An empirical assessment of the convoy protest on six online sites

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Introduction

The following report provides an analysis of the online discourse and social media posts related to the convoy movement in January and February 2022. The analysis shows a nuanced picture. The majority of posts on the six sites examined in this report opposed the Canadian government's measures to impose vaccine mandates and voiced concerns about freedom of expression, the emergency act, and social justice issues. In general, the posts showed sympathy and affiliation with conservative voices in Canada and elsewhere in North America and Europe. In addition, the protest movement seems to be largely supported by foreign conservative actors, especially from the US and the UK, as well as users from the Netherlands, Germany and Spanish speaking countries. Support of foreign conservative actors was particularly prevalent on Twitter. At the same time, some of the most active accounts posting about the convoy on Twitter were involved in spreading disinformation about the pandemic. There was also a minor online community that periodically trolled the protesters on Twitter and accused them of being racists and/or stupid. I examined the posts on Facebook and Instagram that had the most engagement. I also examined the most active users posting about the convoy. The examination clearly shows that the majority of these posts are very pro-convoy, unlike the stronger anti-convoy community that exists on Twitter. Instagram, however, seems to contain far more disinformation in relation to the convoy protest than Facebook. The analysis also shows that the majority of Facebook advertisements relating to the convoy, both in relation to the number of ads purchase and the money spent, were supportive of the convoy. A few US-based Facebook pages marketed commercial items like pro-convoy T-shirts and hats. As for Telegram, some channels contained much more disinformation than traditional social media sites like Twitter or Facebook. I also examined posts on Reddit. Despite the limitation of the collected data, the most engaging Reddit posts were neutral, and the most active subreddits were mostly conservative and pro-convoy.

Methodology

To provide an overview of online discussion of the convoy protest in Canada, I collected posts from 6 different platforms: Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Reddit, Facebook ads, and Telegram (See Table 1).

I began by collecting all the available tweets posted between January 4 to August 7, 2022 containing at least one of 20 relevant hashtags: #TruckersForFreedom2022, #IStandWithTruckers, #FreedomTruckers, #istandwiththetruckers, #Truckersforfreedomconvoy2022, #TruckersConvoy2022, #truckersforfreedom. #freedomconvoy2022, #freedomconvoycanada2022, #freedomconvoy, #convoyforfreedom2022, #freedomconvoycanada, #truckerconvoy2022, #truckerconvoy, #convoytoottawa2022, #canadiantruckers, #freedomconvoy22, #canadatruckers, #ottawaconvoy,or #ottawaoccupation. To collect historical tweets, I used Twitter API v2 Academic license. In total, there were 4,846,794 tweets sent by 617,086 unique Twitter users (See Figure 1). To understand the online discourses, I conducted a quantitative and qualitative assessment, and this also involved using a number of digital research methods like using QDA Miner 6- WordStat9 software and employing Python scripts to extract descriptive data from the large dataset such as the frequency of the most used words, phrases, hashtags, mentions, and users (Al-Rawi & Shukla, 2021; Al-Rawi et al., 2020).

To get data from purchased Facebook ads, I used Facebook ads Library (https://www.facebook.com/ads/library) and downloaded all the available ads that reference the following terms: Freedom convoy, trucker convoy, trucker protest, Ottawa Convoy, Freedom Protest, Ottawa protest. After filtering these for dates starting from the beginning of January until August 20, 2022 and removing all duplicates, there were 332 ads purchased by 98 different accounts that spent in \$55,968 in total (in all currencies). Specifically, \$2,777 US, 99 Euros, 99 Pounds, and \$52,993 CAD were spent on Facebook ads.

Further, I searched Facebook, Instagram, and Reddit for references to the convoy protest with CrowdTangle on August 19, 2022 and starting from early 2022, using the following search terms: "Ottawa protest", "Ottawa convoy", "trucker convoy", "Freedom convoy", "Truckers For Freedom", TruckersForFreedom2022, IStandWithTruckers, FreedomTruckers, istandwiththetruckers, Truckersforfreedomconvoy2022, TruckersConvoy2022, truckersforfreedom, freedomconvoy2022, freedomconvoycanada, truckerconvoy2022, truckerconvoy, convoytoottawa2022, canadiantruckers, freedomconvoy22, canadatruckers, Ottawaconvoy, or Ottawaoccupation. Though CrowdTangle has limited data, it still offers access to over 7 million Facebook pages, groups, as well as verified profiles. "This includes all public Facebook pages with more than 50K Page Likes or Followers (automated via API), all public Facebook groups with 95k+ members, all US-based public groups with 2K+ members, and all verified profiles" (CrowdTangle, n.d.). Regarding Instagram, it provides access to more than 2 million public accounts with over 50K followers. As for Reddit, it offers data from more than 20,000 most active subreddits (Miles, n.d.). The data collected included 8,598 reddit, 240,555 Facebook, and 16,654 Instagram posts.

For Telegram, I https://tgstat.com/ to locate 4 public accounts that discussed the convoy movement: (1) @CanadaFreedomConvoy, (2) @Freedom_Global, (3) @HerMajestyQueenRomanaDidulo and (4) @TheFreedomConvoy2022. I then used a Python code to download all the available posts (n=53,320). There are 1605 different users who interacted on these public Telegram channels. I also used Echosec Systems – Beacon tool to search the Telegram platform as a whole for references to the convoy protest February 13, 2022, and I collected a sample of 1,000 Telegram posts sent by 415 distinct users.

Table 1. Summary of the data collected from 6 online sites

No.	Platform	Data collected	No. of users
1.	Twitter	4,846,794	617,086
2.	Facebook	240,555	14,548
3.	Instagram	16,654	3,366
4.	Reddit	8,598	826
5.	Facebook ads	332	98
6.	Telegram	54,320	2,020
Total		5,167,253	637,944

Twitter analysis

As a mainstream social media site used by a variety of actors, Twitter remains a very important platform for political engagement and discussion. This explains why the data collected from this platform is larger than what is found on another sites. As can be seen below, the top 6 dates in 2022 by number of posts referencing one of the 20 hashtags include January 30 (n=371,265),¹ February 5 (n=216,029), February 12 (n=171,848), February 19 (n=169,675), February 7 (n=152,556), and February 15 (n=116,528).

¹ The symbol n= means the frequency of the item or the raw number.

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Figure 1. The top 30 days of tweets referencing one of the 20 hashtags

Twitter users' location

Based on the self-proclaimed locations of users, there were 112,878 distinct locations, some of which were not real locations. For example, users attempt to make a political statement by using false locations such as Chinada, Trumpville, or Truckistan. Also, there were many duplicates because some cities were either misspelled or written differently. Hence, I focused my attention on the unique 50 most frequent locations after merging the most frequent duplicates e.g. USA, Etats-Unis, The United States, and United States of America. In some cases, it is not possible to know when the user mentions London only (London, Ontario or London, UK), but the majority are based in Canada, especially in Ontario (Figure 2).

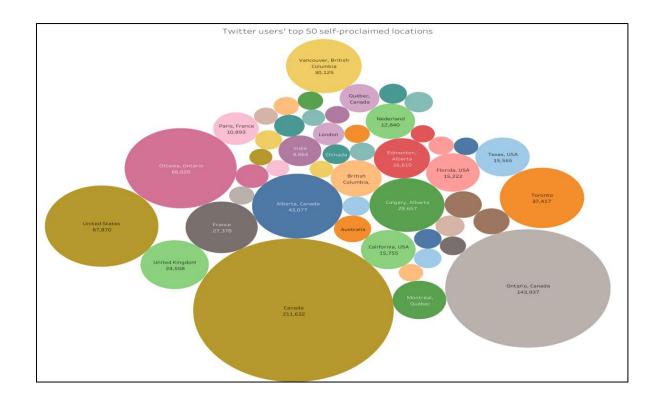


Figure 2. The top 50 most recurrent users' locations*

Frequency analysis

I conducted a quantitative examination of the most referenced hashtags and most frequent words and phrases used in the twitter posts I analyzed. This examination did not indicate the presence of an overwhelming amount of disinformation (see for example Figure 3).

^{*}For a more enhanced image, see the link here

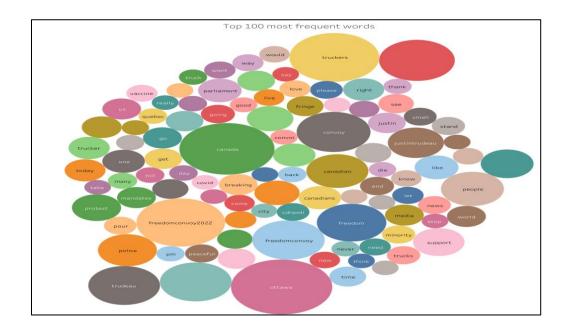


Figure 3. The top 100 most used words on Twitter

The most common phrases associated with the Twitter posts include "freedom convoy" (n=89,569), "Justin Trudeau" (n=69,430), "fringe minority" (n=57,888), "Canadian truckers" (n=48,341), "small fringe minority" (n=44,451), "Ottawa police" (n=43,034), "parliament hill" (n=39,960), "organizer Tamara Lich" (n=35,583), "trucker convoy" (n=27,514), "support truckers" (n=27,369), and "Emergencies Act" (n=21,129). For more details, see the following <u>link</u> with the top 100 most frequent phrases.

The major issues expressed in these tweets are related to perceived social justice, freedom of movement, anti-mandate policies, and freedom of speech rhetoric. In the tweets that I analyzed, there is a general positive sentiment expressed towards the Canadian Conservative Party, the People's Party of Canada, the Republican party in the United States, and Donald Trump and his followers. There are also negative sentiments expressed towards mainstream media, liberal governments in Canada and elsewhere, and particularly strong critical language against Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. In fact, Trudeau is the most mentioned user in the entire dataset (n= 152,443).

More importantly, there are only a few hashtags that are associated with disinformation or conspiracy theories such #GreatReset (n=1205), #TheGreatReset (n=967), #Socialcreditsystem (n=130), #Globalismocanibal (n=118), #greatawakening (n=88) (in different formats), #saveourchildren (n=82), #savethekids (n=32), and #queenofcanada (n=30) in reference to Romana Didulo, a well-known spreader of QAnon conspiracy theories. The number of hashtags associated with conspiracy theories is very limited in comparison to the general hashtags discussing the protest movement. To give the above figures some context, there were 5,231,872 hashtags in the entire dataset, including 81,242 distinct hashtags.

There are a few reasons that can explain this limited number of tweets being associated with conspiracy theories or disinformation. First, Twitter applies automated content moderation procedures

^{*}For a more enhanced image, see the following link.

to remove tweets that might contain disinformation. Once removed, these tweets cannot be collected anymore. There were many notifications in the collected dataset stating "@xxxx account is temporarily unavailable because it violates the Twitter Media Policy. Learn more". This signaled the application of automated content moderation. Second, Twitter users can also flag such tweets, which can assist Twitter in removing misinformation. More importantly, active conspiracy theorists have been largely banned on Twitter, or have chosen to migrate to other fringe social media sites like Telegram, where they can post their content without strict moderation or wide public scrutiny. For example, one Telegram post from @CanadaFreedomConvoy channel stated the following on February 5, 2022: "Twitter suspended us, follow us again now on telegram: https://t.me/CanadaFreedomConvoy". Another Telegram channel, @TheFreedomConvoy2022, stated on February 10, 2022 the following: "Twitter starts with their account removal today. This is only random account I found complaining about loosing followers rapidly. My self on my account lost 35 followers in one hour. As I mentioned in my previous post, they will try with everything, but we will stay together !!!" For a full list and visualization of all of these hashtags, please see the following link.

Based on the most liked and most retweeted messages, as well as the most frequent hashtags used, the majority of tweets that circulated on Twitter are supportive of the convoy protest. However, we also find highly critical posts that often use pejorative hashtags, that suggest the protesters are either stupid, racists, or white supremacists. For instance, one of the top 100 most common hashtags was #flutruxklan (n= 26,015) followed by similar ones such as #flutrucksclan (13,157), #karenkonvoy (n=11,355), #flutrucksklan (n=8,022), #Karenconvoy (n=7154), and #freedumbconvoy (n=5,055). Though less popular, other hashtags include #flutruxklangohome (n=3,697), #gohomeflutruxklan (n=2,497), #flutruckklan (n=2,293), #gohomeflutrucksklan, #kkkonvoy, #kkkonservatives, #qanoncult, #gohomeconvoy, #terroristtruckres, #flutruxklangohome, #flutruxclan, #qanonqonvoy, #qanoncultconvoy, and more recently #freedumbers.

Twitter users' analysis

The majority of the top users whose messages had the most retweets or likes are not Canadians, but celebrities with large number of social media followers. For instance, the most liked and retweeted message was posted by Rob Schneider, the famous American actor and comedian (See Figure 4).

Rob Schneider

Trudeau may have to redefine what a "small fringe minority" is...
It's stretching from Manitoba to Ontario!
#TruckersForFreedom2O22

TruckersForFreedom2O22

6:37 AM - Jan 27, 2022 - Twitter for iPhone

16.9K Retweets 1,389 Quote Tweets 71.2K Likes

Figure 4. The most liked and retweeted Twitter message

If we qualitatively examine the top 10 users by number of liked messages, we find that 6 of them are not based in Canada. This indicates strong support for the convoy protesters from non-Canadian users. For example, Candace Owens, an American conservative influencer, received the second most liked tweets, followed by a Christian conservative blogger based in the US. Other users include Marco Robinson, a British Netflix content creator as well as @BernieSpofforth, a conservative British blogger based in the UK. Popular Canadian users include Joe Warmington, a Toronto Sun reporter, Alexandra Lavoie, Rebel News reporter based in Quebec, and Paul Mitchell, a 2019 PPC Candidate for Red Deer Mountain View (See Table 1).

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Table 4, for example, lists the most active users discussing the convoy protest. Two of them (@fijipil660 and @SocialKeenan) troll or repeated target users who support the truckers. @fijipil660, for example, often sends pornographic images to spam and distract Twitter users interested in supporting the convoy protest. This indicates that the online community opposing the convoy protest movement is large (see also the discussion above on the most frequent hashtags).

Most liked and retweeted posts

Based on Table 2 below, the tweets that got most of the likes are related to supportive news on the protest.

Table 2. The top 10 most liked tweets

No.	text	Date	username	Likes	Replies	Retweets	user_location
1.	Trudeau may have to redefine what a "small fringe minority" is It's stretching from Manitoba to Ontario! #TruckersForFreedom2022 https://t.co/n90afOqUOU	1/27/202 2	RobSchneider	7125 0	3231	16986	Scottsdale, AZ
2.	Canada you guys really surprised me this time. (In the best way possible). The entire world is watching, and with you. CA #TruckersForFreedom2022 https://t.co/BMBluX4zOu	1/29/202	RealCandaceO	6093 4	1424	11337	New York, USA
3.	We're proud members of the "small fringe minority" with "unacceptable views." (#FreedomConvoy2022 https://t.co/og4bfU2vFF	1/29/202	SlowToWrite	4807 5	1046	7531	Ohio and Ontario
4.	BREAKING— #FreedomConvoy organizer Tamara Lich has been arrested by @@OttawaPolice https://t.co/cK9CadOPaR	2/17/202 2	joe_warmington	4702 2	6042	16751	GTA
5.	Now. 100,000 truckers. 1,500,000 million people in Ottawa at Parliament. Either Trudeau resigns OR drops all mandates. No negotiation. I have been told that by many amazing Canadian close friends. #TruckersForFreedom2022 I stand with all Canadians! Come on! https://t.co/KdcpTxneTW	1/29/202 2	marcorobinson7	3979 0	1701	12641	London, England
6.	For those who just discovered me, I am the French Quebec journalist for Rebel News. This is the question I asked @JustinTrudeau during the leaders debate. #FreedomRally #convoytoottawa2022 #TruckerConvoy https://t.co/HaGz2QNgvJ	2/10/202	ThevoiceAlexa	3464 1	3356	11607	Québec, Canada
7.	For those of you who attempted to diminish the sheer size of Canada's Freedom Convoy, please enjoy this video #FreedomConvoyCanada2022 https://t.co/AL6zq04GIB	1/31/202	RobSchneider	3158 4	804	6906	Scottsdale, AZ
8.	Joe Rogan, Elon Musk and now Russell Brand are shouting out team #TruckersForFreedom	1/27/202	PaulMitchell_AB	3051 9	358	7189	Didsbury, Alberta
9.	ITALY Italian truckers now mobilising with Australian truckers. Joining forces #Together with Canada. No one is free until we are all free. It's a beautiful thing, the people will decide. #TruckersForFreedom2022 #ConvoyForFreedom2022 https://t.co/oolC2AqVQ9	1/28/202 2	BernieSpofforth	3044 1	959	9635	North West, England
10.	These are the owners of #IconicCafe Enrico and Deborah Kuhn. They have been open for business during the #freedomconvoy22. Now they want to put them in jail for serving the truckers. They said they will not give in, what they do is for their country and freedom all over the world https://t.co/Llg7PrDL2q	2/20/202 2	Ranting4Canada	2839 6	1352	10293	Toronto, Ontario

This is also corroborated by the qualitative examination of the top 10 most retweeted messages after removing the duplicates (Table 3). Indeed, some of the most retweeted posts include overlaps with

the most liked tweets. These retweeted posts show what specific messages garnered the attention of other Twitter users who seem to be more interested in spreading them to their networks.

Table 3- The top 10 most retweeted posts

No.	text	Retweets
	Trudeau may have to redefine what a "small fringe minority" is	
	It's stretching from Manitoba to Ontario!	
1.	#TruckersForFreedom2022 https://t.co/n90afOqUOU	16,986
_	BREAKING— #FreedomConvoy organizer Tamara Lich has been arrested by @OttawaPolice OttawaPolice	
2.	https://t.co/cK9CadOPaR	16,751
	Now. 100,000 truckers. 1,500,000 million people in Ottawa at Parliament.	
	Either Trudeau resigns OR drops all mandates. No negotiation. I have been told that by many amazing Canadian	
	close friends.	
	ciose menus.	
	#TruckersForFreedom2022	
3.	I stand with all Canadians! Come on! https://t.co/KdcpTxneTW	12,641
	For those who just discovered me, I am the French Quebec journalist for Rebel News.	
	This is the question I asked @JustinTrudeau during the leaders debate.	
	#Frooder Polls	
	#FreedomRally #convoytoottawa2022	
4.	#TruckerConvoy https://t.co/HaGz2QNgvJ	11,607
	Canada you guys really surprised me this time. (In the best way possible).	11,007
	The entire world is watching, and with you. CA	
5.	#TruckersForFreedom2022 https://t.co/BMBIuX4zOu	11,337
	Romanian MEP @CristianTerhes absolutely mops the floor with PM @JustinTrudeau in Brussels this week over	
	how he's handling the Ottawa #FreedomConvoy2022 protests.	
6.	"He's exactly like a tyrant, a dictator. He's like Ceauṣescu in Romania," said Terhes. https://t.co/Ox87jL3XJr	11,140
	Breaking: The suspect who allegedly rammed #FreedomConvoy protesters & Drotesters &	
_	been identified as an #Antifa member. I investigated David Zegarac. He's a leader in the antifa punk scene & David Zegarac. He's a leader in the antifa punk scene & David Zegarac.	40.244
7.	was accused of grooming & mp; raping a young girl.https://t.co/gcPPvlkCVy	10,311
	These are the owners of #IconicCafe Enrico and Deborah Kuhn. They have been open for business during the #freedomconvoy22. Now they want to put them in jail for serving the truckers. They said they will not give in,	
8.	what they do is for their country and freedom all over the world https://t.co/Llg7PrDL2q	10,293
0.	ITALY Italian truckers now mobilising with Australian truckers.	10,233
	Joining forces #Together with Canada. No one is free until we are all free.	
	It's a beautiful thing, the people will decide.	
	#TruckersForFreedom2022 #ConvoyForFreedom2022	
_	https://t.co/c01/C24cVO0	0.635
9.	https://t.co/o0LC2AqVQ9 SHARE:	9,635
	Convoy organizers hold first live press conference from an undisclosed location in Ottawa. #FreedomConvoy2022	
10.	https://t.co/0h0nYpzZ5a	8,044

Tweets' language

To further understand the support the protesters got from outside Canada, I quantitatively examined the languages used in writing the tweets. As expected, English was the most common, followed by French. Dutch, Spanish, German, and Italian (Und is short for "undefined", meaning the

language could not be determined. This denotes the support the protesters received from outside Canada (Figure 5).

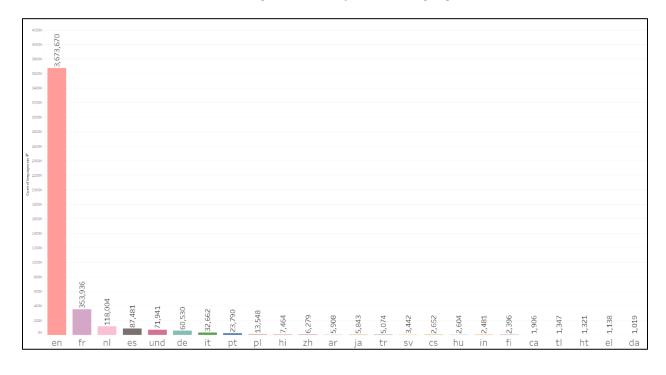


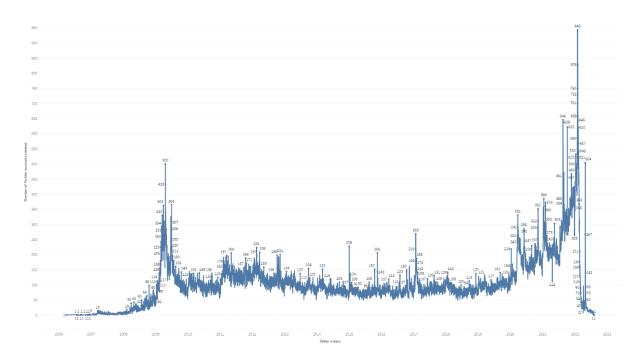
Figure 5. The top tweets' languages

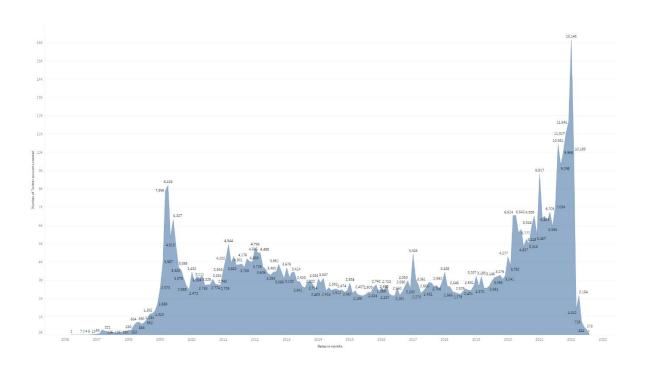
Inauthentic coordinated behavior & disinformation

Examining Twitter account creation dates is one well-known procedure used by fact checkers and researchers to detect inauthentic coordinated behavior or the systematic and centralized campaign to spread disinformation. On social media, bad actors often use fake accounts to launch coordinated campaigns against specific targets or to promote divisive issues. These fake accounts tend to be created in similar periods of time. If not detected and removed by social media sites, they tend to be activated in certain occasions or times to spread propaganda or disinformation. In general, when there is an unusual clustering of dates, there is a need for a closer examination of the accounts. In the case of this Twitter dataset, there were 943 accounts that were created in one day (January 28, 2022) and the highest number of accounts were created in January 2022 (Figure 6). This is, indeed, a suspicious online behavior for the presence of potential bot (automated account) activity and other types of inauthentic activities.

^{*}For a detailed and more enhanced image, see the link here

Figure 6. Top is the daily accounts creation dates and bottom is the monthly accounts creation dates*





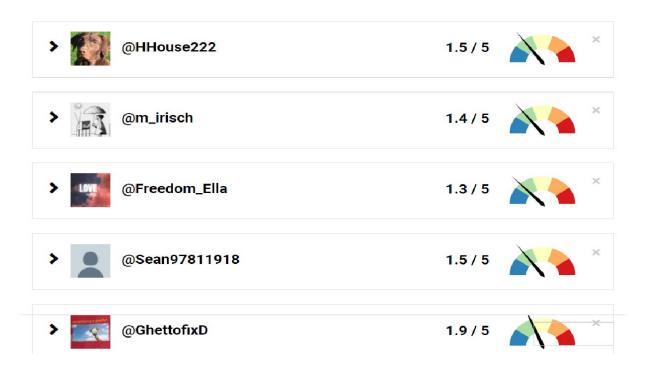
^{*}For more enhanced images, please see the following links (daily) and (monthly).

Figure 7 shows the top 10 most active users within the dataset whose accounts were created in January 2022. It also shows an analysis from Botometer as to the likelihood that those users were bots. In general, a bot is defined as an automated social media account that is programmed to send multiple messages each day, often to promote certain products or issues or worse to spread disinformation. Botometer is a digital tool that takes several metrics into account when assessing Twitter users, and it calculates from 0 (being more likely human) to 5 (being more likely a bot). Though it has several limitations and shortcomings, it is considered one of the popular tools used by social media researchers to test the likelihood of users being bots (Al-Rawi, Kane & Bizimana, 2021).

These active users sent 14,824 tweets in total. The results using Botometer show that they are more likely to be real people and not bots, despite their high activity.

Figure 7. Bot detection of the most active users whose accounts were created in January 2022*

> @ProCanadian5	3.1/5 ×
> @Nuni_Sas_Yu	1.8/5 ×
> @Skyfall_Tdot	1.2/5 ×
> @Sofia888A	1.8/5 ×
> @Roosa93428307	2.3/5 ×



^{*}Results generated by Botometer

Another important finding is that some of the top 10 most active users in the overall dataset who tweeted about the convoy protest often disseminate disinformation on the pandemic, the efficacy of its vaccines, or on climate change (See Table 4).

For example, @kittyhundal often attacks vaccine passports, casting doubts about vaccination campaigns, while @cloudcnworld often calls climate change fake using the hashtag #ClimateScam. In addition, this examination shows that 4 out of 10 top accounts are more likely to be bots. This includes @fijipil660, who as mentioned above, repeatedly spams Twitter with anti-protest messages using pornographic pictures. The top 10 active users include 2 that are anti-convoy while the rest are proconvoy (Table 4).

Table 4. The top 10 most active Twitter users tweeting about the convoy protest

No.	Username	No. of tweets	Bot*	position
1.	@ELPANAMEN0	14,584	3	Pro-convoy
2.	@kittyhundal	7,355	3.6	Pro-convoy
3.	@fijipil660	7,046	4.6	Anti-convoy
4.	@cloudcnworld	5,184	4.4	Pro-convoy
5.	@CherylGameon	4,481	1.4	Pro-convoy
6.	@wavetossed	4,049	2.2	Pro-convoy
7.	@SkyzNest	3,643	1.9	Pro-convoy
8.	@SocialKeenan	3,418	1	Anti-convoy
9.	@simplycaptiv8in	3,378	3.8	Pro-convoy
10.	@Roosa93428307	3,168	2.3	Pro-convoy

^{*}The threshold score that I used to determine the likelihood of being a bot is 3.5 out of 5.

More importantly, three of the top 10 most mentioned Twitter users include David Freiheit (n=42,054), Maxime Bernier (n=38,425), and Andy Ngo (n= 36,899). The first two are leading members of the People Party of Canada. Andy Ngo is an American conservative figure and editor of the Canadian far-right publication, the Post Millennial (Yates & Rogers, 2019). All of these figures have been previously associated with spreading disinformation.

Facebook Analysis

According to Facebook's <u>Adversarial Threat Report for April 2022</u>, many foreign scammers exploit national crises and tensions to profit from them by amassing large audiences and monetizing their attention. For example, the Adversarial Threat Report states that several "Vietnam- and Bangladesh-based spam clusters posed as supporters of the Canadian Trucker Convoy to cash in on people's interest in this protest. In one case, they created Groups for convoy supporters or Facebook Pages designed to look like they were providing updates on the convoy, and then posted links to e-commerce websites or links to third-party affiliate marketing sites". It is not clear how many users gave money to these online schemes.

Table 5 shows the most active Facebook and Instagram users who posted about the convoy protest. Nearly all of them, except for a couple of CTV pages on Facebook, express strong support for the convoy protest. This includes many US-based users.

Table 5. The most active users on Facebook and Instagram

No.	Facebook page	Frequency	No.	Instagram account	Frequency
1.	truenorthcentre	554	1.	freedomconvoyeurope	716
2.	2020TheRealTruth	497	2.	luminatedpatriot	566
3.	Time2LookUp	461	3.	gta_realtor	482
4.	CTVNewsOttawa	396	4.	action4canadaofficial	428
5.	realFreedomConvoy2022	380	5.	informedconsentnovascotia	290
6.	joinRebelNews	358	6.	news.rebel	260
7.	blazingcatfur	328	7.	truenorthcentre	260
8.	CanadianTruckingMagazine	311	8.	freedomradiofrance	254
9.	CanadianLibertarian	299	9.	thetruthdrops_	235
10.	OccupyCalgary	268	10.	blnewsmedia	186
11.	canadianpoliticsdaily	250	11.	republicanparty.usa	177
12.	movethelineforward	242	12.	fringeminorityreport	157
13.	toptvcanada	241	13.	spokentruthrevolution	154
14.	jointherebel	240	14.	truckersfreedomconvoy	153
15.	World.Freedom.Convoy.2022	238	15.	freedomconvoymemes	130
16.	CTVNews	232	16.	we_are_watching_a_movie	128
17.	HoldTrudeauAccountable	227	17.	freedomconvoy2022	118
18.	The Post Millennial	224	18.	kimmyontheright	118
19.	VIFreedomconvoy2022	217	19.	freedomstripe	110
20.	StandupforCanada	215	20.	randy.hillier	101
21.	bridgecitynews	201	21.	519newslink	96
22.	TheOttawaCitizen	188	22.	beyond_the_narrative_ca	89
23.	NoToLiberals	184	23.	forcanada2022	88
24.	PoliticsandStuff	180	24.	honking4freedom	81
25.	TheNationalTelegraph	179	25.	poc4freedomconvoy	81

This affiliation or ideological connection with conservative voices from the United States is more evident when qualitatively examining the Facebook and Instagram posts that received the most engagement. Engagement is the sum of all interactions with a post, such as the number of comments and likes on Instagram or shares, Facebook Reactions, and comments on Facebook (See Table 6). All the Facebook pages that posted the most-engaging posts are US-based, focusing on US issues while referencing the truckers' protest in Canada as an inspiration.

Table 6. The top 10 Facebook posts that received the highest engagement

No.	Page Name	Message	Total Interactions
		"Let Freedom Ring" 🗘 🖒 🕒 USCA #ConvoyToDC2022 #TruckersConvoy2022	
1	Wright Is	#TruckersForFreedom #HoldTheLine Telegram: https://t.me/ChristopherWrightShow	225 627
1.	Right	GETTR: https://gettr.com/user/chriswrightshow	335,627
2.	Claire Wirth	Shout out to our truck drivers fighting for freedom! 🚛 us 🖒 #TruckersConvoy2022	241,752
		SHARE!! Small fringe minority ,,not hardly,, The People's Convoy - Official what a	
		Beautiful Sight !!! SHARE out the Smell of Freedom,, Look of FREEDOM,, the Taste of	
		FREEDOM !!! what a Beautiful Sight !!! The People's Convoy - Official ,, THE PEOPLE'S	
	CANADIAN	CONVOY @PeoplesConvoy @FreedomConvoy @Freedom#FreedomConvoy	
	CANADIAN TRUCKING	#truckingconvoy #PEOPLESCONVOY #PeoplesConvoy2022 #freedomconvoy2022 CANADIAN TRUCKING MAGAZINE Proud to cover these Convoy Events with Truthful	
3.	MAGAZINE	Reporting !! People's Freedom Convoy what a Beautiful Sight !!!	241,655
<u></u>	2020: What's	Reporting :: Feople's Freedom Convoy what a beauthar sight :::	241,033
	the Real	Wake up world! #truckersforfreedom #TruckersConvoy2022 #Truckers4Freedom	
4.	Truth	#freedom #HoldTheLine #wakeup	236,767
	2020: What's		
	the Real	#TruckersRule #TruckersConvoy2022 #freedomconvoy2022 #truckersforfreedom	
5.	Truth	#Canada	234,256
	Young		
	Americans	The Ottawa government is threatening to punish anyone who supports the	
6.	for Liberty	#FreedomConvoy and/or gives them fuel. This is how the people of Ottawa responded	229,837
		Thank you Canada for starting this world wide movement! For everyone's FREEDOM!	
	The Political	#truckersforfreedom #TruckersConvoy2022 #Truckers4Freedom #freedom #canada	
7.	Divide	#HoldTheLine	225,107
	2020: What's	OTTAWA IS WINNING (HOLDING THE LINE) #TruckersConvoy2022	
	the Real	#truckersforfreedom #freedomconvoy #HoldTheLine #Canada #Ottawa Credit to YT	
8.	Truth	Channel "mistersunshinebaby"! Thank you!!!	209,899
		EVERYDAY AMERICANS JOIN THE TRUCKER CONVOY! You better believe it! Check out	
		this video from just a few hours ago as THE PEOPLE'S CONVOY departed Southern	
9.	Kevin Steele	California, bound for the SWAMP of D.C. This convoy is expected to pass through the	106 112
9.	2020: What's	Texas Panhandle. Video: The EXCEPTIONALLY TALENTED Brendan Gutenschwager	196,113
	the Real	South Island of NZ #newzealand #truckersforfreedom #TruckersConvoy2022	
10.	Truth	#Truckers4Freedom #freedom #HoldTheLine	194,311
			10.,011

I also analyzed the overall dataset of Facebook posts to extract the most used phrases and words. Similar to the findings on Twitter, there is little evidence that disinformation is prominent as there are only a few frequent terms like "Great Reset" (n=537). For a list of the top phrases, see this <u>link</u>. For a list of the top words on Facebook, see this <u>link</u>.

Instagram Analysis

Regarding Instagram, Table 7 shows similar findings to what is stated above on the most engaging Facebook posts. All the top 10 Instagram posts, except for one posted by Trevor Noah's Daily Show, are from conservative US figures like Rogan O'Handley (@dc_draino), an entertainment lawyer who turned into a conservative commentator and has over 2.3 million followers. The other user is Grant Godwin (@the_typical_liberal) who also has a huge following (over 2.7 million followers) and whose page is described as "#1 in Exposing Liberal Lies".

Table 7. The top 10 Instagram posts that received the highest engagement

			Total
No.	User Name	Description	Interactions
		This Canadian trucker protest is going to be the spark that ignites a revival of	
		freedom across the world. WE SUPPORT YOU @freedomconvoy2022 🖏	
1.	@dc_draino	#FJTCA⊗us#FJB	288,118
		Occupy Ottawa until Freedom is restored @freedomconvoy2022 🗘 Don't let fake	
		news slander this peaceful movement for human rights. Did you see that Trudeau	
		now claims he has Covid despite being fully vaxxed?! How convenient! Keep hiding	
		you little soy-based rat. Canadian Freedom Lovers aren't going	
	Ode desta-	anywherecaus#WeTheFringe #HonkHonk	210 105
2.	@dc_draino	PC: @jackmposobiec The Canadian Freedom Fighters for Human Rights have arrived in Ottawa	218,185
		@freedomconvoy2022 Beta Trudeau is hiding like a little rat with fake	
3.	@dc draino		208,634
3.	@uc_aramo	sniffles!caus#WeTheFringe Here are some of the best Canadian @freedomconvoy2022 videos I've found -	200,034
		people lighting fireworks, supporters making meals for the truckers, and now we	
		have over 600 *American* truckers joining the fight as allies with our fellow	
		Patriots to the North. This is my favorite thing so far in 2022 #FJTcA 🕸 us#FJB	
		Trucker: @colton.mackay	
4.	@dc_draino	Last Video: @the.canadian.dissident	198,332
		Lift the mandates Newscum! Maybe Sacramento needs a trucker convoy?usPC:	
5.	@dc_draino	@karlamott_	197,651
		I think it's safe to say that Turdeau is losing his mind 😂	
6.	@the_typical_liberal	@allegiancetoliberty	193,882
		Stay tuned to see if We the People join our Canadian brothers and sisters to	
7.	@dc_draino	become one giant #WeTheFringe movement for Freedom 🗟 usca	190,472
		They want you distracted by Ukraine so you don't focus on the massive resistance	
		happening in Canada and here at home. Not falling for it. Canadians need	
	Oda duain-	help!!caus	177 222
8.	@dc_draino	PC: @realcandaceowens @freedomconvoy2022 @jackmposobiec	177,233
9.	@thedailyshow	Fox News talking about BLM protests but make the footage the DC trucker convoy	164,519
		LETSSS GOOOOO @freedomconvoy2022 Blackface Trudeau said yesterday this	
		was a "fringe movement" but the richest man in the world disagrees. This is a	
		HISTORIC movementcaus	152.500
10.	@dc_draino	Farmer: @backwoodsbuffalo	152,560

Upon examining the most frequent phrases, the results show that Instagram is a popular site to spread disinformation in relation to the convoy protest. For example, the QAnon phrase "WWG WGAWW Thegreatawakening" is ranked 32 in the overall dataset (n=551), and other conspiratorial terms are also popular such as "Awakening Awake Facts" (n=417), "Save Our Children" (n=92), "Psychologicalwarfare Thegreatawakening Eyeofthestorm" (n=88), "Great Reset" (n=57), and "Trumpwon Maga Greatawakening" (n=28). For a detailed list of these most frequent phrases, see this <u>link</u>. For a list of the top words on Instagram, see this <u>link</u>. The possible reason behind the use of Instagram to spread disinformation is that it is often viewed as apolitical platform which allows bad actors to weaponize it to serve their political agenda especially by far-right groups and conspiracy theorists (Al-Rawi, 2020; Al-Rawi, 2021a).

Reddit Analysis

Regarding Reddit, the most active subredditors are listed on Table 8, and we can also see an overwhelming number of conservative sites spreading news on the convoy protest.

Table 8. The most active 25 subredditors discussing the convoy protest

No.	Subreddit	Frequency
1.	conspiracy	754
2.	On Guard For Thee	338
3.	AutoNewspaper	314
4.	Canada	309
5.	Conservative	303
6.	/r/Ontario	282
7.	Canada Politics	250
8.	AskThe_Donald	220
9.	We are all going to die.	208
10.	Ottawa: Local news and discussions	156
11.	autotldr	146
12.	Steven Crowder	121
13.	Wall Street Silver	121
14.	World News	118
15.	conservatives	116
16.	Feel The Bern	108
17.	Breitbart News	100
18.	News. Whatever.	90
19.	Anarcho-Capitalism	89
20.	LockdownSkepticism	89
21.	Jordan Peterson: Descensus ad inferos	86
22.	FOX AutoNews	82
23.	Republican	82
24.	Ben Shapiro	79
25.	/r/winnipeg	77

Though there are data collection limitations, as stated above, we find that the most engaging Reddit posts relate only to general news and updates on the protest (Table 9). However, because the sample analyzed is limited, these results do not mean that Reddit is immune from having disinformation and conspiracy theories about the convoy protest.

Table 9. The most engaging Reddit posts on the convoy protest

			Total
No.	Link Text	Subreddit	Interactions
	Hackers Just Leaked the Names of 92,000 'Freedom		
1.	Convoy' Donors	World News	87,884
	Trucker convoy protest in Washington DC flops as no-one		
2.	shows up	News	81,809
	191 arrests later, Ottawa police remove remaining		
3.	'Freedom Convoy' vehicles	World News	54,170
	The Residents Of Ottawa Have Had Enough Of The		
4.	"Freedom Convoy" And Have Started Fighting Back	/r/PublicFreakout	52,242
	GoFundMe scuttles campaign for trucker convoy, stops		
5.	release of \$10-million in donations	World News	50,443
	'Freedom Convoy' leader says he just wants to go home		
6.	after spending night in jail	News	49,137
	'Significant element' from U.S. involved in self-described		
7.	'Freedom Convoy' in Canada, official says	World News	47,885
	For 2nd day in a row DC 'freedom convoy' gets defeated by		
8.	regular traffic	Politics	46,840
	Freedom Convoy leader Pat King arrested live on social		
9.	media.	News	40,084
	Looking dead at you failed freedom convoy and no new	The Internet's	
10.	normal	Best 2020 Memes	38,565

The examination of the most frequent terms shows that there is little evidence of widespread dissemination of disinformation on the Reddit channels that I studied. One example of a phrase I searched for was "Great Reset" (n=57). To see a list of these phrases, please see the following <u>link</u>. To view a list of the most frequent words on Reddit, please see the following <u>link</u>.

Facebook Ads Analysis

Similar to the other social media platforms, Facebook ads are mostly purchased by users in Canada using Canadian dollars. Though there are some neutral Canadian advertisers that only referenced the news coverage on the protests, like The Toronto Star and APTN National News, we find that the overall majority expressed pro-convoy sentiments and anti-liberal views. These users show clear affiliation with or sympathy towards conservative values. This also applies to the amount of money spent on ads. Pro-convoy users spent much more than the other neutral or opposing ones (Table 10).

Table 10. Top Facebook advertisers based on expenditure in Canadian dollars* and number of purchased Facebook ads**

						No. of
No.	Facebook page	spent	No. of ads	No.	Active advertisers	ads
1.	The Hub Canada	\$7,740	60	1.	The Hub Canada	60
2.	The Toronto Star	\$7,474	26	2.	The Toronto Star	26
3.	True North	\$3,491	9	3.	Unpublished.ca	16
4.	National Citizens Coalition	\$2,499	1	4.	APTN National News	11
5.	Charles McVety Report	\$2,398	2	5.	True North	9
6.	Foundation for a Path Forward	\$1,991	9	6.	Foundation for a Path Forward	9
7.	Unpublished.ca	\$1,584	16	7.	PressProgress	9
8.	Mark Gerretsen	\$1,499	1	8.	Dash Politics by Justin Duhamel	9
9.	Todd Loewen	\$1,499	1	9.	Chill TV	8
10.	Keean Bexte	\$1,197	3	10.	Hard NO to Trudeau	8
11.	PressProgress	\$1,191	9	11.	Parosand Store	8
12.	APTN National News	\$1,089	11	12.	Brad Redekopp MP	6
13.	Ontario NDP	\$897	3	13.	C2C Journal	6
14.	Chill TV	\$892	8	14.	Sierra Club Canada Foundation	6
15.	Dash Politics by Justin Duhamel	\$891	9	15.	The Breach	6
16.	Proud To Be Canadian	\$798	2	16.	The National Telegraph	6
					Tadros Brothers/ Les frères	
17.	Hard NO to Trudeau	\$792	8	17.	Tadros	5
18.	Parosand Store	\$792	8	18.	The Breakdown	5
19.	Brut	\$698	2	19.	Victoria Rumble Room	5
20.	Scott Reid, MP	\$599	1	20.	Keean Bexte	3

^{*}For a full list of advertisers' ads' expenditure, see the following link

Interestingly, the advertisers who spent money using US dollars were almost exclusively promoting products that support the convoy protests like T-shirts, hats, and other items (See Table 11). This shows how events in Ottawa were monetized by foreign players.

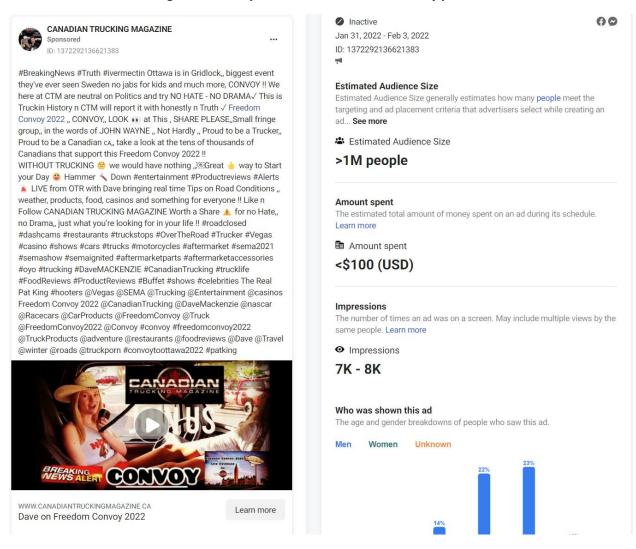
^{**}For a full list of advertisers' frequency of ads, see the following link

Table 11. US-based advertisers promoting convoy protests items

No.	Daga nama	Ad text	Upper
NO.	Page name	A perfect gift for trucker lovers	spent
		Order here: https://www.careeben.com/stores/canadatrucker	
	Chase Your Passion -	Available in many colors & styles	
1.	Not Your Pension	#trucker #truckerlife #truckdriver	\$99
	110t Tour Tension	From Kyiv, the founder of the popular face swap app @reface is fighting misinformation about the	755
2.	Brut	Ukraine war This is Dima Shvets' message for the world.	\$99
	5.44	From Kyiv, the founder of the popular face swap app @reface is fighting misinformation about the	Ų S S
3.	Brut	Ukraine war This is Dima Shvets' message for the world.	\$599
		Shop Now 🛒	,
4.	We Love Canada	https://thecanada.shop/	\$99
		Great design!	
5.	Dolphin.cloth	Love one => https://brand.dolphiz.com/54b7bb	\$99
		Enjoy Your Life With Our Product	
		https://nemesiss.store/product/freedom-convoy-ottawa-2022-unisex-hoodie-sweatshirt-support-	
6.	Too Lit	truckers-shirt-thank-you-truckers-canadian-freedom-trudeau-tshirt-trucker/	\$99
		Freedom Truck Convoy 2022 Canadian American!	
7.	Parosand Store	Get it here 🎓 https://rebrand.ly/convoy	\$99
		Convoy 2022 Shirts HOT SALE ♥	
8.	Juarian.us	Shop Now>>https://bit.ly/3oRCIPf	\$99
		Raise your voice as a Flag today during the Freedom Convoy Protest. Your freedom is yours! Get the Flag	
		in the link down below. 🖓	
		Get It Here → https://shop.flagwix.com/Intpnt3t7jc	
9.	Unique Flags	On Sale Now. & &	\$99
		Free Shipping!	
		"Freedom Convoy" Long Sleeve	
		\$25.99	
10.	Take America Back	https://tab-apparel.com/shop/ols/products/freedom-convoy-long-sleeve	\$99

The qualitative examination of these pro-convoy ads shows that the majority discussed issues of concern like freedom of expression, anti-mandate topics, and political engagement. One example, however, references ivermectin, the antiparasitic drug used to treat horses that some conspiracy theorists often reference as an effective treatment for COVID-19. This ad, which was purchased by the Canadian Trucking Magazine using US dollars, reached over 1 million users on Facebook (See Figure 8).

Figure 8. A sample Facebook ad on the convoy protest



Telegram Analysis

Mobile apps like Telegram offer another picture of the online discussion regarding the convoy protest. This is because these types of mobile apps are more secure and private than platforms such as Twitter. They often offer encrypted messaging services. As mentioned above, many prominent leaders of the protest movement, as well as politicians like Donald Trump and his allies, were deplatformed on Twitter and Facebook, prompting them to seek alternative options like Telegram, GAB, and BitChute.

Accordingly, I searched Telegram first on February 13, 2022 for any references to the convoy protest, and I found that many posts carry strong language that is conspiratorial in nature. As discussed above, this was not as present on Twitter. Table 12, for example, lists some of the most prominent Telegram channels that posted news on the convoy protest, and many of these platforms are also known to spread conspiracy theories and racist views (Al-Rawi, 2021b).

Upon qualitatively examining the Telegram posts, we find that the majority of messages call for funding the movement using the following link: https://www.gofundme.com/f/taking-back-our-freedom-convoy-2022 or joining other groups. For example, one Telegram user announced on February 6, 2022 the following: "The Freedom Convoy just joined Telegram. They are the best UNCENSORED channel delivering all the breaking news in real time Join: https://t.me/FreedomConvoy2022y". That channel is not available anymore on Telegram.

There were also numerous links to fringe social media sites like 4chan, GAB, Rumble, BitChute, Gettr, and <u>Streamable</u>. In addition, many other fringe websites were referenced to encourage Telegram users to view them including:

- 1. https://canadaspeakfreely.com/freedom-convoy-2022
- 2. https://greatawakening.world
- 3. https://resistthemainstream.org/
- 4. https://freedomfighternation.org/

To give a few examples of the type of posts available, a Telegram user calling themselves NoGoolag mentioned the following on January 27, 2022: "Drama queen #Trudeau deceiving his prisoners. #Trudeau goes into hiding just when the largest #truckers freedom convoy ever is arriving to his terrorist organization headquarters in Ottawa #Canada https://twitter.com/justintrudeau/status/1486704226449379329?s=21".

Other users called the Prime Minister "Justin Castro" or antisemitic names (pol4chan), while the administrator of the Telegram channel, Greatawakeningworld, sent the following message on January 31, 2022, and it contains disinformation on the pandemic:

"Canada Freedom Convoy 2022 raised and incredible never seen before \$8.6M+ in only couple days. But PM Trudeau said it's only a smal finge of Canadians supporting this movement. ? Support them here: https://www.gofundme.com/f/taking-back-our-freedom-convoy-2022 Please Share The World! ????????????????????? JOIN US FOR AWAKENING NEWS: ? https://t.me/greatawakeningworld ?Globalists & Plandemic Secrets Here: https://greatawakening.world".

Another Telegram message by the same administrator mentioned the following:

It's time to educate people about how fake plandemic are created for depopulation and genocide agenda using poisonous \'vaccines\' to

euthanised and kill people. Then they lie and say it's natural deaths caused by viruses plandemic nobody can see \'Hidden Ennemy\'. They then erase history and edit the information and distort the fact so that we can't remember anything or learn the truth. They use their controlled Rockerfeller education endoctrination system to teach us false history. The complete system was rigged. Time to get rid of them once and for all. The People do not want them anymore in control. We want them all arrested for crimes against humanity. Please Share The World!.

Similar messages are found in abundance upon examining the other two channels like @Freedom_Global and @HerMajestyQueenRomanaDidulo. The latter, for example, contains many misleading statements, conspiratorial messages and disinformation such as: "I came to Ottawa to lift the covid mandate which the Truckers have requested done. After I lifted the Mandates...I asked them (Truckers) to go help the US". Another post by Ms. Didulo mentions the following in relation to the convoy protest: "1) Any Civilians arrest be done peacefully and safely and done by We The People in large numbers - by the thousands. 2) Whomsoever is performing the Civilian arrest must have a space to hold the person(s) they have arrested as they wait for Special Forces to arrive 24 to 48 hours to hand over the person(s) for processing".

The other channel, @Freedom_Global, contains numerous false claims, antisemitic language, and conspiracy theories such as the following one: "Canadian hospice group pushes to normalize euthanasia of children who are "suffering" – many due to vaccine injuries. https://vaccineinjurynews.com/2022-08-05-canada-normalize-euthanasia-children-suffering-vaccine-injuries.html". Another example is here: "THE GLOBALISTS WANT A GREAT RESET, BUT IT'S NOT WHAT YOU THINK! The world is awakening slowly but surely. WWIII is upon us since March 2020, and WE ARE LOSING THE WAR BADLY! Our only OBJECTIVE: UNITY AMONG ALL TELEGRAM GROUPS such as action4Canada, Vaccine Choice Canada, Canada Health Alliance, canada-unity, freedomRising, veterans for freedom, Glorious and Free, Amalega Francois, Chris Sky, Veterans 4 Freedom, awakeCanada, Marcus Ray, stand4thee, Christopher James, etc".

The examination of the most frequent phrases shows that there are many conspiracy theories' related terms like "Queen Romana" that is the second most used phrase (n=1,427), the "Great Reset" (n=220) which is ranked as the top 30 most frequent phrase, and conspiracies around "Bill Gates" (n=191). For a list of the most frequent phrases, see this <u>link</u>. For a list of the most common words on Telegram, see this <u>link</u>.

Table 12. The most active Telegram channels discussing the convoy protest

		Freq
No	Telegram channels	•
1.	pol4chan	48
2.	gatewaypunditofficial	26
3.	trumpintel	26
4.	robinmg	24
5.	freedomforcebattalion	12
6.	theprofessorsrecordlivecast	11
7.	greatawakeningworld	10
8.	?♥ ?H.A.T.S?♥?- Come as you are, just wipe your feet at the door.	10
9.	disclosetv_chat	9
10.	christiantactics	9
11.	FreedomWarriorsUk	8
12.	CIG_telegram	8
13.	madmixconspiraciesgroup	7
14.	credencehealth	7
15.	TheConspiracyHole	5
16.	freedomjunkieradiochat	5
17.	Not_On_The_Beeb	4
18.	NoGoolag	4
19.	The_Library_II	4
20.	TheSouthWolf	4
21.	thewhiterosechat	3
22.	HawGa	3
23.	Hyer757073	3
24.	nederlandersdestraatop	3
25.	qanonrus	3

However, when I examined the other channels such as @TheFreedomConvoy2022 and @CanadaFreedomConvoy, I found that the content is only related to shared updated news and general pro-convoy commentary.

Conclusion

In this study, I collected over 5.1 million posts sent by more than 630,000 users from six online sites. The empirical investigation of posts on Facebook, Instagram, Facebook ads, Twitter, Reddit, and Telegram shows that most messages are pro-convoy expressing concerns about freedom of speech, anti-pandemic measures, liberty to move and carrying clear conservative values. These users generally expressed concerns about freedom of movement, anti-pandemic policies, and what is perceived to be unfair and unjustified government measures. Unlike many claims made by Canadian politicians or reports published in mainstream news coverage on the protest movement that often portray the protesters as racist, the findings show that the most engaging posts and most referenced hashtags and phrases on Facebook and Twitter are largely related to supporting the convoy protest. Misinformation on mainstream social media sites like Twitter and Facebook is limited for a variety of reasons including content moderation procedures followed by these platforms and migration of bad actors to other online sites. However, there is much more disinformation on Instagram and alternative social media sites like some Telegram channels due to the lack of platform scrutiny. Finally, Facebook ads were used by proconvoy protest individuals to express solidarity with the movement, some of whom are based in the US who wanted to financially profit by selling protest-related items.

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