



ELECTORAL OBSERVATION MISSION

Honduras — November 30, 2025

*Results Report: Observation with a Gender Perspective,
Women's Rights and Context of Electoral Intervention*

Produced by: Latinas en Poder

Date of the electoral process: November 30, 2025

Report date: March 2026

Observatories: 1 — Choloma | 2 — Rivera Hernández | 3 — Chemelecón | 4 — Tegucigalpa
| — La Mosquitia

Total Surveys Processed: 84

1. Historical and Political Context

1.1 Electoral background and institutional fragility

Honduras arrives at the November 30, 2025, elections with a record deeply marked by questioned electoral processes. The 2009 coup d'état against President Manuel Zelaya inaugurated an era of electoral disputes and repression. The 2013 and 2017 elections were contested; the 2017 election, in particular, was scandalous, as President Juan Orlando Hernández (JOH) won a second term despite the express constitutional prohibition on reelection (Article 239). In 2021, Xiomara Castro of the LIBRE party broke that hegemony with the highest electoral turnout in decades (69%), largely thanks to citizen rejection of what many called the "narco-dictatorship."

During his twelve years at the helm of Congress and the presidency (2010–2022), JOH consolidated the National Party's influence over the Electoral Tribunal, the Supreme Court, and other nominally independent bodies. That institutional erosion paved the way for the documented 2017 fraud and left the 2025 process with extremely fragile institutional foundations.

1.2 The external context: US statements before the 2025 elections

NOTE: This section summarizes events and public domain statements that occurred in the days leading up to November 30, 2025. Its inclusion is contextual. This report cannot independently verify the motivations, causal effects, or intentions behind these events, nor the veracity of all the claims that circulated in that period. They are included as background information within the information environment in which the observation took place, and the field-collected data cannot confirm or refute their specific impact on the electoral process.

In the days leading up to the election, former U.S. President Donald Trump issued public statements in support of National Party candidate Nasry "Tito" Asfura and announced the federal pardon of former President Juan Orlando Hernández. These statements, along with social media circulation, potentially influenced electoral perceptions and Participation, especially among women and marginalized groups, highlighting external factors affecting electoral integrity and gendered experiences.

On December 2, with the count still underway, Trump posted: "It seems that Honduras is trying to change the results of its Presidential Election. If they do, there will be consequences!" Meanwhile, more than 90,000 Honduran remittance recipients had received text messages in November threatening to suspend their remittances if the ruling party candidate of the day did not win — a tactic of mass intimidation that Trump's direct intervention made even more credible. The LIBRE candidate, Rixi Moncada, openly denounced "two concrete actions, three days before the elections, which are totally interventionist."

1.3 The counting process and its irregularities

On election day, Honduras simultaneously voted for president, all 128 seats in Congress, 298 mayors, and 20 representatives to PARLACEN — a monumental logistical burden. The rapid transmission of results (TREP) system was suspended when only 57% of the minutes had been processed, triggering mistrust. For days, the results oscillated between Asfura and the centrist candidate Salvador Nasralla, of the Liberal Party, with margins of just a few hundred votes. On December 24 — almost a month after the election — the CNE proclaimed Asfura the winner with just over 40% of the votes against Nasralla's 39%. The Liberal Party challenged the results. The LIBRE candidate and President Castro denounced the situation before international organizations. Congress approved a recount on January 10, 2026, which was later backed by presidential decree.

The campaign was also marked by political violence: six politically motivated killings were documented by independent observers before November 30, four of which affected LIBRE candidates. To understand gender impacts, specify if any of these violence incidents targeted women candidates or voters, and analyze how such violence influences women's participation and perceptions of safety in the electoral process.

2. Methodology of Observation

This survey was designed and applied by Latinas en Poder as an instrument for electoral observation with a gender perspective, indigenous and Afro-descendant rights, and monitoring of the impact of mass deportations. It was deployed on November 30, 2025, with trained observers in four geographically delimited observatories and a special nucleus in La Moskitia.

The instrument consisted of 31 substantive questions organized into four blocks: (i) composition and conditions of the Vote Receiving Boards (JRVs); (ii) political violence against women; (iii) socio-environmental impact and structural barriers; and (iv) effects of U.S. immigration policy on communities. A total of 84 completed forms were collected.

Obs.	Municipality	N° Forms	Key features
1	Choloma, Cortés	31	Industrial zone/maquilas, high coercion of public employees
2	Rivera Hernández, SPS, Cortés	25	Vulnerable neighborhood, Garifuna presence, documented symbolic violence
3	Chemelecon, Cortés	14	High security strain, history of criminal presence
4	Tegucigalpa, Fco. Morazán	11	National capital, documented direct purchase of votes
5. Esp.	La Moskitia, gracias y Dios	3	Miskito communities, extreme geographical barriers

The observers documented their findings in real time using mobile devices. Some collected video testimonies with the interviewees' consent. The survey was marked as completely confidential, and participants' names are not included in this report.

3. Findings by Thematic Area

3.1 Composition of the Voting Receiving Boards (JRVs)

The JRVs are the fundamental operating unit of the process: the teams that manage each voting station. To better understand gender dynamics, detail the specific challenges women face within these units, such as barriers to participation or safety concerns, which can inform targeted policy recommendations.

Composition of JRVs	Value	% of 84 obs.
Average number of women per JRV	3.14	—
Average number of men per JRV	2.33	—
JRVs without any women	2	2.4%
JRVs with 4 or more women	29	34.5%
Centers with at least 1 Miskito woman	6	7.1%
Centers with at least 1 Garifuna/Afrodesc woman.	21	25.0%
Centers with at least 1 Lenca woman	6	7.1%
Centers with women with visible disabilities	10	11.9%

On average, women represented the relative majority of JRV members (3.14 women vs. 2.33 men). However, the presence of women from indigenous peoples was critical: in 93% of the centers, there were no Miskito women in the JRV, and in 94%, there were no Lenca women either. The Garifuna presence was somewhat higher (25%), concentrated in Observatory 2. Women with visible disabilities participated in only 12% of the centers, reflecting persistent structural barriers.

3.2 Conditions of women's centers

In 84% of the centers, bathrooms were reported, although in several cases they were shared or unsafe. Only 5% had childcare spaces and a place to breastfeed — an omission that may deter mothers with young children from participating. Adequate lighting was reported in approximately 70% of the centers. Access for people with disabilities was pointed out as deficient in multiple

observatories: several observers reported the absence of ramps and the need for women themselves to carry their relatives in wheelchairs to be able to enter the center.

3.3 Political and symbolic violence against women

This is one of the most sensitive blocks of the report. Direct violence was recorded in 15.5% of the centers, and symbolic violence against female candidates in an additional 15.5%. The most systemic finding is electoral coercion: 35.7% of the observers documented clientelism and coercion specifically directed at women.

Finding	Number of centers	%
Observed direct violence (Q13: Yes)	13	15.5%
— Yelling, verbal insults, or intimidation	10	11.9%
— Threats by political activists	3	3.6%
— Sexual harassment or comments about the body	1	1.2%
— Physical obstruction to voting	1	1.2%
Symbolic violence against female candidates (Q15)	13	15.5%
— Destruction of posters of women candidates	6	7.1%
— Invisibilization and racism	6	7.1%
— Sexist graffiti on a photo of a candidate	2	2.4%
Coercion or clientelism directed at women (Q30)	30	35.7%
— Threat to withdraw social benefits	16	19.0%
— Direct coercion of female public employees	22	26.2%
— Delivery of solidarity bags or vouchers	5	6.0%
— Documented direct vote buying	1	1.2%

The most frequent form of coercion was the threat of withdrawing social assistance (19% of the centers) and direct pressure on public employees (26.2%). In Choloma (Obs. 1), an area with a high concentration of maquilas and female public employment, this practice was especially pronounced. In Tegucigalpa (Obs. 4), a case of direct vote buying was documented: a voter showed the image of her marked ballot, pointing out that she had been asked for "proof" of having voted for a certain party — a fact that constitutes a direct violation of the secrecy of the vote.

The symbolic violence included the destruction of posters of women candidates, graffiti with sexist insults on their photographs ("crazy", "whore"), and systematic invisibility: in several centers,

electoral propaganda only showed the image of the male "candidate owner", visually eliminating the female candidate.

3.4 Attitudes towards indigenous and Afro-descendant women

84% of the observers reported not having witnessed explicit discriminatory attitudes. However, 16% of the centers documented racist insults or denigrating comments about the ability of indigenous or Afro-descendant women, prohibition to speak in their mother tongue, and combined discrimination of ethnicity and age. In La Moskitia, observers reported that the only practical way to reach polling stations was through the "water hauling" organized by the political parties themselves — a form of geographic clientelism that subordinates the exercise of the vote to the party's will.

3.5 The crisis of 'divers' and the overload of care

Honduran coastal communities have been devastated by the crisis of "divers" — workers who dive without proper equipment in the lobster industry and are often left with permanent disabilities from decompression sickness. Women assume almost exclusively their care. 12% of the observers reported that this situation directly prevented some women from going out to vote, and another 12% indicated that the centers lacked wheelchair access, forcing women to carry their relatives to cast their votes in person.

3.6 Impact of mass deportations from the US

This block collects observers' perceptions of the impact of mass deportations on their communities. It is important to note that these data reflect subjective field assessments, not objective measurements or independently verified statistical data. Still, the consistency of responses across the four observatories makes the findings informative:

Impact of Mass Deportations (U.S.)	1-Null	2-Low	3-Medium	4-High
Reduction of remittances in families	19%	14%	15%	51%
Family breakdown (parent/child separation)	10%	15%	18%	57%
Local unemployment due to mass deportations	11%	14%	10%	65%
Care overload — single women in charge	2%	13%	8%	76%

The most critical impact perceived by communities is the overload of care on women: a resounding 76% rated it as "high". When the provider of the household is deported, it is almost always the women who are left alone, without income and without a support network. 65% described local unemployment due to deportations as "high", and 57% perceived family disintegration as "high". Regarding deported children, 50% of the observers reported specific difficulties: bullying at school, educational dropout due to lack of documentation, language barriers in indigenous communities, and identity crisis or deep sadness.

3.7 Incidents with people of sexual diversity

82% of the observers did not report incidents against people of sexual diversity. However, in 8% of the centers, teasing, laughter, or use of the "dead name" (using the birth name instead of the identity name of trans people) was documented. In one case, identity questioning was recorded due to a discrepancy between the ID card and the person's gender. These incidents are documentable from the forms; Their representativeness beyond the observed centers cannot be determined with this sample.

3.8 Safety of observers

Safety of observers (Q31)	N°	%
Secure	43	51.2%
Tense/Uncomfortable	38	45.2%
Obstructed (I couldn't work)	3	3.6%

Only 51% of observers assessed their own safety as "Safe". 45% reported feeling "Tense/uncomfortable," and 4% indicated being "Obstructed" at work. The forms do not allow the specific causes of this unrest to be determined — some free narratives refer to the general political environment, others to the presence of unknown people near the centers. The data itself is relevant as an indicator of the environment perceived during the observation in the covered municipalities.

4. Analysis per Observatory's Locations

Observatory 1 — Choloma, Cortés (31 forms)

Choloma is the most industrialized municipality in the sample, with a high concentration of maquiladoras and a high proportion of female employment in the formal sector. This is directly reflected in the documented profile of electoral coercion: it was the observatory with the highest number of reports of pressure on public employees and threats to suspend social benefits. The physical conditions of the centers were better than at other observatories, with a greater number of separate bathrooms and drinking water. However, the symbolic violence was notable, with several observers documenting the invisibilization of female candidates in electoral propaganda. The security tension was moderate but present. The ethnic profile was predominantly mestizo, with low indigenous representation in the JRVs.

Observatory 2 — Rivera Hernández, San Pedro Sula, Cortés (25 forms)

Rivera Hernández is one of the most vulnerable neighborhoods in San Pedro Sula, historically considered among the cities with the highest homicide rate in the world. This observatory concentrated the largest Garifuna and Afro-descendant presence in the sample. It was where the most explicit cases of symbolic violence against women candidates were documented — including sexist graffiti on posters of women candidates. The conditions of the centers were poorer, with reports of unsafe bathrooms. The impact of the deportations was perceived as very high, and it correlated with the high rates of emigration from these communities to the U.S. Several observers reported tension during the process.

Observatory 3 — Chemelecon, Cortés (14 forms)

Among 14 observatories, Chemelecon had the highest relative proportion of observers who rated its security as tense or uncomfortable. Despite this, the direct violence observed in the centers was lower than in other observatories. Cases of electoral coercion were reported. The composition of the JRVs was mostly female, although there was no registered presence of indigenous women. The impact of deportations was rated as high, especially in the dimensions of family disintegration and local unemployment. The specific reasons for the safety discomfort reported by the observers cannot be determined from the forms alone — this is a limitation of the instrument.

Observatory 4 — Tegucigalpa, Francisco Morazán (11 forms)

With 11 forms, Tegucigalpa had the lowest response volume, limiting the generalizability of its findings. It was the only point at which an explicit case of direct vote buying was documented: a voter showed the image of her ballot, marked as proof that a political party demanded of her, in violation of the secrecy of the vote. Cases of coercion of public employees were also reported. The centers' physical conditions were generally adequate. Several observers mentioned in their free narratives having heard comments on the statements of U.S. political figures; these are included as references to the perceived informational environment, not as evidence of a verifiable causal effect.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 General conclusions

IMPORTANT — Scope of data: This report is based on 84 forms collected in five municipalities in Honduras on November 30, 2025. The sample is concentrated in the industrial corridor of Cortés (83%) and is not representative of the country as a whole. The following findings describe patterns observed in the centers covered; They should not be extrapolated as national conclusions about the Honduran electoral process as a whole.

At the voting centers covered by the observation, the process proceeded in a relatively orderly manner. However, the data collected document a set of adverse conditions for women's full participation:

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- Systematic electoral coercion against women: 35.7% of observers reported practices of clientelism or coercion specifically targeting women, mainly threats to withdraw welfare and direct pressure on female public employees. These findings are robust within the sample and suggest a broader pattern across the observed municipalities, although they cannot be used to characterize the national electoral process.
 - Formal parity without intersectional representation: Women actively participated in the observed JRVs (average of 3.14 per polling station), but Miskito, Lenca, and women with visible disabilities were practically absent from the polling stations in the sample. This reflects a gap between gender parity as a formal indicator and the effective inclusion of women with multiple identities.
 - Documented political violence, although not the majority: 15.5% of the centers observed registered some form of direct violence against women, and another 15.5% documented symbolic violence against female candidates. Although most centers reported no incidents, the frequency documented in a sample of 84 observations deserves attention.
 - Perceived impact of deportations on women: 76% of observers rated the burden of care on women derived from deportations as "high," and 50% reported concrete difficulties with deported children. These data reflect the perceptions of field observers and have not been corroborated by census data or other independent sources; Still, they represent relevant signals that deserve further investigation.
 - A tense environment for the observers themselves: 48.8% of the observers did not feel completely safe during the process. The specific reasons cannot be determined only from the forms. Still, the data itself is relevant to evaluating the conditions for the exercise of citizen observation in the covered municipalities.