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# WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION & LEADERSHIP FINAL REPORT

## Honduras Assessment

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## ACRONYMS

AT	Assessment Team
CEPPS	Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening
CNE	National Electoral Council / <i>Consejo Nacional Electoral</i>
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DRG-LER	Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Learning, Evaluation, and Research
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
INAM	National Institute of the Woman / <i>Instituto Nacional de la Mujer</i>
ILO	International Labour Organization
IUDPAS	University Institute in Democracy, Peace, and Security / <i>Instituto Universitario en Democracia, Paz y Seguridad</i>
INE	National Institute of Statistics / <i>Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas</i>
KII	Key Informant Interview
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
LIBRE	Liberty and Refoundation Party / <i>Partido Libertad y Refundación</i>
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
NORC	NORC at the University of Chicago
PINU	Innovation and Unity Party / <i>Partido Innovación y Unidad</i>
PN	National Party / <i>Partido Nacional</i>
PSH	Savior of Honduras Party / <i>Partido Salvador de Honduras</i>
TSE	Supreme Electoral Tribunal / <i>Tribunal Supremo Electoral</i>
TJE	Electoral Justice Tribunal / <i>Tribunal Justicia Electoral</i>
WPPL	Women's Political Participation and Leadership
UPL	Unidad de Política Limpia
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In Honduras, women are just beginning to make substantial gains in their equal and meaningful participation and leadership in political and public life. Discrimination based on “sex, race, class and any other detrimental to human dignity” is prohibited in the constitution as part of Article 60, and in 2000, Honduras first implemented the Law of Equal Opportunities for Women, establishing the country’s first electoral gender quota. Today, the 2021 electoral law includes important measures to increase women’s participation, and the government has formed several institutions meant to promote gender equality. Despite the legal and institutional framework, many individual, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers still exist for women to participate equally and meaningfully in politics in Honduras.

In the 2021 elections, women made up a majority of voters at 52.7 percent, while making up 51.3 percent of the population. Though many women are able to participate as voters, participation in political parties, meaningful participation in political parties is a challenge.<sup>1</sup> While most parties have women’s wings meant to give women party members a voice and an opportunity to lead, all parties are still dominated by men who often find loopholes to circumvent laws and maintain patriarchal power structures. Despite the challenges women face in participating in political parties, women as an identity group, however, are an important part of civil society organizations (CSOs), especially those that focus on gender equality and women’s rights.

Although there are legal measures in place that give women the right to access political participation, including as elected officials, party members, voters, candidates, activists, and election officials, research revealed that harmful socio-cultural norms and gender stereotypes continue to impede this participation by placing the burden of domestic responsibilities largely on women. Institutional barriers—within parties, government institutions, and elected bodies—also create challenges for women’s participation. Violence against women in politics is also a pervasive issue that impedes women’s ability to meaningfully participate in political life safely. Individual barriers, such as a lack of resources (like time or money), skills, knowledge, and confidence can also impede women’s equal participation.

Despite these barriers, women do hold elected positions at all levels of government, including the presidency. The current president and former first lady, Xiomara Castro, is the first woman president in the history of Honduras. During the last election, 35 women were elected to Congress, or 27 percent of congresspeople. However, at the local level, only 17 of the 298 municipalities are led by women mayors, or only 6 percent.<sup>2</sup> Despite holding several political

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<sup>1</sup> CEPAD: Elections 2021: The Honduran Political System And Women's Struggles For Political Rights; "Situación de la mujer hondureña en el marco del día internacional de la mujer", Instituto Nacional de Estadística, accessed March 24, 2023, <https://www.ine.gob.hn/V3/imag-doc/2022/03/INE-dia-de-la-mujer-Boletin-de-prensa.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Carrasco, Haidy. (2021, 22 de diciembre). De las 298 alcaldías de Honduras solo 17 serán dirigidas por mujeres. [www.elheraldo.hn](https://www.elheraldo.hn). <https://www.elheraldo.hn/especiales/eleccioneshonduras/17-alcaldias-honduras-dirigidas-mujeres-elecciones-2021-CYEH1506985>

leadership positions in different institutions, women’s influence upon gaining these positions is limited, as women are often not given the same resources, support, or space to express their political views and exercise their leadership as their men counterparts. Women sometimes also lack the connections to be effective and successful in their roles.

Under the Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance – Learning, Evaluation and Research (DRG-LER) II Activity, USAID tasked the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago (NORC) with implementing five country-level assessments on women’s political participation and leadership (WPPL). These assessments, including this one focusing on Honduras, are based on the latest iteration of the WPPL Assessment Framework. The WPPL Assessment Framework aims to identify key barriers and opportunities to advancing WPPL that exist at the individual, socio-cultural, and structural levels within focus countries. The findings of this assessment are intended to guide program strategies, activity design, and allocation of resources aimed at advancing WPPL in Honduras. The assessment’s findings are derived from a desk review of relevant literature, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions with politicians, civil society, and media, conducted in Tegucigalpa, Tocoa, and La Ceiba.

## **BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES TO WPPL**

Below is a summary of identified barriers and opportunities to WPPL in Honduras, further detailed in the report.

### **BARRIERS TO WPPL**

- Institutions, such as political parties, government institutions, and electoral bodies, lack the capacity and political will to meaningfully promote and provide a safe and receptive environment for WPPL and to provide women with the resources and support they need when running for office and serving as elected officials.
- While the electoral legal framework has been improved to make political participation more accessible for women, there are still legal loopholes and a lack of enforcement, two factors that are often exploited to maintain power structures that keep women out of politics.
- Harmful gender stereotypes and restrictive gender roles mean that the burden of household care falls almost exclusively on women, leaving them less time to dedicate to political aspirations.
- Violence against women in politics is a key barrier. Women candidates, civil society leaders, activists, and elected officials are subjected to psychosocial, physical, and sexual violence, including misogynistic attacks meant to delegitimize them and their positions, harassment (both online and offline), and threats of violence against them and their families.
- The culture of political institutions, including informal rules and acceptable behaviors, are not supportive of the unique needs of women. Additionally, the significant role of *caudillos*, or political leaders who control party structures, in selecting candidates, can

put women, many of whom may not have personal relationships with party leaders, at a disadvantage.

- There is a difference, both in terms of *how much women* are covered and *how they're* covered, between media treatment of men and women candidates, elected officials, and leaders in Honduras. Because traditional media outlets often select content based on political or economic reasons, the men leaders who own and run them often have an interest in maintaining the status quo of patronage politics, which makes women's equal participation more challenging.
- There are few training opportunities for women to develop skills for political leadership, both because men are often selected for training opportunities and because there are not enough training opportunities that address the specific challenges and knowledge gaps faced by women leaders.
- Lack of access to necessary resources is also a barrier for women in politics, as they often have less access to and control over financial resources.

## OPPORTUNITIES FOR WPPL

**Although women face a great number of barriers to participate in political life, there are also certain positive and helpful conditions that create opportunities to promote and advance women's participation, such as:**

- While women in general compose the majority of voters, there are opportunities to improve participation of women voters from other marginalized groups who might still face challenges, such as women with disabilities, trans women, and rural women. Instead of allocating resources to facilitate women's right to and access to vote more generally, initiatives should focus on ensuring that women from other marginalized groups are also able to vote freely and equally.
- There is broad women's participation in civil society, especially for organizations that advocate for women's rights, in particular, the protection of reproductive rights. This participation could be strengthened and could translate to participation in formal politics.
- The laws provide an important framework for women's participation, and there is an opportunity for institutions to enforce them more rigorously and close loopholes that are often exploited to avoid implementing the law.



## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

Below is a summary of the recommendations for action, which are detailed in the report.

### SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

- To shift harmful cultural views, international donors and relevant national stakeholders should focus on working with men to educate them on the benefits of more diverse participation as well as the influence and impact of misogyny and political violence on gender equality and women's political rights, giving them the appropriate tools to become allies for gender equality. Many men leaders in institutions such as Congress, political parties, and the National Electoral Council (*Consejo Nacional Electoral*, or *CNE*) would benefit from this type of training, given their gendered cultural view. Religion, particularly the Catholic church, has a strong impact on these norms, so partnering with men religious leaders to promote gender equality and women's participation could be particularly effective.
- Journalist training for media professionals on how to cover women in politics in a gender-transformative way is also essential.

### INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

- The government of Honduras and *CNE* should conduct a formal review and revision of the national electoral laws to better support women's access to and leadership in political life, which should include the following revisions:
  - The gender quota law should apply to both the primary and general elections.
  - The electoral law should be amended to include a provision that requires any vacated elected seat to be either filled with someone of the same gender, or someone from the underrepresented gender. For example, if a seat held by a woman was vacated, it would have to be replaced by a woman. If a seat held by a man was vacated, it could be replaced by either a man or a woman, thus allowing women's representation to increase while also protecting the seats women already hold.
  - A legal reform could be introduced specifying that candidates for mayoral seats must alternate gender every election. In primary elections, parties will know what gender will need to be selected as mayoral candidates in the general election based on the gender of the mayor that currently holds the seat, so parties could only run individuals from a different gender than the current incumbent in the primary. If the incumbent mayor is seeking reelection, this requirement could be deferred to the next election. After the mayor is reelected for one additional term, this requirement should then be implemented. In the Autonomous Region of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea, for example, Section 15(6) of the Community Government Act requires the chair and deputy of the community government bodies to alternate gender every election. This provision has been implemented in the last two elections in Bougainville in 2016 and 2022.

- The *CNE* should define and implement sanctions on political parties for not appointing women by refusing/failing to fulfill the gender quotas in candidate lists.
- The *CNE* should develop and implement more rigorous measures to monitor compliance with the provisions of the law that requires parties to: 1) spend a portion of their funding to support women’s political participation; 2) include gender equality principles in their bylaws; 3) have a gender and social inclusion policy; and 4) have gender parity in their leadership structures. These measures might include tasking an existing structure in the *CNE*, such as the unit responsible for political party registration or the unit in charge of auditing and transparency, as the entity responsible for monitoring compliance for this law. This unit could develop a spreadsheet by party that would be regularly updated to ensure parties are following the law and should request actual evidence from parties, which is then retained and documented, that shows legal compliance. Parties must face sanctions if they do not comply. While fines can be effective, many parties have enough resources that allow them to pay the fines and break the law. Rather than impose fines. The *CNE* could deregister parties if they do not follow the electoral law or refer electoral law violations to the *TCE* for their judgment.
- It is important to both build the capacity of political party members and leaders to follow the law by providing technical assistance to support the development of gender and social inclusion policies, a review and revision of bylaws to include gender principles, and any other measures that support women’s participation, including resourcing women’s wings and making them more robust, permanent structures, and developing a zero tolerance policy for violence against women in elections, including when perpetrators are members of the party itself.
- CSOs should strengthen their coordination and advocacy efforts around passing laws to address violence targeting women in politics and public life, such as the draft Law Against Political Violence.
- Parties should dedicate funding to support their women’s wings, including a budget for the needed capacity building to ensure respective wings are robust and effective. The head of the women’s wing should be a formal part of/member of the party’s executive committee. To comply with Article 73 of the electoral law, political parties should develop internal controls – such as a code of conduct, requirements, sanctions, and obligatory capacity building for political leaders, actors, candidates, and activists within political parties – to encourage inclusive practices and prevent violence against women in politics.
- Congress and political parties should develop policies and protocols that are sensitive to the needs and experiences women in Honduras have, including those dictated by their gender roles, to govern their internal practices. They should also develop sexual harassment policies that include actual mechanisms for enforcement and consequences for perpetrators.
- Electoral institutions should mainstream gender considerations into their internal operations and external programming. This should include: establishing a coordination committee amongst electoral stakeholders to coordinate on gender-related initiatives (such as leadership training for women, advocacy campaigns, and public outreach);

implement capacity-building programs for women staff members in order to create a pathway for their promotion and leadership within the institution. Electoral institutions should provide training for all staff related to gender-sensitive electoral processes and how they can help promote women's empowerment in elections through their roles in their institutions. International donors should consider capacity building for the *CNE* to support it in achieving this objective. To support these efforts, UN Women and UNDP developed a guidebook (available in English and Spanish) on how electoral management bodies can effectively promote women's political participation and leadership, both in their internal structures and external work. This guide includes additional measures and initiatives that can support election commissions to be more gender-equal institutions.

- The *CNE* must invest resources into standing up its gender unit, as required by law, and creating institutional documents such as strategic and/or operational plans for this unit to help it achieve its aims.
- International donors should continue to adopt a localization strategy and invest funding in supporting local CSOs in furthering their goals, and in particular, should seek to support organizations that may not be based in the capital or that represent women from other marginalized groups, like Indigenous women, Garifuna women, or LGBTQI+ women.
- Similar to how addressing gender equality as a whole will help break down barriers that impede women's access to politics, combating gender-based violence as a whole will have a positive effect in reducing instances of violence against women in politics. Initiatives should focus on eliminating impunity for perpetrators and providing support for survivors. Though addressing gender-based violence as a whole is critical, specific measures that reduce violence against women in politics are also essential.

## INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

- Training programs should be provided for locally elected women leaders – mayors, vice mayors, and women councilors – to support them in effectively fulfilling their roles as elected leaders on topics such as public speaking and external communication, negotiation, and the roles and responsibilities of their elected positions.
- The Secretary of Education should create and include gender-sensitive civic education programs in government schools that support girls to build their leadership skills from school age and to demonstrate to young boys that girls' and women's participation in public life is normal and important.
- Youth committees of national political parties should receive support to create advocacy campaigns aimed at motivating women—in particular, young women and girls—to participate in politics and raise their awareness of the benefits of women's political participation and gender equality.
- The *CNE*, and its gender and inclusion units, should partner with CSOs to develop leadership and capacity-building programs for civil society and women in both rural and urban contexts through its National Institute for Political and Electoral Training.

- Electoral institutions, civil society organizations, and international donors should provide candidate training to women running for office. These trainings should focus mainly on voter contact, fundraising, and social media and online campaigning but should include other topics as deemed needed and important by women candidates receiving support.

# INTRODUCTION

## COUNTRY BACKGROUND

### POLITICAL SYSTEM

Honduras is a democratic and representative republic with a presidential government system. The executive power comprises a president and three *designados presidenciales* (a similar position to a vice president, one of whom is currently a woman). The current president, Xiomara Castro, is the first woman president of Honduras. The president (together with his or her *designados presidenciales*) is elected to a four-year term by a simple majority in a first-past-the-post electoral system. Within the judicial branch, the 15 Supreme Court of Justice (CSJ) magistrates were selected in 2023 with women assuming eight of the 15 positions, including the presidency of the CSJ. This selection process occurs every seven years.

The Honduran National Congress consists of 128 members elected every four years using an open-list proportional representation system from 18 multi-member constituencies (ranging from one to 23 seats) corresponding to the 18 departments in Honduras. Of its 128 members, 35 are Congresswomen; this number represents 27 percent, which falls below the Central American average of 33 percent and ranks Honduras 84th in the world for the proportion of women in parliament out of the 185 countries for which there is data.<sup>3</sup>

The *CNE*, the national electoral administration body, together with the Electoral Justice Tribunal (or the *Tribunal Justicia Electoral, TJE*), replaced the former Supreme Electoral Tribunal (or *Tribunal Supremo Electoral, TSE*) through a constitutional reform in 2019. The *CNE* works together with the National Registry of Persons (or *Registro Nacional de las Personas, RNP*) to support voter registration and create voter lists. While the *CNE* handles the administration and logistical elements of elections and is charged with promoting citizen participation, the *TJE* represents the highest level of authority in electoral justice and sees cases related to the electoral law. The *CNE* is an independent institution, but its commissioners are elected by members of the National Congress. The *TJE* is also an independent body, but its three magistrates (and two substitute magistrates) are also elected by members of the National Congress. Both of these bodies are elected by members of Congress (who are, inherently, political) and are independent bodies, but they are not immune from political leanings or pressures.

### POLITICAL CONTEXT

Honduras has a history of political instability, with a total of eight coups since 1956, with the most recent occurring in 2009.<sup>4</sup> During these moments of political turmoil, women's movements fought to exercise their political rights. The 1980s, known as the "decade of the cold war," was

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<sup>3</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2023. "Monthly Ranking of Women in Parliament." <https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=7&year=2023>; Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2023. "Global and regional averages of women in national parliaments." <https://data.ipu.org/women-averages>

<sup>4</sup> Centro de Derechos de la Mujer, "Violaciones a Los Derechos Humanos de Las Mujeres Después Del Golpe de Estado En Honduras."

one of the most conflict-ridden and polarized periods in Honduras with “death squads,” made up of security forces and police officers, kidnapping, torturing, and murdering thousands of people.<sup>5</sup> During this challenging time, the women’s movement faced intense persecution and political repression, both as part of the larger repression that occurred and as part of the increased militarization Honduras experienced as part of the U.S.’s fight against the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. This repression resulted in the reduction of the enabling environment to exercise women’s rights that it had fought to create, further limiting women’s ability to mobilize. Nonetheless, despite the lack of political space, women continued to organize and develop strategies to promote gender equality, including emphasizing the importance of women’s empowerment in public and democratic life.<sup>6</sup> In 2000, the electoral law was reformed to include a requirement that at least 30 percent of party leadership and political candidates had to be women, the country’s first political gender quota.

In the most recent national election in November 2021, Honduras’ ruling party candidate, Tegucigalpa mayor Nasry Asfura from the National Party (or *Partido Nacional*, PN), conceded defeat to Castro, who represented then the leftist opposition, Liberty and Refoundation Party (or *Libertad y Refundación*, LIBRE).<sup>7</sup> While there are five parties with seats in the National Congress, because the main political parties often form alliances that change and shift between elections, there are often two dominant alliances that compete in elections. In the most recent election, LIBRE and the Salvador Party of Honduras (or *Partido Salvador de Honduras*, PSH) formed an alliance to offer an alternative to National Party rule.

The Honduran government has a Women’s Ministry, which oversees the effective implementation of the National Policy of Women, a policy effective from 2010 to 2022. The policy, formulated with active participation of representatives from the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, the Public Ministry, municipal governments, and civil society, requires the government to honor Honduras’ commitments made through ratification and adherence to international human rights conventions and treaties like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).<sup>8</sup> CEDAW requires countries that ratify the treaty to ensure women’s equal rights to participate in public life and to promote women’s social and economic rights in education, health and employment. The Women’s Ministry officially leads the government’s efforts to combat gender-based violence, while the Ministry of Health is responsible for providing support on cases related to gender-based violence.

## LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The current Honduran electoral law, passed on May 26, 2021, sets out important regulations related to women’s political participation:<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Clarín.com. 2004. “Represión y muerte en Honduras en la década del 80”. Clarín. el 13 de mayo de 2004.

<sup>6</sup> El Heraldo, ed. 2021. Why did Nora de Melgar mark political history in Honduras? El Heraldo.

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/01/honduras-to-get-first-female-president-after-ruling-party-conceded-defeat>.

<sup>8</sup> National Policy for Women. II Plan for Gender Equality and Equity of Honduras 2010-2022, INAM, 12/12/2018.

<sup>9</sup> Honduran Electoral Law 2021. [https://www.cne.hn/documentos/Ley\\_Electoral\\_de\\_Honduras\\_2021.pdf](https://www.cne.hn/documentos/Ley_Electoral_de_Honduras_2021.pdf).

- Article 73 requires political parties to have internal policies related to gender and equal opportunity, which are subject to *CNE* approval, along with annual reports on implementation of the policy. If parties do not submit the reports, they are subject to a fine equivalent to five percent of their public funding total.
- Article 74 institutes a gender quota law, requiring 50 percent of candidate party lists to be women for the National Congress. The quota law also applies to presidential appointments, elections for the Central American parliaments, and local elections for mayor and local councils. It also stipulates that – in cases where there is only one position available, like mayor – the main candidate and alternate must be of different genders, a regulation that must be applied to internal party elections (like primaries) as well.
- Article 75 includes a requirement for alternation, or zippering, on party lists, meaning that two people of the same gender cannot be placed next to each other on the list. If party lists do not meet this requirement, the *CNE* has the power to reject the list.
- Article 120, in its final clause, requires political parties to include in their bylaws statutes that guarantee equal participation of women.
- Article 163 stipulates that parties with representation in the National Congress have the right to receive public financing equal to 15 percent of the financing that each party would have received in the last general election for activities aimed at promoting women’s leadership within their party.

Analysis of these legal provisions is in the *Barriers and Opportunities* section of this assessment.

## WOMEN’S STATUS

Honduras scored 0.431 on a scale from 0-1 on the 2021 Gender Inequality Index from UNDP, an index based on different measures of health, empowerment, and labor (a lower score is better, indicating less gender inequality). Gender-based violence is extremely pervasive in the country, and it is often met with impunity. Honduras has the highest rate of femicide in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), with 4.6 femicides per 100,000 people.<sup>10</sup> Honduran women face inequality in the economic sphere as well. Broadly speaking, Honduras’ socioeconomic development is behind the average for LAC in most areas.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Honduras ranks as one of the worst within the region when it comes to gender equality. According to the 2022 Global Gender Gap Index prepared by the World Economic Forum (WEF), Honduras has a gender gap of 70.5 percent and occupies the 82nd place in the world out of a total of 146 countries.<sup>12</sup> Honduras is also one of the three countries in LAC with the largest gender gaps in the labor participation rate, according to a study by the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2017); for every man unemployed from work, there are two women out of work.

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<sup>10</sup> <https://oig.cepal.org/es/indicadores/femicidio>.

<sup>11</sup> Rachel Lomot, "Gender Discrimination: A Problem Stunting Honduras’ Entire Economy."

<sup>12</sup> World Economic Forum. Global Gender Gap Report 2022. 2022. <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2022>.

While women have made significant progress in the last decades, they have achieved these gains despite the myriad of systemic barriers they face to participate in politics and to reach positions of influence in their communities. Honduran women—especially those in rural areas—are subject to harmful, restrictive gender roles. Those gender roles, which are pervasive in almost every country around the world, dictate that men dominate public life, i.e., that the space outside the home (employment, politics, etc.) is reserved for men, while women remain in the domestic sphere, i.e., women are to remain in the home and take care of the responsibilities associated with families. These gender roles mean that women's lives and their ability to participate in politics is also limited, in many cases, by the amount of unpaid care work and domestic responsibilities they have. For example, political meetings may be held in the evenings, when women are responsible for preparing dinner or providing childcare. Evening meetings can also cause concern among women who live in areas that are more insecure, as they may not want to be traveling at night. These domestic roles also play a major factor when women from outside of Tegucigalpa are elected to national roles, and thus need to spend the majority of their time in the capital but maintain their residences in their home areas. Additionally, religious beliefs and cultural practices play a role in shaping attitudes toward gender equality. For example, some religious traditions in Honduras emphasize the importance of men's leadership and discourage women from pursuing certain roles or careers. According to a 2020 CID/Gallup poll, 48 percent of the population identifies as evangelical Protestant and 34 percent identify as Roman Catholic.<sup>13</sup> These religions often interpret the Bible in a way that says that women are subservient to men and deny leadership positions in the church to women. These religious ideas often inform how societies feel about women's participation in other leadership roles, like politics. These restrictive gender norms still exist when women enter public life, so participating in politics or in political leadership does not remove these norms, but these norms manifest in different ways.

## METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the assessment is to understand the current state of WPPL and pinpoint challenges and opportunities for advancing WPPL in Honduras. The assessment seeks to answer the following four questions:

- Are women politically engaged as citizens, in any of a wide range of possible political roles?
- Do women exercise political agency and influence as citizens?
- Do women serve as political leaders, whether in elected or non-elected roles?
- Do women exercise political agency and influence as political leaders?

While global indicators of WPPL largely focus on the numbers of women in elected and appointed political positions, this assessment methodology expands the definition of WPPL in two key ways. First, it divides this concept in two interrelated, yet distinct, components: **political participation**,

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<sup>13</sup> U.S. Department of State, "2022 Report on International Religious Freedom: Honduras," <https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-report-on-international-religious-freedom/honduras/#:~:text=The%20U.S.%20government%20estimates%20the,of%20the%20population%20is%20Catholic.>



referring to activities women can engage in as citizens, and **political leadership**, referring to activities women can engage in as elected and non-elected political representatives, like CSO leaders. Second, it recognizes that simply being granted political rights is not the same as fully exercising those rights. A complete assessment of WPPL must therefore look at both **access**, women’s ability to take part in political process, and **power**, women’s voice and agency as political actors.

As the WPPL methodology highlights, three interacting sets of factors shape opportunities for women to participate substantively in every aspect of political life. **Socio-cultural factors** involve assumptions about appropriate norms and practices, shaping social expectations as well as personal attitudes and behaviors. They include gender stereotypes, prevailing views on gender roles, and cultural ideas about gender equality. **Institutional factors** structure the political environment, establishing the formal and informal rules and systems in which political actors operate. They include the electoral system, the political party system, and the broader political and legal context. **Individual factors** refer to considerations shaping individual women’s decisions and abilities to participate in politics. These include levels of political ambition, as well as resources and support for their political engagement.

Understanding these factors as an “ecosystem” emphasizes how they work together and inform one another to create environments supporting or undermining WPPL. Focusing only on one set of factors to the exclusion of the others is likely to lead to misinterpretations of the current situation – and, in turn, to the adoption of only partially effective solutions to expand WPPL. In contrast, an ecosystem approach suggests the need to consider more holistic strategies, combining a focus on norm change, institutional reforms, and individual shifts in thinking. Because gender-based violence and violence against women in politics cuts across all these factors, findings about violence are integrated throughout these sections.

The WPPL assessment has three parts: Part I involves mapping the current state of WPPL; Part II entails analyzing barriers and opportunities to WPPL, and Part III involves transitioning from the research to the writing of the final report and making evidence-based recommendations.

The assessment employs four tools: a desk review, a politician survey, key informant interview (KIIs), and focus group discussions (FGDs). These tools provide quantitative and qualitative sources of evidence to better understand the current situation as well as barriers and opportunities for advancing WPPL, engaging a wide range of stakeholders and diverse groups of women.

The assessment findings discussed in this report are derived from a desk review of relevant literature and USAID documents, a survey completed by 21 politicians, 40 KIIs, and seven FGDs with politicians, civil society, and media in Tegucigalpa, Tocoa, and La Ceiba. The Honduras Assessment Team conducted in-country data collection for this assessment between May 15 and 26, 2023 (see Annex A for more details on the sources of information used for this assessment).

## LIMITATIONS

The Assessment Team encountered some unforeseen challenges during and in preparation for data collection. For example, some stakeholders were unwilling to meet with the Assessment Team because the congressional session was near its end, or stakeholders were hesitant to engage with Assessment Team members whom they had not previously met. This said, the local Assessment Team members did have large political networks, which greatly facilitated the outreach process.

During data collection, some interviews and two focus groups had to be rescheduled due to a heated debate on a law, which led to urgent political meetings and changes in stakeholders' calendars. FGD 8 with Women in Politics was canceled twice on account of this development, and the Assessment Team was unable to reschedule it in the allotted data collection timeline.

Lastly, some stakeholders did not have a strong command of technological tools, which led to some challenges with the administration of the online survey and select interviews that were conducted virtually.

## **CURRENT STATE OF WPPL**

### **WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Political participation refers to a wide array of activities in which citizens can engage to influence political decision-making or solve collective problems. These can encompass both conventional and unconventional forms of participation, as well as actions taken individually or collectively in civil society. Common forms of political participation include voting, engaging in political discussions, contacting elected officials, attending political rallies and campaign events, signing petitions, protesting, and joining political parties. Given women's long-standing exclusion from and underrepresentation in more formal political roles, civil society has long been an important space for women's political engagement, permitting them to voice opinions on political issues despite their lack of representation in elected circles. Such activities may include membership in formal CSOs operating at the grassroots to national levels, as well as less structured participation in informally constituted social movements.

### **ACCESS TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION AND POWER IN PARTICIPATION**

#### **WOMEN AS VOTERS**

During the November 2021 elections, 52.7 percent of the 5.2 million registered voters were women.<sup>14</sup> In the same election, 62.8 percent of registered women voters voted, compared to 57.7 percent of registered men voters.<sup>15</sup> Although women voters registered and voted in higher numbers than their men counterparts, women continue to face barriers on both fronts. Honduras has active voter registration, where citizens must register to vote rather than being automatically

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<sup>14</sup> <https://www.ifes.org/tools-resources/faqs/elections-honduras-2021-general-elections>.

<sup>15</sup> Méndez, María Elena - Martínez, Delmy, Carlsen Laura, Elections 2021: The Honduran Political System and Women's Struggles for Their Political Rights, 2022.

registered through another process (like obtaining a national identification card or a driver's license). Since many Honduran women are expected to fill traditional roles in the household – cooking, cleaning, buying or gathering supplies, taking care of children and other dependents, among other chores – they have less time available to register to vote. For example, data from 2009 shows that women spend 17 percent of their day on unpaid care work, while men only spend 4 percent of their day on the same tasks.<sup>16</sup> Even though women vote in slightly higher proportions than men, this fact does not mean that women do not face barriers when registering to vote or voting. More than a third of women who were registered did *not* vote, and it's important to note that women from other marginalized groups, like women with disabilities and Indigenous women, likely vote in lower proportions than women from urban areas or women that have access to higher education.

In the 2021 elections, 62.8 percent of women who were registered to vote voted.<sup>17</sup> Barriers to vote are especially prevalent for women who are also part of other marginalized groups such as women with disabilities, women from rural areas, and Indigenous women. According to a report from the Consortium for Elections and Political Processes Strengthening (CEPPS),<sup>18</sup> trans women, in particular, may face barriers in both registering to vote and voting, as it is difficult for trans people to change the gender marker on their identification cards and to change the photo to match their current gender presentation. If trans women do not have an identification document that matches their affirmed name or current gender presentation, untrained or transphobic poll workers may not allow them to vote, and they may face violence from poll workers or other voters if they are outed as trans as part of an identity verification.

## WOMEN IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In addition to their participation as voters, women are also very active in social movements. Women have played a role in the large citizen movements to protest and oppose human rights violations during the last two coups d'état in Honduras in 1978 and 2009. In 2009, following the coup, women's social movements and assemblies peacefully protested against human rights violations, especially those committed against women, and they contributed to calls to restore democratic practices.<sup>19</sup> According to women participants in the KIIs and FGDs, in more recent years, most women who protest typically do so in defense of women's rights, such as sexual and reproductive rights.<sup>20</sup> Some interview and focus group respondents noted that women also

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<sup>16</sup> World Bank Data, "Proportion of time spent on unpaid domestic and care work, female (% of 24 hour day) - Honduras," 2009, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.TIM.UWRK.FE?locations=HN>.

<sup>17</sup> Méndez, María Elena - Martínez, Delmy, Carlsen Laura, Elections 2021: The Honduran Political System and Women's Struggles for Their Political Rights, 2022.

<sup>18</sup> Chirillo and Rosario, "CEPPS Gender Assessment Report: Honduras," June 2021, [https://www.cepps.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/CEPPS-Gender-Assessment-Report\\_Honduras-Executive-Summary.pdf](https://www.cepps.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/CEPPS-Gender-Assessment-Report_Honduras-Executive-Summary.pdf) [full report not publicly available].

<sup>19</sup> Centro de Derechos de la Mujer, "Violaciones a Los Derechos Humanos de Las Mujeres Después Del Golpe de Estado En Honduras."

<sup>20</sup> FGD with women in civil society and KIIs with WPPL experts.

participate by signing petitions or attending demonstrations, although not to the same degree that men do.

## WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

Honduran women are also active participants in CSOs. According to interviewees who participated in this assessment, women in civil society are concentrated mostly in organizations that specifically focus on gender issues, though some are involved or hold leadership roles in other organizations, notably the leader of the National Anti-Corruption Council. Though these organizations do important work promoting gender equality and women's rights, mainstream women's organizations – those that are well-known and more likely to be based in the capital – tend to be dominated by women from more privileged groups. For example, Indigenous women, Garífuna women, women from the LGBTQI+ community, and women from other marginalized groups are not commonly represented as staff in these CSOs, nor are their unique priorities necessarily represented in the key objectives of these organizations. Women who belong to other marginalized groups are more likely to be specifically represented by separate organizations that target those groups, such as organizations that focus on promoting the rights of Indigenous women.<sup>21</sup> While this ensures that women who belong to other marginalized groups are represented as part of an organization, it also siloes their concerns, rather than mainstreaming them into larger organizations that may have more capacity or influence. Women exercise some power in civil society, with women's organizations having an important impact on public policies and public discussion, especially those related to women's reproductive rights. For example, in 2023, partially due to advocacy by civil society, Congress approved access to the morning-after pill, which had been part of the feminist civil society agenda for over a decade.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, CSOs – women's organizations and the feminist movement in particular – participate in formulating and monitoring the implementation of national women's policies.

Women in the civil society focus group reported that women do not have the same opportunities as men to express themselves and make their voices and demands heard within CSOs. They are often questioned more than men and are relegated to organizational and logistical responsibilities in organizations led by men. KII and FGD participants also noted that the existing formal advocacy channels lack the necessary resources to engender true societal changes that women's organizations desire. Furthermore, interviewees showed a lack of awareness about which channels to use for civil society to communicate with the Women's Ministry, CNE's Gender Office, or similar institutions.

Honduran women also play a key role in peace and conflict resolution movements and protests. For example, feminist movement organizations such as Women and Feminists in Resistance, Ovaries in Resistance, and others have been instrumental in denouncing conflict and demanding the restoration of democracy and rule of law in Honduras in 2009, immediately after the most

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<sup>21</sup> FGD with women in civil society and KIIs with WPPL experts.

<sup>22</sup> Mahtani, N. (2023). La pastilla del día después vuelve a ser legal en Honduras. El País. <https://elpais.com/america/sociedad/2023-03-09/la-pastilla-del-dia-despues-vuelve-a-ser-legal-en-honduras.html>.

recent coup d'état.<sup>23</sup> However, as suggested in the KII, true societal change requires a comprehensive advocacy strategy that is not limited to the spaces and interests of women. As has been seen in many countries around the world, although women civil society leaders and activists are effective at pushing forward progress for women's rights, this activism does not often translate into power once conflict ends and peace is restored.

## WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties provide another opportunity for women to participate in politics, either as party members, leaders, candidates, or elected leaders. While gender quota regulations require women's participation, giving them access to party membership, men dominate the leadership and decision-making in parties. An important function of parties is nominating candidates for party lists and contested seats during electoral processes, though these decisions tend to lack transparency and happen behind closed doors. It's important to note that the 50 percent gender quota applies to candidates for party primaries, but once parties have satisfied the requirement in the primary, *they are not required to include 50 percent women on lists for the general election* unless parties do not have primaries. Even though some parties have primaries to determine candidates, "primaries end up hindering women's participation;" in fact, "Honduran women are better off running for parties that do not hold primaries because the current design only creates the impression of requiring parity, while in practice the requirement only affects parties that do not hold primary elections and only applies at the internal level, not to general elections."<sup>24</sup> Though the reasons why particular candidates are chosen are not always clear, participants in this assessment revealed several factors affecting women's ability to be nominated as candidates. For example, candidates of all genders must raise funds for their campaigns. Women are less likely to have the financial resources necessary to be nominated compared to their men counterparts because they often do not have the same access to and control over financial resources and are less likely to be employed outside the home. Further, women who can raise funds and, hence, have a better chance of being nominated tend to be those who have greater financial resources. Another factor that impacts candidate nomination decisions is the social value assigned to potential candidates' professions. For example, a woman who is a doctor and receives media attention might be a more attractive candidate to a political party than someone with an occupation that does not hold as much social capital.<sup>25</sup>

In addition, prior leadership experience, either in the community or as professional leaders, also plays an important role in facilitating women's access to political leadership. Many of the deputies and locally elected women consulted for this assessment noted they already had a profile as a community leader, prominent professional, or activist prior to entering politics, which is why parties sought them out as candidates. Despite this fact, many prominent women

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<sup>23</sup> Centro de Derechos de la Mujer, "Violaciones a Los Derechos Humanos de Las Mujeres Después Del Golpe de Estado En Honduras."

<sup>24</sup> Freidenberg, Flavia, "Women's Political Representation in Honduras: A Comparative Perspective on Party Resistance and Inclusive Reform Proposals," Carter Center, 2019, [https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace\\_publications/americas/womens-political-representation-honduras.pdf](https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/americas/womens-political-representation-honduras.pdf).

<sup>25</sup> KII with the leader of a political party.

community leaders are often overlooked in favor of men who are less qualified but who are connected with party leaders either as relatives, business associates, friends, or through other social means. Political leaders who control party structures, or *caudillos*, wield a great amount of power and are incentivized to maintain control and not relinquish this power. These sometimes informal connections and networks mean that it's difficult for women outside of these circles, often women who are driving social change as activists or community leaders, to access political power and leadership. Women feel like they need to be highly qualified and prove themselves to be nominated, whereas men are chosen based on their potential or based on social connections. While women of higher socio-economic status tend to be better positioned and connected for these roles than women from lower socio-economic backgrounds, they still are subject to gender discrimination within parties and within society, despite successes they might have in vying for elected office.

Often, parties choose not to seek out the most “qualified” women candidates, instead choosing women as candidates for races the party is not likely to win. According to interviews with women politicians and women in civil society, men political party leaders typically treat women as “tokens,” filling out ballots in positions with little or no possibility of being elected, while men are strategically placed in positions to have a better chance of winning the election. At the local level, focus group participants mentioned that although women have the opportunity to be elected as city mayors if they are nominated by parties, restrictive gender roles and harmful societal attitudes about gender norms mean there is a general perception (by both parties and voters) that women are not qualified to occupy the mayoral position. This means that party leaders are less likely to support women as mayoral candidates in primaries and since the quota does require the mayoral and vice mayoral candidates be of different genders, women are more frequently nominated for the vice mayoral position. Parties also tend to select candidates that will bring more media coverage, and men have more connections to media owners than women, further damaging women's access to the political process.<sup>26</sup>

Another way women have access to participation in parties is through women's wings. Most parties – for example, the Liberal Party, the Salvador Party of Honduras, and the LIBRE Party – have women's wings, or particular groups within parties responsible for the promotion of women's participation in the party. While women's wings can be an important space for women to advocate for their interests, qualitative interview respondents stated that women's wings do not receive funds from the parties, and thus, often do not have adequate funding for activities or programming to promote women's empowerment. While women's wings exist, they are not very active, and it is often unclear who is a member or a leader and what actual activities they do. While women's wings can be a way to show a party's commitment to promoting women's participation, it can also silo gender equality issues and make these issues not seen as a responsibility of the party's executive committee or leadership body. Consequently, gender issues are not mainstreamed into main party documents. For example, none of the parties the Assessment Team reviewed had provisions regarding the prevention of violence against women in politics in their internal policies or regulations. In qualitative interviews, there was no mention of women's wings having special representation or attention in the decision-making process or

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<sup>26</sup> According to the FGD with men in media and a WPPL expert.

in the executive committee of the political parties; as a result, they lack power at the highest level to make decisions or enact relevant policies for women’s participation.

Previous research from NDI and CEPPS, along with interviews for this assessment, reveal that violence against women in politics – including psychological violence, physical violence, sexual violence, economic violence, and threats and coercion – is a major barrier for women in political parties. In a 2017 report from NDI, all 57 political women who participated in the study said they have experienced or witnessed violence against women in politics, or both.<sup>27</sup> While the source of this violence is often political opponents, women face violence from members of their own parties as well.

## WOMEN IN ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

Another way women participate in politics is through electoral management bodies (EMBs), like the main electoral institution in Honduras, the *CNE*. Of the five *CNE* commissioners (two of whom are alternates), only one, Ana Paola Hall Garcia, is a woman, who serves as the secretary.<sup>28</sup> Article 21 of the 2021 electoral law requires the *CNE* to have a gender unit, responsible for promoting gender equality, for increasing women’s participation in elections, and monitoring the implementation of the gender quota and other related electoral laws. Despite these responsibilities, the gender unit has only one staff member and requires a meeting of the *CNE* commissioners (which had not happened at the time of writing) to become operational. While the electoral law requires this unit to exist, it does not specifically require the unit to develop a strategic or operational plan related to gender and does not necessarily dedicate resources or funding to the unit. Given the apparent lack of political will and resources to make this unit operational, it cannot effectively serve its purpose. An example of the lack of political will at the *CNE* to promote women’s participation comes from a man interviewee from the *CNE*, who said: “Women need to step up and try to participate more in the political arena. The space is available to them, and there is no need for special lines of work to attract more women into the party other than what the law obligates.” This statement clearly indicates a lack of acknowledgement about the barriers women face in participating in politics.

USAID has provided support to the *CNE* through an electoral support activity, implemented by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), which supports inclusive participation, civic engagement, and free and fair elections. Through this activity, USAID provides a range of support to *CNE*, including capacity building and training on gender inclusivity/engaging underrepresented populations. While the *CNE* needs this support, it cannot solely rely on international donors to fund its work on gender and inclusion, as this is not a sustainable solution. Any programming from international donors or implementors

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<sup>27</sup> Isabel Torres Garcia, trans. Claire DeSoi, “Violence Against Women in Politics: Research on Political Parties in Honduras,” National Democratic Institute, 2017, [https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/InvestigacionNDI%20VPCMHonduras\\_ENGLISH\\_PDF.pdf](https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/InvestigacionNDI%20VPCMHonduras_ENGLISH_PDF.pdf).

<sup>28</sup> One of the women commissioners resigned to become the Minister of Finance. *CNE*, “Integración Pleno del *CNE* Período 2020 – 2021,” 2020, [http://www.cne.hn/institucional/consejeros\\_cne.html](http://www.cne.hn/institucional/consejeros_cne.html).

should have a clear path to local ownership and sustainability so these programs and activities can be sustained once international programming has concluded.

## VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

Violence against women in politics is a global problem that prevents women from accessing opportunities to participate in politics and public life. The Organization of American States provides the following definition:

*“Violence against women in political life’ is to be construed as any action, conduct, or omission, carried out directly or through third parties that, based on gender, causes harm or suffering to a woman or several women, which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise by women of their political rights. Violence against women in political life includes physical, sexual, psychological, moral, economic, or symbolic violence.”<sup>29</sup>*

Although Honduran women are able to participate in the civic life of their country, as highlighted above, data suggests they face barriers in exercising these rights without fear of reprisal. As noted in the introduction, gender-based violence is a pervasive problem in the country; a USAID report found that 50 percent of women in western Honduras had experienced some kind of gender-based violence.<sup>30</sup> Honduras is also one of the deadliest countries for journalists, and high-profile killings of activists, like Berta Cáceres, an environmental and Indigenous rights defender, are often either met with impunity or with skepticism about the fairness and independence of the justice system.<sup>31</sup> In the 2021 elections, a preliminary observation report from the OAS found that 20 cases of political violence against women were recorded during the election, “including homicides, threats, attacks and episodes of coercion and constraint.”<sup>32</sup> While it is useful to have statistics, it is also well-known that violence against women is underreported, and thus, it is likely that these were not the sole acts of violence against women during the political process.

The way that women leaders and women in politics experience violence is often unique, both in the reason they experience this violence and in the ways this violence manifests. Women in politics experience this type of violence because they are challenging traditional gender roles and conservative attitudes about how women are supposed to behave and act. Because of cultural views about women’s roles, women fear retribution and threats against them or their families for attending political meetings, expressing their political opinions, and voting, as these activities are not seen as things women should do.<sup>33</sup> Respondents in all types of interviews, as well as participants in focus groups of women in civil society and women leaders in the local government, stated that instead of making their own choices about their level of political involvement, women often must “ask permission” from their parents or husbands to participate in all areas of politics,

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<sup>29</sup> <https://www.oas.org/en/cim/docs/ViolenciaPolitica-ProtocoloPartidos-EN.pdf>.

<sup>30</sup> [https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PA00TVMH.pdf](https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00TVMH.pdf).

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2022/country-chapters/honduras>.

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.oas.org/eomdatabase/GetFileA.aspx?id=439-1326-37-0>.

<sup>33</sup> KII with women in politics, and experts in WPPL, and an FGD with women in CSOs.



especially in rural areas. If women do not receive permission, they will have to make the decision between obeying their family members or realizing their right to participate in politics. But if they chose the latter, they could likely face violence, shaming, or ostracization from their families and communities. According to a 2021 CEPPS gender assessment, violence against women in politics is often so normalized that some women “don’t even realize they are victims.”<sup>34</sup> Acts of violence can come in the form of harassment, death threats, physical violence, and online gender-based violence,<sup>35</sup> and are often perpetrated by political opponents or members of their own party. Some women end up withdrawing their candidacies or reducing their political participation to avoid being threatened and restore their sense of security.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, as the Organization of American States (OAS) points out: “Murders and other acts of violence against human rights defenders have a multiplier effect that goes beyond these individuals. Attacks against them in retaliation for their activities as defenders frighten others who advocate for similar causes.” Though the OAS specifically discusses human rights defenders, the same is true of women in politics: seeing other women being subjected to this type of violence dissuades other women from participating.<sup>37</sup>

## **WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP**

Political leadership refers to activities women can engage in as elected and non-elected political representatives. This can entail running for and occupying elected and appointed offices at various levels in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. It can also include serving in leadership positions in political parties, as well as CSOs and social movements. In many parts of the world, women were largely absent from political leadership until recently. Since 1995, however, major shifts have occurred in all regions of the world and nearly all countries have seen improvements in the share of women running for and holding political office. Although there is little systematic data, women are also increasingly visible as party and civil society leaders.

### **ACCESS TO AND POWER IN LEADERSHIP**

#### **WOMEN IN ELECTED OFFICE**

Women in Honduras have access to positions of political leadership at all levels, as demonstrated by the current president, Xiomara Castro, who became the first woman president of Honduras in 2022. In 1996, Nora Gunera Melgar, a former mayor of Tegucigalpa representing the National Party, was the first woman presidential candidate. Melgar, like Castro, was a former first lady. Globally, there has been a clear pattern that shows that women with elected officials in their families are more likely to reach elected office than those who don’t. During the last elections of

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<sup>34</sup> Chirillo, Gina and Andrea Rosario. 2019. “CEPPS Gender Assessment Report: Honduras.”

<sup>35</sup> KIIs with women, WPPL experts, and FGDs with women in civil society.

<sup>36</sup> According to the focus groups of elected women on a local level, women in civil society, and men in media. Also, according to the interviews with a WPPL expert and a political leader.

<sup>37</sup> [https://www.oas.org/en/IACHR/jsForm/?File=/en/iachr/media\\_center/PReleases/2023/022.asp#:~:text=Washington%2C%20D.C.%20%E2%80%93%20The%20Inter%2D,Honduras%20in%202023%20so%20far.](https://www.oas.org/en/IACHR/jsForm/?File=/en/iachr/media_center/PReleases/2023/022.asp#:~:text=Washington%2C%20D.C.%20%E2%80%93%20The%20Inter%2D,Honduras%20in%202023%20so%20far.)

November 2021, 35 women were elected to Congress nationwide out of 128 total seats, or 27.3 percent.<sup>38</sup> Every political party represented in Congress has at least one woman representative. Currently, of the 35 congresswomen, 27 (or 77 percent) are in the National Congress for the first time and only eight (23 percent) are reelected.

Women’s political leadership at the national level does not translate into local political spaces, which are very different from the national political sphere. In municipalities, the gender quota law requires the candidates for mayor and vice mayor to be of opposite genders, but it does not specify any rules for alternation of mayoral candidates. Therefore, a party could nominate all men candidates for the mayor position and all women candidates for the vice mayor position and still meet the quota requirement. In some countries, like Papua New Guinea, there is a regulation that requires a party’s candidate for the head of local councils to be of a different gender than in the previous election, a reform that could increase the number of women mayors in Honduras.<sup>39</sup> The existing quota law has resulted in only 17 women mayors elected out of the 298 municipalities (5.7 percent).<sup>40</sup> Local politics is often seen as a pathway for elected women to gain skills and knowledge to then run for national level elected office. But once women in local politics in Honduras learn more about the reality of running for and holding a national seat or role in the party, they also begin to see that politics at the national level is a completely different arena, with unique barriers. Local women leaders, women in civil society, and young women in politics all expressed this sentiment in FGDs.

Although women are not prevented from holding political positions for which they have been elected, their influence and power in these positions is more limited than men’s. Women in political leadership are typically criticized rather than being presented objectively or promoted through more positive content, as is the case of President Castro, who is routinely scrutinized in the media. Because she is a former first lady, there is a general belief that her husband, Former President Manuel Zelaya Rosales, is actually the one making decisions “behind the scenes.”<sup>41</sup> It is a common global practice by political parties to nominate wives or women relatives of prominent party members in order to satisfy the quota but still retain power surreptitiously. On the other hand, it’s unlikely that a man president, even one whose wife had held political office before, would be accused of the same thing. Women interviewees for this assessment reported that women do not have space to express their opinions within their parties and that, once elected, women do not have the same confidence in their abilities to perform their duties as their men counterparts. In addition, one way that parties limit women’s power in Congress is that they

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<sup>38</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2023. “Monthly Ranking of Women in Parliament.” <https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=7&year=2023>; Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2023. “Global and regional averages of women in national parliaments.” <https://data.ipu.org/women-averages>.

<sup>39</sup> Poder Legislativo. Ley Electoral de Honduras. 352021. Aprobado el 21 de mayo de 2021. La Gaceta, 21 de mayo de 2021. [https://www.cne.hn/documentos/Ley\\_Electoral\\_de\\_Honduras\\_2021.pdf](https://www.cne.hn/documentos/Ley_Electoral_de_Honduras_2021.pdf).

<sup>40</sup> Carrasco, Haidy. (2021, 22 de diciembre). De las 298 alcaldías de Honduras solo 17 serán dirigidas por mujeres. [www.elheraldo.hn](http://www.elheraldo.hn). <https://www.elheraldo.hn/especiales/eleccioneshonduras/17-alcaldias-honduras-dirigidas-mujeres-elecciones-2021-CYEH1506985>.

<sup>41</sup> This was mentioned during various interviews. However, it is important to mention that it is not necessarily the case that the interviewees believed this. It was specifically mentioned during the interviews with a politician, WPPL expert, and from the civil society organizations focus group.

appoint women elected to Congress to government positions, thereby vacating their seat and exploiting a loophole in the electoral law that allows parties to replace these women with alternates, who are generally men.<sup>42</sup> While this strategy would mean that women have more presence in the executive branch, it is important to understand which roles provide more power to the individuals who hold them. Given the many ways party leaders in Honduras attempt to limit women's power, if women had truly more power in the executive through this strategy, it is unlikely that party leaders would elect to use it. Even when women are elected to Congress, they are often expected to toe the party line rather than make their own decisions regarding policy positions and votes. Party leaders – again, who are often men – usually make decisions on behalf of the congresswomen without considering or caring about their perspectives and ideas.<sup>43</sup> This dynamic may have a specific consequence for elected women, who may not be as protected by close relationships to party leaders. Even in situations where women do have these relationships, controversial issues or issues related more closely to women's rights (as with sexual or reproductive rights) may mean that women wish to deviate from their party position, but as noted, this often has political consequences. If congresswomen do not follow what party leaders want, they can be sidelined by the party, not put up for reelection, and/or not given party funding or other support. Given the other barriers women face in participating and the lack of support they already receive, neglecting to toe the party line can have more dire consequences for women.

Congress has a president, Luis Redondo, and seven vice presidents, three of whom are women. The National Congress has never had a woman president. Women are formally appointed to congressional committees by Congressional leadership, although existing gender stereotypes mean they are often placed in positions related to gender and care issues, social issues, tourism, and charitable works, according to the survey respondents, rather than committees that are considered more technical and influential such as those that deal with the economy, defense, or housing.<sup>44</sup>

Violence against women in politics also affects women in elected office. Information from a 2021 CEPPS gender assessment revealed that women in Congress often face sexual harassment, including being propositioned for sex by members of their own party. One Congresswoman noted that she always brought her chief of staff with her to meetings, so she would not have to go alone and would have a witness to any harmful actions or behavior. This demonstrates that even when women reach national elected office, they are not respected for the positions they hold.

## WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES

Women also have access to leadership structures of political parties, but generally lack the power to consistently contribute to decision-making. The *LIBRE* Party has the largest number of women on its executive committee, i.e., the decision-making body in the party, representing different

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<sup>42</sup> KIIs with a politician and a political leader.

<sup>43</sup> KII with politicians and an FGD with locally elected women.

<sup>44</sup> According to the desk review and KIIs with women politicians.

geographic and ethnic backgrounds.<sup>45</sup> There are many qualified women leaders of local organizations and communities, who are effective and efficient leaders and decide to move into party politics with hopes to be leaders in that space. However, once they become involved in political parties, they often become aware of the limitations of being in party leadership.

Even women who received a majority of votes within the party or those with strong connections with their constituents may not have a voice in their parties or may be undermined by their parties. For example, political parties do not promote women's candidacies, nor their leadership or voice, nor do they help women achieve their political goals, like they do for men. As detailed in the Women in Political Parties section in the *Access to Opportunities for Participation and Power in Participation* section of the report, party leaders often support individuals with resources or with whom they have an existing relationship, individuals who are less likely to be women because of the individual and socio-cultural barriers discussed in this analysis. Some of the participants in the focus group of women in civil society noted that organizations and other stakeholders "won't do anything [to help you] but won't stand in your way." In other words, while most actors are not opposed to the political advancement of women, they do nothing to promote it either. One reason for this might be that actors understand that international norms dictate that the equal participation of women is important, so they acknowledge the importance of this issue, but when it comes to actual investing resources, or shifting political power structures, i.e., making actual, meaningful changes, actors are reticent to do anything to upset the power that they hold.

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<sup>45</sup> KII with a political actor.

# BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES TO WPPL

## INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Institutional factors structure the political environment, establishing the rules and systems in which political actors operate and the formal and informal dynamics of political life. These factors interact with socio-cultural norms and individual-level characteristics, and decisions to shape opportunities for women and men to become politically engaged and exercise political influence. Institutional factors shaping WPPL include features of the electoral system, the political party system, and the broader political and legal context. Elite behaviors in the face of these opportunities and constraints can also be considered institutional factors, with elites serving as gatekeepers to women's entry to, and exclusion from, political institutions and, in turn, political voice.

## LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Honduras has signed several international and regional conventions with provisions that guarantee and protect the rights of women, including their civic and political rights.<sup>46</sup> The most fundamental of those agreements is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), a legally binding international treaty, which Honduras ratified in 1981. In Article 7, this convention protects women's equal rights to vote, run for office, and participate in government and CSOs. Honduras also ratified the Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Sanction, and Eradicate Violence against Women (known as Belem Do Pará) in 1995, which recognizes the existence of institutionalized discrimination that limits the development and social conditions of women around the world in both the private and public space. Despite repeated calls from women's organizations, Honduras has not ratified the Optional Protocol to CEDAW, which establishes complaint and inquiry mechanisms that allows the CEDAW Committee to hear complaints related to human rights violations.

At the national level, Honduras' constitution guarantees the right of equality to all citizens and prohibits discrimination based on sex in Article 60.<sup>47</sup> As noted in the introduction, Honduras' most recent electoral law, passed in 2021, includes a host of important provisions that promote women's participation in public life, providing an opportunity for women to have more access to both participation and leadership. Though this law marks an improvement in terms of gender equality compared with the previous legal framework, some gaps in the law and the way that political parties apply the law leave some shortcomings. Several interviewees reported a tendency for political parties to place men in positions where they are likely to be elected when creating the lists of alternating men and women candidates (for example, men might head the lists in places where parties are only likely to win one seat, or women are placed at the head of the list in places where the party knows it will be defeated). Women candidates are not afforded

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<sup>46</sup> Notably missing from the international conventions to which Honduras is a party is any recognition of women's sexual and reproductive rights.

<sup>47</sup> Honduras's Constitution of 1982 with Amendments through 2013, [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Honduras\\_2013.pdf?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Honduras_2013.pdf?lang=en).

the same opportunities, even when they are supported by the public and have strong chances of being elected.

Other gaps in the legal quota system represent another important barrier to women's political leadership. While there is a 50 percent gender quota for *candidate* lists, there is no law requiring equal representation among *elected representatives* in the National Congress of Honduras.<sup>48</sup> Political leaders in WPPL interviews reported that the quota law increases the number of women in political leadership, and the majority of key stakeholders support the quota law. They acknowledged, however, that the use of loopholes in the law diminishes its effectiveness. WPPL experts explained that the law does not clarify how to achieve parity when lists lose the man/woman alternating pattern after candidates are chosen in primary elections. In other words, although party lists in the primary elections may comply with the alternation requirement in the gender quota law, the lists in the general election are built from votes for individual candidates during primary elections, resulting in non-alternating lists in general elections. Therefore, even though the quota is meant to ensure gender parity, in reality, it only ensures gender parity in party primaries, where the order of the party lists do not matter, because voters vote for individual candidates rather than lists.

Respondents in the FGD of women in civil society and WPPL experts also mentioned that once women are elected, political parties often move them to appointed government positions and out of Congress. Parties then fill the vacated seats with men. The Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) Gender Assessment Report of Honduras (2021) noted that although electoral law includes important advances for gender equality, it is essential that stakeholders ensure that the law is properly implemented and resources are provided for enforcement and oversight.<sup>49</sup> According to the respondents of this assessment, the legal electoral framework is not consistently or effectively applied, nor is there political will on the part of government entities to enforce it. In sum, there is no incentive to ensure the application of the legal framework related to women's political participation.

## GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Other accomplishments contributing towards gender equality and women's political participation in Honduras include the establishment of the Women's Prosecutor, Family Councils (through the Ministry of Health), and reforms to existing laws such as the Penal Code and the Family Code. The creation of the National Institute for Women (INAM) is another important milestone for protection of women's rights in Honduras. INAM was created on February 11, 1999, with a goal of mainstreaming gender equality into the social, economic, political, and cultural aspects of society. The National Women's Policy is a public policy document that specifies the functions and management of INAM. According to the Law, INAM covers six areas of human rights: health, education, social and political participation, economy, environment, and violence prevention. Since 2001, INAM's local presence has expanded, allowing the institution to work

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<sup>48</sup> The National Congress of Honduras is the entity that exercises the legislative power. The congress is unicameral and seeks to represent every department in the country.

<sup>49</sup> CEPPS, *CEPPS Gender Assessment Report: Honduras* (Washington, D.C.: CEPPS, 2021), 13.

more closely with the municipalities and their women's offices to support the inclusion of women's needs and interests into local agendas and spaces. The creation of these institutions shows that the government is dedicating resources to gender equality, providing an opportunity for increasing women's participation in politics. But more in-depth research into these institutions is needed to understand how their operation can be improved to truly realize the missions they were created to achieve. The *CNE* is another institution that could create more opportunities for women to participate in public life, as election officials, voters, or candidates, especially through its gender unit. As noted above, however, its gender unit is not adequately staffed or funded.

## **POLITICAL PARTIES**

In addition to the national laws and institutions, political parties have internal bylaws that regulate their processes and procedures. These bylaws, however, do not include strategies to promote women's participation or raise awareness of gender-related issues. The Assessment Team also did not find any parties with internal policies or initiatives to combat violence against women in politics. While including strategies related to gender equality in party bylaws would be a productive endeavor, parties must have the political will to enforce them. The leader of one party noted that there is a specific group charged with promoting gender equality in his party, though it does not have any funding. Without resources to achieve this goal, any internal party policies or groups meant to promote women's leadership are not likely to be effective. Parties may create these groups to *look* like they're prioritizing women's empowerment, when in reality, they are not investing any resources. In fact, they may be purposefully siloing any efforts on gender equality into a separate, powerless entity so that the party looks progressive but doesn't actually have to change. Men and women politicians, as well as political party leaders, noted that parties schedule meetings or other activities at times that often conflict with women's family obligations, which exist because of patriarchal gender norms dictating that women are responsible for domestic and caregiving responsibilities. The lack of adaptation to women's needs means that women are forced to choose between participating or working in politics and having a family life.<sup>50</sup> If women do not have the support they need at home, they will not be able to participate in the same way that a man would.

As noted in previous sections, political party leaders often choose which candidates to support based on the economic resources of potential candidates, i.e., individuals with more funding, either for their own campaigns or to donate to the party, are more likely to be chosen. Women are less likely to have as much funding to dedicate to political ambitions, as they're generally less likely to have access to and control over these resources. According to interviewees for this assessment, candidates must raise the funds for costs associated with their political campaigns (rather than relying on parties for their support), putting women at a disadvantage, as they are less likely to have access to and control over their own resources and they may not have the same connections to high-value individuals as their men counterparts.

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<sup>50</sup> This was mentioned in the survey with women politicians and in the interviews with women politicians. Also, leaders from political parties mentioned this.

Furthermore, Article 163 of the electoral law allows parties to receive 15 percent of the funding they received in the previous election to fund activities dedicated to promoting women’s leadership. Several interviewees noted that this funding – rather than being used for actual initiatives like training or voter education that would meaningfully increase women’s participation – is generally used for other activities or menial items such as beauty products or paying for a Mother’s Day or International Women’s Day breakfast.<sup>51</sup> In addition, an election observation report from the Organization of American States notes that “there are no effective mechanisms to monitor the use of those funds by parties, nor penalties for their use for other purposes.”<sup>52</sup>

## ELECTED WOMEN LEADERS

Another barrier for women political leaders to be successful is the lack of internal policies or practices within Congress that take the different needs of women and men into account. For example, there is no provision for proxy voting; if a congressperson is absent, the President of the Congress chooses a replacement to vote in their stead, who may not be from the same party or vote in line with the absent congressperson’s beliefs. Women are more likely to be absent due to maternity leave and/or domestic obligations that are prescribed to them by restrictive gender norms. The Labor Code gives women 70 days of maternity leave and an hour break a day for breastfeeding. However, this provision does not protect them from missing votes because there is no proxy voting. There is no law or policy that allows congresswomen to bring their children to Congress if needed, and thus, women may need to leave congressional sessions or meetings to take care of their children, a role prescribed to them by existing gender roles in Honduras. While some women in political office may have the benefits of supportive families or enough resources to hire domestic help for childcare, existing gender roles still emphasize women’s role as mothers, and women may feel guilt or shame for not spending as much time with their children (and might *want* to spend time with their children or prioritize their children over the late night social events that may be a necessary to broker political deals or build important relationships). It is also likely that, given the lack of support for mothers, many women choose not to enter the political arena at all, and violence against women in politics (as detailed in the next section) often makes women think twice about their participation, especially once they have children and are relied upon as mothers.

Additionally, women in Congress do not receive equal financing to run their offices and do projects in their constituencies. Rather, the resources that Congress or a party distributes to its elected officials are often unequal, and women are unable to carry out projects in their constituencies due to a lack of funds.<sup>53</sup> This is because parties do not prioritize elected women in their party, because the perception is that they are only there to fulfill the quota requirement, and thus, their position is not taken as seriously.

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<sup>51</sup> According to the interviews with a woman politician and the FGD with men in politics.

<sup>52</sup> Organization of American States, “Preliminary Report on the OAS Electoral Observation Mission to Honduras,” November 2021.

<sup>53</sup> According to interviews with elected congresswomen, former congresswomen, and FGDs with locally elected women.



## VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

Another institutional barrier is the lack of any specific legal provision prohibiting violence against women in politics in Honduras, as participants or as leaders. The Law against Domestic Violence (1997) and a reform of this Law (2005), which came about in part thanks to the work of the women's movement, address certain kinds of gender-based violence.<sup>54</sup> While there is a law against domestic violence, there is no law against political violence, although one is currently under debate in Congress that would cover physical and psychological violence, sexual harassment, defamation, and online harassment. However, because this law has not been adopted, many CSOs rely on the legal basis of the domestic violence law even though it is not specific to the many types of violence women in politics face on a daily basis. There are also initiatives like the University Institute in Democracy, Peace, and Security (IUDPAS) that monitor cases of political violence within the country. The CNE also presented an initiative to Congress in 2023 to reform the Electoral Law to prevent and sanction violence against women who participate in politics.<sup>55,56</sup>

Several laws and international and regional conventions, as noted above, that prohibit violence against women tangentially address violence in politics but do not focus on this issue or actually hold perpetrators accountable. According to interview and FGD respondents, the government does not have either the capacity or the political will to control and/or respond to political violence against women in leadership positions.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, interview and FGD respondents in civil society expressed that the laws that do exist related to gender-based violence generally are not being enforced, and the reporting of these crimes is low, due to the social stigma associated with the issue and the lack of confidence in the justice system. These respondents also suggested that there are few incentives to comply with these laws, as perpetrators do not face consequences, and the justice system does not operate with a gender perspective to address these cases.

Attention to sexual harassment and protection of women in leadership is also missing from institutional policies. The executive, legislative, and judicial bodies do not currently have any sexual harassment policies, despite proposals presented to Congress.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, no interviewee spoke to the existence of any internal mechanisms for reporting violence against women within political parties nor mentioned efforts by political parties to combat violence

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<sup>54</sup> This commission is made up of the Judicial Power (through the Family Letters Jury responsible for the application of the Law against Domestic Violence and the Jury of Second Appeals) and the Public Ministry (through their Special Prosecutor for Women).

<sup>55</sup> "CNE | CNE prepara propuesta de reformas a la Ley Electoral". Consejo Nacional Electoral | Honduras, 13 de marzo de 2023. <https://www.cne.hn/sala%20prensa/2023/20230313-CNE-prepara-propuesta-de-reformas-a-la-Ley-Electoral.html>.

<sup>56</sup> Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2022 Country Report — Honduras (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung), 2022. [https://bti-project.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country\\_report\\_2022\\_HND.pdf](https://bti-project.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country_report_2022_HND.pdf).

<sup>57</sup> According to the FGD of women in civil society and WPPL experts.

<sup>58</sup> ONU Mujeres. *Violencia contra las mujeres en política en América Latina: mapeo legislativo y proyectos parlamentarios*.

against women in politics beyond the establishment of the National Gender Commission and the Commission of Gender Equity of the National Congress.<sup>59</sup>

In addition to the lack of a specific law on violence against women in politics, political institutions appear to minimize women's experience of this behavior. One of the stakeholders interviewed said that incidents of violence against women participating in politics are not investigated thoroughly by political parties nor the justice system. Women do not want to put themselves at risk by being leaders – either by speaking out as activists or running for office – because of high profile attacks on Honduran women activists and politicians, the most prominent of which was an attack on a car transporting women activists, especially when those crimes go unsolved and perpetrators do not face justice.<sup>60</sup> WPPL experts and women in politics interviewed for this assessment shared stories of women politicians and candidates suffering different types of violent acts, including limited opportunities to speak in assemblies or public demonstrations, destruction of their campaign materials, violent messages written on their posters, and physical violence. One young woman involved in politics mentioned that she was “the victim of an attack directed at her and a group of women politicians after a campaign event” when the car in which they were traveling was forced into a dangerous traffic accident; luckily, they escaped unharmed.

As a form of psychological violence, women in elected office are not called upon to speak in sessions and debates and are sometimes involuntarily removed from the payroll.<sup>61</sup> The undermining of their skills and knowledge by men political leaders can affect women leaders psychologically, engendering feelings of incompetence or unworthiness for their positions and discouraging them from engaging in politics as leaders.

In addition, women politicians also face violence online. Much of the violence that women leaders face is in the form of technology-facilitated gender-based violence,<sup>62</sup> meant to delegitimize, harass, or insult them. Interviewees noted that nowadays, digital violence is more common than physical violence. Social networks are a breeding ground for patronizing messages and harassment of women as political candidates and elected leaders, both subtly and overtly.

The rise of online violence against women in politics is tied to how the media portrays women political leaders. The media typically scrutinizes women politicians and holds them to higher standards than their men counterparts.<sup>63</sup> While the media might focus on men leaders' policies or political positions, the media often focuses on women leaders' appearance, clothing, or

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<sup>59</sup> This commission aims to promote actions in favor of women's rights.

<sup>60</sup> The interviewee did not give many details about the incident to maintain their anonymity and confidentiality.

<sup>61</sup> According to interviews with women politicians.

<sup>62</sup> The U.S. Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-Based Violence Globally defines technology-facilitated gender-based violence as: “a threat or act of violence committed, assisted, aggravated, and amplified in part or fully by using information and communication technologies or digital media that is disproportionately targeted at women, girls, and gender non-conforming individuals. It is a continuum of multiple, recurring, and interrelated forms of gender-based violence that takes place both online and offline.” <https://www.state.gov/reports/united-states-strategy-to-prevent-and-respond-to-gender-based-violence-globally-2022/>.

<sup>63</sup> According to the FGD of men in the media and a WPPL expert.

personal lives.<sup>64</sup> For news stories, women politicians are usually consulted on issues related to gender, children, family, and care work. Conversely, their men counterparts are asked for their opinions on more wide-ranging issues such as political reforms, the national budget, trade issues, and diplomacy, among others. Furthermore, according to the focus group of journalists, the media treat men and women differently during interviews as well. There are several reasons this gender difference in how and how much women leaders are covered is likely present. One is that many leading media outlets are owned by businessmen or men leaders who use these outlets to promote certain political beliefs.<sup>65</sup> In addition, these men are motivated by economics, and propagating or boosting rumors about women's personal lives might draw more readers to articles, rather than providing serious news coverage or more nuanced coverage about women's leadership. Another issue could be the lack of knowledge or understanding among journalists and editors about the harm that can be done by perpetuating harmful gender stereotypes and about how to fairly and appropriately cover women leaders in the media.

Because many people do not take these allegations of violence seriously, women who experience violence may fear that reporting will tarnish the reputation of the party or end their political careers.<sup>66</sup> Sometimes women may find it easier to publicly denounce a perpetrator through the media (rather than pursue formal justice processes) if the perpetrator is a member of another political party, although they often will not speak to the media if the perpetrator is from the same party, for fear of retribution from the party.<sup>67</sup> Some interviewees suggested that cases of political violence should be investigated internally by parties rather than through formal court processes. For example, party leaders sometimes consider this violence as a "crime against honor" and, because of the lack of sanctions for political violence, the most that the political party demands from the perpetrator, if anything, is a public apology.

## **SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS**

Socio-cultural factors embody assumptions about appropriate norms and practices, shaping social expectations as well as personal attitudes and behaviors. In the case of WPPL, these factors reinforce an association between political power and men and masculinity, making it difficult for women to be seen and accepted as legitimate political actors. One of the main socio-cultural barriers for women's political participation in Honduras is its patriarchal culture that undermines and restricts women's ability to meaningfully and equally participate in political life. Cultural attitudes toward gender equality in Honduras are complex and varied. While there is general recognition of the importance of gender equality and women's rights in the country, there are also deeply rooted social and cultural norms that are a product of the history and traditions of the country which perpetuate gender inequality and discrimination.<sup>68</sup> Because of restrictive gender roles, women's lives are mostly limited to domestic and caregiving work, including

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<sup>64</sup> According to a KII with a WPPL expert.

<sup>65</sup> Honduras, "Reporters Without Borders," <https://rsf.org/en/country/honduras>.

<sup>66</sup> According to interviews with women in politics and WPPL experts.

<sup>67</sup> According to an interview with a woman politician and an FGD with local women politicians.

<sup>68</sup> According to FGDs with women in civil society, men in politics, women in politics, and women leader politicians.

household shopping, cleaning, cooking, carrying water, collecting firewood, and caring for children, older people, and sick people, among others. These domestic duties are likely more restrictive on women who are poorer or are in more rural areas compared with women from urban areas or of higher socio-economic status. Interviewees expressed the domestic burden leaves little room for paid work, and even less room for political participation.<sup>69</sup> Data from the UN shows that women and girls aged 15 and older spend 17.3 percent of their time on unpaid care and domestic work, compared to 4.3 percent spent by men, a significant gender gap.<sup>70</sup>

Additionally, religious beliefs play an important role in shaping attitudes toward gender equality. As noted in the background section, evangelism and Catholicism, the majority religions in Honduras, wield a great deal of influence over socio-cultural norms, and the way these teachings are interpreted in Honduras emphasizes the importance of men's leadership and discourages women from pursuing certain roles or careers.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, Honduras has some of the most severe restrictions on sexual and reproductive rights in the region, in part due to religion's influence on the country, demonstrating how influential the church is not only on the socio-cultural norms but also on the legal and institutional framework. For example, although Article 60 of the Constitution of Honduras prohibits discrimination based on sex, race, and class, among other traits, Honduras is still a dangerous country for the LGBTQI+ community due to stigma related to gender identity and sexual orientation, much of which stems from how religious texts are interpreted and shared.<sup>72</sup> The religious and cultural stigmas also put defenders of these rights at elevated risk of violence.

In addition, some organizations in the country actively work to repress women's rights by exploiting harmful socio-cultural norms about women's role and status. For example, religious, conservative organizations (both Catholic and Evangelical), and opponents of reproductive rights work against the larger women's rights agenda. WPPL experts stated that these organizations are quite effective, as they tend to have more resources, education, and media capabilities than women's groups. While these organizations do not explicitly preach opposition to women's political participation, their emphasis on women's primary role as wives and mothers, can reinforce gender norms that discourage women from active political participation or other pursuits outside of domestic and home life. Though these organizations are not explicit about their opposition to women's participation in public life, their rhetoric and positions on related issues affect cultural norms and can make it more challenging for women to participate in politics.

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<sup>69</sup> KIs with women politicians, a youth political leader, and WPPL experts.

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<https://data.unwomen.org/country/honduras#:~:text=Also%2C%20women%20and%20girls%20aged,to%204.3%25%20spent%20by%20men.>

<sup>71</sup> U.S. Embassy Tegucigalpa, "Honduras 2016 Informe Internacional sobre la Libertad Religiosa."

<sup>72</sup> "We do not demand new or special rights. Only that those that are already recognized be fulfilled," PBI Honduras, n.d.

<https://pbi-honduras.org/es/news/2019-12/no-exigimos-derechos-nuevos-ni-especiales-only-that-those-that-are-already-recognized-be-fulfilled.>

As with women’s political participation, traditional patriarchal values and related religious teachings in Honduras act as a barrier to women serving in political leadership positions.<sup>73</sup> As previously mentioned, women interviewees expressed feeling disadvantaged in comparison to their men colleagues, largely due to the sexist culture of the country that says that women should stay in the home and out of public life.<sup>74</sup> If women want to get involved in politics as leaders, they often have to triple their workload, adding politics to their domestic and care work responsibilities and other employment. For those women who continue to pursue their political ambitions, the traditional gender roles prescribed to them in their personal lives is also applied in their political lives; women are perceived as being best suited to organizational tasks such as scheduling meetings, arrange and organize files, serve refreshments, and take notes, while men are perceived as providers and leaders who make decisions and are looked to in times of crisis.

Furthermore, women who engage in political leadership may be stigmatized for having qualities traditionally associated with men in a patriarchal culture. Interviews with WPPL experts indicated that women are expected to be quiet, obedient, self-sacrificing, and care for the home and children. Conversely, there is a general perception that women who participate in politics are strong and assertive, the opposite of how patriarchal gender roles dictate women to act.<sup>75</sup> Women who act in opposition to patriarchal gender roles are often punished (with violence, negative media coverage, and with the other barriers described as part of this report), so women might not be willing to accept this type of punishment or pushback in order to participate in politics. The fact that there are very few women who occupy relevant leadership positions does not help with the negative perception.<sup>76</sup> Political parties often see women politicians as a means to fill a quota, rather than seeing them as serious leaders and investing in them, training them, and promoting their political leadership. One WPPL expert explained that “sometimes [women] are elected or chosen as candidates just because they are women, and [parties] have to fill the spot [with a woman].” Therefore, sometimes women who might be unprepared or uninterested in the role are chosen to fill spots on party lists. Because these women might not have the capacity, confidence, or interest to properly do the jobs to which they are elected, others may see this and make generalizations about women’s ability to participate in politics. These generalizations can become harmful stereotypes and excuses for people who do not want to elect women to public office because of sexist cultural views.

## INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

The third component of the political ecosystem focuses on decisions made at the individual level by women, which block or support women’s access and voice as a group in political spaces. Informed by socio-cultural norms and political institutions, these individual decisions fundamentally shape who participates and has a voice in politics, and thus dictate the overall levels of WPPL. Participating in politics is a time-intensive endeavor, so women’s participation in

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<sup>73</sup> According to experts in WPPL.

<sup>74</sup> According to the interviews, especially the ones with WPPL experts.

<sup>75</sup> According to the interviews with WPPL experts.

<sup>76</sup> According to interviews with women in politics and FGDs with women in civil society.

politics often depends on how much time they have available to dedicate to their participation. Because socio-cultural norms dictate that women be responsible for the home, women who also work outside the household have a double working day and even less time to participate in politics.<sup>77</sup> For example, women may not have the time or resources to dedicate to needed training to prepare themselves to run for office, which then deters them from running at all. Relatedly, the digital gender gap and lack of knowledge about how to properly use social media platforms were also cited as important factors that prevent women from entering political spaces, as technology and social networks are often important resources for campaigns.

## **ACCESS TO FUNDING**

Having access to inadequate funding is also a barrier to women's political participation. Men tend to have more opportunities and more access to and control over resources they can use to participate in politics and to build their own capacity to participate. According to interviews, especially with WPPL experts, these conditions make it difficult for women to pursue political careers.<sup>78</sup> Women's lack of financing is also a barrier for them to gain access to media. According to a communications expert interviewed, a politician's sphere of power is measured by the access they have to the media and their capacity to influence news reporting and opinions.<sup>79</sup> Those who can access the media more easily—i.e., appearing or making statements in the media—are those who have the economic ability to pay for it; these are generally men.

## **LACK OF CAPACITY AND CONFIDENCE**

Women often lack the knowledge, skills, and/or confidence needed to enter the political arena, due to harmful gender stereotypes, and fewer opportunities to gain experience outside the home. Another reason for this is that there is a lack of adequate training for women to provide them with the necessary skills for campaigning or for drafting legislation once they are elected, as stated by the interviewees from urban areas as well as the elected women in local positions. These women noted that they do not feel prepared for their tasks as political leaders since they are not aware of the political dynamics within institutions and thus have trouble navigating how to effectively legislate and develop policies. The only advice they receive from their political parties is how to vote on different pieces of legislation.<sup>80</sup> Although training is provided to all members of Congress, it is uncommon for these trainings to have a gender-sensitive approach, i.e. training likely did not take into account the different needs or perspectives of women and men members of Congress and did not meaningfully address issues related to gender inequality.<sup>81</sup> When there are opportunities for congresspeople to attend workshops to strengthen their skills, political parties usually select men to attend, based on criteria such as years of experience; this

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<sup>77</sup> According to interviews with WPPL experts.

<sup>78</sup> According to interviews, especially with WPPL experts.

<sup>79</sup> According to an interview with a communications expert and the interviews with congresswomen.

<sup>80</sup> According to interviews, especially with WPPL experts.

<sup>81</sup> Interviews with congresswomen.

occurs even if a woman has a higher-ranking position (but less seniority).<sup>82</sup> When women leaders in politics are offered training, it is usually from international donors or organizations.

## **FAMILY SUPPORT**

Family history and connections also play a role in women's ability to access political leadership, which is a major barrier for many aspiring women political leaders. According to several interviewees and focus group participants, meritocracy does not apply to women in Honduras, especially in politics. Women who come from families with a historical involvement in politics are more likely to have access to a political career, as they already have a political and cultural background, networks, and resources.<sup>83</sup> These women are allowed easier entry into the political system, although their familial relationships do not make them immune to criticism as politicians from the general public and other politicians, as evidenced by President Castro.<sup>84</sup>

## **VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS**

Political violence, as described throughout this report, acts as an additional barrier to women's participation. Women experience political violence in different ways than men do and face different challenges when seeking justice or support as survivors due to ingrained beliefs about women's and men's role in society and persistent sexism and machismo that continues to dictate attitudes and behaviors. The general perception that the political environment is violent, especially towards women, acts as a deterrent for some women who want to run as candidates or participate in other ways. Interviewees and respondents in the focus group of young women in politics reported verbal attacks, especially online. Interviewees widely reported that perpetrators are either anonymous when the attack is online, or from the opposition party when the abuse and harassment are in-person. Interviewees also noted that because of compounding discrimination that women from ethnic minorities face, Indigenous and Garífuna women tend to be targeted at higher rates. While the women interviewed did not indicate that they chose to leave their political work due to this kind of violence, all the women politicians interviewed emphasized that it was necessary to have the character that allows them to persevere, because elected or appointed women are not able to assume their positions without fear or threats of violence.<sup>85</sup>

Not all women in public experience violence at the same rates or in the same way. Women who work on the rights of the LGBTQI+ community and women who are reproductive rights activists are the most likely to be targeted.<sup>86</sup> This environment of violence against women who work on these issues likely deters other women from joining these organizations or supporting these causes. According to the same interviewees and focus group participants, the participation and leadership of women within a CSO depends on women's personal ability or will to endure the

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<sup>82</sup> According to women from civil society and interviews with experts at international organizations.

<sup>83</sup> According to interviews with a WPPL expert and the FGD with young women in politics.

<sup>84</sup> Mentioned in the FGD with young women in politics.

<sup>85</sup> According to interviews with women and men politicians.

<sup>86</sup> According to interviews with WPPL experts and FGDs with civil society.

difficulties of being in such public-facing roles on topics that are deemed controversial by society.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> According to interviews with WPPL experts and FGDs with civil society.



## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

### WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP

#### SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Socio-cultural barriers to women's political participation and leadership are related to restrictive gender norms, where prevailing misogynistic attitudes and prejudices about women's role in society impede their ability to exercise their civil rights. Because of these cultural attitudes, it remains a challenge for women to be successful outside of the domestic sphere and become more active in the public space. At the root of the individual and institutional challenges are the cultural views and social norms prescribed by a patriarchal and misogynist culture. To address this culture, implementing programming that addresses gender equality more holistically will pay dividends in both improving women's empowerment generally while also changing harmful attitudes that impede women's political participation and leadership. In particular, targeting men in relevant institutions and who are family members of women active in politics (or who would like to be active) can help remove some of those socio-cultural barriers.

- To shift harmful cultural views, international donors and relevant national stakeholders should **focus on working with men to educate them** on the benefits of more diverse participation as well as the influence and impact of misogyny and political violence on gender equality and women's political rights, giving them the **appropriate tools to become allies for gender equality**. It is also critical that men understand the role power and privilege play in the way they live their lives compared with women and how that power and privilege can manifest in ways that oppress women. Men should understand that sharing power can bring a host of benefits that advantage both women and men. Gender equality is not meant to give women power over men (as opposed to now, where men have power over women) but is meant to create a more inclusive society that benefits everyone. Many men in institutions such as Congress, political parties, and the *CNE* would benefit from this type of training, and given the influence that religion has on gendered cultural views, partnering with men religious leaders to promote gender equality and women's participation would be particularly effective.

Working with men family members of women in public roles is also important, as it is essential for these women to have the familial support they need to succeed in politics. Training that targets men stakeholders should be accompanied by capacity building for women; for example, working with men political party leaders on this topic could break down socio-cultural and institutional barriers, while training for women can help eliminate individual barriers. It is critical that training is rooted in the local norms and context, so that participants are open to learning about these issues and cannot disengage with the content with the excuse that gender equality is not sensitive to their culture. NDI and IFES both have such training programs and in particular, NDI's programming guidance around this issue provides detailed information on how to design and implement these

programs in a way that takes into account lessons learned on engaging men for gender equality and on understanding masculinities.<sup>88</sup>

- Actors should consider **journalist training** for media professionals on **how to cover women in politics in a gender-sensitive way**. Changing how women leaders are portrayed in the media can help to undo restrictive gender stereotypes that impede women’s ability to participate in politics. Media outlets should commit to designing and implementing codes of ethics or protocols on how media should portray women as leaders in politics. These protocols should contain a series of norms, ethics, principles, and values to guide the behavior of journalists, content creators, influencers, etc., and ensure they demonstrate respect when talking about women in politics.

## INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

While current laws and regulations exist at the national and institutional level to guarantee women’s participation in political life, these frameworks are often not implemented in a meaningful way. Rather than providing pathways to participation, leaders of institutions, who are often men, consolidate power and do not provide opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership. It is essential that institutions such as political parties, Congress, and the *CNE* address existing barriers to women’s equal and meaningful political participation and leadership. In particular, political parties seem to be one of the main institutions with the real power to increase women’s participation, but the relevant knowledge on how to do this and what this means and, most importantly, the political will to implement these changes within parties are critical. International donors should focus on political parties to reduce many of these institutional barriers, but there are many other institutions that could also benefit from this type of support, as outlined below.

- The national government of Honduras and *CNE* should carry out a formal review and revision of the national electoral laws to assess and address gaps or loopholes that keep existing laws from achieving what they are meant to achieve in regard to increasing women’s participation. Those legal reforms could include the following:
  - The **gender quota should be modified by the National Congress to also be applied to party candidate lists for the general elections**. Specifically, Article 74 must remove the language in the third bullet in the final clause that says “*cuando los partidos políticos no hayan celebrado un proceso de elecciones primarias.*” The gender quota law must be implemented and enforced for the primary *and* general elections, *regardless of whether parties hold a primary or not*. The law should specify that if not enough women win the party primaries to fulfill the gender quota in the general election, the party should take the woman with the next highest vote total to fill the party list until the party has enough women on the list to fill the quota for the general elections.

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<sup>88</sup> <https://ndi.org/men-power-and-politics>; <https://www.ifes.org/programs-initiatives/engaging-male-allies-gender-equality>.

- The electoral law should be amended to include a provision that requires **any vacated seat to be either filled with someone of the same gender, or someone from the underrepresented gender**. For example, if a seat held by a woman was vacated, it would have to be replaced by a woman. If a seat held by a man was vacated, it could be replaced by either a man or a woman, thus allowing women's representation to increase while also protecting the seats women already hold.
- While the law dictates that candidates for mayor and vice mayor must be of different genders, disproportionately men are selected as candidates for the mayor position while women are relegated to the vice mayor position. To increase women's leadership as mayors, a **legal reform could be introduced specifying that (1) candidates for those seats need to be of different genders, and (2) the mayoral candidate must alternate gender every election**. Thus, if a man candidate was in the mayoral position for the previous elections, the next election must have a woman candidate for that seat.
- The *CNE* should define and implement sanctions on political parties for not appointing women and refusing/failing to fulfill the gender quotas in candidate lists. While fines can be effective, many parties have enough resources that allow them to pay the fines and break the law, and thus, rejecting the party list would be the most effective sanction in this case.
- Currently, Article 163 of the electoral law stipulates that each political party represented in Congress has the right to receive public financing for the promotion of women's leadership equal to 15 percent of the total public funding that each party received in the previous general elections. Rather than using this funding to support the candidacy, participation, and leadership of women, parties use it for expenses such as Mother's Day baskets, piñatas for Children's Day, etc. The *CNE* should implement more rigorous measures to monitor this law and impose **sanctions on political parties who do not genuinely use the funding for effective programming to support women's political participation**. Funds could be used to implement other recommendations (detailed below) regarding additional training and capacity building to women party members, candidates and elected officials and to funding the women's wing, as described further below.
- According to the electoral law, political parties are required to develop internal policies on gender and equal opportunity, which are subject to *CNE* approval. Although this is a requirement, and there is a penalty for non-compliance, the assessment team did not find evidence of this policy within the parties they interviewed. It is important to both build the capacity of the *CNE* to monitor and impose sanctions on parties who do not have this policy and to build the capacity of political party members and leaders to develop and implement this policy so that the policy actually results in the intended outcome of the law, to promote gender equality within political parties. While a policy alone won't guarantee women's equal participation in parties, it provides a formal rule that can be used as an advocacy tool by women party members to advocate for the party support that they need. While the policy itself is not an end (it is necessary to have political will from party leaders and the resources to implement the action items in the policy), it can

provide measurable goals, targets, and outcomes that would allow both the parties and the CNE to monitor whether the policy is being carried out in good faith.

- Advocacy efforts by women’s civil society groups and activists aimed at passing the Law Against Political Violence need to be strengthened; the law is currently under discussion in Congress so this is a critical time for coordinated effective advocacy efforts. This law covers physical and psychological violence, sexual harassment, defamation, and online harassment that damages the public image of women in politics. In addition, advocacy efforts should push for the law to be expanded to cover incidents of political violence against supporters of politicians and parties, aspiring politicians and candidates, elected public officials, and human rights defenders. Congresswomen should also work together to fight for the passage of this measure, either through a formal women’s caucus or through an informal network that will allow them to coordinate efforts, share effective strategies to persuade other Congressmembers and their party leaders to support this law, and encourage each other through the challenges that advocating for this law may bring.
- While some political parties have women’s wings, these bodies often do not have any resources or decision-making power to implement their goals. Parties should **dedicate funding to its women’s wing** – parties already receive public funding specifically meant for women’s participation, so there is state funding that can help them implement this recommendation – and the **head of the women’s wing should be part of the party’s executive committee**. International donors should consider providing **capacity building support** to women’s wings of parties.
- Political parties should develop internal controls – such as a code of conduct, requirements, sanctions, and obligatory capacity building for political leaders, actors, candidates, and activists within political parties – related to the prevention of violence against women in politics. Political parties should also **establish disciplinary measures and training to discourage political leaders and actors from using language in speeches that could incite hatred and violence** within their institutions or towards other actors in the political scene. These disciplinary measures should also apply to speech that is sexist, homophobic, racist, or otherwise discriminatory in nature.
- Congress and political parties should **develop policies and protocols that are sensitive to the needs and experiences women in Honduras have**, including those dictated by their gender roles, to govern their internal practices. These could include: providing childcare, providing space for women to breastfeed, scheduling meetings at times suitable for women with family obligations, and establishing central meeting places for party members that are easier for women to access, among others. Because of the individual, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers discussed throughout this report, women have unique needs and are required to consider their prescribed gender roles, their safety, and the needs of their children and families in different ways than men do. The above reforms would help mitigate some of the barriers women face because of how society views and treats women.

They should also develop **sexual harassment policies** that include actual mechanisms for **enforcement and consequences** for perpetrators. For Congress, the Inter-parliamentary Union developed guidelines for the elimination of sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliament that provides detailed information on how parliamentarians can mobilize for action to advocate for changes, develop a policy regarding this issue, and then implement this policy.<sup>89</sup> This guide can be used to work in partnership with Congresswomen and their allies to develop and implement this type of policy. For political parties, NDI and the United Nations Development Program developed a guide (available in English and Spanish) on how political parties can be more welcoming environments for women’s participation, power, and leadership.<sup>90</sup> While the guide is more than 10 years old, it still contains fundamental guidance on how parties can create diverse internal leadership structures, support women’s campaigns, and support the party’s elected officials to promote gender-sensitive governance.

- Electoral institutions should mainstream gender considerations into their internal operations and external programming. This should include: establishing a coordination committee amongst electoral stakeholders to coordinate on gender-related initiatives (such as leadership training for women, advocacy campaigns, and public outreach); implement capacity-building programs for women staff members in order to create a pathway for their promotion and leadership within the institution. Electoral institutions should provide training for all staff related to gender-sensitive electoral processes and how they can help promote women’s empowerment in elections through their roles in their institutions. International donors should consider capacity building for the *CNE* to support it in achieving this objective. To support these efforts, UN Women and UNDP developed a guidebook (available in English and Spanish) on how electoral management bodies can effectively promote women’s political participation and leadership, both in their internal structures and external work.<sup>91</sup> This guide includes additional measures and initiatives that can support election commissions to be more gender-equal institutions.
- While the law requires the *CNE* to have a gender unit, that unit is understaffed, unfunded and currently not operational. The *CNE* must invest resources into standing up this unit and creating institutional documents such as strategic and/or operational plans for this unit to help it achieve its aims. Members of this unit must be integrated into all *CNE*’s work to make sure the *CNE*’s policies and programming are gender-sensitive and equally

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<sup>89</sup> Inter-parliamentary Union, “Guidelines for the Elimination of Sexism, Harassment and Violence Against Women in Parliament,” 2019, <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reference/2019-11/guidelines-elimination-sexism-harassment-and-violence-against-women-in-parliament>.

<sup>90</sup> Ballington, Julie, “Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties,” UNDP and NDI, 2011, [https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Empowering-Women-PolitParties-ENG\\_0.pdf](https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Empowering-Women-PolitParties-ENG_0.pdf).

<sup>91</sup> Ballington, Julie et al., “Inclusive Electoral Processes: A Guide for Electoral Management Bodies on Promoting Gender Equality and Women’s Participation,” UNDP and UN Women, 2015, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2015/7/inclusive-electoral-processes>.

benefit women and men. Like the previous recommendation, international donors should consider supporting the *CNE* to achieve this.

- **Women-led and women’s rights CSOs** have been major players in important reforms and movements that have progressed gender equality goals in Honduras. International donors should continue to **adopt a localization strategy** and invest funding in supporting these organizations in furthering their goals, and in particular, should seek to support organizations that may not be based in the capital or that represent women from other marginalized groups, like Indigenous women, Garifuna women, or LGBTQI+ women. Part of this support could also include organizational capacity building, particularly supporting women’s organizations to adopt more an **intersectional lens in their internal practices and external programming** to make sure they are **considering the barriers and opportunities for different groups of women**.
- Similar to how addressing gender equality as a whole will help break down barriers that impede women’s access to politics, **combating gender-based violence** as a whole will have a positive effect in reducing instances of violence against women in politics. Initiatives should focus on **eliminating impunity for perpetrators and providing support for survivors**. Though addressing gender-based violence as a whole is critical, specific **measures that reduce violence against women in politics** are also essential. NDI developed reports in 2017 and 2018 on violence against women in political parties in Honduras, which has recommendations that are still important and relevant today (available in Spanish);<sup>92</sup> the 2021 CEPPS gender assessment also includes recommendations to address this issue.<sup>93</sup> In addition, it is important to support monitoring efforts (which may already exist) to understand the nuances of both offline and online violence against women in politics in order to best design and implement programming to address it. Some important information to collect includes: what type of violence (physical, sexual, psycho-social, economic), who the perpetrators are, whether the survivor was interested in and/or able to pursue a legal case, and whether the perpetrators were punished.

## INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

Women in positions of political leadership or those attempting to enter politics are often deterred by difficulties balancing family and political life, a lack of relevant knowledge or skills, threats of violence, and a lack of familial support. These individual factors are often the simplest to address – through education and training programs – but any support to break down individual

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<sup>92</sup> Torres Garcia, Isabel, “Violencia contra las mujeres en la política,” 2017, NDI, <https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Investigacio%CC%81n%20violencia%20poli%CC%81tica-ISBN.pdf>; Sanchez Paz, Jessica Mariela, “Participacion y Violencia Politica Hacia las Mujeres: Analisis 2017-2018,” 2018, NDI and Observatorio para el Monitoreo de la Paridad y la Violencia Politica Hacia las Mujeres en Honduras, [https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Informe8.5x11\\_6abril.pdf](https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Informe8.5x11_6abril.pdf).

<sup>93</sup> [https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/InvestigacionNDI%20VPCMHonduras\\_ENGLISH\\_PDF.pdf](https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/InvestigacionNDI%20VPCMHonduras_ENGLISH_PDF.pdf).

barriers must come with accompanying efforts to eliminate institutional and socio-cultural barriers as well to address the entire WPPL ecosystem.

- Training programs are needed for locally elected women leaders – mayors, vice mayors, and women councilors – to support them in effectively fulfilling their roles. Training topics should include: public speaking and external communication, negotiation, and the roles and responsibilities of their elected positions.
- The Secretary of Education should create and include gender-sensitive civic education programs in government schools both to ensure the political, civic, and leadership training of women from school age and to demonstrate to young boys that girls’ and women’s participation in public life is normal and important.<sup>94</sup>
- Youth committees of national political parties should create advocacy campaigns aimed at motivating women—in particular, young women and girls—to participate in politics and raise their awareness of the benefits of women’s political participation.
- Electoral institutions, such as CNE, need to dedicate more attention and resources to their gender and inclusion units, including developing leadership and capacity-building programs for civil society and women in both rural and urban contexts. These programs would provide training and mentorship on public policy topics, local public policy design, communications and media orientations, and fundraising training, among other skill-building services. Participants in the women in civil society focus group identified these as key needs for advancing women’s leadership.
- Women running for office need targeted training on how to campaign, including on voter contact; fundraising; and social media and online campaigning skills.

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<sup>94</sup> USAID key informants mentioned the importance of these schools and the possibility of creating such programs.

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## POLITICIAN SURVEY

*Table 1: Politicians Surveyed*

POLITICAL PARTY	GENDER	NO. OF SURVEYS
LIBRE	Women	1
	Men	2
Partido Liberal	Women	2
	Men	3
Partido Nacional	Women	3
	Men	3
Partido Salvador de Honduras	Women	1
	Men	3
PINU	Women	0
	Men	1

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

*Table 2: Key Informants Interviewed*

STAKEHOLDER GROUP	GENDER	CHARACTERISTIC 1	CHARACTERISTIC 2	NO. OF KIIS
Donor	F	International	Multidisciplinary	6
Donor	M	International	Multidisciplinary	2
Donor	M	International	Multidisciplinary	6
Donor	F	Tegucigalpa	Electoral Process	1
Politician- Elected	F	Tegucigalpa	Politician	4
Politician- Elected	F	La Ceiba	Politician	1
Politician- Elected	M	Tegucigalpa	Politician	7
Politician- Elected	M	La Ceiba	Politician	2
Civil Society	F	Tegucigalpa	Journalist	1
Civil Society	F	Tegucigalpa	Academy	1
Civil Society	F	La Ceiba	CSO	1
Civil Society	F	Tegucigalpa	CSO	6
Civil Society	M	Tegucigalpa	Academy	1
Civil Society	M	La Ceiba	CSO	1
Political Leader	M	Tegucigalpa	Politician	2
Political Leader	F	La Ceiba	Politician	1
Electoral officers	M	Tegucigalpa	Politician	3
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>40</b>



## FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

*Table 3: Focus Group Discussions*

NO.	GROUP DESCRIPTION	LOCATION	TOTAL PARTICIPANTS
1	Women in Civil Society	Tegucigalpa	10
2	Men Political Leaders, currently in Congress	Tegucigalpa	3
3	Locally Elected Women	Tocoa	12
4	Men in media	Tegucigalpa	7
5	Locally Elected Women	La Ceiba	8
6	Young Women in Civil Society	Tegucigalpa	5
7	Young Women from Political Parties	Tegucigalpa	5
8	Women in Politics	Tegucigalpa	Did not happen

## ANNEX B. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

### POLITICIAN SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

#### Encuesta para Políticos Hombres

##### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta encuesta busca recolectar las observaciones de los políticos (hombres) sobre la participación y el liderazgo político de las mujeres en Honduras. Esta encuesta no toma más de 30 minutos en ser completada.

##### ANTECEDENTES

1. ¿Cuál es su posición política actual?
2. ¿Cuál es su partido político?
3. ¿Cuál es su edad?
4. ¿Pertenece a algún pueblo originario? si la respuesta es sí ¿cuál?

##### EXPERIENCIA POLÍTICA

1. ¿Cuántos años lleva activo en política?
2. ¿Se ha presentado alguna vez como candidato a unas elecciones?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿a qué cargos de elección popular se ha presentado?*

3. ¿Ha ocupado alguna vez un cargo directivo formal en política?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué cargos directivos ha ocupado?*

4. ¿Cuál fue su motivación para dedicarse a la política?
5. ¿Proporciona su partido algún tipo de apoyo financiero a sus candidatos?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuál es el tipo de apoyo?*

*¿Se distribuye este apoyo uniformemente entre los candidatos?*

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son los factores determinantes del apoyo del partido a determinados candidatos?*

6. ¿Ayuda su partido a los candidatos en sus campañas de alguna otra forma?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de apoyo ofrece el partido? ¿Se distribuye este apoyo uniformemente entre los candidatos?*

*En caso negativo, ¿qué factores determinan el apoyo del partido a determinados candidatos?*

## OPORTUNIDADES DE LIDERAZGO PARA LAS MUJERES

1. En general, hay menos mujeres que hombres en cargos políticos electos. En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las principales razones de este fenómeno?
2. ¿Dispone su partido de medidas para reclutar a mujeres como candidatas?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuáles son esas medidas?  
¿Han dado lugar estas medidas a un aumento del número de mujeres que se presentan como candidatas?*

3. ¿Apoya usted estas medidas para aumentar el número de mujeres en cargos electos?
4. ¿Tienen las mujeres las mismas oportunidades que los hombres para ocupar cargos de liderazgo político, por ejemplo, como líderes de partido, presidentas de comisiones parlamentarias o ministras?

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son, en su opinión, las principales razones para que las oportunidades sean diferentes?*

5. Cuando se nombra a una mujer para un puesto de liderazgo, ¿de qué tipo de asuntos se responsabiliza?
6. ¿Existe un ala femenina u organización de mujeres dentro de su partido político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuál es la función principal de este grupo?  
¿Puede el ala femenina contribuir a la plataforma del partido? ¿Puede proponer candidatas?*

7. ¿Están representadas las mujeres en el comité ejecutivo del partido?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de cargos ocupan?*

## VIOLENCIA CONTRA LAS MUJERES EN POLÍTICA

1. Se enfrentan las mujeres votantes a violencia, intimidación o acoso cuando intentan votar?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?  
¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para votar?*

2. ¿Se enfrentan las candidatas a violencia, intimidación o acoso durante la campaña electoral?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques? ¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ser elegidas?*

3. ¿Se enfrentan las mujeres líderes a violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales autores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ejercer sus funciones políticas?*

4. ¿Son suficientes las leyes existentes para hacer frente a esta violencia, intimidación y acoso?

*¿Dispone su partido de alguna política para hacer frente a este problema?*

*En caso afirmativo, ¿se hace cumplir esta política?*

5. ¿Son necesarias otras medidas para abordar este problema?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿quiénes deberían ser responsables de detener estos actos y exigir responsabilidades a los autores?*

### **IMPACTO DE LAS MUJERES EN LA POLÍTICA**

1. ¿Tienen los hombres y las mujeres la misma voz e influencia en los debates políticos en Honduras?

2. ¿Son los hombres y las mujeres igualmente eficaces como líderes en Honduras?

## Encuesta para Mujeres Políticas

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta encuesta pretende recabar las opiniones de las mujeres políticas respecto a la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. La encuesta debe completarse en 30-45 minutos.

### ANTECEDENTES

1. ¿Cuál es su posición política actual?
2. ¿Cuál es su partido político?
3. ¿Cuál es su edad?

[Posibles preguntas demográficas adicionales, a elegir/profundizar en función del contexto: ¿Cuál es su grupo étnico? ¿Cuál es su tribu/pueblo? ¿Cuál es su religión? ¿De qué región es?]

### EXPERIENCIA POLÍTICA

1. ¿Cuántos años lleva activa en política?
2. ¿Se ha presentado alguna vez como candidata a unas elecciones?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿a qué cargos de elección popular se ha presentado?*

3. ¿Ha ocupado alguna vez un cargo directivo formal en política?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué cargos directivo ha ocupado?*

4. ¿Cuál fue su motivación para dedicarse a la política?
5. ¿Proporciona su partido algún tipo de apoyo financiero a sus candidatos?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuál es el tipo de apoyo?*

*¿Se distribuye este apoyo uniformemente entre los candidatos?*

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son los factores determinantes del apoyo del partido a determinados candidatos?*

6. ¿Ayuda su partido a los candidatos en sus campañas de alguna otra forma?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de apoyo ofrece el partido? ¿Se distribuye este apoyo uniformemente entre los candidatos?*

*En caso negativo, ¿qué factores determinan el apoyo del partido a determinados candidatos?*

### OPORTUNIDADES DE LIDERAZGO PARA LAS MUJERES

1. En general, hay menos mujeres que hombres en cargos políticos electos. En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las principales razones de este fenómeno?
2. ¿Dispone su partido de medidas para reclutar a mujeres como candidatas?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuáles son esas medidas?*

*¿Han dado lugar estas medidas a un aumento del número de mujeres que se presentan como candidatas?*

3. ¿Apoya usted estas medidas para aumentar el número de mujeres en cargos electos?
4. ¿Tienen las mujeres las mismas oportunidades que los hombres para ocupar cargos de liderazgo político, por ejemplo, como líderes de partido, presidentas de comisiones parlamentarias o ministras?

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son, en su opinión, las principales razones para que las oportunidades sean diferentes?*

5. Cuando se nombra a una mujer para un puesto de liderazgo, ¿qué tipo de asuntos quedan a su cargo?
6. ¿Existe un ala femenina u organización de mujeres dentro de su partido político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuál es la función principal de este grupo?*

*¿Puede el ala femenina contribuir a la plataforma del partido?*

*¿Puede proponer candidatas?*

7. ¿Están representadas las mujeres en el comité ejecutivo del partido?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de cargos ocupan?*

## EXPERIENCIAS PERSONALES

1. ¿Ha experimentado usted alguna vez alguno de los siguientes comportamientos al intentar participar en política?
  - a. Alguien intentó matarla
  - b. Alguien le pegó o golpeó o la agredió físicamente de alguna otra manera
  - c. Alguien le impidió salir de casa
  - d. Alguien la amenazó a usted y/o a su familia
  - e. Alguien intentó violarla
  - f. Alguien le hizo insinuaciones sexuales no deseadas
  - g. Alguien intentó destruir su propiedad
  - h. Alguien intentó destruir su medio de sustento
  - i. Alguien la acosó en Internet
  - j. Alguien hackeó o pirateó su correo electrónico o sus cuentas de redes sociales

- k. Alguien difundió "noticias falsas" de naturaleza sexual sobre usted
- l. Alguien difundió "noticias falsas" de carácter sexista sobre usted.

*En caso afirmativo, ¿quiénes fueron los principales autores de estos actos?  
¿Cómo afectó experimentar estos actos su deseo de participar en política?*

2. ¿Ha sido testigo alguna vez de cómo otras mujeres eran objeto de ataques por intentar participar en política?

- a. Alguien intentó matarla
  - b. Alguien la golpeó o la agredió físicamente de alguna otra manera
  - c. Alguien le impidió salir de casa
  - d. Alguien profirió amenazas contra ella y/o su familia
  - e. Alguien intentó violarla
  - f. Alguien le hizo proposiciones sexuales no deseadas
  - g. Alguien intentó destruir su propiedad
  - h. Alguien intentó destruir su medio de sustento
  - i. Alguien la acosó en Internet
  - j. Alguien pirateó sus cuentas de correo electrónico o de redes sociales
  - k. Alguien difundió "noticias falsas" de naturaleza sexual sobre ella
  - l. Alguien difundió "noticias falsas" de carácter sexista sobre ella.

*En caso afirmativo, ¿quiénes fueron los principales autores de estos actos?  
¿Cómo afectó la experiencia de estos actos su deseo de participar en política?*

## **VIOLENCIA CONTRA LAS MUJERES EN POLÍTICA**

1. ¿Se enfrentan las mujeres votantes a violencia, intimidación o acoso cuando intentan votar?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques? ¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para votar?*

2. ¿Se enfrentan las candidatas a violencia, intimidación o acoso durante la campaña electoral?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques? ¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ser elegidas?*

3. ¿Se enfrentan las mujeres líderes a violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques? ¿Quiénes son los principales autores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ejercer sus funciones políticas?*

4. ¿Son suficientes las leyes existentes para hacer frente a esta violencia, intimidación y acoso?

*¿Dispone su partido de alguna política para hacer frente a este problema?  
En caso afirmativo, ¿se hace cumplir esta política?*

5. ¿Son necesarias otras medidas para abordar este problema?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿quiénes deberían ser responsables de detener estos actos y exigir responsabilidades a los autores?*

## **IMPACTO DE LAS MUJERES EN LA POLÍTICA**

1. ¿Tienen los hombres y las mujeres la misma voz e influencia en los debates políticos en Honduras?
2. ¿Son los hombres y las mujeres igualmente eficaces como líderes en Honduras?



## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDES

### Guía de Entrevistas a Informantes Clave: Mujeres Políticas

#### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta entrevista forma parte de un proyecto más amplio que pretende comprender la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. Estamos especialmente interesados en conocer sus experiencias y puntos de vista sobre las barreras y oportunidades para las mujeres en la política. La entrevista debería durar 60 minutos, pero si su tiempo es más limitado, podemos priorizar algunas preguntas [ejemplo de preguntas prioritarias marcadas en negrita].

#### ANTECEDENTES

1. ¿Cuál es su cargo político actual?
2. ¿Cuál es su partido político?
3. ¿Cuántos años lleva activa en política?

#### EXPERIENCIA POLÍTICA

1. ¿Se ha presentado alguna vez como candidato a unas elecciones?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿a qué cargos políticos se ha presentado?  
¿Alguien la animó especialmente a presentarse como candidata?  
¿Alguien la desanimó de presentarse como candidata?*

2. ¿Ha ocupado alguna vez un cargo directivo en política?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué cargos de liderazgo ha ocupado?  
¿Ha tenido que hacer frente a algún reto o cuestionamiento a su liderazgo por el hecho de ser mujer?*

3. ¿Cuál fue su motivación para dedicarse a la política?

#### BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES CANDIDATAS

1. Muchos países del mundo han introducido cuotas de género para los candidatos. ¿Qué impacto han tenido las cuotas en el número de mujeres que se presentan como candidatas en Honduras?

*¿Han influido las cuotas en su propia candidatura?  
¿Apoya las cuotas como medida para promover a las mujeres en la política? ¿Qué tipo de mujeres tienden a beneficiarse de las cuotas en Honduras?*

2. ¿Proporciona su partido alguna ayuda económica a sus candidatos?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de ayuda económica ofrece el partido?*

*¿Se distribuye este apoyo uniformemente entre los candidatos?  
En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son los determinantes del apoyo de los partidos a determinados candidatos?*

3. ¿Ha tenido que recaudar fondos propios para su campaña política?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo se comparó la cuantía de estos fondos con los que recibió de su partido?*

*¿Qué tipo de actores donaron a su campaña?*

*¿Cree que, en general, es más difícil para las mujeres que para los hombres recaudar fondos para su campaña?*

4. ¿Ayuda su partido a los candidatos en sus campañas de alguna otra forma?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de apoyo ofrece el partido? ¿Este apoyo se distribuye uniformemente entre los candidatos?*

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son los factores determinantes del apoyo del partido a determinados candidatos?*

5. ¿Cómo es el entorno mediático para las candidatas?

*¿Reciben las candidatas el mismo nivel de cobertura mediática que los candidatos?*

*¿Reciben las candidatas un trato diferente al de los hombres en cuanto al contenido de la cobertura mediática?*

## **BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES LÍDERES**

1. En general, hay menos mujeres que hombres en cargos de elección popular. En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las principales razones para que esto ocurra?

2. Una vez elegidas, ¿tienen las mujeres las mismas oportunidades que los hombres de asumir cargos de liderazgo político, por ejemplo, como líderes de partido, presidentas de comisión parlamentaria o ministras?

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son, en su opinión, las principales razones para que las oportunidades sean diferentes?*

3. Cuando se nombra a mujeres para puestos de liderazgo, ¿qué tipo de asuntos quedan a cargo de las mujeres?

4. ¿Existe algún tipo de apoyo institucional para las mujeres una vez que han sido elegidas? Por ejemplo, formación, mentoría o personal.

*En caso afirmativo, ¿se diferencian en algo de las formas de apoyo institucional disponibles para los hombres?*

*¿Se prestan a través de canales formales, como el Congreso o los partidos políticos, o sólo de manera informal?*

5. ¿Existe una bancada de mujeres en el Congreso?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuál es su función principal?*

*¿Ha participado en sus actividades?*

*¿En qué medida ha contribuido a promover la igualdad de género?*

6. Según lo que ha observado, ¿se toma en serio a las mujeres como líderes políticas?

*¿Cómo se comparan sus experiencias con las de los hombres?*

*¿Es más probable que se tome en serio a algunos tipos de mujeres que a otros?*

## **VIOLENCIA CONTRA LAS MUJERES EN POLÍTICA**

1. ¿Ha experimentado alguna vez alguno de los siguientes comportamientos al intentar participar en política?

- a. Alguien intentó matarla
- b. Alguien la pegó o golpeó o la agredió físicamente de alguna otra manera
- c. Alguien le impidió salir de su casa
- d. Alguien la amenazó a usted y/o a su familia
- e. Alguien intentó violarla
- f. Alguien le hizo insinuaciones sexuales no deseadas
- g. Alguien intentó destruir su propiedad
- h. Alguien intentó destruir su medio de sustento
- i. Alguien la acosó en Internet
- j. Alguien pirateó/hackeó su correo electrónico o sus cuentas de redes sociales
- k. Alguien difundió "noticias falsas" de naturaleza sexual sobre usted
- l. Alguien difundió "noticias falsas" de carácter sexista sobre usted.

*En caso afirmativo, ¿quiénes fueron los principales autores de estos actos?*

*¿Cómo afectó haber experimentado estos actos a su deseo de participar en política?*

2. ¿Ha sido testigo alguna vez de cómo otras mujeres eran objeto de ataques por intentar participar en política?

- a. Alguien intentó matarla
- b. Alguien la pegó o golpeó o la agredió físicamente de alguna otra manera
- c. Alguien le impidió salir de su casa
- d. Alguien la amenazó a ella y/o a su familia
- e. Alguien intentó violarla
- f. Alguien le hizo insinuaciones sexuales no deseadas
- g. Alguien intentó destruir su propiedad
- h. Alguien intentó destruir su medio de sustento

- i. Alguien la acosó en Internet
- j. Alguien pirateó/hackeó su correo electrónico o sus cuentas de redes sociales
- k. Alguien difundió "noticias falsas" de naturaleza sexual sobre ella.
- l. Alguien difundió "noticias falsas" de carácter sexista sobre ella.

*En caso afirmativo, ¿quiénes fueron los principales autores de estos actos?  
¿Cómo afectó la experiencia de estos actos su deseo de participar en política?*

3. Según lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las candidatas sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso durante la campaña?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?  
¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ser elegidas?  
¿Hay algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

4. Basándose en lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las mujeres líderes sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?  
¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ejercer sus funciones políticas?  
¿Existen algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

## RECOMENDACIONES

1. ¿Qué tipo de políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para fomentar la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras? Podría tratarse de acciones del gobierno, los partidos políticos o la sociedad civil, por ejemplo.

## Guía de Entrevistas a Informantes Clave: Políticos Hombres

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta entrevista forma parte de un proyecto más amplio que pretende comprender la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. Estamos especialmente interesados en conocer sus experiencias y puntos de vista sobre las barreras y oportunidades para las mujeres en la política. La entrevista dura aproximadamente 30 minutos, pero si su tiempo es más limitado, podemos priorizar las preguntas [ejemplo de preguntas prioritarias marcadas en negrita].

### ANTECEDENTES

1. ¿Cuál es su cargo político actual?
2. ¿Cuál es su partido político?
3. ¿Cuántos años lleva activo en política?

### BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES CANDIDATAS

1. Muchos países del mundo han introducido cuotas de género para las candidatas. ¿Qué impacto han tenido las cuotas en el número de mujeres que se presentan como candidatas en Honduras?

*¿Apoya las cuotas como medida para promover a las mujeres en la política?  
¿Qué tipo de mujeres suelen beneficiarse de las cuotas en Honduras?*

2. ¿Cómo financian los candidatos sus campañas en Honduras?

*¿Proporciona su partido fondos a sus candidatos?  
¿Se distribuye este apoyo de manera uniforme entre los candidatos?  
¿Tienen los candidatos que recaudar sus propios fondos para sus campañas?  
¿Cree que, en general, es más difícil para las mujeres que para los hombres recaudar fondos para sus campañas?*

3. ¿Cómo es el entorno mediático para las candidatas?

¿Reciben las candidatas el mismo nivel de cobertura mediática que los candidatos?

¿Se trata a las candidatas de forma diferente que a los candidatos en cuanto al contenido de la cobertura mediática?

### BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES LÍDERES

1. En general, hay menos mujeres que hombres en cargos políticos electos. En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las principales razones detrás de este fenómeno?
2. Una vez elegidas, ¿tienen las mujeres las mismas oportunidades que los hombres de asumir cargos de liderazgo político, por ejemplo, como líderes de partido, presidentas de comisión parlamentaria o ministras?

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son, en su opinión, las principales razones para estas diferencias de oportunidades?*

3. Cuando se nombra a mujeres para puestos de liderazgo, ¿de qué tipo de asuntos quedan a cargo de las mujeres?

4. Según lo que ha observado, ¿se toma en serio a las mujeres como líderes políticas?

*¿Cómo se comparan sus experiencias con las de los hombres?*

*¿Es más probable que se tome en serio a algunos tipos de mujeres más que a otros?*

## **VIOLENCIA CONTRA LAS MUJERES EN POLÍTICA**

1. Basándose en lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las candidatas sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso durante la campaña?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ser elegidas?*

*¿Hay algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

2. Basándose en lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las mujeres líderes sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ejercer sus funciones políticas?*

*¿Existen algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

## **RECOMENDACIONES**

1. ¿Qué tipo de políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para fomentar la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras? Podría tratarse de acciones del gobierno, los partidos políticos o la sociedad civil, por ejemplo.

## Guía de Entrevistas a Informantes Clave: Líderes de Partidos Políticos

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta entrevista forma parte de un proyecto más amplio que pretende comprender la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. Estamos especialmente interesados en conocer sus experiencias y puntos de vista sobre las barreras y oportunidades para las mujeres en la política. La entrevista dura aproximadamente 30 minutos, pero si su tiempo es más limitado, podemos priorizar las preguntas [ejemplo de preguntas prioritarias marcadas en negrita].

### ANTECEDENTES

1. ¿Cuál es su partido político?
2. ¿Cuál es su posición actual en el partido?

### BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES AFILIADAS A UN PARTIDO

1. En general, hay menos mujeres que hombres que se afilian o unen a partidos políticos. En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las principales razones de este fenómeno?
2. ¿Tiene su partido alguna iniciativa especial para atraer a las mujeres?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿se diferencian en algo de las iniciativas para atraer a hombres?*

3. ¿Las reuniones del partido son igualmente accesibles para mujeres y hombres?

*¿En qué tipo de lugares se celebran las reuniones del partido?*

*¿A qué hora del día suelen celebrarse las reuniones del partido?*

*¿Ofrece el partido servicios de guardería para sus miembros durante las reuniones?*

4. ¿Existe un ala femenina o agrupación de mujeres en su partido político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuál es la función principal de la sección femenina?*

*¿Proporciona el partido apoyo financiero u otros recursos a la sección femenina?*

*¿Puede el ala femenina contribuir a la plataforma del partido?*

*¿Puede proponer candidatas?*

5. ¿Están representadas las mujeres en los comités directivos del partido?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de cargos ocupan?*

*¿Dispone el partido de alguna política para garantizar la participación de las mujeres en la dirección del partido?*

### BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES CANDIDATAS

1. Muchos países del mundo han introducido cuotas de género para las candidaturas. ¿Qué impacto han tenido las cuotas en el número de mujeres que se presentan como candidatas en Honduras?

*¿Apoya las cuotas como medida para promover a las mujeres en la política?  
¿Qué tipo de mujeres tienden a beneficiarse de las cuotas en Honduras?*

2. ¿Proporciona su partido algún tipo de ayuda económica a sus candidatas?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de ayuda económica da?  
¿Se distribuye este apoyo uniformemente entre los candidatas?  
En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son los factores determinantes del apoyo del partido a determinados candidatas?*

3. ¿Ayuda su partido a los candidatos en sus campañas de alguna otra forma?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de apoyo ofrece el partido?  
¿Este apoyo se distribuye uniformemente entre los candidatos?  
En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son los factores determinantes del apoyo del partido a determinados candidatos?*

## **OBSTÁCULOS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES LÍDERES**

1. En general, hay menos mujeres que hombres en cargos políticos electos. En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las principales razones de este fenómeno?
2. Una vez elegidas, ¿tienen las mujeres las mismas oportunidades que los hombres de asumir cargos de liderazgo político, por ejemplo, como líderes de partido, presidentas de comisión parlamentaria o ministras de gabinete?

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son, en su opinión, las principales razones?*

3. Cuando se nombra a mujeres para puestos directivos, ¿de qué tipo de asuntos quedan a cargo de las mujeres?
4. Según lo que ha observado, ¿se toma en serio a las mujeres como líderes políticas?

*¿Cómo se comparan sus experiencias con las de los hombres?  
¿Es más probable que se tome en serio a algunos tipos de mujeres que a otros?*

## **VIOLENCIA CONTRA LAS MUJERES EN POLÍTICA**

1. Según lo que has observado, ¿es habitual que las candidatas sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso durante la campaña?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?  
¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ser elegidas?  
¿Hay algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*



2. Basándose en lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las mujeres líderes sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ejercer sus funciones políticas*

*¿Existen algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

## **RECOMENDACIONES**

1. ¿Qué tipo de políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para fomentar la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras? Podría tratarse de acciones del gobierno, los partidos políticos o la sociedad civil, por ejemplo.

## Guía de Entrevistas a Informantes Clave: Autoridades Electorales

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta entrevista forma parte de un proyecto más amplio que pretende comprender la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. Estamos especialmente interesados en conocer sus experiencias y puntos de vista sobre las barreras y oportunidades para las mujeres en la política. La entrevista dura aproximadamente 30 minutos, pero si su tiempo es más limitado, podemos priorizar las preguntas [ejemplo de preguntas prioritarias marcadas en negrita].

### ANTECEDENTES

1. ¿Cuál es su papel en el proceso electoral?

### BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES VOTANTES

1. ¿Se inscriben las mujeres en el censo electoral en la misma proporción que los hombres?

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son algunas de las razones por las que es menos probable que las mujeres se registren como votantes?*

2. ¿Votan las mujeres en la misma proporción que los hombres?

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son algunas de las razones por las que es menos probable que las mujeres acudan a votar?*

3. ¿Son los puestos de votación igualmente accesibles para hombres y mujeres?

*¿Están los puestos de votación separados por sexos?  
¿Existen medidas para aumentar la accesibilidad de las mujeres a los puestos de votación?*

4. ¿Pueden las mujeres emitir su voto de forma libre, secreta y segura?

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son los principales obstáculos para que las mujeres ejerzan plenamente su derecho al voto?*

### BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES CANDIDATAS

1. Muchos países de todo el mundo han introducido cuotas de género para los candidatos. ¿Qué impacto han tenido las cuotas en el número de mujeres que se presentan como candidatas en Honduras?

*¿Respetan los partidos políticos el requisito de la cuota?  
¿Qué hace el organismo electoral, si es que hace algo, para garantizar el cumplimiento de las cuotas?*

*Según lo que ha observado, ¿qué tipo de mujeres tienden a beneficiarse de las cuotas en Honduras?*

2. En general, hay menos mujeres que hombres en cargos políticos electos. En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las principales razones de este fenómeno?

## **VIOLENCIA CONTRA LAS MUJERES EN POLÍTICA**

1. Según lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las mujeres votantes sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso en campaña?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estas agresiones a la capacidad de las mujeres para ser elegidas?*

*¿Hay algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

2. Basándose en lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las candidatas sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso durante la campaña?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ser elegidas?*

*¿Hay algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

3. Basándose en lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las trabajadoras electorales o mujeres jurados de votación sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para facilitar y/o observar el proceso electoral?*

4. ¿La autoridad electoral supervisa y/o responde a los incidentes de violencia de género durante las elecciones?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿puede describir con detalle esas intervenciones?*

*¿Cuál es el impacto, si lo hay, de estas intervenciones?*

## **RECOMENDACIONES**

1. ¿Qué tipo de políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para promover la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. Estas podrían incluir acciones del gobierno, los partidos políticos, el organismo de gestión electoral o la sociedad civil, por ejemplo.

## Guía de Entrevistas a Informantes Clave: Expertas en Participación Política de las mujeres, incluyendo mujeres de la sociedad civil

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta entrevista forma parte de un proyecto más amplio que pretende comprender la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. Estamos especialmente interesados en conocer sus experiencias y puntos de vista sobre las barreras y oportunidades para las mujeres en la política. La entrevista dura aproximadamente 60 minutos, pero si su tiempo es más limitado, podemos priorizar las preguntas [ejemplo de preguntas prioritarias marcadas en negrita].

### ANTECEDENTES

1. ¿De qué manera está usted involucrada en cuestiones relacionadas con la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres?
2. ¿Cuántos años lleva trabajando en este campo?

### BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES CANDIDATAS

1. Muchos países del mundo han introducido cuotas de género para los candidatos. ¿Qué impacto han tenido las cuotas en el número de mujeres que se presentan como candidatas en Honduras?

*¿Apoya las cuotas como medida para promover a las mujeres en la política?  
¿Qué tipo de mujeres suelen beneficiarse de las cuotas en Honduras?*

2. ¿Qué tipo de apoyo financiero reciben las mujeres para sus campañas?

*¿Proporcionan los partidos algún tipo de apoyo financiero a sus candidatos?  
¿Se distribuye este apoyo de forma equitativa entre mujeres y hombres?  
¿Tienen las mujeres que recaudar fondos propios para su campaña política?  
¿Cree que, en general, es más difícil para las mujeres que para los hombres recaudar fondos para sus campañas?*

3. ¿Ayudan los partidos a las candidatas en sus campañas de alguna otra forma?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de apoyo ofrece el partido?  
¿Se distribuye este apoyo por igual entre mujeres y hombres?*

4. ¿Cómo es el entorno mediático para las candidatas?

*¿Reciben las candidatas el mismo nivel de cobertura mediática que los candidatos?  
¿Reciben las candidatas un trato diferente al de los hombres en cuanto al contenido de la cobertura mediática?*

5. ¿Proporcionan las organizaciones de la sociedad civil recursos o apoyo a las candidatas?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuál es la naturaleza de las organizaciones que ofrecen apoyo?  
¿Qué tipo de recursos o apoyo proporcionan?*

### **BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: MUJERES LÍDERES**

1. En general, hay menos mujeres que hombres en cargos políticos electos. En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las principales razones de ello?
2. Una vez elegidas, ¿tienen las mujeres las mismas oportunidades que los hombres de ocupar cargos de liderazgo político, por ejemplo, como líderes de partido, presidentas de comisión parlamentaria o ministras de gabinete?

*En caso negativo, ¿cuáles son, en su opinión, las principales razones para que las oportunidades no sean iguales?*

3. Cuando se nombra a mujeres para puestos de liderazgo, ¿qué asuntos quedan a cargo de las mujeres?
4. ¿Existe algún tipo de apoyo institucional para las mujeres una vez que han sido elegidas? Por ejemplo, formación, mentoría o personal.

*En caso afirmativo, ¿se diferencian en algo de las formas de apoyo institucional disponibles para los hombres?*

*¿Se proporcionan a través de canales formales, como el Congreso o los partidos políticos, o sólo de manera informal?*

5. ¿Existe una bancada de mujeres en el parlamento?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cuál es su función principal?*

*¿Cuál ha sido su eficacia en la promoción de la igualdad de género?*

6. Según lo que ha observado, ¿se toma en serio a las mujeres como líderes políticas?

*¿Cómo se comparan sus experiencias con las de los hombres?*

*¿Es más probable que se tome en serio a algunos tipos de mujeres que a otros?*

### **BARRERAS Y OPORTUNIDADES: LAS MUJERES EN LA SOCIEDAD CIVIL**

1. En muchos países, las mujeres participan muy activamente en la sociedad civil. En su opinión, ¿esto también ocurre en Honduras?

*¿Cuáles son los principales obstáculos a la participación de las mujeres en la sociedad civil?*

*¿Participan en las organizaciones de la sociedad civil mujeres de diversos orígenes?*

2. ¿Existen organizaciones de mujeres poderosas en la sociedad civil de Honduras?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿en qué áreas se centran?*

*¿Han conseguido que se escuche la voz de las mujeres?  
¿A qué tipo de obstáculos se enfrentan para conseguir que se escuche la voz de las mujeres?*

3. ¿ Hay mujeres que dirigen organizaciones de la sociedad civil no centradas específicamente en cuestiones de género?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo de organizaciones dirigen?  
¿Han conseguido que se escuche la voz de las mujeres?*

4. ¿Existen organizaciones oficiales de mujeres vinculadas al gobierno?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿han conseguido que se escuche la voz de las mujeres?*

5. Pensando más ampliamente en las mujeres de la sociedad civil, ¿existen oportunidades para que las mujeres de la sociedad civil tengan influencia en la toma de decisiones del gobierno?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿existen canales oficiales para comunicarse con el gobierno e influir en su labor? ¿Hasta qué punto son eficaces estos canales para reflejar las voces de las mujeres de la sociedad civil?*

6. ¿Existen organizaciones de la sociedad civil que traten activamente de promover los derechos cívicos y políticos de las mujeres?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿se centran estas organizaciones principalmente en las mujeres como votantes, candidatas o líderes?  
¿Qué tipo de actividades llevan a cabo para promover los derechos cívicos y políticos de la mujer?  
¿Qué impacto, si lo hay, han tenido estas actividades sobre la participación y el liderazgo político de las mujeres en Honduras?*

7. ¿Existen organizaciones de la sociedad civil que traten activamente de reprimir los derechos cívicos y políticos de las mujeres?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿de qué tipo de organizaciones se trata?  
¿Hasta qué punto se hacen oír y son eficaces sus esfuerzos por restringir los derechos cívicos y políticos de la mujer en Honduras?*

## **VIOLENCIA CONTRA LAS MUJERES EN LA POLÍTICA**

1. Según lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las candidatas sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso durante la campaña?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?  
¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ser elegidas?*

*¿Existen algunos tipos de mujeres con más probabilidades que otras de convertirse en objetivo?*

2. Basándose en lo que ha observado, ¿es habitual que las mujeres líderes sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para ejercer sus funciones políticas?*

*¿Hay algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

3. Según lo que has observado, ¿es habitual que las mujeres de la sociedad civil -incluidas las defensoras de los derechos humanos- sufran violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para participar en la sociedad civil?*

*¿Existen algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

## **RECOMENDACIONES**

1. ¿Qué tipo de políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para fomentar la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras? Podría tratarse de acciones del gobierno, los partidos políticos o la sociedad civil, por ejemplo.

## Guía de Entrevistas a Informantes Clave: Donantes y Socios Implementadores

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta entrevista forma parte de un proyecto más amplio que pretende comprender la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. Estamos especialmente interesados en conocer sus experiencias y puntos de vista sobre las barreras y oportunidades para las mujeres en la política. La entrevista dura aproximadamente 30 minutos, pero si su tiempo es más limitado, podemos priorizar las preguntas [ejemplo de preguntas prioritarias marcadas en negrita].

### ANTECEDENTES

1. ¿De qué manera está implicada su organización en asuntos relacionados con la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras?
2. ¿Cuál es su papel dentro de la organización?

### ACTIVIDADES DE DONANTES Y SOCIOS

1. ¿Qué tipos de programas de Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres ha apoyado su organización en Honduras?

*¿Por qué eligió la organización estas áreas prioritarias concretas?*

*¿Cuál fue la eficacia de estos programas en términos de diseño e impacto?*

2. En el curso de su trabajo sobre Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres en Honduras, ¿ha trabajado alguna vez directamente con [DONANTE/SOCIO]?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿podría dar detalles sobre estas actividades?*

*¿En qué medida fue eficaz este programa en cuanto a su diseño e impacto?*

3. Si no has trabajado directamente con [DONANTE/PARTNER], ¿ha conocido o ha oído hablar alguna vez de sus actividades de Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿puede dar algunos detalles sobre estas actividades?*

*¿Cuál fue su impresión de estos programas en cuanto a su diseño e impacto?*

4. ¿Existen actividades de otros donantes o ejecutores que, en su opinión, hayan sido eficaces para promover la Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres en Honduras?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿podría proporcionar detalles sobre dichas actividades?*

*¿Cuál fue su impresión de estos programas en cuanto a su diseño e impacto?*

### ANÁLISIS DE STAKEHOLDERS

1. En Honduras, ¿quiénes son los principales actores, stakeholders o instituciones interesadas en promover Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?



*¿Qué estrategias priorizan para promover la Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?*

*¿Trabajan juntos para promover Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?*

*En caso afirmativo, ¿puede dar algunos ejemplos de actividades conjuntas?*

2. En Honduras, ¿quiénes son los principales actores, partes interesadas o instituciones que se oponen al avance de Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?

*¿Qué estrategias utilizan para oponerse al avance de Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?*

## LECCIONES APRENDIDAS Y RECOMENDACIONES

1. Basándose en su experiencia, ¿cuáles son los principales obstáculos al avance de la Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres en Honduras?

*¿Se han centrado adecuadamente los donantes/socios en estos obstáculos?*

*En su opinión, ¿qué intervenciones han sido más eficaces?*

*En su opinión, ¿qué intervenciones han sido menos eficaces?*

2. Basándose en su experiencia, ¿qué más podrían hacer [DONANTE/SOCIO] y otros donantes/socios en este ámbito?

*En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las oportunidades de actuación más prometedoras?*

3. En general, ¿qué tipo de políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para promover la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras? Podría tratarse de acciones del gobierno, los partidos políticos o la sociedad civil, por ejemplo.

## Guía de Entrevistas a Informantes Clave: Equipo USAID

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta entrevista forma parte de un proyecto más amplio que pretende comprender la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. Estamos especialmente interesados en conocer sus experiencias y puntos de vista sobre las barreras y oportunidades para las mujeres en la política. La entrevista dura aproximadamente 30 minutos, pero si su tiempo es más limitado, podemos priorizar las preguntas [ejemplo de preguntas prioritarias marcadas en negrita].

### ANTECEDENTES

1. ¿Cuál es su función en USAID?
2. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva trabajando en USAID y en otros lugares en cuestiones relacionadas con la Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?

### ACTIVIDADES DE DONANTES Y SOCIOS

1. ¿Qué tipo de programas de Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres ha apoyado USAID en Honduras?

*¿Por qué eligió USAID estas áreas prioritarias en particular?*

*¿Puede proporcionar algunos detalles sobre actividades específicas?*

*¿Hasta qué punto fueron eficaces estos programas en cuanto a su diseño e impacto?*

*¿Tiene prevista la Misión algún otro programa adicional relacionado con Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?*

2. ¿Existen actividades de otros donantes o ejecutores que, en su opinión, hayan sido eficaces para promover la Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres en Honduras?

En caso afirmativo, ¿podría facilitar algunos detalles sobre estas actividades?

¿Cuál fue su impresión de estos programas en cuanto a su diseño e impacto?

### ANÁLISIS DE STAKEHOLDERS

1. En Honduras, ¿quiénes son los principales actores, stakeholders o instituciones interesadas en promover Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?

*¿Qué estrategias priorizan para promover la Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres? ¿Trabajan juntos para promover la WPPL?*

*En caso afirmativo, ¿puede dar algunos ejemplos de actividades conjuntas?*

2. En Honduras, ¿quiénes son los principales actores, partes interesadas o instituciones que se oponen al avance de Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?

*¿Qué estrategias utilizan para oponerse al avance de Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres?*

## **LECCIONES APRENDIDAS Y RECOMENDACIONES**

1. Basándose en su experiencia, ¿cuáles son los principales obstáculos al avance de la Participación y Liderazgo Político de las Mujeres en Honduras?

*¿Se han centrado adecuadamente los donantes/socios en estos obstáculos?*

*En su opinión, ¿qué intervenciones han sido más eficaces?*

*En su opinión, ¿qué intervenciones han sido menos eficaces?*

2. Basándose en su experiencia, ¿qué más podría hacer USAID en este ámbito?

*En su opinión, ¿cuáles son las oportunidades de actuación más prometedoras?*

*¿Hay alguna asociación que considere especialmente fructífera?*

3. En general, ¿qué tipo de políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para fomentar la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras? Podría tratarse de acciones del gobierno, los partidos políticos o la sociedad civil, por ejemplo.

## FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES

### FGD: Mujeres de la Sociedad Civil

#### INTRODUCCIÓN

Muchas gracias por reunirse hoy con nosotros. Mi nombre es [NOMBRE DE LA PERSONA QUE MODERA] y éste es mi colega [NOMBRE DEL ASISTENTE], que tomará notas a lo largo de nuestra conversación.

El objetivo de este grupo de discusión es recabar opiniones sobre los obstáculos y las oportunidades para la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. La conversación durará aproximadamente 60 minutos.

Con el fin de proteger la privacidad de todos, no incluiremos sus nombres ni ninguna información identificable en ninguno de nuestros informes. También pedimos que todo lo que discutamos durante nuestra charla de grupo se quede aquí entre nosotras.

[Si todos los participantes están de acuerdo en grabar] Grabaremos esta sesión para poder redactar un informe preciso de lo que se ha dicho.

Antes de empezar, queremos compartir algunas reglas básicas:

- No hay que esperar a ser llamado para hablar, por favor, intervenga cuando tenga algo que decir.
- Hablen de uno en uno.
- Nuestro objetivo es que todos hablen la misma cantidad de tiempo.
- Di lo que crees, aunque no sea lo que todos piensan. No hay respuestas equivocadas, sólo opiniones diferentes, y queremos escucharlas todas.

#### PREGUNTAS DEL GRUPO FOCAL

1. Sin sacrificar el anonimato, vamos a dar la vuelta al círculo y compartir brevemente los papeles políticos que hemos desempeñado - por ejemplo, activista de un movimiento social, candidata a las elecciones, miembro de un partido, etc. No mencionen los nombres concretos de su organización o partido. Esto es sólo para tener una idea de las perspectivas presentes en la sala.

2. ¿En qué medida son activas las mujeres en la sociedad civil de Honduras?

*¿Participan principalmente en organizaciones de mujeres, o son mujeres activas en organizaciones y movimientos no centrados específicamente en cuestiones de género?*

*¿Lideran las mujeres alguna de las principales organizaciones de la sociedad civil?*

*¿En qué medida son representativas las organizaciones de la sociedad civil de la diversidad de mujeres de la población?*

*¿De dónde suelen obtener su financiación los grupos de mujeres?*

3. ¿Tienen las mujeres de Honduras las mismas oportunidades que los hombres de expresar sus opiniones políticas?

*¿Existen actores que traten activamente de reprimir los derechos cívicos y políticos de las mujeres?*

*¿Hasta qué punto son eficaces en la consecución de estos objetivos?*

4. ¿Existen vías para que las mujeres de la sociedad civil influyan en la toma de decisiones del gobierno?

*¿Existen canales específicos para comunicarse con los actores gubernamentales e influir en ellos? ¿Escucha el gobierno a los grupos de mujeres o básicamente los ignora?*

5. ¿Las mujeres de la sociedad civil -incluidas las defensoras de los derechos humanos- sufren violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para participar en la sociedad civil?*

*¿Son algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

6. ¿Qué políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para dar más voz a las mujeres en la sociedad civil -y en la política en general- en Honduras?

## FGD: Mujeres de Partidos Políticos

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Muchas gracias por reunirse hoy con nosotros. Mi nombre es [NOMBRE DE LA PERSONA QUE MODERA] y éste es mi colega [NOMBRE DEL ASISTENTE], que tomará notas a lo largo de nuestra conversación.

El objetivo de este grupo de discusión es recabar opiniones sobre los obstáculos y las oportunidades para la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. La conversación durará aproximadamente 60 minutos.

Con el fin de proteger la privacidad de todos, no incluiremos sus nombres ni ninguna información identificable en ninguno de nuestros informes. También pedimos que todo lo que discutamos durante nuestra charla de grupo se quede aquí entre nosotras.

[Si todos los participantes están de acuerdo en grabar] Grabaremos esta sesión para poder redactar un informe preciso de lo que se ha dicho.

Antes de empezar, queremos compartir algunas reglas básicas:

- No hay que esperar a ser llamado para hablar, por favor, intervenga cuando tenga algo que decir.
- Hablen de uno en uno.
- Nuestro objetivo es que todos hablen la misma cantidad de tiempo.
- Di lo que crees, aunque no sea lo que todos piensan. No hay respuestas equivocadas, sólo opiniones diferentes, y queremos escucharlas todas.

### PREGUNTAS DEL GRUPO FOCAL

1. Sin sacrificar el anonimato, vamos a dar la vuelta al círculo y compartir brevemente los papeles políticos que hemos desempeñado - por ejemplo, activista de un movimiento social, candidata a las elecciones, miembro de un partido, etc. No mencionen los nombres concretos de su organización o partido. Esto es sólo para tener una idea de las perspectivas presentes en la sala.

2. ¿En qué medida son activas las mujeres en los partidos políticos de Honduras?

*¿Qué importancia tienen los grupos de mujeres de los partidos políticos?*

*¿Cuál es su objetivo principal?*

*¿Qué tipo de apoyo reciben del partido?*

*¿Desempeñan las agrupaciones de mujeres algún papel en la selección de candidatos?*

*¿Tienen las agrupaciones de mujeres alguna influencia en la plataforma del partido?*

3. ¿Las reuniones del partido son igualmente accesibles para mujeres y hombres?

*¿En qué lugares se celebran las reuniones del partido?*

*¿A qué horas del día suelen celebrarse las reuniones del partido?  
¿Ofrece el partido servicio de guardería para los afiliados durante sus reuniones?*

4. ¿Qué apoyo presta su partido a las mujeres candidatas?

*¿Anima a las mujeres a presentarse a las elecciones?  
¿Proporciona financiación o formación a las candidatas?  
¿Posicionan a mujeres en distritos o puestos de la lista elegibles?*

5. ¿Se enfrentan las mujeres de los partidos políticos a violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques? ¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para participar en la sociedad civil?  
¿Son algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

6. ¿Qué políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para dar más voz a las mujeres en los partidos políticos y, en general, en la política de Honduras? - y en la política en general - en Honduras?

## FGD: Mujeres Electas a Nivel Local

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Muchas gracias por reunirse hoy con nosotros. Mi nombre es [NOMBRE DE LA PERSONA QUE MODERA] y éste es mi colega [NOMBRE DEL ASISTENTE], que tomará notas a lo largo de nuestra conversación.

El objetivo de este grupo de discusión es recabar opiniones sobre los obstáculos y las oportunidades para la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. La conversación durará aproximadamente 60 minutos.

Con el fin de proteger la privacidad de todos, no incluiremos sus nombres ni ninguna información identificable en ninguno de nuestros informes. También pedimos que todo lo que discutamos durante nuestra charla de grupo se quede aquí entre nosotras.

[Si todos los participantes están de acuerdo en grabar] Grabaremos esta sesión para poder redactar un informe preciso de lo que se ha dicho.

Antes de empezar, queremos compartir algunas reglas básicas:

- No hay que esperar a ser llamado para hablar, por favor, intervenga cuando tenga algo que decir.
- Hablen de uno en uno.
- Nuestro objetivo es que todos hablen la misma cantidad de tiempo.
- Di lo que crees, aunque no sea lo que todos piensan. No hay respuestas equivocadas, sólo opiniones diferentes, y queremos escucharlas todas.

### PREGUNTAS DEL GRUPO FOCAL

1. Sin sacrificar el anonimato, vamos a dar la vuelta al círculo y compartir brevemente los papeles políticos que hemos desempeñado - por ejemplo, activista de un movimiento social, candidata a las elecciones, miembro de un partido, etc. No mencionen los nombres concretos de su organización o partido. Esto es sólo para tener una idea de las perspectivas presentes en la sala.

2. ¿En qué medida participan las mujeres en la política local de Honduras?

*¿Por qué decidió presentarse como candidata a las elecciones locales?*

*¿Alguien le animó especialmente a presentarse como candidata?*

*¿Alguien la desanimó a presentarse como candidata?*

*¿Qué importancia tiene la política local como punto de entrada para las mujeres líderes, en comparación con los hombres?*

3. ¿Qué apoyo presta su partido a las mujeres candidatas?

*¿Anima a las mujeres a presentarse como candidatas?*



*¿Proporcionan financiación o formación a las candidatas?*

*¿Tienen los partidos a apoyar a determinados tipos de candidatas en detrimento de otras?*

4. Según lo que ha observado, ¿se toma en serio a las mujeres como líderes locales?

*¿Cómo se comparan sus experiencias con las de los hombres?*

*¿Hay algunos tipos de mujeres con más probabilidades que otros de ser tomadas en serio?*

*¿Tienen las mujeres las mismas posibilidades que los hombres de ser elegidas alcaldesas?*

5. ¿Se enfrentan las mujeres en la política local a violencia, intimidación o acoso por su labor política?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para participar en la sociedad civil?*

*¿Son algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

6. ¿Qué políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para dar más voz a las mujeres en la política local -y en la política en general- de Honduras?

## FGD: Mujeres de los Medios de Comunicación

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Muchas gracias por reunirse hoy con nosotros. Mi nombre es [NOMBRE DE LA PERSONA QUE MODERA] y éste es mi colega [NOMBRE DEL ASISTENTE], que tomará notas a lo largo de nuestra conversación.

El objetivo de este grupo de discusión es recabar opiniones sobre los obstáculos y las oportunidades para la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. La conversación durará aproximadamente 60 minutos.

Con el fin de proteger la privacidad de todos, no incluiremos sus nombres ni ninguna información identificable en ninguno de nuestros informes. También pedimos que todo lo que discutamos durante nuestra charla de grupo se quede aquí entre nosotras.

[Si todos los participantes están de acuerdo en grabar] Grabaremos esta sesión para poder redactar un informe preciso de lo que se ha dicho.

Antes de empezar, queremos compartir algunas reglas básicas:

- No hay que esperar a ser llamado para hablar, por favor, intervenga cuando tenga algo que decir.
- Hablen de uno en uno.
- Nuestro objetivo es que todos hablen la misma cantidad de tiempo.
- Di lo que crees, aunque no sea lo que todos piensan. No hay respuestas equivocadas, sólo opiniones diferentes, y queremos escucharlas todas.

### PREGUNTAS DEL GRUPO FOCAL

1. Sin sacrificar el anonimato, vamos a dar la vuelta al círculo y compartir brevemente los papeles políticos que hemos desempeñado - por ejemplo, activista de un movimiento social, candidata a las elecciones, miembro de un partido, etc. No mencionen los nombres concretos de su organización o partido. Esto es sólo para tener una idea de las perspectivas presentes en la sala.

2. ¿Cómo es el entorno mediático para las mujeres candidatas y líderes?

*¿Reciben las mujeres políticas el mismo nivel de cobertura mediática que los hombres políticos?*

*¿Se trata a las mujeres políticas de forma diferente que a los hombres en cuanto al contenido de la cobertura mediática?*

3. ¿Hasta qué punto existe desinformación y/o incitación al odio contra las mujeres en política, tanto en los medios de comunicación tradicionales como en las plataformas de las redes sociales?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿puede dar algunos ejemplos?*

*Cuál es el impacto de este discurso de odio y desinformación?*

4. Según lo que ha observado, ¿se toma en serio a las mujeres como líderes políticas?

*¿Cómo se comparan sus experiencias con las de los hombres?*

*¿Es más probable que se tome en serio a algunos tipos de mujeres que a otros?*

5. ¿Se enfrentan las mujeres políticas a la violencia, la intimidación o el acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para participar en la sociedad civil?*

*¿Son algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

6. ¿Se enfrentan las mujeres periodistas a la violencia, la intimidación o el acoso por sus reportajes sobre política?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?*

*¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?*

*¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para participar en la sociedad civil?*

*¿Son algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

7. ¿Qué políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para dar más voz a las mujeres en el periodismo político, y en la política en general- en Honduras?

## FGD: Hombres de la Sociedad Civil

### INTRODUCCIÓN

Muchas gracias por reunirse hoy con nosotros. Mi nombre es [NOMBRE DE LA PERSONA QUE MODERA] y éste es mi colega [NOMBRE DEL ASISTENTE], que tomará notas a lo largo de nuestra conversación.

El objetivo de este grupo de discusión es recabar opiniones sobre los obstáculos y las oportunidades para la participación y el liderazgo políticos de las mujeres en Honduras. La conversación durará aproximadamente 60 minutos.

Con el fin de proteger la privacidad de todos, no incluiremos sus nombres ni ninguna información identificable en ninguno de nuestros informes. También pedimos que todo lo que discutamos durante nuestra charla de grupo se quede aquí entre nosotras.

[Si todos los participantes están de acuerdo en grabar] Grabaremos esta sesión para poder redactar un informe preciso de lo que se ha dicho.

Antes de empezar, queremos compartir algunas reglas básicas:

- No hay que esperar a ser llamado para hablar, por favor, intervenga cuando tenga algo que decir.
- Hablen de uno en uno.
- Nuestro objetivo es que todos hablen la misma cantidad de tiempo.
- Di lo que crees, aunque no sea lo que todos piensan. No hay respuestas equivocadas, sólo opiniones diferentes, y queremos escucharlas todas.

### PREGUNTAS DEL GRUPO FOCAL

1. Sin sacrificar el anonimato, vamos a dar la vuelta al círculo y compartir brevemente los papeles políticos que hemos desempeñado - por ejemplo, activista de un movimiento social, candidatos a las elecciones, miembros de un partido, etc. No mencionen los nombres concretos de su organización o partido. Esto es sólo para tener una idea de las perspectivas presentes en la sala.
2. ¿En qué medida son activas las mujeres en comparación con los hombres en la sociedad civil de Honduras?

*¿Participan principalmente en organizaciones de mujeres, o son las mujeres activas en organizaciones y movimientos no centrados específicamente en cuestiones de género?*

*¿Lideran las mujeres alguna de las principales organizaciones de la sociedad civil?*

*¿En qué medida son representativas las organizaciones de la sociedad civil de la diversidad de mujeres de la población?*

*¿De dónde suelen obtener su financiación los grupos de la sociedad civil de Honduras?*

3. ¿Tienen las mujeres de Honduras las mismas oportunidades que los hombres de expresar sus opiniones políticas?

*¿Existen actores que traten activamente de reprimir los derechos cívicos y políticos de las mujeres? ¿Hasta qué punto son eficaces en la consecución de estos objetivos?*

4. Según lo que ha observado, ¿se toma en serio a las mujeres como líderes políticas?

*¿Cómo se comparan sus experiencias con las de los hombres?  
¿Es más probable que se tome en serio a algunos tipos de mujeres que a otros?*

5. ¿Se enfrentan las mujeres de la sociedad civil -incluidas las defensoras de los derechos humanos- a violencia, intimidación o acoso por su trabajo político?

*En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son estos ataques?  
¿Quiénes son los principales agresores?  
¿Afectan estos ataques a la capacidad de las mujeres para participar en la sociedad civil?  
¿Son algunos tipos de mujeres más propensas que otras a ser atacadas?*

6. ¿Qué políticas o estrategias cree que son necesarias para dar más voz a las mujeres en la sociedad civil -y en la política en general- en Honduras?