





bulletin

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Challenges to Aotearoa's Covid-19 response

This bulletin was produced by a virtual triaging and reporting cell comprising the National Assessments Bureau (NAB), the New Zealand Police National Intelligence Centre (NIC), and the Mir jstry of Health Disinformation Assessment and Response Team (DART). The cell provides a structure for collating, synthesizing, and reporting on current challenges to Aotearoa's Covid-19 response (with a focus on disinformation and related challenges) and relevant international trends. This is the first of what will become regular reports from February 2022.

17 DECEMBER 2021

CONTEXT COVID-19 IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

The Covid-19 pandemic has placed increasing levels of stress on individuals and communities around the globe. (R)

New Zealand has not been immune to the Covid-19 "infodemic". The influx of conflicting information circulating online has the potential to hinder Government responses and make it difficult for people to find trustwor by sources and reliable guidance. (R)

The National Assessments Bureau (NAB), the Ministry of Health's Disinformation Assessment and Response Team (DART) and New Zealand Police have observed an increase in disinformation and concerning rhetoric against New Zealand's Covid-19 response following the emergence of the Delta variant in New Zealand. (R)

Public online sentiment analysis has indicated a shift in tone, volume, and mood, with a steady increase in anti-government/anti-authoritarian, hostile, and at-times violent rhetoric in New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate groups (while noting that the vast majority of New Zealanders have received at least one Covid-19 vaccine). (R)

This rhetorical shift – and the discontent it reflects – likely has long-term implications for New Zealand's social cohesion. This bulletin will provide insight into this phenomenon on a regular basis. (R)



EMERGING NZ TRENDS

Growing prominence of poorly moderated messaging platforms

Mainstream social media platforms continue to struggle to combat Covid-19 disinformation internationally. "Takedowns" of profiles and groups by these mainstream platforms has prompted a shift amongst users, with anti-vaccine mandate influencers moving to unregulated media platforms. In particular, the messaging platform Telegram has become increasingly central to activity by New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate groups and individuals. (For further on "takedowns" and a definition of "disinformation", see annex Key terms and groups.) (R)

This rise of Telegram creates potential for the growth of violent anti-government rhetoric amongst New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate groups. Telegram channels are frequently smaller, anonymised, less visible, and create more extreme echo chambers than groups on mainstream platforms. Of concern, recent reporting by the London Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD, in partnership with the DIA Digital Safety Team) found that Telegram channels belonging to New Zealand extremists accumulated over 430 million views from July - September 2021 - twice the number from April -June 2021. (For further information, refer to the graphs on page 5 - while noting the number of authentic views is difficult to ascertain. ISD defines "extremism" as the pursuit of systemic change to reflect an ideology proposing the supremacy of "in-groups" and propagating the dehumanisation of "out-groups"). (R)

Continued efforts to undermine the traffic light system

As New Zealand's traffic-light system has come into effect, some individuals and groups opposed to vaccine mandates have attempted to evade or manipulate the vaccine pass framework. Their activities have included the reported sale and purchase of both authentic and inauthentic vaccine passes – as well as the vandalism of New Zealand Covid-19 Tracer QR codes or arranging for individuals to receive vaccines meant for others. Anti-vaccine mandate individuals and groups have also likely attempted to exploit confusion over the new system to promote their cause. (R)

DART and NAB assess that this activity will almost certainly continue while the traffic-light system beds in, as several individuals and groups opposed to the

Covid-19 vaccine are likely highly motivated to evade restrictions (as seen overseas). However, it is difficult to judge the extent of this activity in New Zealand anti-vaccine-mandate groups. New Zealand Police continue to expect incidents of disorder or abuse following refusals to supply a vaccine pass. (R)

Increased visibility of foreign-origin disinformation

Preliminary analysis by DART suggests most content in the New Zealand Covid-19 disinformation landscape originates from overseas. Content from various actors and entities (one example being the United States-based conspiratorial media entity *InfoWars*) is repackaged for New Zealand audiences – and then promoted by local anti-vaccine mandate groups, platforms and individuals. (R)

Some domestic influencers and platforms have apparent links to international disinformation networks. s6(a)

(R)

s6(a)

NAE

assesses this self-reinforcing media ecosystem, with strong input from foreign viewpoints, plays some role in the growth of increasingly hostile rhetoric in New Zealand's anti-vaccine mandate groups. (R)

KEY NZ NARRATIVES

Vaccine side effects, and youth vaccination rollout

s9(2)(ba)(i) disinformation regarding purported side effects of the Covid-19 vaccines (including death and injury) continues to be promoted by New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate groups. This includes misreporting deaths of individuals and using legitimate data (including from MedSafe and Ministry of Health) out of their original context to promote vaccine-related malinformation. (R)

Similarly, the prospect of vaccinating 5 – 11-year olds (expected to begin in the first quarter of 2022) has generated emotive disinformation from groups aiming



to stoke fear or intimidate. In line with international patterns, NAB assesses this is likely to become far more prominent as the rollout for vaccinations for 5 – 11-year olds begins – possibly resulting in increased activity targeting schools. (R)

LOCAL CONTEXT

Impact on social cohesion

The emergence of the Delta variant in New Zealand and the response to it (following the perception of national success in our Covid-19 response) has created tension in New Zealand society. New Zealand Police assess declining trust and confidence in the government has the potential to create an environment where mis/disinformation and conspiracy theories can spread easily. Police note such ideas have the potential of becoming normalised and entrenched locally – presenting a threat to social cohesion. (R)

Predictably, anti-vaccine mandate groups have responded to this new environment by stoking fears of divisions in New Zealand society. \$9(2)(ba)(i) has highlighted a growth in calls among these groups for resistance (ranging from businesses offering services to unvaccinated individuals, to protest), against government restrictions which these groups deem undemocratic, unlawful, and discriminatory. Unvaccinated individuals who experience restrictions may find this messaging appealing. (R)

Harassment

s9(2)(ba)(i) continues to highlight risks of harassment and abuse towards public figures and frontline workers (ranging from MPs to service workers implementing vaccine pass requirements), intended to intimidate and silence critics of anti-vaccine mandate attitudes. As has been seen overseas, risks of explicitly gendered and xenophobic harassment (including "doxxing" – see annex) remain high for public figures. These risks include threats of offline action (e.g. stalking, abusive contact, or vandalism). (For further on harassment, please refer to the "Takedown of the French and Italian "V"V" network" summary on page 4). (R)

Protest and activism

New Zealand Police assess that protest and activism have grown in quantity and breadth in New Zealand over the past 18-24 months. Covid-19-related activism has shifted from specific ideologies, such as "anti-vaccine", towards a more general "freedom" movement around a broad spectrum of issues. The two

main groups in this space are The Freedom and Rights Coalition and Groundswell. (For further on The Freedom and Rights Coalition, see annex). (R)

New Zealand Police assess it is possible that as the traffic-light system becomes more normalised, protest movements will lose a degree of momentum. While individuals may be less likely to protest over the Christmas period, there is likely to be a resurgence in protest following this period. (R)

Extremism and disinformation

New Zealand-based extremists have sought to capitalise from growing anti-government sentiment. Recent reporting by ISD (in partnership with DIA) found that online posting and engagement by New Zealand-based extremists doubled over April – June 2021 (for further information, refer to the graphs on page 5). (R)

The Combined Threat and Assessment Group (CTAG) assesses that violent anti-government rhetoric is likely to continue to increase as the Covid-19 mitigation programme continues. s6(a)

CTAG cannot discount the possibility of violent protest or sabotage occurring in New Zealand (for example, targeting testing or vaccination facilities). (R)

Of note, CTAG assesses that the volume of online rhetoric, and the "normalisation" of violent and threatening language in this movement, increase the possibility that genuine threats could be obfuscated and overlooked. S6(a)

(R)

INTERNATIONAL TRENDS

Emergence of the Omicron variant

The emergence of the Omicron variant has prompted new disinformation narratives internationally. In the United States and Australia in particular, influencers and activists have circulated conspiracy theories that the variant is part of a government plan to oppress unvaccinated populations. (R)

One prominent theory links the emergence of the new variant to the timing of former Jeffrey Epstein associate Ghislaine Maxwell's trial for sex trafficking – while others link the variant to existing conspiracies, such as QAnon. Similar content is being circulated amongst New Zealand's anti-vaccine mandate groups. (R)

NAB assesses it is likely anti-vaccine advocates both in New Zealand and abroad view the new variant as a messaging opportunity, given heightened public anxiety at a time too early for scientific clarity and consensus on the variant and vaccine efficacy. This content may be particularly appealing to individuals fatigued with Covid-19 mitigation measures – likely a broader range than those currently affiliated with New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate groups. (R)

Takedown of the French and Italian "V_V" network

On 1 December, Meta (formerly Facebook Inc.) announced it had removed a network of accounts originating in Italy and France that had engaged in targeted harassment campaigns against health workers, politicians, and journalists. Social media analytics firm Graphika found that members of this network – dubbed "V_V" – had openly engaged in coordinated online and offline behaviour using their real names (from "down-voting" content, to acts of vandalism – for further on "down-voting", see annex). It is unclear how significantly Meta's action has interrupted "V_V"'s operations, given the network had a notable presence on Telegram. (R)

The movement's use of coordinated harassment and disruption techniques is similar to documented cases in New Zealand (including coordinated campaigns to release negative comments on livestreams of Covid-19 press conferences). NAB assesses it is highly likely "anti-vax" individuals in New Zealand – and internationally – will continue to use and refine these techniques, presenting further challenges for platforms and governments looking to address harmful activity while preserving freedom of expression. (R)

Violence in Western Europe

Multiple Western European nations have implemented mitigation strategies (including lockdowns, vaccine passes, and mandated mask-wearing) to fight rising Covid-19 cases, despite concerns about "pandemic fatigue" across the continent. Such mitigation strategies continue to result in protests, including sporadic violence. In early December, police used tear gas and water cannons to disperse large crowds in Belgium, after a protest group confronted a roadblock. (R)

New Zealand Police note that while the frequency and scale of threatening behaviour from Covid-19-related activism has increased in New Zealand, widespread violence and unrest has not followed suit (unlike in Western Europe) – but assess it is possible such behaviour could manifest. (R)

ANNEX. Key terms and groups

Anti-vaccine mandate

This term refers to a broad range of individuals and groups opposed to New Zealand's current vaccine mandate strategies (including the traffic-light system) – often with a variety of differing motivations. (R)

Down-voting

Down-voting is a practice by which individuals register their disapproval or disagreement with online content by means of choosing a (usually negative) icon. (U)

Doxxing

Doxxing refers to the public release of identifiable information on a public (usually online) forum, such as an individual's home address. (U)

Disinformation

NAB defines disinformation as false or modified information *knowingly* shared to cause harm or achieve a broader aim. This differs from misinformation (when false information is shared but *no harm is intended*) and malinformation (where *genuine information* is shared to cause harm). (R)

Takedowns

Takedowns are a term used to refer to the removal of content, pages, or groups from a social media platform (often by the social media company itself). (U)

The Freedom and Rights Coalition

The Freedom and Rights Coalition is an activist group with well-established links to Destiny Church. It has organised several events protesting New Zealand's Covid-19 mitigation measures. (R)

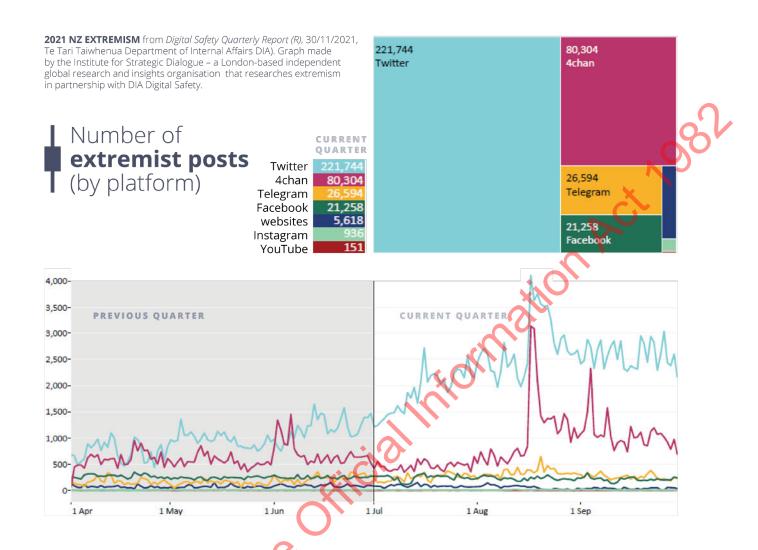
Voices for Freedom

Voices for Freedom is a New Zealand political activist group, frequently involved in activity protesting New Zealand's Covid-19 mitigation measures. (R)

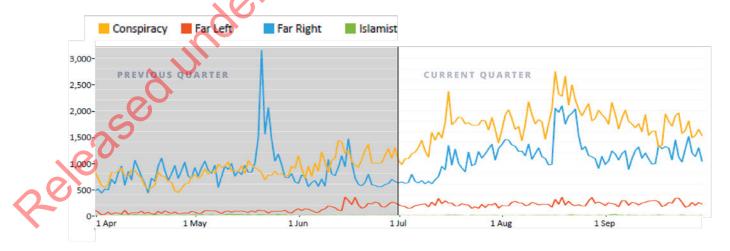
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Number of **engagements** with posts **by extremist accounts** (by ideology)



Challenges to Aotearoa's Covid-19 response New Zealand distribution

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- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT)
 Manatū Aorere
- Ministry of Health (MOH)
 Manatū Hauora
- New Zealand Customs Service Te Mana Ārai o Aotearoa
- New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF)
 Te Ope Kātua Aotearoa
- New Zealand Police
 Nga Pirihimana o Aotearoa
- New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (NZSIS)
 Te Pa Whakamarumaru
 - Combined Threat Assessment Group (CTAG)





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New Zealand has not been immune to the Covid-19 "infodemic". The influx of conflicting information circulating online has the potential to hinder Government responses and make it difficult for people to find trustworthy sources and reliable guidance. (R)

The National Assessments Bureau (NAB) and the Ministry of Health's Disinformation Assessment and Response Team (DART) have observed an increase in disinformation and concerning rhetoric against New Zealand's Covid-19 response following the emergence of the Delta and Omicron variants in New Zealand. (R)

Public online sentiment analysis has indicated a shift in tone, volume, and mood, with a steady increase in anti-government/anti-authority, hostile, and violent rhetoric in New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate groups. However, we note that sentiment is almost certainly not shared by most New Zealanders, the vast majority of whom have received at least two Covid-19 vaccinations. (R)

It is almost certain that groups and individuals affiliated with New Zealand's anti-vaccine mandate movement have experienced declining levels of trust in government institutions and observed what they perceive to be inequality, injustice, and threats to their norms and values. This bulletin will provide regular insight into this trend, which may have longer-term implications for Government's social license and social cohesion in New Zealand. (R)

CURRENT NZ CONTEXT

"Freedom Convoys"

The "Freedom Convoy" protest in New Zealand has resulted to date in a multi-day demonstration and blockade outside Parliament. New Zealand Police assess the current situation is one that has transitioned from the exercise of lawful protest to a situation in which some individuals use a protest event as a pretext or excuse to commit criminal acts. Open-source reporting on the protest shows a lack of cohesive leadership, and disparate issue-motivated groups competing with one another for media attention, resulting in mixed and confusing messaging – be it under a loose "freedom" label. (R)

New Zealand Police note these groups showed a degree of resilience in the face of significant adverse weather over the weekend – with a responsive logistic and enabling finance function (eg, purchasing food and wet weather clothing), underpinned by de-centralised coordinators enabled by social media and secure messaging applications. The situation remains fluid as various groups within the protest try and reach a consensus as to what their goal or end-state is. (R)

The protest emulates action taken by anti-vaccine mandate protestors in Canada, who drove in a "Freedom Convoy" to Ottawa to protest domestic Covid-19 mitigation measures in late January 2022. Demonstrations related to this convoy continue, reportedly prompting Prime Minister Trudeau to invoke a never-before-used Emergencies Act. Several "copycat" convoy protests worldwide (including in Australia and the United States) appear to have been facil tated and promoted by inauthentic accounts, while the Canadian convoy has received significant financial support via crowdfunding. However, the degree of international coordination behind these protests is currently unknown. R)

Popular tactics

Anti-vaccine mandate groups in New Zealand use a variety of tactics to advance their cause, many of which have been observed amongst similar groups overseas. These include:

- Manipulation of legitimate data, branding, and legislation. (R)
- Crowdfunding (a tactic seen in the Canadian Freedom Convoy, with open-source platforms such as GoFundMe and GiveSendGo generating funds). (R)
- Brigading and harassment (For further on brigading, please refer to Annex 1, *Key terms and groups*). (R)
- Public registers (eg, public lists of individuals to arrest for "crimes against humanity"). (R)
- Recording offline confrontations (often to spread disinformation and build legitimacy). (R)

 Attempting to recruit industry groups sympathetic to their cause. (R)

DART assesses certain disinformation propagators are increasingly becoming organised (often non-visibly), working together to target individuals and groups they perceive as enemies, both online and offline. The extent to which they are linked to actors offshore is unknown. But the similarity between their materials and messaging and those used overseas indicates there may be some degree of information sharing and emulation of tactics. (R)

EMERGING NZ TRENDS

Increased visibility of "Sovereign Citizen" rhetoric

Both NAB and DART have observed increased visibility of "Sovereign Citizen" (SovCit) rhetoric amongst New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate groups. "SovCit" ideologies champion ideals of individual sovereignty over other forms of legal authority or government, encouraging individuals to disobey or circumvent laws they deem unjust (eg, vaccine mandates). (For further on SovCit ideologies, please refer to Annex 1, *Key terms and groups*.) (R)

The growth in this rhetoric amongst anti-vaccine mandate groups is likely opportunistic (thanks to the malleability of SovCit theories, especially for narratives emphasising resistance to "tyranny"), according to a recent report by CTAG and New Zealand Police. SovCit rhetoric has also been observed among organisations and groups claiming affiliation with the Māori community, although the Māori Sovereignty movement is not connected to the SovCit movement. (R)

CTAG and New Zealand Police assess the SovCit movement to be an extreme system of belief, but not an inherently violent one. However, individual SovCit adherents have been responsible for incidents of politically motivated violent extremism overseas (mostly in the United States), primarily against law enforcement. In the United Kingdom, SovCit adherents have tried to "arrest" law enforcement and healthcare workers. Similar activities in New Zealand (eg, protests threatening "citizens arrests", including of the Minister of Health) have been observed recently. (For further on SovCit-inspired groups in the UK, please refer to the Alpha Male Assemble summary on page 4.) (R)

CTAG and New Zealand Police assess it is highly unlikely that an individual or group motivated by SovCit beliefs will plan a terrorist attack in New Zealand. However, they assess there is a realistic possibility that a threat actor inspired by SovCit rhetoric will commit a spontaneous act of extremist violence in New Zealand (in direct response to a perceived offence by government agencies) – or that a SovCit-motivated act

of extremist violence will occur in relation to Covid-19 mitigation programs. (R)

Continued role of influencers

The New Zealand Covid-19 disinformation landscape, while diverse, continues to be dominated by several key individuals – who operate as "influencers", effectively driving online and offline discussion and action (eg, from social media to pamphlets). NAB and DART assess it is possible that the involvement of prominent New Zealanders s6(a), s9(2)(a)

may have added a degree of legitimacy to the movement in the eyes of some New Zealanders (especially vaccine-hesitant individuals). However, this influence is likely limited to individuals already receptive to their message. (R)

NAB and DART assess it is likely that the anti-vaccine mandate movement's current unity will fracture over time, owing to a range of competing groups, personalities (especially influencers), and agendas. The movement currently ranges from those who purport to be solely "anti-mandate", to others who oppose vaccines, to others who have ascribed to a range of more extreme conspiracy theories (including to do with the New Zealand Government). However, we assess that despite this fracturing, multiple individuals associated with this movement will likely retain an interest in political mobilisation (eg, through founding or campaigning for issue-aligned parties) – a potential longer-term implication to consider. (R)

KEY NZ NARRATIVES

Reactions to "Red"

It is almost certain New Zealand entering the "Red" traffic light level generated an increase in hostile rhetoric in New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate groups, as unvaccinated individuals faced further restrictions under the new level. Open-source reporting indicates this anger continues to be particularly directed at the Prime Minister and other prominent figures in New Zealand's pandemic response. Many individuals have channelled their online hostility into real-world behaviour, eg. through protest activity, and real and threatened "citizens arrests". (R)

While it is unlikely that this directly hostile sentiment is shared by a substantial portion of the wider public (outside anti-vaccine mandate "echo chambers"), the emergence of the Omicron variant in the community has likely exacerbated public anxiety and concern. NAB and DART assess that anti-vaccine mandate individuals likely view widespread transmission of the Omicron variant in New Zealand as an opportunity to exploit this concern. Increased efforts to spread Omicron-related

misinformation (for example, regarding the transmissibility of the variant amongst vaccinated individuals) have been observed and will likely continue. (R)

Vaccinations of 5-to-11-year olds

Covid-19 vaccinations for 5-to-11-year-old children remains a prominent topic of discussion and activism in New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate groups, with DART observing action (eg, protests involving rhetoric regarding children) and messaging (eg, leaflet drops, online posts) undertaken by individuals and groups such as Voices for Freedom. Disinformation and rumours about children's deaths or injury following vaccination – both in New Zealand and overseas – continue to be widely shared, despite explicit debunking of these by health authorities. (R)

With most New Zealand children having returned to school, NAB and DART assess it is possible that anti-vaccine mandate groups will increase their efforts to protest outside educational facilities (as well as vaccination sites) – although it remains to be seen how current protest activity outside Parliament will impact this. (R)

Use of Holocaust analogy and anti-Semitism

Open-source reporting continues to highlight efforts by anti-vaccine mandate groups and individuals to compare vaccine mandates to the treatment of Jewish people that culminated in the Holocaust. Their efforts have included the use of symbolism such as the Star of David to draw sympathy and attention to their cause – a pattern seen internationally. (R)

At the same time, and perhaps incongruously, the New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate movement comprises of a broad range of individuals, including conspiracy theorists (several of whom almost certainly subscribe to and promote international conspiracy theories regarding the "New World Order" or the Jewish-Hungarian philanthropist George Soros). The implicit and explicit anti-Semitism of these conspiracy theories is well-documented. (R)

It is likely many individuals in the anti-vaccine mandate movement do not engage directly with these conspiracy theories, or do not make a conscious connection between these theories and anti-Semitic beliefs. However, NAB assesses there remains potential for some individuals affiliated with the movement, especially those with belief in implicit anti-Semitic conspiracies, to gain more extreme (and likely explicitly anti-Semitic) views through their ongoing exposure to this content. (R)

INTERNATIONAL TRENDS

The role of Russian media

Multiple "alternative" media outlets have attempted to profit (financially and politically) from the Covid-19 "infodemic" by furthering the spread of disinformation. One such outlet is Kremlin-backed *RT* (formerly known as *Russia Today*) – which has previously promoted disinformation regarding Western vaccines and the SARS-Cov-2 virus. s9(2)(ba)(i) has indicated that RT DE (the German-language version of RT, recently banned from broadcasting in Germany) is the sixth most-shared media outlet in Querdenker Telegram groups and channels, more than mainstream German news outlets such as *Der Spiegel*. (For further on the Querdenker movement in Germany, please refer to Annex 1, *Key terms and groups*.) (R)

In New Zealand, DART has observed Covid-19 disinformation producers citing and circulating RT reports on Covid-19 – including one
New Zealand-based website directly republishing content from *RT* and *Sputnik News* (while regularly publishing articles by New Zealand-based writers and maintaining an active comment section). The actual impact and readership of this website remain unclear; it is possible the individual involved is opportunistically using RT content to drive engagement with the website. Overall, it is likely multiple other international and domestic media sources have greater pull than RT in anti-vaccine mandate groups (although this is fluid and subject to change). (R)

"Alpha Men Assemble"

In late January, British media reported that a group of UK-based individuals opposed to Covid-19 vaccinations, including ex-military igures, had formed a group called "Alpha Men Assemb e". The group reportedly ran training sessions on confrontations with law enforcement, stating they were in a "war" with the UK Government. Media reports vary on the group's size and geographical spread (with meetings apparently held in England and Scotland). However, analysis of the group's Telegram postings indicates Sovereign Citizen-aligned and misogynist rhetoric, with explicit appeals to veterans. (R)

NAB assesses it is likely that at least some individuals in the New Zealand anti-vaccine mandate movement are aware of the activities of "Alpha Men Assemble", due to the emulation of tactics amongst anti-vaccine mandate movements worldwide. Of note, open-source \$9(2)(ba)(i) reporting has indicated that key individuals, such as \$6(a), \$9(2)(a)

have directly encouraged individuals (including Police officers and NZDF members) to "mobilise" against Parliament s6(a), s9(2)(a)

s6(a)

However, as

CTAG has noted in previous reporting, the level of violent rhetoric and threats expressed in anti-vaccine mandate groups makes it difficult for agencies to ascertain the actual level of planning or intent associated with these and other statements. (R)

ANNEX. Key terms and groups

Anti-vaccine mandate

This term describes a broad range of individuals and groups opposed to New Zealand's current vaccine mandate strategies (including the traffic-light system) – often with a variety of differing motivations. (R)

Brigading

The term brigading refers to a coordinated social media campaign by an online group to disrupt the activities of another group or forum (R)

Disinformation

NAB defines disinformation as false or modified information *knowingly* shared to cause harm or achieve a broader aim. This differs from misinformation (when false information is shared but *no harm is intended*) and malinformation (where *genuine information* is shared to cause harm). (R)

Querdenker

The term "Querdenker" (meaning "lateral thinkers"") refers to Germany's Covid-19 protest movement, made up of individuals opposed to vaccinations and Covid-19 mitigation measures. (R)

Sovereign Citizen ("SovCit") ideologies

Originating from 1970s white identity extremist groups, "SovCit" ideologies have since gone on to influence many anti-authority movements, particularly in the United States. Expressions of this ideology often include a refusal to pay taxes, the creation of false documents (eg, passports), and on the extreme end, the creation of or advocacy for militia groups. (R)

Voices for Freedom

Voices for Freedom is a New Zealand political activist group, frequently involved in activity protesting New Zealand's Covid-19 mitigation measures. (R)

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