#VivaJOH o #FueraJOH
An analysis of Twitter’s takedown of Honduran accounts

Elena Cryst and Isabella García-Camargo
Stanford Internet Observatory
April 2, 2020
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1 Summary

On April 2, 2020, Twitter announced a takedown of datasets attributed to the social media manager of Honduran president Juan Orlando Hernández Alvarado (commonly referred to by his initials “JOH”). Among the over 3,000 accounts pulled down were the accounts of the Honduran government-owned television station Televisión Nacional de Honduras, several content creator accounts, accounts linked to several presidential initiatives, and some “like-for-likes” accounts likely in the follower-building stage. Interestingly, a subset of accounts in the dataset are related to self-identified artists, writers, feminists and intellectuals who largely posted tweets critical of the Honduran president.

1.1 Summary Statistics

The Honduras takedown consists of 3,104 accounts and 1,165,019 tweets. 553,211 tweets were original and 611,808 were retweets. Accounts dated as far back as 2008, but roughly two thirds were created in the last year.

![Figure 1: Accounts created per day, 11/21/2008 – 1/3/2020](image)

The rate of tweets swelled as the number of accounts grew, but with distinct peaks that coincided with several events in Honduras, including the start of the president’s re-election bid in 2015.
The account with the most followers (at 40,293) was Televisión Nacional de Honduras, the state-run television channel. The president’s own account was mentioned in 430,509 of the tweets in the dataset. Several other accounts with high engagement had explicit connections to the presidency:

- @CopaPresidente, an account for a briefly revived national soccer tournament had 7,344 followers
- @IP_hn, the account for the government’s intellectual property and property rights office had 5,116 followers
- @UME_HONDURA, an account for the national ambulance network, had 4,240 followers
- @HondurasRNH, an account for Radio Nacional de Honduras, had 2,372 followers

Most of the top hashtags were related to Honduran progress or advancement, such as #LaNuevaHonduras (TheNewHonduras, used 26,564 times), #HondurasAvanza (#HondurasAdvances, 20,123 times), #NoticiasTNH (#TNHNews, 8,019 times), #HondurasActívate (HondurasActivate, 5,955 times), and #TeApoyamosJOH (WeSupportYouJOH, 2,623 times).

2 Key Takeaways

- 37% of the tweets in the dataset mentioned Honduran president @JuanOrlandoH.
- The largest removed account was that of Televisión Nacional de Honduras (TNH). The government-controlled TV station’s facebook page was also removed in July 2019. TNH has new social media presences on Twitter and Facebook as of March 25, 2020.
Some of the removed accounts are associated with known television and media personalities, one of whom, Chano Rivera, is also a political consultant and publicist.

The frequency of hashtags like (in translation) #TheNewHonduras, #HondurasAdvances, #BetterLife, #HondurasActivates, #ISupportYouJOH, #LongLiveJOH and #HondurasIsProgressing indicates the primary network was focused on widespread promotion of the president’s initiatives.

A set of roughly a dozen accounts associated with self-proclaimed writers, artists, and feminists formed a distinct group in the dataset. These accounts were the only accounts heavily critical of the government. They also interacted less with both the dominant media landscape and the president than other accounts in the dataset. There does appear to be evidence of coordinated activity within the cluster.

The accounts created in the last year appear largely automated. Their activity overwhelmingly involved retweeting Honduran President @JuanOrlandoH.

This takedown is related to a July 25, 2019 Facebook takedown of 181 accounts and 1,488 Pages

3 Background

3.1 President Juan Orlando Hernández

Juan Orlando Hernández (referred to by both supporters and opponents as JOH) was elected to his first term as president of Honduras on November 24, 2013 with 37% of the vote, and assumed office on January 27, 2014. He is a member of the Partido Nacional de Honduras, a right-wing populist party. The 2013 presidential election was not without controversy. JOH in his previous capacity as leader of the Honduran Congress had vocally supported a coup in 2009 that ousted then president Manuel Zelaya. He then orchestrated a savvy political maneuver in 2012 that became known as a “technical coup” wherein congress removed four supreme court justices and replaced them the next day. This gave JOH control over the courts that would ultimately rule on the validity of his electoral outcome.

JOH was elected to a second term in 2017 after constitutional changes in 2015 allowed him to be the first president in modern history to run for reelection. The election itself was marred with controversy, and the Organization of American States’ election observers refused to sanction the results. His opponent ran on an anti-corruption platform in the face of mounting evidence of corruption from the president.

Fueling corruption allegations, in 2018, JOH’s brother Tony was arrested in Miami on drug trafficking charges. Among the evidence brought against him was witness testimony from El Chapo himself that he had paid Tony a bribe of $1 million intended for President Hernández’s campaign. The president denied that claim but the trial colored the president’s public perception.
3.2 Social Media Usage and Past Takedowns in Honduras

Facebook is the most widely used social media platform in Honduras. That landscape has diversified only in recent years to include more activity on Youtube, Pinterest and Twitter. Studies have documented the current regime’s use of social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter, to generate support. A 2018 study of Twitter activity around the 2017 election found clear evidence of Twitter accounts being used to drown out dissident voices. Concurrent with those findings, the dataset shows spikes in account creation that correlate with controversial events for the JOH presidency.

![Figure 3: Time series graph of tweets. A coincides with the Honduran constitutional court sanctioning the president’s re-election bid; B is the period immediately after the contentious 2017 election; C occurs during the drug trafficking trial of the President’s brother Tony Hernández.](image)

On May 16, 2019, Facebook removed 265 Facebook and Instagram accounts, groups and pages linked to the Archimedes Group for coordinated inauthentic behavior. While most of the activity targeted countries in Africa, a portion was targeted at Honduras. According to research from DFRLab, the pages ran ads in Honduras supporting JOH and his government. Their ads pushed the message that JOH was tough on organized crime and extolled the successes of his administration.

Two months later, Facebook removed another set of accounts in Honduras for coordinated inauthentic behavior. This larger takedown included 181 accounts and 1,488 Pages whose primary purpose was “to comment and amplify positive content about the president.” According to Facebook, their review “found that some of this activity was linked to individuals managing social media for the government of Honduras.” Twitter confirmed that their April takedown echoes Facebook’s takedown from July. The two show similar characteristics, and several accounts in the twitter dataset share screen names with facebook accounts that are no longer active.

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1Twitter removed these accounts in January 2020 marking the end of their activity. The takedown announcement was made in April 2020 and coincides with the publication of this report.
4 April 2020 Twitter Takedown

The Twitter dataset has several clusters of activity that paint a picture of both a confusing social media landscape and an unsophisticated set of actors. What is clear is that while a majority of the accounts seem to be directly linked to or amplifiers of the president’s messages, there are a few clusters that do not match that behavior pattern and oppose the president in their messaging.

Figure 4: Relational graph of all retweets in the dataset. Purple cluster largely amplifies the president’s account, Teal focused on the president’s communication office (@comunicagobhn). Green cluster largely includes activists. Blue cluster driven by K-Pop accounts and fanpages. Created with Gephi.

4.1 Network Graph Analysis

We conducted a network analysis to examine the retweet behavior of accounts in the dataset. In our graphs, each point or node represents a single Twitter user, generated from the removed accounts and the accounts they retweeted, while the edges from one node to another represents an instance where the first user retweeted the second. The edges are weighted by the number of times the first user retweeted the second. To generate different ‘communities’ within this graph, we have used the Louvain method for community detection.2

The network graph generated 12 clusters. The top clusters of interested ordered by number of retweets are characterized as follows:

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2This algorithm, drawn from by Blondel, et. al., optimizes the modularity of each community, where modularity quantifies the quality of an assignment of nodes to communities. The guiding metric is comparing how much more densely the connected nodes within a community are, compared to how connected they would be in a random network.
1. Accounts directly amplifying @JuanOrlandoH, members of his Partido Nacional and regional governments (this cluster is purple in the network graph). 319,372 (27%) of the tweets in the whole dataset are retweets of the president’s account.

2. A cluster of accounts sharing anti-JOH content and largely retweeting each other or several radical left news outlets in Latin America, including the Venezuelan national television channel @teleSURtv and the Spanish language version of Russia Today, @ActualidadRT (shown in green).

3. Content creator, public relations and news accounts with links to the Honduran presidency, including Q’Hubo TV, Televisión Nacional de Honduras, Radio Nacional de Honduras and Instituto de la Propiedad. These accounts heavily retweeted content from mainstream news outlets in Honduras sympathetic to JOH, but also retweeted the first lady Ana Garcia Carias (shown in pink).

4. A cluster whose most active accounts were all created in 2015. The most retweeted accounts in this cluster were the Innovation and Technology Institute (@IHCIETI), the executive director of the President’s entrepreneurship and small business program (@LuisColindresHN), and CNN en Español (shown in orange).

5. A cluster that appears to be Honduran fan accounts for the Korean boy band Bangtan Boys. The edges connecting this cluster to the set are either related to second degree engagement with a record label or another Honduran account. The behavior of these accounts is spammy by our assessment but does not appear to be related to the primary takedown (shown in light blue at the bottom of the graph).

6. Personal accounts. We verified that at least one of these accounts belongs to an employee of the President’s office. Twitter activity includes innocuous behavior such as retweets of the FIFA World Cup and Ariana Grande (shown in dark grey).

7. Accounts amplifying news from @comunicagobhn, the President’s communications strategy office (shown in turquoise). This cluster engaged with the president’s account but is characterized by additionally engaging with the communication office, one of his communications consultants, and several other accounts for members of the Partido Nacional accounts.

8. Individual accounts that engaged heavily with several government and politician accounts from the Honduran city of San Pedro Sula (shown in pale pink / tan).

The remaining four account clusters were small and had fewer distinguishing characteristics. They did feature some content creator accounts, including @DarioBonillaHN (discussed in more detail below). There were also some accounts in the follower-building stage, many of which report their locations as other countries in Latin America including Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela.
Figure 5: Comparison of intra-group versus inter-group engagement. Dark grey is the percentage of retweets completely within a given cluster. Light grey is retweets of accounts outside of a cluster.

4.2 TNH and the Government Accounts

As mentioned before, @TNHonduras (Televisión Nacional de Honduras) has the most followers and the third highest engagement in the dataset. The account tweets and behavior are consistent with a news outlet. Most tweets relate to news articles that are posted either on the TNH website or to videos posted on their YouTube channel. TNH has accounts on Facebook and Instagram, although interestingly, their Instagram links to a Facebook page that was removed, and their active Facebook page was created July 29, 2019, four days after Facebook published the takedown. On January 6, 2020, TNH created a new twitter account. As of April 1, 2020, the re-spawned Twitter account @tnhhonduras was marked as “temporarily restricted.”

Figure 6: From Left to Right: Active Facebook, Twitter and Instagram accounts for TNH as of April 1, 2020

@TNHonduras joined Twitter on June 5, 2014, roughly six months into JOH’s first term as president. The account’s early tweets are a mix of retweets of other news outlets about crime reports and original tweets about activities of the JOH administration, including tweets about the unaccompanied minors emigration surge at that time. After an initial spurt of activity, the account
slows for several months before taking off in February 2015. At that time, the administration had just revived the Copa Presidente soccer tournament after a 16 year hiatus and TNH started heavily retweeting and discussing the new @CopaPresidente account (which was removed and is in this dataset). The Copa presidente tournament was suspended in 2018 for unknown reasons.

By late 2016 the account settled into a more stable pattern of tweeting links to news articles from their website using the hashtags #NoticiasTNH a, original posts about the president’s public works projects, and retweets of professional soccer teams and of the president.

Beyond TNH and Copa Presidente, several other accounts in the dataset publicly identified themselves as part of the government. The Honduran Instituto de la Propiedad (Institute for Property) is one of the accounts removed in the dataset. Their bio reads “The #IP Guarantees the protection of property rights and we facilitate access to services and register information, both intellectual and land-based.” They created a new twitter account, @ip_hond, on January 31, 2020. Like the new TNH account, the new IP account is also already listed as temporarily restricted by Twitter. IP is also active on Facebook and Instagram. The Facebook page lists two account managers in Honduras and one in Saudi Arabia.

The removed twitter account showed a few distinct peaks in activity, all corresponding to public announcements about the administration’s projects:

- January 15, 2016: the account’s highest engagement tweet was about amnesty for vehicle fines
- Late February / early March 2016: Announcement of the economic development program “Honduras 20/20”
- August 22-23, 2017: a set of tweets about president JOH granting over 1,100 property titles to residents in informal communities in Tegucigalpa
Figure 8: Instituto de la Propiedad’s Facebook page transparency

Figure 9: Tweet activity of @IP_hn from its creation in 2014 to its removal in December 2019
4.3 The Content Creators

Among the top 30 accounts by followers are several accounts that identify as content creators, social media influencers or journalists. The account @qhubochano, which was the second oldest account, had the sixth highest follower count and eighth highest engagement within the dataset, markets itself as the “channel with the highest growth in #Honduras.” Q’Hubo links out to a website (https://qhubotv.com/), that hosts a livestream of the TV channel’s content. This channel, along with several other major television networks in Honduras, broadcasts content favorable to the president in exchange for tax write-offs.

Q’Hubo has a robust active social media presence with a Facebook Page, an Instagram account and a new Twitter account. From this activity, it appears that Q’Hubo has changed its social media identity to the consistent handle @QhuboTVOficial as Facebook and Twitter accounts @qhubochano have been removed. Q’Hubo and another account in the dataset, @sitvhonduras are associated with Honduran political consultant, publicist and TV host Chano Rivera. The tweet content was a mix of retweets of other news outlets, stories from Q’Hubo TV and non-substantive content like polls and general commentary on the day. Within the whole dataset, the URL www.qhubochano.com is the most listed after URL shorteners like bit.ly and fb.me. However, that website no longer appears to be active. Despite a flurry of activity, this account did not emerge as a clear node in the network graph, indicating that its engagement was dispersed without clear patterns of followers or retweets.

Figure 10: Tweets per day from @QHuboChano. Note: the account was created in 2009 but the earliest tweet in the dataset is from 2014: “¡Hola, Twitter! #primerTweet” (Hello Twitter! #myfirsttweet)

One other pair of accounts in the dataset seem to be accounts of marketer and TV host Dario Bonilla: @DarioBonillaHN and @PlanetaMemeHN. Both accounts have over 2,000 followers and their profile descriptions cross reference the other. Both accounts link to the youtube channel DarioBonillaHN that has clips from a comedy television show that offers commentary on pop-
ular memes. Both the PlanetaMeme and DarioBonilla accounts seem to have tapered off recently and from reviewing the related Facebook and Instagram accounts, it looks he had been focusing his efforts on other channels. Interestingly, Bonilla’s Facebook page shows a paid partnership with the government’s Institute for Science, Technology and Innovation (IHCIETI). IHCIETI was a government initiative started in 2014. It’s Twitter account appears as a retweeted account in the dataset.

![Facebook post from Dario Bonilla displaying a paid partnership with IHCIETI](image)

Figure 11: A Facebook post from Dario Bonilla displaying a paid partnership with IHCIETI

### 4.4 Las Sexi

Most of the accounts discussed above were created five or more years ago and had generated significant followings for their mix of original and retweeted content. The majority of the accounts in the dataset, however, were created in the last year and have very low follower numbers.
This behavior is indicative of automated account creation. Further supporting that are repeated account profile descriptions. For example, a cluster of accounts created on July 16, 2019 all included “*__*” in their description; a cluster on July 21 include some combination of the words “guapa, bella, hermosa” (synonyms for pretty), and a cluster of 68 accounts created on November 7 all included unique suggestive descriptions like “i love my beautiful skin,” “i want
YOU,” and “I want you by my side LOVE.”

To assess behavior of this subset, we pulled a set of all accounts with the word “sexi” in their profile description – a total of 101 accounts all created between February 21 and November 21, 2019 – and examined their tweeting patterns. In 96% of these accounts, 95% or more of the tweets were retweets of JOH. These observations align with the network graph of retweets, where the accounts on the upper right portion of the purple cluster serve only to amplify the president’s account.

Figure 14: A December 11, 2019 tweet from President Juan Orlando Hernández wishing the Honduran Army a happy 194th birthday

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Beyond the automated accounts, there are a set of accounts with high engagement that appeared to behave similarly to spam accounts. The 100 tweets with the highest total engagement in the dataset all came from ten accounts, with 91 of those tweets coming from just two: @SiguemeYSigo712 (FollowmeandIllfollow712), and @swxxttieyoongi, a fan account for a Korean boy band BTS. In the latter’s short six months of existence, the account pumped out nearly 6,800 tweets.

4.5 The Activistas

After the follower accounts and TNH, the largest and most active cluster is a group of accounts identifying as feminists, artists, intellectuals and supporters of Honduras’s left-wing Partido Libertad y Refundación (LIBRE) political party. LIBRE was the party of ousted president Manuel Zelaya and of JOH’s opponent in the 2017 presidential election.

The most active account in the cluster – and second most active account overall with 35,272 tweets – was that of Anarella Vélez Osejo (@anarellavelez). Her account bore the description “Writer, editor, cultural manager, Feminist in Resistance, member of @andehonduras. In coordination with the

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Honduras chapter of @HumanidadEnRed.” @andehonduras was an account for the Asociación Nacional de Escritoras Honduras (National Association of Honduran Female Writers - ANDEH), and is included in the takedown. @HumanidadEnRed is a network of left wing intellectuals based in Venezuela. An account in the dataset, @REDHUMANIDADHn1, describes itself as the Honduran chapter of that network.

Three accounts in this cluster, @anarellavelez, @andehonduras and @ParadisoHn, all linked to external wordpress blogs managed by Vélez³, suggesting that the Twitter accounts may also have been managed by the same person or people.

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³Estudios de la mujer Blog de Anarella Vélez; Asociación Nacional de Escritoras Honduras ANDEH; Paradiso Blog
Figure 17: Account descriptions for the top ten accounts in the Activista cluster

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<tr>
<th>Display Name Screen name</th>
<th>Profile Description (translated from Spanish)</th>
<th>Account Information</th>
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<tr>
<td>Anarella Vélez Osejo @anarellavelez</td>
<td>Writer, editor, cultural manager, Feminist in Resistance, member of @andehonduras. In coordination with the Honduras chapter of @HumanidadEnRed</td>
<td>Created: 04/05/2010, Followers: 5,843</td>
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<td>Paradiso Cultura @ParadisoHn</td>
<td>Cultural productions Bookstore and Café Pardiso was born in 1989, since then in cultural resistance. More than twenty-five years in service of the arts.</td>
<td>Created: 04/12/2010, Followers: 2,254</td>
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<td>Escritoras Honduranas @andehonduras</td>
<td>organization that gathers the women writers of Honduras, promotes and disseminates their works of scientific research and creation</td>
<td>Created: 05/29/2014, Followers: 1,471</td>
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<td>Centro Cultural BHCh @CCBolivarianoHn</td>
<td>Bolivarian artists and intellectuals of Honduras</td>
<td>Created: 07/18/2015, Followers: 407</td>
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<td>honduran and feminist who fights for the recognition of the inalienable dignity of humanity</td>
<td>Created: 10/05/2015, Followers: 830</td>
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<tr>
<td>@REDHUMANIDADHn @REDHUMANIDADHn1</td>
<td>Official account of the Honduran Chapter of the Network of intellectuals, artists and social movements in defense of humanity</td>
<td>Created: 10/03/2018, Followers: 226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The accounts in the cluster display common identities such as feminist, artist, writer, activist and poets (see table). This cluster pops out when we search the dataset for tweets that are negative towards the president. For example, 831 of the 961 tweets (87%) in the dataset using the hashtag #FueraJOH (#OutwithJOH) were from these ten accounts. They also emerged strongly in queries for “Tony Hernandez” (the president’s brother), a topic the president was keen to drown out.
5 Conclusion

The Honduras dataset shows clear amplification of positive content designed to benefit President Juan Orlando Hernandez. Included in the takedown were a set of known Honduran media outlets, including TV channels and media personalities known to be sympathetic to the president. This type of media sympathy to an incumbent administration is predictable in a country with weak rule of law and high rates of corruption. The low prevalence of negative tweets in an atmosphere of high political discontent is notable and reinforces the impression that this networked was primarily focused on bolstering the incumbent. Opposition accounts may also have engaged in inauthentic amplification activity, but this needs further research.
The Stanford Internet Observatory is a cross-disciplinary program of research, teaching and policy engagement for the study of abuse in current information technologies, with a focus on social media. The Observatory was created to learn about the abuse of the internet in real time, and to translate our research discoveries into training and policy innovations for the public good.