



# Detecting Propaganda on Facebook and Instagram Ads using Meta API

VIGINUM - Jean Liénard





# **Viginum**

A technical and operational government department against foreign digital interference



Detecting and analyzing

foreign digital interference



Leading and coordinating

the French inter-ministerial protection mechanism



Contributing

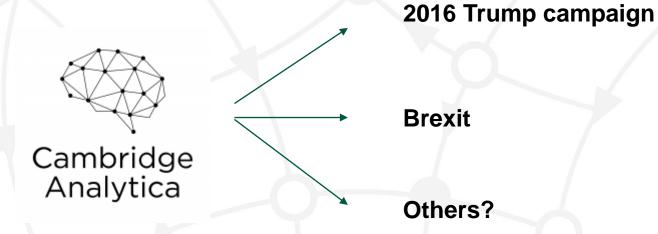
to European and international work





# Why do we care about Ads

Micro-targeting scandals

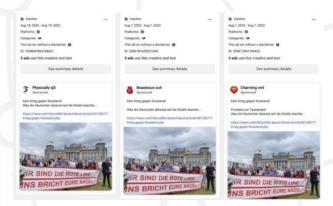




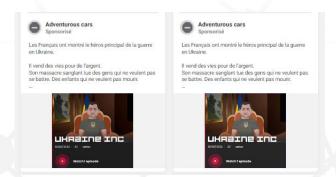


## Why do we care about Ads

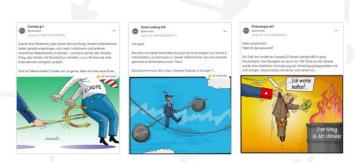
Long-running disinformation campaigns such as Doppleganger



Sept 2022 : EU Disinfo Lab report



June 2023: Viginum report



Oct 2023 : Reset report





## Why do we care about Ads



Blue compass 15 Sponsorisé

Une fois de plus, la France devra faire des sacrifices Les agriculteurs exigent le renforcement des règles d'importation des produits agricoles en provenance d'Ukraine. Les produits ukrainiens sont très bon marché et nos producteurs ne peuvent pas résister à la concurrence.

Par ailleurs, les produits ukrainiens sont de très...



Une fois de plus, la France devra faire des sacrifices

However, ducks have begun to rent chickens over the past few months, specifically for.... En savoir plus



Classic Travel Dreamers Sponsorisé

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#### Last week





## How « open » are Facebook Ads?

Two parts:

- I) A practical guide on how to access the data
- II) A study of available data across different categories



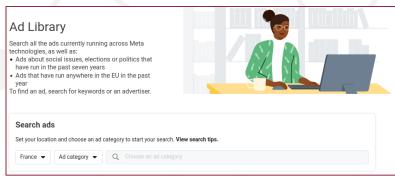


## **Practical information**

#### 3+1 ways to access to ads

- 1. Meta Daily report
  - Download .csv file, but limited to political advertizing
- 2. Meta Web portal
  - Browse everything, but finicky and slow
- Meta API
  - Access everything, but requires registration and coding
- 4. (bonus) open-source mirror
  - Code on https://github.com/Lejo1/facebook\_ad\_library + Data Mirror hosted on Kaggle











## Howto API [1/2]

### **Registration process**

#### Two steps:

- 1. Verify Meta Developers account
  - provide a phone number
  - OR provide a credit/debit card info
- 2. Verify your official identity
- Provide your official ID document (government's ID card, passport, ...)





## Howto API [2/2]

#### (un)documented features

- Retrieve all ads =
  - search term='\"\*\"'
- Per-token request quota
  - but no limit on number of tokens
  - ⇒ rotate over a collection of <ACCESS\_TOKEN>
- Limit on returned ads
  - By default limit=20, but you can set up to limit=5000
  - Depending on the payload size, this will fail: you have to retry with a lower limit

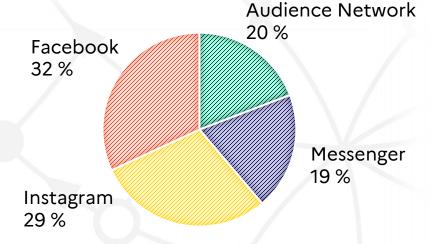
```
curl -G \
  -d "search_terms='california'" \
  -d "ad_type=POLITICAL_AND_ISSUE_ADS" \
  -d "ad_reached_countries=['US']" \
  -d "access_token=<ACCESS_TOKEN>" \
  "https://graph.facebook.com/<VERSION>/ads_archive"
```



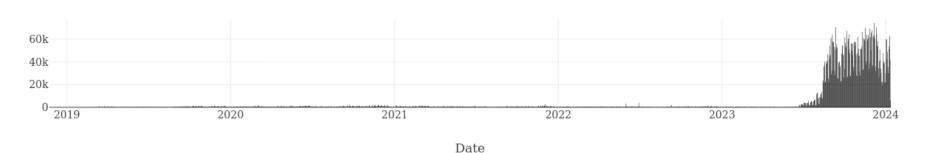


## **Available Data**

Scope: French language ads targeting France



#### Available ads through time







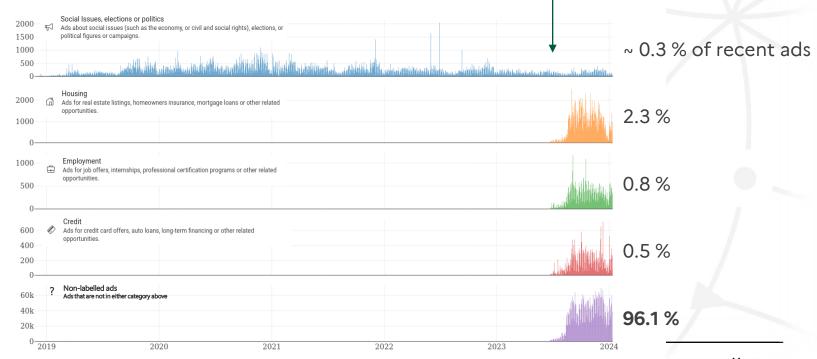
## **Available Data**

#### Breakdown:

#### Available ads through time



A change in the API makes non-political ads available



02/02/2024

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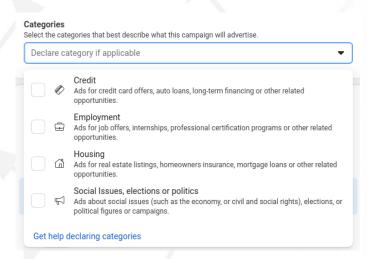
#### A manipulation vector

Social Issues, elections or politics is a self-declared category.

#### Ads in this category:

- are from a real person (it requires sending official ID)
- have more information available (currency/amount paid, specific demographics targeted)
- may be subject to additional scrutiny from Facebook

 $\Rightarrow$  Foreign information manipulations do not check the box







Can we infer what label should have been used?

#### Two goals:

- 1. Identify automatically Doppleganger ads
- 2. Estimate how many French ads should really be labeled as Social Issues, Elections or Politics

Past estimates exist in the scientific litterature in other countries:

- 2.2% mislabeling in Brazil (Silva et al. 2020)
- From 2 to 4% mislabeling in the US (Sosnovik and Goga, 2021)

#### Let's build a model!





Can we infer what label should have been used?

#### On Detecting Policy-Related Political Ads: An Exploratory Analysis of Meta Ads in 2022 French Election

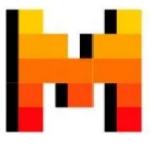
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(WWW '23), May 1-5, 2023, Austin, TX, USA, ACM, New York, NY, USA, 12 pages, https://doi.org/10.1145/3543507.3583875







Academic dataset containing manually annotated French-language political ads (Sosnovik et al. 2023)

Mistral-7B LLM with the *unsloth* python library (1h training on a free-to-use T4 Google Colab)





Can we infer what label should have been used?

- Process:

#### 4016 political ads:

- From supplemental material of Sosnovik et al. 2023
- Collected in early 2022 from user browsing sessions and classified into 9 fine-grained categories

#### 4016 control ads:

- Collected with the API using country=FR and language=fr
- Random sample in late 2023, picking only non-labeled ads

## Fine-tuning of Mistral-7B to classify in 10 categories:

- one of the 9 political categories
- or « non political »

#### - Outcome:

- 91% precision in forecasting « should have been labeled as political »

25/01/2024

Split:

90% train 10% test



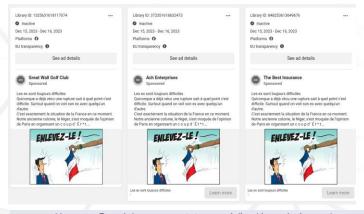


Can we infer what label should have been used?

#### Application to Doppleganger:

- 100% of ads are detected as mislabeled
  - 88% as « International affairs »
  - 5% as « Governmental operations »
  - 5% as « Energy »
  - 2% as both « International affairs » and « Economic »

⇒ The model is able to identify mislabeled ads in Doppleganger



SYSTEM: You are a French human annotator specialized in analyzing and classifying the domain of ads. You label the type of facebook ads by outputting one or more digits with the following coding: 1="International affairs", 2="Energy", 3="Governmental operations", 4="Cultural policy", 5="Social policy", 6="Healthcare", 7="Human rights, public freedom and discriminations", 8="Environnement", 9="Economic", 0="Others".

#### ADVERTISEMENT: Les ex sont toujours difficiles

Quiconque a déjà vécu une rupture sait à quel point c'est difficile. Surtout quand on voit son ex avec quelqu'un d'autre.

C'est exactement la situation de la France en ce moment. Notre ancienne colonie, le Niger, s'est moquée de l'opinion de Paris en organisant un c o u p d ' É t  $^*$  t.

Imaginez, ils sont tellement audacieux qu'ils ne nous demandent même pas qui sera leur c h e f . Ils décident tout seuls maintenant ! Ils ont également mis la mission de l'U\_E à la porte comme un vilain chien ! Mais même cela ne leur a pas suffi ! Ils ont également accueilli solennellement une d é I é g a t i o n de... la Russie. Cette même Russie contre laquelle nous sommes en conflit depuis plus d'un an déjà ! La France n'a pas connu une telle humiliation depuis 1940, lorsque les Allemands sont entrés dans Paris. Je suis sûr qu'il y aura encore beaucoup d'autres humiliations. Après tout, nous n'avons pas appris à nég\_cier avec l'Afrique comme le font les Russes. punpirom.com

LIST OF DOMAINS: [1]





Can we infer what label should have been used?

Application to random non-labeled ads:



Well-labeled political ads: 15 %

Non-labeled, misleading ads: 85 %

- At least 1.9 % of non-labeled ads should be labeled as « Social Issues, Elections or Politics »

  How can we infer this?
  - 1. Run the model on a random sample of non-labeled ads
  - 2. Double-check the ads identified by the model with 2 human annotators trained on Meta guidelines
- Cross-link with the proportion of labeled ads (~0.3 %) and non-labeled ads (~ 96.1 %)

⇒ Only 15 % of Social Issues, Elections and Politics ads are well labeled





## Conclusion: How open are Facebook Ads?

Data access is non-trivial but doable

It is broadly relevant for the civil society!

Roughly 6 months of fully open data is available

An open-source mirror makes it easier to retrieve and analyze

- Self-labeling of « social issues, elections or politics » is highly problematic

We estimate that only 15 % of « social issues, elections or politics » ads are correctly labelled  $\Rightarrow$  85 % of the ads escape the enhanced scrutiny associated with the label