European Digital Media Observatory

A Cross-Country Analysis of Electoral Advertising on Meta and Google during the EU 2024 Elections: Compliance, Transparency, and Targeting

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1. Introduction

This report presents the results of a comparative study on political advertising during the 2024 EU elections. On the one hand, it analyses compliance and transparency of two Very Large Online Platforms and Search Engines (VLOPSEs) - Meta and Google - on commitments made on political advertising in the context of the Code of Practice (as of July 2025, Code of Conduct) on Disinformation. On the other hand, it assesses use, spending and targeting by political parties during the run up to the European Parliament elections in June 2024.

The study is a collaborative effort of ten EDMO hubs, covering electoral advertising in fifteen EU countries. EDMOeu, and in particular Paula Gori and Elena Maggi, offered support on brainstorming and methodology as well as in initial coordination between the hubs. While EDMO BELUX wrote up the findings, local data analysis was provided for crucial steps of the analysis (2-4 as described in the evaluation framework). We are grateful for the contributions of ADMO, BROD, CEDMO, EDMO Ireland, HDMO, GADMO, IBERIFIER, IDMO, MEDDMO, and VUB intern Manon Sebah.

The Code of Practice on Disinformation (also abbreviated as CoPD) takes a whole of society approach to disinformation, recognising the role of multiple stakeholders in minimising the reach of verifiably false narratives and emphasizing transparency in related areas. Political and issue (based) advertising receive scrutiny in the Code, because its “Signatories recognise the importance of political and issue advertising in shaping political campaigns and public debates around key societal issues, particularly in forming public opinion, political and electoral debate, referenda, legislative processes and the voting behaviour of citizens” (CoPD, 2022, Chapter 3, Recital a). Ten of the forty-four commitments in the Code of Practice relate to definitions, labelling, verification processes, user-facing transparency mechanisms, ad repositories and APIs to access ad data, and civil society support on political and issue advertising. Online platforms are the primary target in these commitments (except Commitment 12). The Code of practice was converted into a Code of Conduct. This conversion took effect on 1 July 2025, and made its commitments auditable from that date onwards under the Digital Services Act. Throughout the text we will refer to Code of Practice as the exercise was structured at a time when the Code was not yet converted.

The European Parliament and Council passed Regulation (EU) 2024/900 on the transparency and targeting of political advertising in 2024, which provides a regulatory basis for the provision of online political advertising in the EU. It is important to underline that the Regulation will apply from 10 October 2025, which means after this research exercise was conducted. Its definition and requirements for transparency and targeting of political ads will be discussed in the sections below. Importantly, its binding -and detailed- nature has resulted in both Google and Meta announcing a change in their policies to no longer allow political, electoral and social issue ads in the EU as of October 2025 (when the Regulation enters into force), citing “unworkable requirements and legal uncertainties” (Meta Newsroom, 2025). As documented in Meyer and Vetulani-Cęgiel (2024) and Nenadić and Konrad-Bleyer (2021), other platforms already previously prohibited political advertising.

This report provides a comparison of the definitions of political ads in the EU *(section 3)* as defined in Regulation (EU) 2024/900 (also abbreviated as TTPA) and by Google and Meta; our assessment of the VLOPSEs’ compliance with the transparency and targeting requirements as laid out in the Regulation *(section 4)*. This sheds light on the recent decisions of both platforms to withdraw their services in the EU and speaks to their five commitments on political advertising in the Code of Practice (4-5; 6,8-9). Further, we tested access to political ad data through Google and Meta’s

repositories (ad libraries) and Meta's advertising API, which relates to two further CoPD commitments (10-11, see overview in table below) *(section 5)*. As this exercise on compliance and transparency required data collection, we took the assessment a step further and analysed how political parties elected to the European Parliament made use of political advertising and targeting on Meta and Google in the period leading up to the EU elections (April - June 2024) *(section 6)*. Our sample covers fifteen countries. We provide the cross-country insights in the main body of the report and country-specific analyses in the annex.

Code of Practice / Conduct on Disinformation Chapter 3 – Political Advertising	
A common understanding of political and issue advertising	
4	Relevant Signatories commit to adopt a common definition of "political and issue advertising".
5	Relevant Signatories commit to apply a consistent approach across political and issue advertising on their services and to clearly indicate in their advertising policies the extent to which such advertising is permitted or prohibited on their services.
Efficient labelling and user-facing commitments for political or issue ads	
6	Relevant Signatories commit to make political or issue ads clearly labelled and distinguishable as paid-for content in a way that allows users to understand that the content displayed contains political or issue advertising. *(only SLI 6.2.1 Relevant Signatories will publish meaningful metrics, at Member State level, on the volume of ads labelled according to Measure 6.2, such as the number of ads accepted and labelled, amounts spent by labelled advertisers, or other metrics to be determined in discussion within the Task-force with the aim to assess the efficiency of this labelling.)*
8	Relevant Signatories commit to provide transparency information to users about the political or issue ads they see on their service.
9	Relevant Signatories commit to provide users with clear, comprehensible, comprehensive information about why they are seeing a political or issue ad.
Political or issue ad repositories and minimum functionalities for application programming interfaces (APIs) to access political or issue ad data	
10	Relevant Signatories commit to maintain repositories of political or issue advertising and ensure their currentness, completeness, usability and quality, such that they contain all political and issue advertising served, along with the necessary information to comply with their legal obligations and with transparency commitments under this Code.
11	Relevant Signatories commit to provide application programming interfaces (APIs) or other interfaces enabling users and researchers to perform customised searches within their ad repositories of political or issue advertising and to include a set of minimum functionalities as well as a set of minimum search criteria for the application of APIs or other interfaces.

Table 1. CoPD commitments assessed in the study

We assess seven CoPD commitments on political advertising; however we do not cover most of Commitment 6 on labelling (only Measure 6.2), Commitment 7 on verification, Commitment 12 for civil society, or Commitment 13 on ongoing collaboration, as this would have required alternative assessment methods not foreseen in this study (such as analysis of in service ads, ad account testing, interviews).

2. Evaluation Framework

In the following section, we outline the objectives, methodology and data requirements of the four steps taken for this research study. EDMO hubs collaborated on steps B through D, as these required knowledge of domestic politics and language. This facilitated collection and analysis of EU election ads in fifteen EU countries.

Definitions of EU Election Ads (CoPD commitments 4-5)

In the first step, we assessed if *online platforms have defined 'political and issue advertising' in alignment with the Regulation on Transparency and Targeting of Political Advertising (Reg(EU)2024/900)*, with particular attention for electoral advertising. This corresponds with Commitments 4-5 in the CoPD (QRE 4.1.1 and QRE 5.1.1), which aim at adopting a common definition, applying a consistent approach on platform services and clearly indicating definitions and restrictions in advertising policies.

For this analysis, EDMO BELUX consulted the Strengthened Code of Practice on Disinformation (CoPD, 2022), the Regulation on Transparency and Targeting of Political Advertising (Reg(EU)2024/900), Google and Meta's Code of Practice transparency reports (September 2024), Google and Meta's advertising policies.

Labeling, Transparency and Targeting of EU Election Ads (CoPD commitments 8 & 9)

In the second step, on a selection of ads, we checked whether *online platforms have publicised minimum transparency obligations*, in alignment with the Regulation on Transparency and Targeting of Political Advertising (Reg(EU)2024/900) in their ad repositories (Commitment 8, QRE 8.1.1). On these same ads, we also assessed whether *online platforms have provided clear and accessible information on why users were seeing specific EU election ads,* including targeting criteria such as demographics or geographical areas (Commitment 9, QRE 9.1.1), but only in their ad repositories. It was not possible to access 'within ad' transparency and targeting obligations on the ads as they appeared on the platform services.

For steps 2-4, EDMO hubs involved in this exercise accessed the ad libraries of Meta and Google and searched for *(a)* political ads *(b)* of all parties elected into the European Parliament *(c)* from 15 countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Romania, Spain) with a date range of *(d)* April 1 and June 5, 2024. EDMO hubs identified the relevant accounts of the main political parties on each platform. In cases where the political party had not run ads, we included results of ads that ran on the accounts of the elected Member of European Parliament (MEP) or local chapter. Next, EDMO hubs selected *(e)* up to six election relevant ads per political party to analyse (three per platform). Selecting and analysis of relevant ads was performed locally. For Google, the relevancy of ads had to be determined manually. For Meta, we were able to search on keywords. We used the keywords 'Europe', 'EU', 'Union' in local languages to filter. We sought to include one EU relevant advertisement per month (April, May, June 2024) in our analysis, but within that selection opted for diversity, e.g. an ad aggregate, an ad removed from the platform, diverse EU-related ad topics (e.g. focused on policy, on candidate, on party), etc.

Ad Repository Access and API Functionality for EU Election Ads (CoPD commitments 10 & 11)

In the third step, we checked whether the *ad repositories were maintained for the EU election period*, including information on the sponsor, dates, ad spending, audience criteria, and demographics relevant to EU election ads (Commitment 10, QRE 10.2.1). For Meta, EDMO BELUX and HDMO assessed how *the Meta Advertising API performed for customised searches*, including options to filter EU election-related ads by advertiser, geographic region, language, or election-specific keywords (Commitment 11, QRE 11.1.1). In section 5, we recount our experience in requesting API access, as well as in search performances.

Political Ad Use, Spend and Targeting (CoPD commitment 6)

Finally, in the fourth step, we analysed whether *online platforms have publicised meaningful metrics on the volume of ads and ad spend* (Commitment 6, SLI 6.2.1). Further, we directed our lens to the political parties and conducted a cross country analysis of *whether political parties elected into the European Parliament ran ads on Google and Meta during the European Union elections, and if so, how much they spent on advertising.* On our selected political ads, we also assessed *which targeting criteria were used.*

For this comparative analysis, it should be noted that our analysis of the use and spend of political ads refers to the full data sample collected (*a-d* described under step 2), while the results on targeting are specific to the selection of six EU relevant ads (e described under step 2). The wider range for the use and spend analysis was needed to maintain comparability between the data collected between Meta and Google. The latter does not include search based on keyword, only on advertiser, in the ad repository. We provide cross country EU insights in the main report, and include further country insights in the annex.

Data Collection

Here we do not recount how data was collected or selected, but summarise all the data sources consulted for this study. We made use of:

- *Strengthened Code of Practice on Disinformation (2022)*
- *Regulation on Transparency and Targeting of Political Advertising (Reg(EU)2024/900)*
- Google and Meta Code of Practice reports (September 2024)
- Google and Meta other political advertising policy documents: community guidelines, platform transparency reports, public statements
- political advertisements relevant to EU elections in participating EDMO hubs (collected via Google and Meta Ad Libraries)
- select political advertisements relevant to EU elections in participating EDMO hubs (collected via Google Ad Library and Meta Advertising API): Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Romania, Spain.

3. Definitions of EU Election Ads

In Commitment 4 of the Code of Practice on Disinformation, online platforms commit to adopt a common definition on political and issue advertising, in line with the Commission proposal on the regulation on the transparency and targeting of political advertising. Negotiations on the regulation between the European Parliament and the Council concluded prior to the EU elections; Regulation (EU) 2024/900 was adopted in March 2024 and will enter into force in October 2025.

The definition, included in its entirety in Table 2, is binding on Meta and Google, as they are the online platforms which allowed political advertising in the EU at the time of the EU2024 elections. The definition is focused on paid messages placed "by, for or on behalf of a political actor", "liable or designed to influence the outcome of an election or referendum, voting behaviour or a legislative or regulatory process" at any political level within the EU. The inclusion of legislative or regulatory process extends the definition to issue based advertising. Recital 1 of the regulation also stipulates that "[p]olitical advertising can take many forms, including paid content, sponsored search results, paid targeted messages, promotion in rankings, promotion of something or someone integrated into content, such as product placement, influencers and other endorsements."

'Political advertising' means the **preparation, placement, promotion, publication, delivery or dissemination, by any means, of a message, normally provided for remuneration or through in-house activities or as part of a political advertising campaign:**

(a) by, for or on behalf of a political actor, unless it is of a purely private or a purely commercial nature; or

(b) which is liable and designed to influence the outcome of an election or referendum, voting behaviour or a legislative or regulatory process, at Union, national, regional or local level;

and does not include:

(i) messages from official sources of Member States or the Union that are strictly limited to the organization and modalities for participating in elections or referendums, including the announcement of candidacies or the question put to the referendum, or for promoting participation in elections or referendums;

(ii) public communication that aims to provide official information to the public by, for or on behalf of any public authority of a Member State or by, for or on behalf of the Union, including by, for or on behalf of members of the government of a Member State, provided that they are not liable and designed to influence the outcome of an election or referendum, voting behaviour or a legislative or regulatory process; and

(iii) presenting candidates in specified public spaces or in the media which is explicitly provided for by law and allocated free of charge, while ensuring equal treatment of candidates.

Table 2. Definition of political advertising in Regulation (EU) 2024/900, Article 3(2) [emphasis added]

For Meta, social issues, elections or politics (SIEP) ads are…

- *Made by, on behalf of or about a candidate for public office, a political figure, a political party, a political action committee or advocates for the outcome of an election to public office*
- *About any election, referendum or ballot initiative, including "get out the vote" or election information campaigns*

- *About any social issue in any place where the ad is being run*
- *Regulated as political advertising* (Meta Transparency Center, 2025).

Meta's definition includes political and issue advertising. The ads must include a verified "paid for by" disclaimer to show the entity or person responsible. The inclusion of "regulated as political advertising" also signals that the requirements will differ based on the region/country. Indeed in July 2025, Meta announced that they will stop serving political ads in the EU due to the additional obligations, such as restrictions on ad targeting and delivery, that compliance would require.

Google restricts political ads to EU election ads, which *feature any of the following…*

- *A political party, current elected officeholder, or candidate for the EU Parliament;*
- *A political party, current officeholder, or candidate for an elected national office within an EU member state. Examples include members of a national parliament and presidents that are directly elected; or*
- *A referendum question up for vote, a referendum campaign group, or a call to vote related to a national referendum or a state or provincial referendum on sovereignty* (Google Advertising Policies Help, 2025).

Google's scope for what is considered political advertising is narrow. Yet this does not exclude other political or issue advertising from the platform; rather those ads do not fall under the same restrictions as election ads. The ads must be verified under EU Election Ads verification process. Google's requirements for election advertising also differ based on country/region.

For instance, Google does not allow EU Election Ads to serve in Italy during their silence period. Google already announced in November 2024 that they would ban political ads in the EU, and similar to Meta, cite "significant new operational challenges and legal uncertainties for political advertisers and platforms" (Google The Keyword, 2024). They deem that the regulation's definition is "so broad that it could cover ads related to an extremely wide range of issues that would be difficult to reliably identify at scale" (Google The Keyword, 2024). Interestingly, the challenge has now shifted to accurately identifying and banning these ads.

4. Labeling, Transparency and Targeting of EU Election Ads

Commitments 8 and 9 of the Code of Practice on Disinformation aim for alignment between online platforms and with the (at the time) European Commission's proposal for a regulation (now Regulation (EU) 2024/900) on minimum transparency and targeting requirements for political and issue ads. We list the requirements in Table 3 as agreed upon in Articles 12(1) and 19(c) in Regulation (EU) 2024/900. The same list was used to assess to which extent Google and Meta (already) comply with the Regulation requirements in Meyer and Vetulani-Cęgiel (2024). As the online platforms have seemingly not changed any features in their ad repositories since this assessment in Spring 2024, the results are similar, with the caveat that for this report we did not study in service ads.

Requirements for transparency notice of each political advertisement (Art 12(1))
(a) the ***identity of the sponsor*** and, where applicable, of the entity ultimately controlling the sponsor, including their name, e-mail address, and, where made public, their postal address, and, when the sponsor is not a natural person, the address where it has its place of establishment;
(b) the ***information*** required under point (a) on the natural or legal person that provides remuneration in exchange for the political advertisement ***if this person is different*** from the sponsor or the entity ultimately controlling the sponsor;
(c) the ***period*** during which the political advertisement is published, delivered or disseminated;
(d) the ***aggregated amounts*** and the aggregated value of other benefits received by the providers of political advertising services, including those received by the publisher in part or full exchange for the political advertising services, and, where relevant, of the political advertising campaign;
(e) information on public or private ***origin of the amounts*** and other benefits referred to in point (d) as well as whether they originate from inside or outside the Union;
(f) the ***methodology*** used for the calculation of the amounts and value referred to in point (d);
(g) where applicable, an indication of ***elections or referendums and legislative or regulatory processes*** with which the political advertisement is linked;
(h) where the political advertisement is linked to specific elections or referendums, ***links to official information*** about the modalities for participation in the election or referendum concerned;
(i) where applicable, ***links to the European repository*** for online political advertisements referred to in Article 13;
(j) informations on the mechanisms referred to in Article 15(1) [***report*** possibly non-compliant political advertisements]
(k) where applicable, whether a previous publication of the political advertisement or of an earlier version of it has been suspended or discontinued due to an ***infringement*** of this Regulation;
(l) where applicable, a ***statement*** to the effect that the political advertisement has been subject to t***argeting techniques or ad-delivery techniques*** on the basis of the use of personal data, including information specified in Article 19(1), points (c) and (e);
(m) where applicable and technically feasible, the ***reach*** of the political advertisement in terms of the number of ***views*** and of ***engagements*** with the political advertisement.
Requirements for targeting and ad-delivery techniques (Art. 19(c))
(n) the specific groups of ***recipients targeted***, including the parameters used to determine the recipients to whom the advertising is disseminated;
(o) the categories of ***personal data*** used for the targeting techniques or ad-delivery techniques;
(p) the targeting ***goals, mechanisms and logic*** including the inclusion and exclusion parameters, and the reasons for choosing those parameters;
(q) meaningful information on the ***use of artificial intelligence systems*** in the targeting or ad delivery of the political advertising;
(r) the ***period of dissemination***, the ***number of individuals*** to whom the advertisement is disseminated;
(s) a link to or a clear indication of where the policy referred to in point (a) can be easily retrieved [***internal policy*** on how targeting and ad-delivery techniques are used].

Table 3. Transparency and targeting requirements based on Regulation (EU) 2024/900 [emphasis added]

In Figure 1, we provide our quantitative assessments. In Table 4, we provide our qualitative assessments. Bold and italics mark where information was incomplete or missing; a glance at the figure and table quite clearly reveals that both platforms provide transparency and targeting information, but fall short of the Regulation requirements. According to our assessments, Meta currently fully complies with 9 of 19 criteria, while Google meets 7 of 19 requirements. The current repositories provide only a basic assessment and understanding of the preparation, placement, promotion, publication, delivery or dissemination of political advertising.

Transparency and targeting requirements	Meta	Google
(a)	Yes	Yes
(b)	Yes	No
(c)	Yes	Yes
(d)	Partially	Partially
(e)	Partially	Partially
(f)	Yes	No
(g)	NA	NA
(h)	NA	NA
(i)	NA	NA
(j)	No	Yes
(k)	No	No
(l)	Yes	Yes
(m)	Partially	Partially
(n)	Yes	Yes
(o)	Yes	Yes
(p)	Partially	Partially
(q)	No	No
(r)	Yes	Partially
(s)	Yes	Yes

Figure 1. Compliance to transparency and targeting requirements

In particular, neither online platform provides information on whether a previous publication of the political advertisement has been suspended or discontinued due to an infringement of the Regulation *(k)*. It should be noted that removals of other noncompliant ads are visible, but without reference to other ads or specification of the nature of the infringement. Moreover neither platform specifies how AI systems have been used in the targeting or ad delivery of political ads *(q)*. Further Google does not reveal identification information if this person is different from the sponsor or the entity ultimately controlling the sponsor *(b)* and does not explain the methodology used for the calculation of the amounts spent on and value of political ads *(f)*; while in their Ad Library Meta does not provide information on (or option to) report possibly non-compliant political advertisements *(j)*.

Beyond missing information, Google and Meta provide partial explanations on several criteria. For transparency on *(d)* the aggregated amounts and the aggregated value of other benefits received, both platforms indicate the amount spent EUR, but provide no details on 'other benefits'. Similarly on *(e)* information on public or private origin of the amounts and other benefits and whether they originate from inside or outside the Union, neither online platform provides details on the non/EU origin of ad spend. On the reach and engagement of political ads *(m)* and the goals, mechanisms, logic and reasons for targeting parameters *(p)*, Google and Meta provide some but incomplete information; in particular engagement metrics and reasons for use of targeting in a political advertisement are missing.

Importantly, point *(i)* requires links to the European repository for online political advertisements. While this was not assessed (as we did not study in service ads), the lack of link to original ads in the ad repository, makes retroactive assessment of original ads impossible. This is relevant,

because it excluded us from assessing whether the political ads during the EU elections were labelled as such *(g)* and links to official information about the modalities for participation in the elections were provided *(h)*.

In general, Google's ad repository provides less detail than Meta's equivalent. As a final example, under targeting period of dissemination and number of individuals to whom the advertisement is disseminated *(p)*, Google accounts for 'first shown, last shown' of an ad, but no breakdown on the number of times shown per targeting criteria; while Meta provides the 'date range' and 'EU ad delivery reach' of an ad, as well as the 'reach by location, age, gender'. This overview makes it clear that quite some work is still needed to be compliant with the Regulation.

Meta	Google
(a) only name, 'location: European Union' and 'advertiser has verified their identity'	(a) only name, 'location: European Union' and 'advertiser has verified their identity'
(b) beneficiary and payer' > beneficiary and payer	(b) ***information not found***
(c) date range	(c) date range
(d) amount spent EUR; ***no details on 'other benefits'***	(d) amount spent EUR; ***no details on 'other benefits'***
(e) 'about the advertiser', also 'beneficiary and payer'; ***no details on EU/nonEU***	(e) very little explanation, in ad 'paid by for'; ***not in ad library and no details on EU/nonEU***
(f) 'i' information bubble on amount spent 'learn more'	(f) ***information not found***
(g) *not assessed in this study*	(g) *not assessed in this study*
(h) *not assessed in this study*	(h) *not assessed in this study*
(i) *not assessed in this study;* ***link to original ad is missing and thus retroactive assessment of original ad impossible***	(i) *not assessed in this study;* ***link to original ad is missing and thus retroactive assessment of original ad impossible***
(j) ***information not found***	(j) 'report this ad'
(k) ***information not found; removals of other noncompliant ads visible***	(k) ***information not found; removals of other noncompliant ads visible***
(l) 'European Union transparency' and 'i' information bubbles within 'European Union transparency'	(l) 'selected demographics' explanation and 'about these restrictions'
(m) 'Ad delivery > impressions' AND 'European Union transparency' > EU ad delivery > reach; ***no details on engagement***	(m) 'number of times shown'; ***broad range provided and no details on engagement***
(n) 'European Union transparency' > EU ad audience > location, age, gender	(n) 'selected demographics' > age, gender, location
(o) 'European Union transparency' > EU ad audience > location, age, gender	(o) 'selected demographics' > age, gender, location
(p) 'European Union transparency' and 'i' information bubbles within 'European Union transparency'; ***no reasons for specific ad***	(p) 'selected demographics' explanation and 'about these restrictions'; ***no reasons for specific ad***
(q) ***information not found***	(q) ***information not found***
(r) 'date range' and 'EU ad delivery reach' > 'reach by location, age, gender'	(r) 'first shown, last shown'; ***no breakdown of number of times shown per targeting criteria***
(s) 'about ads and ad use'	(s) 'selected demographics' explanation and 'about these restrictions'

Table 4. Compliance to transparency and targeting requirements

5. Ad Repository Access and API Functionality for EU Election Ads

In chapter 3 on political advertising of the Code of Practice on Disinformation, online platforms commit to maintain repositories of political or issue advertising (Commitment 10) and to provide application programming interfaces (APIs) or other interfaces enabling users and researchers to perform customised searches within their ad repositories of political or issue advertising (Commitment 11). We assessed the functionalities of the Google Ads Transparency Center and its 'export data' function', as well as the Meta Ad Library and Meta Ad Library API for Developers.

In Section 4 above, we documented that the transparency and targeting information in the *Google Ads Transparency Center* is fairly limited. Search is possible by date and advertiser, not by keyword. This meant that we were unable to filter the ads within our selected date range to EU election related topics, hindering our research on political ad use and spend. In Section 6 below, we report on the total ad use and spend within our time range – rather than filtering down to election specific ads. This evidently limits the comparability of our data, as several countries held concurrent national and/or local elections. Further, while Google does not provide a dedicated API for customised searches within the ad repository, it is possible to *export data* in bulk. However query building is difficult (e.g. based on advertiser ID and location – instead we searched on date range) and as a result quite some data cleaning was needed.

In contrast, the transparency and targeting information in the *Meta Ad Library* is quite detailed. Search is also possible by date, advertiser and keyword, but close attention needs to be born to certain presets. In particular, dates don't filter consistently (often sorting occurs by month-date-year, but sometimes switches to date-month-year) and the default setting is to only display 'active' ads. A limitation compared to the Google Ad Transparency Center is the lack of overview of political party spend during a specific period. This data was only retrievable through the *Meta Ad API*. The application process for the Meta Ad API is open (no need to specify research purpose in advance), but the need for a verified Meta account is a hurdle to obtain access (an ID needs to be provided to obtain this type of verified account). Further the exploration tool (Graph API explorer) facilitates query building, but there is no ability to search for specific ads. Indeed, as far as we can assess, it is impossible to look for a specific ID from the Ad Library through the API. Therefore, in order to look for correspondences between the Ad Library and the API version of the Ad Library, we first needed to retrieve all of the ads for a given period from the API, and then check correspondences between Ad Library IDs in a second step. Importantly, our findings show discrepancies between Ad Library and Ad API (unretrieved ads). Finally, we found that Ad API is extensively documented (as part of the Meta/Facebook Graph API). The availability of an R package (wrapper) for the API facilitates interaction with the API and allows for scaling up the information retrieval (this API wrapper/R package was also used in support of the present analysis).

6. Political Ad Use, Spend and Targeting

Political Ad Use and Spend

Finally, in this study, we experimented which type of comparative analysis would be feasible with the data collected. The limitations stated previously resulted in focusing our analysis on political party (based on advertiser ID) and time range (April 1 - June 5, 2024) only. The most important limitations are the lack of functionality to filter based on keyword in Google's Ads Transparency Center (and as a knock on resulting in unfiltered bulk downloads through Google's export function) and the lack of functionality to retrieve specific ads through Meta's Ad API (yet noticing that a lower number of ads and expenditure were retrieved). The collection of advertising IDs and processing of data also required significant effort. The most time was spent on handpicking relevant ads for the analysis of ad targeting and on compiling individual and cross country tables on ad use, spend and targeting. However, in our view, the results remain rich – and merit more analysis and attention than we can provide in this report.

Our data collection allows us to provide insights on ad use and spending by political parties elected to the European Parliament. What is immediately noticeable in Figure 2 and Table 5 below is the significant variance in use and spending between countries and platforms. In total, 29.989 ads were placed and € 8.7 million was spent in political advertising in the run up to the EU elections in the 15 countries included in the study. It is important to remark that, with the exception of Czechia, Germany, Greece and Luxembourg, domestic elections (local, regional or federal) were held in 11 of the 15 EU countries included in this study (Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Poland, Romania, Spain) during (or briefly before/after) the EU elections on June 6-9, 2024.

However, use and spending do not necessarily coincide with population size nor election cycle. The top three ad users and spenders were Germany (2.955 ads, € 1.9M), Belgium (7.310 ads, € 1.8M) and Hungary (5.314 ads, € 1.2M). Together these three countries account for 56% of the total amount spent on political advertising during the EU elections. It is remarkable that Germany spent most (22%) considering elections in three states ('Länder') were not held until September 2024 and federal elections until February 2025. In Belgium (20.5% of total spending) EU elections coincided with federal, regional and community ('gewest' and 'gemeenschap') elections, while in Hungary (13.5% of total spending) with local elections. Further, the comparative analysis reveals that across the EU, Meta is favoured as a platform for political advertising (€ 5.3M – compared to € 3.4M for Google). However political ad spending on Google is higher in select countries, within this sample, in Greece, Hungary, Romania and Spain. Here too, diversity prevails. For instance, in Belgium, the political parties *CD&V* made no use of Google, while *Groen* placed more ads on Google than Meta, and *Vlaams Belang* also made no use of Google, but spent 2-8 times more on advertising than other parties.

We provide further details on use, spending (and targeting) per country and per political party in annex. This reveals further the stark differences in platform use and spending per political party. As an illustrative example, in Table 6, we expand on the top political spenders (more than € 100K) in Germany, Belgium and Hungary. *Fidesz* spent most of all political parties on advertising in April-June 2024 (€ 851K, Hungary, spread across both Meta and Google), followed by *Volt Deutschland* (Germany, € 516K, Germany, spread across both platforms) and *Vlaams Belang* (€ 429K, Belgium, almost only on Meta). In the case of Hungary, *Fidesz*'s spending accounts for 71.5% of the country's ad spend and 10% of the EU ad spend.

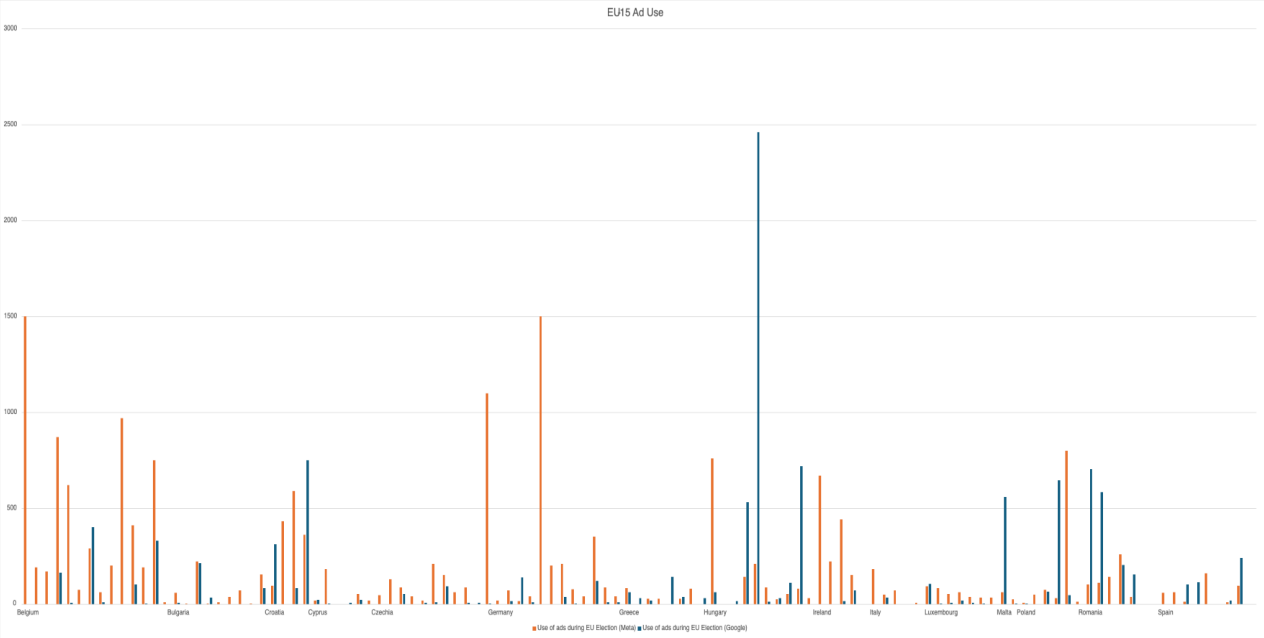


Figure 2. Ad use during EU elections (EU-15)

Country	Total Meta ad spend	Total Google ad spend	TOTAL ad spend per country
Belgium	€ 1,341,342	€ 462,400	**€ 1,803,742**
Bulgaria	€ 188,800	€ 82,400	**€ 271,200**
Croatia	€ 194,282	€ 150,200	**€ 344,482**
Cyprus	€ 35,639	€ 20,650	**€ 56,289**
Czechia	€ 256,870	€ 41,100	€ **297,970**
Germany	€ 1,197,552	€ 731,850	€ **1,929,402**
Greece	€ 149,658	€ 338,650	€ **488,308**
Hungary	€ 493,323	€ 694,450	€ **1,187,773**
Ireland	€ 290,364	€ 43,300	€ **333,664**
Italy	€ 479,910	€ 130,950	€ **610,860**
Luxembourg	€ 76,806	€ 10,350	€ **87,156**
Malta	€ 30,115	€ 9,350	€ **39,465**
Poland	€ 218,974	€ 82,200	€ **301,174**
Romania	€ 204,431	€ 274,300	€ **478,731**
Spain	€ 126,674	€ 363,500	€ **490,174**
TOTAL ad spend per platform	**€ 5,284,740**	**€ 3,435,650**	**€ 8,720,390**

Table 5. Ad spend during EU elections (EU-15)

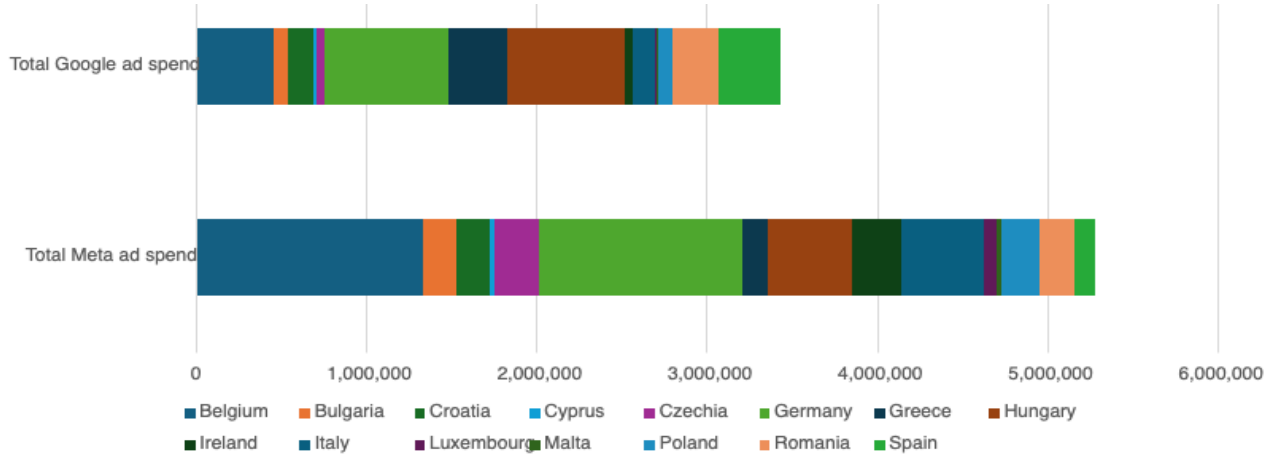


Figure 3. Ad spend per platform (EU-15)

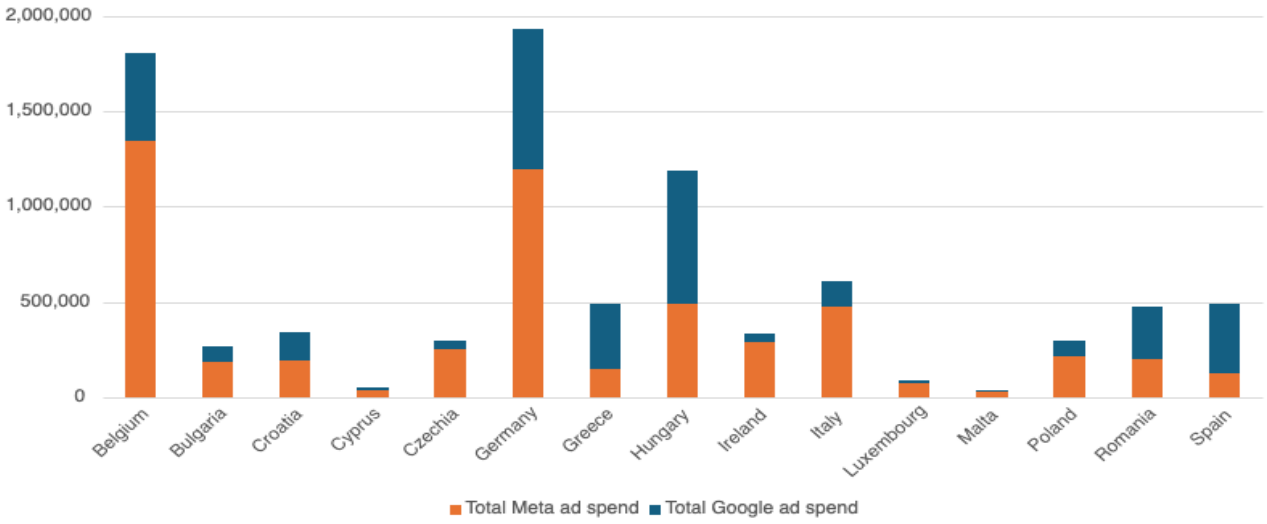


Figure 4. Ad spend per country (EU-15)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
HUN	Fidesz (Coalition: Fidesz and KDNP)	€ 457,800	€ 393,685	€ 851,485
	LMP	€ 82,500	€ 25,054	€ 107,554
BE	Vlaams Belang	€ 300	€ 428,511	€ 428,811
	Vooruit	€ 135,050	€ 220,448	€ 355,498
	PTB-PVDA*	€ 94,400	€ 147,953	€ 242,353
	Groen!	€ 124,600	€ 95,421	€ 220,021
	N-VA - Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie	€ 74,550	€ 43,233	€ 117,783
	CD&V - Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams	€ -	€ 106,053	€ 106,053
GER	Volt - Volt Deutschland	€ 194,300	€ 321,552	€ 515,852
	Die Grünen - Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	€ -	€ 348,649	€ 348,649
	FDP - Freie Demokratische Partei	€ 111,450	€ 185,389	€ 296,839
	AfD - Alternative für Deutschland	€ 211,700	€ 31,185	€ 242,885
	CDU/CSU - Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands/Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Deutschland)	€ 180,800	€ -	€ 180,800

Table 5. Top ad spend per political party (> € 100K) in top 3 ad spend countries (HUN, BE, GER)

Political Ad Targeting

The analysis of ad targeting is based on a selection of up to three ads per political party per platform (up to six political ads per political party in total). In the Figures 6 and 7 below, we provide insights on use of ad targeting compiled at country level. In Figure 6, the Y-axis marks how many political parties across the EU-15 countries (included in this study) made use of a particular targeting category (for our selected ads). In Figure 7, we break the Y-axis down further per political party within a country. It should perhaps be noted that the age groups in our analysis are broadly defined; the platforms allow for more precise targeting – 5 to 10 year age spans.

Importantly, in the post-analysis, we noticed that since our initial analysis in April-May 2025, Meta has stopped showing targeting data in the Ad Library ('Transparency by location' > 'EU ad audience' and 'EU ad delivery', see Figure 5 below). The analysis for Ireland is based on the 'Ad delivery' details instead, yet as this reflects who saw the ads rather than who was targeted, the results are not entirely comparable. This is most clearly demonstrated with the gender category, which shows that the ads were delivered to 'men' and 'women' separately (note that 'all' gender is absent). As a consequence, in our analysis, it would seem that Irish political parties targeted men and women more than political parties in other countries (they account for five of the 16/18 political parties across the EU who used gender targeting). Meanwhile we suspect, but cannot confirm, that the ad targeting was in actuality 'all' genders. The issue of not seeing targeting data was replicated for all countries checked in our sample in August 2025. A second important consequence (and limitation) is the inability to crosscheck our findings.

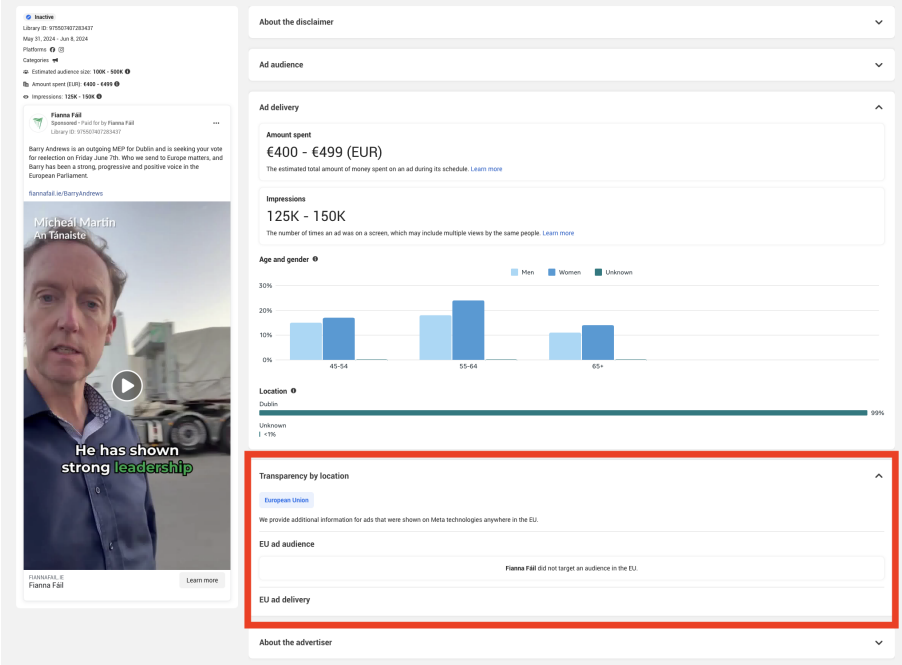


Figure 5. Meta restrictions on 'transparency by location'

Turning to the results, what is immediately evident, is that the targeting categories are limited. Both Meta and Google restrict political ad targeting to location, age and gender. Figure 6 also demonstrates that the majority of political parties opt to target rather generally: at country level, all ages (as of 18 years old) and all genders (male, female, unknown). Then, targeting on the basis of a specific location (city/zip code and region/county) is most often used, followed by targeting by age and to a lesser extent by gender. Figure 6 reveals that there is quite some variance in use of targeting per country. In this study, political parties in Belgium, Czechia, Germany, Greece, Hungary and Poland make the most use of targeting, either generally or specifically.

Next, Figure 7 is somewhat dependent on the amount of political parties in a country, i.e. the more political parties run ads within a country, the higher the targeting numbers are, and vice versa. Malta forms a good example of this. There are only two political parties elected into the European Parliament, who jointly spent € 39.5K on political ads in the run up to the elections (see Annex). Ad targeting for Malta in Figure 7 is low. However we note outliers too. Bulgaria elected nine political parties into the European Parliament, spent 271K on political ads, yet made very little use of targeting (and then only generally on country and age). Further, in Poland, five of the six elected parties published and spent € 301K on political ads. Their numbers in Figure 7 are low yet diverse, because their use of targeting was varied and specific.

The specific targeting sub-category differs depending on the political party. This is demonstrated well in our analysis of political ad targeting in Annex. (We have included detailed analyses for the top six ad targeting countries – Belgium, Czechia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Poland.) In Greece, only four of the eight political parties used specific targeting categories for the 2024 EU Parliament Election's ads. Targeting based on location (in the legend: first row, blue – specific location, city/zip code, orange – region) is most common among political parties in Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Ireland. This can be reflective of political structures within the country. In Belgium, for instance, politics are primarily region/community driven. For Hungary, our data shows that Budapest as a 'specific location' was heavily targeted (in ten out of our forty ads, i.e. 25% of the ads). Targeting based on age (second row: light blue – younger population, purple – older population) is most frequent in Germany, and to a lesser extent in Czechia, Greece and Poland. In the selected sample, *Česká pirátská strana* (Czech Pirate Party) used the same targeting category ('younger people') most. Six out of the six selected ads targeted this specific population category. In Germany, the *Piratenpartei Deutschland* (German Pirate Party) also targeted young people in three of their six ads. Finally, targeting based on gender (third row: dark blue – women, brown – men) is commonly used in Ireland and Romania (yet note our methodological caveat on ad targeting vs. ad delivery). We also note that often men and women are both tagged for the same ad, thus reducing the specificity of the targeting. Occasionally, age and gender are combined, for instance, to target younger women (in this sample: Polish *Coalition Lewica (Nowa Lewica, Lewica Razem, Unia Pracy*), but this is quite rare.

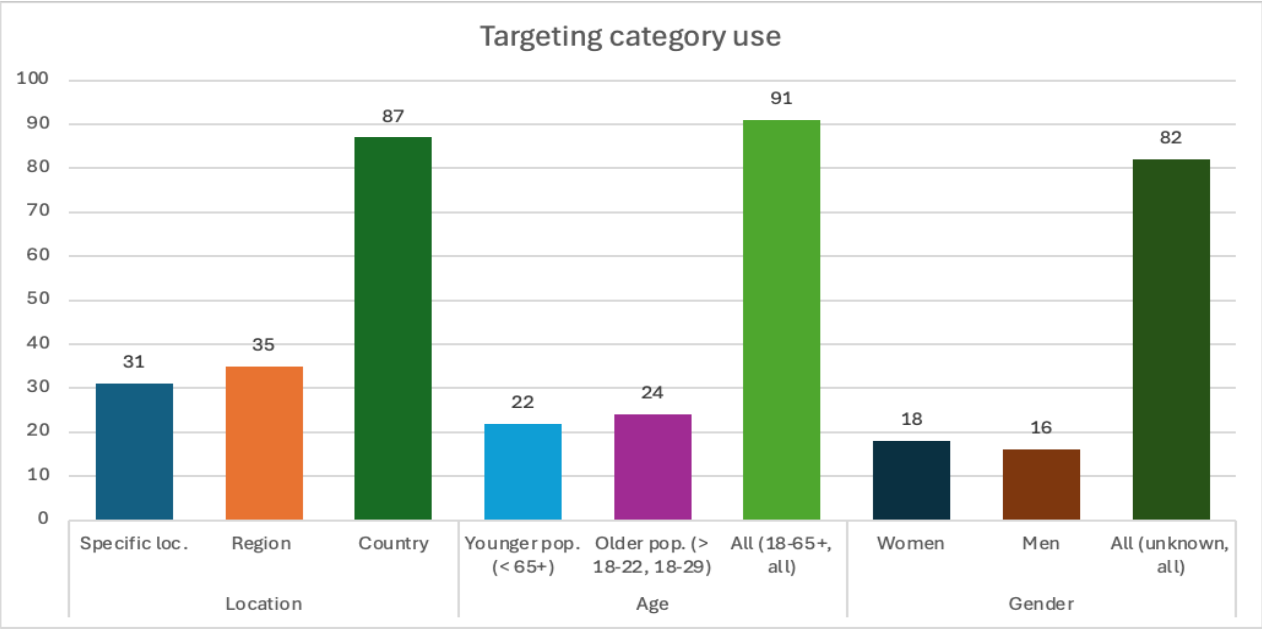


Figure 6. Ad targeting per political party (EU-15)

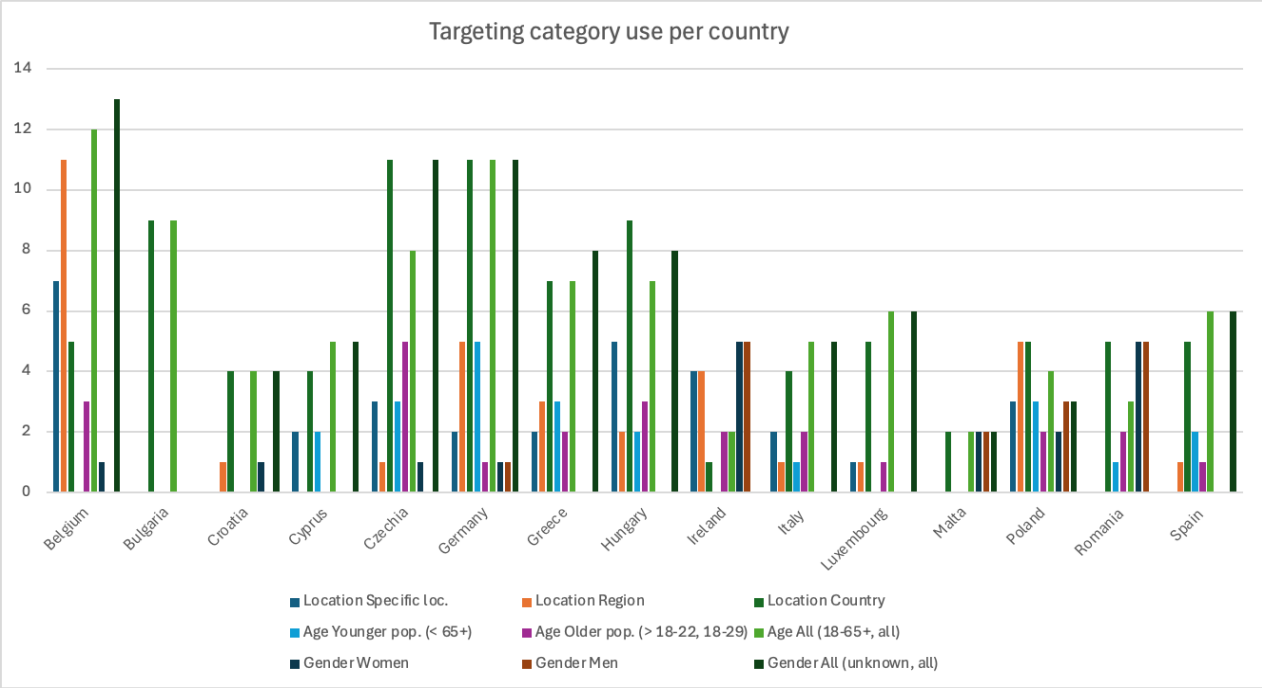


Figure 7. Ad targeting per country (EU-15)

7. Conclusions

This report documented compliance and transparency of two Very Large Online Platforms and Search Engines - Meta and Google - on commitments made on political advertising in the context of the Code of Practice (as of July 2025, Conduct) on Disinformation. It also analysed use, spending and targeting by political parties during the European Parliament elections in June 2024. As such, we provide assessments for Chapter 3 of the Code of Practice on Disinformation, specifically, Commitments 4-5 (QRE 4.1.1 and QRE 5.1.1), Commitment 8 (QRE 8.1.1), Commitment 9 (QRE 9.1.1), Commitment 10 (QRE 10.2.1), Commitment 11 (QRE 11.1.1), and Commitment 6 (SLI 6.2.1).

First, we assessed if online platforms have defined 'political and issue advertising' in alignment with the Regulation on Transparency and Targeting of Political Advertising (Reg(EU)2024/900) and conclude that *Meta and Google's definitions are not fully aligned with Reg(EU)2024/900.* On the one hand, while Meta's inclusion of "regulated as political advertising" in the definition of their 'social issues, elections or politics ads' could count as compliance with the Regulation, adjusting the definition to mimic the Regulation would be preferable. On the other hand, Google's scope of political ads ('EU election ads') is narrow, yet as we understand, does not exclude other political or issue advertising from Google. Rather those ads do not fall under the same restrictions as election ads.

Second, we analysed whether online platforms have publicised minimum transparency obligations, in alignment with the Regulation on Transparency and Targeting of Political Advertising (Reg(EU)2024/900) in their ad repositories. On these same ads, we assessed whether online platforms have provided clear and accessible information on why users were seeing specific EU election ads. Here we too conclude that *Meta and Google only partially fulfill transparency and targeting requirements as outlined in Reg(EU)2024/900.* According to our assessments, Meta fully complies with 9 of 19 criteria, while Google meets 7 of 19 requirements. The current repositories provide only a basic assessment and understanding of the preparation, placement, promotion, publication, delivery or dissemination of political advertising.

Third, we checked whether the ad repositories were maintained for the EU election period. For Meta, we assessed how the Meta Advertising API performed for customised searches. *Political ads can be retrieved through Google and Meta's Ad Libraries, Google's export data function and Meta's Ad Library API for Developers. Data cleaning and prepping however were resource intensive.* Search/query building could be improved by allowing pulls on ID and topic/keywords and date range (now also non-EU election ads were included). Including a spend range for political parties combined with a date range on Meta would also be helpful. Further, as we note in our section on ad targeting, transparency in Meta's Ad Library seems to be backsliding, as targeting details were no longer available during our post-analysis in August 2025.

Finally, we analysed whether online platforms have publicised meaningful metrics on the volume of ads and ad spend and whether political parties elected into the European Parliament ran ads on Google and Meta during the European Union elections, and if so, how much they spent on advertising. *In total, 30.000 ads were published and € 8.7 million was spent in political advertising during the EU2024 elections in the 15 countries included in the study. Ad targeting is commonly used, but often general.* Political parties in the EU use Meta (19.000 ads, € 5.3M) more than Google (11.000 ads, € 3.4M) for political ads, with the exception of political parties in Greece, Hungary, Romania and Spain. The top three ad users and spenders were Germany (€ 1.9M), Belgium (€ 1.8M) and Hungary (€ 1.2M). Together these countries account for 56% of the total amount spent

on political advertising during the EU elections. Further, of the 114 political parties included in the study, 87 use country level targeting, 91 target by all ages, and 82 by all gender. The only type of more specific targeting that seems to be applied regularly is targeting based on city/zip code and region/county (used by 66 political parties). Not detailed in this study are the stark differences in ad use, spending and targeting (and thus campaign strategies) across political parties. As our annex implies, further research could usefully expand country level analysis of political advertising during the EU2024 elections.

Annex. Country-Level Insights on Pol Ad Use, Spend and Targeting during the EU 2024 Elections

Belgium

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Belgium)

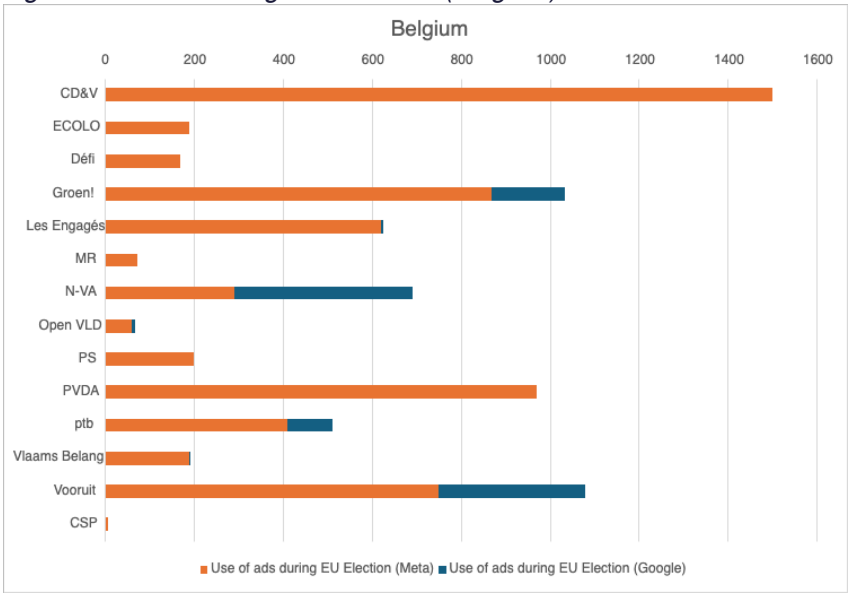


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Belgium)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
BE	CD&V - Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams	€ -	€ 106,053	€ 106,053
	ECOLO - Écologistes confédérés	€ -	€ 37,120	€ 37,120
	Défi - Démocrate fédéraliste	€ -	€ 30,151	€ 30,151
	Groen!	€ 124,600	€ 95,421	€ 220,021
	Les Engagés	€ 2,900	€ 22,974	€ 25,874
	MR - Mouvement Réformateur	€ -	€ 65,772	€ 65,772
	N-VA - Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie	€ 74,550	€ 43,233	€ 117,783
	Open VLD - Open Vlaamse	€ 30,600	€ 62,778	€ 93,378
	PS - Parti socialiste	€ -	€ 80,233	€ 80,233
	PTB-PVDA*	€ 94,400	€ 147,953	€ 242,353
	Vlaams Belang	€ 300	€ 428,511	€ 428,811
	Vooruit	€ 135,050	€ 220,448	€ 355,498
	CSP	€ -	€ 695	€ 695
	TOTAL Country	€ 462,400	€ 1,341,342	€ 1,803,742

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Belgium)

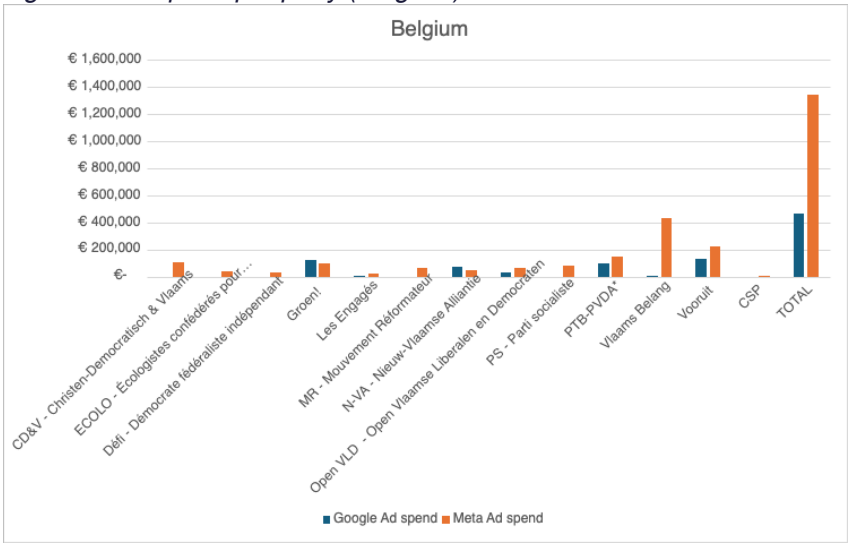
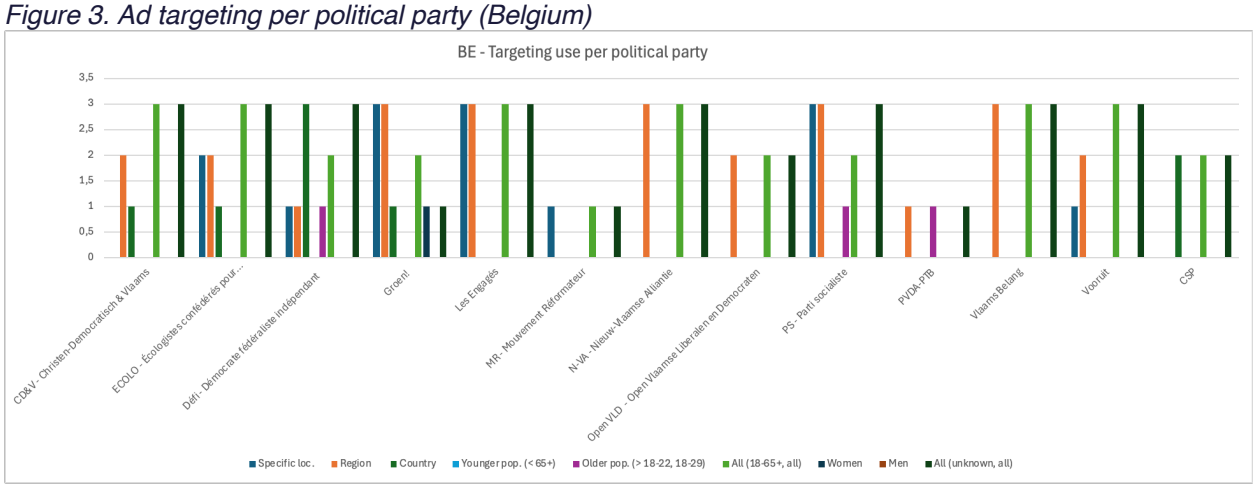


Table 2. Ad targeting per political party (Belgium)

	Location			Age			Gender		
	Specific loc.	Region	Country	Younger pop. (<65+)	Older pop. (>18-22, 18-29)	All (18-65+, all)	Women	Men	All (unknown, all)
CD&V - Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams	0	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	3
ECOLO - Écologistes confédérés pour l'Organisation de Luttes originales	2	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	3
Défi - Démocrate fédéraliste indépendant	1	1	3	0	1	2	0	0	3
Groen!	3	3	1	0	0	2	1	0	1
Les Engagés	3	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
MR - Mouvement Réformateur	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
N-VA - Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Open VLD - Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
PS - Parti socialiste	3	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	3
PVDA-PTB	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Vlaams Belang	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Vooruit	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
CSP	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2

Figure 3. Ad targeting per political party (Belgium)



Bulgaria

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Bulgaria)

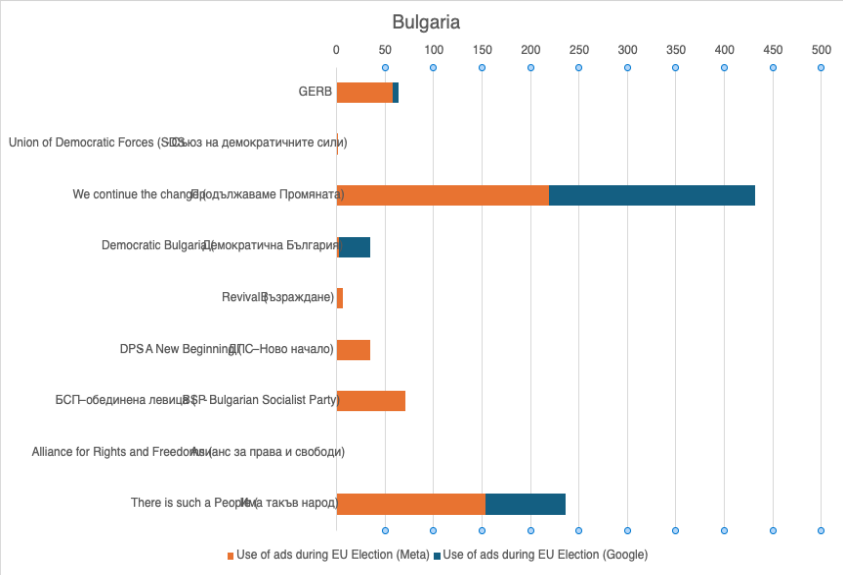
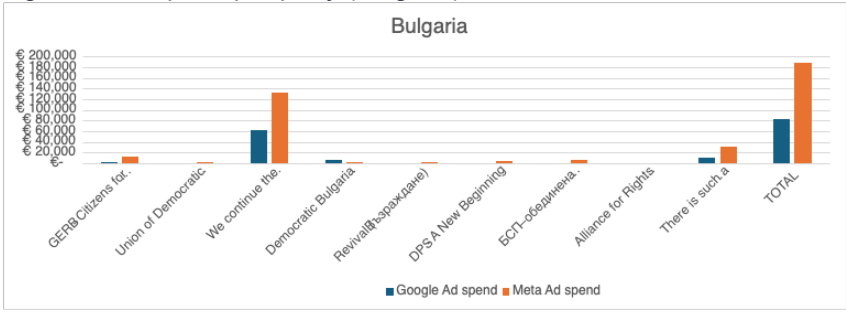


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Bulgaria)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
BU	GERB - Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria(Граждани за европейско развитие на България	€ 1,500	€ 11,600	€ 13,100
	Union of Democratic Forces (SDS - Съюз на демократичните сили)	€ -	€ 200	€ 200
	We continue the change (Продължаваме Промяната)	€ 63,100	€ 133,100	€ 196,200
	Democratic Bulgaria (Демократична България)	€ 7,100	€ 300	€ 7,400
	Revival (Възраждане)	€ -	€ 1,400	€ 1,400
	DPS- A New Beginning (ДПС – Ново начало)	€ -	€ 3,500	€ 3,500
	БСП – обединена левица (BSP - Bulgarian Socialist Party)	€ -	€ 7,200	€ 7,200
	Alliance for Rights and Freedoms (Алианс за права и свободи)	€ -	€ -	€ -
	There is such a People (Има такъв народ)	€ 10,700	€ 31,500	€ 42,200
	TOTAL Country	€ 82,400	€ 188,800	€ 271,200

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Bulgaria)



Croatia

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Croatia)

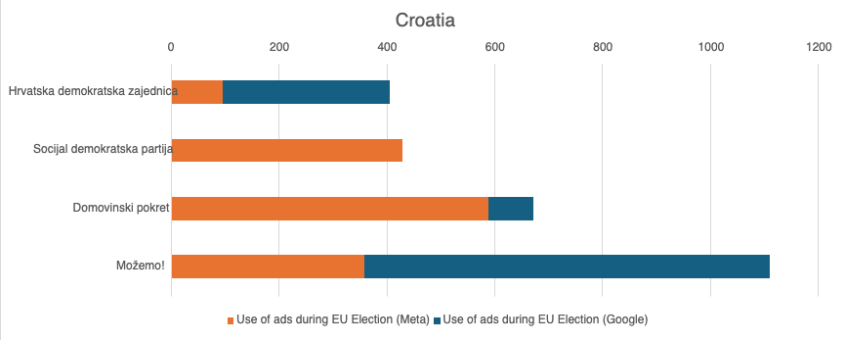
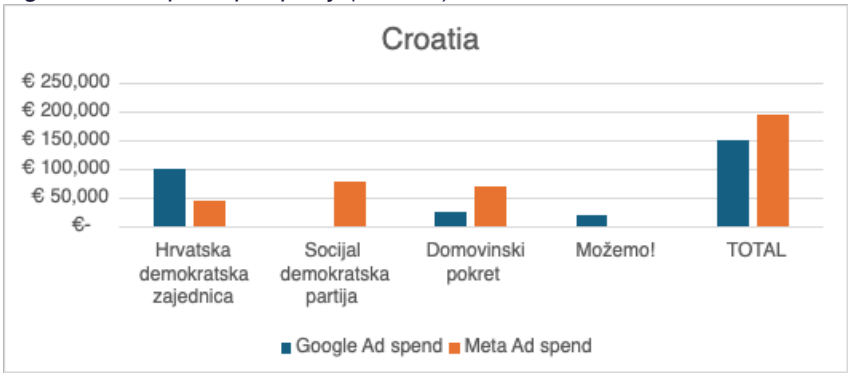


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Croatia)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL party
CR	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica	€ 101,500	€ 44,604	€ 146,104
	Socijal demokratska partija	€ -	€ 78,566	€ 78,566
	Domovinski pokret	€ 27,300	€ 71,112	€ 98,412
	Možemo!	€ 21,400	€ -	€ 21,400
	TOTAL Country	€ 150,200	€ 194,282	€ 344,482

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Croatia)



Cyprus

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Cyprus)

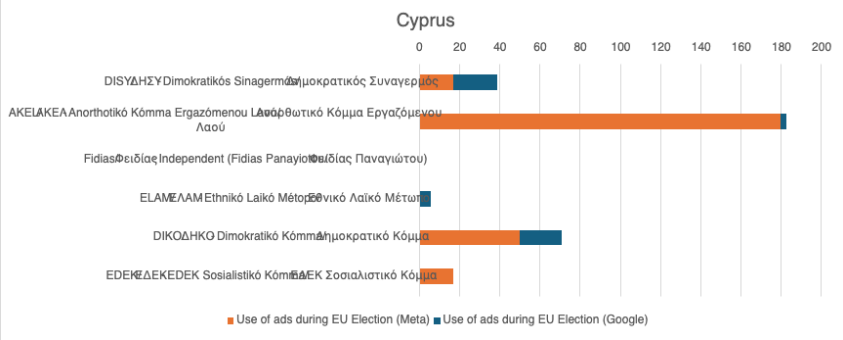
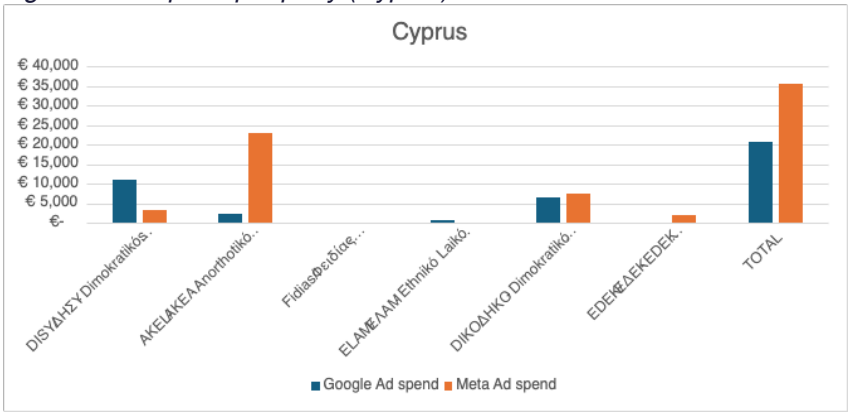


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Cyprus)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
CYP	DISY/ΔΗΣΥ - Dimokratikós Sinagermós/Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός	€ 11,000	€ 3,182	€ 14,182
	AKEL/ΑΚΕΛ - Anorthotikó Kómma Ergazómenou Laoú/Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζόμενου Λαού	€ 2,400	€ 22,924	€ 25,324
	Fidias/Φειδίας - Independent (Fidias Panayiotou/Φειδίας Παναγιώτου)	€ -	€ -	€ -
	ELAM/ΕΛΑΜ - Ethnikó Laikó Métopo/Εθνικό Λαϊκό Μέτωπο	€ 850	€ -	€ 850
	DIKO/ΔΗΚΟ - Dimokratikó Kómma/Δημοκρατικό Κόμμα	€ 6,400	€ 7,450	€ 13,850
	EDEK/ΕΔΕΚ - EDEK Sosialistikó Kómma/ΕΔΕΚ Σοσιαλιστικό Κόμμα	€ -	€ 2,083	€ 2,083
	TOTAL Country	€ 20,650	€ 35,639	€ 56,289

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Cyprus)



Czechia

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Czechia)

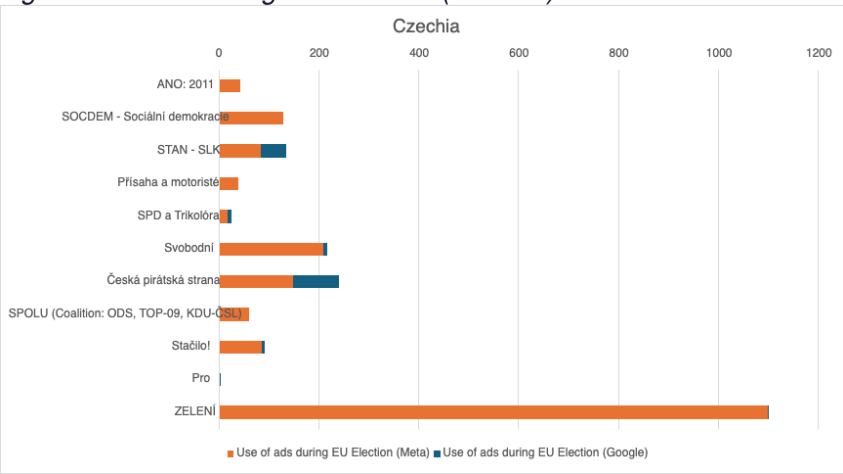


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Czechia)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
CZ	ANO: 2011	€ -	€ 135,616	€ 135,616
	SOCDEM - Sociální demokracie	€ -	€ 11,037	€ 11,037
	STAN - SLK	€ 7,600	€ 3,367	€ 10,967
	Přísaha a motoristé*	€ -	€ 7,497	€ 7,497
	SPD a Trikolóra*	€ 1,800	€ 406	€ 2,206
	Svobodní	€ 1,200	€ 15,943	€ 17,143
	Česká pirátská strana	€ 18,800	€ 25,626	€ 44,426
	SPOLU (Coalition: ODS, TOP-09, KDU-ČSL)	€ -	€ 9,719	€ 9,719
	Stačilo!	€ 10,750	€ 24,981	€ 35,731
	Pro	€ 800	€ 1,530	€ 2,330
	ZELENÍ	€ 150	€ 21,147	€ 21,297
	TOTAL Country	€ 41,100	€ 256,870	€ 297,970

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Czechia)

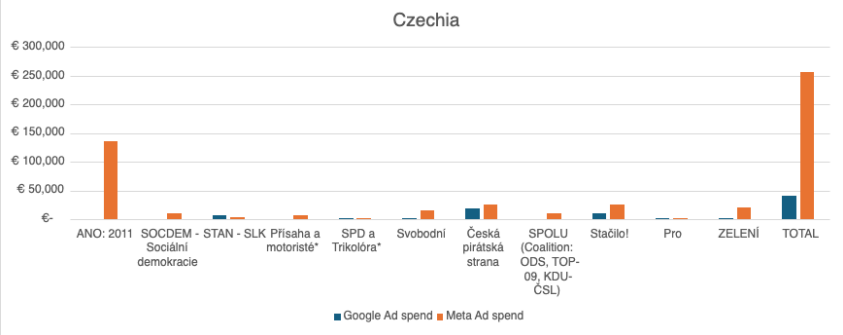
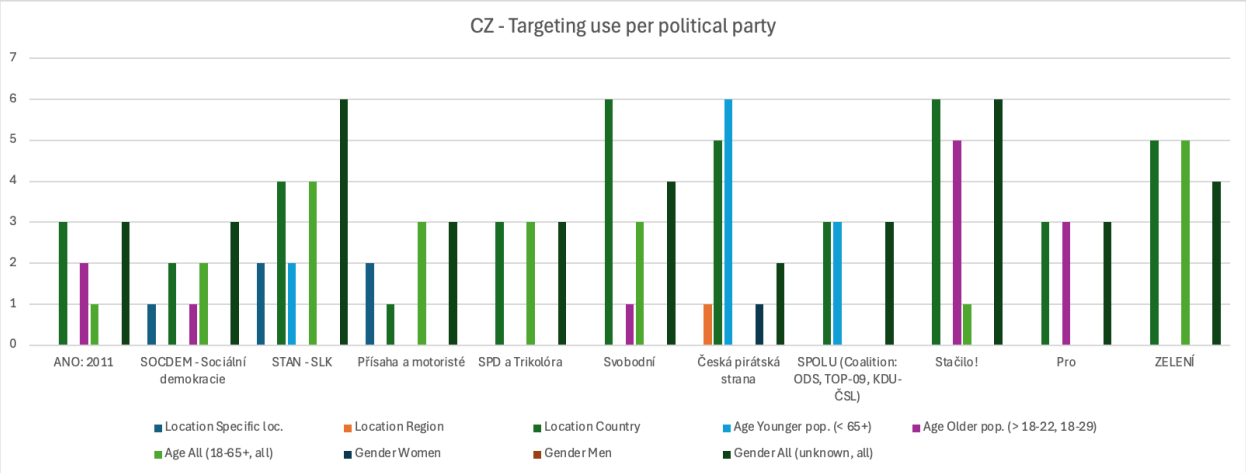


Table 2. Ad targeting per political party (Czechia)

	Location			Age			Gender		
	Specific loc.	Region	Country	Younger pop. (<65+)	Older pop. (>18-22, 18-29)	All (18-65+, all)	Women	Men	All (unknown, all)
ANO: 2011	0	0	3	0	2	1	0	0	3
SOCDEM - Sociální demokracie	1	0	2		1	2	0	0	3
STAN - SLK	2	0	4	2	0	4	0	0	6
Přísaha a motoristé	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	3
SPD a Trikolóra	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3
Svobodní	0	0	6	0	1	3	0	0	4
Česká pirátská strana	0	1	5	6	0	0	1	0	2
SPOLU (Coalition: ODS, TOP-09, KDU-ČSL)	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	3
Stačilo!	0	0	6	0	5	1	0	0	6
Pro	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3
ZELENÍ	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	4

Figure 3. Ad targeting per political party (Czechia)



Germany

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Germany)

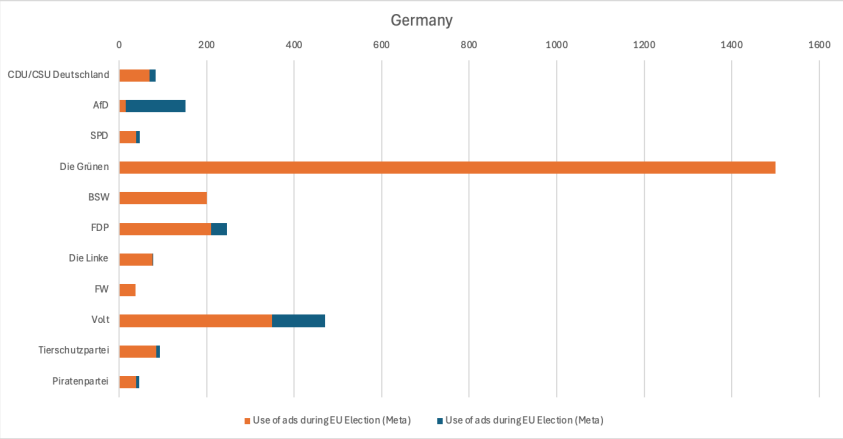


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Germany)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
GER	CDU/CSU - Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands/Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern	€ 180,800	€ -	€ 180,800
	AfD - Alternative für Deutschland	€ 211,700	€ 31,185	€ 242,885
	SPD - Sozialdemokratische Partei	€ 21,300	€ 37,661	€ 58,961
	Die Grünen - Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	€ -	€ 348,649	€ 348,649
	BSW - Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht - Für Vernunft und Gerechtigkeit	€ -	€ 145,102	€ 145,102
	FDP - Freie Demokratische Partei	€ 111,450	€ 185,389	€ 296,839
	Die Linke - Die Linke	€ 2,350	€ 96,024	€ 98,374
	FW - Freie Wähler Bundesvereinigung	€ -	€ 5,162	€ 5,162
	Volt - Volt Deutschland	€ 194,300	€ 321,552	€ 515,852
	Tierschutzpartei - Partei Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz	€ 5,900	€ 10,767	€ 16,667
	Piratenpartei - Piratenpartei Deutschland	€ 4,050	€ 16,061	€ 20,111
	TOTAL Country	€ 731,850	€ 1,197,552	€ 1,929,402

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Germany)

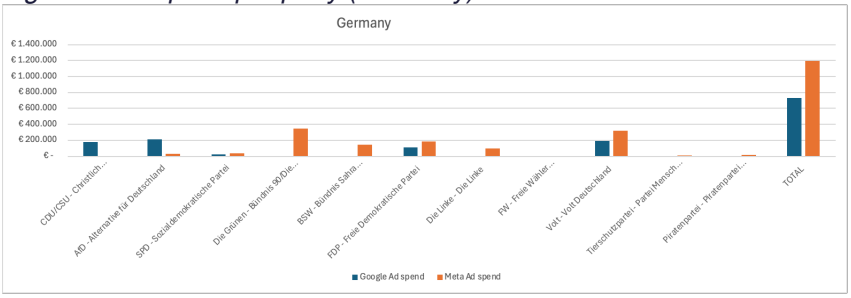
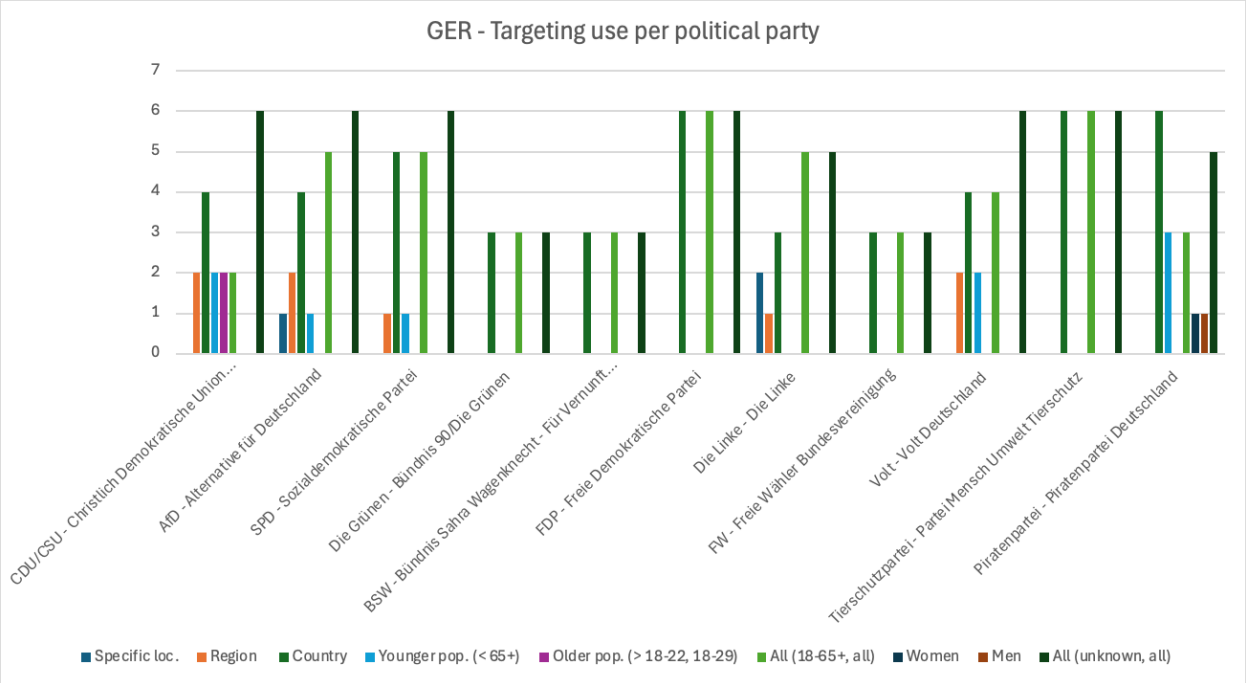


Table 2. Ad targeting per political party (Germany)

	Location			Age			Gender		
	Specific loc.	Region	Country	Younger pop. (< 65+)	Older pop. (> 18-22, 18-29)	All (18-65+, all)	Women	Men	All (unknown, all)
CDU/CSU - Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands/Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern	0	2	4	2	2	2	0	0	6
AfD - Alternative für Deutschland	1	2	4	1	0	5	0	0	6
SPD - Sozialdemokratische Partei	0	1	5	1	0	5	0	0	6
Die Grünen - Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3
BSW - Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht - Für Vernunft und Gerechtigkeit	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3
FDP - Freie Demokratische Partei	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6
Die Linke - Die Linke	2	1	3	0	0	5	0	0	5
FW - Freie Wähler Bundesvereinigung	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3
Volt - Volt Deutschland	0	2	4	2	0	4	0	0	6
Tierschutzpartei - Partei Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6
Piratenpartei - Piratenpartei Deutschland	0	0	6	3	0	3	1	1	5

Figure 3. Ad targeting per political party (Germany)



Greece

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Greece)

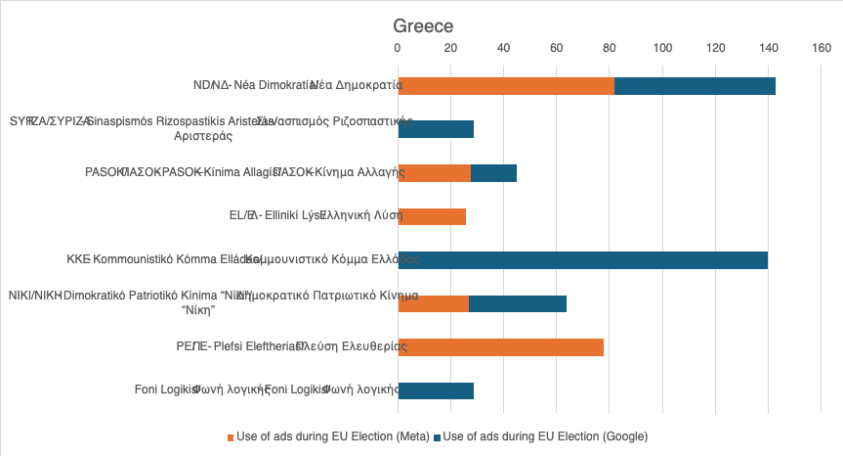


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Greece)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
GRE	ND/ΝΔ - Néa Dimokratía/Νέα Δημοκρατία	€ 237,400	€ 98,018	€ 335,418
	SYRIZA/ΣΥΡΙΖΑ - Sinaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás/Συνασπισμός Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς	€ 28,650	€ -	€ 28,650
	PASOK/ΠΑΣΟΚ - PASOK – Kínima Allagís/ΠΑΣΟΚ – Κίνημα Αλλαγής	€ 40,800	€ 22,772	€ 63,572
	EL/ΕΛ - Ellinikí Lýsi/Ελληνική Λύση	€ -	€ 8,474	€ 8,474
	KKE - Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas/Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Ελλάδας	€ 19,300	€ -	€ 19,300
	NIKI/NIKH - Dimokratikó Patriotikó Kínima “Níki”/Δημοκρατικό Πατριωτικό Κίνημα “Νίκη”	€ 1,050	€ 3,873	€ 4,923
	PE/ΠΕ - Plefsi Eleftherias/Πλεύση Ελευθερίας	€ -	€ 16,122	€ 16,122
	Foni Logikis/Φωνή λογικής - Foni Logikis/Φωνή λογικής	€ 11,450	€ 399	€ 11,849
	TOTAL Country	€ 338,650	€ 149,658	€ 488,308

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Greece)

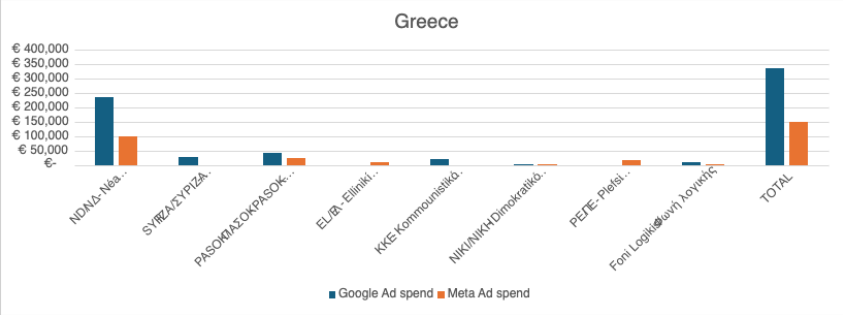
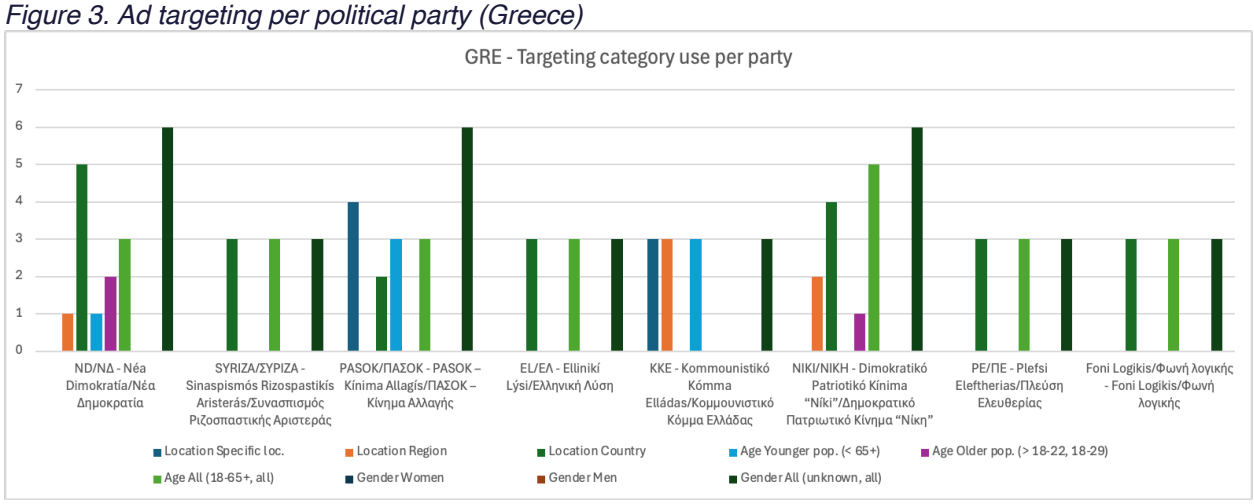


Table 2. Ad targeting per political party (Greece)

	Location			Age			Gender		
	Specific loc.	Region	Country	Younger pop. (< 65+)	Older pop. (>18-22, 18-29)	All (18-65+, all)	Women	Men	All (unknown, all)
ND/ΝΔ - Néa Dimokratía/Νέα Δημοκρατία	0	1	5	1	2	3	0	0	6
SYRIZA/ΣΥΡΙΖΑ - Sinaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás/Συνασπισμός Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3
PASOK/ΠΑΣΟΚ - PASOK – Kínima Allagís/ΠΑΣΟΚ – Κίνημα Αλλαγής	4	0	2	3	0	3	0	0	6
EL/ΕΛ - Elliniki Lýsi/Ελληνική Λύση	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3
KKE - Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas/Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Ελλάδας	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
NIKI/ΝΙΚΗ - Dimokratikó Patriotikó Kínima “Níki”/Δημοκρατικό Πατριωτικό Κίνημα “Νίκη”	0	2	4	0	1	5	0	0	6
PE/ΠΕ - Plefsi Eleftherias/Πλεύση Ελευθερίας	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3
Foni Logikis/Φωνή λογικής - Foni Logikis/Φωνή λογικής	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3

Figure 3. Ad targeting per political party (Greece)



Hungary

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Hungary)

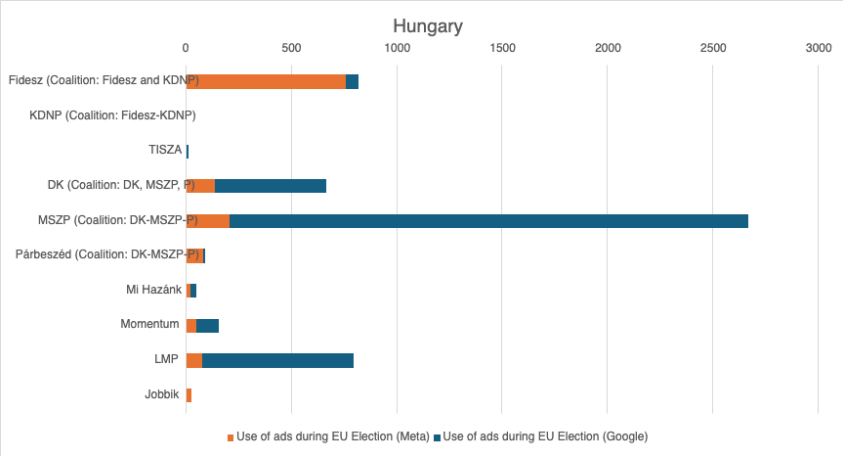


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Hungary)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
HUN	Fidesz (Coalition: Fidesz and KDNP)	€ 457,800	€ 393,685	€ 851,485
	KDNP (Coalition: Fidesz-KDNP)	€ -	€ -	€ -
	TISZA	€ 3,750	€ -	€ 3,750
	DK (Coalition: DK, MSZP, P)	€ 47,100	€ 26,518	€ 73,618
	MSZP (Coalition: DK-MSZP-P)	€ 29,950	€ 20,583	€ 50,533
	Párbeszéd (Coalition: DK-MSZP-P)	€ 250	€ 3,900	€ 4,150
	Mi Hazánk	€ 8,200	€ 10,408	€ 18,608
	Momentum	€ 64,900	€ 10,918	€ 75,818
	LMP	€ 82,500	€ 25,054	€ 107,554
	Jobbik	€ -	€ 2,257	€ 2,257
	TOTAL Country	€ 694,450	€ 493,323	€ 1,187,773

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Hungary)

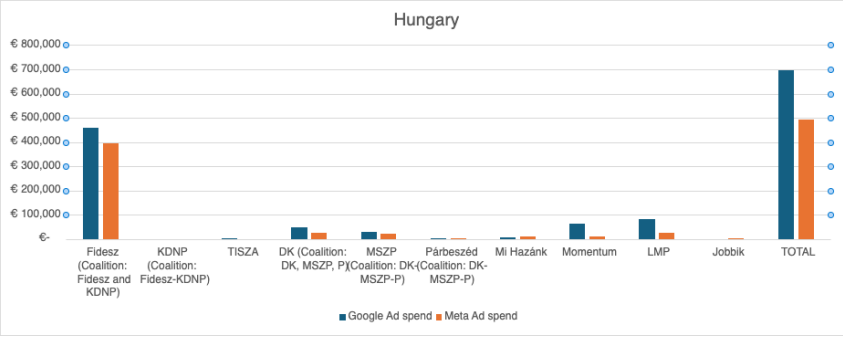
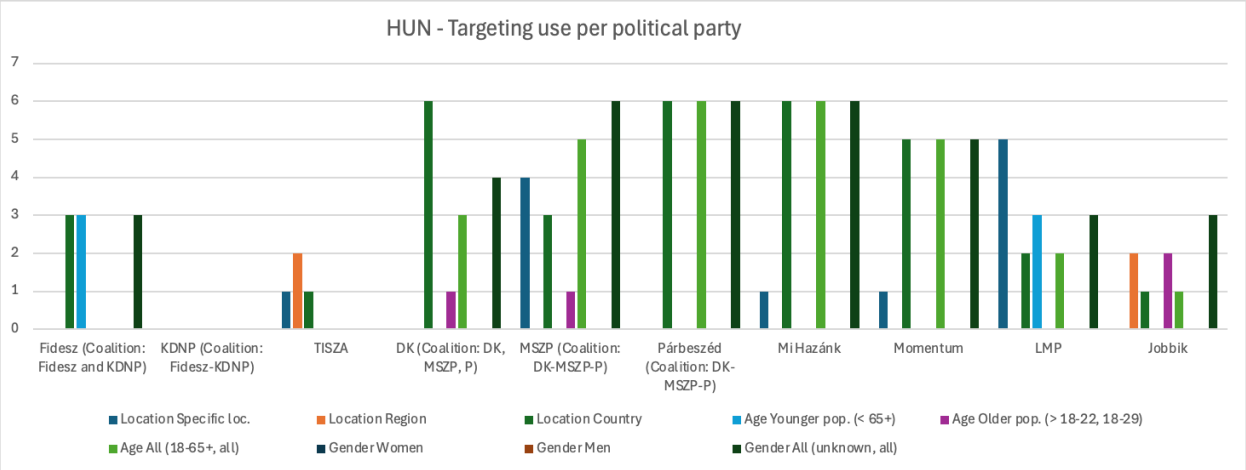


Table 2. Ad targeting per political party (Hungary)

	Location			Age			Gender		
	Specific loc.	Region	Country	Younger pop. (<65+)	Older pop. (>18-22, 18-29)	All (18-65+, all)	Women	Men	All (unknown, all)
Fidesz (Coalition: Fidesz and KDNP)	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	3
KDNP (Coalition: Fidesz-KDNP)	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TISZA	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
DK (Coalition: DK, MSZP, P)	0	0	6	0	1	3	0	0	4
MSZP (Coalition: DK-MSZP-P)	4	0	3	0	1	5	0	0	6
Párbeszéd (Coalition: DK-MSZP-P)	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6
Mi Hazánk	1	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6
Momentum	1	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5
LMP	5	0	2	3	0	2	0	0	3
Jobbik	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	3

Figure 3. Ad targeting per political party (Hungary)



Ireland

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Ireland)

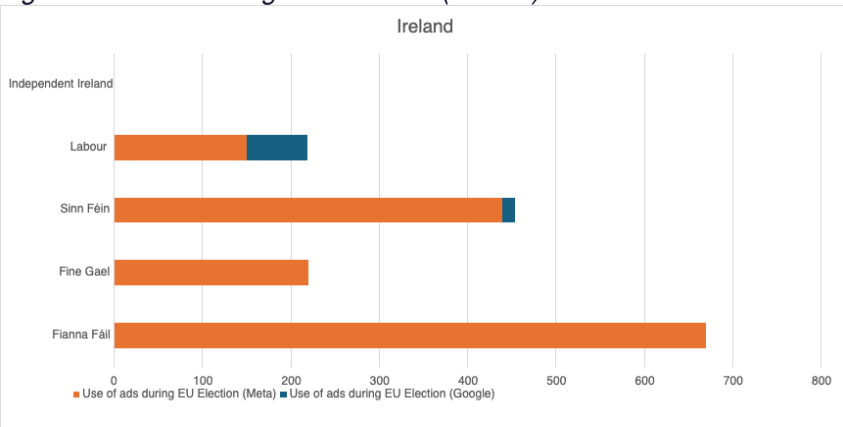
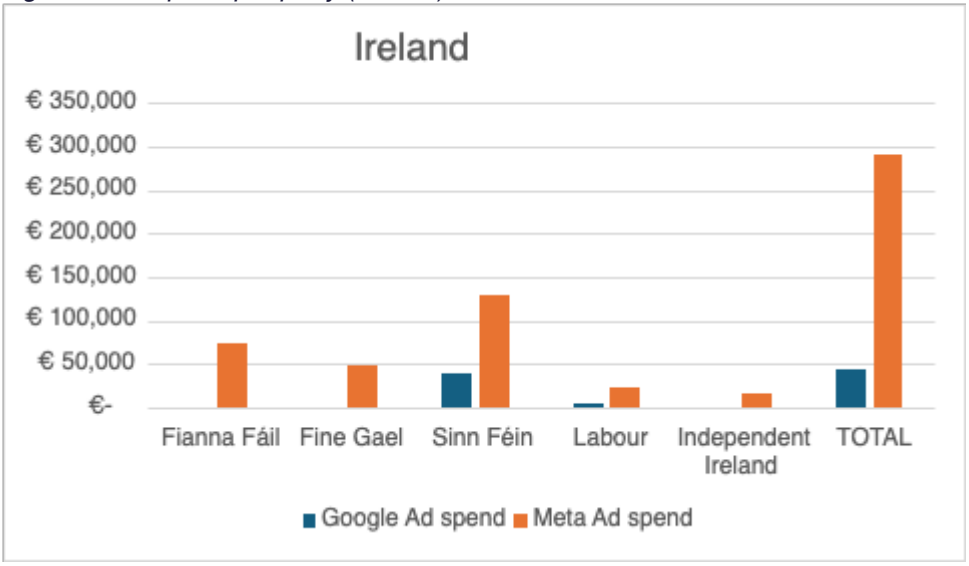


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Ireland)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	Total Party
IRE	Fianna Fáil	€ -	€ 73,633	€ 73,633
	Fine Gael	€ -	€ 49,277	€ 49,277
	Sinn Féin	€ 38,750	€ 128,658	€ 167,408
	Labour	€ 4,550	€ 23,051	€ 27,601
	Independent Ireland	€ -	€ 15,745	€ 15,745
	TOTAL Country	€ 43,300	€ 290,364	€ 333,664

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Ireland)



Italy

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Italy)

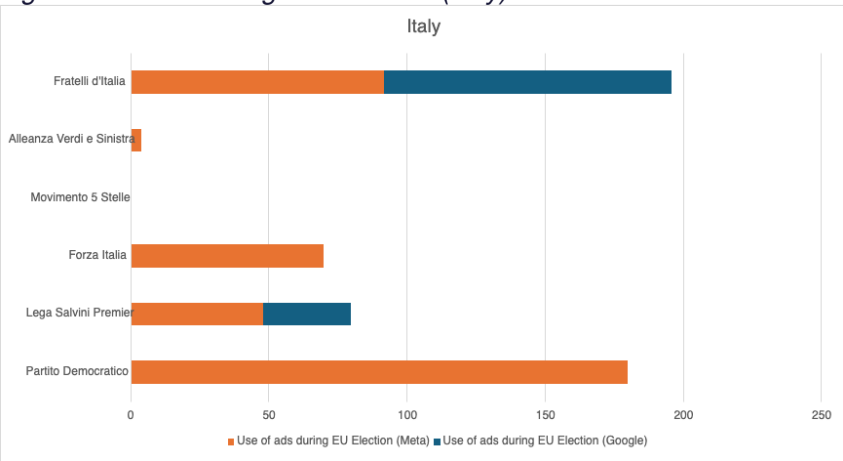
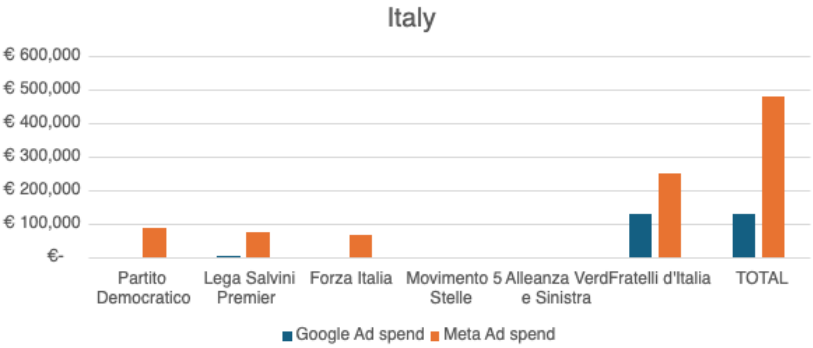


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Italy)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
IT	Partito Democratico	€ -	€ 89,320	€ 89,320
	Lega Salvini Premier	€ 350	€ 73,352	€ 73,702
	Forza Italia	€ -	€ 65,830	€ 65,830
	Movimento 5 Stelle	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Alleanza Verdi e Sinistra	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Fratelli d'Italia	€ 130,600	€ 251,408	€ 382,008
	TOTAL Country	€ 130,950	€ 479,910	€ 610,860

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Italy)



Luxembourg

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Luxembourg)

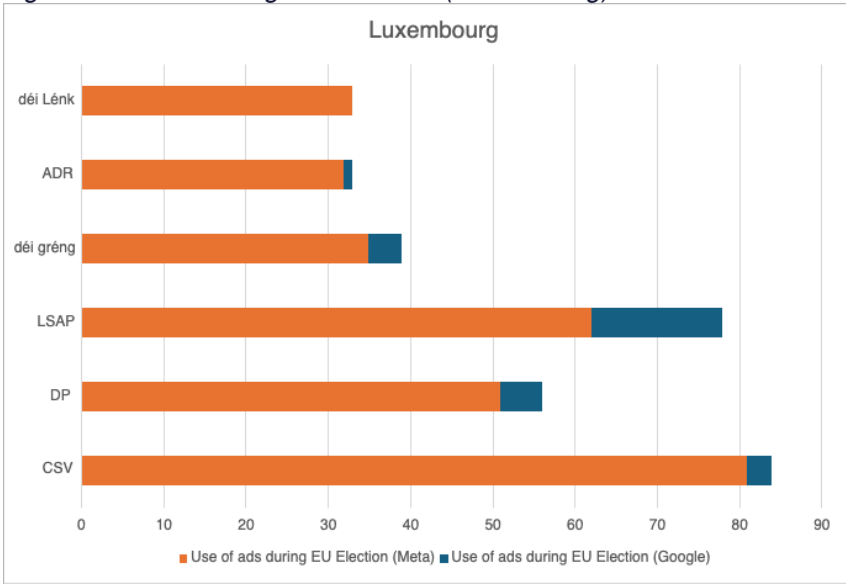
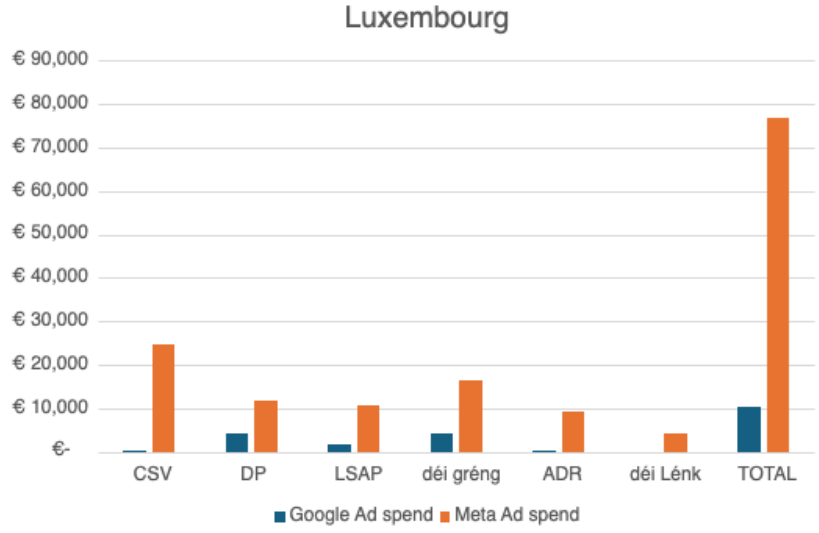


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Luxembourg)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
LUX	CSV	€ 400	€ 24,719	€ 25,119
	DP	€ 4,050	€ 11,749	€ 15,799
	LSAP	€ 1,600	€ 10,638	€ 12,238
	déi gréng	€ 4,200	€ 16,265	€ 20,465
	ADR	€ 100	€ 9,268	€ 9,368
	déi Lénk	€ -	€ 4,167	€ 4,167
	TOTAL Country	€ 10,350	€ 76,806	€ 87,156

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Luxembourg)



Malta

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Malta)

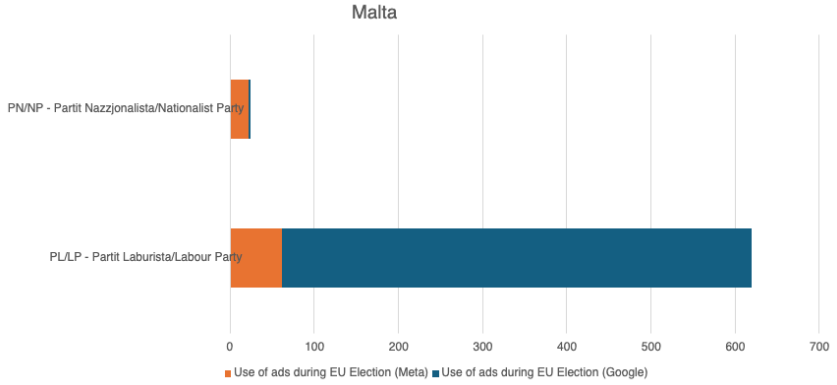
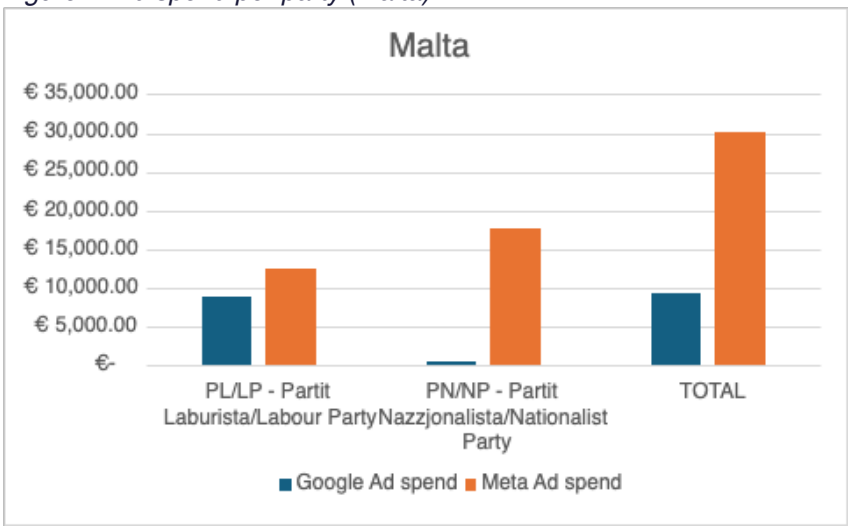


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Malta)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
MAL	PL/LP - Partit Laburista/Labour Party	€ 8,900.00	€ 12,438	€ 21,338
	PN/NP - Partit Nazzjonalista/Nationalist Party	€ 450	€ 17,677	€ 18,127
	TOTAL Country	€ 9,350	€ 30,115	€ 39,465

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Malta)



Poland

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Poland)

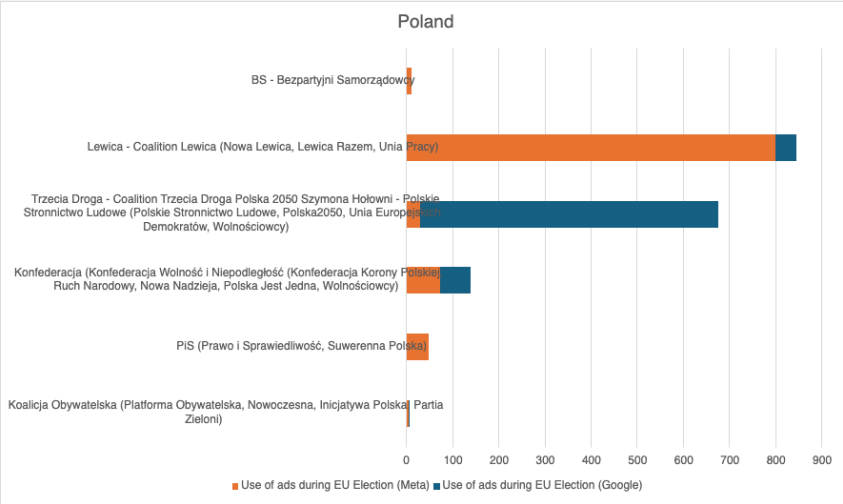


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Poland)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
POL	Koalicja Obywatelska (Platforma Obywatelska, Nowoczesna, Inicjatywa Polska, Partia Zieloni)	€ 200	€ -	€ 200
	PiS (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Suwerenna Polska)	€ -	€ 53,155	€ 53,155
	Konfederacja (Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (Konfederacja Korony Polskiej, Ruch Narodowy, Nowa Nadzieja, Polska Jest Jedna, Wolnościowcy)	€ 27,650	€ -	€ 27,650
	Trzecia Droga - Coalition Trzecia Droga Polska 2050 Szymona Hołowni - Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, Polska2050, Unia Europejskich Demokratów, Wolnościowcy)	€ 53,800	€ 7,560	€ 61,360
	Lewica - Coalition Lewica (Nowa Lewica, Lewica Razem, Unia Pracy)	€ 550	€ 154,121	€ 154,671
	BS - Bezpartyjni Samorządowcy	€ -	€ 4,138	€ 4,138
	TOTAL Country	€ 82,200	€ 218,974	€ 301,174

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Poland)

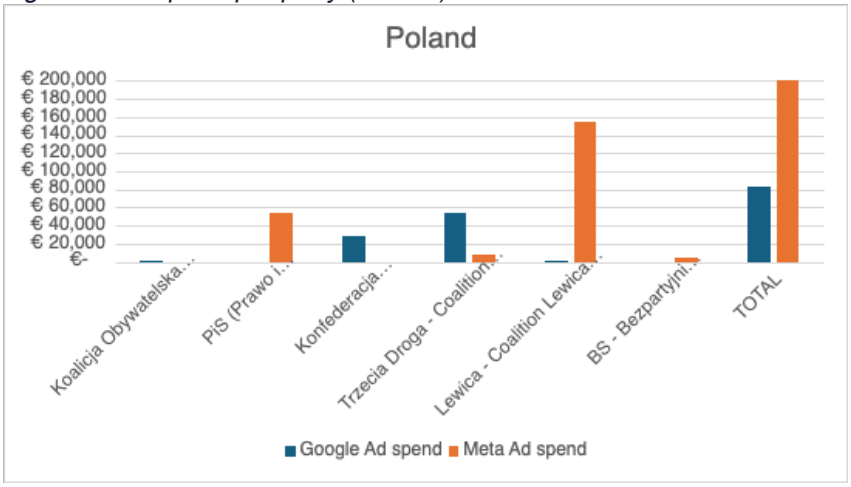
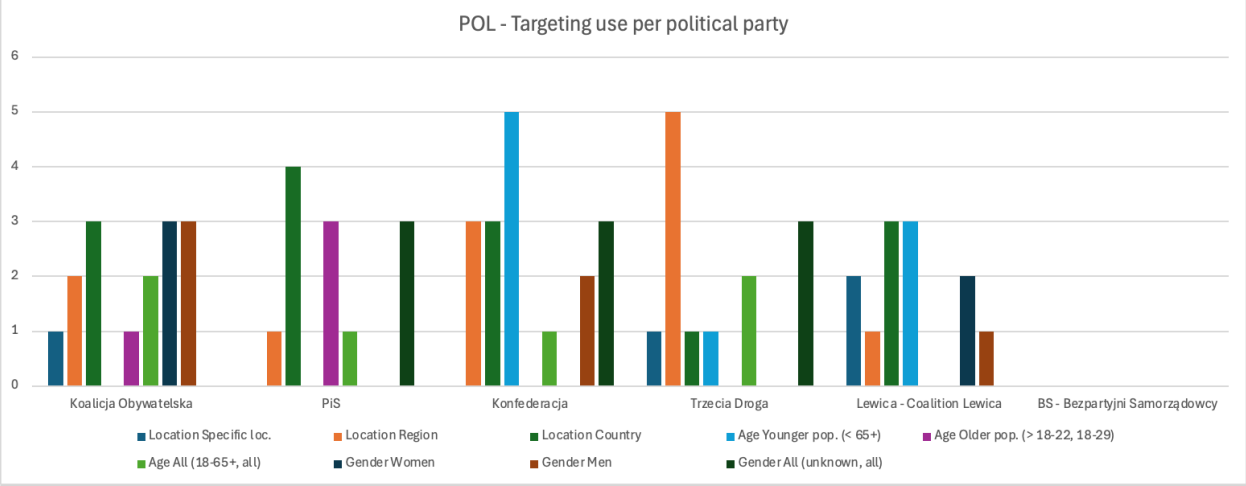


Table 2. Ad targeting per political party (Poland)

	Location			Age			Gender		
	Specific loc.	Region	Country	Younger pop. (<65+)	Older pop. (>18-22, 18-29)	All (18-65+, all)	Women	Men	All (unknown, all)
Koalicja Obywatelska	1	2	3	0	1	2	3	3	0
PiS	0	1	4	0	3	1	0	0	3
Konfederacja	0	3	3	5	0	1	0	2	3
Trzecia Droga	1	5	1	1	0	2	0	0	3
Lewica - Coalition Lewica	2	1	3	3	0	0	2	1	0
BS - Bezpartyjni Samorządowcy	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Figure 3. Ad targeting per political party (Poland)



Romania

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Romania)

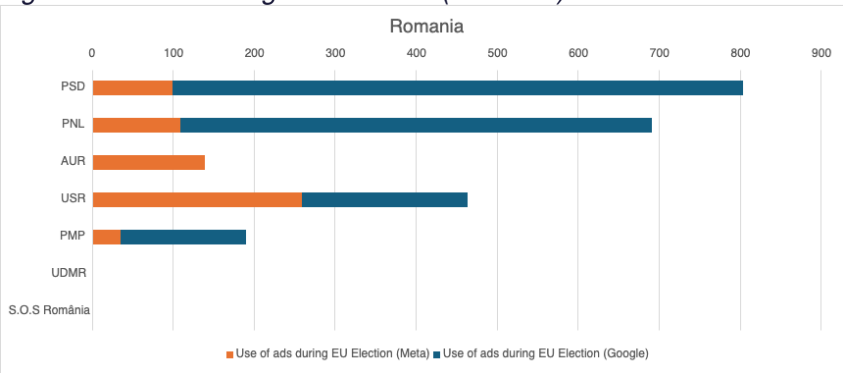
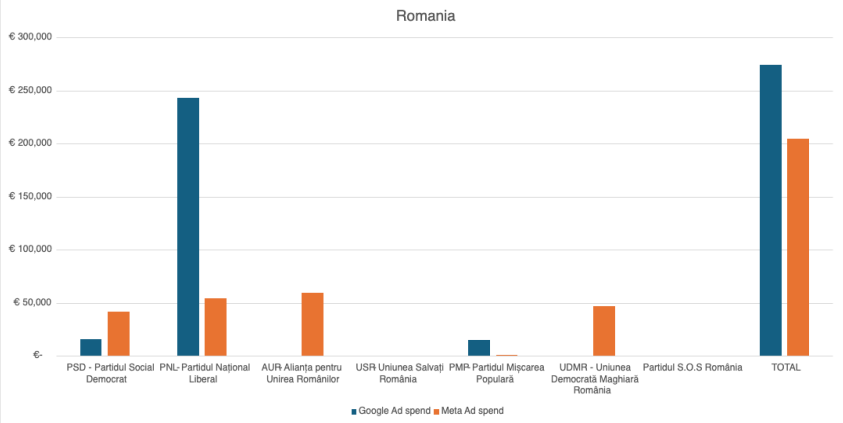


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Romania)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
ROM	PSD - Partidul Social Democrat	€ 15,550	€ 41,988	€ 57,538
	PNL - Partidul Național Liberal	€ 243,300	€ 54,561	€ 297,861
	AUR - Alianța pentru Unirea Românilor	€ -	€ 59,837	€ 59,837
	USR - Uniunea Salvați România	€ 7,800	€ -	€ -
	PMP - Partidul Mișcarea Populară	€ 15,450	€ 1,348	€ 16,798
	UDMR - Uniunea Democrată Maghiară România	€ -	€ 46,697	€ 46,697
	Partidul S.O.S România	€ -	€ -	€ -
	TOTAL Country	€ 274,300	€ 204,431	€ 478,731

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Romania)



Spain

Figure 1. Ad use during EU elections (Spain)

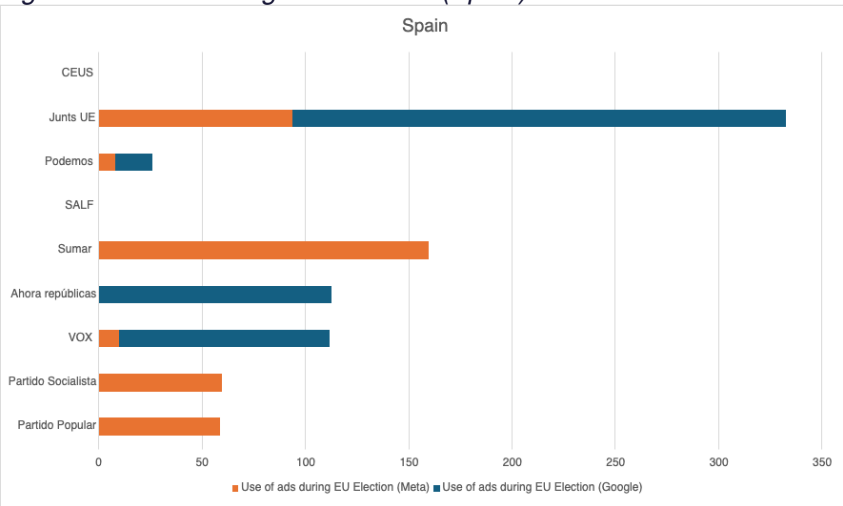
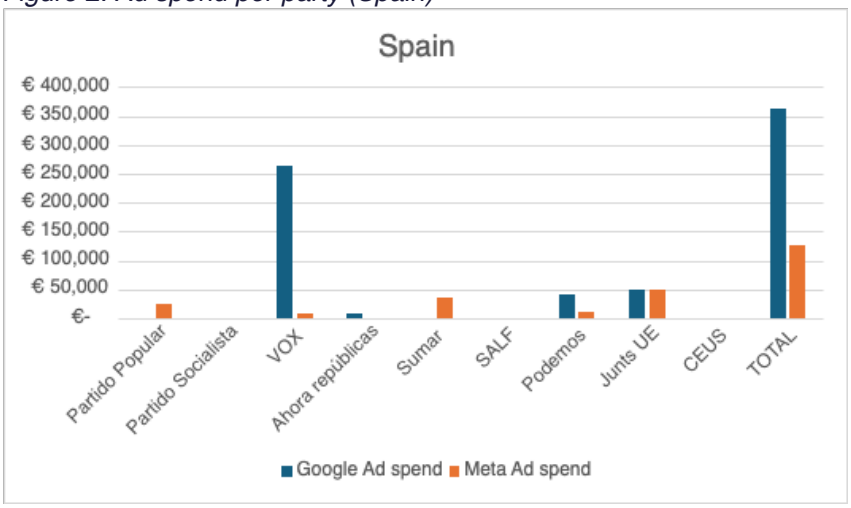


Table 1. Ad spend per political party (Spain)

	Political party	Google ad spend	Meta ad spend	TOTAL Party
SP	Partido Popular	€ -	€ 24,441	€ 24,441
	Partido Socialista	€ -	€ -	€ -
	VOX	€ 263,800	€ 8,590	€ 272,390
	Ahora repúblicas	€ 8,900	€ -	€ 8,900
	Sumar	€ -	€ 35,045	€ 35,045
	SALF	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Podemos	€ 42,050	€ 10,392	€ 52,442
	Junts UE	€ 48,750	€ 48,206	€ 96,956
	CEUS	€ -	€ -	€ -
	TOTAL Country	€ 363,500	€ 126,674	€ 490,174

Figure 2. Ad spend per party (Spain)



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