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 #TamilNaduGovernment #drugs #PoliticalNews #MKStalinCM

TMC के बलात्कारियों का बहिष्कार

Rahul Gandhi
 A Political Portrait
Divisive

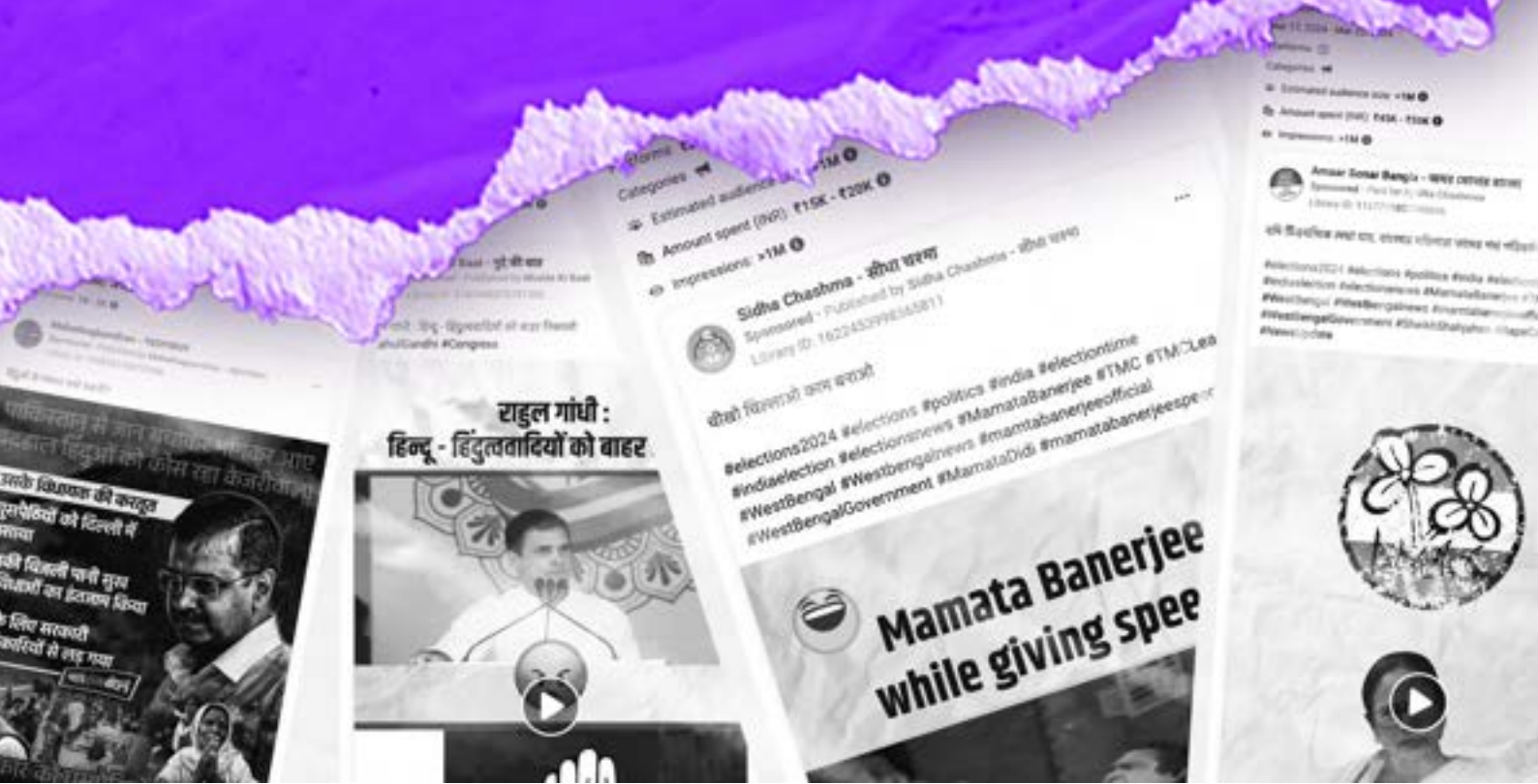
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 #News



Drugs

SLANDER, LIES, AND INCITEMENT:

India's million dollar
election meme network



राहुल गांधी :
हिन्दू - हिंदुत्ववादियों को बाहर



Sidha Chashma - सीधा चश्मा
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 #elections2024 #elections #politics #india #electiontime
 #indiaelection #electionnews #MamataBanerjee #TMC #TMCLea
 #WestBengal #WestBengalnews #mamatabanerjeeofficial
 #WestBengalGovernment #MamataBanerjee #MamataBanerjee

Mamata Banerjee
 while giving spee



SUMMARY

| | |
|---|----|
| Introduction | 4 |
| Laws regulating political advertising in India | 9 |
| Meta's million dollar hate network | 15 |
| Publisher: Ulta Chashma - उल्टा चश्मा | 18 |
| Publisher: Paltu Paltan | 25 |
| Publisher: Amaar Sonar Bangla - অমর সোনার বাংলা | 29 |
| Publisher: MemeXpress | 33 |
| Publisher: Political X-Ray | 38 |
| Publisher: Mudde ki Baat - मुद्दे की बात | 40 |
| Publisher: Sidha Chashma - सीधा चश्मा | 42 |
| Publisher: Tamilakam - தமிழகம் | 44 |
| Publisher: Nirmamata | 59 |
| Publisher: Indian Compass Videos | 60 |
| Publisher: Phir Ek Baar Modi Sarkar | 64 |
| Publisher: Bharat Todo Gang | 67 |
| Publisher: Hokage Modi Sama | 75 |
| Coordinated network among far-right publishers | 77 |
| Ulta Chashma Network | 79 |
| 30-day rule loophole | 82 |
| Conclusion | 85 |
| Recommendations | 88 |
| Methodology | 91 |

ABOUT

The logo for Ekō, featuring the word "EKŌ" in a bold, purple, sans-serif font. The letter "O" has a horizontal bar above it, resembling a macron.

Ekō is a people-powered campaign organization with over 22 million members across the globe, taking action to hold corporations to account and push for a better world.



India Civil Watch International (ICWI) is a human rights monitoring and advocacy group based in North America and focused on India and the Indian diaspora.



Foundation the London Story (TLS) is an Indian diaspora led non-profit Human Rights Organisation based out of the Netherlands. TLS advocates for human rights based cooperation between EU and India focusing specifically on freedom rights and digital rights.

◆ INTRODUCTION

As India gears up for its 2024 Lok Sabha election, set to commence its first of seven phases on April 19, where India's parliament and Prime Minister are elected, the country faces an online surge of shadow political advertising threatening the fabric of the world's largest democracy. Our research identified shadow advertisers of India's ruling Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) political party utilizing Meta to disseminate ads in support of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Many of these advertisements are being used to propagate hate speech, smear opposition parties, promote Islamophobia, and endorse Hindu supremacist narratives.

This report analyses the distortion created by paid advertisements on social media, with a specific lens on Meta platforms. The report investigates Meta's Ad library data immediately ahead of India's election in order to show how shadow advertisers on Meta's platform are exploiting the virtual public sphere of information and pushing a coordinated disinformation campaign.

Our analysis highlights that despite on-paper commitments made by social media companies such as Meta to act in favor of democracy, the profit incentives and monetization models paint a different picture: wherein the virtual town spaces are comfortably ceded to the highest bidders, and voices of representation are drowned in the noise created by shadow campaigners. All of this is taking place despite [ample evidence](#) via investigations and engagement by civil society on how Meta's actions and inactions are seriously compromising people's safety and institutional processes around elections. The report also demonstrates that some of these campaigns, and Meta's permitting of these campaigns on their platform, defy the legal requirements of disclosure and source of funding—undermining decades-long efforts by citizens, policymakers, and courts in India to make its democratic practices transparent and accountable. The report further acknowledges the dangers of unregulated ad campaigns in the erosion of diversity and plurality of information and in the creation of information monospheres where individual's right to information, right to form opinion, and right to choice can not be meaningfully met.

Shadow campaigns refers to spending meant to influence political outcomes where the source of the money is not publicly disclosed or is difficult to trace. Shadow campaigns have a tendency to leave voters uninformed about important political information and

it can obscure potential conflicts of interest for judges and legislators alike. Moreover, these campaigns can make election campaign funding fairly opaque since the campaigners' identity or source of funding are not known to the public. Surrogate campaigners on the other hand are the campaigners who facilitate paid promotional campaigns and act as intermediary services to political parties by helping them navigate and run social media campaigns. Surrogate advertisers may also allow parties to circumvent electoral finance laws and help by-pass the general campaign and political communication restrictions.

The prevalence of surrogate and shadow advertising used on social media platforms in India has been reported on during the previous [Lok Sabha election in 2019](#), as well as during [state elections](#). These networks and methods not only persist on the platform, but have grown in [scale and sophistication](#).

In 2019–2022, [the Reporters Collective](#) studied thousands of political advertisements on Facebook and Instagram and showed how surrogate advertisers boost official messaging of political parties while going undetected on declared advertising spend. More recently, in the run up to 2024, several news reports have again pointed to the tip of this iceberg, showing high spends by [surrogate advertisers](#) allowed to function on the platform.

These advertisers are operating under a digital cloak, typically falling outside of regulatory scrutiny and the Election Commission of India (ECI), tasked with monitoring political campaign expenditures. This allows these advertisers to operate in the shadows, making it challenging to explicitly connect the publishers of these advertisements to any specific political party. These advertisers are potentially circumventing and breaking the regulations of the Election Commission of India by promoting corrupt practices by “spreading false information, and promotion or attempted promotion of feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of the citizens of India on grounds of religion, race, caste, community, or language by a candidate.”

Researchers from Ekō, Foundation the London Story (TLS), and India Civil Watch International (ICWI) have delved into the Meta Ad Library to dissect the landscape of these advertisers during the eleventh hour of the 2024 pre-election period. This process uncovered a network of far-right shadow advertisers, many of which use memes,

short-form video content, or political cartoons which leverage satire to dehumanize and deride minorities or opposition parties in India. These narratives, both new and old, are divisive in nature. Many are taking shape against the backdrop of political and social controversies in India which these accounts exploit for ideological gains.

In particular, the far-right's utilization of Meta as an incubator of hate speech has been extensively documented for nearly a decade. The Facebook Papers, leaked by Frances Haughen in 2021, underscored [Facebook's failure](#) to curb Hindu supremacist hate speech and its leniency towards some of the worst offenders. Subsequent [whistleblower revelations](#) in the following years have continued to reaffirm Meta's failures. Civil society, campaigners and users have repeatedly engaged with the platform to no avail. This report serves as another reference point to Meta's role in facilitating the uprooting of democratic values while amassing massive sums of profit.

The report provides clear evidence to show how Meta's "[Indian election preparation](#)" statement is already failing due to their piece-meal actions against a tide of systemic issues embedded in their harmful business model. This report also underscores the urgent need for extending regulatory mechanisms to curb the influence of paid advertisements by shadow actors on social media platforms and safeguard India's democratic ethos. At this point, the Electoral Commission of India is itself facing [substantial accusations of favoritism](#) to the BJP. Therefore, any potential regulation must be done in a participatory and consultative manner, so as to promote transparency, accountability, and ethical practices for a fair and inclusive electoral process for all Indian citizens.

Key Findings

- **1M USD** spent by 22 far-right shadow advertisers over 90 days on Meta, accounting for nearly 22% of the total sum of "issues, elections or politics" advertisements in India across the same time period.
- **36 ads** potentially breaking Indian election laws pushing hate speech, Islamophobia, communal violence, and misinformation amassing between **65-66M** impressions. The ads include:

- **Islamophobic tropes and disinformation targeting Muslims:** depicting them as sexually violent invaders, “instigating communal riots”, and “patrons of terror”
- **Hindu supremacist narratives:** ads promoting narratives to recreate India into a Hindu nation and claiming “Hindustan is a country for Hindus” as well as hashtags tied to Hindu supremacist groups
- **Targeting women lawmakers, journalists, and activists as “anti-India”**
- **Aggressive and violent rhetoric against the BJP opposition:** referring to opponents as a “virus” that needs to be eradicated and that a BJP candidate will “break their [DMK] spine.” As well as insults such as “demon,” and “poisonous snake”
- Researchers uncovered a coordinated network lead by a public page named [Ulta Chashma](#), which has nine other pages sharing content, hashtags, and ad payments. This network amassed **10.53M** interactions and **34.64M** video views within 90 days, with a loophole allowing early political ad postings, indicating a breach of Meta’s ad transparency policy
- **23.13M** interactions on 22 far-right publisher pages over 90 days
- None of the far-right publishers analyzed in the report responded on the phone numbers provided as disclaimers in Meta’s Ad library

◆ **LAWS
REGULATING
POLITICAL
ADVERTISING
IN INDIA**

◆ Laws regulating political advertising in India

Political advertising in India is an increasingly regulated sphere, where the interventions of the Election Commission of India (ECI), the advertisement board, and the Supreme Court of India have laid down progressive rules on advertisements that regulate political and third-party advertisements on political issues during the period of elections. These laws can be categorized as regulations – regulating the content of the ads, as well as the means and amount of advertisement spending; and prohibitions – which provide specific embargoes and limits to when and what kind of political advertisements can be distributed for public viewing. Further, the development of regulation and prohibitions have adapted, taking into account the technological developments that impact election processes and the ECI has categorically stated in multiple communications that the guidance on advertisement also [apply to Social Media Platforms](#).

The election process in India makes a distinction between election matter advertisements and paid news. Any matter relating to party, politics, or candidates, including matters of social importance that have partisan nature is considered to be a political matter and thus would fall within the broader purview of the [Model Code of Conduct](#), which sets the rules for leaders and parties ahead of the elections.

Political advertisements on the other hand are a subset of political matters. The regulatory framework for political advertisements has been shaped through judicial decisions, subsequently reinforced by the ECI. Political advertisements on social media platforms in India are subject to the same laws and regulations applicable to other media channels such as television, radio, and print. Following the decision of the Honorable Supreme Court of India in the case of *Ministry of Broadcasting v. Gemini TV Pvt. Ltd.*, the Commission issued comprehensive instructions on this matter via its order no. 509/75/2004/JS-1/4572 dated 15.04.2004. It was mandated in this order that all registered national and state political parties, along with contesting candidates intending to broadcast advertisements on television channels or cable networks, must seek pre-certification from the ECI or the designated officer for all political advertisements on electronic media before dissemination. Subsequently, in 2013, the ECI declared that this ruling would [extend to advertisements on social media platforms](#), thereby subjecting all

¹ N. SLP (Civil) N. 679/204, dated 13 April, 2004.

◆ Laws regulating political advertising in India

such advertisements to the same instructions. Later, it was made clear that such certification will only be required in cases of paid advertisements and not content posted by political parties on their social media accounts.

As a matter of rule, **all political ads, including all paid ads, and social media ads during the election period need to be pre-certified** in line with the Supreme Court Supreme order dated 13th April 2004 in Ministry of I&B Vs M/s Gemini TV and Others². The order specifically directed the ECI to constitute a committee for certification of ads, and since the 2014 elections, the ECI has specified that the committee is supported by a person who specializes in social media to allow for certification of social media advertisements during election periods³.

From the day of application of the [Model Code of Conduct](#), the following rules apply to all political advertisements:

Prohibition of transmission or re-transmission of any advertisement which is not in conformity with the prescribed programme code and advertisement code and is likely to promote enmity on grounds of “religion, race, language, caste or community or any other ground whatsoever, disharmony or feelings of enmity, hatred or ill-will between religion, racial, linguistic or regional groups or castes or communities or which is likely to disturb public tranquility”⁴.

Any advertisement carried in the cable service shall be designed so as to conform to the laws of the country and **should not offend morality, decency and religious susceptibilities of the subscribers.**

No advertisement shall be permitted which deride any “race, caste, color, creed and nationality, is against any provision of the Constitution of India and tends to incite people to crime, cause disorder or violence or breach of law or glorifies violence or obscenity in any way”.

² [SLP(Civil) No. 6679/2004]

³ See also Handbook on Media Matters, on qualification and appointment of the social media committee member.

⁴ Handbook on Media Matters for CEOs & DEOs 2024 pg. 18

◆ Laws regulating political advertising in India

Additionally, the ECI also prohibit certification of the political advertisements that contains:

- a) criticism of other countries;
- b) attack on religions or communities;**
- c) anything obscene or defamatory;
- d) incitement to violence;
- e) anything amounting to contempt of court;
- f) aspersion against the integrity of the President and Judiciary;
- g) anything affecting the unity, sovereignty, and integrity of the Nation;
- h) any criticism by name of any person.**

Furthermore the Model Code of Conduct also put the following parameters, which are read in addition to the Supreme Court direction.

- a) **use of temples/mosques/churches/gurudwara or any place of worship or religious text/ symbols/ or slogan in posters, music etc or electioneering**
- b) photographs of defense personnel and photographs of functions involving defense personnel
- c) No aspect of private life, not connected with the public activities of the leaders or workers of other parties shall be criticized.**
- d) No criticism of other parties or their workers on behalf of unverified allegations or on distortions.**

While the Supreme Court of India's 2004 order was directed towards political parties and candidates, the order does specify that **any person cannot give ads for the benefit of a political party or candidate**. ECI also further derives that advertisements against a political party or candidate can also not be allowed, as that would be partisan.

The ECI has emphasized that since social media and internet websites are by definition 'Electronic media' the pre-certification rules, **as well as the prohibitions apply to social media as well.**⁵

⁵Handbook, pg 19 (para 3.2)

◆ Laws regulating political advertising in India

For the purpose of certification of advertisements, the ECI stipulates that registered National and State political parties and every contesting candidate must apply for precertification of political advertisements not later than three days prior to the date of the proposed commencement of the telecast of the advertisement. **And in case of any other person or unregistered political parties, it should be not later than seven days prior to the date of the telecast.**

The ECI has also [clarified](#) that such certification will only be required in cases of paid advertisements and not content posted by political parties on their social media accounts.

The ECI underscored the importance of reinforcing the Pre-Certification requirement for political advertisements and reiterated the principles established in the case of *Common Cause vs. Union of India*⁶, which mandates that political parties submit statements of expenditure to the ECI. Though, it has specified that any personal blogs, political content posted, self-social media platforms shall not be considered political advertisements and thus does not necessitate pre-certification. However, advertisements published in electronic newspapers (e-papers) must invariably undergo pre-certification by the relevant committee. These guidelines form part of the commission's endeavors to [combat the issue of paid news](#). The press note emphasized that expenditures related to advertisements on social media are integral components of the overall expenditure incurred in connection with the elections. Therefore, political parties are obligated to include expenditures on social media advertisements in their statements submitted to the ECI within the stipulated timeframes.

Section 77 of the Representation of the People Act (RPA) delineates clear regulations governing the funding of candidates. This section unequivocally mandates that candidates finance their campaigns either through their own resources or via their designated election agents. Notably, Section 77 primarily focuses on individual "candidates," omitting specific provisions for [political parties](#).

Under the purview of this section, every candidate, or their election agent, is obligated to maintain a meticulous record of all expenditures incurred or authorized from the date of nomination to the declaration phase of the election process. It is mandated that

⁶ 1996 (2) SCC 752

◆ Laws regulating political advertising in India

each candidate participating in an election shall, either individually or through their designated election agent, meticulously maintain a distinct and accurate record of all expenditures associated with the electoral process, whether incurred or sanctioned by the candidate or their election agent. This statutory provision necessitates the establishment of a separate bank account dedicated solely to the [recording of election-related expenses](#) from the date of nomination until the declaration of results. Consequently, the prospect of an individual utilizing personal funds for political campaigning is effectively precluded, as the legal framework hinges upon the utilization of a singular bank account exclusively designated for the documentation of election expenses.

However, the regulatory scope of Section 77 diverges when it comes to political parties and candidate supporters. In case of supporters, there is huge latitude in election-related expenditure. ECI, following the 2004 Supreme court order has stated **that such expenditure must not unduly favor any particular candidate** to ensure a level playing field and prevent disproportionate influence from being wielded through financial means. The regulations are thus a part of decades old incremental attempts by Indian institutions to foster transparency and accountability in elections. Whereas the current Indian government itself is partially responsible for downgrading several of former attempts at transparency and accountability, platforms like Meta are equally culpable for facilitating these accelerated attacks .

Art 123 of the Representation of People's Act further lays down that when a candidate, for the furtherance of his prospects in the election, indulges in certain practices such as mentioned below, it can be called corrupt practices. This includes: bribery, undue influence, false information, **and promotion or attempted promotion of feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of the citizens of India on grounds of religion, race, caste, community, or language" by a candidate**; and the incurring or authorizing of expenditure in contravention of section 77.

The Election Commission has also time and again clarified that the Section 126 prohibits the dissemination of any 'election matter' via television or similar means during the 48-hour period leading up to the conclusion of polling in a constituency. **In this context, 'election matter' encompasses any content intended or designed to influence or impact the outcome of an election.**

◆ **META'S MILLION
DOLLAR HATE
NETWORK**

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network

In the 90 day period ending on 25th March 2024, all advertisers in India spent a whopping ₹407,709,451 (4.89M USD) on “Issues, elections or politics” advertisements on Meta platforms. Of the total ads, the top 100 ad buyers bought over 75% of the ads. Amongst these top 100 buyers were around 22 shadow pages who spent a whopping ₹88.3M (approx. 1.06 million USD) on advertisements for BJP, and its leaders, particularly Prime Minister Narendra Modi. **This group of far-right shadow advertisers spent nearly 22% of the total sum of election advertisements during this 90 day period.**

Surrogate advertisers in India can be identified through the Goods and Services Tax Identity Number or such similar identification of incorporation. Surrogate advertisers and shadow advertisers differ from each other since surrogate advertisers are usually incorporated legal entities selling services that may include social media campaigns, while shadow advertisers are undisclosed campaigners whose existence and trail of money is hidden from the public view.

Of the 22 shadow ad buying pages of far-right publishers the phone numbers provided on the pages’ ad disclaimers returned ‘no-response’ or ‘phone is currently switched off’ upon investigation. The Facebook pages, and website of these ad buyers return no meaningful information of a person to whom these ads can be attributed to. Several of the pages, like [Ulta Chashma](#) only provide website information that does not return any meaningful disclosure. These pages should be subject to restriction as they fail to comply with [Meta’s policies on account integrity and authentic identity](#) as they appear to deliberately misrepresent their identity. It is also highly unclear if Meta is seeking any kind of pre-certification of ads, especially those put out by coordinated networks like Ulta Chashma on election matters, despite the promises made by social media platforms under the [Voluntary Code of Ethics](#).

Digging deeper into this network of advertisers on Meta, researchers analyzed the active dissemination of political ads which support far-right narratives and politicians. Researchers identified a sample of 36 ads from 15 of these 22 publishers. Unchecked ads that appear to be breaking Meta’s community guidelines on [hate speech](#), [bullying and harassment](#), and [violence and incitement](#), when boosted with less than USD 10, are able to reach tens of thousands of individuals, showing the massive scale to Meta’s content moderation failures and business model. While some of these shadow pages are putting thousands of

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network

dollars behind individual ads, amassing millions of impressions.

Researchers found a series of recurring themes and disinformation tactics related to ongoing far-right narratives taking place in India. Many ads, while not overtly calling for violence, skillfully employ dog-whistle phrases, or exploit communal or religious conspiracy theories in India's current political context, creating a toxic narrative of hate and divisiveness in Indian society through promoting Islamophobic tropes, disinformation and misogynistic attacks on female political leaders, antidemocratic sentiments, and smear campaigns against minority groups. Below we provide examples of ads promoted by these pages and how they bypass election regulation. Together, these pages have spent 1 million USD on ads promoting BJP, and Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Meta is permitting these advertiser pages to exploit their platforms, inundating the country with supremacist and far-right narratives in the months leading up to the election. With just days until the first phase of the election period begins, these ads continue to proliferate unchecked.

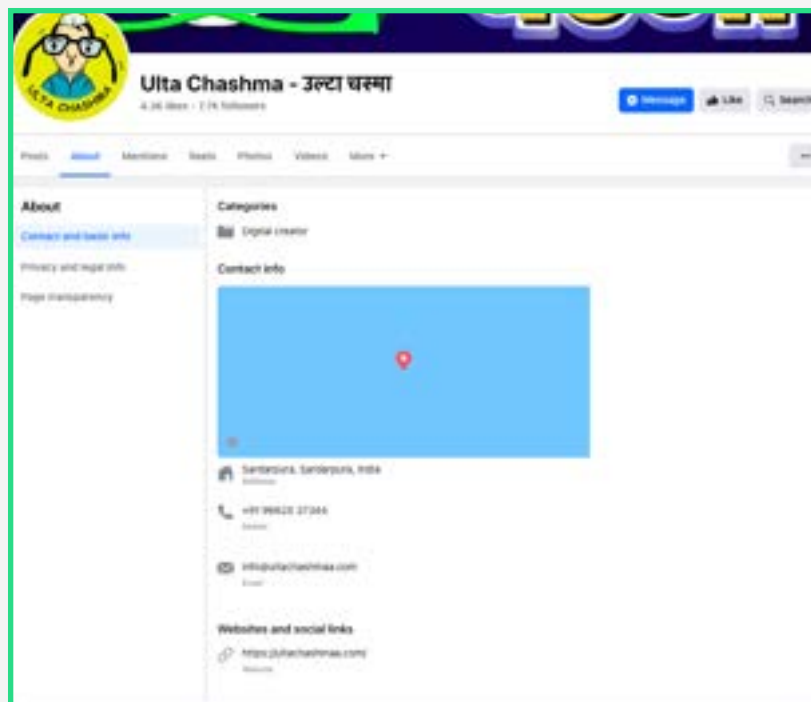
By adopting centuries-old conspiracy theories and hate speech, often packaged in the [form of memes](#), to vilify Muslim and other minority groups, this network of advertisers has engineered a massive disinformation campaign to support the re-election of Indian prime minister Narendra Modi. While the utilization of satire and memes is not exclusive to India's far-right, their manipulation to promote harmful content mirrors those of other bad actors globally. Including other far-right groups in [Brazil](#), [US](#), and [Europe](#). This research contributes to this body of work by exposing India's robust shadow and surrogate advertising networks which are using Meta's digital advertising platform as their megaphone.

The reach and resources of these surrogate advertiser pages are colossal. Using Crowdtangle, researchers tracked the posts and content disseminated across these surrogate advertising pages. Researchers found a surge in content leading up to the election, with a significant majority of the posts and impressions being two months ahead of the election. Notably, several of these accounts were created weeks ahead of the election period, injecting massive sums of money, in some cases hundreds of thousands of dollars, into hyper-targeted ads geared towards influencing specific regional election narratives.

Examples of ads

Publisher: [Ulta Chashma - उल्टा चश्मा](#)⁷

Context: This publisher has pushed multiple ads employing derogatory language and smear tactics against political opponents, targeting figures like politician Mamata Banerjee and leaders of the Samajwadi Party. The ads use misleading claims and Islamophobic rhetoric to discredit opposition parties, portraying them as violent. This publisher has spent a massive amount on advertising, **the most out of any publisher in the report, and is tied to a wider network of far right publishers**. The publisher has spent ₹18.9M (227.7K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election. The page was created in November 2023 and has had one name change since, with 4.3K likes and 7.7K followers and published over [430 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 - March 25th 2024. It has no information about its admins, but has links to a [website](#), [email address](#) and a mobile number.



A screenshot of Ulta Chashma's contact and basic info section, with its address being an entire region in India

⁷ <https://archive.ph/s1OtQ>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network

[This ad](#) utilizes mal-information and derogatory language to smear Mamata Banerjee, playing on the Hindi meaning of her name ("Mamata" meaning affection and "nirmam" meaning cruel/violent). The caption questions when the "In Mamata's rule, when will nirmam (cruel) exploitation stop taking place?". Additionally, the video contains text referring to Mamata as "abhadra didi" (indecent sister), further employing derogatory language against her. The ad ran five times between Feb 27-Mar 6 amassed over **5M impressions for ₹290K-340K (3.48-4K USD)**.



A derogatory ad smearing Mamata Banerjee by claiming she is violent and indecent

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network

Ad Details

Library ID: #1046714020645

● Inactive

Feb 23, 2024 - Mar 6, 2024

Platforms

Categories

Estimated audience size: +1M

Amount spent (INR): ₹50K - ₹10K



Impressions: +1M

Uta Chashma - 3PC 499
Sponsored - Published by Uta Chashma
Library ID: #1046714020645

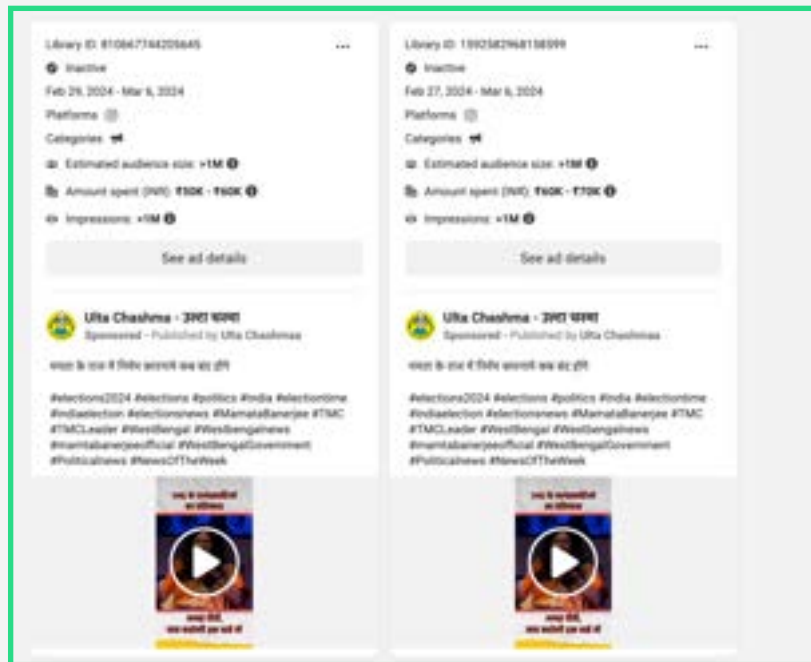
www.bbc.com/news/india-642481

#elections2024 #elections #politics #india #electiontime
#indiaelection #electionnews #MamataBanerjee #TMC #TMCLeader
#WestBengal #WestBengalnews #MamataBanerjeeOfficial
#WestBengalGovernment #Politicalnews #NewsOfTheWeek



| | |
|--|--|
| <p>Library ID: 84427078702489</p> <p>● Inactive</p> <p>Feb 27, 2024 - Mar 5, 2024</p> <p>Platforms</p> <p>Categories</p> <p>Estimated audience size: +1M</p> <p>Amount spent (INR): ₹60K - ₹70K</p> <p>Impressions: +1M</p> <p>See ad details</p> <p>Uta Chashma - 3PC 499 Sponsored - Published by Uta Chashma</p> <p>www.bbc.com/news/india-642481</p> <p>#elections2024 #elections #politics #india #electiontime #indiaelection #electionnews #MamataBanerjee #TMC #TMCLeader #WestBengal #WestBengalnews #MamataBanerjeeOfficial #WestBengalGovernment #Politicalnews #NewsOfTheWeek</p>  | <p>Library ID: 418391157309458</p> <p>● Inactive</p> <p>Feb 27, 2024 - Mar 5, 2024</p> <p>Platforms</p> <p>Categories</p> <p>Estimated audience size: +1M</p> <p>Amount spent (INR): ₹60K - ₹70K</p> <p>Impressions: +1M</p> <p>See ad details</p> <p>Uta Chashma - 3PC 499 Sponsored - Published by Uta Chashma</p> <p>www.bbc.com/news/india-642481</p> <p>#elections2024 #elections #politics #india #electiontime #indiaelection #electionnews #MamataBanerjee #TMC #TMCLeader #WestBengal #WestBengalnews #MamataBanerjeeOfficial #WestBengalGovernment #Politicalnews #NewsOfTheWeek</p>  |
|--|--|

◆ Meta’s million dollar hate network



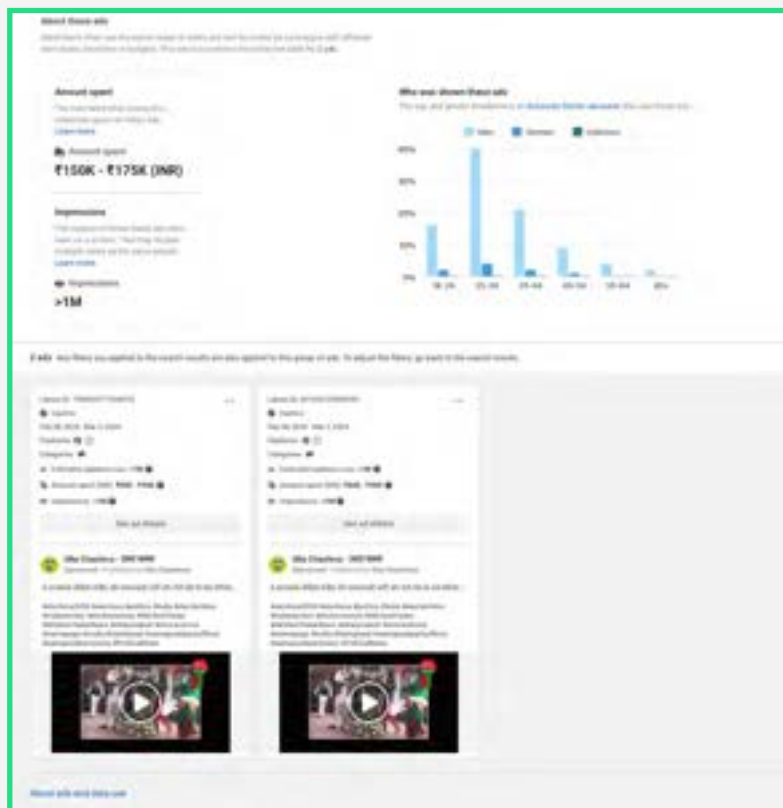
Screenshots of the five times this Ultra Chashma ad ran

[This ad](#) employs derogatory language, referring to Samajwadi Party chief Akhilesh Yadav as “tonti chor” or “tap thief” in its caption. The video utilizes religious hyperbola, sarcasm, and satire to criticize the party by implying that its members, including political figures Akhilesh Yadav and Mulayam Singh Yadav, pander to Muslims by wearing Muslim caps. The narrator in the video says ‘if you believe in God Ram and Ramcharitmanas then stay away from our non-social party, our party doesn’t like Hindu Religion’. The video goes further to say “the party is deeply interested in wearing caps [showing Muslim caps] and instigating communal riots with the cap-wearers”. The ad subtly draws a Hindu-Muslim binary and uses religious tropes to sow societal divisions. The video had a massive engagement, first as a post on Ultra Chashma and then as an ad. The ad ran two times between Feb 28–Mar 5 amassed over **2M impressions for ₹150K–175K (1800–2010 USD)**.

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



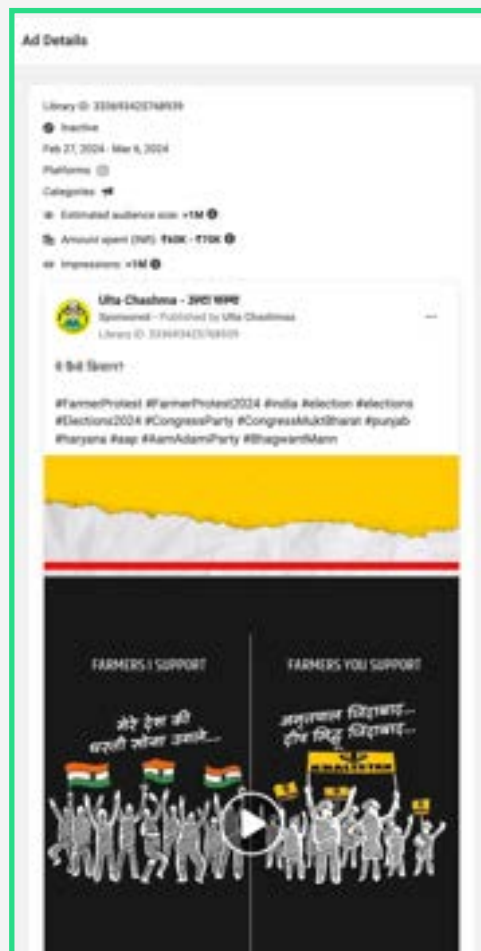
An ad smearing the Samajwadi Party and claiming they “instigate riots” based on their Muslim caps



Screenshot of the two times this Ulta Chashma ad ran

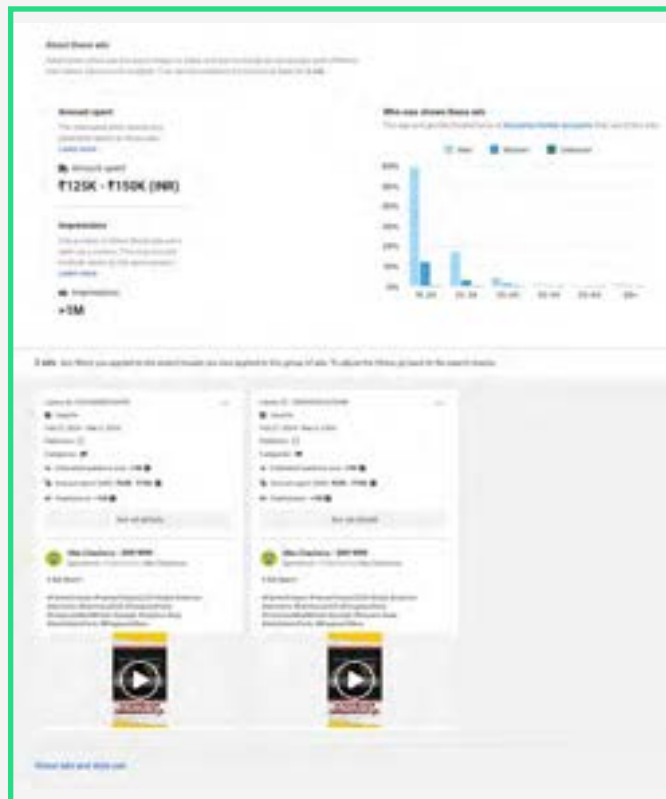
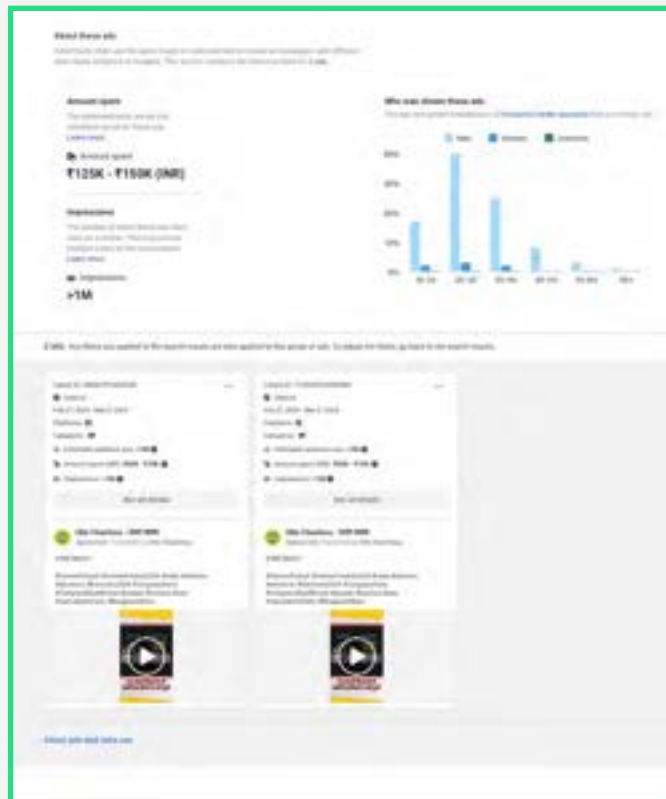
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network

[This ad](#) aims to discredit the farmer's movement by portraying it as being orchestrated by Khalistani separatist groups. It suggests that the farmers involved are not genuine and labels them as separatist, affluent, violent, and anti-nationalist perpetuating a [common conspiracy](#) pushed by the far right to discredit the Farmer's protest in India. The ad ran four times between Feb 27–Mar 6 amassed **over 4M impressions for ₹250K–300K (3000–3600 USD)**.



An ad smearing the farmers movement

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



Screenshots of the four times this Ultra Chashma ad ran

Publisher: [Paltu Paltan](#)⁸

Context: This publisher propagates Islamophobic and divisive narratives, targeting politicians Mamata Banerjee and Asaduddin Owaisi, as well as Muslim minorities. The ads contribute to a climate of fear and suspicion, by painting BJP opponents as anti-Hindu and suggesting that opposition parties enable anti-Hindu activities, violence and religious extremism. Paltu Paltan has spent ₹552K (6.6K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election. Created in May 2022 as a “satire/parody” page, it has over 142K likes and 147K followers. Between Dec 26th, 2023 – March 25th 2024, it ran over [400 ads](#). The page has 14 admins that have not been fully vetted according to Facebook’s page transparency, and yet it has been allowed to run election-related ads.

The set of advertisement examples promoted by this page seek to by-pass the Indian election laws by using a shadow organization. The advertisements divisive content poses a tangible risk of sowing discontent and exacerbating communal tensions, and would be prohibited from pre-certification on the grounds that it **promote enmity on grounds of “religion, race, language, caste or community or any other ground whatsoever, disharmony or feelings of enmity, hatred or ill-will between religion, racial, linguistic or regional groups or castes or communities or which is likely to disturb public tranquility”**.

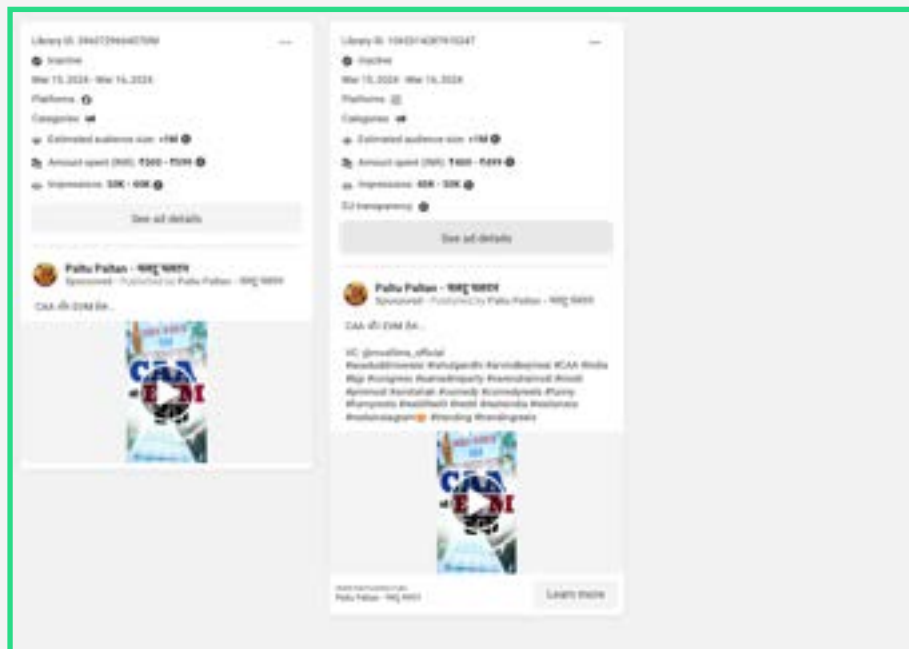
[This ad’s](#) caption text contains words like “jihad” and “terror” and contributes to the atmosphere of fear and suspicion in West Bengal, using Islamophobic language and suggesting that Mamata Banerjee’s governance is enabling anti-Hindu activities. It also accuses Mamata Banerjee of being anti-Hindu and implies that her removal from governance is necessary to protect Bengal from such threats. Additionally, the ad makes unverified claims about vandalism at Hindu temples during a Muslim festival, potentially spreading misinformation. The ad ran two times between Mar 2-14 and amassed between **200-250K impressions for ₹3-4K (36-48 USD)**.

⁸ <https://archive.ph/RWYpX>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad smearing Mamata Banerjee of being anti-Hindu and pushing Islamophobia



Screenshot of the two times this Paltu Paltan ad ran

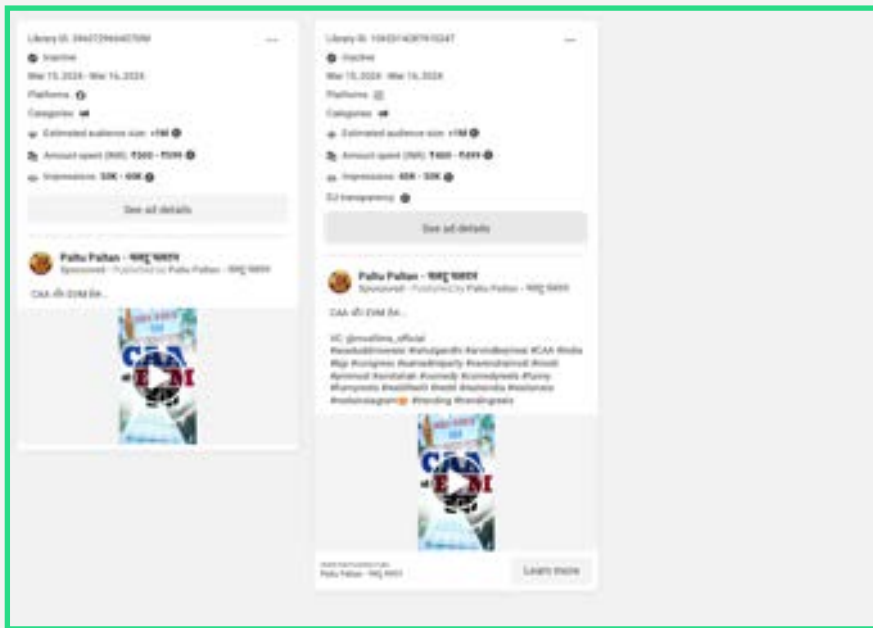
◆ **Meta's million dollar hate network**

[This ad](#) features an Islamophobic trope targeting the opposition Muslim leader Asaduddin Owaisi against his critiques of the controversial Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), which [provides a fast track to Indian citizenship for Hindu](#) and other religious minority refugees from neighboring countries, while excluding Muslim refugees solely based on their faith. The portrayal of Owaisi uses religious rhetoric - invoking Allah, and pelting stones - during the Shaheen Bagh peaceful sit-in. By associating Owaisi with anti-national sentiment and religious extremism, the ad aims to vilify him and stoke fear among viewers. The ad ran two times between Mar 15-16 amassed between **95-110K impressions for ₹900-1098 (10.8-13 USD)**.



An ad targeting opposition leader Asaduddin Owaisi using Islamophobic tropes

◆ Meta’s million dollar hate network



Screenshot of the two times this Paltu Paltan ad ran

[This ad](#) employs Islamophobic language, referring to a bearded Muslim man as a “jihadi,” in a derogatory and incendiary manner. The ad continues by stating “Hindustan is a country for Hindus” promoting a divisive narrative, suggesting the exclusion of religious minorities from the nation’s identity. Overall, the video interview appears to be a form of communal bullying. The ad ran once between Mar 15-16 and amassed **35-40K impressions for ₹500-599K (6-7.18 USD)**.



An Islamophobic ad containing a video interview filled with inflammatory and derogatory messaging

Publisher: [Amaar Sonar Bangla - অমর সোনার বাংলা](#)⁹

Context: Amaar Sonar Bangla's ads propagate Islamophobia and target the TMC party and Mamata Banerjee, spreading fear around West Bengal by associating Muslims and Rohingya refugees as sexually violent. Many of the ads invoke fear around a recent political storm which broke out over allegations of corruption and sexual assault against local leader, [Shahjahan Sheikh](#). The ads employ divisive rhetoric, portraying Muslims as a danger to safety and insinuating sexual violence. The publisher has spent ₹1.3M (16.1K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election. The page was created on 7th March 2024 and has 843 likes and 1K followers. In less than a month the page has published over [67 ads](#).

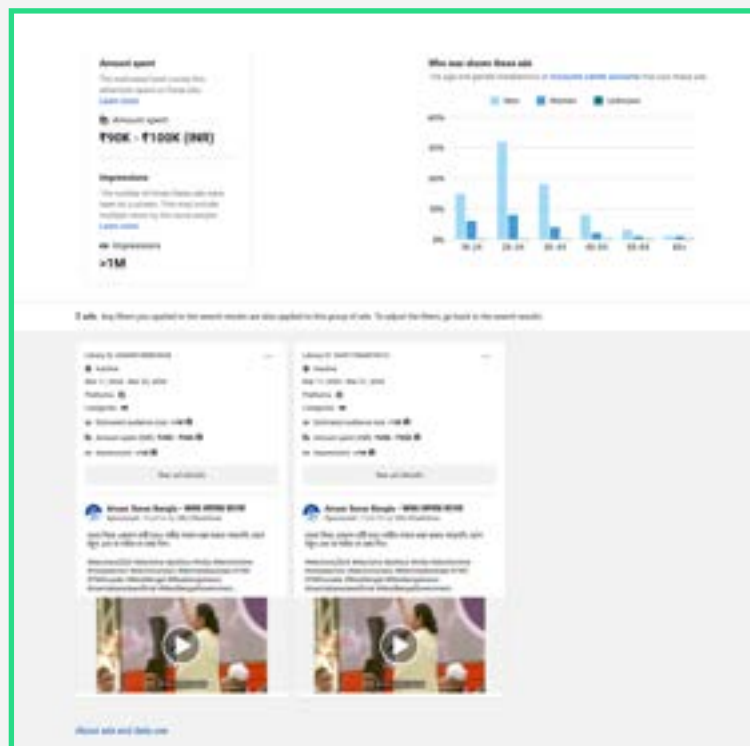
[This ad](#) although critiquing TMC's handling of Sandeshkali cases of sexual violence and land-grabs, is playing on the communal sentiment. The ads start with deriding Muslims and Rohingya, the narrators states that "while we thought these Muslims and Rohingya are common people, TMC leaders like Sheikh Shajhan show us that these are in fact the descendents of the [Mughal empire](#)." Hindutva supporters in India decree Indian Muslims as foreigners and invaders, thus othering them and creating a communal wedge between Hindus and Muslims. These tropes are often tied with discriminatory calls to remove Indian Muslims from India or reduce them to second-class citizenry. The video continues by stating that Muslims are a threat to safety and broadly depicts Muslims as sexually violent. The ad ran five times between Mar 17-22 and amassed over 5M impressions for between ₹225-250K (2.7-3K USD).

⁹ <https://archive.ph/yo1gb>

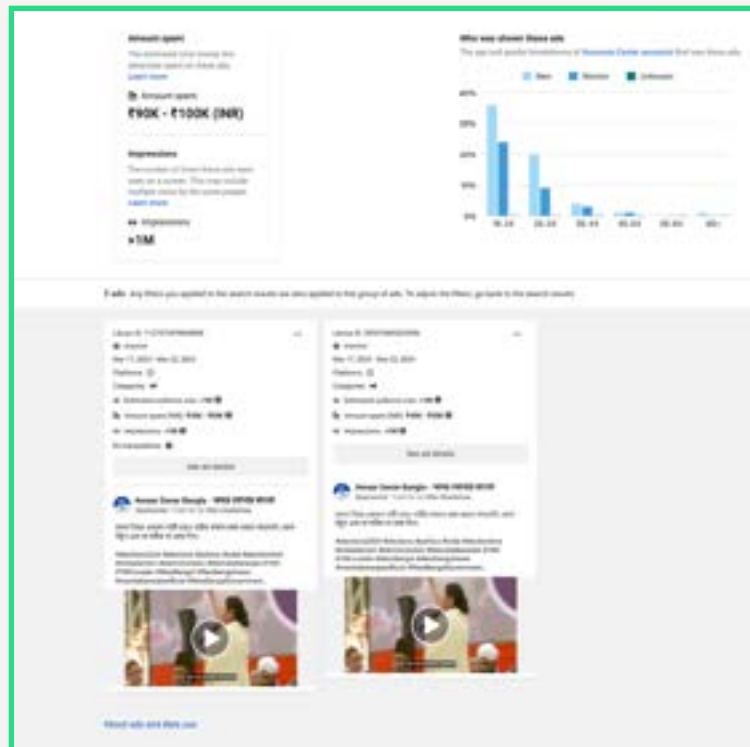
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad othering Muslims and Rohingya in West Benga



◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



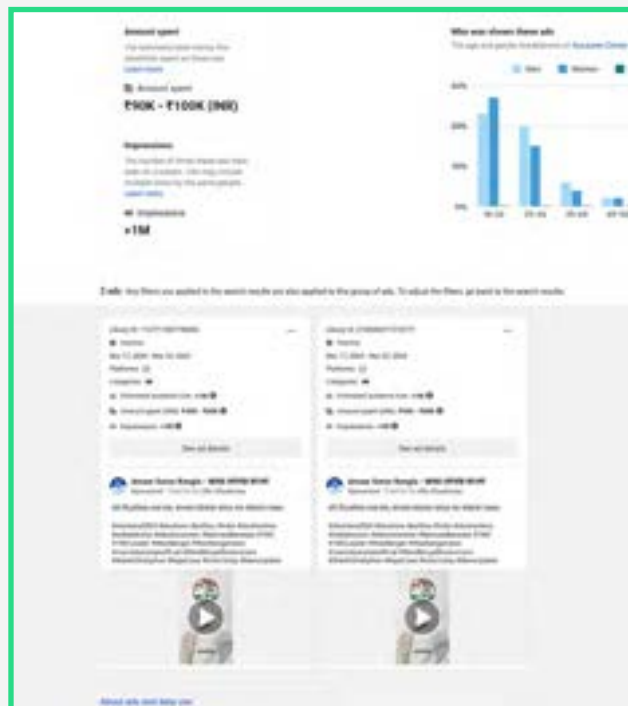
Screenshots of four other times this Amaar Sonar Bangla ad ran

[This ad](#) employs highly problematic anti-Muslim insinuations, suggesting that women in West Bengal should beware of BJP's rival, TMC, generalising that TMC leaders are sexually violent. The ad ran four times between Mar 17-22 and amassed **over 4M impressions for between ₹180-200K (2.1-2.4K USD)**.

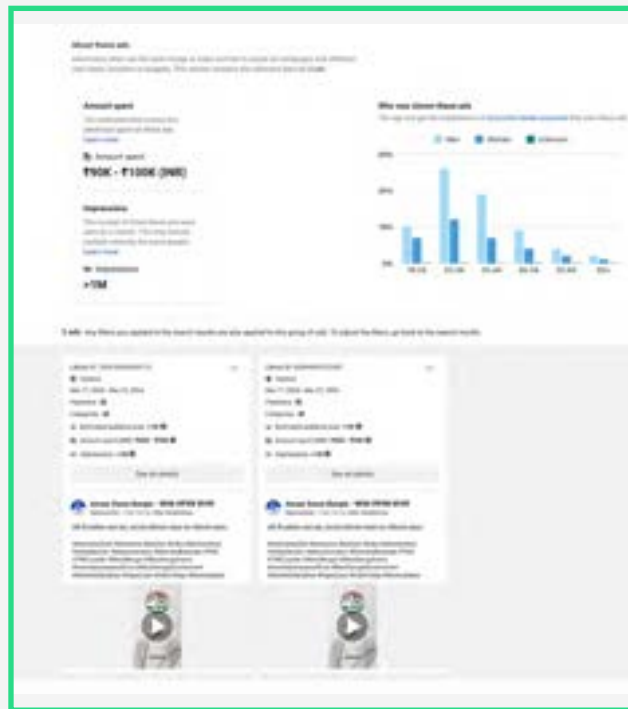
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad using malinformation suggesting women in West Bengal should be aware of members of the party who are sexually violent



◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



Screenshots of the four times this Amaar Sonar Bangla ad ran

Publisher: [MemeXpress](#)¹⁰

Context: MemeXpress utilizes divisive rhetoric and smear tactics to demonize rival political opponents, such as the Congress party and Mamata Banerjee. The publisher has spent considerable sums of money to promote these ads and has had a huge reach. In March the publisher had an advertisement promoting and glorifying violence taken down from Meta after [fact checking organizations](#) flagged the ad. The publisher has spent ₹14.1M (169.2K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election. Created in December 2023 it has 2K likes and 2.9K followers, and in the short time that it has been active, the page has published over [340 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 - March 25th 2024. Despite the impressive activity, it is unclear why Facebook doesn't disclose any information about its three admins under the page transparency section.

The ads and the general content on MemeXpress page is generally polarising, deriding Muslims, and drawing a wedge between communal harmony by utilization of ant-muslim tropes, disinformation,

¹⁰ <https://archive.ph/oymr1>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network

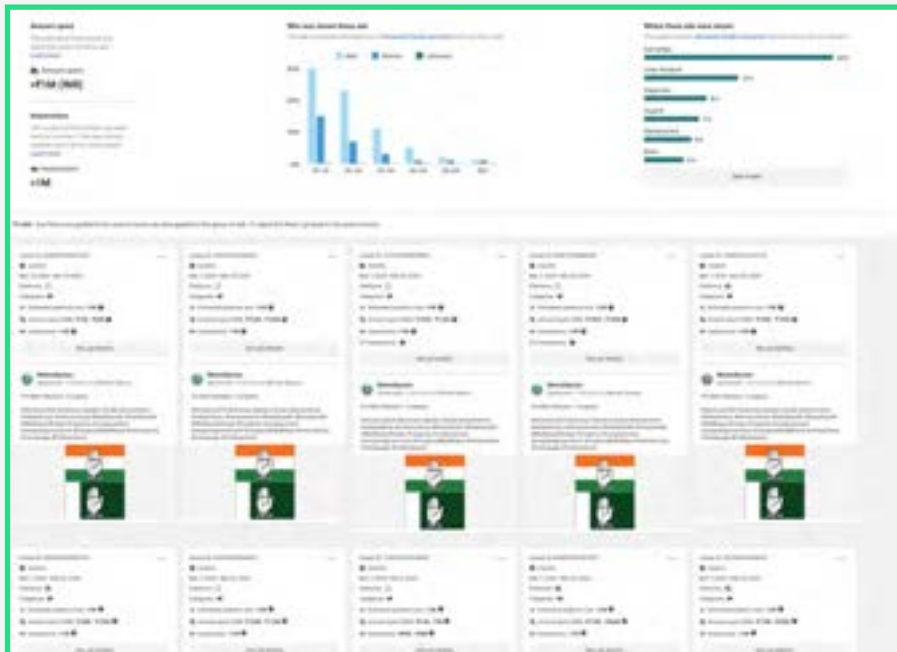
and unsubstantiated claims against anyone who may not support BJP or its Hindutva ideologies. For example the ad below uses anti-muslim trope to malign the opposition party of India as favouring India's neighbour - Pakistan.

[This ad](#) insinuates a pro-Pakistan allegiance within the Congress party by overlaying the Congress party logo onto the Pakistani flag. The ad ran ten times between Mar 7-20 and amassed over **10M impressions for more than ₹1M (12K USD)**.



An ad depicting the Congress party as loyal to Pakistan

◆ Meta’s million dollar hate network



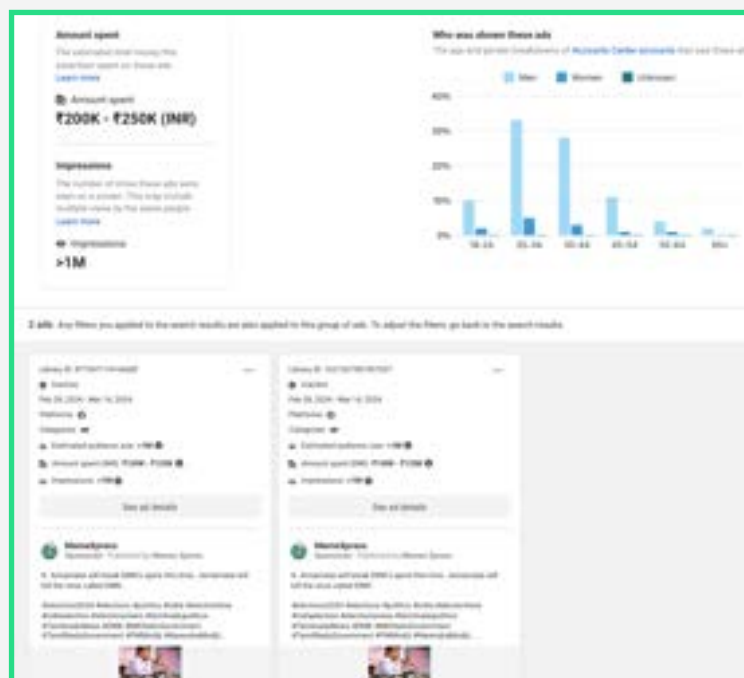
Screenshots of the ten times this MemeXpress ad ran

[This ad](#) supporting K. Annamalai, a candidate for the Lok Sabha polls representing the BJP, uses aggressive and violent rhetoric against the DMK party, referring to them as a “virus” that needs to be eradicated. The ad also mentions that K. Annamalai will “break their [DMK] spine this time.” The ad dehumanizes the DMK leader by calling them Viruses and drawing an analogy to COVID-Virus, whereas BJP and allies are portrayed as the “vaccine”. The ad ran five times between Feb 28- Mar 14 and amassed over **5M impressions for between ₹500-625K (6000-7500 USD)**.

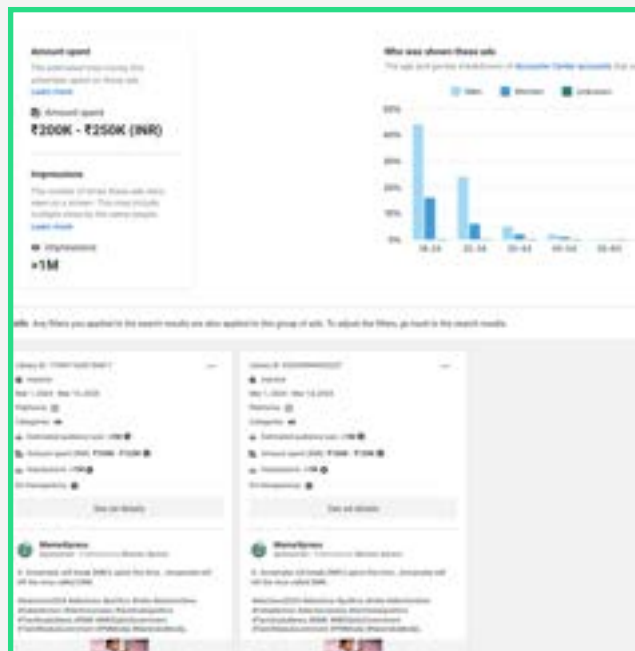
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad using violent rhetoric against the DMK party and supporting BJP's K. Annamalai



◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



Screenshots of the five times this MemeXpress ad ran

Publisher: [Political X-Ray](#)¹¹

Context: This publisher utilizes political cartoons to push deceptive narratives targeting BJP opposition leaders and popular protest movements. Political X-Ray has spent ₹10.6M (127.4K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election. The page was created in December 2023, with 5.3K likes and 6.7K followers. In the short amount of time that the page has been active it has over published [240 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 – March 25th 2024. Despite the impressive activity, it is unclear why Facebook doesn’t disclose any information about its three admins under the page transparency section.

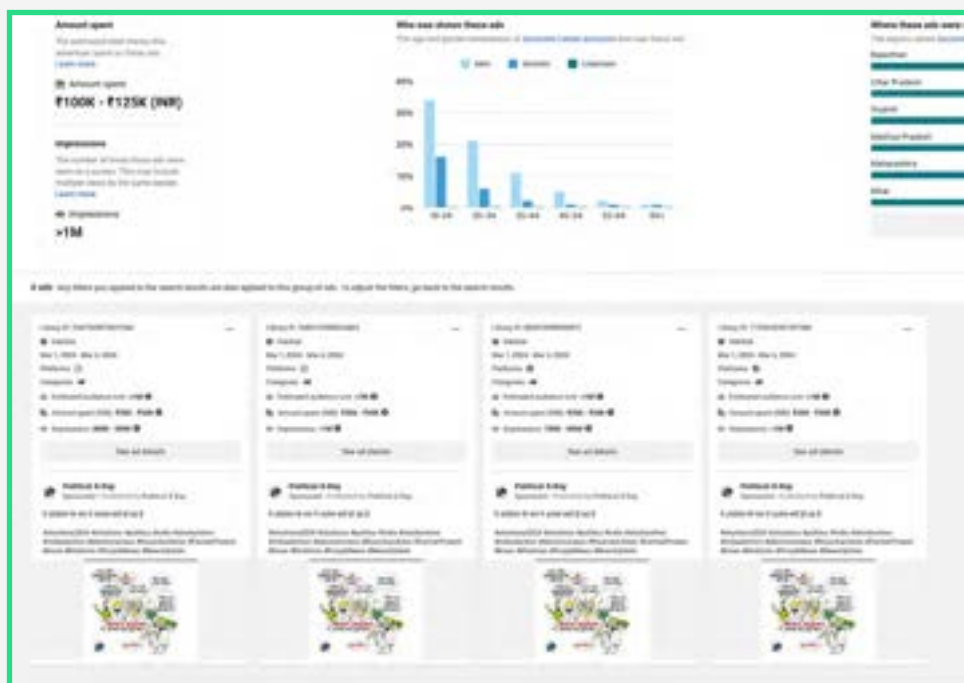
[This ad](#) falsely portrays the farmers’ movement with the caption suggesting that it has violent elements within it. The ad uses inflammatory language and misleading visuals to suggest that protesters are advocating for violence and separatism, including calls for the killing of PM Modi. Additionally, it also strongly implies that those protesting are not “real” farmers. Whereas the page is filled with anti-muslim tropes and caricaturing of any opposition to the BJP, the ad’s negative portrayal of the farmers’ movement and misconceptualisation of farmers as “Khalistani” is a targeting of the Sikh community and draws a societal wedge on the basis of religion. Such advertisements in election campaigns by-passes the prohibition rules established under the RP Act, the Indian Penal Code, as well as the MCC. The ad ran four times between Mar 1-6 and amassed over [3.5M impressions for between ₹100-125K \(1.2-1.5K USD\)](#).

¹¹ <https://archive.ph/QC0f9>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad portrays the farmers' movement as violent and fake



Screenshots of the four times this Political X-Ray ad ran

Publisher: [Mudde ki Baat - मुददे की बात](#)¹²

Context: Mudde ki Baat is a relatively new page which was created in November 2023. The page has posted BJP aligned content and has spent huge sums of money in the short time it has been active. As explained below, the page seems to be a part of a wider network composed of a set of far-right focused pages (see section below). The publisher has spent ₹4.3M (52.1K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election running over [73 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 - March 25th 2024. The page was created in November 2023 and has 550 likes and 967 followers, and no information about its three admins, but creators clearly want to be recognised as they link to a [website](#), [email address](#), [Instagram \(2k followers\)](#), and mobile number.

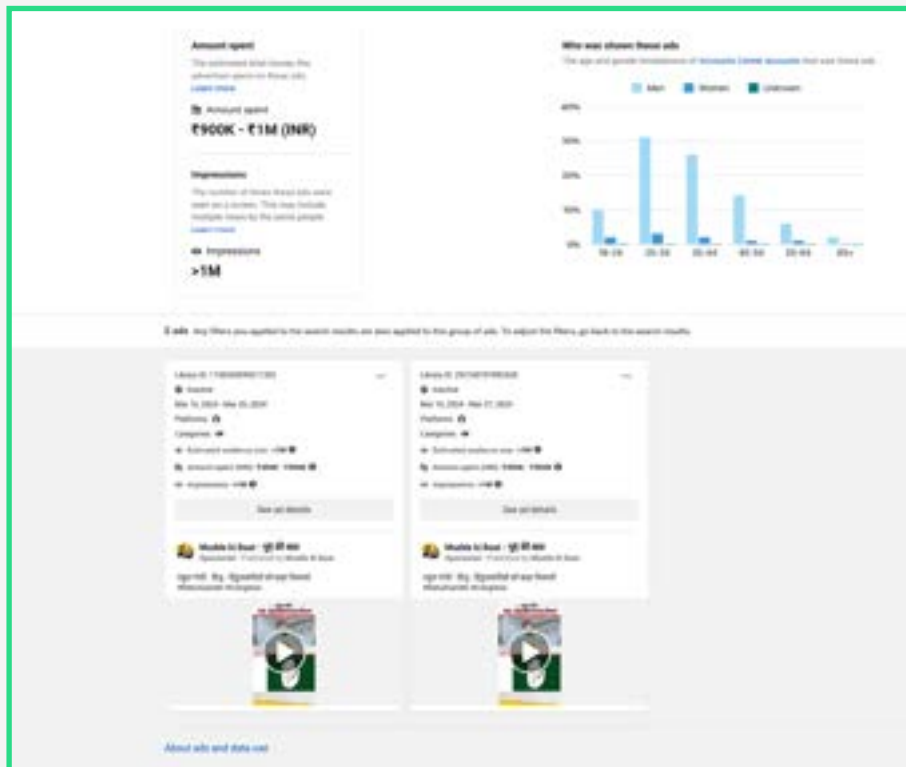
[This ad](#) takes a slip of tongue by Rahul Gandhi out of context, where he inadvertently says "Hindu" instead of "Hindutva-wadi" ("followers of Hindutva" the political ideology) which he was attacking. The ad uses this slip of the tongue to portray him as anti-Hindu and allegiant to Pakistan. It juxtaposes the Congress party's symbol with elements of the Pakistani flag, further insinuating disloyalty. The portrayal of Mr. Gandhi as "Muslim" wanting to remove 'Hindus/hindutva-wadi' (followers of Hindutva) from India is sowing seeds of communal disharmony, an act which will otherwise be prohibited under the MCC, especially if channeled directly from a party or candidate. The ad ran four times between Mar 16-28 and amassed [over 4M impressions for between ₹1.7-1.9M \(20.4-22.7K USD\)](#).

¹² <https://archive.ph/liOvf>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad portraying Rahul Gandhi as allegiant to Pakistan



◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



Screenshots of the three other times this Mudde ki Baat ad ran

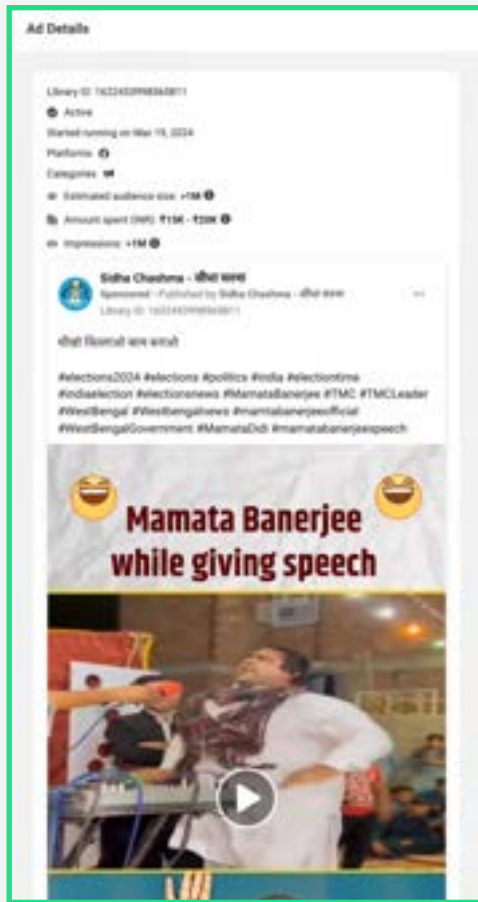
Publisher: [Sidha Chashma - सीधा चश्मा](#)¹³

Context: Sidha Chashma is another new page which was created in March 2024 and seems to be a part of a wider far-right network, as explained below. Even in the short amount of time it has been active, it has spent ₹1.48M (17.7K USD) since its creation in March 2024. The page has 567 likes and 842 followers and in less than a month it has run [36 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 - March 25th 2024, with a majority of the ads amassing over **1M impressions each**.

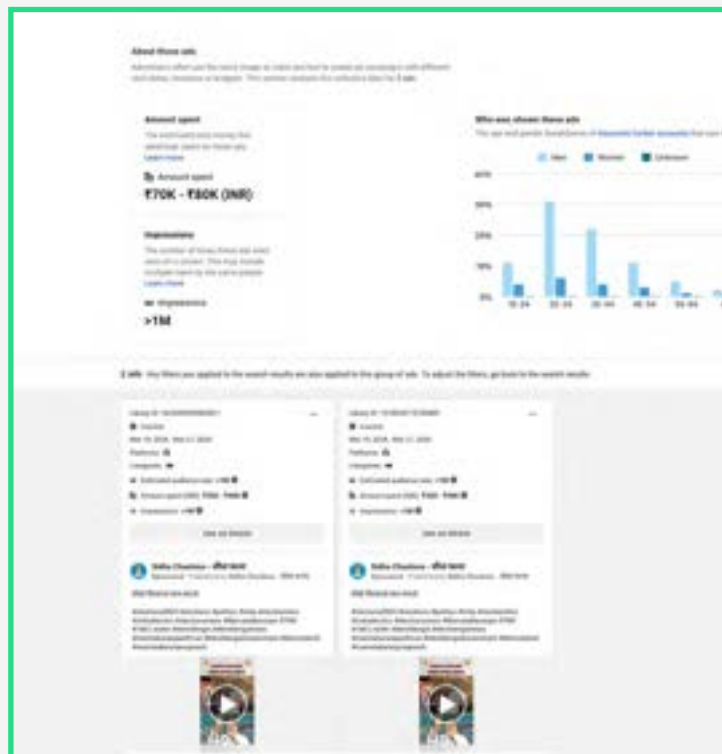
[This ad](#) mocks Mamata Banerjee and Bengali culture by making derogatory jokes about ululation, a traditional practice during Bengali festivities and religious ceremonies. The ad ran four times between Mar 19-27 and amassed **over 4M impressions for between ₹140-160K (1.68-1.9K USD)**.

¹³ <https://archive.ph/3Pl0C>

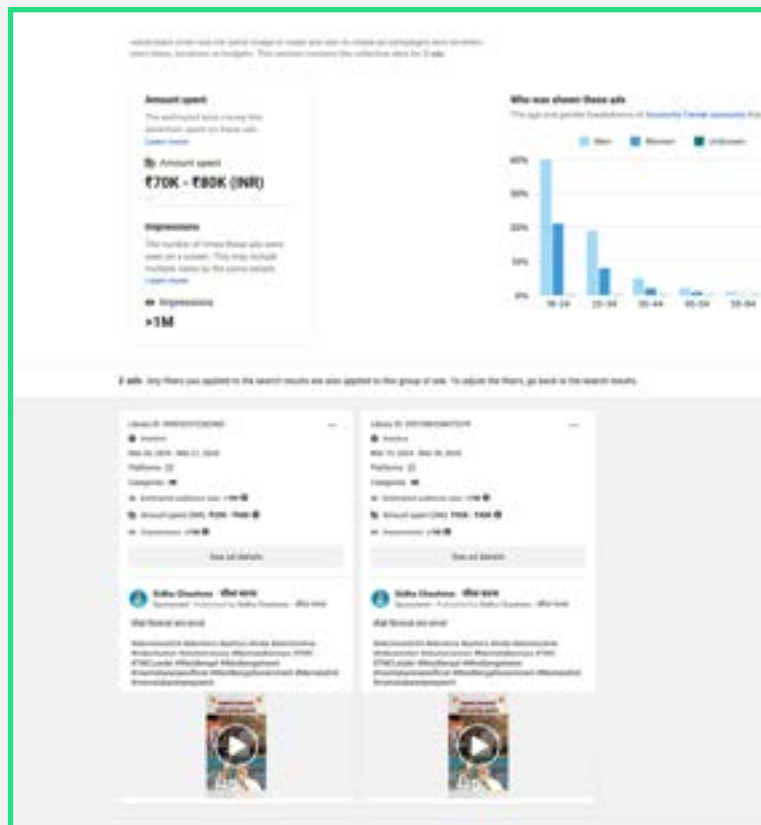
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad mocking Mamata Banerjee



◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



Screenshots of the four times this Sidha Chashma ad ran

Publisher: [Tamilakam - தமிழகம்](#)¹⁴

Context: This publisher employs smear tactics to discredit BJP opponent Udayanidhi Stalin from the DMK party. By associating him with a drug corruption scandal. The publisher has spent ₹1.56M (18.8K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election. The page was created in February 2024 and has 668 likes and 877 followers and in the few months that it has been active has published [64 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 – March 25th 2024, many of which getting well over **1M impressions each**, and no information about its three admins. The Ad transparency section links this page with an active [Instagram account](#), with 2.1k followers.

The general content of the page and advertisement is divisive in nature, deriding Muslims and other minorities. The page through its election and political advertisements actively use disinformation and mis-representation which will violate the principles of MCC and pre-certification requirement under the EC regulations.

¹⁴ <https://archive.ph/i8LlZ>

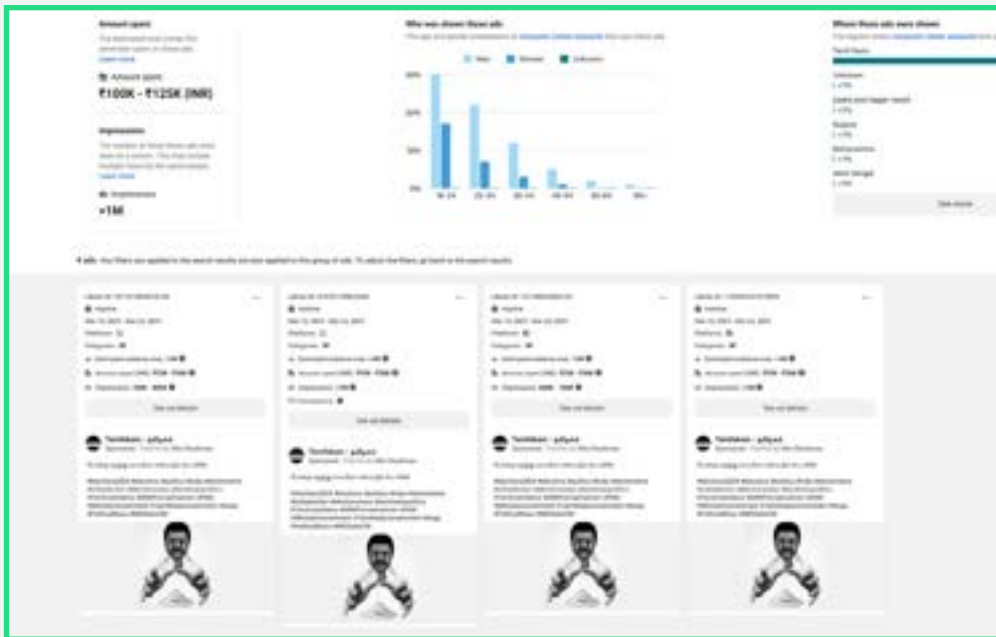
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network

[This ad](#) aims to smear BJP opponent Udayanidhi Stalin from the DMK party by insinuating his involvement in a [drug corruption scandal](#). The scandal revolves around the recent Jaffer Sadiq case where Sadiq, an expelled DMK lawmaker in Tamil Nadu, allegedly donated to Stalin's party. The BJP has intensified attacks following this case, suggesting a concerted effort to tarnish Stalin's image. The ad ran four times between Mar 16-22 and amassed between **3.3-3.5M impressions for between ₹100-125K (1.2-1.5K USD)**.



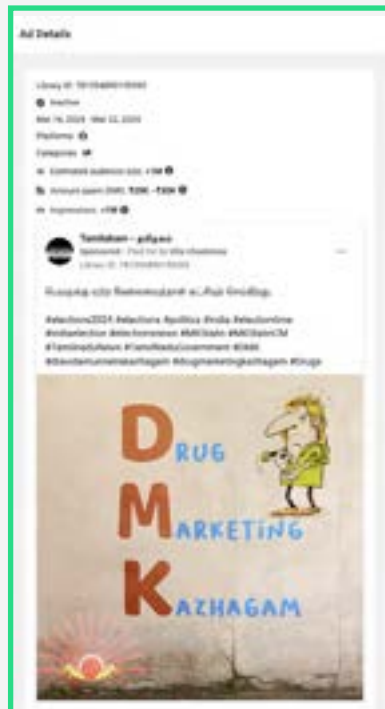
An ad smearing Udayanidhi Stalin from the DMK party

◆ Meta’s million dollar hate network



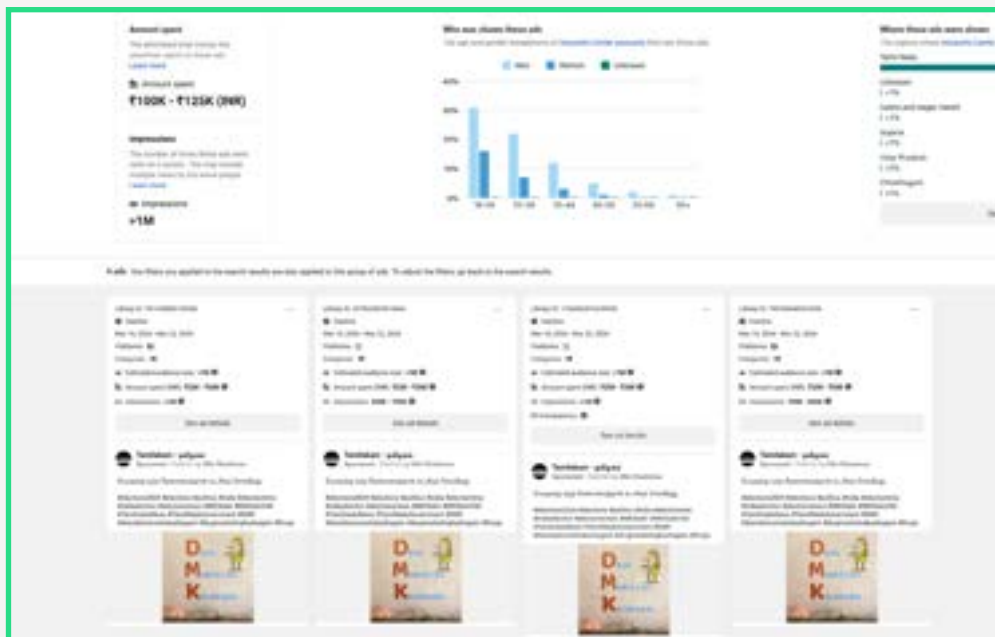
Screenshots of the four times this Tamilakam ad ran

[This ad](#) targets the DMK party (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam), associating it with drug-related allegations by renaming it as “Drug Marketing Kazhagam”. It leverages the same drug corruption scandal involving Jaffer Sadiq above. The ad ran four times between Mar 16–22 and amassed between **3.3–3.5M impressions for between ₹100–125K (1.2–1.5K USD)**.



An ad smearing the DMK party

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



Screenshots of the four times this Tamilakam ad ran

Publisher: [Kannada Sangamam - ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಂಗಮ](#)¹⁵

Context: This publisher pushes divisive and inflammatory content aimed at tarnishing the image of Rahul Gandhi and the Congress party. It uses Islamophobic narratives to propagate false claims suggesting support for violence against Hindus by Muslims as well as exploiting debunked news video clips. The publisher has spent ₹1.25M (15K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election. The page was created in February 2024 and has 182 likes and 269 followers and has published over [70 ads](#) since it was created with multiple ads amassing millions of impressions. This page and [Tamilakam - தமிழகம்](#) page described above, are almost identical, they were created on the same date and follow almost identical ad numbers.

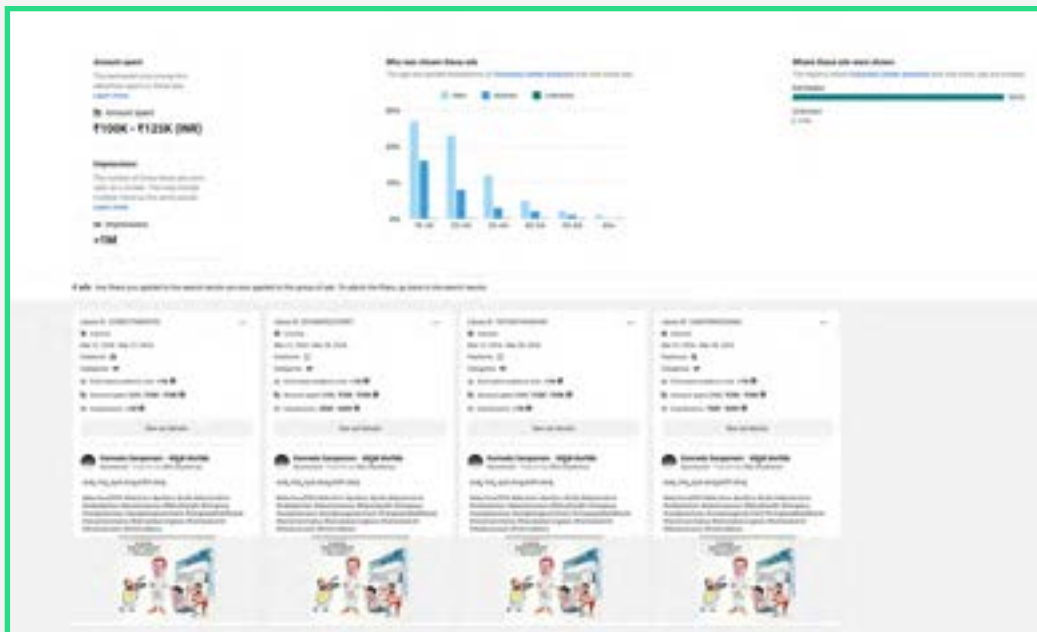
In [this ad](#), Rahul Gandhi and the Congress party are depicted as Muslim appeasers, condoning violence against Hindus by Muslims. The Islamophobic ad appears to suggest that Rahul Gandhi and the Congress party support violence. The ad ran four times between Mar 22-28 and amassed between **3.2-3.4M impressions for between ₹100-125K (1.2-1.5K USD)**.

¹⁵ <https://archive.ph/ns6JX>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An Islamophobic ad smearing Rahul Gandhi and the Congress party



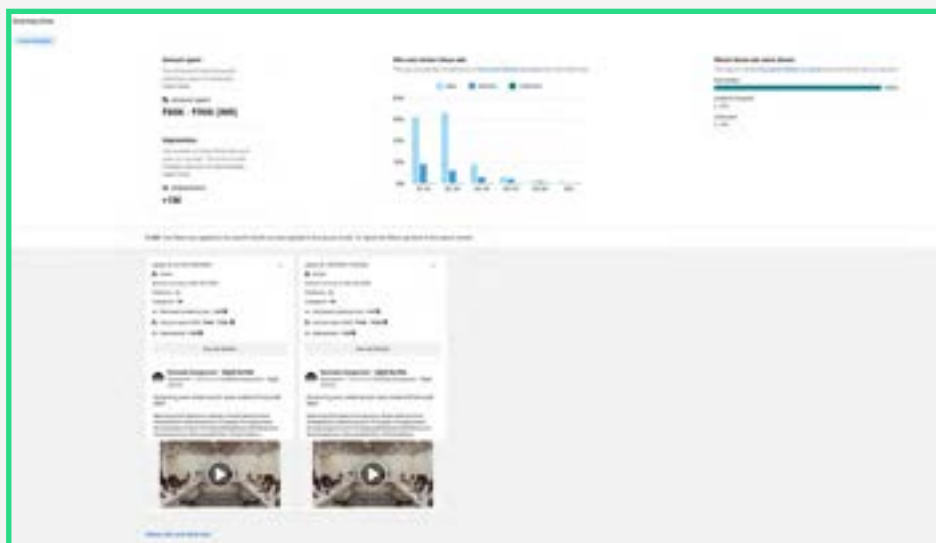
Screenshots of the four times this Kannada Sangamam ad ran

◆ Meta’s million dollar hate network

[This ad](#) exploits a debunked viral clip featuring the false claim of Congress supporters chanting “Pakistan Zindabad” (long live Pakistan) after a political victory, despite evidence proving otherwise. This manipulation of discredited information serves to incite Islamophobic sentiments tied to Pakistan allegiance conspiracy theories. The ad ran three times on Mar 28 and was active during the writing of this report and amassed over **3M impressions for between ₹120-135K (1.4-1.62K USD)**.



An ad using the debunked “Pakistan Zindabad” chant



Screenshots of the two other times this Kannada Sangamam ad ran

Publisher: [Mahagathbandhan - महाठगबंधन](#)¹⁶

Context: The publisher's ads use derogatory language and smear tactics against opposition figures, particularly targeting members of BJP opposition parties, such as TMC, INDI-alliance, and Aam Aadmi Party. These ads use derogatory terms and employ false allegations to tarnish the image of politicians, accusing them of being anti-Hindu or engaging in non-Hindu appeasement politics. Mahathugbandhan has spent ₹4M (48K USD) on over [1,200 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 - March 25th 2024. Created in 2019, this page has 1.2M likes and 1.4M followers, and 11 page admins that have not been fully vetted according to Facebook's transparency page but are still allowed to run ads amassing millions of impressions.

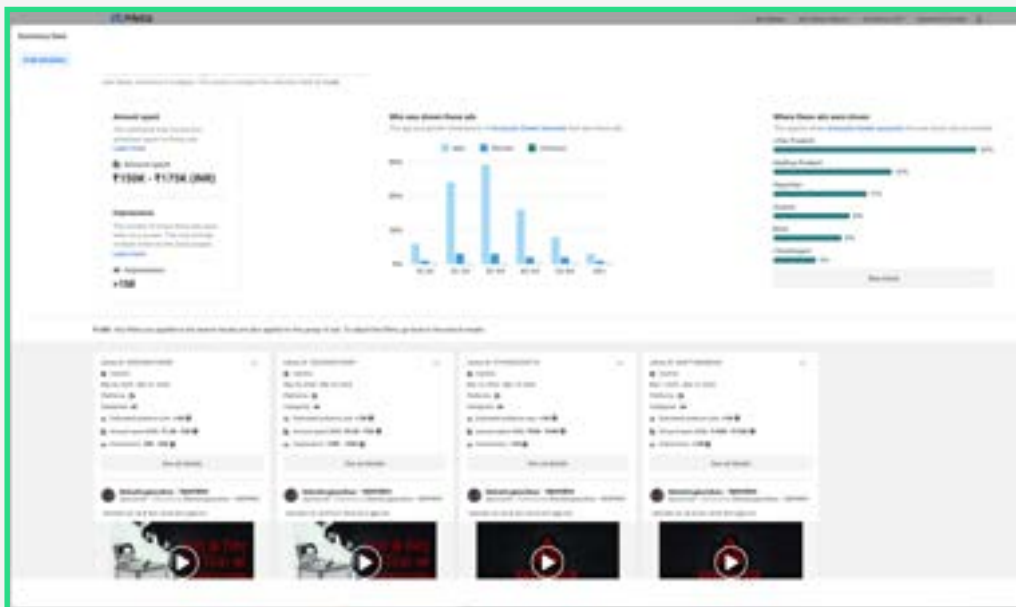
In [this ad](#), Uddhav Thackeray, a member of the Maharashtra Legislative Council, is targeted and falsely labeled as a killer, using the derogatory nickname "Thaggav" which is a play on his name 'Uddhav' and the word 'thug'. The ad accuses him of being responsible for the killing of two sadhus (devote or holy person in Hinduism) in Palghar, [despite evidence](#) that the incident was not communal and Thackeray promptly took action by arresting over 100 individuals involved. The ad spreads disinformation by misrepresenting Thackeray's response to the Palghar lynching. The ad ran four times between March 7-27 and had amassed [over 2M impressions for between ₹150K-175 \(1800-2010 USD\)](#).

¹⁶ <https://archive.ph/wip/PPNH0>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad targeting and falsely labeling Uddhav Thackeray as a killer, using the derogatory nickname "Thaggav"



Screenshots of the four times this Mahagathbandhan ad ran

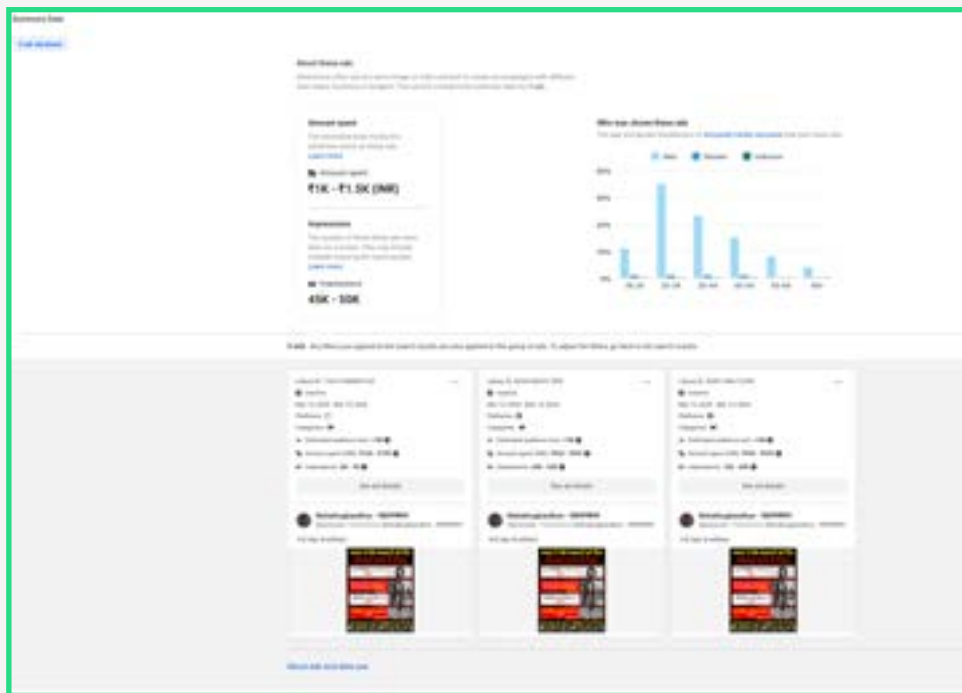
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network

In [this ad](#), four opposition members from the TMC party are smeared, characterized as “makkaar” (a derogatory insult which translates to cunning/conniving), corrupt, and adversaries of “Sanatan” (the eternal religion of Hinduism). The language used is both derogatory and aims to tarnish the image of the TMC members by painting them as anti-Hindu. There were three versions of this ad that ran between March 12-14 and had amassed between **45-50K impressions for ₹1000-1500 (15-18 USD)**.



An ad smearing four TMC members using derogatory insults

◆ Meta’s million dollar hate network



Screenshots of the three times this Mahagathbandhan ad ran

In [this ad](#), the big tent multi party opposition alliance “INDIA”, i.e. Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance, is defamed using highly inflammatory and derogatory language, including wordplay that twists the term “gathbandhan” (alliance) to “thugbandhan” (an alliance of thugs). Additionally, the ad employs abusive labels such as “demon,” “poisonous snake,” “dictator,” and “trader of death” for the politicians featured in the poster. The ad ran on March 12 and had amassed between **15-20K impressions for ₹400-499 (5-6 USD)**.

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad smearing the INDI-alliance with derogatory terms claiming they are an “alliance of thugs” and “demons”

In [this ad](#), Arvind Kejriwal from the BJP opposition Aam Aadmi Party is targeted for allegedly providing government support to Rohingya Muslims, referred to as “infiltrators,” by offering them free water, electricity, and rations. The ad accuses Kejriwal of being a “fraudster” and lacking empathy for Hindu refugees from Pakistan while favoring Rohingya Muslims. The page again employs derogatory language by labeling Kejriwal as “makkaar” (conniving). The ad ran between March 14-15 and had amassed between **1-2K impressions for less than ₹100 (1.2 USD)**.

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad targeting Arvind Kejriwal with derogatory language around his support of Rohingya Muslims in the country

In [this ad](#), Arvind Kejriwal and Mamata Banerjee, both from opposition parties to BJP are accused of. Engaging in non-Hindu appeasement politics and fostering conditions of anarchy in the country to increase their votes. The ad suggests that their actions regarding the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) are aimed at creating political unrest. The page again uses derogatory language by labeling both politicians as “makkaar” (conniving). The ad ran between March 13-14 and had amassed between **4-5K impressions for between ₹100-199 (1-2.39 USD)**.

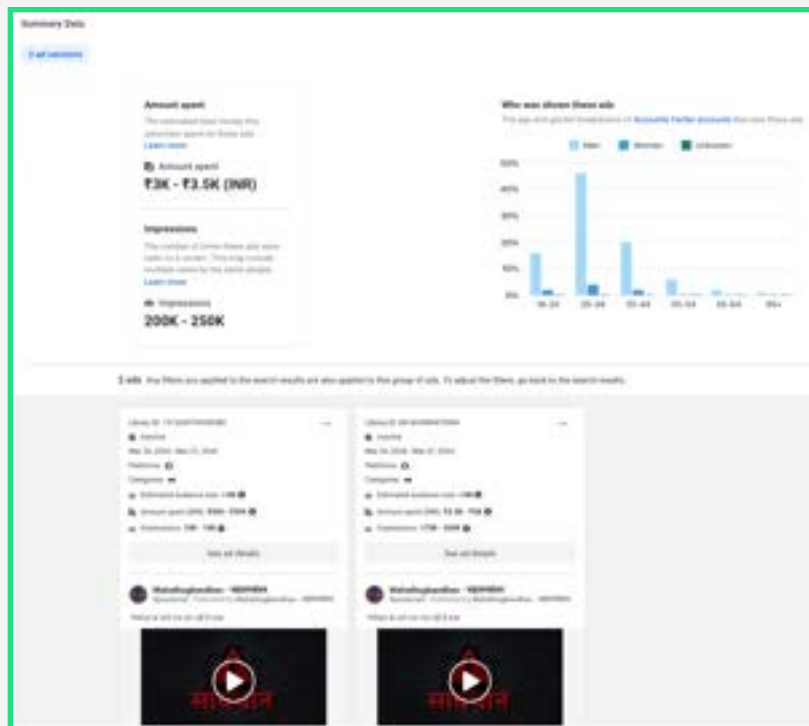
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad smearing Arvind Kejriwal and Mamata Banerjee with derogatory language for their positions on the CAA law

In [this ad](#), Mamata Banerjee is falsely accused of hating the name of the Hindu Lord Rama and instead only shows affection towards Rohingya refugees. However, Mamata has publicly expressed reverence for Lord Rama and his consort, Sita, and even [declared](#) Ram Navami as a public holiday. The ad misrepresents Mamata's religious sentiments and stance on refugees. The ad ran twice between March 26-27 and had amassed between **200-250K impressions for between ₹3000-3500 (36-42 USD)**.

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



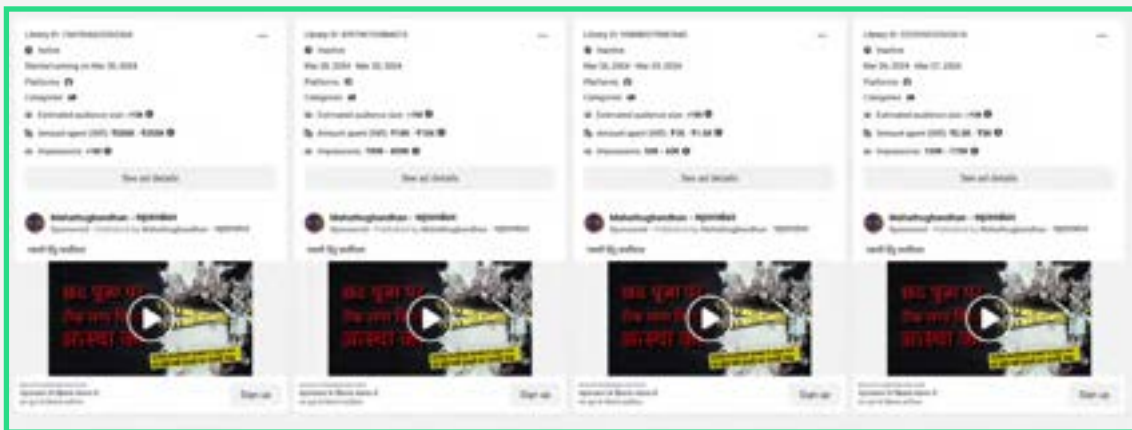
A screenshot of the two versions of an ad falsely misrepresenting Mamata Banerjee's religious sentiments and stance on refugees

In [this ad](#), Arvind Kejriwal is falsely accused of being anti-Hindu for allegedly banning Chhath Puja, an important Hindu festival primarily observed in central Indian states, with rituals that involve offerings at riverbanks or water bodies. However, Kejriwal [only imposed restrictions](#) on conducting the puja on the polluted banks of the Yamuna river. He provided guidelines for safe celebrations and has personally participated in ceremonies. The ad misrepresents Kejriwal's actions regarding the festival to depict him as anti-Hindu. The ad ran four times between March 26-27 and had amassed between **1.9-2M 425K impressions for between ₹6500-7500 (77-90 USD)**.

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



A screenshot of an ad pushing misinformation and falsely accusing BJP opponent Arvind Kejriwal



Screenshots of the four times this Mahagathbandhan ad ran

◆ Meta’s million dollar hate network

Publisher: [Nirmamata](#)¹⁷

Context: This publisher has multiple ads that smear BJP opposition parties and lawmakers, with a vast majority of them focused on Mamata Banerjee, the chief minister of the Indian state of West Bengal and the [first woman to hold this office](#). Nirmamata has spent ₹3.44M (41.3K USD) on over [990 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 – March 25th 2024. This page has amassed 185k likes and 241k followers since its creation in 2019, reaching tens of thousands of impressions with its ads, while having over 16-page admins.

In [this ad](#), Mamata Banerjee is seemingly targeted with a smear campaign, suggesting the state government has “admitted to” involvement in a scam related to medical entrance exams and fake caste identity cards. However, the claim lacks credible evidence, as there is no reporting of such an admission, and [reporting](#) contradicts the claim that such an admission has been made by the State government. The ad concludes with a spokesperson saying “there has been state-sponsored corruption in the entire state, and we have seen the state’s role in scam after scam.” The ad ran once between March 1-2 and had amassed between **60-70K impressions for between ₹6500-7500 (6-7.18 USD)**.



An ad targeting Mamata Banerjee suggesting the lawmaker was involved in a scam related to medical school entrance exams and a fake caste identity card, as [debunked](#).

¹⁷ <https://archive.ph/wip/PMgLO>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network

Publisher: [Indian Compass Videos](#)¹⁸

Context: The ads from Indian Compass Videos smear the Congress and DMK parties, portraying them as supporters of terrorism and questioning their patriotism, especially linking out of context statements they made to pushing narratives of their allegiance to Pakistan and disloyalty to India. The ads seek to tarnish the image of the targeted parties. Indian Compass Videos has spent ₹542K (6.5K USD) on [850 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 - March 25th 2024. This page has amassed 503k likes and 509k followers since its creation in February 2023 and has 4 admins.

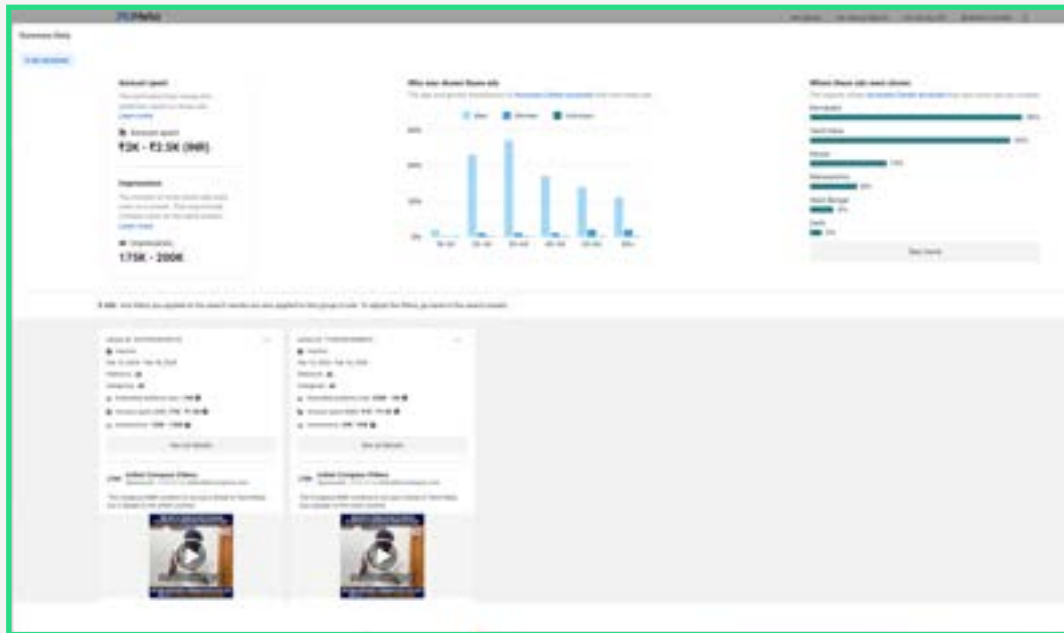
In [this ad](#), the Congress and DMK parties are smeared and labeled as “a patron of a terror organization”, aiming to tarnish their image. This ad is part of a larger political fight between the DMK and AIADMK parties in the Tamil Nadu region, revolving around accusations of Muslim appeasement to increase ballot votes. The ad seeks to capitalize on controversies surrounding the release of prisoners, particularly Muslim individuals, amidst allegations of religious bias. The ad ran twice between Feb 15-18 and had amassed between [175-210K impressions for between ₹2000-2500 \(24-30 USD\)](#).



An ad accusing Congress and DMK parties as ‘patrons of terror’

¹⁸ <https://archive.ph/kA8Lx>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



Screenshots of the two times this Indian Compass Videos ad ran

In [this ad](#), the Congress party is smeared for statements by its leaders, some taken out of context¹³, which were interpreted as being pro-Pakistan and anti-India. The ad aims to sow doubt on nationalist sentiments by portraying the Congress as sympathetic to Pakistan. The ad ran between March 3-4 and had amassed between **15-20K impressions for ₹400-499 (4.8-6 USD)**.

¹³ Full excerpts:

<https://www.indiatoday.in/latest-headlines/story/kargil-only-for-nda-to-celebrate-cong-mp-52172-2009-07-14>;

<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/congress-mani-shankar-aiyar-calls-pakistanis-biggest-asset-in-dia-row-erupts-2500750-2024-02-12>;

<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/karnataka/story/karnataka-remark-sparks-row-bk-hariprasad-pakistan-enemy-country-bjp-congress-assembly-2508221-2024-02-28>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



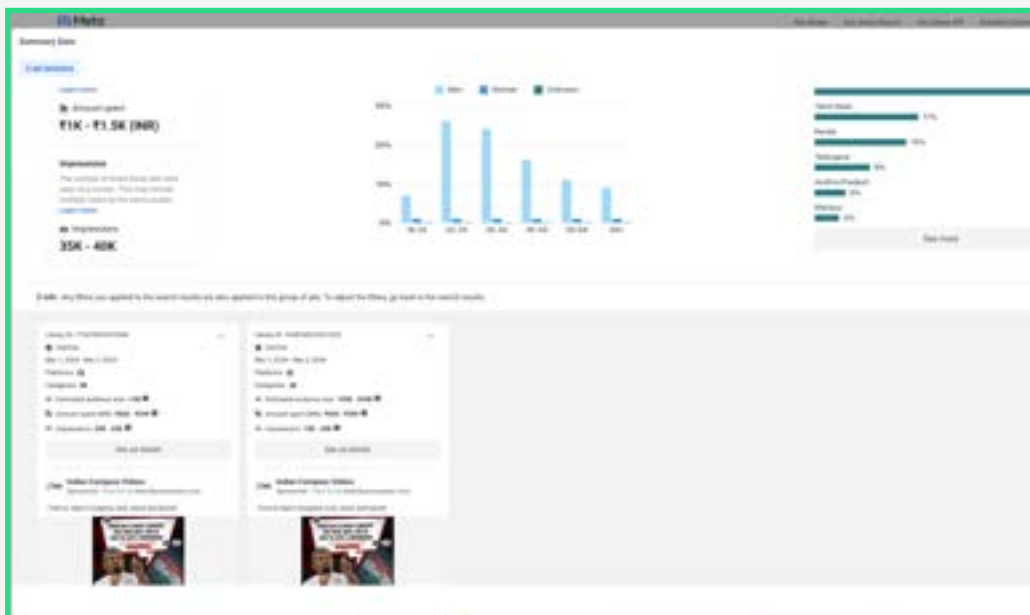
An ad smearing Congress party members as having loyalty to Pakistan

In [this ad](#), the opposition Congress party is smeared by taking a statement made by one of its [MPs out of context](#), suggesting that the opposition is unpatriotic and insults the sacrifices of soldiers. The ad aims to discredit the Congress party by portraying it as sympathetic to Pakistan, exploiting nationalist sentiments. The statement made by the Congress MP is presented in a misleading manner to tarnish the image of the opposition. The ad ran twice between March 1-2 and had amassed between **35-45K impressions for ₹1000-1500 (12-18 USD)**.

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad smearing a Congress MP by taking one of his quotes out of context and depicting him as having allegiance to Pakistan



Screenshots of the two times this Indian Compass Videos ad ran

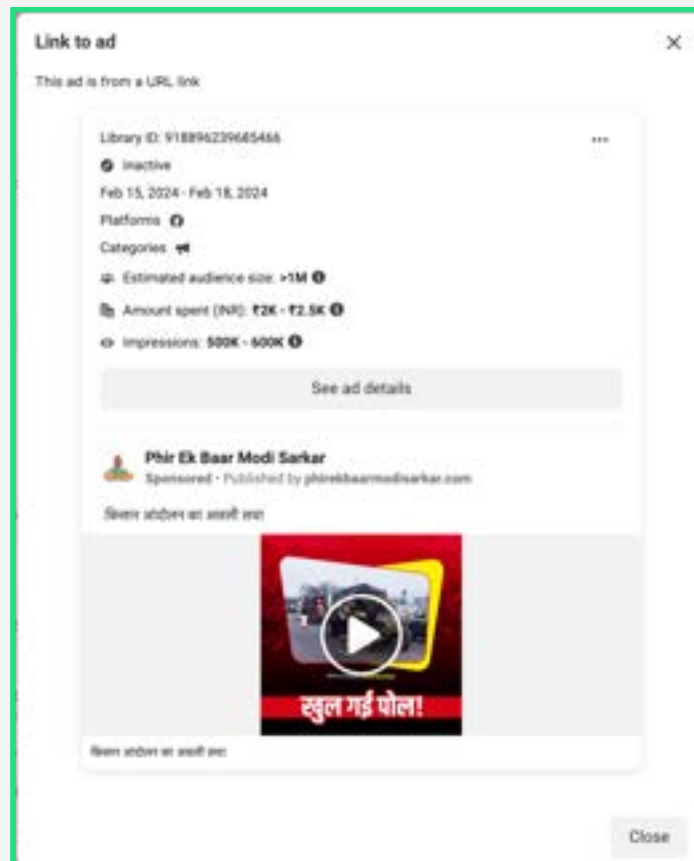
Publisher: [Phir Ek Baar Modi Sarkar](#)¹⁹

Context: This publisher distorts facts and propagates conspiracy theories to discredit individuals critical of the ruling BJP party, such as journalist Arfa Khanum Sherwani and opposition leader Rahul Gandhi. Additionally, they promote Hindu supremacist narratives, undermining opponents through targeted smear campaigns and divisive rhetoric. The publisher also spreads conspiracy theories around the farmers' protests taking place in India, farmers have been protesting against the government's agricultural policies, demanding legal guarantees for minimum crop prices. [Conspiracy theories](#) and targeted misinformation campaigns by BJP supporters about the farmers movement have taken hold on social media in India, which have been [debunked](#) by fact checkers. Phir Ek Baar Modi Sarkar has spent ₹16.7M (200K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election with [2,300 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 - March 25th 2024. Created in 2016, the page has 5M followers, 15-page admins and has had three name changes.

[This ad](#) claims to tell "the truth about the farmers' movement" by depicting the movement as being fake and filled with rioters propped up by a separatist group. The legitimate protests, however, have suffered intense crackdowns from the government which have been repeatedly denounced by [international human rights groups](#). The video goes further to claim that the farmers are not real and that their farming equipment is being militarized to fight the state. The ad ran between Feb 15-18 and had amassed between **500-600K impressions for ₹2000-2500 (24-30 USD)**.

¹⁹ <https://archive.ph/wip/PmtO4>

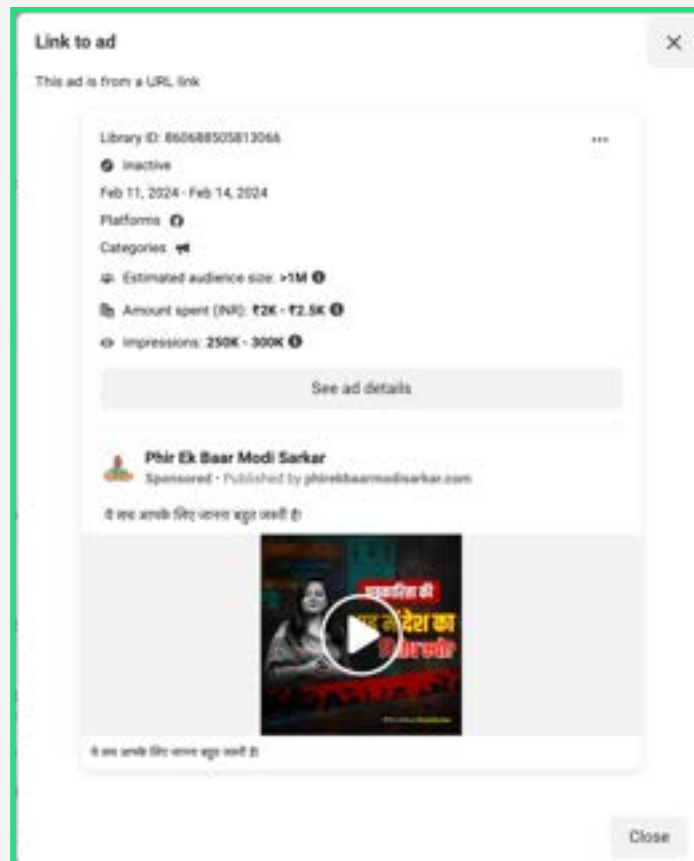
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



Ad pushing a conspiracy about the legitimacy of the farmers' movement

In [this ad](#), Indian-Muslim journalist Arfa Khanum Sherwani, who writes for The Wire, and is seen as a vocal critic of the BJP and Modi, is attacked. The video repeatedly refers to Sherwani as a “so-called journalist” and attacks her as having blind hatred towards Indian president Modi as well as being “anti-India”. The video concludes by hinting that her work as a journalist is working towards removing Modi and “putting her masters/bosses on the throne” with an image of MP Rahul Gandhi. The ad ran between Feb 11-14 and had amassed between **250-300K impressions for ₹2,000-2,500 (24-30 USD)**.

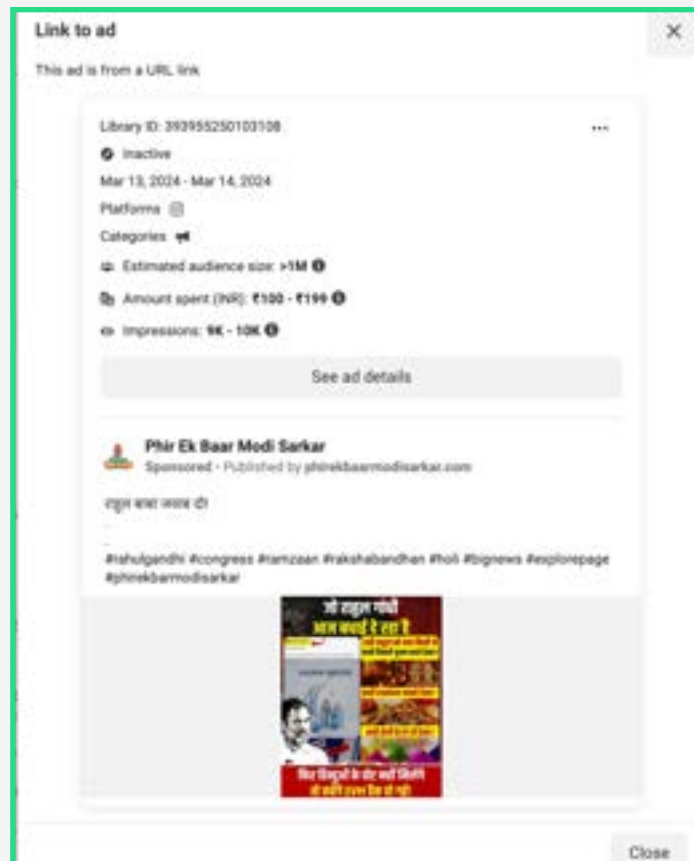
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad smearing Indian-Muslim journalist Arfa Khanum Sherwani

In [this ad](#), BJP opponent Rahul Gandhi from the Indian National Congress party is framed as anti-Hindu due to a tweet he made commemorating the start of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. The ad insinuates that Gandhi has failed to make similar commemorations to previous Hindu holidays. The ad ran between March 13-14 and had amassed between **9-10K impressions for ₹100-199 (1.2-2.39 USD)**.

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad attacking Rahul Gandhi as anti-Hindu

Publisher: [Bharat Todo Gang](#)²⁰

Context: This BJP-aligned publisher has disseminated false claims around current events in India, including the CAA and electoral bonds, by vilifying BJP opponents as anti-Hindu, using Islamophobic language or stereotypes to target opposition figures. The ads smear opposition members and present misinformation. Bharat Todo Gang has spent ₹1.43M (17.2K USD) on over [1,600 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 - March 25th 2024. Created in 2022 as a “satire/parody” page, it has over 18-page admins with over 86k likes and 98k followers. The ad “About” section links to an active [Instagram account](#) with over 28.2k followers, which, in return, links to a small but very active [YouTube channel](#) created in December 2023.

²⁰ <https://archive.ph/aXirq#selection-403.0-403.6>

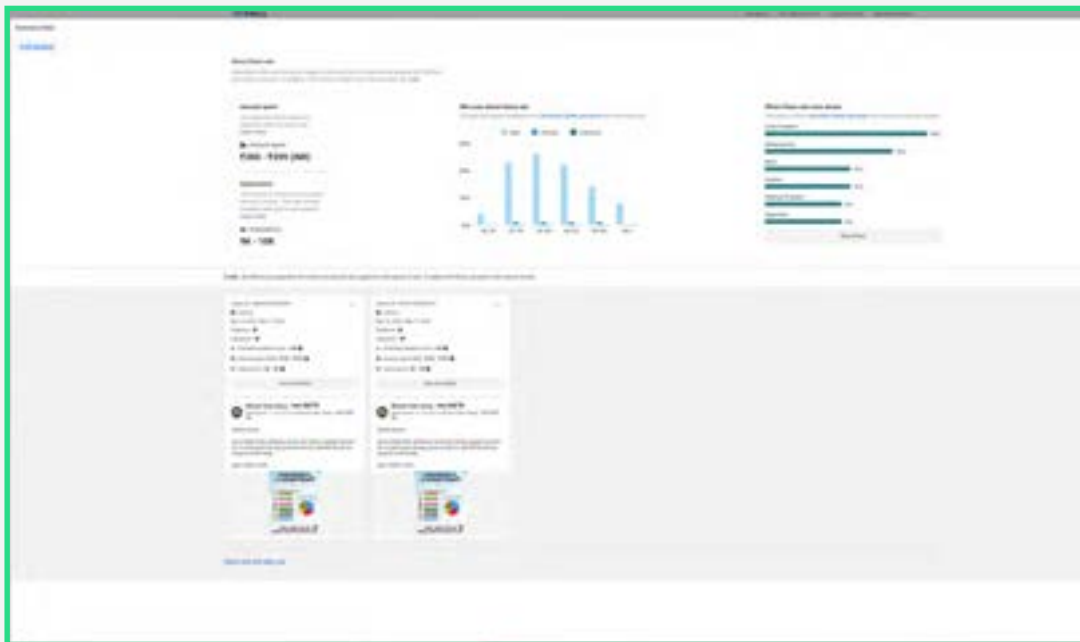
◆ Meta’s million dollar hate network

In [this ad](#), there is a false claim regarding the amount of electoral bonds held in relation to a controversial election bond scheme. The ad falsely claims that the BJP party had 6,000 crores instead of the actual 8,251 crores of bonds, with a 50% share. This misinformation has been [debunked](#). Additionally, the publisher had nine other ads related to electoral bonds on their page in March, indicating a pattern of disseminating similar misleading information around this issue to paint the BJP in a positive light while smearing opposition parties. The ad ran twice between March 16-17 and had amassed between **9-10K impressions for ₹300-399 (3.6-4.8 USD)**.



An ad pushing a false claim regarding the amount of electoral bonds the BJP had purchased

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



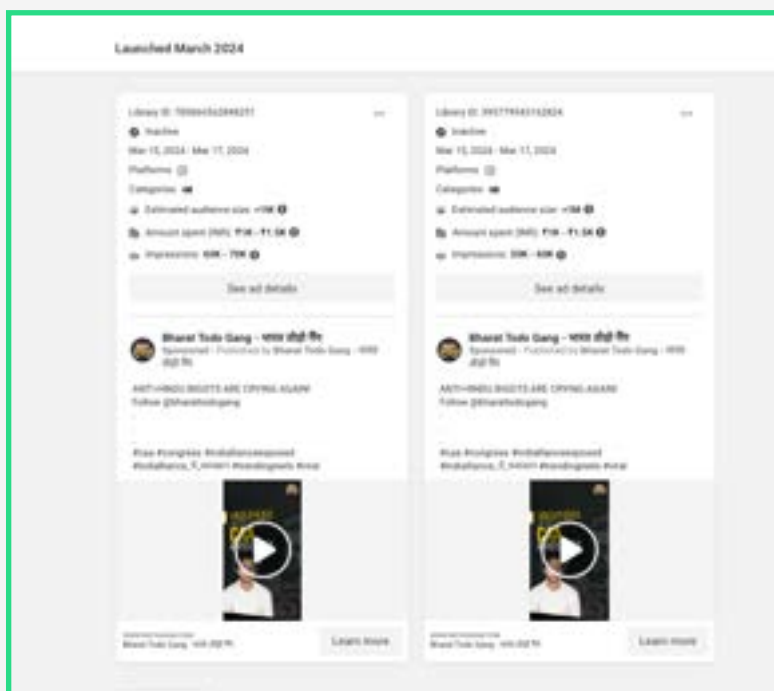
Screenshots of the two times this Bharat Todo Gang ad ran

[This ad](#) discusses the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and appears to smear journalists, such as Rana Ayyub, and Muslim activists who have protested or written about the law as being Hinduphobic or “creat[ing] conspiracy theories”. The caption text of the ad claims these “ANTI-HINDU BIGOTS ARE CRYING AGAIN”. [Amnesty International](#) has reported that the law, which removes barriers for acquiring Indian citizenship for select minority groups from the neighboring countries of Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan, is a blow to Indian constitutional values and international standards due to discriminatory exclusion of groups. The ad ran twice between March 15-17 and amassed between **110-130K impressions for ₹2000-3000 (24-36 USD)**.

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad smearing the Congress party and journalists as being anti-Hindu for their critiques on the CAA law



Screenshot of the two times this Bharat Todo Gang ad ran

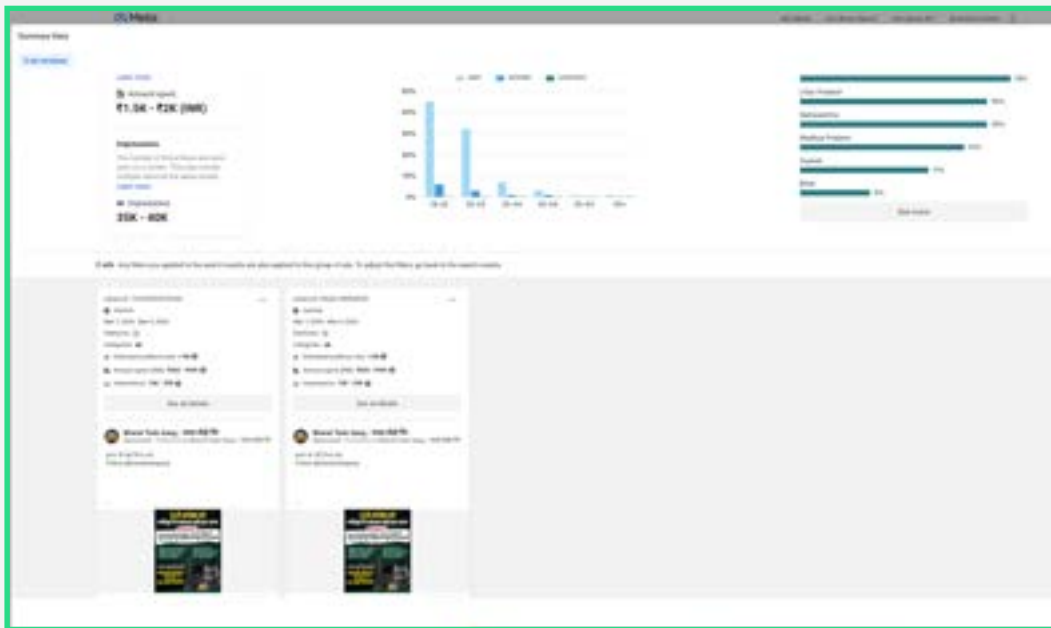
◆ Meta’s million dollar hate network

[This ad](#) contains unsubstantiated claims and appears to spread misinformation and wrongful accusations against Rahul Gandhi and the Congress party. The ad also contains Islamophobic language, referring to “Rahul’s shop of Muhammads.” The ad ran twice between March 7–9 and amassed between **35–40K impressions for ₹1500–2000 (18–24 USD)**.



An ad smearing Rahul Gandhi and the Congress party with Islamophobic text saying “Rahul’s shop of Muhammads”

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



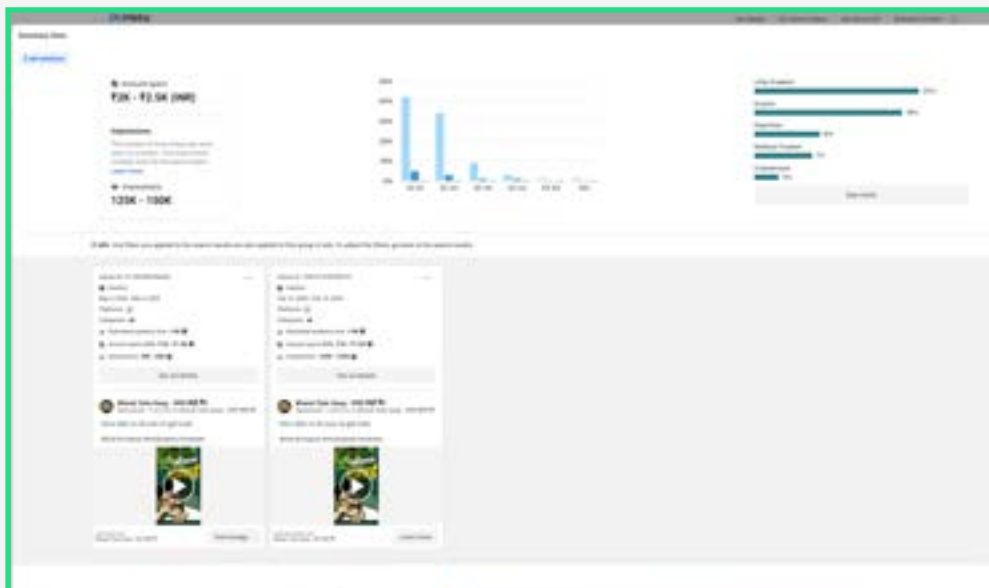
Screenshot of the two times this Bharat Todo Gang ad ran

[This ad](#) misinterprets a statement made by politician Tauqeer Raza, suggesting it is an open threat to the government and pushes Islamophobic tropes about Muslim violence. Raza's statement was "Muslim leaders are controlling our youth, if they get out of control, then the state will face difficulty" which was taken to imply jihad or an open threat to the government. The caption has "jihad" in the text and hints at potential incitement of religious discord. The ad ran seven times between Feb 12–March 3 and amassed between **575–685K impressions for ₹7000–9500 (84–114 USD)**.

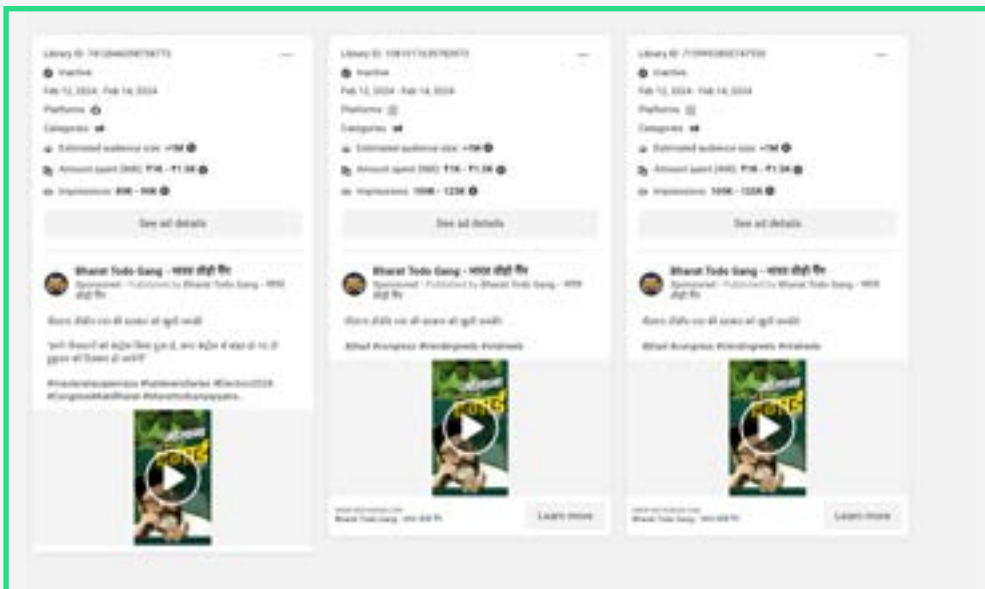
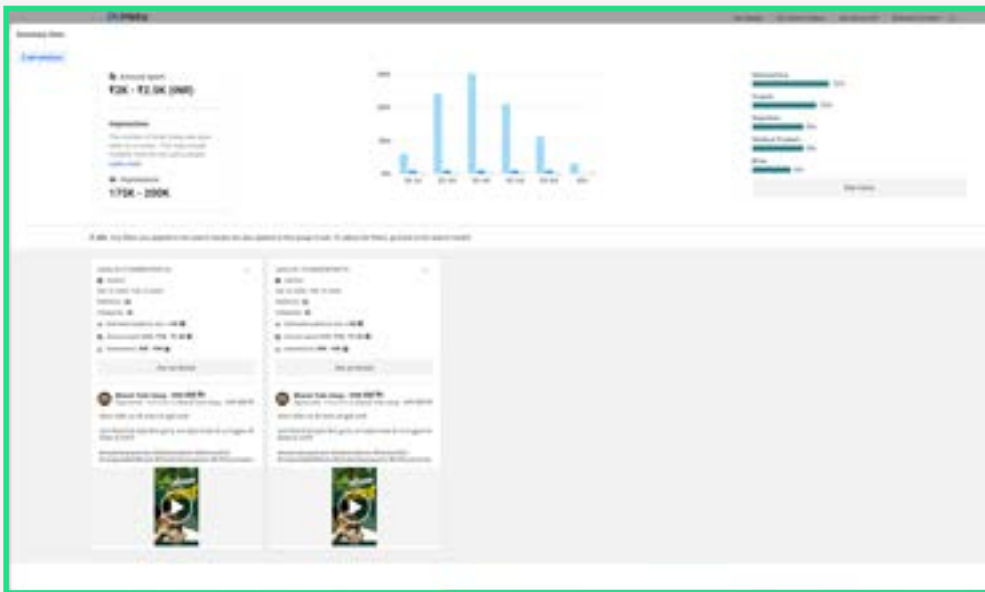
◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad targeting Tauqueer Raza pushing Islamophobic tropes



◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



Screenshots of the seven times this Bharat Todo Gang ad ran

◆ **Meta’s million dollar hate network**

Publisher: [Hokage Modi Sama](#)²¹

Context: This publisher also targets Rahul Gandhi and other BJP opponents, as well as uses Hindu supremacist hashtags and narratives. Hokage Modi Sama has spent ₹629K (7.5K USD) over the 90 day period leading up to the election. Created in February 2023 as a “journalist/blogger” page, having substantially smaller page engagement with just 106 likes and 233 followers. However, the contact section of the page links to an [X](#) and [Instagram](#) account, the latter with over 129K followers. The Instagram profile also links to a [merchandising website](#)²², selling t-shirts and mugs with Modi’s face. The Facebook page, although small in following, has run over [490 ads](#) between Dec 26th, 2023 – March 25th 2024.



Sample of products sold on the website linked to Hokage Modi Sama page.

[This ad](#) aims to smear Rahul Gandhi by portraying him as divisive and anti-national. It references Rahul Gandhi’s election tour as “Bharat todo yatra” (Break India Tour), implying that his actions are intended to divide the country. The ad also had #hindutva and other Hindu supremacist aligned hashtags. The ad ran once between Mar 11-17 and amassed between **250-300K impressions for ₹3K-3.5K (36-42 USD)**.

²¹ <https://archive.ph/wip/N43rx>

²² <https://archive.ph/wip/Q9H1b>; <https://archive.ph/wip/ScmIS>; <https://archive.ph/wip/Hs1xA>

◆ Meta's million dollar hate network



An ad smearing Rahul Gandhi and his election tour

**◆ COORDINATED
NETWORK
AMONG
FAR-RIGHT
PUBLISHERS**

◆ Coordinated network among far-right publishers

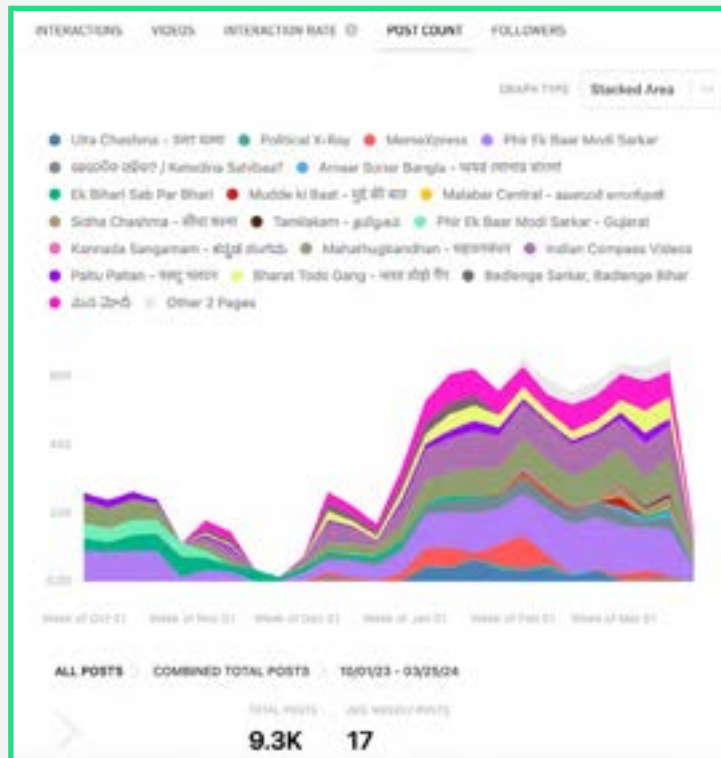
The far-right ecosystem in India exposed in this report exhibits a powerful degree of coordination in dissemination, messages, and tactics aimed at smearing political opponents and exploiting news or current events to promote the BJP and other far-right groups. Across the various surrogate advertiser pages identified above, there is a similarity in the themes, language, and strategies employed in their ads. This coordination is evident in the consistency of derogatory language, Islamophobic tropes, and the promotion of divisive narratives targeting opposition leaders and minority groups. For example, **many of the pages use shared hashtags, similar, or even the same content, across pages.** This pattern suggests efforts to amplify certain divisive narratives during key moments in the election cycle in order to maximize their reach and influence on Meta platforms.

Through using the CrowdTangle tool, researchers were able to track the surge in activity and total post counts across the last six months. The evidence suggests a coordinated effort to maximize this engagement since November 2023, reaching its peak in February and March 2024. Many of the pages followed near identical posting rates. The 22 pages combined had a total of **23.13M interactions in 90 days.**



A screenshot showing total interactions from the 22 shadow accounts identified in the report

◆ Coordinated network among far-right publishers



A screenshot of the combined total posts of the 22 shadow accounts since October 2023 showing a significant rise in posting gearing up towards the election

Ultra Chashma Network

One prominent network within this ecosystem that seems to be spearheaded by the [Ultra Chashma](#) page, which has spent the most on ads from the pages analyzed in this research. Researchers uncovered nine pages as having connections to this page through reuse of the same content, identical hashtags, as well as by having disclaimers that their ads were paid for by Ultra Chashma. These include: [MemeXpress](#), [Telangana Central](#), [Malabar Central](#), [Political X-Ray](#), [Amaar Sonar Bangla](#), [Sidha Chashma](#), [Tamilakam](#), [Kannada Sangamam](#), and Sonar Bangla (this page has been deleted).

Together, this network alone has amassed **10.53M interactions just in the 90 days leading up to the election** gaining over **34.64M views on its videos**. For example, [Amaar Sonar Bangla](#), one of the most recent pages created on 7 March 2024, already amassed **12.44M** views on its videos, followed by the [Ultra Chashma](#) page with **13.19M**.

◆ Coordinated network among far-right publishers

Eight out of the nine groups under this network have disclaimers linking their accounts to Ulta Chashma. While Sidha Chashma uses its own account disclaimer, the page has the same email ID, phone number and website as the Ulta Chashma’s page.

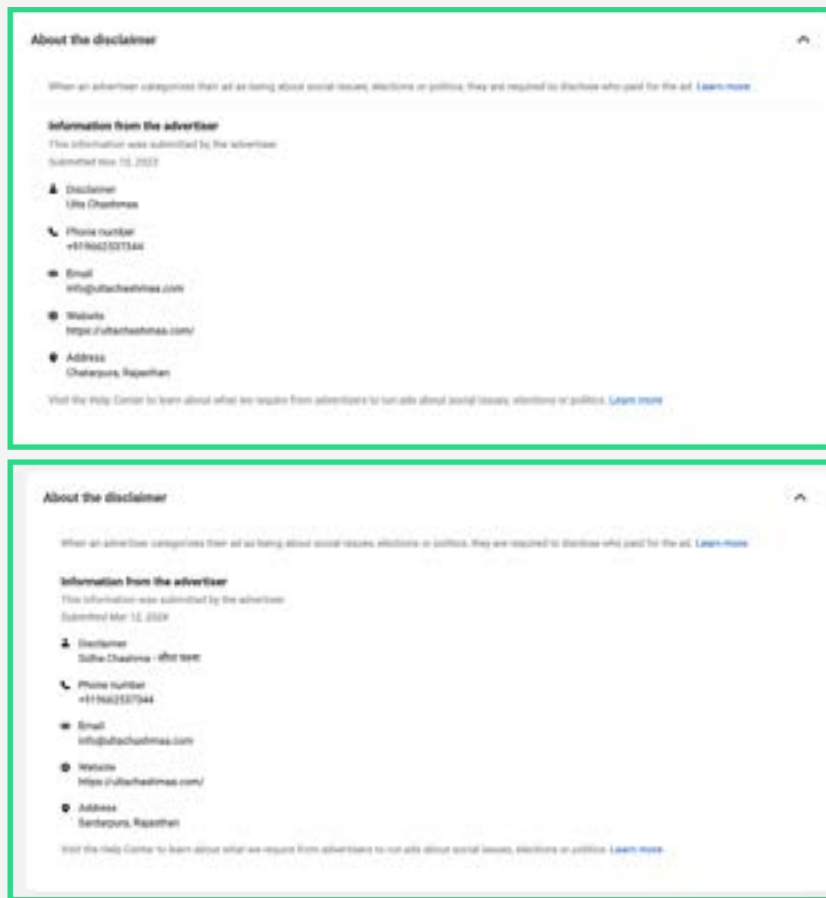
| Page Name | Total Interactions | Interaction Rate | Avg. Posts Per Day | Views on Device Feeds | Page Followers | Growth % and # |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| Average Total | 10.83M | | 10.62 | 34.64M | 16,390 | 0 |
| Political X-Ray | 4,284 | 2120.018% | 0.68 | — | 6,018 | +903.25% +3,452 |
| MemeXpress | 2,375M | 470.894% | 4.41 | 945 | 2,530 | +28,011.11% +2,521 |
| Ulta Chashma - उल्टा चश्मा | 2,394 | 145,707% | 3.33 | 13,19M | 7,750 | +156.37% +4,782 |
| Tamilakam - தமிழகம் | 499,006 | 2406.573% | 0.32 | 2.75M | 715 | — |
| Amaar Sonar Bangla - আমার সোনার বাংলা | 477,832 | 4005.835% | 0.27 | 12.44M | 497 | — |
| Kannada Sangamam - ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಂಗಮ | 169,511 | 2445.96% | 0.39 | 401 | 189 | — |
| Malabar Central - മലബാർ സെൻ്റ്രൽ | 156,175 | — | 0.18 | 1.79M | — | — |
| Telangana Central - తెలంగాణ సెంట్రల్ | 126,734 | — | 0.07 | 4.47M | — | — |
| Sidha Chashma - سیدھا چاشما | 122,248 | 203.666% | 0.98 | — | 692 | — |

A screenshot from CrowdTangle of the total interactions from nine pages of Ulta Chashma network in the 90 days leading up to the election (Sonar Bangla, also part of the network, has been deleted)

| Page name | Disclaimer |
|--|---------------|
| Ulta Chashma - उल्टा चश्मा | Ulta Chashmaa |
| MemeXpress | Ulta Chashmaa |
| Political X-Ray | Ulta Chashmaa |
| Amaar Sonar Bangla - আমার সোনার বাংলা | Ulta Chashmaa |
| Tamilakam - தமிழகம் | Ulta Chashmaa |
| Kannada Sangamam - ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಂಗಮ | Ulta Chashmaa |
| Telangana Central - తెలంగాణ సెంట్రల్ | Ulta Chashmaa |
| Malabar Central - മലബാർ സെൻ്റ്രൽ | Ulta Chashmaa |
| Sonar Bangla - সোনার বাংলা (This Page has been deleted.) | Ulta Chashmaa |

A screenshot from Meta showing Ulta Chashmaa disclaimers for 8 pages under this network

◆ Coordinated network among far-right publishers



Screenshots of Ulta Chashma and Sidha Chashma sharing the same phone number, email, and website in the Meta Ad details

Here, is an example where multiple posts were posted in coordination, which combined received over **346k** interactions.



◆ Coordinated network among far-right publishers



Screenshots of [Political X-Ray](#), [Tamilakam](#), [Ammar Sonar Bangla](#), and [Kannada Sangamam](#) sharing an identical post and caption across Tamil, Kannada, Bengali, and Hindi languages all within the same two minute time frame

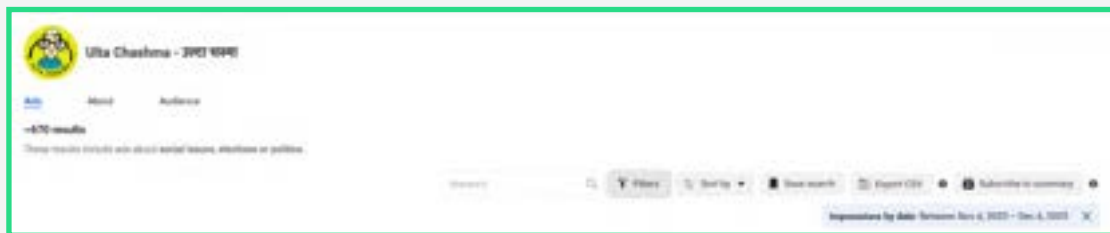
30-day rule loophole

By probing into Meta’s ad library disclaimers for this network, researchers uncovered a suspected loophole allowing these shadow pages to publish election advertisements with the Ulta Chashma disclaimer. On [Meta’s Business Help Centre](#) page (under ‘page name’ section), the platform lays out its ad transparency instructions, which claims: “Pages are only eligible for this feature [page name disclaimers] if they’re more than 30 days old”. This suggests that pages hoping to publish election ads can only do so after being active for at least 30 days. However, when looking through the ads published by Political X-Ray, as one example from this network, it is obvious that these pages are by-passing this rule. Political X-Ray was created on December 7, 2023, however researchers found that it had published [38 ads](#) within the first 30 days of the page’s creation. These ads were published with the Ulta Chashma disclaimer, reading “paid for by Ulta Chashma”.

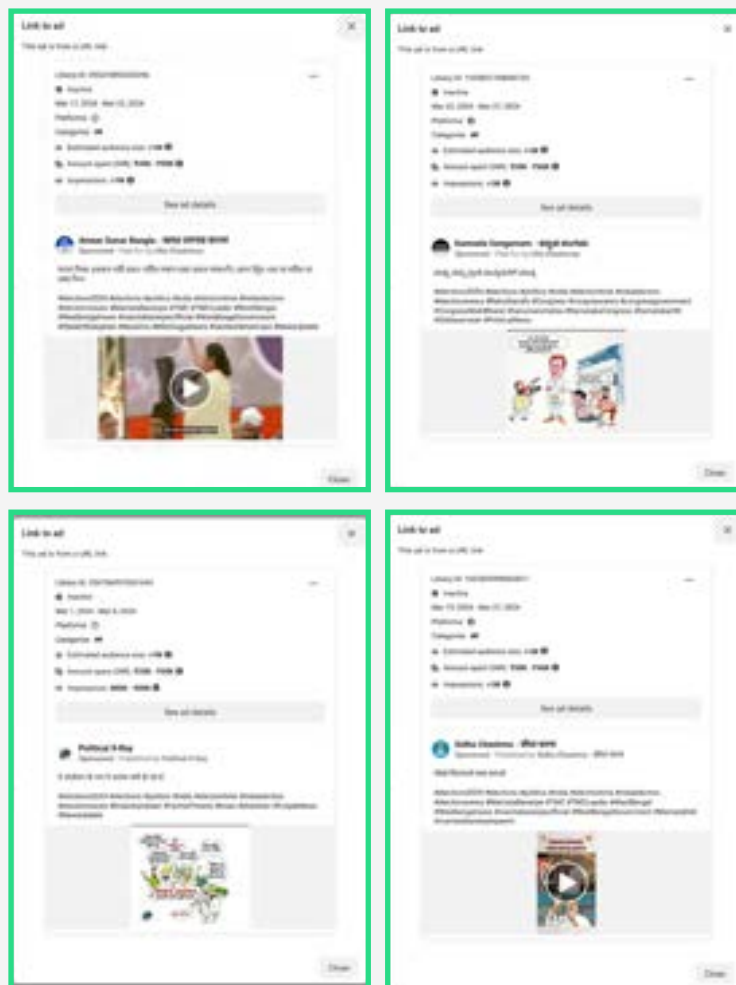
[Meta’s Business Help Centre](#) states that, “A Page Admin who created a disclaimer will be able to share their approved disclaimers for use on other Pages they are listed as an admin.” This helps explain

◆ Coordinated network among far-right publishers

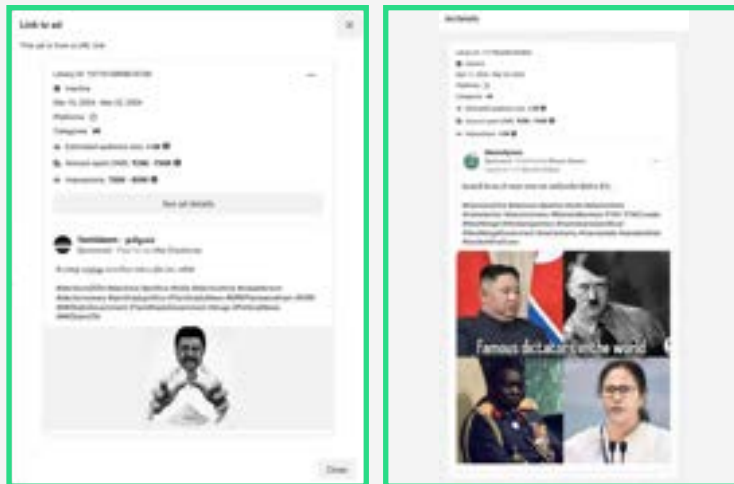
how multiple groups in this network were able to share the same “Ultra Chashma” disclaimer as well as post before the 30-day requirement set by Meta. Ultra Chashma currently is, or has been, a page admin for eight of the nine pages under its network. However what is not clear is how the Ultra Chashma page itself was able to post over [650 ads](#) during its own 30-day period when it was created on November 6th, 2023. This repeated bypassing of the 30-day rule by the Ultra Chashma network appears to be a clear violation of Meta’s own ad transparency policies.



A screenshot showing 670 election ad results run in the 30 day period since Ultra Chashma was created.



◆ Coordinated network among far-right publishers



A screenshot of Ultra Chashma, Ammar Sonar Bangla, Kannada Sangamam, Political X-Ray, Sidha Chashma, Tamilakam, and MemeXpress sharing common hashtags as well as some “paid for” and “published by” disclaimers connecting them to the Ultra Chashma page

◆ CONCLUSION

The findings of this report expose Meta's toxic business model and the pervasiveness of the platform's content moderation failures. Meta is allowing its platforms to be co-opted by far-right groups in India which use election ads to foster, promote, and accelerate disinformation, hate speech, and harmful conspiracy theories. These groups are able to use loop-holes to by-pass Meta's own rules in order to overflow the country with problematic and potentially illegal ads. The analysis shows how Islamophobia, smear campaigns, and divisive narratives, propagated by a network of publishers aligned with the governing BJP party, are able to easily broadcast and target voters in India with harmful narratives. These ads not only contribute to a climate of fear and disinformation but also undermine the integrity of the democratic process by spreading lies and amplifying polarizing narratives.

Civil society's long standing calls for stronger safeguards and proactive measures to combat election disinformation in India have gone unanswered by Meta. Despite years of advocacy and mounting evidence of the harmful impact of such content, Meta's response has proven inadequate, failing to responsibly moderate content and advertisements tied to election disinformation. The absence of robust human or AI moderation systems has allowed problematic ads to evade detection and reach millions of users unchecked.

Meta's toxic business model, driven by engagement metrics and advertising revenue, has created a fertile ground for exploitation by these far-right groups. Similar to Meta's scandals tied to the Brexit campaign, Cambridge Analytica, and the Trump Election and 'Stop the Steal' movement, this report demonstrates a concerted mis-utilization of platforms in which both the political actors and social media companies themselves are complicit. Whereas the political actors used the platforms for targeted disinformation campaigns and post-truth rhetoric, the social media companies provided easy ways of targeting individuals. The report shows how these groups, leveraging shadow networks and significant financial resources, are able to disseminate extreme and often violent ideologies and amplify their reach with impunity, posing a serious threat to democratic values in India. Meta has provided some degree of transparency through their Ads library, enabling these investigations, testifying to the critical importance of transparency in achieving accountability. Other platforms, such as Alphabet, which owns Google and YouTube, must provide much more

◆ Conclusion

transparency to enable civil society actors to monitor these advertisements for harm.

The findings underscore what civil society has been arguing for nearly a decade – social media platforms are failing to protect their users and the integrity of global democratic processes for profits. Billions of dollars in yearly advertising revenue has taken priority over meaningful action to strengthen content moderation efforts, address systemic vulnerabilities, and hold bad actors accountable.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Meta must urgently [follow the recommendations of 30+ Indian and international civil society organizations](#) by:

- **Adopting election silence period:** Ahead of India's 2024 general elections, social media corporations should make sure they do not profit from hateful, dis-informative, or partisan content, and adopt an election silence period, in accordance with Indian laws which impose a mandatory election silence period of 48 hours prior to voting.
- **Ensuring transparency by vetting who they are receiving money from:** Social media corporations should ensure transparency by disclosing financial information relating to paid online advertisements, and in accordance with India's election laws regulating campaign finance, establish a strict corporate policy limiting political advertising.
- **Banning shadow advertisers:** It is imperative that social media town squares are not ceded to bad actors utilizing divisive and hateful rhetoric with malicious intent, or to singular political parties to promote partisan agendas. Therefore, social media corporations should ban the proxy and shadow advertisers who cannot be vetted as legal persons.
- **Ensuring that fact-checkers in India can label misinformative and disinformative advertisements:** Social media corporations should apply rules equally to advertising and organic content, to prevent financial incentives for harmful content.
- **Ensuring fact-checked information is correctly labelled and/or removed in all languages:** Ensure that fact-checking labels are placed for content regardless of the languages that the fact-checked content appears in.
- **Ensuring that dehumanizing, caricaturing, demonizing of minorities in India is checked and restricted in line with the platform's hate speech policy:** Social media corporations should ensure that their policies on hate speech and disinformation adequately reflect the gravity of religiously coloured and communal content in India, and the way in which people react to inciteful content, across Indian society, from those with greater education and socio-economic capital to those with little.

◆ Recommendations

- **Proactively acting to restrict re-spawning disinformation and hate speech pages and profiles:**
- **Removing the political exemption on hate speech and viral disinformation:** Social media corporations should ensure that no content, including by political candidates, violates Indian domestic law on hate speech and incitement to violence, and election rules more broadly..
- **Allocating resources proportionately to the user-market:** Social media corporations should allocate budget in proportion to the risk of harm, and adequate to the number of people at risk in those contexts..
- **Shutting down the recommender system and make your algorithms open for public audits by civil societies and academia:** Social media corporations should shut down recommender algorithms in their platform systems based on personal data and personal behavioral profiling.

◆ METHODOLOGY

To identify the publishers highlighted in this report, researchers downloaded a CSV file of all advertisers in India during the 90 day period ending on 25th March 2024. Researchers then analyzed the top 100 ad buyers to identify 22 shadow pages. Researchers analyzed the content and messaging of these pages to corroborate that these 22 groups were aligned with India's far right. Researchers also conducted an analysis of prior reports from credible fact-checking and research organizations, drawing from insights during the 2019 Lok Sabha elections as well as more recent investigations. From this pool of advertisers, researchers selected 15 of these pages to identify 36 problematic advertisements, with a focus on analyzing advertisements run during the month of March, exactly one month before the election period phase 1 began.

Included in this analysis was an investigation of different problematic themes and narratives highlighted by individual pages and their ads as well as reference to any relevant information on the publisher itself, including likes, follows, creation date, and admins, by looking through Meta's Page and Ads Transparency sections. As well as compiling their total spend limit from Meta's Ad Library during the 90 days between December 26th, 2023 to March 25th, 2024. After identifying problematic individual advertisements, researchers tracked the total number of times individual ads ran alongside the cost and impressions per ad. Researchers, with support from Abhishek Kumar from the independent fact checking publication Alt News, analyzed the Ulta Chashma network by identifying different pages using its advertising disclaimer on Meta's Ad Library, as well as by tracking the email, phone number, and websites used by the pages in the network.

Researchers called the 22 shadow pages identified in the report to confirm whether they were in fact authentic and had human verification. None of these accounts had active phone lines and none responded to emails.

Using CrowdTangle, researchers tracked the posts and content of these pages since the election cycle began in late 2023 in order to monitor the surge of posts leading up to India's election. Researchers also used CrowdTangle to track post counts and impressions from these advertisers during the same 90 period of December 26th, 2023 to March 25th, 2024.



228857704041732

Mar 27, 2024

audience size: +1M

spent (Ad): ₹25K - ₹30K

size: +1M

Kannada Sangamam - 4th

anniversary - Paid for by UPL

Ad-ID: 2288577040

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2024

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