DIGITAL POLITICAL AD ARCHIVES

Fair Political Practices Commission

Digital Transparency Task Force

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Campaign Legal Center

April 23, 2020

Digital gaps in federal campaign finance law

- Media-specific laws: federal electioneering communication disclosure only applies to "broadcast, cable, or satellite communications;" FCC "political ad file" requirements only apply to broadcast.
- Narrow content triggers for disclosure: for non-political committees, only report digital ads that expressly advocate.
- Regulatory inaction: FEC has failed to clarify disclaimer requirements for digital ads.
- Microtargeting & digital "dark" ads: digital ads have often been visible only to targeted recipients.





Digital disclosure has three elements

- Disclaimers: Clarify application of on-ad "paid for by" messages to digital ads.
- **Disclosure**: Extend existing disclosure requirements to digital ads.
- Political ad archive: Create publicly-available archive of digital political ads—but housed with platforms, or with a government agency? What information must be included in the archive?





Post-2016 Federal Efforts Falter

- Honest Ads Act: bipartisan bill, endorsed by major platforms
 - First introduced in 2017, included in H.R. 1 in 2019
 - Addresses the most glaring loopholes for digital election ads; requires large platforms (50M+ unique monthly visitors) to themselves create publicly-available political ad archives
 - Passage seems unlikely anytime soon
- Continued FEC inaction
 - FEC reopened its rulemaking on digital ad disclaimers—pending since 2011!—and held hearings in June 2018
 - No FEC action since those hearings; FEC now lacks a quorum





State Action on Digital Ads

- Some states have moved to strengthen transparency around digital election ads after 2016
- **Ensuring disclosure laws apply to digital election ads**
 - In 2018, Washington's legislature amended state law to include "digital communications" in definitions of "electioneering communication" & "political advertising"
- Addressing "dark" ads: public archives of digital election ads
 - Publicly accessible & searchable databases of digital ad records
 - California, Maryland, & New York passed archive legislation in 2018
 - A few states & localities have longstanding public record & access requirements for election-related ads (e.g., Washington's requirements for "commercial advertisers")





Who Maintains the Archive?

State election agency maintains (New York State, NYC, LA)

- Advertisers file digital ad copies & info with state election officials, who upload to government-hosted archive
- Platforms must help advertisers comply but do <u>not</u> have to create their own ad archives
- Centralizes location of information about digital election ads, and ensures public access to that info
- Online platforms maintain (Honest Ads Act, Maryland)
 - Each "online platform" creates & manages its own public archive of digital election ads sold by the platform
 - > Platform collects & uploads info to its archive after ad is purchased
 - Washington Post v. McManus (4th Cir. 2019)





Which Platforms Are Covered?

- If state maintains the ad archive, "online platform" definition is less significant; applies primarily to platform recordkeeping requirements
- Qualification threshold is relevant if platforms maintain ad archives
 - Common metric is average monthly U.S. visitors to website
 - Revenue generated from political ad sales is another option
- > Existing legislation uses different thresholds for "online platform"
 - High: Honest Ads Act (> avg. 50,000,000 U.S. monthly visitors); NY (>70,000,000 monthly U.S. visitors)
 - Low: Maryland (> avg. 100,000 monthly U.S. visitors); California: any website or application that sells political ads "directly" to advertisers





What Ads & Info Are in Archive?

- Comprehensive availability of election-related ads in archive provides more info to public, aids in enforcement, & helps to prevent digital "dark" ads
- Who is the intended audience: how user-friendly must the archive be?
- **Existing legislation varies in coverage of digital election ads**
 - Honest Ads Act: "qualified political advertisement" includes any digital ad relating to a candidate, federal election, or "national legislative issue of public importance"
 - NY's 2018 law only applies to digital independent expenditures





Platform-managed archives: what is a "political ad?"

- Facebook/Instagram: Ads that reference candidates, political parties, elections, ballot measures, or 10 broad "social issues"
- Google (YouTube, search ads, display ads): ads that reference federal or state candidates, officeholders, or political parties, or qualified state ballot measures. Exemption for media and commerce.
 - No ads from Washington, Maryland, New Jersey, Nevada, and New York.
- Snapchat: Ads about candidates or parties, ballot measures, or voting, Or "Issue or advocacy" i.e. "ads concerning issues or organizations that are the subject of debate on a local, national, or global level, or of public importance. They include ads about abortion, immigration, the environment, education, discrimination, and guns."





What Ads & Info Are in Archive?

- What information is available for each ad in the archive?
- Comprehensive record of each digital ad, including:
 - Copy of advertisement
 - Identity of advertiser
 - Amount paid
 - Dates of distribution
 - Target audience
 - Number of recipients
 - Info about candidate/ballot question/ election referenced by ad









A D V A N C I N G DE MOCRACY THROUGH LAW







4 1 of 37 🕨

...

Donald J. Trump Sponsored • Paid for by DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESIDENT, INC. ID: 288419075487371

Our campaign has set a HIGH fundraising goal for the month of April. I know with YOUR help we can rise to the challenge. Let's crush our goal!



We are ONLY 40% of the way there! DONATE NOW>>>

WWW.DONALDJTRUMP.COM/DONATE

About the disclaimer

When an advertiser categorizes their ad as being about social issues, elections or politics, they are required to disclose who paid for the ad. Learn More

Information from the advertiser

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Learn More

ADVANCING DEMOCRACY THROUGH LAW



Where This Ad Was Shown

Data About This Ad



Facebook Ad Library Report

United States

Explore, filter and download data for ads about social issues, elections or politics. See overall spending totals, spending by specific advertisers and spend data by geographic location.

This publicly accessible report is part of Facebook's efforts to increase transparency in advertising.



Ad Library totals

Includes ads about social issues, elections or politics (since May 2018)

Total number of ads in the Ad Library

7,608,682

Total amount spent

\$1,280,435,841





Facebook's downloadable CSV:

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	_	Stop Republicans		Stop Republicans	61750	196
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Google's political ad archive

≡ Google Transparency Report

Overview EU and UK India United States

Political advertising in the United States

Our goal is to provide greater transparency in political advertising on Google, YouTube, and partner properties. To run election ads, we require advertisers to be verified, and observe our policies and applicable laws. Election ads in this report feature a current officeholder or candidate for an elected federal or state office, federal or state political party, or state ballot measure, initiative, or proposition that qualifies for the ballot in a state. The report also includes all ads from advertisers that completed the express notification process related to California candidates for elected office or California ballot measures.

Updated Apr 23, 2020

Ads since May 31, 2018

307,266

Ad spend since May 31, 2018

\$241.343.200



View ads

Search by candidate or advertiser			۹
Start 🖻 5/31/2018 End 🖻 4/2	3/2020	Amount Spent All 👻	Impressions Any - Format All -
			Sort = Most recent -
Do You Rely On Obamac Ad therealcostofliving.org As coronavirus threatens the c	Do You Rely on Medicaid (Ad) therealcostofliving.org Trump's budget calls for nearly	Max Rose for NY-11 Join Ad act.myngp.com/max_rose Max is running to continue serv	Paying Too Much for Rx Ad therealcostofliving.org Some drug prices increased by
Paid for by PRIORITIES USA ACTION 4/19/20 - 4/19/20 (1 day)	Paid for by PRIORITIES USA ACTION 4/19/20 - 4/19/20 (1 day)	Paid for by MAX ROSE FOR CONGRESS 4/19/20 - 4/19/20 (1 day)	Paid for by PRIORITIES USA ACTION 4/19/20 - 4/19/20 (1 day)
⊙ ≤ 10k ⊠ ≤ \$100	⊙ ≤ 10k ⊡ ≤ \$100	⊙ ≤ 10k ⊡ ≤ \$100	⊙ ≤ 10k ⊡ ≤ \$100



View ads

Start 🗇 5/31/2018 End 🗎 4/23/2020 Amount Spent All 🖛 Impressions Any 🖛 Format All 🖛 Sort 📻 Most recent 🖛

Stand With Trump Donat (Ad) secure.winred.com/contrib President Donald Trump Needs	Give To President Donald (Ad) secure.winred.com/contrib President Donald Trump Needs	Give To Team Trump Su (Ad) secure.winred.com/contrib Let's Keep America Great. Re	Give To Team Trump Su (Ad) secure.winred.com/contrib Let's Keep America Great. Re
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	⊙ ≤ 10k 2 2 ≤ \$100	⊙ ≤ 10k 22 ≤ \$100	⊙ ≤ 10k 22 ≤ \$100
Support President Donald (Ad) secure.winred.com/contrib Help Keep America Great. Re	Ad preview unavailable	Ad preview unavailable	Ad preview unavailable
Paid for by DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESI 4/17/20 - 4/18/20 (2 days)	Paid for by DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESI 4/16/20 - 4/19/20 (4 days)	Paid for by DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESI 4/16/20 - 4/19/20 (4 days)	Paid for by DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESI 4/16/20 - 4/19/20 (4 days)
⊙ ≤10k 200 ≤\$100	𝐵 10k-100k 🖬 \$1k-\$50k	④ 10k-100k ☎ \$100-\$1k	

Ad by DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESIDENT, INC.

Ran for 4 days First served Apr 16, 2020, 5:00 PM EDT Last served Apr 20, 2020, 5:00 AM EDT

View more ads from DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESIDENT, INC.



Amount spent Impre \$1k-\$50k 10k-

Impressions 10k-100k

Format Video

Data in the Political Advertising Transparency Report is cumulative based on the launch date for a country or region. This data is updated weekly.





Google's downloadable CSV:

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AR10392	858 PACIFI	C CAM	EIN ID 82-5	3 US	US-Federal	12	500	400	33500	825	3100	11000	3000	135000	1800	2025	4500	35
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AR10476	614 VV§nst	erpart	iet	EU, SE	EU-Parliame	14	15200	13550	1057750	26550	100800	350000	101500	4425000	58400	64650	145500	1195
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Snapchat's political ad archive:

■ snap.com/en-US/political-ads

Snap Political Ads Library



Trust. It's what makes it 'Real'

At Snap we strive to create a safe, transparent, and trusted platform for our users. Our Political and Advocacy Ads Library is one of the many efforts we've taken in doing that. This gives the public an opportunity to find out details about all political and advocacy advertising running on our platform.

Archives

2018 2019 2020





Snapchat's downloadable CSV:

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https://v	www.snap.c	com/politica	I-ads/asset/505e83	USD	195	79510	2020/03/19	2020/03/31	Realtime Me	P.O. Box 134	4 Republican N	Republican	National Com	r 18+	united state	Arizona	



Report links to Snapchat ad:



As well as the URL linked to from the ad:

WARREN

ADD YOUR NAME IF YOU SUPPORT CANCELING STUDENT LOAN DEBT AND MAKING COLLEGE FREE

Elizabeth's plan for universal free college would give every American the opportunity to attend a two-year or four-year public college without paying a dime in tuition or fees. And would cancel up to \$50,000 in student loan debt for 42 million Americans. Email*

Zip Code*

SIGN THE PETITION

* denotes required field



Compari	son of Platforms' P	olitical Advertising	Policies	Last updated 1/30/20	20 CITAP Center for Information, Technology, and Public Life
	Facebook (including Instagram)	Google Adwords (including YouTube, search, display, and video)	Reddit	Snapchat	Twitter www.citapdigitalpolitics.com
Definition of political advertising	Both election-related and broader issue ads.	Ads that reference candidates, government office holders, political parties, or state ballot issues.	Both election-related and broader issue ads.	Both election-related and broader issue ads.	Twitter distinguishes political ads between political content, for which is banned, and cause-based content, which is restricted.
Reaction to State Laws	FB prohibits specific political ads from running in WA. No other states are restricted, but advertisers must follow all applicable state laws.	State and local or ballot measure advertising banned in MD, NV, NJ, or WA. Such ads can run in CA and NY but require additional forms.	Reddit "does not accept ads related to ballot measures or candidates for US state or local elections."	Snapchat does not ban political advertisements in any state according to its political ads policies.	No state or local election or ballot-measure ads are allowed because these would fall under political content.
Relevant advertising policies	Advertisers cannot exclude audiences based on demographic characteristics for discriminatory purposes, call out personal attributes in ads, and make sales pitches based on political issues. Generic statement that advertisers must follow all laws.	Google's ad policies prohibit inappropriate/derogatory content and misrepresentation. Political advertisers may not target ads based on race, sexuality, or religion. Generic statement that advertisers must follow all laws.	Reddit accepts election ads for national US elections. Political ads on Reddit require human review. Reddit reserves the right to reject ads as it sees fit, regardless of policies. Generic statement that advertisers must follow all laws.	Snapchat does not allow hate speech, harassment and bullying and bans misleading and deceptive content. Snapchat says they fact check all political ads. Generic statement that advertisers must follow all laws.	Twitter prohibits promotion of political conten- but allows cause-based ads. Twitter also prohibits hateful content and inappropriate content, which includes personal attacks, sensitive topics, and misrepresentative content. Generic statement that advertisers must follow all laws.
Relevant community guidelines	Primary relevant Facebook community standard regarding institutional politics is under "Coordinating Harm" which prohibits election interference, threatening election integrity, and voter suppression.	Bans "hateful content," "harassment or cyberbullying," threats, and voter suppression.	Prohibits of threats, harassment, or bullying and the posting of personal information.	Snapchat prohibits "Harassment & bullying" as well as "Hate Speech & False Information," which only bans false information that <i>causes</i> harm.	Relevant rules include the bans on "hateful conduct" and "abusive behavior." On the more directly-political front, Twitter specifies that no election interference is allowed on the platform.
Labeling and disclaimer requirements	Political ads are required to include a "paid for by" statement.	Political ads are required to include a "paid for by" statement.	Political ads are required to include a "paid for by" statement.	Political ads are required to include a "paid for by" statement.	Previously, political ads required a "paid for by" statement. It is unclear if cause-based ads also require this statement, though these advertisers must verify their identity
Targeting restrictions specific to politics	Political ads cannot be targeted Messenger or the FB Audience Network (FAN). There are no other restrictions on political advertisers regarding targeting capabilities.	Google only allows political ads to be targeted by age, gender, and general location as well as with contextual targeting related to the content that the ad appears next to.	None.	None.	Cause-based advertising cannot use geo- targeting more specific than "the state, province, or region level" and cannot target "political content, prohibited advertisers, or political leanings or affiliations."
Content restrictions specific to politics	None.	None.	None, although Reddit prohibits "content that depicts intolerant or overly contentious political or cultural topics or view" in all advertising.	Snapchat prohibits attacks relating to a person's personal life in political ads.	Cause-based advertising can't have the "primary goal of driving political, judicial, legislative, or regulatory outcomes" as this would make them "political content" which is banned in paid ads.
Verification and authorization	Advertisers must confirm identities through gov issued ID and a US address. Ads on behalf of an organizations must be verified through gov resources such as EIN number.	Advertisers must verify identity through a government issued ID, SSN, and address. To run ads through an organization, a Federal Election Commission ID or a federal EIN.	Political advertisements on Reddit "are subject to preapproval" although Reddit does not specify what is required.	Political ads on Snapchat require human review.	Cause-based advertisers must verify their name and country with a government issued ID; organizations' registration requires tax info or other government-issued organizational identification.
Political ads library	Yes	Yes	None.	Yes	Yes
Exceptions for political figures	Political figures are exempt from fact checks. This allows misinformation in their ads.	None	None	None.	None, since all ads by candidates and government officials are now banned.

ADVANCING DEMOCRACY THROUGH LAW

Source: <u>https://citapdigitalpolitics.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Platform-</u> <u>Tables_AdPolicies_Feb12020.pdf</u>

Case Study: Big Tent Project

- Big Tent Project reported spending around \$4.4 million on digital independent expenditures to the FEC described as "online/digital advertising."
- Only 4 percent of its FEC-reported digital spending appeared in the archives maintained by the big platforms.





Case Study: Big Tent Project





Case Study: Big Tent Project

The Washington Post

Democracy Dies in Darkness

Tech Policy

Political ads are flooding Hulu, Roku and other streaming services, revealing loopholes in federal election laws

With more Americans cutting the cord, watchdogs worry that voters lack a full understanding of who's trying to influence them

Source: https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/02/20/hulu-roku-political-ads-streaming/





New CLC Report Highlights Digital Transparency Loopholes in the 2020 Elections



BY BRENDAN FISCHER APRIL 8, 2020

Source: https://campaignlegal.org/update/new-clc-report-highlights-digital-transparency-loopholes-2020-elections

Report: https://campaignlegal.org/sites/default/files/2020-04/04-07-20%20Digital%20Loopholes%20515pm%20.pdf





New York BOE-hosted archive

- Political committees and independent expenditure committees must file a copy of certain digital independent expenditures that reach over 50 people with the Board of Elections.
 - NY has a broader definition of "independent expenditures" than on the federal level
- Platforms do not have a responsibility to create archives under New York law, however:
 - Platforms with over 70M unique monthly users, and "third-party advertising vendors" that buy or sell ad space on other websites with over 30M unique monthly visitors, must verify that an advertiser is properly registered with the BOE.





New York's BOE-hosted archive

- Information provided (9 CRR-NY 6200.11):
 - (1) scripts for any paid internet or digital advertisement with an audio and/or video component which shall include a reasonable description of any visual elements;
 - (2) screenshots of any paid or digital advertisement without an audio and/or video component;
 - (3) for paid internet or digital advertisements without a video component that are dynamic, such as advertisements with animation, or interactive advertisements that change when a viewer views or interacts with the advertisement, each image in the advertisement.





New York's BOE-hosted archive:

Local



Services News Government

Board of Elections

NYSBOE Home / Campaign Finance Home / Independent Expenditure Reporting / Independent Expenditure Committees

Independent Expenditure Committees

how 10	ow 10 💠 entries										
Expand 🜲	Filer ID 👙	Committee Name	Registration Information	Communication \$							
	A01055	NEW YORK LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	A01055 Registration (PDF 38.5 KB)								
	A19567	WNY FREEDOM	A19567 Registration (PDF 37.2 KB)								
	A22635	FIGHTING FOR OUR FUTURE	A22635 Registration (PDF 38.4 KB)	A22635 Political Communication							
	A22646	FIGHT BACK BAY RIDGE	A22646 Registration (PDF 38.5 KB)								
	A22665	NEW AMERICAN MAJORITY PROJECT, INC.	A22665 Registration (PDF 37.91 KB)								
	A19729	CITIZENS UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK	A19729 Registration (PDF 38.0 KB)								
	A19813	NY2A VICTORY FUND	A19813 Registration (PDF 37.2 KB)								
	A22676	NEW YORK HEALTH VOTERS	A22676 Registration (PDF 37.9 KB)								







Services News Gove

Government Local

Board of Elections

Independent Expenditure Committees / Political Communications for IE Committee

Political Communications for A22635 - FIGHTING FOR OUR FUTURE

now 10 🗘 entries Search:													
Action	🔶 Year	¢	Office Type 🛛 🌲	County 🔶	Municipality 🜲	Election Type 🛛 🌲	Date Paid 🛛 🌲	Amount 🔶	Vendor/Payee Name				
Communication	2018		State			General	09/28/2018	\$50000.00	Red Horse Strategies				
Communication	2018		State			General	10/09/2018	\$50000.00	Red Horse Strategies				
Communication	2018		State			General	09/28/2018	\$34081.33	Berlin Rosen, LTD				
Communication	2018		State			General	10/11/2018	\$12991.71	Berlin Rosen, LTD				
Communication	2018		State			General	10/26/2018	\$17500.00	Red Horse Strategies				
Communication	2018		State			General	10/26/2018	\$14758.29	Berlin Rosen, LTD				
Communication	2018		State			General	11/01/2018	\$15000.00	Red Horse Strategies				
Communication	2018		State			General	11/01/2018	\$15000.00	Red Horse Strategies				
Communication	2018		State			General	10/26/2018	\$47500.00	Red Horse Strategies				
Communication	2018		State			General	11/01/2018	\$17500.00	Red Horse Strategies				

Previous 1 2 Next





COPY:

Fighting for our future

"John Mannion is one of us. He was born on the west side of Syracuse, he's raising his family here, and he wants to keep Central New York the kind of place that our kids and grandkids can stay and raise their families







DIGITAL POLITICAL AD ARCHIVES

Fair Political Practices Commission

Digital Transparency Task Force

Brendan Fischer

Campaign Legal Center

April 23, 2020