



*Gendered Resistance (?)*

*Is gender significant in the “National Popular Resistance Front” of Honduras?*

Student: Christian Lomsdalen

Supervisor: Halldis Valestrand, Professor, Department of Sociology, Political Science and Community Planning

## **Abstract**

The object of this thesis will consider the importance of gender in the “National Popular Resistance Front” of Honduras (Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular), and if gender is significant in this movement and in its choice of actions and choice not to arm themselves with firearms. The scope of this thesis is limited to a number of the member organizations and participation in actions and demonstrations to answer these questions.

Gaining access to the different groups that was visited for the research was facilitated through help from key informants who gave insight and access into where to go and who to talk to get the information needed. To complete the goal of this thesis both quantitative and qualitative methods to further enhance the amount and quality of the data collected. This is done through participant observation and interviews for the qualitative part of the methods mix and a survey through a paper questionnaire for the quantitative part.

By using these methods there is found that there are more women in the demonstrations in Honduras whilst there are more men present at the meetings attended. There were also found that women although to a lesser degree participate in the directly violent actions they participate to an extensive degree in threats, taking the street and other kinds of actions.

The main conclusions that is brought forward in this thesis is that women are less likely to support equipping the movement with firearms, but are almost as likely to participate in violent behavior when also adding threats to the equation. There are also more women on the grassroots level than on the leadership level. In sum displaying that the main conclusion is that there is some degree of significance to gender in this movement.

**Keywords:** Gender, Public Space, Latin America, Honduras, Central America, Coup, Resistance, Gender roles, Violence, Non-Violent, Demonstrations

## **Acknowledgements**

First of all would I like to thank Victor and Carlos, as this thesis would not exist without them. Their help, assistance and friendship while in Honduras were invaluable. Thanks also to all the informants who participated in the survey and Johannes Wilm who let me interview him. Without the hospitality and openness that I was met with in Honduras the work on this thesis would be impossible to complete.

I would also like to thank my supervisor Halldis Valestrand, Professor the University of Tromsø for her advice and insight into the country, region, and topic. Thanks also to the academic and administrative staff at the CPS for their advice and guidance and to the CPS itself for the economic support that enabled me to go on fieldwork. Thanks also to the Norwegian Latin American Research Network and the project leader Benedicte Bull who provided me with advice, economical support and an extended academic network through giving me the possibility of being their stipend recipient for the north of Norway during this school year.

My gratitude to my family and friends for tolerance towards my one-track mind during the last year as most of my thoughts has been on this thesis and the work that would be necessary to complete it. Special thanks to my children Brage and Villemo for just being their adorable selves when I needed happiness boosts and to Sandra for both keeping my eyes on the road and reminding me to relax. Thanks to my brother Christopher for rescuing my computer when it crashed during the run-up to the deadline. Thanks to Siri for her encouragement and support on this thesis. Thanks also to my all my parents, Brynjulf, Anita, Randi and Erlend, for their support, both financially and with advice and encouragement.

I would also like to thank my reading room buddies, Turid Austin Wæhler, Tine Eriksen Bergli, Camilla Berntzen, Anne Natvig, and Teodor Solhaug, for their insight, advice and good discussions. Huge gratitude to Shanley Swanson for helping me improve the language of my thesis and to Grete Trætli Andresen, Anette & Rasmus Rimestad and my parents for sponsoring the color print of this thesis. The end result would not have been the same without this support.

To conclude I would like to add that all pictures, figures and illustrations are taken or created by myself unless otherwise specified and that all errors that still might remain in this thesis is entirely of my doing and is my responsibility.



Tromsø 15.05.2012

### List of abbreviations and groups:

- AMNLAE - Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenses Luisa Amanda Espinoza.
- CGT - Central General de Trabajadores - General Workers' Central.
- COPEMH - Colegio de Profesores de Educación Media de Honduras - Association of Secondary Teachers of Honduras. Member of FOMH, see FOMH
- CTH - Confederación de Trabajadores de Honduras - Confederation of Honduran Workers.
- CUTH - Confederación Unitaria de Trabajadores de Honduras - Unitary Confederation of Honduran Workers.
- FNCGEH - Frente Nacional Contra El Golpe De Estado En Honduras – See FNRP.
- FNR - Frente Nacional de la Resistencia – See FNRP.
- FNRP – Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular – Left-leaning umbrella organization in opposition to the government in place after the 2009 coup d'état See also 3.3 “Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular” on page 13. Translates to National Popular Resistance Front in English.
- FOMH - Federación de Organizaciones Magisteriales de Honduras – Federation of Teachers Organizations in Honduras.
- Frente – See FNRP.
- FRU – Frente De Reforma Universitaria – Reformist leftist student organization. <http://www.fru-unah.com/>.
- FUR – Fuerza Universitaria Revolucionaria – Revolutionary leftist student organization. <http://www.furunah.com>.
- LGBT – Refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. In this paper it is also used as an umbrella group for several LGBT groups that work within or with the FNRP. The groups are Movimiento Diversidad En Resistencia (<http://resistediverso.blogspot.com/>), Renacer GLBT APUVIMEH (<http://renacerglbtq.wordpress.com>), AYA Humah and LGBTI. The informants are often members of several of these.
- Libre FRP - Libertad y Refundación (Libre), la Fuerza de Refundación Popular (FRP) – Liberty and re-foundation, the force of popular re-foundation – Political party started by the FNRP, see FNRP.
- Los Necios – Organización Política Los Necios – Socialist revolutionary political organization.

- NGO – Non-Governmental Organization.
- STIBYS - Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria de la Bebida y Similares - Union of Beverage and Related Industry Workers.
- UNAH – Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras – National Autonomous University of Honduras.

## **LIST OF CONTENTS**

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND GROUPS:</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>LIST OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>VII</b>
<b>TABLES:</b>	<b>X</b>
<b>FIGURES:</b>	<b>X</b>
<b>ILLUSTRATIONS:</b>	<b>X</b>
<b>LIST OF APPENDIXES:</b>	<b>XI</b>
<b>1 WHY I CHOSE THIS TOPIC AND COUNTRY</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION	2
1.2 THIS THESIS	3
<b>2 HONDURAS: HISTORY AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1 HONDURAS: LOCATION	4
2.2 RESEARCH ABOUT HONDURAS	4
2.3 BRIEF HONDURAN HISTORY	5
2.4 THE SITUATION TODAY	8
<b>3 RECENT POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN HONDURAS</b>	<b>10</b>
3.1 THE POLITICS OF MANUEL ZELAYA	10
3.2 THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF 28 <sup>TH</sup> OF JUNE 2009 AND THE AFTERMATH	11
3.3 FRENTE NACIONAL DE RESISTENCIA POPULAR	13
<b>4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK; WOMEN AT WAR, CONFLICT, PEACE AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS.</b>	<b>14</b>
4.1 DEFINITIONS	15
4.1.1 VIOLENCE	15
4.2 GENDER IN LATIN AMERICA	16

<b>4.3</b>	<b>WOMEN, NATURALLY PEACEFUL?</b>	<b>18</b>
4.3.1	WOMEN IN CONFLICTS AND AT WAR	18
4.3.2	WOMEN AS DRIVERS FOR PEACE	21
4.3.3	MOTHERS IN CONFLICT, WAR AND PEACE	22
4.3.4	UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325	23
4.3.5	WOMEN IN WAR AND PEACE, A SUMMARY	24
<b>4.4</b>	<b>YOUNG UNMARRIED MEN</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>4.5</b>	<b>WOMEN'S ROLE IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN TIMES OF CONFLICT</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>4.6</b>	<b>THE USE OF PUBLIC SPACE</b>	<b>28</b>
4.6.1	GENDERED USE OF PUBLIC SPACE	28
4.6.2	THE USE OF PUBLIC SPACE FOR DISSENT	29
<b>4.7</b>	<b>WHAT IS THE QUESTION NOW?</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>5.1</b>	<b>FIELDWORK</b>	<b>33</b>
5.1.1	CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING SAFETY, SECURITY AND ETHICS	33
<b>5.2</b>	<b>CONTACTS IN HONDURAS</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>5.3</b>	<b>BACKGROUND, GENDER AND REFLEXIVITY</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>5.4</b>	<b>INTERVIEWS</b>	<b>36</b>
5.4.1	FACE TO FACE INTERVIEWS	37
5.4.2	WRITTEN INTERVIEWS	37
5.4.3	QUESTIONNAIRE	37
<b>5.5</b>	<b>OBSERVATION</b>	<b>38</b>
5.5.1	PARTICIPATION / NON- PARTICIPATION	40
<b>5.6</b>	<b>PRACTICAL PROBLEMS</b>	<b>41</b>
5.6.1	WRITTEN CONSENT	41
5.6.2	LANGUAGE SKILLS	42
5.6.3	MISUNDERSTANDINGS	43
<b>5.7</b>	<b>METHODOLOGICAL FLAWS</b>	<b>44</b>
5.7.1	SNOWBALL METHOD	44
5.7.2	GENERALIZATION	44
<b>5.8</b>	<b>METHODOLOGICAL SUMMARY</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>OBSERVED FINDINGS</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>6.1</b>	<b>THE CITY OF THE OBSERVATIONS, TEGUCIGALPA</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>6.2</b>	<b>THE USE OF PUBLIC SPACE FOR DISSENT</b>	<b>47</b>

<b>6.3</b>	<b>OBSERVED GENDER PATTERNS</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>7</b>	<b><u>SURVEY FINDINGS</u></b>	<b><u>54</u></b>
<b>7.1</b>	<b>WHO ARE MY INFORMANTS?</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>7.2</b>	<b>GENDER-DIFFERENCES</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>7.3</b>	<b>FIREARMS AND OTHER VARIABLES</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>7.4</b>	<b>VIOLENT BACHELORS/BACHELORETTES?</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>8</b>	<b><u>DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS</u></b>	<b><u>60</u></b>
<b>8.1</b>	<b>PARTICIPATION IN MEETINGS, DEMONSTRATIONS AND IN ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>60</b>
8.1.1	GENDER ROLES	60
8.1.2	DEMONSTRATIONS AND USE OF PUBLIC SPACE	62
8.1.3	THE USE OF RAPE AGAINST THE MEMBERS OF THE MOVEMENT	66
8.1.4	GENDER INCLUSIVE TITLE FOR MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATIONS	66
<b>8.2</b>	<b>PEACEFUL OPPOSITION OR ARMING THE MOVEMENT</b>	<b>67</b>
8.2.1	EXPLAINING SUPPORT FOR FIREARMS AMONGST THE LGBT INFORMANTS	70
<b>8.3</b>	<b>HAVING A PARTNER WEIGHTS HEAVIER THAN GENDER?</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>8.4</b>	<b>DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHAT THAT IS OBSERVED AND WHAT THAT IS SURVEYED</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>9</b>	<b><u>SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS</u></b>	<b><u>73</u></b>
	<b><u>REFERENCES:</u></b>	<b><u>A</u></b>
	<b>INTERNET SOURCES</b>	<b>G</b>



## **Tables:**

Table 1: Research in Latin America, collected 23.01.2012 .....	5
Table 2: Group membership and gender, numbers and percent.....	55
Table 3: Activities, gendered perspective, percentages .....	56
Table 4: Arming the movement, gender and percent .....	56
Table 5: Gender and participation in organize or arrange meetings or other activities, percentages .....	57
Table 6: Student membership in groups.....	57
Table 7: Age and gender compared with preference for firearms.....	58
Table 8: Arming the movement, by profession.....	58
Table 9: Arming the movement, by group, in Percent .....	59
Table 10: Violent young bachelors/bachelorettes? Gendered perspective on preference for firearms in the movement.....	59
Table 11: Informants that are in a relationship .....	71

## **Figures:**

Figure 1: Honduran Age Group Statistics (NationMaster.com not dated).....	9
---	---

## **Illustrations:**

Illustration 1: Map of Honduras (WorldAtlas.com not dated).....	4
Illustration 2: Manuel Zelaya in Brazil after the coup (Dias 2009) .....	10
Illustration 3: Banner for FNRP .....	13
Illustration 4: Banner for the group "Women in the resistance" .....	13
Illustration 5: Front person of the LGBT .....	14
Illustration 6: My picture in the newspaper with demonstrators and destruction of private property .....	39
Illustration 7: "Demonstration uniform" .....	40
Illustration 8: Kart over Tegucigalpa (Google Maps 2012).....	46
Illustration 9: Demonstration .....	47
Illustration 10: Sealed off presidential palace .....	48
Illustration 12: Political graffiti.....	49
Illustration 11: Group of graffiti activists .....	49
Illustration 13: Burger King with extra protection.....	50

Illustration 14: Young women, covered up in “uniform” at a demonstration.....	51
Illustration 15: Women of all ages in demonstration .....	52
Illustration 16: Young man destroying PA-holder .....	53
Illustration 17: Rebellious youth prevented from provoking .....	62

**List of appendixes:<sup>1</sup>**

Appendix 1.:	Letter of information to the groups, Spanish
Appendix 2.:	Letter of information to the groups, English translation.
Appendix 3.:	Consent, Spanish
Appendix 4.:	Consent, English
Appendix 5.:	Questionnaire, Spanish
Appendix 6.:	Questionnaire, English
Appendix 7.:	Anonymous statistics

---

<sup>1</sup> To avoid any confusion related to my name and the appearances of it in this paper I feel the need to clarify this somewhat. When starting the work with my Master thesis my name was Christian Lomsdalen Marstein; during the work on this paper I changed my name to Christian Lomsdalen. Therefore my name will be written differently throughout the appendixes as Christian Lomsdalen, Christian Lomsdalen Marstein and Christian Marstein.

## **1 Why I chose this topic and country**

In 2009 there was a coup, the first in decades, in Honduras when the then president Manuel “Mel” Zelaya was removed from power in a civilian-ordered operation by the military. This coup could be very interesting to study for many reasons, as the military in this case did not seem to have taken the lead, did not occupy the governing offices after the coup and even if the president originated from an elite-party, many left-wing and center groups decided to support him in the struggle to win back office.

This coup halted the democracy of Honduras and the processes that the ousted president had begun in the country. Initiatives sought to improve the livelihoods of the many poor inhabitants of the country and those with a minimal income. These programs covered salaries, education, work security and housing for such groups. Women had a larger possibility of belonging to these groups, so even if the programs were not especially targeted at women they were more likely to be beneficiaries. Programs that were based on rights were supposed to have been included in the constitution. If there was support for this in a referendum it was planned to be held on the day of the coup and prevented by the coup. As we will see later in Chapter 2 there is a huge problem in Honduras of poverty and inequality. There is also a history of authoritarianism in the country, an authoritarianism that just recently had been conquered by democracy. Thereafter we will look at the politics of Manuel Zelaya, the coup itself and the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular in Chapter 3. One large part of the population answered to this coup by demonstrating in the streets and organizing themselves, both in topic-related groups and in an umbrella movement to unite the diverse organizations towards one goal and coordinate the efforts towards this goal.

Although there are several interesting areas that could be researched in this situation, I chose to research what effect gender has on participation in the opposition movement Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular and if there are any differences in gendered participation in the movement.

This movement is a cross-political movement of different organizations that are against the coup of 2009. The common denominator for all of these organizations is this simple historical and political fact as there is nothing else that unites all of them. Many of these organizations may collaborate with some of the other organizations; some of them usually do not collaborate with anyone. This being said, the organization is mainly leftist in its worldview and it is mainly quite reformatory and/or radical. It contains organizations and groups from churches, the LGBT-movement, communists, socialists, liberals and more, a

wide variety of organizations and political groups. There will be more information on this movement in chapter 3.3.

Amongst others way of measuring the gendered participation in the movement I have done this by looking at the willingness to see weapons as a legitimate or appropriate tool in the struggle and to see if the participation-pattern differs based on gender lines. Weapons in this regard are an ambiguous element, as weapons in this paper can mean firearms, other weapons of physical violence (see Illustration 16) and the act of demonstrating, to force the ruling elite and/or the rest of the population to notice you. This will be further dealt with it in chapter 6

My interest in Honduras comes from already having lived in Honduras, as I was an exchange student in Honduras in 2003. It was the Caribbean coast and Spanish that brought me to Honduras in the first place in 2003. Not that I actually experienced much coast living in Tegucigalpa, but it gave me friends, language skills and an interest for a country, probably for life. Having that interest, studying political science and peace studies, and having a gender perspective does not make it a large leap to take an interest in the role of gender in the organization in opposition to the coup in the country of interest.

## **1.1 Research Question**

Based on the title of this paper, "*Gendered resistance: the significance of gender in the "National Popular Resistance Front" of Honduras*", I formulated my research question as following:

*"Is there a gender difference in participation in the "National Popular Resistance Front"?  
How do gender-differences influence the armed/non-armed profile of the organization?"*

Based on these research questions the following points have been chosen as working hypotheses for this thesis:

H1. Women participate in the movement's actions in an equal manner as the men.

H2. Women in the movement are participating in the use of and taking of the street in the same manner as men

H3. The women in the movement are as inclined to reject or accept firearms as the men.

H4. Gender differences do not change the overall attitude towards violence in the studied organizations that form part of the movement.

The first research question is covered in hypothesis number one. The second research question is covered in the hypotheses two and three, as this question would not be answered with just one hypothesis. As there is a difference between how you regard violence or the forms of actions that are less peaceful and how you look at the fact of actually arming the movement.

## **1.2 This thesis**

I have already presented the research question and hypotheses; I will now be presenting some information about Honduras that I consider important in understanding the current political climate that creates situations in the country, demographically, historically and politically. I describe the small amount of research on Honduras as a way to show the difficulty in finding directly relevant scientific information, and as a way to show the need for this paper. I will then proceed to define necessary terms which will help to understand important information.

Thereafter I will present my conceptual framework where I will draw on findings and theory works on female natural pacifism. I will discuss also the lack of literature combining feminism with theories regarding the use of public space, (both physical and virtual) being for public protest, and the role of women in political organizations. I will also forum a theory regarding social unrest in which marital status and being male are most important factors. I will look at my data through this set of “glasses” in an attempt to come up with different answers than those proposed in my research questions.

In my methodology chapter I will present both my background and reflect on it and how it might contribute to or influence my fieldwork and my data interpretation and theory concerning it. I will also look at the methods chosen for fieldwork and discuss the reasons for my choices. I will also look at the problems that arouse during my fieldwork and the methodological flaws that I discovered in relation to my fieldwork.

I have chosen to elaborate my findings in two different chapters, one for the observed and qualitative data and one chapter for the data originating in my survey. In the following chapter I will proceed to discuss and analyze the data during which I will look at the data through the eyes of my conceptual framework.

I my last chapter I will give a summary of the conclusions and positions presented throughout this paper and I will give some concluding remarks on what I have found and how this could be put into the larger picture.

## 2 Honduras: History and political dynamics

This chapter is used to present Honduras. I briefly look at Honduras' history, especially the political history of Honduras, and the demographics and discussion of the situation today. There will be some information about the amount of research into Honduras; both to show how little research has been done and to better understand the need for this paper.

### 2.1 Honduras: Location

Honduras is a Latin American country located between the countries of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. This closeness to these formerly quite troubled nations has influenced Honduran history in an authoritarian way that I will come back to more closely in chapter 2.3.

The capital city of the country, Tegucigalpa, located in the center of Honduras, is the concentration focus for the data, survey and observations for this paper.



Illustration 1: Map of Honduras (WorldAtlas.com not dated)

### 2.2 Research about Honduras

Before I started my research into Honduras my impression was that very few researchers had done any research on Honduras or topics related to Honduras. This impression was created by the lack of books on Honduras and the small amount of media coverage seen in Norway and on BBC regarding events occurring in Honduras. This impression was substantiated when I started looking up Honduras in academic databases. I collected information from several sources on the same date and with the same search words and criteria on all the search engines. Below I will present some results from two of these databases.

*Table 1: Research in Latin America, collected 23.01.2012*

Country	Google Scholar Hits	% Of AVG	Cristin	% Of AVG
Brazil	4 710 000	401 %	253	219 %
Cuba	1 040 000	89 %	249	216 %
Guatemala	728 000	62 %	201	174 %
Honduras	274 000	23 %	21	18 %
Mexico	2 950 000	251 %	240	208 %
Nicaragua	483 000	41 %	114	99 %
Peru	914 000	78 %	210	182 %
Average	1 173 300		116	

Google Scholar\* is Google's database of academic work and Cristin is the "Current Research Information System in Norway†".

It is probably no surprise that Honduras has less coverage than most of the countries on the list. As the country has had very little political importance, has a small economy and a relatively peaceful history, it has had a hard time getting attention. Many of the hits regarding Honduras seem to be medical and biological studies and Honduras is often mentioned in articles about neighboring countries. Mentioning Honduras in articles about neighboring countries without really giving any information on Honduras inflates the number of appearances of Honduras in the statistics. However, this is just a subjective impression made from looking through the first pages of search results on Honduras and I do not know if the problem is similar for the other countries.

### **2.3 Brief Honduran history**

Honduras has been known as the quintessential banana republic (Gonzalez 2009; Posas 1980:46) being the producer of and being economically dependent on bananas and cocoa (Ruhl 2010:95). Some production of tobacco and coffee goes along with banana and cocoa production. This has not changed very much during the last hundred years (Valentine 1916:185). Although it might be said that production of clothes in export factories now plays a large role together with remittances from Hondurans living in other countries (Ruhl 2010:95).

---

\* Google Scholar can be found at <http://scholar.google.no/>.

† Cristian can be found at <http://www.cristin.no/>.

Being called the quintessential banana republic might seem grim, but as a country Honduras has been spared for much of the domestic and foreign wars that has rippled through the rest of Latin America and especially in Central America (Seligson 2010:123; Colburn 2009:143). The rest of the neighboring countries have experienced varying degrees of warlike violence during the last 40 years, whereas Honduras although having had several coups and a tendency for violent oppression did not transgress into war or civil war (Seligson 2010:124). It should be pointed out that in 1969 Honduras was at war with El Salvador, but the war lasted only 100 hours (Haaland 2007:42).

Columbus discovered the first parts of Honduras in 1502 when he sailed past the Bay Islands on Honduras' north coast. At the time Honduras was inhabited by the descendants of the Mayans and of other Native Americans from other tribes, amongst them peoples related to the Aztecs from the north. Although colonized by the Spanish, much of Honduras was without a great deal of Spanish control for a very long time, due to its large area but limited amount of Spanish families living there during the first centuries. The most beneficent industries at this time were cattle and minerals, and of the latter Honduras had large resources of both gold and silver. Honduras gained independence from Spain in 1822 and declared allegiance to the Mexican Empire together with the other Central American republics the same year. This allegiance failed the year after when the Central American republics broke free to establish the United Provinces of Central America. This creation that was later to fail when in 1838, the individual states making up the United Provinces of Central America were allowed to create their own sovereign and independent governments (Merrill 1995).

Together with the increased US influence in Central America and the Caribbean in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was increased US influence in Honduras, both in trade and in politics. This was in part because of the American banana companies that during this time acquired most of, and eventually the entire Honduran north coast. During this time Hondurans also saw larger amounts of internal and regional upheaval and warmongering, there was several attempts of revolutions, strikes and other activities that threatened American political or business interests. These threats made the American government send warships to the coasts of Central America to ensure that Washington's interests were protected (Merrill 1995).

Since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the governing of Honduras has had an authoritarian touch that might be said to have ensured the legacy that Honduras struggles with today (Ruhl 2010:95). Even though President Tiburcio Carías Andino came to power through elections, he soon eliminated this obstacle from the political arena after coming to power in



1932. Andino held the position until 1948 (Haaland 2007:17). Villeda Morales, the successor of Carias' appointed successor, was not allowed to enter power after elections by a civilian dictatorship who was in turn removed by the military in Honduras first military coup in 1956 (Haaland 2007:18; Posas 1980:49). This coup could be said to have come rather quick as Honduras did not have a formal military until the mid-forties' (Ruhl 2010:95). Although he was not allowed to enter into the presidency in 1954, Villeda Morales was allowed to take office in 1957 by the military after a rewriting of the constitution gave the army chief the power over the army and the right to deny orders from the president he felt unconstitutional. The army chief was also supposed to be appointed by the generals and not the president or the Parliament (Haaland 2007:66). In the period up to 1980s there was a varying set of coalitions and sets of rules. Even though most consisted of military officers in power over the country it was sometimes in coalition with the bourgeois and sometimes with the labor unions (Haaland 2007:66; Posas 1980:53; Ruhl 2010:95).

Following US pressure, elections for a constituent-assembly were held in 1980, and with general elections the year after, the country was back in what might be deemed as the democratic fold (Ruhl 2010:95) with record breaking numbers of voter turnout in the two elections (Merrill 1995). Despite this, the military did not come under civilian control for some time, and when speaking of political repression there is no decade as bad as the 1980s in Honduran history (Haaland 2007:69). During this time the country was de facto partly occupied by American military as American soldiers could enter the country without Honduran governmental control. This included warfare with and training of the Contras against the Sandinista Nicaraguan government (Haaland 2007:72).

During the 1990s and the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century there were many democratic highlights in contrast with the prior darkness of Honduras' history. This time was successful, rather free and fair, and elections gave change of power according to the rules set by the constitution. There were reforms, both of the constitution and other laws that had effect, amongst other things in bringing the military back under elected governmental control, a degree of control that actually created the possibility to remove most of the top echelon of the armed forces when it was seen necessary. This alone looked quite good, but is not the entire picture. As the democracy seemed to improve, the same democracy failed to become legitimized in the eyes of the population, both because of inherent problems and rampant corruption (Ruhl 2010:96). It was one of the worst in the region, and an explosion of crime and violence became apparent at the same time. The failure to legitimize gave also lead to one

of the highest dissatisfaction rates on the continent together with an increased willingness to accept a non-elected leader who would rule the country as a strongman (Ruhl 2010:97).

## **2.4 The Situation today**

In this part of the thesis I describe information about the situation of Honduras in the world today and present some of the demographics of Honduras that I feel are best suited to give information that can be relevant for the analysis of the findings provided in Chapter 8. The number of different facts that I provide here are limited to the general tendency of the population together with facts about enrollment in school, mean age for marriage and life expectancy.

Honduras today is the country in Latin America with the highest number of people living in poverty. It is also one of the few countries where this has taken a turn for the worst during the last few years and the degree of poverty has actually increased. In 2010 67% of the Honduran population lived in poverty (ECLAC 2011:13), 45.3 percent of the population lives in extreme poverty (Ronderos 2011:315). The chance of belonging to this groups are skewed with greater chance of poverty being based on gender and race as the chance of being poor are significantly higher for women and for persons of an origin other than Hispanic and/or European (Ronderos 2011:316). This shows that little has changed since before the 1980s (Posas 1980:45). In addition to being one of the poorest countries in Latin America, Honduras is one of the poorest countries of the world, ranking number 131 out of 189 (CIA World Fact Book 2011a) with a Human Development Index rate as number 121 in the world (UNDP 2011:128). As of 2010 17.6% of the Honduran GDP is remittances from family members working in other countries, mainly the United States (UNDP 2011:171). Honduras was badly hit by the recession that began in 2008, both by declining exports and by decline in remittances (Seligson & Booth 2010:125). Both of these factors contribute to the reasons for the increase of poverty rates in Honduras during the last years. If one adds the fact that the curfew and the repression after the coup in 2009 hit the informal and formal economy by taking away many possibilities to work and earn money (Ronderos 2011:319) it further adds to the recent increase in poverty.

As of recent times, the support for democracy in Honduras is thin, so that the recent democratic trouble would not be totally unexpected if the surveys had been read more carefully (Seligson & Booth 2010:123). It also seems like parts of the population miss the old days in a less democratic state, where most of the violence that occurred was political and concentrated to those parts of the population who opposed the ruling regime. In Honduras

today the violence that occurs happens on a random and widespread level where it is hard to predict who will be affected (Seligson & Booth 2010:124; IUDPAS-UNAH 2010). In Central America, in general the homicide rate has doubled from 2005 to 2010 (UNODC 2011:9), Honduras alone had 6239 homicides in 2010, making the homicide rate 82.1 per 100,000 inhabitants (UNODC 2011:95; Bull 2012). Most of these homicides happened in urban areas (FER 2010a). What also make these murders so unpredictable is that most of them occur in public areas like streets and plazas, and with firearms that are widespread and rather easy to come by (IUDPAS-UNAH 2010; IUDPAS-UNAH 2011) These factors create a much larger chance that this could happen to “anyone”.

There is a widespread political distrust in Honduras (Seligson & Booth 2010:129), caused by the perceived high rate of corruption and oligarchy that exists in the country (Colburn 2009:146). Honduras was seen as a rather militarized country in earlier decades, and this can to some degree be said to have returned after the coup as thirteen laws changing back the regulation of military and the security had been approved by the Parliament in the time shortly after the forced change of government (FER 2010b).

The United Nations estimate the Honduran population to be 7,876,662 persons (2011:7) out of which around half of them live in the different cities of the country (UNDP 2011:171) The median age of a person living in Honduras is 21 years old, giving Honduras a very young population (UNDP 2011:171). This is confirmed when looking at the figure below where it is clear that the younger cohorts vastly outnumber the older cohorts.

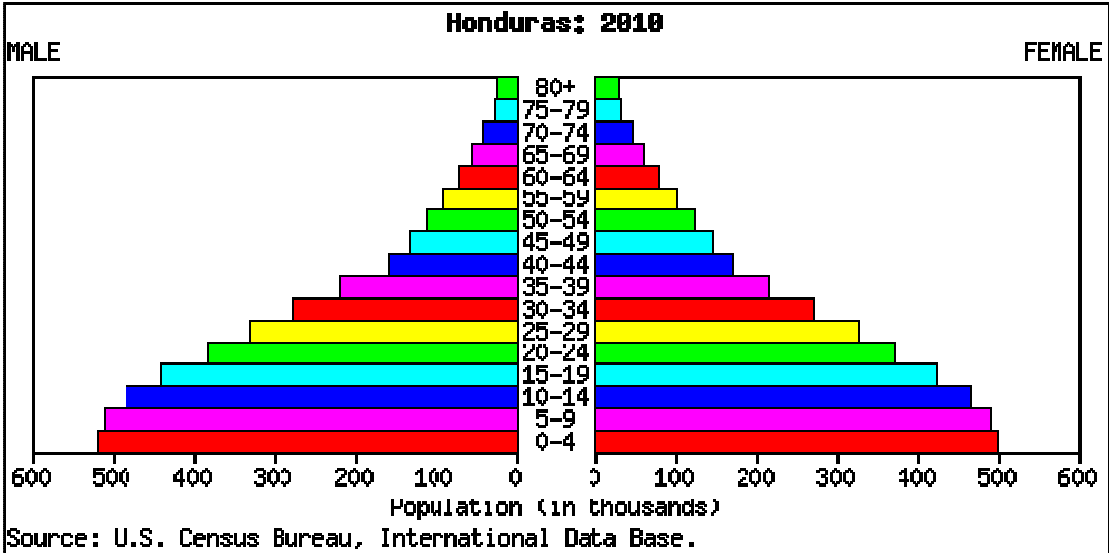


Figure 1: Honduran Age Group Statistics (NationMaster.com not dated).

Whilst 64 % of the youths of age enroll into secondary education, 57 % of the males and 71% of the females (UNESCO 2010:367), the enrollment into tertiary education is leveled at 14% of the total, or 13% of the males and 16% of the females (UNESCO

2010:374). The average level of schooling for the entire population is 6.5 years, while persons born this year are expected to have 11.4 years of schooling (UNDP 2011:129).

The mean age for marriage is around the median age of the population, between 21 and 21.5 years of age (Guzman 2006:597; United Nations 2010:180). Hondurans have a normal life expectancy rate, at 73.1 years, which does not differ too much from most countries of the world (UNDP 2011:129).

### **3 Recent political instability in Honduras**

This chapter will deal with the recent political instability of Honduras, the events that created the situation resulting in the need for the movement that is the center of this thesis. Without the overthrow, Manuel Zelaya would never have had any unity between such a large diversity of different organizations, as we will see that in Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular. First I present some of the politics of Manuel Zelaya before looking at the coup and the movement resulting from this coup.

#### **3.1 The politics of Manuel Zelaya**

Manuel Zelaya had been elected to the Honduran Parliament twice and was a minister in the government of Carlos Roberto Flores (Minster 2009). Although a member of one of the two established and larger parties in Honduras, both were considered conservative (Taylor-Robinson 2006), he became known for supporting



*Illustration 2: Manuel Zelaya in Brazil after the coup (Dias 2009)*

programs that benefitted and targeted indigenous groups, one of the poorest ethnic groups in the country (Minster 2009). Considered a moderate center-right during his campaign and in the beginning of his term (Meyer 2010:1) he ran on a platform with battling crime as his largest argument in the campaign to be elected president. However politics took a left turn some years into the presidency when Honduras entered into the Bolivarian Alliance together with Hugo Chavez of Venezuela and Evo Morales of Bolivia, amongst others (Minster 2010). Other policies that were proposed or implemented included a substantial rise in minimum

wage, better salaries for teachers, free primary education, literacy programs, expansion of vaccination programs, more subsidies for some necessities, free electricity for the 700,000 poorest, micro-financing and a ban on some timber and mining activities (Meyer 2010:2; Ronderos 2011:318). These policies secured the support from certain political groups, groups that traditionally did not have strong political ties or outcries (Frank 2010:8) but it alienated the political and economic elite of the country, including large parts of his own political party (Meyer 2010:2).

These policy issues would probably not have been enough to instigate a coup for those who opposed Manuel Zelaya's initiatives if he would not have given them additional reasons to do so. In March 2009 he called on the National Statistics Institute of Honduras to perform a popular referendum on June 28<sup>th</sup> to poll the people on the question of adding a fourth ballot box in the next election asking if the people wanted a constituent assembly to amend and/or change the constitution (Meyer 2010:2). The opposition claimed this to be unconstitutional and claimed to fear for a scenario in which Zelaya would try to instigate an institutional coup or an "auto-golpe" as they are called in Spanish (Meyer 2010:3; Joyce 2009:42; Ruhl 2010:100). The women's organizations saw this as their great opportunity and organized themselves to be able to lobby and propagate their demands regarding how the new constitution should look like.

The military and the judiciary ended up denying the need and constitutionality of both the assembly and the demands coming from a variety of organizations (Ronderos 2011:319). The supporters of the referendum, the assembly and Manuel Zelaya's initiatives were many of the same organizations that later formed the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular (Meyer 2010:4).

### **3.2 The coup d'état of 28<sup>th</sup> of June 2009 and the aftermath**

On June 28<sup>th</sup> the President Manuel "Mel" Zelaya was woken in the middle of the night and transported by military troops from the presidential palace to the airport. The president was then transported to the regional neighbor Costa Rica. This was done under orders from the Supreme Court. It has been claimed that this order was issued June 26<sup>th</sup> in secret. An interim government headed by the former president of the Parliament, was then established. The interim president came from the same party as Manuel Zelaya (Meyer 2010:4).

Soon after the coup, supporters of both sides took to the streets in demonstrations in large numbers (Ruhl 2010:102) Media supportive of Manuel Zelaya was closed down and or occupied (Casey 2009). The demonstrations in support of the ousted president were violently

subdued by the military, police and the security forces (Amnesty 2009:7). This included gendered and sexual violence towards female participants in these demonstrations (Amnesty 2009:10). A curfew was established, which violated human rights by arbitrary changing of the curfew times (Amnesty 2009:15).

Once a continent of coups, Latin America hadn't seen military overthrow of an elected civilian government since 1976 (Dominguez 1997), but the overthrow of Manuel Zelaya broke the trend. It was not an ordinary overthrow (Ruhl 2010:93) as usually the military took control over countries in earlier coups but this time it was a military conducted arrest on the basis of a secret supreme court ruling and the power was delivered to the person appointed by Parliament (Llanos & Marsteintredet 2010:174). Honduras already had a very low popular democratic support (Seligson & Booth 2010:123; Joyce 2009:43; Ruhl 2010:94), but the overthrow of the president the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 2009 took the world by surprise, even veteran Latin-America experts (Seligson & Booth 2010:123; Llanos & Marsteintredet 2010:174). Zelaya was initially supported (can be read; the coup was opposed) by most of the world community and by international organizations, including countries like Brazil (Castañeda 2010:115), United States (Chomsky 2011), Venezuela and the rest of the OAS (Llanos & Marsteintredet 2010:174; Ruhl 2010:102) In November of the same year there was an emergency election for new president (Young 2010:4) and as this elections was considered to be a free and fair election it was recognized by most countries (Castañeda 2010:115; Meyer 2010:14). The former countries who denounced the interim government, such as the United States, were now supportive of the elected government led by Porfirio Lobo Sosa. Although most countries recognized the election, the basis of the continued unrest in the country is a result of the supporters of Manuel Zelaya who did not acknowledge the possibility of having an election when the incumbent president had been ousted (Trucchi 2011).

Although the reasons for the coup can be debated and there is uncertainty regarding whether Zelaya committed an auto-golpe or self-coup by his decisions to hold the referendum. One thing is clear: that Zelaya's rights as a Honduran were violated when he was exiled instead of having him brought before a judge (Ruhl 2010:102; Gonzales 2009). Looking past this, a report by Human Rights Foundation has been published which places guilt on both parties, although in regards to different issues (2010). There are also discussions on whether or not the Parliament or Supreme Court of Honduras had the constitutional right to do what it did and the way it did (Cassel 2009; Meyer 2010:4).

### 3.3 Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular

The Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular, or the Peoples National Resistance Front as it might be translated into English, is a child with many names. During its lifetime it has had several different names, ranging from Frente Nacional de la Resistencia (FNR) (Ruhl 2010:102), Frente Nacional Contra El Golpe De Estado En Honduras (FNCGEH) (PIDHDD 2009), Frente Nacional de Resistencia Contra el Golpe de Estado (FNGE) (FNGE 2009) but it is now consistent in the use of the name Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular (FNRP) (FNRP 2010a; FNRP 2012a) as



Illustration 3: Banner for FNRP

the name of the umbrella-movement that stands against the coup. Although being consistent does not necessarily mean the movement needs to use this name in all occasions and it might not be politically wise in some cases; therefore in February 2012 the FNRP founded the political party with a goal to compete in national elections, Libertad y Refundación (Libre), la Fuerza de Refundación Popular (FRP) (FNRP 2012b).

The FNRP is an organizations-based umbrella movement; there are several different kinds of organizations that constitute the FNRP. The movement is made up of organizations supporting the rights of citizens, workers, farmers, small and medium sized businesses, teachers,



Illustration 4: Banner for the group "Women in the resistance"

human rights, youth, women, artists, indigenous peoples, African-Americans, LGBT and

migrants. It is also constituted of environmental and student organizations, NGO's, liberal and left-leaning political groups, churches and unions from different industries (FNRP 2010a, FNRP 2012d). What we do know about the groups of these categories is that they consist of the teachers unions COPEMH (CODEV 2012; COPEMH 2010) and FOMH (FNRP 2010b), The Confederation of Honduran Workers (CTH), the social-Christian General Workers' Central (CGT), the radical Unitary Confederation of Honduran Workers (CUTH) (Institute for Global Labour and Human Rights 2009), small parts of the liberal party, the newspaper Diario Tiempo, Via Campesina Centroamericana (Ruhl 2010:102), Bloque Popular, Union Democratica (PIDHDD 2009; Ruhl 2010:102), and various other organizations (Honduras para todos 2009).



*Illustration 5: Front person of the LGBT*

The movement is organized through regional committees of representatives from the member organizations of the region. The different regions and the national organizations then send their representatives to the coordinating committee of the national umbrella movement so that they can decide upon strategies, politics and what is deemed to be necessary to further the cause of the movement (Frank 2010:7).

The Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular has been conducting non-violent resistance (Food First 2011; Zunes 2009) against the government of the country, but there have been reports on attempts to buy firearms from neighboring countries to continue the fight. However, it is unclear whether or not idea is one of just some members or if these actions are sanctioned by the top of the organization(s) (Latin America News Dispatch 2011).

#### **4 Conceptual framework; Women at war, conflict, peace and political organizations.**

In this chapter I present the framework on which I will base the analyses conducted in Chapter 8. The conceptual framework will draw on upon a variety of theories and academic insight that is relevant for the topic at hand. That being said, the concepts used in this chapter will both compliment and contradict each other at times so that they can contribute to a better understanding of the impact of gender in the Honduran situation.

At the beginning of this chapter I define two terms I feel are necessary to clarify further. Theories are presented regarding the use of public space specifically for having your voice



heard in political situations, including, but not limited to, the use of “street-taking”, graffiti and demonstrations. These theories include the use of public web space, the modern-day equivalent or addition to public everyday spaces that we have outside our houses are also part of this chapter. I will also continue my conceptual search into the theories and concepts about female tendencies toward violence, or the lack thereof. Within this topic I will include both women as soldiers and supporters for war, and women as supporters for peace and by nature opposed to war and violence. The attitudes of the United Nations Security Council seem to promote the same essentialism and have added the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) regarding women. Conflicts and conflict resolution is also a part of this Resolution. I will conclude with a summary of the ideas presented regarding female tendencies for violence. I include the theories regarding women in violence and in armed conflicts because even though the situation in Honduras is not a armed conflict nor a (civil) war it is clear that a struggle like this consists of many of the same processes and the same rhetoric as an armed conflict.

I will continue this chapter by looking at women’s roles in political organizations, as this is part of the big picture when looking at the difference between male and female actions inside the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular. I also find it important to look into the gender roles in Latin America today.

I regard having contradicting or complementing theories as a rather important of this thesis, as this tension might show that there are some holes in the argumentation or things that might not be explained by the preferred theories themselves. I have chosen to include the concept of a tendency for conflict when there are too many young unmarried men, a concept that will be used to illuminate the possibility for any additional and/or contradicting aspects to the analyzes of the data accumulated for this paper in the discussions chapter.

I will end this chapter with a summary of the key points drawn from these different theories and sum up the hypotheses as they stand after having been confronted with theory.

## **4.1 Definitions**

In this part of the chapter I define important topics and terms that could otherwise create misunderstandings if they were left undefined. I define the term Violence more precisely. Although this term is not the most important to understand for the overall theme of this paper, I do regard a clarification on this matter to be important in minimizing misunderstandings throughout the rest of the paper.

### **4.1.1 Violence**

Violence plays an important part of this thesis, as it is something that, according to the essentialists that I draw upon later in this chapter, distinguishes men and women and is thus a gender separator. Gender separation is just one of the aspects of violence in this thesis. Since I will be looking at violence on such a large scale clarification of the term violence is needed regarding as violence is a concept that contains many different variations of the same phenomena. According to Galtung, violence is any kind of harm and/or hurting to other persons and/or groups and/or objects (1996:2). This includes direct physical violence, cultural violence and structural violence. Johansen states that, “*Direct violence is harming others with intention,*” (2007:151) and it is this aspect of violence that I will concentrate on as opposed to cultural and structural violence. Direct violence is carried out by small groups of people opposed to cultural and structural violence that can be said to require connections to the heights of power of the society.

In the term direct violence I also include transgressions against private or public property as violence, as this is harmful to the interest of the owners of said property

Another important aspect that I will include in the term direct violence for the purpose of this paper is the use of threats. Threats are a transgression of the level of security of the person, group or object that is threatened. I do include threats into the term of violence, as recommended by Isdal (2002:49). This has also been included into the picture of violence by Galtung (1996:2, 61).

To sum up, in this paper the use of the term violence will be used regarding intentional harm or hurt against persons, groups or objects or the threat of such harm or hurt.

## **4.2 Gender in Latin America**

Gender roles and relations in Latin America have historically been and are still quite unequal, with an asymmetrical power structure in the favor of the men (Valestrand 2007:276). Changes to this system have not often been welcome as feminism has been considered a subversive action and a threat to civic or military authoritarian regimes, with Honduras being one of them (Chant 2003:1). However, over the last few decades the power balance has become more equal throughout the general democratization process that has occurred to a smaller or larger degree across the continent (Craske 2003a:44). The greater equality can to a large degree be attributed to political rights and more social freedom, whereas in the economic arena, women are now even more unequal (Craske 2003b:70). This in turn might suggest that if you either come from a family of money and/or manage to obtain it yourself you will probably be on a rather equal standing as the men.

The role of the male, concentrated on the public life, is often identified as machismo (Valestrand 2007:278) and the role of women, belonging to the domestic life, is often identified as marianismo (Valestrand 2007:280).

Machismo is often identified with a focus on being the breadwinner, displaying aggressiveness and competitiveness against other males, and sexually aggressive and authoritarian attitudes towards women (Valestrand 2007:279). Marianismo on the other hand is signified by being a mother and a wife, developed from the Catholic ideas of Maria, in which one should be an innocent women, caring for her husband and children, obeying her husband's words, and being a housewife (Valestrand 2007:280). This also impedes a limited sexuality, as sexuality does not fit into the picture of the holy mother. The myths and popular saints of Latin America provide plentiful role models for the women based on the concept of marianismo as there are a number of popular saints that have attained sainthood by being good and sacrificial mothers and wives (Graziano 2007:178).

Women were supposed to keep themselves in the home, and women who chose or were forced to take waged labor were considered to have hairy chests and be too manly (Varley 2000:239). This emphasizes again the demand of the man to be the breadwinner and a real man's man, keeping himself distanced from the home (Valestrand 2007:179)

Female aggressiveness and assertiveness is unwanted and frowned upon according to the marianismo/machismo divide, but there are some practical and context-dependent exceptions from these sets of social rules. Women can be aggressive if it is necessary in times like war, social unrest and similar situations. One example of this is the female heroines of Cochabamba in Bolivia where the women of the city defended the city to their death because there were no more men to do the fighting. This was celebrated in the years to come, from 1812 to around the 1940s when the populist military regime converted it to a national holiday for mothers - the Mothers' Day, thus converting the dangerous and rebellious women into mothers in line with the governments traditionalistic values (Gotkowitz 2000:215). Sometimes they are viewed as they were - dangerous, but to support the idea of the nation they are now seen as loyal nationalists (Gotkowitz 2000:217). This perception is at odds with the actual history in which they were opposed to the elites and part of a revolt.

The gender patterns described above show why the distance between the kitchen and the streets and plazas of the country might be huge for women living in a country where gender roles suggest that the ideal women are like the holy mother. The case of the Bolivian uprising mentioned above and the history of women in the Nicaraguan revolution presented below show that women might work outside of the social norms in a way that is more closely

related to male gender patterns, but it is best if these practices end when the period of extraordinary need ends. In some situations where the social norm still impedes women from taking to the streets, it can be helpful to the situation if some women who are not considered sexually dangerous can be the first to claim the streets. One such situation is the grieving grandmothers and mothers who captured the Plaza de Mayo en Buenos Aires and to some extent are still holding that public space. This way the less dangerous women make taking to the streets a less socially stigmatic action for the rest of women, the older ones thus creating precedence for the younger women. (More on claiming the streets is discussed in section 4.6; more on the grieving grandmothers and mothers in section 4.3).

### **4.3 Women, naturally peaceful?**

In this section of my thesis I take a closer look at the concepts and reported evidence regarding female tendencies for violence in warlike conflicts or the lack thereof. I do this through analyzing some of the writings on women as combatants and the essentialist notion that women are fundamentally non-violent by nature. I will then conclude this part of this chapter by confronting these theories with one other and summarize conclusions from these theories and the interaction between them.

#### **4.3.1 Women in conflicts and at war**

It is commonly believed that women are peaceful mothers and therefore non-violent by nature, although there have been historical exceptions where women has fought, the essentialist notion referred to is still proclaimed by some academics and feminists (Alison 2004:448; MacKenzie 2009:247; Turshen 1998:1). It can be said that this notion might stem from the fact that war making over the last few hundred years usually consisted of organized war fighting with regular armies that consisted of just men, but the history of female participation in war is not new. During the roman attacks on Jerusalem, the women of the city participated in the defense in positions that included direct combat (Gentry 2009:240).

It might seem like there are more female combatants when there are unclear distinctions between the home front and the battlefronts. This usually occurs in situations of civil war, non-state wars, or when violent conflict is of an anti-state nature such as a revolution or war of liberation. This being said, the female combatants usually belong to the non-state party in such conflicts. The number of female combatants increases in such situations as there is more space for the women to fight as the traditional patterns of society become temporarily uprooted (Alison 2004:448; Gentry 2009:240; Turshen 1998:1).

Women can participate in combat alongside the men, but as my definition of violence shows it is possible to be violent without actually inflicting physical harm on anyone. Rhetorical violence such as threats can be equally damaging and form a part of a wider picture of violence inflicted on someone. Therefore, there is the possibility for the women to behave traditionally by being peaceful, but participate through creating fights by igniting the male combatants (Kilcullen 2009:81) participating in the rhetorical violence with threats, or support the combatants by providing intelligence and logistical assistance, particularly by food and nutrition (Arreguín-Toft 2005-94; Turshen 1998:1) so that the combatants can continue their work. Additionally, they can be used as transports as it is easier to hide firearms and bombs under traditional female dressing (Alison 2004:456) and male police/military in most cultures are not willing to search women as closely as they would search a man. An example is the Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party who has used pregnant women to carry firearms and bombs (Skaine 2006:25).

Although female combatants are nothing new in human history, it might seem like the numbers of female soldiers and the number of conflicts where there is a large number of female combatants are increasing (Cockburn 2010:145). This can be attributed to the fact that there is now more civil wars and conflicts than there are conventional wars (Mueller 2007:1) and that there is more blurring of the lines between the home front and the battlefield. Examples of conflict where there have been female combatants include Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua (Kampwirth 2002:2) Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland (Alison 2004:449) Guatemala, Eritrea, Kenya (Hauge 2008:296) Colombia (Gjelsvik 2010:12) Sierra Leone, Angola, DRC (MacKenzie 2009:243) and Sudan (Halim 1998:96).

As previously mentioned, the numbers of female combatants are increasing. In countries such as Sierra Leone between ten and fifty percent of combatants in the different groups that made up the civil war are female.(MacKenzie 2009:243) In Sri Lanka realistic estimates suggests that female combatants made up between fifteen and thirty-three percent of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Some sources suggest fifty percent, but are not considered to be realistic. The percentage of female combatants in LTTE covers all divisions, including the Black Tigers, their suicide bomber squad (Alison 2004:450). Female soldiers in LTTE are said to be more violent and frightening, maybe because they have to prove themselves (Alison 2004:457). There are also other countries where the proportions of female fighters have been realistically estimated to be above thirty percent, namely in Eritrea and Nicaragua (Hauge 2008:297). In the case of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern

Ireland women were initially not allowed, but have been allowed into the IRA one step at the time although the percentage of female combatants is not known (Alison 2004:451).

Women, as men, have many different reasons to enlist or join into the military activities in a conflict. These reasons might vary and may include personal security, group belonging, ethnocentrism, nationalism, fear of sexual violence, feminism/emancipation or death of loved ones, personal experience of suffering or the suffering of persons they know. Simply put, women have as many different reasons for joining in conflict as the male combatants (Alison 2004:453). There may also be pressure from the resistance organization because of a lack of male fighters or personnel, but research into the reasons for women joining such endeavors shows that it is mostly desire of the women themselves that makes them join such organizations (Alison 2004:454).

As previously mentioned one reason that might explain why some organizations actively search for female combatants for suicide bombers is that it is easier to hide bombs and firearms. Female suicide bombers are now as normal as male suicide bombers that it might as well be female combatants who create the next 9/11 (Skaine 2006:7). The first organization that used female suicide bombers in modern times was the Black Tigers division of the LTTE in Sri Lanka (Skaine 2006:21; Alison 2004:450), but today the world has experienced female suicide bombers in Afghanistan, Algeria, Palestine (Alison 2004:456), Iraq (Skaine 2006:49), Chechnya, Lebanon and for the al-Qaeda (Skaine 2006:26). The statistics counting suicide attacks around the world report that in total fifteen percent of such attacks were conducted by female combatants between 1980 and 2003, resulting in 59 attacks. One third of suicide attacks carried out by the LTTE and two thirds of suicide attacks carried out by the Kurdistan Workers Party were accomplished through female suicide bombers (Skaine 2006:25).

Although female inclusion is now a rather normal sight in a militant opposition groups, this participation is not without problems for the female combatants. When taking part of such endeavors as there are huge problems that might be traced back to male insecurity in working alongside women, and there is the problem of sexism and outright refusal to work with women and or wanting them to leave the scene if a bad situation arises (Alison 2004:455-456). In the case of Sudan, the female combatants tell stories that give evidence to the claim that many of the male combatants prioritize the stereotype gender role of women as providers of sex rather than considering female combatants as fellow soldiers that deserve equal respect (Halim 1998:96).

Although female combatants share blood, sweat and tears on the same basis and usually on equal standing as the men they are not guaranteed equal political rights when the fighting ends, even if their party stands victorious (Alison 2004:458). The female combatants have an equal right to die in combat, but not an equal right to participate in politics or to equal political rights (Alison 2004:459-460). The normal tendency is that a postwar re-marginalization occurs (Alison 2004:448). Nicaraguan and Colombian cases illustrate this well, when the women have formed a rather large part of the combative force, yet after democracy has returned to their countries it was back to business as usual (Kampwirth 1998:264; Gjelsvik 2010:82). Shortly before the last election in Nicaragua the right to therapeutic abortion was lost, leaving the women of Nicaragua in yet a more negative position than before (Kampwirth 2008:123)

### **4.3.2 Women as drivers for peace**

In a play by Aristotle about the Peloponnesian War the women of Greece grew so tired of the war fighting that they told their husbands that until the war finished there would be no sexual relations. The Athenian women even seized the treasury so that the Athenian men stood without both sex and the gold necessary for the continuation of the warfare (Stiehm 2005:258). This example is one of many that show what the essentialists think of as a natural behavior based on gender: the women against war on a natural basis and the men in fundamental need of sex and being violent.

Throughout the centuries it has been common that women are essentially non-violent and peaceful (Gentry 2009). Essentialism is the idea that there are characteristics of humans that are attributed to the sex that give answers as to why things are the way they are. The female notion of avoiding or preventing violence is one such characteristic (Jenkins & Reardon 2007:214). There are several reasons that have been attributed as the essentialist reason for why women are against war and violence. It has been attributed to the fact that they are (potential) mothers, being feminists, being women (Conover & Sapiro 1993:1079; Gentry 2009:237) and being wives or girlfriends (Gentry 2009:241). I will come back to the notion of women being essentially non-violent because they are (potential) mothers in section 4.3.3 below, but an American study found little support for the “feminist”-theory and more support for the “women”-theory (Conover & Sapiro 1993:1079). Although not finding much support for attributing the non-violence to being feminist, they found that men who are feminists are also against war to a larger degree than other men (Conover & Sapiro 1993:1096). What they

did find shows us that attitudes towards violence and war are rather negative and this presents the possibility for attributing this find to the essentialist notion discussed in this chapter.

Thus, because of the cultural hegemony of this thought and the attitudes that inspire female combatants presents a challenge as to what we usually think about when thinking of war and combatants (Alison 2004:447). Female combatants in light of this tradition are often portrayed as being very evil persons that stand outside the accepted societal norms, that are being tricked or manipulated into behaving against their nature or are so victimized that it results in them taking other person's life (Skaine 2006:30).

Many organizations formed by women over time have had a gendered focus on violence and war. Women in different countries all over the world and in different historical periods have organized women-only groups to combat militarization and war (Cockburn 2010:139) in countries like Liberia, Colombia (Cockburn 2010:142), Sierra Leone, Yugoslavia (Cockburn 2010:143), Israel, (Gentry 2009:238; Jenkins & Reardon 2007:215) and in other countries and territories. There is also a long tradition of international groups such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) (Confortini 2011:350) and established local organizations like the Greenham Common Women (Jenkins & Reardon 2007:214). Both organizations are built upon the notion that women are essentially peaceful, and as such they consider that gender considerations are the key to an effective peace building in our world during our time (Hudson 2009:288). Women can also draw upon this notion as a way to do peace work as peaceful demonstrations that play on feminine victimization. A powerful way to change public opinions on a case is by portraying their opponent as a big bad wolf who goes against peaceful female victims and/or women (Aretxaga 1997:57).

### **4.3.3 Mothers in conflict, war and peace**

The American study mentioned in section 4.3.2 above did not find any support for the theory that women who have become mothers were more peaceful and opposed to war (Conover & Sapiro 1993:1079). However the essentialist theory also has room for the possibility of being a mother as a reason, and the possibility of becoming a mother is something that is unquestionably essential about being female, although not all women can have children. In contrast to this essentialist notion, it has been claimed that a reason some women become violent, participate in a suicide bombing or become an activist is because as one is a mother, one owes it to ones' children to fight for a better future (Gentry 2009:238, 240).



It might also be because one has lost ones' children so that the woman feels the need for revenge or has the feeling that she no longer has anything to live for and can now contribute everything in battle. The study into who becomes a suicide bomber shows that there are two typical age groups for female suicide bombers that are different than the normal age group for male suicide bombers. While most male suicide bombers are in their twenties most female suicide bombers divide themselves into two distinct age groups, either being in their teens or being in their thirties, which should indicate that they generally are (1) too young to have children, (2) do not have the possibility to have children, (3) have children but find that you need to contribute to the cause either because of your children or despite the fact that you have children or (4) because you have lost your children. Studies suggests that there might be a mixture of all of these three coming into play in actual suicide bombers' histories (Skaine 2006:26), but to get actual information from the participants in such actions in retrospect is somewhat difficult.

Although there is evidence of women committing violent acts because they are mothers, we also see women committing violent acts because they are not yet mothers or cannot become mothers. However, what we also see is that women take a non-violent stance and even form women's peace organizations based on the fact that they are women and mothers. Influential and famous peace organizations that derive their rhetoric from the fact that they are mothers are quite common in Latin America with prominent organizations in El Salvador, Argentina and Mexico (Gentry 2009:238).

There have also been non-organized demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience drawing on the status of women and mothers they are often seen as non-violent, peaceful and nurturing. This technique also relates to the fact that the soldiers on the other side have mothers and are more likely to hesitate when fighting against someone who resembles their own mother (Aretxaga 1997:57).

#### **4.3.4 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325**

In the year 2000, the United Nations Security Council voted for the Resolution 1325, which focuses on the intersection between gender and conflicts, here focusing on sexual violence against women in conflicts and the need for female participation in creating peace and keeping the peace. The background for this might be seen as an adoption of the essentialist notion described in section 4.3.2 above with the belief that the masculine perspective of international politics and the international system creates more conflicts because of destructive policies and practices. This is further worsened because of limitation

and/or exclusion of women in processes and because the system is gender-blind. This prevents the system from discovering the problems that arise from not having women involved in such processes. SC-1325 also declares it to be a democratic necessity to include women in these processes (Jenkins & Reardon 2007:219; United Nations Security Council 2000). The SC-1325 thus considers gender as necessary in contributing to a country, region or world in a more peaceful way since today more of the views of the populous will be met and less people are living in despair (Hudson 2009:288). Peace is in need of women, if true peace is to be accomplished (Cohn 2004; United Nations Security Council 2000).

On the other hand, the SC-1325 focuses on women as victims and possible peacemakers (Cohn 2004a) through the focus on sex as a weapon, women as victims (Cockburn 2010:144; Turshen 1998:2) and the focus on women as a driving force for peace (Cohn 2004). An important aspect of this is that when sex is used as a weapon, it is a threat to the whole society because of prevailing gender roles. This technique is also a huge discouragement to the principle of female participation in peace processes. The focus on women as victims and/or the solution does not take into account that women also perform acts of war and violence. This gives the “victim and not perpetrator” visualization that women that are an important part of the essentialist notion more credit than it otherwise might have had (Cohn, Kinsella & Gibbings 2004).

#### **4.3.5 Women in war and peace, a summary**

Whether or not women are essentially non-violent or if they are as equally prone to violence as men, it might be more complex than both feminists and conflict researchers suggest. In our world today there is less violence committed by women and fewer women who participate as combatants in war. The problem in a research situation like this is that the stereotypes applied to the world might only be half-truths. Women also contribute to or support war as men do (Conover & Sapiro 1993:1095). Women are similar enough to men and have definitively proven themselves on the battleground as well. Gender stereotypes do confuse the picture; women do everything that men do in combat, but this is more hidden, maybe because of stereotypes that exists (Hudson 2009:295) or maybe because of essentialist thought.

Having found all this information about women in war and as creators of peace calls for an answer as to why I have done this when there is arguably no war-situation in Honduras. The situation in Honduras is not a war; it is not even a civil war. But for those men and women who participate in the situation it might be experienced like a very heavy conflict

inducing some of the changes in gender roles as in a war. There will be more on gender roles in section 4.2, more on the roles of women in organizations in time of conflict in section 4.5 and more on the connections between these pieces of theory and my findings in chapter 8.

I will conclude this chapter with the remark that women are probably violent and war prone as well, but somewhat less inclined to physical violence than men. This does not mean that women are not victims of war and conflicts or drivers for peace, giving an easy solution to the situation. On the other hand, it does not mean that female participation in rhetorical violence or support for males in a war situation is not damaging to the opponent or the possibility for peace such situations.

#### **4.4 Young unmarried men**

Historically there has been a concern within the social sciences that demographic buildups could lead to war and violent conflicts as situations have the potential of creating resource scarcity that will create conflicts because of the lack of food, money, work or opportunities for a larger number of people than the system in the country could hold back (Mesquida & Wiener 1999:182). Now, other demographic factors have begun to be looked at as well, and researchers have begun to see that other demographic factors might create troublesome situations. Factors that are included here include migration, youth bulges and the ethnic and religious makeup of the population (Brunborg & Urdal 2005:371).

It has been pointed out that most conflicts in today's world happen where there is a surplus of young unmarried men and that the chance increases where there is little chance of securing the means necessary to have find a suitable wife and start a family (Mesquida & Wiener 1999:182). Here it is possible to point back to some of the information in section 4.3.1 as male suicide bombers tend to be in their early twenties and are usually single, without both informal and formal life partners (Skaine 2006:26). Although these young males do lack mates and the ability to create a family, this might just be a byproduct of what is really happening - resources enable the young unmarried men to obtain what they did not have before if the endeavor is successful. Men might obtain social status, a comfortable life and a "better wife" than what might have been the case if the resource collecting would not have taken place or would have failed (Mesquida & Wiener 1999:186).

Both of these points of view still lead to the same conclusion; that if there are a relatively large proportion of young unmarried men who do not have the means to obtain a good enough life according to what they assume is just for them, the likelihood of war or

violent internal conflict in a country increases as it is mainly young men who fight in wars and conflicts (Mueller 2007:90).

#### **4.5 Women's role in political organizations in times of conflict**

In this part of the theory chapter, I look at women's roles in political organizations, especially during conflict situations. I also draw upon the women's current roles in political organizations, as the latter is necessary to give an insight into the former.

Many feminists and essentialists consider and believe that history tell us that women are more altruistic, communal and peaceful when compared to men (Schlozman, Burns, Verba & Donahue 1995:268). Therefore, they find grass roots movements a better fit than electoral involvement (Schlozman ET. Al. 1995:269) because political activity and other activities one can pursue in grassroots movements in comparison with electoral political organizations are often more directly hands on and more connected to the issues that women find important.

Historically, one also finds that there have been more women in political organizations on the grass roots level and less in the upper echelons of the same organizations and purely electoral political organizations. Although there are always exceptions, two examples are the Brazilian senator Benedita da Silva (Craske 2003b:67) and the Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff, both of whom have risen from the grassroots level onto the main electoral level of their country. It is hard to know if this lack of female participation is due to rules set by the spouse, by their own free will or by a glass ceiling that is being held in place by those recruiting to such positions. Studies in the discipline of political science show that the gap between male and female participation in movements and turnouts for elections are narrow. Women now turn out for voting in a fashion that is similar or surpasses male turnout, but they also find that leadership is still very dominantly male (Schlozman et. Al. 1995:269). On the other hand, they do not find any significant differences in the participation levels of political organizations in total based on gender (Schlozman ET. Al. 1995:270). This being said, it is still necessary to point back to the beginning of this chapter as it says that there are more women in grass roots movements and less so in the top echelons of the electoral political organizations.

Studies also find that there is no real schism between the genders on political topics; they find that men and women often agree on most topics. However, there are some topics that are more often on the frontline between the genders than others, topics that men and women disagree upon on distinctly more often. These topics are not the more traditional and

stereotypical female topics like abortion, equality and so on, but topics that are mostly in line with the traditional *realpolitik* which can be said to have been considered a part of the male sphere of politics and war, such as topics like international aggression, the use of violence in conflicts (and war) and welfare (Schlozman et. Al. 1995:270). The latter, although not considered part of the *realpolitik*, even though one of the first instances of a welfare system was created by the man that in hindsight exemplifies the *realpolitik*, Otto von Bismarck.

The history of Latin American politics shows a long history of women's grassroots movements within a diverse set of topics that mostly centers around political issues and sometimes includes the promotion of women in political parties (Molyneux 2002:170-171)

In Nicaragua, the women's part of the Sandinista movement played a huge role during the revolution and in the years directly following as this movement contained several women's groups which constituted important parts of the movement, both militarily and politically. One of these was the AMNLAE or the Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenses Luisa Amanda Espinoza. This organization and several others brought feminist issues to the forefront of the revolution (Kampwirth 2008:125). This organization provided different kinds of support and help for women around the country through their more than fifty "women's houses". This is a typical grassroots initiative, but even though they worked with and supported the Sandinista movement this did not mean that they achieved significantly more women in power positions in the country.

The same can be said in the case in El Salvador where they did have a similar conflict and post-conflict situation. There the feminist and women's organizations made the top parties promise to implement parts of these organizations policies, but the women themselves did not achieve a significant amount of power, neither as members of Parliament nor as members of the government (Kampwirth 1998:261).

It should here be mentioned that Nicaragua did get a female president in 1990 and she did come from opposition to the rulers from before the revolution. She won on a platform based on anti-feminism, a return to the hardline Catholic family values, and portrayed herself as an exemplary mother and widow. In other words, she did not fight the fight of the feminists and did not belong to the kind of organizations portrayed in the rest of my thesis (Kampwirth 1998:264).

In section 4.3 I mention several women's organizations, feminists' organizations and how women participate during conflict situations, including examples from Nicaragua and El Salvador. These are women and organizations that have existed in various different parts of the world and with different causes although their missions are usually centered on a certain

group of key activities and goals. Not all the keywords apply to all the organizations, however, as this group of words contains peace, revolution, social justice, equality, economic equality and so on. What is even more common for these organizations and even more relevant for this chapter is that these women normally make up just the grassroots of their organizations and if they do not just make up the grass roots level it is because it is an all-women organization. If it is an all-women organization it is then most likely that they do not have much formal or electoral power.

This section shows that women do participate politically during conflicts, both in the leading organizations and in their own organizations. They fight wars together with men and they contribute to the conflict on various levels. But what they do not do is to contribute to the leadership of the general and non-gendered organizations. There are some exceptions but they are few and far between. There are more female leaders in the middle of the organizations, but still fewer than male leaders on the same level. Women contribute in organizations, women contribute in conflicts, but women do not generally contribute in the “defining roles” of such organizations and conflicts.

#### **4.6 The use of public space**

In this part of my conceptual framework I explore the use of public space, both in a gendered perspective and to see how one use public space in society to protest or show their presence in way of dissenting. I first look at gendered uses of public space before I look at the use of public space for dissent and for being heard. Something noteworthy before reading through the following two chapters on the use of public space is that it is important to have in mind that even if there is a lot about the ruling elites, capturing and regulations of public space in this part of my paper. It is important to have in mind that regulations of public space and the control of the use is not only done by governmental active control, but social control and corrections is also an important part of this (Holloway & Hubbard 2001:208) even though my wording might not always reflect this.

##### **4.6.1 Gendered use of public space**

First I look at different modes of using public space, modes that are often dependent on gender in the way that it is being utilized. The reason for this is that men and women have traditionally had different roles in society. Traditionally men and women have been seen to have different impact on the public space as women mainly or dominantly have been confined to the space of the home (Mitchell 2000:207).

In Cultural Geography, one finds the same essentialist argumentation that has been discussed in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. These arguments state that women are essentially different from men by being naturally peaceful and less imposing on others. This in turn means that in a matter of the use of public space women are comparably more peaceful and non-visible as they do not occupy the streets or show visible public counter- or sub-culture in the same way as men. The use of public space is not un-gendered, not when just considering everyday activities and not when considering more dissenting activities. This does not mean that women necessarily act differently today, but it means that it has to a large degree happened before and there are different inhibitors and promoters of the use of public space and these are often divided on the basis of gender, age, race, mobility and so on. Therefore it is important to take such differences into account (Grundström 2005:1). Since this is a gender focused paper I concentrate on this issue and do not take the others into account.

It might seem in some instances that men try to be more visible; an example of this could be the clearly male gay scene of Castro in San Francisco. Some lesbian areas do not display that it is a lesbian area; you would need to know to find this fact about the area. These two cases are particularly good as examples as they are more clearly limited to one of the genders than what would be possible to find in a more heteronormativity environment or example (Mitchell 2000:191). Although giving good examples, these are just anecdotal, as other gay or lesbian areas are either gay and visible, gay and invisible, lesbian and visible or lesbian and invisible. The pattern does not seem to be defined by the gender or sexual preference, even though one might believe it from the evidence provided in the beginning (Mitchell 2000:192).

The examples and the historical background given in this short section are merely something to have in mind while reading section 4.6.2 as differences in the gendered use of public space is important to understand. The differences, or lack thereof, in male and female uses of public space for dissent in the work of the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular of Honduras and associated organizations come up later in this thesis, mainly considering my focus in chapters 6 and 8.

#### **4.6.2 The use of public space for dissent**

Streets and parks have been seen as the place where ideas compete and a place where citizens discuss more or less public questions (Mitchell 2003:48). Whilst public spaces are just that, spaces that are available to the public to mostly free and independent use there has during history always been people that use public space for reasons and actions that might not

be desirable for the rest of the population or for the elites governing the country, city, district or what does make up the authority in that given setting. The authorities have taken steps in certain situations to prohibit or limit different kinds of behavior that go beyond providing basic security to all and limiting the use of public spaces to things like protests or livelihoods for persons without homes (Mitchell 2003:1-3).

In most western democracies the inhabitants have the right to free speech, something that is often protected by the Constitution or similar laws of the different countries. Many countries in the rest of the world have such laws, but both in the west and the in the rest there are different degrees of how much they are respected and what they allow. However even in countries that mostly respect free speech, there has been a tendency to limit free speech by using the public space and laws regulating it to limit the amount of dissent or how much the rest of the population perceives of it. This can be done by regulating where and when it is lawful to perform the speeches or the protests, thus limiting the choice over and free use of public space (Mitchell 2003:4). Anthony Vidler is cited in Mitchell (2003:5) with *“if the idea of public space and its role in urban life needs to be preserved, then we also need to be aware that that idea has never been guaranteed. It has only been won through concerted struggle, and then, after the fact, guaranteed (to some extent) in the law.”*

It has been argued by some that the need for order and security in the streets weighs more than the individual and collective rights to free use of public space, making it socially positive to exclude homeless and other unwanted elements (often protests and similar) from the public space (Mitchell 2003:15).

A premise in talking about the use of public space for dissent is that the right to use the public space of the city has to be won; as Vidler states, these rights have to be won through battles in the homes, in the streets, in the courtrooms and in parliaments. Such rights always exist in a social context, not as something given. This makes it necessary for people to take the rights to protest for themselves when necessary in given political and social contexts, if they do not already have those rights (Mitchell 2003:42). In human history these excluded groups are often women, workers, dissidents, poor, disabled, sexual minorities and so on; groups that need to take this right by protests or to fight to be heard so that the ruling classes or the elite actually notices and/or listens to their demands or problems (Mitchell 2003:52). Violence and/or threats of violence might then seem like rational ways of getting attention or having one's will imposed in a way of withdrawing legitimacy from the ruling elites (Mitchell 2003:53).



The public space is thus power - power that can be captured, either violently as a semi-military conquest or in other milder non-violent ways, like occupying the streets so that others cannot use them, through street plays, stands, meetings, carnivals, exhibitions, flash parties (Mitchell 2003:73; Hertz 2004:227) dancing (Holloways & Hubbard 2001:220) and so on. For one such action to work as a way of capturing the street it is often necessary that it happens outside of the place where one normally finds such action. Dancing in a club or at a festival is hardly provocative or reclaiming, doing the same in the streets might be.

Capturing or the taking the streets can also be performed by symbolic gestures, using highly contextual symbolic actions that to a certain degree legitimizes the group's hold of the streets/public space in general or a specific area in particular (Mitchell 2003:82). If the groups capturing these public spaces are underprivileged with limited access to public space in the first place, (even if it is formally guaranteed by law or court) it can be argued that for them to capture the public space in any way might be just to take back what was originally theirs and nothing more (Mitchell 2003:74).

There are also other ways the people or parts of the people in country, region or city take back the streets as well, ways that are more than often deemed criminal, namely by doing graffiti. Even if this might be considered criminal by large parts of the population and/or the ruling elites, for other more marginalized parts of the population this might be considered an act of resistance or to "give the finger" to the society or the elites (Holloway & Hubbard 2001:220).

#### **4.7 What is the question now?**

This chapter was parted into six sections as I found that there are a set of different approaches on to how to take a deeper look at the participation of women in the National Popular Resistance Front of Honduras. These approaches cover different aspects of elements that I regard as important when looking at the gendered participation in such an organization in such a time. Whether or not there is actually a difference in behavior, these approaches are also important as a toolbox and a reference so that it is easier to spot those crucial details one otherwise might overlook.

I started out this thesis with my research question being the following:

*"Is there a gender difference in participation in the "National Popular Resistance Front"?  
How do gender-differences influence the armed/non-armed profile of the organization?"*

Based on these research questions the following are chosen as working hypotheses for this thesis:

H1. Women participate in the movement's actions in an equal manner as the men.

H2. Women in the movement are participating in the use of and taking of the street in the same manner as men

H3. The women in the movement are as inclined to reject or accept firearms as the men.

H4. Gender differences do not change the overall attitude towards violence in the studied organizations that form part of the movement.

In the previous chapter I touched upon the importance of the marital status of the perpetrators of war, terrorism and unrest. This is in addition to theories regarding the violent or non-violent nature of women and their participation in organizations and events of conflict, war and struggle for peace. This also includes how one uses public space for these purposes and how this differs for men and women. Looking at marital and social status of the persons involved in such organizations and actions is important to give a different perspective of the situation and assess the impact of gender in such a situation.

The questions that we now might ask are: if the marital status of the person influences conflict-related choices more than their gender? Does your gender or other aspects of your personality influence you or the groups you are a part of in how you would choose to utilize the public space, and does the use of the public space further your cause? Even though all of these are important questions it does not change my hypotheses and my research question, but it does influence my discussion of my findings that will come in Chapter 8. Having asked this question will in itself provide a basis of skepticism to my own findings so that it will be easier to discover where my original thoughts on the subject do not provide sufficient insight into the topic and where other approaches might.

## **5 Methodology**

In this chapter I describe both the theoretical basis for my methodology and how I chose to apply that theory into the practical action. I look at both what I did and some of the things I did not do and why or why not. As there are both theoretical foundations for why something should be done and practical reasons why it cannot be done, in this chapter I will try to justify the how and whys regarding my research into the women and their roles in the Peoples National Resistance front in Honduras.

## **5.1 Fieldwork**

Being on fieldwork means traveling to the place of interest where you interact and participate with the locals in their activities in a pursuit of knowledge about the topic of research. This is to a great extent more suited to acquiring qualitative data, not quantitative data (Thagaard 2003:16-17).

As relatively little has been written about the situation in Honduras after the coup and I have not found anything academic on the situation of women, particularly not on my perspective of the conflict, I chose to go to Honduras to see the situation with my own eyes. I wanted to hear what the people participating had to say about my topic and how they wanted it to be. Fieldwork in itself has a large tradition in the social sciences, although it is not so highly regarded in the academic tradition where I depart from, political science. As I lived in Honduras earlier I already had contacts and friends in the country, so I did not have to “start from scratch”. I already spoke the language, so my starting position seemed fortunate.

Being on fieldwork creates a whole lot of considerations one must take into account regarding how you want to participate, how you secure your own safety and the safety of your informants, how you collect your data while on fieldwork and so on. Later in this chapter I will look into these aspects of the fieldwork, both from the theoretical aspect, pre-travel in a way, and the practical aspect, which in a way can be said to be in-travel or post-travel.

### **5.1.1 Considerations regarding safety, security and ethics**

Being a part of a study program in Peace and Conflict Transformation and focusing my thesis on an ongoing conflict implies that if I go into the field I would be entering a conflict zone. Although it must be said that this was not a hot conflict zone with daily murders, there have been reports of up to nineteen related murders just in the first six months after the coup (Human Rights Foundation 2010:298; Ruhl 2010:103) and there have been clear threats made against the public, teachers, demonstrators, journalists, human rights personnel and lawyers (Frontline Defenders 2011; Sommer & Burrow 2012; Lara 2012; Taraciuk 2010; Burnette 2010; Mejia 2010a; Mejia 2010b; Whitney 2011). Several journalists have also been killed in unsolved criminal acts (FNRP 2012c). Entering a conflict zone with so much distrust and fear on both sides of the conflict means that I have to be ready to give a confident and secure impression my risk and the risks of my informants and to maximize the output of my research activities.

Normally I have what you might call a “low paranoia level”, but as a fieldworker in this project, with this type of research question and in this situation, I needed to contemplate

and adjust my caution level so that I would satisfy even the most cautious in the movement so that I could be trusted. I set up a solution for digitally collecting all my answers and getting them transferred back to me in Norway without ever having them physically cross the border. This created the problem that my questionnaires cannot be verified or documented in retrospect as the individual forms do not exist anymore. They only exist as the summary and statistics, although thoroughly typed in word for word, that I have collected as an SPSS-file.

In my first questionnaire I put in several more questions that turned out to be the final edition. The first draft also contained detailed questions about what kind of violent acts they had participated in during demonstrations and in each type of violence I asked if they had performed this act just once or if this was something that had happened a few times or many times. This was removed from the final questionnaire as both my supervisor (who has field experience from Honduras, in particular experience in insecure political situations from Honduras) and contacts discouraged me from including these questions.

Although I went through all questions to create a secure environment for the informants and informed them of this, I would sometimes be informed that they could not answer some of my questions, out of their own security and with respect to my security as it might happen that the government could be particularly interested in the information extracted from these particular points in my research. This mostly occurred in relation to the questions regarding firearms and the arming of the movement and whether or not this could be a good thing and when the firearms in such cases could/should be used.

As one can see, my considerations for security might have been too much considering what was necessary and in other situations might have been too little for the informants to feel secure. The security considerations also change how the fieldwork was conducted and what parts of the survey could be documented by other researchers.

## **5.2 Contacts in Honduras**

When one is to enter organizations that belong to a movement such as the Frente it is often necessary or valuable to have a contact person that can introduce you to the organization and the members to increase the possibility that you can earn trust faster than what you otherwise would, if at all. This is especially necessary as I had only a three-week long fieldwork period. As I had lived in Honduras earlier I already knew people that were familiar with the movement, but they were independent - in other words, not members of any of the group, but supportive of the cause who used to participate in the demonstrations together with the organizations. They also knew some of the people on the inside and knew how to contact

them. I will only name my contacts by first name, Victor and Carlos. Most of the time they followed me to demonstrations or to different organizations, but I did visit organizations on my own as well.

### **5.3 Background, gender and reflexivity**

As a researcher, one can never truly be objective (Thagaard 2003:42). Although the scientific norm is that one should be objective this is hard to accomplish (Gilhus & Mikaelsson 2001:142). Instead, one should reflect upon what thought processes and positions in the society that might influence your work and the interaction with your informants (Marshall 1992; Thagaard 2003:78; Cockburn 2010:141). Together with your upbringing and social standing, dogmas and paradigms you might influence your focus and attention to a great degree. This is rarely put in better perspective than by looking at books from religious sciences where most books deal with male actions and experiences, whereas in the last decades the female experience and actions are put in a separate chapter, normally located at the end of the book, which is an improvement from not being mentioned at all (not even by female scientists and researchers) (Sky 2007:9-10). This also applies to other university fields such as sociology (Thagaard 2003:43).

Another factor not normally taken into account includes the researcher's class background (Sky 2007:14-15). Norwegians usually think that we do not have social classes and this makes it harder for us to see when something is class related (Eikemo 2004:12).

With this in mind, I tried to apply reflexivity in my research by first looking at myself to see where I stand, and myself in relation to my informants. I will start from the most basic and make the analysis more advanced so as to finally round up who I am in relation to my informants.

I am male, born in Norway to parents from the upper middle class who both served as leaders of their local chapters of the conservative youth party with friends and colleges belonging to the top financial and political spheres in the country.

What does all of this say about me? Mostly it gives away that I come from a position of privilege, not only in one's country but also coming from one of the richest countries of the world (per capita). This gives me a very different perspective than the average Honduran as Honduras is one of the poorest countries of the world (number 131 of 189) and of the Latin- and Central America (CIA World Fact Book 2011a) with a Human Development Index rate as number 121 in the world. This ranking is in comparison to Norway as the country in the world with the highest rating in the Human Development Index (UNDP 2011:128). Honduras

has also the highest number of poor people in Latin America (ECLAC 2011:13). I also come from something defined in the Latin-America as the political class (la clase política) which in Latin-America contains people who derive their social standing (and financial standing) from the fact that someone in their family participates in politics on a rather high level (Arnoletto 2007; Marshall & Jagers 2011). However, this is not recognized as a social class in normal conversation, or in the research of class scientists in Norway. For example researcher Stein Rokkan (1987:78) could be said to be included in the bourgeoisie class that is a part of the discourse in Norway, but this is more specified in Latin-America and Italy.

This puts me in a position outside of the social group where most of my informants can be said to belong, as they mostly come from a position in the lower middle class and look with great suspicion on persons belonging to the political class and those with a more wealthy background than themselves. From their perspective the wealthier and more political influential classes caused the coup and are taking advantage of the lower classes.

As I do belong to the social democratic party in Norway it can be said that I was rather close to the informants politically as they mainly belonged to socialist groups, but it is hard to compare as the degree of leftism and how it is defined in different countries.

Some of my informants belonged to groups advocating queer rights and positions and they were openly gay, transvestite or transsexual. This gives a different set of perspectives as they belong to a minority in the population. This situation set me in a position where I hardly objectively grasp all the differences in the situation for persons who are gay, transvestite or transsexual. This can also be seen in connection with gender where there are times that it is difficult for people of the one gender to open up for the other gender, although this can be said to differ from topic to topic. (Thagaard 2003:101-102).

#### **5.4 Interviews**

An interview is a very broad category of collecting information that can be done face to face, on paper, over the telephone or via the Internet. It can be unstructured, which means that there is no specific question which need to come at a specific time, or it can be structured, which means that there are questions already written that come in the same chronological order every time the interview is conducted. The answers can also vary from being open-ended, where the respondent can answer how he or she chooses, or it can be closed so that the responded has to answer within predefined answers or categories. Most of these variations exist on a scale with a lot of “grey” areas in between the extremes mentioned above.

### **5.4.1 Face to face interviews**

My intent while planning my fieldwork in Honduras was to obtain the possibility to do interviews face to face with actual candidates in the Frente or in the feminist community in Honduras. As the fieldwork progressed I found it to be difficult to actually plan the interviews, both because I was there for such a short time and because Latin-American countries are not well-known for efficiency and strict adherence to time schedules. I was in contact with several people whom I planned to interview and was to call back, but this did not help when it is difficult to get hold of them again.

This was not something that actually came as a surprise for me, so I got hold of e-mail addresses of several interested parties so that I could perform written interviews instead of the face to face interviews I never got to conduct.

### **5.4.2 Written interviews**

Although the backup plan was to perform the missing face-to-face interviews in a written form, this method has certain shortcomings that are well known. First of all, it is easy for the interviewee not to uphold their promise, intent or obligation to return the interview with their answers and it is difficult for the interviewer to oblige them to do this. This led to the situation resulting that instead of having five interviews with persons with key insights into the gendered situation of the participants in the conflict in Honduras, I only got one response from the five different persons I wanted to interview. This is despite trying to make the interview as interesting as possible for the different persons with slightly different focus in each of the interviews. This being said, the interview that was returned included very valuable observations and anecdotes from a reliable and academic source that proved valuable to this master thesis.

### **5.4.3 Questionnaire**

A questionnaire is a written structured interview with clearly defined answers and questions (Hellevik 2002:147) that gives the respondent time to think about what he or she will answer. It can be done slowly, so as not to rush into anything, or can be done very fast and save money and/or time for the researchers who are seeking the answers (Ringdal 2007:104). Questionnaires can be based on paper as something handed out to the respondent (Ringdal 2007:103) it could be done via the internet or other digital means (Hellevik 2002:144) or it can be answered with the help of an interviewer who asks the questions in the questionnaire and fills in the answers from the respondent either face to face or over the telephone (Hellevik 2002:143; Ringdal 2007:103). Although the questionnaire is a purely

structured way of obtaining information from respondents, it is sometimes done more as a mixed methods design through open-ended questions. (Hellevik 2002:111). This gives the possibility of having statistical data that is easy to compare, as well as some of the flexibility and explorative possibilities of qualitative studies that will provide new or more extensive information than the strictly quantitative questionnaire (Hellevik 2002:146).

I chose to use a quantitative questionnaire with a number of open ended questions for my fieldwork research in Honduras. These questions could be answered more extensively if the respondent wanted to, so that I could draw some of the best from each paradigm the choice of using questionnaires was made because I wanted more information from more sources than what I would be able to obtain by only using interviews over a short time period. This questionnaire was provided in Spanish to make it more easily accessible and was rather short. It normally took just five minutes to complete the questionnaire, sometimes less.

Using the questionnaire gave me insight into what some of the members of the many different organizations think and feel about an array of topics related to violence and participation in their organization and in the movement as a whole. This is information that can be put together with information obtained through interviews and observations as a way to see if the conclusions reached through each of these methods are similar.

## **5.5 Observation**

To illustrate my fieldwork, my methods, and the situation in Honduras in the aftermath of this coup I will start with a small event that happened to me while in Honduras:

*When in Honduras, the most important factor in my choice to follow the demonstrations as a participant observer was the fact that if I chose to keep to the side-lines of the demonstrations, but still be taking photos, notes or talking to people I would possibly have been interpreted to be a government employee tracking and participating in the demonstration. So as a way to not look suspicious I choose to dress in the “demonstration uniform” (see Illustration 7) to fit in better even if that would be difficult as an obvious foreigner.*

*On the other hand, this choice did produce some other weaknesses than I had expected. As I did not interact much with the other demonstrators I would not say that my judgment was altered by my subjective participation in the demonstration, but I discovered the day after one of the marches that my photo was in the newspaper, in a news story about destruction of private property during the demonstrations. Although I was just a bystander (taking a picture*



while being photographed) and almost impossible to notice or recognize, I felt like I had somehow betrayed my observer status by being pictured in the newspaper in that situation.

I chose start this chapter with this short anecdote as it outlines many of the aspects that I will reflect upon, consider and explain later in this chapter. As this anecdote includes something about choosing what kind of observation one would like to do, how to not awaken the paranoia in people, and how such a situation might be on the ground for the real participants, and other sorts of

problems I had during my fieldwork in Honduras in the summer of 2011.

As what people say and what they do tend to differ, (Hellevik 2002:151) I wanted insight in how the situation was in practice for the women participating in the organization. I planned on getting invited into the meeting of the different organizations as well as getting them to fill out my questionnaire. This is because with just observation one isn't able to necessarily see what is going on and understand what someone's attitudes really are about a subject. The time given to speakers is dependent on their gender, on who organizes the meetings, who does the chores before and after the meetings and who the formal and social leaders of the group are. These factors come out more easily in the open when one is able to see how the meetings are conducted.

Unfortunately I did not manage to get into the meetings as they were for members only- a security precaution which I will come back to later in this paper. I did get the chance to observe, but that was only in the open and public demonstrations that took place while I was in Honduras. The information achieved in such a situation is limited because not everybody has the opportunity to not be at work during day time. Some are professional demonstrators as they work in organizations that constitute the movement and others were on short strikes so that they could participate in the demonstrations. This inability to participate because of work applies more to men than women, as there is a higher percentage of male work participation in Honduras (Espinosa 2011:37, Ronderos 2011:316). Even if there are limitations, the



Illustration 6: My picture in the newspaper with demonstrators and destruction of private property

possibility to see who shows up, including how many of each gender and their roles in the demonstrations can reveal some information that can be valuable for me in my project.

### 5.5.1 Participation / Non- Participation

When choosing to observe something that you research one has to choose what kind of observer to be. One has to choose this out of ethical, practical and theoretical considerations (Thagaard 2003:78). As an observer, one can be both participant and non-participant, but not at the same time as they are mutually exclusive. As a participant observer one integrates as a part of the group and tries to observe them objectively while trying to participate subjectively, while on the other hand a non-participant observer only observes the group that they want to research, thus being objective in both aspects. Both of these methods have different strengths and weaknesses that fit better or worse in different situations (Spradley 1980:58-62).

I ask you to return to the anecdote in the beginning of this chapter, when I describe how and why I chose to participate in the demonstration and why I felt like I had betrayed the principals behind this methodology as I was, although innocently and mildly, exposed to the public in the setting which I was a part of.

There were some situations where I chose to withdraw myself more from the participant situation and to adopt an observant position. These were the times when I was asked what I believed was right, if it was correct to have coup against Mel Zelaya or not. In these situations, as I had contact with people from all sides of the conflict I choose to answer in the spirit of Gezelius (in Thagaard 2003:75) that I did not have sufficient information to be able to answer the question, so that I could stay clear of the most volatile and confronting topics of discussion while on my fieldwork.



Illustration 7: "Demonstration uniform"

## **5.6 Practical problems**

In this part of the paper I look at the different practical problems that I ran into during the fieldwork, solutions and the lack of solutions, and my thoughts regarding these practical problems. I had to deal with lack of possibility of getting written consent from my respondents, language problems and misunderstandings rooted in language. Each of these points will be dealt with individually in this section.

### **5.6.1 Written consent**

As one part of the preparation for fieldwork one has to apply for approval of the project to the Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research and describe how you plan to go through with it. In this process I was told to make a written consent form to be handed out to the informants so that I could take that back to show that my informants were informed about their rights, especially the right to withdraw their participation in the project and what the project was about and what would happen with the data in the project phase, in the paper and after the project is finished. This is also a very big part of what is considered ethically correct research when dealing with “human” topics (Stuart 1978; Thagaard 2003:23).

I made this written consent form, available both in Spanish and English, although I did just bring the Spanish one with me into the field. The other one was available at short notice, but there was a major deal breaker: the difference between what could be considered ethically good in practice and what could be considered ethically good in theory (Marshall 1992). Yes, it should be documented that the informants have gotten the correct information, and yes, I should be able to verify this at a later date if necessary, but the fact is that this sheet of paper that is theoretically considered to be a security to the informants was looked upon as threatening by the same informants (Thorne 1980; Marshall 1992; Marshall 2003). The problem is the fact that it needs to be signed and the question I got was; “*how can you say that this is anonymous if I need to put my name on that paper?*” Yes, one can argue that the consent form and the questionnaire are detached so that it is harder to see what form belongs to which questionnaire, but the fact of life for these students and activists is that if the consent form and the questionnaire falls into the wrong hands (in this case generally considered to be the government, but also anti-gay groups) it could seriously endanger my informants and/or their families (Marshall 2003).

Another problem is that the consent form is something that I actually had to take with me across borders when going home. Part of the security measures I took before going on the fieldwork and while there was to secure that none of the information I collected physically

crossed national borders in case the government and/or other entities knew I had collected the information if they would be interested in knowing what it said. In this case bringing the consent forms across national borders would jeopardize the security measures already in place and it would be possible to target my informants even without the rest of the data collected and secured beforehand.

When I first tried to give the consent form to my first informant I was told directly that I could forget getting any informants if I pursued obtaining a written statement of the respondents' involvement in the project. I explained why I needed it but the answer was still the same.

This made me change my procedure a little bit. I threw away all my consent forms and I began starting every questionnaire session with the information that was in the consent form. So that they were informed about what they took part in, their rights regarding not participation and willfulness in the participation and what would happen to the data in the project and after termination of the project so that the spirit of the consent form and my ethical duties as a researcher could live on. Even though the written consent form could not be used because of the day to day situation in the country I was working and in the conflict that in fact was the reason for my presence in the country. Such use of oral consent has been argued to be better in certain contexts (Hyder & Wali 2006). This has been shown to be common problem for social scientists, especially social anthropologists (Thorne 1980; Marshall 2003), but also for other groups working in countries with a different culture and/or contexts (Hyder & Wali 2006).

### **5.6.2 Language skills**

I lived in Spain when I was aged 12 - 16 and in the years of 2002 and 2003 I took part in an exchange student program by the AFS to Honduras and Venezuela. These experiences have given me knowledge of Spanish that was enough to secure me good grades in high school in the subject Advanced Spanish. I can conduct most everyday conversations and basic written assignments, but I do not necessarily have the language skills to do complete advanced interviews or use advanced political terms and so on. However, I do not think this has limited my research or my understandings while on my fieldwork or in the readings after the fieldwork. This could be said to be a source of possible errors or misunderstandings that I might have overlooked. This being said, I have been using at least two different translation and dictionary services to check the words I have doubts about. This illustrates another

problem which can occur during fieldwork, especially when dealing with a country that does not use your mother tongue.

Adding to this difficulty is the fact that regional dialects exist, and different social groups apply different sociolects. Together with youth slang this makes it more difficult when dealing with such groups. On the other hand, most of the groups that I have been dealing with during interviews are grownups and the interviews have been in writing so that most of the problems in understanding the language properly lays in the observation and conversation more than in the interviews or in the questionnaire.

### **5.6.3 Misunderstandings**

It can be said that there were numerous misunderstandings with the language, but none of them were consistent and returned many times as the confusion regarding the word demonstration, or *demonstraciones* in Spanish. In the questionnaire handed out to the members of the different groups forming part of the *Frente* there were some questions regarding participation in demonstrations. The questions seemed rather straight forward and they were checked and changed by my contacts so that the questions would be as correct as possible, both in language and in meaning, and for me as a researcher. Despite this checking, it turns out that there was a rather large group of people who either noted manifestations (*manifestaciones*) besides demonstrations (*demonstraciones*) in the questionnaire or filled out “other” with manifestations. This also came up as a question when the respondents filled out their form, when the term actions (*acciones*) came up, which after some explanation turned out to be the same thing as I would define as demonstrations.

As the general perspective on this linked and made synonyms out of the three terms demonstrations, manifestations and actions, all of these responses were coded in the database as demonstrations with a division between them would make the data less usable, especially because of the low n count.

I found this phenomenon of misunderstandings rather surprising, so consistent and as unforeseen as it was, not only by me but also by my local contact. The simple fact that the use of synonymous words could lead to so many questions made me realize what I thought I had already learned from my marketing classes at the high school level- that the words you use matter. Different wording in a questionnaire about the exact same topic might produce a totally different end result by just changing the wording (Ringdal 2007:182) or at the very least might generate a greater level of confusion and a rather time consuming amount of questions.

## **5.7 Methodological flaws**

In my research there have been some methodological flaws, most of which are related to the ability to do statistical generalizations regarding the entire population based on the answers to my questionnaire by the informants that took part in the survey. The ability to generalize on the basis of your statistics is considered to be one of the most important reasons to do statistical research (Hellevik 2002:114; Ringdal 2007:77) as this allows you to find answers to large questions that you only have to give to a smaller part of the population. In the early stages of opinion-studies there was an assumption and a widespread belief that if one wanted to know the opinion, behavior or attitudes of the entire population one would have to ask every member of that population so that everybody's opinion was heard and the result was absolutely correct (Kruskal & Mosteller 1980:172; Ringdal 2007:169). As mathematical methods were developed to estimate error the possibility of getting probable results grew and created the possibility to get good and probable results with less investment in time, money and manpower. (Ringdal 2007:177).

### **5.7.1 Snowball method**

In this project I have used what is called the snowball method for collecting my sources. The snowball method means that you get in contact with a limited number of informants, often called key informants, that enable you to come into contact with other people that might be informants for you or might lead you to other potential informants (Thagaard 2003:65; Hyder & Wali 2006).

The problems and the advantages of this method are the same; the possibility of getting involved and interested informants increases, informants that usually define them to be on the same side of the topic at hand, especially in a situation where there are clear groupings with polarized fronts. Something that often occurs in situations like the one in Honduras where there are clearly defined fronts that either oppose the coup d'état that occurred against (now former) President Mel Zelaya or support it. Some parts of the population can also be said to be neutral in this matter but it is difficult to say how large that proportion is because of the lack of surveys. This group cannot be said to be very interested in the coup from any perspective, according to different conversations I had with persons inside Honduras that belonged to this group.

### **5.7.2 Generalization**

As one can see from my previous sections, it is not possible to generalize from my findings in Honduras. But as this is a small-scale master's project it would not be very

beneficial to be demanding generalization as it would require much more extensive work. Maybe it could be eligible for a doctorate project, but as a political science student from Norway, I feel this worth mentioning since the current paradigm in Norwegian political science leans to a much greater extent to the quantitative methodology than to any qualitative studies, individually or combined. For this kind of thesis and with the choice of methods and the limited numbers of respondents measuring credibility of the data and the reliability of methods used for collecting the data would make more sense (Ringdal 2007:221; Thagaard 2003:178).

### **5.8 Methodological summary**

To sum up this methodological chapter I would like to point out what could be said to be my key points while choosing methods for this thesis. I found out that since very little has formerly been written on the topic of Honduran female participation in the Frente it would probably be best to have a mixed methods design that incorporated both quantitative methods and qualitative methods. I did manage to do this by doing a questionnaire, an interview and participant observation while I was on my fieldwork. In this chapter I have elaborated on the theories behind this and the practicalities around it.

I also went through some of the troubles I found while on fieldwork and what kind of thought processes I need to have before I conducted this fieldwork. Some of the aspects of fieldwork that I had not been prepared for were also highlighted.

## **6 Observed Findings**

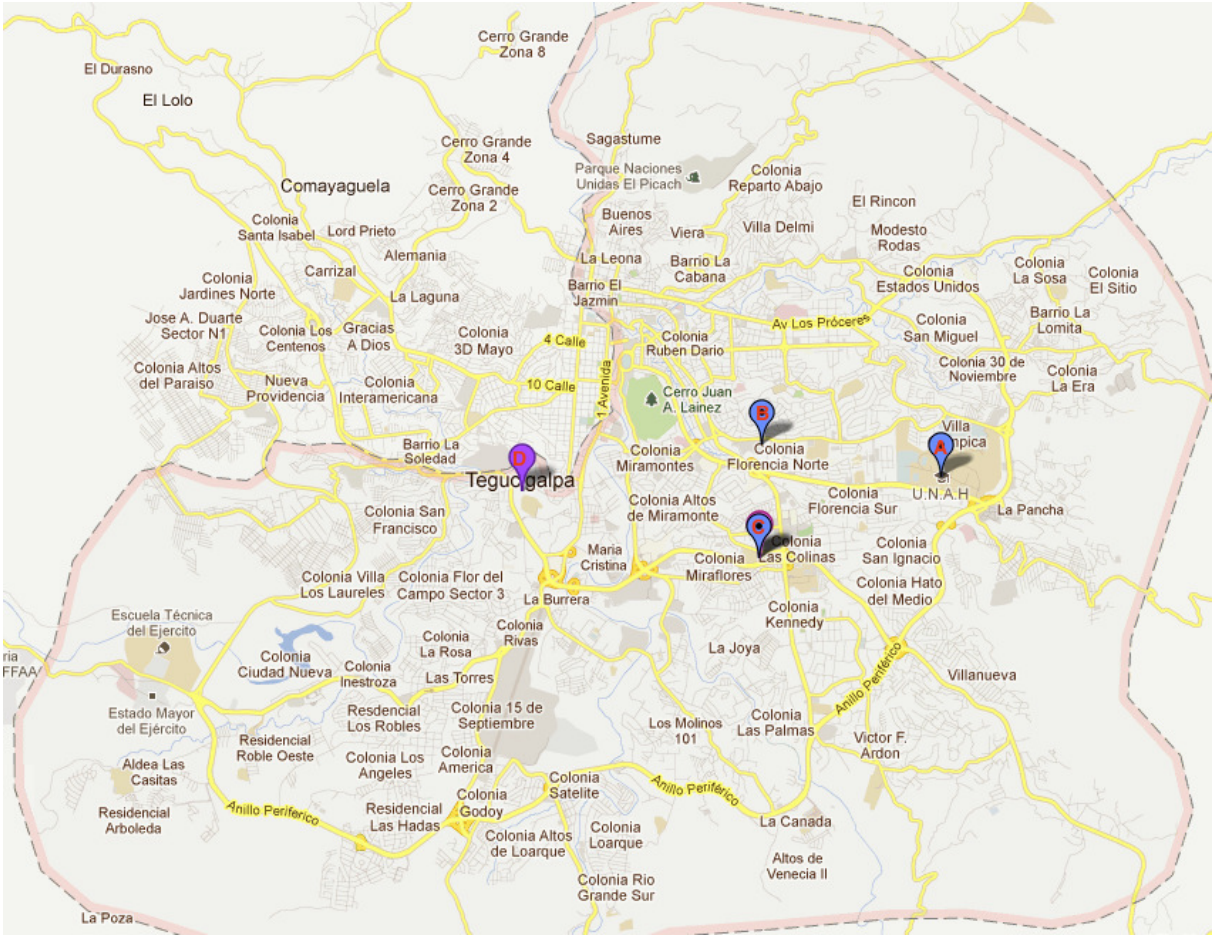
While in Honduras I was a participant observer in of two demonstrations and observed parts of some meetings in groups belonging to the FNRP. In this chapter I combine my impressions and observations from these events with the observations done by Johannes Wilm (2011e) that he revealed to me in a written interview. I also draw upon the documentaries “La Joven Revolución Hondureña” (Wilm 2009) and “Honduras 2 años después” (Wilm 2011a, b, c, d, f) to supplement my own observations with observations done by the academic and activist Johannes Wilm during his stays in Tegucigalpa, which was where I did my fieldwork.

First, I present the city of Tegucigalpa where fieldwork took place, before I look at the use of public space for dissent and take a look at observed gender patterns and the differences this created. Both of these topics will be looked at in the light of this being a conflict zone

where FNRP is in opposition the ruling government so that the uses of public space and gender patterns that fall outside of this spectrum will not be considered for this chapter.

**6.1 The city of the observations, Tegucigalpa**

To understand how people can use public space and capture the street forcing the government or the rest of the population to listen to the demands and/or grievances of the group, one has to know the geography of the city at hand. Tegucigalpa is a conjunction of two cities, Tegucigalpa and Comayaguëla who became united in 1938 (Timar 2002), and is placed on the highlands of Honduras in between several hills, giving the bowl-shape seen today. This gives limited space for growth and infrastructure. The fact that the city dates back to 1538 further limits the possibilities, as there are many buildings and structures that date back to when the city had not yet become the capital that it is today (Emporis not dated).



*Illustration 8: Kart over Tegucigalpa (Google Maps 2012)*

On the map below there are four points marked for the purpose of this thesis. Point A is the National Autonomous University of Honduras, or the UNAH as it is called from its Spanish name, point B is the presidential palace, point C is Universidad Pedagógica Nacional



Francisco Morazán and D is the city center. A and C are common starting areas for demonstrations and actions whereas B and D are common end points.

As Tegucigalpa is shaped like a bowl with the city center in the bottom, most of the demonstrations are almost always walking downwards. The city is also rather limited in the amount of larger roads. Both of these facts play important roles in how the demonstrations and actions designed to capture the street of Tegucigalpa play out. Since everything points in the same direction and few parallel roads make the impact quite clear when cutting access to one or two of the main roads as the connecting roads are not built for the pressure that builds up in these cases. Since there is little space for more infrastructures there is little room for improving this part of the situation. This also makes the demonstrations rather dangerous affairs. If they want to demonstrate in front of the buildings in the center, it is easy for the governmental forces to block their escape routes as the inhabitants then have just a limited amount of streets to escape via and all escape would need to happen in an uphill confrontation.

**6.2 The use of public space for dissent**

There are different aspects to how the Hondurans use their public space for dissent and I will look into several of different ways of utilizing the public space for such goals during this chapter. First I look into the use of demonstrations and the defense and autonomy of the UNAH. This also includes the physical occupation of the street for the same purpose. Afterwards, I take a closer look at the use of graffiti and the use of plays and other artistic ways of taking the street. I end this chapter by taking a quick look into the use of electronic media, as this is can be said to be a new form for public space (Saco 2002:141, 162).



*Illustration 9: Demonstration*

When I was in Honduras for my fieldwork there were two large demonstrations, which from the talks I had with taxi-drivers, my informants and my contact persons, were not out of the ordinary. There was a kind of ebb and flow to the amount of demonstrations per month, but

since it had been so long since the coup this was the regular amount. There had been more demonstrations during the months directly following the coup.

The demonstrations usually started out from the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Francisco Morazán, or the Pedagogical University of Honduras, where they followed a couple of usual routes to different regular stop points, including the Parliament, the



*Illustration 10: Sealed off presidential palace*

presidents palace or other offices of important I/N-GOs. At times demonstrations also started from the UNAH. The demonstrations that were quite big blocked the entire avenue they were using and most often the demonstrations took place on the largest, and thus busiest, avenue in the vicinity. These demonstrations have therefore become a customary sight for those using the streets often. Where the demonstrations end up are the results of an ongoing abstract negotiation between the government and those arranging the demonstrations; the demonstrators always wanting and needing to push the limits to get their message across and the government and their representatives always seeking to limit the publicity, damage and impact as much as possible. During the second demonstration I participated in, it was clear that the demonstration was not allowed near the presidential palace, which was sealed off by military forces.

In a similar fashion to how the demonstrators took control of the streets they also sometimes controlled the street to promote their message by forming a blockade on important streets, such as outside of the UNAH. Here they gathered a large enough number of supporters so that it was not possible for the cars to pass through. To further emphasize their point they gathered used car tires and set them on fire (Wilm 2009) thus blocking the street even if they themselves had to flee the scene.



*Illustration 11: Political graffiti*

Taking the streets in front of the university and also blocking the entrances to the university can also be to protect the university, which has an autonomous status in Honduras; so that they can keep their area of free speech that they have won in earlier times (UNAH 2007).

In Latin America it is very usual for political graffiti to be used as a way of getting political and dissentient messages across to the general public, to their own participants and to the political elite (Shah 2010). This was certainly also the case for Honduras, where most of the graffiti I observed on the streets of Tegucigalpa was graffiti with a meaning. Political



*Illustration 12: Group of graffiti activists*

messages and taunts without any visible signature (at least for the untrained eye) was the important message not the graffiti artist. The graffiti was painted on various different locations and touched upon a variety of political topics. On private business property the themes of the graffiti often related to income differences in the country, the skewed distribution of power and the resistance to this fact; after all many of the organizations taking part in the movement are communist. On public buildings graffiti was more directed at the political elite and the legitimacy problems the government has had since the coup. But graffiti of both types and other types occurred on both public and private business walls. There was a varying degree to how fast the government or the businesses painted over the graffiti. On sales windows it seemed like the graffiti disappeared rather quickly and on more visible public walls the graffiti was normally in the process of being painted over the next morning. This regularity of removal prompted its own set of responses from those responsible for the graffiti, with new graffiti being painted on the place where it recently had been covered up. These new graffiti-pieces stated “I will be back tomorrow” and similar messages.

In addition to these writings on the wall, there has been occurrences of vandalism and destruction of private property during demonstrations. This is both could be vandalism such as destroying an announcement holder or large impact vandalism like destroying offices, restaurants and similar businesses. The Burger King restaurant in



*Illustration 13: Burger King with extra protection*

Illustration 13 has previously been nearly destroyed in the aftermath after the coup (Loudon 2009) and it is often protected much more than other establishments on the demonstrations route to the center. This is because the owner of the Honduran franchise-holder is one of the key persons accused of having planned the coup (Naiman 2009).

Demonstrations, violence and illegal painting are not the only ways the Hondurans opposed to the coup choose to fight against the incumbent government. Some in the LGBT

community that are a part of the movement have chosen to perform plays in the central park of the capitol during daytime on weekends to inform about HIV/AIDS, discrimination against LGBT persons, and against the legitimacy of the government that came into place after the coup. Traditionally, being openly gay is not something that is commonplace in the Hispanic world so when conducting these plays the actors bring the hidden gayness and the fact of being a transvestite into the open which has not been usual before. These plays include Christian-conservatives, LGBTs, persons from the governing elite and the man in the street. These plays thus draw heavily from sexual, political and traditional stereotypes.

Internet has also proved to become an important way to use the public space to spread information. Most, if not all, of the groups that belong to the FNRP have their own websites, blogs, twitter-accounts and Facebook pages where the members discuss, spread news, inform one another about new demonstrations or try to get more people to join their cause. The activity is quite large; now, almost three years after the coup there are around 50 tweets on a weekly basis that revolve around the “Golpe Honduras”\*.

### 6.3 Observed gender patterns

In this chapter there will be more references to other sources’ observations of the gender patterns in demonstrations, meetings and actions of some of the organizations that make up the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular.

In the previous section I gave a few insights into different observations of the use of public space by the Frente. This was more general information and quite conflict oriented. This chapter deals



Illustration 14: Young women, covered up in “uniform” at a demonstration.

with gendered patterns that are being observed, both in the use of public space and in the

\* <https://twitter.com/#!/search/realtime/golpe%20honduras>

organization and in their activities. It deals with the use of violence, both verbal and physical; the impact of gender on those that speak at meetings, who are the leaders, who shows up at demonstrations and more.

While visiting the different organizations as the FRU, FUR and the leadership meeting in the board of the Francisco Morazán chapter of the umbrella movement and witnessing who participated in some of the meetings, who took charge to speak to me as a visiting researcher and so on there seemed to be more male leaders of the different organizations. This being said there was also female leadership present at all of these occasions. At the local meeting of the



*Illustration 15: Women of all ages in demonstration*

leadership in the FNRP at state level there were an equal number of women and men participating. Together with what was displayed in the documentary “La Joven Revolución Hondureña” (Wilm 2009) and other documentaries this gives the idea that the situation is not so male dominated as it first seemed. This is because there were situations and organizations where there were female leaders together with male leaders, organizations where there were male leaders alone and organizations where there were female leaders alone (Wilm 2011c, f). This also includes women leading recruitment for several of the groups, as well as groups without female leadership (Wilm 2009) representing the different organizations towards media and as de facto official spokespersons in around half of the documentaries researched (Wilm 2011a, b, c, d, f). In one of the documentaries there was even the birth of a new student organization in which two out of three leaders and founders were female and these two women led the meeting that was informing the other students about the founding and the following demonstration (Wilm 2011f). Even though I choose to point out the presence of female leaders in the situations where this existed it must be noted that from what I observed there were more male participants in the meetings I attended than there were female participants. This is also reflected in Table 2 that clearly shows a larger male presence with 57

male attendees and 28 female attendees. In these organizations I noticed that the membership system was quite hierarchical, but also gender inclusive, as all the members of the inner circle were called “militantes” (more on this in chapter 8.1.4). This system was detailed to me by some of my informants during the time when I visited the organizations trying to get access to the meetings and timetables. This was asked at the meeting of FRU but the same title was used in the different student organizations I visited (there will be more on this in chapter 8.1.4).

There were more male participants in the meetings I observed in the organizations I had access to, but in the arena where I am now heading there were clearly more women and girls participating than there were men participating. I now discuss the world of demonstrations, actions, violence and capturing the street to spread the message and will of the organizations making up the movement. In this context I mainly speak of demonstrations, and there was a larger grouping of women than men (Wilm 2011f). Some of these women were also wearing something that might be called a demonstration uniform or wore masks as in Illustration 14. On the other hand I did not see any female participants in these occasions perpetrating actual physically violent actions like graffiti or vandalism. They were just bystanders, with varying reactions to the actions of the perpetrators, scaling from cheering via ignorance to opposition. These were the same reactions I saw coming from male bystanders.

On the other hand it was also documented that women were part of the



*Illustration 16: Young man destroying PA-holder*

groups that doing graffiti, throwing stones at the police in the defense of the university, and capturing the streets by blocking them with burning car tires (Wilm 2009).

Although women at times form parts of the groups that do graffiti, throw stones or do other kinds of physical violence in the frontlines (Wilm 2011a, b) it seems that the female mode of operandi is to cheer, push the men to action and motivate them further by themselves coming with threats against the opponents (Wilm 2011e). They throw or gather stones during the first moments of unrest before they are called back by female coordinators of the organization so that they stay out of harm's way. This increases the battle morale of the men by additionally motivating them before the troubles really start when the police enter with armored vehicles, anti-terror gear and/or tear gas (Wilm 2009). It is also said by the interviewees in the documentary from 2009 that they do not want the women in the battlefield because the men then will worry about the safety of the women and act less bravely.

Some of the participants in these groups, both men and women, come with death threats against the police and say that they are willing to arm themselves with firearms (Wilm 2009), fight to the death and/or physically crush the opponent (Wilm 2011c). They are ready for what that might come even if they do not like the idea of it while showing pride of being part of the first armed and popular revolution of the twenty-first century (Wilm 2009).

Most of this chapter has been about what women do, as opposed to men who are not mentioned that much. This is a phenomenon that is quite common as referred to section 5.3. With this in mind I need to add some information here as it might seem like men are always a part of the violence and at the frontlines of the demonstrations so that they can crash the police forces that they are confronting. This is not true. Yes, there are a majority of those in that position that are male, but there are as earlier stated also women in that position. There is also a large amount of men, probably the majority, which fall back together with the majority of women. They do not generally act any differently than bystanders, but it might seem like there are more of them performing different violent acts, and most of those acts are performed by men.

## **7 Survey Findings**

In this chapter I show findings from my inquiries in Honduras in a way that will shed light upon who my respondents as a group and what they do as members of and in relation with the Frente, in terms of gender roles, firearms, organizational affiliation and more.

### **7.1 Who are my informants?**

In this chapter I present samples of information that will focus on numbers, gender-ratios and group-membership.



I received eighty-five responses to my questionnaire of which twenty-eight were women and fifty-seven were men. These people belonged to fifteen different organizations, which can be grouped into seven different blocks or categories that give more statistical meaning, as several of the groups with just have one respondent would disappear into larger groupings with other organizations of similar focuses and values.

As one can see from Table 2 there is gender skewedness amongst my informants as two thirds of the informants are male and only one third are female. It also shows that I received information from many different groups with different political standings although most of my respondents were politically left-leaning, this is typically for the situation as most of the organizations that take part in the Frente are leftist (FNRP 2010a) while the people supporting the coup are right-wing (Rodriguez 2010). While most of the categories in the table below are explained in the list of the different groups there are two of the categories that are not, the others and the independents. The others are groups with which just one informant and cannot be said to belong to the queer-movement. While the independents are informants who state that they are not members of the group, but they belong to and spend time in the Frente at the same time.

*Table 2: Group membership and gender, numbers and percent*

	FUR	FRU	LGBT	Necios	FNRP	Others	Independents	Total
Female	7	12	2	1	4	1	1	28 (32,9%)
Male	10	16	13	2	9	2	5	57 (67,1%)
	17	28	15	3	13	3	6	85
	(20%)	(32,9%)	(17,6%)	(3,5%)	(15,3%)	(3,5%)	(7,1%)	

To further the understanding of Table 2 it is necessary to know that one of the groups in this table is group I constructed from several smaller groups with rather similar values and areas of focus so to have larger constituencies in each group. The group in question is the LGBT group, which consists of three different groups for persons working to further the tolerance for sexual diversity and the rights of people outside of the heteronormativity of the general society in Honduras.

**7.2 Gender-differences**

As the most important for my research question regards the differences between male and female participation in the movement here I show and describe tables containing gendered information. This is of course excerpts of information, but I have tried to choose the

questions from my questionnaire which I think give the most information, whether or not that information suggests that there are in fact differences between the genders or not.

*Table 3: Activities, gendered perspective, percentages*

Self-reported participation in activity	Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
Information Campaigns	71.4%	57.9%	62.4%
Demonstrations	39.3%	63.2%	55.3%
Graffiti	14.3%	10.5%	11.8%
Civil Disobedience	17.9%	10.5%	12.5%
Posters	32.1%	38.6%	36.5%
Sabotage	7.1%	1.8%	3.5%
Totals	28	57	85 of 85

In Table 3 there are several different activities related to demonstrations and activities listed that can be considered to be furthering the cause of the movement. The productivity of each of these methods is not in question at this point even if the value of some of these methods could be discussed. The level of participation, without considering gender, varies greatly between the different activities, such as where 62.4% report that they have participated in information campaigns only 3.5% have participated in sabotage and around 12% have participated in painting/writing graffiti or civil disobedience.

When looking at the data with a gendered perspective the numbers show an even greater difference as most of the female participants have participated in informational campaigns while just above half of the male participants have done the same thing.

*Table 4: Arming the movement, gender and percent*

Interested in:	Female	Male	Total
Arming the movement	10.7%	28.1%	22.4%

The question of the use of firearms will mostly be dealt with in section 7.3, but this particular piece of information is gender related. As one can see from Table 4, there is a disparity between male and female attitudes toward arming the movement - it is a minority who would like the movement to add firearms to their toolbox. According to my informants' this is not evenly distributed according to gender as slightly less than thirty percent of the male informants want firearms and just around ten percent of the female informants share this perspective.

*Table 5: Gender and participation in organize or arrange meetings or other activities, percentages*

	Yes	No	Sometimes	Total
Female	32.1%	42.9%	25.0%	100.0%
Male	43.9%	36.8%	19.3%	100.0%
	40.0%	38.8%	21.2%	100.0%

Although the difference in participation in organizing and/or arranging meetings according to gender is slim, there does seem to be a difference between male and female participation regarding meetings. A larger percentage of male participants are involved in organizing meetings, but at the same time there are more female participants that contribute now and then.

**7.3 Firearms and other variables**

There was a clear gender difference in the previous chapter for some of the activities informants participated in and in the assessment on the use of firearms, but in this chapter I will look into other variables in the data collected from informants: variables such as profession, age and organization membership.

*Table 6: Student membership in groups*

	FUR	FRU	LGBT	Necios	FNRP	Others	Independents	Total
Non-Student	1	1	9	3	12	1	2	29
Student	16	27	6	0	1	2	4	56
Total	17	28	15	3	13	3	6	85

As one can see in Table 6 there is a clear majority of my informants who are students. Most of my informants also belong to the two student organizations that are amongst the organizations that form part of my survey. Amongst the other organizations, the ratio of students to non-students is opposite. This is important to notice as the overrepresentation of certain age groups might be factor in pushing the balance on important questions in this paper, both regarding gender roles and the use of firearms.

As presented earlier in Table 3 some of my respondents see the necessity for firearms in Frente, but they are a minority as only 22.4 percent support firearms. In this part of the chapter I present more tables and information regarding members who support this idea. As already shown, this 22.4 percent of firearm supporters divides itself into 10.7 percent of the female informants and 28.1 percent of the male informants.

*Table 7: Age and gender compared with preference for firearms*

	Age by group	Yes	No	Total
Female	<18	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
	18 - 24	1 (5.9%)	16 (94.1%)	17
	25 - 30	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
	>30	2 (22.2%)	7 (77.8%)	9
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3 (10.7%)</b>	<b>25 (89.3%)</b>	<b>28</b>
Male	18 - 24	13 (34.2%)	25 (65.8%)	38
	25 - 30	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	8
	>30	1 (9.1%)	10 (90.9%)	11
	<b>Total</b>	<b>16 (28.1%)</b>	<b>41 (71.9%)</b>	<b>57</b>
Total	<18	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
	18 - 24	14 (25.5%)	41 (74.5%)	55
	25 - 30	2 (22.2%)	7 (77.8%)	9
	>30	3 (15%)	17 (85%)	20
	<b>Total</b>	<b>19 (22.4%)</b>	<b>66 (77.6%)</b>	<b>85</b>

Most members supporting firearms were amongst the male informants who belong to the younger age categories; whereas the female informants show a different pattern as the majority of the female informants supporting firearms belong in oldest age category. Because of the gender ratio amongst the respondents have the majority of the informants who support firearms been placed in the younger age category when combining both male and female informants. Even though the majority of firearm supporters belong in the 18-24-age category, there is support for firearms in most categories.

*Table 8: Arming the movement, by profession*

Arming the movement	Student	Worker	High Status	Total
Yes	15	3	1	19
No	41	14	11	66
Total	56	17	12	85

In Table 8 the professions of the informants have been categorized in a limited range of categories based on those professions self-reported by the informants. Students are regarded as students, but the other professions have been categorized depending on whether or not the profession can be said to be a high status job or defined as proletarian, or reported as a worker. One can observe almost the same pattern as in the combined view in Table 7 when grouping persons according to profession instead of age group. On the other hand, this

should not come as unexpected since 48 of the 56 persons in the student group belong to the second youngest age category. However also it is important to note that in the professions with the most elevated status there was next to no support for armed resistance.

*Table 9: Arming the movement, by group, in Percent*

	FUR	FRU	LGBT	Necios	FNRP	Others	Independents	Total
Yes	29.4%	21.4%	33.3%	33.3%	7.7%	0.0%	16.7%	22.4%
No	70.6%	78.6%	66.7%	66.7%	92.3%	100%	83.3%	77.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As one can see in Table 9, the consistency from the previous tables is still visible with the youngest informants being the most likely to supporting the arming of the movement. Firearm supporters do not constitute a majority in any age group or profession category, but they make a larger minority within certain groups as shown in Table 7 and Table 8. This is further accentuated when one sees the student membership in the different organizations from Table 6 above. The LGBT and Los Necios groups show higher percentages than the rest of the organizations, but this is something that I will return to in sections 8.2 and 8.2.1.

#### 7.4 Violent bachelors/bachelorettes?

If one chooses to add a marital status as a third element to the statistics found in Table 4, a new perspective appears: one sees differences in female and male preference for arming the movement.

*Table 10: Violent young bachelors/bachelorettes? Gendered perspective on preference for firearms in the movement*

		Single	Partner	Total
Female	Yes	8.3%	25.0%	10.7%
	No	91.7%	75.0%	89.3%
Male	Yes	35.6%	.0%	28.1%
	No	64.4%	100.0%	71.9%
Total	Yes	26.1%	6.3%	22.4%
	No	73.9%	93.8%	77.6%

Since most of the informants are quite young, here marital status is defined by whether or not you are single. Having a boyfriend/girlfriend, a living partner or a spouse is defined equally. Almost none of the informants with the preference towards firearms have a partner. If we go back to Table 2, we see that the female group in this case is composed of three persons, and that the male group is composed of sixteen persons. The problems mentioned in section 5.7.2 are very much applicable in this regard, but still it is very easy to draw the connection to the theory of violent young men who are perpetrating the wars of today.

## **8 Discussion of findings**

In this chapter I combine the different aspects of this thesis, including the theoretical and locational aspects and quantitative findings and/or qualitative finds. It will be possible to see any patterns emerging from the data on the topic of gendered participation in the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular of Honduras, including the willingness to use firearms to further the cause that unites this movement. The different explanations and backgrounds given throughout this paper will be discussed in the light of other relevant aspects.

### **8.1 Participation in meetings, demonstrations and in activities**

In this subsection I look into different aspects of gender roles and participation in the movement both with and without the gender lens and discuss this. First I look at gender roles; thereafter I discuss demonstrations and use of public space. I continue by looking at the use of rape as a weapon against the movement and the language some of the organizations use about their members before I look into what can cause the differences between the observations and survey results. All aspects regarding the arming of the movement will be dealt with in section 8.2.

#### **8.1.1 Gender roles**

According to Latin American gender roles it has traditionally been that it would require extraordinary circumstances for women to participate openly in a movement like this, regarding the openness and the roles and positions women are filling in the Frente in 2012. This includes being able to participate on all levels and being in the majority in the demonstrations. In this regard, the gender pattern one sees in the FNRP today are both encouraging for the possibility to reform gender roles of the region and at the same time underpins the same gender roles that give hopes for changing.

This may be because of the degree of participation in different activities that make up the activity spectrum of the different organizations creating the Frente. If one looks at the information from Table 3 one sees that out of my female informants 71.4% participate in informational campaigns, 39.3% in demonstrations and 32.1% in hanging up posters. This is not far from being similar to the participation numbers of male informants, although in some cases these rates are higher and in some cases lower than their male counterpart categories. If one takes the observations from section 6.3 about female participation into the equation the picture becomes even more enlightening. It shows that the women make up a large part of the movement and actively participate in different non-violent activities. Participation is both on the grassroots level as expected from section 4.5 and also on the leadership level in some

cases. At the same time, this does not come as a huge surprise. If one looks at the breakdown of the demographics of Honduras in Figure 1, the majority of the population seems very clear and with a median age of 21 years (CIA 2011b) it is even more emphasized, when considering that more Honduran women study and that according to Table 6 the majority of my respondents are students, it is not much of a surprise that the women can be found on all levels of the organization, as students often lead in making such changes. The fact that there are still more women on what might seem like the ground level than on the leadership levels gives the impression that even though the situation has become more equal for women, the old patterns are still in place.

Participation in meetings versus the organizing of meetings follows roughly the same patterns. Although it is possible to measure using the survey findings from section 7.2 as there are no observations in this paper to underpin discussions regarding who actually did organize meetings, it is possible to look at the observations on who do lead the meetings. There are no huge differences in Table 5 regarding who arranges the meetings when using gender as differentiation; it is fairly similar for both genders, especially when including those who sometimes participate in the organization of events and meetings. When it comes to the observations about who leads the meetings the observations from section 6.3 support our claims, as it shows that in the majority of the situations observed male leaders are present or alone in the leadership, while in many situations there are also female leaders present and in some cases there is just one or several female leaders present. This just shows who leads the meetings, but as this organization is on a grassroots level it might be assumed that the ones leading the meetings are active in organizing as well, unlike in professional organizations where that responsibility probably would have been delegated. From both the organizational theory in section 4.5 and the theory regarding gender roles in Latin America in section 4.2, one can observe a clear picture on why the situations is like this, in that women participate in and organize the meetings in almost the same degree as the men, but they do not lead the meetings as often. Female leaders have been a rare species throughout recent human history because of existing gender roles that. At the same time it can be said that extraordinary situations where ideologies are the most important that the old gender patterns are less important than they otherwise would be. The question then regards the situation at hand: is this situation so extraordinary? Answering this question depends to a large degree on the person answering, as a governmental official probably would not agree that it still is, if it ever was, such an extraordinary situation. Most of the foreign press would also doubt that there is such a situation, as Honduras is rarely in the spotlight in other countries. On the other hand, as

section 5.1.1 shows, the participants in these organizations probably experience this situation quite differently. They are both experiencing a clear threat situation and a grievance that they seek to correct, in what can be translated as a battle against the ruling government regarding which truth is the real truth. The women of Honduras have also experienced a real increase in the level of femicidios and threats to female livelihood after the coup (Ronderos 2011-316-21). This might change the situation enough to temporarily revoke the rules of what women can do according to the social rules based on the regions set of gender roles, if it is not deemed likely that the gender roles are changed permanently. If one considers it likely that the gender roles are changed permanently one would probably need the organization to be an all-encompassing popular movement that wins the political battle, convincing both the churches inside and outside the movement and other conservative forces that oppose the movement today. This means it would be difficult that the moment could promise a permanent change to the gender roles although there might already be small permanent changes in the society's gender roles in general.

**8.1.2 Demonstrations and use of public space**

This brings one to another important arena for such a movement, where one utilizes the public space to spread the message, either to the public, the government or to both. As one can see from chapters 4.6 and 6 there are different ways one can do this, different ways one can use, take, occupy or manipulate the public space so that more people know about your cause or that you might

even overthrow the government, like in Tunisia during the Arab spring (Angrist 2011:1274). In Honduras fairly regular basis demonstrations arranged at different preferred positions are an almost regular occurrence which people have gotten used to. Most of the



*Illustration 17: Rebellious youth prevented from provoking*

demonstrations leave a said place to demonstrate along the larger avenues of the capital city



into other locations that are preferred end points for these demonstrations. These demonstrations and other activities and actions that different organizations arrange can be considered a form of negotiation between the government and the activists as it is a constant turf war between the parties. The demonstrators need to be heard by the right people and the governments need to contain the situation, both from their own need to stay in power and from a security and business perspective. Illustration 10, Illustration 13 and Illustration 16 can exemplify this as the situations pictured in these illustrations shows examples of how this negotiation is done. This negotiation can also be done through value-based provocations as in Illustration 5 and when the FNRP renamed a street in San Pedro Sula after the son of the interim president to the name of the former president (Frank 2010:6). In earlier demonstrations there have been violent transgressions against private and public property, the unpopularity of both the government and some of the businesses then force the hand of the heads of state, the police and/or the military who then give some locations extra priority when placing the different troops along the proposed route of the demonstrations and/or block off parts of the route so that it will need to change the path and/or final target. This can be viewed in Illustration 10 and Illustration 13. This can result in situations where there is an open battle between the different parties or in situations where some of the more rebellious elements of the movement tries to make a move to attack or provoke the guards' attention. Illustration 17 is very close in space and time to the military guards protecting the presidential palace of Illustration 10, a group which I would call rebellious youth broke off from the main group of the demonstrators, closing in on the perimeters set by the military. This was quickly prevented by some of the adult demonstrators whose task seemed to be keeping the lines in order. This was not the only occasion where this happened; it happened with some frequency and not only where there were soldiers but where there was business that could be destroyed (not only covered in graffiti) or where there were lonely armed private guards that could be terrified by the threat these youngsters probably would impose on the guard by merely attacking the property.

As shown in chapter 6.2, graffiti also forms part of the same discourse, as this is a more permanent way of taking the streets and letting your message show after you leave, at least in principle, as this is something that can be returned back to normality with very little effort and cost. Thus making this a part of the discourse between the demonstrators and the government on what the government should allow and what the demonstrators should demand. As the demonstrators by taking their will with the spray cans when they can and the military and police not intervening when it happens, instead choosing to clean it up afterwards. Thus

creating another step in the dialectical discourse between the parties as the government or the business retake the area that had been stolen from them by the demonstrators. This leaves the area open for retaking by the demonstrators on other occasions, which I show in section 6.2. It is regular that graffiti has their own style and content, as a way of mocking those who removed the graffiti in vain last time. This could be compared to a game of tag, as the parties then shift in taking the lead, adding new graffiti, removing the graffiti and so on.

This very much boils down to threats of violence and violence itself. Together with situations like attacks on and the defense of the University as well as other actions mentioned in chapter 6 that all can be said to be to be a situation where the demonstrators state ‘this is what we want and we want to show you and the rest that we want it’. The governments or its representatives then state what the consequences will be if the action continues. The demonstrators then choose to change their plan totally, in part, or not at all, depending on their threat assessment and what could be called a cost/benefit analyses. The representatives for the government would then need to choose their behavior from the result of the analyses by the demonstrators, and so it continues, creating a circle of action and counteraction.

Threats are thus an important part of the structure and make up a part of the violence, as every actor in this game tries to impose their will on the other parties, either through persuasion or violence. The different Medias, both new (social) media and traditional Medias play an important role here, as they convey the messages and the outlooks that the different parties want the rest of the population to have. The text in Illustration 6 states that there was destruction of private property during a demonstration that was headed by Mel Zelaya, thus trying to vilify him further in front of the rest of the population.

In all of these aspects of the demonstrations, threats, and analyses, there is a gendered aspect, ranging from women being allowed at the scene to what kinds of actions they take when they are there. We see that there is a wide range of ways this could happen. At one occasion in section 6.3, the female leaders lead the women in the defense of the UNAH, presenting threats and giving the same signals as the men, but when the police arrive at the scene these leaders pull the women back so that they won’t get hurt and the men do not have to worry about them. This can seem strange from a strictly ideological perspective as these organizations support equality among many different variables. On the other hand, the gender roles described in section 4.2 give the background for the participants that are part of this, and it is hard to battle your upbringing in the midst of another battle. Different explanatory models give varying views on how to look at this situation; one has two different groups of theorists that oppose each other fundamentally. The essentialist theory described in section

4.3.2 would probably prefer a definition of violence not containing threats and thus conclude the story of the women being pulled back from the front as a protection for the peaceful women that did not belong in that part of the demonstration. They would probably need to explain away those women who did stay behind despite this, although it could be explained as an exception. On the other hand, you have those researchers who see that women today do participate in war and conflict to nearly the same or the same way as men do, as described in section 4.3.1. These theorists would probably explain the behavior of women leaving the scene as a combination of individual upbringing and the gender roles found in the region, as described in section 4.2. None of these conceptual approaches gives any clear answers into what may be the truth. From conflicts all around the world and also in Honduras, one can see that women have been victimized and avoided fighting because they are women; they do not deem themselves capable of violence and one can also see that women in almost the same conditions consider themselves to be almost as good, as good, or better at fighting, than the men, in complete contradiction to the women mentioned previously.

Those supporting the theory of the peaceful women can draw on the fact that women the last centuries mostly have avoided battle, as well as women's role in peace organizations all over the globe. This can also be given credibility by the fact that most of the female participants as a majority do not perform physical violence against others, then disregarding the troubles the threats can cause at the receiving end of the equation.

There is also the observation that the women make up the majority of the demonstrators; it could be argued that this is because women are more oppressed in society so their grievance is larger than the men's and that this draws them to a larger degree to the demonstrations and other actions that are backed by these organizations and this movement. At the same it could be argued that a large part of the Honduran population are young people and that more females enters the university, creating a situation of more women who have the time to demonstrate during the days, as a large part of the male population do not have the possibility of joining the demonstrations even if they wanted to be there and actually belong to the same socio-economic group as those participating. One has to have will, time, and resources to participate in something like this - in a poverty ridden country like Honduras, one can easily lack one or several of these conditions, thus making the observed gender patterns in the demonstrations quite explainable.

### **8.1.3 The use of rape against the members of the movement**

The preparatory work for the UN Security Council's Resolution 1325 finds that rape is something that happens to a large degree in wars and conflict zones as different militaries and militias have their own ways of dealing with the opponents, also sexually. The violations do not need to be physical as the mere threat of rape might impede you from doing what you otherwise would have done and make you less active in the movement as you otherwise would be. It could also backfire as the will to succeed might be strengthened in some cases. As this is individual the aftermath of such actions might be as different as there are victims.

The question then is if the women of Honduras can be said to live in a conflict zone, although there is no war, not even a social war. As argued before, they themselves might understand the situation as being a battle against the government. This is also emphasized in section 8.1.4 below when it comes to language.

There have been reports on rapes and gang rapes by police officers against members of the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular and statements that these rapes were politically motivated because of the affiliations of these women with resistance organizations (Knapke 2009; Gervais & Estevez 2011:10). There have also been threats of rape, in addition to murder, against journalists and other women associated with the movement this year (Reporters without Borders 2012).

The use of rape as a weapon against opponents in a conflict zone quite normal; this is something that happens so often that Resolution 1325 was the first in a series of Resolutions on the topic. In this setting in Honduras rape might be used as a tool to reduce the active size of the movement if this hinders the female members in participating, but on the other hand it might also be a matter of dehumanizing and "looting" by the police- a sort of a work benefit. At the same time that it can be a tool for the effort to reduce the ranks of the movement it might also be something that strengthens the efforts of the movement if the movement then addresses this phenomenon as one might see that the feminist group in the movement is doing in Illustration 4.

### **8.1.4 Gender inclusive title for members of the organizations**

As mentioned above in section 6.3 it seems to be that most of the youth organizations I had contact with mostly followed the same structure for their members. The structure consisted of a three layer hierarchy where there were different rights belonging to each layer. It did not seem like there were any social benefits or disadvantages to the different levels, but there were some meetings and activities that seemed to require a certain degree of belonging

for participation. The first level was what could be called the ‘hang-arounds’ (a name I gave them) as it did not seem like there was a name attributed to them by the groups. They were not members of the group, but they spent a lot of time in the locations of the group and identified with the group and would demonstrate under their banner. At least this was how I understood the situation. On the level above this you find the members. This level also included rights of voting and members of this level were a more integrated part of the group. On the next level were the members called the “militantes”, a Spanish word that could be translated into militants or activists, signaling a more “hands-on-approach” to the cause. All levels were open to both men and women, including female leadership. Thus openness gave the women a way to directly participate in arenas that they had traditionally had been blocked from, even if this meant that they could end up in violent situations.

This gender inclusion might cause other problems. If one were to assume that the essentialists (see section 4.3.2) are correct, this would mean that the women on this level probably would be required or encouraged to act against their own essential nature, with all the problems this could possibly cause. In this case one could argue that they would have brought this upon themselves, as they became members on this level in the organization.

## **8.2 Peaceful opposition or arming the movement**

This chapter will deal with attitudes towards the question of arming the movement or not. This does not mean using objects as weapons in general, but taking up firearms for protection, attacks or both. The use of other objects for this purpose was dealt with in section 8.1 and will not become the subject of this chapter as this chapter is dedicated to answering research question number two regarding gender’s impact on the question of armament of the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular.

When looking at the numbers from my survey, for example Table 8, there is one thing that is clear: the fact that most of my informants from this movement do not want the movement to be armed with firearms, for protection or for attacks. With just 19 out of 85 supporting armament the support can be said to be quite slim. This gives us a percentage of slightly above twenty percent in favor for armed resistance, or in other words an overwhelming majority against firearms. This on the other hand does not mean that we see any patterns regarding who support this change. During this chapter I will look at armament supporters through analyzing age, gender and group belonging in what might cause this opinion.

As one can see from Table 7 on page 58, the overwhelming majority, in fixed numbers, that want armament of the organizations are in the age group of 18 to 24. In percentages the next age group, 25-30, is rather close as they are hovering just below thirty percent and the 18-24-age group is hovering just above thirty-five percent. It is a common cultural belief that the youth are the most radical of the age groups, both because of lack of experience and because of a need to distance themselves from their parents' generation. In this table one sees that when we enter the age group for those older than thirty years the support for firearms falls sharply and is not more than a mere fifteen percent. On the other hand, the fact that we see is no real change in support when crossing over from the 18-24 and into the 25-30 age group might suggest that age is not that important in this matter anyway. On the other hand, if we look at the gendered diversification in the same table one sees that the male numbers look the same as the numbers for the total in this table, but if we look at the female numbers they are opposite. There is larger support for the use of firearms in the 25-30-age group than there is in the 18-24-age group, completely contradicting the analyses above. This suggests that age is probably not a good variable for analyzing the assessment on whether or not to use firearms in the movement.

The next big variable with a larger difference in this question that was found in Chapter 7 is the issue of gender; whether or not gender has an impact in this question. Opposite of what found regarding violence in Chapter 6, there seems to be a larger difference between the genders on my survey question. In the survey it is found that 10.7% of the women and 28.1% of the men support the idea of the movement utilizing firearms, according to Table 10. This is just regarding the use of firearms; other kinds of weapons are not included in these numbers. Traditionally, the use of firearms and other more lethal weapons have been the men's arena, especially as Latin America is a continent that still struggles with gender roles to a larger degree than the other continents. On the other hand, if this could be regarded as a serious conflict zone, the women of both Latin America and the rest of the world have not shown many problems in taking up arms on other occasions in recent history, in countries as close as El Salvador and Nicaragua. The fact that women seem to be targeted by rape as mentioned in section 8.1.3 above might contribute to this willingness for armament. On the other hand, there are the theories regarding women as naturally peaceful. There is a follow up question that probably should have been asked, and that is if the respondent themselves would then find it natural or logical to wield the weapon, or if they hoped somebody else would be designated to that responsibility. These are two very different things: to be the one that actually has to take the responsibility to kill or injure somebody with

a weapon or just wanting somebody else in the organization to do this. Unfortunately I do not have any data on this topic. Although if one applies the level of threats coming from both genders discussed in Chapter 6 and the definition of violence applied in section 4.1.1, one could probably draw the conclusion that these people would commit violence if necessary. This being said, the conclusion is then hanging on whether or not the informants themselves consider threats the same way as this paper and that attitudes at one level of violence were applicable to attitudes of violence at a more deadly level. Having all this in mind it would probably be right to say that the survey data informs us that the informants' gender can be a factor in predicting their willingness to add firearms to the battle against the government in Honduras.

The last of the survey variables that will be discussed in this chapter is the variable of group affiliation. By now we have seen that both gender and age might have some significance in determining the probability of supporting or not supporting the use of firearms by the movement. Now we will see if the same applies to the group affiliation variable as well. If we look at Table 9, most of the different groups stand out negatively in this regard; out of the three groups that stands out as less supportive of firearms only one of them is of a considerable size compared to the other more supportive groups. Out of those groups responds positively to firearms to a large degree and two groups stand out as different. The group called Los Necios might seem to have a large degree of firearms support when looking at percentages, but when looking at the number of informants for this group in Table 6 one sees that there are actually just three informants and only one of them supports this change. This is by all means too small group to actually give away any information. The other group that stands out is the LGBT group; I will come back to this group in section 8.2.1 regarding the topic of firearms. This leaves us with two groups with a high level of support for firearms in the movement. These are the FRU and FUR groups, both groups that mostly recruit their members from the age group that was discussed earlier in this chapter as they are the most prone to support firearms. This can be translated into the fact that it is not the group affiliation in itself that creates or underpins the support for firearms, but the fact that if you are a part of one of these organizations then you probably belong to a certain age group that are more prone to such support than if you belonged to a age group for persons that have lived longer.

This shows that out of the three variables that seem to provide most information only two of them could be said to offer some credibility as the variable for group affiliation probably would be deemed to provide spurious information, on a larger set of informants. If those two remaining variables are actually significant on a dataset where there was a larger n-

number is at the moment unknown, but as it seems to today, with the dataset that exists, I would deem it possible.

### **8.2.1 Explaining support for firearms amongst the LGBT informants**

In section 7.3 and Table 9 one sees that the LGBT group has the largest support for firearms in the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular of all the groups of informants in my survey. This is also a group that breaks with the rules that are explained in section 4.2. They might be seen as a threat, opposed to the advice given later in the same chapter that explains why it might be wise if a less publicly dangerous group would do the work of promoting sexual diversity and demanding a change of government.

One of the reasons for the high percentage of support of firearms in this gender bending group that I discovered was that there is a higher threat level for members of this group in general, and to include the political issue at hand then adds further fuel to the fire. There was before the coup a high level of threats, beating and killings of LGBT-persons in Honduras (Jones 2009), who are neither accepted by Christianity or by machismo culture that prevails in this area and this country. This lack of acceptance was further emphasized by the coup that increased the numbers of deaths of persons belonging to this group (Nieto 2009). The increased threat level to this group was the justification I received when I addressed the topic of armament.

### **8.3 Having a partner weights heavier than gender?**

In section 7.4 there is a suggestion that it might not be gender or age that are the best ways to understand up front if somebody would support the use of firearms in this movement. The suggestion is based on the numbers from Table 10 and the theory of young unmarried men outlined in section 4.4.

If one considers the data in Table 10 it is clear that there is just one in the total nineteen informants that have a partner who supports the idea of firearms. In this paper I have not divided the data up into different categories depending on what kind of partner one has, as there are too few data, but it seems that there is just one person that either has a girlfriend/boyfriend, wife/husband or a romantic cohabitant that supports this change in the movement. This in turn suggests that there could be grounds to claim that this is a variable that has even more importance than the other variables previously mentioned. Despite this apparent significance there are unfortunately several reasons why this variable is probably just



spurious at best and needs a much larger survey to indicate if this is actually the correct and most important variable in this setting.

There are two important reasons for this that I will outline here. One is the demographic buildup of my informants and the other is the sheer number of respondents who are actually in a relationship - both of these factors play a negative role in determining this theory in this case based on the current dataset. This is not to say that the theory does not apply in these situations or that it would not be fruitful to follow this path in understanding the situation that leads to the movement choosing to keep away from firearms; it is just what can be and what cannot be read from the dataset at hand.

When considering the data in Table 10 it seems to point to the fact that people in a relationship are less inclined to support firearms. At the same time, one has to keep in mind that even if the percentage of persons in a relationship that supports firearms is small, the percentage of informants that are in a relationship altogether is also small - just below twenty percent of the total number of informants as one can see from Table 11 below. This gives a rather low probability for the variables of firearms support and having a partner to be quite slim.

*Table 11: Informants that are in a relationship*

	Frequency	Percent
Single	69	81.2
Partner	16	18.8
Total	85	100.0

The other factor that diminishes the probability of this theory in this setting is the demographic buildup of my informants. Most of my informants are in their early twenties and are students as seen in Table 6. Although a large portion of the Honduran youth marries quite young (United Nations 2008) there is reason to believe that students are not amongst those who wed the earliest. On the other hand, it might be that people who do have a partner connect themselves with such organizations to a lesser degree, but that would just be pure speculation on my part.

Thus, one can conclude from that even though this would be an interesting application of theory, it might seem like the dataset in this case provides a spurious connection and that if one were to pursue these lines one would at best need a much larger dataset. On the other hand, it is not guaranteed that this would give any different results than what have already been achieved here.

#### **8.4 Differences between what that is observed and what that is surveyed**

As one can see from earlier in this chapter and from the chapters 6 and 7 there are some differences between what is observed and what is self-reported by the members of some of the observation through my survey. This then gives this thesis an explanatory problem: what should we rely on, what is the more correct information that we have available and on this level of studies, and does it even give any difference which one of them is the more correct one? What could cause these differences? Even if one is more correct than others, is it the observations or the survey results that better fit the conceptual approach applied?

In my methods chapter I mention the main flaws of my survey methods, the fact that my number of informants is too small, the age matrix is too skewed and that all my informants originated from one single snowball source. This means that I will not be able to get any statistically valid data, not that the answers I receive are not correct. I will just not be able to prove that I am right. This is a fundamental problem for every researcher, but the information I have paints a picture, a picture that is to a large degree verified by my observations. However, there are some differences. Slightly above ten percent of the women in the survey and 28% percent of the men in the survey support the use of firearms in the movement - at the same time we see that the movement to a large degree supports violent acts during the different activities, even on a basic level such as threats, bats, graffiti and/or throwing of stones. At the same time it is important to have in mind that such object does not in self signify violence and death, it doesn't raise the threat level just by its mere presence, unlike guns. So it is not so strange that firearms seem to be a less popular than the other objects and methods available.

Regarding other topics, there is the case of participation based on gender. According to the respondents of my surveys there was a large majority of male participants at the meetings that I visited. On the other hand, based on the observations there was a majority of female participants in the demonstrations. This could be attributed to several different things, first of all it could just be coincidence that the numbers of women were low at the meetings when I visited or it could be that the number of women in these organizations are lower in general and that the women and girls observed in the demonstration belonged to other organizations or were independents who supported the movement's cause.

Compared to the conceptual framework, neither the observation nor the survey fits entirely. Both of them show that women utilize violence to some degree. For the theory that states that women are essentially peaceful these results are probably too "violent" while for the other approach the results are probably too peaceful. Although regarding the latter, some

percentages of the female informants support firearms and there are occurrences of threats and stone throwing where women also participate. On the other hand, there is a rather large difference between the number of women in the survey and the men in the survey who support firearms.

## **9 Summary and concluding remarks**

This paper has asked the question if there are any gendered differences in the participation in the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular of Honduras and if gender has had any impact on the choice of whether or not to use arms in the movement. To answer these questions I have chosen to use a conceptual framework that draws upon a series of different theories and concepts so that there can be different roads to the same goal, in an effort to create a more holistic approach. From this basis I decided to use mixed methods in collecting the information to build up the dataset and answer these questions. I have used surveys, interviews and participant observation to collect the information that seemed necessary on the outset of this paper.

In retrospect it is easy to see that some questions should have been asked differently, regarding the language problems described in section 5.6.3, some questions did not prove to be of any value and some questions were missing that in retrospect I would have liked to have included in my survey. One example of a question I would have liked to include was if the informants were willing to wield the firearms themselves if they supported such tools in the toolbox. On the other hand, several questions that I did not get answers to during my survey were answered during the interviews performed and through observation, proving that having multiple methods involved might get you places that you otherwise would not reach. It proved necessary for this thesis to have been a lot bigger if it were to really be able to answer the questions asked in a scientific manner. It would probably do better as a doctoral thesis with the extended possibilities this gives, as I regard the topic and theme of this thesis to be of value for society, both as an insight into what might cause violence in such a situations and what might actually bring peace and a better understanding between the parties. I have mostly dealt with acts of violence and conflict in this thesis, but through knowing the mechanisms that increase the chances of violence, it might also be helpful to understand what causes these situations to transform into something constructive and fruitful for the larger sections of society.

As I consider the question of gender to be of importance in solving conflicts in society today, I have looked at different aspects of the activities in these organizations that form part

of the Frente with a gender lenses and without. This is to more easily see the different activities, as there are things that both genders have in common when it comes to different activities. In the same regard I have included some information about groups that break the gender roles and the gender systems, namely the LGBT. This is to further enhance the different aspects that gender could cause in such a situation and in regard to such questions.

In this paper I have chosen to include the use of threats of violence as if they were violence. This because the mental implications that such behavior causes is the target. At the same time the picture is quite clear, even though some women in the case of Honduras participate in direct violence to the same extent as the men, the impression that is made is that even though the women participate on a more or less equal basis in most regards, direct violence does not follow the same pattern. On the other hand, I find that there is reasonable argumentation for why threats should be included into the analyses of violence in this paper. For more information on this, please see section 4.1.1.

I have also presented an alternative theory to what could cause the differences seen in the dataset presented. According to this theory it would not be uncommon that such unrest is caused because there are a large number of unmarried young males. In this thesis I included women in the equation as I found it more logical. On the other hand, I found that even though this seemed compelling at first sight it did not result in any more than spurious evidence in this case, although that the problem might be more in the dataset I provided than in the reality on the ground.

As I wanted to assess the impact of gender on the movement I found out that I would first need to see what the movement was doing and how actions were accomplished. The observations were there, but this had to be analyzed through a set of conceptual lenses. This is where the theories of public space come in. When seeing how the movement utilizes the public space and how they negotiate through this space with the government, it makes it easier to see how the movement chooses to operate. This again opens up the gendered aspect of this when looking at the situation to see if there is anything different about how men and women chose to participate in such actions, including when it comes to more peaceful ways of taking the street and when they actually do this by force and/or by using violence against property, civilians or representatives of the government. By looking at this from all the different angles a more wholesome picture begins to emerge. - picture with more ability to answer the questions asked in this thesis than what I think I would be able to paint with fewer mixed methods in the collection and utilization of the data.

So what kind of picture will I be able to paint after concluding this master thesis? It is a quite different picture than what I thought I would be able to paint when I set out to complete this task. I anticipated a result with more equality than what I ended up with, as can easily be concluded by reading the research questions of this paper. At the same time, I was not completely wrong; the movement is to a large degree rather equalitarian on gender issues. Women form part of every organization and they are found on every level of the organizational structure. On the other hand, there are fewer of them in the top tier than what could be expected by looking at the presence of women amongst the grassroots participants. When looking at the utilizations of public space, gender does not seem to matter as women participate in demonstrations in probably even a greater number than the men and they participate in most forms of taking the street. The picture shifts for the first time when it comes to the violence. Some of the men want the women out of the way and it is clear that some of the women also want to pull back in such situations, but at the same time the women are as eager to produce threats as the men are, even cheering the men on. The women also supply the men with more stones in situations where this is needed. Even though they sometimes pull back this does not mean that they do not take part in the fighting.

The situation is a little different when it comes to the question of utilizing firearms. Here there is a clearer divide between the men and the women as just around one third the amounts of women see this as a positive addition to the organizations' toolboxes. The numbers are small for both genders, with thirty percent of the men and around ten percent of the women, but the difference is quite clear.

Even though I feel that the data in this paper is too thin to really provide an answer to the questions asked, I would say that my findings point out tendencies and interesting points that might be the source of further research into the same topic and/or conflict. I will conclude with the analysis that men and women for the most part have similar responsibilities and levels of participation in the resistance organization, but that there is still some room for improvement on gender equality. Regarding the question of firearms, I find that the movement would probably still be non-armed even without the women, but that some of the women are open to the arming of the movement. This being said, I find the women as inclined to use violence and violent methods as the men, when looking at firearms but also at other forms of violence and weapons

## References:

- Alison, Miranda. (2004). "Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Society" in *Security Dialogue*. 35 (4): 447-463.
- *Amnesty*. (2009). "Honduras: human rights crisis threatens as repression increases". London: Amnesty International Publications.
- Angrist, Michele Penner. (2011). "Morning in Tunisia: The Frustrations of the Arab World Boil Over" in *The New Arab Revolt: What Happened, What It Means, and What Comes Next*. Edited by the Council on Foreign Relations. Seattle: Amazon Digital Services.
- Aretxaga, Begoña. (1997). *Shattering Silence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Arreguín-Toft, Ivan. (2005). *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brunborg, Helge & Henrik Urdal. (2005). "The Demography of Conflict and Violence: An Introduction" in *Journal of Peace Research*. 42 (4): 371-374.
- Burnette, Robin. (2010). "Honduras: Lobo's Struggle for Political Legitimacy" in *Washington Report on the Hemisphere*. 30 (22): 5.
- Cassel, Doug. (2009). "Honduras: Coup d'Etat in Constitutional Clothing?" in *ASIL Insight*. 13 (9).
- Castañeda, Jorge. (2010). "Not ready for prime time" in *Foreign Affairs*. 89 (5): 109-122.
- Chant, Sylvia. (2003). "Introduction: Gender in a Changing Continent" in *Gender in Latin America*. Edited by Sylvia Chant & Nikki Craske. London: Latin America Bureau.
- Chomsky, Noam. (2011). "The Coup in Honduras" in *The Mafia Principle of Global Hegemony: The Middle East, Empire and Activism*. Oakland: PM Press.
- *CIA World Fact book*. (2011a). "Field Listing: GDP (Official Exchange Rate)". Langley: CIA. Collected the 14.11.2011 from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2195.html>.
- *CIA World Fact book*. (2011b). "Honduras". Langley: CIA. Collected the 17.11.2011 from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ho.html>.
- Cockburn, Cynthia. (2010). "Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War" in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 12 (2): 139-157.

- Cohn, Carol. (2004). "Feminist Peacemaking" in *The Women's Review of Books*. 11 (5).
- Cohn, Carol, Helen Kinsella & Sheri Gibbings. (2004). "Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325" in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 6 (1): 130-140.
- Colburn, Forrest D. (2009). "The Turnover In El Salvador" in *Journal of Democracy*. 20 (3): 143-152.
- Confortini, Catia Cecilia. (2011). "Doing Feminist Peace" in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 13 (3): 349-370.
- Conover, Pamela Johnston & Virginia Sapiro. (1993). "Feminist Consciousness and War" in *American Journal of Political Science*. 37 (4): 1079-1099.
- Craske, Nikki. (2003a). "Gender Politics and Legislation" in *Gender in Latin America*. Edited by Sylvia Chant & Nikki Craske. London: Latin America Bureau.
- Craske, Nikki. (2003b). "Gender, Poverty and Social Movements" in *Gender in Latin America*. Edited by Sylvia Chant & Nikki Craske. London: Latin America Bureau.
- Dominguez, Jorge. (1997). "Latin America's crisis of representation" in *Foreign Affairs*. 76 (1): 100-113.
- ECLAC. (2011). "Social panorama of Latin America 2011". Santiago: United Nations
- Espinosa, Isolda. (2011). *Honduras: una aproximación a la situación de las mujeres a través del análisis de los indicadores de género*. Santiago de Chile: Impreso en Estados Unidos.
- *FER (Feministas en Resistencia)*. (2010a). "Honduras: Situación de la violencia contra las mujeres en 2009". Tegucigalpa: CDM.
- *FER (Feministas en Resistencia)*. (2010b). "Políticas Públicas y los DDHH de las mujeres a partir del golpe de estado". Tegucigalpa: CDM.
- Frank, Dana. (2010). "Out of the Past, a New Honduran Culture of Resistance" in *NACLA Reports on Americas*. 43 (3): 6-10.
- Galtung, Johan. (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gentry, Caron E. (2009). "Twisted Maternalism" in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 11 (2): 235-252.
- Gervais, Christine & Betsy Estevez. (2011). "Security Through Solidarity: Honduran Women's Post-Coup Strategies of Support and Survival" in *Journal of International Women's Studies*. 12 (4): 1-21.

- Gilhus, Ingvild Sælid & Lisbeth Mikaelsson. (2001). *Nytt blikk på religion: Studiet av religion i dag*. Oslo: Pax Forlag.
- Gjelsvik, Ingvild Magnæs. (2010). *Women, war and empowerment: a case study of female ex-combatants in Colombia*. Tromsø: University of Tromsø.
- Gonzalez, Mike. (2009). "Honduras is not just another banana republic" in *International Socialism*. 125 (1).
- Gotkowitz, Laura. (2000). "Commemorating the Heroínas: Gender and Civic Ritual in Early-Twentieth-Century Bolivia" in *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Edited by Elizabeth Dore & Maxine Molyneux. London: Duke University Press.
- Graziano, Frank. (2007). *Cultures of Devotion: Folk Saints of Spanish America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grundström, Karin. (2005). *Gender and use of public space*. Collected 13.04.2012 from <http://www.n-aerus.net/web/sat/workshops/2005/papers/11.pdf>.
- Hellevik, Ottar. (2002). *Forskningsmetode i sosiologi og statsvitenskap*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Hertz, Noreena. (2004). *Den Tause Revolusjonen: Global kapitalisme og demokratiets død*. Oslo: Cappelen Forlag.
- Holloway, Lewis & Phil Hubbard. (2001). *People and place: The extraordinary geographies of everyday life*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Hudson, Heidi. (2009). "Peacebuilding Through a Gender Lens and the Challenges of Implementation in Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire" in *Security Studies*. 18 (2): 287-318.
- Human Rights Foundation. (2010). *The Facts and the Law Behind the Democratic Crisis of Honduras*. New York: Human Rights Foundation.
- Haaland, Mari. (2007). *Med solidaritetsblikk på Honduras*. Oslo: Kolofon Forlag.
- Halim, Asma Abdel. (1998). "Attack with a Friendly Weapon" in *What Women do in Wartime*. Edited by Meredith Turshen & Clotilde Twagiramariya. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Hauge, Wenche. (2008). "Group identity—a neglected asset: Determinants of social and political participation among female ex-fighters in Guatemala" in *Conflict, Security & Development*. 8 (3): 295-316.



- Hyder, Adnan A. & Salman A. Wali. (2006). “Informed Consent And Collaborative Research: Perspectives From The Developing World” in *Developing World Bioethics*. 6 (1): 33-40.
- Isdal, Per. (2002). *Meningen med volden*. Oslo: Kommuneforlaget AS.
- IUDPAS-UNAH. (2010) “Observatorio de la violencia No 19”. Tegucigalpa: UNAH.
- IUDPAS-UNAH. (2011) “Observatorio de muertes violentas de mujeres y feminicidas No 2”. Tegucigalpa: UNAH.
- Jenkins, Tony & Betty A. Reardon. (2007). “Gender and Peace: Towards a gender-inclusive, holistic perspective.” in *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*. Edited by Charles Webel and Johan Galtung. London: Routledge.
- Johansen, Jørgen. (2007). “Nonviolence: More than the absence of violence” in *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*. Edited by Charles Webel and Johan Galtung. London: Routledge.
- Joyce, Rosemary. (2009). “Culture and Politics in the Honduran Coup” in *Berkeley Review Of Latin American Studies*. 12 (2): 42-47.
- Kampwirth, Karen. (1998). “Feminism, Antifeminism, and Electoral Politics in Postwar Nicaragua and El Salvador” in *Political Science Quarterly*. 113 (2): 259-279.
- Kampwirth, Karen. (2002). *Women and guerilla movements*. Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press.
- Kampwirth, Karen. (2008). “Abortion, Antifeminism, and the Return of Daniel Ortega: In Nicaragua, Leftist Politics?” in *Latin American Perspectives*. 35 (6): 122-136.
- Kilcullen, David. (2009). *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kruskal, William & Frederick Mosteller. (1980). “Representative Sampling, IV: The History of the Concept in Statistics, 1895-1939” in *International Statistical Review*. 48 (2): 169-195.
- Llanos, Mariana & Leiv Marsteintredet. (2010). “Ruptura Y Continuidad: La Caída De «Mel» Zelaya En Perspectiva Comparada” in *América Latina Hoy*. 55 (2): 173-197.
- MacKenzie, Megan. (2009). “Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone” in *Security Studies*. 18 (2): 241-261.

- Marshall, Monty G. & Keith Jagers. (2011). *Polity IV Country Report 2010: Honduras*. Vienna: Center for Systemic Peace.
- Marshall, Patricia. (1992). "Research Ethics in Applied Anthropology" in *IRB: Ethics and Human Research*. 14 (6): 1-5.
- Marshall, Patricia. (2003). "Human Subjects Protections, Institutional Review Boards, and Cultural Anthropological Research" in *Anthropological Quarterly*. 72 (2): 269-285.
- Mejia, Thelma. (2010a). *Honduras: Pressure Mounts As More Journalists Are Killed*. New York: Global Information Network.
- Mejia, Thelma. (2010b). *Media-Honduras: Ten Murders and No Justice*. New York: Global Information Network.
- Merrill, Tim. (1995). *Honduras: A Country Study*. Washington DC: Library of Congress.
- Mesquida, Christian G. & Neil I. Wiener. (1999). "Male Age Composition and Severity of Conflicts" in *Politics and Life Sciences*. 18 (2): 181-189.
- Meyer, Peter J. (2010). *Honduran Political Crisis, June 2009-January 2010*. Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service.
- Mitchell, Don. (2000). *Cultural Geography*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Mitchell, Don. (2003). *The Right to the City*. London: The Guilford Press.
- Molyneux, Maxine. (2002). "Gender and the Silences of Social Capital: Lessons from Latin America" in *Development and Change*. 33 (2): 167-188.
- Mueller, John. (2007). *Remnants of War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Posas, Mario. (1980). "Honduras at Crossroads" in *Latin American Perspectives*. 7 (2/3): 45-56.
- Ringdal, Kristen. (2007). *Enhet og mangfold*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.
- Rokkan, Stein. (1987). *Stat, nasjon, klasse*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Ronderos, Katherine. (2011). "Poverty reduction, political violence and women's rights in Honduras" in *Community Development Journal*. 46 (3): 315-326.
- Ruhl, J. Mark. (2010). "Honduras Unravels" in *Journal of Democracy*. 21 (2): 93-107.
- Saco, Diane. (2002). *Cybering Democracy: Public Space And The Internet*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Nancy Burns, Sidney Verba & Jesse Donahue. (1995). “Gender and Citizen Participation: Is There a Different Voice?” in *American Journal of Political Science*. 39 (2): 267-293.
- Skaine, Rosemarie. (2006) *Female Suicide Bombers*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers.
- Seligson, Mitchell A. & John A. Booth. (2010). “Trouble in Central America: Crime, Hard Times and Discontent” in *Journal of Democracy*. 21 (2): 123-135.
- Sky, Jeanette. (2007). *Kjønn og religion*. Oslo: Pax Forlag.
- Spradley, James P. (1980). *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Stiehm, Judith Hicks. (2005). “Women and the Nobel Prize for Peace” in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 7 (2): 258-279.
- Stuart, Richard B. (1978). “Protection of the Right to Informed Consent to Participate in Research” in *Behaviour Therapy*. 9: 73-82.
- Taraciuk, Tamara. (2010). “Honduras -- After the Coup: Ongoing Violence, Intimidation, and Impunity in Honduras” in *Human Rights Watch*. Dec 2010.
- Taylor-Robinson, Michelle. (2006). “La Política Hondureña y Las Elecciones de 2005” in *Revista de Ciencia Política*. 26 (1): 114-124.
- Thagaard, Tove. (2003). *Systematikk og innlevelse*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.
- Thorne, Barrie. (1980). ” "You Still Takin' Notes?" Fieldwork and Problems of Informed Consent” in *Social Problems*. 27 (3): 284-297.
- Turshen, Meredith. (1998). “Women’s War Stories” in *What Women do in Wartime*. Edited by Meredith Turshen & Clotilde Twagiramariya. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- UNDP. (2011). “Human Development Report 2011”. New York: UNDP.
- UNESCO. (2010). “Reaching the Marginalized”. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- UNODC. (2011). “Global Study On Homicide 2011”. Vienna: United Nations.
- United Nations. (2008). “World Marriage Data”. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. (2010). “The World’s Women 2010”. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. (2011). “Population and Vital Statistics Report: Statistical Papers Series A Vol. LXIII”. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations Security Council. (2000). “Resolution 1325” adopted by the Security Council at the 4213<sup>th</sup> meeting 31.10.2000. New York: United Nations.

- Valentine, W. S. (1916). "Honduras" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 68: 185-186.
- Valestrand, Halldis. (2007). *Peasant Women: Between Oilpalms and Bananas. Coto Sur, Costa Rica*. Tromsø: University of Tromsø.
- Varley, Ann. (2000). "Women and the Home in Mexican Family Law" in *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Edited by Elizabeth Dore & Maxine Molyneux. London: Duke University Press.
- Ware, Helen. (2005). "Demography, Migration and Conflict in the Pacific" in *Journal of Peace Research*. 42 (4): 435-454.
- Wilm, Johannes. (2009). *La Joven Revolución Hondureña*. London: New Left Notes.
- Wilm, Johannes. (2011a). *Honduras 2 años después - Andrés Ortiz*. London: New Left Notes.
- Wilm, Johannes. (2011b). *Honduras 2 años después - Fabricio Sandoval*. London: New Left Notes.
- Wilm, Johannes. (2011c). *Honduras 2 años después - Carmen Escobar*. London: New Left Notes.
- Wilm, Johannes. (2011d). *Honduras 2 años después - Haris Castro*. London: New Left Notes.
- Wilm, Johannes. (2011e). *Interview with author 21.12.2011*.
- Wilm, Johannes. (2011f). *Honduras 2 años después - con el Frente Estudiantil Socialista*. London: New Left Notes.
- Young, Lindsay. (2010). "The Honduran Question: The U.S. Answer to Latin America" in *Pepperdine Policy Review*. 3 (1): 3-14.

### **Internet sources**

- Arnoletto, Eduardo J. (2007). *Clase Política*. Collected the 16.11.2011 from <http://www.eumed.net/dices/definicion.php?dic=3&def=193>.
- Bull, Benedicte. (2012). *Latin-Amerika og transnasjonal organisert kriminalitet som utenrikspolitikk*. Collected the 02.02.2012 from <http://blogg.uio.no/sum/norlablogg/content/latin-amerika-og-transnasjonal-organisert-kriminalitet-som-utenrikspolitikk>.
- Casey, Nicholas. (2009). *Honduras Takes Control of Some Media*. Collected the 09.05.2012 from <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124658463338890161.html>.

- *CODEV*. (2012). “Event: Stories from the Frontlines of the Honduran Teachers’ Struggle”. Collected the 10.02.2012 from <http://www.codev.org/2012/01/event-stories-from-the-frontlines-of-the-honduran-teachers%E2%80%99-struggle/>.
- *COPEMH*. (2010). “Maestros ratifican que desfilaran con el Frente Nacional de Resistencia”. Collected the 10.02.2012 from <http://copemh.org/content/maestros-ratifican-que-desfilaran-con-el-frente-nacional-de-resistencia>.
- *Destination360.com*. (2012). “Map of Real Intercontinental Tegucigalpa, Tegucigalpa”. Collected the 23.04.2012 from <http://www.destination360.com/central-america/honduras/tegucigalpa/real-intercontinental-tegucigalpa/hotel-map>.
- *Dias, Wilson*. (2009). “Brasília - O presidente de Honduras, José Manuel Zelaya, concede entrevista coletiva após encontro com o presidente Lula no CCBB”. Collected the 08.08.2012 from [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Zelaya\\_en\\_Brasil\\_agosto\\_2009%282%29.JPG](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Zelaya_en_Brasil_agosto_2009%282%29.JPG).
- Eikemo, Terje. (2004). *Er Norge et klassesamfunn?*. Lecture in Sociology given 13.09.2004. Collected the 16.11.2011 from <http://www.svt.ntnu.no/iss/terje.eikemo/sos1005/norge-klassesamfunn.pdf>.
- *Emporis*. (Not dated). “Tegucigalpa”. Collected the 23.04.2012 from <http://www.emporis.com/city/tegucigalpa-honduras>.
- *FNGE*. (2009). “Comunicado No. 26”. Collected the 10.02.2012 from <http://contraelgolpedeestadohn.blogspot.com/2009/09/comunicado-no-26.html>.
- *FNRP*. (2010a). “Definición del Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular (FNRP)”. Collected the 16.11.2011 from [http://resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=173;Itemid=261](http://resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=173;Itemid=261).
- *FNRP*. (2010b). “Organizaciones magisteriales suspenden labores, ante negativa del régimen al diálogo”. Collected the 11.02.2012 from [http://www.resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=411;Itemid=246](http://www.resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=411;Itemid=246).
- *FNRP*. (2012a). “Manifiesto Popular”. Collected the 10.02.2012 from [http://resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=4177;Itemid=259](http://resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4177;Itemid=259).

- *FNRP*. (2012b). “Dos años perdidos, el fracaso inevitable y una sola alternativa: "LIBRE"”. Collected the 10.02.2012 from [http://resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=4200;Itemid=259](http://resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4200;Itemid=259).
- *FNRP*. (2012c). “Another journalist murdered by hired assassins”. Collected the 29.04.2012 from [http://www.resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=4577](http://www.resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4577).
- *FNRP*. (2012d). “Sexual Diversity is a Right for which LIBRE is Ready to Struggle”. Collected the 29.04.2012 from [http://www.resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=4578](http://www.resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4578).
- *Food First*. (2011). “Non-violent Resistance to the Honduras Coup Regime: Youth activist report”. Collected the 10.02.2012 from <http://www.foodfirst.org/en/node/3378>.
- *Frontline Defenders*. (2011). “Honduras: Death threats and intimidation of human rights defender Ms Gilda Carolina Silvestrucchi”. Collected the 31.01.2012 from <http://www.frontlinedefenders.org/node/17186>.
- *Honduras para todos*. (2009). “Grupos en Resistencia”. Collected the 11.02.2012 from <http://hondurasparatodos.wordpress.com/lista/>.
- *Institute for Global Labour and Human Rights*. (2009). “Honduran Workers Fight for Return of Democracy”. Collected the 11.02.2012 from <http://www.globallabourrights.org/alerts?id=0032>.
- Jones, Michael. (2009). *The Coup in Honduras and a Rise in LGBT Violence*. Collected the 02.05.2012 from <http://news.change.org/stories/the-coup-in-honduras-and-a-rise-in-lgbt-violence>.
- Knapke, Margaret. (2009). *Coup's Impact on Honduran Women*. Collected the 01.05.2012 from [http://www.fpif.org/articles/coups\\_impact\\_on\\_honduran\\_women](http://www.fpif.org/articles/coups_impact_on_honduran_women).
- Lara, Tania. (2012). *Lawyer shot to death in Honduras after denouncing police torture to newspapers*. Collected the 02.02.2012 from <http://knightcenter.utexas.edu/en/node/8722>.
- *Latin America News Dispatch*. (2011). “U.S. Cable Reveals Honduran Resistance Sought Weapons In Nicaragua After 2009 Coup”. Collected the 10.02.2012 from

- <http://latindispatch.com/2011/06/27/u-s-cable-reveals-honduran-resistance-sought-weapons-in-nicaragua-after-2009-coup/>.
- Loudon, Tom. (2009). *A Day of Reckoning in Honduras*. Collected the 20.04.2012 from <http://paceebene.org/nvns/nonviolence-news-service-archive/people-power-move-honduras>.
  - Minster, Christopher. (2009). *Biography of Manuel Zelaya*. Collected the 09.05.2012 from <http://latinamericanhistory.about.com/od/presidentscentralamerica/p/09mzelaya.htm>.
  - Minster, Christopher. (2010). *Manuel Zelaya Timeline: The Rise and fall of the President of Honduras*. Collected the 09.05.2012 from <http://latinamericanhistory.about.com/od/historyofcentralamerica/a/09zelayatimeline.htm>.
  - Naiman, Robert. (2009). *Popular Resistance to the Coup in Honduras: an Interview with Bertha Caceres*. Collected the 20.04.2012 from [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-naiman/popular-resistance-to-the\\_b\\_301211.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-naiman/popular-resistance-to-the_b_301211.html).
  - *NationMaster.com*. (Not dated). “Honduran Age Distribution Statistics”. Collected the 23.09.2011 from [http://www.nationmaster.com/country/ho-honduras/Age\\_distribution](http://www.nationmaster.com/country/ho-honduras/Age_distribution).
  - Nieto, Juliana Cano. (2009). *Honduras: Investigate Murders of LGBT People*. Collected the 02.05.2012 from <http://www.hrw.org/news/2009/12/16/honduras-investigate-murders-lgbt-people>.
  - *PIDHDD*. (2009). “Frente Nacional Contra El Golpe De Estado En Honduras”. Collected the 10.02.2012 from <http://www.webcitation.org/5ivW4Xv0e>.
  - *Reporters without Borders*. (2012). “Journalist and human rights activist Dina Meza threatened again”. Collected the 01.05.2012 from <http://en.rsf.org/honduras-journalist-and-human-rights-27-04-2012,42392.html>.
  - Rodríguez, Romel Alí. (2010). *De Honduras a Ecuador, el golpe de estado es el mismo*. Collected the 16.11.2011 from <http://www.aporrea.org/internacionales/a109672.html>.
  - Shah, Punit N. (2010). *Postcard: Latin American Graffiti*. Collected the 12.04.2012 from <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2010/8/9/political-messages-graffiti-argentina/>.

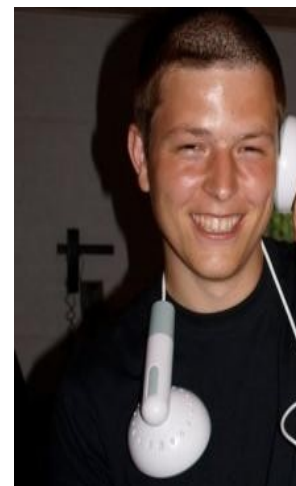
- Sommer, Michael & Sharan Burrow. (2012). *Continúan las amenazas contra periodistas en Honduras*. Collected the 02.02.2012 from [http://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/protesta\\_amenazas\\_a\\_periodistas\\_en\\_honduras\\_enero.pdf](http://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/protesta_amenazas_a_periodistas_en_honduras_enero.pdf).
- Timar, Eric. (2002). *Miniguide to Tegucigalpa*. Collected the 04.05.2012 from <http://travel-to-honduras.com/travel/honduras-tegucigalpa.php>.
- Trucchi, Giorgio. (2011). *FNRP does not recognize Lobo and rejects the reinsertion of Honduras to the OAS*. Collected the 02.02.2012 from <http://hondurashumanrights.wordpress.com/2011/05/27/fnrp-does-not-recognize-lobo-and-rejects-the-reinsertion-of-honduras-to-the-oas/>.
- UNAH. (2007). "Historia de la UNAH". Collected the 18.04.2012 from <https://www.unah.edu.hn/?cat=1200&fcats>.
- Whitney Jr, W. T. (2011). *Honduran teachers' protests trigger repression, fight-back*. Collected 11.02.2012 from <http://peoplesworld.org/honduran-teachers-protests-trigger-repression-fight-back/>.
- *Worldatlas.com*. (Not dated). "Honduras". Collected the 13.02.2011 from <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/namerica/camerica/hn.htm>.
- Zunes, Stephen. (2009). *The Power of Nonviolent Action in Honduras*. Collected the 10.02.2012 from <http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/the-power-of-nonviolent-action-in-honduras>.



## Quién soy yo? ¿Qué quiero de ustedes? ¿Porqué lo hago?

En este documento trataré de responder a estas preguntas y algunas más que puedo anticipar como visitante y científico en el grupo de ustedes. Me llamo Christian Marstein y soy noruego, pero en el año 2003 viví cinco meses en Tegucigalpa. En la casa de Víctor Bocanegra. Como parte del programa de intercambio de la organización AFS. Todavía mantenemos el contacto, a través de Facebook y correo electrónico.

Para revelar más acerca de mi persona puedo contar que tendré 26 años cuando regrese a Honduras. Estoy divorciado y tengo dos hijos, Brage de 3 años y Villemo de un año y medio. Soy socialdemócrata, que es la manera normal para pertenecer por la izquierda en la política en



*Un reciente foto de yo.*

Noruega. Soy estudiante en la Universidad de Tromsø, en Noruega, donde soy un parte del programa de máster de Paz y transformación de conflictos.

No me gustó cuando escuche que hubo un golpe de estado en Honduras. Más tarde Víctor me contó cómo fueron las cosas en el país y yo decidí de que quiero hacer mi parte. Tengo la ambición de que puedo llamar la atención de más gente en mi parte del mundo de lo que pasa en Honduras. No se si lo lograré, pero es mejor tratar de hacer algo que nada. Lo que estudiaré es



*Yo como escout en Honduras, 21. de Tegucigalpa.*

como es ser mujer en la resistencia y si las mujeres hacen otras cosas que los hombres en la organización. Esos temas son muy populares en mi parte del mundo académico y por eso espero que pueda publicarlo después, con aun más atención a Honduras.

Quiero hacer mi estudio de eso en forma de una encuesta en un reunión del grupo de ustedes, que forma parte de la resistencia. La encuesta quiero hacer en Julio de 2011. Sera voluntario si cada uno quiere responder la encuesta y voy a hacerlo así que nadie más necesita saber si un individuo no quiere participar. También tengo un gran enfoque de seguridad de los datos y las informaciones que recibo de ustedes. Por eso, todos serán anónimas también que los datos no van a viajar conmigo hasta Noruega pero van a salir de Honduras por líneas criptadas. Ya tengo colaboración con los estudiantes de informática para que podamos hacer una vía segura para la salida de los datos de la encuesta. Si hay más preguntas o cualquier cosa estoy listo para responder a eso y ustedes pueden contactarme por correo electrónico a [christian@marste.in](mailto:christian@marste.in).



*Logo de mi universidad*

¡Hasta pronto!

*Christian Marstein*  
Christian Marstein

*Informacion de contacto a mi supervisor:  
Halldis Valestrand  
halldis.valestrand@uit.no  
Professor de Ciencias Politicas de la  
Universidad de Tromsø, Noruega*

**Who am I? What do I want from you? Why do it?**

*I like Escout in Honduras, 21. Tegucigalpa.*

*My college Logo*

*A recent photo of me.*

This paper will try to answer these questions and some more I can expect as a visitor and scientist in the group of you. My name is Christian and I am Marstein Norwegian, but in 2003 lived five months in Tegucigalpa, in the home of Victor Bocanegra as part of the exchange program AFS organization. I still keep in touch through Facebook and email.

To reveal more about me than I can count I have 26 years when he returns to Honduras. I'm divorced and I have two children, Brage (age 3) and Villemo a year and a half. I am a social democrat, which is the normal way to belong to the left in politics in Norway. I am a student at the University of Tromsø, Norway, where I am a part of the Masters of Peace and Conflict Transformation.

I liked when I heard that there was a coup in Honduras. Victor later told me how things went in the country and I decided that I want to do my part. I have the ambition that I can draw the attention of more people in my part of the world of what happens in Honduras. Do not know if I will succeed, but it is best to try to do something than nothing. What you will study how it is being a woman in the resistance and if women do other things than men in the organization. These themes are very popular in my part of the academic world and so hopefully I can post it later, even more attention to Honduras.

I want to make that my study as a survey in a group meeting you, part of the resistance. I want to do the survey in July 2011. Will be voluntary if everyone wants to answer the survey and I will do so no more need to know if an individual does not want to participate. I have a strong focus on data security and information I receive from you. So, everyone will be anonymous data also will not travel with me to Norway but will leave Honduras for encrypted lines. Now I have students working with computers so we can make a safe way to exit poll data. If you have more questions or anything I'm ready to answer that and you can contact me by e-mail to [christian@marste.in](mailto:christian@marste.in).

See you soon!

Christian Marstein

## Formulario de Consentimiento Informado

### Universidad de Tromsø

Título del Proyecto: *Las mujeres en la resistencia: el papel y la participación de las mujeres en el "Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular" de Honduras*

Investigador Principal: Christian Lomsdalen Marstein  
Supervisor: Halldis Valestrand

Nombre impreso del participante: \_\_\_\_\_

Te invitamos a participar en un estudio de investigación "*Las mujeres en la resistencia: el papel y la participación de las mujeres en el "Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular" de Honduras*", que es mi tesis de maestría de la Universidad de Tromsø, que busca identificar las diferencias en la participación entre hombres y mujeres del Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular de Honduras. La participación en este estudio es totalmente voluntaria. Instamos a que cualquier pregunta acerca de este estudio con el investigador. Hable con su familia y amigos acerca de ello y tomar su tiempo para tomar su decisión. Si usted decide participar debe firmar este formulario para indicar que desea participar.

#### Sección 1. Propósito de la investigación

Se le está ofreciendo la oportunidad de tomar parte en este estudio de investigación porque usted es un miembro del Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular de Honduras. Este estudio de investigación que se está haciendo para averiguar si existen diferencias en el grado y la naturaleza de la participación entre hombres y mujeres de esta organización. Aproximadamente 50 personas tomarán parte en esta investigación, *principalmente en Tegucigalpa y San Pedro Sula.*

#### Sección 2. Procedimientos

*Se le entregó un cuestionario a llenar y algunos de los participantes también se les preguntó si me gustaría hablar en privado o como parte de un grupo acerca de ciertos aspectos de la participación en el movimiento.*

#### Sección 3. Tiempo de duración de los procedimientos y Estudio

*El cuestionario se llevará sólo un par de minutos para completar. Pero si usted decide participar en un grupo o una entrevista privada el procedimiento podría tomar, aunque poco probable, tanto como 1,5 horas.*

#### Sección 4. Molestias y riesgos

El estudio en sí no conducen a ninguna molestia, como tal, y el riesgo de acceso no autorizado a los datos se limitará en gran medida por la aplicación del anonimato y la encriptación de los datos involucrados en la investigación. Los datos serán transferidos de forma segura a un servidor seguro en el campus de la Universidad de Tromsø, en antelación a la salida investigadores de Honduras para reducir al mínimo cualquier riesgo para las partes involucradas.

#### Sección 5. Beneficios potenciales

*Los beneficios de este estudio es la posibilidad de poder dar más datos sobre la participación de género en estos movimientos y también arrojar más luz sobre los procesos en Honduras después de los incidentes que condujeron a la creación del Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular de Honduras.*

#### Sección 6. Declaración de confidencialidad

*Cuestionarios de todos los participantes en este estudio será anónima, también para el investigador. Esto no será posible con las entrevistas, pero también van a ser anónimos después de la finalización del estudio.*

*Todos los datos de este estudio se almacenan en una computadora cifrados que sólo se conectará a las redes para poder enviar la información recogida a través de una conexión segura a un servidor seguro en el campus de la Universidad de Tromsø. La integridad de los procedimientos para el cifrado y el transporte de información se ha organizado con un veterano en este campo.*

*Después de la finalización del estudio, todos los restantes datos de identificación en el estudio serán anónimos para que los datos pueden ser estudiados por los demás con la seguridad de mantener el anonimato de los participantes se romperá.*

## Sección 7. Financiación de la Investigación

Esta investigación está financiada por la Universidad de Tromsø a través de los fondos otorgados por el Centro de Estudios para la Paz en la universidad.

## Sección 10. Participación Voluntaria

La participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Si decide participar, usted tiene el derecho de detener en cualquier momento. Si usted decide no participar o si decide dejar de tomar parte en la investigación en una fecha posterior, no habrá penalización.

## Sección 11. Información de contacto para preguntas o inquietudes

Usted tiene el derecho de hacer cualquier pregunta que pueda tener sobre esta investigación. Si tiene preguntas, quejas o inquietudes, póngase en contacto con cristianos Lomsdalen Marstein al (+504) 3370-0986 / (+47) 930 83 015.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante de una investigación o si tiene preocupaciones o preguntas generales sobre la investigación o sobre su privacidad, por favor póngase en contacto con Christian Lomsdalen Marstein al (+504) 3370-0986 / (+47) 930 83 015.

## Firma y consentimiento / permiso para estar en la investigación

Antes de tomar la decisión sobre la inscripción en esta investigación debe tener:

- Discutido este estudio con un investigador,
- Revisado la información en esta forma, y
- Tuvo la oportunidad de hacer cualquier pregunta que pueda tener.

Su firma abajo significa que usted ha recibido esta información, se han formulado las preguntas que usted tiene actualmente sobre la investigación y las preguntas han sido contestadas. Usted recibirá una copia del formulario firmado y fechado para mantener para referencia futura.

**Participantes:** Al firmar este formulario de consentimiento, usted indica que usted está eligiendo voluntariamente a participar en esta investigación.

---

Firma del Participante Nombre Tiempo Fecha de Impresión

**Explicación de la persona de investigación:** Su firma significa que usted ha explicado la investigación al representante del participante / participante y han respondido a cualquier pregunta que él / ella tiene sobre la investigación.

---

Firma de la persona que explica esta fecha, la investigación Nombre Tiempo Impreso

## Informed Consent Form

### University of Tromsø

Title of Project: *Women in the resistance: the role and participation of women in the "National Popular Resistance Front" of Honduras*

Principal Investigator: Christian Lomsdalen Marstein

Participant's Printed Name: \_\_\_\_\_

We invite you to take part in a research study "*Women in the resistance: the role and participation of women in the "National Popular Resistance Front" of Honduras*" that is my master thesis from the University of Tromsø, which seeks to identify the differences in participation between men and women of the National Popular Resistance Front of Honduras. Taking part in this study is entirely voluntary. We urge you discuss any questions about this study with the researcher. Talk to your family and friends about it and take your time to make your decision. If you decide to participate you must sign this form to show that you want to take part.

#### **Section 1. Purpose of the Research**

You are being offered the opportunity to take part in this research study because you are a member of the National Popular Resistance Front of Honduras.

This research study is being done to find out if there are differences in the degree and nature of participation between men and women of this organization.

Approximately 50 people will take part in this research *mainly in Tegucigalpa and San Pedro Sula.*

#### **Section 2. Procedures**

*You will be handed out a questionnaire to fill out and some of the participants will also be asked if they would like to talk me either in private or as a part of a group about certain aspects of participation in the movement.*

#### **Section 3. Time Duration of the Procedures and Study**

*The questionnaire will take just a couple of minutes to fill out. But if you choose to participate in either a group or a private interview the procedures might take, although unlikely, as much as 1,5 hours.*

#### **Section 4. Discomforts and Risks**

The study will in it self not lead to any discomforts as such and the risk of unwanted access to the data will be limited to a great extent by the application of anonymity and encryption of the data involved in the research. The data will be

transferred securely to a secure server on the campus of University of Tromsø in advance of the researchers departure from Honduras to minimize any risk to the involved parties.

## **Section 5. Potential Benefits**

*The benefits of this study is the possibility to be able to give further data about gendered participation in such movements and also shed more lights on the processes in Honduras after the incidents leading up to the creation of the National Popular Resistance Front of Honduras.*

## **Section 6. Statement of Confidentiality**

*All participants' questionnaires in this study will be anonymous, also to the researcher. This will not be possible with the interviews but also they will be anonymized after the completion of the study.*

*All the data from this study will be store on an encrypted computer that will only be connected to networks to be able to send the information gathered via a secure connection to a secure server on the campus of the University of Tromsø. The integrity of the procedures for encryption and transport of information has been arranged with a veteran in this field.*

*After the completion of the study all the remaining identifying data in the study will be anonymized so that the data can be studied by others with out the security of anonymity for the participants will be broken.*

## **Section 7. Research Funding**

This research is funded by the University of Tromsø trough the funds given out by the Center for Peace Studies at the university.

## **Section 10. Voluntary Participation**

Taking part in this research study is voluntary. If you choose to take part, you have the right to stop at any time. If you decide not to participate or if you decide to stop taking part in the research at a later date, there will be no penalty.

## **Section 11. Contact Information for Questions or Concerns**

You have the right to ask any questions you may have about this research. If you have questions, complaints or concerns, contact Christian Lomsdalen Marstein at *(phone number)*.

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant or you have concerns or general questions about the research or about your privacy please contact Christian Lomsdalen Marstein at *(phone number)*.

**Signature and Consent/Permission to be in the Research**

Before making the decision regarding enrollment in this research you should have:

- Discussed this study with an investigator,
- Reviewed the information in this form, and
- Had the opportunity to ask any questions you may have.

Your signature below means that you have received this information, have asked the questions you currently have about the research and those questions have been answered. You will receive a copy of the signed and dated form to keep for future reference.

**Participant:** By signing this consent form, you indicate that you are voluntarily choosing to take part in this research.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant                      Date                      Time                      Printed Name

**Person Explaining the Research:** Your signature below means that you have explained the research to the participant/participant representative and have answered any questions he/she has about the research.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of person who explained this research      Date                      Time                      Printed Name

## Appendix 5

Este encuesta forma parte de mi base de datos para hacer mi tesis por el master de paz y transformación de conflictos en la Universidad de Tromsø.

**¡Bienvenidos a este encuesta!**

No se tarda mucho responder mis preguntas, no son muchos. Tus datos seran protegidos y anonimados.

Hay 25 preguntas en esta encuesta

### Información Básica

Informacion para hacer las estadisticas.

#### 1 ¿Hombre o mujer? \*

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Femenino  
 Masculino

#### 2 ¿En que año nació Usted? \*

Por favor, escriba su respuesta aquí:

El año de Su nacimiento en cuatro cifras

#### 3 ¿Cual es Su profesión? \*

Por favor, escriba su respuesta aquí:

¿Con que trabaja Usted? Respuestas como estudiante, sin trabajo o otras son posibles tambien.

#### 4 ¿Cuál es Su más alto nivel de estudios alcanzado? \*

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Educación primaria  
 Educación secundaria  
 Licenciatura (grado completo equivalente de 3 años)  
 Master (grado completo equivalente de 5 años)  
 Ph.D

Educación primaria, Educación secundaria, Licenciatura, Master, Ph.D

#### 5 Estado civil \*

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Solter@  
 "Occupad@"  
 Cohabitante  
 Casad@  
 Divorciad@



Viud@

Otro

Solter@, "ocupad@", casad@, cohabitante, divorciado, viud@

**6 ¿Si Usted tiene un pareja, pertenece el/ella a el movimiento? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

Sí

No

## Afiliación

Informacion de Su afiliación de la Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular.

**7 ¿Esta Usted miembro de un grupo que forma parte de la Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular de Honduras? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

Sí

No

**8 ¿A cual grupo pertenece Usted? \***

Por favor, escriba su respuesta aquí:

**9 ¿Por tanto tiempo ha Usted sido miembro de Su grupo? \***

Por favor, escriba su respuesta aquí:

Tiempo en meses.

**10 ¿Cómo calificaría usted su propia participación en el grupo / movimiento? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

Ningun participacion

Poco participacion

Algun participacion

Regular, como lo de mas

Mas que regular

"Todo el tiempo"

Su propio opinion

## Reuniones

Preguntas de participacion en reuniones del grupo.

### 11 ¿Participa Usted en organizar y arreglar las reuniones del grupo? \*

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Si
- No
- A veces

### 12 ¿Usted organiza las reuniones ó prepara Usted el local, la comida, sillas o otras cosas? \*

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Organizo
- Preparo

### 13 ¿Con qué frecuencia atiende usted a las reuniones? \*

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Cada semana (si hay reuniones)
- Cada otro semana
- Cada mes
- Pocas veces

### 14 ¿Siente que su opinion es escuchada en las reuniones? \*

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Sí
- No

## Acciones y demostraciones

Preguntas de Acciones y demostraciones.

### 15 ¿Participa en acciones o demostraciones? \*

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- No
- Pocas veces
- Algunos
- La mayoría
- Sí, cuando hay una demostracion o accion, participo

**16 ¿En qué tipo de acciones participa Usted? \***

Por favor, marque las opciones que correspondan:

- Demonstraciones
- Poniendo posters
- Haciendo graffiti
- Campañas de información
- Desobediencia civil
- Sabotaje
- Otro:

**17 ¿Cuál es su método preferido de acción? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Demonstraciones
- Hacer graffiti
- Sabotaje
- Desobediencia civil
- Poniendo posters
- Campañas de información
- Otro:

**18 ¿Aboga usted por su método preferido en el grupo? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Sí
- No

**19 ¿Cómo calificaría el impacto de su preferencia en el grupo? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Total
- Mucho impacto
- Algun impacto
- Poco impacto
- Nada

**20 Prepara Usted las acciones del grupo, hacer pancartas, la compra de equipos, etc? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Sí  
 No

**Armamento**

Preguntas de armamento del grupo o/y del movimiento.

**21 ¿Preferiría que el movimiento fuera armado? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Sí  
 No

**22 ¿Ha Usted participado en algún debate sobre este tema en el movimiento ó en el grupo? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Sí  
 No

Ambos en privado, en grupo ó en un reunion.

**23 Si es así, ¿cómo era la tendencia en esos debates? \***

Por favor, escriba su respuesta aquí:

**24 En caso afirmativo, en qué situaciones cree usted que las armas sería una buena adición? \***

Por favor, escriba su respuesta aquí:

**Admiración****25 ¿Quien de esos admira Usted mas? \***

Por favor seleccione **sólo una** de las siguientes opciones:

- Mahatma Gandhi
- Fidel Castro
- Ernesto "Che" Guevara
- Simon Bolivar
- Madre Teresa de Calcutta
- Francisco Morazán
- Emiliano Zapata
- Martin Luther King Jr.
- Rigoberta Menchú Tum
- Vladimir Iljitsj Uljanov "Lenin"
- Mel Zelaya

**¡Gracias por responder mis preguntas!**

Por Su participacion en esta encuesta me agradezco mucho.

.Gracias por completar esta encuesta.

- **Participation in the Resistance**

This survey is part of my database to do my master thesis on peace and conflict transformation at the University of Tromsø.

**Welcome to this survey!**

It does not take long time to answer my questions, there are not many. Your data will be protected and are anonymous.

There are 25 questions in this survey

**1 Basic Information**

Basic information to the statistics.

**1 Male or female? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Female
- Male

**2 What year were you born? \***

Please write your answer here:

The year of his birth in four digits

**3 What is your profession? \***

Please write your answer here: \_\_\_\_\_

How do you work? Responses as a student, unemployed or others are also possible.

**4 What is your highest educational obtained? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Primary
- Secondary Education
- Bachelor (equivalent full extent of 3 years)
- Master (full grade equivalent of 5 years)
- Ph.D.

Primary, Secondary Education, Bachelor, Master, Ph.D.

**5 Marital Status \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Single
- "Occupied"
- Cohabitant
- Married
- Divorced
- Widow
- Other

Singel, "occupied", married, cohabiting, divorced, widowed

**6 If you have a partner, member / her to move? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Yes
- Not

**2 Affiliate**

Information of membership to the National Popular Resistance Front.

**7 Are you a member of a group that is part of the National Popular Resistance Front of Honduras? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Yes
- Not

**8 To which group do you belong? \***

Please write your answer here: \_\_\_\_\_

**9 How long have you been a member of your group? \***

Please write your answer here: \_\_\_\_\_

Time in months.

**10 How would you rate your own participation in the group / movement? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- No involvement
- Little participation
- Some involvement
- Regular, as of more

- More than regular
- "All the time"

Your own opinion

### **3 Meetings**

Questions of participation in group meetings.

#### **11 Are you involved in organizing and arranging the meetings of the group? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- If
- Not
- Sometimes

#### **12 Do you organize meetings or prepare you the location, food, chairs or other things? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Organized
- Prepare

#### **13 How often do you attend meetings? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Each week (if there are meetings)
- Every other week
- Every month
- Rarely

#### **14 Do you feel your opinion is heard in the meetings? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Yes
- Not

### **4 Actions and demonstrations**

Share questions and demonstrations.

#### **15 Are you involved in actions or demonstrations? \***



Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Not
- Rarely
- Some
- Most
- When there are a demonstration or action I participate

**16 What kind of actions you participate? \***

Please check all that apply:

- Demonstrations
- Putting posters
- Making graffiti
- Information campaigns
- Civil Disobedience
- Sabotage
- Other:

**17 What is your preferred method of action? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Demonstrations
- Make graffiti
- Sabotage
- Civil Disobedience
- Putting posters
- Information campaigns
- Other

**18 Do you advocate their preferred method in the group? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Yes
- Not

**19 How would you rate the impact of your choice in the group? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Total
- Much impact

- Any impact
- Little impact
- Nothing

**20 Prepare you the group's actions, making banners, buying equipment, etc.? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Yes
- Not

**5 Armament**

Questions of arms of the group or / and movement.

**21 Would you prefer that the movement be armed? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Yes
- Not

**22 Have you participated in a debate on this issue in the motion or in the group? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Yes
- Not

Both in private or in a group reunion.

**23 If so, how was the tendency in these debates? \***

Please write your answer here: \_\_\_\_\_

**24 If so, in what situations do you think the weapons would be a good addition? \***

Please write your answer here: \_\_\_\_\_

**6 Admiration**

**25 Who of those you admire most? \***

Please select **only one** of the following options:

- Mahatma Gandhi

- Fidel Castro
- Ernesto "Che" Guevara
- Simon Bolivar
- Mother Teresa of Calcutta
- Francisco Morazán
- Emiliano Zapata
- Martin Luther King Jr.
- Rigoberta Menchu Tum
- Uljanov Iljitsj Vladimir "Lenin"
- Mel Zelaya

**Thanks for answering my questions!**

By participating in this survey will appreciate it.  
Thank you for completing this survey.

Gender	Age, grouped	Profession, grouped	Highest level of completed education	Civil status, grouped	Group, grouped	Months member, grouped	Time spent in group
Female	18 - 24	Other	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	12 - 23	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	More than usual
Male	25 - 30	Student	Secondary Education	Single	Independents	<6	Some, as most people
Male	25 - 30	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	12 - 23	Some, as most people
Female	25 - 30	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Student	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Single	FUR	> 30	A little
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	Some, as most people
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	"All the time"
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	Some, as most people
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	A little
Male	18 - 24	Teacher	Secondary Education	Single	Others	24 - 30	A little
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	12 - 23	A little
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	More than usual
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	Others	> 30	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Partner	FUR	> 30	More than usual
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Partner	FUR	<6	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	Some, as most people
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FUR	<6	No participation
Male	>30	Worker	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Partner	Necios	> 30	"All the time"
Male	25 - 30	Student	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Single	Independents	<6	No participation
Female	>30	Teacher	Secondary Education	Single	FNRP	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	>30	Higher Status	Grade equivalent to 5 years	Single	FNRP	24 - 30	"All the time"
Female	>30	Teacher	Primary Education	Single	FNRP	> 30	"All the time"
Male	25 - 30	Higher Status	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Partner	FNRP	24 - 30	"All the time"
Female	>30	Higher Status	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Single	FNRP	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	>30	Worker	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Partner	FNRP	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	>30	Worker	Primary Education	Single	FNRP	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	>30	Teacher	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Partner	FNRP	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	>30	Higher Status	Ph.D	Partner	FNRP	> 30	"All the time"
Female	>30	Worker	Secondary Education	Single	FNRP	24 - 30	More than usual
Male	>30	Worker	Secondary Education	Partner	FNRP	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	>30	Teacher	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Single	FNRP	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	>30	Student	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Partner	FNRP	> 30	More than usual
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	24 - 30	Algun participacion
Male	18 - 24	Student	Primary Education	Single	LGBT	12 - 23	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Worker	Secondary Education	Partner	LGBT	<6	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	12 - 23	A little
Female	>30	Higher Status	Grade equivalent to 5 years	Partner	Independents	<6	No participation
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	12 - 23	More than usual
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	> 30	"All the time"
Female	>30	Worker	Secondary Education	Partner	Necios	> 30	"All the time"
Male	25 - 30	Teacher	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Partner	Necios	> 30	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Worker	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	<6	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Worker	Secondary Education	Single	Independents	<6	No participation
Male	18 - 24	Worker	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	24 - 30	Some, as most people
Male	>30	Worker	Secondary Education	Partner	LGBT	7 - 12	Some, as most people
Male	>30	Worker	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	24 - 30	"All the time"
Female	>30	Worker	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	24 - 30	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	7 - 12	Some, as most people
Female	>30	Worker	Secondary Education	Partner	LGBT	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Teacher	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Single	LGBT	12 - 23	More than usual
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	12 - 23	Some, as most people
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	Some, as most people
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	> 30	"All the time"
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	12 - 23	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	Independents	<6	No participation
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	Independents	> 30	No participation
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	12 - 23	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	> 30	More than usual
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	12 - 23	Some, as most people
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	A little
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	Algun participacion
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Partner	FRU	<6	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	Others	24 - 30	Some, as most people
Male	25 - 30	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	> 30	"All the time"
Female	<18	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	7 - 12	"All the time"
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	A little
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	> 30	"All the time"
Male	25 - 30	Worker	Grade equivalent to 3 years	Single	FRU	24 - 30	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	Algun participacion
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	Algun participacion
Female	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	12 - 23	A little
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	> 30	"All the time"
Female	>30	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	Algun participacion
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	<6	Some, as most people
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	24 - 30	Algun participacion
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	12 - 23	"All the time"
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	> 30	More than usual
Male	18 - 24	Student	Secondary Education	Single	FRU	24 - 30	More than usual
Male	25 - 30	Worker	Secondary Education	Single	LGBT	7 - 12	"All the time"

Organizing or preparing meetings.	Organizing or preparing	Participation in meetings	Is your voice heard?	How often you participate in actions?
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
No	-	Every other week	Yes	Sometimes
No	-	Rarely	No	Rarely
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
No	-	Rarely	No	None
No	-	Every Month	Yes	Rarely
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Rarely
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Sometimes
No	-	Rarely	Yes	Rarely
No	-	Rarely	Yes	Rarely
No	-	Rarely	Yes	Rarely
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Sometimes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Sometimes
No	-	Rarely	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
No	-	Rarely	Yes	Rarely
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
No	-	Rarely	No	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Sometimes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	None
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Preparing	Every other week	Yes	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Rarely
Sometimes	Organizing	Rarely	Yes	None
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Sometimes
No	-	Rarely	No	Rarely
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Rarely
No	-	Rarely	No	Rarely
Yes	Preparing	Every Month	No	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
No	-	Rarely	No	None
Yes	Preparing	Every Month	Yes	Most
Sometimes	Organizing	Rarely	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
No	-	Rarely	Yes	Rarely
Yes	Organizing	Every Month	No	Most
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Rarely
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
No	-	Rarely	No	None
No	-	Rarely	Yes	None
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
No	-	Rarely	Yes	Rarely
Sometimes	Preparing	Rarely	No	None
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Sometimes	Preparing	Every other week	Yes	Rarely
Sometimes	Preparing	Rarely	Yes	Rarely
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
No	-	Rarely	No	Rarely
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Sometimes
No	-	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Sometimes
No	-	Rarely	Yes	Sometimes
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	When there is a demonstration or action, I participate
Sometimes	Organizing	Rarely	Yes	None
Sometimes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	None
No	-	Rarely	Yes	Most
Yes	Preparing	Rarely	Yes	Most
Yes	Preparing	Every other week	Yes	Sometimes
Yes	Preparing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Sometimes
Yes	Organizing	Every week (if meetings)	Yes	Most

Demonstrations	Putting up Posters	Haciendo Graffiti	Information Campaigns	Civil Desobediencia	Sabotage	Prefered type of actions	Do you advocate your preference?
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Demonstrations	No
-	Yes	-	-	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	No
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Yes
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	Putting up Posters	No
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	No
-	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	Yes	-	-	-	-	Putting up Posters	No
Yes	Yes	-	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	-	Yes	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	Yes	-	-	-	-	Putting up Posters	No
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Sabotage	Yes
Yes	Yes	-	Yes	Yes	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	Civil Desobediencia	No
Yes	Yes	-	Yes	Yes	-	Putting up Posters	Yes
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	No
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	Yes	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	Yes	-	-	-	-	Putting up Posters	No
Yes	-	Yes	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
-	-	-	Yes	Yes	-	Civil Desobediencia	Yes
Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	-	-	-	Yes	-	Civil Desobediencia	Yes
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
Yes	Yes	-	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	Yes	-	-	-	-	Putting up Posters	Yes
Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	-	-	-	Yes	-	Civil Desobediencia	No
-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	Yes	-	Yes	Yes	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
-	Yes	-	-	-	-	Putting up Posters	Yes
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
-	-	-	-	-	-	Putting up Posters	No
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	No
-	-	-	-	Yes	-	Civil Desobediencia	Yes
Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Civil Desobediencia	Yes
Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Information Campaigns	Yes
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	Demonstrations	Yes

Impact of your preference?	Do you prepare actions	Yes or No, arming the movement	Attended debates on arming
Total	No	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	No	No	Yes
Algun impacto	No	No	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Total	Yes	Yes	No
Nada	Yes	No	No
Algun impacto	No	No	Yes
Poco impacto	Yes	No	No
Algun impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	No
Algun impacto	No	No	No
Algun impacto	No	No	No
Algun impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Total	Yes	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	No	No	No
Algun impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nada	Yes	Yes	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Nada	No	Yes	No
Total	Yes	No	Yes
Algun impacto	No	No	Yes
Total	Yes	Yes	Yes
Total	Yes	No	Yes
Total	Yes	No	No
Poco impacto	No	No	No
Total	Yes	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Nada	No	No	No
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Total	No	No	Yes
Total	Yes	No	No
Algun impacto	No	No	Yes
Total	No	Yes	No
Total	No	No	Yes
Poco impacto	No	No	No
Nada	No	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Total	Yes	Yes	Yes
Total	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mucho impacto	No	No	No
Algun impacto	Yes	No	No
Poco impacto	No	No	No
Total	Yes	Yes	Yes
Poco impacto	No	No	No
Poco impacto	No	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Total	No	No	No
Algun impacto	Yes	No	No
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Total	Yes	No	Yes
Nada	No	No	No
Nada	No	No	No
Algun impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Total	Yes	No	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Algun impacto	No	No	No
Poco impacto	No	No	No
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	No	No
Algun impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Algun impacto	No	No	No
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Nada	Yes	Yes	No
Total	Yes	No	No
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Poco impacto	No	No	No
Poco impacto	No	No	No
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	No
Algun impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Poco impacto	No	No	No
Algun impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	Yes	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Mucho impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Algun impacto	Yes	No	Yes
Total	Yes	No	Yes