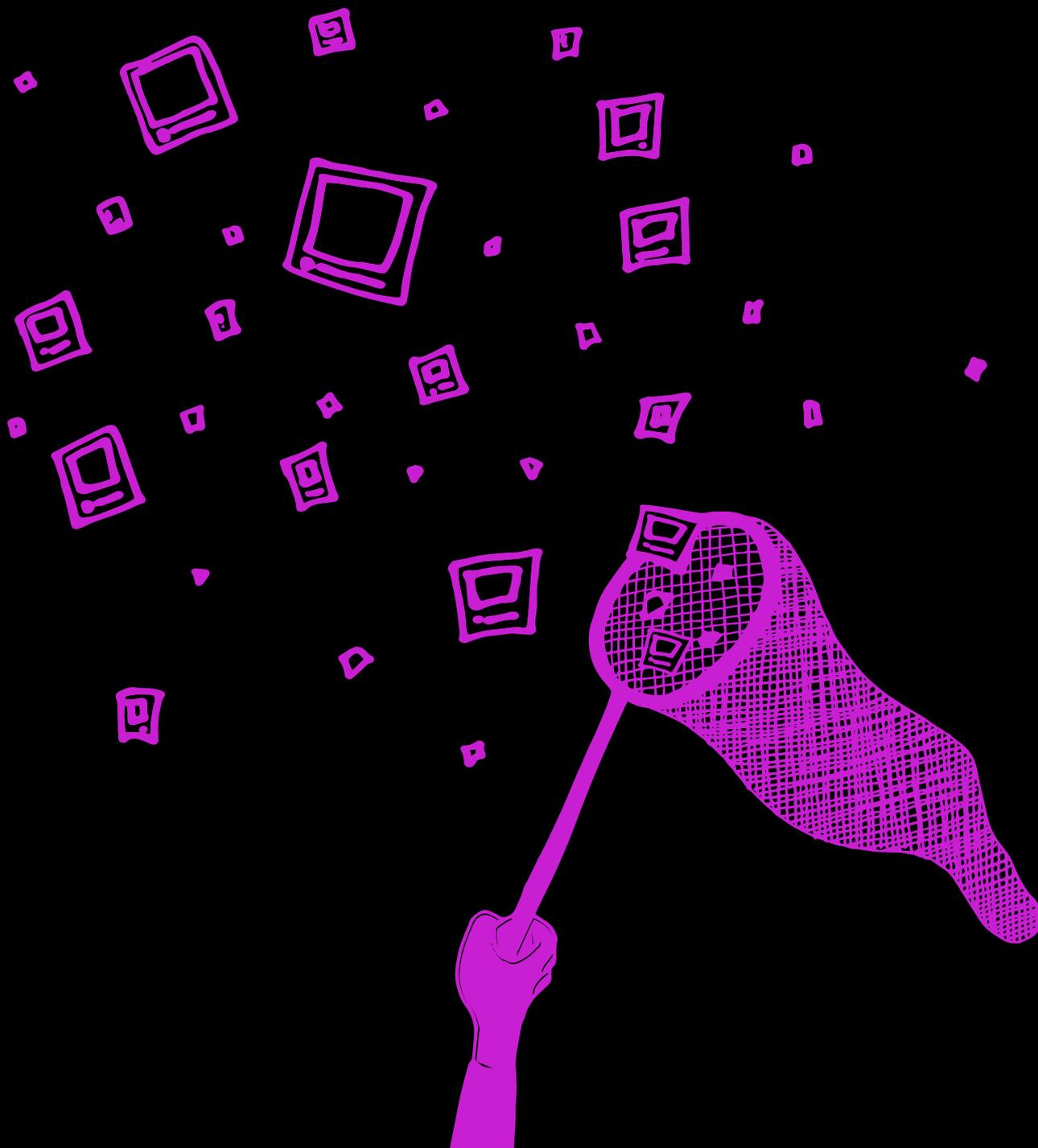


AD CHECKING ON FACEBOOK

LESSONS FROM THE SWEDISH ELECTION



Lisa Gemmel

AD CHECKING ON FACEBOOK

LESSONS FROM THE SWEDISH ELECTION

WHILE COLLECTING PAID ADS WILL GET A GOOD VIEW ON WHO IS TRYING TO TARGET WHO, THE PAID ADS WAS NOT A PROBLEM DURING THE SWEDISH ELECTION. THE SPREADING OF DISINFORMATION THROUGH JUNK NEWS SITES, AND THE FACEBOOK PAGES SHARING THEIR ARTICLES WERE A FAR BIGGER PROBLEM. THE PREVALENCE AND SPREADING OF DISINFORMATION AND FAKE NEWS IS A POTENTIAL RISK TO DEMOCRACY. DISINFORMATION HAS THE POTENTIAL TO LOWER PEOPLES TRUST IN THE GOVERNMENT, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIETY IN GENERAL. RUSSIAN DISINFORMATION, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS THE PURPOSE OF DRIVING A WEDGE BETWEEN PEOPLE IN A COMMUNITY OR COUNTRY AND THEREBY BUILDING MISTRUSTS.

SKIFTET – DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

We are engaged citizens who want a change in society – where we together stand up for the environment, justice and civil rights. The people's movement Skiftet are tens of thousands of Swedes whom every month commit to the purpose of giving everyone a voice. We use digital tools to engage thousands of citizens, who hold politicians and big corporation lobbyists accountable for their actions – in front of the computer or out on the streets.

Not a day passes by without headlines telling us money and power are getting more concentrated at the top of society. People are being left behind, as decisions are made with regard to big corporations rather than common people.

It is easy to feel hopelessness but the reality is that most Swedes want something better for their families and for society at large. They care about the environment, workers rights, equality and they are not racist.

Skiftet is the non-politically affiliated movement, connecting people online and out on the streets for a more just Sweden. We know that when we work together, our voices are heard and we can put the power up against the wall.

SKIFTET PUBLICATIONS

- No 1: I skuggan av TTIP – CETA
- No 2: Nyttänk om handel
- No 3: Digital propaganda – bland botar och troll
- No 4: Tandvård för alla
- No 5: Vi förstår varför storbankerna hatar SBAB

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COVER AND DESIGN
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INTRODUCTION



In elections

worldwide, the threat from the internet has become a bigger concern. Issues like digital disinformation campaigns, fake news, and international interference in elections have become a real threat to democracy. The Internet has provided those who want to influence elections with several new ways to reach decision-makers and constituents in the states they want to influence.



For the Swedish

election in 2018, Skiftet wanted to find out if we were exposed to foreign interference in our elections and, if that was the case, in what way we were being targeted. For a small organization such as Skiftet, that is not an easy task. We, therefore, chose to focus solely on Facebook, where Russia may have had a major influence on the US presidential election in 2016. Because of how Facebook is built, the data we could collect in an easy way was paid ads on Facebook, not Facebook as a whole.



The aim of the project was to find paid ads from foreign organizations, trying to influence the election.

But we also aimed at finding out who was paying for ads and who they targeted.

CONTENT

“THE PURPOSE OF ANNONSKOLLEN IS TO DISPLAY THE COLLECTED ADS AND MAKE THEM SEARCHABLE FOR PEOPLE INTERESTED IN THE DATA.”

— PAGE.7

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ELECTION FUNDING IN SWEDEN

In Sweden, donations to a party, for election purposes or other, only have to be reported if they exceed five percent of a price base/basic amount.² Further, there are no regulations on foreign donations to parties.³

Sweden also lacks rules and regulations regarding campaign financing and political advertising. This means that anyone can pay for a political ad in a Swedish election, and it does not have to be endorsed by a party, candidate or other organization.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE ELECTION, THE ROLE OF FACEBOOK

After the 2016 US presidential election, it was uncovered that Russia had tried and succeeded to influence the election. An integral part of their success was Facebook. Through fake pages and paid ads, the Russian troll factories could reach targeted audiences with the aim at putting groups against each other.

In 2018 Ireland held a referendum on abortion right. A small group of activists exposed how foreign money, mostly American pro-life groups, paid for ads on Facebook aimed at influencing the election. This led to Facebook banning foreign political ads for the duration of the election.⁴

ANNONSKOLLEN

In order to monitor the paid political ads on Facebook in the weeks leading up to the election, Skiftet partnered with Who Targets Me (WTM).

WTM is a browser extension for Chrome or Firefox (desktop-only). To set it up, you create an anonymous profile (age, gender, location, political leaning) and continue to use Facebook as normal. The software collects the Facebook adverts you see and adds them to the WTM database. Once you start to see political adverts, it provides you with a personalized breakdown of those posts, along with links to them, and information about why you were targeted with that advert.⁵

Skiftet developed Annonskollen.⁶ The purpose of Annonskollen is to display the collected ads and make them searchable for people interested in the data. Skiftet also wants to shine a light on who is targeted by whom with political ads. We also wanted to see if there were any attempts by foreign actors to influence the election.

INFORMATION ABOUT ANNONSKOLLEN:

- Launched: 16 August 2018
- Users on the day of the election: 359 users
- Ads collected: More than 700 unique political ads

1 Nu gör vi Facebooks jobb åt dem <https://www.dagensmedia.se/expert/debatt/nu-gor-vi-facebooks-jobb-at-dem-6926203>

De vill visa vem som står bakom politiska annonser <https://www.dagensmedia.se/medier/digitalt/de-vill-visa-vem-som-star-bakom-politiska-annonser-6926063>

2 Price base amount is a sum of money, adjusted annually in relation to the consumer price index, used to decide some benefits and other amounts that need to be adjusted yearly. <https://www.scb.se/en/finding-statistics/statistics-by-subject-area/prices-and-consumption/consumer-price-index/consumer-price-index-cpi/pong/tables-and-graphs/price-basic-amount/price-basic-amount/>

3 Donations to parties are regulated in Lag om insyn i finansiering av partier. https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/lag-201890-om-insyn-i-finansiering-av-partier_sfs-2018-90

4 For more information, visit Transparent Referendum Initiative's website <http://tref.ie/>

5 About Who Targets Me <https://whotargets.me/en/about-who-targets-me/>

6 Annonskollen <https://annonskollen.info/>

CHALLENGES

THERE WERE TWO BIG CHALLENGES WITH THE PROJECT: GETTING PEOPLE TO INSTALL THE PLUG-IN AND THE DATABASE.

Annonskollen relied on people to install the WTM plug-in. Only 359 users had installed the plug-in on the day of the election. We believe the reason for that is twofold:

1. The average Skiftet-activist is a middle-aged woman not working in IT. Signing a petition or donating money is activism easy at hand for the average Skiftet-activist, installing a plug-in is not.

2. There was not much time between the launch and the election. Annonskollen was released in mid-August when people were still

on vacation or just coming back to work. The focus was not on paid ads on the internet, rather on getting fall going, and then a few weeks later it was time to go to the polls. Also, with raging forest fires and heat records, election interference was not the top priority for media, for example.

Skiftet also found working with the database hard. Getting the results demanded a lot of manual labor and connecting the database and Annonskollen was therefore hard. The plug-in was bugging a lot, especially on Firefox. People also had trouble installing the plug-in.

THE COLLECTED ADS

MOST OF THE ADS ANALYZED HAD THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE ELECTION, SOME WERE JUST “TAKING ADVANTAGE” OF THE UPCOMING ELECTION.

The plug-in collected over 700 paid ads with a connection to the election. This number is from what number of ads that were extracted from the database. Not all ads were caught in that extraction, so we do not have the exact number of ads. The number of ads mentioned below for each party or group is from that data.

Most of the ads analyzed had the purpose of influencing the election, some were just “taking advantage” of the upcoming election.

The biggest advertisers were the political parties, followed by trade unions. Other big advertisers were non-profits and employers organizations.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Between 2014 and 2018, Sweden had eight parties in Riksdagen, the national parliament: Vänsterpartiet, Socialdemokraterna, Miljöpartiet, Liberalerna, Centerpartiet, Moderaterna, Kristdemokraterna, and Sverigedemokraterna. All parties stayed in Riksdagen.

THE ELECTION RESULTS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

- Moderaterna (The Moderate Party) — 19,84%
- Centerpartiet (the Center Party) — 8,61%
- Liberalerna (The Liberals) — 5,49%
- Kristdemokraterna (The Christian Democrats) — 6,32%
- Socialdemokraterna (The Social Democrats) — 28,26%
- Vänsterpartiet (The Left Party) — 8,00%
- Miljöpartiet de gröna (The Green Party) — 4,41%
- Sverigedemokraterna (The Sweden Democrats) — 17,53%

Three parties had serious ambitions to enter Riksdagen in 2018: Feministiskt initiativ (Fi), Medborgerlig samling (MED) and Alternativ för Sverige (AfS). Fi and MED (then called Borgerlig Framtid) both participated in the election 2014, where Fi had moderate success and received 3,12 % of the votes. To enter Riksdagen you need 4 % of the votes. MED only got a few votes. In 2018 Fi got 0,46 % of the votes. MED got 0,20 % of the votes.

AfS was founded in the spring of 2018 after a separation between Sverigedemokraterna and its youth division Sverigedemokratisk Ungdom (SDU). The leaders of SDU formed AfS with the ambition to enter Riksdagen. AfS got 0,31 % of the votes.

VÄNSTERPARTIET

FROM VÄNSTERPARTIET, 52 ADS WERE COLLECTED, ONLY FROM THE MOTHER PARTY AND REGIONAL DIVISIONS. NO ADS FROM PERSONAL CANDIDATE PAGES WERE COLLECTED.



Vänsterpartiet

26 augusti 2018 · 🌐



Ett Sverige för alla, inte bara för de rikaste.



TRACK.ADFORM.NET

Rösta på Vänsterpartiet

Läs mer

Nu behöver vi ditt stöd för att bygga ett Sverige för alla, in...

A simple "Vote for Vänsterpartiet" ad.⁷ The ad is targeted people who may be similar to people already liking their page. The ad also targeted people ages 18 to 50 who live in Sweden. Nine users saw this ad, 77% male, and 33% female. The people reached by the ad were on average left-leaning. The age range was 26-49 years with an average of 37.5 years.

**Vänsterpartiet Västra Götaland**

27 augusti 2018 · 🌐



Hur blev tandvården något vi skulle betala själva? Varför hamnade den utanför övrig hälso- och sjukvård? Vi vet inte, men för Vänsterpartiet är det självklart fel. Tänderna är en del av kroppen.

Det är därför vi går till val nationellt på att genomföra ett högkostnadsskydd för tandvården. Ingen ska behöva betala mer än 2000 kronor om året för den tandvård de behöver. Oavsett hur mycket lagningar som behöver göras. Det är en välfärdsreform som kommer att göra enormt stor skillnad för alla som idag avstår från att gå till tandvården. Idag avstår var femte från att gå till tandvården på grund av kostnaderna.

I väntan på den reformen har vi under mandatperioden fått igenom en fördubbling av tandvårdsbidraget och en höjd åldersgräns för den fria ungdomstandvården till 22 år. I Västra Götalandsregionen vill vi höja den till den dag du fyller 26 år, från dagens 24 år. Vi har också fått igenom en motion om att utreda räntefri delbetalning inom Folktandvården för de som inte kan betala sin tandvård direkt.

En röst på Vänsterpartiet 9 september är en röst på en tandvård som alla har råd med!

Marjan Garmroudi är toppnamn på vår regionlista i Sjuhärad. Hon sitter i regionfullmäktige och har tidigare suttit i Vänsterpartiets partistyrelse.

[#enregionföralla](#)



Ad presenting the top candidate for Vänsterpartiet in Västra Götalands region (county).⁸ The ad was targeted at people interested in politics and social issues, based on their activities like liking pages or clicking on ads. It was also targeted at people ages 18 and up living in Västra Götaland County. One user of the plug-in has seen the ad.

SOCIALDEMOKRATERNA

93 ADS FROM SOCIALDEMOKRATERNA WAS COLLECTED, A MAJORITY FROM THE MOTHER PARTY OR THE STOCKHOLM DIVISION OF THE PARTY. OTHER DIVISIONS AND PERSONAL ADS ARE ALSO PART OF THE COLLECTION, AS WELL AS A FEW FROM THE SOCIALDEMOCRATIC YOUTH DIVISION, SSU.

Example ads:



Socialdemokraterna

10 augusti 2018 · 🌐



Sverige ska fortsätta vara ett öppet och fritt land som står upp för allas lika värde. Håller du med?



SOCIALDEMOKRATERNA.SE

9 september är valet ditt

Läs mer

Ad urging to vote for Socialdemokraterna. The message on the picture says: "A vote on Socialdemokraterna is the only guarantee to keep Sverigedemokraterna from power – Stefan Löfven". This ad was targeted at people between 31 and 40 years in Stockholm. It was seen by one of our WTM-users.

**Socialdemokraterna**

27 augusti 2018 · 🌐



Hundratusentals svenskar har dubbla medborgarskap. Nu går SD och Jimmie Åkesson till val på att förbjuda det. Vad ska då hända med alla de svenska medborgare som jobbar och bidrar till vårt samhälle?

Låt inte SD röra de dubbla medborgarskapen. Rösta på Socialdemokraterna den 9 september.



Ad in response to Sverigedemokraternas proposal that Swedish citizens only can have one citizenship.¹⁰ This ad was targeted at people between 51 and 64 years living in the Stockholm area. It was seen by one of our WTM-users.

**Socialdemokraterna**

17 augusti 2018 · 🌐



Sverige behöver mer blocköverskridande samarbete. SD:s utrikespolitik är farlig för Sverige. Inte minst med tanke på deras kontakter med Ryssland och deras öppna stöd för Orbáns politik i Ungern. Dessutom vill de lämna EU. Trots detta vägrar Centern och Liberalerna att helt stänga dörren för SD-samarbete.



Ad presenting one of Socialdemokraternas main message in the weeks leading up to the election - cooperation between all parties will be necessary to shut Sverigedemokraterna out from power. Here with Foreign Minister Margot Wallström, warning what will happen if Sverigedemokraterna gets the possibility to influence foreign affairs.¹¹



Socialdemokraterna i Stockholm

24 augusti 2018 · 🌐



STOPPA MILJARDRULLNINGEN!

Rösta på Socialdemokraterna den 9 september!

FRE 24 AUGUSTI 13:43:33

15 800 474 475 :-

Det moderatledda sjukhusbygget kostar alltså mer än 15 miljarder av skattebetalarnas pengar.

FÖR TILLFÄLLET PÅ PLATS **14** PÅ LISTAN ÖVER VÄRLDENS DYRASTE BYGGNADER.

DELA PÅ FACEBOOK

VADKOSTARNKS.NU

Se kostnaden för NKS i realtid

Läs mer

Sveriges dyraste sjukvård men ändå inte den bästa. Det är...

From Socialdemokraterna in Stockholm. An ad about the world's most expensive hospital, Nya Karolinska Sjukhuset (NKS).¹² They made a special website, "Vad kostar NKS?" (How much does NKS cost?), where they showed the cost development in real time.

The ad was targeted at people who had similarities with the other people who had liked Socialdemokraterna I Stockholm and people above 18 years. It was seen by one of our WTM-users.



Socialdemokraterna Värmland

28 augusti 2018 · 🌐



“Jag ställer upp som riksdagskandidat för att jag vill vara med och förändra och påverka. Jag ogillar orättvisor och tycker därför att fördelningspolitiken är viktig. Till exempel måste vi se till att det är behovet och inte plånboken som styr vilken vård, skola eller omsorg du får”. - Åsa Hååkman Felth, riksdagskandidat.

www.socialdemokraternavarmland.se #socialdemokraternavarmland
#val2018 #svpol



Ad from Socialdemokraterna Värmland, presenting one of their candidates for parliament. The ad was targeted at people aged 18 and above, living in Värmland county.¹³



Karin Wanngård

21 augusti 2018 · 🌐



STOCKHOLM SKA GÅ FÖRE I KLIMATARBETET

För att klara klimatutmaningen behövs en hög politisk ambitionsnivå och en vilja att göra de investeringar som krävs. Inte minst när det kommer till att bygga ut kollektivtrafiken och bygga mer klimatsmart.

Skriver i Dagens Samhälle om varför vi socialdemokrater tar ansvar för klimatet. <https://www.dagenssamhalle.se/.../vara-klimatambitioner-ar-st...>



Karin Wanngård

Politiker

Läs mer

A personal ad for Karin Wanngård, then mayor of Stockholm and top name for Socialdemokraterna in the city of Stockholm.¹⁴ The ad concerns the climate and climate change. The targeted were there for people between 18 and 50 years in the Stockholm area who are interested in the environment and the climate, this based on those pages the users like or ads they have clicked. Two WTM-users were targeted with this ad.

MILJÖPARTIET

FROM THE GREEN PARTY, THE PLUG-IN COLLECTED 36 ADS, MOSTLY FROM THE MOTHER PARTY AND REGIONAL DIVISIONS. A FEW PERSONAL ADS WERE COLLECTED, A MAJORITY WHICH CAME FROM THE PARTY LEADERS.¹⁵

Example ads:



Så röstar du grönt från utlandet

Gilla Kommentera Dela

 Miljöpartiet de gröna 

  1 tn 427 kommentarer 118 delningar

Video ad urging Swedish citizens abroad to vote, and to vote for Miljöpartiet.¹⁶ The ad was targeted at people interested in culture, based on activities such as liking pages or clicking on ads, and people aged 18 and above. The ad was seen by three WTM-users.

¹⁵ The Green Party has two leaders of equal power and dignity, one of which has to be a woman.

¹⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/miljopartiet/videos/236558083672362/>



Kom igen nu!

Gilla Kommentera Dela

Miljöpartiet i Tyresö Följ

1,1 tn 141 kommentarer 245 delningar

Video ad from local division Miljöpartiet i Tyresö, promoting more meeting places for retired people in Tyresö.¹⁷ The ad was targeted at interested in Photography, based on activity such as liking Pages or clicking on ads, and people aged 14 and older who live near Stockholm.

LIBERALERNA

LIBERALERNA HAD 46 ADS GET CAUGHT IN ANNONSKOLLEN'S NET. COMPARED TO THE OTHER PARTIES, THEY HAD MORE PERSONAL ADS, BOTH BY NUMBER AND BY SHARE, BUT OF COURSE, HAD ADS BOTH FROM THE MOTHER PARTY AND REGIONAL DIVISIONS.

Example ads:



Liberalerna
13 augusti 2018 · 🌐

Svensk migrationspolitik måste bygga på både humansim och realism.

LIBERALERNA.SE
Rösta på Liberalerna!

Läs mer

Liberalerna on a national level mainly paid for video ads, such as this.¹⁸ The ad was targeted at people aged 18 and above in Sweden. Four WTM-users saw the ad. 63% were female, 37% male, age range 24-77 years and somewhat left-leaning.

**Christer Nylander Liberalerna**

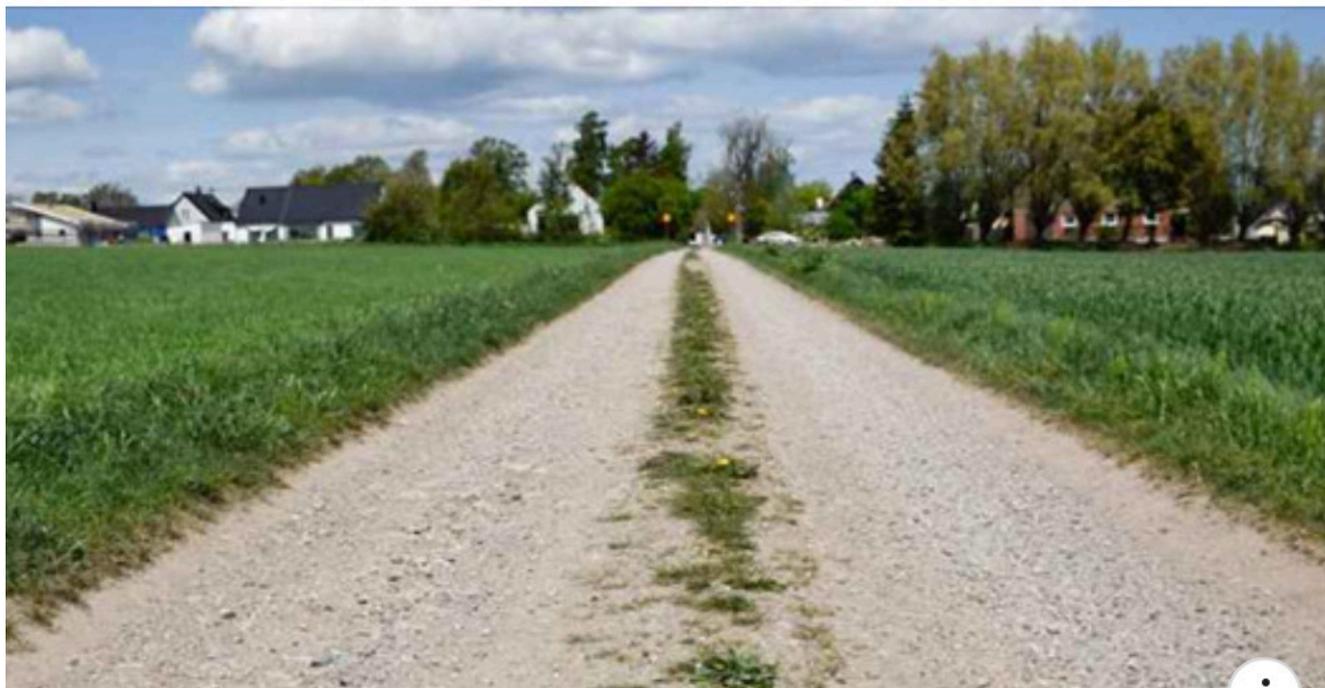
14 augusti 2018 · 🌐



Nu utmanar jag sverigedemokraten Björn Söder på debatt om framtiden. Söder och jag representerar samma del av landet i riksdagen. Men vi har helt olika åsikter om vilka värderingar och politiska utgångspunkter som är bäst för Sverige och bäst för norra och östra Skåne.

Jag är liberal. Han är konservativ nationalist.
Det spelar roll vem av oss man röstar på.

Därför skriver jag idag i Kristianstadsbladet att jag hoppas på en debatt mellan om oss om vilken väg Skåne och Sverige ska välja.



KRISTIANSTADSBLADET.SE

Sveriges vägval - Kristianstadsbladet

Läs mer

På vilken sida av historien vill man egentligen stå när...

A personal ad from Christer Nylander, member of parliament for Liberalerna, challenging the Sweden Democrat Björn Söder to a debate about the future.¹⁹ The ad was targeted at women aged 27 and older who live near Kristianstad. One WTM-user saw the ad.

CENTERPARTIET

FOR THE CENTER PARTY, ANNONSKOLLEN COLLECTED 45 ADS. A MAJORITY OF THEM CAME FROM THE MOTHER PARTY OR REGIONAL DIVISIONS OF THE PARTY. THE REST WERE PERSONAL ADS OR CAME FROM YOUTH OR WOMEN'S DIVISIONS.

Example ads:



 Centerpartiet 

 Gilla  Kommentera  Dela  

Ad for campaign film from Centerpartiet.²⁰ The ad was targeted at different groups.

- People with the education level Bachelor's Degree listed on their Facebook profiles.
- People aged 18 to 45 who live near Stockholm, Stockholm County
- People aged 18 to 45 who live near Gothenburg, Västra Götaland County.
- People aged 18 to 45 who live near Uppsala, Uppsala County
- People aged 18 to 45 who live near Solna kommun, Stockholm County

11 WTM-users were targeted with the ad. 69% were male, 31% female. The age span was 22 to 37 years. The users leaned left.

**Malin Forsbrand kommunalråd Vaxholm**

26 augusti 2018 · 🌐



🌸 Valet närmar sig, det viktigaste jag någonsin upplevt. Det handlar om värderingar. För mig är det självklart att medmänsklighet och omsorg om vår miljö för samhället framåt.

👉 Jag vill leda Vaxholm framåt, med ett positivt ledarskap som lyssnar, möter och bemöter. Som tar tillvara goda idéer. För detta behöver jag ditt stöd. Genom ett kryss på Centerpartiets valsedel.

DELA gärna. ❤️



A personal ad for local division Centerpartiet Vaxholms first name, Malin Forsbrand.²¹ The ad targeted people ages 18 and older who live near Vaxholm, Stockholm County. It was targeted at one WTM-user.

MODERATERNA

75 ADS WERE COLLECTED THAT WAS SIGNED BY THE MODERATE PARTY. A MAJORITY OF THE ADS WERE POSTED BY REGIONAL DIVISIONS OF THE PARTY, MOST BY THE STOCKHOLM DIVISION. ALSO, A FEW PERSONAL ADS FOR CANDIDATES WERE POSTED.

Example ads:



Ulf Kristersson - valet 2018

Gilla Kommentera Dela

Nya Moderaterna Följ

1,3 tn 256 kommentarer 132 delningar

Moderaterna made a video with their party leader, more or less copied from an American politician.²² The video went viral, and Moderaterna paid for several ads, including the video. This ad was seen by 8 WTM-users. The ad was targeted at different people:

- People who are similar to the ones who like Moderaterna
- People aged 18 and above who lives in Sweden
- People who like politicians, according to what they like on Facebook and ads they have clicked
- People who like politics, according to what they like on Facebook and ads they have clicked

The people who saw the ad was 71% male and 29% female. The age range was 22 to 77 years. The users leaned left.



Moderaterna i Sigtuna kommun

23 augusti 2018 · 🌐



👍 LÄNGRE STRAFF FÖR KLOTTRARE OCH DE SOM VANDALISERAR

Sigtuna kommun ska vara fritt från klotter och vandalism. De som förfular och förstör behöver stoppas.

Därför vill vi:

- ✅ ha nolltolerans mot klotter och annan skadegörelse
- ✅ prioritera ökad kamerabevakning och fler ordningsvakter
- ✅ ta bort straffrabatten för 18- till 21-åringar. Vuxna ska straffas som vuxna.
- ✅ ta bort mängdrabatten. Begår man flera brott ska det bli flera straff.

Vi vill att Sigtuna kommun ska vara trygg och vacker. Utöver fler poliser som bekämpar grövre brott så som våldsbrott behöver vi även bekämpa de så kallade "mängdbrotten".

Med det lägsta antalet poliser på tio år, i förhållande till Sveriges folkmängd, behöver trygghetsarbetet rustas upp över hela linjen.



Ad from the local division, Moderaterna i Sigtuna, proposing harder penalties for vandalism.²³ The ad was targeted at people who like video games according to what they like on Facebook and ads they have clicked and at people aged 18 and above, living near Sigtuna. The ad was seen by one WTM-user.

KRISTDEMOKRATERNA

34 ADS FROM THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WERE COLLECTED. A VAST MAJORITY OF THEM WERE FROM REGIONAL DIVISIONS IN THE STOCKHOLM AREA. A FEW ADS ARE FROM CANDIDATES.

Example ads:

 **Kristdemokraterna Stockholm**
21 augusti 2018 · 🌐

UTAN OSS BLIR DET INGET MAKTSKIFTE

Kurvorna pekar verkligen åt rätt håll för KD. Men vi ligger fortfarande snubblande nära spärren och om du röstar idag måste du ta dig en funderare. Utan KD blir det inget maktskifte i Sverige. Det rödgröna blocket lär bli större än Alliansen om KD inte är med.

Det är klart att vi kristdemokrater räknar med att göra en sjusärdeles valrörelse. Ebba Busch Thor har verkligen visat på en enastående formkurva och till och med slagit nock på Stefan Löfven i en stor TV-debatt. Politiker av den kalibern behöver borgerligheten.

Vad får man då för sin röst om man röstar på KD? Vi är ett frihetligt och marknadsvänligt parti som vill ha rimliga skatter och undvika slöseri med skattemedel. Vi betonar noga vad som är politikens uppgift och vad som inte är det.

Vi har suttit stabilt i alla borgerliga regeringar sedan vi kom in i riksdagen 1991. Och vi har behövts varje gång. Utan oss hade det inte blivit några borgerliga regeringar.

I grunden är vi annorlunda än liberaler och socialister. I vår strävan efter ett gott samhälle bortser vi inte från individ och kollektiv, men fokuserar mer på de gemenskaper som finns däremellan; en livskamrat, familj, arbetskamrater, vänner, grannar, kyrkor, företag, föreningar och välgörenhetsorganisationer.

VI ÄR SAMHÄLLSBYGGARE.

Glöm dina fördomar om KD. Vi är ett frihetligt parti som bygger på en stabil etisk grund. En del tror att man behöver vara religiös för att rösta på KD. Inte alls. Vår politik bygger på samma kristna tradition och humanism som ligger till grund för hela det västerländska samhället.



Ad from the regional division Kristdemokraterna Stockholm, urging voters to cast their vote on them since Kristdemokraterna was close to not getting enough votes to stay in the local government.²⁴ The ad was targeted at people interested in family, based on activity such as liking pages or clicking on ads, and people aged 30 and older living in Stockholm. The ad was seen by two WTM-users.



Kristdemokraterna

28 augusti 2018 · 🌐



- GODMORGON STATSMINISTERN!

Kristdemokraterna har drivit förslag om mer tid för barnen i många år. Stefan Löfven visar nu ett yrvaket intresse för frågan när det är 12 dagar kvar till valet.

KDs förslag är både mer generöst och mer flexibelt:

- Vi föreslår en veckas ledighet per år och förälder i kombination med en skattesänkning som ger nära 7700 kronor mer i plånboken.
- Vårt förslag ger föräldrar själva möjligheten att välja hur och när ledigheten ska ta ut istället för den stelbenta modell som socialdemokraterna presenterar.
- Dessutom, vårt förslag gäller för alla barn utan begränsningar.

Statsministern har ägnat hela mandatperioden åt att försämra för Sveriges barnfamiljer genom utökad kvotering i föräldraförsäkringen, större barngrupper i förskolan och kraftiga nedskärningar på stödet till funktionshindrade barn.

Den som verkligen bryr sig om barnfamiljerna bör rösta för originalet.

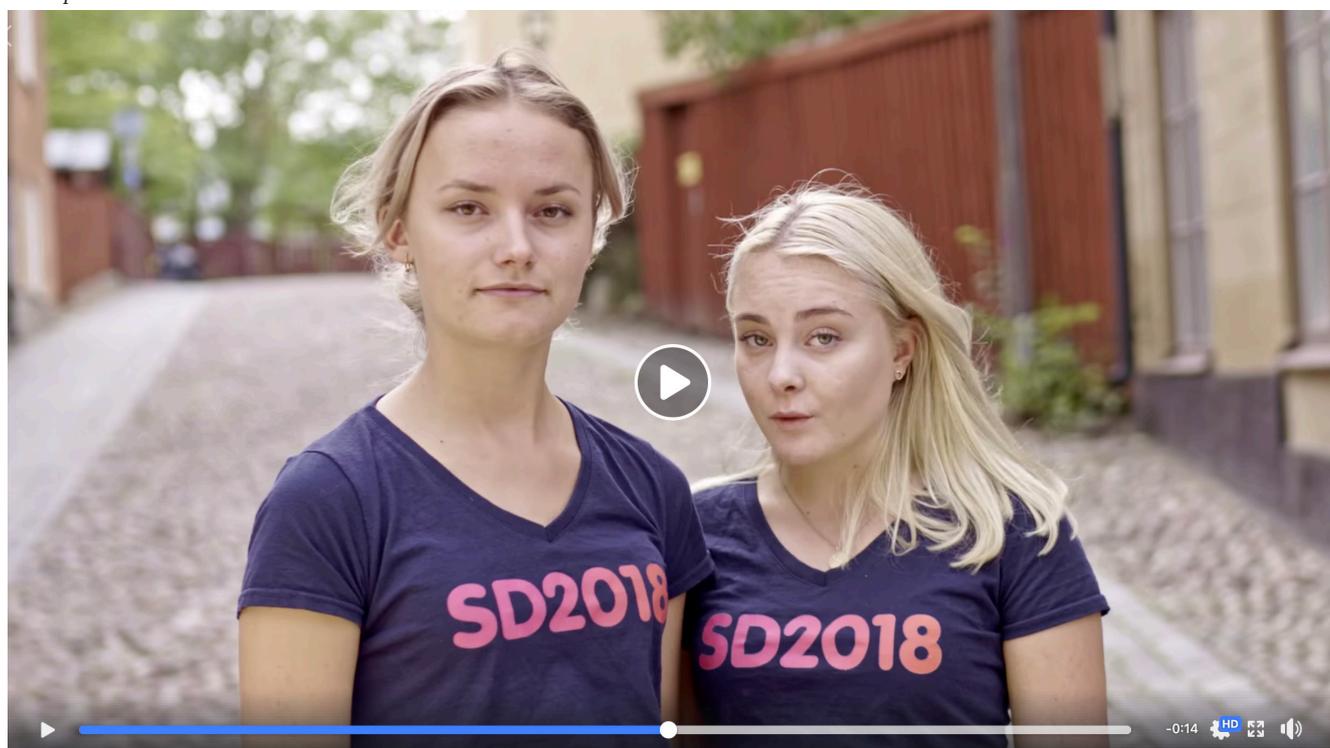


Ad from Kristdemokraterna to convince voters that their politics for families are better than Socialdemokraternas.²⁵ The ad was targeted at people interested in Socialdemokraterna or in the age 18 and above, living in Sweden. The ad was seen by two WTM-users.

SVERIGEDEMOKRATERNA

THE PLUG-IN COLLECTED ONLY 18 ADS FROM THE SWEDEN DEMOCRATS, WHERE ONLY ONE WAS FROM A CANDIDATE AND THE REST FROM THE NATIONAL PARTY AND REGIONAL DIVISIONS.

Example ads:



17 dagar till valet.

 Sverigedemokraterna 

 Gilla  Kommentera  Dela  ...

  3,1 tn  658 kommentarer  543 delningar

Video ad from Sverigedemokraterna on safety for women.²⁶ The ad targeted:

- People interested in Fredrik Reinfeldt (former Prime minister and leader of Moderaterna)
- Women aged 36 and above, living in Sweden.
- Men aged 51 and above living in the Husby area (low-status suburb to Stockholm)

Two WTM users saw the ad.



SD Göteborg säg Nej till böneutrop

Gilla Kommentera Dela

Sverigedemokraterna Göteborg Följ

1,6 tn 320 kommentarer 259 delningar

Ad from local division Sverigedemokraterna Göteborg, promoting news segment where Sverigedemokraterna says no to Muadh/call to prayer.²⁷ The ad targeted people ages 18 and older who live near Gothenburg. One WTM-user saw the ad.

OTHER PARTIES

THE PLUG-IN COLLECTED ONLY 18 ADS FROM THE SWEDEN DEMOCRATS, WHERE ONLY ONE WAS FROM A CANDIDATE AND THE REST FROM THE NATIONAL PARTY AND REGIONAL DIVISIONS.

Example ads:



Alternativ för Sverige
19 augusti 2018 · 🌐

Alternativ för Sverige vill utvisa SAMTLIGA kriminella utlänningar.
Beställ dina valsedlar gratis via länken och rösta på Alternativ för Sverige i riksdagsvalet! 🗳️





Alternativ för Sverige

ALTERNATIVFORSVERIGE.SE

Beställ dina valsedlar gratis här!

Läs mer

Ad from Alternativ för Sverige, promoting the expulsion of all immigrants who have committed a crime.²⁸ The ad was targeted at people with an interest in politics, based on pages they like or ads they have clicked, and people aged 18 and above who lives in Sweden. The ad was seen by one WTM-user.



MEDBORGERLIG SAMLING



En röst på Medborgerlig Samling är en röst för
förändring

Gilla Kommentera Dela

 Medborgerlig Samling Följ

747 178 kommentarer 335 delningar

Video ad from Medborgerlig samling, explaining how to vote if there are no Medborgerlig samling voting tickets at the polling station.²⁹ The ad targeted people who may be similar to people who like their page and people ages 18 and older who live in Sweden. The ad was seen by 13 WTM-users, 97% male, and 3% female, with an age range of 22-77 years. The targeted were leaning left.



Vi ska sätta stopp för våldet

Gilla Kommentera Dela

F! Feministiskt initiativ Stockholm

Följ

210 51 kommentarer 53 delningar

Video ad from local division of Feministiskt initiativ Stockholm about putting an end to violence.³⁰ The ad targeted people interested in feminism, based on activity such as liking pages or clicking on ads, and people aged 18 to 55 who live in Stockholm County. 11 WTM-users saw the ad, 44% male and 56% female with the age range of 22 to 54 years.

UNIONS

FROM LABOR

UNIONS, THE PLUG-IN

COLLECTED 54 ADS.

THE ADVERTISERS WERE MOSTLY FROM LO AND ITS MEMBER UNIONS.

LO is the federation for workers in Sweden. Most active was the union Kommunal (Swedish Municipal Workers Union) who paid for ads both from the organization and its president Tobias Baudin.

Other unions who paid for ads are Sveriges Arkitekter (Architects Sweden) and Ledarna (the organization for managers in Sweden), but they focused on recruiting, rather than trying to influence the election.

Unions within the two federations TCO (The Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees) and Saco (the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations) are not politically affiliated, even though they actively try to influence politics through lobbying and policy reports. LO, on the other hand, has ties to Socialdemokraterna, hence the paid political ads.

KOMMUNAL

Example ads:

**Kommunal**⋮

16 augusti 2018 · 🌐

Äldreomsorgen är inget löpande band – Det är dags att avskaffa minutscheman och ge plats för proffsen!

Det är bara ett parti som gjort det till en valfråga att avskaffa minutscheman, Socialdemokraterna. Nu kan du göra en viktig insats, påverka landets riksdagspartier att sluta upp bakom Socialdemokraternas krav om att avskaffa minutscheman.

Dela gärna kampanjen så att fler kan hjälpa till



DELTA.KOMMUNAL.SE

Stoppa minutscheman i hemtjänsten!

15 minuter för att väcka, duscha och klä på en sjuk gamm...

Läs mer

Ad from Kommunal, in support of Socialdemokraterna.³¹ The ad targeted people who had visited Kommunal's webpage or used one of their apps, and people aged 18 and above living in Sweden. The ad was seen by three WTM-users.

SACO



Saco

8 augusti 2018 · 🌐



År 2035 beräknas det saknas 33 500 ämneslärare i Sverige, enligt statistik från [SCB - Statistiska centralbyrån](#). Behovet av akademiker i välfärden är enormt, samtidigt som kompetensen flyr. Nu måste politikerna sluta blunda. Ett jobb i välfärden ska inte vara en förlustaffär.



SACO.SE

För en hållbar välfärd

Därför vill Saco ha en utredning om välfärdens omfattning och...

Ad from Saco about a welfare investigation they want to be done by the government, to secure the financing of the Swedish welfare.³² It targeted people who like Sacos page, and people aged 25 to 64 who live in Sweden. It also targeted people who are interested in teachers based on pages they like or ads they have clicked, and people aged 30 to 64 who live in Sweden.

SVENSKT NÄRINGSLIV AND ITS MEMBERS

SVENSKT NÄRINGSLIV IS SWEDEN'S LARGEST BUSINESS FEDERATION.

Svenskt näringsliv and its members run several organizations and online campaigns with Facebook pages for lobbying purposes.

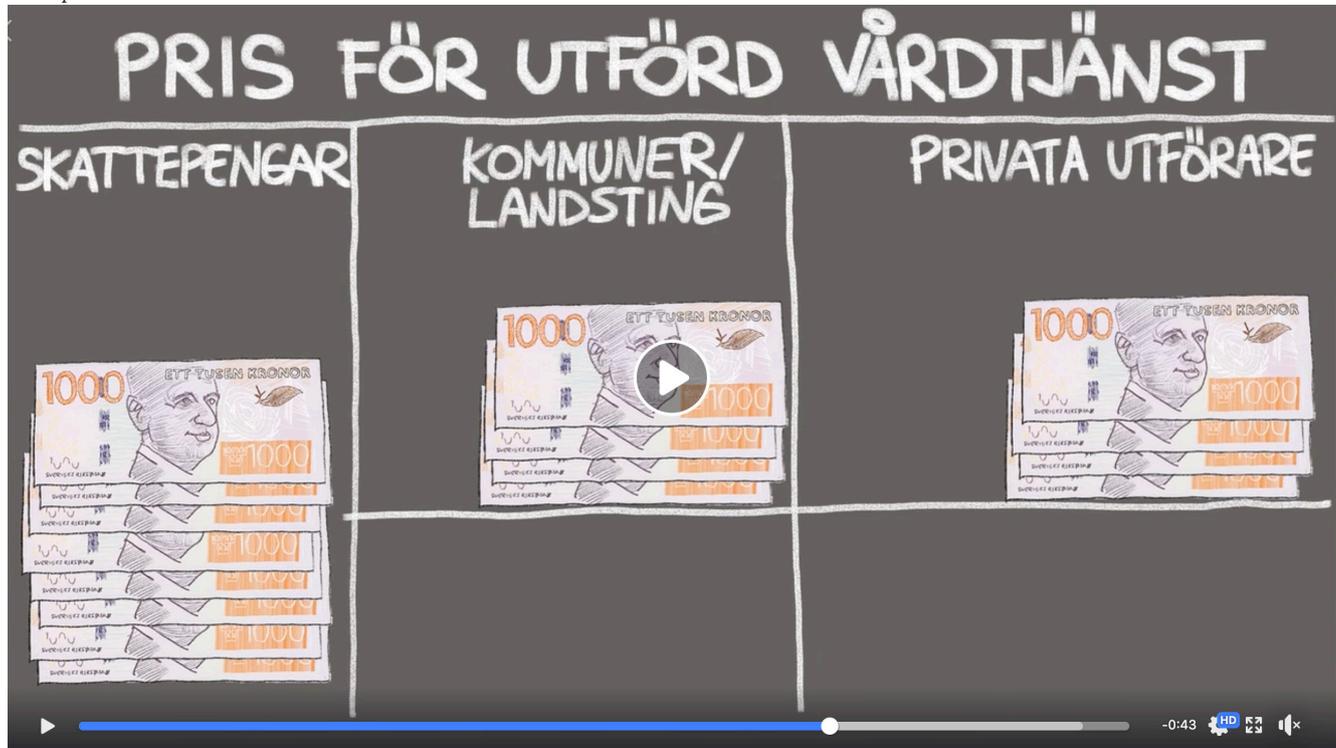
Most ads collected were from different lobbying initiatives from Svenskt näringsliv, such as Valfärdsfakta³³ (Welfare facts) and Arbetsmarknadsnytt (Labor Market News).



33 More about the Facebook pages from Svenskt näringsliv (In Swedish)<https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/p6b9yo/expert-sagar-lobbyisternas-trollsidor>

VÅRDFÖRENINGARNA

Example ads:



 Vi gör skillnad - upp för modern välfärd

 Följ

 Gilla  Kommentera  Dela  

Video ad from a campaign from one of Svenskt Näringslivs members Vårdförstagarna (The Association of Private Care Providers). The campaign is called Vi gör skillnad (We make a difference) and is aimed at showing all the good things private care providers are doing.³⁴ The ad was targeted at men aged 65 who live in Gothenburg. It was seen by one WTM-user.

VÄLFÄRDSFAKTA



Välfärdsfakta

22 augusti 2018 · 🌐



NY UNDERSÖKNING – S KAN TAPPA VÄLJARE PÅ VINSTTAK

- Endast 1 av 5 tycker att politikerna diskuterar det relevanta inom välfärden
- Väljarna vill att politikerna pratar om köer och personalbrist än om vinster i välfärden
- "Den allmänna meningen skiljer sig alltså tydligt från den bild som regeringen målar upp"

Enligt en undersökning som Svenskt Näringsliv har gjort mellan 9 juli - 13 augusti så finns det ett glapp mellan den politiska retoriken och människors vardag. Bara 25% av väljarna tror att Socialdemokraterna vinner på att fokusera på frågan.

Läs undersökningen här: <https://www.svensktnaringsliv.se/.../ny-undersokning-valjarna...>



Ad from the Facebook page Välfärdsfakta, run by Svenskt näringsliv.³⁵ The ad says that Socialdemokraterna can lose voters due to their views on profit on private schools and caregivers. The ad was targeted at people interested in Timbro (a neo-liberal Swedish think tank) based on pages liked and ad clicks, and people aged 18 and above living in Sweden. The ad was seen by two WTM-users.

NON-PROFITS FROM NON-PROFITS, THE PLUG-ON COLLECTED 53 ADS.

The advertisers are diverse, from Hyresgästföreningen (the organization for tenants) to Naturskyddsföreningen (Swedish Society for Nature Conservation) and Slöseriombudsmannen, a function set out to investigate how the public sector uses the taxpayers' money.

SLÖSERIOMBUDSMANNEN

Example ads:

25 MILJARDER I SLOSERI - HELA LISTAN!

Under årets första sex månader har Slöseriombudsmannen uppmärksammat slöseri med skattebetalarnas pengar i storleksordningen 25 miljarder. Det är mer än vad polisen kostar på ett år.

Här är hela listan på slöserier. Läs om den kommunala fågelburen i Landskrona, kommunen som betalade en PR-byrå för att sno Zlatans namn, försvarets helikopter som kostar 250 000 kronor i timmen att flyga, finansministern som räknade fel på 28 miljarder, världens längsta skidtunnel i ett berg, biståndspengar som gör att ett av världens fattigaste länder kan sponsra en av världens rikaste fotbollsklubbar eller migrationsverket som kastar nya möbler och mycket, mycket mer.

Om 12 dagar kan du rösta bort slösande politiker. Hjälp till att göra slöseri med skattepengar till en valfråga genom att dela och sprida inlägget!

<https://www.skattebetalarna.se/.../25-miljarder-har-slosats-b...>

Ad from Slöseriombudsmannen, urging voters to vote to remove "tax wasting politicians".³⁶ The ad was targeted at people who like the Slöseriombudsmannen page and people aged 13 and above who live in Sweden. The ad was seen by one WTM-user.

HYRESGÄSTFÖRENINGEN



Har du råd att bo kvar?

Gilla Kommentera Dela

Hyresgästföreningen Följ

299 241 kommentarer 120 delningar

Video ad from Hyresgästföreningen, promoting their tool to calculate what your rent will be if market rent is allowed in Sweden.³⁷ The ad targeted people interested in politics and social issues, based on activity such as liking pages or clicking on ads as well as people aged 18 and older who live in Kristianstad, Skåne County or Stockholm. The ad also targeted people living in Järfälla, Stockholm County, aged 18 and above. Four WTM-users saw the ad, 20% male and 80% female with an age range between 22 and 46 years

AFROSVENSKARNAS RIKSFÖRBUND



Afrosvenskarnas Riksförbund ASR har lagt till ett
evenemang.



9 augusti 2018 · 🌐

Valdagen den 9 september närmar sig och som vanligt har partierna sagt väldigt lite om vad de tänker göra åt de sämre livsförutsättningarna för afrosvenskar jämfört med andra svenskar. Men vår vana trogen kommer Afrosvenskarnas riksförbund även detta val underlätta för den afrosvenska väljaren att göra ett informerat val genom att bjuda in till Afrosvensk valdebatt med enbart afrosvenska kandidater från partiernas listor.

Hur många afrosvenska politiker känner du till? Vet du vad de gör i sina partier och vad de står för? Afrosvenska valdebatten ger dig möjligheten att träffa dem, höra dem debattera och ställa dina frågor direkt till dem.

Valdebatten är öppen för alla intresserade.

Arrangörer:

Afrosvenskarna i Stockholm i samarbete med ABF-Stockholm.

Fri entré.

Tid:

Torsdag den 30 augusti.

Kl. 18.00-20.30

Plats:

ABF-Stockholm, Katasalen

Sveavägen 41

Val 2018

Ad from Afrosvenskarnas riksförbund (national organization for afro-swedes) promoting an election debate on the conditions for afro-swedes in Sweden.³⁸ The ad was targeted at people aged 18 and above, living in Stockholm. The ad was seen by one WTM-user.

COMPANIES/ PRIVATE SECTOR

FIVE ADS WERE
COLLECTED BY
THE PLUG-IN THAT
WAS PAID FOR BY A
COMPANY.

SOME WERE USING THE ELECTION TO SELL, WHILE OTHERS TRIED TO INFLUENCE THE ELECTION ON ISSUES IMPORTANT TO THEM.

MÄKLARPODDEN

Example ads:



Mäklarpodden

19 juni 2018 · 🌐

⋮

"För oss socialdemokrater handlar det om att visa på olikheterna mellan vår politik och borgarnas. Vi vill satsa på välfärden och att fler människor kommer i arbete. Och vi vill också ha en rättvis bostadsmarknad för alla. Om jobben är viktiga anser vi att bostäder är en minst lika viktig fråga."

Mäklarringen och Mäklarpodden tar pulsen på Socialdemokraterna bostadspolitiska talesperson Johan Löfstrand

Hör hela samtalet med Johan här!

<https://www.maklarringen.se/.../maklarpodden-moter-socialdem.../>



Ad from Mäklarpodden (realtor podcast), run in collaboration with the realtor company Mäklarringen.³⁸ This episode is an interview with the social democratic spokesperson for housing issues, Johan Löfstrand. The ad was targeted at people interested in politics, based on pages they like and ads they have clicked and people aged 18 and above. The ad was seen by one WTM-user.

GYMKOMPANIET.SE



Gymkompaniets Valfilm 2018!

Gilla Kommentera Dela

Gymkompaniet.se Följ

227 61 kommentarer 65 delningar

Video ad from Gymkompaniet.se, a seller of all things related to working out in gyms.³⁹ They made their own election video. The ad was targeted at people who like their page and people aged 18 and above, living in Västra Götaland County.

UNKNOWN

FEW ADS HAS UNKNOWN SENDER OR OWNER

ONE OF THE AIMS OF ANNONSKOLLEN WAS TO FIND EXAMPLES OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE ON FACEBOOK IN THE ELECTION.

Few ads collected by the plug-in has an unknown sender or owner, but seven such ads were collected.

One of the aims of Annonskollen was to find examples of foreign interference on Facebook in the election. The conclusion to draw from the ads collected is that foreign powers, such as Russia, did not pay for ads to influence the election on a larger scale. This conclusion is shared among everyone who investigated and analyzed Facebook. There was one ad collected that caught a lot of attention and probably was posted by a non-Swedish actor, but we do not know who. The Facebook page was called ForumSverige and after it was brought to attention in media, the Facebook page, as well as the affiliated Facebook page, was deleted.

A **known page** but with an unknown owner is Rödgrön röra (Red Green Mess), a Facebook page aimed at making memes against

the red and green parties. In the general election 2014, they were funded by Svenskt näringsliv and ran by Arin Karapet who is now a member of parliament on a Moderat mandate. No one knows who ran the page for the last election, or where their funding came from, but in the election of 2014, it was funded with money from the pro-free-market, liberal think tank Timbro.⁴⁰

FORUM SVERIGE

The ads from ForumSverige focused on such issues as migration, sexual violence, and crime, issues known to divide Sweden. Trying to divide societies on controversial issues through Facebook ads is a method that was used during the presidential election of 2016 in the US.

The ads seem to have had a good reach, just by looking at how many WTM-users who saw the ads. One ad was seen by four WTM-users. That targeted people aged 18 to 45 in the city

of Malmö, and Norrbotten and Västerbotten counties, the same rationales as all other ads collected from ForumSverige.

The Facebook page ForumSverige was connected to a webpage. The alleged youth organization ForumSverige had no contact information and no representatives on the webpage. Both were taken down after media started to look into the account and webpage.

Example ads:

forum Sverige **ForumSverige** Sponsrad · ⚙️

VEM BLIR DEN BÄSTA STATSMINISTERN?

Nu har vi fått nog!!

Vi ungdomar vill ha en bättre ledare än vi har nu. ... [Visa mer](#)

Vad vill Sverige?

Vi har ett land att rädda!

fbpx.com

Five ads were collected by WTM-users, but since the Facebook page is taken down, none of the ads are possible to retrieve in full. The ad pictured is not one of the collected, but a screenshot of another ad. The data we have on the ads are presented on [Annonsskollen.info](https://annonskollen.info).⁴¹

RÖDGRÖNRÖRA



Rödgrön röra

15 augusti 2018 · 🌐



Löfven har nu tagit S till lägre nivåer än Juholt i väljarstöd, men han är inte nöjd. Jakten på nollpunkten fortsätter!



👍 🗨️ ❤️ 810

54 kommentarer 160 delningar
39 tn visningar

Video ad from Rödgrön röra, mocking prime minister Stefan Löfven.⁴² The ad targeted people whose friends like Rödgrön röra and people aged 18 and above living in Stockholm. The ad was seen by two WTM-users.

MEDIA

SWEDISH MEDIA PAID FOR ADS DURING THE WEEKS LEADING UP TO THE ELECTION.

MOST OF THEM ADVERTISED TO GET PAYING READERS, BUT A FEW PAID FOR ADS WITH MORE POLITICAL CONTENT.

For example, the Swedish magazine Arkitekten, a member magazine for members of the architect union, ran ads about politicians views in architecture and social housing. The biggest Swedish daily newspaper Dagens Nyheter offered everyone free access to their online material the months before the election, something they marketed through paid ads on Facebook.

Some paid ads from the media had the obvious purpose of trying to influence people. Those ads came from progressive and leftist media.

LEDARSIDORNA

Example ads:



Ledarsidorna.se

22 augusti 2018 · 🌐



I kvällens Uppdrag Granskning tas bland annat våldtäkt och kulturellt inflytande upp.

Den ökning av våldtäkter på 41 procent mellan 2007 och 2016 som BRÅ konstaterar går inte att förklara med hjälp av varken ökad anmälningsbenägenhet Kriminologen Jerzy Sarnecki menar att ingenting gjorts.

Men något har gjorts. Ann Heberleins opinionsbildning och senaste bok ger en god inblick i det som media, politiker och Sarnecki i alla år förnekat. Att i våldtäkternas ökning finns en kulturell komponent.



LEDARSIDORNA.SE

Uppdrag granskning, invandringen och våldtäkterna

Läs mer

Ad from Ledarsidorna.se. Ledarsidorna.se is financed by donations from individuals. The person running it used to be a social democrat but is now more "critical of immigration" as this group of people call themselves. This ad supports the idea that immigrants are more likely to be rapists than people with a Swedish heritage.⁴³ The ad was targeted at people aged 45 and above, living in Sweden. The ad was seen by three WTM-users.

DAGENS INDUSTRI



Dagens industri

27 juni 2018 · 🌐



Bortom löften om sänkta skatter och satsningar på välfärden har Sverigedemokraterna ett politiskt projekt som särskiljer dem från alla andra etablerade partier.

Och SD-ledaren Jimmie Åkesson vill ha en ny folkomröstning redan nästa mandatperiod.

(Exklusivt för prenumeranter – prova första månaden gratis utan bindningstid.)



DI.SE

Så vill SD styra om Sverige



Läs mer

Ad from Dagens Industri (Sweden's biggest financial newspaper), promoting an article about Sverigedemokraternas intentions, if they come into power.⁴⁴ The ad was targeted at people who is alike Dagens Industri's customers and people aged 25 to 60, living in Sweden. The ad was seen by one WTM-user.

DAGENS NYHETER



Dagens Nyheter

17 augusti 2018 · 🌐



Läs DN gratis fram till valet. Ingen bindningstid.



DN.SE

Nu kan alla läsa DN gratis

Prenumerationen avslutas automatiskt

Läs mer

Ad from Dagens Nyheter, promoting their campaign that everyone can read the newspaper online for free up to the election.⁴⁵ The ad targeted people who may be similar to their customers and people aged 26 and older who live in Sweden. The ad was seen by 39 WTM-users, 70% men and 30% women, age range between 26 to 77 years, the users lean left.

ANALYSIS

THE ADS COLLECTED SHOWS THAT THE PARTIES WERE THE MOST ACTIVE AD BUYERS

THIS IS NATURAL SINCE THEY ARE THE ONES TRYING TO GET THE VOTES. THE ADS COLLECTED ALSO REFLECT THE PARTIES FAIRLY WELL.

The collection of ads Skiftet's annonskollare (ad checkers) gathered are not a complete collection of the political ads that ran the time that Annonskollen was active.

Since most of Skiftet's activists are left-leaning, it is likely that most annonskollare are left-leaning. That will, of course, have an effect on the ads collected. Also, more users would have given a more accurate picture of the paid political ads published the weeks before the election.

The ads collected shows that the parties were the most active ad buyers the weeks leading up to the election. This is natural since they are the ones trying to get the votes. The ads collected also reflect the parties fairly well. Socialdemokraterna is the biggest party and posted the most ads. Centerpartiet is a rich party and has the money to pay for ads.

Vänsterpartiet has no ads from candidates personal pages, while Liberalerna has quite a few. This reflects the parties self-image well; Vänsterpartiet are more collectivist and Liberalerna more individualistic.

LO unions have a vested interest in the election since they are

connected to Socialdemokraterna. It comes as no surprise that they paid for a larger amount of ads than other unions.

There was no evidence, besides ForumSverige, of foreign interference in the election through Facebook ads. This may be due to the fact that Sweden is a smaller country than for example the USA, but probably has to do with the fact that Facebook now knows what to look for, and it is harder to succeed through such campaigns. During the entire election campaign, only about ten incidents of potential interference were reported to Myndigheten för samhällsskydd och beredskap (Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency), MSB.⁴⁶

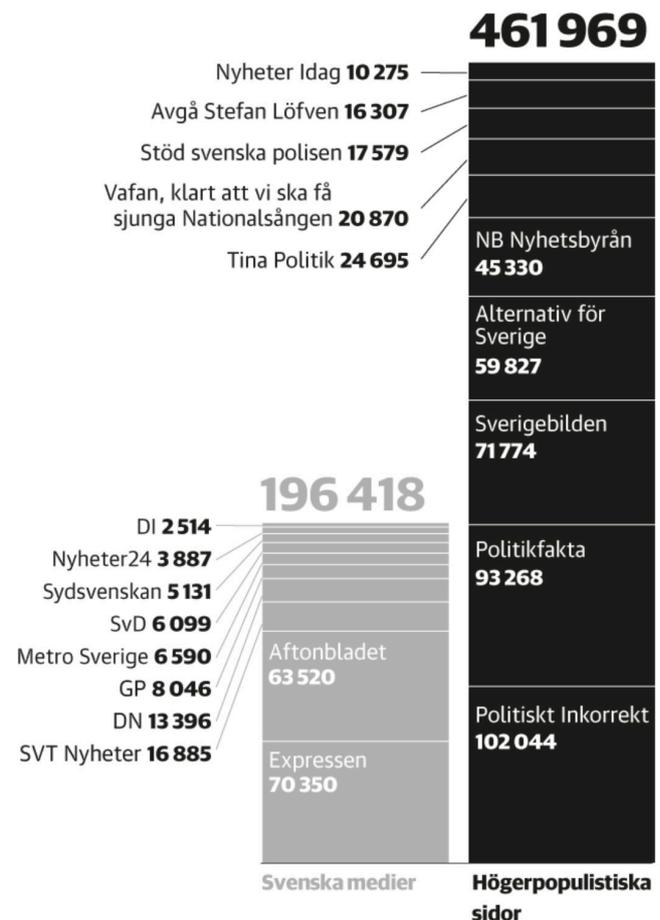
The party in parliament who had the biggest reach on Facebook during the election was Sverigedemokraterna. Their big ad buy was in January 2018, not in the weeks leading up to the election.⁴⁷ By the time of election campaigning, Sverigedemokraterna had built a solid fan base on social media. Sweden's biggest daily newspaper, Dagens Nyheter, also provided evidence that several far-right populist Facebook pages were run from Sverigedemokraternas communications unit.⁴⁸

What the Oxford Internet Institute calls "junk news" had by far the biggest reach during the election.⁴⁹ The Oxford researchers looked at how junk news is spread on Twitter. Not a single one of the junk news sites presented in the Oxford report paid for ads caught by the plug-in. These junk news sites have great organic reach, even on Facebook, so they do not have to pay for ads to get their message through.

Junk news sites have been accused of close ties to Russia. The influence from Russia in the Swedish election may have come through junk news sites, rather than paid ads on Facebook.

Far right and populist and junk news sites' Facebook pages reach on Facebook are in the picture below compared to established news sites' reach. The populist and junk news sites are pictured the black stack. Interesting is that only one of the pages are connected to a site that produces original material (NB NYhetsbyrån). The rest of the pages only distribute material made by others, often with a populist, anti-immigration or anti-muslim message. Many of these pages are ones that the DN article claimed are run from the Sverigedemokraterna communication unit. Alternativ för Sverige is the far-right

party's Facebook page and it was the fourth biggest Swedish party on Facebook. This was not reflected in AfS election result.



Source: Dagens Nyheter.⁵⁰

While collecting paid ads will get a good view on who is trying to target who, the paid ads was not a problem during the Swedish election. The spreading of disinformation through junk news sites, and the Facebook pages sharing their articles were a far bigger problem. The prevalence and spreading of disinformation and fake news is a potential risk to democracy. Disinformation has the potential to lower peoples trust in the government, democracy and society in general. Russian

46 MSB:s lista - här är de misstänkta påverkansförsöken inför valet, <https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/7IAW44/msbs-lista--har-ar-de-misstankta-paverkansforsoken-infor-valet>

47 Så vann SD slaget om Facebook - taktiken som förändrade allt, <https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/samhalle/a/1IA977/sa-vann-sd-slaget-om-facebook-taktiken-som-forandrade-allt>

48 Så tog högerpopulistiska sidor över valrörelsen på Facebook - med hjälp av SD <https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/sa-tog-hogerpopulistiska-sidor-over-valrorelsen-pa-facebook-med-hjalp-av-sd/>

49 News and Political Information Consumption in Sweden: Mapping the 2018 Swedish General Election on Twitter <http://comprop.oii.ox.ac.uk/research/sweden-election/>

50 Så tog högerpopulistiska sidor över valrörelsen på Facebook - med hjälp av SD, <https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/sa-tog-hogerpopulistiska-sidor-over-valrorelsen-pa-facebook-med-hjalp-av-sd/>

disinformation, for example, has the purpose of driving a wedge between people in a community or country and thereby building mistrusts.

The report Smearing Sweden confirms the lack of foreign interference in the Swedish election, and the big prevalence of junk news sites and fake news.⁵¹ Rather than election interference, the Smearing Sweden-report found smearing campaigns against in Russian media outlets such as Sputnik and Russia Today, while supporting far-right parties.

The last weeks before the election and the weeks after, stories of election fraud was spreading, both in Sweden and in other countries, in support of far-right groups, which Skiftet wrote about in a blog post.⁵²

To sum up, the internet was used to influence the election in Sweden, but not in a direct way. It was used to spread the idea of a Sweden at war because of immigration and a collapsing election system.

This is important knowledge for the EP-election, where right-wing parties are believed to have a big success. While all forms of extremism is a threat to democracy, the far right will use the tools of democracy to bring it down, nationally and in the EU.

WHAT'S NEXT?



In late May 2019, the European Union goes to the polls. In an EP-election with democracy at stake, advertising on Facebook on a European level is interesting. Skiftet, in collaboration with Who Targets Me, will try to spread the plug-in and Annonskollen to as many EU states as possible.



Even though we may not see a large amount of paid ads in form of attempted foreign interference, an EU-wide use of the WTM plug-in will give us valuable insight in who is paying for ads around the European Union.



The goal with taking WTM and Annonskollen to the EU and EP election is to see who is advertising where and to get EU-rules on election spending.



Facebook has announced that the European Union, amongst others, will have stricter rules for political ads the time leading up to the election.⁵³ What this means and what the consequences will be is not yet known.

51 Smearing Sweden – International Influence Campaigns in the 2018 Swedish Election <https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Smearing-Sweden.pdf>

52 Gå inte på berättelsen om valfusk <https://skiftet.org/2018/09/ga-inte-pa-berattelsen-om-valfusk/>

53 Exclusive: Facebook brings stricter ads rules to countries with big 2019 votes, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-election-exclusive/exclusive-facebook-brings-stricter-ads-rules-to-countries-with-big-2019-votes-idUSKCN1PA0BT?feedType=RSS&feedName=technologyNews&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+reuters%2FtechnologyNews+%28Reuters+Technology+News%29

SKIFTET — DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

We are engaged citizens who want a change in society -- where we together stand up for the environment, justice and civil rights. The people's movement Skiftet are tens of thousands of Swedes whom every month commit to the purpose of giving everyone a voice. We use digital tools to engage thousands of citizens, who hold politicians and big corporation lobbyists accountable for their actions -- in front of the computer or out on the streets.

Not a day passes by without headlines telling us money and power are getting more concentrated at the top of society. People are being left behind, as decisions are made with regard to big corporations rather than common people.

It is easy to feel hopelessness but the reality is that most Swedes want something better for their families and for society at large. They care about the environment, workers rights, equality and they are not racist.

Skiftet is the non-politically affiliated movement, connecting people online and out on the streets for a more just Sweden. We know that when we work together, our voices are heard and we can put the power up against the wall.

