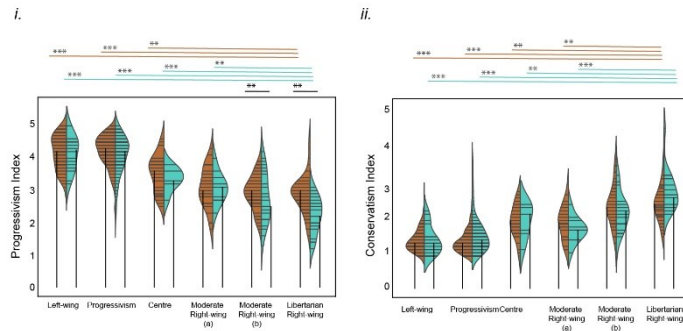
Supplementary Figure 1. Political Characterization of voting populations. A. Symbolic political characterization of Ballotage populations: *i*) Left-wing&Right-wing self-perception for each population (Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 1,93e-68); *ii*). Conservative&Progressive self-perception for each population (Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 7,87e-23); *iii*) Peronist/anti-peronist self-perception for each population (Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 2,38e-88). B. Operational political characterization: *i*) Progressivism scale for each population (Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 7,28e-100); *ii*) Conservatism scale for each population (Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 3,30e-90). C. Political closeness to: *i*) Massa: Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 1,14e-96; *ii*) Milei: Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 2,21e-129. D. Positivity Index of: *i*. General Election (Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 6,39e-59); *ii*. Ballotage (Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 4,77e-54) populations. In all cases, post-hoc Dunn Test reveals by default significant differences in all comparisons excepts when it was indicated as non-significant (ns).

Supplementary Figure 2

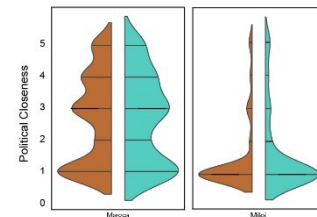
A. Symbolic Political Characterization of Populations Disaggregated by Gender



B. Operational Political Characterization of Populations Disaggregated by Gender



C. Political Closeness to Candidates Disaggregated by Gender

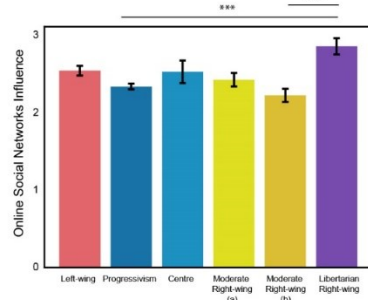


Supplementary Figure 2. Social Characterization of voting populations (Ballotage). A. Symbolic political characterization disaggregated by Gender and population: *i*) Left-wing&Right-wing self-perception; *ii*). Conservative&progressive self-perception; *iii*) Peronist&anti-peronist self-perception. B. Operational political characterization: *i*) Progressivism scale; *ii*) Conservatism scale. C. Closeness to candidates disaggregated by Gender. In all cases, Mann-Whitney U Test (two-sided) significant results are shown in *orange* for female comparisons, *cyan* for male comparisons and *black* for comparisons between females and males within the same population: * p-value < 0.05; ** p-value < 0.01; *** p-value < 0.001.

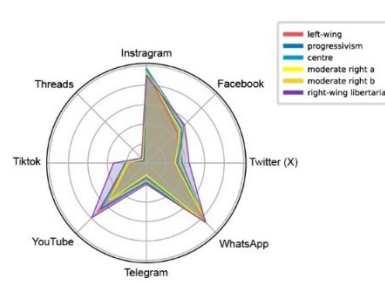
Supplementary Figure 3

A. Online Social Networks Influence

i.

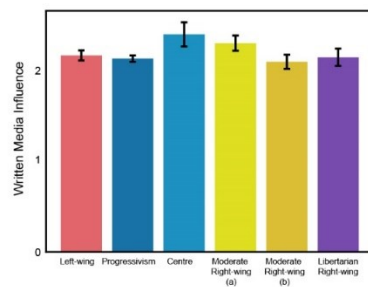


ii.

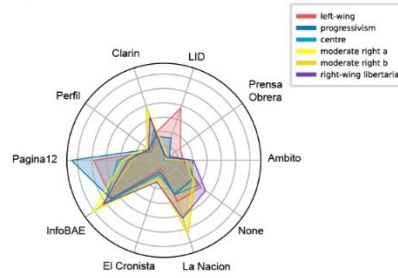


B. Written Media Influence

i.



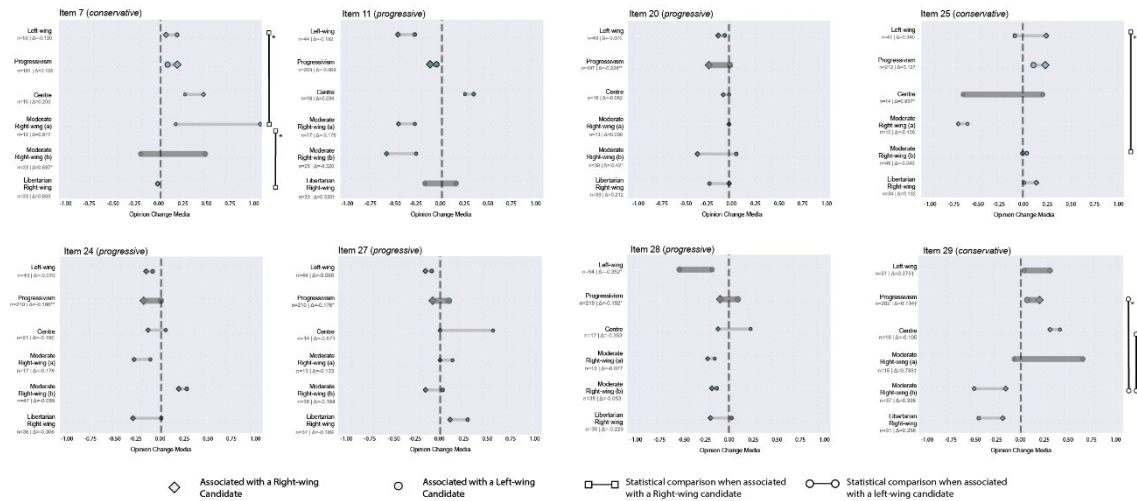
ii.



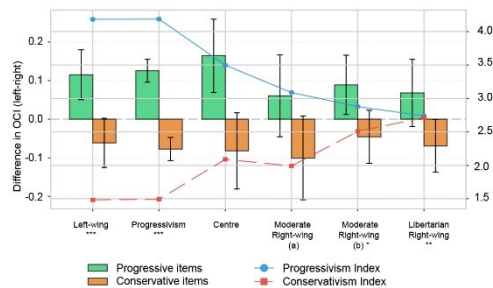
Supplementary Figure 3. Self-reported Influence of Information Media. A. Online Social Networks Influence: i) Mean (\pm SEM) of the self-reported influence: Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 4.91×10^{-6} . ii) Radar representation of each online social Network consumption for each population. B. Written Media Influence: i) Mean (\pm SEM) of the self-reported influence: Kruskal-Wallis: p-value = 0.012. ii) Radar representation of each Written Media Outlet consumption for each population. Post-hoc Dunn Test reveals significant differences (***) p-value < 0.001).

Supplementary Figure 4

A. Opinion Change (significant items for Ballotage)



B. Opinion Change and PI Indices, desaggregated by populations



Supplementary Figure 4. Opinion Change of items (Ballotage). A. Opinion Change of significant items desaggregated by populations: the diamonds represent Opinion Change of items associated with right-wing candidates, while the circles represent left-wing candidates' association. Significant differences between left-wing & right-wing association were assessed using the Wilcoxon test; and between populations, Dunn Test with Bonferroni correction: * p-value < 0.05; ** p-value < 0.01; *** p-value < 0.001. B. Differences between the rates of opinion change associated with left-wing and right-wing candidates (shown separately for progressive and conservative items) and the indices of progressivism and conservatism, desaggregated by voter populations. Significant differences between left-wing & right-wing association were assessed using the Wilcoxon test: * p-value < 0.05; ** p-value < 0.01; *** p-value < 0.001.

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